U.P. Rajarshi Tandon Open
University, Prayagraj

MAEN-112
Aspects of Language

Block

1

WHAT IS LANGUAGE?

Introduction to the Course

Block Introduction

UNIT 1
The Nature of Language 5

UNIT 2
Looking at Data-1 13

UNIT 3
Looking at Data-2 25

UNIT 4
Language and Thought 34

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In this the first block, we start at the beginning by describing the nature of language. its salient characteristics and how it is different from other forms of communication. especially animal communication (Unit 1). In Units 2 and 3 of this block, we historically trace the ways linguists and grammarians have viewed the date that they are describing. We concentrate on the twentieth century, where we were a witness to two majors ways of viewing language - i.e. The Structuralist - behaviourist and Generative - mentalist.

In Unit 4, we examine the relationship between language and thought: Are language and thought two independent entities? **Or** Is all thought language - dependent?

The title of the four units are as follows:

1. The Nature of Language
2. Looking at Data-1
3. Looking at Date-2
4. Language and Thought

Hope you enjoyed reading the units

INTRODUCTION TO THE COURSE

So far you have read and enjoyed only our literature courses. But, as you are aware, to really appreciate literature, you need to understand the medium in which it is written, i.e. **language.** This course - **Aspects of Language** - gives you a bird's eye view of the nature of language, its characteristics and functions, its relationship with thought, the dimensions of power or lack of it that it controls. The course also engages you with the major ways of looking at language which emerged in the 20th century, i.e. the Structuralist - Behaviourist and the Generative - Mentalist.

In Block 2 of the Course, we touch upon the origin and the formation of the English Language. Speakers of a language have an illusion of the changelessness of language. But language, like the human body is changing all the time, although we may not be aware of it. In this Block we look at the development of the English language in terms of its structure - sounds, words and its grammar.

In a later block, we describe the origin and development of the English language in terms of the sociolinguistic factors which have contributed to its making and proliferation. We also introduce you to the notion of Standard English, and examine in some detail the question of Indian English.

In Blocks 3 and 3a, we describe the sounds of English and the different ways they are patterned. We also touch upon word accent, stress and rhythm in connected speech and intonation of English. You will realize that English follows a different rhythm from your native languages.

In Block 4 we help you understand something about how words are formed in English. We show you the processes of word-formation which have contributed to word-creation and the enrichment of English.

In Block 5 we study the structure of English sentences (Syntax). The study of syntax acquired a special significance from the mid-fifties with the advent of Chomsky. While the Structural linguists merely described the structure of the language, the Generativist (following Chomsky) considered explanation as the primary goal, and attempted to relate it to the human mind.

In the next two Blocks, we look at the relationship between language and society from the point of view of class structures, bilingualism, language planning, ways of conversing and so on.

In the last Block we bring about a marriage between language and literature through the discipline of Stylistics.

In order to get the best out of this Course you nekd to read it through. Read it like a story on the history and development of English.

Good luck and happy reading!

UNIT 1 THE NATURE OF LANGUAGE

Structure

1.0 Objectives
1.1 Introduction
1.2 Definition of Language
1.3 How and Why did Language Originate?
1.4 The Characteristics of Human Language
1.5 Using Language
1.6 Let Us Sum Up
1.7 Key Words
1.8 Suggested Readings
1.9 Questions

1.0 OBJECTIVES

The aim of this unit is to understand the nature of human language, to examine the various theories dealing with its origin, and to examine in what ways human language is different from other animal systems of communication.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

According to **Hockett (1958), language** is "the most valuable single possession of the human race", Each one of us makes use of language in' virtually everything we do. The use of language is an integral part of being human. Humboldt has even gone to the extent of saying that "man is man through the use of language alone". Yet, the use of language is so spontaneous and natural that we pay no more attention to it than we do to our breathing or to the beating of our hearts. We take language too much for granted, Just for a brief while, try and imagine what our life would be like without language. Extremely difficult, if not impossible ! What then is this unique thing called languages. Let us find out in the course of this unit.

It is not easy to define language. Most **common people define** it as a means of **communication.** For the professional **grammarian,** language is the pairing of a lexicon and a set of rules of syntax. But, as we will see in this block, language is far more complex and we need to make a sustained effort to explore its nature and structure.

1.2 DEFINITION OF LANGUAGE

The term language has been defined differently by different people. Let us look at some of these definitions to understand what language is :

'Language is that system by which sounds and meanings are related' (Fromkin and Rodman, 1974)

'Language is the most sophisticated and versatile means available to human beings for the communication of meaning' (Brown, 1984).

'Language is purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires by means of voluntarily produced symbols. (Sapir 1921).

'Language is the institution whereby humans communicate and interact with each other by means of habitually used oral-auditory arbitrary symbols.' (Hall, 1964)

'A language is a system of arbitrary vocal symbols by means of which the members of a society interact in terms of their total culture'(Trager, 1949)

Language is a 'System of sounds, words, patterns, etc. used by humans to communicate thoughts and feelings.' (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 1989)

'Language is a patterned system of arbitrary sound signals, characterised by structure dependence, creativity, displacement, duality, and cultural transmission.' (Aitchison, 1987) (we discuss some of these features in later sections)

One of the best ways to understand human language is to compare it with animal communication, and to see where the similarities and differences lie. We will do that in a while, but, before that, let us try to understand how and why language originated.

1.3 WOW AND WHY DID LANGUAGE ORIGINATE?

No one knows exactly how language originated. And because of this, there is no dearth of speculations about the origins of human speech. Let us briefly consider some of these.

The Divine Source Theory : According to one view, God created Adam and "whatsoever Adam called every living creature that was the name thereof' (Genesis, 2:19). According to Hindu tradition, language came from goddess Saraswati. In most religions, there appears to be a divine source that provided humans with language. Generally, every society has a divine story to tell about the origins of its language. We also notice that the alphabetical symbols or ideographs used in writing are often associated with divine images.

The Natural Sound Source Theory : Another view of the origin of human speech is based on the concept of natural sounds. The theory suggests that first words were imitations of the natural sounds which early men and women heard around them. The fact that all languages have some words which seem to echo naturally occuring sounds could have led to this theory. "Cuckoo", "bang", "buzz". "hiss". "bow-wow", etc., are some examples from English. In fact, this type of view has been called the "bow-wow theory" of language origin.

Although it is true that a number of words in every language are echoic or onomatopoeic, these are few in number. Another argument against this theory is that our language also seems to influence the way we hear and imitate the sounds of nature, e.g., the roasters crow cock-a-doodle-doo' in English; 'kuk-ru-ka-roo' in Hindi and 'kikeriki' in German !

The Pooh-Pooh Theory : In 1871, in his *Descent of Man*, Darwin proposed that like man himself. his language also developed from a more primitive form. probably from expressions of emotions. For example, a feeling of contempt is accompanied by the action of puffing of air out through the nostrils or the mouth and this action makes sounds like "pooh" or "pish" . The critics of Darwin's theory scornfully named it . the Pooh-pooh theory.

The Ding-Dong Theory : Muller, a contemporary of Darwin, proposed the ding-dong theory of the origin of language. According to this theory, there was a mystic

relationship between sound and meaning. There was an instinct in the primitive human being, by which every impression from without received a vocal expression from within. Just as a particular sound is produced when any object is struck by a solid body, similarly human being's mind gave a particular response to every impact the world made upon it. For example, the sight of a snake rang a bell and the primitive human instinctively said "snake".

As is clear from the above discussion, it is a big puzzle as to how language began But, why language began seems to be rather clear. Language must have evolved because humans needed it for the following purposes :

To give factual information and to convey commands. This is also called information talking.

To convey emotions and feelings.

To maintain social contact on a friendly level. This is also called phatic communication or language of social chitchat or small talk.

For aesthetic reasons like poetry.

To relieve nervous tension.

1.4 THE CHARACTERISTICS OF HUMAN LANGUAGE

As mentioned earlier, one of the best ways to understand what human language is, is to compare it with other Systems of animal communication and try to understand the similarities and differences between the two. This is precisely what we will do in this section.

Use of sound signals

The use of sound signals is perhaps the most obvious characteristic of human language. But this feature is neither unique to human beings nor all-important. It is not unique to humans as a lot of other animals also use sounds for communication. And it is not all-important because human beings can transfer language to visual symbols (as in the case of sign language, or writing) and to tactile symbols (as in the case of Braille). So, this characteristic is of little use in distinguishing, human communication from animal communication.

Arbitrariness

In the case of animals there is generally an apparent relation between the signal and the message the animal wishes to convey. For example, an animal who wishes to warn off an opponent will generally simulate an attacking attitude. A cat, for example, will arch its back, spit and appear ready to pounce.

On the other hand, if we look at human language carefully, we see that except in the case of onomatopoeic words or expressions, there is no logical relationship between the signal and the message. The symbols used by human beings are **arbitrary.** For example, there is no logical relationship between the word 'water' and the thing it symbolises. Had there been an intrinsic or logical relationship between the two, then why would the same thing be called 'pani' in Hindi ? It is all the more interesting to note that in Hindi itself there is another word for water, i.e., 'jal'.

The need for learning

It appears that the role played by 'learning' in animal communication is very little. Their language is more or less genetically inbuilt. For example, bee-dancing, which is used by the bees to convey information about the source of nectar, is quite the same in bee colonies all over the world. And since, we do not expect the bees all over the world to be holding international conferences, we have to agree with the hypothesis that they are 'born with this language .

Another interesting thing to notice is that if a human child is brought up in isolation, (s)he does not acquire language, whereas birds reared in isolation sing songs that are recognisable. Human beings require a long exposure to language in order to aquire it. This does not mean that human language is totally conditioned by the environment. According to Chomsky, human beings are born with an innate 'language acquisition device' (LAD), but environment plays an important role in triggering this innate ability. We should note that every normal child learns an extremely complex grammatical system before s/he is 3 years old. Language is certainly one of the greatest wonders of human societies, it cannot be accomplished unless we were endowed with an innate language faculty.

So we can say that although both humans and other animals seem to be genetically predisposed to acquire language, it seems in humans, this latent potentiality can only be activitated by long exposure to language, which requires careful learning.

Displacement

Most animals can communicate about things in the immediate environment only. A bird utters its cry of danger when danger is present. It cannot give information about a danger which is removed in time and place.

Human Beings , on the other hand, can communicate about things that are absent as easily as about things that are present. This phenomenon, is known as **displacement.** It occasionally occurs in the animal world, for example, in the communication of honey bees. If a worker bee finds a new source of nectar, it returns to the hive and performs a complex dance in order to inform the other bees of the exact location of the nectar, which may be several miles away. But even bees are limited in this ability. They can inform each other only about nectar. Human beings can cope with any subject whatever, and it does not matter how far away the topic of conversation is in time and space.

Creativity

Most animals have a fixed number of messages which are sent in clearly definable circumstances. For example, a North American cicada can give only four messages and a male grasshopper has a choice of six. Research conducted on dolphins, birds and bees has also shown that they are unable to say anything new.

Human beings, on the other hand , can talk about anything they like. They can produce and understand utterances which they have never produced or heard before. It is also not necessary that the same situation would make them utter the same thing each time.

So we can say that **creativity** is an important characteristic which distinguishes human communication from animal communication.

Duality or double articulation

Animals who use sound signals for communicating have a finite set of basic sounds . The number of basic sounds varies from species to species. Cows, for example, have less than ten, whereas foxes have over thirty. Most animals use each

basic sound only once, or occasionally few simple combinations of these basic sounds. This means that the number of messages that an animal can convey is almost limited to the number of basic sounds that that animal possesses.

In contrast, human language works very differently. Every language has a set of thirty to forty basic sounds which are called phonemes. These phonemes are generally meaningless in isolation. Imagine a person uttering the basic sounds 'a..k..u..t..v..r..l..j..h... Do you think it would be possible for this person to convey any meaning ? These basic sounds or phonemes become meaningful only when they combine with each other in accordance with the rules of a language.So we can say that human language is organised into two levels or layers, i.e., a layer of individual sounds which combine with each other to form the second layer of bigger units like words. This kind of organisation into two layers is called **duality or double articulation.**

At one time, it was thought that duality was a characteristic unique to human language. But now some people claim Duality is also not unique to humans as it is present in bird song where each individual note is meaningless. It is the combination of notes which conveys meaningful messages. However, the complex ways in which words are combined to create an infinite number of sentences may indeed be unique to humans.

Patterning

Close to the phenomena of duality is patterning. As you are aware most animal systems of communication comprise a simple list of sounds. There does not seem to be any internal organisation within the system.

Human language, on the other hand, has well defined internal patterns. There are firm restrictions on which elements (sounds, words, etc.) can occur together, and in which order. For example, take the sounds **'o'**, 'p', 't', **'s'** in English. These sounds can be arranged in the following six ways only : 'spot', 'stop', 'pot', 'pots', 'top' and 'tops'. Other possibilities like 'tsop', 'ptos', 'opst', are not possible because the rules of English do not allow these.

Similar kind of patterns are followed when words are combined to form sentences.

Structure dependence

Human beings instinctively understand the patterned nature of language, and manipulate 'structured chunks' of language, **e.g.,** they understand that a group of words can be, at times, the structural equivalent of one word. Consider the Following sentences :

The boy who proposed to me gave me a bouquet of flowers He gave me a really beautiful bouquet of flowers.

This chunk can be rearranged according to the rules of the language, for example, the rule of passivization:

A bouquet of flowers was given to me by the boy who proposed to me.

This kind of a thing does not seem to be present in any other animal system of communication.

Other characteristics

Human language has many more characteristics besides the ones discussed above. These are generally not unique to humans. Some of these are :

Recipocrity or interchangeability : any speakerlsender of a linguistic signal can also be a listenerlreceiver.

Rapid fading : auditory signals are transitory. They disappear quickly.

Spontaneous usage : speaking'is not something which humans do under any compulsion. They speak spontaneously and out of their own will.

Turn-taking : humans take turns while talking.

Specialisation : vocal signals are used for conveying meaning only. They do not normally serve any other type of purpose, such as breathing or feeding.

Complete feedback : speakers of a vocal signal receive the message themselves as well.

1.5 USING LANGUAGE

We have so far discussed 'what is human language?' and how it differs from other forms of communication, especially animal communication. Now we shall briefly study some of the ways in which human beings use language and the disciplines which study this.

For instance, you must have noticed that human beings speak the same language with each other, but there could be perceptible differences in their speech. These differences are due to a number of factors such as social class, region, caste, ethnic group, age, sex and so on. The differences could also be due to the subject matter and the relationship between the participants in the speech act. For instance one would be **formal** with one's boss and **informal** with a colleague and **intiinate** with one's husband.

The disciplines which studies the role of language in society is known as **sociolinguistics.** Then there are **general principles** followed by human beings when they communicate with one another. **Pragmatics** is the branch of linguistics which studies this aspect of language use.

Another dimension, which we wish to bring to your notice is the relationship between **language and power.** Most people generally associate power with money. property. status, etc. believing that language belongs as much to the poor as to the rich. Unfortunately, it is not true. Like money, land, property and status, language is also used to acquire, exercise, consolidate and maintain power. Everybody speaks language and everybody uses it to 'mean something' in a given context but it is only a select few whose language is regarded as pure and standard. This so-called standard language is used as an extremely effective and powerful asset in the unholy appropriation of the surplus produced by the poor people who are constantly denied any access to the standard variety. What is more important, the standard language is used as a legitimizing tool for perpetuating the'status quo. Knowledge statures encoded in the standard language are the only ones that receives social approval: local literacies are dismissed as sub-standard or as dialects and pidgins.

We hope that after reading this unit, you will begin to look at language differently. You will begin to examine what's written between the lines and what lies liidden on the margins. Texts are not innocent and neutral social constructs, they are often carefully crafted to sustain power.

1.6 LET US SUM UP

In this unit we have seen that one of the most important possessions of mankind is language.

We have tried to understand the nature of human language by comparing it with other animal systems of communication.

We have also made an attempt to see how and why language originated.

Then we have mentianed other dimensions of language such as language in society and language and power.

1.7 KEYWORDS

arbitrariness: The property of human language which relates to the fact that there is no logical relationship between the signal and the message.

creativity: Refers to the ability of human beings to produce and understand utterances which they have never uttered or heard before.

displacement: Refers to the ability of human beings to talk about things which are not present at that place or that time.

duality or double articulation: Refers to the fact that human language is organised at two levels: level of articulation of sounds and level of words.

information talking: language used for the purpose of imparting factual information and conveying essential commands

language acquisition device A hypothetical construct referring to the innate ability of human beings to acquire language.

onomatopoeic or echoic words: words or group of words that imitate the echoic natural sounds, e.g., 'bow-wow' in English.

patterning: human language combines sounds into words and words into sentences according to certain rules ,orpatterns.

phatic communion: language used for maintaining social contact on a friendly level

phoneme: the smallest unit in the sound system of a language which can bring about a difference in meaning.

1.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

Aitchison,J. 1978. *Linguistics*.London: Hodder and Stroughton.

Fromkin, V. and Rodman, R. 3rd Ed. 1983. *An Introduction* to *Language*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Hockett, C.F. 1958. A Course in Modern Linguistics. Macmillan.

Lyons, J. 1981. Language and Linguistics. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.

Yule, G. 1985. The Study *of Language*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.

1.9 QUESTIONS

1. You have read how different people have defined human language. Now,try to define language in your own words.
2. In section 1.2 we have read how language has been defined in the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary. Look at the definition of language in two more dictionaries. Discuss the similarities and differences between these definitions.
3. You have read different theories about the origin of language. Which one of these theories do you agree with ? Give reasons for your answer. If none of these theories seems convincing to you, then discuss how, in your opinion, language might have originated.
4. What, according to you, is the most important function of language'? Give reasons for your answer.
5. What is the meaning of onomatopoeic expressions? Give three examples of onomatopoeic expressions from your language.
6. What are the characteristics of human communication that seem to be completely absent in other animal systems of communication ?
7. What is meant by the terms duality and displacement as they are used to describe properties of human communication?
8. What is the nature of the relationship between the words used in a human language and their meanings? Are there any exceptions to this kind of a relationship? Give,examples from English.

UNIT 2 LOOKING AT DATA-1

Structure

2.0 Objectives
2.1 Introduction
2.2 Structuralism in Linguistics
2.3 Structural-functional Linguistics :The Saussurean Principles
  2.3.1 Language and Parole
  2.3.2 The Arbitrariness of the Sign
  2.3.3 The Diachronic and the Synchronic Study of Language
  2.3.4 The Oppositional Structure of Language
2.4 Structural Linguistics : The Saussurean Heritage
2.5 American Structuralism
  2.5.1 Difference between American and European Structuralism
  2.5.2 Sapir
  2.5.3 Bloomfield
  2.5.4 Bloomfieldian Methodology
2.6 Let Us Sum Up
2.7 Key Words
2.8 Questions

2.0 OBJECTIVES

In this unit we shall trace the development of **structuralism** in Europe and in America. In Europe it was largely based on the principles laid down by **Ferdinand de Saussure,** and in America it was associated with the approach known as **Bloomfieldean/Post-Bloomfieldean**. Structuralism, as a school of thought, led to the emergence of structural linguistics which provided one of the perspectives for looking at data. We shall also see how as a reaction to structuralism, **formal linguistics** and ultimately **Generative Grammar** emerged which brought about a shift in methodology and orientation in linguistic theory for looking at data.

On completing this unit, you should be able to do the following:

(i) trace the development of structuralism in Europe and America,
(ii) differentiate between the two versions of structuralism, and
(iii) differentiate between paradigmatic and **syntagmatic** relations, langue and parole, diachronic and synchronic studies.

In the next unit you will read about the emergence of Generative enterprise and how it makes a point of departure for the Post Bloomfieldean studies.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The term 'structuralism' stands for a school of thought that developed in the 1960s in France in the wake of Claude **Levi-Strauss's** *Anthropologie structurale* (1958) and his attempt to discover the **objective** meaning of human culture. **Levi-Strauss** sought to isolate kinship systems as objective systems of meaning that existed, that could be analyzed, independently of their particular application or of their meaning for particular individuals, and that are amenable to study by the methods of the positive sciences, **Structuralism appears to make possible the establishment of autonomous and objective human sciences, because it provides those sciences**

with their own independent and objective fields of study. Therefore as a school of thought structuralism cannot be reduced to a single movement or trend. rather it has had a strong impact on many disciplines during the entire twentieth century –be it linguistics, literature, music, myth, art or even systems of kinship. In fact, structuralism can best be described, to adapt a term proposed by Basil Bernstein. as a "thematic region", that brings together " disciplines and the technologies they make possible, much as cognitive science, management, engineering and medicine do " (Thibault 1998: 598). The 20th century scholarship was based on the principle that our knowledge of the world will not be complete unless we arrive at the ***structure*** of the system, i.e the **relationship between the members of the system.** Hence the search for the structure became a characteristic of the 20th century scholarship and propelled an era of structuralism in scientific research. Structuralism believes that the individual phenomena of human experience exist but are intelligible through their interconnections and not in isolation. The interconnections can be "accounted for rationally- rather than just described and classified or intuitively grasped in their unique peculiarity"-by looking at them "in their relational character", perceiving "their connections as constituting a structure", and finding "behind endless variations some abstract patterns subject to simple general rules" (Lepschy 1992: 163).

2.2 STRUCTURALISM IN LINGUISTICS

Although Levi-Strauss' work has stimulated the development of structuralism as an intellectual movement, this stimulus has owed much of its force to the fact that Levi-Strauss' work reproduces an approach that had been developed quite independently within linguistics. In fact, it was only with his encounter with linguistics that lie became fully aware of the theoretical, methodological and philosophical implications of his approach. His encounter with linguistics further gave him the confidence lo generalize his findings and to offer structuralisni as a method for all the human sciences.

Strictly speaking structuralism in linguistics ineans a new approach to the facts already known . The facts of treating languages as ***structures***–i.e. as total systems or connected wholes–in terms of their internal patterns of connection, rather than as sets of isolated items and in terms of their historical sequence of development are merely reconsidered with regard to their ***function*** in the system. It is the study of how the structures of these entities affect the way they function. Inasmuch as language. as a coinniunicative system, has a function, the structuralist model of language insists on the social (i.e communicative) function of language. **Structuralism in linguistics also implies an insistence on making a clear distinction between historical phenomena and the characteristics of a linguistic system at a given point in time.** This insistence on the two-fold distinction was largely a reaction to the 19th century scholarship which stressed on studying language through classical languages and subsequently made ***historicism*** their fundamental mark of thinking. It may be noted here, that in spite of insisting on studying language at a given moment, the structuralist approach is still capable of shedding some historical light on the subject. Historical differences between the structures of the same or two different languages can still be shown by the structuralist model of language.

2.3 STRUCTURAL–FUNCTIONAL LINGUISTICS: THE SAUSSUREAN PRINCIPLES

The foundational principles of structural-functional linguistics were based on the lecture notes of the great Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure(1857-1913). published posthumously as ***Cours de Linguistique Generale*** (CLG). These principles entered

into the structuralist model of linguistics and provided a turning point in the history of linguistics. The following are the general methodological principles of Saussure:

2.3.1 Langue and Parole (language structure vs speaking in a language)

While making distinctions between the linguistic system and its actual manifestations, we arrive at the crucial opposition between langue andparole. ***Langue*** is the system or structure of a language whereasparole is the activity of speaking in a language or actual speech. According to Saussure, within the whole field of linguistic activity (langage), we should distinguish between the language system (langue) and speaking or writing the language (***parole***). The three way distinction may be understood as following:

larrgage–as the general capacity that distinguishes man from the animals.

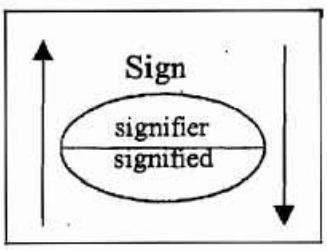
larzgue–as language structure which consists of vocabulary, principles of construction, idioms, rules of pronunciation, etc.

parole–as language, both speech or writing used in context.

For Saussure, langue is something that is at once social and ***constraining*** : "It is both a social product of the faculty of speech and a collection of necessary conventions that have been adopted by a social body to permit individuals to exercise that faculty" (CLG,25,9). While the former means that it is the possession of the community of speakers, the latter suggests that it is something fixed. Parole, on the other hand, is the realm of freedom : "It is an individual act ... wilful and intellectual" (CLG, 14). Langue–Parole distinction has formed a basis for all later structuralist model of linguistics.

2.3.2 The Arbitrariness of the Sign

The linguistic sign is an arbitrary linkage between a ***signifier*** and a signified. The fonner is a sound–image while the latter is a concept. Saussure believed that there is no natural connection between sound and meaning. There is no natural or intrinsic connection between sound–images and concepts. It is purely arbitrary or conventional and there is nothing particularly *cat-like* about the word 'cat' or sense of continuity about the verb-ending '*–ing*'.



Here is a linguistic example:

Sign: The written word 'tree'

Signifier: The letters 't-r-e-e'

Signified : The category 'tree'

This concept will come up again in later units, and has already been mentioned in unit 1.

2.3.3 The Diachronic and the Synchronic .Study of Language (History vs Structure)

:Discussion of the factors which explain the changes or mutability of language led to awareness of the importance of time. Although Saussure grew up in the tradition of 19th century historical and comparative linguistics, he could not reconcile himself with the historicism of the neograinmarians. He argued that an adequate treatment of the effect of time calls for a radical distinction between the two branches of linguistics, **synchronic** and **diachronic linguistics.** Synchronic linguistics studies ***langue,*** which is a system that is psychologically real, whereas diachronic linguistics is concerned with relations of succession between ***individual items***, which speakers are unaware of and which are not quite systematic. The synchronic study of language is, thus, **the study of linguistic system in a particular state, at a point of time.** whereas the **diachronic study of language is the study of its evolution in time.**

2.3.4 The Oppositional Structure of Language

Language is a set of oppositions without positive terms. According to this Saussurean principle, the arbitrariness of the sign is limited by the systematic nature of sign systems. The signs that make up a language stand in opposition to each otlier.

The linearity of signs coupled with the notion of oppositions formed the basis of Saussurean distinction between two inain types of structural relations between signs : ***tlie syntagmatic*** and ***the paradigmatic***. Syntagmatic relationship is linear, while the paradigmatic relationship is associative. In the syntagmatic relationship, units as sounds, phrases, clauses, sentences and discourse are chained together in a fixed sequence and combination and they get their force by standing in opposition to what precedes or Follows them. This relationship holds at various levels of language. The following example shows it at the sound level. Let us take a simple word like *car.* This word consists of three units - the phonemes */k/, /æ/ and /t/.* **The relationship that exists between these three units is syntagmatic.**

Paradigmatic relationship, on the other hand, refers to the relationship that holds between units that are ***there*** and the units that are ***not there*** but potentially could have been. Let us take the same example again. The first unit of the word *cat* is */k/* . There are many otlier sounds which could have come at this place, for instance */p/* or */b/* or */m/,* giving words like *pat,* bat and *mat.* The relationship that holds between the unit in question that is */k/* and other probable candidates for example */p/* or */b/* or */m/* are paradigmatic. The syntagmatic relationship is the relationship in ***presentia,*** while paradigmatic relation is the relationship ***in absentia.*** The two relationships can be diagrammatically shown as follows:

	k æ	t	Syntagmatic
	p		
Paradigmatic	b		
	m		

These relationships can also be seen at the syntactic level. Let us take as example John likes bananas. The sentence consists of three words John, likes and *bananas.* The linear relationship between these three units is syntagmatic. But there is another relationship between *John* and other possible units which can occur at the place of John but are not there, for instance, Mary, *Tim, The* boy. This relationship in absentia is called paradigmatic. Let us see the following diagram:

	Syntagmatic		
	John	likes	bananas
paradigmatic	Mary		
	Tim		
	The boy		

The Saussurean principles set out in ***Cours*** were developed by a number of important schools of thought and subsequently paved the way for an emergence of structural linguistics.

2.4 STRUCTURAL LINGUISTICS: THE SAUSSUREAN HERITAGE

As mentioned earlier, structural linguistics owes its foundational debt to the great Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913). His insightful observations on language as a ***system*** and his treatment of language primarily as a social phenomenon became the guiding principle for structural linguistics. The central principle of tlie ***Cours*** is that a well- defined subpart of language called ***langue***, can be abstracted from the totality of speech. It represents the abstract system of structural relationships inherent in language - relationships that are held in common by all members of a speech community. Since ***langue***, according to Saussure, forms a coherent structural system, any such approach to language which is devoted to explicating the internal workings of this abstract system is referred to as ***structural linguistics***. The structural approach to the analysis of language is not only concerned with explicating the internal workings of ***langue,*** but it also involves the segmentation of utterances into elements in terms of two basic and complementary relations : **syntagmatic** and **paradigmatic** ('associative' according to Saussure). The former looks into those elements which combine to form a larger unit, while the latter taltes those elements which can be substituted for another in a given context.

In a structuralist description of language both an inventory of the linguistic elements of the language under analysis and statement of the positions in which the elements occur are taken into consideration -- the former refers to ***discovery procedure*** and the latter refers to ***distribution***. The case for such a taxonomic or classificatory approach to ***langue*** was made explicit in the ***Cours*** : "It would be interesting from a practical viewpoint to begin with units, to determine what they are and to account for their diversity by classifying them ..... Next we would have to classify the subparts, then the larger units, etc." (Saussure 1959 : 111).

The 1950s in the United States witnessed a spate of activities in structural linguistics with a distinct Saussurean heritage. Later, structural linguistics in America took on its distinctive cast and entered the period of its great success.

2.5 AMERICAN STRUCTURALISM

American structuralism has been associated with the approach variously called "post–Bloomfieldian", "neo Bloornfieldian" or simply "Bloomfieldian", The adherents of this approach have commonly called it "descriptive linguistics."

2.5.1 Difference between American and European Structuralism

Structuralism in the United States grew independently to that of its European counterpart. Their interests were different and they even differed in their

understanding of the term 'structure'. The European linguists understood it as " the arrangement of a whole in parts and the demonstrable coherence of these reciprocally conditioned parts in the whole "(Benveniste 1971 :8). For inost of the American linguists, structure is "the distribution of the elements as it is observed, and the capacity of these element for association or substitution" (1971:8). According to Benveriste, a 'Bloomfieldian' will segmentalize the whole into its constitutive elements and will define "each of these elements by its position in the whole and by the variations and substitutions posible in this same position" (1971 :8).

If European scholars were interested in ancient languages and the developiiient of modem European languages from them, the American structural linguists were primarily interested in describing and classifying the American Indian languages. The representatives of American structuralism tended to write the grammar of 'exotic' languages of Amerindian tribes such as Menomini, Hopi, Takelma. Anierican linguistics, since the beginning of this centuiy, has been oriented toward the current of structural linguistics by the work of scholars such as Boas (1858 - 1942), especially by the works of Sapir (1884 - 1939) and Bloomfield (1887 - 1948) – the two pioneers of structural linguistics in America.

2.5.2 Sapir

Following the methods developed by Boas, Sapir gave up his work in classical philology and started analysing languages of Amerindian tribes. His analysis of Takelma, an American-Indian language spoken in the Northwest, in fact, predated the Saussurean principles of structuralism. Through his Takelrna grammar of 1911 (published as Sapir 1922), he had worked out the basic principles of structuralism even before Saussure's ***Cours*** had been published. Language, according to Sapir, was a communicative and social activity. His interests in language were iar - ranging. In addition to grammatical analysis, he took into account the humanistic and cultural aspects of language. He also published papers on the functioning of language in creative literature, mythology and religion.Although he was a structuralist in his orientation, he held a moderate position. He was not fully averse to historicism. For him, language was a ***product*** of history, "the product of long–continued social usage" (Sapir 1921:2).

In the structural conception of language formulated by Sapir, the most striking fact was the aspect of **universality.** He conceived of language as a structure which is universal: "Language, as a structure, is on its inner face the mould of thought" and "[There] is no more striking general fact about language than its universality..... The lowliest of the South African Bushmen speaks in the forms of a rich symbolic system that is in essence perfectly comparable to the speech of the cultivated Frenchman" (1921:22).

Sapir refused to look at language through mechanistic methods. He held that "linguistic consciousness"of speakers must be taken into account. His approach was more ***mentalistic*** as opposed to the ***mechanistic*** or ***behaviouristic*** approach of Bloomfield. His mentalism, which inakes claims about a relationship between language and the mind, led to the belief that linguistic structure plays a role in shaping our perception of reality.His student Benjamin Whorf further developed this idea and came forward with the hypothesis widely known as ***Sapir - Whorf Hypothesis.*** You will read about this later in the block.

2.5.3 Bloomfield

The ***Mechanism*** of Bloomfield was closely related to behaviourism in psychology. According to ***behaviourism,*** human cot-~ducts totally predictable i.e it can be explained on the basis of situations in which it occurs, independently of all internal factors. Even speech must be explained by the external conditions surrounding its production.

In accepting the basic ideas of behaviourism, Bloomfield, in his book Language (1933), formulated his mechanistic and materialistic conception of language which is based upon ***stimulus–response*** schema:

S————————>R

He explained the stimulus-response schematic usage of language by means of his famous story of Jack and Jill, walking down the lane. Jill sees an apple . She is hungry and wants it. But she wants Jack to get her the apple. She makes a noise with her larynx. tongue and lips. Jack hears her request, climbs a tree to get the apple, which Jill then devours. Here real or practical events preceding the act of speech is the stimulus (S) (in this case, Jill's feeling of hunger). If Jill had got the apple herself then stimulus would have directly caused the response (R) (her getting of the apple) symbolized by S————————>R. Instead there is a substitute response (r) in the form of a vocal movement (i.e she asks Jack to do it). The substitute response of Jill leads to a substitute stimulus or s linguistic stimulus (s) for Jack: he hears her request, and this causes the real or a practical response (R).

S ——————▶ r ----------s ——————▶ R

Since Bloomfield's main concern was to develop linguistics into a science, the principles through which this could be done were the exclusion of psychology from linguistics and the use of scientific descriptive statements. He refused to accept any psychological interpretation of the linguistic fact and demanded a strictly mechanistic approach. This is evident from his treatment of residual forms (or so-called exceptions in 'sound change'). He insisted upon the regularity of sound change and emphasized the scientific necessity of assuming that 'conditioned sound changes are purely phonetic' and 'independent of non-phonetic factors, such as meaning, frequency. . .' This became a starting point from which emphases upon a so-called ***mechanism*** arose. According to Bloomfield, linguists should deal with observable events only which are located in the coordinates of time and space. His insistence on dealing with only those events that were accessible to an observer in both time and place marked a definite shift from mentalisin to ***physicalism***. He believed that the linguist should define descriptive terms rigidly in physical terms that could be derived from a set of collection of everyday items dealing with physical happenings.

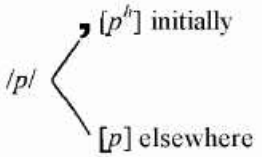
While he had earlier been a mentalist too, by 1933 Bloomfield became an apostle of ***anti–mentalism*** in linguistics.By placing a very heavy emphasis on **objective observation** he had become **an empiricist** and had adopted a view of linguistic science that allowed only statements based on generalizations drawn fiom observable facts by a set of mechanical procedures. As he put it: "The only useful generalizations about language are inductive generalizations. Features which we think ought to be universal may be absent from the very next language that becomes accessible" (1933:20).

His empiricist orientation had also affected his approach to the study of meaning. He had rebelled against the linguistic theories of meaning or the signified (to use Kristeva's term). While he admitted that a central function of language was to convey meaning, he remarked that meaning was either a completely unobservable mentalistic construct or else, consisted in so many and detailed events surrounding the speech act, that an adequate observation of it was nearly as hopeless as that of a mental reality. He affirmed that linguistic science would never be able to tackle it without taking into account the "state of the speaker's body" and the "predisposition of the nervous sound system, which results from all of his experience, linguistic and other, up to this very moment–not to speak of hereditary and pre-natal factors"(1933-141). Since this goal was unattainable, recourse to meaning was to be avoided wherever possible. Hence, meaning had to be kept aside in the task of establishing an adequate linguistic method.

Inspired by the ideas of anti-mentalism of Bloomfield, American linguistics was thus committed for a long time to the principle that language must be analyzed **without regard to meaning.** Efforts were made to evolve a methodology based on an exhaustive description of the behaviour of linguistic units without reference to meaning. This is where American linguistics resorted to co-occurrence, the possible **distribution** of sound segments (phonemes) and combinations of them (morphemes) in a language. Thus, a new method of analysis was evolved which was based on noting and describing all positions which units of a given language system could occupy–i.e. on determining the distribution of linguistic units.

On the basis of distribution of the units of linguistic structure, three types of distributional relations have been identified:

(a) **Complementary distribution** – where one unit occurs, the other does not occur i.e. two or more units never occur in the same environment. For example, in English the phoneme /*p*/ has two variants [*p*], the unaspirated, and [p^h] the aspirated. [p^h] occurs initially, whereas [*p*] occurs elsewhere. For instance [p^h*in*], [p^h*æt*] and [p^h et]. In these words /*p*/ comes initially and is aspirated. In words like stop, *spy*, tip, /*p*/ does not come initially and is therefore unaspirated.



Here [p^h] and [*p*] are allophones of tlie phonemes /*p*/.

This condition helps in recognizing and grouping not only the allophones of a single phoneme but also allomorphs of the same morpheme. Just as a phoneme can have several allophones, morphemes can also have a number of allomorphs. This can be illustrated by taking the following examples.

Let us take the plural marker morpheme - s. It has three forms . -*s*, -*z* and -*iz* depending upon tlie environment of its occurrence. The morpheme --*s* is realized as [*s*] if it is preceded by a voiceless sound, as in *caps, rats,* hooks; as [z] if it is preceded by a voiced sound as in cubz, lidz, dogz; as [*iz*] if it is preceded by sibilant sounds as in prizes, voices.

(b) **Contrastive distribution** - where a change in one sound produces a change in meaning. This is established with the help of *minimal pairs*. For example. *pat* [p^h æt] contrasts with bat [*bæt*]. Hence /*p*/ and /*b*/ are phonemes. Even *sub- minimal pairs* can be used to establish contrasts. For example, *pact* [p^h*ækt*] contrasts with *hat* [*bæt*]. I-Ience /*p*/ and /*b*/ are phonemes.

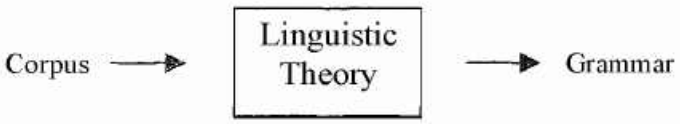
(c) **Free variation** – where units occur in the same environment alongwith no change in meanings. In this case they are variants of the same linguistic unit. For example the word either is pronounced [iðər] or [aiðər]. The change in the first sound does not lead to change in meaning.

These distributional criteria have been developed into an exact axiomatic system and have been responsible for giving American structuralism the name **distributioiialism.**

Distribution of linguistic units was tested by the method of ***substitution*** : replacing one unit under investigation by another known unit in the same environment. and if the substitution can be performed without an essential change in the linguistic context, then both units belong to the same class. For example, in the sentence *John likes bananas, John* can be substituted by Bill, The boy, *My* sister, etc. They therefore, belong to the same category as *John* . i.e. NP (Noun Phrase). Remember

that it cannot be substituted by write (Verb), *smart* (Adjective), *in*(Preposition). Since anti-mentalism characterized the theories of structural linguists in America, American structuralism devoted itself exclusively to a description of the concrete structures of actual sentences with as precise phonetic transcription as possible. There was very little questioning about matters of theory, and the entire emphasis was on methodology of descriptions, on questions such as how forms could be segmented, on how one could know where to segment, i.e. on ***discovery procedure***.

Discovery procedure would mechanically produce a grammatical description based on a 'corpus'. This 'corpus' is the linguist's objective material in which s/he finds out the distribution of the structural elements in order to arrive at the linguistic system, the grammar underlying the corpus. Certain operations on a corpus of data were carried out without any reference to the external signification of linguistic forms. Linguistic theory thus became a strict analytical programme, which, applied to any corpus, will yield an appropriate grammar. The role of a linguistic theory of this type can be outlined in the following way:



Thus, for the American linguists, linguistic analysis was considered a logical calculus leading to the discovery of the basic units of language and their formal arrangement.

2.5.4 Bloomfieldian Methodology

Though the concept of levels was inherent in the traditional linguistics, it was given a new theoktical status and importance under the structural approach. By introducing such a distinction of structure levels, the distributionalists were able to arrive at a higher degree of precision in the grammatical descriptions of language. For example, English adjective category can be more precisely defined as : a word which can stand between the definite article the and a noun and which never takes–s in the plural.

Since the goal of the American linguistics was to 'discover' a grammar by performing a set of operations on a corpus of data, this was to be achieved by following certain order of the levels of grammatical description which is as follows:

i) Phonemics
ii) Morphemics
iii) Syntax
iv) Discourse

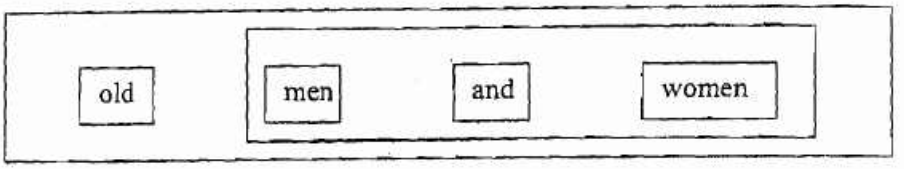
The corpus consists of speech so the first operation is **phonemic.** Blooinfieldians worked out the principle of analysis in the field of phonemics which was based on the of criterion of distribution and exemplified by substitution test.

Since language consists of a string of phonemes which are grouped into minimal recurrent sequences or morphs, hence there is a **morphemic operation.** The procedure for classifying morpks into morphemes was similar to that for classifying phones into phonemes. You will understand these concepts better in later units,

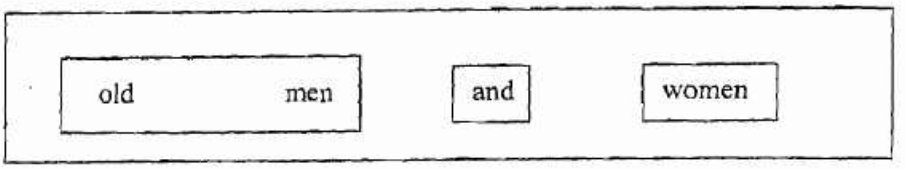
Bloomfieldians most important contribution to the theory of syntax has been the analysis of ***immediate constituents*** **(ICs).** In order to discover the structure of linguistic units, one divides the utterance into two parts, which are in turn divided into two parts, etc. until one arrives at the minimal elements that can no longer be divided using the same criteria. In this way one arrives at the immediate constituents but one does not label them. Thus the phrase old men *and* **women** can be divided as :

Old men and women

1C analysis 1 (meaning: old men and old women)



1C analysis II (meaning: women and old men)



This analysis merely provides a purely formal description without taking the classical grammatical categories (Noun, Verb, etc.) or even the philosophical categories that establish the classical analysis of the sentence (subject, predicate, etc.). The formal analysis proposed by American structuralism nut only helped to reveal the principles by which the structure of a message may be linguistically organized but also offered the possibility of studying languages that do not need logical categories to construct a signifying system. For example, the Chinese language does not need to clarify tense in the verb form or determination by an article, etc.

Since American linguists have had to describe numerous unknown languages, adoption of neutral description for linguistic analysis became necessary. Use of neutral methods relieved them from forming presuppositions on the basis of Indo-European languages and subsequently freed them from Eurocentricism.

Structuralism, of which American structuralism is the extreme fonnalizing tendency, thus, introduced the epistemological break not in explanation but by offering—in accordance with logical positivism—a flat description of language.

Bloomfieldians' insistence on description had, infact, largely emanated from their faithful adherence to empirical conception according to which science has only to describe phenomena. The researchers task would then simply be ***classification*** or ***taxonomy***–a grammar is simply a classification of the segments (phonemes, morphemes, words, word groups) that appear in the utterances of the corpus. The analytical approach to structure has rendered language static – an object without history or the speaking subject,

2.6 LET US SUM UP

In this unit, we have traced the developed of structuralism in Europe and America. We have differentiated between the two versions of structuralism. We have also touched upon important concepts such as paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations, langue and parole and diachronic and synchrionic studies.

In the next unit, we will acquaint you with the Generative point of view in looking at data.

2.7 KEY WORDS

Structuralism: An approach to the study of language which considers a language to be primarily a system of relations - i.e., the place of every element in language (speech sound, word, etc.) is defined by the way it relates to other elements in the language.

Generative Grammar: A particular grammar of a particular language which, in a purely mechanical way, is capable of enumerating all and only the grammatical sentences of that language.

Paradigmatic relation: Any relation between two or more linguistic items or forms which are competing possibilities, in that exactly one of them may be selected to fill some particulars position in a structure.

Syntagmatic relation: A relation between two or more linguistic elements which are simyltaneously present in a single structure.

Langue: In Saussure's classification, language regarded as a system shared by a community of speakers.

Parole: The particular utterances produced by particular speakers on particular occasions.

Diachronic: Pertaining to language change over time. Example, from old English to Middle English to Modem English.

Synchronic: Pertaining to a language at a particular point of a time. Example, studying English now would be a synchronic study of Modem English.

Typology: The classification of language according to their structural features.

Signifier: The form of a linguistic sign

Signified: The meaning of a linguistic sign

Discovery procedure: An explicit mechanical procedure for constructing a grammar from a corpus of data in some language.

Distribution: The list of positions in which particular linguistic items can occur.

Mentalism: The belief that such unobservable phenomena such as mind, thoughts, intentions and mental processes generally are objectively real, and hence they can

reasonably be involved in scientific investigation and be made the object of study.

Behaviourism: An approach in psychology which holds that psychologists should study only observable and measurable yhenornena, and should not appeal to unobservable things like 'mind' and 'intention'.

Sapir-Whorf hypothesis: The hypothesis that the structure of our language significantly affects the way we perceive the world.

Complementary distribution: The relation between two linguistic forms which can never occur in the same environment.

Phoneme: Any basic sound unit found in a particular language, such as /r/, /l/, /e/ in English.

2.8 QUESTIONS

1. Trace the development of structural ism in linguistics.

2. Discuss the difference between the following:

   i. Diachronic and synchronic linguistics
   ii. Syntagmatic and paradigmatic relationships
   iii. Langue and parole

3. What are the main points of difference between American and European structuralism"?

4. Discuss the salient features of American structuralism. Who were its main proponents?

UNIT 3 LOOKING AT DATA-2

Structure

3.0 Objectives
3.1 Formal Linguistics - An Introduction
3.2 Generative Grammar
  3.2.1 Principal Goals
3.3 Generativists and Structuralists
  3.3.1 Generativists and Bloomfieldians
3.4 Tranformational Generative Grammar
3.5 Let Us Sum Up
3.6 Key Words
3.7 Questions
3.8 Suggested Readings

3.0 OBJECTIVES

In this unit, we will discuss

- the Generative framework of grammar
- its differences with the Structuralists

We will also briefly talk about Transformational Generative Grammar.

Some of these ideas may appear difficult but they will be clear to you as you read the course. Don't get discouraged if some concepts appear difficult and complex. They will be clarified as we proceed along.

3.1 FORMAL LINGUISTICS - AN INTRODUCTION

In the early 1950's, signs of restiveness began to disturb the calm of structuralism, and by the end of the decade new ideas emerged in a big way. Chomsky, a student of Zellig Harris was concerned with discovering **a general theory of grammatical structure.** He believed that an **adequate grammar** should provide a basis for explaining how sentences are used and understood. He reproaches the Bloomfieldeans for "their satisfaction with description [and] their refusal to **explain"** (1981:38). According to him, as other 'developing sciences, linguistics should also endeavour to establish a more ambitious goal than mere description and classification. Linguists should aim at developing methods not just for the description of language but also **for understanding the nature of language.** And this was possible only if one takes recourse to **intuition** of native speakers. Intuition had, however, remained a source of discomfiture for Bloomfield. American structuralists have maintained a **Bloomfieldian** mistrust of meaning. They held the opinion that for describing and classifying the forms of expression in a language it was unnecessary – nay misleading to have a knowledge of the meanings. All they considered necessary was to know which utterances are possible, which are ambiguous and which ones are syntactically related to each other. This, they believed, could reduce the dependence on the intuitions of native speakers (which most of them recognized, was unavoidable).

Recognition of **possible** utterances provides a basis for making a formal analysis of language. Making a distinction between several aspects of this "possibility" is

necessary because an utterance may be appropriate in some circumstances and not in others depending upon the situation. An utterance may be wellformed but not acceptable, for acceptability involves wellformedness together with appropriateness to context–linguistic or situational, e.g. an utterance *Colorless green ideas sleep furiously* is completely nonsensical but grammatically correct. Judgements on the wellformedness of expression cannot simply be based on observable occurrences of utterances in the speech of native speakers, As Chonisky points out, the mere occurrence of an utterance, even wellformed, does not make it more representative, because there are countless other possible utterances which may not have occurred during the observation. This makes the recourse to native speakers indispensable. This could not be obtained through discovery procedure. Also, if one were to look into the syntactic relatedness between two sentences, an immediate constituent analysis would fail to tell us anything about an underlying kin relationship between the active and passive voice : Mary *sees George–George is seen by Mary.*

The flaws in the structuralist edifice brought a shift in methodology and orientation in linguistic theory and initiated an all-encompassing theory of language in which the whole assumes primacy over the parts. Intuitions and judgement of native speaker of language became pivotal for revealing the underlying relationship between sentences and parts of sentences. The speaker of a language, not the text or a corpus, was considered a source of all linguistic studies. This creative aspect of language i.e. ability to produce or create 'novel' sentences which s/he might not have heard before became a central concern of language study. Behaviourists' postulate that ***la langue*** is a "system of habits" was replaced by the idealist position of "innate ideas" and the belief that human beings are born with the innate capacity to learn languages. The theories of universal grammar were outlined to account for the creativity and the recursive property in language.

The theory of language which came to be associated with the shift in 'orientation' has been referred to as ***generative grammar.***

3.2 GENERATIVE GRAMMAR

It is the theory of language proposed by Chomsky in his *Syntactic Structures (1957).* It provides a set of finite rules that defines the unlimited number of sentences of the language and associates each with an appropriate grammatical description.

3.2.1 Principal goals

There are two principal goals which underline this theory. These are :

(a) The universal features (i.e. features which are intrinsic to language as a whole) which constitute grammars of individual language should be characterized in formal terms.

(b) Formal statements should be provided for characterizing the grammars of individual languages. This goal is equated with characterizing the tacit knowledge or competence which native speakers have about syntactic, phonological, morphological and semantic patterning in their language. Generative grammar sees the theory of Competence as forming a central component of language which interacts with principles from cognition. neurology, physiology and other domains to give language its overall character.

3.3 GENERATIVISTS AND STRUCTURALISTS

Generative grammar has its roots firmly grounded in the structuralist tradition. Generativists share with structuralists the idea that "the grammar of a language is a

statement of the systematic structural interrelationships holding between linguistic elements" (Newmeyer 1992 : 46). Even Chomsky's notion's of 'competence' and 'performance' are in many ways modem reinterpretations of Saussure's classic distinction between 'langue' and 'parole'. However, there are differences between generativists and structuralists–the most significant being Chomsky's reinterpretation of the goals of linguistic theory. He proposed a novel conception of what a linguistic theory actually addresses. While the structuralists' goal of linguistics was to construct inventories of the linguistic elements in particular languages, alongwith statements of their distributions, Chomsky believed that the goal of linguistics has to be redefined in order to provide a rigorous and formal characterization of a "possible human language" i.e. specification of a universal grammar (UG). This UG is innate to human mind. He has gone to the extent of characterizing linguistics as a branch of cognitive psychology.

3.3.1 Generativists and Bloomfieldians

Generativists had certain differences with Bloomfieldians. Chomsky reacted against the (post-) Bloomfieldian's "separation of level" principle (phonemic, morphemic, etc.), that is, an analytical, structural description that breaks the utterance down into watertight layers. This principle gives functional independence to each level i.e. one need not refer to morphology if one is conducting a phonemic study. Chomsky, however, believes that the opposite is true. Further, Chomsky believes that the post-Bloomfieldian linguistics does not "take the speaker and his role in the constitution of the utterance into account; instead it proposes an empirical description, which claims to be 'neutral' and 'objective', of the spoken chain in itself' (Kristeva 1989: 253).

Nevertheless, generative grammar owes a considerable historical debt to post-Bloomfieldians. Chomsky has been a student of Zellig Harris, one of the leading post-Rloomfieldian, and this certainly had an impact on him. He remained faithful to the post-Bloomfieldian demands of rigor, neutral and formal descriptions, as well as to their mistrust of the meaning (which has led to an emergence of a doctrine that has come to be known as the 'autonomy of syntax'). He took up certain concepts given by his teacher, Harris, his inspired precursor–and gave them a new interpretation (for example, the notion of transformation, which in the sense of Harris is an **inter-**sentential phenomenon, while in Chomskian sense it is an intrasentential phenomenon). He also interpreted many features of the American structuralism in a new fashion , as for example his notion of deep structure could be traced back to Sapir's inner-form. Despite the resemblances to his predecessors, there was an element of novelty in Chomskian theory.

As opposed to post-Bloomfieldian's analytical approach to structure, Chomsky proposed a synthetic description. He believed that instead of breaking down the sentence into immediate constituents, "one should follow the synthetic process that leads these constituents to a syntagmatic structure, or transfonns this structure into another one" (Kristeva 1989 : 253-54).

In this operation, the implicit linguistic intuition of a speaker becomes, according to Chomsky, the only criterion for the grammaticality or ungrammaticality of a sentence. To quote Chomsky: "The fundamental aim in the linguistic analysis of a language L is to separate the grammatical sequences which are the sentences of L from the ungrammatical sequences which are not the sentences of L and to study the structure of the grammatical sequences"(Chomsky 1957:13). Chomsky noticed that the notion of grammaticality could not be identified with that of "meaningful" or "significant" in any semantic sense, as we can see in the following two sentences:

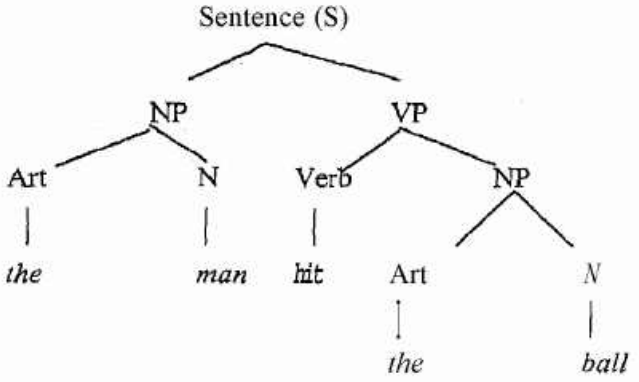
1. ***Colorless green ideas sleep furiously***
2. ***Furiously sleep ideas green colorless***

For an English speaker, while both (1) and (2) are nonsensical, the first is grammatical and the second is not. Chomsky did not suggest "meaningful" to be the criterion for identification because he believed that "semantic theories have not been made sufficiently exact to justify proposing a notion of meaning that could give us a practical way of deciding on the grammatical status of pairs of sentences [given above]" (Dinneen 1967:362). From such considerations Chomsky notes that "we are forced to conclude that grammar is autonomous and independent of meaning" (1957:15 and 19).

Chomsky also devoted himself to looking into the highly abstract theory capable of finding universal formalism valid for all languages "with no specific reference to particular languages" (1957 : 11). He looked at grammar more as a **theory of la langue** leading to a "condition of generality" and less as an empirical description. He believed that the "grammar of a given language must be considered in accordance with the specific theory of linguistic structure in which terms like 'phoneme' and 'syntagm' are defined independently of any particular language" (Kristeva 1989: 255).

How did Chomsky establish the rules of his theory ? He went about doing it by examining two models of grammatical description namely, **finite state grammars** and **phrase structures grammars.** The former bore a close resemblance to the type of device promoted by communication theorists. It was rejected because it could not explain the speaker's ability to produce and understand new utterances. The kind of descriptions which phrase structure grammars provided were identical to of the post - Bloomfieldians' procedures (resembling IC analysis) — the way sentences are broken into parts. The tree diagram is used, but turned upside down, since the progression is from the sentence to the parts, as in case of the following sentences : ***the*** *man hit the ball* shown in Figure–1.

Fig. 1
Step-I



Here the step (I) basically gives a summary diagram. There are two other steps also which can be applied on the same sentence.

Step-II

(i) Sentence ——————> NP + VP
(ii) NP——————>(Art)+ N
(iii)VP——————>V + (NP)
(iv) **Art** (article) ——————>***the***
(v) N (noun)——————>*man, ball*
(vi) V (verb) ——————>***hit***

Step-III

Sentence
NP + VP (i)
Art+N+VP (ii)

Art+N+V+NP	(iii)
The +N+V+NP	(iv)
The+man+V+NP	(v)
The+man+hit+NP	(vi)
The+man+hit+Art+N	(vii)
The+man+hit+the+N	(viii)
The+man+hit+the+ball	(ix)

Here the steps (II) and (III) respectively, provide a grammatical analysis and information regarding derivation.

Chomsky himself rejected this type of grammatical description, as he realized that it was inadequate for describing the structure of English sentences. By means of several examples he showed the limitations of phrase structure grammars.

The first example of the weakness inherent in phrase structure grammars can be seen in the ordinary formation of new sentence by conjunctions. If one had two sentences Z+X+W and Z+Y+W, and if X and Y are the "constituents" of these sentences, one could in principle form a new sentence, such as :

Z-X+and+Y-W.

e.g. 1 (i) (a) The scene–of the movie–was in Chicago
(b) The *scene–of* the play-was in Chicago
(ii)(c) The *scene–of* the movie and *of* the play–was in Chicago.

If, however, X and Y ***are not*** the constituents, then the formula cannot be applied, for it would produce, for example :

2 (i) (a) The *–liner* sailed down the–river
(b) The–tugboat chugged up the–river
(ii)(c) The–linersailed down the and the tugboat chugged up *the* –river.

It is clear from the above examples (i) and (ii) that in order to apply syntagmatic rules to a language like English, one needs to know not only the final shape of sentences but also the structure of their constituents at the time of application i.e. the "history of derivation"(p37).

Similar weaknesses in phrase structure grammar may be seen when attempting to deal with fonns of the verbs other than the simple forms produced by rewriting rules like Verb——> hit or take, since we may be required to have in other contexts, forms like takes, *has+taken, will+take*, and so on. Limitations may also be seen in the treatment of the active–passive relation, statements and questions, emphatic utterances (*I did* tell them) and unemphatic ones (I told them) and so on.

The inadequacies of the phrase structure grammars for a language like English demand incoporating new rules into it. But doing that completely changes the conception of the linguistic structure. Hence the concept of a "grammatical transformation" was proposed by Chomsky, which he formulated as : "a grammatical trasformation T operates on a given string (or. . . on a set of strings) with a given constituent structure and converts it into a new sting with a new derived constituent structure" (1957:44). This introduction of the concept of a transformation has led to referring to the entire formal approach as ***Transformational Generative Grammar.***

3.4 TRANSFORMATIONAL GENERATIVE GRAMMAR–1957 MODEL

A transformation is a way of specifying, by rule, the relationships between sentence types. Transformations perform two types of functions:

(a) They change underlying grammatical relations, as in the case of passives which are derived from actives, for example. *John saw Jill——>Jill was seen by John.* Since the relationship applies to the syntactic elements, not just to these particular words, it may be algebraically expressed as :

NP1+Aux+V+NP2———>NP2+Aux+be+*en*+V+*by*+NP1

This may be verbalized as : The two noun phrases exchange places, with *by* placed before the one that now comes last. The tense (Aux) remains the same (past *saw* matches past *saw),* but a form of be is inserted and the verb takes its past participle (en) form : *was seen* by applying the *Affix hopping rules.* under which the affix moves to a place immediately after the V.

These transformations are referred to as singularly (simple) transformations. They include transformations like Passive, Auxilliary, Negative.

(b) As a second function, transformations create complex sentences out of simple ones, as in the case of embedding, e.g. the sentence *John thinks that Bill will leave* was derived by an embedding transformation that combined *John thinks* and *Bill will leave.*

These transformations are referred to as generalized (double-based) transformations.

In formulating the principle of transformational grammar, Chomsky clarified essential properties of transformations, for example, the order in which these transformations are applied. Two types of rule ordering were identified – *Extrinsic ordering* and *Intrinsic ordering.* The former explicitly specifies the order in which the rules must be applied, while in the latter the ordering is a consequence of the way in which the rules are stated. Chomsky further argued that at least some transformations had to be *strictly ordered* with respect to each other in the grammar i.e. transformation rules are lined up in a certain order. For example, reflexivization must apply before 'you' deletion:

(a) Reflexivization
(b) 'you' deletion

Where there are identical NPs in the same sentence, the second NP is changed into reflexive by applying rule (a):

NP_1		NP_1	
You	hang	you	You hang yourself
Then rule (b) is applied to arrive at			⟶
Hang yourself			

If the order is changed, it will result in giving a sentence 'hang you' and then there is no way of reflexivizing 'you'.

He also pointed out that some transformations are 'obligatory while others are optional. The Auxiliary transformation and the Do transformation are obligatory while passives, negatives, imperatives, Wh-and yes-no questions are optional. Sentences that are produced by applying obligatory transformations are called kernel strings while the sentences obtained by applying optional transformations are called derived.

With regard to the question of grammar and meaning, Chomsky felt that "grammar is autonomous and independent of meaning" (1957:17). However, his insistence on the independence of grammar of meaning is not in tune with post-Bloomfieldian

structuralism. He was clear that the question of the relation of grammar and meaning is an empirical one and he gave many examples to illustrate his position. Nevertheless, the role of syntax remains crucial in determining the meaning. This can be seen in case of handling ambiguity and paraphrases, which are semantic notions. The ambiguity of the sentences, according to him, can easily be resolved by transformational description by merely reestablishing the transformational rules that produced it. To quote Chomsky : ". . . if a certain sentence S is ambiguous, we can test the adequacy of a given linguistic theory by asking whether or not the simplest grammar constructible in terms of this theory for the language in question automatically provides distinct ways of generating the sentence S" (1957 :123).

Thus, the Chomskian approach offered a dynamic vision of syntagmatic structure that was missing in structural grammar. It also eliminated the atomization of la langue that accompanied post -Bloomfieldian methods. Instead, it suggested a processual conception of **la** langue in which "each sequence of rules stems from a coherent whole centered on the consciousness of the subject – locuter whose freedom consists of submitting to the norms of grammaticality" (Kristeva 1989:259).

You will read more on Chomskyan linguistics in Block 5.

3.5 LET US SUM UP

In this unit, we gave you another point of view from that of the structuralist-behaviourist. .We gave you the reasons for the dissatisfaction with the structuralists. We discussed the main points of generative framework, and its differences from the structuralists.

We have given you several examples and used some technical terminology. Do not be intimidated by it. You will understand all that is discussed by the time you finish the course.

3.6 KEY WORDS

Intuition: **A** judgement which you make about your own language (whether something is grammatical or not), what it means, whether it is ambiguous or not, how it is related to something else, and so on.

Well-formed: The state of being grammatical. A well-formed sentence in a language is a sentence which is consistent with all the grammatical rules of that language. However well-formedness includes acceptability and appropriacy.

Behaviourism: An approach to psychology which holds that psychologists should study only observable and measurable phenomena, and should not appeal to unobservable things like 'minds' and 'intentions'. Leonard Bloomfield and the American structuralists were much influenced by behaviourist ideas, but ever since **Noam** Chomsky's devastating critique

of B.F. **Skinner's** behaviourist account of **language acquisition,** linguists have generally rejected behaviourism in favour of **mentalism.**

Bloomfield, Leonard:

A distinguished and influential American linguist (1887-1949). Trained in historical linguistics, Bloomfield did important work on Germanic and Austroneasian languages. and his famous work on Algonquian languages pioneered the application of the comparative method to native-American languages. His 1933 book *Language* revolutionized linguistic thinking and his ideas were developed by his colleagues and successors into **American structuralism**, which dominated the American linguistic scene until about 1960.

Generative grammar:

1. A particular grammar of a particular language which, in a purely mechanical way, is capable of enumerating all and only the grammatical sentences of that language. Generative gramar in this sense was introduced by **Noam Chomsky** in the 1950s.

2. Any theory of grammar which has as its goal the construction of such grammars.

3. The enterprise of constructing such theories of grammar.

Universal language:

Any property which is present in all languages or in nearly all languages example: all languages distinguish nouns & verbs.

Competence:

An idealisation of a speaker's knowledge of her/his language, excluding such factors as slips of tongue, memory limitations or distractions.

Phonology:

Pertaining to the sound system.

Morphology:

Pertaining to word-formation

Semantics:

Pertaining to meaning

Performance:

The actual linguistic behaviour of particular individuals on particular occasions, including any hesitations, memory lapses, slips of the tongue or processing difficulties arising from long or complex structures.

Universal Grammar (UG):

The hypothetical structural properties which are necessarily common to all human languages, both real and possible, presumably because these properties are part of the human **language faculty.** The tenn **is**

particularly associated with the work of **Noam Chomsky** and his followers; not all linguists are convinced that UG exists.

Transformation: In a **formal grammar,** a type of grammatical rule which has the power to change the structure of a sentence which is being generated by the grammar, for example by deleting something or by moving it to a different position.

Transformational grammar (TG): A theory of grammar developed by Noam **Chomsky** in the 1950s and extensively modified by Chomsky and others in the succeeding decades.

3.7 QUESTIONS

1. What is the difference between the Generativists and the Structuralists? In what ways have the Generativists made advancements on the Structuralists?

2. "The relationship between the **signifier** and the signified is arbitrary". Are there any exceptions to this rule? Think of some words in English and your mother tongue in which the **relationship** between the **signifier** and the signified is not arbitrary, but is based an some similarity between them,

3. 'Noun is the name of a person, place or thing' Do you think that this definition is adequate? What about the words like investigation, division, congratulation? Are they the name of a person, place or thing? The Struturalist approach to language provides a better alternative definition. Can you define noun using its distributional pattern in language?

3.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

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UNIT 4 LANGUAGE AND THOUGHT

Structure

4.0 Objectives
4.1 Introduction
4.2 The Linguistic Sign
4.3 Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis
4.4 Language- independent Thought
4.5 Let Us Sum Up
4.6 Suggested Readings

4.0 OBJECTIVES

The primary objective of this unit is to examine the relationship between language and thought. This is an extremely complex questian and our understanding about its different dimensions is not particularly clear. The purpose of this unit is ta start a discyssion in this important area. After you have read this Unit, and some suggested readings given at the end, you should be able to examine some of the follawing questions more meaningfully: Are language and thought two completely independent entities? Do you think without language also? Is all thought ultimately language dependent? Is it the case that we have language at some abstract level which is completely independent of thought? What is really involved when we for example use the word 'chair'? What does the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis say about the relationship between language and thought? What docs modem linguistic theory say about it? Do animals think? Da they have a language in some sense? Not much *is* known about these questions. If we can create an interest in you about these issues, we will indeed be happy.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

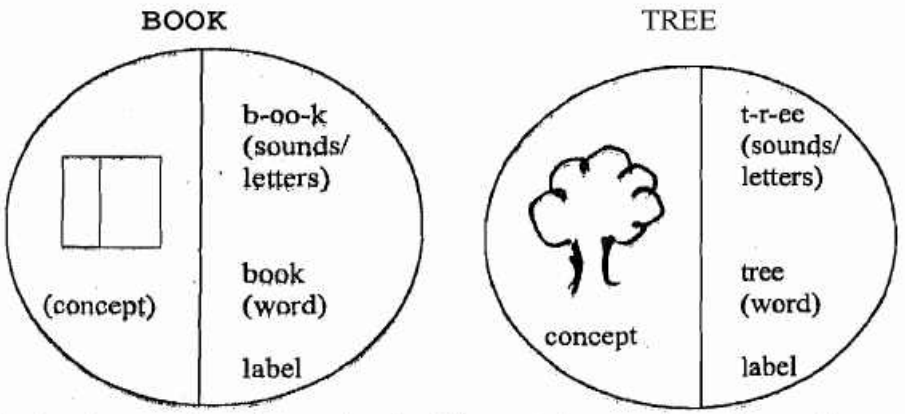
We often come across contradictory viewpoints about the relationship between language and thought. The issue has been examined for centuries form different perspectives including those of philosophy, biology, linguistics, psychology and logic. Some people believe that language is primary and makes thought possible. It is absalutely central to our thought processes, It nat only helps us to understand the thoughts of other people and express our own but also structures our thoughts in a variety of very complex ways. We see what our language tells us to see and we express our thoughts in ways that are allowed by our language, Language in this sense is constitutive of thought and defines the limits of our thought. This we may regard as the **cognitive view of lanpage.** According to several other people. though comes first, Language is only a tool for expression, a means of communication, In this **communicative view of language,** language is seen merely as a conduit through which thoughts are articulated. Thoughts and ideas exist independent of language. It is also claimed that a variety of thought is possible without language. Several important human activities including sculpture, dance, music, painting, etc, involve some of our highest thoughts but may be completely independent of **our lauguage.** It is possible to argue that dance and music have their own language but it may be significantly different from natural human language which is rooted in a pairing of a lexicon with a set of syntactic rules. Again, many people will argue that dogs and cats have emotions, understanding and thought. They may also have some kind of language but as compared to human language it is extremely limited in a variety of wavs. In this unit, we will examine the relationship between language and thought

from both the communicative and cognitive perspectives. It is possible that there is an element of truth in both these positions because nobody will deny an intimate relationship between language and thought. It is possible that the human mind is actually structured in terms of a large number of independent, though interactive, modules.

4.2 THE LINGUISTIC SIGN

There is no doubt that many of our concepts and words are closely tied. When we use the word chair, we also have in mind the corresponding image of a chair, let us say the concept CHAIR. The concept of a chair must be an extremely complex feature matrix that would include features like four legs, a seat, made of wood, steel etc., used for sitting, with a back etc. Whenever we see a new chair, we don't have to coin a new word to talk about it. We use the word ***chair.*** Notice that this naming relationship is arbitrary. A community is free to choose any word for any concept but once chosen it cannot be easily separated from the concept for which it stands. Thus for the object 'chair', Hindi speakers do not choose chair; they call it ***kursii.*** But then every time a Hindi speaker sees a 'chair', be says *kursii* and not *peR* which is the Hindi word for 'tree'. This pairing of the label and the concept gives us what is known as the **linguistic sign,** The concept/thought of a chair, the sounds used to utter that word and the actual abject 'chair' must constitute one single entity – a linguistic sign,

The concept of the linguistic sign was given by the famous linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1923). According to him, the pairing of word-labels and meaning-concepts produce a system of signs, Each sign consists of two parts: a signifier i,e. a label and a signified i.e. the concept, It is important to note that the actual sign is not one or the other or both; the sign is the association that binds the label and the concept together. In the pictures below, we give visual illustrations of the signs for 'tree' and 'book',



Notice that the sounds or letters involved in speaking or writing the words tree and *book* have nothing to do with the objects 'tree' and 'book'; any other set of sounds would do just as well. Hindi speakers, for example, use the sequence p-e-R for the object 'tree' and the sequence k-i-t-aa-b for the object 'book'. However, once these correspondences are established, they acquire a fairly permanent place in out minds. We often wonder how we would function if we did not develop this important mechanism, Imagine how you would feel if you were to coin a new word every time you see a new chair. And then different people in the same community may coin very different words for the same object and it may become impossible to talk to each other. If I want to talk to you, then we must share not only the same words but also the concepts these words denote. According to Saussure,

Just as it is impossible to take a pair of scissors and cut one side of paper without at the same time cutting the other, so it is impossible in a language to separate sound from thought, or thought from sound.

The concept of the linguistic sign is often used to suggest that our thoughts are entirely formed by our language. Hindi speakers have only one word *barf* for the object for which English speakers have at least two i.e. ice and snow; and Eskimos have more than twenty. So speakers of Hindi, English and Eskimo languages perhap see the world very differently and their perceptions are conditioned by their languages. Does everyone see the same number and kinds of colours? Do two different communities living in the same environment classify and categorize the flora and fauna around them in the same way? Is there only one 'Reality' there? Or i it the case, that different languages produce different versions of external reality? What happens to people who know and use many languages at the same time?

4.3 SAPIR-WHORF HYPOTHESIS

The relationship between language and our perception of reality and its representatio in the human mind was explored by the famous anthropological linguist Edward Sapir (1994-1939) and his student Benjamin Lee Whorf (1897-1941). The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis named after them has two aspects: **linguistic relativity and linguistic determinism.** The principle of linguistic relativity says that different people see the world in different ways; some people see only one kind of water, others may see five different kinds of water and therefore feel the need for having five different words for different kinds of water. One community may be happy with 'uncle' and 'aunt' while another may have ten different words in this domain of kinship words. There is thus no natural or absolute way of labelling the world around us. According to the theory of linguistic determinism, language provides the framework for our thoughts and it is impossible to think outside this frame, Sapir felt that people were at the mercy of their language. He said:

It is quite an illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language and that language is merely an incidental means of solving specific problems of communication or rejection. The fact of the matter is that the 'real world' is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group.....We see and hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretations.

(Sapir 1929: 207)

According to Whorf,

We dissect nature along lines laid down by our native languages The categories and types that we isolate from the world ofphenomena we do not find there because they stare every observer in the face; on the contrary, the world is presented in a kaleidoscopic flux of impressions which has to be organized by our minds-,and this means largely by the linguistic systems in our minds. We cut nature up, organize it into concepts, and ascribe significances as we do, largely because we are parties to an agreement to organize it in this way – an agreement that holds throughout our speech community and is codified in the patterns of our language. The agreement is, of course, an implicit and unstated one, but its terms are absolutely obligatory; we cannot talk at all except by subscribing to the organization and classification of data which the agreement decrees.

(in Carroll 1956: 21

Notice that whereas Sapir rather carefully talks in terms of only 'predisposing' speakers of a language to the outside reality and the corresponding thought patterns, Whorf uses expressions such as 'absolutely obligatory' and the linguistic agreement

'decreeing' the structure of our talk, Whorf s claim was largely based on his experience as a fire prevention engineer and the analysis of some American Indian languages, in particular, Hopi. As a fire engineer, he noticed that the behaviour of fire workers was conditioned by their use of the words 'empty' and 'full'. They regarded gasoline drums 'full' only when they had liquid in them. They would happily smoke beside 'empty' drums, which were actually 'full' of gas vapour, thus causing fire. Whorf felt that the world is seen, understood and analyzed in terms of the linguistic patterns of the speaker's language. His work on Hopi showed that the structure of typical European languages such as English, French or German was completely different from Hopi and this explained the different ways in which the two communities saw the reality around them. He found that in most languages it was common to understand abstract notions and experiences through using concrete metaphors. For example, we talk about 'grasping an idea', 'moving a debate' or 'embrace an idea' etc. Hopi does not follow the same pattern. Again, most European languages analyze time in terms of present, past and future. This conceptualization of time can be represented as:

The past----------now----------the future

In this system, the past is over and done with, the present is happening now and the future is yet to come. But the Hopi people see the world as essentially a process; objects and events are not discrete and countable; time is not segmented into fixed categories and measured in units of minutes, hours and days. According to Whorf, Hopi contains no words or expressions or grammatical categories that refer directly to what we call time; there is perhaps no general notion of time as flowing from the past through the present to the future. Rather, the Hopi speakers appeared to focus on change and process itself; they appeared to Whorf to be more concerned with the distinctions between the presently known, the mythical and what should possibly happen in the future.

Many people have found the Sapir-Whorfian hypothesis very attractive; they feel that language determines their thought patterns in important ways. In more recent times, philosophers like Wittgenstein and Davidson have enriched the cognitivist position in a variety of ways. It is suggested that no other species matches human beings in the complexity, rationality and sophistication of thought and no other species has language like the one we have; this uniqueness is possible only if we believe that it is only language that makes thought possible. The physical and mental activity of most animals is restricted to seeking food and sex, rearing their young ones and protecting themselves from predators. Even the most painstakingly trained dogs and cats display a finite number of responses and behaviour of any significant complexity. But human beings, in addition to all the above, do Physics nd Mathematics, make ships and space shuttles of increasing complexity, explore genetic mappings, write poems and create music et. Some may argue that this is possible because of some abstract intelligence. But this according to the cognitive view is calling water H_2O. It does not explain anything. It is language that makes thought possible.

In any case, there is no doubt that language is extremely important for our thoughts. As Russell says, it is unnecessary to prolong the catalogue of the uses of language in thought. As compared to images, we produce words easily to articulate our thoughts and listen to them effortlessly to understand others. If we did not have words and sentences, abstract images will almost be impossible to comprehend. Language provides a stable system. Every time people say 'tree', they mean the same object, although their pronunciations may be significantly different. We always need words to recall or describe an image, a thought or an event in our memory.

4.4 LANGUAGE-INDEPENDENT THOUGHT

But as we noted above there are many scholars who believe that language and thought are quite different things and that language is only one system for

communicating thoughts and ideas. According to Pinker (1994:57), the idea that thought is the same thing as language is an example of what may be called a . 'conventional absurdity'. It is of course a truism to say that language helps us to articulate our thoughts, ideas and images. But the amount of mental activity that takes place independent of language must be substantial and significant. Imagine an ordinary person who has just moved house; his/her household goods including his/her furniture, etc. are lying outside, all in a pile; s/he enters the living room, then the bed rooms, kitchen, toilet, etc. s/he examines the spaces available in different rooms and figures out where s/he would keep hisker beds, washing machine, dryer, sofas, etc. S/he suddenly notices the comer where s/he can keep the TV and the big table lamp. Immense mental activity is going on but there is no language involved here.

Consider as another example the case of translation from one language to another. If thought independent of language were not possible, perhaps no translation will ever be possible. For a translator, it should be possible to somehow code thoughts expressed in the source language independent of both the source and the target languages.

Again, there are a large number of people in the' world who acquire two or three languages as their native languages. For example, in Delhi, it is possible to find thousands of people who may be equally proficient in say Punjabi, Hindi and English. What is the relationshipof language and thought in their minds? It seems obvious that there must be several domains in which he/she will have three different words, for a single concept, presumably stored independent of different languages.

Again, if we were really prisoners of the words of our language, how shall we ever create new words. But we do it all the time. Consider the recent words such as *fax*, camcorder, *email,* wireless, web, hoover, etc. Although all great poetry is coded in 'language', there are many poems where we get a distinct feeling that a lot more than linguistic activity is going on. Consider Yeats for example,

An aged man is but a paltry thing,
A tattered coat upon a stick, unless
Soul clap its hands and sing, and louder sing
For every tatter in its mortal dress,
(From 'Sailing to Byzantium')

or T.S.Eliot in Little Gidding II

Ash on an old man's sleeve
Is all the ash the burnt roses leave.
Dust in the air suspended
Marks the place where a story ended.

Coleridge's *Kubla* Khan as you know was created in a dream and leaves the dream-like impact on anybody who reads the poem:

Weave a circle round him thrice,
And close your eyes with holy dread,
For he on honey–dew hath fed,
And drunk the milk of paradise.

Or consider the old man's reply to Alice when she asked him who are you, aged man and how is it you live?

He said 'I look for butterflies
That sleep among the wheat:
I make them into mutton-pies,
And sell them in the street,

I sell them unto men,; he said,
'who sail on stormy seas;
and that's the way I get my bread –
a trifle, if you please.'

The mental landscape that produces such lines in every language must consist of a lot more than just language.

Again, we often find people saying : I know exactly what I have in mind but I can't find the words to say it; or, that's not what I meant at all though that's exactly what I said. Such statements are possible only if we can maintain a disjunction between language and thought. We may also note that it is not just poets, painters or dancers who think in terms of images. Many scientists, mathematicians, geometers and astronomers also do. Let us turn to Pinker (1994:71) again:

Physical scientists are even more adamant that their thinking is geometrical, not verbal. Micheal Faraday, the originator of our modern conception of electric and magnetic fields, had no training in mathematics but arrived at his insights by visualizing lines of force as narrow tubers curving through space. James Clerk Maxwell formalized the concepts of electromagnetic fields in a set of mathematical equations and is considered the prime example of an abstract theoretician, but he set down the equations only after mentally playing with elaborate imaginary models of sheets and fluids....The most famous self-described visual thinker is Albert Einstein, who arrived at some of his insights by imagining himself riding a beam of light and looking back at a clock.

4.5 LET US SUM UP

There are thus diametrically opposed views about the relationship between language and thought. At the one extreme end we have the view that thought is language; at the other extreme we have the view that thought is independent of language. There is no doubt that language conditions our thinking in a very substantial way. We internalize a considerable part of our conceptual world and knowledge through language. We should also note that for most people language is the only frequently used medium of articulating thoughts and ideas. On the other hand, we also need to recognize that a lot of language independent thought is possible and that language-independent thought is at the source of a considerable part of normal human activity and of poetry, mathematics and science.

4.6 SUGGESTED READINGS

Thomas,L. and Wareing, S. eds. 1999. *Language, Society and Power.* London: Routledge.

Vygotsky, L.S.1978. *Mind in Society: The Development of Higher Psychological Processes.* Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press.

Pinker, S. 1994. *The Language Instinct: How the Mind Creates Languages.* New York; Harper Perennial.

Carruthers, P. and Boucher, J.eds. 1998 *Language and Thought.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Russell, B.1992. *The Analysis of Mind.* London: Routledge.

4.7 QUESTIONS

1. Find a friend whose mother tongue is entirely different from yours (e.g. if your mother tongue is Hindi, find a friend whose mother tongue is Tamil or French etc.). Make a list of colour terms in your language. Elicit the equivalents from your friend in her mother tongue. Examine the viability of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis.

2. Take a short poem from your language and translate it into English. Comment on the process of your translation.

3. Examine critically a situation in which you worked largely in terms of images for which your language does not have single words.

U.P. Rajarshi Tandon Open University, Prayagraj

MAEN-112
Aspects of Language

Block

2

A HISTORY OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE

Block Introduction

UNIT 1
An Introduction 45

UNIT 2
Changes in Sounds and Spelling 56

UNIT 3
Changes in Vocabulary 66

UNIT 4
Changes in Grammar 81

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INTRODUCTION TO THE BLOCK

This course is about the origin, change and formation of the English language. Speakers of a language have an illusion of changelessness of language, as they have of life. But language like life , like the human body, is changing all the time, though we may not be aware at all of the imperceptible changes that are taking place. It is important, however, to know of the changes because those changes, like sediments , constitute the substratum and, therefore a part of the total living reality of a language.

So we will study the story of English, its origin, growth and maturity.

These blocks will have four units:

1. An Introduction
2. Changes in Sounds and Spelling
3. Changes in Vocabulary
4. Changes in Grammar

Let me briefly tell you what will be discussed in each of these units.

Unit 1 An Introduction

In this, we will describe different approaches to the study of the history of a language.

We will then briefly consider the sources for the study of language history and then look at the origins of English in terms of the language to which it belongs. We will then describe what according to scholars are the major phases in the growth of English. In each phase, we will look at the external events that have influenced the language and broadly refer to the changes that took place as a consequence of those influences.

Units 2 and 4

In this unit, we will say that change is a fundamental property of language. It is noticed over a period of time; change over space is recognised as variation and it is possible that it is variation that leads to change. We will note that it is the language sound system that undergoes the maximum change which is another way of saying that change occurs basically, and first, in speech. We will note that, relatively fewer changes take place in grammar even over long stretches of time. The Grammatical system, in other words, is the stable core of a language. English grammar has also changed, though in a limited way and we will sketch those changes.

Unit 3

In this unit, we will take up the changes that have taken place in the English vocabulary over the last 1500 years, that is, since this language first becomes recognisable as *Anglo-Saxon*. Over this period, the character of English word-stock changed from what may be called Germanic to partly Romance. Three kinds of things we have to consider - the increase of vocabulary through borrowing from different sources, formation and coinage of new words and compounds, and changes in the meanings of words.

A lot of technical words have been used in this block. We suggest that you re-read these units after going through the entire course. Also, please do not be intimidated by the technical vocabulary.

Please read this entire block like a story. This block will help you understand the making of the English language and to some extent English Literature.

UNIT 1 AN INTRODUCTION

Structure

1.0 Objectives
1.1 Approaches and Sources
1.2 Origin of English
1.3 Emergence to Consolidation
1.4 Three Periods: the Making of English
1.5 Let Us Sum Up
1.6 Key Words
1.7 Reading List
1.8 Questions

1.0 OBJECTIVES

We want you to understand that

1. we can study the history of a language in more than one way;
2. there is something like 'a language family' and that English belongs to a particular family of languages;
3. over a period of time many changes take place in a language, these changes are of different kinds, and
4. when we distance ourselves from the actual incidence and sequence of changes, it is possible to see broad **phases** in the history of a language, stages in which a language is recognisably different.

Some of the vocabulary used may appear technical. We suggest that you re-read these units after going through the entire course.

1 . APPROACHES AND SOURCES

What is 'history of a language'? To ask a still more basic question - what is 'history'? The Oxford English Dictionary defines history as,

i. 'A relation of incidents (... only of those professedly true.)'

ii. 'A written narrative constituting a continuous methodical record , in order of time, of important or public events, especially those connected with a particular country, people, individual, etc.'

iii. 'The formal record of the past, especially of human affairs or actions.'

History, therefore, is a re-telling of what actually happened in the past, of incidents connected with something, in this case language,

Now there are two ways of looking at the 'incidents', at the events and changes, that happened in the past in relation to the English language : (a) internal, and (b) external. In the internal history, we consider language as an autonomous system, subject to change and evolution and we examine the changes in the structure and the

word-stock of the language without a necessary reference to the external causes (events or circumstances). Language itself is seen as a kind of organism with its own laws of change. Thus, for example, the pronunciation or the sound values of a language are bound to change over a period of time on account of the fact that the language is spoken by so many different people. In the ***external*** history, on the other hand, such changes in the sound system are seen as consequences of contact with some other language or languages. The primary interest is the external events and factors - situations of language contact and changing functions - changes in the language are seen as results of these events and factors. These two approaches, however, are not essentially different; the difference is only one of emphasis.

What are the sources for the history of a language? Documents, i.e., written records such as chronicles including general histories , histories of and dictionaries of language, books about different aspects of language and minor records such as inscriptions and coins. The chronicles give information about the external history ; a comparative study of literature and minor records spread over long periods of time shows the internal changes that have taken place in language.

The Ecclesiastical History of the English People written in Latin by Venerable Bede (a Christian priest) around 730 is the earliest, and among the most valuable histories and is our source for the early settlement history of England, the coming of St.Augustine in 597 and the conversion of England to Christianity. **The Parker Chronicle** which describes the 755 battle at Merton in Surrey in which King Cynewulf was slain is "the oldest historical prose in any Germanic language". Robert Cawdrey's **A Table Alphabetical** is the first all-English dictionary which appeared in 1604. Dr.Johnson's celebrated dictionary coded words and their spellings in 1755. **The New English Dictionary on Historical Principles** which appeared from 1884 to 1928 (and was revised and reprinted with a supplement as **The Oxford English Dictionary** in 1933) comprehensively listed the words with their etymology and their attested changing meanings with documentary evidence. John Walker produced in 1791 **A Critical Pronouncing Dictionary** based on the precept that the best pronunciation is one that accords with spellings. Daniel Jones in 1917 published the **English Pronouncing Dictionary** " to record the pronunciation used by a considerable number of typical Southern English people in ordinary conversation".

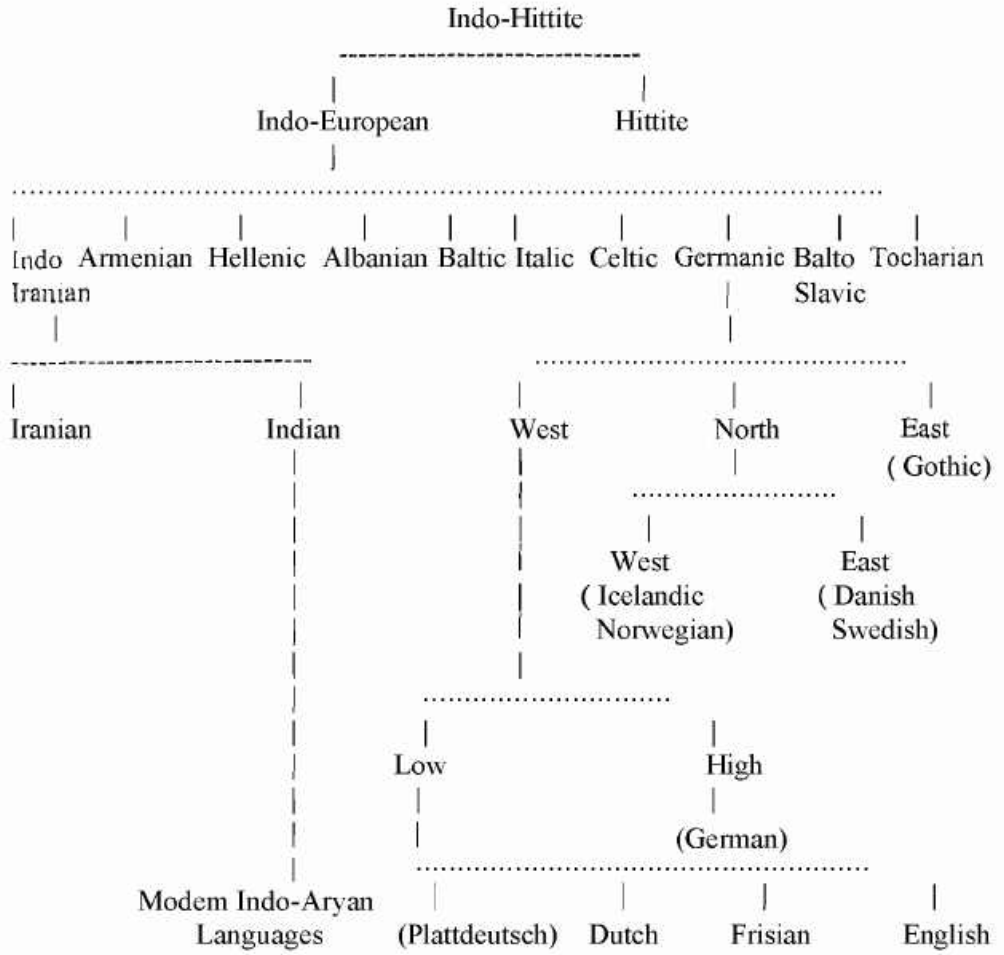
The poetry of Chaucer (mid 15th c.), of Shakespeare (early 16th c.), of Dryden and Pope (late 17th, early 18th c.), of Wordsworth (early 19th c.), of Eliot and Yeats (20th c.) and the prose of Tyndale (16th c.) , of King James Bible (1611), Of Addison 18th c.), of Coleridge and Carlyle (1 9th c.), of Bertrand Russell and Whitehead (20th c.) are some of the major literary documents that attest the changes that have contributed to the formation of modem English .

In the twentieth century, there has been a great interest in the history of English, which according to A.C.Baugh is " a cultural subject" (1973: 1). Two early studies, Henry Bradley's **The Making of English** (1904) and Otto Jesperson's **Growth and Structure of the English Language (1905),** "are still the most stimulating"

1.2 ORIGINS OF ENGLISH

Let us first look at the origins of the English language.

A language is the speech of a people. The history of a language is ,therefore, the history of a people. English perhaps started as the speech of some Germanic tribes in Europe and through a series of changes brought about by migrations, invasions, conversions, settlement and colonisation assumed its present *avatara.* The Germanic speech group itself constitutes a branch of the Indo-European family of languages:



This diagram shows the nine main branches of the Indo-European family of languages. The diagram shows only lines of descent. There are many inter-relations due to borrowing among branches and sub-branches of the sub-families of languages which could be shown by criss-crossing lateral / horizontal lines. .

The diagram shows the sub-branches of only the Germanic branch and the place of English in this sub-family. It also shows the corresponding place of Modem Indo-Aryan languages, e.g. Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, Panjabi, etc.

What is the meaning of a *family of languages*? What is this Indo-European *family* of languages? Languages which show some commen features, some shared properties, arc said to belong to 'one family'. It is assumed that such systematic similarities cannot be accidental; these siinilarities are there because the concerned languages have 'descended' from a common 'parent'. That is, at some point of time, there was a language spoken over a given geographical area which over a period of time broke up, fragmented, into a number of 'sibling' varieties. With the passage of time these varieties become sufficiently different from each other to be considered as separate *languages*. Consider for example the modern Indo-Aryan and the Dravidian group of languages of India. The Indo-Aryan languages **of** the great northern plains: languages such as Punjabi , Gujarati, Marathi, Bengali and even Pushto have many features in common - sounds, words and even elements of grammar. So they are all said to belong to the Indo-Aryan family. The same holds true for Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, and Kannada as members of the Dravidian **language family.** The Indo-Aryan languages in turn, show similarities with the Iranian family. At a higher level, they belong to one ancestral family - the Indo-Iranian. Establishing this relationship at a higher level, is another way of saying that farther back in time, there was one language, designated by us as 'Indo-Iranian', which fragmented into varieties which

in turn have developed over a long period of time into the modem Iranian and Indian languages.

It is the process of break-up of a language into varieties and sub-varieties, languages and sub-languages which leads to the situation of a number of different languages having many systematic resemblances. Such languages are described as a 'family' and just as members of a human family show varying degrees of relatedness, have specified relationships and have common ancestors at different generation levels and, ultimately, a common ancestor, so do languages. In this sense Indo-European is the 'ancestor 'of a very large number of languages spoken today in Asia and Europe.

An interesting question is - why do languages continuously break up and fragment into different dialects, sub-dialects, varieties and other languages? The reason lies perhaps in the fact that so many persons, millions, in fact, speak a language under varying conditions and in different situations. This is the cause of what may be called *natural change.* Languages also start changing when they come in *contact* with each other. The third reason of language change is *geographical division or separation. As* a result of all this, the most self-evident fact about language is that people talk differently. This *synchronic variation* (existing at a given time) leads to *historical change* and change leads to *split,* a process which produces a number of languages related to each other in different degrees of closeness or affinity and constituting a *family.* However, when we "discuss the so-called language families...we must bear in mind that a language is not born, nor does it die except when every single one of its speakers dies , as has happened to Etruscan, Gothic, Cornish, and a good many other languages. [When we speak of Latin or Sanskrit as a dead language, we are referring to the literary l textual language; but spoken Latin still lives in various developments in Italian, French, Spanish and the other Romance languages and Sanskrit in Hindi, Punjabi, Marathi and other Indo-Aryan languages]

Hence the terms *family, ancestor, parent,* and other genealogical expressions when applied to languages must be regarded as no more than metaphors. Languages are developments of older languages rather than descendants in the sense in which people are descendants of their forefathers" Thomas Pyle (1964:65). The ancestor language,Indo-European in this case, is reconstructed on the basis of the data of existing languages and the attested documents that are available of the classical languages. This *proto-language* is called *Indo-European.*

It may be noted that this idea of one language as the 'common source', in fact the whole discipline of historical and comparative study of languages was made possible by the discovery and study of Sanskrit by the western scholars in the late 18th and the 19th centuries, the most famous of whom was Sir William Jones.

Are there any *Non-Indo-European languages* or language groups? Yes - a very large number: Semitic (Hebrew, Arabic among others); Hamitic (Berber languages of North Africa) ; Dravidian (Tamil, Telugu,Kannada,Malayalam); Indo-Chinese (Chinese, Japanese, etc.) ;Malay-Polynesian (languages of the islands of the Pacific ocean) ; American Indian (languages of the Americas and Mexico) ; Ural-Altaic (Finnish, Hungarian, Turkish , Mongolian), etc.

1.3 EMERGENCE TO CONSOLIDATION

The formation of English from Indo-European is " the story of three invasions and a cultural revolution. In the simplest terms, the language was brought to Britain by Germanic tribes, the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, influenced by Latin and Greek when St.Augustine and his followers converted England to Christianity, subtly enriched by

the Danes, and finally transformed by the French - speaking Normans." (Robert McCrum et.al.1986:51)

While the modern Indo-European languages are spolcen today in large parts of Europe and Asia, the parent Indo-European language , a hypothetical reconstruction by the 19th century German linguists, must have been spolten , (it is cominonly believed) by people living in the Euro-Asian "medievel Lithuania which, in fact, reached from the Baltic across the Ultraine to the lower waters of the Dneiper." (Simeon Potter 1950:8)

All Indo-European languages share two common features - they are all *inflectional* in structure and they have a *common word-stock*. The oldest literary texts preserved in any Indo-European language are the Sanskrit Vedas (not later than 1500 B.C.), followed by the Old Persian Avesta (1000 B.C.).In Gerinanic, the most ancient records are the Biblical translations in East Germanic. Consideration of about fifty common words has given us some idea about the life-style of the vanished Indo-European tribes. They lived in a cold land where it snowed, domesticated animals like oxen, pigs and sheep, reared horses, had an established social and family structure and worshipped many gods that are clearly the ancestors of Indian, Mediterranean and Celtic gods. And as already noted they must have lived in north central Europe. The wheel and the horse led to a dispersal of these people - some of them travelled East and established the Indo-Iranian languages of the Caucasus and the Indian sub-continent. Others drifted west and their descendants are found in Greece, Italy, Germany and the Baltic. English has much in common with all these languages - the English word *brother* resembles Dutch *broeder*, German *bruder*, Greek *phrater*, Russian *brat*, Irish *brathair* and Sanskrit *bhratar*.

We said that the proto-Indo-European was an *inflected language* - we mean that the grammatical functions such as case, number and person for nouns and tense and mood for verbs were indicated by varying the form of a single word through suffixes (endings) and vowel changes within the word as in Modern English *man -man's - men - men's* and *sing - sings - sang - singing*. The Indo-European *inflectional system* has been very much simplified in most modern languages: English, French, and Spanish. German retains it considerably more. Sanskrit, of all the Indo-Emopean languages, gives a "remarkably clear picture ...of the older Indo-European inflectional system...so that its forms show us, even better than Greek or Latin can do, what the syslem of Indo-European must have been" (Thomas Pyles 1964:74). Indo-European had a very elaborate inflectional system for both nouns and verbs.

Because Indo-European was an inflected language, *word-order* was free. Thus in Sansltrit we can say 'devadatta: odanam pacati' or 'odanam devadatta: pacati' or even 'pacati odanam devadatta:' to say "Devadatta coolts rice".

Since English belongs to the Gerinanic group, it is not out of place to make note of how Germanic came to differ from the proto Indo-European. Germanic came to differ from the parent Indo-European in the following ways:

1. The verb inflection system became simplified - many distinctions of tense and aspect were lost .

2. Declension of adjectives became weak. (Modern English has lost all such declensions of the adjective.)

3. In Indo-European, any syllable of a word could be stressed - in Germanic, the first syllable came regularly to be stressed (except in *compound verbs* such as believe, *forget*).

4. Ttido-European vowels changed to Germanic vowels as follows:

   IE *o* > Gmc *a* ; long *a* > long *o*

5. IE stops *bh, dh, gh* > *b, d g* ; *p, t, k* >*f, th, h* ; *b, d, and g* > *p. t, k.*

   These changes took place over a long period of time and are described in linguistic histories as First Sound Shift (Grimm's Law).

1.4 THREE PERIODS - THE MAKING OF ENGLISH

As mentioned earlier Modem English belongs to the Germanic group of Indo-European languages. In the history of the making of English, some movements and events stand out.: 5th and 6th century migration of the three Germanic tribes: Jutes, Saxons and Angles to what is now known as England ; St.Augustine's arrival in 597 and the conversion of England to Latin Christianity; 8th, 9th and 10th century Scandinavian invasions ; the Norman conquest in the 11th century; the revival of learning in the 16th century; the settlement of North America, Australia, and South Africa by the English-speaking people in the 19th century and the political colonization of India and others in the same century.

The name 'English' means 'the speech of the Anglii', the Angles, one of the three related tribes that settled in Britannia beginning 5th century - then from Jutland came the first tribe and settled in Kent and Southern Hampshire ; Saxons from Holstein next settled south of the Thames ; the Angles from Schleswig settled last north of the Thames. The Germanic name of the Angles was *Angli* which became *Engle* in Old English. After 1000 AD *Englaland* was used to denote the Germanic peoples in Britain - the language was always known as *Englisc.*

This 'speech of the Anglii' belonged to the Germanic group. We may ask what characteristics the Germanic languages as a branch have in common? Four principal ones have been pointed out:

1. A simpler *verb conjugation* (only two tenses - one to express past , one to express present and future) including a twofold classification of strong verbs *(sing-sang-sung)* and weak verbs (*walk-walked-walked).*

2. A twofold classification of *strong and weak adjectives* , *a* distinction now lost in modem English but demonstrable from Old English - one system ('strong') when the adjective stood alone before the noun and another ('weak') when used substantively or with a preceding defining element . For example, Old English *gode menn* and *pas godan menn.*

3. A fixed *stress accent* - the accent has become a matter of stress (as against pitch accent) with a tendency to focus on one syllable of a poly-syllabic word. This has led in English to the slurring or dropping of unstressed vowels and the consequent weakening of the inflectional endings (because they are at the end and the usual tendency is to stress the first syllables).

4. Regular shifting of the Indo-European *stop consonants* as already noted above - *voiceless stops* > *spirants* (stage 1); *voiced stops* > *voiceless* (stage *2);voiceless aspirated stops* > *voiced stops* (stage *3).*

The English language of today has resulted from a fusion of the Germanic dialects spoken by the three tribes who came to Britannia in three waves in the manner described above. In the next five hundred years or so it developed into an independent language quite distinct from any Germanic language spoken on the

Continent, though it has been claimed that of all the tongues descended from Indo-European, " English has had most contacts with its kindred near and far. Leaving their continental homes, the English entered a land inhabited by Celts and have had Celts as their neighbours ever since. With the coming of Christian missionaries they were brought into close contact with those who spoke Latin and, after the Norman Conquest, with those who spoke various forms of a language derived from Latin. To Latin, Greek was added with the revival of learning and later still, by their inemorable political association with India, the English lived and worked for nearly two centuries with peoples whose languages were descended from the oldest and most easterly branch of all." (Simeon Potter, 1950)

In the 1500 years of its existence, English has developed continuously. In this development, it is possible to see three main periods. Like all divisions this division is also a matter of convenience but one in which it is possible to recognise certain distinguishing characteristics in each period. The three periods are :

Old English	450 - 1100
Middle English	1100 - 1500
Modern English	1500 - the present

The period of **Old English** is a period of **full inflections** since in this period the endings of nouns, adjectives and verbs remained unchanged. During the **Middle English period,** the inflections which had started breaking down towards the end of the Old English period, become greatly reduced and the period is therefore known as the period of **levelled inflections.** The Modern English period is the period of **lost inflections** as the old inflectional system disappears to a great extent.. We will now broadly outline the features characteristic of Old English, Middle English and the Modem Period.

Old English had four dialects - Northumbrian, Mercian, West Saxon, and Kentish (see, the dialect map , Appendix 1, from Robertson, p.38). West Saxon gradually gained ascendancy and the documents which enable us to study Old English arc documents of West Saxon (see, examples of Old English in Appendix 2, from A.C.Baugh, p.71-73). Graminatically, Old English is a **synthetic language:** 'Theoretically the noun and adjective are inflected for four cases in the singular and four in the plural ...and in addition the adjective has separate forms for each of the three *genders."* (Baugh, A.C, 1973-64). The nouns are inflected for *number* (singular and plural) and *case* (four- nominative, genitive, dative and accusative) ; the verbs show two tenses by inflection (present and past), three *moods* (indicative, subjunctive, imperative), two numbers and three persons ; adjectives have a strong and a weak declension.

In vocabulary, Old English was veiy resourceful in the formation of words by means of *prefixes* and *suffixes;* it was possible to form more than a hundred words from the same root. Some of the most commonly employed suffixes were: *-dom* , *-end* , *-ere*, *-nes* , *-ung* ,*-scipe* (to form nouns) and *-sum* , *-wis* to form adjectives. This feature was most widely used to form verbs with about twelve coinmon prefixes to form verbs : be- ,*for-*, *fore-* , *ge-* , *mis-*, *of-*, *on*, etc.. Another notable feature was the large number of *self-explaining compounds,* that is compounds of two or more native words whose meaning is self-evident such as *gimmwyrhta* (gem-worker), (jeweller). This capacity for forming new words by combining the existing ones and by deriving them with the help of prefixes and suffixes gave a remarkable variety and flexibility to Old English. This is evident in its literature which is distinguished for its poetry rich in synonyms and metaphors e.g. Beowulf.

Besides **Beowulf,** there are a number of short lyrical poems , the dirges. **Wanderer,** Seafarer and the two great war poems , the Battle **of Brunanburg** and Battle of **Maldon. The Ruin** is another famous sad poem. This is called Anglo-Saxon literature and more than half of it is Christian in theme.

The Old English period is a *multi-lingual* period - a period with several languages being used simultaneously. Their contact inevitably produced a rich system of communication. To begin with, English interacted with Celtic, the language of the conquered people, itself another branch of the Indo-European tree. The Celtic influence is not strong and is most evident in place-names : *Kent, London, Cornwall, York* go back to Celtic sources. Outside place-names there are no more than about twenty words of Celtic origin in modern English. As against this the Latin influence has been very strong on English, perhaps the most pervasive of all influences. The third influence is the Scandinavian influence. The Scandinavian plundering raids began, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, in A.D.787 and continued with interruptions for more than 250 years until from 1014 to 1039 A.D. The Scandinavian influence was thorough - it extended to matters of grammar and syntax as well. This of course was facilitated by the close racial kinship between the 'northmen' and the English, by the fact of their subsequent assimilation and by the fact that the Danes accepted Christianity fairly early.

The **Middle** English **period** is the period of levelled inflections. It is in fact a period in which changes occurred in every aspect of the language. The greatest single factor for this was the conquest of England by the French, known familiarly as the Nonnan Conquest in 1066. The Normans were the same 'Northmen' whose cousins had come to England about the same time as they occupied Normandy, on the northern coast of France, right across the channel, only they had become 'French' culturally and linguistically. With William the Conqueror becoming the king of England , the entire English nobility was replaced by a French aristocracy and the French language dispossessed English of its rightful place. Only gradually, with the loss of Normandy, particularly in the next century, did the ruling class begin to think in English and thus began the process of rehabilitation of English. The turning point reached in October 1362, when the "parliament was first opened in English and when the Statute of Pleading was enacted whereby all court cases were to be henceforth conducted in English though 'enrolled in Latin' Law. French ...persisted for many years ...was finally abolished by an Act of Parliament in 1731" (Simeon Potter, 1950). French for long remained the prestigious language while English remained the language of the uncultivated people; however, there was rampant bilingualism during this period till English reasserted itself in the 14th century. The thirteenth century was a period of shifting emphasis on the two languages. French remained the 'official' language and the language of the upper classes. However, the attitude that the proper language for the Englishmen to know and use is English also began to become noticeable. At the end of the thirteenth century, French had begun to decline and efforts were made to arrest its declining standards. The Hundred Years' War made French the language of the enemy and the rise of the commercial middle class from 15th century onwards decided the case finally in favour of English. And then "The Black Death" which afflicted the poor more than the rich made labour scarce and thus "increased the economic importance of the labouring class and with it the importance of the English language which they spoke." English came to be generally adopted in the 14th century, the French-speaking people were now bilingual; English became the language of the law-courts and after 1349 English began to be used again in the schools. In the 15th century, French became restricted as the language of culture and fashion. Further, English now was once again adopted as the language for records of towns and guilds and in 1425 English came to be generally adopted in writing.

The resurgent Middle English literature represents the revitalised English language and its important place in English life. Fourteenth century is the age of Geoffrey Chaucer (1350-1400), the 'father' of English poetry and the author of Troilus and Criseyde and Canterbury Tales, William Langland (1362-87), the author of a long social allegory, Piers Plowman and John Wycliffe (d.1384) , translator of the Bible also belong to this age as also did the unknown author of the popular middle English romance, Sir Gawaine and the Green Knight. The fifteenth century saw extended use of English as a literary medium and had a number of distinguished writers of prose, such as Malory , Lydgate and Caxton. This was the age which made the time and the language ripe for its finest fruition, the Elizabethan age in general and the great Shakespeare in particular. With Shalcespeare, we are on the threshold of the Modern Period.

Standardisation is the key word for the **Modern Period:** grammatically, English settled down as an **analytical** language. In the hands of Shalcespeare and others, it was perfected as a fit medium for both prose and poetry; conscious efforts were made to make it an appropriate vehicle for science; spelling reforms were undertaken; dictionaries were composed and English was transplanted in other lands giving rise to new, *non-native varieties of English.*

Renaissance was the first great change-making event in this period; the second was the Industrial Revolution; the third was migration to and settlement in the new lands: USA, Australia, Canada and New Zealand ; the fourth was the imperial colonisation of Asian and African lands. All these have contributed to the making of modern English and towards making it a world language.

1.5 LET US SUM UP

The history of a language is both internal and external : the external history is the record of political, social and economic events that befall the speakers of a language; and the effect of those events on the sounds, the vocabulary and the structure of that language constitutes its internal history.

The external history of the English language consists of - the early migration of Celts to the island, the Roman rule of England, the subsequent migration of Angles, Saxons and Jutes, the conversion of the English people to Christianity, the Scandinavian invasions and settlement, the 'French' conquest of England, the Renaissance, the Industrial Revolution , settlement of America, Canada and Australia and colonisation of Asia and Africa.

The concomitant internal history would subsume changes in the English word stock as a result of contact with so many languages; change of English structure from synthetic to analytic; formation of English as a fit medium first for poetry then prose, then for science and other registers , for media and communication; its standardisation and finally, with geographic expansion, the splitting of English into several recognisably different but related varieties. We shall take up this story of growth and change in the subsequent units.

1.6 KEY WORDS

Before we end this unit, let us enumerate the key concepts in the order in which they have figured in this discussion. You should make sure that you understand these concepts by referring once again to the places in the discussion where these concepts

Standard Variety	the variety of language which has the highest status in the community or nation, and which is usually based on the speech and writing of educated native speakers of the language. A standard variety is usually described in dictionaries, grammars, taught is schools and universities, and used in media.
Internal history	here, language is considered an autonomous system subject to change and evolution. The changes is sounds, words and structure is seen according to linguistic laws and not with reference to external causes.
External history	the record of events that befall on the spealters of a language, and the effect of those events on the sound, vocabulary and structure of that language.
Family of languages	this refers to a set of languages deriving from a common ancestor, or 'parent' e.g. the **Indo-European family** consists of the 'daughter' languages Sanslu-it, Greek, Latin, etc.which all developed out of **Proto-Indo European.**
Indo-European Languages	languages which are related and which are supposed to have had a common ancestor language called, "Proto Indo-European". Languages in this group include most European languages e.g. English, French, German, etc. They also include the ancient Indian languages Sanskrit and Pali, and such languages as Hindi, Bengali, Sinhala, Farsi, etc.
Dialect	a variety of a language spoken in one part of a country (regional dialect) or by people belonging to a particular social class (social dialect).
Synchronic Variation	the study of a language system at a particular point of time, e.g. the sound system of Modern British English.
Synthetic Language	a type of language using **structural** criteria, and focusing on the characteristics of the **word.** In synthetic languages, words typically contain more than one morpheme. Examples include Latin, Greek, Arabic, Turkish and so on.
Analytical Language	this term is seen in opposition to **synthetic** languages, where words contain typically more then one morpheme. Analytical languages are typically monomorphemic.
Inflecting Language	a language in which the form of a word changes to show a change in meaning or grammatical function. Greek and Latin are inflecting languages.
Word order	the arrangement of words in a sentence. Languages often differ in their word order. For instance, English is a language in which the verb occurs in the medial position, while Hindi is a verb-final language.

Stop consonant consonant which is produced by stopping the air stream from the lungs, and then suddenly releasing it. For example the sounds/b/and/ p/ in English.

Standardisation the process of making some aspect of language usage conform to a standard variety. This is usually implemented by a government authority.

1.7 READING LIST

1. Aitchison, J. 1996. **The Seeds of Speech : Language Origin and Evolution.** Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

2. A.C.Baugh **A History of the English Language** Bombay :Allied Publishers 1973 (Third Indian Reprint) [A very lucid, chronological study - it has specimens of English from different periods]

3. Henry Bradley **The Making of English.** London. 1904 [A very, short readable study]

4. Otto Jesperson **Growth-and Structure of the English Language** Oxford 1905

   [A very stimulating study that explains the grainmatical changes in English]

5. Dick Leith **A Social History of English.** London: Routledge & Kegan Paul. 1983

   [describes the growth of English in terms of the changing socio-political context]

6. Robert McCrum, William Cran, Robert MacNeil **The Story of English.** London: B.B.C. Publications .1986 [a study that focuses more on the present than the past and on the everyday spoken English of the ordinary people and on the non-native varieties]

1.8 QUESTIONS

1. What is a language family? Which language family does English belong to? What is the relationship between English and Hindi, Panjabi, Gujarati?

2. Write a composition in about 250 words on the three periods which went into the malting of modern day English. Take care to include both the External as well as the Internal History.

UNIT 2 CHANGES IN SOUNDS AND SPELLING

Structure

2.0 Objectives
2.1 Introduction
2.2 Changes in English sounds:
  2.2.1 Changes in English Sounds
  2.2.2 Changes in Vowel Sounds
2.3 Changes in Spelling
2.4 Let Us Sum Up
2.5 Key Words
2.6 Reading List
2.7 Questions

2.0 OBJECTIVES

Change being an inevitable and intrinsic part of the life of a language, it can be studied under different headings - *sound, spelling, grammar, vocabulary, sentence* and *style*. In this unit we will deal with *changes* in *sound and spelling*. While these units will appear technical, please don't get intimidated by this. Our aim is show you the changes that have taken place in the making of modem English. You need to concentrate on the broad changes and not in the details. We have given you those details as examples.

2:1 INTRODUCTION

In his famous *Dictionary of the English Language* published in 1775 Samuel Johnson noted that some of his admirers expected the dictionary to prevent the English language from changing. Though flattered by the idea, he realized that a language cannot be prevented from changing. He realized that English like all other languages is subject to constant growth and decay that characterize all forms of life. There is a no such thing as uniformity in language. How right Johnson was about the inevitability of change can be seen from some of Johnson's two-hundred-year-old definitions for words still in use:

Whitewash	*A wash to make the skin seem fair*
Watching	*Inability to sleep*
	A son, progeny
Commute	*To exchange*
Sophistication	*Adulteration*
Tremendous	*Dreadful, terrible, horrible*

As Johnson might have said, language changes because it belongs to the people. People invent or discover new objects and processes and the need arises for new words. A desire for novelty begets flamboyant, extravagant use of language. Reluctance or inability to call a spade a 'spade' produces euphemisms in a language Imitation of people socially or economically better placed causes changes in the linguistic habits of people.

Apart from these external (social) causes, internal linguistic factors also produce changes in language. Internal pressures, contradictions, excesses, need for uniformity and standardization require and cause changes in language. Language change proceeds through processes like *assimilation, rejection, invention, adaptation/modification, derivation,* etc.

The evolution of the word 'English' is very interesting and is in some ways symbolic of the development of the English language. The word is derived from the name of the Angles who along with the Jutes and Saxons founded settlements in England in the fifth and sixth centuries. Doubtless the Angles derived their name from the 'angle' or comer of the land that juts out into the Southern Baltic between the modern towns of Schleswig and Flensburg. In Latin and Germanic their name was *'Angli'* which later became *'Engle'* by a change of the stressed vowel. Before 1000 A.D. *Angelcynn'* (Angle-race) was used to denote collectively the Germanic people in England, the Jutes, Saxons and Angles alike. After 1000 A.D. *England (*Land of the Angles) became popular.

The tripartitie division of the inhabitants of England was reflected in the contemporary language scheme. In as much as the Jutes, Angles and Saxons probably understood one another, we should speak of four prevailing dialects rather than of three different languages - *Northumbrian* (spoken in and around Northumbria); *Kentish* (spoken by the Jutes of Kent); *West Saxon* (spoken in the south of the Thames) and *Mercian* (spoken from Thames to the Humber but exclusive of Wales). East Midland which was a descendent of old Mercion, being the language of the Courts, of the city of London and of the universities of Cambridge and Oxford soon gained prominence and by the thirteenth century had become the "received standard speech of England (R.P.)".

2.2 CHANGES IN ENGLISH SOUNDS

After this brief sketch of the history of the English language we proceed to the main topic of this unit. i.e. *changes in sound and spelling.* For understanding some of the technical terms you will need to read carefully Block 3. The overriding movement in both sound and spelling change has been a **movement towards simplicity***There are today forty four sounds in the Queens English - twelve vowels, eight diphthongs and twenty three consonants all given in tabular form below according to the transcription of the International Phonetic Association (IPA):

Table 1: List of Vowels

1	2	3	4	5	6
[i:]	[I]	[ɛ]	[æ]	[a:]	[ɒ]
bead	bid	bed	bad	bard	body
[bi:d]	[bɪd]	[bɛd]	[bæd]	[ba:d]	[bɒdi]

7	8	9	10	11	12
[ɔ:]	[ʊ]	[u:]		[3:]	[ə]
board	bud	booed	bud	bird	. cupboard
[bɔ:d]	[bʊd]	[bu:d]	[b∧d]	[b3:d]	[k∧bə̊d]

The nine diphthongs may be defined as gliding sounds produced by the tongue as it moves or glides from one vowel position in the direction of any other.

Table 2: List of Diphthongs

13	*14*	*15*	*16*
[ei]	*[əʊ]*	*[ɑi]*	*[aʊ]*
gate	*bode*	*bide*	*bowed*
[geit]	*[bəʊd]*	*[bɑid]]*	*[bɑʊd]*
17	*18*	*19*	*26:*
[ɔɪ]	*[ɪə]*	*[ɛə]*	*[ʊə]*
boy	*beard*	*bared*	*cured*
[bɔI]	*[bɪəd]*	*[bɛəd]*	*[kjʊə d]*

Table 3 Classification of English Consonants

Place	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveo-lar	Post-alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Manner	vl vd	vl vd	vl vd	vl vd	vl vd	vl vd	vl vd	vl vd	vl vd
Plosive				t d				k g	
Affri-cate						tʒ dʒ			
Nasal	m			n				ŋ	
Lateral				l					
Frica-tive/ Spirant		f v	θ ð	s z				ɣ x	h
Fric-tion-less conti-nuant					r				
Semi-vowel	w						j	(w)	

2.2.1 Change in Consonant Sounds

Such is the position of English sounds as they exist today. But the present status has been reached after centuries of change and evolution. We can now proceed to the history of English sounds beginning with consonants, enquiring which have disappeared, which have changed, which are new and which remain the same. Old English had two consonants which no longer exist [X] and [ɣ], the voiced and voiceless velar spirants/fricatives. The first however linger in Scot dialects. Though it had started changing in Old English, it however managed to survive through the Middle English period. In the Modem English period it has either been lost or converted into some other sound. It was spelled *h* in Old English, but by the thirteenth century the new spelling became *gh. [X]* appears in Old English words like *leoht, bohte, ruh;* survives in Middle English as in Chaucer's *lighte, boughte,* rough *tough,* etc. But by the early Modern period it has either disappeared as in *light* and *bought* or has been changed to *[f]* as in *rough* and *tough.* [ɣ] is illustrated in Old English words like *gamen* (game) and *græs* (grass) which later lost its spirant quality and became a stop in late Old English or early Middle English thereby changing to *[g]* and becoming identical with the regular Old English *[g].* It has retained this value since.

So much for losses, Two other Old English consonants have also changed but not so drastically. The first of these is *[r]* which is produced by a simple flap of the tongue. This however is a reduction of a formerly trilled sound used by Chaucer and King Alfred.

The other sound that has changed is *[j]* which today is a palatal tongue glide but was spirant in Old English. Its spelling in Old English was *g* or *ge* or *gie*.

While two sounds have been lost, two altered, only one has been added [ʒ]. Though [dʒ] existed in Old English, [ʒ] did not became an independent phoneme until early Modern English and developed out of *[zj]* in such French loan words as *measure, usury, uzure.*

With the exception of the five discussed above, the consonants of Old English have come down to Modem English virtually unchanged. We still have the voiced stops *[b], [d], [g];* the voiceless stops *[p], [t], [k];* the voiced spirants [v], *[ð], [z];* the voiceless spirants *[f], [θ], [s], [ʃ], [h];* the nasals *[m], [n], [ŋ];* the lateral [l]; the glide *[w];* the affricates *[d]* and *[t]*. Most of them were spelled in Old English as they are today with a few exceptions. For example, [ʃ] was spelled *sc* as in *fisc* (fish); *k* was rarely used, *c* was usually used for *[k].*

Though sounds from Old English have continued, their status was not in every case the same as it is now. Four of them that were not phonemes then are phonemes now. For example [ʒ] existed as part of the affricate combination [dʒ] and it was not until early Modern English that it gained full phonemic status. Similarly [v] *[z] [ð]* and *[ŋ]* were in Old English no more than variations of *[f], [s], [θ], and [n],* respectively.

Loss and gain occurred not only at the level of sounds but also words. For example, the simplification of initial consonants clusters happened as a result of which many a *[h], [k] [w]* and some *[f] 's* were dropped- eg *hlence,* (link), *hnutu* (nut), *hring* (ring) and *wlisps* (lisp).

Consonants were not only lost and altered; occasionally they were also added- for example, the unetymological *[r]* in *bridegroom* and *cartridge* (from German *Brautigam* and French *cartouche,* respectively); an additional *n* in *passenger* (from French *passager)* and *messenger* (from messager in Caxton). Similarly *[b], [d], [t]* creep in whenever the phonetic environment is favourable- eg. *whilst, amidst, against, amongst.*

To sum up the language has lost *[ɣ] [X j* (velars), two sounds have changed their quality considerably [r] and [j] the language has gained [ʒ]. But otherwise most consonants have remained unaffected.

2.2.2 Changes in the Vowel System

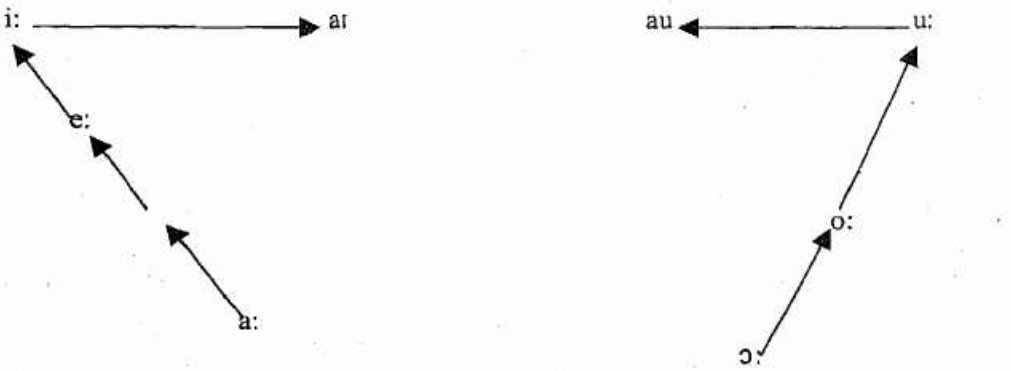
Most of the confusion prevalent in spellings today is due to incomplete adjustments following changes in the vowel system. In considering the changes in the vowel system in English during the Old and Middle English Period we notice that most vowels remained stable. It was only after the fourteenth century that English vowels underwent what Jespersen called *"the great vowel shift".* Most of the *short vowels* of Old English have passed over unchanged into Middle English. But short *[æ]* became *[a]* and *y* was unrounded to *[i j*. Thus Old English *cræft* became *craft* in Middle English, *brycg* became *brigge.* The other short vowels *a, e,* i, *o, u* remained - Old English *catte>cat, bedd>bed, folc>folk, full>ful.* Among the long vowels the most important change was that of *ā* to *ō - bān to bōn* (bone), *bāt to bōt* (boat). The long *y* developed in the same way as the short *y- brȳd>bride* (bride), *fȳr>fir* (fire). The long *ǣ* represented two sounds in Old English *ē* and *ā* and remains as *e* in Middle English-- *stepan>slēpen* (sleep), *clǣne>clēne* (clean). These two sounds have now become

identical *(sleep, clean)*. The other long vowels of Old English passed unaltered into Middle English - *mēd* > *mēde* (meed); *fīf* > *fīf(five); bōc* > *bōk* (book).

Though the quality of Old English vowels did not change much passing into Middle English their quantity or length was altered considerably. Long vowels were shortened - *grēt* was shortened to *gretter*. Short vowels in open syllables were lengthened - *bacan* > *bāken* (bake); *etan* > *ēten* (eat).

All Middle English long vowels underwent extensive change in passing into Modern English, but the short vowels remained comparatively stable. The two most important changes in short vowels are those of *[a]* and *[u]*. In Old English *ā* had the quality of a brief *[a]* .But by Shakespeare's day Chaucer's *a* had become *[æ]* as in *cat, thank, have. [u]* underwent a change called *unrounding*. Ill Chaucer it was like the *[u]* in *full*. But by the sixteenth century it had acquired the sound we today have in *but, cut, sun*. The *[u]* in turn had originated from the vowel *[o:]*. Thus the sound has passed through three stages, beginning with *tooth [or]--->foot [u]---> but [ʌ]*. Another short vowel *o* has persisted with little or no change. Phonetically it was [ɔ] in Old English and is exemplified in words like *ox, fox, got, pot*.

From the fifteenth century onwards the vowel system .of English underwent a great change, called by Jespersan *the great vowel shift*. All the long vowels came to be pronounced with a greater elevation of the tongue and closing of the mouth, so that those that could be raised were raised and those that could not without becoming consonants became *dipthongs*. The change may be visualized by in the following diagram:



Each vowel has shifted to the position of articulation of the vowel above it. The highest in each series unable to go higher has become diphthongs. Jesperson has however argued that this generalupward shift could not have happened until the way was clear for it. In other words it started with the dipthongization of *[i:]* and *[u:]*. The effects of this shift can be seen in a comparison of pronunciation and spelling from Chaucer and Shakespeare to the present day:

Chaucer's Spelling	*Chaucer's Pronunciation*	*Shakespeare's Pronuncintion*	*Modern Pronunciation*	*Modern Spelling*
lyf	*li:f*	*Leif*	*laif*	*life*
deed	*de:d*	*di:d*	*di:d*	*deed*
deel	*dɛ:l*	*de:l*	*di:l*	*deal*
name	*na:mɛ*	*nɛ::m*	*neim*	*name*
hoom	*hu:m*	*ho:m*	*həum*	*home*
mone	*mo:n*	*mu:n*	*mu:n*	*moon*
hous	*hu:s*	*hous*	*haus*	*house*

'Thus by the sixteenth century long vowels had acquired approximately their present day pronunciation.

Another loss to note is the decay of the inflectional *-e*. With this loss many Middle English words which were two syllabled became one syllabled. We pronounced *ride, rides, have, stone* as monosyllables, while in Middle English they were two-syllabled. Chaucer for example rhymed *Rome* with *to me [ro:m - to: me].' Inflectional -e* was unquestionably pronounced in Middle English which we no longer pronounce, as in *love, have, bones, write, Rome.* It was lost in the transition from Middle English to Modem English.

Mainly due to the simplification of the sound system the tiresome **diacritical** marks put before, after, below and on top of letters and widely used in Old English to guide pronunciation also died out.

2.3 CHANGES IN SPELLING

The Great Vowel shift and the change in the English sound system brings us directly to our next topic of study i.e. English spelling. Spelling had become fixed in a general way before the shift and did not change when the long vowels changed. Hence, English spelling became largely **unphonetic.**

Before we proceed into the history of English spelling, a brief discussion about the English alphabet would not be out of place. It emerged from the pictograms or ideograms of ancient Egypt by the process of phonetisation or association of sounds with symbols. Around 1500 B.C. the ideograms were modified to form the North Semitic Syllabary. This particular syllabary developed into the consonantal alphabet of the Phoenicians. The Greeks learnt the new alphabet from the Phoenicians and in turn passed it on to the Romans which was in due course transmitted to Britain. The Runic alphabet of twenty four letters was a special adaptation of Greek and Latin, and was used by the Anglo-Saxons before their conversion to Christianity after which however they adopted the Latin alphabet in its British form.

In Anglo-Saxon England Germanic runes were used in inscriptions and Latin in manuscripts. After the Norman Conquest French fashions inherited directly from Latin gradually prevailed over these runes. Since however, Latin did not have the sounds *[θ]* and [ð] and therefore no characters to spell them, Old English retained in the newly adopted Latin alphabet the runic), and later [ð] was developed for the same use. But here comes one of the first failures of English orthography, for their being two sounds and two symbols it would have been sensible to attach one value to each symbol. Yet this was never clearly done. Thus þ and ð were used interchangeably for *[θ]* and *[ð]*. The converse divergence (by which one symbol represented several sounds) was also found. The letter *c* had two distinct pronuciations, as in Modem English *came* and *ch* as in *choose.* In late Old English *k* was sometimes used for c. The French influence created further confusion in English spellings. New Letters *j* and q were given wide use; new phonetic values were attached to old symbols or old syinbols were used in new combinations, for example *c* was written for *s, o for u, ou* for *u.* Also from French came *v* (about 1200) and z (about 1300) to spell sounds which existed in Old English but for which there had been no, separate characters.

Nevertheless, there was a greater correlation between sound and letter in Old English than there is in Modem English today. For example there were no silent consonants in Old English, and hence all four consonants were pronounced in *cniht* (boy) instead

of two in Modern English *knight*. Again Old English double consonants (except perhaps when they occurred at the end of a word) were pronounced long. Double consonants are pronounced long in Modem English only in a few compound words like book-case, or consecutive words without pause between them eg, ill-luck.

The change in spelling convention was one of the most noticeable features of the transition from Old to Middle English and was mainly due to the influence of French. For example *[f]* was voiced to *[v]* when it occurred between voiced sounds in Old English, but the spelling f continued to represent medial [v] as well as initial and final *[f]* until the Middle English period when the voiced sound [v] began to be spelt *u* or v. The tendency then was to use v initially and *u* medially whether the sound was a vowel or a consonant.

During the Middle English period some Old English letters passed out of use. But e and eo remained even though their sounds had become monopthongs. Old English e became *[ɛ:]* in Middle English and was used to represent *[ɛ:]* of any origin example-. eat (Old English *ētan)* and deal *(dæl)*, leap (hlēapan). The eo is less frequently found in French loan words like people.

Another Old English letter which remained in use long after its pronunciation had changed was y. In Middle English it became unrounded to *[i]*. Hence in Middle English y is often used as a spelling to represent *[i]* whether long or short, as in myhte (might), wys (wise). Later an attempt was made to restrict *y* to express long [i] and keep *i* for the short vowel.

In the spelling of consonants Middle English showed great advance in that various sounds represented in Old English by a single letter were more accurately distinguished-- for example the various sounds represented by Old English ȝ *(g)*. A modified *[j]* was introduced as in ȝer (year in Modem and later Middle English and gear in Old English). In latter Middle English, as in Modem English this sound is spelt *y*. Old English cȝ had by Middle English times became *[dʒ]* and was written *gg* in early Middle English and later *dg* as in *brugge* (bridge). From about the middle of the twelfth century the various sound represented by Old English c began to be distinguished. *Ch* was used to represent *[tʃ]* which still remains today in choose. The spelling k was used before front vowels. We thus find *cyning, kyning* and king (Modem English). In Middle English the use of k to represent [k] before front vowels became more widespread and the distinction between *k* and c continues even today as in knee, **king,** *keen.* Before the consonant *l* and *r* and the back vowels, c was used to represent k as in *climb,* creep, come. Old English *[kw]* spelt cw in Old English became qu in Middle English under French influence queen (Old English cwen) and Old English *sc* became *sh.*

There have been few striking innovations in spelling since Middle English. While mostly the tendency has been towards a restriction of choice, uniformity and standardization, some alternative spellings of words have been accepted: *flour – flower, metal-mettle.* The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had a stabilizing influence on English spelling-the omission of the final *-e* in many words, the use o f j and v as consonants and i and *u* as vowels, the use of e to represent the Middle English *[ɛ:]* and o for Middle English [ɔ:]. During the sixteenth century it became customary to use ee and oo only for sounds developed from Middle English [e:] and *[o:]* and this is the practice even today, example keen, *seę;* cool, doom. The spelling *ie* was also used for Middle English [ɛ] partly as a result of French influence example *field, priest.* Another way of indicating vowel length was by the addition of a final *–e,* When this final –e was lost in pronunciation it become a mere spelling device and was added to such words as here where it had no etymological justification. There remained much uncertainty in the addition or omission of the

final *–e* and it often depended upon circumstance or the whim of the printer. The early seventeenth century saw the establishment of *i* initially and medially and *y* finally. Thus we have *beautiful* beside *beauty, cried* beside *cry*. There are however some exceptions--in *dying* to avoid a double *i*, and is also used as the final letter of the first element of a compound word- *shyness, ladyship*. The use of double consonants was simplified in pronunciation, although they remained in spelling till the present day due to the tendency of spelling to lag behind pronunciation as in *sell, inn, quell, kiss*. The doubling of consonants is a common way to indicate that the preceeding vowel is short and that the consonant is followed by a vowel-slipped, *stirred, robbing*.

Spelling remained till late Middle English largely a field where the individual might display whatever eccentricity s/he pleased. Spelling was neither phonetic nor fixed, and the situation was made worse by the handling of the Norman scribes who tried to use a language they knew only imperfectly and carried over habits from French into the new language.

The problem of bringing'about greater uniformity in English spellings was widely recognised in the sixteenth century. From 1200 onwards repeated attempts had been made to rectify the situation on phonetic lines – Onn in 1200, Thomas Smith in 1568, John Hart in 1569, William Bullokar in 1580, Richard Mulcaster's *Elementarie* in 1582. Attempts to reform English spellings on grounds of etymology were also made, according to which words were made to conform to Latin or Greek analogies. But the zeal for etymology soon misfired. While there was some justification in respelling *dette, det* to *clebt* (from Latin debitum) or *cloubte, dout* to *doubt* (from dubitum) even this does not serve to justify the *s* of *island* (from Old English *igland* and not Latin *insula)* or the *g* in *foreign* and *sovereign*. Etymology took English spelling still farther away from pronunciation.

In the following centuries names like Dr. Johnson, Noah Webster, G.B. Shaw, Dean Howells, Andew Carnegie and even Theodore Roosevelt were associated with attempts to reform English spellings. Alongside them institutions like the American Philological Association and the English Philological Society set up their respective Spelling Refonn Associations. In 1930 a Swedish philologist R.E. Zachrisson proposed a respelled English called *Anglie* which received influential support and was widely endorsed. Lincoln's Gettysburg speech in *Anglie* would run thus:

"Forskor and seven yeerz agoe our faadherz braut forth on this kontinent a nue naeshon, konseevd in liberti, and dedikated to the propozishon that aul men ar krenetd equel...

Prof. Zachrisson's death and World War II put an end to its promotion.

It is the striking incompatibility between the native and Latin elements of English which presents the greatest obstacle to those reformers who want to adopt the principle of one symbol for one sound. If the native element is retained much of the Latin and French elements become unrecognisable. If we take *seed* as the norm, then *cede* and *recede* must become *seed* and *reseed*. I'we take *mesh* as the norm then both *cession* and *session* must become *seshon*. If on the contrary *fuse* and *muse* are kept, then *news* will be *nuse* and *hues* will be *hews*. The differences in American and British spellings also need to be reconciled.

In the above sections we have been examining the effects of sound on spelling. But in order to get a more comprehensive picture the influence of spelling upon sounds needs to be studied. Since the Education Act of 1870 in England the influences of spelling upon sound has been constant and considerable. How many people today

discriminate between *salve* (as in sooth), *halve* and *valve?* Most people today rhyme *clerk* with dark, *Rome* with *home* but not with *doom* or *dome.* Many people now pronounce the *t* in *often* though not in *soften.* Simeon Potter in Our *Language* asserts that of all the influences affecting English today, that of spelling upon sound is probably the strongest.

To sum up, the contact between spelling and pronunciation today has largely been lost and it is this unphonetic spelling which has been canonized and preserved. But as Henry Bradley said it is far more important to the ordinary person that a written word should quickly and surely suggest its meaning than that it should accurately express its sound.

2.4 LET US SUM UP

We have shown the changes that have taken place in English in relation to sounds and spelling. There are technical terms used in the unit. We do not want you to be frightened by them or learn them by heart. We merely wish you to be acquinted with these terms. They were necessaiy in showing you the development of the language.

2.5 KEYWORDS

diphthong: a single vowel which changes its quality during its pronunciation, such as /ei/ of day and [dai] of die

assimilation: any phonetic or phonological process in which a particular sound becomes more similar to some other nearby sound.

derivation: the process of obtaining words from other words by adding affixes, as when prehistory and historical are derived from history.

vowel: in phonetics, a speech sound whose production involves no significant obstruction of the airstream, such as [I], [u] or [a].

the great vowel shift: a dramatic series of changes in the pronunciation of the long vowel of English which took place mainly during the 15th and 16th centuries.

diacritical: a mark written above, below, next to, or on top of a letter or character to indicate something about its pronunciation.

pictogram: A written symbol which is intended to be a recognizable picture of what it means. Pictograms were used in some very early writing systems, in which, for example, the word for 'moon' was represented by a drawing of the moon. Such pictograms rapidly gave way to more abstract and convenient modes of representation. Pictograms are not part of any established writing system today, though it is still just about possible to pick out the pictographic ancestry of some Chinese characters.

runic alphabet: a distinctive alphabet used by Germanic peoples in the northwestern region (including Britain) from about the third century A.D. The alphabet was based on the Roman alphabet, but its letter or runes are mostly different in shape.

etymology: the origin and history of a particular word

2.6 READING LIST

Baugh, A.C. and Cable, T. 1951 **The history of the English Language.** London: Routledge.

Leith, D. 1983. **A social history of English.** London: Routledge & Kegar Paul.

2.7. QUESTIONS

1) Why is the word 'English' in some way symbolic of the development of the English language.

2) Mention 2 changes in consonants sounds and 2 in vowel sounds in the evolution of Old English to Modern English.

3) What are the factors which influenced English spelling through the ages? .Give two examples.

UNIT 3 CHANGES IN VOCABULARY

Structure

3.0 Objective
3.1. Introduction
3.2 Borrowings
3.3 Word-formation
3.4 Changes in the Meaning of Words
3.5 Let Us Sum Up
3.6 Key Words
3.7 Reading List
3.8 Questions

3.0 OBJECTIVES

In the last unit we saw how since its beginnings changes have taken place in the sounds and spelling of the English language. In this unit we shall look at the changes that have taken place in English vocabulary, in the course of time.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

English, like any other language, is subject to constant growth and decay. The change that is constantly going on in a living language can be most easily seen in its vocabulary. Old words die out, new words are added, and existing words change their meaning. Much of the vocabulary of Old English has been lost, and the development of new words to meet new conditions is one of the most familiar phenomena of the language. Changes that take place in the vocabulary of a language can be examined by means of

(a) Borrowings from other languages
(b) Word-formation.

Let us first look at the phenomenbn of borrowing words from other languages that English has resorted to in order to enrich its vocabulary.

3.2 BORROWINGS

The English language, in its not-so-long history of 1500 years, has constantly borrowed words from different sources. Contact with other cultures through conquest, and collaborations, the socio-political circumstances, the need to explain new ideas have been the main reasons of borrowing words from various sources. For instance, external factors in the history of England like the Christianizing of Britain in 597 A.D, the Scandinavian invasions, the Norman conquest, the Hundred years' war, the rise of the middle class, the Renaissance, the expansion of British Empire, etc have all contributed immensely to the growth of English vocabulary.

It is customary (as you are now well aware), for the sake of convenience, to divide the history of English language into three main periods:

(a) Old English Period 450 **A.D.** - 1150 **A.D.**
(b) Middle English Period 1150 **A.D.** - 1500 **A.D.**
(c) Modern English Period - 1500 onwards.

There is ample evidence of borrowing foreign words in all these three periods of the development of the English language.

The Old English vocabulary, despite minor borrowings, remained overwhelmingly Teutonic. The vocabulary was enlarged rather by means of combination than external borrowings. It was only through the Norman conquest that a large number of foreign words entered the English vocabulary.

Let us, then, discuss the various foreign borrowings that were instrumental in the development of the English vocabulary.

Celtic Borrowings

The conquest of the Celts by the Teutons resulted not only in the mixture of these two races, but also their languages. The result of the contact between these two languages can chiefly be found in the place-names. For instance, the Kingdom of *Kent* owes its name to the Celtic word *Cauti* or *Cantion* whose meaning is unknown. Similarly *Devonshire*, *Cornwall*, *Cumberland* also have Celtic origins. Even the name *London* most likely goes back to Celtic designation.

Not only place-names?but also names of hills and rivers in England have Celtic origins. *Thames* is a Celtic river name and various other Celtic words for river and water are preserved in the names of *Avon,* Dover, *Wye,* etc.

Outside of place names, the influence of Celtic upon English is almost negligible. Very few words like *binn* (basket, crib), *braft* (cloak) and *brocc* (brock on badger) were introduced into English due to everyday contact of the people of both races. Some words like *ancor* (hermit), *dry* (magician), *cine* (a gathering of parchment of leaves), *Cross,* etc were introduced into English by the Irish missionaries.

Many of these words died out soon and some acquired only local currency.

Latin Borrowings

(a) Borrowings in the Old English Period

The introduction of Latin words into English vocabulaiy has taken place over a considerable period of time. This Latin influence on English language was heralded by England's contact with the Latin civilization. Initially, words associated with agriculture and war were heavily borrowed. Words like *camp* (battle), *segn* (banner), *pil* (pointed stick, javelin), *pytt* (pit), *mil* (mile), *millestr* (courtesan), etc are examples of borrowing in this period. Gradually, words associated with trade like ceup (cheap, bargain), *pund* (pound)', *mydd* (bushel), *mynet* (coin), *seam* (burden, load) were introduced into the English language. Because of the enormity of wine trade, we find words like *win* (wine), *must* (new wine), eced (vinegar), *flase* (flask, bottle), etc. used frequently. Words related to domestic life were also borrowed: *cytel* (kettle), *mise* (table), *scamol* (bench, stool), *cycene* (kitchen), *cuppe* (cup), disc (disk), etc.

Besides, during this initial phase of Latin borrowings , a few Latin words entered English language through Celtic transmission. The Latin word *ceaster* which means *camp* is a typical example. This word is a common designation in Old English for a town or enclosed community. It forms a familiar element in English place names

such as *Dorchester, Manchester, Winchester* and so on. Other words borrowed through Celtic include *port* (harbor, gate, town), *munt* (mountain) and *torr* (tower, yock).

With the Christianizing of Britain in 597 A.D. begins another phase of Latin borrowings into English. Many new conceptions followed in the train of the new religion and there was a need for expressing these ideas for which the old language was inadequate. Thus, there followed a massive inflow of Latin words into English.

The words borrowed from Latin during this phase are both popular and learned. The popular words include *Church, bishop,* etc and the learned words include *alms, alter, angel, anthem, canon, minister, hymn, pope, psalm, relic,* etc.

Gradually, due to the tremendous influence of the Church over the domestic life of the people, words relating to domestic use like clothing *(cap, sill)* and food *(beet, lentil, millet, radish, oyster)* were introduced. Names of trees, plants, herbs like *pine, balsam, lily, myrrh* and the general *wordplant* acquired Latin designation. Certain number of words relating to education and learning such as *school, master, verse, grammatic(al),* etc owe their origin to Latin.

A fresh set of Latin words found their way into English with the Benedictine Reform, which aimed at the general improvement of the cultural and religious ambiance of England. These words were basically learned and expressed ideas of a scientific and learned character. For example, we have, religious words like *Antichrist, apostle, canticle, creed, prophet, sabbath,' Synagogue,* etc.

Literary words like *accent, brief; history, paper, pumice,* etc.
Medical words like *cancer, paralysis, plaster,* etc.
Names of trees like *cedar, cypress, fig,* etc.
Name of animals like *camel, tiger, scorpion,* etc.

Thus, as a result of the Christianization of Britain above, 450 Latin words appear in English before the close of the Old English period.

(b) Latin Borrowings in the Middle English Period

Although many of the words that were borrowed during the Middle English period came through 'French influence, there were certain words that were directly borrowed from Latin. During this period a considerable number of Latin words entered the English language through translations of literary texts. For instance we meet several hundreds of Latin words in Trevia's translation of the *De Proprietatibus Rerum* of Bartholomew Anglicus. The translation of the Vulgates *Bible* gave the English people words like *generation, persecution, and translnigration.* Other borrowed words of this period include words from law, medicine, allegory, theology, science, literature ,etc such as *conspiracy, custody, frustrate, genius, infinite, intellect, limbo, pulpit, secular, scripture, testify,* and many more.

Moreover some unusual words were borrowed from Latin in the 15th century, especially by poets and writers. By employing certain Latin words like *abusion, dispone, equipolent, tenebrous,* etc. poets attempted an innovation in the language.

(c) Latin Borrowings in the Modern Period

It was the revival of classical learning in the 16th century that first swelled the numbers of English words borrowed from Latin to overwhelming proportions. Whereas the number of Middle English loans from Latin is difficult to estimate because many of them were indirectly borrowed from French, there can be no doubt

that the great mass of borrowings in early Modem English come directly from Latin. Numerous examples can be cited: *affidavit, agenda, alibi, animal, bonus, deficit, exit, extra, fact, maximum, memorandum, omnibus, propaganda, veto.*

During the Renaissance quite a number of French words were reinodeled into closer resemblance with lheir Latin originals. For instance, whereas Chaucer uses the word *descrive*, the form *describe* makes its appearance only in the 16th century. Similarly *perfet* and *parfet* becomes *perfect* due to Latin influence.

Voices were raised against excessive Latinization of English, and in the 16th century the new words from Latin were dubbed "ink-horn terms" by their detractors, alluding to their origin from the pens of pendants.

In the present day technical and scientific English, Latin shares with Greek the honour of being the source of a host of new coinages. Words like *coaxial, fission, interstellar, neutron, mutant, penicillin, radium, spectrum, sulfa,* etc have become an integral part of the English technical vocabulary. Hybrid forms (i.e. part Latin and part Greek) such as *egomaniac, speleology, terramyein,* etc. have also entered the English lexicon in a major way.

What is conspicuous about the introduction of Latin words during the modem period is that they have entered the language mainly through the medium of writing. The Latin elements in English, except the earliest ones, have been the work of churchmen and scholars.

Greek Borrowings

As far as direct borrowings from Greek into Old and Middle English are concerned, there was virtually none. Three of the very few old loan words from Greek are *church, devil* and *angel.* But all of these were borrowed through Latin. Later medieval borrowings, also through Latin and sometimes French include *diet, geography, logic, physic, rhetoric, surgeon* and *theology.* With the Renaissance, however, Greek words began to enter the English vocabulary in great numbers, and even then, they were Latinized in spelling and termination. Much of the modern scientific vocabulary owe their origin to Greek, though they might have entered the language through French (e.g. *barometer, thermometer,* etc.).

The Greek borrowings are usually learned in nature and found in disciplines like Poetics *(comedy, tragedy, catastrophe, dialog, episode, peripety, prolog, scene,* and many more), natural sciences *(bacteriology, botany, histology, physics, zoology,* etc.), Medicine *(adenoids, osteopathy, pediatrics, psychiatry),* Electronics (*dynatron, kenatron, phanotron),* physics *(atomic, cyclotron, meson, proton, isotope* etc.).

French Borrowings

Although the Latin and Greek influences on English began much earlier than the French they remained very small until near the end of the Middle Ages. The influence of French on the other hand, though it began late, increased rapidly and by the 13th century it had interpenetrated the English language far more intimately than Latin or Greek. Today French words have become a part of the essential core of Modem English. What might have been the reason? Scholars point out that these French words were "popular words" while more of the Latin and Greek terms are ,"learned"in nature.

The French influence came in two waves, first from the Normans, the second (and much greater) that of the Parisian or Central French. Norman boi-rowings began to

come even before the Norman conquest of 1066, and continued for a century and a half. But by that time the French of Paris had gained greater prestige, and displaced the Norman dialect as the source of new borrowings. This might have been the reason why certain French words were borrowed twice. For instance, English borrowed *cattle* and *catch* from Norman, whereas from Parisian, it borrowed *chatel* and *charr*. Though the meaning of these "doubles" have changed, their unity of origin can still be identified.

The first large group of borrowings was made up of ideas associated with religion and the church. In the eleventh century, words like *cell, chaplain, charity, evangelist, grace, mercy, miracle, nativity, paradise, passion, sacrament,* and *saint,* were imported. Whereas these words relate to the more formal and outward aspect of Catholicism, the thirteenth century borrowings like *anguish, comfort, conscience, devotion, patience, purity* and *salvation* testify to a more inward and personal aspect of the religion.

Other fields than religioh in which borrowing from French were prominent are: law, government, military affairs and conventions of polite society. Legal terms of an early date include *suit, plead, plaintiff, judge, jury, bail, embezzle, lease, perjury,* etc. Words relating to national government are *chancellor, country, exchequer, govern, minister, power* and *reign.* French borrowings that stand for ideas associated with war and things militaiy are interesting. For instance, the word *army* had to compete with three Old English words-*here, fierd,* and *werod.* It was only in the 15th century that the old words were completely replaced. But a great deal of French military vocabulary was introduced very early: *assault, company, enemy, lance, lieutenant, navy, sergeant, soldier* and *troops* are a few instances. Even much later borrowings like *captain,* and *colonel* are French in origin. Early modern English borrowings include *attack, barricade, commandant, corps, dragoon, march,* and *massacre.* This process of borrowing words associated with things military continued upto the 18th century. In recent times *barrage* and *camouflage* have been borrowed from French.

Another group of words relating to the usage and convention of the polite society. were introduced early into English from French. Whereas *chivalry, honor, grace* . expressed courtly and graceful ideas, words like *dinner, supper, table, fork, plate.* and *napkin* expressed the "polished" manners of the French. Names of different kinds of food were distinctly French. It is interesting to note that while the names of several animals in their lifetime are English *(ox, cow, calf,* etc), they appear on the table with French names (*beef, mutton, pork, bacon,* etc). Other words relating to food items include *sauce,* fry, *roast, pastry, soup* and *sausage.*

The general names for clothes are also French-*apparel, costume, dress* and *garment*- as well as most of the more specific ones like *décolleté, chemise,* and *lingerie.* The earliest words relating to art are French-art itself, and *beauty, color, design, ornament,* and *tapestry.* Specialized terms in architecture such as *aisle, arch, chancel, column, pillar, porch,* etc have also been borrowed from French.

As far as the terms for occupation is concerned, whereas some of the humbler occupations like those of the *baker, fisherman, miller, shepherd,* and *shoemaker* have kept their native names, many others, especially the more skilled traders have French designations: *barber, butcher, carpenter, mason, painter* and *tailor* are typical examples.

Finally, it may be observed that English continues to borrow from French in any field in which the French do pioneer work. Many terms of psychology and psychoanalysis are of this kind. Contemporary borrowings like *chassis, chauffeur, coupe, garage* (all associated with automobiles), *aileron, cadre, empennage,* .

fuselage, hangar, nacelle (associated with airplanes) have become an important part of English vocabulary.

It should not be presumed that extensive borrowings of several thousand French words by the English language has made it something else than English. The basic elements of English vocabulary are still English. The Englishman, irrespective of his social position *eats, drinks, sleeps in English. He works, andplays, speaks* and *sings, walks, runs, rides, leaps* and *swims* in English.

Scandinavian Borrowings

Aside from Greek, Latin, and French, only Scandinavian, the language of the people whom the Anglo-Saxons called "Danes", has made a really substantial contribution to the English vocabulary. The similarity between Old English and the language of the Scandinavian invaders makes it at times very difficult to decide whether a given word in Modern English is a native or a borrowed word. Enormous similarity is found between these two languages in nouns like *man, wife, father, folk, mother, house, life, winter, summer;* verbs like *will, can, meet, come, bring, hear see, think, smile, ride, spin;* and adjectives and adverbs like *full, wise, better, best, mine, over* and *under.*

Certain words were modified from old Norse: Norse *Skepta* was modified to *shift* and *bruolaup* (wedding) was modified into *brydlop* (bride).

Scandinavian influence gave a fresh lease of life to obsolete native words. For instance, the preposition *till* is found only once or twice in Old English texts belonging to the pre-Scandinavian period, but after that, it becomes common in Old English.

There exists a large number of places that bear Scandinavian names. More than 600 places in English have names ending in *-by* which is a clear evidence of Scandinavian influence. Numerous examples can be cited: *Grimsby, Whitby, Derby, Rugby,* etc. (The Danish word *-by* means 'farm' or 'town'). Names like *Althorp, Bishopsthorpe, Linthrope* contain the Scandinavian word 'thorp' which means village. Similar is the case with the word *thwaite* which ineans an isolated piece of land. Thus we have names like *Applethwnite, Braithwaite, Langthwaite.* We also have a hundred places which bear names ending in *toft,* which means a piece of ground: *Brimtoft, Eastoft, Nortoft* are good examples. Thus, altogether more than 400 Scandinavian place-names have been identified in England.

In the earliest period of borrowing, the number of Scandinavian words that appear in Old English is small due to the hostile relations of the invaders with the English people. Words associated with sea-roving and violence are common: *barda* (beaked ship), *scegp* (vessel), *lip* (fleet), *dreng* (warrior), *orrest* (battle), etc.

Gradually we find a number of words relating to law or social and administrative system entering the English language. The word *law* itself is of Scandinavian origin. Other words include *nioing* (criminal), *mall* (action at law), *wapentake* (an administrative district), *husting* (assembly), *stefnan* (summon), etc, These legal terms were later replaced by French after the Norman conquest.

With the proper settling down of the Scandinavians in England, Scandinavian words entered the English language in large numbers, But unlike the case of Latin, where borrowings were usually learned, the Scandinavian borrowings were in the realm of daily give-and-take transactions.

Here is a specimen of common words in English that owe their origin to the language of the Scandinavians: *bank, birth, bull, dirt, egg, gap, kid, link, race, skirt, sister, window, low, meek, rotten.,sly, tight, weak, bait, crawl, dig, gape, kindle, lift, screech, thrust, they, their, then, aloft, athwar,* and many more.

The Scandinavian influence, along with that of Latin, Greek and French, is one of the most important of the foreign influences that have contributed significantly the English language.

Other Borrowings

Apart from these major borrowings, English, due to its contact with so many languages of the world, has borrowed largely from these languages.

From Dutch: Trade names lilcepack (from the wool trade), *scum, tub* (from the brewers of the low countries) *curl, scour, spool, stripe, tuck* (from cloth-making industries).

From Low German: *Bowsprit, buoy, freight, keel, leak, lighter, marline, pump* (all related to ships and sea) *boy, girl, bounce, luck, mud* and *scoff.*

From High German: *bismuth, cobalt, gneiss, quartz, shale, zinc* (all mineral), *stein, lager beer* (associated with eating and drinking), *hinterland, kindergarten, geo-politics, leitmotif, wanderlust,* etc.

From Italian: *attitude, balcony, fiasco, isolate, motto, stanza* and *umbrella* (all borrowed during Renaissance) *piano, soprano, alto, opern* and *tempo* (associated with music) *legato, diminuendo, pizzicato, andante,* etc (technical terms) *chiaroscuro, dado, fresco, portico, replica, studio* and *torso* (all related to fine arts) *cameo, extravaganza, lava, macaroni, spaghetti,* etc.

From Spanish: *desperado, grandee, negro, renegade* (all borrowed during Renaissance) *armada, cargo, cigar, guerrilla, matador, mosquito* and *vanilla.*

From Portugese: *banana, cobra, cocoa* and *molasses.*

From Arabic: *alcoho?,alchemy, alembic, algebra, alkali, cipher, elixir, sugar* and *syrup* (all related to chemistry, mathematics and medicine) *emir, fakir, gazelle, giraffe, harem, hashish, hookah, lute, minaret, mosque, myrrh, sirocco, sultan,* etc.

From Hebrew: *camel, cinnamon, sapphire* and words biblical in nature like *amen, cherub, hallelujah, Jehovah, manna, pharisee rabbi, sabbath* and *seraph.*

From Persian: *magic, paradise, tulip, lilac, jasmin, Lapis-Lazuli, orange, azure, scarlet, baksheesh, satrap,* etc.

From India: Indian contribution to English vocabulary is no less important than the other major foreign influences. From its many languages English has very often taken over such terms like *brahmin, bandanna, bungalow, calico, chutney, curry, indigo, juggernaut, jungle, loot, pyjama, pundit, rajah, sandal, coolie, polo, verandah* and many others.

From America: The English contact with the American Indians contributed terms like *caribou, hickory, moccasin, racoon, skunk, totem, tomahawk,* etc. From other parts of America, English inherited Mexican words like *chilli, chocolate, tomato,* from Cuba and the West Indies come *barbeque, cannibal, hammock, maize, tobacco,*

from Peru *comes jerky, pampas, puma, quinine;* and from Brazil we have *buccaneer, jaguar, tapioca,* etc.

From Africa: *boorish, chimpanzee,* voodoo, *zebra,* etc.

We discussed how the vocabulary of English underwent changes due to various borrowings. Another way by which the vocabulary of a language gets enriched is through word formation. Let us now discuss the processes involved in the formation of new words.

3.3 WORD FORMATION

Word formation, it should be noted, does not mean absolutely new creations, words whose components have had no meaning before. A typical example of a newly created word is *gas,* which was coined by the Dutch chemist Van Helmont in the 17th century. Though it had no formal etymology, we know that the word was suggested to the inventor by the Greek word 'chaos'. Thus, the word *gas* can hardly be considered an entirely new creation. Sheer creation of words with no previous associations is a rarity today. There are exceptions like the recent word Kodak- originally a trade name, though it has come to mean, more generally, a camera of a certain type.

There exists a number of words in every language whose formations can be attributed to **echoism** and **sound symbolism.** The former includes **'onomatopoeic** words -- that is, words whose sound seems to resemble closely the sound it denotes such as *whiz, hiss, Jizz, sizzle, twitter,* etc. In these words we need not look up any etymology to conceive its meaning. Echoism is distinct in common words like *mama, papa, baby,* etc.

Again, sound symbolism is more frequently present in the creation of words than people commonly realize. The close vowel [I] is used again and again to stand for small size or slightness; *little, kid, slim, thin, imp, slip, pigmy,* etc. Sometimes the higher and tenser sound [i] is used to suggest a further degree of smallness. Thus, *teeny* is a child's word for *tiny (teeny-weeny* means something still more minute). Similarly the use of the breath with some force is suggested by *bl (blow, blast, blab).* Many such examples of sound symbolism in the creation of words can be cited .

Echoism and symbolism, hence, account for a surprisingly large number of words. However, a still more common way of adding to the vocabulary is by making some new use of words or word-elements already existing in the language.

Let us discuss the different ways by which new words are formed and added to the vocabulary.

(a) Compounding: This process involves combining two or more existing words in order to form a new word. This process has flourished at every period of the English language. Almost any combination of the parts of speech may be employed in this process of compounding, though some combinations are far more common than others, some are unusual', and some have not been favoured equally in every period. Among the most common are:

(i) that of noun with noun: Old English hwoelweg (whaleway, sea) *breostcearu* (breast-care, anxiety), *soecliff* (sea-cliff). In modem English we have *rail*-road, house-top, week-end, wood-shed, etc.

(ii) that of noun with adjective: Old English isceald (ice-cold), heortseoc (heart-sick), and more recently coal-black, air-tight, foot-sore and so on.

(iii) Adjective with noun: black-beriy, hot-house, sweet-meat, *bìg-shot,* etc.

(iv) Adverb with noun: up-shot, over-head, down-fall, after-thought, under-dog, etc.

(v) Verb with adverb: dug-out, *walk-over, tie-up, kick-off,* etc.

(vi) Noun with verb: Keel-haul; hand-pick, side-swipe, etc.

(vii) Verb with noun: cry-baby, play-boy, starboard (from Old English words meaning "Steering-side"),

(viii) Adjective .with verb: short-cut, high-flown, etc.

(ix) Adverb with verb: over-throw, under-staff: off-set, by-pass, etc.

(x) Noun with adverb: *hands-off,* head-on, hindside-to, etc.

(xi) Adverb with adjective: over-due, ever-green, under-ripe, etc.

The new word formed may be different from that of either of its components in terms of parts of speech. For instance the adjective ship-shape, is made up of noun and noun and the noun *upset* of adverb and verb. It is also not uncommon to find in English three words forming a compound, as in nevertheless, *notwithstanding,* hand-to-mouth, out-and-out,father-in-law.

It should be noted that many early English compounds have died out or have been replaced by French or Latin borrowings that are not compounds: For instance, treasure replaced gold-hand and medicine replaced leach-craft.

Compounding, even today, is the most potent means of adding to the vocabulary.

(b) Derivation: In this process, a new entity is derived not from independent words (as in compounding) but from a single full word plus a prefix or suffix. Suffixes and prefixes, known collectively as affixes, may not stand alone as words; they occur only in combination with a word. In the Old English vocabulary generous use is made of prefixes and suffixes like *-ig, -full,* -leas, -lice, *-nes* and *-ung* to form new words. Thus in Old English we have words like modig (Old English mod, meaning mood). Hence the new word means spirited, bold, arrogant, etc. By means of further endings we get *modiglic* (magnanimous), *modignes* (magnanimity), etc. Other Old English suffixes include -sum, *-wis, -dom, -had, -scipe,* etc. Accordingly we have words like wynsum, *rihtwis, cyningdom,* cildhad and *freondscipe.* Similar is the case with prefixes. About a dozen prefixes are identified in Old English: a-, *be-,* for-, *fore-,* ge-, *mis-,* of-, ofer-, *on-, to-,* un-, under- and wip-, With the help of these, Old English could make out of a single verb like *settan* (to set), new verbs like asettan (place), be-settan (appoint), etc.

Whereas Old English enlarged its vocabulary chiefly by a liberal use of prefixes and suffixes, in the centuries following the Norman conquest there is a decline in this method of word foimation. Many of the Old English prefixes lost their vitality, their ability to enter into new combinations. For instance the important Old English prefix *for-* is used in a limited way during the Middle English period in words like *forhang* (put to death by hanging), forcleave (cut to pieces), and *forshake* (shake off). It gradually lost its vitality and occurs in Modern English words likeforbear, forbid, fordo, forgot, forgive and so on. Similarly the prefix *to-* has disappeared even more completely. *With-* (meaning 'against') gave a few new words in Middle English such as withdraw, *withgo,* withsake, etc. Some of these lilce withdraw, survive while others like *withstay* and *withset* have been replaced by terms like renounce and resist, respectively. Some prefixes which are still productive today like *over-* and *under-*, fell into comparative disuse for a time after the Norman conquest. Thus, generally speaking, Old English prefixes fell into disuse in the Middle English period.

A similar decline can be observed in the case of certain suffixes also. But the loss here is perhaps less distinctly felt because some important endings have remained in full force. For example, the noun suffix *-ness* and the adjective endings *-ful,* -less, -some and *-ish.* But others equally important were either lost or greatly diminished in vitality. The suffix *-lock* survives only in wedlock, -red only in hatred and kindred. The ending *-dom* was used in Old English to form abstract nouns from other nouns (kingdom, earldom, martyrdom) and from adjectives (*freedom,* wisdom). In Middle English there are some new formations such as dukedom and thralldom, but most of the formations from adjectives like *falsedom, richdom* did not prove permanent. When used today it is for the most part employed in half-serious coinages such as stardom. The endings -hood, and -ship have had a similar history. The suffix -hood entered into new formations in Middle English in words like *manhood,* womanhood, likelihood. But gradually its power diminished. Many of the Old English abstracts in -ship were lost. Friendship has been retained but not *fiendship* and of tliose formed from adjectives in Old English the only one still in use is *worship*. But the endiiig *-ness* was retained.

Thus, during the Middle English period we see a gradual change in English habits of word formation due to the available supply of French words which took care of the needs of the English people in expressing new ideas.

In the 19th and 20th century we see several of Latin prefixes lending themselves readily to new combinations. Thus formation lilce transoceanic, transcontinental, trans-Siberian, transliterate, transformer and several more or less technical terms are common. We speak of *post-impressionism* in art, postprandial oratory, the post-modern age and postwar events. In tlie some way we use *pre-* in such words as prenatal, preschool, prehistoric, pre-Raphaelite, etc. Similarly we use words with prefix *sub-* like *submerge,* subtitle, and subinspection. So is the case with suffixes. Recent popular creations on old patterns are gangster, dopester, profiteer, racketeer and so on. Endings like -some, *-ful,* -less, can be freely added in accordance with long-standing habits in the language.

This tendency of derivation through affixes has in the recent years, been responsible for the birth of new words. For instance, from cafeteria, we detach *-teria* and make words lilce seweteria and gasateria. In the same way it has been observed that *-omat* is detached form automat to form laundromat. Several such instances are to be seen in present-day English.

(c) Back-Formation: By means of compounding and derivation longer words are added to the vocabulary. But there are several processes which form new words by shortening. One of these is 'back-formation'. This process involves the removal of affixes. Thus the new verb edit has been produced by back-fonnation from the noun editor. The probable etymology of beggar is that it comes from the French *Beghard*, the name of a mendicant order. Thus the word *beg* is a back-formation, and a very early one. In the some way peddle is a back-formation from *pedlar*, and burgle from burglar. Other examples are diagnose from diagnosis, rove from rover and grovel from groveling. There are many jocular, slangy and colloquial words that are actually products of back-formation: jell, (from jelly), orate (from oration), peeve (from peevish), etc.

Shortening: The most common form of word-formation by shortening is that of simple abbreviation. This process is also known as 'clipping'. In this process a word may be lopped at either end: what remains over is the new word; and both the old and the new may then subsist at different levels of the language, or they may compete against each other for sole acceptance. Examples includefridge for refrigerator, *pram* forperambulator, curio for curiosity, *fad* for *fadaise*, etc. Photo forphotograph, gym for gymnasium and *trig* for trigonometry. Examples of such words where the shortening is done by lopping the earlier part of the word are wig (from *periwig*), drawing-room (from withdrawing-room), still (from *distillery*), sport (form disport), spite (from despite) andfence (from *defence*). As is evident, this process has sometimes enriched the vocabulary by adding a shorter word which neither supersedes the longer one nor is synonymous with it. For instance there is a useful differentiation in meaning or use between tend and attend, mend and *amend*, and lone and alone.

(d) Conversion: Another process by which the vocabulary is increased is by 'conversion' of one part of speech into another — also known as 'functional shift'. Here, the form of the word remains unchanged but it is used in a different. grammatical functions, which, in effect, makes it a new word. This process, though it existed at all stages of the language, has flourished most in Modern English. To take an example, the wordfeature maybe used alone as a noun; it may be used in the modifying position, infeaturepicture; or it may be used as a verb, in the phrase 'to feature (a certain player)'. This kind of thing could hardly have been done in Old English because as it is seen to form a verb from a noun a suffix was added or a change was made in its form. Thus from the noun dom (judgment) was formed deman (to judge). But when the modem user of the language wants to do the same thing today they merely take the noun doom and convert it without further addition to the verb doom.

This interchange of function is a marked characteristic of Modern English, Elizabethan as well as contemporary. The most common conversion is that of a noun into a verb. Bell, bridge, color, ditch, ink, paper, and stone are a few random examples of the numerous nouns that may be used as verbs.

Another striking aspect of the shift is the tendency to make technical or occupational verbs out of nouns that are often awkwardly lengthy. There are commercial verbs, to requisition and to recondition, the librarians' verb to accession, the publishers' verb to remainder and the electricians' verb to contact. These are commonly used terms in day-to-day English.

Other words that can be used both as noun and verbs are contemporary borrowings from French, sabotage and *camouflage*.

Even verbs can be used as nouns. But nouns made directly from verbs have rather a somewhat colloquial or slangy character: a show, a sell, a hit, a catch, a spin, a *kick, a share,* a *smoke* and many more. But this is not a rule. There are numerous other verbs, especially associated with motion, that are commonly used as nouns — walk, run, leap, jtrmp, stumble, stroll and so forth.

It is not that only conversion can take place between nouns and verbs. In fact, almost any interchange is possible, but they are very limited. One such example can be cited: pretty good, where adjective becomes adverb.

(e) Blending: This process of word-manufacture is much in vogue today giving rise to what is termed 'portmanteau' word. In this process the beginning of one word is added to the end of another, and subtracting what's between. By this process the vocabulary of English has immensely increased in the last hundred years or so. To take some examples, *flaunt* is a blend of *flout* and vaunt, slide of *slip* and guide and swirl of twist and whirl. Even words like *flush* is an amalgamation of *flash* and blush and *squash* of *squeeze* and crash. One writer who is particularly associated with the deliberate creation of portmanteau words is Lewis Carroll (who, incidentally, invented the word 'portmanteau'). Among his many such creations, the words chortle (*chucke* and snort) and galumphing (*gallop* and triumphing) have been very popular. Contemporary journalistic writings are full of such words. Words like airmada (a *irplane* + armada), *motorcade* (Motor-car + cavalcade), *motel* (motorist + hotel) smog *(smoke + fog)* are familiar words today. Usually, in today's English, trade names make use of this process to form new words: Polishine, Fastored, Floorite and many more.

(f) Author's Contribution: Apart from the above processes by which words are formed leading to the enrichment of the vocabulary, certain individuals, in their own right, have immensely contributed to the growth of the English word-stock. The etymological meaning of poet is "maker", and in a very literal sense some of the great English poets may be said to be the makers of the English language. The first great poet of England, Geoffrey Chaucer was instrumental in introducing many important words which are still in use today: *attention,* duration, *fraction,* position and so on.

Two translators of the early 16th century, Tyndale and Coverdale, often created new English equivalents of original Greek and Hebrew, while translating the Bible. To Coverdale the English language is indebted for familiar terms like loving *kindness,* morning-star, kind *hearted* and so on and the first literary use of *beautiful.* Spenser may be called the first English writer who, apart from the necessities of translation, self-consciously created words. For instance, some of his words like drowsi head, *elfin* and derailment are still in use and some have perished. Spencer's unique contribution lies in preserving expressions that had become archaic or obsolete in his time. Shakespeare's supremacy in word-making is as unquestionable as his supreinacy in other aspects of the use of language. As a scholar has put it very succinctly, Shakespeare was apparently the first to speak of cudgeling one's brain, breathing one's last, backing a horse and catching a *cold.* He was the first to call the world dull, and answer abrupt, speechesflowery, and plain faces homely. It is beyond the scope of this unit to cite even a small portion of Shakespeare's innovativeness. A portion of one of his plays (for example Act III of Hamlet) would give a host of new expressions.

We can attribute the presence of such words like emblazoning, dimensionless, *ensanguined,* irradiance and infinitude to Milton. Words like pandemonium by which Milton meant the hall of the fallen angels, and Pantheon are Milton's

contribution to English language. Milton even coined the term sensuous to replace sensual after that word had taken on baser associations.

One later poet who remotely approaches Shakespeare as far as his contribution to English vocabulary is concerned is John Keats. Keats, in his creation of compounds, recalls Shalcespeare. Some of these compounds are *full-throated* ease, *deep-damasked* wings, etc. He even coined certain words lilce aurorean, and *beamily*. Certain phrases, lilce "alien corn", "magic *casements*", "*perilous* seas" and "*fairy* landsforlorn" have become a permanent part of the language.

In the Victorian period, we have Tennyson who can be associated with the creation of compounds like "*evil-starred*" and "moonlit" and Browning whose creations such as crumblement, *febricity* and *garnishry* have a characteristic grotesqueness. He can be credited with the invention of the useful word artistry.

Coming to prose writers, Wyclife, Malory and Caxton are important names in the field of word-creation before the Modem English period. In the 16th century, Sir Thomas More, John Lyly, and Robert Greene contributed to the English word-stocle immensely. But the contribution of Sir Thomas Browne, in the 17th century is unparalleled. Words such as improperations, *areopagy, appellation, asperous favaginous* (honey-combed), paralogical (fallacious), digladiation (fighting with swords) etc have not found another user. But words that have found permanent place in English are hallucination, *precarious, incontrovertible* and retrogression. Even the word electricity, literary and medical are Browne's innovations.

Fiddlededee and irascibility are attributed to Dr. Samuel Johnson, ettiqutte, *friseur* and *persiflage* to Lord Chesterfield, bored and blase to Byron, and propriety and idealism to Shelley and Miss Burney respectively. Edmund Burke is credited with colonization, diplomacy, electioneering, federalism and municipality and Jeremy Bentham with minimize, detachable, meliorability, cross-examination and exhaustive.

In the 19th century, English words were created in great numbers and two Scotsmen Sir Walter Scott and Thomas Carlyle have been the major contributors. In Scott's case most of his innovations are revivals of old words or importation of dialect terms rather than 'creations'. Scott was responsible for the revival of words like *fitful,* borderer, thews and arm-gaunt and phrases such as "*towering* passion", "Yeo-man's service", etc. which were out-of-use after Shakespeare.

To Scott can be attributed the transfer of certain words from the dialect of his native land: raid, gruesome, uncanny and glamour. His pure iqnovations includefiee-lance, red-handed, passage-of-arms and Norseman.

Like Scott, Carlyle too levied upon the language of Scots his new words: *feckless,* lilt, (cadence), and outcome. But his fantastic audacity in word-creation can be gauged from his outlandish coinages lilce *Bedlamism,* dandiacal, grumbly and *gigmanity*. Among his novel compounds, *mischief-joy*, and *swansong* are more famous. Other miscellaneous words that Carlyle coined were *decadent*, environment, and self-help. Those phrases which are still in use are "the unspeakable *Turk*" and "the dismal science" (economics).

In the 20th century, there has been perhaps no single word-creator whose coinages have added any considerable number of words to the vocabulary. Among the prolific ones are James Joyce, e.e. cummings and Gertrude Stein whose coinages, however, have failed to percolate the vocabulary of the ordinary public.

3.4 CHANGES IN THE MEANING OF WORDS

One certain thing about words is that words frequently have several meanings and meanings change in time, just like the other elements in language. Thus, in Old English tartness could be attributed to winter and could encompass such possibilities as freezing to death. Today the meaning has changed considerably.

Shakespeare referred to "mice and rats and such small deer". But one should remember that deer formerly meant "animal". In the 1611 King James Bible, Matthew 4:4, "... the same John had his rainment of camel's hair... and his meat was locusts and wild honey". The word meat meant any food, even wild honey and locusts, during the Renaissance, and not necessarily the flesh of animal's. Samuel Johnson in his dictionary defines a humanist as "a philologer, a grammarian", and to *huddle* as "to perform in a hurry". We now know these meanings have changed considerably. In Frank Norris's Octopus (1901), a "... typewriter rose and withdrew, thrusting her pencil into the coil of her hair", in the 1990s typists rather than typewriters engage in such activities. In brief, meanings change.

Meaning of words change on account of both physical liltenesses and nonphysical likenesses. For instance, because of its physical appearance, cloud has shifted from its Middle English meaning of "a mass of rock" or "a hill" to its present meaning. Similarly *Head*, retaining its original meaning as the top item on a human body, is also, because of physical resemblances, used for cabbage. Galaxy, originally referring to "milk" has shifted to its presentmeaning because of associations with colour.

Non-physical likensses account equally for shifts in meaning. *Craft*, once meaning 'strength' has taken on the meaning of a related virtue, *skill*. The word priest once meant 'elder'; the authority of age has come to be associated with the office, and young priests are now possible.

3.5 LET US SUM UP

In this unit, we saw how the English language has undergone changes in its vocabulary and meaning of words. We saw how the English vocabulary was enriched by massive borrowing from other languages especially Latin, Greek and French and also by forming new words by various processes. We also saw how the meanings of particular words changed with the passage of time.

3.6 KEYWORDS

Borrowing a word or phrase which has been taken from one language and used in another language.

word-formation the creation of new words.

Onomatopoeic words imitation of natural sounds by means of words or groups of words

Compounding	the process which involves combining two or more existing words in order to form a new word.
Derivation	the formation of new words by adding affixes to other words.
Back-formation	when a new word is made by the removal of an affix from an existing word.
Conversion	a term used in the study of word formation to refer to the derivational process whereby an item comes to belong to a new word class without the addition of an affix, eg. words like elbow, walk, test, etc. can be used as nouns or verbs.
Inflectional	the process of adding an affix lo a word or changing it in some other way according to the rules of the grammar of a language.

3.7 READING LIST

Baugh, A.C and Cable, T. 1994 (4th ed) **A History of the English Language.** London: Routledge

Matthews, P.H. 1991 (2nd ed). **Morphology.** Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.

McCrum, R. **etal**. 1986. **The Story of English.** BBC Publications.

3.8 QUESTIONS

1. Look through your poetry course. Pull out twenty words which mean differently today. Write their earlier meaning as well as the present meaning.
2. Write about notes on
   Conversion
   Blending
   Back-fonnation
   Give your own examples from English and your mother tongue.

UNIT 4 CHANGES IN GRAMMAR

Structure

4.0 Objectives
4.1 Introduction
4.2 Changes in old English
- 4.2.1 The Noun
- 4.2.2 Adjectives in old English
- 4.2.3 The Verb
- 4.2.4 Grammatical Gender
- 4.2.5 Articles and Demonstratives
- 4.2.6 Interrogatives
- 4.2.7 The Indefinites - Pronouns
- 4.2.8 The Adverb

4.3 Grammatical Changes in Middle English
- 4.3.1 Decay of Inflectional Endings
- 4.3.2 The Pronoun
- 4.3.3 Participles
- 4.3.4 The Loss of Grammatical Gender

4.4 Word-order
4.5 Grammatical Changes in Modern English
- 4.5.1 The Noun
- 4.5.2 Adjectives and Adverbs
- 4.5.3 The Pronoun
- 4.5.4 Verbs
- 4.5.5 The Importance of Prepositions
- 4.5.6 Shall and Will

4.6 Major Eighteenth Century Grammarians
4.7 Let Us Sum Up
4.8 Key Words
4.9 Questions

4.0 OBJECTIVES

In the previous unit, we had been primarily concerned with the word as an isolated unit. Now, we shall undertake the study of the sentence - that is **syntax,** which examines the ways in which words may be combined, and the relationships that exist between the words in combination.

Again, we wish to inform you, that you need to be aware of the broad changes; the details that we have given you are merely examples. You don't have to learn these examples.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Changes in grammar have not proceeded as dramatically as changes in sound and spelling. Though fairly extensive changes have taken place, a core system of grammatical rules and principles have remained unchanged through the centuries. It will be our attempt in this section to trace the changes in the English grammar which have happened since Old English times.

Changes in English grammar have prceeedcd mainly in two ways through addition d' new elements and through the loss *of existing elements*. Since the latter is more extensive than the former we will deal with it first.

It is interesting to note the Old English was an *inflectional* language. Inflectional languages fall into two classes: synthetic and analytic. **A synthetic language** is one that indicates the relation of words in a sentence largely by means of inflections. In the case of Indo-European languages these most commonly took the form of endings on nouns, pronouns, adjectives and verbs. The Latin sentence *'Nero interficit Agrippinam* (Nero Killed Agrippina) would still mean the same if the words are arranged in any other order (Agrippinam *interficit* Nero) because here Nero is the form of the nominative and the -am ending of Agrippinam marks the noun as accusative no matter where it stands. In Modem English, however, we do not have distinctive forms for the subject and object, except in the possessive case and pronouns. Instead we make use of fixed word order. It makes a great deal of difference in Modem English whether we say Nero Killed *Agrippina* or *Agrippina* Killed Nero. Languages that make extensive use of prepositions and auxiliary verbs and depend upon word order to show relationship are known as **analytic languages.** Thus while Modem English is an analytic language, Old English was a synthetic language.

Based on the analytic - synthetic distinction, the major difference between Old English and Modem English is **the absence of inflections from nouns, pronouns, adjectives and verbs.** Their disappearance from the language will henceforth be shown chronologically.

4.2 CHANGES IN OLD ENGLISH

4.2.1 The Noun

The inflections of Old English nouns show distinctions of number and case. Old English has four cases. The endings of the cases vary with different nouns, but they fall into certain broad categories or declensions. There is a vowel declension and a consonant declension, also called the strong and *weak* declension, according to whether the stem ended (in Germanic) in a vowel or a consonant. The stems of nouns belonging to the vowel declension ended in one of the four vowels: a, o, i or u. The nature of inflections in Old English a can be gathered from two examples of strong declension and one of weak declension: *stān* (stone), a masculine a-stem; *giefu* (gift), a feminine-- o-stern; and *hunta* (hunter), a masculine consonant-stern. Forms are given for the four cases - nominative, genitive, dative and accusative:

Singular	*NOM.*	*Stān*	gief - *u*	hunt-a
	GEN.	*stān-es*	gief-e	hzint-an
	DAT.	*stān-e*	gief-e	*hunt-an*
	ACC.	*stān*	*gief-e*	hunt-an
Plural	*NOM.*	*stān-as*	gief-a	hunt-an
	GEN.	*stān-a*	*gief-a*	*hunt-ena*
	DAT.	*stān-um*	*gief-um*	hunt-um
	ACC.	*stān-as*	*gief-a*	hunt-an

Number in Old English was also indicated through inflections. Case endings (like our *'s* for possessive) were very common. The Modem English word earl meaning *man* in Old English was spelled *eorl* and had the following forms.

-S Plurals

	Singular	Plural
N (subject)	*eorl*	*eorlas*
G (possessive)	*eorles*	*eorla*
D (indirect object)	*eorle*	*eorlum*
A (direct object)	*eorl*	*eorlas*

The various vowels in the inflectional endings changed to *e* [a] in Middle English and completely disappeared in Modern English. Thus the plural *eorlas* (two syllables) became, *eorles* (two syllables) in Middle English and *earls* in Modern English. Similarly *eorles* provided the model for our *earl's*. The other endings (e, *a, um*) just disappeared.

-*en* plurals

The plural form *oxen* is almost the sole survivor of a large class of nouns that had the following forms in Old English.

	Singular	Plural
N	*oxa*	*oxan*
G	*oxan*	*oxena*
D	*oxan*	*oxum*
A	*oxan*	*oxan*

oxan changed to *oxen* in Middle English and has remained unchanged ever since. It has *children, brethren* to keep it company.

Plurals with zero endings

Another group of nouns in Modern English add nothing at all in the plural:

one deer	*two deer*
one sheep	*two sheep*

The plural *deer* and *sheep* came directly from Old English:

	Singular	Plural
N	*dēor*	*dēor*
G	*dēores*	*dēora*
D	*dēore*	*dēorum*
A	*dēor*	*dēor*

Plural with Vowel Change

Another group of nouns in Modem English includes those with a changed vowel within the word, rather than an inflectional ending:

tooth-teeth	*mouse-mice*
goose-geese	*man-men*
foot-feet	*louse-lice*

In Old English such words followed this pattern

	Singular	Plural
N	*fōt*	*fēt*
G	*fōtes*	*fōta*

D	*fēt*	*fōtum*
A	*fōt*	*fēt*

Plurals ending in-ves

The change of **f** to v in words like **wolf**-*wolves/ wulf-wulvz* goes back to Old English. In Old English writing the letter v was not used but the sound *[v]* existed. In Old English *[f]* remained *[f]* at the beginning or end of a word - *(flod-flood, wulf-wolf)*. But when it came inside a word and there were voiced sounds on both sides of it like *[l]* and [a] as in *wulfas,* it became voiced to *[v].*The letter v came into use only in the Middle English period. Words like *knife,* thief.' *loaf* function like *wolf, wife, leaf, half, shelf* and had both the *[v]* and *[f]* sounds but they picked up the - *es [z]* ending later.

4.2.2 Adjective in Old English

An important feature of Old English is a two-fold declension of the adjective: one a strong declension (used with nouns when not accompanied by a definite article or similar word such as a demonstrative or possessive pronoun) and a weak declension, used when the noun is preceded by such a word. Thus we have in Old English *gōd mann* (good man) but se *gōda mann* (the good man). The forms given below are those of the nominative singular in the strong and weak declension:

Singular

	Strong Declension			**Weak Declension**		
	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	Mac.	Fem.	Neut.
N	gōd	gōd	gōd	gōd-a	gōd-e	gōd-e
G	gōd-es	gad-re	gōd-es	gōd-an	gōd-an	gad-e
D	gōd-um	gōd-re	gōd-um	gōd-an	gōd-an	gōd-an
A	gōd-ne	gōd-e	gōd	gōd-an	gōd-an	gōd-e
I	gōd-e		gōd-e			

Plural

N	gōd-e	gōd-a	gōd	gōd-an
G	gōd-ra	gōd-ra	gōd-ra	gōd-ena/gōd-ra
D	gōd-um	gōd-um	gōd-um	gōd-um
A	gōd-e	gōd-a	gōd	gōd-an

This elaborated pattern of inflexions in Old English adjectives is strikingly absent from Modem English and its elimination has served to make the English language more simplified and accessible.

The comparatives of adjectives was foimed by suffixing -ra as in *heardra* (harder) and the superlatives by suffixing *-ost* as in *heardost* (hardest). A few adjectives had a modified *-ira, -ist* in the comparative and *-est* in the superlative-e.g. *ald* (old), *eldra* (elder), yldest (eldest). A few others had conlparatives and superlatives from a different root from that of the positive- *god* (good) betra (better) *betst* (best).

4.2.3 The Verb

Old English distinguished only two simple tenses by inflection- a present and a past tense . It recognised the indicative, subjunctive and imperative modes and had the usual two numbers and three persons.

A peculiar feature of the Germanic languages was the division of the verb in two classes " the **weak** and the *strong-* also known in Modem English as regular and

irregular verbs. The strong verbs are those which like *sing-satzg-sung* indicate a change of tense by a modification of their root vowel. In weak verbs such as *wall-walked-walked* the change is affected by the addition of an extra (dental) syllable.

Like Germanic, Old English has seven classes of strong verbs. Within these classes however a perfectly regular sequence can be observed in the changes of the root vowel. Old English strong verbs have four forms: the infinitive, the preterite singular (first and third person), the preterite plural and the past participle. The variations with each class may be illustrated thus:

I	*drīfan*	drive	*drāf*	*drifon*	*(ge) drifen*
II	*cēosan*	choose	*cēas*	*curon*	*coren*
III	*helpan*	help	*healp*	*hulpon*	*holpen*
IV	*beran*	bear	*bær*	*bǣron*	*horen*
V	*sprecan*	speak	*spræc*	*sprǣcon*	*sprecen*
VI	*faran*	fare, go	*fōr*	*fōron*	*faren*
VII	*feallan*	fall	*fēoll*	*fēollan*	*feallen*

The origin of the dental suffixes by which weak verbs form their past tense and past participle is strongly debated. However it is sufficient to note that a large number of verbs formed their past tense by adding *-ede -ode or-de* to the present stem and their past participle by adding *-ed -od* or *-d:*

	Preterite	***Past Participle***
fremman (to perform)	*fremede*	*gefremed*
lufian (to love)	*lufode*	*gelufod*
libban (to live)	*lifde*	*gelifd*

It is to be noted, however, that the weak conjugation has become the dominant one in Modern English. Many strong verbs have passed over to this conjunction and practically all new verbs added to the language are inflected in accordance with it.

The Verb *Be*

The English verb most obviously in a class by itself is *be.* It alone has a uniquely distinctive form for the subject I-that is, *I am.* It alone has present-tense forms- *am, are, is-* that are totally unlilce the simple form-be. It alone has two past-tense forms - *was* and *-were-that* are distributed in accordance with the person and number of the subject. Yet this complexity is simpliciy itself compared to the multiplicity of forms in Old English:

Infinitive
be:beon, wesan

Indicative

I am:	*ic eom, bēo*		
thou art:	*pū eart, bist*		
he is:	*hē is, bip*		
we		*wē*	
you	*are:*	*gē*	*sindon, sind, sint; bēop; wesaþ*
they		*hiē*	
was:	*wæs*		
were:	*wǣre, wǣron*		

The Verbs *Do* and *Go*

The verb *do (I do)* has the irregular past-tense form *did* and past participle *done.* The comparable forms in Old English were ***dōn (ic dō), dyde, dōn.***

The verb go (Igo) has the irregular past-tense form went and past particple gone. The comparable forms in Old English were *gan (ic gā), ēode, gān*. Modem English went did not develop from *ēode;* it is the past tense of *wend*. About five hundred years ago it replaced yede and yode, the Middle English development of Old English *ēode*.

The Modal Auxuliaries

The words which we now call modal auxiliaries- can-could, *shall-should, will-*would, may-might, must, as well as the closely related ought-were once full-fledged verbs. As late as Chaucer's *Canterbury* Tales, for example, we find sentences like these

Of wodecraft wel *koude* he al the usage.
(woodcraft) (could = knew)
He wolde the see were kept for any thyng.
(would =wished) (sea) (protected).

The final *[d]* or *[t]* in could, should would, *might,* must, *ought* is an authentic past-tense suffix. It has, however, lost most of its relation to past time. We say, "I could/should/must study tomorrow". Second, since the meanings involved in these words are highly subjective, it is just about impossible to keep these meanings stable. We say, "We must see that movie". Here *must* means: "We want to see that movie".

4.2.4 Grammatical Gender

One major difference between Old and Modem English is the fact that Old English nouns were differentiated on grounds of gender. But gender of Old English nouns was not dependent upon considerations of sex. Nouns designating males are often masculine and those indicating females are often feminine but those indicating neuter objects are not necessarily neuter. *Stān* (stone) is masculine, *mōna (moon)* is masculine but *sunne* (sun) is feminine as in German. Often gender in Old English is quite illogical. Words like *m* gden (girl), *wif* (wife), *bearn* (child, son) which we would expect to be masculine or feminine are in fact neuter, while *wifemann* (woman) is masculine because the second element of the compound is masculine. **The gradual loss of grammatical gender and the resulting simplicity has become one of the assets of the modern version of the language.**

4.2.5 Articles and Demonstratives

Old English possessed a fully inflected definite article which can be seen from the following forms.

	Singular			**Plnral**
	Masc.	Fern.	Neut.	All Genders
N	sē	sēo	ðæt	ðā
G	ðæs	ðære	ðæs	ðāra
D	ðæm	ðære	ðæm	ðæm
A	ðone	ðā	%at	ðā
I	ðȳ, ðon		ðȳ,ðȳn	

While the regular meaning of *sē, sēo,ðæt* is 'the', the word in Old English actually is a demonstrative pronoun and survives in the Modem English demonstrative *that*. Its pronominal character is also apparent from its frequent use in Middle English as a relative pronoun (who, *which,* that) and as a personal pronoun *(he, she, it)*.

The indefinite articles *a* and *an* developed from Old English *ān [a:n]*. In an unstressed position *[a:n]* **ān** becomes *[ǎn]* and before consonants *[a]*- for example *an abbot, a knight*. Th'e purely phonetic arrangement by which *an* occurs before vowels and *a* before consonants continues into Modern English.

The word *this* is the direct development of Old English *þis* or *ðis*. In a very strange reversal of meaning *þas* the plural of *þis* developed into Modern English *those*, the plural of *that*. A new form *these* developed as the plural of *þis*.

4.2.6 Interrogatives

The present day interrogatives *who, whose, whom, what* and *why* stem from various Old English interrogative pronouns:

	Masculine	**Neuter**
N	hwā (>who)	hwæt (>what)
G	hwæs (>whose)	hwæs
D	hwǣm, hwām (whom)	hwǣm, hwām
A	hwone	hwæt
I	hwī, hwȳ (>why)	hwi, hwȳ

Thus *why* originally meant '*by means of what*'. The interrogative *which* developed from Old English *hwlic* and *whether* from *hwæper* meaning *'which'* or *'who of two"?*

4.2.7 The Indefinites - Pronouns

The wide ranging Old English interrogatives pronouns -*hwā, hwæt, hwlic, hwæper* were also used as indefinite pronouns, most frequently with prefixes or combining forms. These indefinites have now disappeared. Compounds were made in Old English with *thing (anything, everything, something, nothing)* initially spelled as two words; indefinites were also based on *hwā, hwæt hwilc* compounds with *body* and *one* developed in Middle or late Modern English-- *anyone, anybody, everyone, everybody.*

We had mentioned that changes in language proceed through loss of existing elements and addition of new items. I-laving discussed the losses in the language, we can now proceed to change **through addition.** New elements in the grammatical system were introduced in the Old English period and came from Scandinavian and Danish. Borrowings from Scandinavian were not limited to only nouns, adjectives and verbs; elements such as pronouns, adverbs, prepositions and even a part of the verb *to be* which are not usually transferred from one language to another, came into Old English from Scandinavian.

Pronouns

The present-day first person pronoun has the following eight fonns:

Singular	**Plural**
I	*We*
My, Mine	*Our, Ours*
Me	*Us*

Old English clearly indicates where these forms came from:

	Singular	**Dual**	**Plural**
N	*ic*	*wit*	*we'*
G	*mīn*	*uncer*	*ūser, ūre*
D	*mē*	*unc*	*ūs*
A	*mec, mē*	*uncit, unc*	*usic, us*

Old English shows distinctive forms for not only all genders, pronouns and cases, but also in preserving in addition to the ordinary numbers, singular and plural, a set of forms for two people or two things. This *dual number* was disappearing from the pronoun even in Old English. **Mine** developed from *mīn*; *my* developed after *mīn* lost its final *[n]* in Middle English. At first *my* was used only before consonants and *mīn* before vowels much like a and an are used today. In Modern English this purely phonetic distribution was lost.

The present day **second-person pronoun** has the following forms

Singular	**Plural**
You	you
your, yours	your, yours
you	you

In addition the following are also used, thanks mainly to poetry

thou	*ye*
thy, thine	
thee	

The current forms originate from Old English

	Singular	**Dual**	**Plural**
N	*þū*	*git [yit]*	*gē [ye:]*
G	*þīn*	*incer*	*ēower*
D	*þē*	*inc*	*ēow*
A	*þec, þē*	*incit, inc*	*ēowic, ēow*

The dual forms disappeared as did the accusatives *þec* and *ēowic*, while the history of the rest of the forms parallels that of the first person, including the division of the genitive *þīn* into *thy* and *thine* on the lines of *my* and *mine*. *You* originally was only plural and only on object form. It was not used for one person nor as a subject as it is used today. With appropriate sound changes the early Modem English forms were:

Singular	**Plural**
thou	*ye*
thy, thine	*your, yours*
thee	*you*

The third person forms in Modem English are :

	Singular		**Plural**
he	*she*	*it*	*they*
his,	*her/hers*	*its*	*their, theirs*
him	*her*	*it*	*them*

There are some differences between these forms and their Old English counterparts:

	Singular			**Plural**
	Masc.	**Fem.**	**Neuter**	**All Genders**
N	*he' (he)*	*hēo, hīe (she)*	*hit (it)*	*hie, hī; hēo*
G	*his*	*hiere, hire,*	*his*	*hiera,heora*
D	*him*	*hiere, hire*	*him*	*him, heom*
A	*hine*	*hie, hi*	*hit*	*hīe, hī, hēo* ,

The masculine singular forms have survived almost intact with the loss of the accusative form *hine*. Had the plural forms of Old English survived we would now say *he* or *high* instead of their and *him* or *him* instead of *them*. The *th-* forms are a contribution of the Scandinavians who invaded England in Old English times.

The self pronouns include

myself	*ourselves*
yourself	*yourselves*
himself	
herself	*themselves*
itself	

These pronouns and their present day use were pretty well established by Chaucer's time. *Myself, yourself, ourselves, yourselves* are formed with a possessive pronoun plus what appears to be a noun- as in *"my very own self"* or *"our very own selves"*. *Himself* and *themselves* are formed with an object pronoun and a modification of *self* or *selves*. This reflects the Old English situation in which a noun or pronoun could be followed by *self*, which took appropriate adjective endings. For example:
Ic me selfum andwyrde
(I answered myself).

4.2.8 The Adverb

Adverbs are another item borrowed from the Scandinavians, The commonest suffix in Old English that turned an adjective into an adverb was *e- for* example *wraþ* (angry), *wraþe* (angrily). The final *e* was however lost by the fourteenth century in the transition from Middle to Modem English, The adjective and adverb thus became identical as in *hard*.

A bat is *hard*
He swung *hard* at the ball,
The commonest present day suffix distinguishing an adverb from an adjective is *-ly:*

deep	-	*deeply*	*wide*	-	*widely*
loud	-	*loudly*	*clear*	-	*clearly*

-ly however originated from the Old English suffix *lic*
lic *luf + lic = lufic* (lovely)
frēond + lic = frēondlic (friendly)
To such an adjective, the adverbial *e* could be added:
frenodlic + e = frēondlice (in a,friendly manner):
In time the double suffix *lice* was freely attached to adjective:
slāw + lice = slawlice (slowly)
eornost + lice = eornostlice (earnestly).

With the loss of the final *e, lic* and *lice* became identical and developed into Modern English adjectival form *-ly* and adverbial *-ly*.

lovely, friendly, homely
slowly, keenly, bravely,

4.3 GRAMATICAL CHANGES IN MIDDLE ENGLISH

This extensive survey of the grammatical structures of Old English prepares the way for further discussions on the grammar in Middle English. The Middle English period (1150-1500) was marked by momentous changes in the English language,

changes more extensive and fundamental than had taken place at any time before or since. Some were the result of the Norman Conquest while others were a continuation and logical culmination of tendencies that had begun in the Old English period, The changes of this period affected both the vocabulary and the grammar of the English language. The changes in vocabulary have already been discussed. The changes in grammar reduced English from a highly inflected language to an analytic one. At the beginning of this period English was a language which had to be learned like a foreign tongue; at the end of this period English has stepped into modernity. Changes in this period progressed mainly thorough the loss of such eleinents which had been an intrinsic part of the language in the Old English period.

4.3.1 Decay of Inflectional Endings

The major change in English grammar was a general reduction of inflectional endings on nouns, adjectives and verbs. Endings on nouns, verbs, and adjectives marking distinctions of number and case and often gender were so altered in pronunciation as to lose their distinctive form and hence their usefulness. An important and early change was the change of final *-m* to *-n* i.e. in the dative plural of nouns and adjectives. Thus *godum* became *godun*. Later this *-n* along with other *-n* inflectional endings were dropped. At the same time vowels a, *o*, u, *e* in inflectional' endings were all obscured to *-e*. As a result a number of originally distinct endings such as *a*, u, *e, an, um* were reduced to a uniform *-e*, and such grammatical distinctions as they formerly expressed were no longer conveyed.

A few examples of common nouns declension in Old English will show how extensively inflectional endings were disturbed. For example, the eight forms of *stan* (stone) in Chaucer's English were reduced to three *-stan, -stanes* and *stun*. The only distinctive termination was the *-s* of the possessive singular and nominative and accusative plural. Because these two cases of the plural were those most frequently used, the *-s* came to be thought of as a sign of the plural and was extended to all plural fonns. In early Middle English only two methods of indicating the plural remained fairly distinctive: the *-s* and *-es* from the strong declension and the *-en* (as in *oxen)* from the weak declension. Though the *-en* form remained popular in the south until the thirteenth century, by the fourteenth century *-s* was accepted all over England as the universal plural marker.

With regard to the adjective, the decay of inflections had an even greater effect. The form of the nominative singular was extended to all cases of the singular and that of the nominative plural to all cases of the plural, both in the strong and weak declension. Thus the five singular and plural forms of the Old English weak adjective declension *(a, e, an, ena* and *um)* were reduced to a single form ending *-e* with gender and number distinctions completely obliterated.

In the general levelling to *-e* of unstressed vowels the Old English comparative endings *-ra* became *-re* and later *-er*; the superlative suffixes *-ost* and *-est* fell together as *-est*. If the root vowel of a word was long *(swete)* it was shortened before these endings- *swetter, swettest,* though the analogy of the positive form as in the example cited above, frequently caused the original length to be restored in the comparative and superlative forms.

Among verbs apart from the decay of inflections and weakening of endings in accordance with the general tendency, the principle change in the Middle English period was a steady depletion in the number of strong verbs and a corresponding increase in the number of weak verbs. Nearly one third of Old English strong verbs died out in the Middle English period. About ninety have no written record after 1150 and about thritv became obsolete durine the Middle English period. today

more than half of the Old English strong verbs have disappeared completely from standard language.

Some strong verbs became weak through the principle of *analogy*. At a time when English was largely a language of the lower classes it was natural that many speakers would apply the pattern of weak verbs to some which were historically strong. In the thirteenth century this trend becomes clear in verbs like *bow, brew, burn, climb, flee, flow, help, mourn, row, step, walk, weep* which were then undergoing change. By the foul-teenth century no less than thirty two verbs apart from the ones mentioned above show weak forms. By the fifteenth century this impulse had been checked. But in some cases weak forms of strong verbs did not survive in standard speech *(blowed* for *blew, knowed* for *knew, teared* for *tore)* while in the other cases both continued in use *(cleft-clove, crowed-crew, heaved-hot'?, sheared-shore).*

But for some reason the past participle of strong verbs seems to have been more tenacious than the past tense. In the verb *beat, beaten* has remained the standard form while in a number of other verbs *(cloven, hewn, laden, molten, mown, sodden, swollen)* the strong participle is still used, especially as adjective.

When we subtract the verbs that have been lost completely and the eighty that have become weak, there remain just sixty-eight of the Old English strong verbs in the English language today. To these may be added the thirteen verbs (like *strive, drive, thrive, wear, spat)* that are conjugated both ways or have kept one strong form. Beside this considerable loss the number of new strong formations have been negligible.

4.3.2 The Pronoun

The decay of inflectional endings and the simplification of the noun and adjective made it less necessary to depend upon formal indications of gender, case and number and to rely more upon juxtaposition, word order and preposition to make clear the relation of words in a sentence. Among pronouns the loss was the greatest in the demonstratives. Of the numerous forms *se, seo* þæt *the* and *that* survived through Middle to Modern English. All the other forms indicative of different gender, number and case disappeared early in the Middle English period. The same was true of the demonstrative þes, *þeos, þis* (this). Everywhere (except the south) the neuter form *þis* come to be used in early Middle English for all gender and cases of the singular, while the forms of the nominative plural were similarly extended to all cases of the plural appearing in Modem English as *those* and *these.*

In the personal pronoun the losses were not so great, I-lere there was greater need for separate forms for different cases and genders and accordingly most of the distinctions that existed in Old English were retained. However the dative and accusative cases were combined under the dative *(him, her (t)hem).* In the neuter the form of the accusative *(h)it* became the general symbol.

One other general simplification is to be noted-- the loss of the dual number - *wit, git.*

4.3.3 Participles

The endings of the present participle varied from dialect to dialect- *and(e)* in the North, *-ende, ing(e)* in the Midlands, *inde, ing(e)* in the South. The *-ing* ending which has prevailed in Modern English is from the Old English noun ending *-ung* as in *leornung* (learning), *bodung* (preaching). Past participle might or might not have

the initial inflection i- *[y]* from Old English ge-. Though found in Chaucer, it was later lost in may parts of England including the East Midland.

4.3.4 The Loss of Grammatical Gender

One of the consequences of the decay of inflections was the elimination of the troublesome grammatical gender. The gender of Old English nouns was not always determined by meaning. Sometimes it was in direct contradiction with meaning, eg. *woman* was masculine while *wife* was neuter. But during the Middle English period when all but a handful of nouns acquired the masculine nominative accusative plural ending *-es* (*-as* in Old English) coupled with the supplanting of *se, þæt* and *seo* by *the,* the support for grammatical gender was removed. Henceforth, the idea of sex became the only factor determining the gender of English nouns.

4.4 WORD-ORDER

The "fixing" of word-order is one of the most crucial developments in the History of English Language. In Qld English, inflection dominated word-order, but today it might be said without hesitation that word-order dominates inflection.

Of course, Qld English had word order too. But because inflection still clearly showed syntactic relatianships, Old English word arder was able to fairly free and, like Latin, words could be moved about for rhetorical purposes. This is not impossibls today, but very difficult because what has always been the common order of words has now become regular and there is little room left for variation,

In Old English, one could well have said *se mann bohte pone hlaf: se mannpone hlaf bohte* or any such combination, the only difference lying in the emphasis conferred on particular words by their being put in the front position. In Modern English we say only what corresponds to the first of these sentences: *The man bought the loaf:* because the subject must come before the verb, and object after it, in declarative sentences, And if we wish to emphasize any particular ward, we usually have to depend on stress of voice. Thus in Old English the syntactic relationships of subject and object were expressad by inflection, and changes in the word order did not affect them; today subject and abject are no longer shown by inflection in nouns, and even in pronouns though they have different forms for subject and object,

4.4 GRAMMATICAL CHANGES IN MODERN ENGLISH

Grammatical changes in the Modern English period though important are less spectacular than changes in the sound system, English grammar during the early Modem period is marked more by the survival of certain forms and usages, which have since then disappeared, than by any fundamental developments. The most important of these changes we may review briefly,

4.5.1 The Noun

The only inflectional endings retained in the naun are those marking the plural and the possessive singular. The *-s* plural has become so common that except for a few nouns like *sheep* and *fish* or a few others like *mice* and *feet*, with mutated vowels, we are scarcely conscious of anv other form.

4.5.2 Adjectives and Adverbs

Because the adjective had already lost all its endings, the chief interest of this part of speech in the Modern Period is in the forms of the comparative and superlative degrees. The two methods commonly used to form the comparative and superlative are the endings *-er* and *-est* along with the adverbs *more* and *most*. Double comparative or superlative remained fairly common till early Modern English- *more fairer, most unkindest*. The trend affecting the adjective in modem times has been the gradual settling down of usage so that words with one syllable take *-er* and *-est*, while most adjectives of two or more syllables take *more* and *most- frugal, learned, careful, famous*.

4.5.3 The Pronoun

The sixteenth century saw the establishment of the personal pronoun in the form that it has had since. In the attaining this form three changes were involved (a) the disuse of *thou, thy, thee*. In the thirteenth century *thou, thy, thee* were used with familiar or inferiors, while the plural forms *ye, your, you* were used as a mark of respect. By the sixteenth century the singular forms had all but disappeared and *ye, you, your* became the usual pronoun of direct address irrespective of rank or intimacy. (b) the substitution of *you* for *ye* as a nominative case. Originally a clear distinction was maintained between the nominative *ye* and accusative *you*. But because both forms were so frequently unstressed they were often pronounced *[je]*. A tendency to confuse the two appeared fairly early and from the fourteenth century onwards the two forms were used quite indiscriminately until *ye* finally disappeared (c) the introduction of *its* as the possessive *it*. The foimation of the new possessive neuter *its* was in some ways the most interesting development in the pronoun. The neuter pronoun in Old English was *kit, his, him, hit* which became *hit, his, hit* in Middle English. In unstressed position *hit* weakened to *it* at the beginning of the Modem period. It was the usual form for the subject and object. By the seventeenth century *its* had become the usual form displacing *his* and *it* as a neuter possessive.

Finally mention has to be made of one more noteworthy development - the relative and interrogative pronouns. Old English had no proper relative pronouns. It made use of the definite articles *(se, seo, þæt)* which however had more demonstrative force than relative. At the end of the Old English period the particle *þe* had become the most usual relative pronoun, but in the early Middle English period its place was taken by *þæt* (that). In the fifteenth century *which* begins to alternate with *that*. It was not until the sixteenth century that the pronoun *who* as a relative came into use and remained in widespread use till the present day.

4.5.4 Verbs

Through Middle English the regular ending of the third person singular was *-eth*. Chaucer for instance has *telleth, giveth, saith, doth*. In the fifteenth century, however, forms with *-s* appear and by the end of the century forms like *tells, says, gives* predominate, though in some words the old usage remains *doth, hath*. The *-s* ending also appears in the third person plural by the end of the sixteenth century in expressions like Shakespeare's *"troubled minds that wakes" (Lucrece)* or *"Whose own hard dealing teaches them suspect the deed of others"* in *Merchant of Venice*.

Many of the Middle English strong verbs were lost while many became weak. Those that remained were subject to considerable alteration in the past tense and past participle. Verbs like *bids, crow, flay, dread, sprout, wade* developed weak forms. Conspicuous by their absence in early Modem English were progressive forms and

compound participle. The latter arose in the sixteenth century-- *having spoken thw, huving decided to make the attempt. An* increase in the use of the progressive verb forms is an important development of the eighteenth century. The forms *to be* and the present participle are generally called progressive forms because their function is to indicate an action as being in progress at the time implied by the auxiliary- I *sing, I do sing, I am singing.* **The wide extension in the use of the progressive forms is one of the most important development of the English verb in the Modern period.** The expanded passive form, the so-called progressive passive was an even later development, belonging to the very end of the eighteenth century- *the house* is *being built, the man is being killed.*

The *do*-forms had important uses in interrogative *(do you sing)* and negative sentences (I*don't sing).* Most of the current contracted negative forms *n't* appear in the seventeenth century. *Won't* came from *wol(l) not, don't* form *do* or *does not, an't* from *am (are, is) not.* Contractions of auxiliary verbs occur somewhat earlier- *it's* appears in the seventeenth century. *Would* becomes *'ld* later becoming *'d* which in the eighteenth century came to be used for *had* also. *Have* was contracted to *'ve*.

Impersonal uses of the verb were common in early Modem English. Shakespearean expressions like *it dislikes (displeases) me; it yearns (grieves) me not* illustrate the point.

4.5.5 The Importance of Prepositions

With the loss of all distinctive inflectional endings in the Middle English period prepositions acquired an importance greater than they ever had in Old or Middle English. They were needed to indicate precisely the grammatical relations which had been served by inflections in earlier times.

4.5.6 Shall and Will

In Old and Middle English *will* and *shall* expressed simple futurity though as a rule they implied respectively obligation and volition. The present use of the words stems from the rules of John Wallis who stated that simple futurity is expressed by *shall* in the first person and by *will* in the second and third. Despite a century of vigorous discussions the rules of distinction are not yet very clear. Charles Carpenter Frills has pointed out that there has been no change in the use of *shall* and *will* in the first person from the Middle of the sixteenth century onwards, with will greatly predominating; with the second person the sixteenth century predominance of *shall* has been reversed; similarly with the third person *will* has come to predominate over *shall.*

4.6 MAJOR EIGHTEENTH CENTURY GRAMMARIANS

A Survey of English grammar through the centuries will remain incomplete without the mention of the grammarians of the eighteenth century. The desire to "refine". "fix", "ascertain" the language had marked scholarly efforts from the sixteenth century onwards, Treatises on English grammar had appeared as early as the sixteenth century and drew attention from authors such as Ben Johnson and John Milton. The eighteenth century grammarians set before themselves three tasks (a) to codify the principles of the language and reduce it to rules (b) to settle disputed points and decide cases of divided usage (c) to point 'out common errors and thus improve the language. The considerations by which these questions were settled were also three in number--reason, etymology and the example of Latin and Greek.

Reason was commonly taken to mean consistency or as it was called analogy. The third criteria--examples from classical languages—were not so commonly cited to settle disputed points, because a feeling grew up during the eighteenth century that there are more disadvantages than advantages in trying to fit English into the patterns of Latin or Greek grammar.

4.7 LET US SUM UP

The introduction of new elements and the decay of existing ones in grammar, sound and spelling as late as the eighteenth century shows that English is a living and growing language. The overall movement is towards reducing items and also standardizing them. For example, as one descends to modem English, inflection loses syntactic scope and is reduced quantitatively. The language will continue to change in the future, as it has in the past, albeit more slowly.

4.8 KEY WORDS

diphthongs a speech sound which is usually considered as one distinctive vowel of a particular language but really involves two vowels, with one gliding to the other e.g. my /mai/

dialect a variety of a language spoken in one part of a country (regional dialect), or by people belonging to a particular social class (social dialect), which is different in some words, grammar and pronunciation from other forms of the same language.

Inflecting language a language in which the form of a word changes to show a change in meaning or grammatical function. Often there is no clear distinction between the basic part of the word and the part which shows a grammatical function such as tense.

Analytic language a language in which word forms do not change, and in which grammatical function are shown by word order and the use of function words.

Synthetic language a language in which various affixes may be added to the stem of a word to add to its meaning or to show its grammatical function.

Declension a list of the case forms of a noun phrase in a particular language.

Case forms **Nominative** - that particular case form which is used to mark the **subject** of a sentence.

Genitive - the case which marks the possessor, such as Jon's mother,

Dative - the case used to mark an indirect object

Accusative - the case used to mark the direct object,

Modal Auxiliary	An auxiliary which expressed mood or modality. The English modals are: ***can,*** *could, must, will, might,* etc.

4.9 QUESTIONS

1. Define Inflectional language and Synthetic language.

2. Write a summary of the unit in 200 words. Use one syntactic category as an example to show the change from Old English onto Middle English and then Modem English.

U.P. Rajarshi Tandon Open
University, Prayagraj

MAEN-112
Aspects of Language

Block

3

ENGLISH PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY-I

Block Introduction

UNIT 1
The Speech Mechanism 101

UNIT 2
The Description and Classification of Consonants and Vowels 114

UNIT 3
Phonetic Transcription and Phonology 127

UNIT 4
The Consonants of English 136

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Human beings are different from other animals in that they have developed a very complicated system to communicate with one another. The signals used for human communication are generally of two different types, aural and visual. Children first acquire the power of speech by responding to the sounds made by people around them and imitating them out of their need for communication. Reading and writing are learnt much later.

Phonetics is concerned with the study of the aural medium, i.e., the production, transmission and reception of the sounds of human speech. Phonetic studies have gained importance because of a large number of people learning second languages and due to the introduction of mechanical, electronic devices and the burgeoning of Information Technology.

Phonology deals with the sound system of a language, i.e. the way sounds are patterned in a language.

This course is divided into two blocks - mainly to make it easy for you.

Block 3	deals with:
Unit 1	The Speech Mechanism
Unit 2	The Description and Classification of Consonants and Vowels
Unit 3	Phonetic Transcription and Phonology
Unit 4	The Consonants of English
Block 3a	deals with
Unit 5	The Vowels of English
Unit 6	Word Accent, Stress and Rhythm in Connected Speech
Unit 7	Intonation

Hope you enjoy your study material. Good Luck.

UNIT 1 THE SPEECH MECHANISM

Structure

1.0 Objectives
1.1 The Speech Mechanism
  1.1.1 Introduction
  1.1.2 The Respiratory System
  1.1.3 The Phonatory System
  1.1.4 The Articulatory System
1.2 Passive and Active Articulators
1.3 Describing and Classifying Speech Sounds
  1.3.1 'Vowel' and 'Consonant'
1.4 Let Us Sum Up
1.5 Key Words
1.6 Suggested Reading
1.7 Exercises
1.8 Answers to Exercises

1.0 OBJECTIVES

In this unit we shall look at the Speech Mechanism and the three systems that constitute it. We shall familiarise ourselves with the organs of speech that comprise each system and their respective roles in the production of speech. Phonetic criteria for the description and classification of speech sounds will also be considered. We shall aiso frame exercises for you to apply these criteria to English words and also to ensure your understanding of the functions of the organs of speech. After completing this unit you should be able to

- Understand the functions of the three systems that constitute the Speech Mechanism
- Define the functions of each of the organs of speech in the production of speech
- Identify the phonetic difference between the broad categories 'consonant' and 'vowel'.

1.1 THE SPEECH MECHANISM

1.1.1. Introduction

One of the chief characteristics of human beings is their ability to communicate **with their fellow beings.** They convey complex messages concerning every aspect of life. A child even at a very early age learns to communicate by imitating the **recurrent sound pattern** s/he has become familiar with. It is only later that s/he learns the visual representation of speech i.e. writing.

Even though most Indians can use at least two languages as a moans of communication, they generally take speech for granted, and seldom stop to think about the complex speech mechanism that makes spoken language possible. The analysis of the spoken form of a language is by no means simple, because each of us uses an infinite number of speech sounds which combine in different ways to form the strings of words we utter. For the convenience of description and analysis therefore, we need to break up the strings of utterances into the smallest units of sounds possible.

Phonetics is the study and science of speech sounds. When we produce speech sounds we use the Speech Mechanism which comprises of certain organs of the body, such as the muscles of the chest, the tongue, the lips and so on. The movement of these organs causes some disturbance which travels to the ear of the listener in the form of sound waves. The listener then interprets them as sounds. The organs of speech perform different functions in the production of speech. In other words, the air that we breathe is modified in different ways to result in various combinations of consonants and vowels. That is probably why Speech is popularly known as 'modified breathing.'

The organs of speech and their speech functions can be described with reference to three systems: **the Respiratory System, tlie Phonatory System and the Articulatory System.**

1.1.2 The Respiratory System

The organs of speech of which the Respiratory system is' comprised are the lungs, the muscles of the chest and the windpipe or **trachea.** The primary function of the lungs as we all know, is to enable us to breathe or **respire.** The muscles of the chest expand and consequently the lungs expand and draw the outside air in. Thus we breathe in or **inhale** the air which passes through the trachea into the lungs. When the muscles of the chest contract the lungs are compressed and throw the air out. Thus we breathe out or **exhale** the air we have breathed in.

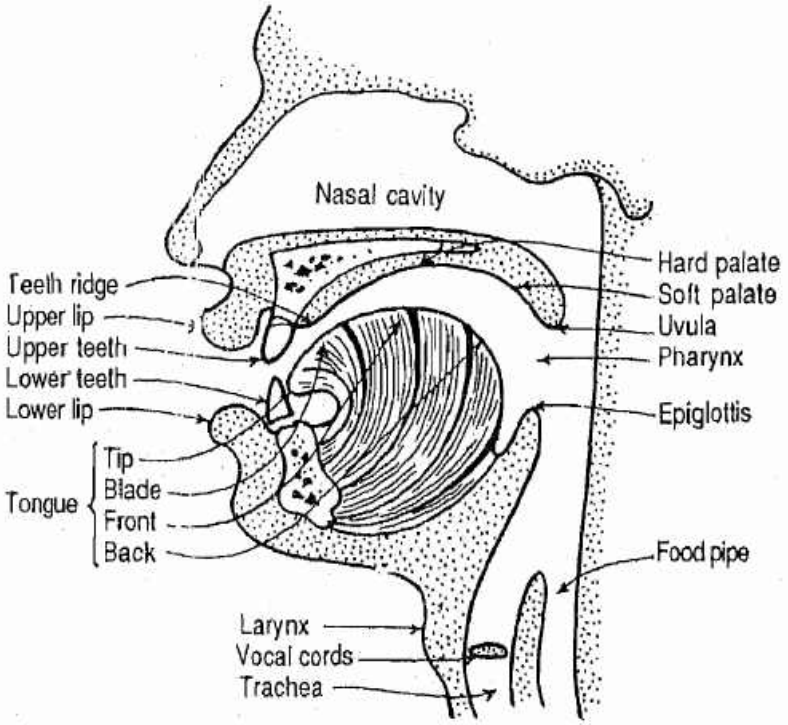


Fig. 1 Organs of sneech

The function of the Respiratory system is to provide the air stream which is the basis for the production of speech sounds. It is the air stream that acts as a source of energy and is modified by the speech organs as it passes in and out of the lungs during the normal course of breathing. Besides the lungs there are other organs that can also provide an air stream for the production of speech sounds e.g. **the glottis** and **the velum.** The **glottalie-air stream** is the air stream above the glottis which is closed for the production of sounds using this air stream. Similarly, sounds produced with the air in front of the **velum** or the soft palate. The passage of air from the lungs is blocked by the back of the tongue which makes firm contact with the velum. This

is known as the **velaric air stream.** A large number of African languages and some South American languages make use of these air streams for the production of speech sounds. Of the Indian languages only Sindhi uses the glottalic air stream mechanism for the production of some speech sounds.

But the pulmonic or lung air is used by all the languages of the world, and it is the air exhaled from the lungs which initiates the air stream. This air-stream mechanism is known as the pulmonic aggressive air stream mechanism when the air which is breathed initiates the air-steam for speech production. It is known as the **pulmonic egressive air steam mechanism.**

1.1.3 The Phonatory System

The Phonatory system is comprised of the larynx in the throat. As we have already said the air that comes out of the lungs is modified before it meets the outside air. At first, the air is modified in the upper part of the trachea where tlie larynx is situated. The larynx is a muscular structure. The front part of this structure can be felt in the neck, and is commonly known as the 'Adam's apple'. The Adam's apple is more prominent in men than in women.

The larynx contains a pair of muscular bands or folds called the **vocal cords.** These are placed horizontally from front to back, joined at the front but separated at the back. The space between the cords is called the **glottis.**

As the vocal cords are separated at the back it is possible for them to assume a large number of positions. From among these we shall describe three important positions.

a) The vocal cords can be **held wide apart** with a wide opening between them (the glottis). The air can pass freely through this opening without setting the vocal cords into vibration. This is the position of the vocal cords when we breathe. A large number of speech sounds are produced with the vocal cords in this position. During the production of these sounds we cannot hear any 'hum' when we plug our ears with our forefingers, or place the palm of the hand on the throat. They are called voiceless sounds. For example, the first sounds in the English words, sit, sheet, fever and think.

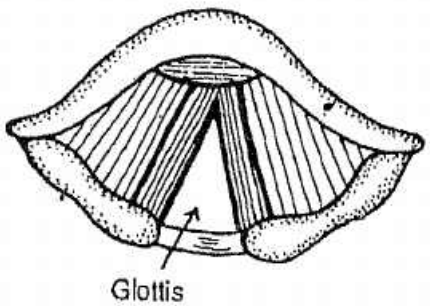


Fig. 2 Vocal cords drawn wide apart

b) The second position that the vocal cords can assume is one in which **they are held loosely together.** When they are in this position the pressure of air from the lungs makes them vibrate. The sounds produced when the vocal cords vibrate are called **voiced sounds.** During the production of these sounds we can hear the 'hum' we talked about earlier. For example, the consonant sounds underlined in the English words veil, these, zoo, me, nose. Whereas all English vowels are voiced, some English consonants are voiceless and some are voiced.

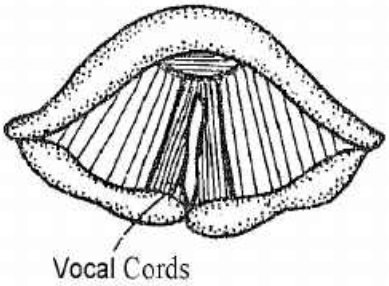


Fig. 3 Vocal cords held loosely together

c) The vocal cords can be held tightly together along their whole length, so that the glottis is closed and no air can escape through it. This is the position that the vocal cords take when we eat or drink to prevent food or liquid from entering the windpipe.

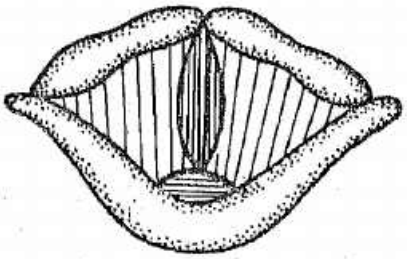


Fig. 4 Vocal cords held tightly together

From this position, if we draw the vocal cords apart suddenly, we produce an explosive sound called the glottal stop. The glottal stop resembles the sound of a mild cough. It can occur before a forceful articulation of words beginning with vowels, e.g. the English words, aunt, end, apple, up. In the speech of some English people, it can also occur in the wold-final position in place of /p/,/t/or/k/. For example, flip, hut, kick.

1.1.4 The Articulatory System

After passing through the larynx the air is further modified by the various shapes that the articulators above the larynx assume, before it meets the air outside. Each modification affects the quality of the sound produced. These articulators, together constitute the **Articulatory System.**

Let us describe the parts of the articulatory system.

a) The Pharynx

The pharynx extends from the top of the larynx to the root of the tongue (the hinder most part of the tongue) which lies opposite it. The muscles of the pharynx can greatly modify the shape and size of the pharyngeal cavity by contracting or expanding. It can also be modified by the movement of the back of the tongue, by the position of the soft palate and by the raising and lowering of the larynx. Each modification affects the quality of the sound we produce.

b) The Lips

The lips, which are in the front most position of the oral tract, have an important part to play in the production of speech sounds. The consonant sounds 'p/प and /b/ब are produced by closing the lips tightly and then releasing the closure abruptly to let out the air built up behind the closure. The consonant sound /m/म is produced by bringing the two lips together and allowing the air to escape through the nose. The

quality of all the **vowels** also depends on the shape the lips assume during their production. For example, the vowel /i:/ ई is produced with the lips spread. The vowel /u:/ ऊ is produced with the lips rounded and protruded. The rounding of the lips makes an important difference between the vowel sound /ज/ ज and the vowel sound /a:/ आ. Whereas the former is produced with rounded lips, the latter is produced with unrounded lips.

(c) The Teeth

We produce some consonants with the help of the teeth. The Hindi consonants त, थ, द, ध are, for example produced by the firm contact made by the tip and blade of the tongue with the back of the upper teeth. Similarly, the initial consonant sounds in the English words think, that, are produced by placing the tip of the tongue between the upper teeth and lower teeth and the initial consonants in the English words fan and van are produced by placing the upper teeth very lightly on the lower lip.

(d) The Teeth Ridge

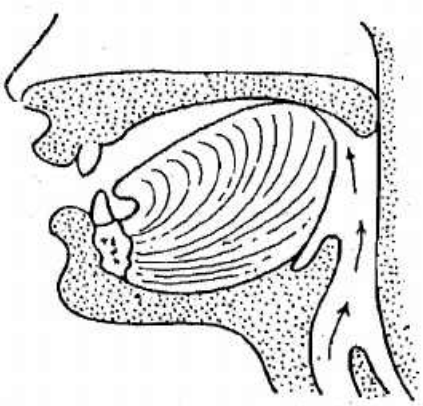
The teeth ridge or the **alveolar ridge,** is the convex part of the roof of the mouth lying just behind the upper teeth. This hard, raised structure can be felt with the tip of the tongue. Many consonant sounds are produced at the teeth ridge. For example, one can produce the initial consonants in the English words top and drill, by making a firm contact at the teeth'ridge with the tip of the tongue and releasing the closure suddenly. One can also produce the Hindi consonant स by narrowing the passage of air at the teeth ridge, so that the air is forced through that passage with friction.

(e) The Hard Palate

Beyond the alveolar ridge is a hard bony surface which we can feel if we move our tongue from the alveolar ridge along the roof of the mouth. Some sounds are produced at the hard palate. For example, the Hindi sound in and the initial sound in the English word yes..

(f) The Soft Palate

If we continue to move our tongue it cannot go beyond the point in the roof of the mouth where the bony structure ends and the roof of the mouth becomes soft. This soft portion of the roof of the mouth is known as the **soft palate** or the **velum.** A number of sounds are produced at the soft palate. For example, the Hindi sounds and क, म, ख and ध. When we produce these sounds the velum acts in two way?' simultaneously. Firstly, it comes into contact with the back of the tongue which moves towards it to make a complete closure and secondly, the soft palate itself is raised to make a closure with the back wall of the pharynx. The first closure is known as a **velar closure** and the second closure is known as a **velic closure.** These are shown below.



Pig. 5 Velar closure and velic closure

The soft palate can either be raised to make a velic closure or it can be lowered to open a passage. When it is raised the nasal passage is closed so that no air can escape through the nose. It can escape only through the mouth. The sounds produced when there is velic closure or when the velum is raised are known as oral sounds. For example, all the sounds in the English words flat, board, teacher, spray. When the velum is lowered the air escapes through the nose in two possible ways. Either it escapes through the nose **only** if there is a closure at some point in the oral passage, or the air can escape through the mouth as **well** as the nose. The sounds produced when the velum is lowered are for example, म , न, ङ in Hindi and the initial consonants in the English words maid, north, and the final consonant in sing. These are called **nasal** sounds, The sounds produced when the air escapes through the mouth as well as the nose are called **nasalised** sounds for example, the vowel sounds in the Hindi words ईंट 'brick', साँस 'breath'.

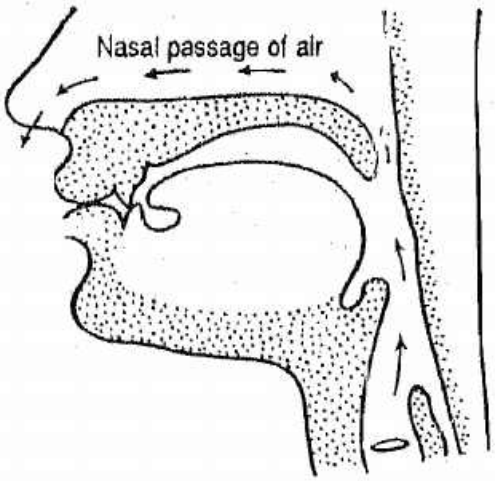


Fig.6 Nasal passage open; oral passage closed

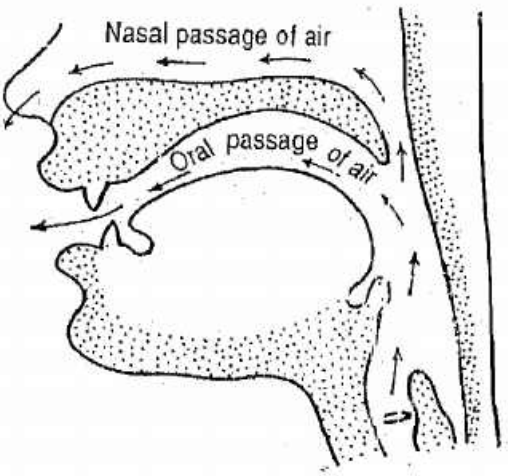


Fig.7 Nasal passage open: oral passage also open

(g) The Uvula

There hangs at the very end of the soft palate a small pendent-like fleshy 'tongue' called the **uvula**. The back of the tongue can make contact with the uvula for th production of sounds such as the initial sound in the Urdu words करीब (near), क़ौम (community).

(h) The Tongue

The tongue is certainly the most flexible of the organs of speech. Its role in the production of speech is very important because it can assume many different shapes

and can take several positions most of which are significant in speech production. For the purpose of describing these shapes and positions we generally find it convenient to divide the tongue into parts. If you look into the mirror when you open your mouth wide and let your tongue rest on the floor of the mouth, you will notice that the tongue is a slightly convex muscle. The part of the tongue that lies behind the lower teeth is the **tip** of the tongue. That part of the tongue which lie5 opposite the teeth ridge or alveolar ridge is called tlie **blade,** and tlie **front** of tlie tongue lies opposite the hard palate. The part of the tongue lying opposite the velum or soft palate is called the **back** of the tongue. Tlie two sides of the tongue are its **rims**

Any part of the tongue can be raised to any height or even make contact with the part of the roof of the mouth. The tip of the tongue and the rims, for instance, may touch the upper teeth to produce the sounds त and द in tlie Hindi words तोल and दर्द Similarly, the front of the tongue may be raised towards tlie hard palate to produce the consonants at the beginning of the English words yellow, university. We shall describe consonants and vowels (with reference to type of articulation) in detail in the next unit. The tip of tlie tongue can also be curled back so that tlie underside taps against the alveolar ridge to produce the final sound in the Hindi word पेड़ (tree).

1.2 PASSIVE AND ACTIVE ARTICULATORS

Before we talk about the description and classification of speecli sounds, it is important for us to be aware of an important distinction between **active** and **passive** articulators. Active articulators are those organs of speech that can move and passive articulators are those organs of speech that cannot move. In the production of speech sounds the active articulators move from their position of rest towards the passive articulators. For example, in the production of the t, d, s,n sounds, the tip and blade of the tongue move from their position of rest, to articulate against the teeth ridge. As the lower jaw is movable, while the upper jaw is not, tlie active articulators are located mostly in the lower jaw and the passive articulators in the upper jaw. There is however, an exception to this. The soft palate is both an active and a passive articulator. When it is raised to shut off the nasal passage of air for the production of oral sounds it is an active, articulator. When the back of tlie tongue is raised and makes contact with tlie velum to produce sounds such as tlie initial consonants in tlie English words, call and get, tlie velum is a passive articulator. The velum is indeed an exception to the rule.

1.3 DESCRIBING AND CLASSIFYING SPEECH SOUNDS

In the previous sections we looked at the Speech Mechanism - at how speecli sounds are produced. We considered the functions tlie different organs of speech perform in the production of speech sounds. We shall now discuss how speech sounds can be described and classified.

Normally, when we produce a speech sound, we intend to transmit it so that it is heard. As such, therefore, a speech sound can be studied at three stages - tlie **production stage,** the **transmission stage** and the **reception stage.** Correspondingly, we can describe and classify a speech sound in **articulatory** terms, **acoustic** terms and **auditory** terms, respectively. In other words, we can describe how the movements of the speech organs modify the air from the lungs in order to produce a given sound (articulatory terms), tlie physical properties a sound has (acoustic terms) and the features of the sound that are perceived by the listener (auditory terms). Clearly, a complete and exhaustive description of a sound which takes into account articulatory, acoustic and auditory terms would be very complex

and cannot be dealt with at this stage. Therefore, we shall, for the present, concentrate on the description and classifications of sounds mainly in articulatory terms and partly in auditory terms. Tlie sounds regarded as 'vowels' are described in articulatory terms and on tlie basis of auditory impressions, and those regarded as consonants' are best described in terms of tlieir articulation.

1.3.1. Vowel and Consonant

Before we proceed with the description and classification of speech sounds, we need to understand the categories - 'vowel' and 'consonant' and try and define them satisfactorily.

Vowel and Consonant are popularly defined with reference to the letters of tlie alphabet. Thus the letters a, e,i,o,u are called 'vowels' and the rest are 'consonants'. This clefinition is misleading because 'vowel' and 'consonant' are essentially categories **of speech** sounds. When we label the letters of the alphabet as 'vowel' and 'consonant' we probably do it on tlie basis of the assumption that there is perfect correspondence between tlie letters and the sounds they stand for. This correspondence, unfortunately, is not perfect in any language, least of all in English.

'Vowel' and 'Consonant' are also defined in **phonetic** and linguistic terms. When we define them in phonetic terms, we do so with reference to their production, when we define them in linguistic terms we refer to their function in a given language.

In phonetic terms, a vowel is a sound for whose production the oral passage is unobstructed, so that the air can flow from the lungs to the lips and beyond without being stopped' witliout having to squeeze through a narrow construction, which would cause audible friction.

A consonant, on tlie other hand, is a sound for whose production the air current is completely stopped, or is forced through a narrow constriction which causes audible friction.

Let us look at a few examples. For instance tlie English word bar. The vowel represented by the letters ar, is produced with the mouth wide open and the tongue low in the mouth. The air passage is unobstructed and tlie air passes into the atmosphere outside without any friction. Tlie sound is therefore called a vowel. The sound represented by the letter b is produced by a complete closure of the oral passage of air at tlie two lips, and then the sudden release of the air held behind tlie closure. Thus, there is an obstruction, for a while, to the flow of air from tlie lungs. Because of this obstruction the resultant sound is regarded as a consonant.

Take for instance, the English word see. Tlie sound represented by the letter ee is produced by raising the front of the tongue fairly high, so that tlie passage between the tongue and the hard palate is fairly narrow but not narrow enough to cause any audible friction in tlie sound produced. The sound is therefore, regarded as a vowel, In tlie production of the s-sound in tlie English word see, the tip and blade of the tongue rise so high towards the teeth ridge that tlie passage of air is very narrow and the air passes out with audible friction. Thus the sound is a consonant.

As we have just seen, the phonetic definition of 'vowel' and 'consonant' does not depend on any other criteria, nor does it depend on tlie rules of any particular language. But if we describe 'vowel' and 'consonant' in linguistic terms, then we need to study the function of a sound in a given language. Let us take the initial sounds in the English words yell and wind. In tlie production of these sounds there is no obstruction to the air flow and no narrowing to cause audible friction. Tlie two sounds, in phonetic terms must therefore be regarded as vowels. But the English language regards them as consonants, because they function as consonants. They always occupy the position of consonants in English words, and take the article a,

rather then an before them unlike English vowels. Thus we get a yell, a wind not an yell or an wind.

Having classified souncls into the two broad categories of 'vowel' and 'consonant' we shall further sub-classify each category in the next two units.

But before we do so let us revise what we have talked about in this unit.

1.4 LET US SUM UP

In this Unit we have described the functions of the organs of speech that comprise the three systems, i.e. the Respiratory system, the Phonatory system and the Articulatory system of the Speech Mechanism. We have seen that each of these organs has an important role to play in the production of speech sounds.

We have seen that a speech sound can be studied at the production stage, the transmission stage and the reception stage. Corresponding to these stages a speech sound can be classified and described in articulatory terms, acoustic terms and auditory terms. However, it would not be possible at this stage to describe speech sounds in terms of all these three. For rhe present it would suffice to describe certain sounds in articulatory terms and certain sounds in auditory as well as articulatory terms.

Speech sounds are classified into two broad phonetic categories i.e. 'vowel' and 'consonant'. A vowel is described as a speech sound in the production of which there is no obstruction or narrowing so as to cause friction. All other sounds are under tlie category 'consonant'.

'Vowel' and 'Consonant' can also be described in linguistic terms i.e. in terms of their function in a given language.

1.5 KEY WORDS

Trachea: The windpipe through which the air we breathe in travels to the lungs, and the air we breathe out joins the outside air.

Respiratory System: The system of organs which enables us to breathe in and breathe out.

Velum: is another term for the back portion of the roof of the mouth or the soft palate.

Phonatory System: The organs which enables us to produce speech sounds that are either voiced or voiceless.

The Larynx: . is a muscular structure situated in the upper part of the trachea.

Vocal Cords: s pair of vocal bands or folds in the larynx or throat.

Glottis: The opening between the vocal cords in the larynx.

Articulatory System: The system of speech organs which assists in further modifying the air passing through the larynx and into the mouth, by assuming various shapes for the production of speech sounds,

The Pharynx:	is an organ of speech which extends from the larynx to the hindermost part of the tongue
Alveolar Ridge:	The convex surface of the roof of the mouth just behind the upper teeth.
Hard **Palate:**	The hard bony surface in the roof of the mouth beyond the alveolar ridge.
Velic Closure:	The raising of the velum to shut off the nasal passage of air for oral sounds.
Velar Closure:	The contact made by the back of the tongue at the velum or soft palate for the production of speech sounds such as the initial sounds in the English words kill and good.
Nasal Sounds:	Sounds in which the velum is lowered to let the air out of the nasal passage while there is an oral closure.
Oral Sounds:	Sounds in the production of which the nasal passage of air is closed and the air passes out through the mouth.
Nasalised Sounds:	Sounds in the production of which both the oral and nasal passage of air are open.
Uvula :	a small pendant-like fleshy tongue that hangs at the very end of the soft palate.
Blade of the tongue:	The part of the tongue that lies opposite the teeth ridge.
Front **of the** tongue:	The part of the tongue that lies opposite the hard palate.
Back of the tongue:	The part of the tongue lying opposite the soft palate.
Active articulators:	Those organs of speech that are movable.
Passive articulators:	Organs of speech that cannot move.
Phonetic:	Referring only to the production stage of speech.
Linguistic:	Referring to the function of speech sounds in relation to the rules of a particular language.

1.6 SUGGESTED READING

For more information on the Speech Mechanism, and the description and classification of speech sounds, you might like to refer to the following books.

1. Abercrombie, David. *Elements of General Phonetics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 1967.

2. Balasubramaniam T. *A Textbook of English Phonetics for Indian students.* Delhi: Macmillan, 1981.

3. Bansal R.K. and J.B. 1-Jarcison, *Spoken English for India.* Hyderabad: Orient Longman, 1983,

4. Jones, Daniel. *An Outline of English Phonetics.* Ninth Edition, Cambridge: Cambrdige University Press 1956

5. Sethi, J. and Dhamija P.V. *A Course in Phonetics and Spoken English* Delhi: Prentice Hall of India 1996,

1.4 EXERCISES

Exercise 1

Say whether the following statements are true or false.

1. Most languages of the world use the pulmonic aggressive air stream for speech production ( )

2. The glottis is wide open for the production of voiced sounds.( )

3. Vowels are best described in auditory as well as articulatory terms. (3

4. To produce an oral sound (like the initial sound in the English word blue), the soft palate must be raised. ( )

5. Nasalized sounds are produced through the nose only. ( )

6. The lips are kept wide apart for the production of the initial sound in the English word part. ( )

7. When we define 'vowel' and 'consonant' with reference to their function in a particular language we define them in phonetic terms. ( )

8. In the production of nasal sounds there is no oral closure, ( )

9. For the production of vowels there should be no narrówing in the oral passage so as to cause friction. ( )

10. When the glottis is closed no air can escape through it. ( )

11. The vocal cords can assume only three positions. ( )

Exercise 2

Fill in the blanks in the following statements.

1. The organs of speech can be described under _____ systems. They are _____

2. Voiced sounds are produced when the vocal cords _____

3. The air stream mechanism that uses the air inhaled into tlie lungs for the production of sounds is known as the _____

4. For the production of nasalised sounds the velum must _____ and at the same time _____

5. The articulatory system is comprised of _____

6. The convex (curved) part of tlie roof tlie mouth lying immediately behind tlie upper teeth is called the _____

7. When the tongue is in the state of rest, tlie part of the tongue lying opposite the hard palate is called the _____ and the part lying opposite the soft palate is called the _____

8. The _____ are located in the lower jaw because the lower jaw is _____

9. The bony part of the roof of tlie mouth behind the alveolar ridge is called _____.

Exercise 3

Without referring to the diagram of the organs of speech given earlier, try labelling the organs of speech on tlie diagram given below.

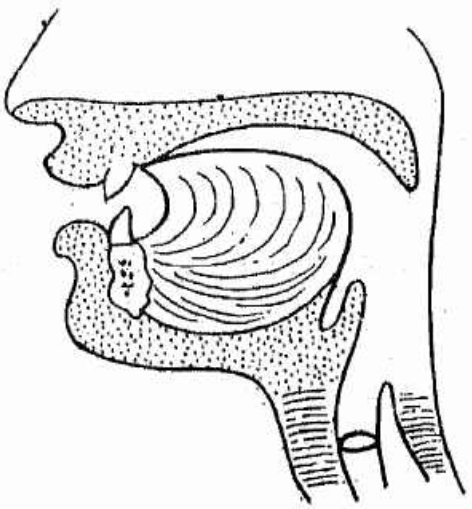


Fig. 9

Exercise 4

Using the 'phonetic' definitions of 'vowels' and 'consonant' say how many vowels and how many consonants there are in the following English words.

1. Call 2. Know 3. Thumb 4. Horses 5. Blessed 6. Leaves.
7. Wish 8. Language 9. Photo 10. Cunning

1.8 ANSWERS TO EXERCISES

Exercise 1

1. True 2. False 3. True. 4. True 5. False 6. False 7. False 8. False 9. True 10. True 11. False.

Exercise 2

1. a) three systems b) the Respiratory system, the Phonatory system, and the Articulatory system
2. Vibrate
3. Pulmonic ingressive air stream mechanism.
4. a) be lowered b) the oral passage must be open.
5. The pharynx, the lips, the teeth
6. Alveolor ridge
7. (a) front of the tongue (b) the back of the tongue
8. (a) active articulators (b) movable
9. the hard palate.

Exercise 3

After labelling the organs of speech on the diagram, compare your diagram with the one given in the text.

Exercise 4

One vowel represented by the letter a
Two consonants represented by the letters c and ll.

2. One vowel represented by the letters ow.
   One consonant represented by the letters kn
3. One vowel represented by the letter u
   Two consonants represented by the letters th and mb
4. Two vowels represented by the letters o(r) and e
   Three consonants represented by the letters h, s and s.
5. One vowel represented by the letter e
   Four consonants represented by the letters, b, l, ss, and ed.
6. One vowel represented by the letters ea.
   Three consonants represented by the letters, l, v, and es.
7. One vowel represented by the letter i
   Two consonants represented by the letters - w and sh.
8. Two vowels represented by the letters a and a. Five consonants represented by the letters, l, n, g, u, ge.
9. Two vowels represented by the letters o and o.
   Two consonants represented by the letters ph and t
10. Two vowels represented by the letters u and i.
    Three consonants represented by the letters c, n and ng.

UNIT 2 THE DESCRIPTION AND CLASSIFICATION OF CONSONANTS AND VOWELS

Structure

2.0 Objectives
2.1 Description and Classification of Consonants
- 2.1.1. Introduction
- 2.1.2 Criteria for the Detailed Description and Classification of Consonants
- 2.1.3 Place of Articulation
- 2.1.4 Manner of Articulation
- 2.1.5 A Brief Phonetic Description of Consonants

2.2 Description and Classification of Vowels
- 2.2.1 Introduction
- 2.2.2 Criteria for the Description of Vowels
- 2.2.3 The Part of the Tongue Raised
- 2.2.4 The Height of the Tongue
- 2.2.5 The Different Lip Positions
- 2.2.6 Cardinal Vowels

2.3 Monophthongs and Diphthongs
2.4 Let Us Sum Up
2.5 Key Words
2.6 Exercises
2.7 Answers

2.0 OBJECTIVES

In this unit, we discuss in detail, the criteria for describing and classifying consonants and vowels. We also understand the concept of monophthong and diphthong.

2.1 DESCRIPTION AND CLASSIFICATION OF CONSONANTS

2.1.1. Introduction

In Unit 1 we studied in detail the functions of each of the organs of speech that contribute to the production of speech sounds. All these organs were studied under **three** different systems, i.e. The Respiratory System, the Phonatory System and the Articulatory System. The shapes and positions assumed by each of these organs of speech modify the air passing out from the lungs to meet the air outside, and determine the quality of the sound produced. Thus for the production of different speech sounds the organs of speech take up different positions and assume different shapes.

We saw that the two broad categories of sound - 'vowel' and 'consonant' can be produced with the air passage free (vowels) and with the air passage completely blocked or narrowed so as to cause friction (consonants). We shall now describe consonants in terms of their production. In doing so we shall make use of the information **we** have on the functions of the organs of speech in Unit 1.

2.1.2 Criteria for the detailed description and classification of Consonants

In order to describe and classify consonants we must provide answers to the following questions.

1. Is the air stream provided by the lungs or by some other organs?
2. Is the air stream forced outward or drawn inward? (egressive or ingressive)
3. Do the vocal cords vibrate or not? (voiced or voiceless)
4. Is the soft palate raised or lowered?
5. At what point/s does the articulation take place?
6. What is the manner of articulation?

1and 2) As we have already said, most languages of the world use lung air for the production of speech sounds and it is the egressive air stream that they use. Thus the air stream mechanism is **pulmonic egressive**. This is true of all Indian languages except Sindlii, and also of English. In a brief description of the sounds produced in these languages therefore we do not need to ask the first and second questions every time.

3) To answer question 3 we neecl to ascertain whether the vocal cords vibrate in the production of a given sound or not. To ascertain this we need to repeat the experiment we described in Unit 1, that is, put your forefingers into your ears so as to plug them, and produce tlie given sound. If you can hear a hum cluring the production of the sound, the vocal cords are vibrating and tlie sound is **voiced.** If no hum or buzz can be heard then the vocal cords are not vibrating and the sound being produced is **voiceless.**

4) If the soft palate is raised to shut off the nasal passage, there is a velic closure, during which only oral sounds can be produced. If the soft palate is lowered, there is no velic closure, and therefore either nasal or nasalised sounds can be produced (see unit one for nasal and nasalised sounds).

5) **The point or place of articulation** is determined by the passive articulator. For example, if tlie front of the tongue (active articulator) is raised towards the hard palate (passive articulator) to make a complete closure or for a narrowing of the air passage, then the place of articulation is the palate, and the sound is a **palatal** sound.

6) **The manner of articulation** refers to the kind of closure or narrowing involved in the production of the initial sound in the English worcl butter, the two lips make a complete closure. The air that is compressed behind the closure is then suddenly released. For the production of the initial sound in the English word *soap,* there is no closure but only a narrowing caused by the raising of the tip and blade of the tongue towards tlie teetlt ridge. There is thus a difference with regard to the manner of articulation of the two sounds, as also their place of articulation.

2.1.3 Place of Articulation

As we have just seen the place of articulation of a consonant is determined by the passive articulator that is involved in its production. It is for this reason that the sound is also named after the passive articulator. For example, the initial consonant in the English word goal, is called a **velar,** because the passive articulator involved in the production is the soft palate or the velum.

Let us consider the main places of articulation of consonants beginning with the front most articulators.

(a) **Bilabial:** Those consonants in the articulation of which the (upper and lower) lips are involved. For example, the initial sounds in the English words, post, boast, meal, win and the Hindi words फल, पल, बल.

(bj **Labio-dental:** Those consonants in the production of which the active articulator is the lower lip and the passive articulator is the upper teeth. The initial consonants in the English words fate and vow are labio-dental consonants.

(c) Dental consonants are those in the production of which the active articulator is the tip of the tongue and the passive articulator the upper teeth. Examples of dental consonants are the initial consonants in the English words, thin and these and in the Hindi words, ताल, थाल, दाल, धागा. However, the English consonants in these words differ from the consonants in the Hindi words in respect of the manner of articulation.

(d) **Alveolar** consonants are produced with the blade of the tongue as the active articulator and the teeth ridge as the passive articulator. For example, the initial consonants in the English words tool. day, lip, nail, sit, zoo, and in the Hindi word सोना.

(e) **Post-alveolar** consonants are those in the production of which the active articulator is the tip of the tongue, and the passive articulator the rear part of the teeth ridge. For example, the initial consonant of the English word red.

(f) **Retroflex** consonants are produced with the underside of the tip of the tongue as the active articulator and front of the hard palate as the passive articulator. The tip of the tongue is curled back in such a way that only its underside articulates. For example, the initial sounds in the Hindi words टमाटर, , डर, ढीला. English docs not have retrpflex coosonants. .

(g) **Palato-alveolar:** For the production of palato-alveolar consonants (i) the blade of the tongue as the active articulator, articulates against the teeth ridge which is the passive articulator. **At the same** time the front of the tongue (active articulator) is raised towards the hard palate (passive articulator). For example the initial consonants in the English words chop, just, ship, and the sound represented by the spelling si in the words provision, revision.

(h) **Palatal** consonants are produced with the front of the tongue as the active articulator and the hard palate as passive articulator. For example, the initial consonant in the English word yard.

(i) **Velar;** For the production of velar consonants the active articulator, the back of the tongue articulates against the passive articulator, the soft palate. For example, the final consonants in the English words rock, bag, ring and the initial consonants in the Hindi words कड़ी, खड़ी, गली, घड़ी.

(j) **Uvular:** The active articulator in the production of Uvular consonants is the back of the tongue, and the passive articulator the Uvula. For example, the initial consonants in the Urdu words क़लम (pen) and क़रीब (near). English and Hindi have no Uvular consonants.

(k) **Pharyngeal:** The active articulator for the production of these consonants is the hindermost part of the tongue and the wall of the Pharynx. An example of a Pharyngeal consonant is the Arabic consonant represented by the spelling h in the word Mohammed. This consonant does not occur in English and most of the Indian languages.

(i) **Glottal:** The articulators for the glottal sounds are the two cords which move closer resulting in a narrowing of the air passage. For example, the initial consonants in the English word hat and the Hindi word हाथ.

Thus we have the main places of articulation to help us describe and classify the consonants of a large number of languages. It would be in place to point out here that some consonants require two simultaneous articulations — a primary articulation and a secondary articulation. In such cases there are two points in the oral tract at which an active articulator moves towards a passive articulator simultaneously. Take the example of the initial consonant in the English word watch. It is produced by bringing the lips together and **at the same time** raising the back of the tongue towards the soft palate.

2.1.4 Manner of Articulation

As we have already seen manner **of articulation** refers to the specification of the kind of closure or narrowing in the production of a sound. In order to give a complete description of a consonant it is absolutely necessary to specify the manner of articulation. For example, if two consonants are described as voiced and as having the same place of articulation (such as the initial consonants in the English words dew and zoo which are alveolars) we cannot differentiate between them unless we also state **how** each one is produced, for they differ from each other only in respect of manner of articulation.

The classification of consonants according to manner of articulation, is done under the following categories.

(a) **Plosive:** In the production of a plosive there is a complete closure of the articulators at some point in the vocal tract thus completing shutting off the air passage. The air is built up behind the closure and then suddenly removed, causing the sudden release of the blocked air with some explosive noise. For example, the initial sounds in the English words pit, bit, tip, dip, keep, goal are plosives - two are bilabial plosives, two alveolar plosives and two velar plosives, respectively.

(b) **Affricate:** Affricates are produced by a complete closure of the air passage, followed by the building up of pressure behind the closure, and the gradual release of the blocked air. Affricates differ from plosives in respect of the third stage of production. Whereas the release of the blocked air is sudden in the production of plosives, the release of air is slow in Affricates because the articulators are drawn apart slowly. This results in some friction rather than an explosive noise as is the case in the production of plosives. For example, the initial sounds in the English words, choice and joy.

(c) **Nasal:** Nasals are those consonants in the production of which there is a complete closure of the oral passage while the nasal passage remains open, so that the air passes freely through the nose. The velum is lowered to allow the air free passage through the nasal cavity. For example, the medial sounds in the English words simmer, sinner, singer (represented by the spelling mm, nn, ng) are nasal consonants. Similarly, the Hindi consonants म as in काम, न as in नाक, ण as in गुण are nasal consonants.

(d) Trill **or Roll** Consonants produced by the intermittent taps of the active articulator against the passive articulator are called Trill or Rolls. No closure is involved in the production of these sounds. The repeated taps of the tip of the tongue against the teeth (or just behind it), or the uvula against the back of the tongue result in the intermittent passage of air between the articulators. English does not have any Trills or Rolls. However, in an extended and

emphatic articulation of the initial sound in the English words red, round for example, the resultant sound would be a Trill or a Roll.

e) **Flap** Whereas the production of a roll consists of several taps of the active articulator against tlie passive articulator, the production of a flap involves only a single tap of the active articulator against the passive articulator. For example, in Hindi ड़ in तोड़ (break) is a retroflex flap and र in परी (fairy) is an alveolar flap. In English, the r sound is very often produced as a flap when it occurs between two vowel sounds, for example, variety, various.

f) **Lateral:** In the production of a lateral, though the centre of the oral tract is closed owing to a contact between the active and the passive articulator at some point in the vocal tract, the air escapes from the sides of the contact. This is possible because the rims of the tongue are lowered. Since the air can pass continuously the sound produced is a continual one that is, there is no obstruction to the passage of air. For example, the initial consonant in the English word left, or in the Hindi word लम्बा (tall).

(g) **Fricative:** To produce a fricative there is no closure made anywhere, there is only a narrowing. The active articulator moves towards the passive articulator at some point in the vocal tract, so that there is a very narrow gap for the air to pass through. This causes audible friction. Since the air can pass continuously, the sound produced in this manner can be continued, unlike a plosive and an affricate. For example: the initial sounds in the English words below are fricatives: face, veil, think, those, see, zebra, sheep, have. The initial sounds in the Urdu words ख़राब (bad) and ग़लत (wrong) are also fricatives. In the production of fricatives the narrowing can take place in the centre of the vocal tract so that the air passes out into the outer atmosphere through the central passage. It can also take place on the sides so that the rims of the tongue move towards the upper teeth. There is a complete closure at the centre between the tip of the tongue and the centre of the teeth ridge so that tlie air escapes with friction through the narrowing on the sides of the vocal tract between the rims of the tongue and tlie upper teeth. Sounds thus produced are **lateral fricatives.** For example, the initial consonant in the Welsh word llan (church). English has no lateral fricatives.

(h) **Frictionless Continuant:** Unlike fricatives (for the production of which the degree of narrowing is enough to cause audible friction in the sound produced) frictionless continuants are produced by a lesser degree of narrowing of the articulators so that the air passes out freely and no audible friction accompanies the sound produced. The sound can be continued. For example, the initial consonant in the English words reel, road, reason is a frictionless continuant in Standard British English, and the initial consonant in the Hindi words वह, वीर, वायु are also frictionless continuants.

You must have noticed that the English consonant in the initial position in words like veil, vine, vow is a fricative and different from the frictionless continuant व in Hindi.

i) **Semi-vowel:** Semi-vowels are vowel-like in phonetic form but function as consonants. For example, the initial consonants in the English words weight and yawn and the Hindi word याद (which is the same as the initial consonant yawn)

We must make a note of the fact that frictionless continuants and semi-vowels defined in strictly phonetic terms should be regarded as vowels because in their production there is no obstruction or narrowing in the oral passage to cause friction. But in many languages these sounds function as consonants, so they are generally grouped along with the consonants.

We shall now classify and describe consonants in detail using the criteria we have discussed.

a) The sound represented by the letter pp in the English word copper

i) The air stream is **pulmonic**
ii) The air stream is **egressive**
iii) The vocal cords are apart and do not vibrate. The sound is therefore **voiceless.**
iv) The soft palate is raised. The sound is therefore **oral,** not nasal.
v) The articulation takes place at the lips. The upper lip is the passive articulator and the lower lip the active articulator. The sound is therefore **bi-labial.**
vi) The sound is produced by a complete closure of the mouth, the building up of air pressure behind the closure, and then a sudden release of the blocked air with some explosive noise. The sound is thus a **plosive.**

b) The sound represented by the letter **v** in tlie English word favourite.

i) The air stream is **pulmonic**
ii) Tlie air stream is **egressive**
iii) The vocal cords vibrate. The consonant is therefore **voiced.**
iv) The soft palate is raised and the sound is **oral**
v) The articulation takes place between the lower lip and tlie upper teeth. The letter is the active articulator, the fortner the passive articulator. Tlie sound is **labio-dental.**
vi) The sound is produced by a narrowing between the upper teeth and the lower lip so that tlie air passes through the narrow passage with audible friction. The sound is therefore a **fricative.**

c) Tlie sound represented by the letters nn in the word banner.

i) The air stream is **pulmonic**
ii) The air stream is **egressive,**
iii) The vocal cords vibrate. Tlie sound is therefore **voiced.**
iv) The soft palate is lowered to let the air out through the nasal passage. The sound is therefore **nasal.**
v) The articulation takes place at the alveolar ridge. The tip or blade of the tongue (active articulator) makes contact with the alveolar ridge (passive articulator). The consonant is thus **alveolar.**
(vi) There is a complete closure of the air passage through the oral tract and the velum is lowered so that the air passes out through the nose only. Thus the sound is a nasal.

d) The final sound in the Hindi word पेड़ (tree)

i) The air stream is **pulmonic**
ii) The airstream is **egressive**
iii) The vocal cords vibrate. The sound is therefore **voiced.**
iv) The soft palate is raised. The sound is **oral.**
v) The articulation takes place between the tip of the tongue curled back and the front of the hard palate. The sound is therefore **retroflex.**
vi) The tip of the tongue curls back and the underside makes a single tap against the front of the hard palate. Tlie sound is thus a **flap.**

(e) The sound represented by the letters ll in the English word fellow.

(i) The airstream is **pulmonic**
(ii) The airstream is **egressive.**

(iii) The vocal cords vibrate. The sound is **voiced.**
(iv) Tlie soft palate is raised and the sound is **oral.**
(vj The active articulator the tip of the tongue, articulates with tlie centre of alveolar ridge (passive articulator). The sound is therefore **alveolar.**
(vi) While there is a contact betwe·n the tip of the tongue and tlie alveolar ridge tlie rims of the tongue are lowered to let out the air from tlie lungs through tlie sides. The sound is therefore a **lateral.**

2.1.5 A brief phonetic description of consonants

We have seen that in detailed Phonetic description of consonants the terms pulmonic arid egressive are common to all tlie consonants, that is , the answers to questions (i) and (ii) are the same in all cases. We can therefore, take these answers for granted. Notice tliat except in the case of nasal consonants the soft palate is raised. Since the identification of nasal consonants is possible by answering the last question (vi), question 4 becomes redundant. Thus questions 1,2 and 4 need not be asked. As a result, it becomes possible to describe consonants briefly by answering questions: 3,5 and 6. Thus the consonants we have described in detail above can be described as

(a) (iii) voiceless (v) bilabial (vi) plosive
(b) (iii) voiceel (v) labio-dental (vi) fricative
(c) (iii) voiced (v) alveolar (vi) nasal
(d) (iii) voted (v) retroflex (vi) flap
(e) (iii) voiced (v) alveolar (vi) lateral

We have thus described these consonants with reference to tlie **position of the vocal cords, the place of articulation and the manner of articulation. A** brief description of consonants must, of course, be made only after we have studied and understood what these terms mean, for only then can we identify consonants.

2.2 DESCRIPTION AND CLASSIFICATION OF VOWELS

2.2.1 Introduction

In unit 1 we saw tliat tlie two general classes 'vowel' and 'consonant' differed from each other in respect of tlie passage of the air-stream. In the production of a vowel tliere is no obstruction to the air in tlie pharynx and the mouth, nor is tliere any narrowing to the extent that it causes audible friction. Vowels generally have a 'hum' when produced. In other words, vowels are normally **voiced.** Tlie features distinguishing 'vowel' from 'consonant' do not help us to distinguish between different vowels, nor do the criteria we have used in the previous section to describe and classify consonants. We liave, therefore, to set up criteria for the description and classification of vowels; for example, the criteria should enable us to distinguish between the vowels in tlie English words, feed and food or between vowels such as those in tlie Hindi words दीन and दिन . The differences between vowels here are broadly of two types: **difference of quality,** as illustrated by the pair feed and food and **differences of quantity** as illustrated by the pair of Hindi wolds. Difference of quantity is a difference in tlie length of vowels Difference of quality is more complex and needs to be examined in greater detail.

2.2.2 Criteria for the description of vowels

Since the passage of air is free and unobstructed for the production of vowels, we have to determine the differences in their quality with reference to the modifications that take place in the shapes arid sizes of the resonating chambers through which the tone passes, that is tlie pharyngeal cavity, tlie nasal cavity and the mouth. Tlie **soft**

palate, the lips and the **tongue** are mainly responsible for the modifications of the resonating chambers. To identify and classify vowels, therefore, we must describe

(a) the position of the velum: whether it is raiseel to produce oral vowels or lowered to produce nasalised vowels

(b) the shape of the lips during the production of a vowel—whether they are spread, neutral or rounded and

(c) the shape of the tongue, that is, which part of the tongue is raised and how high it is raised.

Of these factors we can clearly observe only the shape of the lips. Therefore, we can describe them in articulatory terms. The position of the soft palate is judged only by auditory perception. A vowel is oral or nasalised depending on the absence or presence of nasality in [lie vowel produced. As for the shapes of the tongue, we can feel only the extreme positions it takes, for example, when we produce the vowel in the English word bee, we can feel that the front of the tongue is raised very high towards the hard palate. Similarly, when we produce the vowel in the Englisli word *calm*, we can feel that the back of the tongue is low in the mouth. Apart from these extreme positions, most other positions assumed by the tongue may differ so minutely from one another that the differences may be very difficult to notice We cannot get any help from our sense of touch either, because there is no contact of the tongue with the roof of the mouth. For these reasons, most of the positions of the tongue are judged by auditory perception only. On the whole, vowels are best described in terms of both articulation and auditory impressions.

2.2.3 Tlie part of the tongue raised

The parts of the tongue that are involved in the production of vowels are the **front** of the tongue which lies opposite the hard palate, the **back** of the tongue which lies opposite the **soft palate** when it is at rest, and the **centre** of the tongue which lies opposite the back of the hard palate and the front of the soft palate, The centre of the tongue is hard to determine and is imagined. The vowels produced when each of these parts of the tongue is raised are called **front, back** and **central** respectively. For example, the vowels in the English words neat, knit, net, are front vowels. The vowels in the English words, card, cocl, cord, could, cooed, are back vowels. And the vowels in the English words bud, bird, are central vowels.

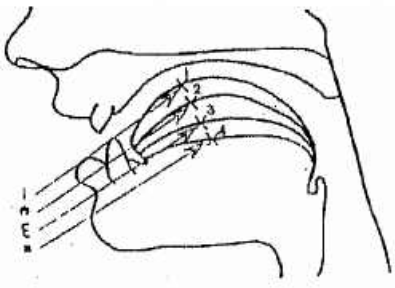


Fig.1 Tongue positions for the four front vowels

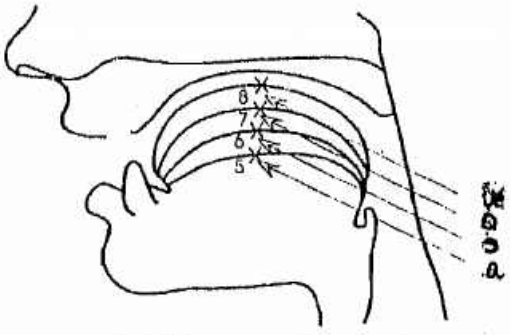


Fig.2 Tongue positions for the four back vowels

2.2.4 The height of the tongue

In the production of vowels any part of the tongue can be raised, but the height to which it can be raised is restricted so that there is no audible friction. Also, any part of the tongue can be lowered, but not beyond a certain point for the production of vowels. The figures above indicate roughly the parts of the tongue and how high they can be raised. The vowels produced when any part of the tongue is raised to the highest point are called **close** vowels. Those vowels produced with any part of the

tongue at the lowest point are called **open** vowels. For example, the vowels in the English words like feed and food are close vowels because to produce them (the front of the tongue in the case of feed and the back in the case of food) we raise the tongue to the highest point possible. The vowel in the English word balm is an open vowel because in producing it, the back of the tongue is at the lowest point possible,

When we consider vowels such as the ones in the English words beat, bit, bet, bat, how do we distinguish between them as they are all front vowels? It would be possible to do so only on the basis of the height of the tongue. But the close-open distinction does not enable us to distinguish between all of them, because our scale is not refined enough. To refine it we have other imaginary positions between close and open, that is, **half-close** and **half-open,** so that the positions close, half-close, half-open and open are equidistant. We can then distinguish between the vowels in & and bat, for example, by describing them as a front vowel below the half-close position and a front open vowel, respectively.

2.2.5 The different lip positions

The lip positions are the only factor that can be observed in the production of vowels, and a factor that is sometimes the only one to distinguish between two vowels for example, the vowels in the English words cost and cast are both back and open vowels. The lips are rounded for the production of cost and unrounded for the production of cast. Hence the importance of lip position in the description of **vowels,** The lips can thus be **spread** as for the vowels in the English word feel; **neutral** as for the vowel in the English word fur; **open** for the vowel in far; **open-rounded** for the vowel in rod and **close-rounded** for the vowel in rude. It is the general practice to regard the spread, neutral and open positions as **unrounded** and the other two positions as **rounded.**

2.2.6 Cardinal Vowels

If we look at the figures indicating the tongue positions for the production of vowels and combine them to represent the different tongue positions used to articulate the front and back vowels, we get the **vowel area.** This is however inadequate as a descriptive device. So the English phonetician Daniel Jones who evolved the system of **Cardinal Vowels** also evolved a vowel scale represented by a vowel diagram. In the diagram the parts of the tongue raised and the height of the tongue are depicted.

The position of the tongue are located on the two axis; one horizontal, from the front to the back of the mouth and the other vertical, from the roof of the mouth downwards. The eight cardinal points on the scale are equidistant not only spatially but also auditorily. It must be remembered that the Cardinal vowels **do not occur in any language,** They are useful as reference points to compare and describe the vowels sounds that do occur in a language.

In a description of the vowels of any language with reference to the eight cardinal vowels we need to add the position of the lips for each vowel in order to make it complete.

Using the eight cardinal vowels as reference points let us plot some vowels of English on the vowel diagram below and describe them using the three-term label.

The vowel in the English word feast is showed in a position close to cardinal vowel 1, and is a **front** vowel, between close and half-close but nearer the **close** position. (In addition, when we produce it, the lips are spread, in other words, unrounded). Hence it is a **front unrounded vowel.**

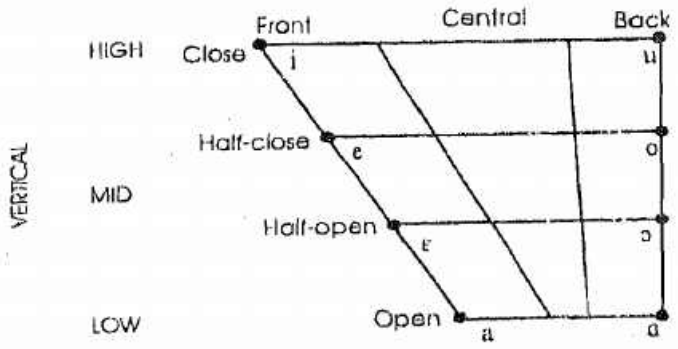


Fig.3 The vowel diagram

Tlie vowel in tlie English worel fast is shown as a **back** open vowel somewhat advanced. (In its production tlie lips are **unrounded**). Hence, it is a **back open** unrounded vowel. Tlie vowel in the English worel foot is a bacle (advanced) half-close (rounded) vowel. Hence it is a **back** half-close rounded vowel. The vowel in the English worel curd is a central vowel between half-close and half-open. (It is unrounded). It is thus a **central,** between half-close **and half-open unrounded** vowel.

2.3 MONOPTHONGS AND DIPTHONGS

We have so far described vowels assuming that tlie position of the tongue remains unchanged throughout the process of their production. These sounds, in other words are called **monopthongs** or pure vowels. In addition to vowels that are produced by a single position assumed by the tongue, it is possible for the tongue to change its position during the production of a vowel. This change in tlic position of the tongue also bring about a change in the quality of the vowel. Tlie movement of the tongue from one position to another is so gradual and smooth that it may be called a **glide.** The vowels produced as a result of such glides arc called diphthongs. Diphthongs are not the same as a sequence of two monophthongs example, the vowels in tlie English word seeing are a sequence of two monophthongs, whereas the vowel in the English word fear is a diphthong. Tlie monophthong in see is followed by another monophthong in the suffix -ing. The diphthong occurs within one syllable, while a sequence of two monophthongs is spread over two syllables This concept of tlic syllable will become clear in unit 4.

2.4 LET US SUM UP

In this unit we have further expanded tlie meaning of the general categories 'vowel' and 'consonant' by examining the criteria for tlie description and classification of consonants and vowels. We have seen that separate sets of criteria are used for the description of vowels and consonants.

Consonants are best described in terms of their articulation. For a detailed description of consonants we must speak about tlie nature of the air stream, the state of tlic vocal cords, the position of the soft palate (raised or lowered), tlie place of articulation, the manner of articulation. If the vocal cords vibrate tlie sound produced is voiced, if it does not, it is voiceless. If the soft palate is raised, the nasal passage gets shut off and the sound produced is oral. If the soft palate is lowered, tlic nasal passage remains open and the sound produced is nasal (when the oral passage is closed).

According to their place of articulation, consonants can be classified as bi-labial, labio-dental, dental, alveolar, post-alveolar, retroflex, palato-alveolar, palatal, velar, uvular, pharyngeal, and glottal. According to their manner of articulation they can be classified as plosives, affricates, nasals, rolls, flaps, laterals, fricatives, frictionless continuants and semi-vowels. For a brief description, or identification of a consonant especially in English, we use this criteria: (i) voice or voiceless (ii) place of articulation and (iii) manner of articulation.

Vowels which are normally voiced, differ from one another in respect of quality or quantity or both. The quality of the vowel produced depends on the part of the tongue raised and the height of the tongue. Depending on the part of the tongue raised, the vowels produced are front vowels, central vowels and back vowels. Depending on the height of the tongue the vowels produced are close, half-close, half -open and open vowels. Using these two parameters a diagram has been evolved indicating 8 primary cardinal vowels with reference to which the vowels of all languages can be plotted and described. In a three-term description of vowels, the third parameter, i.e. the position of the lips (unrounded, rounded) is also essential.

In the production of monophthongs or pure vowels the position of the tongue remains unchanged. In the production of diphthongs the position of the tongue changes smoothly by a glide. A diphthong occupies a single syllable as does a monophthong.

2.5 KEY WORDS

Vowel: a speech sound whose production involves no significant obsttuction of the airstream

Consonant: any speech sound whose articulation involves a significant obstruction of the airstream

Pulmonic air stream; the use of lung air in speaking

Egressive air stream: producing a stream of air for speaking in which the air flows out of the mouth

Ingressive air stream: ptoducing a stream of air for speaking in which the air flows into the mouth

Bilabial: a speech sound produced by putting the two lips together, such as /m/, /p/, /b/

Dental: any consonant which is produced by putting the tongue on or near the teeth, such as English /θ/ as in thin

Labio-dental: a speech sound produced with the upper lip and the lower teeth, such as /f/ or /v/

Palatal: a speech sound produced by raising the front of the tongue towards the palate, such as /j/ of English yes

Velar: a speech sound produced by raising the back of the tongue towards the velum, such as /g/ or /x/

Pharyngeal: a speech sound produced by a constriction in the pharynx, such as Arabic /ʕ/

Glottal: A consonant produced by closing the glottis completely for a moment. It is represented by the symbol /ʔ/

Plosive: (also known as stop) a consonant produced by closing off the flow of air completely and then releasing it suddenly, example /p/, /d/, /k/.

Affricate: a consonant in which a complete closure is made in the mouth and the closure in then released slowly, with friction eg /tʃ/ as in church, and /dʒ/ as in judge

Uvular: a speech sound produced by pulling the back of the tongue towards the uvula, such as /X/ in Dutch,

Lateral: a speech sound produced in such a way that airflow is completely blocked in the midline of the mouth while air flows along one side or both sides, such as /l/

Fricative: a speech sound which is produced by forcing the airstream through a small aperture in the mouth, the obstruction produces a friction noise, Examples are /f/, /v/, /θ/, /s/, /z/ and /h/

Frictionless continuant: a consonant sound which is produced without severely obstructing the flow of air in the mouth. Examples /j/ as in yes and /r/ as in red

Semi-vowel: a speech sound which patterns like a consonant but is phonetically a brief vowel, such as /w/ in we or /j/ in yes

Front vowel: a vowel during whose production the highest part of the tongue lies towards the front of the mouth, such as /ɪ/, /e/ or /a/

Back vowel: any vowel which is pronounced with the back of the tongue raised higher than any other part, such as /u/, /o/ or /ɒ/

Close vowel: a vowel which is produced with the high part of the tongue about as high as it can go, such as /ɪ/ or /u/

Open vowel: a vowel which is produced with the highest part of the tongue as low as it can go in the mouth, such as /ɑ/

Cardinal vowel: a certain set of arbitrarily chosen vowel sounds, These are arranged in a kind of grid. The cardinal vowels serve as points of reference for identifying real vowels in actual languages.

Monophthong: a pure vowel, such as /a/ or /e/, and so on.

Diphthong: a single vowel which changes its quality noticeably during its pronunciation, as /eɪ/ of day and (aɪ) of die.

2.6 EXERCISES

1. Say whether the statement given below are true or false.

(a) We cannot hear voiceless sounds ( )
(b) No sounds can be produced when the vocal cords are apart. ( )
(c) We must close tlie oral passage of air in order to produce a nasal consonant. ( )
(d) The active articulator determines the place of articulation. ( )
(e) If the soft palate is raised, no oral sound can be produced. ( )
(f) All vowels are oral. ( )
(g) Monophthongs can be fully described in terms of the part of the tongue raised and the lieiglit of the tongue. ( )
(h) The line close in the vowel diagram represents the highest point to which the tongue can be raised. ( )
(i) There is no articulation of the speech organs in the production of vowels. ( )
(j) Auditory perception plays an important role in distinguishing one vowel from another. ( )

2. Fill in the blank spaces in the following

(a) A sound produced with the vocal cords wide apart is a ----------sound.
(b) Sounds that perform the function of consonants but are phonetically vowels are called----------
(c) In the production of vowels there is ----------
(d) ---------- are produced when the back of the tongue articulates with the soft palate.
(e) In the production of ---------there is complete closure of the air passage.
(f) A brief description ol'consonants involves information regarcling ----------
(g) Cardinal vowels are --------for the description of the vowels of any language.
(h) The position of the tongue ---------for the production of a diphthong.
(i) A three-term label to clescribe a pure vowels must state what part of the tongue has been raised----------and .....
(j) Fricatives are produced by a ------ in the vocal tract so as to ----------.

2.7 ANSWERS

Exercise 1

(a) false (b) false (c) true (d) false (e) false (f) false (g) false (h) true (I) false (j) true

Exercise 2

(a) voiceless
(b) semi-vowels
(c) no obstruction to the passage of air through the vocal tract.
(d) Velar consonants
(e) plosives
(f) voice or voicelessness, place of articulation and manner of articulation
(g) reference points
(h) changes
(i) the height of the tongue and the position of the lips.
(j) Narrowing cause audible friction.

UNIT 3 PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION AND PHONOLOGY

Structure

3.0 Objectives
3.1 Phonetic Transcription
  3.1.1 Introduction
  3.1.2 International Phonetic Alphabet
3.2 The Phoneme
  3.2.1 Allophones
3.3 Phonetics and Phonology
  3.3.1 Study of the Phonemic System
  3.3.2 Phonemic Sequences and Syllable Structure
  3.3.3 Suprasegmental Phonology
3.4 Let Us Sum Up
3.5 Keywords
3.6 Exercises
3.7 Answers to Exercises

3.0 OBJECTIVES

In this unit

- We shall introduce you to the concept of the International Phonetic Alphabet which has been devised to represent in writing the sounds, words, phrases and sentences of any language of the world.
- We shall show you the difference between phonetic and phonemic transcription.
- The difference between a phoneme and allophone will also be described.
- We shall also help you understand how both Phonetics and Phonology need to studied in order to understand the use of sounds in the spoken form of a particular language.
- Finally, we shall touch on suprasegmental features.

3.1 PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION

3.1.1 Introduction

Before we proceed with the description of the consonants and vowels of English on the basis of the criteria we had in Unit 2, we need to consider how these sounds must be represented unambiguously.

One of the difficulties about English pronunciation is that there is no perfect correspondence between spelling and sound. Since we are used to a fair degree of correspondence between spelling and sound in Indian languages, we tend to pronounce English words as they are spelt. Very often this results in incorrect pronunciation. We therefore need to learn to make a distinction between letters and sounds.

A. Let us look at the following words while we listen to them on tape.

1.	Bough	3.	Dough	5.	Through
2.	Cough	4.	Thorough	6.	Tough.

Notice that they all have the letters *ough,* but in each word the letters *ough* is pronounced differently, that is, the vowel sound in each of the words is different even though the spellings are the same.

Listen to the words again. Can you find out in which words the letters g and h are silent (not pronounced) ? They are pronounced in only two of the words. Do you know what consonant sound /g/ and /h/ stand for? They stand for the sound /f/ in the word *fan*.

B. Now look at the following words and listen to each word carefully.

1.	field	4.	machine	7.	suite
2.	greed	5.	people	8.	these
.	key	6.	receive	9.	treat

What do you notice about the pronunciation of the letters that are underlined? The letters in each word, as yoll can see are different, that is, ie,. ee, ey, i, ei, ui, e, ea, but they all represent only *one* vowel sound, the vowel sound in the word bee. The letters ui in *suite* are pronounced like the word we.

C. Now look at these pairs of words and then listen to them on tape:

	a	b	a	b
1.	seen	scene	pain	pane
2.	bad	bade	sew	sow (verb)
3.	boy	buoy	sight	site
4.	hear	here	too	two
5.	hair	hare	would	wood

Did you notice anything about the pronunciation of each of these pairs of words?

Here, **though each word in every pair is spelt differently, it has the same pronunciation.** Can you think of other pairs of words that have different spelling but the same pronunciation'?

D. Look at the some more words and listen to them on tape:

1.	quality	4.	quench	7.	square
2.	quarter	5.	question	8.	squash
3.	queen	6.	quilt	9.	squirrel

Did you notice anything common to all these words?

They all have the letter q and this letter represents two consonant sounds, **not one**- the first sound in cold and the first sound in *watch.*

E. Let us now listen to another set of words and repeat them. What do you find common to all the words?

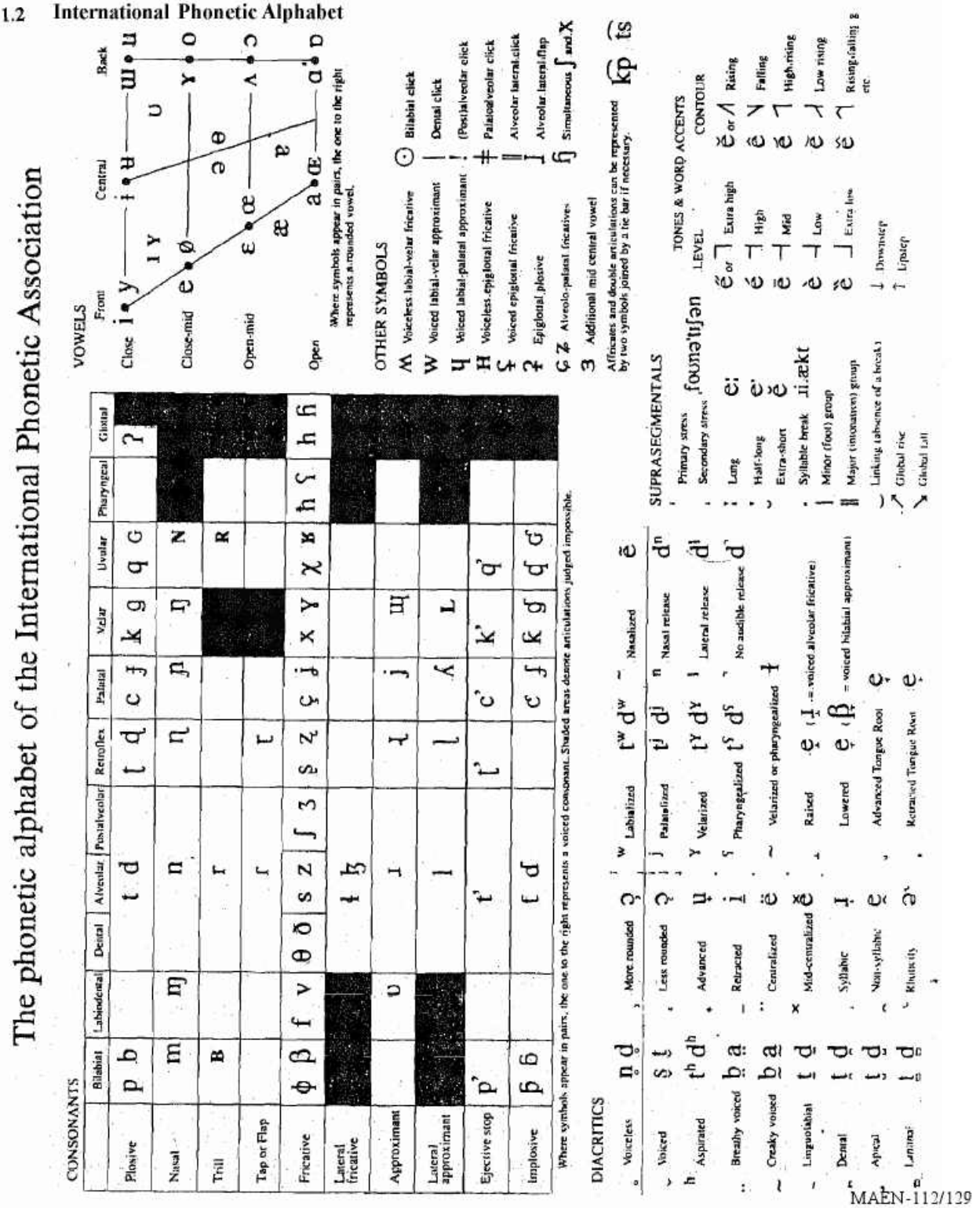
1.	excellent	6.	Exhibition
2.	exclusive	7.	Exact
3.	excursion	8.	Examine
4.	excuse	9.	Example
5.	exercise	lo.	Exertion

All the words liave the letter **x** in common. In words 1-6 x represents two sounds — the first sound in the word cane and the first sound in the word sun. In words 7-10, the letter **x** represents two sounds as well, but these sounds are different fsom the sounds in words 1-6. The sound in words 7-10 is like the first sound in the word *girl* and the second sound is like the first sound in zero.

Thus we have seen that the written form of a word in English does not give us any indication of how it is to be pronounced. Let us go over the points that have emerged:

(a) Words with the same spelling may represent different sounds.
(b) One sound may be represented by different letters of the alphabet.
(c) Words with different spelling may be pronounced alike.
(d) One letter of the alphabet may represent two sounds. For example, q and x.

3.1.2 International Phonetic Alphabet



It was felt that in order to overcome the problem of the lack of a one to one correspondence between spelling and sound, an alphabet had to be evolved. The **International Phonetic Alphabet (or IPA)** was one such alphabet. It was evolved by the **International Phonetic Association** and is used extensively by phoneticians all over the world. The Association evolved symbols, which they claimed could be used to describe the sounds of all the languages of the world. Most of the symbols are based on the letters of the Roman alphabet. Some symbols are modification of these letters, eg, ɐ and ɑ are formed by modification of the letters v and a. Other symbols are borrowed from Greek. For example, θ ð ø ß . In some cases the small and capital letters of the Roman alphabet have been used to represent different sounds. For example, the small r stands for one sound and the capital **R** stands for another. On the chart, below the phonetic alphabet, is also a set of diacritics or **modifiers,** which are used to modify given sounds. For example, the diacritic ̪ is used for a dental sound. If ̪ is placed below the symbol for the alveolar consonant /t/ then we get the symbol /t̪/ which stands for a dental plosive as in the Hindi word तन. In addition other symbols used to indicate pitch, stress, intonation, etc. are also shown at the bottom of the chart.

3.1.3 Phonetic Transcription

As we have seen the International Phonetic alphabet has been devised to represent in writing the sounds; words, phrases and sentences of any language of the world. Such representation is called **phonetic** ti-anscriptiop. Por example, the English words **cell** and **call** are transcribed as /sel/ and /kɔ:l/ . Though the first letter is c in both the words yet it is clear from the transcription that it stands for two different sounds and is pronounced differently in the two words. On the other hand, words that are pronounced alike but hive different spelling, are represented by the same phonetic symbol. For example, in the words ***keep, pick, corn. character, quarter, account,*** tho K sound will be represented by the phonetic symbol [k].

Phonetic transcription, as we have seen is based on the principle 'one symbol one sound', that is, a symbol represents one and only one sound.

It is this principle that makes it possible for dictionaries to indicate the pronunciation of a word in addition to its meaning. Pronouncing-dictionaries of English or dictionaries of English which give pronunciation as well, will for Instance at once show that the letter b is silent in the words *climb. thumb. comb*

When we indicate the pronunciation of a word by using the symbols and diacritics provided by the IRA we do a phonetic transcription. Phonetic transcription enables language teachers to teach pronunciation or to remedy it, and helps linguists and phoneticians to compare the sound systems of different languages or different varieties of the same language.

Phpnetic transcription is of many types. Of these, the two most widely used are phonemic or broad phonetic transcription and allophonic or narrow phonetic transcription. In phonemic transcription, only the distinctive sounds of a language or its phonemes are represented.

sometimes, we use allophonic transcription when we wish to show those sound features which are not distinctive in a language. We shall examine the difference between a phoneme and an allophone in the next section.

3.2 THE PHONEME

As we have already seen the human speech mechanism is capable of producing an infinite number of speech sounds. The International Phonetic Alphabet provides us

with the symbols for the description of any language in the world. From the large number of speech sounds we are capable of producing, each language makes its own selection. The sounds selected by a particular language are those that are functional in that language, and are crucial for the purpose of communication. They are important for differences in the meanings of words. Let us take up tlie English words *late, gale, fate, rate, mute, bait, pate, wait,* for instance. Notice that all these words differ from each other in respect of one sound only- the initial sound, and a substitution of one sound far another brings about a change in the meaning of the worel. For example, the substitution of g for l changes the meaning of the word in *gate* and *late*. Thus tlie difference between /l/ and /g/ is called contrastive, so is the difference between /f/ /r/ /m/ /b/ /p/ /w/. All these are **phonemes** is English.

Thus all these phonemes occur in the same 'environment' or position in a word and are contrastive. Let us take tlie English word *lake* for instance and substitute the vowels in like, *look, leak, lick, lock, lock, lurk*, for the vowel in the *lake*. We find that all these vowels are contrastive and are vowel phonemes of English. This process of substitution can by and large help us to establish the phonemes or linguistically significant sounds of a language Every language has.a limited number of phonemes in its sound system. For example, English has 44 phonemes in its sound system, Hindi has 46, Tamil has 41, and Kannada 47. Since these phonemes are contrastive units in the sound system of a language, they are valid only in relation to that language. Sounds that are Phonemes in one language may be only positional variants, or allophones in another language. For example, the consonants sounds /p/ ( ) and /p^h/ ( ) which are different phonemes in Hindi as in the words and but are allophones of the same phoneme /p/ in English as in the English words spot [spot] and pot [p^h t], respectively.

3.2.1 Allophones

As we have said earlier, a phoneme in a particular language may be realised and produced slightly differently depending on tlie position it occupies in words in that language. For example, just as in the case of /p/, the phoneme /t/ in English can occur as [t"] only at the beginning of accented syllables,[$t^?$] at end of words and [t] can occur only after /s/. They are phonetically similar but one cannot be substituted for another. However, all these realisations are recognised as /t/ by English speakers, despite their differences. When we find this strict separation of places where particular realisations can occur, we say that the realisations are in **complementary distribution. Such phonetically similar sounds in complementary distribution with one another, are called positional variants or allophones.**

Usually we do not indicate different allophones when we write symbols to represent sounds. We normally just use symbols (phonemic symbols) to represent phonemes. When we write using phonemic symbols we say we are writing a **phonemic transcription.** For example, to write a phonemic transcription of the English word *bring* we would use the symbols — /brɪŋ / and slanting lines on both sides of the word to indicate that these are phonemic symbols and not letters of the alphabet or even allophonic symbols, to indicate aspiration [t^h], ancl inaudible release [$t^?$].

Thus, to indicate phonemic transcription we use slanting lines / / and to indicate allophonic symbols we use [ ].

3.3 PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY .

In Unit one we described the Speech Mechanism and the systems that constitute it. In Unit two we looked at the contribution tlie organs of speech comprising these systems make to the production of speech sounds. On the basis of their functions we set up the criteria for the description of vowels and consonants. When we describe the sound we use, with reference to tliese criteria we are concerning ourselves with matters of

phonetics. When we talk about how phonemes function in language, and in what ways they relate to each other in a language we are referring to the abstract side of the sounds of language. We are studying a related but different subject: that we call **phonology**. Only by studying both the phonetics and the phonology of a language it is possible to acquire a full understanding of the use of sounds in the spoken form of that language. Let us look at the areas that come within the subject of phonology.

3.3.1 Study of the phonemic system

Each language has a fixed set of phonemes which can be distinguished from one another. There may be slightly different realizations of the various phonemes of a language, but it is important for us to make use of the full set of phonemes of a language, in order to communicate successfully.

3.3.2 **Phonemic** sequences and syllable structure

In every language there are restrictions on the sequences of phonemes that can occur on words. In other words, it is important for us to examipe what the restrictions or the combinatorial possibilities are in a language. This can usually be done by studying the syllables of the language.

Let us take up a few examples of the restrictions on sequences of consonants in English words, for example. In English the sequences /sl-/, /kl-/, /pr-/, can occur at the beginning of words, such as *slate, clock,* and *pretty.* However, the sequences /ls/,/ŋr/,/tl/, cannot occur at the beginning of words. Similarly, while it is possible to have the combinations /-st/,/-kt/,/-nt/,/-ŋk/, in the final position in the English words *first, act, stunt, bank;* it is not possible for the combinations /-tk/,/-pg/,/-zt/ to occur in the final positions in English words. When we talk of sequence of consonants we refer to sequences within **one** syllable. We shall take up the syllable for study in the next unit.

3.3.3 Suprasegmental phonology

Another aspect of the study of phonology is features that go beyond the study of segments. Phonemic contrast alone cannot account for all the significant contrasts that there are in a language. Some contrasts in English, for example, aye the result of stress. When some English words of two syllables are pronounced with the first syllable sounding stronger than the second, English speakers hear it as a noun / adjective, whereas when they are pronounced with the second syllable stronger than the first they are heard as verbs. For example, the words, *contact, present, produce.* Similarly, intonation can also bring about a contrast in the sentence type or intention of the speaker, If the word 'yes' is said with the pitch of the voice rising, it is likely to be heard as a question or as an invitation to a speaker to continue. The use of a falling pitch, on the other hand, is more likely to be heard as confinnation or agreement. Thus these contrasts that extend over several segments (phonemes) are called **suprasegmental.**

In the next unit we shall begin by studying the consonants and vowel phonemes of English and describe them using the phonetic criteria we looked at in Unit 2.

3.4 LET US SUM UP

In this Unit we have seen that the differences between the spoken word an4 the written word and consequently the lack of a one-to-one correspondence between spelling and sound makes it difficult for the learner of a language to learn the correct pronunciation of words. It was therefore necessary to evolve the International Phonetic Alphabet based on the principle 'one symbol-one sound'. It has been

devised to represent in writing the sounds, words, phrases and sentences of any language of the world. Such representation is called **phonetic transcription**. This system of symbols makes it possible for dictionaries to indicate the pronunciation of words. Whereas a phonemic **transcription** represents only the distinctive sounds or phonemes of a language, **an** allophonic **transcription** is used to show those features that are not distinctive in a language.

We have seen that whereas the phonemes of a particular language are minimal meaningful sound units of that language, its allophones are positional variants of a particular phoneme and are not distinctive in that language.

Both the Phonetics and phonology of a particular language have to be studied in order to understand the use of sounds in the spoken form of that language.

To study the phonology of a language the segments (phonemes) as well as the suprasegmental features have to be studied.

3.5 KEY WORDS

IPA – The International Phonetic Alphabet	an internationally agreed set of characters and diacritics for representing speech sounds. The alphabeth was devised by the International Phonetic Association and is modified from time to time.
Phoheme	the basic sound unit found in a particular language. The number of phonemes varies from 10 in one Brazilian language to over 100 in one African language. English has about 40 phonemes
Allophone	any one of the phonetically different forms which can be assumed by a single **phoneme** in a language in different circumstances. For example, the English phoneme /t/ is realised as [t^{h}] in *tin*, but as unaspirated [t=] in *stick*. It may also be nasally released as in *cotton*.
Phonetic transcription	a type of transcription which represents the phonetic characteristics of the speech sounds used. This sort of transcription represents a pronunciation in more detail then a phonemic transcription can provide. **A phonetic transcription is enclosed in square brackets** [t^{h}in] – *tin*
Phonemic transcription	a transcription of words or of connected speech in a particular speech variety in terms of the **phonemes** which have been set up by the analyst for that variety. Such a transcription provides the minimum information necessary to construct a pronunciation. A phonemic transcription is enclosed in slashes */tin/* — *tin*
Phonetics	the study of speech sounds, conventionally divided into articulatory, acoustic and auditory phonetics. **Phonetics deals with the physical nature of speech** sounds, and not with their relations to other speech sounds in particular langauges.

Phonology — the branch of linguistics dealing with the way speech sounds behave in a particular language. For examples, patterns of sounds, in terms of sequence of sounds that are permissible in a specific language.

Suprasegmental — a phonological feature which can be adequately described by referring to some unit higher than a single segment, such as a syllable br a word. The label is most often applied to **stress, tone, pitch,** etc.

3.6 EXERCISES

1. I-low many letters and how many sounds do the following words have? For example; the word **know** has 4 letters and 2 sounds.

   (a) plumbing, (b) thick, (c) window, (d) cunning, *(e)*watch , (f) cupboard, (g)palms, (h) physics, (i) receive, (j) exist.

2. Substitute the first sound in the following words with another sound so that you form new words which I-lave a different meaning. For example,

   pit bit kit sit lit writ fit knit

   (a)said (b)cat (c)mind (d)bill (e)pay

3. Substitute the second sound in the following words with another sound so that you form new words which have a different meaning. For example,

   fit, fat, feet, foot, fill, pet, bun, bead, lack.

4. Transcribe the following words using phonemic transcription as given in your dictionary – *exercise, solemn, receipt, singer, language, repetitive, character, subtle, confusion, adjective.*

3.7 ANSWERS TO EXERCISES

1.

(a) 8 letters; 6sounds.
(b) 5 letters; 3 sounds.
(c) 6 letters; 5 sounds.
(d) 7 letters; 5 sounds.
(e) 5 letters; 3 sounds.
(f) 8 letters; 5 sounds.
(g) 5 letters; 4 sounds.
(h) 7 letters; 6 sounds.
(i) 7 letters; 5 sounds.
(j) 5 letters; 6 sounds.

2.

(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
said	cat	mind	'bill	pay
head	bat	kind	hill	bay
bed	rat	find	kill	day
read/red	fat	rind	pill	gay
fed	mat	bind	gill	fay
shed	pat	hind	nil	they

		lead(metal)		sat		wind		fill		say
		dead		that				sill		hay
		wed		vat				mill		ray
				hat				chill		may
				chat						nay
3.	(a)	fill	(b)	pet	(c)	bun	(d)	bead	(e)	lack
		feel		pit		bin		bid		lick
		fell		pat		bean		bed		leak
		fall		part		ban		bad		lark
		full		pot		barn		bard		lock
		fool		port		born		bored		look
		fall		put		boon		booed		lurk
		foil		pont		burn		bud		luck
		file				bane		bide		lake
		foul				bone		bowed		
		foal						beard		
		furl						bared		

UNIT 4 THE CONSONANTS OF ENGLISH

Structure

4.0 Objectives
4.1 Introduction
4.2 The Consonant Phonemes of English
  4.2.1 The choice of a model
  4.2.2 The phonetic symbols
  4.2.3 Classification of consonants on a chart.
4.3 Detailed Description of Consonants
  4.3.1 Plosives
  4.3.2 Affricates
  4.3.3 Nasals
  4.3.4 Fricatives
  4.3.5 Lateral Approximants
  4.3.6 Approximants
4.4 Consonant Clusters
  4.4.1 Introduction
4.5 The Syllable
  4.5.1. Division of words into syllables
  4.5.2. The structure of the syllable
  4.5.3. Types of the syllable
4.6 Initial and Final Consonant Clusters
  4.6.1 Initial two consonant clusters
  4.6.2 Initial three-consonant clusters
  4.6.3 Final two-consonant clusters
  4.6.4 Final four-consonant clusters
4.7 Let Us Sum Up
4.8 Key Words
4.9 Exercises
4.10 Answers to Exercises

4.0 OBJECTIVES

In this Unit we shall describe the consonant phonemes of English and the allophones of each phoneme. We shall introduce you to the symbols (given in three dictionaries) for the consonant phonemes of English. These are used to indicate the pronunciation of words. We shall look at sequences of consonants or consonant clusters in the next higher unit i.e. the syllable. We shall also discuss the nature of syllable and the structure of the syllable in English.

After completing this unit you should be able to

(i) Identify the consonant phonemes of English and phonemic contrasts.
(ii) Describe the consonant phonemes using the three-term label.
(iii) Identify the allophones of each consonant phoneme in words and in connected speech.
(iv) Give the syllable structure of English words.
(v) Indicate the syllable division in English words.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In Unit **3**, we familiarised ourselves with the difference between the written word and the spoken word. We discussed the lack of correspondence between spelling and

sound in English and the problems it posed for the learning of pronunciation. We saw that the International Phonetic Alphabet was introduced to resolve this problem. We also introduced the terms 'Phoneme' and 'Allophone' in order to understand the difference between phonemic and allophonic transcription. We pointed out the difference between the terms 'phonetics' and 'phonology' and emphasized the importance of both for an understanding of the sounds in the spoken form of a language.

In this unit we shall introduce the symbols used in three dictionaries for the consonants of English. We shall concern ourselves specifically with a detailed description and classification of the consonants of English. Using the descriptive criteria discussed in Unit 2 we shall plot each consonant on the consonant chart. We shall examine the structure of the syllable and the types of syllable in English. We shall also list the possible consonant sequences or clusters in English.

4.2 THE CONSONANT PHONEMES OF ENGLISH

4.2.1 The Choice of A Model

There are 24 consonants in the variety of British English known as *R.P.* or **Received Pronunciation.**

Of the native accents we have chosen R.P. as a model because

(i) it is a native accent of English which is very widely understood and accepted
(ii) it is used by most dictionaries to indicate the pronunciation of words
(iii) there is no pan-Indian accent which can serve as a model or which is being used by lexicographers at present
(iv) it is an accent that most recognised 'good' speakers in India. (for examples, AIR and Doordarshan newsreaders) tend to approximate to for national and international intelligibility
(v) owing to historical reasons, we have not been exposed to other native accents as much as we have been to the educated southern–eastern British accent. In other words, other native accents such as Educated Scottish, General American, Educated Canadian and Australian have not been easily accessible

4.2.2 The Phonetic Symbols

The Phonetic symbols for the 24 consonants phonemes are given below along with examples to illustrate their occurrence in the initial, medial, and final position. Wherever there is a blank space it indicate that the consonant does not occur in that position. The phonetic symbols used for the consonants are the same as the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English* (Revised and updated) by A.S.Hornby, *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, and *English Pronouncing Dictionary* (14th edition) by Daniel Jones

Consonant	Initial	Medial	Final
p	pan	span	sap
b	bit	cubs	nib
t	tip	steel	cut
d	dot	heads	lid
k	kite	skin	lock
g	guide	flags	big
ʧ	chain	touched	catch
ʤ	joy	gauged	edge
m	man	slums	calm
n	nest	sense	stone

ŋ	-----	rings	thing
l	lane	spilt	bell
f	fish	raft	stiff
v	veil	sleeves	hive
θ	think	months	width
ð	they	breathed	bathe
s	soap	test	cross
z	zero	confusion	crows
ʃ	shop	brushed	flash
ʒ	-----	confusion	beige
h	heart	behave	-------
r	red	brave	-------
w	watch	sweat	-------
j	yacht	news	-------

4.2.3 Let us now plat these consonants on the chart below:

Table 1 Classification of Consonants

Place	Bila-bial	Labio dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post Alve-olar	Palato -Alve -olar	Palatal	Velar	Glot-tal
Manner	vl vd	vl vd	vl vd	vl vd	vl vd	vl vd	vl vd	vl vd	vl vd
Plosive	p b			t d				k g	
Affricate						tʃ dʒ			
Nasal	m			n				ŋ	
Fricative		f v	θ ð	s z		ʃ ʒ		h	
Approxi-mant	w				r		j		
Lateral Approxi-mant									

Look at the Table carefully. You will find that when classified according to the manner of articulation there are in English.

6 plosives
2 Affricates
3 nasals
9 fricatives
3 Approximants of which /w/ and /j/ are generally called semi-vowels
1 Lateral Approximant

When classified according to the place of articulation there are in English

4 Bilabial consonants
2 Labio-dental consonants
2 Dental consonants
6 Alveolar consonants
1 Post-alveolar consonant
4 Palato-alveolar consonants
1 Palatal cansonant
3 Velar consonants
1 Glottal consonant

Nine of the twenty four consonants are voiceless, the remaining are voiced.

We shall describe the consonants of English in greater detail with reference to that determined by the manner of articulation,

4.3 DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF CQNSONANTS

4.3.1 Plosives

Tliere are three stages in tlie production of a plosive. During tlie first stage the articulatory organs come togettier to make a firm contact with each other: During tlie second stage the air from tlie lungs is compressed behind tlie closure. Duriing the third stage tlie air is released with explosion owing to tlie sudden parting of tlie articulatory organs.
English (RP) has six plosives
Bilabial /p,b/
Alveolar /t,d/
Velar /k, g/

/p,t,k/ are voiceless and /b,d,g/ are voiced.

Bilabial Plosives /p,b/

For the production of /p/ the two lips are tightly closed, tlie lung air is compressed behind the closure, tlie vocal cords are kept wide apart. The soft palate is raised to shut off tlie nasal cavity when tlie closure is released, tlie compressed air escapes with force. Thus /p/ is a voiceless *bilabial plosive.*

Allophones of /p/

(a) /p/ is *aspirated* [p^h] when it occurs initially and in an accented syllable. For example, pool, pall, ap'pear, play, ap'point, pure.

In all such cases the vowel or voiced consonant that immediately follows /p/ becomes devoiced.

(b) /p/ is unaspirated when
- (i) it occurs in unaccented syllables as in *pre'vent, 'leper, 'temper*
- (ii) it is preceded by /s/ as in spell, *spy, speech,* and
- (iii) it occurs medially in a syllable as in *opt,* kept, *lapse*

(c) /p/ is inaudibly released or released without explosion when
- (i) it occurs finally, that is before silence, as in *cap, step, sweep*
- (ii) it occurs before another plosive or affricate for example, *kept, wrapped, keep checking*

(d) /p/ is nasally released i.e., the air passes out through the nasal passage when it is followed by /n/ as in *topmost, stop me.*

/b/

The consonant /b/ differs from /p/ only in respect of voicing i.e. in the production of /b/ tie vocal cords vibrate. Hence it is a voiced *bilabial plosive*

Allophones of /b/

(a) /b/ is devoiced in the initial and final positions in words because the voicing of /b/ is delayed owing to the silence that precedes it in the initial position for example belt, *bird, broad.* It is devoiced in the final position in words because of the silence that follows for example job, rube, *tub.*

(b) /b/ is unexploded or inaudibly released (i) in tlie final position in words for example *crib, sob* (ii) when it occurs before another plosive or affricate for example, *snubbed, obtrude, subdued, object*

(c) /b/ is fully voiced when it occurs between two vowel sounds which are voiced for example *rubber, suburb, above, subaltern*

(d) /b/ is nasally released i.e. the air is released through tlie nose when it is followed by /m/ as in *submarine, submerge*

Alveolar Plosives /t,d/

For the articulation of /t/ and /d/ the tip and blade of the tongue makes a firm contact with the alveolar ridge, the lung air is compressed behind the closure and the velum is raised to shut off the nasal passage. With the release of the closure, the compressed air escapes with explosion.

For /t/ the vocal cords are apart, therefore it is voiceless. For /d/ the vocal cords vibrate, therefore it is voiced.

Allophones of /t/

(a) Like /p/, /t/ is aspirated when it occurs in the initial accented position in words. For example *torch, at'tain, twist, trailor*. In all such cases the voiced consonant or vowel that immediately follows /t/ becomes devoiced. For example /w/ in *twist* and /r/ in *trailor* are devoiced.

(b) /t/ is unaspiratecl (like /p/), wlien
(i) it occurs in unaccented syllables. e.g. *'litter, to'night, 'satire*
(ii)it is preceded by /s/, eg *steam, strap, stew*

(c) it is inaudibly released in the final position in words, i.e. before silence, e.g. *date, bought* and when it is followed by another plosive or affricate e.g. *wet day, white dress, dustbin, hot chips, white chalk*

(d) it is nasally released i.e. the air passes out through the nose, if it is followed by /n/, e.g. *cotton, rotten, button*

(e) it is laterally released wlien it is followed by /l/, e.g. *kettle, bottle, rattle*

(f) /t/ becomes a dental plosive (like the Hindi त as in तौल 'weigh') if it is followed by the dental fricatives / θ, ð /, e.g. eighth, *eat these.*

(g) it is realized as a post-alveolar plosive when fallowed by the post-alveolar approximant /r/, e.g. *tree, portray, trim*

Allophones of /d/

(a) /d/ is devoiced when it occurs initially in a word e.g. *dip, day, dread, due* and finally e g. *flowed, read, hide*

(f) it is inaudibly released when
(i) it occurs finally e.g. *asked, told*
(ii) it is followed by another plosive or.affricate, e.g. *good times,* wide *gap, lendpencil, bad judge*

(g) /d/ is fully voiceel, that is voiced through all the three stages of its articulation, when it occurs between voiced sounds e.g. *radar, modest, goodwill*

(h) /d/ is nasally released when it is followed by /n/ *hidden, midnight, goodness, loud noise*

(i) /d/ is laterally released when followd by /l/, e.g. *fiddle, red light, bed lamp*

(j) /d/ becomes a dental plosive (like Hindi द in दिल 'heart') when it is followed by the dental fricatives / θ, ð /, e.g. *width, sad thought, feed them.*

(k) /d/ is realised as a post-alveolar plosive when it is followed by the post-alveolar approximant /r/ as in *drop, fried rice*

Pronunciation of the past tense marker –d or -ed

The past tense marker –d or - ed is pronounced

(i) /t/ after voiceless consonants other than /t/ for example

/ræpt/	*wrapped*	/si:st/	*ceased*
/beɪkt/	*baked*	/flæʃt/	*flashed*
/stʌft/	*stuffed*	/s :ʃɪt/	searched

(ii) it is pronounced /d/ after voiced sounds (voiced consonants and vowels) other than /d/

/rɔ:bd/	*robbed*	/kr ɪd/	*cried*
/begd/	*begged*	/ʃ ud/	*showed*
/lʌvd/	*loved*	/bru:d/	*brewed*

(iii) it is pronounced /ɪd/ after /t,d/ e.g. *rated, plotted, moulded, glided*

Velar **Plosives** /k,g/

For the production of /k/ and /g/ the back of the tongue makes a firm contact with the soft palate or velum, which is raised to shut off the nasal passage. The lung air is compressed behind the closure. The closure is released and the compressed air escapes with plosion. For /k/ the vocal cords are wide apart, therefore it is a *voiceless velar plosive*. For the production of /g/ the vocal cords vibrate. Thus it is a *voiced velar plosive.*

Allophones of /**k**/

(a) Like /p and t/, /k/ is aspirated when it occurs in the initial accented position in words, e.g. *court, kite, ac'cord, quarter, crane.* In all such cases, the vowel or voiced consonant that immediately follows /k/ becomes *devoiced.*
(b) /k/ is unaspirated when
 (i) it is preceded by /s/, e.g. *score, skates, skiing, squash*
 (ii) it occurs in unaccented syllables, e.g. *'basket, con'trast, 'rocket*
(c) /k/ is inaudibly released, that is, without plosion, when
 (i) it occurs finally in words, i.e., before silence, e.g. *lock, wreck, make*
 (ii) it is followed by another plosive or affricate e.g. *lucked, black beard, rock garden, thick chain.*
(d) /k/ is articulated nearer the hard palate when followed by a front vowel e.g. *keep, kid, cap. It* is an advanced variety of /k/.
(e) /k/ is articulated further back in the month when followed by a back vowel, e.g. *cast, cost, cord, cook*

Allophones of /**g**/

(a) /g/ is fully voiced, when it occurs between two vowels, e.g. *luggage, regal, forgo*
(b) /g/ is devoiced when it occurs initially in a word because it preceded by silence. E.g. *goal, guide, gear.*
 It is devoiced when it occurs finally in words because it is followed by silence e.g. *log, mug, flag*
(c) /g/ is inaudibly released when
 (i) it occurs finally, e.g. *big, stag, jug*
 (ii) it is followed by another plosive or affricate e.g., *big dog, stag party, egg cup, figtree, big jar.*
(d) /g/ is articulated nearer the hard palate, i.e. it is advanced when followed by a front vowel, e.g. ***give,*** get, ***gain.***
 It is articulated further back in the mouth i.e. at the soft palate, when followed by a back vowel, e.g. *guard, gollywog, gorgeous, goose.*

4.3.2 Affricates

Palalo-alveolar Affricates /tʃ and dʒ/

During the articulation of /tʃ and dʒ/, the tip and blade of tlie tongue makes a closure with the alveolar ridge, the rims of tlie tongue make a contact with tlie upper side teeth. At the same time, the front of the tongue is also raised towards the hard palate. The soft palate is raised to shut off the nasal passage. The closure is released slowly, the air escaping with friction occurring between the blade-to-front region of the tongue and tlie alveolar-to-front palatal section of the roof of tlie mouth.

During tlie stop and fricative stages the vocal cords are wide apart for /tʃ/, thus it is voiceless. They vibrate for /dʒ/, which is voiced. The lip position will be conditioned by that of adjacent sound. (e.g. lip rounding is greater in choose in relation to that of cheese.), though with some speakers a certain amount of lip-protrusion is always present for these two consonants.

Allophones of **/tʃ/**

No important variants of /tʃ/ occur, except for tlie degree of rounding and protrusion which depends on the vowel following /tʃ/.

Allophones of **/dʒ/**

(a) /dʒ/ is devoiced when it occurs initially in a word, e.g. *joke, giraffe,* Jewel, and when it occurs word finally, e.g. *badge,* siege, rage.
(b) /dʒ/ is fully voiced, that is, it is voiced through all tlie stages of its articulation, when it occurs between voiced sounds e.g. ledger, *rejoice,* suggest.

4.3.3 Nasals /m,n,ŋ/

Nasals are produced by rnakinga complete closure in the mouth (as for plosives). They are different from plosives in that the soft palate is lowered and the air allowed to pass through the nasal passage. Since the air escapes through the nose, nasals can be continued, whereas plosives cannot. In this respect they are like fricatives, though there is no audible friction as there is in the case of fricatives. They are, in other words, vowel-like. All the three nasals in English are voiced.

Bilabial Nasal **/m/**

For tlie articulation of /m/ we make a complete closure at the lips. The soft palate is Towered to allow a free passage of air through the nose.

Allophones of /m/

(a) /m/ is realised as a labio-dental nasal [ɱ] when it is followed by the labio-dental fricatives /f,v/ e.g. *comfort,* triumph, *circumvent, some* vibmtion.
(b) /m/ is devoiced when preceded by /s/, e.g. *smooth,* smoother, *smug, course materials.*

Alveolar nasal **/n/**

For the production of /n/ we make a closure in the mouth between the tip of the tongue and the alveolar ridge, and the rims of the tongue and the upper side teeth, The soft palate is lowered and the air passes out through the nose without any obstruction.

Allophones **of /n/**

(a) when /n/ is followed by /θ, ð/ in words, it is released as a dental nasal as in ninth, plinth, *fine them, sign* these.

(b) /n/ becomes a post alveolar nasal when followed by /r/ e.g. *unrest, enrapt, run-rate*

Velar nasal /ŋ/

To articulate /ŋ/ we make a complete closure between the back of the tongue and the soft palate. The soft palate is lowered to allow the air to pass freely through the nose.

/ŋ/ is regularly represented by the spelling *ng* or n followed by a letter representing /k/, e.g. *ring lung, drink, wrinkle, anchor.*

The spelling *ng* in the final position in words is always pronounced /ŋ/, never /ŋg/, e.g. *long, bring, string.*

The spelling *ng* in the medial position in words is, however pronounced

(iii) /ŋ/ in derivatives of verbs ending in /ŋ/, e.g. *bringing, longing, singer.*
(iv) /ŋg/ in other words, e.g. *longer* (comparative degree of the adjective *long) finger,*
hunger

There are no allophonic variants of /ŋ/.

4.3.4 Fricatives

For the articulation of fricatives there is no closure in the oral tract as there is in the case of plosives, affricates and nasals. The articulators are brought sufficiently close to each other so that the air produces audible friction in passing through the narrow gap between them.

Labio-dental fricatives /f, v/

During the production of /f,v/, the soft palate is raised shutting off the nasal passage of air. The lower lip makes a light contact with the front upper teeth, leaving a narrow gap through which the lung air escapes, producing audible friction. The vocal cords are held wide apart for /f/ which is voiceless. The vocal cords vibrate for /v/ which is voiced.

Allophones of /f/

/f/ has no important allophones.

Allophones of /v/

(a). /v/ is devoiced when it occurs initially (i.e. after silence) e.g. *voice, vowel, vain*
(b) /v/ is devoiced when it occurs finally (i.e. before silence), e.g. *drive, value, save.*

Dental fricatives /θ, ð/

For the production of /θ, ð/ the soft palate is raised to shut off the nasal passage of air, the tip of the tongue makes a light contact with the inner surface of the upper front teeth, the rims of the tongue make a firm contact with the upper side teeth. The lung air escapes through the narrow gap between the tip of the tongue and the upper front teeth, causing audible friction. For /θ/ the vocal cords are apart. It is thus a voiceless consonant. The vocal cords vibrate for / ð /. Therefore it is voiced.

Allophones of /θ/

There are no important allophonic variants of /θ/.

Allophones of / ð /

(a) / ð / is devoiced when it occurs initially (i.e. alter silence), e.g. *these, therefore, theirs.*
(b) / ð / is devoiced when it occurs finally (i.e. before silence), e.g. *seethe, breathe, soothe*

Alveolar fricatives /s, z/

For tlie articulation of /s,z/ the soft-palate is raised to shut off the nasal passage of air, the tip and blade of the tongue make a light contact with the teeth ridge. At the same *time* the side rims of the tongue make a firm escape through a narrow groove along the centre of the tongue, causing audible friction between the tongue and the teeth ridge. The vocal cords are wide apart for /s/, therefore, it is voiceless. For /z/ the vocal cords vibrate, therefore it is voiced:

Allophones of /s/

There are no allophonic variants of /s/.

Allophones of /z/

(a) /z/ is devoiced when it occurs initially (i.e. after silence) e.g. *zoo, zero, xerox.*
(b) /z/ is devoiced when it occurs finally (i.e. before silence), e.g. *rose, breeze, choose*

The pronunciation of the suffixes *(e) s, 's, s'.*

The suffix *–s and –es* used in the plural formation of nouns or the third person singular present tense form of verbs, and the suffix *'s* or *s'* for the possessive forms of nouns are pronounced in three different ways, depending upon the ending of the stem (i.e. the uninflected form of the noun or verb).

(i) /ɪz/ after /s, z, ʃ, ʒ, tʃ, dʒ/, e.g.

faces	passes	princess's
roses	loses	Collins's
brushes	crashes	coaches
mirages	massages	coaches'
churches	stretches	judge's
judges	singes	judges'

(i /z/ after a voiced sound (i.e. all vowels and voiced consonants) other than /z, ʒ, dʒ/

days	plays	baby's
flags	bribes	chilldren's
birds	slogs	teacher's
hives	dives	teachers'
buns	burns	colonel's
films	swims	colonels'
bales	sells	adam's

(iii) /s/ after a voiceless consonant other than /s, ʃ, tʃ/:

bats	fits	elephant's
caps	wraps	ship's
hooks	bakes	bullock's

puffs	bluffs	calfs
baths	froths	Ruth's

Palato-alveolar fricatives /ʃ, ʒ/

For the production of /ʃ, ʒ/ the soft palate is raised to Shut off the nasal passage of air. The tip and blade of the tongue make a light contact with the alveolar ridge and the side rims of the tongue make a firm contact with the upper side teeth. At the same time the front of the tongue is also raised towards the hard palate. As a result of this simultaneous raising of the Front of the tongue, the narrowing between the tongue and the roof of the mouth spreads from the tip and blade to the front of the tongue. The air escapes through this narrow but diffuse gap with audible friction. The vocal cords are wide apart for /ʃ/ which is voiceless. For / ʒ / the vocal cords vibrate. Therefore it is voiced.

Some native speakers produce these two consonants with rounded.lips in all positions in words; others do so only when a rounded vowel (e.g.ɔ,ɔ:,ʊ,u:) precedes or follows them.

Allophones of /ʃ/

There are no allophonic variants of /ʃ/

Allophones of / ʒ /

(a) / ʒ / may be devoiced when it occurs in the final position in words, e.g. *prestige, beige, massage.*

Glottal Fricative /h/

For the production of /h/, the soft palate is raised. The air from the lungs escapes through a narrow glottis with audible friction. The position of the tongue and lips is determined by the following vowel. Thus for the articulation of /h/ in *heat,* the front of the tongue is raised towards the hard palate and the lips are spread. For the articulation of /h/ in *hoof,* the back of the tongue is raised to the soft palate and the lips are rounded. All such types of English /h/ have one feature in common, that is, the passage of a strong, voiceless airstream through the open glottis. /h/ is therefore referred to as a *voiceless glottal fricative*

Allophones of /h/

(a) Between two voiced sounds, /h/ is realised as a voiced glottal fricative, e.g. *behold, behave, behest.*

4.3.5 **Lateral Approximant**

A lateral consonant is produced when there is a closure, essentially, in the centre of the oral passage, so that the air can escape on one or both sides of the closure. English has only one lateral, the alveolar lateral / l /.

Alveolar lateral Approximant / l /

During the articulation of / l / the tip of the tongue is in contact with the alveolar ridge, with one or both sides of the tongue remaining low so that the lung air can escape freely without friction through the side(s). The soft palate is raised to shut off the nasal passage of air, and the vocal cords vibrate. /l/ is thus a *voiced alveolar lateral approximant.*

Allophones of / l /

The two main allophones of / l / are the Clear [l] and the Dark [ɫ]. In addition to the description given above, for clear [l], the front of the tongue is raised towards the hard palate, while, far dark [ɫ], the back of the tongue is raised towards the soft palate, the front of the tongue being somewhat depressed.

(a) Clear. [l] is used only when the lateral approximant is followed by a vowel or a semi-vowel, e.g. *large, lake, lose, flute, lieu, lure.*
(b) Dark [ɫ] is used whenever the lateral is not followed by a vowel, e.g. word finally as in *feel, spoil, tall,* and before consonants other than /j/, e.g. *wealth, realm,* hulk, *fault, cooled, solve, elbow*
(c) / l / becomes devoiced when it is preceded by aspirated /p^h,k^h/ e.g. *please, clear, reply.* / l / is less devoiced when it is preceded by unaspirated /p,k/ or by /s,f, ʃ, θ/, e.g. *stapler, sprinkles, mostly, antler, slow, fleet, breathless, pamphlet*

Approximants /r,j,w/

Past-alveolar Approximant or frictionless continant /r/

For the articulation of /r/, the tip of the tongue moves towards the alveolar ridge, so that the gap between the tongue and the roof of the mouth is wide enough for the lung air to pass through freely without any audible friction. The soft palate is raised to shut off the nasal passage of air. The vocal cords vibrate, /r/ is therefore voiced.

pronunciation of the letter r

In R.P., the letter *r* is pronounced only when it occurs immediately before vowels. It is silent before consonants and ward finally; for example in the words *aroma character, around* the *r* is pronounced, while in words *yard, start, blurred* the *r* in the spelling is not pronounced and in the words *far, fair, mother the r* in the final position is not pronounced either. Similarly when words with *r* in the final position are followed by a word beginning with a consonant, the *r* is not pronounced e.g. *a far cry, a fair game. mother called.* But they are pronounced with /r/ if they are followed by another word beginning with a vowel, where /r/ has a linking form. e.g. *A far off place, fair enough, mother and father.*

However In other native varieties of English; such as Standard American English, Educated Scottish English. the *r* in the spelling is pronounced in **all cases**.

Allophones of /r/

(a) /r/ is realised as a voiced post-alveolar fricative [ɹ̠] when it is preceded by /d/, e.g. drill, drive, dread, quadrangle
(b) /r/ is realised as a devoiced post-alveolar fricative [ɹ̠̊] when it is preceded by the voiceless aspirated plosives /p, /t/, or /k/, e.g. *'pretty, ap'prove, 'tractor, por'tray, 'crowded, de'crease.*
(c) /r/ becomes a slightly devoiced post-alveolar fricative when it is preceded by voiceless consonants other than the aspirated /p,t,k/. e.g. *fret. shrink. saffron, mushroom,* and when it is preceded by unaccented /p,t,k/ e.g. *'upright. 'April, spray nitrate, strict, 'cockroach, 'acrobat.*
(d) /r/ is frequently revealed as a voiced alveolar tap or flap when it occurs between two vowels, e.g. *terrible, carry, sorry, forever* apd when it is preceded by / θ / or / ð /, e.g. *thrifty, thrice, forthright, with regards,*

There are thus a number of allophones of the /r/ phoneme described above, i.e. voiced post-alveolar frictionless continuant [ɹ̠]. Nevertheless, the variety of /r/ described i.e. post alveolar approximant still remains the most frequent variety in R.P. because the contexts in which it occurs are most frequent. These are

(i) Initially before vowels, e.g. *ride, ring, road, rude*
(ii) After voiced consonants other than /d/, e.g. *bread, grow, still raw, all right.*
(iii) In the word-final position when followed by another word beginning with a vowel, e.g. *answer it, wear out, take care of, far and near*

Approximants (Semi-Vowels)

Semi-vowels are rapid vowel glides within the same syllable. They are vowel-like in that there is a free passage of air because the articulators are fairly far apart. But they are treated as consonants because they function as consonants. This is borne out by the fact that we use *a* not *an* before words beginning with /j or w/, e.g. *a unit; a yak, a yesman, a wheel, a watch, a wasp.* Before vowels *an* is used, e.g. *an hour, an honest person, an apple.* Semi-vowels, like the vowels in English, are voiced.

Labio-velar Semi-vowel **/w/**

For the production of /w/ the back of the tongue moves towards the soft palate, and then moves quickly to the position of the following sound. The lips are rounded, the vocal cords vibrate.

Allophones of /w/

(a) /w/ is devoiced after aspirated /t/,/k/, e.g. *twist, tweed, queen, quick.* It *is* also slightly devoiced after unaspirated /p/ /t/ /k/ and other voiceless consonants e.g. *at work, squash, swim, squirrel, thwart, swear, upward, outward, equal.*

Palatal Semi-vowel **/j/**

For the production of /j/ the front of the tongue is raised towards the hard palate but is not so close as to cause audible friction. In other words, the lung air can pass out freely without any audible friction. The tongue moves away immediately to the position of the following sound. The soft-palate is raised to shut off the nasal passage, and the vocal cords vibrate. /j/ is thus a *voicedpalatal semi-vowel.*

Allophones of /j/

(a) /j/ is realised as a voiceless palatal fricative when it is preceded by aspirate? /p,t,k/ and /h/, and followed by /u:, uə/, e.g. *puny, puritan, tune, cube, human, cure.*
(b) /j/ is devoiced when it is preceded by unaspirated /p,t,k/ as in *'student, 'copula, 'occupy.*

4.4 CONSONANT CLUSTERS IN ENGLISH

4.4.1 Introduction

We have studied in detail the consonant phonemes of English. We shall now look at the possible ways in which consonants can combine with one another in words. There are certain restrictions on the combinatorial possibilities.

(i) In the initial position /tʃ, dʒ, ð , z/ do not combine with any consonant
(ii) /r, j, w/ can occur only as the final element in initial clusters, e.g. /tr, dr. kr, br, fr, pr, gr, sr, tj, dj, kj, fj, pj, tw, dw, kw, sw/
(iii) In the final position, consonant clusters such as /pf, td, lzd, zbd/ are not possible.

When we refer to sequences of consonants that occur within a syllable we generally call **them** consonant clusters. Since we have to refer to the syllable in order to define a consonant cluster, it would be worthwhile explaining what a syllable is.

4.5 THE SYLLABLE

The phonemes of a language combine to form the next higher unit, which in turn forms part of the next higher unit, and so on.

The unit at the next higher level than the phoneme is called the syllable. The syllable as a unit distinct from the phoneme and the word is very significant in the production of speech, and we cannot describe and analyse speech without taking it into account.

Though many attempts have been made to define the term 'syllable', no agreed definition is yet available. However, it is not so difficult to identify the number of syllables in a given word. And this is sufficient for us to be able to divide words into syllables.

4.5.1 **Division of** words into **syllables**

A word can consist of one or more than one syllable. It should be comparatively easy to point out how many syllables a given word has in most cases. For example, it is not difficult to say that the words rock, *reply, hesitate, introduction, electricity,* characterization, have one, two, three, four, five and six syllables, respectively. How can we count the number of syllables in a word? The simplest procedure would be to count the number of vowel sounds in a word. **Thus** there would be as many syllables **in** a **word** as **there** are vowels. The word rock has only one vowel sound, the word *reply* has two vowel sounds and so on. This becomes clearer if we transcribe these words to get their pronunciation - /rɒk/, /rɪplaɪ/, /hezɪteɪt/, /ɪntrədʌkʃn/, Ilektrɪsɪtɪ/, /kærɪktəraɪzeɪʃən/. Now if we mark the syllable division with a hyphen we get the number of syllables in each word thus - /rɒk/ /rɪ-plaɪ/, /he-zɪ–teɪt/, in-trə–dʌk-ʃən/, /ɪ-lek-trɪ-sɪ-tɪ/, /kæ–rɪk-tə-raɪ–zeɪ-ʃen/ (we thus must remember that the diagraph – i.e., a sequence of two letters, such as Jar, eɪ/ represent only one vowel sound).

However, we may sometimes find it difficult to decide where to draw the syllable boundary. For, while we would seldom disagree on the number of syllables of a word we might differ regarding the placement of the syllable boundaries in a word.

There are two kinds of problems that make it difficult for us to decide where to draw the syllable boundary. The first problem is that is spelling. Words with double letters in the spelling and words with the letter *x* in the spelling. The syllable boundary is to be marked with a hyphen **between** the double letters in words where the double letters occurs for example, ac-cept, *af-ford, ac-com-mo-date, al-lo-cate, com-mute,* as-*sume.*

In the case of words with the letter we are faced with just the reverse of the problem, we face when dividing words with double letters into syllables. *x* stands for two sounds. For instance, in the words exercise, exact, and *luxury,* the letter *x* represents the sounds /ks, gz, kʃ/ respectively. If we go by the spelling it will be difficult to decide whether to divide these words as *ex-er-cise, ex-act* and *lux-u-ry,* or *e-xer-cise, e-xact,* and *lu-xu-ry.* When we transcribe all these words we find that syllable division is easy. /ək-sept/, /ə-ʃɔ:d/, /ə-kɒ-mə-deɪt/, / æ-lə -keɪt/, /kə-mju:t/ /a-sju:m/ /ek-sə–saɪz/ /eg-zækt/ /lʌk-ʃə-rɪ/

It would therefore be advisable to transcribe such words before we can divide them into syllables.

There is yet another difficulty we are likely to face while deciding wliere to mark syllable boundaries in a word. For example, let us talte up the words, *astride*, /əstraɪd/, *excuse* /ɪkskjuːs/, and *extra* /ekstrə/. There are two or more ways of syllaby ing these words. The question is, which one of these two, or three alternatives should we clioose. Two possible ways of marking syllable division would be - /ə-straɪd/ or /əs-traɪd/. Tliere is no fixed rule regarding the choice of alternative divisions apart from the constraint that the division should not violate any rules of the phonology of the language. Thus both the divisions are possible.

Thus while dividing words containing two or more consonants into their constituent syllables, we need to ensure tliat the rules of English phonology regarding tlie occurrence of these clusters are not violated.

To understand this better we will now study in detail the structure of tlie syllable and tlie possible initial and final consonant clusters in English.

4.5.2 The **structure of** the syllable

As we have said earlier the syllable is tlie next liiglier unit, that is made up of one or more than one speech sound. The vowel element is so essential to the structure of a syllable that we cannot have a syllable without a vowel element. We count the number of syllables in a word on tlie basis of the number of vowel sounds in the syllable. Tlie vowel element being obligatory in a syllable, tlierefore if we have a syllable of only one sound, the sound will be a vowel, for example *I*/aɪ/, *a* /ə/, *eye* /aɪ/, *air* /eɪ/. *The vowel is therefore known as the nucleas of the syllable.* The consonants on the other hand occupy the marginal place in a syllable. The consonants which begins a syllable is called the releasing consonant. For example, in tlie words do, *raw, see* the consonants /d, v and s/ are releasing consonants. The consonant that ends a syllable is known as the **arresting consonant.** In the words *boat,* nose, *get,* bid, for instance, tlie releasing consonants are /b, ng, l/ and tlie arresting consonants are /t,z,t,d/. Now if we represent tlie obligatory element by the letter V and the marginal element by the letter C, tlie syllable *seed* can be represented as CVC. However, it is not always the case that a consonant occupies only the marginal position in a syllable. There are syllables in which the nuclear place is occupied by certain consonants, Let us take the words cotton /kɒtn/, *battle,* /bætl/, and *rhythm* /rɪðm/. It is generally agreed that these words have two syllables each and not one. Thus the syllable division of these words woulcl be /kɒ-tn/, /bæ-tl / and /rɪ- ðm/. The second syllable in each word apparently has no vowel only the consonants / -tn/, / -tl/, with no vowel between them. In such cases, the sounds /n, l and m/ perform the function of the V element or the nucleus of the syllable and are called syllabic consonants. This is possible because /n,l and m/ are all plionetically vowel-lɪke. When /n/, /l/ and /m/ function as syllabic consonants, they are generally marked in a narrow transcription, with the diacritic [̩] [as in [sʌdn̩]; [bɒtl̩].

4.5.3 Types of the Syllable

Using the symbols V and C to represent tlie obligatory and marginal elements in the syllable. The different types of syllables possible in English are as follows:

	Syllable Type	Example
(a)	V	eye, a, I, ear
(b)	VC	eat, ache, all
(c)	CV	hay, saw, tea
(d)	CVC	bun, pit, miss
(e)	CCV	stay, sky, play, cry, small

(f)	CCCV	stray, spree, straw, screw
(g)	CCCVC	stream, screech, stroll, spring, spread, squad
(h)	CCCVCC	screeched, strained, sprawled, sprint, squeaked
(i)	CCCVCCC	strands, strengths, splints, scrounged,
(j)	VCC	apt, aunt, east, elf, ached,
(k)	CVCC	tax, bent, watched, chance, wrench
(l)	CVCCC	lapsed, next, text, danced
(m)	CCVCC	stamp, frank, crest, quaint, pruned, frisk.
(n)	CCVCCC	twelfth, prompt, stamped, stunts,
(o)	CCVCCCC	twelfths, prompts, glimpsed
(p)	CVCCCC	texts, tempts

From the syllable types we have listed above we liave seen that English permits upto three consonants at the beginning of a syllable and upto four at tlie end of a syllable. These types can be represented like this – C_0-C_3 V C_0-C_4 Such sequences of consonants are called initial and final consonant clusters respectively. For example, /-nd/ in the word mend is a consonant cluster because it forms part of the same syllable, whereas /-mb/ in the word member /mem-b . / is riot a cluster since /m/ and /b/ belong to two different syllables: /-m/ is tlie arresting consonant of the first syllable, and /b-/ tlie releasing consonant of the second. Consonants like /-m/ and /b-/ which occur together in a word but form part of two different syllables, are called abutting consonants.

4.6 INITIAL AND FINAL CONSONANT CLUSTERS

I-laving studied the syllable in detail and the cluster types that are permitted in English, let us list the combinations of consonants that are possible in 2, 3 or 4 consonant clusters in the initial and the final position in a syllable.

4.6.1 Initial two-consonant clusters

(a) Two-consonant clusters with /s/ as the first consonant. .

St	p	t	k	b	d	g	f	θ	s	ʃ	h	v	z	ʒ	m	n	y
Spot	stick	skin	-	-	-	sphere-	-	-	-	-		-	-		smoke	snail	

(b) Two consonant clusters with / l ,v, w, j/ as tlie second consonants.

	p	t	k	b	d	g	f	θ	s	ʃ	h	v	m	n	
l	plum	-	clown	blow	-	glow	flag	-	slow	-		-	-	-	-
r	pray	tray	crow	brown	dre-am	gross	fry	throw	-	Shr-ine	-	-	-	-	-
w	-	twin	quick	-	dwe-ll	?*	-	thwart	swe-ep	-	-	-	-	-	-
.	puny	tune	queue	beauty	dew	?*	feud	-	suic-ide	-	hue	view	mu-sic	news	hu

4.6.2 Initial three-consonant clusters

When three consonants form an initial cluster in English, tlie first consonant is invariably /s/, the second one of the three voiceless plosives /p,t,k/ and the last one of these/ l ,v,w,j/

Thus the possible clusters are:-

	Example
/spl-/	spleen, splutter, splint, splice
/spr-/	sprint, sprain, sprout, spruce
/spj-/	spurious
/str-/	stress, strive, strange
/stj-/	stew, student, stupid
/skl/	sclerosis
/skr-/	screech, script, screen
/skw-/	squad, squat, squint, squeeze

4.6.3 Final two-consonant clusters

		Example	
/p/	as the first consonant	/-pt. /	stopped, wept
		/-pθ/	depth
		/-ps/	lapse, tops
/t/	as the first consonant	/-tθ/	eighth
		/-ts/	mats, huts
/k/	as the first consonant	/-kt/	act, sect
		/-ks/	books, fox
/b/	as the first consonant	/-bd./	sobbed, rubbed
		/-bz/	robes, cubs
/d/	as the first consonant	/-dz/	seeds, birds
/g/	as the first consonant	/-gd/	dragged, plugged
		/-gz/	flags, slugs
/tʃ/	as the first consonant	/-tʃt/	patched, watched
/dʒ/	as the first consonant	/-dʒd/	smudged, judged
/f/	as the first consonant	/-ft/	theft, coughed,
		/-fθ/	fifth
		/-fs/	sniffs, bluffs
/θ/	as the first consonant	/-θt/	breathed/breθt/ (a phonetic term)
		/-θs/	myths, heaths
/s/	as the first consonant	/-sp/	wasp, lisp
		/-st/	fast, host
		/-sk/	ask, risk
/ʃ/	as the first consonant	/-ʃt/	crashed, pushed
/v/	as the first consonant	/-vd/	solved, saved
		/-vz/	thieves, caves
/ð/	as the first consonant	/-ðd/	writhed, breathed
		/-ðz/	paths, wreaths

/z/ as the first consonant	/-zd/	(sur)prised, (ad)vised
/ʒ/ as the first consonant	/-ʒd/	rouged
/m/as the first consonant	/-mp/	cramp, lamp
	/-md/	combed, summed
	/-mf/	nymph
	/-mθ/	warmth
	/mz/	sums, limbs
/n/ as the first consonant	/-nt/	slant, scent
	/-ntʃ/	lunch, wrench
	/ndʒ/	hinge, range
	/-nθ/	ninth, plinth
	/-ns/	dance, fence
	/-nz/	fins, buns
/ŋ/ is the first consonant	/-ŋt/	tank, brink
	/-ŋd/	hanged, wronged
	/-ŋz/	longs, brings
/l/ as the first consonant	/-lp/	pulp, help
	/-lt/	belt, quilt
	/-lk/	bulk, milk
	I - I	bulb
	/-ld/	bold, curled
	/-ldʃ/	belch, milch
	/-ldʒ/	bulge, (di)vulge
	/-lm/	film
	/-ln/	kiln
	/-lf/	elf, shelf
	I - I	valve, shelve
	/-lθ/	health, wealth
	I - I	false, else
	/-lz/	fills, kills

Final three-consonant clusters (-CCC)

In all the consonant clusters listed below, /s/ is the last consonant, which usually represents the suffixes –(e)s, -'s, and –s':

Consonant Cluster	**Example(s)**
/-pts/	(a)dopts
/-pθs/	depths
/-tθs/	eights
/-kts/	facts
/-mps/	pumps
/-mfs/	nymphs, nymph's
/-nts/	ants
/-nθs/	tenths, plinths
/-nks/	links, thinks, sinks
/-lps/	helps
/-lts	colts
/-lks/	hulks, silks
/-lfs/	gulfs
/-lθs/	healths
/-fts/	lifts

/-fθs/	fifths
/-sps/	wasps, grasps
/-sts/	toasts
/-sks/	asks

/z/ is the final consonant in the clusters listed below; it usually represents the suffixes –(e) s, -'s, -s':

Consonant Cluster	**Example**
/-ndz/	bands
/-lbz/	bulbs
/-ldz/	welds
/-lmz/	realms
/-lnz/	kilns
/-lvz/	shelves

/t/ is tlie last consonant in tlie clusters listed below, which usually represents the past suffix –(e)d:

Consonant Cluster	**Example(s)**
/-pst/	lapsed
/-kst/	text, fixed
/-dst/	midst
/-mpt/	dumped
/-nst/	fenced
/-ntʃt/	clinched, drenched
/-ŋkt/	linked
/-lpt/	helped
/-lkt/	milked
/-ltʃt/	belched
/-lst/	repulsed
/-spt/	lisped
/-skt/	asked

/d/ is tlie final consonant in all tlie clusters given below, which usually represents tlie past suffix (e)d:

Consonant Cluster	**Example**
/-ndʒd/	changed
/-nzd/	cleansed
/-ldʒd/	bulged
/-lmd/	overwhelmed
/-lvd/	solved

/θ/ is tlie final element in all the clusters listed below:

Consonant Cluster	**Example**
/-ksθ/	sixth
/-nkθ/	length
/-lfθ/	twelRli

Final four-consoannt clusters (-CCCC)

/s/ or /t/ is tlie final element in all tlie consonant clusters listed below; it invariably represents the suffix –(e)s or the past suffix –(e)d:

Consonant Cluster	Example(s)
/-mpts/	prompts, exempts
/-mpst/	glimpsed
/-lkts/	mulcts
/lpts/	sculpts
/-lfθs/	twelfths
/-ksts/	texts
/-ksθs/	sixths

4.7 LET US SUM UP

In this unit we have described and classified the consonants of English in detail. The phonemes have been classified according to manner and place of articulation, and the state of the glottis Each consonant phoneme has been sub-classified under the manner of articulation and we have described tlie allophones of the consonant phonemes. In other words, we have seen that each consonant phoneme is realised differently in different contexts in words and in connected speech. For example, tlie voiced bilabial plosive /b/ is not fully voiced, or is devoiced when it occurs in the initial position in words such as beak, bat, and in the final position in words such as cub, rib. This /b/ phoneme is, however, fully voiced when it occurs between two vowel sounds, or between two voiced sounds as in ribbon, husband, rub it.

We have said that sequences of consonants that occur within the syllable are called consonant clusters. There are restrictions on the combinatorial possibilities of consonants in every language. Each language has Its own restrictions.

We have seen that a syllable must have a vowel element which Is obligatory and consonant element which is optional. The number of consonant elements before and after the vowel element vary from language to language. In English the maximum number of consonants permissible before the vowel element is three and tlie maximum number of consonants permissible after tlie vowel element is four. Thus the structure of the syllable in English would be like this – C_0-C_3 V C_0-C_4. We have given the combinations of consonants possible in the initial and In the final positions in a syllable in English.

We have also learnt to divide a bi/polysyllabic word into syllables by using a hyphen to indicate syllable division.

Thus after a description of tlie consonant sounds of English we have examined the next higher unit, viz. the syllable. We have seen that one more syllables constitute the next higher unit, that is, tlie word, just as one or more consonants and a vowel constitute the syllable.

4.8 KEY WORDS

Consonant Cluster: Two or more consonants in a row within a single syllable.

Syllable: A central but elusive unit in phonology. A syllable typically consists of one vowel or diphthong possibly preceded or followed by one or more consonants. Attempts have been made to define the syllable in terms of muscular contractions, neural programming, and in terms of peaks in sonority, but no completely satisfactory definition has been found.

4.9 EXERCISES

I. Say whether the following statements are true or false.

For example: (I) All vowels in English are voiced (True)

(a) In English (R.P.) all the plosives are aspirated. ( )

(b) The English affricate /dʒ/ consists of two phonemes. ( )

(c) There are 9 fricatives in English. (

(d) A plosive is unexploded when it occurs before another plosive or affricate. ( ) .

(e) In the word coughed the last sound is pronounced /d/. ( )

(f) In the word arranged the last sound is pronounced /d/. (

(g) The English consonants /m n,ŋ/ are produced with a velic closure. ( )

(h) The English consonants /b,d,g/ are fully voiced before vowels. (

(i) The suffix – s and – es in the plural formation of nouns is pronounced /s/ after a voiceless consonant. ( )

(j) The Dark [ɫ] in English is used whenever the lateral occurs before consonants. ( )

(k) The last letter in the words cupboards, and trees is pronounced /s/. (

(l) In the production of /r/ in the English word rose the vocal cords are wide apart. ( )

(m) The variety of /r/ often used in the word ferry is called a voiced alveolar flap: ( )

(n) No variety of /r/ can be devolced. ( )

(o) The consonants /w and j/ do not occur in the final position in words ( )

II Describe each of the consonant phonemes in the following words using a three–term label. Example: pack ----- /p/ voiceless bilabial plosive
/k/ voiceless velar plosive

(a) question (b) healthy (c) exist (d) ribbon (e) fingers (f) resist (g) causes (h) themselves (i) majestic, (j) moustache

III Give a pair of words to distinguish between each of the following;

Example: /f/ /v/ - fail – veil

/s/, /z/; /s/, /ʃ/; /m/, /ŋ/; /t/, /l/; /k/, /r/;
/tʃ/, /p/; /f/, /p/; /j/, /w/; /n/, /r/; /v/, /w/.

Note: Remember that the two words for each pair of consonant sounds must differ in respect of one sound only, i.e., the sounds mentioned in each pair. Thus the words fail and veil differ in respect of /f/ and /v/. In each word only one sound differentiates it from the other word. Thus the /f/ in fail differentiates it from veil. The vowel and the last consonant sound are identical in both the words.

IV Give two examples each of words containing the following allophones of the consonants mentioned below

(a) A devoiced /z/
(b) A laterally released /t/
(c) A nasally released /d/
(d) An aspirated /k/
(e) A Darli /l/
(f) The post-alveolar fricative variety of /r/
(g) An unaspirited /p/
(h) A fully voiced /b/
(i) A voiced labio-dental nasal [m]
(j) A voiced dental nasal [ŋ]

V The following words have the suffix –(e)d. Group them according to the pronunciation of the suffix. Example: parched, parted, judged, quoted, hissed.

/t/	/d/	/id/
parched, hissed	judged	parted, quoted

fished, cautioned, suggested, preached, bowed, fleeced, prompted, ceased, seized, praised, defended, wrestled, dipped, stuffed, collided, grudged, bagged

VI Arrange the following words in groups according to the pronunication of the suffix – (e)s.

Brushes, watches, tables, filters, bridges, crows, hands, caps, cliffs, ducts, sizes, sharks.

VII Give two examples each of the following types of syllable

1) CCVC
2) CCCVCC
3) CVCC
4) CCVCC
5) CCVCCC

VIII Divide the following English words into syllables. Indicate the syllable division with a hyphen between each. Examples: watches -/ ˈwɒtʃ-ɪz/, colour – ˈkʌ-lə/. Consult the dictionary for the transcription of each word.

Satisfy, excel, created, magazine, methodology, occurrence, negotiate, linguistic, exasperate, discrepancy.

IX Give two wards as examples of the following types of consonant cluster.

(1) Initial cluster with two consonants
(2) Initial cluster with three consonants
(3) Final cluster with two consonants

(4) Final cluster with three consonants
(5) Final cluster with four consonants.

X Using the dictionary, write a phonemic transcription of the following words and point out the initial and/or final consonant clusters. Example:- tripped/tript/ initial cluster:/tr-/ final cluster:/-pt/

(1) glanced
(2) length
(3) slings
(4) bruised
(5) lisps
(6) smudged
(7) strands
(8) quench
(9) tulip
(10) twists
(11) squall
(12) scratched
(13) realms
(14) mixed
(15) plinth

4.10 ANSWERS TO EXERCISES

I	(a)	false	(e)	false	(I)	true	(m)	true
	(b)	false	(f)	true	(j)	true	(n)	false
	(c)	true	(g)	false	(k)	false	(o)	true
	(d)	true	(h)	false	(l)	false		

II (a) (i) /k/ voiceless velar plosive
(ii) /w/ voiced labio-velar semi-vowel
(iii) /s/ voiceless alveolar fricative
(iv) /tʃ/ voiceless palato-alveolar affricate
(v) /n/ voiced alveolar nasal

(b) (i) /h/ voiceless glottal fricative
(ii) /l/ voiced lateral approxirnant
(iii) /θ/ voiceless dental fricative

(c) (i) /g/ voiced velar plosive
(ii) /z/ voiced alveolar fricative
(iii) /s/ voiceless alveolar fricative
(iv) /t/ voiceless alveolar plosive

(d) (i) /r/voiced post-alveolar approximant or frictionless continuant
(ii) /b/ voiced bilabial plosive
(iii) /n/ voiced alveolar nasal

(e) (i) /f/ voiceless labio-dental fricative
(ii) /ŋ/ voiced velar nasal
(iii) /g/ voiced velar plosive
iv) /z/ voiced alveolar fricative

(f) (i) /r/ voiced post-alveolar approximant
(ii) /z/ voiced alveolar fricative
(iii) /s/ voiceless alveolar fricative
(iv) /t/ voiceless.alveolar plosive

(g) (i) /k/ voiceless velar plosive
(ii) /z/ voiced alveolar fricative
(iii) /z/ voiced alveolar fricative

(h) (i) /ð/ voiced dental plosive
(ii) /m/ voiced bilabial nasal
(iii) /s/ voiceless alveolar fricative
(iv) /l/ voiced alveolar lateral
(v) /v/ voiced labio-dental fricative
(vi) /z/ voiced alveolar fricative

(i) (i) /m/ voiced bilabial nasal
(ii) /dʒ/voiced palato-alveolar affricate
(iii) /s/ voiceless alveolar fricative
(iv) /t/ voiceless alveolar plosive
(v) /k/ voiceless velar plosive

(j) (i) /m/ voiced bilabial nasal
(ii) /s/ voiceless alveolar fricative
(iii) /t/ voiceless alveolar plosive
(iv) /f/ voiceless palato-alveolar affricate

III Any example of words distinguishing between /s/ and /z/ is peace and peas

IV

/t/	/d/	/ɪd/
fished	cautioned	suggested
preached	bowed	defended
dipped	wrestled	collided
stuffed	grudged	prompted
fleeced	bagged	
ceased	seized	
	praised	

V

/s/	/z/	/ɪz/
caps	tables	brushes
cliffs	filters	watches
ducts	crows	bridges
sharks	hands	sizes

VI (i) ˈsæ-tɪs-faɪ (ii) ɪ - e l (iii) kri:-ˈeɪ-tɪd (iv) mæ-gə -ˈzɪ:n
(v) me-θə-ˈdo-la-dzr (vi) a -ˈkʌ–rəns (vii) nɪ-ˈgəu-ʃɪ-eɪt
(viii) liŋg-ˈwɪs-tɪk (ix) ɪg-ˈzæs-pə-reɪt (x) dɪs-ˈkre-pən-sɪ

U.P. Rajarshi Tandon Open University, Prayagraj

MAEN-112

Aspects of Language

Block

3a

English Phonetics and Phonology-II

UNIT 5	
The Vowels of English (R.P)	161
UNIT 6	
Word Accent, Stress and Rhythm in Connected Speech	179
UNIT 7	
Intonation	205

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MAEN-112/160

UNIT 5 THE VOWELS OF ENGLISH (R.P.)

Structure

5.0 Objectives
5.1 Introduction
5.2 The Vowel Phonemes of English
  5.2.1 The Phonetic Symbols
  5.2.2 The Pure Vowels of English
  5.2.3 A Detailed Description of the Vowels of R.P.
5.3 Let Us Sum Up
5.4 Key Words
5.5 Exercises
5.6 Answers to Exercises

5.0 OBJECTIVES

In this unit we shall introduce you to the symbols for the vowel phonemes of English as used in **The Oxford Advanced Learners' Dictionary of Current English.** (Third edition) and **The English Pronouncing Dictionary** by Daniel Jones 15th edition, We shall describe the vowels of English in detail and also give details regarding their occurrence in accented and unaccented syllables in words and their distribution in the 3 positions in words - initial, medial and final.

After completing this unit you should be able to

(i) identify the vowel phonemes of English and describe them using the three-term label.
(ii) distinguish between one vowel and another.
(iii) recognise the differences in the distribution of the vowels in words.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In Unit 4 we described and classified the consonants of English according to the classificatory criteria we have set up. We discussed in detail the allophones or phonetic realizations of each consonant phoneme, and the combination possibilities of the consonants in sequences within the syllable. We familiarised ourselves with the syllable, the structure of the syllable and the types of syllables in English. In this unit we shall use the criteria in Unit 2 to describe the vowel phonemes of English (R.P.) . In order to describe vowels we need to refer to the cardinal vowels. Vowels are much less tangible as compared to consonants, and are therefore much more difficult to acquire when one is learning a foreign or second language. **Cardinal vowels were arbitrarily selected as a convenient descriptive device. They do not occur in a language.** They are of exactly determined and unvariable quality and are peripheral vowels. The highest point of the tongue for each of them lies on the extreme outside limits of the vowel area, They are auditorily equidistant. There are in all, 8 primary cardinal vowels. In the vowel diagram for the pure vowels of English, we have indicated the eight primary cardinal vowels. It is with reference to these points on the diagram that we have described the vowels of English.

5.2 THE VOWEL PHONEMES OF ENGLISH

5.2.1 The **Phonetic** Symbols

As we said earlier (in Unit 3) the lack of one-to-one correspondence between spelling and sound in English makes it necessary for us to use phonetic symbols to represent the sounds, each symbol, representing one and only one sound. In English (R.P.) there are 20 vowel phonemes. The symbols for each of these as given in The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English, Third edition (revised'and updated) and The English Pronouncing Dictionary by Daniel Jones 15th edition are given below. Examples of each vowel in the initial, medial and final positions in words is given. If a vowel does not occur in any of these positions there is a blank space to indicate this.

Vowels Monophthongs	Initial	Medial	Final
i:	eat	reed	tea
I	it	pit	pretty
e	end	bend	—
æ	add	glad	—
a:	ask	task	star
ɒ	odd	cot	—
ɔ:	ought	caught	paw
ʊ	—	wool	—
u:	ooze	rude	blue
ʌ	up	scrub	—
3:	earth	learn	stir
ə	about	polite	colour
Diphthongs			
eɪ	aim	grade	stay
aɪ	isle	bright	fly
ɔɪ	oil	spoil	toy
əʊ	old	gold	know
aʊ	out	doubt	now
ɪə	ear	beard	dear
eə	air	dared	care
ʊə	—	purify	sure

Of the monophthongs or pure vowels, 7 (/ɪ, e, a, ɒ, ʊ, ʌ, ə /) are short and 5(/i: a:, ɜ: ,u:, ɜ:/) are long. All the eight Diphthongs are long vowels.

5.2.1 The Pure Vowels of English

The vowels can be plotted on a vowel diagram with reference to the cardinal vowels. We shall first plot the pure vowels.

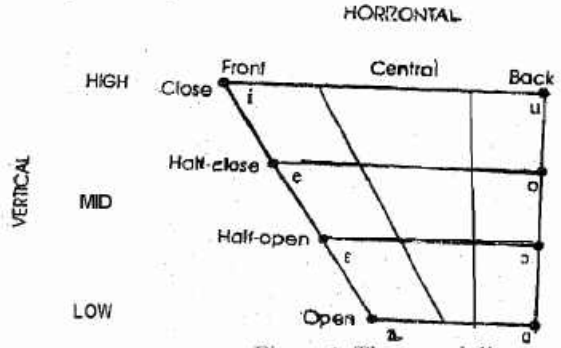


Figure 1: The vowel diagram

Note: The vowels outside the diagram are the primary cardinal vowels.

Since all vowels are voiced in English and there is no nasalised vowel we assume that during the production of English vowels the vocal cords are vibrating and the soft palate is raised to shut off the nasal passage.

We describe vowels in terms of the part of the tongue raised and the relative height to which it is raised in the mouth. The front of the tongue can be fairly high in the mouth, as in the case of the vowel in bead or it can be slightly lower in the mouth than for the vowel in bead for example, in bid and lower for the vowel in bed and still lower for the vowel in bad. Similarly, the back of the tongue is high in the mouth for the production of the vowel in cool; it is slightly lower in the mouth for the vowel in could and even lower for the vowels in taught and cot. It is very low in the mouth for the vowel in calm.

Another important feature used to describe vowels is the position of the lips during their production. Sometimes the position of the lips is the only distinguishing feature – between two vowels. For example, the two vowels /a:/ as in *calm,* and / ɒ / as in *hot,* are both vowels during the production of which the back of the tongue is low in the mouth. The only feature that differentiates / a: / from /ɒ/ is the position of the lips. They are unrounded in / a: / but rounded in /ɒ/.

We have referred to long and short vowels. When we talk about 'long' vowels what we refer to is the relative length of long vowels. In identical environments long vowels are longer than short vowels. For example, the vowel / i: / in feet is longer than the vowel / ɪ / in *fit.* These words differ in respect of the vowel alone. The two consonants /f / and /t/ are common to both. Apart from this, each vowel has different degrees of length depending upon the phonetic environments in which it occurs. For example, generally a vowel is longer when it is followed by a voiced consonant or when it occurs finally in a word than when it is followed by a voiceless consonant, For example, the vowel /aɪ/ in **side** and **sigh** is longer than in sight. The / æ / in tag is longer than the /æ / in tack. A vowel in the final position in words is longer than it is before voiced consonants. For example, the vowel / a: / is longer in the word **car** than in the word card. Thus vowel length is a variant which depends upon the position that it occupies in a word.

5.2.1 A Detailed Description of the Vowels of R.P.

The **Monophthongs** (RP.)

Of the 12 monophthongs,

— four are front vowels
— five are back vowels, and
— three are central vowels.

Let us first look at the four front vowels, that is,(/ i: ,ɪ, e, æ/)

Front Vowels, /i:, I, e, æ / .

/i:/ as in *sew*

/ɪ/ as in Bit

/e/ as in *set*

/æ/ as in *sat*

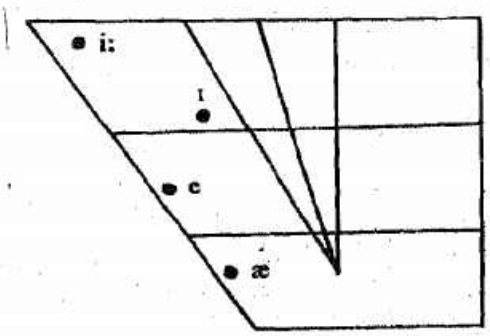


Figure 2: Front vowels

/i:/ as in beat

For the production of this vowel the front of the tongue is raised towards the hard palate. It is very close to the hard palate but not so close as to cause audible friction. The lips are spread, and the tongue is tense. It is a long vowel. It is called a front, close unrounded vowel.

The vowel /i:/ occurs more frequently in accented than in unaccented positions.

Accented positions	Unaccented positions
bel'ieve	decrease
'seizure	e'conomist
ma'chine	secrete
po'lice	
re'peat	
dia'betes	

The use of /i:/ in unaccented positions is however, becoming less frequent. There is a greater tendency to use the vowel /ɪ/, instead in all such positions .

/i:/ occurs in all the three positions in words, i.e. initial, medial and final.

Initial	Medial	Final
ease	seat	flea
eel	belief	key
eve	breed	bee
	people	ski

/ ɪ / as in bit

To produce the vowel / ɪ /the rear part of the front of the tongue is raised, but not as high as it is raised for the production of /i:/. It is raised first above the half-close position . The lips are loosely spread and unlike /i:/ the tongue is lax. It is called a centralised front half-close unrounded vowel. The tenn centralised front refers to the rear part of the front of the tongue. It is a short vowel.

The vowel /ɪ/ occurs in accented as well as unaccented positions.

Accented	Unaccented
for'bid	e'lect
'dimple	'surface
per'mit	'mountain
'sister	pre'fer
'interest	'wanted

/ ɪ / occurs in all the three positions in words, ie. initial, medial and final.

Initial	Medial	Final
in	bin	trolley
ill	bill	folly
if	sniff	coffee
it	guilt	city
exact	engine	money

We need to maintain the distinction between I i: / and / ɪ /. Otherwise, the distinction between a large number of words can be lost. For example,

/ i: /	/ ɪ /
eat	it
seat	sit
feet	fit
leave	live
read	rid

/ e / as in bed

For the production of the vowel / e / we need to raise the front of the tongue to about half way between half-close and half-open positions. In other words, the tongue is lower in the mouth than it is for the production of / ɪ / and it is not lax as for / ɪ / . The vowel is described as a **front unrounded vowel between half-close and half-open.** It is a short vowel.

Generally, / e / occurs in accented syllables in words. Sometimes, it may occur in unaccented syllables. For example,

Accented	**Unaccented**
'celebrate	cen'tenary
'definite	'content(n.)
de'velop	'inquest
e'leven	'insect
in'tensive	

/ e / occurs in the initial and medial positions only.

Initial	**Medial**
elf	shelf
end	mend
any	plenty
error	festival
effort	effect

/æ/ as in cat

We produce the vowel / æ / by raising the front of the tongue to a position much lower' than for the production of / e / . The mouth is thus more open than for / e /. The lips are in the neutral position. The vowel is described as a **front unrounded vowel between the half-,open and open positions.** It is a short vowel, but when followed by voiced consonants it becomes as long as the 'long' vowels in similar environments. For example, while in *fat* / fæt/ it is shorter than the /i:/ in *feet* /fi:t/, in *sad* /sæd/ it is almost as long as the /i:/ in seed / si:d / .

/ æ / occurs in both accented and unaccented positions.

Accented	**Unaccented**
'absent (adj)	
'camphor	can'teen
'calendar	flam'boyant
'drastic	stam'pede
'jaguar	

/ æ / occurs only in the initial and medial positions in words.

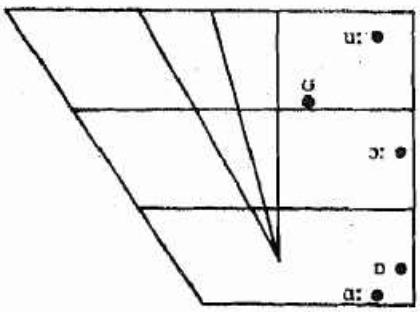
Initial	**Medial**
affable	classic
angle	elastic
agony	plait
anti	lapse
asterisk	static

It is important for us to maintain the distinction between / e / and / æ /. We can do this by making / æ / much more open than / e /. If we fail to make this distinction than the differences between pairs of words like the following can be lost.

/ e /	/ æ /
bed	bad
fed	fad
said	sad
leg	lag
met	mat
neck	knack
led	lad
gem	jam
merry	marry
ten	tan

Back vowels /a:, ɒ , ɔ:,ʊ,u:/ .

Now let us describe the five back vowels of English.



/u:/ as in *fool*

/ʊ/ as in *full*

/ɔ:/ as in *caught*

/ɒ/ as in *cat*

/ɑ:/ as in *cart*

Figure 3: **Back vowels**

/ a: / as in arm

For the production of /a:/ the part of the tongue between the centre and the back is low in the month i.e. in the fully open position, the jaws are fairly far apart and the lips are neutrally open. It is a long vowel and is called a back **open unrounded** vowel.

/ a: / occurs mostly in accented syllables in words. Its occurrence in unaccented syllables is restricted to words of foreign origin ,ie. 'camouflage', 'espionage', 'garage', 'massage', 'sabotage'.

The vowel /a:/ occurs in all the three positions in words — initial, medial, and final. For example,

Initial	Medial	Final
alms	palms	par
ark	stark	star
art	heart	tar
architect	aghast	debar
article	laugh	far
ask	hearth	car
aunt	clerk	

/ ɒ / as in cot

To produce the vowel / ɒ /, we need to keep the jaws wide open, and the tongue is just a little higher than in the open position. The lips are slightly rounded. **The vowel is thus a back rounded vowel just above the open position.** It is a short vowel.

Like / a: /, the vowel / ɒ / tends to occur in accented syllables.
The vowel / ɒ / occurs in initial and medial positions only. For example,

Initial	Medial
odd	plod
often	soften
olive	collar
opera	crops
oracle	quality
orange	squash
optic	positive

You must have noticed that the main difference between the two vowels /a:/ and /ɒ/ is the position of the lips. Whereas for /a:/ the lips are neutrally open, for /ɒ/ the lips are slightly rounded. We have to take care to maintain this difference in the position of the lips in order to distinguish between pairs of words such as the following.

/ a: /	/ ɒ /
cart	cot
cast	cost
last	lost
shark	shock
large	lodge

/ ɔ:/ as in caught

For the production of / ɔ: / the back of the tongue is raised to a position higher than for the production of /ɒ/, that is , between the half -open and half-close positions. The lips are considerably more rounded than for /ɒ/. It is thus a back rounded vowel between half-open and half-close. It is a long vowel.

The vowel occurs more often in accented positions. Some examples of its occurrence in unaccented positions are- ˌ ˈ

au'thority, au'tonomous, au'tocracy, or'ganic.

The vowel /ɔ: / occurs in the initial, medial and final positions in words. For example,

Initial	Medial	**Final**
all	fall	flaw
awkward	crawl	core
order	sword	sore
ought	yawn	straw
oar	board	pour

/ ʊ / as in book

We produce the vowel / ʊ / by raising a part of the tongue nearer to centre than to back and to a level higher than for the production of /ɔ:/, that is, just above the half close position. The lips are closely but loosely rounded, and the tongue is lax. The vowel is thus a centralised back rounded vowel just above half-close. It is a short vowel. The vowel ocaurs in both accented and unaccented positions. For example,

Accented	Unaccented
'woman	'manhood
'sugar	'impudent
'courier	ful'fil
'hoodwink	'careful
'bullock	'circular

/ ʊ / occurs in the word-medial position only.It does not occur before final / ŋ /.

I u: / as **in boot**

For the production of the vowel / u: / we raise the back of the tongue towards the soft palate, that is close to the soft palate but not so close as to cause audible friction. The lips are closely rounded and the tongue is tense. It is called a back close rounded vowel. It is a long vowel.

The vowel /u: / occurs in both accented and unaccented syllables in words. For example,

Accented	Unaccented
'beautiful	'deluge
'foolish	'value
'frugal	**fru**'ition
'gruesome	mu'sician
in'trude	tu'ition

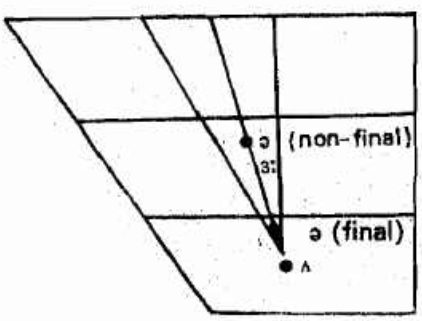
/ u: / occurs in the initial, medial and final positions in words.

Initial	Medial	Final
ooze	fruit	true
oops	brutal	flew
ooh	crude	clue
	rouge	through
	balloon	brew

We **must** maintain the distinction between / ʊ / and / u: /, otherwise , the distinction between the following pairs of words for instance, can be lost.

/ ʊ /	/ u: /
pull	pool
full	fool
could	cooed
wood	suit
	wooed

Central **Vowels** : / ɑ, 3: , ə /



/ə/ (non-final) as in *ago*
/ɜ:/ as in *shirt*

/ə/ (final) as in *china*
/ʌ/ as in *bus*

Figure 4: Central vowels

/ ʌ / as in **but**

To produce the vowel /ʌ / we have to raise the centre of the tongue to a point between the open and half-open position, with a considerable separation of the jaws and the lips neutrally open. Thus the vowel is a central unrounded vowel between open

and half-open. It is a short vowel. The vowel occurs mainly in accented syllables, and in some words it ocurs in unaccented syllables. For example,

Accented	Unaccented
'butter	'catapult
e'nough	'hiccup
'flooded	'cucumber
'colour	um'brella
'study	
re'luctant	

This vowel occurs in the initial and medial positions only. It does not occur before /ŋ/

Initial	Medial
udder	culprit
ugly	flourish
ulcer	govern
umpire	rough
oven	slumber

/ **3:** / as in early

For the articulation of the vowel / **3:** /the centre of the tongue is raised to a position between half-close and half-open. The lips are in the neutral position . / **3:** / is thus a central unrounded vowel between **half-close** and half-open. It is a long vowel.

The vowel / **3:** / occurs essentially in accented syllables, and sometimes in unaccented syllables. For example,

Accented	Unaccented
'burden	'commerce
'certain	'foreword
de'ter	'pervert
'colonel	
'early	

The vowel / **3:** / occurs in the initial, medial and final positions in words. It does not occur before / ŋ / .

Initial	Medial	Final
early	surly	spur
earn	spurn	prefer
earthquake	herbs	stir
irk	shirk	occur
urban	furnish	blur
urgent	girdle	

/ ə /

The vowel / ə / has two positions, the non-final and the final. For the production of / ə / in the non-final positions in words, the tongue is in the same position as for the production of / **3:** /, the only difference being that / ə / is a short vowel. The final / ə /, that is , / ə / in the final position in words is produced with the centre of the tongue much lower in the mouth than for non-final / ə /, that is, it is just below the half open position. In the production of / ə / in both positions, the lips are unrounded. Thus / ə / is a central unrounded short **vowel.**

/ ə / is the only vowel that occurs only in unaccented syllables in words. For example,

ac'count	par'ticular	'zealous
a'chieve	'gather	'metre
'leisure	'effort	su'spect

/ ə / occurs in the initial, medial and final positions in words. For example,

Initial	Medial	Final
about	currant	cellar
above	potato	texture
abroad	perhaps	writer
appear	conductor	litre
arrest	alcohol	thorough
attend	amorous	data

The Diphthongs **Of** English (R.P.)

The diphthongs are vowels in the production of which the tongue moves from one position in the mouth towards another position . In order to indicate this glide (movement) from one position towards another, the phonetic symbols for each diphthong is a coinbination of the two vowels – one in which the tongue is in position initially and the other towards which the tongue moves. The two symbols represent a single sound and not two sounds.

Of the eight diphthongs,

(a) in three the tongue glides towards / ɪ /, that is, /eɪ,aɪ, ɔɪ/
(b) in two the tongue glides towards / ʊ /, that is, / au, au /, and
(c) in three the tongue glides towards / a /, that is, / ɪə, ea, ʊə/.

The diphthongs in which the tongue moves towards the vowels /ɪ, and ʊ / are called closing diphthongs and those in which the tongue moves towards / ə / are called centering diphthongs.

Closing diphthongs gliding to / ɪ /

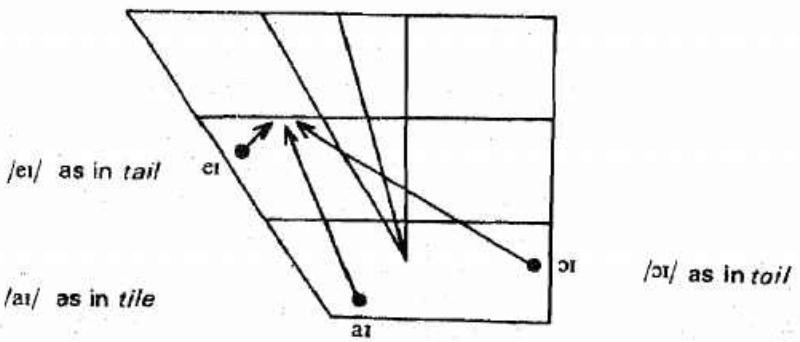


Figure 5: Closing diphthongs gliding to [ɪ]

/ eɪ / as in gate

The glide starts from a point just below the front, half-close position and moves in the direction of / ɪ /. With the movement of the tongue towards / ɪ /, the lower jaw moves upwards closer to the upper jaw than it was for /e/, the first element of the diphthong. The lips are spread,

The vowel occurs in accented and unaccented syllables. For example,

Accented	Unaccented
di'splay	'survey (n)
'neighbour	'hesitate
a'fraid	'earthquake
cur'tail	'mainstay
'radar	'tolerate
'savour	

/ eɪ / occurs in all three positions, that is, initial, medial and final, in words.

Initial	Medial	Final
age	acquaint	
aim	persuade	convey
eight	crave	prey
amiable	blade	weigh
apron	great	whey
apex	freight	sleigh

/ aɪ / as in bite

For the production of /aɪ/ the tongue glides from a point near the front open position, towards the RP vowel / ɪ /. Along with the glide the lower jaw moves from an open position to an appreciably closer position. The lips, which are in the neutral position at the beginning gradually change to a loosely spread position as for / ɪ /. The vowel occurs in both accented and unaccented positions.

Accented	Unaccented
'either	i'dentity
'icicle	i'dea
de'cline	pri'ority
'trial	'advertise
sa'liva	'qualify
be'nign	

/ aɪ / occurs in all the three positions in words–initial, medial, and final.

Initial	Medial	Final
ailse	design	buy
eyes	sight	fly
ice	twice	high
idle	bridal	dye
ivory	rhyme	lie
identical	primary	sigh

Closing Diphthongs gliding **to /ɪ/ :/ eɪ, ar, ɔɪ / .**

/ɔɪ/ as in boy

For the production of / ɔɪ/ , first, the back of the tongue moves towards the position between open and half-open and the lips are open rounded. Then the tongue glides in the direction of the vowel / ɪ /. The lips which are open rounded at first, change to neutral towards the end. The jaw movement is less than for the diphthong / aɪ /.

Generally, the vowel occurs in accented syllables. Its occurrence in unaccented syllables is rare.

Accented	Unaccented
an'noy	employ'ee
em'ploy	'exploit (n.)
disap'point	'convoy
re'joice	
'oyster	

/ ɔɪ / occurs in all the positions in words – initial, medial, and final.

Initial	**Medial**	Final
oil	coil	boy
ointment	anoint	alloy
oyster	hoist	enjoy
	loiter	deploy
	poison	toy

We need to maintain the distinction between / aɪ / and / ɔɪ / so that there is no confusion between pairs of words such as the following.

/ aɪ /	/ ɜɪ /
buy	boy
bile	boil
file	foil
isle	oil
tie	toy
ply	ploy
vice	voice

Closing diphthongs gliding to / ʊ / : / au, au / .

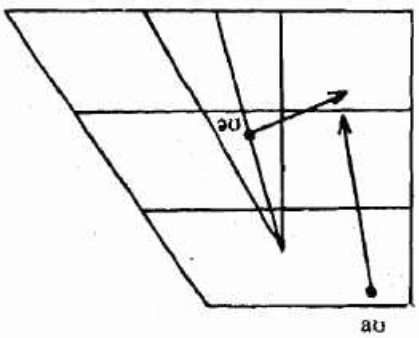


Figure 6: Closing diphthongs gliding to /ʊ/ .

/ au / as **in** boat

For the diphthong / əʊ / the glide is from a central position between half-close and half-open, and moves in the direction of / ʊ /. The movement of the jaw is very slight. The lips are neutral at the beginning of the glide and become rounded towards the end.

The vowel occurs in both accented and unaccented syllables. For example,

Accented.	Unaccented
be'low	do'nate
cor'rode	'fellow
fe'rocious	'sparrow
sup'pose	to'mato
'shoulder	'pillow

/ əʊ / ocurs in all the three positions- initial, medial and final.,

Initial	Medial	Final
oak	boast	foe
ogre	mauve	go
oval	smoulder	no
own	cocoa	sew
over	ghost	though

/ au / as **in cow**

For the production of the diphthong / aʊ / the tongue glides from a point between the back and the central open positions towards / ʊ /. The jaw movement is as extensive as for the diphthong / aɪ /. The lips are neutral at the beginning of the glide but become rounded towards the end.

The vowel occurs mostly in accented syllables, and seldom in unaccented syllables. For example,

Accented	Unaccented
a'round	'anyhow
'boundary	foun'dation
'groundnut	'eyebrow
sur'round	
'scoundrel	

/ au / occurs in the initial, medial and final positions in these words.

Initial	Medial	Final
oust	bounty	bough
ounce	drown	cow
out	fountain	brow
owl	ground	plough
	thousand	sow

Centering diphthongs of English (R.P.) /ɪə,eə,ʊə/

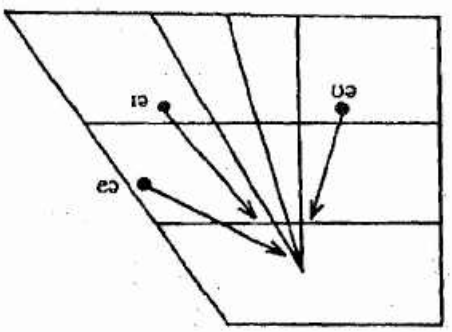


Figure 7: Centring diphthongs gliding to [ə]

/ ɪə / as in here

The glide begins at the position for the RP vowel / ɪ /, that centralised front unrounded vowel just above half-close and moves towards the opener variety of / **a** / when / ɪə / occurs **in** the word-final position (as in **rear, here),** and in the direction of the less open variety of / ə /, when it is not final in the word (as in **feared, weird).**

When this vowel occurs in accented syllables in words e.g. theory, *idea*, the first element / ɪ / is more prominent than the second. The diphthong in these cases is called a falling diphthong. In unaccented syllables in words the second element of this diphthong a becomes more prominent than the first, e.g. the second syllable of idiom and of *easier*. The diphthongs in this case is known as a rising diphthong. Thus in these two words, the vowel / ɪə / in the first syllable (which is accented) is a falling diphthong, and in the second (unaccented) it is a rising diphthong.
From what we have said above it is clear that / ɪə / occurs in accented a well as unaccented syllables in words.

Accented	**Unaccented**
'theorem	theo'logical
'theatre	'curious
mu'seum	'impious
my'sterious	idio'matic
'xerox	'nuclear

/ ɪə / occurs in all three positions- initial, medial and final , though its occurrence in the initial position is rather restricted.

Initial	Medial	Final
ear	weary	deer
earmark	serious	near
eerie	beard	severe
era	fierce	idea
Ian	zero	cheer

/ e a / as in rare

For the diphthong l eə / the glide begins in the front between the half-close and half-open position, closer to the half-open position, and moves in the direction of / a /. The glide moves in the direction of the opener / a / if / ea / occurs finally as in bear, rare, and in the direction of the less open variety of / a / if it occurs non-finally as in scarce, various. The lips are neutrally open throughout the production of the glide.

/ ea / occurs in accented as well as unaccented positions in words. For example,

Accented	Unaccented
de'clare	'bugbear
re'pair	'compere
'various	'hardware
'daring	'fanfare
hi'larious	
question'naire	

/ ea / occurs in the initial,medial, and final positions in words. For example,

Initial	Medial	Final
aeroplane	acquarium	chair
aerodrome	caring	share
heir	gregarious	their
airy	scarce	wear

It is important for us to keep the two vowels / ɪə / and / ea / distinct, in order to avoid any confusion between pairs of words such as the following.

/ ɪə /	/ eə /	/ ɪə /	/ eə /
ear	air	here	hair
beer	bear	mere	mare

cheer	chair	pier	pear
deer	dare	rear	rare
fear	fair	sheer	share

/ ʊə / as in tour

For / a / the glide starts from the tongue position for the vowel / ʊ / and moves towards the vowel / a /, that is , to an opener variety of / a / if / ʊə / is word- final (sure, cure), and a less open variety of / a / if it occurs in the medial position. /ʊə/ is a falling diphthong if it occurs in the accented position as in injurious, 'curious, and a rising diphthong if it occurs in an unaccented syllable, as in 'influence and in indi'vidual.

/ ʊə / occurs both in accented and unaccented positions.

Accented	Unaccented
'furious	'influence
en'dure	'tortuous
'rural	indi'vidual
'truant	'manual
'tourist	'virtuous

/ ʊə / occurs in the medial and final positions only

Medial	Final
fluent	cure
brewries	poor
superfluous	secure
jury	sure
spurious	

5.3 LET US SUM UP

There are 20 vowels in English (R.P.), 12 of which are monophthongs or pure vowels and 8 are diphthongs. All the vowels are oral, that is , there are no nasalised vowels in English (R.P.) . Also, all the vowels are voiced. Five of the monophthongs, ie. / i: , a:, ɔ: , u: ,3: / and all the diphthongs are long. The monophthongs comprise 4 front vowels, 5 back vowels and 3 rounded, the others are all unrounded. Regarding their distribution in words, / ʊ / occurs only medially, / e, a, ʌ / occur initially and medially, and the rest occur in all three positions. The vowel / ə / is the only one that occurs only in unaccented syllables in words. / i: ,e , a: , ɒ , ɔ: , ʌ , 3: / generally have a strong tendency to occur in accented syllables in words.

Of the eight diphthongs, three glide towards / ɪ /, that is, / eɪ , aɪ, ɔɪ /, two glide towards / au /, - / au /, and three glide towards / ə / - /ə, ea, ua / .The first two groups are called closing diphthongs (the glide is towards the closer vowels / ɪ and ʊ / while those in the last group are called centering diphthongs because the glide is towards the central vowel / ə /. When the centering diphthongs occur word-finally, the glide is towards the opener variety of / a /. If the diphthongs / ɪə and ʊə / occur in accented syllables, their first element, [ɪ] or [u], is more prominent than the second [a]. These are called falling diphthongs. In unaccented syllables, their second element [a] is more prominent than the first. These are called rising diphthongs. The occurrence of / ɔɪ, au, eə/ in unaccented syllables is rather restricted, With the exception of / uə /, which occurs medially and finally, all the diphthongs occur in all three positions in words – initial, medial and final.

5.4 KEY WORDS

Monophthongs:	Vowels which do not change in quality even when they are made long.
Diphthongs:	Vowel sounds in which there is a glide from one vowel quality to another which the same syllable.
Front vowels:	Vowels produced by raising the front of the tongue.
Back vowels:	Vowels produced by raising the back of the tongue.
Central vowels:	Vowels produced by raising the centre of the tongue.

5.5 EXERCISES

I Give three examples of your own for each of the vowels given below. Malce sure you check your answer with the pronuncation of that particular word in the dictionary.
/i: e, æ au, ɪə, ɒ, ʊ, u:, eɪ/ .

II Describe the vowels in the words given below. For example,
card Vowel:/ a:/ back, open unrounded vowel.

Feet : Vowel : /i :/ front, close unrounded vowel.
boot (b) wool, (c) flood, (d) afraid, (e) though, (f) tutor, (g) prefer. (h) bear, (i) crawl, (j) curious.

III Give two words as examples for each of the following vowels.

(a) /i:/
(b) /e/
(c) /æ/
(d) /ɒ/
(e) /əɪ/
(f) /aʊ/
(g) /eɪ/
(h) /ɔɪ/
(i) /ʊə/
(j) /ʌ/

You could check your answers with the transcription of,the words in the dictionary.

IV Write down two pairs of words to distinguish between each of the following pairs of vowels.
Example : /e/, / æ /

/e/	/ æ/
bet	bat
said	sad

(a) / ɪ / /e/
(a) /æ/ /a:/

(b) /a:/ /ɒ/
(c) /a:/ /ʌ/
(d) /eɪ/ /aɪ/
(e) /eɪ/ /ɔɪ/
(f) /e/ /uə/
(g) /ʌ/ /ɜ:/
(h) /eə/ /ɔɪ/
(i) /e/ /eɪ/

You could use your dictionary to check your answers.

V Divide the following lists of words into groups according to the vowel each word contains. On the top of each group of words write down the symbol for the vowel the group of words contains: bread, strand, blow, cloud, float, store, food , call, drenched, caught, heart, smooth, snake, break, crown, waist, plough, pear, prove, sieve, sly, stare, carve, plaits, barrage last, surface, balm, baton, right, circle, pretty, ticket, pair, reign. mould, friend, world, cried.

5.6 ANSWERS TO EXERCISES

II (a) vowels : /u:/
description : back close rounded vowel.

(b) vowel : /u/
description : centralised back rounded vowel, just above half-close.

(c) vowels : /^/
description : a central unrounded vowel between open and half open

(d) (i) vowels : /ə/, (ii) vowels : /eɪ/
description : (i) a central unrounded short vowel just below half-close (ii) a glide from a point just below the front half close position towards the vowel /ɪ/

(e) vowel /əʊ/
description : a glide from a central position between half-close and half-open, towards the vowel /ʊ /. The lips are neutral at first and then become rounded.

(f) (i) vowel / u:/, (ii) vowel /ə /
(i) description : back close rounded vowel
(ii) description : central unrounded short vowel near the half-open position.

(g) (i) vowel /ɪ/ (ii) vowel / ɜ:/
(i) description : centralised front half-close untounded vowels,
(ii) description: a central unrounded long vowel between half-close and half open.

(h) vowel lea /
description : a glide from the front between the half-close and half-open position towards the central vowel /ə/

(i) vowel /ɔ:/
description : a back rounded long vowel between half-open and half-close.

(j) vowels : (i) / uə / (ii) / ɪə /
(i) description : a glide from the centralised back rounded vowel just above half-close towards the central unrounded vowel between half-close and half-open
(ii) description : a glide from the centralised front unrounded vowel just above half-close towards the central unrounded vowel between half-close and half-open.

V

/ e /	/ æ /	/ əu /	/au/
bread	strand	blow	cloud
drenched	plaits	float	frown
friend	baton	mould	plough
/ɔ: /	/ u: /	la: /	/ eə /
store	food	heart	pear
call	smooth	carve	stare
caught	prove	last	pair
		balm	
		barrage	
/ aɪ /	/ ɜ: /	/ eɪ /	/ ɪ/
shy	surface	snake	sieve
right	circle	break	pretty
cried	world	waist	ticlcet
		reign	

UNIT ~ W O R ACCENT, STRESS AND RHYTHM IN CONNECTED SPEECH

Structure

6.0 Objectives
6.1 Introduction
6.2 Word Accent
- 6.2.1 Dividing a word into syllables
- 6.2.2 Degrees of prominence
- 6.2.3 Levels of stress
- 6.2.4 Placement of stress on the word
- 6.2.5 Patterns of stress in English words
- 6.2.6 Functions of word stress in English
- 6.2.7 Some rules for placement of primary stress on words

6.3. Stress and Rhythm in Connected Speech
- 6.3.1 Introduction
- 6.3.2 Rhythm
- 6.3.3 Influence of stress on rhythm in English
- 6.3.4 Weak forms in English
- 6.3.5 Contracted forms
- 6.3.6 Use of strong forms of grammatical words

6.4 Let Us Sum Up
6.5 Exercises
6.6 Key Words
6.7 Answer to Exercises

6.0 OBJECTIVES

In this unit we shall study (a) how words of more than one syllable receive stress, (b) the patterns of word stress in English, (c) the function of word stress, and (d) some rules for placement of primary stress on derived words. We shall then look at stress in connected speech. We shall examine the influence of stress on rhythm in English and also look at those factors that contribute to the characteristic rhythm of English.

After completing this Unit you should be able to

(i) divide a word into syllables
(ii) recognize the different patterns of word stress
(iii) identify those 2-syllable words (that are spelt exactly alike), the grammatical function of which can be differentiated by means of stress alone.
(iv) identify the stressed syllable in words of more than one syllable.
(v) produce words with the primary stress on the right syllable
(vi) apply the rules for word stress to other words with similar endings
(vii) identify the stressed syllables in connected speech
(viii) identify and produce weak forms and contracted forms of words
(ix) produce utterances with correct stress and rhythm

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In Units 4 and 5 we learnt to recognize and produce the consonants and vowels of English, in different combinations in words. In Unit 3 we familiarized ourselves with the syllable in English – its structure and types. In this unit we look at the next higher unit – the word, which can be comprised of one or two or even upto seven syllables. Of the syllables in a word we will pay special attention to the one that receives

primary stress. It is as much an essential part of the identity of English words as are the sounds that may form words. Though word stress in English is by and large unpredictable, it is possible to frame rules for primary stress on words with some derivational suffixes. Not all the derivational suffixes affect stress. We need to know the suffixes that affect stress and those that do not affect stress. When words are fitted into utterances they contribute to the rhythm of English. Utterances have strings of words, some of which are stressed and some are not. While the stressed syllables in words tend to occur at roughly regular intervals of time, the unstressed syllables between them are weakened. Indeed some words that are predisposed to being unstressed even have weak forms.

In this unit we study not only the character and form of words as said in isolation but also the relationship between stress and rhythm in utterances.

6.2 WORD ACCENT

6.2.1 Dividing a Word into Syllables

As we have already seen (Unit 4) a syllable consists of an obligatory V element and one, two or three elements before the V element and C_0 to C_4 elements after the V element. One, two or more syllables can make up a word. In a word of more than one syllable, some syllables are heard as more prominent than others.

Now it is easy for us to say how many syllables a word has. We just need to count the number of vowels sounds in each word. There are as many syllables in a word as there are V elements. For example, the words call, collect, collection, have one, two. and three vowel sounds respectively and therefore consists of one, two and three syllables respectively. All of us agree on the number of syllables a word consists of. But we do not always agree as to where to divide the syllable. Let us look at a few examples.

There would apparently be few difference of opinion as to where we should divide the following words.

The word pelican has three syllables. The syllable division is pe – li – can

Peter has two syllables Pe – ter

Philosouhy has 4 syllables phi – lo – so – phy.

However these words could alternatively be divided like this –

Pel – i – can
or
Pel – ic – an

Pet – er
Phil-os-oph - y

Some more examples of alternatives ways of dividing words into syllables are

ability	discuss	mistake
ab-il-it-y	dis – cuss	mis – take
a-bi-li-ty	disc-uss	mi-stake

Now, which alternative for each word is the correct one? —you might ask. Are there any guidelines that we can follow when we divide words into syllables? Yes, there are a few guidelines which would help us to do this.

(a) As far as possible start a syllable with a consonant where there is one, e.g.

Differ	→	di-ffer
Prefer	→	pre-fer
Locate	→	lo-cate

If possible end a syllable with a consonant and begin it with a consonant when there are two. For example,

hel-met	con-scious
cal-cu-late	al-ti-tude

There may, however, be exceptions to these rules. For example, the word extra – e k^1 s^2 t^3 r^4 a can fulfil both conditions 1 and 2. It can be divided into syllables in three different ways.

(a) ek – strə
(b) eks – tra
(c) ekst – ra

In this case anyone of the first two alternatives would be acceptable. The third alternative is not well balanced, though possible. Another criterion we need to keep in mind for the division of words into syllables is the combinatorial possibilities in the language. Let us look at the following words, for instance.

The word fender could be divided in three possible ways – (a) fen – der
or (b) fe – nder
or (c) fend-er

The first division is acceptable while the second division is not. The reason for this is that in a syllable in English an initial consonant cluster – nd is not possible. The third alternative does not follow rule 2. Similarly, in the word silver the alternative divisions are sil-ver or si-lver or silv-er. Only the first one is the most acceptable, as it follows rule (2) according to which we should as far as possible, end a syllable with a consonant and begin it with a consonant when there are two. Thus the first syllable sil ends with /l/ and the second syllable ver begins with a consonant. The second alternative, is not quite acceptable because in English the consonant sequence lv does not occur in the initial position in a syllable. The third alternative does not follow rule (2) and is therefore not acceptable.

It would be very convenient to refer to the dictionary for the division of words into syllables. Very often a phonemic transcription of word like *account, command, assume, exit, exempt* makes it easier for us to divide them into syllables, because the double letters, and the single letters x which stands for two sounds /ks/or/gz/, make it difficult for us to mark syllable division.

6.2.2 Degrees of Prominence

Words can have one or more than one syllable. In English for example, there are words with two, three, four, five, six or even seven syllables. The words, *point, lost,* threat, *salt,* grade all have one syllable. Some words with two or more than two syllables are –

2 syllables	**3** syllables	**4** syllables
never	fallacy	capitalize
colour	celebrate	fundamental
rapid	capital	centenarian
fellow	destiny	formality
packet	juvenile	philosophy

5 syllables	6 syllables
electricity	responsibility
association	anthropological
organization	
generosity	

In English words of two or more than two syllables, the speaker uses several degrees of articulatory energy. The listener perceives only two degrees – tlie syllable that s/he perceives as prominent and the syllables tliat are not prominent. What are tlie phonetic factors that contribute to or are responsible for prominence?

The factors responsible for prominence are:

(a) Loudness: The breatli force used by a speaker and the greater muscular energy involved is heard as greater loudness or stress. In a word of more than 3 syllables several degrees of articulatory energy is used. For example, in calculation one of the syllables is heard as the loudest of all and that is la. The syllable cal is heard as tlie second loudest. Listeners can perceive two degrees of loudness clearly and therefore the majority of listeners are in agreement regarding two degrees of stress. Listeners seldom agree as to which syllables have the third, fourth or fifth degree of loudness because these degrees of loudness are not clearly perceptible to the naked car.

(b) Pitch Change: In English stress alone is not an efficient marker of prominence. If we change only tlie loudness, the perceptual effect of stress is not very strong. The pattern of accent in a word becomes clearer when the syllable that is prominent is associated with pitch change. For example, the word 'insult' as a noun is recognised not only because the speaker uses extra breath force and thus stresses the first syllable, but also because there is a pitch change on the first syllable. In other words when the word 'insult' is said, the first syllable, in addition to being heard as louder tlian tlie second syllable, carries pitch change, that is, a movement of pitcli from high to low or low to high., The pitch change is generally indicated by a slanting line above and before tlie stressed syllable if the word is said with a falling pitch as shown on the word ˋinsult. It is generally marked with a slanting line below and before tlie stressed syllable if it is said with a rising pitch, like this – ˊinsult. However, when a word is said in isolation we generally use a falling pitch,

(c) A third factor that plays an important part in prominence is the quality of a vowel. A syllable will tend to be prominent if it contains a vowel that is different from the vowels in the neighbouring syllables. If we take a nonsense word like /ta:ta:ta:ta:/and change one of the vowels, we get/ta:ti:ta:ta:/. The odd syllable /ti:/ will be heard as more prominent. Indeed, in words of more than one syllable, the syllable that has a vowel that is different from the weak vowels, pal-titularly /a/ and also /ɪ/ and /u/ in weak syllables, stands out against a background of these weak syllables, and is often a stressed syllable.

(d) Another factor that is responsible for prominence is the quantity or length of syllables. If one of the syllables in a word, of more than one syllable is made longer than the others, there is quite a strong tendency for that syllable to be heard as prominent.

Prominence, than is produced by 4 main factors (a) loudness (b) pitch, (c) quality and (d) quantity. Generally, these factors work in combination, though syllables may sometimes be made prominent by means of only one or two of them. Experiments have shown that these factors do not have equal importance; the strongest effect is produced by pitch, and length is also a powerful factor. Loudness and quality have much less effect.

5.2.3 Levels of Stress

So far we have talked about the factors that play an important role in the perception of the prominent syllable in a word. We have referred to the stressed syllable as contrasted with the unstressed or weak syllables in a word. This might give the impression that there is only a very simple distinction between stressed and unstressed syllables. As we have said earlier, the listener is able to perceive two degrees of stress and the remaining syllables in a word of more than three syllables are unstressed. What is the first level or highest level of stress? What helps us to perceive this level of stress? Let us take the word organisation for example. Listeners identify the syllable sa as the most prominent. This prominence results from a pitch movement from a higher pitch to a lower pitch in addition to the greater loudness with which the syllable is produced. When we wish to refer to the type of stress which is characterized by pitch movement we call it primary or tonic stress. The first syllable or in organisation is perceived as next in prominence to sa. It is characterized to a large extent by loudness or extra breath force and may have no pitch prominence in relation to its neighbours. This type of stress may be called secondary or non-tonic or rhythmic. The syllable sa on the other hand will always be associated with a pitch change when the word is said in isolation. The remaining three syllables would be grouped together and described as weak or unstressed. The primary stress may be marked with a vertical stroke above and in front of the syllable in question, and the secondary stress with a vertical stroke below and in front of the syllable.

We have now identified two levels of stress: primary or tonic and secondary or non-tonic and another level which could be called unstressed and be regarded as being the absence of any perceivable amount of prominence. Phoneticians distinguish between primary and secondary stress by referring to the former as accent.

6.2.4 Placement of Stress on the Word

This brings us to a question which most non-native second or foreign language learners would ask. How do we know which syllable in a word must be stressed? How do we know that the syllable we select is the correct syllable? These questions do not have simple answers. In English, word stress cannot be decided in relation to the syllable in the word. In other words, word stress is not fixed and therefore not attached to a single syllable, as it is in the case of French where the last syllable is usually stressed or in the case of Czech where the first syllable is usually stressed, or in the case of Polish where the syllable before the last – the penultimate syllable – is stressed. In some other languages, such as Spanish and Italian, rules governing the placement of stress in the majority of words can formulated. In English we cannot give any simple rules regarding placement of stress. Some words are stressed on the first syllable, some on the second syllable, others on the third syllable and so on. Owing to the different patterns of word stress, we need to consult the dictionary for the pronunciation of words, which includes the sequence of vowels and consonants that a word is made up of and the syllable that receives the stress. Why is it

necessary to stress the right syllable in word? It is necessary because word stress patterns/contribute as much to the identity of a word as its sequence of phonemes. So much so, that sometimes a word may be unintelligible or be mistaken for another word. For example, the word below pronounced with stress on the first syllable instead of the second, would be mistaken for the word 'billow. The word develop pronounced with stress on the first syllable instead of the second might be mistaken for the word 'double uv.

6.2.5 Patterns of Stress in English Words

Let us look at examples of patterns of word stress in English.

(a) Words of two syllables with stress on the first syllable,

(i)	'able	(vi)	'dozen	(xi)	'instant	(xvi)	'subject (noun/adj)
(ii)	'almost	(vii)	'fortune	(xii)	'interest	(xvii)	'welcome
(iii)	'answer	(viii)	'govern	(xiii)	'paper	(xviii)	'wisdom
(iv)	'awkward	(ix)	'honest	(xiv)	'question	(xix)	'woman
(v)	'business	(x)	'husband	(xv)	'second	(xx)	'yellow

(b) Words of two syllables with stress on the second syllable

(i)	a'bove	(vi)	be'come	(xi)	e'vent	(xvi)	in'stead
(ii)	ad'dress	(vii)	be'tween	(xii)	ex'change	(xvii)	my'self
(iii)	ad'mit	(viii)	de'fence	(xiii)	ex'pense.	(xviii)	per'haps
(iv)	ad'vance	(ix)	de'gree	(xiv)	for'bid	(xix)	sug'gest
(v)	ap'pear	(x)	en'tire	(xv)	for'get	(xx)	to'wards

(c) Words of three syllables with stress on the first syllable.

(i)	'absolute	(vi)	'character	(xi)	'memory	(xvi)	'properly
(ii)	'advertise	(vii)	'delicate	(xii)	'minister	(xvii)	'industry
(iii)	'agency	(viii)	'educate	(xiii)	'passenger	(xvii)	'relative
(iv)	'avenue	(ix)	'hesitate	(xiv)	'prejudice	(xix)	'yesterday
(v)	'bicycle	(x)	'library	(xv)	'probable		

(d) Words of three syllables with stress on the second syllable

(i)	ad'venture	(vi)	con'sider	(xi)	en'courage	(xvi)	fa'miliar
(ii)	al'ready	(vii)	con'tinue	(xii)	es'sential	(xvii)	irn'mediate
(iii)	a'nother	(viii)	de'cision	(xiii)	ex'ample	(xviii)	im'portant
(iv)	com'mercial	(ix)	de'velop	(xiv)	ex'istence	(xix)	to'bacco
(v)	com'parison	(x)	di'rection	(xv)	ex'penseive	(xx)	to'morrow

You could listen to these words on tape and repeat them.

(e) Three syllable words with the primary stress on the third syllable

(i)	compre'hend	(vi)	engi'neer
(ii)	disap'pear	(vii)	intro'duce
(iii)	diap'point	(viii)	recom'mend
(iv)	domi'neer	(ix)	repre'sent
(v)	employ'ee	(x)	repro'duce

(f) Words of four syllables with the primary stress on the first syllable

(i)	'categorize	(vi)	'melancholy	(xi)	'temperament
(ii)	'corrugated	(vii)	'commentary	(xii)	'territory
(iii)	'dynamism'	(viii)	'percolator		
(iv)	'educated	(ix)	'pomegranate		
(v)	'helicopter	(x)	'salivary		

(g) Words of four syllables with the primary stress on the second syllable.

(i)	de'ficiency	(vi)	hy'pocrisy	(xi)	phi'losophy
(ii)	de'generate	(vii)	in'telligent	(xii)	re'ciprocal
(iii)	e'mancipate	(viii)	par'ticular	(xiii)	ther'inometre
(iv)	fe'licitate	(ix)	ri'diculous	(xiv)	ma'nipulate
(v)	con'spiracy	(x)	re'versible	(xv)	de'mocracy

(h) Words of four syllables that receive primary stress on the third syllable.

(i) advan'tageous
(ii) appa'ratus
(iii) corres'pondent
(iv) disa'bedient
(v) inde'pendence
(vi) semo'lina

(i) Words of five syllables with the primary stress on the second syllable

(i) in'corrigible
(ii) i'conoclasm
(ii) de'cipherable
(iv) co'operative
(v) pe'rambulator

(j) Words of five syllables with the primary stress on the third syllable

(i) cosmo'politian
(ii) elec'tricity

(iii) inter'national
(iv) sensi'bility
(v) philo'sophical
(vi) ophthal'mology

(k) Words of five syllables with primary stress on the fourth syllable.

(i) aristo'cratic
(ii) characte'ristic
(iii) octoge'narian
(iv) organi'zation
(v) experi'mental

(l) Words of six syllables with primary stress on the fourth or fifth syllables

(i) autobi'ography
(ii) meteoro'logical
(iii) orgi'nality
(iv) characteri'zation
(v) experimen'tation

Thus all the different patterns that we have just looked at are clearly indicative of the fact that word stress in English is to a large extent unpredicatable, and therefore needs to be learnt.

6.2.5 Functions of Word Stress in English

(a) Word stress in English sometimes helps us to distinguish between the grammatical function of words that have identical spelling. In other words, stress in a sense determines whether these words function as nouns/adjectives or as verbs in a sentence. Some two-syllable words conform to the general noun/verb stress pattern distinction, and some words containing more than two syllables also exhibit distinctive stress patterns. This distinction made by the shift in primary stress. When two-syllable words function as nouns or adjectives they are stressed on the first syllable and when they function as verbs they receive the stress on the second syllable.

For example,

Word (spelling)	**Noun/Adjective (transcription)**	**Verb (transcription)**
absent	'absant	ab'sent
accent	'aksant	ək'sent
compound	ˌkɒmaund	kəm'paund
compress	'kɒmpres	kam'pres
conduct	'kɒndʌkt	kan'dʌkt
conflict	'kɒnflikt	kan'fl ikt
contract	'kɒntrækt	kan'trakt
contrast	'kɒntra:st	kən'tra:st
convict	'kɒnvikt	kən'vikt
desert	'dezət	di'zɜ:t
export	'ekspɔ:t	ɪk'spɔ:t
frequent	ˌfri:kwənt	fri:'kwent
object	'ɒbdʒɪkt	əb'dʒekt
perfect	'pɜ:fikt	pə'fekt
permit	'pɜ:mɪt	pə'mɪt
present	'prezənt	prɪ'zent
produce	ˌprɒdʃu:s	prə'dju:s

project	ˈprɒdʒekt	prəˈdʒeːkt
rebel	ˈrebal	rɪˈbel
refuse	ˈrefjuːs	rɪˈfjuːz

(b) Some times word stress is associated with the morphological structure of words, that is, the way words are derived with the addition of prefixes and suffixes. The stress shifts as longer words are derived from smaller words, and change their grammatical forms. Look at the following words, for example. They are derivationally related, and the primary stress is marked on each word.

a'cademy	aca'demic	acade'mician
'democrat	deˈmocracy	demo'cratic
'diplomat	diˈplomacy	diplo'matic
'family	fa'miliar	famili'arity
'hypocrite	hy'procrisy	hypoˈcritical
ˈmechanism	me'chanical	mechaniˈzation
ˈmonotone	moˈnotony mo'notonous	mono'tonic
'photograph	phoˈtography	photoˈgraphic
ˈpolitics	poˈlitical	poli'tician

(c) Word accent also helps to distinguish between some compound words and noun phrases (adjective +noun, or noun + noun) and verb – plus – adverbial collocations. Look at the following words, for example

Compound	Noun Phrase etc.
'blackbird	'black bird
'copperplate	ˈcopper 'plate
'crossword	'cross 'word
ˈbluebottle	'blue 'bottle
'grandmother	ˈgrand 'mother
'greenfly	'green ˈfly
ˈput-on	ˈput 'on
'walkout	ˈwalk 'out

6.2.6 Some Rules for Placement of Primary Stress on Words

We have so far seen that word stress is 'free', In other words, it is not predictable. In a word of more than one syllable it is not easy to predict where the stress is to be placed. It is fixed only in the limited sense that a given word receives the stress nearly always on the same syllable. This might give us the impression that we have to learn the stress pattern of each word in English. While this might be true of a large number of two-syllable words, it does not always apply to all the words in English. There are regularities in word stress patterns to which there are very few exceptions. They are like rules that can be applied to words with similar suffixes. Let us look at those regularities in word stress that enable us to frame rules for the placement of word stress, and also enable us to predict word stress to a large extent.

(a) The first rule that we need to remember is that all English words have some stress (primary or secondary) on the first or the second syllable. For

example, in words of two syllables we have seen that words are stressed either on tlie first or the second syllable. Longer words, that is some words to which prefixes/suffixes are added may receive the primary stress on the third, fourth or fifth syllable and the secondary stress on either the first or second syllables. For example, in the words ˌcalcuˈlation and ˌsensibiˈlity, the third syllable receives the primary stress, and the first syllable the secondary stress. If however, longer words receive the primary stress on the first or tlie second syllable, then secondary stress is less likely on any other syllable.

(b) The second rule that we need to remember is that no inflectional suffix is stressed, nor does it affect stress. In other word, inflections of number, tense, person, degree, etc. do not affect stress nor are they accented. For example,

table	tables
garage	garages
en'joy	en'joyed
cor'rect	cor'recting
mi'stake	mi'stalten
se'lect	se'lects
'clever	'cleverer
'ugly	'ugliest

(c) The following derivational suffixes are not stressed and do not affect stress either. Look at these suffixes and the examples we have for each.

-age	postage, breakage
-ance	ap'pearance, 'goverance (but 'maintenance)
-en	soften, brighten
-ence	subsistence
-er	doer, keeper
-ess	lioness, goddess
-ful	dutiful, faithful
-fy	classify, falsify
-hood	childhood, manhood
-ice	cowardice
-ish	childish, foolish
-ive	cre'ative, at'traclive (but 'negative)
-less	aimless, careless
-ly	faithfully, happily
-ment	government, postponement
-ness	boldness, heaviness
-or	governor
-ship	scholarship, fellowship
-ter	laughter
-ure	enclosure, failure
-y	bloody, woolly
-zen	'citizen

(d) Some derivational suffixes receive stress and some others affect word stress. In other words, when these suffixes arc added lo the stem there is a shift in primary stress, either to the suffix itself or to a syllable other than the one stressed in the stem. For example, in the word emˈploy the primary stress is on the second syllable. If the suffix –ee is added to emˈploy the primary stress shifts to the suffix itself, so we get ˌemployˈee. Similiarly, we have ad'dress but ˌaddres'see. Another example of a suffix that affects primary stress is – ental. 'Government changes to the stress pattern ˌgovernˈmental with tlie addition of –ental. Also, tlie stress pattern in 'office changes lo ofˈficial when we add the suffix – ial, 'ceremony becomes ˌcereˈmonial.

Given below is a list of some important endings that affect word stress, with examples for each ending. The rule for placement of word stress (primary) in the case of each ending is also mentioned – 1, -2, -3 mean, respectively, the first, the second and the third syllable from the end. These rules determine only the primary accent.

1. -aire ... -1
   ˌmillion'naire

2. -eer, -ee .... -1
   ca'reer ˌengi'neer
   ˌmountai'neer ˌnomi'nee
   ˌchimpan'zee

3. -esque ... -1
   gso'tesque ˌpictu'resque

4. .ique ... -1
   phy'sique tech'nique

5. -ental ... -2
   ˌfunda'mental ˌgovern'mental
   seg'mental

6. -ial ... -2
   ˌarti'ficial es'sential
   ˌcere'monial official
   ˌconfi'dent ial re'medial

7. –ian ... -2

   gram'marian mu'sician
   li'brarian ˌphone'tician
   lo'gician ˌstatis'tician
   ma'gician ˌtotali'tarian

8. -ic -2

   ˌaca'demic ro'mantic
   ar'tistic ˌscien'tific
   ˌphilo'sophic se'mantic
   ˌphoto'graphic ˌsyste'matic

9. -ics ... -2

   ˌeco'nomics pho'nemics
   lin'guistics pho'netics
   ˌmathe'matics

   Exceptions: 'Arabic, 'choleric, 'rhetoric, a'rithmetic, 'catholic 'lunatic, 'politics

10. -ion ... -2

    ad'mission per'mission
    col'lection re'vision
    compe'tition sub'mission
    di'vision so'lution
    ˌoccu'pation vo'cation

11. -ience ... -2

con'venience
o'bedience

'lenience

12. -itis ... -2
bron'chitis

neu'ritis

13. -ious, -uous ... -2

'anxious
in'dustrious
la'borious
lu'xurious
re'bellious
vic'torious

con'tinuous
'virtuous
pro'miscuous

14. -iency ... -3

efficiency

pro'ficiency

15. -ate ... -3

'compli$_{1}$cate
'edu$_{1}$cate
'hesitate

o'rigi$_{1}$nate
'fortunate

16. -graphy, -logy -metry

bi'ography
ge'ography
pho'tography

bi'ology
ge'ology
pho'nology
psy'chology
zo'ology

bi'ometry
ge'ometry
trig'nometry

17. -grapher -logist

bi'ographer
ge'ographer
pho'tographer

bi'ologist
ge'ologist
pho'nologist
psy'chologist
zo'ologist

18. -ical ... -3

$_{1}$eco'nomical
geo'graphical
$_{1}$psycho'logical

geo'metrical
$_{1}$philo'sophical
$_{1}$typo'graphical

19. -ity ... -3

a'bility
$_{1}$dura'bility
$_{1}$elec'tricity
fa'cility

$_{1}$possi'bility
$_{1}$suita'bility
$_{1}$uni'versity

6.3 STRESS AND RHYTHM IN CONNECTED SPEECH

6.3.1 Introduction

We have already discussed word stress at length and have seen that there are levels of stress – primary stress/accent which is characterized by loudness **and** pitch movement andsecondary stress which is characterized by loudness or extra breath force only. We have said that in English, a word of more than one syllable, one of the syllables is said to receive the primary stress. We shall now try to understand what rhythm means in general, what it means with reference to language – English, in particular, what the relationship between stress and rhythm in connected speech is and what features contribute to the rhythm of English.

6.3.2 Rhythm

Rhythm is the regular periodic recurrence of certain patterns of colour, design or sound. Rhythm in a painting or in embroidery would refer to the even spacing or distribution of colour and design. In music, a certain kind of beat or sound complex that continues to be repeated at equal intervals of time constitutes its rhythm. One can detect the rhythm of a heart beat. In language, rhythm refers to the recurrence of certain patterns of sound in utterances constituting a text.

Rhythm in the languages of the world is roughly of two types. Some phoneticians have in the past claimed that in some languages (e.g. French), syllables constituting utterances, whether stressed or not tend to occur at equal intervals of time. The time taken to move from one stressed syllable to the next is generally in proportion to the number of unstressed syllables between them. Such languages have what is called a **syllable-timed rhythm.** Some other languages according to this theory have a **stress-timed rhythm.** In these languages, stressed syllables have a tendency to occur at roughly regular intervals of time, irrespective of the number of unstressed syllables occurring between one stressed syllable and the next. English according to this theory belongs to this second category of languages. This theory, has so far, neither been validated nor refuted beyond doubt. However, we do recognise that the rhythm of English is different from the rhythm of Indian languages and has to the learnt. We have, for instance, to recognise the very important difference in English between strong and weak syllables; some languages do not have such a noticeable difference.

6.3.3 Influence of Stress on Rhythm in English

You must have noticed that utterances in English are a series of close knit groups each comprising stressed and unstressed syllables. Rhythmic grouping correlates with a stressed syllable followed by unstressed syllables upto the next stressed syllable but not including it.

Let us look at the following sentences for instance. They can have the rhythmic groups indicated by the vertical lines.

1. I'want to/'go to/'Delhi to-/'morrow
2. 'Tell him tofgo to the /'market
3. I'want you to/'stand there and /'hold it for me.
4. 'Make me some/'puppets for the fshow
5. We 'went for a /'walk in thefpark.

The rhythmic groups in each of these sentences are closely knit. This does not imply that there is necessarily a pause between each group. In fact there is **no pause** between each group, for it is held together in the utterance.

Notice that in each of the sentences above, the number of unstressed syllables between the stressed syllables is more or less the same, thus giving them a fairly regular rhythmic beat. In sentence 1 there is one unstressed syllable between two stressed syllables - to/to/to/-row/in to-morrow. Similarly in sentences 2,3, 4 and 5, there are two unstressed syllables between two stressed syllables.

2. him to/to the /ket in market.

   In the third rhythmic group there is only one unstressed syllable.

3. you to/there and/if for me

   only the last group has three unstressed syllables.

4. me some/for the/

5. for a /in the/

Owing to the same number of unstressed syllables in each utterance the rhythmic beat is fairly regular, and gives the impression that all English utterances must have a regular rhythm. But this is indeed untrue. Many of our utterances in English do not have this kind of regular rhythm, because the stressed syllables may not always be separated by the same number of unstressed syllables throughout the utterance. Look at the following sentences.

1. 'What/'name shall I/'ask for'?
2. You can 'always/'find me at/'this ad /'dress
3. There's 'none/'left in the/'cupboard.
4. 'Walk/'down the /'path to the/'bottom of the/'hill.

Notice that the number of unstressed syllables between stressed syllables varies from none to three in each sentence. In sentence 4 for instance, the first and second stressed syllable have no unstressed syllables between them. Between the 2nd and 3rd stressed syllables there is only one unstressed syllable, between the 3rd and 4th two unstressed syllables and between the 4th and 5th three unstressed syllables.

It is now clear to us that utterances do not always have a regular rhythm and have varying stress patterns. The number of stressed syllables in an utterance depends on the nature of the words composing the utterance.

e.g.(1) There are 'fifty in the 'box.
(2) 'All 'fifty are 'quite 'heavy.

Comparing the two utterances above we find that both of them have the same number of syllables (7), but they differ with regard to the number of stressed syllables. **The greater the number of content words in an utterance, the greater the number of stressed syllables it is likely to have.** Therefore the tempo of utterances may also differ, depending on the number of stressed and unstressed syllables they are composed of. An utterance with a large number of stressed syllables is likely to have a heavier, slower rhythm than one which has very few stressed syllables. An utterance composed of a large number of unstressed syllables between stressed syllables generally has a faster, lighter rhythm.

Given below, are examples of some stress patterns in English. The vertical lines beside each sentence represent stressed syllables, and the horizontal lines the unstressed syllables.

1. 'brown 'dog. //
2. 'sharp 'pen //
3. 'Try a'gain /-/

4. 'very 'hard /-/
5. 'Show me'yours /-/
6. 'Here's some 'tea /-/
7. It's 'broken –/–
8. I'thought so –/–
9. 'Give him some 'food /- - /
10. 'Where have they 'gone /- - /
11. 'Follow my ad'vice /- - - /
12. 'Carry it a'way /- - - /
13. She 'isn't on the 'phone – / - - - /,
14. The 'children are in 'bed. – / - - - /
15. I'gave it to her – / - - -
16. I've 'written to them – / - - -
17. We 'shan't be in 'time for the 'play – / - -/- -/
18. I'wonder if he'll 'ask me in ad'vance -/- - -/- - -/
19. He 'did his 'best to 'save the 'child. -/-/-/-/
20. He 'wants you to 'write her a 'letter to'morrow. –/--/--/--/--/-

You must have noticed that in these sentences content words are stressed and structure words are not. Content words are important for meaning. So they are predisposed by virtue of their function in utterances, to receive stress. These are main verbs, adverbs, nouns, adjectives, demonstratives. Form or structure words are more likely to be unstressed. These are personal pronouns, relative pronouns, some prepositions, conjunctions, articles and auxiliary verbs. You must have noticed that in the sentences we have just looked at, the content words are almost always stressed and the structure words are unstressed. These sentences are isolated and have no context. It is therefore easy to apply the guidelines given above and stress content words.

In connected speech stress is much freer and is largely determined by the **meaning** the speaker intends to convey. If the meaning requires it, content words may be unstressed and structure words may be stressed. What is it that conditions and determines meaning?

It is the context that determines the meaning. Let us study the following examples.

5, If your hands and feet are warm, the whole body will be warm.

The adjective warm is stressed in the first part of the utterance but when it occurs a second time in the utterance it is generally unstressed even though it is a content word. When a word is repeated, it does not add any meaning to the utterance. Let us look at another sentence.

2. A: How many 'horses did you 'see?
   B: 'Ten horses.

In this sentence again 'horses is repeated in the reply. In fact it is redundant and even if omitted it will not affect the answer. B could also say just one word 'Ten' in response to A and be unders'tood.

Another short exchange between Alice and the March Hare makes this clear.

3. "Have some wine," said the March Hare. "I don't see any wine," remarked Alice.

Here again the word wine does not receive any stress the second time it is uttered. Indeed, it could even be omitted without affecting the meaning. As we have seen above, the repetition of a content word in a context reduces its chances of being

stressed considerably. But sometimes a feeling for rhythmic balance dictates repetition and therefore stress on words is repeated. For example,

(a) 'Handsome is that 'handsome 'does.
(b) What's 'sauce for the 'goose is 'sauce for the 'gander.

6.3.4 Weak Forms in English

We have so far been trying to understand the relationship between stress and rhythm in English and the influence of one upon the other.

We will now take up another feature which is very closely linked with the characteristic rhythm of English. To maintain the characteristic rhythm of English, we need to weaken the syllables that are unstressed. Most of these unstressed words are form words. Of these **form** words there are roughly 45 words which have two or more pronunciations – one **strong** pronunciation and one or more than one **weak** pronunciation or **weak form.** The weak form of these words are used in unstressed positions, and play an important role in giving English its characteristic rhythm.

A list of the weak forms of these words is given below, along with notes on the contexts in which they can be used.

Weak Forms

Articles

1	a	/ə/	
	a book	/ə buk/	
2.	an	/ən/	
	an apple	/an əpl/	
3.	the	/ðə/	(before consonants)
		/əɪ/	(before vowels)

Pronouns

4	he	/hɪ/ He isn't here He's is pronounced /hi:z/, not /hɪz/
5	her	(object pronoun) /ə (r)/ I gave it to her
6	him	/ɪm/ Send him away.
7.	me	/mɪ/ Tell me your name.
8.	she	/ʃɪ/ She says he's out.
	but	She's is pronounced /ʃi:z/ She's very hardworking.

9. them /ðəm/
Take them away.

10. us /əs/
He asked us to go and see them.

11. we /wɪ/
We aren't as stupid as you think.

we're /wɪə (r)/
We're late.

12. you /jʊ/
You promised to write.

You're /jʊə(r)/

You're right.
Your is pronounced /jɔ:(r)/

Determiners

13. her (determiner [possessive adjective] /hə(r)/
her face

14. his/ɪz/ (not initially)
She's his wife.

15 some (determiner [adjective] /s(ə)m/
I want some books.

Verbs

16 am /əm/
/m/ in I'm
So am I
But finally, /æm/
Who's coming?
I am

17. are (written 're) /ə(r)/
Why're you late?
But **finally,** /a:/
Who's coming with me?
We are.

18. be /bɪ/
Don't be late.

19. been /bɪn/
He's been punished.

20. can /k(ə)n/
When can you come?
You can go.
But **finally** /kæn/
Who can give the answer?
I can.

21 could /kəd/

I could go if I wanted to.
But **initially** and **finally** /kud/.
Could you tell me the time?
Who could do it?
John could.

22 do (auxiliary) /du/

Nor do I.
/d/ in d'you
What d' you mean?
But **finally** /du:/
Who wants to go?
We do.

23 does (auxiliary) /dəz/

How does it work?
But **finally** /dʌz/
Who lives there?
John does.

24 had (auxiliary) /had/

/ad/ (not initially)
/d/ written as 'd

Had he done it before he left?
When I reached here, the train had left.
He said he'd lost it.
But **finally** /hæd/

Who'd told him?
I had.

25. has (auxiliary) /həz/

/z/ after a voiced sound
/s/ after a voiceless consonant } Written as 's

Has he finished?
Where's he gone?
What's he done?
But **finally** /hæz/
Who's got it?
John has.

26 have (auxiliary) /həv/ /əv/ /v/ } written as 've

Have you done it?
Where've you been?
You've been putting on weight.
But **finally** /hæv/
Who's got it?
I have

27. is /iz/ /z/ after a voiced sound
/s/ after a **voiceless** consonant } written as 's
I hope he's in.
It's true.

28 must/məs/ before consonants
/mast/ before vowels
You must try harder
We must arrange a meeting
But **finally** /mʌst/
We must go and see them
At least I must.

29. Shall /ʃəl/
/ʃl/ only in the middle of an utterance.
/l/ written 'll
Shall I see him?
I shall try to help you.
I'll do my best
But **finally** /ʃæl/
Who'll do it for me?
I shall.

30. Should /ʃəd/
/ʃd/
He should come in time.
I should like you to come.
But **initially** and **finally** /ʃud/
Should I ask him?
Who should go there?
You should

31. was /wəz/
What was he doing?
But **finally** /wɒz/
Who was singing?
I was.

32. Were /wə (r)/
Where were you yesterday?
But **finally** /wɜ:/
Who was there yesterday?
We were.

33. well /əl/ written 'll
/l/
George'll certainly come.
He'll never agree.
But **initially** and **finally** /wɪl/
Will they agree?
Who'll go there?
John will.

34. would /wad/
/əd/ (after a consonant)
/d/ (after a vowel) } written as 'd.

That would be very kind of you.
That'd be nice.

Who'd like to go,
But **initially** and **finally** /wud/
Would you like to see him?
Who'd like to go?
I would.

Prepositions

35. **at**/ət/
He's standing at the gate.
But **finally** /æt/
What're you looking at?

36. for /fə/

It's time for tea.
But **finally** /fɔ:/
What're you looking for?

37 from /fr(ə)m/

A letter **from** John.
But **finally** /frɒm/
Where d'you come **from**?

38. **of** /əv/

A glass of milk
But **finally** /ɒv/
What's it made of?

39. to /tu/ (before **vowels** and **finally**)
/tə/ (before **consonants**)

I want to ask you.
I think he wants to.
I asked her to take them away.

Conjunctions

40. and /ənd/
/ən/
/n/

in and out
up and down
bread and butter

41 as /əz/
as soon as possible

42. or /ə (r)/
one or two more

43. than /ðən/

It's harder than you think.

44 **that** (conjunction; also relative pronoun), /ðət/
I think that he wants us to.
The book that I lent you.

44. Introductory **there**

There's /ðəz/
/ðeəz/
There're /ðərə (r)
/ðeərə(r)/

Is there /iz ðə/
Are there /ɑ:ðə/

There's a man at the door.
There're ten in the box. ðərə
Is there any more milk? ðər
Are there any more questions? ðər

6.3.5 Contracted Forms

In some forms of words, the severely reduced forms of auxiliary verbs, such as is, are, have, has, had, will and would are often attached to the preceding subject pronoun or noun. For example,

He + is		he's/hi:z/
They + are	=	theyre/ðeə/
We + have	=	we've /wi:v/
John + is	=	John's /dʒɒnz/
He + will	=	he'll /hi:l/
They + would	=	they'd (ðeɪd/

In other forms of words the shortened form of not (n't) is attached to the preceding auxiliary verb. For example,

Does not becomes doesn't /dʌznt/
Shall not becomes shan't/ʃa:nt/
Have not becomes haven't /hævnt/
Could not becomes couldn't /kudnt/

Such forms of words as those above are known as **contracted forms.** Contracted forms are also an important feature of spoken English.

6.3.6 Use of Strong Forms of Grammatical Words

As we have already said, there are form words in English which have strong forms as well as weak forms. The weak forms of these words have been given along with examples of the contexts in which they are used. We have also indicated some contexts in which many of these grammatical words have strong forms, but are not stressed. For example, the initial and final position in sentences.

(i) How could he do it
'hau kəd hɪ'du'ɪt
(ii) Could you post this for me?
'kud ju'pəust ðɪs fə'mɪ
(iii) What are you looking at
'wɒt əju 'lukɪŋ æt
(iv) I am looking at that picture.
aim'lukiŋ at ðæt 'pɪktʃə

Besides these we have not so far considered other contexts in which they retain their Strong forms. In fact in these contexts, only their strong forms are acceptable.

When these weak-form words are stressed they always have their strong forms. These words are stressed in the following contexts.

i) When a weak - form word is being contrasted with another word, e.g.
The 'gift's 'for him not 'from him
ðə gifts 'fɔ:hɪm nɒt 'frɒm hɪm

(ii) When there is a coordinated use of prepositions, e.g.

I travel to and from Delhi a lot
aɪ 'trævl 'tu: an 'frɒm 'dell a 'lɒt

The government of the people and for the people

ðə 'gʌvənmənt 'pv ðə 'pi: pl an 'fɔ: ðə 'pi:pl

(iii) When a weak-form word is used for the purpose of emphasis, e.g.

You 'must be 'here before 'ten
Ju 'mʌst bɪ 'hɪə bɪfɔ: 'ten
I'm 'sure you 'can 'do it
aim 'ʃuə ju 'kæn 'du: ɪt

(iv) When a weak-form word is being 'cited' or 'quoted', e.g.

You always say an 'apple not a apple.

Ju 'ɔ:lweɪz 'seɪ 'æn æpl nɒt 'ɛr æpl.

You should 'never 'end a 'sentence with and
Ju ʃəd 'neva 'end a 'sentəns wɪð 'ænd

Thus the position of weak-form words and contexts in which they are stressed necessitates the use of their strong forms.

6.4 LET US SUM UP

Words have as many syllables as there are vowel sounds in them. In English, words can have one, two, three, four, five, six or even seven syllables.

In words of more than one syllable one of the syllables can be heard by the listener as more prominent than the others. The prominence of a particular syllable is quite often owing to the presence of any, or all four of the following factors — Loudness, pitch change, quality, and quantity (length). When a word of three or more than three syllables is produced, the speaker uses several degress of articulatory energy, but the speaker perceives only two degress of stress. The highest level of stress is characterized by pitch movement and is known as nuclear or primary stress. The syllable that is characerised to a large extent by loudness and generally has no pitch movement is said to receive **secondary** or **non-tonic stress.** It is perceived as next in prominence to the syllable that receives primary or tonic stress.

Word stress is as essential a part of the character of the word, as the vowels and consonants. Every English word of more than one syllable has its own characteristic

stress pattern, which must be learnt. While word stress is fixed in a number of languages like French, Czech, etc, it is free in English. In other words, it is not easy to predict which syllable in a given word would be stressed. Nevertheless there are some guidelines which have been formulated on the basis of word endings.

In connected speech some words are generally stressed because they are important for meaning vis content words; while some otlier words are predisposed to being unstressed because they are not important for meaning, viz fonn or structure words.

The rhythm of English is often described as **stress-timed,** because the stressed syllables in English utterances tend to occur at roughly regular intervals of time, irrespective of the number of unstressed syllables between any two stressed syllables. Most of the unstressed syllables constitute form words. **Some** of these form words have weak forms in unstressed positions, that is, when several of them occur between stressed syllables. The use of weak forms, in unstressed positions is essential for maintaining the characteristic, rhythm of English. Sometimes the strong forms of these grammatical words are also used.

6.5 KEY WORDS

Syllable: A fubdamental but apparently elusive unit in phonology. A syllable typically consists of one vowel or diphthong possibly preceded and/or followed by one or more consonants.

Attempts have been made to define the syllable in terms of muscular contractions, in terms of neural programming, and in terms of peaks of sonority; but no satisfactory definition has been found.

Prominence: The property of a linguistic element which stands out in comparison with neighbouring elements. For example, a stressed syllable is more prominent than an unstressed syllable.

Stress: Emphasis on a particular syllable in comparison with others. Stress is typically produced by combination of greater loudness, higher pitch and greater length.

Pitch The quality of "highness" or "lowness" of a sound, as perceived by our ears.

Quality: The most obvious property of a vowel, the characteristic which distinguishes it from other vowels, chiefly determined by the position of the jaw, tongue and lips during its production.

Quantity: Another name for length, i.e. the amount of time required to pronounce a speech sound, particularly when this is linguistically important in a particular language.

Primary Stress: The strongest degree of stress in a word.

Secondary Stress: A degree of stress which is less then primary stress but still greater then no stress.

Rhythm:	The pattern you perceive in speech or poetry as a result of the repetition at regular intervals of prominent elements, such as stressed syllables.
Stressed-timed rhythm:	A type of speech rhythm in which stressed syllables occur at roughly equal intervals, regardless of the number of intervening unstressed syllables. English follows a stressed-time rhythm.
Weak forms:	The way a grammatical word is pronounced when it is unstressed.
Strong forms:	The way a grammatical word is pronounced when it is stressed, as opposed to the weak form it assumes when unstressed.

6.6 EXERCISES

I. Divide the following words syllable-wise using a hyphen to mark syllable boundaries and mark primary stress. You could consult the dictionary for marking stress. Example: (a) ab-'surd

(a) absurd	(b) adjoin	(c) agency	(d) allopathy
(e) alternative	(f) aluminimum	(g) amateu	(h) anonymous
(i) anxiety	(j) behaviour	(k) caricature	(l) determine
(m) excessive	(n) helicopter	(o) independence	(p) catastrophe
(q) component	(r) extinguish	(s) repetitive	(t) melancholy
(u) thermometer			

II Applying the rules of word accent that we have learnt, mark the primary stress on the following words. Then practise saying the words aloud.

(a) experimental	(b) pioneer	(c) genetics	(d) collaboration
(e) sentimental	(f) elaborate	(g) physiology	(h) palatography
(i) celebrity	(j) mathematician	(k) suggestion	(l)magnanimity
(m) ornithology	(n) gregarious	(o) ecological	(p) participate
(q) commercial	(r) optician	(s) addressee	(t) racketeer

III Transcribe the words given above with the help of the dictionary.

IV Mark the stressed syllables in the following sentences. For this apply the guidelines we have learnt for stressing (syllables of) words in connected speech. Remember words that receive stress on a particular syllable when they are said in isolation generally receive it on the same syllable when they occur in connected speech.

(a) Collect them tomorrow.
(b) Colour the picture.
(c) Bring it in this evening.
(d) Six of them surrendered.
(e) We've put them on your desk.
(f) He's forgotten to leave his telephone number.
(g) He invited us to dine with them.
(h) Whey don't you take some for her.
(i) I think that he wants us to go with him.
(j) Where've all the flowers gone?

(k) I wanted him to listen to my song.
(l) Aren't you going to Delhi tomorrow?
(m) She bought a basketful of fruit from the shop.
(n) This is not the way to do it.
(o) An apple a day keeps the doctor away.
(p) These are certainly not enough
(q) You mustn't waste even a minute.
(r) Its time we went on a holiday
(s) I ought to have written her a letter.
(t) What have you done with my pen?

V) With the help of dictionary write a phonemic transcription of the sentences above and remember to make a note of all the weak form words and the unstressed syllables in these sentences.

VI Listen to these sentences on tape and repeat them.

VII Listen to some sentences on tape, transcribe each sentence and mark the stress.

6.7 ANSWERS TO EXERCISES

I

(a) absurd	(b) a(d)' join	(c) 'a - gen-cy
(d) al-'lo-pa-thy	(e) al-'ter-na-tive	(f) a-lu-'mi-nium
(g) 'a-ma-teur	(h) a'-no-ny-mous	(I) an-'xi-e-ty
(j) be-'ha-viour	(k) ca-ri-'ca-ture	(l) de-'ter-mine
(m) ex-'cess-sive	(n) 'he-li-cop-ter	(o) in-de-'pen-dence
(p) ca-'tas-tro-phe	(q) com-'po-nent	(r) ex-'tin-guish
(s) re-'pe-ti-tive	(t) 'me-lan-cho-ly	(u) ther-'mo-me-ter

II

(a)	experi'mental	.....(-2)
(b)	pio'neer	.....(-1)
(c)	ge'netics	.....(-2)
(d)	collabo'ration	.....(-2)
(e)	senti'mental	.....(-3)
(f)	e'laborate	.....(-3)
(g)	physi'ology	.....(-3)
(h)	pala'tography	.....(-3)
(i)	ce'lebrity	.....(-3)
(j)	mathema'tician	.....(-2)
(k)	sug'gestion	.....(-2)
(l)	ˌmagna'nimity	.....(-3)
(m)	ˌorni'thology	.....(-3)
(n)	gre'garious	.....(-2)
(o)	eco'logical	.....(-3)
(p)	par'ticipate	.....(-3)
(q)	com'mercial	.....(-2)
(r)	op'tician	.....(-2)
(s)	addres'see	.....(-1)
(t)	ˌracke'teer	.....(-1)

a) Col'lect them to'morrow
b) 'Colour the 'picture
c) 'Bring it in this 'evening
d) 'Six of them sur'rendered.
e) We've 'put them on your 'desk
f) He's for'gotten to 'leave his 'telephone 'number.

g) He in'vited us to 'dine with them.
h) 'Why don't you 'take some for her.
i) I 'think that he 'wants us to 'go with him.
j) 'Where've all the 'flowers 'gone?
k) I 'wanted him to 'listen to my 'song.
l) 'Aren't you 'going to 'Delhi to'morrow?
m) She 'bought a 'basketful of 'fruit from the 'shop.
n) This is 'not the 'way to 'do it.
o) An 'apple a 'day keeps the 'doctor a'way,
p) These are 'certainly 'not e'nough.
q) You 'mustn't 'waste even a 'minute.
r) Its 'time we 'went on a 'holiday.
s) I'ought to have 'written her a 'letter
t) 'What have you 'done with my 'pen?

VII
1. 'Hold it for me
2. 'Give him some 'food.
3. 'Where have they 'gone.
4. Is's 'rather 'late.
5. She 'wrote me a 'letter.
6. I 'asked her to 'come here on 'Sunday.
7. I 'wonder if he'll 'make me a'nother one.
8. They are ex'tremely in'telligent.
9. There's a 'train to Cal'cutta in the 'evening.
10. They 'won't be on 'time for the 'flight.
11. I 'wonder if he'll 'ask me for the 'book.
12. There 'isn't e'nough for 'all of us.
13. He 'looked for a 'stick to de'fend himself.
14. They're 'coming back 'home in a 'bus.
15. 'Why have they 'left you be'hind?

UNIT 7 INTONATION

Structure

7.0 Objectives
7.1 Introduction
7.2 The form of Intonation
  7.2.1 Tone Group
  7.2.2 Tonic Syllable
  7.2.3 Nuclear Tone
7.3 The Function of Intonation
  7.3.1 Grammatical function
  7.3.2 Accentual function
  7.3.3 Attitudinal function
7.4 Uses of Tones
  7.4.1 Falling Tone
  7.4.2 Rising Tone
  7.4.3 Falling Rising Tone
  7.4.4 Rising Falling Tone
7.5 Let Us Sum Up
7.6 Exercises
7.7 Key Words
7.8 Answers to Exercises

7.1 INTRODUCTION

While describing the consonants and vowels of English, one of the factors that we took into consideration was whether each of these sounds was voiceless or voiced, that is, whether the glottis was open as for breathing or whether the vocal cords were vibrating during the production of these sounds. The vibration of the vocal cords produces a kind of musical note, ('hum'). This is what is called 'voice'. The vocal cords can vibrate at varying rates. The number of cycles per second at which they vibrate, that is, the frequency of vibration determines the pitch of the voice. The higher the frequency, the higher the pitch, and the lower the frequency, the lower the pitch.

When we speak, the pitch of our voice goes on changing. To speak in a monotone is very rare no matter what language we may use. If at all, a monotone is used, it is intended to serve a special purpose. For example, it is used to pray in church. Priests used it to pray at a mass. Normally in conversatjon and for oral communication in any style, ranging from very formal to very informal we use a varying pitch, that is, it may at times go up, then go down and even remain steady sometimes. Thus patterns of variation are formed by the different pitches. These patterns of variation are called **tones.** The relative range in pitch varies from person to person.

Tones can either bring about a change in the meaning of an utterance or a change in the meaning of a word. **Languages in which tones bring about a change in the meaning of an utterance are known as intonation languages.** There can be two basic tones, **rising** and **falling** and then a number of tones which are combinations of these two tones, for example **falling-rising** or **rising-falling.**

Let us look at the possibilities for the intonation of the utterances **yes**

Yes — with a level tone is not natural.

Yes — said with a falling tone implies finality, is neutral, and can also mean the speaker is assertive. The higher the fall, the greater the sense of finality conveyed. A low fall can indicate a detached, calm even impatient attitude.

Yes — said with a rising lone indicates that there is more to follow. It may be an invitation for the other person to continue the conversation.

Yes — said with a falling-rising tone could meaning partial agreement or reservation regarding a point being made by one of the participation in a conversation.

Yes — said with a rising-falling tone may express a strong feeling of approval or disapproval, or even surprise.

There are languages in which tone **can** determine the meaning of a word. For example, in Kono spoken in West Africa.

The word bɛη with a high level tone means *uncle* and ˌbeη← with a low level tone means *greedy.*

In Chinese the word ma said with a level tone means *mother.* ˏma said with a rising tone means ***hemp*** and ˎma said with a low falling tone means *scold.*

These languages are known as **Tone languages.** In India, some languages of the North-East, such as AO and Mizo are Tone language, Punjabi is a partial tone language. For example, the words (whip) (leper) and are differentiated by tone.

English belongs to the first category of languages. It is, in other words, an **Intonation language.**

7.2 THE FORM OF INTONATION

We have seen that Intonation is concerned with those aspects of pitch which cany linguistic information. The sudden rises and falls of pitch of a person on horseback are beyond the speaker's control and therefore cannot have linguistic significance. Similarly, differences of pitch range between people are not linguistically significant, because pitch level in each case is determined by factors beyond the speaker's control.

To be significant pitch must be under the speaker's control and pitch differences must be perceptible.

When we study the intonation of a language, (English in this case) the two important questions we generally need to ask are

1. What form does intonation have? In other words, what can we observe when we study pitch variation?
2. What function does intonation perform in spoken language? (English here). In other words what is the linguistic importance of the pitch patterns we observe'!

Let us try and answer the first question that is, let us look at the form of intonation in English.

7.2.1 The Tone Unit

For the purpose of analysing intonation, we require a unit generally greater in size than the syllable and this unit is called the **Tone-unit.** It is a stretch of speech over which one pattern of pitch variations extends. A Tone unit could vary from a one-syllable utterance to a many-syllable utterance. It could coincide with a sentence, or

with a clause and phrase boundaries in complex sentences. In other words, while speaking, we tend to divide long utterances into small groups of words, between which we may or may not pause. There are constraints on the division of an utterance into tone groups. We cannot, for instance, have a tone group boundary between two words such as an article and a noun, an auxiliary and a main verb or an adjective and a noun. It would be very unusual if we did so.

What are the factors that help us in determining tone groups?

(a) Grammatical considerations with punctuation as guide

For example, let us look at the following passage.

In May, when the really hot weather begins we pack all our stuff into the car,/ shut up the house,/ and drive to the mountains,/nothing being able to keep mother down here at that time./

The punctuation marks in this passage help us divide the utterances into smaller groups. Note, however, commas may not always be a reliable guide and many more pauses are required.

(b) Without punctuation as guide

Sometimes there are no punctuation marks to help us determine the tone-units, we have to identify the tone-units solely on the basis of the grammar of the utterances.

For example the passage given below has no punctuation marks, so we have to divide the 'utterances' into tone groups on the basis of grammatical considerations alone.

Without Stopping to think/he rushed forward with his arms out/to try and help her/and only succeeded in pushing her straight back again/ into the deep and/just as she was clambering out./

II Non-grammatical

A Tone unit may sometimes be used for effect, and in order to achieve this, the speaker may deliberately divide an utterance into tone units. Look at the following utterances, for example

I cannot imagine/what induced him/ to speak in that manner/

Normally, the utterances would have two tone groups rather than three with one tone group boundary after him.

(b) Sometimes the division of an utterance into tone units on the basis of criteria other than grammatical may be entirely non-deliberate. That is, it may be owing to factors that arise out of the very nature of spoken language. For example, hesitation phenomena as in the utterance below.

And the er/crux of the matter we've just been discussing / is whether the er/ insult/slight/was intended/ or not.

(c) Another factor that may guide a speaker to divide an utterance into tone-units and into smaller chunks, is the influence of very long sequences. Look at the following example.

All of those little fellows/in standard one/ kept their heads/ and behaved spendidly when the fire alarm went off.

This long sequence would be divided into smaller groups by the speaker for ease of presentation.

As we have already said, the Tone unit is a stretch of speech over which one pattern of pitch variation extends. It is this pattern that we generally analyse in terms of the tonic syllable, and the tone.

7.2.2 Tonic syllable

In a word of more than one syllable, one of the syllables receives the primary or nuclear accent and initiates a change in pitch direction. Similarly, in a tone unit that has more than one syllable, one of the stressed syllables is more prominent than the others because it initiates a change in pitch direction. In other words, it is on this syllable that a change in pitch direction begins.

Which syllable receives the tonic or nuclear account in a tone group? In other words, how do we know on which syllable the change in pitch direction should begin?

1. Neutral

In neutral utterances which are either isolated and have no previous reference or in which no contrast or emphasis is intended, the nucleus or tonic syllable is generally the last important word or content word in the tone unit.

Let us look at the following tone units

(a) Well I 'think I'll 'go back a'gain tomorrow
(b) I 'wonder if you'd 'like any 'oranges?

The last content word in (a) is tomorrow. There is no reference to any earlier interaction or to any earlier event. The utterance is intended to convey an isolated bit of information. Therefore, the last important word, that is, 'tomorrow' receives the nuclear accent. This is true of the second utterance as well. The last content word in the sentence receives the nuclear accent, that is, the first syllable of the word 'oranges'.

2. Marked

When the speaker intends to convey special information or contrast is implied or stated, the tonic syllable may be placed earlier in the tone group, on a word that has greater importance in relation to the meaning being conveyed in the given context. Look at the following sentences.

(a) When contrast is implied or stated

(i) He's taken the **train** to Delhi, (not the plane)
(ii) She **said** that she knew the answer. (she didn't really know)
(iii) **I** didn't take it from her. (Someone else did)
(in this utterance the speaker responds to an accusation—he/she has been accused of taking something)
(iv) I didn't ask you whether you **could** do it.

This utterance implies that the person addressed thought his ability was being questioned. But the speaker actually sought his willingness to do something: would

(b) Introducing new information

When a word giving new information is introduced in a given context that word generally receives the tonic accent. For example, when a speaker makes the statement—

(i) 'His wife is pretty? The listener may respond by a adding the intensifier very to the statement saying – 'yes, she's very pretty. In this case the tonic syllable in a content word used for emphasis

(ii) Similarly, is response to the statement 'He's had tremendous success with his roses this year,' a listener might say 'And his lawns look beautiful.' The word lawns is added information to what is being conveyed. In other words, the speaker wishes to inform the listener that 'his lawns' (also) look beautiful. Here again the tonic syllable is a content word.

(iii) In some cases the tonic syllable may be a non-content word. For exmaple, if a speaker gives the following information, 'He cycled all the way back from Nizamabad,' the listener may add some information. 'He'd cycled all the way to Nizamabad on the day before.' Here to conveys additional information even though it is not a content word.

However, in quite a few cases it is normal for the tonic syllable to come earlier in the tone unit. For example, if a speaker says –
'I have plans to leave' he means he is planning to leave. If on the other hand he says, 'I have plans to leave' he means that he has to leave some plans.
The latter utterance could not be described as either emphatic or contrastive or as introducing new inforination. It is a neutral statement.
On the whole, we could say that the tonic syllable will ***tend to*** occur on the last lexical word in the tone unit, but it may be placed earlier if there's a word with greater importance to what is being said.

7.2.3 Nuclear Tone

The tonic syllable or the nucleus of an utterance that constitutes one tone group, stands out or is the most prominent in that utterance because it initiates an important pitch movement – a change in pitch direction. An accented syllable in a tone unit is said on a level pitch which may be high or low, but the most prominent syllable in it is said with a changing pitch.

The pitch of the voice can change in several ways. In other words, pitch movement can have different directions. The most important of these changes in pitch direction are called fall, rise, fall-rise and rise-fall.

(i) Falling tone

The pitch of the voice falls from high to low, the change starting from the tonic syllable, This tone could be said to give an impression of finality. NO explicit appeal is made to the listener yet it is not necessarily impolite. This is marked above and before the tonic syllable thus [`]

(ii) Rising Tone

The pitch of the voice rises from low to high. This tone conveys the impression that the utterance is incomplete and something is to follow. It is, in other words, essentially unfinished and continuative. This is marked below and before the tonic syllable thus [/]

Look at the following dialogues, for example.

1. A: Excuse me
   B: /Yes

   (B's reply is perhaps similar to asking what A wants)
2. A: Do you know Kirti?
   B: /Yes

(This would be one possibly reply to A's question, inviting **A** to continue with what A intends to say about Kirti)

3. Someone's response to a series of directions or instructions may be a 'similar invitation to continue'
   A: Go straight down Street No. 1
   B: ˌYes
   A: Take the second turning right
   B: ˌYes
   A: Then take the third turn left
   B: ˌYes
   A: And mine is the fourth house on the right.

   Since A has clearly finished the instructions, B's response would be most unlikely to be, 'yes' again.

(iii) Falling-rising'tone

The pitch of the voice falls from high/mid to mid/low level and then rises to more or less the same level as at the beginning.

This tone is used a lot and has some special functions which we shall discuss later. This tone is marked above and before the tonic syllable in a tone unit thus – [v].

(iv) Rising-fallingtone

The pitch of the voice rises from mid/low level to high/mid and then falls again to mid/low level. This tone is marked above and before the tonic syllable in a tone unit thus – [ʌ].

We have mentioned 'high' 'mid' and 'low' pitches. These levels of pitch are not fixed and unchanging. In fact each speaker has his or her own normal pitch range: a top or high level which is the highest pitch normally used by the speaker, and a bottom or low level that the speaker's pitch does not go below. In ordinary speech, the intonation tends to take place in the lower part of the speaker's pitch range, but'in excited speech or when strong feelings are expressed, usually extra pitch height and wide pitch range are used.

Another general point that we have to make a note of is regarding the change in pitch direction on the tonic syllable.

In a one-syllable utterance, the single syllable must have one of the tones we have just described. In a tone-unit of more than one syllable, the tonic syllable must have one of those tones. If the tonic syllable is the final syllable, the tone used will be similar to that of a corresponding one- syllable tone-unit. For example,

ˌYes 'Did she 'say, ˌyes?

However, if there are other syllables following the tonic syllable, we find that the pitch movement of the tone is not completed on the tonic syllable but extends upto the end of the tone unit. For example, if a tonic syllable with a rising tone is followed by a number of syllables till the end of the tone unit, than almost always the pitch of the voice will continue to rise upwards on the following syllables from the tonic syllable till the end of the tone unit.

For example, in the tone unit
'Is, [that the one you want?'
the four syllables (the, one, you, want) that follow the tonic syllable may be said like this

'Is, ,that the one you want?'
With the pitch of the syllables following the nucleus getting progressively higher.
Similarly in the tone unit
'That's the one I want'
the four syllables (the, one, I, want) that follow the tonic syllable may be said like this

That's the one I want
With the pitch of the syllables following the nucleus getting progressively lower.

Fall-rise and rise-fall tones, can be difficult to recognize when they are extended over the whole tone-unit, that is, the syllables following the tonic syllables. If the falling-rising tone is on a single-syllable word-finally in a tone group, it is easy to identify. For example'
'At least you can'try '

The fall and rise is spread over just one syllable.

In the following tone unit, however, it is not easy to identify. For example,
'I didn't ask you for it'
would be said like this

'I didn't ask you for it'

A tone unit with the rising-falling tone followed by a number of syllables would be said like this with a rise in pitch on the tonic syllable and the second syllable ce higher than the following syllables which are low.

What an'excellent actress she is.

Thus we need to listen very carefully in order to identify the tone when it is spread over the syllables that follow the tonic syllable.

7.3 THE FUNCTION OF INTONATION

We have so far been describing the form of intonation in English, that is, the unit for the analysis of intonation, the tonic syllable or the nucleus of the tone-unit and the different tones or pitch possibilities in a tone-unit. However, the Form is not merely

superfluous in oral communication, it is closely related to the linguistic function Intonation performs. In other words, Intonation is part of English grammar and conveys distinctions of meaning. Let us look at the ways in which these distinctions of meaning are conveyed by the different functions of Intonation.

7.3.1 Grammatical Function

A component of intonation that can be said to have grammatical significance is the choice of tone on the tonic syllable. It helps to distinguish a statement from a question when two sentences are grammatically identical. For example, the difference between the following pair of sentences is only one of intonation:

(a) He 'came here 'yesterday (statement)
(b) He 'came here, [yesterday (question)

Similarly, it helps to distinguish between a command and a request when two sentences are grammatically identical. For example,

'Open the 'windows (command)
'Open the [windows (request)

Secondly, it is intonation which helps the speaker to divide longer utterances into smaller grammatically relevant groups or tone units. There is, in other words, a relationship between tone-units and units of grammar.

A simple sentence could form one tone unit, for example,

I'd 'like to have some ˏwater/I'm 'very 'thirsty.

In more complex sentences the tone group tends to coincide with phrase or clause boundaries as well. For example,

In ˅summar/when the e'lectric sup'ply ˅fails/ 'most people use e'mergency ˏlamps/

It is very unusual to find a tone-unit boundary where the only grammatical boundary is between words. For example, it would sound odd to have a tone-unit boundary between a noun and an article, or between an auxiliary and a main verb.

Thirdly, tone-unit boundaries can indicate grammatical structure to the listener. For example, in the following pair of sentences,

(a) The 'students who 'passed the eˏxam/were 'jubilant
(b) The ˅students/ who 'passed the eˏxam / were 'jubilant.

The intonation makes the difference between (a) and (b) clear. While (a) is a "restrictive" relative clause (b) is a "non-restrictive" relative clause.

(a) implies that only some students passed the exam (b) implies that all the students passed the exam.

7.3.2 Accentual function

The accentual function of intonation enables a speaker to focus the listener's attention on aspects of the message that are most important. In order to do this, the speaker can make that part of his utterance prominent which conveys the meaning s/he wishes to convey. Any part of an utterance can be emphasized by choosing the appropriate nucleus or tonic syllable.

Thus the location of the nucleus or tonic syllable is of considerable linguistic importance. In an utterance said in isolation or for the first time in a certain given context, there may be no particular part that gives us new information, and therefore in such cases the tonic syllable generally tends to occur on the last content word in the tone-unit. In a larger context, however, the placement of the tonic depends on the subject or topic of conversation. Look at the following conversations for example,

1(a) A: Can you 'help me 'solve this, ˌpuzzle?
B: 'Which one?
A: The 'second one
B: 'Certainly. 'That's not 'difficult to ˌdo

1(b) A: Oh'dear!
B: 'What's the 'matter?
A: This 'diagram's so 'difficult to do.
B: But you 'haven't even 'given it a 'try. I'm sure that's 'not difficult to do.

2(a) A: She's 'always getting ˌcheated.
B: 'Now whose ˌcheated her?
A: It's the 'grocer this time.
B: 'That's not sur'prising at 'all /you 'know she 'can't 'help it

2(b) A: My 'Goodness! /We're `late/'what on 'earth is 'Radha ˌupto?
B: She's 'getting 'ready for the 'party of course.
A: 'Does she have to 'take a 'whole ˌhour to get ˌready?
B: 'What's the 'use of com`plaining?/You 'know she ˌcan't, ˌhelp it.

In dialogues 1(a) and 1(b) the tone-unit '--------that's not difficult to do,' has a different nucleus or tonic syllable because of the different contexts, In the first dialogue the particular puzzle is the subject of conversation. In the second dialogue the focus is on the diagram being difficult. Speaker B wishes to emphasize the fact that the diagram is not difficult. Hence the tonic syllable on **not.**

In dialogues 2(a) and 2(b) the final tone-unit 'you know she can't help it', is the same, but the placement of the tonic syllable is different because of the tonic contexts. The focus shifts from the fact of not being able to' help'it in the first case, to actual knowledge of the fact that Radha can't help it.

Here are two more dialogues in which the placement of the tonic syllable changes the meaning of sentences that are grammatically the same but used in different contexts.

3(a) A: 'That was an 'interesting, ˌplay.
B C & D : ˌReally?
A: 'Yes, Your per'formance was 'good. You 'kept the 'audience 'spellbound.
B,C& D: Well, we are 'lucky to have 'had such a re'ceptive 'audience.

3(b) A: 'How did you 'like the 'play?
B: Well, 'your per, formance was ˌgood.

The tonic syllable in the tone unit 'your performance was good' is **good** in 3(a) and refers to the performance of all the actors. In 3(b) the tonic syllable is **your** which indicates that the performance of A was good but not the performance of the others.

It is clear from these dialogues that the placement of the nucleus on the appropriate syllable is absolutely essential for meaningful communication between people. In its accentual role intonation helps people to make meaning of what they say to each other.

7.3.3 Attitudinal Function

We use intonation as the chief means of conveying our attitudes and emotions. As we have seen, the grammar of a sentence by itself does not reveal the meaning the speaker intends to convey. Nor does it reveal whether the speaker's attitude is one of politeness, assertiveness, anger, pain, amazement, etc. Intonation signals the speaker's attitudes and emotions by the use of tone. We have already described four of the many different tones that can be used in oral communication. Look at the sentences with one tone-unit and the same grammatical structure signal the speaker's attitudes and emotions

1(a) 'Where are you'from?
1(b) 'Where are you ,from?

2(a) 'Thank you
2(b) ,Thank you

Sentence 1, when said with the falling tone as in (a) is a normal question, which though matter of fact, is not impolite. When said with the rising tone expresses politeness and friendliness. In sentence 2 the use of the falling tone in (a) conveys a genuine feeling of gratitude, but "Thank you" sounds rather casual when said with a rising tone. Let us look at some more sentences

3(a) She's 'very 'pretty
3(b) She's 'very 'pretty.
4(a) You'd 'better be 'careful.
4(b) You'd 'better be "careful.

Sentence 3 said with a falling tone as in (a) is a statement of fact. When said with a falling-rising tone as in (b) it expressed reservation on the part of the speaker. The speaker probably means 'She may be very pretty, but she doesn't have other desirable qualities or other qualities that the speaker thinks are more desirable than being very pretty.'

In sentence 4 the sentence when said with a falling tone in (a) is assertive and matter of fact. When it is said with a falling-rising tone it expresses the speaker's concern for the person being addressed.

In addition to tone on the tonic syllable, there are a number of other factors such as pitch range, loudness, speed, voice quality which also play an important role in conveying the speaker's attitude and feelings.

7.4 USES OF TONES

We have already seen that every utterance has one or more tone-units, and the pattern of pitch-variation in each unit is different, depending upon the number of stressed syllables, the location of the nucleus, and the tone used on the nucleus or tonic syllable in a given tone group. It would be almost impossible to represent minor changes in pitch variation from one tone group to the next on the page. They can be perceived only by listening carefully. Even if we did devise a notation to represent such differences, it would be rather difficult to imagine what they actually sound like.

In this section we shall only try to help you use tones by relating various types of sentence to the tones in which they are generally said.

7.4.1 Falling Tone

1. The following types of sentence are generally said with a falling tone.

(a) **Statements** which are neutral matter-of-fact, complete, and assertive. For example,
They're ar'riving to'morrow.
I 'think she's a 'brilliant 'writer.
He's 'always 'punctual.

(b) **Commands**
'Put that 'gun 'down
'Open the 'shutters
'Telephone the po'lice im'mediately

(c) **Invitations**
'Do come 'in and sit 'down'
'May I in'vite you to 'dinner next 'Saturday?
'How would you 'like to 'spend the 'weekend with me?

(d) **Exclamations**
'What a 'beautiful 'painting!
'Absolutely 'fascinating!
'Goodness 'gracious!
'Wasn't it a 'marvellous 'concert!

(e) **Wh-questions** which are neutral and intended to be neither polite nor impolite. For example,
'Where has he 'gone?
'How many 'languages can you 'speak?
'What have you 'done with the 'ink?
'When can I 'come and 'see you?
'Who is at the 'door?

(f) **Tag-questions**
You're 'going with `us/'aren't you?
She's 'rather `late/'isn't she?

7.4.2 Rising Tone

The rising tone is used in

(a) **Yes/No or polarity type questions**
'Are they 'coming to /tea?
'Have you 'finished your /work?

(b) **Alternative questions**
Do you like /tea, /coke or 'lime juice?'
Shall we'go by, /air or by 'train?

(c) **The falling tone and the falling-rising tone can also used for enumeration**
Enumeration for example, thir/teen, /fourteen, /fifteen, /sixteen----------
/twenty, twenty /one, twenty /two----------

(d) **Requests**
'Could you 'tell me 'what time the 'train ar/rives?
'Come here for a /moment

(e) **Non terminal tone unit**
If you 'want to succeed ----------(you'll have to work hard).
When'ever it /rains/ (the 'power suppply 'fails)
As soon as he ar/rives ----------(I'll let you know)

(f) **Terminal tone unit said as an afterthought**
I'll 'come and 'help you/if you /like.
We're not at home on `Sundays/generally.

(g) **Non-polarity type or wh-questions expressing politeness, friendliness, personal interest.**
'Where do you /live? (to a small child)
'How's your, /mother?

(h) Repetition-question which repeats some else's question, or wants them to repeat some information.
'Ramnan 'told me a'bout it
Who told you?

We're invited to dinner to'morrow
/What did you say?

(i) Commands intended to sound like a request
'Shut the /window
'Don't 'play on the {Railway line.
'Take all this a/way.

(j) Statement intended to be question
He's 'not ,coming
You 'don't 'want any /more.

7.4.3 The Falling-rising tone

This is used in the following tone-units

(a) One which picks out part of **the** foregoing context
(I thought you both spoke French)
My "brother does
(D'you like the shapes and colours in this painting?)
Well, the ˅**colours** are all right.

(b) Statement which shows partial agreement and a kind of reservation on **the** part of the speaker.
(It is very well written) 'True
(Can I come and see you?)
You can come to'morrow {I am not free just now)
She 'hasn't 'done very 'well (you must admit)

(c) Statement intended to be a warning reproach or to express concern
Its 'no good 'lying about it. (reproach)
You 'mustn't come "late. (warning)

I'm going to walk on the rope.
'Careful. (concern)

I'll dump your luggage here.
'Gently (concern)

(d) Statement intended to be a 'correction' of the information received
(He speaks six languages) He speaks 'four
(She has an MA in Geogrpahy) in 'History.

(e) Non-terminal tone-group.
˅**Generally/we** 'go out on 'Saturdays.
If you 'want to im˅prove/you'll 'have to work 'harder.

(f) Imperative meant to be a pleading request
'Don't be such a /**pest.**
'Do com'plete this by to/morrow
'Come as soon as you /can.

7.4.4 Rising-falling tone

The rising-falling is used in

(a) Statements showing enthusiastic agreement
(Are you **goi'ng** to help me?) Of "course
It was 'so dis˅gusting
(**D'you** 'like this /**colour?**) ^**Yes**

(b) Exclamations expressing sarcasm, irony
'Good ^morning (ironical)

(I've been 'thinking of you.)
Oh ^really (sarcasm)

(c) **Questions showing suspicion, indignation, incredulity, or mockery**
'What has he been upto? (suspicious) .
'Will you be 'able to com^plete it (suspicious)
Oh, its 'absolutely dis^gusting (indignation)

7.5 LET US SUM UP

In this Unit we have seen that pitch is determined by the frequency of vibration of the vocal cords. Intonation involves changes or variation in the pitch of the voice. In normal speech, the pitch of the voice goes on changing. When we study intonation we concentrate on the patterns of pitch variation, that is, the form of Intonation, and the linguistic function of intonation, — the significance of intonation in oral communication. We have also observed that the form and function of intonation are closely related. Patterns of intonation need to be studied in relation to the contexts in which they occur. There is a relationship between sentence types and tones. An awareness of this relationship might possibly be of help to the second language or foreign language learner in using tones.

7.6 KEY WORDS

Pitch: The quality of "highness" or "lowness" of a sound, as perceived by one's ears.

Tonic syllable or nucleus: The central and most sonorons part of a **syllable,** flanked by the **margins** and usually consisting of a vowel or a diphthong.

Tone: A system, found in many languages, in which words consisting of identical consonants and vowels are distinguished in pronunciation and meaning entirely by the presence of different pitches.

Tone language: A language in which **tone** is present and the main distinguishing feature.

Intonation: The pitch pattern of an utterance, the way the voice. goes up and down during an utterance.

7.7 EXERCISES

Mark the stressed syllables in the three conversations below. Divide the utterances into tone units wherever necessary, by putting a slanting line (/) to mark the end of one tone-unit and the beginning of the next. Within each tone unit mark the tonic syllable indicating the tone you might use, depending on the context. Remember the tones are marked thus:

[ˋ] falling tone above and before the tonic syllable.
[/] Rising tone – below and before the tonic syllable.
[ˇ] falling-rising tone – above and before the tonic syllable.
[A] Rising-falling tone – above and before the tonic syllable. (This tone is less frequently used)

1. A: Who is in charge of this project?
B: Isn't Ravi incharge?

A: I thought you knew who was incharge.
B: What makes you think I know everything?
A: Whoever said you know everything.
B: That's what you implied.

2. A: Where's he going?
B: Where's who going?
A: Raman of course.
B: He's going to the canteen.
C: But we've just returned from the canteen,
B: He wants to eat another plate of biryani.
A: He's had two plates already!
B: He eats to live, doesn't he?
C: You mean he lives to eat.

3. "Who are you?" said the Caterpillar. This was not an encouraging opening for a conversation. Alice replied rather shyly: "I----I hardly know, sir, just at present. At least, I know who I was when I got up this morning, but I think I must have changed several times since then." "What do you mean by that-?" said the Caterpillar sternly. "Explain yourself," "I can't explain myself, I'm afraid, because I'm not myself, you see."

7.8 ANSWERS TO EXERCISES

1, **A:** 'Who is in'charge of this 'project?
B: 'Isn't ˌRavi in'charge?
A: I 'thought you 'knew who was in 'charge.
B: 'What makes you 'think I know 'everything
A: Who'ever 'said you 'know 'everything?
B: 'That's what you imˇplied.

2. A: 'Where's he 'going?
B: Where's 'who going?
A: ˇRaman of 'course
B: He's 'going to the can'teen.
C: But we've just re`turned from the can'teen.
B: He 'wants to 'eat a'nother plate of bir`yani.
A: He's had 'two 'plates alˆready!
B: He 'eats to `live/ 'doesn't he?/
C: You mean he ˌlives to 'eat.

3. '"Who are you?" said the ˌcaterpillar./ This was 'not an enˇcouraging 'opening/for a conver`sation/'Alice re'plied 'rather 'shyly:/ "I - - - I 'hardly "know, sir, just at 'present. / At 'least, I 'know who I "was / when I 'got up this ˌmorning,/ but I 'think I must have 'changed 'several 'times since 'then." /'"What do you 'mean by 'that?" said the 'caterpillar 'sternly./ "Ex'plain yourself,"/ "I 'can't ex'plain myself, I'm aˌfraid,/ because I'm "not myself, you see."/

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MAEN-112

Aspects of Language

BLOCK

4

ENGLISH MORPHOLOGY

UNIT 1
The Study of Words 223

UNIT 2
Word-formation in English-1 243

UNIT 3
Word-formation in English-2 270

UNIT 4
Word-formation in English-3 296

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INTRODUCTION TO THE BLOCK

You might have sometimes noticed that a word which you take for granted and assume you know its meaning, turns out on closer scrutiny, to be quite a complicated business. Our attempt in this block is to help you undeerstand something about the **English word.** Morphology is merely a study of **the internal structure of the word.**

We will begin by discussing the basic concepts in English morphology (Unit 1). After that we shall take up some of the processes of word formation in English, i.e. **Infectional morphology of English** relating to different parts of speech – nouns, pronouns, adjectives and adverbs (Unit 2). We will also deal with **Derivational morphology, Conversion** and **Compounding** (Unit 3). Finally in Unit 4, we will look at some of the minor processes which have enriched the English word store - these include **coining** and **meaning change.**

Before you study these units, we suggest that you look at EEG-02, Blocks 3 and 4. These units will give you an introduction to English morphology and hence make your task easier.

It is advisable to take a break after each unit.

UNIT 1: THE STUDY OF WORDS

Structure

1.0 Objectives

1.1 Introduction

1.1.1 Profiling word

1.1.2 The advent of word

1.2 Itinds of word

1.2.1 Word as a physical shape: phonological and orthographic words

1.2.2 Word as an abstract entity (1) The lexeme

1.1.3 Word as an abstract entity (2) The grammatical word

1.3 Definition of word

1.3.1 **'A minimum** free form'?

1.3.2 Meaning and grammatical **function**

1.3.3 Word vs. morpheme

1.3.4 Relationship between levels: composition or realization?

4.0 Conclusion

5.0 Let Us Sum Up

6.0 Key Words

7.0 Bibliography

8.0 Questions

Notes on 'Questions & Exercises'

1.0 OBJECTIVES

The objectives of this unit are that at the end of this unit you should be able to

- **identify** those features which give the word **its** special **status** in a **language,**
- to distinguish between the different ways into which 'word' **can** be analysed in order to aid an understanding of its **nature,**
- to make a critical evaluation of the existing linguistic definitions of 'word',
- to understand the notion of 'morpheme' and the need for it,
- to distinguish **between** word and **morpheme** and **to appreciate** the nature **of** the relationship between the **two.**

1 . INTRODUCTION

1.1.1 Profiling 'word'

You might have sometimes noticed how a word which you have always taken for granted and whose meaning you are quite **co dent** you know **very** well, turns out on

closer scrutiny to be a very complicated business. One such word is the word 'word' itself. If you look up 'word' (noun) in a good dictionary (let us choose the Oxford English Dictionary), you will first be disconcerted to see its meaning and usage taking up two large columns, very closely printed in very fine print. Next, you will note that the meanings and usage are classified into two major categories : in the first category are those uses of this word in which it stands for verbal expression in general and is, by extension, used for such meanings as 'command', 'a saying or proverb', 'text of a song', 'a promise', 'a declaration' 'a contention', etc. In the second category are included its uses as 'an element of speech', 'a combination of sounds, or one such sound, used ... to express an idea', 'a written character or set of characters' representing this, etc. In this sense, 'word' can refer to a name, title, idea, printed marks, a telegraphic message, and so on. You will find these and many more senses of the word 'word' listed and exemplified in detail : altogether eleven sense-groups in the first category and seven in the second.

In this course, our aim is to study words in the sense in wluch they represent 'elements of speech', i.e. in the second, and the technical, sense of the word. In fact, more recent dictionaries, which are not written on historical principles (as the Oxford is), place this definition first. Let us look at a few of these definitions, beginning with the Oxford definition in full :

1. Oxford English Dictionary: 'A combination of vocal sounds, or one such sound, used in a language to express an idea (e.g., to denote a thing, attribute, or relation), and constituting an ultimate minimal element of speech having a meaning as such.' (1927, 1989)

2. Collins English Dictionary: 'One of the units of speech or writing that native speakers of a language usually regard as the smallest isolable meaningful element of the language, although linguists would analyse these further into morphemes,' (1986)

3. American Heritage Dictionary: 'A sound or a combination of sounds, or its representation in writing or printing, that symbolizes or communicates a meaning and may consist of a single morpheme or of a combination of morphemes' (1985)

4. Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary: 'A speech sound or series of speech sounds that symbolizes and communicates a meaning without being divisible into smaller units capable of independent use.' (1984)

Let us try to set up a profile of 'word' extracting various features from these definitions. It would appear from these definitions that we can apply the word 'word' to an entity that possesses the following characteristics :

1. A word is made of a sound, or a series of sounds; we may also apply it to describe representations of these in writing.

2. A word is a unit of speech (presumably when it is a sound or a series of sounds) or writing (presumably when it is a representation of the sound/series of sounds in writing).

3. The definitions do not seem to agree on whether or not the word is the smallest unit of speech/writing. Def. 4 implies that it is, since it says that it is not 'divisible into smaller units capable of independent use', Def, 3 stales that a word may consist of a single morpheme or a combination of morphemes, thereby implying that the smallest unit is the morpheme and not the word. Def. 2 makes a further, refinement by saying that native speakers of a language regard it as the smallest

element but linguists do not : they analyse it further into morphemes, thus making morpheme the smallest unit. Another kind of refinement is made in Def. 1. It states that it is the ultimate minimal (i.e. the smallest) element having a meaning. This would allow the possibility of there being smaller elements, or units, but they would not bear meaning. If morphemes are smaller than word, then they are presumably not meaning-bearing elements.

4. All definitions seem to agree on another point: that words are meaningful elements. Defs. 1 & 2 in addition also suggest that they may be the smallest elements having meaning.

5. Def. 4 puts forward an additional idea : a word cannot be broken down into smaller units 'capable of independent use'. Here 'use' must be taken to be different from 'meaning'. While there may be some commonsense support for the idea that a word cannot be broken down into smaller units with independent meaning (Def. 2), the idea that the smaller units also lack independent use may be difficult to sustain, as we shall see below.

1.1.2 The Advent of 'word'

It is interesting to observe that while these definitions yield a certain sort of profile of 'word', 'word' has historically not always been apprehended in this way. In fact, according to one school of thought, till writing systems evolved, there was no notion of the word at all, and 'word' was taken to be synonymous with language, or verbal expression in general, which may account for the first calegory of meaning ascribed to 'word' by the **Oxford English Dictionary.** According to this school of thought, in languages which are not written down, even today a word is not distinguished from an utterance, just as a child who has not yet learned to read is unable to distinguish word boundaries (e.g., the child who insisted on having 'a numberella' for himself). It is argued that when alphabetic writing first started, it also had to face the question of where to draw word boundaries, and in some cases the indeterminacy continued till a very late stage. For example, the word **orange** of English originated from a proto form which is reflected in the Arabic **naranj** or the Persian **narang** (from which comes the Hindi **narangi).** When the word was absorbed into Middle English, it occurred with the indefinite article a **norcngc,** but soon the word boundary came to be drawn after n rather than before it, and gave us **an orange** rather a **norange.** In this case, the boundary line was clearly dictated by the 'an before a noun beginnihg with a vowel' analogy. Other similar factors must also have decided where the line was drawn. What this school regards as certain is that words came to be established after the advent of literacy, when the need arose to write in units separated by spaces.

This view is disputed by others. Lyons (1968:199), for example, has this to say on the topic:

> '... the ability to break utterances up in words is not only characteristic of educated and literate speakers of a language. Sapir tells us that uneducated American-Indian speakers, with no experience of writing any language at all, when asked to do so, were perfectly capable of dictating to him texts in their own language 'word by word', and had little difficulty in isolating words from utterances and repeating them to him as units. Whatever else we may say about the word as a linguistic unit, we must reject the view ... that 'primitive languages' do not have words. The habit of reading and writing ... may well reinforce the native speaker's consciousness of the word as an element of his language ... but it certainly does not create his ability to break utterances up into words in the first place,'

Whatever be the truth about the relationship between the word and literacy, it remains a fact that in all literate communities there exists a notion of 'word', even if the way its nature is apprehended in not the same. For example, there are languages in which the entire English utterance consisting of three words 'I have eaten' may be expressed by a single 'word'. In Hindi, expressions like **jitwaanaa** and **harwaanaa** are apprehended as single words but their English equivalents require four words each: 'to cause to win' and 'to cause to lose'. Languages may differ in the amounts of meaning they pour into individual words, but that does not effect the fundamental nature of words. The words still remain a potent means of expression. Whatever can be expressed in one language using one set of words can more or less be expressed in another language using another set of words. If to express some idea one has to use four words in one language against one in another, there may be another idea for which the situation is reversed. All languages have simple words and complex words and all languages have processes of word-formation. And this is what is more important than the fact that the sets and processes are not the same. Let us therefore try to understand the fundamental nature of the word in this unit before turning to the specific manifestations of word-classes and word-formation processes in English in the next three.

1.2 KINDS OF WORD

1.2.1 Word as a Physical Shape: Phonological and Orthographic Words

The characteristics of 'word', that we have extracted from dictionary definitions above seem to indicate that there are actually more than one kind of 'word'. Since a word can either be a sound or a sequence of sounds, that makes one kind of word: let's call it the phonological word and represent it by writing it in phonetic transcription. We may also use 'word' to refer to the written, or orthographic, representation of the phonological word, so that gives us the orthographic word, which we shall represent by writing it in small lelters. We can try and explore the relationships between these two kinds of words. The orthographic representation of a phonological word is never a straightforward, one-to-one, representation. Sometimes two or more phonological words are represented by the same orthographic word, e.g., the orthographic word read represents the two phonological words **/ri:d/** and /red/; **lead** represents **/li:d/** and **/led/.** Such cases are known as homographs. Sometimes one phonological word (e.g., **/mi:t/, /kɔ:s/** may be represented by two or more orthographic words (meet and meat; coarse and course. Such cases are called homophones. An exploration of these relationships for languages will help us to banish such popular myths that certain languages (e.g., Hindi) have 'phonetic' writing systems while others (e.g., English) have unphonelic, and therefore 'unscientific', systems of writing.

Phonological and orthographic words are thus regarded as purely physical shapes made up of sound and spelling respectively. When words are regarded as purely physical shapes, two shapes differing even slightly are treated as two different words. For example, the five words contained in the following set, when seen as phonological or orthographic shapes, will be regarded as five different words:

{eat, **eats,** ate, eaten, eating}

1.2.2 Word as an Abstract Entity: (1) the Lexeme

Yet we know that there is a sense in which these five are said to be different forms of the 'same' word. In fact, that is how traditional grammers treat them. They claim that there is an abstract word EAT which is 'realized' by these five forms in the grammati-

cal paradigm of English. By a 'grammatical paradigm' we mean a set of forms derived by the application of a particular rule of grammar. The above set of forms is derived by the application of the tense fonnation rule, as follows:

The lexeme 'EAT'

RULE	Person	Number	Form
Simple Present Tense Formation	I	Sing.\Plu	'eat'
	II	-do-	'eat'
	III	Sing.	'eats'
	III	Plu.	'eat
Simple Past Tense Formation	I,II,III	Sing.\Plu.	'ate'
Past Participle Formation	I,II,III	Sing.\Plu.	'eaten'
Present Participle Formation	I,II,III	Sing.\Plu.	'eating'

When the simple present tense formation rule is applied to the abstract word EAT we get eat in the first and second persons singular and plural and in the third person plural, eats in the third person singular; when the simple past tense formation rule is applied we get ate in all persons and numbers; when we apply that past participle formation rule we get **eaten,** and when we apply the present participle formation rule we get eating. But the underlying word is the same as shown by the fact that the basic meaning of all the four forms is identical. It is only modified in certain fixed ways to refer to different points of time, or to duration. In this abstract sense, a word is different from a phonological or an orthographic word. For one thing, the word in this sense has meaning, **i.e** it denotes something in the external world, an idea, or object, or action or state. For another, it is an abstract entity: it is not a physical shape at all. The abstract idea EAT that occurs in all the five forms above is actually a meaning, a name of an action. There is an orthographic shape 'eat' and a phonological shape /i:t/ which 'realize' or 'represent' this idea. When the grammatical paradigin of the abstract word is to be constructed, grammatical rules appropriate lo the category of the word are applied, producing grammatical words, which we discuss below. These grammatical words are in turn realized by phonological and orthographic words (also collectively called word-shapes).

In this first of the two abstract senses in which it is used, in which we focus on its meaning, the word has been called by different names, the most common one being lexeme. Other names are 'lexical word', 'lexical item' and 'vocabulary item'. We will use the terms lexeme and lexical word and interchange them freely. We will differentiate the lexeme from word in the other senses by writing it in capital letters. Here are the characteristics that distinguish a lexeme from the other kinds of word discussed so far:

1. A lexeme is viewed in relation to its meaning, ie in relation to things, actions, states, etc. in the world. Accordingly, lexemes fall into grammatical categories like noun, verb, adjective, adverb, etc.

2. Depending on its grammatical category, each lexeme may be realized by a set of forms in its grammatical paradigm, e.g., a noun may have singular, plural and possessive forms (e.g., boy, boys, boy's), an adjective may have positive, comparative and superlative forms (nice, nicer, nicest), a verb present, past, and participle

forms, and so on. These forms are given physical realizations by processes like **affixation,** vowel shift, stress change, etc., acting upon the **phonological** and orthographic words which represent the lexeme.

3. Words occurring as headwords in a dictionary are lexemes. For example, a dictionary does not list **eat, ate, eaten** and **eating** as four separate words: eat alone is listed once.

4. The **term** lexeme also includes items which consist of more than one word-shape, **e.g.**, multi-word verbs like 'to catch up on', phrasal verbs like 'to drop in', and idioms like 'to **kick** the bucket'. Accordingly, they also find separate entries in the dictionary, though for ease of reference they are included under the entry for a key word occurring in them (**e.g., kick the bucket** will be found under the entry for **kick).**

Lexemes and word-shapes – Relationships: The relationship between lexemes (or lexical words) on the one hand, and word-shapes (or phonological and orthographic words) on the other, is quite complex but it also accounts for a lot of creative uses to which language is put in literature, advertising, jokes, etc. Let us first look at those cases where the same **word-shape (ie** phonological or orthographic word) belongs to two or more different lexemes.

Some of the simplest **examples** of this kind are word-shapes like **bank,** biit, **eat, port,** etc. Each of these word-shapes belong at least to two lexemes, **e.g.,** bank may be **BANK' ,** the financial institution' or **BANK**[2] 'sloping river side'; **bat** may be **BAT**[1] (the animal) or **BAT**[1] (the cricketing bat); **ear** may be **EAR',** the body part, or **EAR**[2]**,** part of a cereal plant, and so on. Such cases, known as **liomonyms,** show a one-many relationship between the phonological\orthographic word and the lexical word.

Cases of homonymy must be distinguished from cases of **polysemy.** In homonymy two or more lexemes are involved; as a result, the **meanings** are quite unrelated to each other. In polysemy, on the other hand, the meanings are closely related: there is only one lexeme that is involved but its meaning is figuratively **extended** (see Unit 4, Sec. **3.0** below), Thus, for example, the word-shape **'mouth'** is related to the same lexeme MOUTH in both the following uses: 'the child's mouth' and 'the mouth of the river'. Dictionaries usually reflect this distinction by having separate entries for the lexemes involved in cases of homonymy.

A lot of word-play in literature, and more recently, in the language of advertising and jokes exploits homonymy, or near-homonymy. For example, Siegfried Sesson, a First World War poet, exploits the homonymy of **base** (noun meaning 'military encampment') and **base** (adjective meaning 'reprehensible', 'cowardly', etc.) in his poem 'Base Details' to parody cowardly generals who themselves stay at the base while sending young soldiers to their deaths at the **front.** An ad, by a Hi-Fi equipment **manufacturer** says 'We've been giving **sound** advice for over 50 **years',** exploiting the homonymy of **sound** (adjective meaning 'good', 'useful', etc.) and **sound** (noun as in 'the sound of music'). Near-homonymy refers to homophones, which are cases of homonymy with respect to the **medium** of speech only. Thus Belloc's epigram **On his Books** exploits the homophony of **read (past** tense of the verb **read) and** the adjective **red:**

> When I am dead, I hope it may be said:
> 'His sins were scarlet, but his books were **read.'**

We have now distinguished three kinds of word: **phonological, orthographic** and **lexical.** It will **be** apparent that the three kinds are not distinguished by a common criterion: the first two are distinguished from each other by the criterion of the medium

(or substance) in which the word is realised — sound vs. spelling or spoken vs. written — but the last kind is identified on the basis of meaning or content. Meaning or content is usually contrasted with form, where 'form' refers not to the physical form but to abstract structure. For example, a sentence has a meaning and it has a form, or syntactic structure. So, if the lexeme represents the content, or the meaning of a word, how is its form represented ? The phonological and-the orthographic words represent, as we have said, not the 'form' of the words but the substance or the medium in which they are realized. Form, like meaning, is also an abstract entity: it is not to be confused with substance. In order to give recognition to this criterion of content vs. form, we must recognize another kind of word which will underlie both the phonological and the orthographical kinds. We can call it the **grammatical word.**

1.2.3 Word as an Abstract Entity (2) the Grammatical Word

Grammatical words are words that occur in a grammatical paradigm, e.g., the forms of **eat** cited above: **cat, cats, ate, eaten, eating.** Each of these words has a phonological form, an orthographic form, and a grammatical form which underlies both. Thus **eating** is the phonological word **\i:tiŋ\,** the orthographic word **'eating',** and corresponds to the grammatical word 'present participle form of **eat'.** The grammatical word represents the grammatical properties of the word i.e the properties which determine how it is to be used in a sentence. For example, the form **eating** has certain properties which determine its use in a sentence which are different from the properties (which determine the use) of **eat, eats, ate** and **eaten.** To cite just one property, for **eating** to occur in a sentence it must be preceded by a form of the verb **be: is, am, was, are, were** or **be;** it may not be preceded by a form of **have,** which is necessary if **eaten** is to occur in a sentence. Properties of this kind, which determine how a word combines with other words in a sentence, are called the grammatical properties of a word, and when we conceive of the word as embodying these properties we call it **the grammatical word.**

Actually it is quite important that we set up a category of grammatical word, because the grammatical word is quite distinct from both the lexical word (which focuses on meaning) and the phonological\orthographic word (which focus on substance), and because the relationships between them can be quite complex. We saw above that **eat, ate** and **eaten** are three different grammatical words, though they are the same lexical word. This is because their grammatical properties are different. In traditional grammar, these forms are called the present, past and past participle forms of eat respectively. Let us now look at the corresponding forms of some other verbs:

	PRESENT	PAST	PARTICIPLE
EAT	**eat /i:t/**	**ate /et/**	**eaten /i:tn̩ /**
SING	**sing /siŋ/**	**sang /sæŋ/**	**sung/sʌŋ/**
READ	**read /ri:d/**	**read /red/**	**read /red/**
PLAY	**play Slei/**	**played /pleid/**	**played /pleid/**
CUT	**cut /kʌt/**	**cut /kʌt/**	**cut /kʌt/**

We notice that there is a one-to-one correspondence between the grammatical forms on the one hand and the phonological and orthographic words on the other in the case of **EAT** and **SING:** no two grammatical words are realized by the same phonological or orthographic word. In the case of **READ,** there is a many-one relationship between the grammatical words and the orthographic word, as all the three grammatical words (for now, we refer to them as the present tense form, the past tense form and the past participle form respectively) share the same orthographic form 'read'. All the three words form the grammatical paradigm, which in the case of **EAT** and **SING** have

different orthographic realizations, have a common orthographic realization in this case. The relationship between the grammatical words and the phonological words is also many-one in the case of the past and past participle forms: both forms are realized as \red\. In the case of PLAY, the grammatical forms for past and past participle are in many-one relationship with both the phonological and the orthographic forms i.e. both grammatical forms correspond to a single orthographic and a single phonological word-shape ('played' and /plaid/ respectively). In the case of CUT this situation obtains with regard to all the three grammatical forms.

This phenomenon, viz. the realization of distinct grammatical words by the same word-shape is know in linguistics as syncretism. Syncretism is the evidence that we need to make a distinction between the word as a grammatical unit and the word as a phonological or orthographic unit. In English, syncretism occurs widely, and not with verbs alone. Here are some examples which will further clarify the notion of syncretism:

Verbs:

Present	Past	Past Participle
I sing a song	I sang a song.	I have sung a song.
I dance a samba.	I danced a samba.	I have danced a samba.
I cut my finger.	I cut my finger.	I have cut my finger.

Nouns:

Singular	Plural
The tiger killed a cow.	The tiger killed three cows.
The tiger killed a deer.	The tiger killed three deer.

Singular Possessive	Plural Possessive
This is the man's /mæz/ room.	This is the men's/menz/room.
This is the boy's school. /boiz/	This the boy's school. /boiz/

The underlined forms show syncretism.

The reverse case of a one-many relationship between the grammatical word and the phonological or orthographic word, though less common, is not entirely absent. For example, the grammatical word 'past participle of 'dream' is realized either by /dri:md/ 'dreamed' or by /dremt/'dreamt'. In American English, the grammatical word 'Fast tense of 'dive' corresponds to two phonological and orthographic words each: /daivd/ 'dived' and /dauv/ 'dove'.

Also included in the category of grammatical words are classes of words like articles, pronouns, auxiliaries, prepositions, etc., also sometimes called 'function words'. If at all listed in a dictionary, they are defined in terms of the functions they perform rather than in terms of their meanings, since they do not carry meanings in the sense in which a lexeme does, Hence, they do not correspond to lexical words. As grammatical words, however, they are all capable of abstract characterization and also display syncretism. For example, the two pronouns, second person singular and plural, correspond to the same phonological and orthographic word-shape 'you' and thus display syncretism. Similarly, four present tense auxiliary forms, and the four corresponding past tense forms - the first person plural, the second person singular and plural, and the third person plural - are all syncretized to single phonological/ orthographic forms ('are' and 'were' respectively).

1.3 DEFINITION OF 'WORD'

1.3.1 'A minimum free form'?

By setting up four kinds of 'word' we have captured at least some of the five characteristics of 'word' that we had gleaned in 1.1 from the dictionary definitions. Characteristics 1 & 2 are captured by the notions of phonological and orthographic words. Characteristic 4, which says that words are meaningful elements, is captured by the notion of the lexical word, or lexeme. The status of characteristics 3 & 5, which are about the 'analysability' of the word into smaller units, remains unclear. Is the word the smallest unit or can it be broken down into smaller units? What kinds of units are we talking of here? Word as a grammatical unit (ie the grammatical word) or word as a meaningful unit (ie the lexical word)? When some dictionary definitions talk of 'morpheme', what do they mean? What is a morpheme? Is it a grammatical unit or a unit of meaning?

These are the kinds of questions that arise when we probe characteristics 4 & 5 further. These questions actually arise from the linguists' attempts to define a word scientifically. Linguistics claims to be a science and since the word is one of the 'basic units of language, a scientific definition of 'word' is a prerequisite for this science.

Several attempts have been made to define 'word' in linguistics. The dictionary definitions given above in 1.1 are actually derived from these definitions. The most well-known of these'definitions is the one by Bloomfield who defined the word as 'a minimum free form'. The two crucial words here are 'free' and 'minimum'. 'Free' means 'those which can occur alone as whole utterances'. For example, young, old, right, wrong, etc. are free forms since they can occur as whole utterances, (e.g., in response to questions like 'Was the visitor young or old? 'Do you consider use of force to settle disputes right or wrong?') 'Minimum' of course means 'the smallest' or 'those which cannot be broken down further into smaller parts'. None of the form cited above can be broken down into smaller parts. Thus they meet both conditions set out by Bloomfield and are words by his definition. So are forms like 'younger', 'oldest', 'sweeter', 'sweetest', etc., since they too are minimum free forms. We can break them down into parts like 'sweet' and **'-er'**, 'old' and **'-est'**, etc., but **'-er'** and **'est'** are bound, not free forms: they cannot occur as utterances alone. Bloomfield's definition faces problems with forms like 'a', 'the', 'because', etc., which are traditionally regarded as words but cannot occur alone as utterances, and linguists have tried to extend and elaborate the meaning of 'free' to take care of this problem.

These linguists argue that 'freedom' here means (1) positional mobility and (2) stability. Positional mobility refers to the fact that the word is the smallest unit which can be moved around in the sentence. For example, look at the following sentences where the form 'surely' has been moved around;

Surely, he doesn't deny that.
He surely doesn't deny that.
He doesn't deny that, surely.

Here we cannot move around 'sure' by itself, or '-ly' by itself, the way we can move around 'surely'. Sometimes longer forms can be moved around, e.g.,

They were all keen to see the young Indian from Chicago.
The young Indian from Chicago, they were all keen to see.

Here 'the young Indian from Chicago' shows the same kind of positional mobility as does 'surely' in the earlier example. But 'the young Indian from Chicago' is not a minimum form as it contains smaller forms capable of occurring independently. In other words, this form is a free form but it consists of more free forms and is therefore not a minimum form. Therefore it does not qualify as a word. Such forms are actually called phrases.

Stability refers to the internal cohesion of the word. As we have seen, a word can also be broken down into smaller (bound) elements (e.g., surely=sure+ly), but the order of these elements in a word is strictly fixed and cannot be changed. In other words, while a word has positional mobility, its elements do not.

Despite this additional support, the definition of word as a minimum free form is not quite free from trouble. It faces another difficulty with compounds. Compounds are words like postman, blackboard, goalkeeper, etc., which are made up of two smaller words. By this definition, they would not be called words since they are not minimum forms, even though they are free. Everyone, however, agrees that compounds are indeed words.

Even if we were to accept Bloomfield's definition of 'word' despite all these problems. we would still have to ask: What kind of 'word', among the four kinds that we have identified above, would it apply to?

It is obvious that it could not apply to either the lexical or the grammatical kind of word. Why?

Because both these kinds of word are abstractions, not physical shapes. Bloomfield's definition attributes to words qualities like 'size' and 'occurrence as an utterances'. Lexical and grammatical words do not have size and they do not occur as utterances, since they are abstract entities. The orthographic word, though it can be said to have measurable size, also cannot occur as an utterance. Hence, Bloomfield's definition can apply only to the phonological word, and is therefore of limited use in our attempt to understand the nature of the word.

1.3.2 Meaning and Grammatical Function

Bloomfield's definition of the word as 'a minimum free form' addresses only the formal properties of the word ie. it makes no reference to meaning. Yet all the dictionary definitions of 'word' given at the beginning of this unit make reference to meaning. Perhaps a definition of the word based on meaning may work where one based on formal properties alone doesn't.

Let us start witl1 the pluase 'the smallest isolable meaningful element' which, in the opinion of Collins English Dictionary, is the way in which native speakers apprehend a word, though linguists don't agree. Why don't the linguists agree? After all, forms like young, old, sweet, nation, universe, etc. are all meaningful elements and they are also all unanalysable into smaller parts. The probleni is not with forms like these but with forms like younger, older, oldest, national, universal, etc., forms which can be analysed into smaller parts, as we saw earlier. In each of these forms we can isolate smaller elements (young+er, old+er, old+est, nation+al, univers(e)+al). We know.that in each case the first element is a meaningful one: if the second one can also be shown to be meaningful, then the definition of 'word' as 'the smallest isolable

meaningful element' will have to be revised since otherwise these forms (younger, older, etc.), not being the smallest meaningful elements, would not be regarded as words.

There cannot be any doubt that elements like **-er, -est, -al** are meaningful: added lo any adjective A, -er produces the meaning 'more A', while **-est** produces the meaning 'most A'; **-al,** added to a noun N, produces the meaning 'of, concerning, pertaining to, etc. N'. It is because these elements have fixed meanings that we are able to add them to other forms to derive precisely the meanings we want and not any other.

It must be quite clear by now that what we are looking for is a definition of 'word' that will agree with the native speaker's inluitive understanding of this concept. Since Bloomfield's definition does not, it will not do. There are elements which are isolable, and which are meaningful, but which the native speaker does not intuitively recognize as words (e.g. **-er, -est,** -al). We must find a definition which will conform to the native speaker's inluition about words.

Can we revise the definition so that it rakes care of this difficulty? Perhaps we can, but we must first do something about the smallest meaningful elements which ore not words, which we have just discovered. We must recognize them, give them some status and define their relationship with words.

When we analyse the form national into the elements nation and **-al,** we have a feeling that we have now two elements one of which (nation) also occurs independently while the other (-al) is a bound form and cannot occur independently. We have a'similar kind of feeling aboul forms like works, **worked,** working, elc., which we can respectively analyse into **work+s, work+ed** and **work+ing.** There is, however, a difference between suffix forms like **-al** on the one hand, and **-s, -ed,** and -ing on the other: we can associate some kind of meaning with affixes like **-al** as we did above, but it is difficult to associate such meanings with affixes of the latter set. For example, there is no specific way in which the meaning of **run** in I run can be said to be different from the meaning of **runs** in He runs. It is the third person subject that requires the presence of the suffix **-s** in the verb in the latter sentence. In other words, the suffix -s, here signifies the presence of a third person singular subject, in addition to signaling, in common with the run of the former sentence, the presence of the simple present tense. Affixes like **-s, -ed** and **-ing** derive their significance not from meaning bul from use, or from the functions they perform. As we have stated earlier, the suffix **-ed** performs the function of signaling past tense, -ing that of signaling the continuous tense, and so on. In other words, such affixes perform grammatical functions. In this respect, they are rather like articles (a, the) or auxiliaries (am, is, was, can, may, etc.) which also have no dictionary type meanings but perform certain types of grammatical functions,

The point here is this: Whether they are meaning-bearing affixes like **-al,** or affixes with grammatical functions like **-s, -ed, -ing,** etc., such elements cannot occur independently. The Webster's definition quoted in 1.1 expresses this facl by excluding from the definition of 'word' forms 'divisible into smaller units capable of independent use.' In other words, forms like word, worlting, worked, are included in the definition of words, because, though they are divisible into two smaller parts, both parts are not capable of independent use: only one is.

The question that now arises is that if forms like national, works, working, etc, are indeed words, **i.e.** if they are 'the smallest isolable meaningful elements' that are '(in) divisible into smaller units capable of independent use' (we must remember that this definition still excludes compounds from the definition of the word), then what is the status of the smaller elements into which they can be broken down, some of which are in fact meaningful elements (e.g., **-al)** but are excluded from the definition of word because they cannot occur independently?

1.3.3 Word vs. Morpheme

It is mainly to account for such forms that linguists set up the category of morpheme. Morphemes are defined as the smallest elements that have meaning, or that perform a grammatical function. It is immediately clear that this definition will include a large number of forms so far defined as words, e.g., old, young, sweet, a, the, was, can, may, etc., though the category 'morpheme' was obviously not necessitated by forms like -al, -s, -ed, -ing, etc. which are the smallest elements (ie they cannot be broken down further) that have meaning (-al) or perform a grammatical function (the rest).

You must have noted that the definition of morpheme is free from the condition that the forms be able to occur independently. It was this condition that had disqualified elements like -al, -s, -ed, -ing, etc. from being called words. So these forms are automatically included in the category of morphemes. But so also are all independently occurring forms which are not made up of smaller independently occurring forms. This is because the definition of morpheme includes all 'smallest' elements, irrespective of whether they can occur independently or not.

With a morpheme defined in this way, words and morphemes necessarily enter into a particular kind of relationship. Let us tentatively define this relationship as that of 'composition': ie a word is 'composed' of one or more than one morpheme. Words like nation, old, young, nice, play, run, etc. are monomorpheinic, whereas words like national, older, younger, nicest, played, running, etc. are composed of two morphemes each. Of the two morphemes that make up each of the words in the second list, one is a free morpheme, capable of occurring independently, and the other a bound morpheme, which is not thus capable. You can easily guess what the free morphemes are, since they also occur as monomorphemic words (viz. nation, old, young, nice, play, run); the suffixes (-al, -er, -est, -ed, -ing) are all bound morphemes.

However, it is also possible for a word to be composed of two free morphemes, e.g., postman, blackboard, and goalkeeper. In other words, by setting up the category of 'morpheme' we are able to solve the problem the Bloomfield's definition of word as 'minimum free form' faced with compounds. You will recall that they were excluded from the category of words by the Bloomfieldian definition as they were not minimum free forms: they were free but not minimum, as they consisted of smaller forms (like post, man, black, board, etc.). With the setting up of the morpheme category, this problem no longer exists, as the smaller forms are now labelled morphemes. They can either occur as monomorphemic words, or can combine as free morphemes to form a compound.

1.3.4 Relationship Between Levels: Composition or Realization?

We thus have two levels of structure where we formerly had only one. The lowest level is that of the morpheme, which consists of the smallest meaningful elements. The elements of this level (ie morphemes) make up the forms at the next higher level, the level of word. This relation of 'making up', or 'composition' is obvious only in those cases where two or more morphemes are combined together to form a word. It is not so obvious in the case of monomorphemic words, where one morpheme makes up one word. In such cases, it appears that it would be more appropriate to speak of 'realization' rather than 'composition'. We could thus say that the form 'young' at the level of morpheme is 'realized' as the form 'young' at the level of word, though at first this appears to be a vacuous thing to say (ie the relationship of 'realization' appears to be empty of substance). But a little consideration shows that it is essential to postulate this relationship between the two levels, even for those cases where words are 'made up

of two or more morphemes, and that it is not enough to posit a relationship of 'composition' between the two levels.

The first reason for this is that 'morpheme' and 'word' are now theoretically two different levels, and elements of two theoretically different levels cannot be joined together by the relationship of composition only. A combination of morphemes remains a combination of morphemes till it is, by some process, transformed into a word and acquires all the properties of a word described earlier. To give an analogous example, it may be possible to **analyse** morphemes into phonemes, or sounds, but it is not possible to say that morphemes are 'made up of phonemes and the relationship between morphemes and phonemes is one of composition only. Then, the question remains unanswered: How does a combination of phonemes acquire meaning? Where does the morpheme get meaning from? Hence, it would be preferable to say that a combination of phonemes may be 'realized' as a morpheme, which is a pre-existing meaningful unit. Therefore, when a combination of phonemes is realized as a morpheme, it automatically acquires meaning. We must remember that not all combinations of phonemes are realized as morphemes: only those which are, acquire meaning; similarly not all combinations of morphemes are realized as words: only those which are, acquire the properties of words.

Another reason for postulating the relationship of realization between the levels of morpheme and word is that this enables us to account for those cases in which the morpheme, a meaningful element, has no phonological or orthographic manifestation. To illustrate, in the following words we are able to associate distinct phonological and orthographic fragments with the two morphemes that make up each word:

Orthographic:	killed	taken	horses
Phonological:	**/kild/**	**/teikn/**	**/hɔ:siz/**

The morphemic analysis of these words will yield the following morphemes:

Orthographic:	kill, **-ed;**	take, -en;	horse, **-s**
Phonological:	**/kil/, /-d/;**	**/teik/ /-n/;**	**/hɔ:s/, /iz/**

This morphemic analysis is based on the assumption that specific meanings or grammatical functions are associated with each of the forms. The meanings associated with the free morphemes kill, take and horse are specified in the dictionary, while the **grammer** of English assigns the past tense formation function, the past participle formation function and the plural noun formation function to the bound morphemes — **ed**, -en and **-s** respectively. Thus, each of the morphemes (the smallest meaningful elements) has a clearly identifiable phonological and orthographic representation. This makes it possible for us to say that the word killed is 'made up' of the morphemes 'kill + ed or **/kil/ + /d/,** the word taken is made up of the morphemes **take** + en or /teik/ + **/n/.** and so on.

However, this situation does not obtain with the following forms:

Orthographic:	took	sung	sheep
Phonological:	**/tuk/**	**/suŋ/**	**/ʃi:p/**

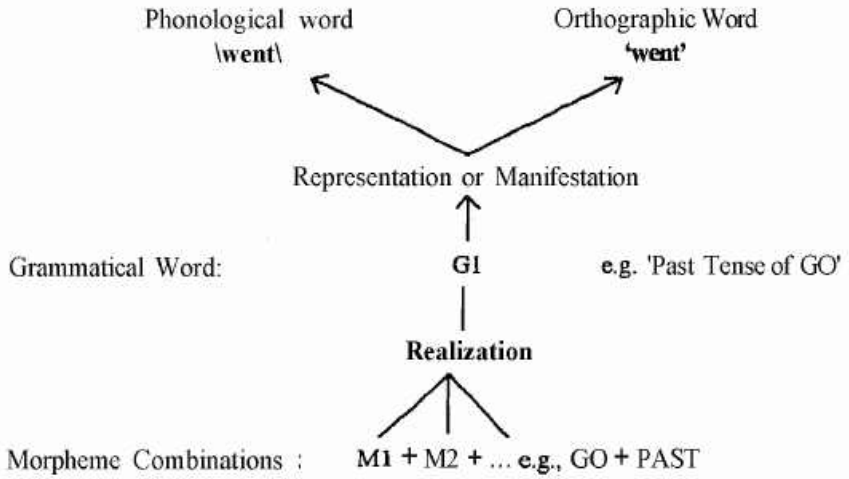
Here we do not have clearly identifiable orthographic and phonological segments to represent the morphemes, though we know that the same bound morphemes **(past** tense, past participle tense, plural number) are also present here. We therefore cannot say that took is made up of **take+ed,** sung of **sing+en,** sheep **(pl) sheep+s.** It now appears that it **was** a mistake to identify a morpheme with its phonological or orthographic **repre-**

sentation. In order to take advantage of the notion of morpheme to bring on par regular and irregular verbs, regular and irregular nouns, and regular and irregular forms of a language in general, we should perhaps treat a morpheme as an abstract entity, just as we treated lexical and grammatical words as abstract entities. We could now say that the word 'took' has the morpheme combinatin **TAKE + PAST TENSE,** where **TAKE** and **PAST TENSE** are abstract morphemes representing meanings and not any phonological or orthographic entities. Similarly, **sung** would be said to have the morphemes **SING + PAST PERFECT,** and sheep **SHEEP +** PLURAL. However, in order to specify the relationship more accurately, we would have to resort to the relationship of realization, as the relationship of composition ('made up of) implies a more physical relationship. We can now say that the combination **TAKE + PAST** at the morpheme level is realized as the form 'took' at the word level, the combination **SING + PAST PERFECT is** realized **as** 'sung', and so on. By doing this, we free the morpheme from the constraint of a compulsory physical manifestation and thus increase the utility of this concept considerably. We are now able to show that, despite the lack of any phonological and orthographic indication, forms broke, sang, ran, caught have the morpheme **PAST TENSE** in them in common with the forms **worked,changed,** returned, etc. The relationship of realization also allows for the same phonological or orthographic shape to realize different morphemic combinations, or a many-one relationship between orthographic=phonological words on the one hand and the grammatical word on the other. Thus, the phonological form \hit\ and the orthographic form 'hit' realize the three morphene combination **HIT + PRESENT, HIT + PAST,** and **HIT** + PAST **PERFECT.**

In other words, with this conception of a morpheme as an abstract entity, and with 'realization' replacing 'composition' as the relationship between morphemes and words, we can expand the definition of the word to include the grammatical word. Bloomfield's definition of word as the minimum free form, as we saw, applied only to the phonological word. This was because the minimum free forms were seen to be 'made up of other forms which included some bound forms. When we redefine the grammatical word an an abstract realization of a combination of morphemes, we are not obliged to look for stretches of sound corresponding to the morphemes, but only for such morphemic combinations as might be possibly realizable in the language as words. E.g., while combinations like **NOUN + PLURAL** and **VERB + PAST TENSE** may be realized by words, combinations like **NOUN + PAST TENSE** are not so realizable. What combinations of morphemes are or are not realizable as words is established by the full grammar of the language. The grammar specifies which combinations are possible and, using the criteria of positional mobility and stability described in 1.2.1, goes on to describe which combinations are actually realized. This distinction between realizable vs. non-realizable on the one hand, and between realizable vs. actually realized on the other is an important one. The morpheme combination **NOUN + PAST TENSE** is an illegitimate combination, and is therefore unrealizable as a word.' Such a combination will not be produced by the rules of the grammar. On the other hand, **VERB +PAST TENSE + THIRD PERSON + PLURAL is a** possible morphemic combination but one that is not realized in the form of a grammatical word in English. This can be seen from the fact that VERB + **PRESENT TENSE + THIRD PERSON + PLURAL** is a possible and realized morphemic combination in English. Consider **They run VS. He runs** where **run** realizes **VERB + PRESENT TENSE + THIRD PERSON + PLURAL.**

1.4 CONCLUSION

The framework for the study of words that we have developed in this unit can now be diagrammed as follows:



The smallest meaningful units are morphemes. Morphemes combine to make higher meaningful units. Some of these combinations may be realized as grammatical words. These grammatical words are then represented or manifested by phonological and orthographic words.

This diagram shows only the formal aspect of the study of words, which is what we shall be concerned with in the following units. The 'aspect of meaning does not concern us in these units. That is the reason why the lexeme does not find a place in the above diagram.

1.5 LET US SUM UP

1. Every speaker of a language has an intuitive apprehension of **'word'.** If asked, he is able to identify the stretch of sound which constitutes one word. This ability is strengthened by literacy since in writing words have to be separated by spaces.
2. Though languages differ in the way they codify meanings into words, every language does have the unit 'word'.
3. The notion of word can be analysed into four types depending on the way it is apprehended on different occasions: phonological, orthographic, lexical and grammatical.
4. When we use 'word' to refer to a stretch of spoken speech, the reference is to the phonological word.
5. When we use 'word' to refer lo a stretch of written or printed symbols, we refer to the orthographic word.
6. The relationship between the phonological and the orthographic word may be one-one, one-many or many-one. When the relationship is one-many (/mi:t/ -> **meet\meat)** we have a case of **homophony:** when it is many-one **(/li:d/, /led/ -> 'lead'),** we have **homoghraphy.)**
7. The abstract word which is realised in different grammatical forms is called **the lexical word** or **the lexeme.** In this sense, the word focuses on meaning. The headwords in a dictionary represent lexemes. Though most lexemes are realized by single words, some lexemes can be realized by a sequence of words **(e.g., idioms).**

If the same word-shape belongs to two different lexemes (ie has two unrelated meanings) we have a case of homonymy. If the meanings are related, ie if one meaning can be derived from another by metaphorical or figurative extension. We have polysemy.

9. When a grammatical rule is applied to a lexical word, we get a grammatical word. Like the lexical word, the grammatical word too is abstract. To get a physical shape, it has to be realized as a phonological or an orthographic word. The grammatical word represents the grammatical properties of a word.

10. Function words (articles, pronouns, auxiliaries, prepositions, etc.) occur only as grammatical words. They do not correspond to any lexical words.

11. The relationship between a grammatical word and a phonological word may be one-one, one-many or many-one. The same is true of the relationship between a grammatical word and an orthographic word.

12. When two or more distinct grammatical words are realized by the same phonological\orthographic word, we have syncretism.

13. Linguists have defined 'word' as 'a minimum free form'. This definition identifies word as the unit which cannot be broken down further into independently occurring units. The word is thus identified as the smallest 'positionally mobile' and 'internally stable' unit of language. This definition faces difficulty with compound words and applies only to the phonological word.

14. Commonly the word is identified as the smallest meaningful unit of language, but linguists believe that the word can be divided into smaller meaningful parts called **morphemes.** Some of these smaller units can also occur by themselves as words, others can't. The former type are called free and the latter bound morphemes.

15. Some morphemes signal a grammatical function rather than meaning. Such . grammatical morphemes can also be free or bound.

16. Morphemes are often, but not always, represented by clearly identifiable phonological or orthographic material. Hence they are best treated as abstract rather than concrete entities.

17. The relationship between morphemes and words is therefore seen as one of realization and not composition. Combinations of two or more morphemes may be realized as a single word.

1.6 KEY WORDS

Bound morpheme: A morpheme which must combine with a free morpheme to be realized as a word (cf. FREE MORPHEME) ,

Composition: A relationship between the units of two levels of structure in which the units of the higher level are made up of, and analyzable into, clearly identifiable units of the lower level.

Free morpheme: A morpheme which can be realized as a word by itself (cf. BOUND MORPHEME).

Function words: Words belonging to the categories of articles, pronouns, auxiliaries, conjunctions and prepositions, which have no lexical meaning but only perform grammatical functions. They are included in the category of grammatical words.

Grammatical word: A word apprehended as a grammatical unit. ie as a unit resulting from the application of some grammatical rule to a lexical word; The term also covers function words.

Homographs: When two or more phonological words are represented by the same orthographic word (= same spelling, different pronunciation), we get homographs.

Homonymy: When two or more lexical words are represented by the same phonological or orthographic word (= same pronunciation, same spelling but quite different meanings), we get homonymy.

Homophones: When two or more orthographic words are represented by the smae phonological word (= different spelling, same pronunciation), we get homophones.

Internal stability: Signifies a characteristic of the unit word: the internal elements of a word are in a stable arrangement and cannot be moved around.

Lexical word (Lexeme): The word considered as an abstract meaning-bearing unit, independent of the various grammatical forms it acquires when subjected to the rules of grammar.

Minimum free form: Bloomfield's definition of the word as the smallest independently occurring unit of language. Freedom includes positional mobility and internal stability.

Morphemes: The smallest meaningful or grammatically functional unit of a language.

Orthographic word: The word conceived as a stretch of written or printed signs.

Phonological word: The word conceived as a stretch of spoken sounds.

Polysemy: When a lexical word is seen lo have more than one meaning, but the additional meanings are seen as derived from the basic meaning of the word through metaphorical or figurative extension, we have polysemy.

Positional mobility: The property that belongs to a word, and sometimes to a phrase, but never to a unit smaller than a word, of being moved around in a sentence.

Realization: The relationship between the units of two levels of structure where the higher level unit, though it is seen to be related to the lower level units in a hierarchy, is independent of the lower level units and has properties of its own, not derivable from the lower level units, **Cf. Composition.**

Syncretism: When the same phonological\orthographic word realizes two or more distinct grammatical words, we have syncretism.

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1.8 QUESTIONS & EXERCISES

1. In informal spoken American English, we come across expressions like **'wanna',** 'gonna', 'wannabe', 'Howdy?', etc. What are these four expressions supposed to be contractions of? In terms of word-types, how many phonological, orthographic, grammatical and lexical words can you identify in these four expressions?

2. Compounds in English are written in three ways: as one word (e.g., bedroom. bulldog), as two words (e.g., red tape, money order) and with a hypen (e.g. swim-suit. kick-start).

   Look up a dictionary and find out ten'compounds of each type. Study them closely. Can you figure out any rational basis for the decision to write them the way they are written? Particularly, what consideration seems to guide the decision to write some compounds as one word and some as two words?

3. Identify and comment on the homonyms and homophones in the following passage from Alice in Wonderland:

   Here the Red Queen began again. 'Can you answer useful questions?' she said. 'How is bread made?'

   'I know that!' Alice cried eagerly. 'You take some flour...'

   'Where do you pick the flower?' the White Queen asked. 'In a garden or in the hedges?'

   'Well, it isn't picked at all.' Alice explained, 'It's ground...'

   'How many acres of ground?' said the White Queen. 'You musn't leave out so many things.'

4. What kind of relationship between the phonological word and the lexical word is responsible for the humour in the following joke? Comment on the homonymy and the polysemy that makes the joke possible.

   'Waiter, do you serve shrimps?'

   'We serve anyone, sir. We don't mind what size you are.'

5. Which of the following forms listed below are words according to the theory of word as 'a minimum free form' and why? Why are the others not words by this theory?

   boy's; boy; **-'s;** girls; girl; **-s;** cornflakes; footpath; taller; tall; **-er;** Red Indian; childlike; I'm; its; it's

6. What difficulties do we face if we posit a composition relationship between morphemes and words, ie, if we say that words are made up of morphemes?

NOTES ON 'QUESTIONS & EXERCISES'

1.

	PW	OW	GW	LW
wanna : want to:	1	1	2	1 (WANT)
gonna : going to:	1	1	2	1 (GOING)
wannabe : want to be	1	1	3	1 (WANT)
Howdy : How do you do	1	1	4	1 (D0:2nd)

2. See Unit 3. Section 3.5,

3. Homophones and near-homonyms: 'flower' & 'flour' \flauə\: One-many relationship between the phonological word \flau \ and the orthographic words 'flower' and 'flour'. Hence homophones. The same phonological word \flauə\, but not the same orthographic word, belongs to two different lexemes, hence near-homonyms.

   Homonyms: 'ground' (noun) and 'ground' (past participle of 'grind'). One phonological and orthographic word belongs to two different lexemes: GROUND and 'GRIND'.

4. The single phonological and orthographic word 'shrimp' belongs to two different lexemes: 'shrimp" meaning 'small shellfish used for food' and 'shrimp' meaning 'a very small person'. There is a one-many relationship between the phonological word \ ʃrimp \ and the two lexical words.

   Polysemy is involved in the use of the verb 'serve'. The two related meanings are: (1) 'to dish up food' (2) 'to wait upon a person at table'. The joke partially depends upon the fact that the customer uses 'serve' in the first sense while the waiter uses it in the second sense. Partially, the joke depends on the two senses of 'shrimp'.

5. Words are: boy's; boy; girls; taller; tall; its

   These are words because they cannot be broken down into smaller free forms: they themselves are the minimum free forms. Some of them can be broken down into two smaller forms, e.g., 'boy's into boy and 's, but since 's is not a free form by itself, boy's stay the minimum form, though boy by itself is also a free form.

   Others are not words for different reasons: -'s, -s, -er are not free forms. Cornflakes, footpath, Red Indian, childlike are not minimum forms; they can each be broken down into two smaller forms which occur freely. I'm and it's are not words because they are made up of two words each: 'm and 's here are not like 's in boy's; 'm stands for am and 's for is. The lest of positional mobility shows that am is not tied after I, though at first that is how it looks. We can also say 'Am I?'

6. We face two problems : first, this means we treat both morphemes and words as physical entities and be able to demonstrate that every word is physically (ie phonologically and orthographically) composed of smaller physical units called morphemes. This is not possible as morphemes which are physically identifiable in many words are identifiable only by meaning, context, etc. in many others (e.g., the plural morpheme in plural nouns). Secondly, words have a numbei of 'emergent' properties or properties which are not derivable from their constituent morphemes. For example, words belong to grammatical classes like nouns, verbs,

etc. The grammatical class of a word cannot be predicted from a knowledge of its 'constituent' morphemes 'Breakable' (adjective and 'breakage' (noun) both contain the morpheme break which is a verb as a word, while the morphemes -able and -age have no class properties by themselves. This shows that the property of belonging to a grammatical class is not derived from morphemes since morphemes don't have this property.

UNIT 2: WORD-FORMATION IN ENGLISH – 1

Structure

2.0 Objectives

2.1 Introduction

2.2 The Process of Word-formation

- 2.2.1 Simple, Complex and Compound words
- 2.2.2 Affixes, Stems, Roots
- 2.2.3 Inflectional vs. Derivational Morphology

2.3 The Inflectional Morphology of English

- 2.3.1 Inflectional Morphology of the English Noun
- 2.3.2 Inflectional Morphology of the English Pronoun
- 2.3.3 Inflectional Morphology of the English Adjective
- 2.3.4 Inflectional Morphology of the English Adverb
- 2.3.5 Inflectional Morphology of the English Verb

2.4 Let Us Sum Up

2.5 Key Words

2.6 Bibliography

2.7 Questions & Exercises

Notes on Questions & Exercises

2.0 OBJECTIVES

The objectives of this unit are to enable you to

- distinguish between the inflectional and the derivational morphology of English,
- to operate with concepts relevant to the morphology of English, **e.g.,** stems, roots, **affixes,** etc.,
- see how the application of the **principles** of inflectional morphology to English words yields the paradigms of nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs and verbs, and
- make a distinction between regular **and** irregular forms in the paradigms,

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit we established certain basic principles of the formal study of words. **The** principles were:

1. Words are not the smallest units of language either in terms of meaning or form.

2. The smallest unit of language in the morpheme. It is the smallest unit of meaning as well as grammatical function.

3. Word and morpheme are the two lowest levels of structure in the grammar of a language. Tlie relationship between the levels in one of realization. Morpheme and morpheme combinations are realized as words.

In this unit, we will look mainly at one class of morphemes, the bound **grammatical** morphemes, and see why it is desirable to analyse the **grammatical** word into constituent elements which include bound grammatical morphemes. We will then go on to describe the main types of bound grammatical morphemes in English and shall see the role they play in the formation. of words belonging to the different parts of speech in English.

Among the various distinctions we made in the previous unit, three will be particularly relevant to the present and the following units. We shall therefore list and describe them again:

1. Pree vs bound morphemes: Certain morphemes in English are such that they are realized at the word level into independently occurring forms, while others are realized only in **combination** with other morphemes into merged forms where their separate identity may not always be represented by phonological or orthographic means. Thus, boy, book, read, etc. occur at the word level as free, (ie independently occurring) forms, so do boyish, bookish and reading. The last three are however morpheme combinations and they contain two morphemes each. The first two words contain the morpheme **-ISH** while the last word **contains-ING**. The morphemes occur only in combination with other morphemes (like boy and book) and are not realized as independent word **forms**. -ING is actually the morpheme **CONTINUOUS ASPECT.** Its convenient representation as -ING here is based on the fact that it is orthographically realized as the **suffix -ing,** but this convenience is not available to us in all cases. For example, the morpheme PAST, when combined with the morpheme READ, gives us the homographic form read and the phonological form **/red/,** neither of which presents us with a covenient handle on the morpheme. Hence morphemes like **-ISH** and **CONTINUOUS ASPECT** can only be treated as abstract entities. Since we cannot **regard** some morphemes as abstract and otliers as concrete, **all** morphemes are treated as abstract. This, however, does **not affect** the division of morphemes into free and bound. Morphemes like **-ISH** and **CONTINUOUS ASPECT,** which are not realized as independently occurring words, are bound morphemes.

2. **Meaning** vs. grammatical function: Lexemes were defined in the previous units as abstract entities which represent meanings. Meanings are based on references to external objects or concepts associated with external objects. However, **not** all language units we identify as words have meanings in this sense. For example, function words **(auxiliaries,** prepositions, conjunctions, etc.) do **not** refer to **anything** outside the language: they only help to relate words, or units made up of words to each other. In other words, they only have grammatical functions. Grammar is a collective name for the set of rules that describe how words in a language are combined together to produce well-formed sentences. Since **function** words only play a role in producing grammatical combinations without contributing any meaning of their own, they are said to belong only to the category of grammatical words and have no lexical **counterparts.**

3. Grammatical vs lexical morphemes: The class of grammatical words thus include (1) forms of lexical words derived by the application of grammatical rules

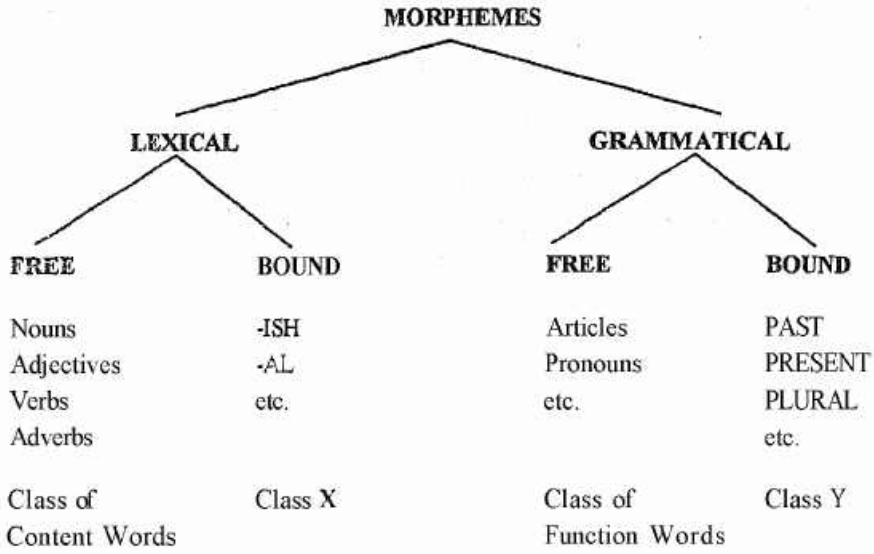
and (2) function words, or words that have no lexical forms, ie have no meanings, only grammatical functions. Since all words are morphemes before they become words, function words too can be seen as asbtract grammatical morphemes before they are realized as words. Thus, the orthographic word 'the' can be seen as corresponding to the abstract grammatical morpheme DEFINITE ARTICLE. As opposed to grammatical morphemes, lexical morphemes are those morphemes which (individually or in combination with other lexical morphemes) arc realized by lexical words at the word level. These include words belonging to the classes of nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs.

Both grammatical and lexical morphemes can be free or bound. Articles, pronouns, etc. (i.e. function words) are examples of free grammatical morphemes, since they are realized as freely occurring forms. But morphemes like **PLURAL,PRESENT,** PAST, CONTINUOUS, PAST PERFECT, PRESENT **PERFECT,** etc. are not realized as free-occurring forms but as modifications on other free-occurring forms; hence they are bound morphemes in English. It is quite possible for some of these morphemes, if they occur in another language, to occur as free morphemes. Similarly, nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs, which are all realized as free-occurring lexical words, are free morphemes, while morphemes like **-ISH,-AL** -ABLE, **-NESS,** etc., which are not independently realized into words but must be combined with free lexical morphemes to be so realized, are bound morphemes.

Though grammatical morphemes have no meaning content in the sense in which lexical morphemes do, it would be wrong to conclude that they make no contribution to the meaning of the sentence. However, their contribution to meaning is made not by adding their own independent meaning to the aggregate but by modifying the meanings of the lexical words in the sentence in certain fixed ways. For example, the definite article morpheme modifies the meaning of the noun it occurs with by making its reference definite; the **plural morpheme** added to a countable lexical noun makes its reference plural; the past tense morpheme added to a verb changes its time reference to past; the addition of a continuous aspect morpheme to a verb adds the meaning 'action taking place at the point of time being spoken of', and so on. In other words, grammatical function, though distinguishable from lexical meaning, makes its own contribution to the total meaning of the sentence by carrying out certain standard modifications to the meanings of the lexical words occurring in it.

Bound lexical morphemes (-ISH, AL, -ABLE, **-NESS,** etc.) also make their contribution to meaning by modifying the meanings of the lexical morphemes with which they are combined, but there is an important difference there from the way in which bound grammatical morphemes make their contribution to meaning. Bound grammatical morphemes, usually realized as affixes in the phonological forms, modify the meanings of the lexical morphemes to which they are joined in fixed and regular ways, e.g., the addition of the bound morpheme **PLURAL** always adds the meaning 'more than one' Bound lexical morphemes, on the other hand, may modify the meanings of different lexical morphemes in different ways. For example, the addition of the morpheme-suffix -ize to the noun symbol= adds the meaning 'to act as a ... of; its addition to the noun 'hospital' contributes the meaning 'to put in a ...for treatment'; added to the noun 'diesel', it contributes the meaning 'to convert to ... engine power'and so on. In other words, while the effects on meaning of the bound grammatical morphemes are predictable, those of bound lexical morphemes are not.

We can diagram the picture that emerges from the description so far as follows:



Much of what we have to say in this and the following unit has to do with the two classes of bound morphemes we have labelled as Class X and Class Y respectively in the diagram. As you can see, Class X is the class of bound lexical morphemes and Class Y is the class of bound grammatical' morphemes. The question we will be dealing with is: What role do these two classes of morphemes play in word-formation in English? In the last unit, we shall be concerned with certain other processes of word-formation, i.e., processes which do not involve bound morphemes.

2.2 THE PROCESS OF WORD-FORMATION

One of the major characteristics of any human language is that one can always produce and understand new words. In fact, one of the reasons English vocabulary has got richer and richer is that English allows the manufacture of new words almost as a routine matter. Even a cursory look at a newspaper reveals many words which would not be found in a dictionary published only fifty years ago. Words like politicize, criminalize, marginalize, etc. were coined in the recent past, and one can now read words like Ambedkarize, McDonaldize, Mandalize, etc. Such words are produced according to certain fixed patterns and not at will. For example, while one can produce and understand words like the ones just mentioned, one cannot produce new words like *redize, *bluize *purpleize, *scarletize, etc. Similarly, one can use a very recently coined noun, email, as a verb and say I emailed a reminder to him, but one cannot do that with the quite old noun message to say *I messaged him a reminder. (the *mark indicates that the form is ungrammatical.) In other words, though word-formation is a productive process, like all productive processes, it is governed by certain rules. It is our aim in this and the following units, to give you a brief account of the rules that account for the productive processes of word-formation in English.

2.2.2 Simple, Complex and Compound Words

Words can be divided into simple, complex, compound and compound-complex depending on whether they realize a single free morpheme, a free morpheme plus one or more bound morphemes, two or more free morphemes, or two or more free morphemes plus one or more bound morphemes respectively. For example:

Simple:	boy, sing, kind, write, etc.
Complex:	boys, singing, kindness, writers, etc
Compound:	playboy, birdsong,
compound-complex:	hot-bloodedness, writer-producer

This neat picture is disturbed by a relatively small set of complex words which seem to realize a combination of bound morphemes only. Consider, for example, the set of words **local,** locality, dislocate, locus, **localize**. Because of the constancy of the element **loc** in all these forms, accompanied by a constancy of meaning (=place), some linguists argue that **loc** be recognized as a morpheme. However, since **loc** does not appear independently as a word, it must be recognized as the realization of a bound morpheme. This further leads us to conclude that complex words could also be realizations of combinatious of bound morphemes only, since all other morphemes in these words are bound too. Other candidates for complex words of this type could be words containing elements like- ceive (as in receive, **deceive,** conceive); -duce (as in reduce, deduce, produce); **sanct-** (as in sanctify, sanctum, sanctuary, sanctity); tox- (as in toxic, toxicology, intoxicate, detoxify), etc.

The most productive processes of word-formation are seen to be in operation in the making of complex and compound words. The store of simple words, though it is by no means fixed for ever, enlarges by processes which are not always linguistic. Whenever a new object, or process, or concept is discovered a word has to be found for it. The word can come from 'anywhere: from an ancient language, from a foreign language, from the discoverer's imagination, and so on (Examples of invented words are **splooshing,** in Jack Kerouac's 'I come sploshing to a no-good end' and googol, adapted from an infant's cooing noise by a mathematician at a loss for a word to describe the number ten raised to the power hundred.) Sometimes the new word may be recycled from morphemes already existing in the language. If the new word is a simple one, i.e., if it is not a complex or coinpound word created from already existing morphemes, the store of simple words of the language is increased. Such words are always content words, as the store of function words is fixed for ever. The new word will of course have a corresponding morpheme and this morpheme will then be subject to the same rules of combination and realization that apply to other morphemes of its class.

2.2.2 Affixes, Stems, Roots

As we stated earlier, in the majority of cases of complex and compound words, the (free and bound) morphemes in combination that are realized as words can be identified as separate elements (called morphs) in the phonological and orthographic representations. This makes it easier to refer to the morphemes when talking about the rules which govern their occurrence. Morphology, or the branch of linguistics that deals with the internal ('morphic') structure of words, has a set of terms lo describe the various categories into which these morpheme elements (or morphs) can be separated. The there basic category-terms are affixes (divided into prefixes and suffixes), stems and roots.

A complex word, as stated above, realizes the combination of (1) one free morpheme and one or more than one bound morphemes, or (2) two or more bound morphemes. Here are some examples of such combinations:

'impenetrable'	=	IM + PENETR + ABLE
'declassify'	=	DE + CLASS + FY
'recharge'	=	RE + CHARGE
'hopeless'	=	HOPE+ LESS
'hopelessly'	=	HOPE +LESS +LY
'deindustrializing'	=	DE + INDUSTRY + IAL + IZ (E) + ING

Most of these complex words have one free morpheme (e.g., CLASS- CHARGE, HOPE, INDUSTRY) and one or more than one bound morphemes (e.g., IM-, DE-, -ABLE, -FY, etc.). We can call the element that represents the free morpheme in these words the 'base' of the complex word. The elements representing the bound morphemes are attached to this base, either at the front or at the end. This base is of course not always a free morpheme: in the case of a complex word which is made up of two or more bound morphemes, ie in words containing elements like **loc-, -ceive-,** duce-, etc. cited above, the base is a bound morpheme. In the first word in tlie above list, the base is 'PENETR-' a bound morpheme. Such bases are called bound bases. The bound morphemes that attach theniselves to the beginning or to the end of the base are called affixes.

Affixes are of two sorts in English: elements that are attached in front of the base are called prefixes, while elements that are attached to the end of the base are called suffixes. Thus, **im-** and dc- are prefixes while-able and -fy are suffixes. When the affixes are thus factored out, in words containing elements like **-loc-, -ceive-, -duce-,** etc. these elements will turn out to be the bound bases.

Affixes do not always attach themselves to bases realizing a single free or bound morpheme: often they attach themselves to bases which are combinations of free and bound morphemes. For example, in the word 'hopelessly', **'-ly'** is not attached to the free morpheme base 'hope' but to the combination 'hopeless' in which the bound morpheme element **'-less'** is already attached to 'hope'. Similarly, in the word 'impenetrable', the prefix **'im-'** is attached not to the bound base 'PENETR-' but to the adjective word 'penetrable' which realizes the combination, PENETR +ABLE of a free and a bound morpheme respectively. How do we know this? We know this because prefixing **'im-'** to the bound base PENETR- would give us a nonexistent from ***'impenetr'**. On tlie other hand, attaching the element '-able' to the base 'penetx-' gives us the form 'penetrable' which is a wellformed adjective to which the prefix 'im-' can now be attached to get the word 'impenetrable'. The steps in the formation of this word are therefore as detailed in I and not as in II:

I		II-	
	PENETR + ABLE		*IM + PENETR
	IM + (PENETR + ABLE)		(*IM + PENETR) + ABLE

The bound morpheme element IM- is here attached not to the single morpheme base PENETR but to the combination of a bound base with a bound morpheme which is realized as a suffix-. IM- is thus prefixed to a 'complex base'.

The term **stem** is used in morphology to describe any element, or combination of elements, to which an affix is attached. It is thus synonymous with the term ' base'. In our first example above, 'hope' is the stem to which the suffix **'-less'** is attached, and 'hopeless, is the stem to which tlie **suffix,-ly'** is attached. In the second example, the suffix '-able' is attached to the stem 'penetr' and not to the stem 'iinpenetr'; the prefix 'im-' is attached to the stem 'penetrable' and not to the stem 'penetr'.

A stem can therefore consist of

- only a free morpheme base, as in 'hopeless'
- a bound morpheme base, as in 'penetrable'

- a base consisting of a free morpheme and one or more than one bound morphemes, as in 'deindustrialize' or 'anti- humanitarianism'
- a 'compound base' consisting of two or more free morphemes, as in 'flower-pots'.

A stem consisting of only one free morpheme is called the root (e.g 'human' in 'anti-humanitarianism'); one consisting of two free morphe'mes is said to have a compound root (e.g. 'flower + pot' in 'flowerpots').

2.2.3 Inflectional vs. Derivational Morphology

John Lyons (1968: 5.4.2) tells us that grammars written in the classical tradition of Greek and Latin were generally divided into three section: these section were respectively **Accidence, Word-formation** and **Syntax.** 'Accidence' was also called **'inflection'** and 'word-formation'. Lyons also tells us that while these grammars devoted hundreds of pages to inflection and syntax, they devoted only half a dozen or so pages to derivation. The reason for this was that the classical grammarians did not really consider derivation to be a part of grammar. For them grammar was mainly inflection and syntax. Inflection refers to the changes made in the sentence. In classical grammar, this section included topics like the 'declensions' of nouns, adjectives and pronouns and the 'conjugation' of verbs. The section on derivation listed various processes whereby new words were formed from existing words, or 'roots', for example, adjectives from nouns, nouns from verbs, etc. The fact that these grammars never completely excluded this section from their grammars shows that they were aware of the regularities involved in derivation, yet they did not give the topic full treatment because they thought derivational forms belonged to dictionary and not to grammar. So the derivational forms were listed as distinct forms in the dictionary, but the inflectional forms (words with bound grammatical morphemes in them) were not. They had to be derived by applying the rules given in the grammar.

We can restate the inflection- derivation distinction in terms of the three distinctions we have made in 1.0. **Inflection** refers to the ways in which bound grammatial morphemes (=morphemes of Class Y) combine with stems to be realizrd as grammatical words. **Derivation,** on the other hand, describes the ways in which bound lexical morphemes (= morphemes of the Class X) combine with stems to be realized as lexical words. As we know, both lexical and grammatical words eventually surface as phonological and orthographic words, where these bound morphemes can be identified in most (though not all) cases as affixes. Accordingly, affixes which realize bound grammatical morphemes, and therefore perform only grammatical functions are called inflectional affixes. Correspondingly, affixes which realize bound lexical morphemes and help to create new lexical words with distinct meanings are called **derivational affixes.**

Examples of inflectional affixes in English are the suffix **-s/-es** on plural nouns, the suffix **-s/-es** on third person, singular number verbs, the suffix **'s** on possessive nouns, the suffix **-dl-ed** on past participle forms of verbs, and so on. In describing the **inflectional morphology of English,** we will need to describe the various bound grammatical morphemes these and other inflectional affixes of English realize, and various kinds of grammatical functions they perform. We will also need to describe the forms these affixes take in the corresponding phonological and orthograpic words and any regularities that we notice in this correspondence.

Examples of derivational affixes in English include all those prefixes and suffixes we have called bound lexical morphemes, e.g. **de-, re-, -ize -ation,** etc. Since these bound morphemes combine with other free lexical morphemes, or stems containing them, the

derivational morphology of English will need to describe the grammatical category of the morphemes (or morpheme combinations) to which each derivational affix morpheme can be attached; the grammatical category of the resulting word; the meaning change brought about by the affix, any noticeable regularities in the meaning-change; and the regularities or irregularities in the corresponding phonological and orthographic representations.

Before proceeding further, it would be useful to summarize the characteristics that distinguish the inflectional morphology of English from its derivational morphology. As you will notice, some of these points are restatements of the points already made above:

1. Inflectional affixes never change the grammatical category (part of speech) of the stem: a noun remains a noun, a verb a verb, an adjective an adjective even after an affix has been added to it. Derivational affixes may or may not change the grammatical category of the stem: modern modernize, read readable, nude nudity all show changes in the grammatical category; obey disobey, charge recharge, fortune misfortune do not show a change. Derivational prefixes in particular do not seem to affect the category of the stem.

2. Inflectional affixes in English are all suffixes; derivational affixes may be prefixes or suffixes.

3, Both derivational and inflectional morphemes may occur in the same word, but when that happens derivational morphemes are attached first and inflectional morphemes last, ie derivation creates the input to inflection but not vice versa. Once an inflectional affix has been attached to a form, no other affixes can be added to it. As a result, in a complex word the inflectional affixes mark the outer layer and the derivational affixes the inner layer. Note how the formation of the word **deindustrialzing** illustrates this point:

Root	industry
Deriv.	**industr** (i) + **al**
Deriv.	(industr (i) + al) **+ize**
Deriv.	de I- {(industr (i) **+al)** + **ize}**
Infl.	**{de+** {(industr (i) + al) + ize}) **+ing**

The addition of a bound lexical morpheme (ie. a derivational affix) creates a new lexeme (ie. a lexical word) which can independently convert to a grammatical word through the application of appropriate grammatical rules.

4. If both compounding and inflection take place, inflection follows compounding. If compounding, derivation and inflection all three occur, they follow the stated order. E.g., kickstarted =(kick **+start)** +ed; **channel** hopping = **(channel+hop)** + ing; footballers = ((foot + ball) **+er)** + **s.**

5. Inflectional affixes modify the meanings of the stem in a regular way, e.g. the plural **affix,** the past affix, etc. The meaning change affected by derivational affixes is unpredictable.

2.3 THE INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY OF ENGLISH

The inflectional morphology of a language is usually discussed in terms of paradigms. As we stated in the previous unit (Sections 2.2, 2.3), a paradigm refers to a set of

forms derived by the application of certain grammatical rules to a lexical, or, in the case of pronouns and auxiliaries, to a function word. Thus the English verb has a paradigm ('The verb paradigm') which consists of the grammatical words derived by the application of those grammar rules which are pertinent to the English verb. For example, the paradigm of the verb break contains the forms break, breaks, breaking, broke, broken. Each of these forms in derived by the application of separate grammar rules like present tense formation, past tense formation, past tense formation, past participle formation, etc.

In this and the following sections, we will describe the inflectional morphology of English by describing the paradigms of all the major grammatical categories (parts of speech) of words, viz. nouns (including pronouns), adjectives, verbs including auxiliaries) and adverbs. Only words belonging to these categories take inflectional affixes, or are affected otherwise by the rules of grammar. Prepositions, conjunctions, articles, etc. do not change their forms at all, and therefore have no paradigms. For describing the paradigms we will also need to describe the sets of 'grammatical rules' that apply to words of a given category. Finally, we will describe the effects that the application of these rules has on the phonological and orthographic shapes of words. These effects will fall into two types: regular and irregular.

2.3.1 Inflectional Morphology of the English Noun

English nouns fall into two major subcategories: proper and common. The basis of this subcategorization is supposed to be semantic (ie. meaning based): Proper nouns denote unique identities whereas common nouns denote persons, objects, etc. which are members of a class. Thus, despite the fact that hundreds of males may share the name 'Sachin', each occurrence of this noun refers to one and only one person; on the contrary, no occurrence of the noun 'cat' can refer to only one animal; it must always refer to any member of the class of cats. But proper and common nouns could also be differentiated solely on the basis of their paradigms. How?

To answer this question we must first describe the grammatical rules that apply to nouns. As stated earlier, grammatical rules are rules which state how words can combine with each other to form clauses and sentences. They describe which categories of words can combine with which other categories of words, in what order, with what changes of form, with what signification, and so on. Considered in this way, the rules that apply to nouns 'can be said to be the following:

I. The **Number** Rule: This rule allows you to choose singular or plural reference. If we want the reference to be singular we choose the bound morpheme **SINGULAR;** if we want it to be plural – we choose the bound morpheme PLURAL.

II. The Case-formation Rule: This rule states that one noun (N1) can combine with another noun (N2) to signify possession. This rule applies if we wish to express the meaning **'N2** belongs to **N1'. If** we want the rule to apply, we choose the bound morpheme **POSSESSIVE** with N1.

These are the only two rules that apply to the English noun so far as paradigm formation is conceined. Infact only the second rule applies to the class of proper nouns. This is because there is no choice of number with, proper nouns. Being a uniqueness identifier, a proper noun always has singular reference even when it happens to be plural in form. For example. The **Helions** refers to a group of singers. The West **Indies** refers to a country and so on. The only time proper nouns show plural reference is when they are used as common nouns. Hence the paradigm of the Proper nouns contain only two forms, as follows:

Paradigm of the Proper Noun

Common Case	Possessive Case
Proper noun + COMMON	Proper noun + POSSESSIVE
RAm/ra:m/	Ram's /ra:mz/
pat /pæt/	pat's /pæts/
George /dʒɔ:dʒ/	George's /dʒɔ:dʒiz/

The variation to be seen in the phonological representations is discussed below.

Paradigm of the Common Noun

The paradigm of the common noun is a little more complicated. Common nouns are further subcategorized into Count and Mass nouns. The formal basis of this subcategorization is that their paradigms are different, but the subcategorization also has a basis in meaning. Count nouns denote objects which can be counted (e.g., cat boy, house, speaker, etc.); Mass nouns denote objects which cannot be counted (e.g., water, milk, silver, advice, peace, etc.)

The paradigm of the Count Noun is formed by the application of both number and case rules. The following forms result:

Rule I

SINGULAR	PLURAL
COUNT NOUN + SINGULAR	COUNT NOUN + PLURAL
CAT + SINGULAR = 'cat' /kɔt/	CAT + PLURAL = 'cats' /kæts/
DOG + SINGULAR = 'dog' /dɔg/	DOG + SING+POSS = 'dogs' /dogz/
HOUSE+SINGULAR = 'horse' /hɔ:s/	HORSE + PLURAL = 'horse' /hɔ:siz/

Rule II

Common Case	Possessive Case
COUNT NOUN + COMMON	COUNT NOUN + POSSESSIVE
CAT + COMMON = 'cat' /kæt/	CAT + POSSESSIVE = 'cat's' /kæts/
DOG + COMMON ='dog' /dɔg/	DOG + POSSESSIVE = 'dog's' /dɔgz/
HORSE+COMMON ='horse' /hɔ:rs/	HORSE + POSSESSIVE = 'horses' /hɔ:siz/

Rule I & II (Apply in that order)

Singular number + Common Case	Singluar Number + Possessive Case
CAT+SING+COMMON = 'cat' /kæt/	CAT+SING+POSS = 'cat's' /kæts/
DOG+SING+COMMON = 'dog'/'dɔg'/	DOG+SING+POSS = 'dɔg's /dɔgz/
HORSE+SING+COMMON = 'horse'/hɔ:s/	HORSE=SING+POSS = 'horse's /hɔ:s/

Plural Number + Common Case	Plural Number + Possessive Case
CAT+PLU+COMMON = 'cats' /kæts/	CAT+PLU+POS = 'cats' /kæts/
DOG+SING+COMMON = 'dogs' /dɔgz/	DOGPLU+POSS = 'dogs' /dɔgz/
DOG+PLU+COMMON = 'horse' /hɔ:s/	HORSE+PLU+POSS = 'horses' /hɔ:siz/

This detailed presentation of the paradigm of the regular count nouns is intended to make the following points:

1. Paradigmatic contrast is shown by means of a regular change in the form (phonological\orthographic) of the majority of words belonging to the class.
2. The number of contrasts in paradigm is determined by the number of such regular

formal changes. It is however not necessary for every word of that class to show all the changes. For example, most count nouns in English show the number contrast shown'above, but some count nouns don't e.g. sheep and deer which retain the same form in both singluar and plural. This does not affect the existence of the paradigm, but creates syncretic forms.

3. Some forms are syncretic with respect to both orthographic and phonological realizations but some others are syncretic with respect to only one of them. e.g., the **PLURAL** NUMBER, COMMON CASE, the SINGULAR NUMBER, POSSESSIVE CASE and the PLURAL NUMBER, POSSESSIVE CASE are syncretic with respect to the corresponding phonological word since they all have the phonological shape \kæts\, but they are not syncretic with respect to the orthographic shape which is different in each case, viz. 'cats', 'cats's' and 'cats' respectively. This means that if we were to go by the phonological shape only, we would not be justified in selling up a case paradigm in the plural for the count noun. However, the existence of tlie differences in the orthographic representation, and a variety of other factors justify setting up the case paradigm.

4. While orthography preserves the differences in this regard, in another regard it eclipses the diffferences while phonology preserves them. Note that the plural suffix is written as – in the case of all the three words 'cats', 'dogs', and 'horses', the suffix is pronounced /s/; in 'dogs', it is pronounced /z/; in 'horses' it is pronounced /iz/.) We discuss wliy this is so below.) But this has nothing to do with syncretism, since these differences (and tlie parallel similarity in tlie orthographic shapes) occur within each granimatical category and not across categories. Despite tlie phonological difference, each shape still realizes the same bound grammatical morpheme, tlie PLURAL NUMBER bound morpheme.

To deal with this situation, where tlie same grammatical morpheme may be realized by two or more different phonological shapes, morphology has set up the concept of the **allomorph**. As mentioned above, any physical shape that realizes a morpheme (grammatical or lexical) is called a *morph*. If two or more morphs realize the same morpheme they arc said to be **allomorphs** of that morpheme. Thus, /s/ /z/ and /iz/ are all allomorphs of the plural morpheme in the number paradigm of the English count noun.

The allomorplis of a morpheme are mostly phonetically conditioned, ie the reason for the existence of the different phonological realizations of the same morpheme lies in the phonetic context of the given word. In our example, the reason why the plural morpheme is realized as the voiceless suffix /s/ with cat is the voicelessness of /t/, the immediately preceding sound. In dog, the immediately preceding sound /g/ is voiced, so the suffix too becomes the voiced counterpart of /s/ viz. /z/. With **'horse'**, the story is different. The word ends in a sibilant ('hissing') sound. The plural suffixes /s/ and /z/ are also sibilants and two sibilant sounds cannot be pronounced together in succession. Hence a vowel sound /i/ is inserted between them to make the suffix pronounceable. Sicne /i/ is a voiced sound, the voiced suffix /z/ is the natural choice. Hence the suffix /iz/ .

/s/, /z/ and /iz/ are allomorphs not only of the plural morpheme but also of tlie POSSESSIVE morpheme: see, e.g., the case paradigms of the proper noun and tlie common noun given above. In fact, as wc will see below, they are also the allomorphs of the THIRD PERSON SINGULAR morpheme which combines with a verb when its subject is a third person singular subject.

Another good example of allomorphs can be give by referring to the indefinite article morpheme in English. This has two allomorphs: 'a' /ə/ and 'an', /ən/. Their phonetic conditioning is known to every English student: 'a' occurs before words beginning with a consonant, 'an' before words beginning with a vowel.

It should be noted that, being phonetically conditioned, the allomorphs of a morpheme are always in complementary distribution (CD). This means that no two allomorphs can occur in the same context: where one allomorph occurs, the other cannot, obviously because they are conditioned to occur in mutually exclusive contexts.

5. Though belonging to a given category, some words do not form their paradigms in the regular way. For example, some nouns form their plurals not by taking on a suffix but by changing the vowel sound in the word, e.g., 'man' /mæn/ >'men' /men/;'mouse' /maus/ >'mice' /mais/; 'foot' /fut/> 'feet'/fi:t/, and so on. Some take the regular suffix but change the final consonant before adding the suffix, e.g., 'knife' /naif/ >'knives' /naivz/; some take the irregular suffixes, e.g., child> children, ox> oxen. However, since these nouns show the formal change in one way or another, they still fall in the paradigm.

   Note that when both number and case rules apply to forms like man, child, etc., we get forms like men's /menz/ and children's /tʃildrənz/. These unsyncretized forms clearly show the phonological shape of the case suffix in the plural which is not seen in the paradigm of the regular count nouns.

   These irreggular forms are somewhat more difficult to account for in terms of allomorphic variation. However, an attempt has been made to set up a special kind of allomorph called 'the replacive allomorph' to accomodate irregular forms of this kind. A replacive allomorph is shown as a process of change, e.g., /æ>e/ is a replacive allomorph of the plural morpheme in the case of man> men. Replacive allomorphs are said to be morphologically conditioned as they occur with certain fixed morphs only. The account is obviously not satisfactory, and does not cover cases like child> children.

   Common nouns which do not show any changes of form for the plural (deer, sheep) are said to have ZERO ALLOMORPHS of the plural morpheme in this account.

Paradigm of the Mass Noun

Since mass nouns denote objects which cannot be counted, the number contrast is irrelevant to them. Hence they have no plural inflection: we cannot normally speak of *advices, *informations, *milks, etc. For purposes of verb-agreement, mass nouns are treated as singular (ie they take singular verbs), but this is not reflected in any way in the morphology of the mass noun.

Mass nouns should not be confused with count nouns with zero-plurals. Count nouns, even if they do not show the plural number by change of form, can still be counted: we can say ten sheep and a dozen deer, but we cannot say *three advice or *ten mutton. We must add a countable noun to be able to slice up the mass nouns into countable bits. E.g., ten pieces of advice or a leg of mutton.

Mass nouns do not inflect for case either; instead they occur in the of-construction after the noun they modify. We do not say power's love or courage's man but the love of power and a man of courage respectively.

In short, mass nouns do not have number and case paradigms.

2.3.2 Inflectional Morphology of the English Pronoun

Now that we have the necessary framework for the description of the inflectional morphology of English, we can state the paradigms of the other parts of speech in a

summary, tabulated style. You can espand the statement using the framework outlined above.

A pronoun, as you must know, is a word that is used in place of a noun when we do not want to repeat the noun again and again. These are words like I, *me, us, you, he, she, her, it, them, his, your, yours,* etc. These are called **Personal Pronouns.**

The category of pronouns also covers words like *someone, somebody, everyone, everybody, etc.* They are called **Indefinite** Pronouns.

The grammatical rules applicable to personal pronouns are:

I. **The Case Rule:** Puts the pronoun in nominative, objective or possessive case forms depending on whether the noun is to function as the subject of the verb, the object of the verb or is to be combined with a noun to show 'N2 belongs to 'N1 relationship where N1 = the pronoun and N2 = the noun. With personal pronouns the possessive case produces two different forms which we call hare the First Possessive and the Second Possessive form respectively. The difference is between the ways they combine with other words in a sentence: the First Possessive form occurs before a noun (as in my bicycle,) the Second Possessive form occurs after the verb (as in **The bicycle is mine.)**

II. **The** Person **Rule:** Puts the pronoun in three different forms depending on whether the reference is to the speaker **(FIRST PERSON)**, to the addressee **(SECOND PERSON)**, or to a 'third party' (THIRD **PERSON)**.

III. **The Gender Rule:** Puts some of the pronouns in three different forms depending on whether the reference is to the male of the species **(MASCULINE)**, the female of the species (FEMININE), or to nonliving objects (NEUTER).

The Number Rule: Puts some of the pronouns into different forms dependings on whether the reference is to one (SINGULAR) or to more than one (PLURAL) person, object, etc.

Two points are to be noted about the application of these rules:

1. The rules apply in an integrated fashion to produce a form, ie a particular form is the result of the application of all the rules together. Thus the form **he** shows the nominative case, the third person, the masculine gender, and the singular number.

2. The application of the rules produces different forms which cannot be analysed into stem and affix, as in the case of nouns. This does not matter much as the purpose of signalling contrast is achieved anyway.

The paradigm of the personal pronouns can therefore be presented as follows in an integrated presentation:

Person	Number	Gender	Case			
			Nom.	Obj.	Ist Poss	IInd Poss
First	Sing.		I	me	my	mine
	Plu.		we	us	our	ours
Second			you	you	your	yours
Third	Sing.	Masc.	he	him	his	
		Fem	she	her		hers
		Neut	it		its	
	Plu.		they	them	their	theirs

The indefinite pronouns ***(someone,*** somebody etc.) form their paradigms like proper nouns: they show only case contrast (someone > someone's) but no number contrast. Unlike personal pronouns, but like proper nouns, they slow contrast by taking on the suffix **-'s** with parallel phonological shapes.

2.3.3 Inflectional Morphology of the English Adjective

The only grammatical rule with morphological consequences that applies to English adjectives is the Degree Rule. This rule states that most base adjective morphemes can combine with the bound degree morphemes, COMPARATIVE & SUPERLATIVE, to yield inflected forms, while a smaller class of base adjectives yield irregular degree forms. There is another set of adjectives which do not express the degrees morphologically at all but do it through the use of the degree words more and most for comparative and superlative degree respectively. A few adjectives cannot be combined with these bound morphemes at all.

For the regular cases, the inflection for the comparative degree is the orthographic form '**-er**' and the phonological form /ə/; for the superlative, they are '**-est**' and /ist/ respectively. Thus, the rule yields the forms '**sweeter**'/swi:tə/ and 'sweetest' /swi:tist/ respectively, from the base 'sweet' /swi:t/. Most one-syllable adjectives and a large number of two-syllable ones fall in this category.

Nearly all adjective of three or more syllables fall outside this category: instead of taking on affixes, they use more and most. e.g., **beautiful,** interesting, etc. Also outside this category are adjectives like dead, male, criminal, etc. which cannot be compared at all.

Those adjectives whose comparative forms are quite unrelated to their base forms are also outside this category. The number of such adjectives is small but they are used very frequently. e.g.,

Base	Comparative	Superltive
good **well**	better	best
bad	worse	worst
	farther	farthest
far	further	furthest
	less	
little	lesser	least

The inflectional paradigm of the English adjective is thus easily presented:

Base	+POSITIVE	+COMPARATIVE	+SUPERLATIVE
sweet	sweet	sweeter	sweetest
/swi:t/	/swi:t/	/swi:tə/	/swi:tist/

2.3.4 Inflectional Morphology of the English Adverb

Adverbs are words that qualify verbs just as adjectives are words that qualify nouns. Adverbs qualify verbs'by describing the place where, the time when, and the manner in which the action denoted by the verb takes place.

As with adjectives, the only rule that has any morphological consequences with **adverbs** is the **Degree Rule.** The inflectional paradigm is also the same. In fact, a large number of adjectives also function as adverbs and **also** inflect for degree in the same **way. E.g.,**

Adjective:	Did you have to wait a **long time?**
Adverb:	Did you have to wait **long?**
Adjective:	You can expect a **longer** wait this time.
Adjective:	This was my **longest** wait ever.
Adverb:	I had to wait **longest** this time.

Some other adjectives of this **kind** are **fast, short, hard, early, late,** etc. They also function as adverbs without any change of form and inflect in the **same** way for degree.

Soon and **often** are two adverbs that inflect for degree but **have** no corresponding adjective forms. **Sooner, soonest, oftener, oftenest** occur only as adverbs.

Irregular adverbs are also identical with irregular adjectives, the only difference being sometimes in the positive **form.** Note the equivalence:

Adjective:	Sita is a **good** painter.
Adverb:	Sita paints **well.**
Adjective:	Sita is a **better** painter
Adverb:	**Sita** paints **better.**
Adjective:	**Sita** is the **best** painter.
Adverb:	**Sita** paints **best.**

We thus conclude that the inflectional paradigm of the adverb is identical to that of the adjective. Manner adverbs, which take the **suffix -ly (e.g., happily, rudely,** etc.) are not cases of inflectional morphology **and** will be discussed in the next unit with cases of derivational **morphology.**

2.3.5 Inflectional Morphology of the English Verb

The distinction between **lexical** vs. **function** words made above (1.0) is reflected in tlie **class** of verbs in the division between the large subclass of **lexical** verbs and a small subclass of auxiliary verbs. Lexical **verbs** are verbs with **meaning** content that occur in sentences as main verbs (e.g., 'dismiss' in the sentence 'He ***dismissed*** the class'); auxiliaries are helping verbs that help **the** main verb of the sentence to **form** its tense, voice, etc. **(e.g.,** 'was' in 'The class was dismissed').

Verbs in **English** are actually of three types:

I. **Full Verbs** are those verbs which **function** only as **main** verbs in **a** sentence, **e.g.,** ***dismiss, jump, hit, eat,*** etc. They **form** a large and open class into which new members are regularly making entry.

II. **Modal Verbs** are those verbs which **function** only as auxiliaries, They **are** a small and closed class with no entry for new members. ***Can, could, shall, should, will would, may, might are*** **some** examples.

III. **Primary Verbs** are verbs which function both as **full** verbs and as auxiliaries. There are only three verbs in this class. They are ***be,*** have and ***do.***

In describing the inflectional morphology of **the English** verb, each of the above types must be dealt with separately.

The grammatical rules that apply to the English verb are as follows:

1, **The Person and Number Rule:** Full and primary verbs show a change of form depending on the number (singular or plural) arid person (first, second or third) of the subject. Full verb take regular inflection for the third person singular number subject in the simple present tense, primary verbs change form completely in both present and past tenses, but modals are not affected at all.

2. **The Tense Rule:** English verbs undergo change of form to show the contrast between the present and past tenses only; they do not change form for future reference. The tense rule expresses this by postulating just two bound morphemes, PRESENT and PAST. When the verb combines with PAST, a change of form results in most cases. A combination with **PRESENT** leads to a change of form only if THIRD PERSON and SINGULAR NUMBER are also present. Compare:

   I\we\you(Sing.), you(Plu.) he, she, they **looked** very interesting.

   I\we\you (Sing.), you(Plu.), they look very interesting.

   He\she looks very interesting.

3, **The** Aspect **Rule:** When we speak of the CONTINUOUS tense (or bound morpheme), or of the PERFECT tense, we refer to an aspect of the action we are talking about which is not correctly captured by the term 'tense'. 'Tense' refers to the time of action, present or past, but 'continuous' and 'perfect' refer to whether the action is in progress, or has been completed, at the time of which the speaker is speaking, Thus, an action may be in progress in the present ('present continuous') or may have been in progress in the past ('past continuous'); it may have been completed in the present ('present perfect') or in the past ('past perfect'). This continuity, or completion, of the action is what is referred to by the term **ASPECT.** ASPECT always occurs in combination with a tense morpheme: **PRESENT** or PAST. Since ASPECT has two modes, CONTINUOUS, and PERFECT, altogether we get four possible combinations which we have just enumerated. These four combinations are realized as combinations of an auxiliary and an inflected form of the main verb, as follows:

PRESENT CONTINUOUS	: is\am\are + verb + ihg (e.g., He is\I am\We, You, They are eating.)
PASTCONTINUOUS	: was\were + verb + ing (e.g., I, He was eating\We, You, They were eating.)
PRESENT PERFECT	: have\has + (verb + en) (e.g., I, You, They have\ He has changed.)
PAST PERFECT	: had + (verb + en) (e.g., I, We, You, He, They had changed.)

(verb + en) refers to the past participle form of the verb e.g., **broken, taken,** gone, played (syncretic with the past tense form), and so on.

4. **The Voice Rule:** Active and passive voices of the verb have important implications for the sentence as a whole. In the active voice the 'subject' of the verb is the noun which denotes the agent, or doer, of the action described by the verb; in the passive voice, the subject is the noun which denotes the 'affected' person and corresponds to the object of the verb in the active voice. (*Cf. The* police ***arrested the thief vs. The thief was arrested by the*** police). The same action can thus be viewed from the viewpoint of the agent or the affected. Since the presence of both agent and the affected is necessary for the active-passive

contrast to obtain, the voice rule applies only to verbs with objects, ie to transitive verbs only.

When ACTIVE is chosen there is no change in the verb form for voice, but when PASSIVE is chosen the main verb is put in the **-en** form and is preceded by an appropriate form of the verb BE.

Paradigm of the Full Verb

Full verbs can be divided into two classes with respect to the morphological changes they undergo: Regular and **Irregular.**

Regular verbs appear in all the four forms: the base form (work), the **-s** form (*works*), the **-ing** form (working) and the **past form** (worked). They have no past participle form distinct from the past form. However, not all verbs which show four forms are regular: some of them form their past and past participle forms in irregular ways, **e.g.**, bend, send, etc. The regular verbs have the following **features:** (i) if we know the base form and the **grammatical** rules we can predict all the **other** forms; (ii) new and coined words follow their pattern; and **(iii)** the vast majority of English verbs pattern in this way.

Irregular verbs fall into two types: those which have five different **forms** and those which show only three forms. The verbs speak, write, break, **etc.** belong to the former type. They have five **forms** because the past and the past participle (-en) forms in their case do not show syncretism ie they show separate forms for these rules **(e.g.,** spoke, spoken). Verb belonging to the second type show only three forms, **e.g.,** cut, hit, put, etc. In their case, three different rules yield the same, syncretized, form: **PRESENT** (NON-THIRD PERSON SINGULAR), PAST and PAST PARTICIPLE.

The following table shows the forms of both regular and irregular verbs:

R/Ir	**Base**	**-s form**	**-ing form**	**Past** form	**-en** form
R	work	works	working	**worked**	worked
R	**jump**	jumps	jumping	**jumped**	**jumped**
Ir	break	breaks	breaking	broke	broken
Ir	**cut**	**cuts**	cutting	**cut**	cut

(Note: Syncretized forms **are** in bold face.)

The Phonological Forms: We have shown the paradigm in orthographic representation above but the distinctions are retained in the phonological **representation** too. The only differences that are noticed are **allomorphic** (see **Sec.** 3.1.2 above). As in the case of the plural morpheme **of** nouns, the orthographic **suffix -s** is realized as three phonetically conditioned **allomorphs /s/, /z/ and /iz/: works /wə:ks/, hugs /hʌgz/,** and **teaches /ti:tʃiz/.** In the case of the regular verbs, the past and the past participle morphemes, orthographically realized **as -ed**, also have three phonetically conditioned allomorphs: **/t/** after a voiceless sound (as in **worked /wə: kt/), /d/** after a voiced sounds (as in hugged **/ hʌgd),** and **/id/** after /t/ and /d/ (as in **quitted /kwitid/** and **traded ltreididl.** The phonetic **reason** for the occurrence of the **\id\ allomorph** is similar to the reason for the occurrence of the /iz/ **allomorph:** like two sibilants, two **successive** alveolar stops also make an unpronounceable sequence.

In the case of irregular verbs, **there** is **considerable variability** and unpredictability in the way the past and the past participle forms are phonologically realized. Some verbs **(e.g.,** burn, smell) have two past (participle) forms (burnt, burned), some verbs end in

\d\ but change it to \t\ in the past (participle) form (e.g., *bend* > bent). Some show no change from the base, and so on. However, they all form their **-s** and **-ing** forms in the regular way.

Paradigm of the Modal Verb

The modals do not change their forms for any of the four rules which cause morphological changes in the full verbs. This means that by just looking at the form of a modal verb you cannot predict the person and number of the subject, nor the tense, aspect. The only exception to this generalization that may be cited is the use of modals like *would, should, could, might* in sentences where they might be seen as past tense forms of *will, shall, can and may* repsectively, e.g., in the sentence. *He said he would be late* or in the sentence *She thought she* could *get away with* it. But in these instances *would* and *could* are best seen as sequence-of-tenses partners of *said and thought* respectively rather than as past forms of *will* and *can.* This is because if we took forms like *could, would,* etc. as indicators of past tense we would either fail to give any interpretations or produce erroneous interpretations for sentences like *Could you come again next week? I'd be grateful* f *someone would hold the door open* in which the time reference, if it is relevant al all, is to the future.

Paradigm of the Primary Verb

Primary verbs, as we stated above, are those verbs which occur both as main and auxiliary verbs. There are three of them in English : BE, HAVE, AND DO. Here are some examples of how they are used as main and auxiliary verbs:

BE: Arundhati is a significant writer. (main verb)
Arundhati **is** leaving for London tomorrow. (Aux.)

HAVE: I have no money. (Main verb)
I **have** written a book. (aux.)

DO: What **did** (aux.) he do (Main)?

The morphology of these verbs, both as main and auxiliary verbs, is, however, the same. All the four rules given above apply to them to produce a variety of forms. For example, in the FIRST PERSON, SINGULAR NUMBER, BE has the form am in the PRESENT TENSE, was in the PAST TENSE; in the FIRST PERSON PLURAL, SECOND PERSON SINGULAR and PLURAL and the THIRD PERSON PLURAL, it has the form are in the PRESENT TENSE and were in the PAST TENSE; in the THIRD PERSON SINGULAR, it has the form is in the PRESENT TENSE and was in the PAST TENSE. The CONTINUOUS ASPECT and the PERFECTIVE ASPECT forms are being and been respectively. The other primary verbs also show similar forms.

The morphology of the English verb is too complicated to allow us to present all its paradigms in a single chart. The chart given below makes an attempt, but leaves out many details, An additional dimension of finite and nonfinite forms is however introduced. The inflected verb forms can be divided into two classes according to whether they can complete a sentence alone, providing all the necessary information about person, number, tense, etc., or whether they require the assistance of another verb which will do this for it, Thus, in the sentence, *He yelled,* the form in *yelled* is *enough* to complete the sentence, but in the sentence *He* is *yelling, yelling* cannot complete the

sentence by itself. It needs the assistance of the verb is, which shows the person and number of the subject and the tense, while *yelling* only shows aspect. So we say that *yelled* is a finite form of the verb, While yelling is a non-finite one. Among the inflected forms, the CONTINUOUS and the PERFECTIVE forms are nonfinite, others finite. The modals are finite too.

Type of Verb	Finite			Non-finite	
	Base	-s form	Past Form	-ing form	-en form
Full Regular	work	works	worked	working	worked
Full Irreg.	break	breaks	broke	breaking	broken
	sit	sits	sat	sitting	sat
	quit	quits	quit	quitting	quit
Primary	have	has	had	having	had
	do	does	did	doing	done
	be	am, is are,	was. were	being	been
Modal	will, would, shall should, can, could, may, might, must, ought, dare, need used				

2:4 LET US SUM UP

1. Morphemes are subject to a two-way classification into free\bound and grammatical\lexical morphemes.

2. Grammatical morphemes peform grammatical functions, i.e. they play a role in the rules which set out how words are to combine to form structures.

3. Free grammatical morphemes are eventually realized as FUNCTION WORDS, bound ones as modifications (including zero, or no modification) on words.

4. Lexical morphemes have meaning content. These meanings are generally based on references to external objects.

5. Free lexical morphemes are realized as lexical words, bound ones as modifications on these words.

6. Grammatical morphemes also contribute to meaning but in a different way: they modify the meanings of lexical morphemes in certain standard ways, e.g., changing reference to plural, making it definite, changing time reference to past, etc.

   Bound lexical morphemes contribute to meaning by modifying the meanings of the lexical morphemes to which they are attached, but these modifications are neither fixed nor regular (as is the case with the modifications made by bound grammatical morphemes).

8. Morphemes and combinations of morphemes are realized as word. This process is called word-formation. All languages reveal certain patterns of word-formation,, new words are being regularly created on these patterns.

9. Words are called simple, complex, compound or compound complex depending on whether they realize a single free morpheme, a free morpheme plus one or

more than one bound morpheme, two or more free morphemes, or two or more free morphemes plus one or more bound morphemes respectively. In some cases, two bound morphemes, of which one is a bound base, may also be realized as a complex word.

10. When a combination of morphemes is realized as a word it often possible to separate the phonological\orthographic elements which correspond to different morphemes, We call these elements which correspond to different morphemes. We call these elements morpheme elements, or morphs. Morphs can be classified into stems, roots and affixes.

11. The study of the internal structure of words in terms of its constituent morphs is called morphology.

12. Affixes are rnorphs which represent bound morphemes. They can be subdivided into prefixes and suffixes.

13. Prefixes are affixes attached to the beginning of the stem; suffixes are affixes attached to the end of the stem.

14. A stem can consist of a free morpheme base, a bound morpheme base, a base consisting of one free plus one or mor bound morphemes, or of two or more free morphemes.

15. The inflectional morphology of a language is the study of the way in which bnound grammatical morphemes combine with stems to be realized as grammatical words.

16. The derivational morphology of a language is a study of the ways in which bound lexical morphemes combine with stems to be realized as lexical wods.

17. Affixes which realize bound grammatical morphemes are called inflectional affixes; affixes which realize bound lexical morphemes are called derivational affixes.

18. The inflectional morphology of English describes the bound grammatical morphemes of English, the grammatical rules in which they figure, the paradigms they form, and the various phonological and orthographic forms into which they are realized,

19. The derivational morphology of English describes the bound lexical morphemes of English, the categories of the stems with which they can be combined, the categories of the resulting forms, the meaning changes brought about. in this process, and the phonological\orthographic shapes these morphemes acquire.

20, Inflectional affixes differ from derivtional affixes in these ways: they never change the grammatical category of the stem, they are all suffixes, they form the outer layer of a complex word, and they modify the meaning of the stem in regular ways.

21. The inflectional morphology of a language can be studied in terms of the paradigms formed by the application of the relevant grammatical rules to the words of a given grammatical category (part of speech).

22. The inflectional morphology of the English noun can be described by setting up the paradigms of the proper and the common noun. Common nouns are subdivided into count and mass nouns with separate paradigms.'

23. The grammatical rules relevant to the noun category are the Number Rule (producing two forms: singular and plural) and the Case-formation Rule (producing two forms: Common,and Possessive).

24. Only the Case-formation rule applies to proper nouns. Hence its paradigm consists of only two forms: The Common Case form and the Possessive Case form.

25. Both rules apply to the count noun. This should produce four forms, but phonologically only two fortns are produced: two categories are syncretized.

26. In counting phonological forms, phonetically conditioned variation is discounted. Sometimes several different morphs represent the same morpheme and the occurrence of these morphs is phonetically conditioned. Such phonetically conditioned' morphs are called allomorphs of the same morpheme. The allomorphs of a morpheme are always in Complementary Distribution.

27. A number of count nouns form their paradigms in irregular ways. The notions of 'a replacive morph' and 'a zero morph' have been suggested to deal with them.

28. Mass nouns have no number and case paradigms.

29. Case, Person, Gender and Number Rules apply to English personal pronouns. An integrated application of these rules yields a complex paradigm with a variety of phonological forms not analysable into stem, affix, etc. The indefinite pronouns inflect like proper nouns.

30. English adjectives have a paradigm for the Degree Rule, which produces three forms: positive, comparative,and superlative. This rule however applies only to a subset of English adjectives.

31. The English adverb forms its paradigm like Lhe English adjective. The only rule that applies is the Degree rule.

32. The English verbs are subcategorized into Full, Modal and Primary Verbs for puposes of morphological description. The rules relevant to the construction of their paradigms are the Person and Number Rule, the Tense Rule, the Aspect Rule, and the Voice Rule.

33. The rules produce a maximum of live forms, but the regular Full Verb shows only four: the Base form, the Person-Number form (the -s form), the Continuous Aspecl form (the -ing form) and the Past Tense (the -ed) form. the Perfective Aspect form is syncretic with the Past Tense the Perfective Aspect form is syncretic with the Past Tense from. (the-ed) The passive Voice form is restricted to transitive verbs only and is syncretic with the Perfective Aspect form.

34. Irregular verbs show five or three forms.

35. The phonological realizations of the Person -Number form (-s) and the Past Tense\Perfective Aspecl form (-ed) show phonetically conditioned allomorphs of the suffix.

36. The Modal Verb does not show any paradigm changes.

37. The Primary Verbs are BE, HAVE and DO. They show considerable variation in form for the four rules and present an irregular paradigm,

2.5 KEY WORDS

Allomorph : One of the morphs that represent a particular morpheme.

Aspect: A grammatical marking in the verb that indicates whether the aclion denoted by the verb is in progress or has been completed.

Base,: A morpheme, or a combination of morphemes, to which bound morphemes are

added. Same as Stem.

Bound Base: A base consisting of a bound morpheme only.

Bound Grammatical Morpheme: A grammatical morpheme that is realized not as in independent word but as a modification on another word. sometimes the modification may be zero.

Bound Lexical Morpheme: A lexical morpheme taht is realized not as an independent word but as a modifiction on naother lexical word.

Complementary Distribution: If two elements are in complementary distribution, they never occur in identical contexts.

Complex Word: A word that realizes one free morpheme and one or more thatn one bound morpheme. In some cases it also realizes two or more bound morphemes of which one is a bound base.

Compound Word: A word that realizes two or more free morphemes.

Compound-complex word: A word that realizes two or more free morphemes plus one or more bound morphemes.

Compound root: A root that consists of two or more free morphemes.

Count Noun: A common noun that denotes objects which can be counted,

Derivational Affix: An affix that realizes a bound lexical morpheme.

Derivational Morphology: The derivational morphology of a language is a study of the ways in which bound lexical morphemes combine with stems to be realized as lexical words.

Finite verb: A form of the verb which expresses tense, number, person, etc. A sentence needs a finite verb to be complete.

Free Lexical Morpheme: A lesical morpheme that is realized as an independent lexical word.

Free Grammatical Morpheme: A grammatical morpheme that is realized as an independent grammatical word.

Full Verb: A full verb is a verb which functions only as a main verb in a sentence.

Grammatical Morpheme: Grammatical morphemes are morphemes which perform grammatical functions, i.e. they play a role in the rules whicb set out how words are to combine to form structures.

Inflectional Morphology: The inflectional morphology of a language is the study of the ways in which bound grammatical morphemes combine with stems to be realized as grammatical words.

Inflectional Affix: An affix which realizes a bound grammatical morpheme.

Irregular Verb: A verb that does not form its grammtical paradigm in the way most verbs do and whose grammatical forms are therefore not predictable.

Lexical Morpheme: A lexical morpheme is a morpheme with meaning content. the meaning is generally based on references to external objects.

Mass Noun: A common noun that denotes objects which cannont be counted but must be treated as forming a mass.

Modal Verb: 4 modal verb is a verb which functions only as an auxiliary.

Morph: A physical form that represents some morpheme.

Non-finite Verb: A verb form that does not express tense, number, person, etc. and therefore cannot complete a sentence by itself. It needs the assistance of an auxiliary which takes over this function.

Paradigm: The set of grammatical words resulting from the application of the appropriate grammatical rules to a word belonging to a particular grammatical category.

Prefix: An affix that is attached to the beginning of the stem.

Primary Verb: A verb that occurs both as an auxiliary and a main verb (BE, HAVE and DO).

Regualr Verb: A verb that forms its paradigm in the way the majority of verbs do. Its forms are therefore predictable.

Root: The (free or bound) morpheme at the core of a word to which affixes are added.

Simple Word: A word that realizes a single free morpheme.

Stem: See **Base**

Suffix: An affix that is attached to tlie end of the stern.

Word-formation: The process by which morphemes and morphemd combinations are realized as words.

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2.7 QUESTIONS & EXERCISES

1. What is the basis for the classification of morphemes into (a) Free and Bound, and (b) Grammatical and Lexical?

2. What kinds of morphemes are realized as (a) function words (b) content words, and (c) affixes?

3. Identify the elements that represent (a) free and (b) bound morphemes in the following words (ignore other elements):

   Pesticide, postmodernist, prepacked, expedition, manhood, servicing, manager, unenthusiastically, predate, embedded

4. Identify (1) the root and (2) the stem to which the prefixes de-, dis-, and mis- are respectively attached in 'the following words:

   a, deregulation b. disinformation c. misinformation

5. Make a list of ten elements in English which occur as bound bases and try to work out the likely meaning of each. Give at least five words as examples for each bound base.

6. Distinguish inflectional and derivational affixes in the following words:

   a. tributaries b. unclassified c. beginnings
   d. friendlier e. writer's

7. Would you say that the suffix -ly in words like ***happily, beautifully, rapidly,*** etc. was a derivational suffix or an inflectional one? List the reasons for your answer.

8. Is the suffix ***-ly*** in the words cited in the previous question the same or different from the ***-ly*** in words like ***cowardly, friendly, shapely,*** etc? Cite evidence for your answer,

9. The count noun ***child*** has an irregular paradigm. How many different phonological forms does the paradigm show7 How many different phonological form does a regular noun show7

10. Nouns like sheep and deer do not change their form for the PLURAL morpheme, but they are countable. Are nouns like ***cattle*** and ***police*** also like them? If not, in what ways are they different?

11. Write the pronoun forms for the following morpheme combination:

    a FIRST PERSON + PLURAL NUMBER + IInd POSSESSIVE

    b. THIRD PERSON + SINGULAR NUMBER + FEMININE GENDER t OBJECTIVE CASE

    c. THIRD PERSON + PLURAL NUMBER + FIRST POSSESSIVE

12. Sort out following adjectives into three categories, as follows:

    a Those which can only be compared In the Inflected form.

    b. Those which can only be compared with more and most.

c. Those which can be compared in both ways.

right, clever, great, **low,** wrong, polite, wealthy, brave, likely, ambitious

13. **Find** these positive form of the italicized **adjective/adverb** to fill the blank:
    a. His condition went from ..... to worse.
    b. I am quite ..... today. I should be ***better*** tomorrow.
    c. She paints ..... but her sister paints even ***better.***
    d. Shakespeare knew .....Latin and ***less*** Greek.
    e. I have caused you .....trouble already. Do you mind if I cause a little ***more?***

14. Which of the morphemes, TENSE, ASPECT, NUMBER, and PERSON are present in the verbs underlined in the following sentences:
    a. The train ***leaves*** in an hour.
    b. The train has ***left.***
    c. All trains ***are*** running late.
    d. I ***am*** busy now.
    e. I have written a book.

15. Give the full paradigms of the following verbs and say whether they are regular or not:

thrust, dye, spoil, bet, bend, show, **quit,** see, dive, wear

16. Construct a chart **showing** the full paradigm of the verb DO showing
    a how its forms realize TENSE, NUMBER and PERSON. Include both positive and negative forms.
    b, which forms are finite and which non-finite.

NOTES ON 'QUESTIONS & EXERCISES'

1. (a) . Morphemes which are realized as independently occurring words are free; those which are realized as modifications on other words are bond.

   (b) Morphemes which, alone or in combination with other lexical morphemes, are realized as lexical words, with meaning content, are lexical morphemes.

   Morphemes which ar realized as words, or as modifications on other words, with grammatical function are grammatical morphemes,

2. (a) free grammatical morphemes (b) free lexical morphemes (c) Bound **grammatical** and lexical morphemes

3.

WORD	**FREE MORPHEME**	**BOUND MORPHEME(S)**
pesticide	**PEST**	CIDE
postmodernist	MODERN	**POST-/-IST**
prepacked	**PACK**	**PRE-/-ED**
expedition	EXPEDITE	**-ION**
manhood	**MAN**	**-HOOD**
servicing	**SERVICE**	**-ING**
manager	**MANAGE**	**-ER**
unenthusiastically	**ENTHUSIASM**	UN-\-TIC **\-AL\-LY**
predate	DATE	PRE-
embedded	BED	**EM-\-ED**

4.

	WORD	ROOT	STEM
a	deregulation	regulate	regulate
b,	disinformation	inform	information
c.	misinformation	inform	inform

6.

a tributaries: tribute + ary (deriv.) (tribute + ary) + s (Infl.)

b. unclassified: class(i) + fy (Deriv.)
(un+ (Class(i) + fy) + ed (Infl.),

c. beginnings: begin + ing (Deriv.)
(begin + ing) + s (Infl.)

d. friendlier: friend + ly (Deriv.)
(firiend + ly) + er (Infl.)

e, writer's: write + er (Derive.)
(writer + er) + 's (Infl.)

In 2.3 above, we discussed some: criteria for distinguishing inflectional from derivational affixes:

a. Inflectional affixes never change the grammatical category (part of speech) of the the stem.

b. Inflectional affixes in English are all suffixes; derivational affixes may be prefixes or suffixes.

c. Both derivational and inflectional morphemes may occur in the same word, but when that happens derivational morphemes are attached first and inflectional morphemes last. When an inflectional suffix has been attached to a stem, no derivationa affix can be attached to it.

d. Inflectional affixes modify the meanings of the stem in a regular way.

Applying these criteria to -ly in the given word produces contradictory results. (a)shows it to be a derivational affix, (c) and (d) mark it as closer to an inflectional affix, and @) is unhelpful. In terms of its general character, however, -ly is certainly not like other inflectional affixes, which produce contrasting forms in a grammatical paradigm (SINGULAR VS. PLURAL; PRESENT VS. PAST etc.). If MANNER (the meaning which this suffix expresses) is a grammatical morpheme it has no contrasting category. English adjectives therefore have no 'Manner' paradigm, though they do have a 'Degree' paradigm with contrasting categories of positive comparative and superlative degrees of comparison. The general opinion is therefore in favour of treating -ly as a derivational suffix.

8. It is not the same. The -ly in happily, etc. is an adverb forming suffix expressing manner. The -ly in cowardly, etc. is an adjective-forming suffix. hence we have comparative forms for the adjectives like 'cowardliest, friendlier, etc., but none fur the adverbs (*happilier, *happiliest are not acceptable forms).

9. It shows four different phonological forms:

SINGULAR NUMBER, COMMON CASE: /tfaild/ 'child'

SINGULARNUMBER, SSESSIVE CASE; /tfaildz/ 'child's'

PLURAL NUMBER, COMMON CASE: /tfildr n/

PLURAL NUMBER, POSSESSIVE CASE: /tfildrnz/ 'children's'

A regular noun shows two forms only: the last three forms are syncretized.

10. No. Cattle and police are not like sheep and deer: there is no number contrast in the former. We cannot say *one police or *one cattle (whereas we can say one sheep and one deer). They can only be used in the plural, but being uncountable,

cannot be used with number words, to use number words, we have to use a countable noun with them **e.g., ten policemen, ten heads of cattle.**

11. a. ours b. her. c. their

12. **right, clever, great, low, wrong, polite, wealthy, brave, likely, ambitious**

    a **great,** low,
    b. right, wrong, ambitious
    c. clever, polite, wealthy, brave, likely

13. a. bad b. well c. well d. little e. much

14. a. 'leaves': TENSE, NUMBER, **PERSON**
    b. **'has left': TENSE, ASPECT,** NUMBER, PERSON
    c. 'are running': TENSE, ASPECT, **NUMBER**
    d. 'am': TENSE, NUMBER, PERSON
    e. 'have **written'**: TENSE, ASPECT, NUMBER, PERSON

15.

BASE	**thrust**	**dye**	**spoil**	bet	**bend**
-S	thrusts	dyes	spoils	bets	**bends**
-ING	thrusting	dyeing	**spoiling**	betting	**bending**
-ED	thrust	dyed	**spoiled** spoilt	bet	bent
-EN	thrust	dyed	spoiled spoilt	bet	**bent**
R/Ir	**Ir**	**R**	**R/Ir**	**Ir**	**Ir**
BASE	**show**	quit	**see**	**dive**	**wear**
-S	shows	quits	sees	dives	wears
-ING	showing	quitting	seeing	diving	**weaing**
-ED	showed	quit quilted	saw	**dived**	**wore**
-EN	showed **shown**	**quit quitted**	geen	dived	worn
R\Ir	**R\Ir**	**R\Ir**	**I**	**R**	**I**

16.

	Finite				**Non-finite**	
	Present		**Past**		**-in- gform**	**-en form**
	pos.	**neg.**	**pos.**	**neg.**		
1st Person Sig. Plu.						
2nd Person Sing.\plu.	do /du:/	don't /dəunt/				
3rd Person Plural			**did /did/**	**didn't /didnt/**	**doing /du:iŋ/**	**done /dʌn/**
3rd Person Singular	does /dʌz/	doesn't /dʌznt/				

UNIT 3: WORK-FORMATION IN ENGLISH – 2

Structure

3.0 Objectives

3.1 Derivational Morphology

3.2 Classification of Derivational Affixes

- 3.2.1 Derivational Prefixes
- 3.2.2 Conversion

3.3 Conversion

- 3.3.1 Conversion vs Derivation
- 3.3.2 Classifying Cases of Conversion

3.4 Compounding

- 3.4.1 The Syntactic Approach
- 3.4.2 The Semantic Approach
- 3.4.3 The Syntactic-semantic Approach
- 3.4.4 Some Minor Compound Types
- 3.4.5 Writing Conventions for Compounds

3.5 Let Us Sum Up

3.6 Key Words

3.7 Bibliography

3.8 Questions & Exercises

Notes on Questions & Exercises

3.0 OBJECTIVES

Our objectives in this unit are to enable you to

- distinguish between derivation, conversion and compounding as processes of word-formation in English
- understand the different approaches to the study of these processes, their merits and demerits

3.1 DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY

What is strictly called word-formatian, and refers to the ability of a speaker of a language to form new words on the pattern of words she has used before refers not to the kind of morphology we discussed in the previous unit (ie inflectional morphology) but to the other kind (ie derivational morphology) which we will discuss in this unit. The reason for this is clear: the words created through the processes of inflectional

morphology are really not new words: they are merely grammatical forms of the same old word. Thus **works,** working, worked are grammatical words generated by applying certain grammatical rules to the word work. Anyone who knows and uses English (and therefore knows and uses the rules of English grammar) will automatically produce these forms when producing sentences of English. But when someone produces the word yellowish or purplish or pinkish to mean not exactly what people would call the colour X but somewhat like it, or when someone says that s/he would be home ninish or **elevenish** to mean not exactly at nine\eleven 'but around that hour', he produces a new word. (These particular words may not be new as they have been produced by people many times before, but one could cite **examples** like **skybluish, sports-greyish,** ten-fifteenish and so on.) Such coinages are quite frequent and journalists and writers depend on them for making their writing interesting and appealing. Possibly no dictionary can contain all such words, nor does it need to, because those who know English can well understand what they mean: this understanding is indeed a part of what it means to understand English.

In this section we will look at those processes by which, utilising a comparatively small number of 'core' words and a number of bound lexical morphemes (which are realized as prefixes and suffixes), English allows you to considerably multiply your stock of words. The words that are thus created are 'new' in the sense that they mean something different from the core words from which they are created, and their meanings cannot be related to the meanings of the core words in a systematic way. We might occasionally note some system, as in the example of the suffix above, but, as you will see below, this holds true only in a limited way.

In discussing derivational morphology there is less reason to maintain a constant distinction between the affixes themselves and the bound morphemes they realize, since the two ultimately refer more or less to the same objects. This is unlike the case of inflectional morphology, where a bound morpheme is not always realized as an affix but sometimes as a modification inside the word and sometimes not even this. Still, in inflectional morphology, one can make a guess about the presence of the morpheme from the context and meaning. In derivational morphology, on the other hand, the bound morphemes are always realized as affixes; therefore we can make our description simpler and less cumbersome by talking of bound morphemes as if they referred directly to the affixes. But, for the purposes of theoretical justification, the relationship we have posited between the levels of the morpheme and the word in Unit 1, Sec. 1.4 remains intact.

We can start by recapturing the distinctive characteristics of derivational affixes. As we noted in Unit 2, Sec. 2.3,

1, Derivational affixes are attached to lexical words to create new lexical words. As lexical words, these new words are also subject to the same kind of treatment in the language as all lexical words, e.g., they make their grammatical paradigms like other words in their grammatical category, they can serve as stems for other derivational affixes, and so on.

2. Derivational affixes modify the meanings of the stems but not in a regular and fixed way as do inflectional affixes. The effect a derivational affix will have on the meaning of the stem cannot be predicted with exceptionless regularity, though subsets of stems may show partial regularities,

3. In a complex word containing both derivational and inflectional affixes, derivational affixes are attached first, inflectional affixes last. Once an inflectional affix has been attached to a stem, no derivational affixes can be attached to it.

4. Unlike inflectional affixes, derivational affixes often change the grammatical category of the stem to which they are attached. Thus the addition of a derivational suffix may turn a verb into a noun, a noun into an adjective, an adjective into a verb, and so on. This cannot happen with inflectional affixes.

When we pay closer attention to the English derivational affixes, we find a few more characteristics worth mentioning. They are;

5. Inflectional affixes in English are all suffixes, but derivational affixes come both as prefixes and suffixes.

6. As compared to inflectional affixes, the number of derivational affixes is quite large.

7. While a bound grammatical morpheme (or, loosely, an inflectional affix) occurs with all the members of a grammatical class, or subclass, without exception, a bound lexical morpheme (loosely, a derivational affix) may occur with only a few members of a class **and not with others this is because as we have pointed out earlier, the occurrence of bound** grammatical morphemes is determined by **grammatical** rules, which apply without exception, whereas the occurrence of bound lexical morphemes is not so determined. For example, the bound grammatical morpheme PLURAL occurs with all the members of the Count subclass of the class of common nouns; but the bound lexical morpheme -ISH, though it occurs with adjectives, cannot occur with all the adjectives.

8. Not only does an inflectional affix occur with all the members of a given class, it occurs only with the members of that class and not with the members of any other class. Derivational affixes, on the other hand, can sometimes occur with members of more than one class.

3.2 CLASSIFICATION OF DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES

A careful study of these features of derivational affixes will reveal the difficulties that we face when trying to classify the derivational affixes. We had little difficulty in classifying the inflectional affixes; we could easily classify them according to the part of speech of the stem: inflectional affixes of the noun, of the verb, of the adjective, and so on. We cannot do this with derivational affixes, because the same derivational affix may occur with stems belonging to different parts of speech, Thus, for example, the negative prefix dis-can be attached to nouns (disorder), adjectives (disloyal) or to verbs (disobey); the suffix -hood can be attached to nouns (boyhood) as well as adjectives (falsehood). Another reason why we caanot classify derivational affixes on the basis of the grammatical category of the stems is mentioned in (7) above: no derivational affix applies to all or even a majority of stems belonging to a particular category. For example, the suffix -er is attached to verbs to derive 'actor' nouns (e.g., player, killer, runner, etc.), but it cannot be attached to all verbs as the impossibility of words like *Liver, *dier, *understander, "cheater, etc. will show. Nor can we very satisfactorily classify the affixes on the basis of the grammatical category of the word resulting from the affixation, the reason again being that the same affix may produce words of different categories. For example, the suffix -ful produces nouns (handful, mouthful, cupful) as well as adjectives (useful, beautiful, sorrowful).

Our description of the derivational affixes of English must include facts like these but also account for the effect the affixation has on the meaning of the stem, which is another possible basis for classifying the affixes. In fact, when we talked about dis- being a 'negative' prefix, or -er being an 'actor' suffix, we were already using meaning

as a basis of classification. Interestingly, while a meaning-based classification seems to work for derivational prefixes, it fails with suffixes. The reason may be that while derivational prefixes in English are rather few, and are used to perform a few well-defined functions, the number of derivational suffixes is rather large and the effects they have on the meanings of the stems are quite variegated. Almost every suffix has a different effect on the meaning of the stem and sometimes the same suffix has different effects with different stems. For example, with some stems the suffix **-er** produces the meaning 'person who does X', where X stands for the action denoted by the verb; with some other stems the resulting word does not refer to a person at all but to an instrument that is used to do X (e.g., **cooker, silencer, screwdriver, stapler**); with still other (noun) stems **-es** contributes the meaning 'having the characteristic denoted by the noun' (e.g., **teenager, three-wheeler**) while with some other noun stems the meaning may be almost specific lo the stem (e.g., **gardener, villager, townplanner**). Of course, in such cases we have the option of recognizing two or more suffixes with different meanings but the same phonological shapes (or **suffixal homophones**).

In recent years, there has been an altempt to provide another basis to the classification of derivational affixes by relating the derived words to their 'syntactic underlying forms'. For example, it is said that words with the derivational suffix **-able** (e.g., **breakable, saleable, achievable, readable**) can be related to their syntactic interpretations (**'that which can be broken\sold\achieved\read'** respectively). The argument given is that these words show the same restrictions that their syntactic parents do. For example, we can say **breakble** but not ***fallable, drinkable** but not ***sleepable, debatable** but not ***disappearable.** These facts, it is argued, are accounted for automatically if we derive words with **-able** suffixes from their underlying syntactic forms. We will find that only those words are acceptable which have acceptable underlying forms.

Y breaks X :	**X can bc broken**	**-->**	**breakable**
***Y falls X:**	***X can be fallen.**	**-->**	***fallable**
Y drinks X.:	**X can be drunk.**	**-->**	**drinkable**
***Y sleeps X:**	***X can be slept.**	**-->**	***sleepable**
Y debates X:	**X can be debated.**	**-->**	**debatable**
***Y disappears X.**	***X can be**	**-->**	***disappeared.-**

This kind of argument is valid so far as if goes, but it does not go far enough, For example, it does not tell us anything about the effect on meaning. If, however, it is implied that the meaning of the word is the same as that of the underlying syntactic form, then clearly this is untrue. To take only one example, **breakable** may mean the same thing as **that which can be broken,** but **readable** certainly does not mean **that which can be read:** it means **that which can be read easily or enjoynbly,** Any number of such instances can cited.

We have examined four possible reasons for the classification of derivational affixes - the category of the stem, the category of the resulting word, meaning, and the underlying syntactic form - and found none of them adequate, The reason perhaps is that we have set our goal too high; we are aiming at a classification which will cover all the cases without exception, will account for the forms as well as the meaning, will also link them to their syntactic underlying forms, etc. What is more, we want a single mode of classification to achieve all this. Perhaps we don't know enough about the structure of the English language yet to be able to do this; perhaps we can try an alternative approach which is a combination of these methods, This alternative approach would not reveal to us the 'mystery' of the English derivational affixes, but at

least it would help us to know them better. Maybe at some future date, when more knowledge about the structure of the English language has been uncovered by new approaches and techniques of language study, we can get closer to the more ambitious goal.

We will therefore try the following approach:

1. ... We will use meaning as the basis wherever it gives us good and consistent results, e.g., in describing the prefixes.
2. We will first classify all suffixes according to the category of the resulting word. Thus suffixes which form nouns will be called Noun suffixes, suffixes which form verbs will be called Verb suffixes, and so on.
3. We will further subclassify each class of suffixes according to the category of the stem. Thus Noun suffixes will be subclassified into those which form nouns from noun stems, adjective stems and verb stems respectively. These subclasses of suffixes will be called **Denominal, Deadjectival** and **Deverbal Noun Suffixes.** The same pattern of classification and similar terminology will be used for all suffixes. Thus, the term **Deadjectival Verb Suffix** will denote a suffix which forms verbs from adjective stems, whereas the term **Deverbal Adjective Suffix** will denote a suffix which forms adjectives from a verb stem.

Using this combination of approaches, we hope to be able to cover all the interesting facts about derivational morphology in English.

3.2.1 Derivational Prefixes

There is a small set of affixes In English which are attached at the beginning of a stem to modify its meaning, Some well-known examples are the negative prefixes **un-, in-,** and **dis-**. But negation is not the only modification of meaning the prefixes are used for: as we shall see, there are a few other modifications too. The reason why we think of English prefixes readily in terms of their effect on the meaning of the stem is that, unlike most suffixes, the prefixes do not affect the grammatical category of the stein at all, so the grammar-based system of classification described in 2 and 3 above is of no use to them. Instead of having subclasses like **Denominal Noun Prefix, Deverbal Verb Prefix,** it is better simply to state that derivational prefixes do not change the category of the stem and try to say something more useful about them. The change in meaning at least tells us exactly how the resulting word differs in meaning form the stem.

Here are some of the ways in which the prefixes modify the meaning of the stem:

1. **Negation:** Prefixes like **un-,** n-, **in-, dis-, a-** and **non-** negate the meaning of the stem adding the meaning 'not', 'opposite of', 'lacking in', etc. **e.g., unkind, unwanted, incomplete, dissimilar amoral, non-violent,** etc. The prefix **in-** has four allomorphs: **in-** with stems beginning with **/p/,/b/, and /m/; ir-** with stems beginning in **/r/; il-** with stems beginning in **/1/,** and **in-** elsewhere.
2. **Reversal & Deprivation: de-** is a typical reversative and privative prefix. Prefixed to a noun or a verb, it produces the meaning 'reverse the action', **e.g., decontrol** (= lift the control), or the meaning 'deprive of' (dethrone = deprive of the throne). The prefixes **dis-** and **un-** are also used in this sense, **e.g., disown, disconnect, unpack, unseat.**
3. **Disparagement:** Prefixes like **mal-, mis-, pseudo-,** etc. are called **pejorative affixes** because they add the meaning 'bad', 'badly', 'wrong', 'false', etc. to the meaning of the stem, thus adding a disparaging shade to sterns with a neutral meaning, **e.g., maltreat, malnutrition, mislead, misfortune, pseudo-intellectual.**

4. **Expressing** number, degree, rank, **size,** etc.: The prefixes bi-, mono-, semi-, **poly- express** numbers; arch-, co-, extra- express **degree;** micro- and mini- express size; super-, sub-, under-, express rank, **e.g.,** bimonthly, arch-enemy, minibus, **undersecretary.**

5. Expressing time, order, location, attitude and orientation:

   Time and order: **ex-, fore-,** pre-g **post-,** e.g. ex- president, pre-war.

   Location: **fore-,** inter-, super-, **sub-,** trans-, e.g., foreground, superscript, substructure, etc.

   Attitude: **pro-, anti-,** counter-, etc., **e.g.,** pro-change, anti-war.

   Orientation: counter-, **anti-,** contra-, as in counter clockwise

None of these prefixes affect the category of the stem. There are some prefixes (e.g., en-\em- as in entrain, embitter, imperil, be- as in becalm, befriend) which do change the category of the stem. The number of such prefixes, called conversion **prefixes,** is however very small.

3.2.2 Derivational Suffixes

The first classification of the suffixes is to be made on the basis of the grammatical category to which the word resulting from the suffixation belongs. On this basis the suffixes are classified as follows:

A Noun Suffixes: Suffixes that produce nouns, e.g., **-hood, -dom,** -ism, -ship

B. Adjective Suffixes: Suffixes that produce -e.g., -ful, **-ish,** -less

C. Noun-Adjective **Suffixes: Suffixes** that produce words that can be used either as nouns or as adjectives : e.g., **-ese, -ian, -ist**

D. Verb Suffixes: **Suffixes** that produce verbs: **e.g., -fy, ize,** -en

E Adverb Suffixes: e.g., -ward, **-wise,** -ly

In the **second classification each** of these types Is subclassified on the basis of the grammatical category of the stem to which the suffix is added. The first classification tells us the grammatical category of the word after the suffixation; the second classification takes as its basis the category of the original word, i.e. the stem. On this basis, we arrive at the following scheme of classification of **suffixes:**

A Noun Suffixes: **Suffixes forming** nouns

A. 1:	from noun stems;	**Denominal** Noun Suffixes
A, 2:	from adjective stems!	Deadjectival Noun Suffixes
A. 3:	from verb stems:	**Deverbal** Noun Suffixes

B. Adjective **Suffixes: Suffixes** forming adjectives

B. 1:	from noun stems:	Denominal Adjective Suffixes
B. 2:	from adjective stems:	Deadjectival Adjective **Suffixes**
B. 3.	from verb stems:	**Deverbal** Adjective Suffixes

C. Noun-Adjective Suffixes: **Suffixes** forming words which can be used as nouns (N) or as adjectives **(A)**

C.1	from noun stems:	**Denominal** N-A Suffixes
C.2	from adjective stems:	**Deadjectival** N-A Suffixes

D. **Verb Suffixes:** Suffixes forming verbs

- **D.1** from noun stems: **Denominal Verb Suffixes**
- **D.2** from adjective stems: **Deadjectival Verb Suffixes**

E. **Adverb Suffixes:** Suffixes forming adverbs

- **E.1** from noun stems: **Denominal Adverb Suffixes**
- **E.2** from adjective stems: **Deadjectival Adverb Suffixes**
- **E.3** from adverb stems: **Deadverbial Adverb Suffixes**

It is possible to carry the classification further: e.g., Type **A.1 Denominal Noun Suffixes** and Type **A.3 Devcrbal Noun Suffixes** can be further subclassified into suffixes which form abstract nouns vs. those which form concrete nouns. Thus 'a fairly detailed description of the suffixes can be achieved. However, we will conclude our description by giving you examples of only the subtypes that have been listed above (the list of suffixes is not intended to be exhaustive). No attempt has been made to give the meanings as they are quite diverse:

Type **A.1:** **Denominnl Noun Suffixes (Noun → Noun)**

-age : bag > baggage; bond > bondage
-dom : king > kingdom; star > stardom
-eer : engine > engineer; profit > profiteer
-er : teenage > teenager; garden > gardener
-ery : jewel > jewelery; slave > slavery
-hood : boy > boyhood; widow > widowhood
-ing : shirt > shirting; farm > farming
-let : book > booklet; drop > droplet
-ship : member > membership; fellow > fellowship

Type ***k 2:*** **Deadjectival Noun Suffixes (Adjective → Noun)**

-dom : free > freedom (Also Type A.I)
-er : five > fiver; six > sixer (Also Type A.1)
-hood : false > falsehood (Also Type A.1)
-ness : bitter > bitterness; dark > darkness
-th : warm > warmth; with change of stem in broad > breadth; long > length; deep > depth, etc.

Type **A.3:** **Devcrbal Noun Suffixes (Verb → Noun)**

-age : break > breakage; cover > coverage
-ant : inhabit > inhabitant; lubricate > lubricant
-ation : alter >alteration; starve > starvation
-ee : employ > employee; train > trainee
-er : write > writer; dance > dancer
-ment : appoint > appointment; equip > equipment

Type **B.I:** **Denominrl Adjective Suffixes Non → Adjective)**

-al\-ial\-ical : culture > cultural
president > presidential; philosophy > philosophical
-ful : beauty > beautiful; use > useful
-ish : child > childish; fool > foolish
-less : child > childish; pain > painless
-ly : mother > motherly; woman > womanly
-y : filth > filthy; hair > hairy

Type **B.2:** **Deadjectival Adjective Suffixes (Adjective → Adjective)**
-ish : green > greenish; eight > eightish

Type **B.3** **Deverbal Adjective Suffixes (Verb → Adjective)**
-able : attain > attainable; break > breakable
-ant\-ent : differ > different; depend > dependent
-ful : forget > forgetful; resent > resentful
-ive\-ative : attract > attractive; talk > talkative

Type C.I **Denominal Noun-Adjective Suffixes (Noun → Noun\Adjective)**
-ese : China > Chinese; Japan > Japanese
-(i)an : Shakespeare > Shakespearian; India > Indian
-ist : violin > violinist

Type C.2 **Deadjectival Noun-Adjective Suffixes(Adjective → Noan-Adjective)**
-ist \ist\ : social > socialist; loyal > loyalist

Type D.1 **Denominal Verb Suffixes (Noun → Verb)**
-ify,-fy : code > codify; beauty > beautify
-ize : terror > terrorize; criminal > criminalize

Type **D.2** **Deadjectival Verb Suffixes (Adjective → Verb)**
-en : short > shorten; ripe > ripen
-ify, -fy : false > falsify: simple > simplify
-ize : equal > equalize; modern > modernize

Type E.1 **Denominal Adverb Suffixes (Noun → Adverb)**
-ward, -wards : home > homeward;
-wise : length > lengthwise; clock > clockwise

Type E.2 **Deadjectival Adverb Suffixes (Adjective → Adverb)**
-ly : silent > silently; angry > angrily

Type **E.3** **Deadverbial Adverb Suffixes (Adverb → Adverb)**
-ward, -wards : up > upwards; north > northwards

3.3 CONVERSION (OR ZERO DERIVATION)

3.3.1 Conversion vs. *Derivation*

Look at the following sentences:

1a. **A beggar** stood outside the door.
1b. The scene of the sunset **beggared** description.
2a. I want to buy a **carpet** for my room.
2b. I want **my** room **carpeted.**

You will notice that the words **beggar** in 1a and **carpet** in 2a are used as nouns, as the use of the indefinite article with them would show; the same words are used as verbs in 1b and 2b respectively, as their use in past tense forms indicates, The

important thing to note is that the base form of the word does not undergo any change, ie, no suffix or prefix is added to convert the noun into a verb (or the verb into a noun, depending on which way the conversion is). There can be no doubt there is a process of word-creation involved here, in fact one which is quite popular in English. The process creates a new lexical word, with sufficiently different meaning to merit a separate entry in the dictionary, At the same time, however, one can detect. some relationslup between the meanings of the word **beggar** in 1a and 1b, and of the word **carpet** in 2a and 2b, and the relationship is sufficient indication that we have a case of derivation here, even if no affixes are in evidence. Thus **beggar** (verb) may be paraphrased as 'to make into a beggar'; **carpet** (verb) may be paraphrased as 'to cover with a carpet', and so on. The relationship between the pair of word seems to be similar to the one that exists in pairs like **slave → enslave** (='to make a slave'), **friend → befriend** ('make into a friend'), **crust → encrust** ('cover with a crust'), etc., which are all cases of derivation with an affix. That is the reason why cases of conversion like the present ones are often described as cases of derivation without an affix, or with a zero affix.

Conversion cases of course also share the other features of cases of derivation: A word cannot undergo conversion after an inflectional affix has been added to it (e.g., the plural form of a noun cannot convert to a verb; the past tense of a verb cannot become a noun), but it can still undergo conversion if it has acquired a derivational affix: e.g., **dirt > dirty > to dirty: pack > package > to package** (note that beg > beggar > to beggar is not an example of this as historically the word **beggar** predates the word beg. Which was derived from the former by backformation; see the section on **Back-formation** in the next unit). In fact, compounds (see Sec. 3.4) can also undergo conversion, e.g., to **outlaw > an outlaw, to bypass > a bypass.** Secondly, conversion means a change in the grammatical category of the word, a feature we find only with cases of derivation. Thirdly, like a case of derivation, a word derived by conversion forms its inflectional paradigm on the pattern of words belonging to the category to which it belongs after conversion\derivation. For example, when the noun **carpet** is converted into a verb, the verb **carpet** has all the four forms of a regular verb (**carpet, carpets, carpeting, carpeted);** similarly when a verb like **attack** is converted into a noun, the noun **attack** has a plural form (**attacks),** and may also have the possessive form (as in **the attack's severity,** though the preferred expression is **the' severity of the attack).**

How do we decide the direction of the conversion? E.g., we have said that the noun **carpet** is converted into the verb **carpet** and the verb **attack** is converted into the noun **attack:** why not the other way round? How do we decide?

We use the following two criteria:

1. **The criterion of meaning:** If the word denotes a person, or an object, it is first a noun; if it denotes a quality, it is primarily an adjective; if it denotes an action, it is primarily a verb, and so on. By this criterion, **carpet** is primarily a noun and the verb **carpet** is a conversion, **attack** is primarily a verb and the noun **attack** a conversion, **intellectual** is primarily an adjective and the noun **intellectual** a conversion.

2. **The criterion of form:** Some affixes are lypical of nouns (e.g., **-tion, -ion),** others of adjectives (e.g., **-al),** still others of verbs (e.g., **re-**). When we find a word with a typical noun affix used as a verb, we can conclude that the verb is a conversion from a noun, e.g., the word **vacationing** in the sentence **They are vacationing in Shimla.** THe same thing applies to nouns with typical verb prefixes (e.g., **a refill, a recount)** or with typical adjective suffixes (e.g., **an intellectual, a multinatioal)**

3.3.2 Classifying Cases of Conversion

Since conversion is very much like derivation, we can follow the same method of classification with cases of conversion that we followed with cases of derivation, viz. the method of double classification, first in terms of the category of the word resulting from conversion (Conversion to Noun, Conversion to Verb, etc.) and then in terms of the category of the base word, or the word from which it was converted (From Verb Base, From Adjective Base, etc.). We can also use parallel terminology to describe the classes.

Conversion to Noun

I. From Verb Bases (Verb → Noun)

The noun denotes

a. the agent of the action (denoted by the verb): cheat, rebel, spy

b. the object the action: a good catch; a real find

c. a single instance of the action: attack, attempt, laugh, murder

d. the instrument used for the action: the cover of the machine; lift; wrench

e. feeling, emotion, slate of mind expressed by the action: desire, love, need, taste

f. place of the action: dump, retreat

II. Prom Adjective Bases (Adjective → Noun)

Almost any adjective can be made into a plural noun by putting the definite article before it, e.g., the rich, the poor, the high and the mighty, but these nouns are at best cases of partial conversion, as the nouns thus produced cannot be used like full nouns. For example, they have no singular form; moreover, they must always occur with the definite article, and, finally, unlike other nouns they can inflect like adjectives: the richer, the poorer, the higher and the mightier.

The following cases of adjective-noun conversion are however different: here the adjectives become full nouns, i.e. they have a full noun paradigm:

criminal, intellectual, noble, progressive: these adjectives-turned-nouns inflect for number as well as case

daily, weekly, monthly, annual: when referring to newspapers and magazines, these words also show the full properties of nouns

III. From other Bases

In the following examples you find auxiliaries, conjunctions, particles, even affixes and phrases turned into nouns:

This is a must.
No ifs and buts please.
..... the ups and downs of life
..... the various isms of the modern world
haves and have-nots, also rans, high-ups ...

These too are cases of partial conversion.

Conversion to Verb

I. From Noun Saves (Noun → Verb)

We can describe these noun-based verbs on the basis of the kind of meanings they convey vis-a-vis the meaning of the noun; e.g.,

a. Perform an action which will result in the NOUN: to queue (up), to parade, to orbit

b. To put something in the NOUN: to pocket, to catalogue

c. To provide with, or apply, the NOUN: to butter, to grease, to powder, to wax

d. To produce or make, to change into, to go or send by means of, the NOUN: to tunnel, to group, to ship, to bicycle, etc.

II. From Adjective Bases: (Adjective → Verb)

a To be or to become ADJECTIVE: to slim, to sour, to empty

b. To cause to become ADJECTIVE: to dirty, to humble, to free

III. From Other Bases

From adverbs: to near, to further (the goal)

From particles: to up (As in 'He upped and left.'), to down (As in 'The workers downed their tools.')

Conversion to **Adjective**

Nouns are often used in a modifying function, i.e. like an adjective, e.g., a brick house, a gold chain, a silver bowl. Some adjectives are also derived from verbs but they are not cases of pure conversion: they usually require a 'conversion prefix' as in sleep... asleep, float → afloat. etc.

3.4 COMPOUNDING

Next to derivation and conversion, compounding is the most productive process of word-creation in English. Compounding is the process of creating compound words, which we defined in the previous unit as words made up of two (or more) free morphemes. Being free, these morphemes can also be realized as independent words, and the compound may equally well be seen as made up of these two (or more) independently occurring words. However, the compound as a single word has an independent entily. Neither its meaning, nor its phonological shape, as we shall see below is completely predictable from the meaning and phonology of the words that make it up.

Compounding, like derivation, is a highly productive process, so productive indeed that it is not possible for any dictionary to list all the possible compounds. In fact, the speakers of English keep producing new compounds everyday, almost as they produce new sentences. At the same time, however, putting any two words together will not produce a compound. This only shows that there must be certain well defined rules and processes by which compounds can be produced with the assurance that they will be understood by the listener. Various attempts have been made to discover what these rules and processes are.

3.4.1 The Syntactic Approach

There are at least two reasons why putting together any two words arbitrarily will not make a compound word: first, only words of certain categories can be combined to form compounds. If we consider only two-word compounds for the moment, we can divide them into three main types, with noun, adjective or verb as the second word. No other category of word (except particles like out, up, etc. in a few cases) occurs in the second position. This second position enjoys a special status in compounds, as in a good majority of cases the compound belongs to the same grammatical category to which the word in the second position does. E.g., in the words **ballpen,** darkroom, **casebook,** etc. the second word is a noun and so is the compound itself; in the words **icy-cold,** waterproof, **taxfree,** the second word is an adjective and so is the compound. It can also be seen that the first word is not always a noun in the first set, and not always an adjective in the second. For this reason, the word on the right in such cases is called the HEAD of the compound. It must, however, be noted that not all compounds are of this type.

Compounds of this type can now be conveniently classified according to their syntactic category into noun, verb and adjective compounds. We can then subdivide each of these types into three sub-types depending on the syntactic category of the first word: noun, adjective or verb. We thus get the following nine types in all:

I.	Noun Compounds:	I.A	Noun + Noun (girl-friend, icecream)
		I.B	Adjective + Noun (darkroom, blackboard)
		I.C	Verb + Noun (breakfast, pickpocket)
II.	Adj. Compounds:	II.A	Noun + Adj. (Waterproof, taxfree)
		II.B	Adj + Adj. (icy-cold, deaf-mute)
		II.C	Verb + Adjective (fre ing-cold)
III.	Verb Compounds:	III.A	Noun + Verb (brain-wash, bottle-feed)
		III. B	Adj + Adj (dry-clean, fine-tune)
		III. C	Verb + Verb (Sleep-walk, write-produce)

At first, not all of these types appear to be equally productive: types II.C and III.C, for example. IIC is the Verb + Adjective type. It is seen in compounds like freezing-cold and **fightingfit,** but not many others. However writers have come out with creative compounds like wringing wet and **yawning dull.** Still it can perhaps be said that there is more creativity involved in some compounds than in others. For example, Verb + Verb compounds still tend to be rare. Examples like sleep-walk are not really of this type (more likely type III.A), while compounds like write-produce in He **wrote-**produced the play still sound highly creative, As we shall see below, one reason why it sounds less like a compound than a case of a missing conjunction is the necessity for putting both verbs in the past tense: if it were indeed one word, as a compound is, there would be need only for a single past form, just as in the plural of the compound noun boyfriend only tho whole word needs to take a suffix not both the constituent words (ie boyfriends not ***boysfriends**).

Apart from the above types, a few types involving adverbs and particles (words like over, up, down, out, in, etc.) are also to be found. The special characteristic of these compounds is that that they do not have a HEAD, i.e. the grammatical category of the compound cannot be predicted from the grammatical category of either of the words in it. This can be seen in the following examples:

Type I.D: Particle + Verb (income, outcast)

Type I.E: Verb + Particle (dropout, fallout)

Type I.F: Panicle + Noun (afterthought, overdose)

We have called these compounds Type 1 because they are all nouns, but two of them (D & E) do not contain a noun word at all. They cannot therefore be said to have a head.

In contrast, the following verb compound does seem to have a head as the word on the right is a verb:

Type III. D: Verb Compound: Particle + Verb (overflow, underestimate)

However, compounds of this type can also be labelled Type I.F (Noun Compounds: Particle + Noun), since they also occur as nouns and the words **flow** and **estimate** too are used as nouns.

The notion of a grammatical, (ie syntactic) head of a compound is thus not very useful even for classification purposes, and of course it tells us very little about why some words can combine into compounds while others can't. It hardly needs to be demonstrated that not all combinations of the type listed here would result in acceptable compounds. While **icecream** is acceptable, **creamice** is not, while **darkroom** is acceptable, **bright room** is not, while **freezing-cold** and **burning hot** are acceptable, **burning-cold** and **freezing-hot** are not. The system of description based on the syntactic category of the compound and of its constituent words does not tell us anything about such cases. It only tells us that possibly such words as auxiliaries, conjunctions, etc. do not occur in compounds. which is not very helpful.

3.4.2 The Semantic Approach

This brings us to the second reason why not every combination of words results in a compound, and the reason is semantic: only those words in combination produce a compound which, when brought together, are capable of producing a signification which is more than the sum of the signification of the two words independently. Thus **icecream** does not signify an object obtained by mixing **ice** and **cream** together but a specially prepared, sweetened and flavoured food which also happens to be frozen like ice; a **darkroom** is not any room which is dark but a room specially designed for photographic processing which also happens to be dark; a **blackboard** is not any black board but a board used in the classroom specially prepared so that it can be written on with chalk, and which is often, but not always, black, and so on. In this sense, a compound is a new word, with full and independent signification, However, the meanings of the constituent words also play a role, ranging from an almost imperceptible one to a rather direct one, with various shades in between.

At the imperceptible end are compounds like **hot dog** and **tallboy,** which respectively stand for 'hot sausage served in a soft bread roll with onions and mustard' and 'tall chest with a drawer for clothes' respectively - meanings which have little to do with the meanings of the constituent words. At the other end are words like **girl friend** and **Indian-American** in which both the constituent words play a definite role in the meaning of the compound: a **girl friend** is someone who is both a girl and a friend, an **Indian-American** is one who is both an Indian (in origin) and an American (by citizenship). It must however be emphasised that the meanings of the constituent words do not exhaust the meaning of the compound: there is still an additional element which is typical of the compound. Thus not any person who is both a girl and a friend is a girlfriend: for one thing, only boys have girlfriends; for another, even a boy may have several friends who are girls but only one **girlfriend.** The 'additional element' in the meaning of the compound **Indian-American** is indicated in the brackets above. It is actually the size of this 'additional element' of meaning in the compound which determines the place of the compound on the suggested continuum. In compounds like

hot dog and **tallboy,** this element is the largest; in compounds like **girlfriend** and **Indian-American** it is perhaps the smallest In between are words like **icecream, darkroom, blackboard,** etc. in which the constituent words play a suggestive rather than a definite role in the meaning of the compound. **Ice** and **cream** are among the various ingredients that go to make icecream, but they have been picked up as the most suggestive ones of the final product; a **darkroom** is a kind of room which is kept dark, even if these are not its defining features; a **blackboard** is a kind of board which is often, even if not always, black, though its defining feature is the purpose for which it is used. In all these cases, the meanings of the constituent words do have some relevance to the meaning of the compound, though they of course do not wholly determine it. In fact, if they determined it in its entirety, the word would not be a compound but a modifier-noun combination. Thus **a blackboard** (compound) is contrasted with the phrase **a black board** (=a board which is black), a **darkroom** is contrasted with **a dark room (a room which is dark), White House** (the residence of the US President) is contrasted with **a white house** (=a house which is white in colour), and so.

The semantic distinction between a compound and a phrase is reinforced by a phonological distinction. Ill a compound, it is the first constituent that carries the primary stress; in a phrase the primary falls on the second constituent:

a black board	**vs.**	a black board
a dark **room**	vs.	a dark room
a white liouse	**vs.**	White House

The placement of the stress on tlie first constituent in a compound indicates a kind of cementing of the two elements into a new entity and de-emphasises their separateness. It is significant that in a large number (though not all) cases, this unity of the constituents in a compound is also indicated orthographically by writing the compound as one word rather than two.

Between the two extreme points of the compound continuum, with the largest and the smallest sizes of the additional meaning element respectively, lie hundreds of compounds in English. The unpredictability, of the 'additional meaning element' in most of these arises from the arbitrary nature of the relationship the compounds assume between the constituent elements — a relationship which is not constant even among compounds which look grammatically identical on the surface. For example, the compounds **cleaning woman** and **walking stick** are superficially similar: both have the structure **Verb-ing + Noun.** Yet the relationship between the constituents is quite different. While **a cleaning woman** is a woman who cleans, **a walking stick** is not a stick which walks. Similarly, **a working model** is a model which works but **a working paper** is not a paper that works (but a paper that you work on), and so on. A list of the various kinds of relations that compounds assume between their constituents would run into several pages (see, for example, Quirk et al **1985:** pp. **1570-78).** Here is a sample which confines itself to noun compounds only:

a) Subject + verb: **cleaning woman** = The woman cleans.
b) Verb + object: **killjoy** = Someone kills joy.
c) Adverbial + verb: **downpour** = Rain pours down.
d) Subject + BE + Adjective: **highchair** = The chair is high.
e) Subject + BE + noun: **maidservant** = The servant is a maid.
f) Subj + BE + for + gerund: **walking stick** = The stick is for walking.
g) Subject + BE + for + noun: **cowshed** = The shed is for cows.
h) Subject + Have + noun: **doorknob** = The door has a knob.

This list can be made much longer, but the examples cited should be enough to show that while the constituent words of a compound do have some contribution to make, the meaning of the compound as a whole depends mainly on the kind of relationship that is postulated between the constituents, and this relationship is not at all constant. Admittedly, the possible types of relationship that can occur are not infinite: for example, if everyday on my way to office I meet a man carrying a bottle I cannot form a compound **bottleman,** postulating the relationship Subject + carry + noun + adverbial. But, though they are not infinite, the types of relationships are nevertheless too large to allow us to predict which words can combine with which other words to form compounds with what semantic results.

Actually, compounds like hot dog and tallboy make it quite unlikely that the effort to find a 'semantic' solution to the problem of compounds will succeed. Quite a large number of frequently used compounds are of this type: the constituent words provide no clue at all to the meaning of the compound. For example:

blockhead:	a foolish person
egghead:	an intellectual
headhunter:	a company that recruits top executives for its client companies
highbrow:	person with superior intellectual and cultural tastes
hot foot (verb):	to move fast
redtape:	bureaucratic delay
turncoat:	a renegade

Compounds of this type are in sharp contrast with the darkroom and highchair type of compounds: in the latter type, not only does the compound share the syntactic category of the second element (the HEAD), but also shares its meaning: after all, a darkroom is a kind of room, a highchair is a kind of chair, a blackboard is a kind of board, and so no. In some sense, the head of the compound represents the 'centre' (both syntactically and semantically) of the compound. That is the reason why compounds of this type are described by linguists as endocentric compounds, or compounds that have their centre within them (Bloomfield 1933:235ff.). In contrast, compounds of the hot dog type seem to have little to do with their constituents syntactically or semantically (i.e. in grammar or in meaning). Syntactically, some compounds with a noun as the second element can be used only either as verbs (e.g., hot foot) or as adjectives (blue-eyed); semantically, the compound does not share the meaning of the second constituent at all: a turncoat is not a type of coat, redtape is not a type of tape. These compounds thus do not seem to have any centre at all, and if there is one, it is outside the compound — the meaning which it carries. That may be the reason behind calling such compounds exocentric compounds. Exocentric compounds show that we cannot have a meaning-based accounl of English compounds, i.e. we cannot derive the meaning of compound from the meanings of its constituent words and then make this a basis of which words can be combined to form compounds.

3.4.3 The Syntactic-semantic(or Generative) approach

In recent years, a new approach to grammar, known as generative grammar, has become quite popular. It believes that the job of grammar is not only to classify items of language into classes, but to set out a finite set of rules by which all the possible sentences of a language could be generated, (=produced). Since the set of all possible sentences of a language is infinite, this means that the set of finite rules must be able to generate an infinite number of sentences.' When applied to compounding, this approach (Selkirk 1982) means that the grammar must be able to formulate a set of

rules which can generate all the possible compounds of the English language. The approach believes that the set of possible compounds in English is also infinite, i.e. we cannot set out a list of the English compounds. Every English speaker produces new compounds, some of which become popular while others don't. Nevertheless, the new compounds are always understood by the English speakers so long as they are produced in accordance with the rules of compounding in English. The real task with respect to compounding in English is not to classify the compounds according to their (or their constituents') syntactic category, or to list the semantic relations between the constituents of the compounds, but lo discover these ndes. In a sense, every English speaker knows these rulcs: that is why he is able to produce and understand new compounds.

If this approach is correct then we gain a big advantage: wc don't have to list the compounds in the dictionary at all. Rather we simply refer to the rules of the grammar of English compounding to decide whether a given compound is a possible compound in English or not.

But what are these rules'? They cannot be like the ones that we have seen in the syntactic and the semantic approaches above. We have seen that it is not possible to account for all kinds of English compounds by describing them in terms of either the syntactic category of their constituents or the semantic relations that hold between them.

The generative approach scores at the very start by claiming that the rules required for generating the compounds are not separate from the rules required to generate the sentences of English. The grammar of English sentences has a set of rules which generate strings of constituents with certain kinds of syntactic and semantic relations between them. For example, the following rules, where the arrow is to be interpreted to mean 'has the constituents', generates, among others, the strings given after the rules:

S → NP VP	(Sentence has the constituents Noun Phrase & Verb Phrase)
NP → (Det) N (PP)	(Noun Phrase can have up to three constituents: Determiner + Noun + Prepositional Phrase, but only Noun is compulsory; other may or may not occur)
VP → V (NP) (PP)	(Verb phrase can have upto three constituents: Verb + Noun Phrase + Prepositional Phrase, but only Verb is compulsory)
PP → P NP	(Prepositional Phrase has two compulsory constituents; Preposition and Noun Phrase)

These few rules will generate (i.e. will define as grammatical) a large number of strings including the following:

(Det + N)NP + (V + N)	(e.g. The man sells books/The man tells fortunes)
(Det + N)NP + V	(e.g., The woman cleans)

The generative approacli claims that we can use these very rules lo generate compounds. With a little additional mechanism, we can use the same rules that generate 'The woman cleans' to generate the compound cleaning woman, the rules that generate 'The man sells books' to generate the compound bookseller. The big advantage of this approach is that we do not require any separate set of rules to explain why certain words cannot combine to form compounds. The same rules that exclude a sentence as ungrammatical will also exclude the impossible compound. E.g., if *bookgrower and *seeming woman are not possible compounds, this is simply because the rules of grammar do not generate the corresponding sentences *The man

grows books and ***The woman seems.** We can now also explain why **"freezing-hot** and ***burning- cold** are not possible compounds while **freezing-cold** and **burning-hot** are. The reason is that the rules of grammar allow the sentences **It's so cold that it'll freeze you** and **It's so hot that it'll burn you** but not ***It's so hot that it'll freeze you** and **"It's so cold that it'll** burn you.

The generative approach seems very interesting and promising. Making use of both **the** syntactic and semantic relations between the constituents of a compound, it is able to explain both the grammar and the meaning of a **compound,** while also explaining why some combinations of words are acceptable as compounds and not others. It will explain compounds like **walking stick** by relating it to such other compounds as **fishing rod** and **sewing machine,** deriving them from rules which generate the phrases **stick used for walking, rod used for fishing** and **machine used for sewing** respectively.

However, this approach will have **difficulty** in explaining compounds like **hot dog** and **tallboy** and will perhaps rightly, ask them to. be listed in the dictionary as single words, or non-compounds, which accidentally share the compound character. It will also have difficulty in explaining how and whence compounds like **darkroom** and **girlfriend** get the 'additional element' of meaning which distinguishes them from the corresponding modifier + noun phrase combinations. If all such compounds are also to be listed in the dictionary, then the advantage gained by the generative approach in treating one set of compounds will be neutralized by its failure to treat another set. The generative **grammarian** can of course argue that since no other theory is able to explain such compounds either, it is still ahead of them in the ways outlined above.

3.4.4 Some Minor Compound Types

The account given above does not cover all possible types of English compounds, for example the compounds in bold in the following sentences:

a) The award was received **by the author-publisher** in person.

b) The **socio-political** implications of the decision were enormous.

c) After a lot of **dilly-dallying,** the government conceded their demands.

d) He turned away, a **Sare-me-the-details** look making his attitude quite abvious.

The compound in (a) is called the **coordinate type** of compound: it differs from the endocentric type in that both constituents arc equally important and no single word can be called the head of the compound. The compound refers to a single person who is both the author **and** the publisher of the book. The compound in (b) is also of this type (meaning 'social **and** political'), but here the first word is **put** in a special form (called the combining form) before combining it with the other word. Such compounds are called **combining-form compounds.** The **compound dilly-dally** in (c) is called the **reduplicative type** of compound. We will discuss this type in the next unit (see Unit 4, Sec, 4.2). The type of compound that occurs in (d) is almost always used in a modifying function; any phrase can be turned into a **modifying** compound by putting hyphens between the words of the phrase, **e.g., his more-than-usual** interest in my studies, **the come-and-take-it-if-you-can** look on his face, etc. Appropriately, compounds of this type are called **phrase compounds.**

3.4.5 Writing Conventions for Compounds

You might have noticed that we have written the compounds in the above account in three **different** ways: some (like **darkroom, girlfriend, tallboy)** have been written as single words; some (like **sleep-walk, freezing-cold)** have been **written** with a hyphen.

while still others (like cleaning woman, walking stick, hot dog) have been written as two words. These three varieties of 'orthographic' (= written or printed) compounds are known as solid, hyphenated and open compounds. These three modes of writing compounds, it must be remembered, do not represent a progressively decreasing degree of 'unity' in the compounds, though a visual impression of this kind is created. In fact, few reliable generalizations can be made about the way compounds are written. Many compounds are in fact written, sometimes by the same writer in the same piece of writing, in all the three styles, e.g., birdcage, bird-cage or bird cage; winebottle, or wine bottle. In other words, the writing and printing of compounds in English still remains largely idiosyncratic, and one usually tries to follow the practice of the majority.

3.5 LET US SUM UP

We liave made the following points in this unit:

1. Derivation is a process by which new lexical words are created from old ones by adding affixes to them. Such affixes are called derivational affixes.
2. Derivational affixes are different from inflectional affixes in a variety of ways. Basically, inflectional affixes do not create new words, only grammatical forms of the same lexical word.
3. The addition of a derivational affix to a word modifies its meaning, end this modification has no predictable direction.
4. Inflectional affixes do not change the category of tlie word to which they are attached, derivational affixes often do. This makes the classification of derivational affixes more complicated.
5. Derivational affixes cannot be classified on the basis of tlie category of tlie stem because the same affix can be attached to stems belonging to different categories, Moreover, no derivational affix can be attached to ali the stems of given a category.
6. Derivational affixes also cannot be classified on the basis of tlie category of tlie word resulting from tlie affixation since the same affix produces words of different categories.
7. Nor can derivational affixes be classified on the basis of tlie effect they have on the meaning of the stem because this effect is not constant (except with derivational prefixes).
8. Another approacli to the classification of derivational affixes relates the derived words to tlie underlying syntactic forms. But differences of meaning between tlie derived word and the underlying forms are not explained by this approach.
9. A combination of some of the approaches above (5-8) is used here for classifying derivational affixes.
10. Derivational prefixes are classified on the basis of the meaning criterion into Negative, Reversative, Privative, Pejorative and a few other types.
11. Derivational suffixes are first classified on the basis of the category of the stem to which the suffix is added.
12. When words belonging to one grammatical category are used as words of another category, we have 'conversion'.

13. A word cannot undergo conversion' if it has already undergone inflection, but it can still undergo conversion' if it has undergone derivation.

14. The direction of conversion can be determined by using the criteria of form and meaning.

15. Each case of conversion is classified first in terms of the category of the word resulting from conversion, and then subclassifed in terms of the category of the word from which it is converted.

16. Even after undergoing conversion, some words do not inherit all the properties of the acquired category. They are cases of 'partial conversion'.

17. The meaning of a case of conversion can be stated by relating it in some way to the meaning of the word from which it was converted.

18. Compounding is a highly productive process of word-formation in English. When two or more free morphemes are joined together to produce a new lexical word, we get a compound.

19. Not any two free morphemes (ie words), however, can be put together to produce a compound. Linguists have been trying to discover the rules which given the formation of compounds.

20. The syntactic approach describes the formation of compounds in terms of the grammatical categories of the words that are combined into compounds. However, not all words belonging to those grammatical categories can be combined with each other. Moreover, some kinds of combinations are more productive than others.

21. The semantic approach describes the compounds in terms of the relationships between the meanings of the words combined. The meaning of a compound is always more than the sum of the meaning of its constituent words. However. usually the meanings of the constituent words provide some lead into the meaning of the compound.

22. In endocentric compounds, for example, the compound denotes a specific instance of the object denoted by the second' word in the compound, also called the 'head' of the compound.

23. Not all compounds, are, however, endocentric. There are exocentric compounds in which the meanings of the constituent words have no relationship to the meaning of the compound.

24. The syntactic-semantic (generative) approach believes that compounds are generated freely from sentential structures and therefore do not need to be listed in the dictionary. The same rules that restrict the combination of words in sentential structures also restrict it in compounds. No separate rules are needed.

25. In this approach, the meanings of compounds are staled in terms of the semantic relations obtaining between the underlying sentence constituents.

26. This approach also cannot describe the exocentric type of compound, in which the meaning of the compound cannot be deduced from the meanings of the constituent words. Even some endocentric types, in which the 'additional meaning element' is very prominent, are outside its scope. The approach would prefer to list such words in the dictionary as non- compounds with accidental compound character.

27. Coordinate compounds, combining-form compounds, reduplicative compounds and phrase compounds are some other types of compounds to be found in English.

28. Compounds are written in English in three different ways: as single words (solid), hyphenated or as two words (open). These systems of writing have however not yet been standardized.

3.6 KEY WORDS

Adjective Suffix: a derivational suffix wliich, added to a stem, results in an adjective

Adjective Compound: A compound which, as a whole unit, belongs to the category .adjective'

Adverb Suffix: A derivational suffix which, added to a stem, results in an adverb

Combining-form Compound: A compound in which one of the constituent words takes a special form. This form occurs only when this word is combined with another word in a compound.

Compound: A word made up of two or more free morphemes each of which can be realized as an independent word

Conversion (or **Zero** Derivation):' A process of word-formation without affixation; creates new lexical words by converting words of one grammatical category into words of another category.

Coordinate (or **Dvanda) Compound:** A type of compound whose meaning is the sum of the meanings of its constituent words and can be derived by joining the constituent words with 'and'

Deadjectivnl: Derived\converted from an adjective

Deverbal: Derived\converted from a verb

Endocentric Compound: A compound whose meaning does not lie totally outside the compound and has something to do with the meaning of the constituent words, particularly with that of the second word (the head of the compound)

Exocentric **Compound:** A compound whose meaning has nothing to do with the meaning of the constituent words and lies totally outside the compound

Negative Prefix: A derivational prefix that adds the meaning 'not', 'opposite of, 'lacking in', etc, to the meaning of the stem

Noun Compound: A compound which, as a whole unit, belongs to the category 'noun'

.Noun Suffix: A derivatioilal suffix which, when attached to a stem, results in a noun

Noun-Adjective Suffix: A derivational suffix wliich, added to a stem, results in a word which may be used as a noun or as an adjective

Partial Conversion: A type of conversion in which tlie converted word does not acquire all the characteristics of the category into whicli it has been converted

Pejorative Prefix: A derivatioiial prefix that adds the meaning 'bad', 'badly', 'wrongly', 'false', etc. to the meaning of the stem

Phrase Compound: A compound wliich consists of more than two constituents

Privative Prefix: A derivatioiial prefix that adds the meaning 'deprive (someone of something)'

Reduplicative Compound; A compound in which the second word duplicates the first with minor differences

Reversative Prefix: A derivational prefix that contributes the meaning 'reverse the action', or 'undo the action' denoted by the stem

Semantic approach to Compound Formation: An approacli that describes compounds in terms of the relationships between the meanings of the words combined

Syntactic approach to Compound Formation: An approacli that describes the formation of compounds in terms of the grammatical categories of the constituent words

Syntactic-Semantic approach to Compound Formation: An approach to the formation of compounds that assumes that compounds are generated freely from sentential structures and therefore do not need to be listed in the dictionary. The same rules that restrict the combination of words in sentential structures also restrict it in compounds and no separate rules are needed. The meanings of compounds are staled in terms of the semantic relations obtaining between the underlying sentence constituents.

Verb Suffix: A derivational suffix which added to a stem results in a verb

Verb Compound: A compound which, as a whole unit, belongs to the category 'verb'

3.7 BIBLIOGRAPHY

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3.8 QUESTIONS & EXERCISES

1. In Section 1.1 we cited **examples** of some prefixes (dis-) and **suffixes** (-hood) which can be attached to words belonging to more than one part of speech (or ,'grammatical category').

   (a) Cite three more affixes of this type and give examples of words to illustrate your choice.

   (b) What point about the classification of derivational **affixes** does the existence of such cases **support?**

2. Now cite three examples (other than the ones you have cited in answer to question (1) to show that the same **affix** may be found with words belonging to different grammatical categories. What point about the classification of derivational affixes do these cases support ?

3. What are **suffixal** homophones? Give examples (other than those cited in the lesson).

4. What meanings do the following **affixes** contribute to resulting words?

E.g.,	**-age** as in baggage:		'collection of (bags)'
	-age as in bondage:		'state of (being in a bond)'
	-ee	as in	payee:
	-eer	as in	mountaineer:
	-ful	as in	glassful:
	hood	as in	boyhood:
	-ive	as in	attractive
	-let	as in	starlet:
	-ly	as in	motherly:
	a-	as in	amoral:
	micro-	as in	**micro-organism:**
	sub-	as in	subhuman:

5. Explain the following terms:

   E.g., Denominal **noun** suffix: a **suffix** which, attached to a noun, produces a noun

   (a) Deverbal adjective **suffix**
   (b) Denominal verb **suffix**
   (c) Deadjectival noun **suffix**
   (d) Denominal adverb **suffix**
   (d) A conversion prefix

6. Label each affix according to the scheme of classification used in the lesson:

(a)	anti-	as in	anticlockwise
(b)	**de-**	as in	decarbonize
(c)	**dis-**	as in	disarm
(d)	il-	as in	illegal

(c) **mal-** as in maladjusted
(f) **mini-** as in minicomputer
(g) **-en** as in sharpen
(h) **-ent** as in absorbent
(i) **-ic** as in heroic
(j) **-ing** as in shirting
(k) **-ize** as in hospitalize
(l) **-ly** as in angrily
(m) **-ly** as in cowardly
(n) **-ment** as in equipment
(o) **-th** as in warmth

7. The following 'nonce-words' ('words invented for one particular occasion') have been used recently in the contexts provided. Do you know **what** the words **signify?** Comment on the **affixes** used and the effectiveness of the nonce formation:

(a) Tiger **Woodsian** debut' (John **Updike** on **Arundhati Roy's** The God of Small Things)

(b) 'the **chutneyfication** of history' (**Salman Rushdie** on the mixed **influences** of east and west that make up the world of the Indian writer in English today)

(c) **'deyuppification'** (from yuppie = 'Young Urban Professional Person; used in the context of the deyuppication of a neighbourhood)

(d) 'Lebanonisation of Bosnia'

(e) **'The McDonaldization** of Society' (Title of a book by George Ritzer) **'McDonaldization'** id explained by the author as 'the process by which the principles of the fast-food restaurant are coming to dominate more and more sectors of American society as well as of rest of the world.

8. Identify the cases of conversion in the following sentences. Then label each case following the system of classification used in the lesson.

(a) Give a man a fish and **you, feed** him for a day; **teach him how** to fish and you feed him for life.

(b) The boat **steamed** into the harbour.

(c) He was arrested for harbouring a convict.

(d) While I talked, she busied herself with the cat on her lap.

(e) He was in the know bul refused to admit it,

(f) His upper-class manner immediately made him a suspect in the group.

(h) He muddied the picture further by raising the racial issue.

(i) Try to **picture** the scene to yourself then **think** of the best expression to **use.**

(j) A big deficit during the current fiscal is now unavoidable.

9. Using the generative approach, say why the compounds on **the** left are possible while the ones on the right are not:

(a) good-looking *sad wanting

(b) odd-seeming *stupid supporting

(c) fast-moving *slow-owing

(d) **wage-earner** *cow-stinker

(e) profit-sharing *loss working

10. What do the following compounds mean? Can you suggest any relationship between the meaning of the compound and the meanings of the constituent words?

(a) **bookworm** (f) bootlicker

(b) jailbird (g) tell-tale

(c) lay-about (h) **holdfast**

(d) birdbrain (i) kickback

(e) scarecrow (j) spin-off

NOTES ON QUESTIONS & EXERCISES

1. (a) For example: un-: unwise **(adj.),** undo (vb.)

-ly friendly (n.) wisely '(adj.)

(b) The point about the classification of derivational affixes that the existence of such cases supports is that derivational affixes cannot be classified on the basis of the category of the stem alone.

2. For example: **-ful**; beautiful **(adj.),** handful (n.)
-ese: Chinese **(adj.\n.), officialese** (n.)
re- : rebuild (vb.), reunion (n.)

The point that they support is that derivational affixes cannot be classified on the basis of the **grammatical** category of the word resulting from the **afixation** alone.

3. When two or more derivational **suffixes** belonging to different (sub) categories have the same phonological form, we have **suffixal homophones.** E.g., **-ing** (deverbal noun **suffix** as in **building, opening,** etc.) and **-ing (denominal** noun **suffix** as in **matting, carpeting,** etc.)

4.

-ee	as in	**payee:** 'one who is (paid)'
ecr	as in	**mountaineer:** 'one who is engaged in (the kind of activity suggested by the stem)'
-ful	as in	**glassful:** 'quantity which would fill (a glass)'
-hood	as in	**boyhood:** 'state of being (a boy)'
-ive	as in	**attractive** 'of the kind that (attracts)'
-let	as in	**starlet:** 'a small (star)'
-ly	as in	**motherly:** 'having the qualities of (a mother)'
a-	as in	**amoral:** 'neutral with regard to the quality of being (moral)'
micro-	as in	**micro-organism:** 'very small version of (organisms)'
sub-	as in	**subhuman:** 'belonging to a species/rank lower than that of (a human)'

5. (a) Deverbal adjective suffix: attached to a verb produces an adjective
   (b) Denominal verb suffix: attached to a noun produces a verb
   (c) Deadjectival noun suffix: attached to an adjective produces a noun
   (d) Denominal adverb suffix: attached to a noun produces an adverb
   (d) A conversion prefix: a prefix that changes the category of the word to which it is attached.

6. (a) anti- : Orientation prefix
   (b) de- : Reversative prefix
   (c) dis- : Privative prefix
   (d) il- : Negative prefix
   (e) mal- : Pejorative prefix
   (f) mini- : Prefix of size
   (g) -en : Deadjectival verb suffix
   (h) -ent : Deverbal adjective suffix
   (i) -ic : Denominal adjective suffix
   (j) -ing : Denominal noun suffix
   (k) -ize : Deadjectival adverb suffix
   (l) -ly : Deadjectival adverb suffix
   (m) -ly : Deadjectival adjective suffix
   (n) -ment : Deverbal noun suffix
   (o) -th : Deadjectival noun suffix

7. (a) From Tiger woods, a young golf player who broke all records in his very first professional performances and crealed a world-wide sensation in the golfing world.

   (b) From 'chutney', the Hindi word, taken in the sense of a mixture, or melange, of various ingredients. The Indian writer of English today is open lo influences ranging from the pop culture of the west to the centuries-old traditions of the regional Indian cultures, and often seems alienated, rootless and confused. But at the same lime he is very alive and very sensitive. This gives his perceptions pungency, which is conveyed strikingly by the word 'chutney'. Thus the expression actually conveys the idea of not only a mixture but a tangy and pungent mixture.

   The denominal verb suffix -fy derives 'chutneyfy', from 'chutney'; in turn, the deverbal noun suffix -ation turns 'chutneyfy' into 'chutneyfication'.

   (c) From 'yuppie' ('Young Urban Professional Person') referring to the young professionals in the business world who are paid exorbitantly high salaries and have a fancy life style, The word, which captures an entire class of people, their attitudes and life-styles, is used in a derogatory sense to express the speaker's disapproval of the class.

   The ending -ie or -y is a familiarity marker (as in buddy, chappie, etc.). The denominal verb suffix -fy is added next to get 'yuppify'; next the reversative prefix de- gives us 'deyuppify' from which the deverbal noun suffix -ation derives 'deyuppification'.

   (d) 'Lebanonization' comes from the name of the country 'Lebanon', which, in recent years, has seen a bitter and prolonged civil conflict turning into a

running sore. When the same thing happened in Bosnia, the process could be described using the single word 'Lebanonization'. The denominal verb suffix **-ize** is added to 'Lebanon', followed by the suffix **-ation.**

(e) McDonaldization' comes from McDonald's the American fast-food restaurant chain which, starting only a few decades ago, now has around 15,000 restaurants all over the world, more outside than inside USA. McDonald's has become synonymous with the American (and the 'modern') way of life, its efficiency and reliability combined with its fast pace and alienation from traditional values. The success of the McDonald model has not only made fast food a world-wide craze, but all businesses have been trying to imitate the business principles of McDonald. Its values are being adopted increasingly by the young generation everywhere. In this sense the word describes a sociological phenomenon very aptly.

The morphological processes are the same as in 'Lebanonization'.

8. (a) **fish** (noun → verb)

(b) steam (noun → verb)

(c) harbouring (noun → verb); convict (verb → noun)

(d) busied (adjective → verb)

(e) know (verb → noun)

(f) upper-class (noun → adjective); suspect (verb → noun)

(g) free-for-all (phrase → verb)

(h) muddied (adjective → verb)

(i) picture (noun → verb)

(j) fiscal (adjective → noun)

9. The compounds on the left are possible because they are derived from possible sentences (e.g., good-looking is derived from the .sentence X looks good; those on the right are not possible because the underlying sentences are not possible (e.g., ***sad-wanting** has the impossible source *X wants sad.

10. (a) bookworm: Refers to a person who is very fond of books; like the worm that likes to live in books and eats holes into them

(b) jailbird: describes a person who is frequently in jail for the crimes lie commits; like a bird flying in and out of a jail

(c) lay-about: used for a lazy person who avoids work; lie prefers lo 'lie around or about the place'

(d) birdbrain: a stupid person; with a brain as small as that of a bird

(e) scarecrow: a human like figure dressed in old clothes set up in a field to frighten (scare) away birds (crows)

(f) bootlicker: a flatterer; one who would 'lick the other's boots'

(g) tell-tale: a person who tells tales i.e. reveals other people's secrets

(h) holdfast: a hook, clamp or bolt; something that holds things fast

(i) kickback: money paid to someone illegally on some deal; passing something on to someone by kicking it backwards to him so that it is not seen

(j) spin-off: incidental gain; something that spins off, e.g., a spinning-wheel but is not intended as its main product

UNIT 4: WORD-FORMATION IN ENGLISH – 3

Structure

4.0 Objectives

4.1 Introduction

4.2 Coining

- **4.2.1** Back-formation
- **4.2.2** Reduplication
- **4.2.3** Blends
- **4.2.4** Clipping
- **4.2.5** Acronyms

4.3 Meaning Change

- **4.3.1** Generalization
- **4.3.2** Specialization
- **4.3.3** Change in connotations

4.4 Let Us Sum Up

4.5 Key Words

4.6 Bibliography

4.7 Questions and Exercises

Notes on 'Questions & Exercises'

4.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able lo distinguish

- five minor processes which are used in **English for** coining new words — back-formation, reduplication, blending, clipping **and acronym-formation — from** each other and **from** the major processes descibed in earlier units, and
- three processes of meaning change' — generalization, specialization and change in connotations — and appreciate the way in which **these** processes lead to new uses for old words.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The processes of word-formation we have discussed so **far—inflection,** derivation, conversion and compounding — are the **most** productive ways in which **new** words are created in English. There are, however, a few other, relatively minor, processes as well, **which** have nevertheless contributed to the enrichment of **the English** word-store in the past and which are still resorted lo by English users wishing to cxpress **themselves** concisely, accurately and creatively.

We can divide these minor processes into two broad types: **Coining and Meaning Change.** The difference between the two types is somewhat **like the difference** between

derivation and conversion: in derivation we add affixes to an existing word to create a new word; in conversion we just change the category of the word, use it in a different way, and get a new word. Similarly, in coining a new word we perform various kinds of operations on existing words, while in **Meaning** Change we change the use of a word by extending or narrowing its meaning. Both processes result in the creation of new lexical words, which are usually listed separately in the dictionary in those cases where the operations, or the meaning change, result in words with differences sufficient to defy an easy guess. The special importance of these processes lies in the fact that, without resorting to affixation, compounding or conversion, and simply by recycling the existing resources of the language, they supply the English language with a bonanza of new words.

4.2 COINING

The coining processes that we shall discuss are back-formation, reduplication, blending, clipping and acronym formation.

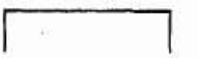
4.2.1 Back-formation

Back-formation reverses the normal process of word-formation by affixation: it creates new words by dropping, instead of adding, affixes. It drops affixes for two reasons: either because what it takes to be an affix is not in actual fact (historically speaking) an affix, or because when the word was first introduced in the language it came fully armed with an affix. Examples of the first type are beg, burgle, edit, hawk, peddle and a host of other verbs which are historically derived from nouns of a particular type. The special characteristic of these nouns is that they all have endings like -er, -ar or -or, all pronounced alike as /ə/. For example, beg comes from beggar, descended most probably from the word beghard, the name of a mendicant brotherhood of the middle ages. Similarly, the words burglar, editor, hawker, and pedlar existed before the corresponding verbs were derived from them by dropping the endings. This most probably happened under the impression that their endings were agentive suffixes, the same that we find in nouns like singer, dancer, worker, writer, etc., and that the nouns were agentive nouns. The impression must have been undoubtedly reinforced by the fact that the endings were pronounced in the same way, In actual fact, the nouns were not agentive nouns but nouns describing occupations; moreover, they were monomorphemic and their endings were not suffixes at all. But once the nouns had been interpreted as agentive nouns, they were naturally expected to conform to the pattern of all agentive nouns. Now agentive nouns all have corresponding verbs (naturally, because they have been derived from them by adding the agentive suffix -er) and they are equal to the agentive noun minus the suffix. So these 'whole' words too were given corresponding verbs by dropping the 'suffixes'. Thus while the nouns singer and dancer were 'formed forwards' from the verbs sing and dance, the verbs beg and burgle were 'formed backwards' from the nouns beggar and burglar. This was the result of misinterpreting monomorphemic words as bimorphemic.

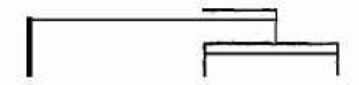
This type of back-formation can also be seen in words like televise ← television on the pattern of revise → revision. But note that the arrow in the former case points the other way, indicating that whereas revision is derived from revise by suffixation, televise is derived from television by back-formation, since it was the word television that came first. It was derived by adding the prefix tele- (meaning 'distant') to the word vision (seeing) and had no connection, except through the common Latin root, with the word revision. Some other examples of back-formation of this type are the following:

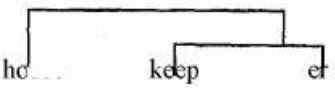
abduct <- abduction	appreciate <- appreciation
automate <- automation	create <- creation
donate <- donation	grovel <- grovelling
investigate <- investigation	non-cooperate <- non-cooperation

The second type of back-formation is found mostly in the case of verb compounds (like stage-manage <- stage-manager, globe-trot <- globe-trotter, house-keep <- housekeeper), all back-formed (like this word itself) from noun compounds. In this type, the source word does have an affix, a suffix, and it is dropped too to form the verb, but before this is done, the suffix undergoes a sort of status change. For example, in the words cited above, the agentive deverbal noun suffix -er belongs to the second word, and is in construction with the verb stem, a relationship which we can depict as follows:



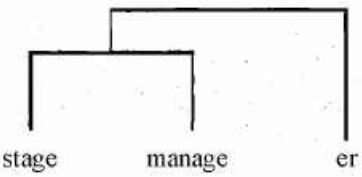
The compound noun is derived by combining this derived noun with another noun, as follows:

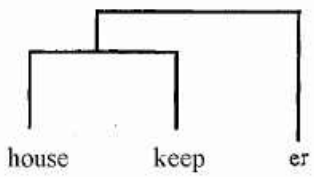




Accordingly, these compounds are seen to have their sources in the sentences 'X manages the stage' and 'X keeps house' respectively.

Now, when the suffix is dropped, it is treated as if it belonged not to the root verb ('manage' and 'keep' respectively) but to the compound verb as stem, as though the compound verb existed before the compound noun did. In other words, the structure of the compound noun is interpreted not as given above but as follows:





Only by reinterpreting the structure of the compound noun can the suffix be dropped to yield the verbs stage-manage and housekeep with the intended meanings.

Back-formations of this kind are not confined to agentive noun compounds only. They are also to be found with instrumental noun compounds (type-write <- typewriter; tape-record <- tape-recorder), gerundive noun compounds (sleep-walk <- sleep-walking, sight-see <- sightseeing), and various other kinds of noun and adjective compounds (self-destruct <- self-destruction, back-form <- back-formation, dry-clean <- drycleaned, hand-wash <- handwashed, and so on). The somewhat dubious nature of the verbs derived in this way is clear from the fact that not all of them seem to enjoy the full status of a verb. Thus, while some of them now have full inflectional paradigms (e.g., tape-recording, tape-recorded; self-destructing, self-destructed; sleep-walking, sleep-walked), others still seem to lack it: for example, type wrote and sight-saw are still not quite acceptable.

Despite this hesitation, back-formation as a creative device of word-formation continues to enjoy great popularity. Some more recent, and striking, instance$ of back-formation are laze (verb) from the adjective lazy, kudo (meaning 'praise') from the noun kudos

(where the -s is mistakenly interpreted as the plural suffix), and lase from the acronym (see below) laser (where, once again the ending is mistaken as the instrumental suffix -er).

4.2.2 Reduplication

Reduplication means repetition of part or whole of a root to indicate some meaning like plurality, distribution, repetition, customary activity, increase of size, added intensity, continuance, etc. As a process of word-formation it is to be found in various degrees in almost all languages. Hindi, for example makes use of it extensively to express intensity (e.g. *tej-tej chalo* (walk fast-fast ie 'faster'), *dhiire-dhiire* khao (eat slowly-slowly ie 'at a slower pace'), continuance (chalte-chnlte 'while *walking*'), customary activity (*roj-roj* 'everyday'), and so on. Some languages like Malay use it for making plurals of nouns, e.g., raja is 'king' while raja-raja is **'kings'.** In English, the role of reduplication is somewhat more restricted: it is not, as Sapir, (1921:76) said 'one of the typical formative devices' of English. However, there are enough reduplicatives (one study puts their number in English and its dialects at 2000) for us to put them into three diferent types, and to make generalizations about the types.

First, there are those types in which the same base is repeated identically. Most reduplicatives of this type are nouns denoting sounds, and carry the meaning 'an instance or act of ...'. They are mostly used when the context implies monotonous repetition or continuation of the sound, e.g., **thump-thump** (of crutches), tick-tick (of clocks), clump-clump (of boots), clunk-clunk (or oars), pad-pad (of shoes), and so on. Language used with children has a special set of such words, e.g., quack-quack, choo-choo, puff-puff, etc. There are only a few compounds of this type which do not denote sounds and they are mostly all adjectives, though some can also be used as nouns. The doubling of the word lends a pejorative, or contemptuous shade, to these words, e.g., goody-goody (as a noun: a person who behaves so as to appear very virtuous and respectable), pretty-pretty (affectedly pretty or too pretty), hush-hush (secret or confidential), never-never (hire purchase), and so on. Pooh-Pooh (to treat with contempt) seems to be the only verb among words of tlus type, Also among this type are some interjections (tut-tut, tsk-tsk) and some words borrowed from other languages (e.g., beriberi).

In the remaining two types of reduplicatives, the word is not duplicated exactly but appears with some phonological changes. They are divided into two types on the basis of the nature of these change. In the first type, called **rhyming** compounds, or rhyme motivated compounds, the vowel and the consonants that occur after it in the last or last-but-one syllable are identical, while the consonant(s) occurring before the vowel is changed, as in the rhyming lines of a poem. In case it is the last-but-one syllable that is affected, the last syllable is also identical, e.g., roly-poly, namby-pamby, hobnob, and so on. Most rhyming compounds are made up of bases neither, or only one, of which occurs as an independent word; only a few, like brain-drain and Block-Jack, are made up of pre-existing words. Here are a few more compounds of this type: hanky-panky, **harum-scarum, helter-skelter, holus-bolus,** bugger-mugger, **higgledy-piggledy,** mumbo-jumbo, nitwit, nitty-gritty, **walkie-talkie,** and wishy-washy.

In the second type of non-replicating compound, only a vowel sound of the word is changed while the consonants remain the same. Such compounds are called ablaut motivated compounds (ablaut refers lo the systematic way in which vowels change in related forms of a word, e.g., in a verb paradigm: drive, **drove, driven).** The bases occurring in such compounds too may or may not be independent words of English:

mishmash	ping-pong	pitter-patter	tiptop
riff-raff	ding-dong	shilly-shally	flip-flop
dilly-dally	sing-song	tittle-tattle	seesaw

If we were to classify reduplicatives on the basis of the meanings they suggest, we could put them in the following four categories (Quirk et al: 1579):

(i) Compounds which imitate sounds: tick-tock, bow-wow, etc.

(ii) Compounds which suggest alternating movements: seesaw, flip-flop, ping-pong

(iii) Pejorative compounds, which suggest instability, nonsense, insincerity, vacillation, etc.: hanky-panky, harum-scarum, helter-skelter, higgledy-piggledy, mumbo-jumbo, nitwit, wishy-washy, dilly-dally, shilly-shally

(iv) Compounds which intensify: tiptop, teeny-weeny

It should also be noted that most reduplicatives are highly informal or familiar words and are generally avoided in the formal style of speech and writing. In fact, quite a good number of them are confined to the sphere of child-parent talk.

4.2.3 Blends

Blends are words coined by combining elements from two other words. We have all come across such words in advertisements, since advertisers and copy-writers are rather fond of this device for creating new brand-names and their descriptions. Thus, a new two-wheeler is called Fantabulous, which blends elements from the two words fantastic and fabulous; a new swimsuit is advertised as a **swimsation,** combining elements from swimsuit and **sensation;** a **gramophone** into which you can dictate letters to be recorded is called a **dictaphone; computer accessories** are called **compucessaries,** and so on. However, blends created by playful copywriters do not usually enjoy a long life and are often criticized as jargon.

Blending however has a long history and one can find literary writers resorting to blends even during Shakespeare's times. Dean Colet (c. 1512) used the blend **'blatterature'** to describe what he thought was the bad and 'blind' literature of his times; Robert Greene (c. 1590) lampooned the 'foolosophers' and the **'foolosophy'** of his times; Samuel Purchase (c. 1613) talked about the **'knavigations** of false dicoverers', and so on. Some of the most well known blends of English come from Lewis Carroll's **'Through** the Looking Glass' (1872) where Humpty Dumpty refers to them as 'portmanteau words': 'two meanings packed up into one word.' Some of these portmanteau words are slithy *(lithe + slimy),* **mimsy** *(flimsy + miserable)* and **chortle** *(chuckle + snort).*

Till the twentieth century however blends were used mostly for fun as puns or terms of mockery. It was only towards the middle of the twentieth century that blends started to be coined consciously to produce serious and permanent additions to the vocabulary. And already English has a large store of them.

These blends can be classified into three types:

(a) **Phonaesthemic** blends: *flimmer, shumbling, squeelch, squirl*

(b) Compound blends: *aerobatics, brunch, Oxbridge, smog*

(c) Group forming blends: *cavalcade, motorcade, execute, electrocute*

Phonaesthemic blends:

J.R.Firth, the British linguist, used the term **'phonaesthesia'** to refer to the occurrence of

the same consonant cluster in series of words with similar meanings. For example, the cluster **cr-** in words like crick, **crinkle,** criss-cross, **cramp** contributes tlie meaning **'crooked'** or 'not straight'; the cluster **sl- sleaze,** slide, slime, slip, slope, sludge, **slump, slurp,** slurry suggests downward movement and a rushing, sucking sound; the cluster **-sh** in bash, dash, **crash, flash,** gush, **hush, rush, splash** suggests swift or strong movement; the element **-ump** in **stump thump,** clump, bump, dump signifies 'dull impact', and so on. Firth gave the name 'phonaestheme' to such elements.

Phonaesthemic blends are blends which combine phonaesthemic elements from two other words.' Mostly such blends are created by writers and speakers in their effort to give expression to some unique sensation; naturally most such creations do not find their way into a dictionary. The blends flimmer and squir are exceptions in that they are to be found in the large Oxford English Dictionary (Supplement). **Flimmer** reminds us of **flare, flame, flicker,** etc. on the one hand, and of glimmer and **shimmer** on the other. The beginning of **squirl** reminds us of squiggle and squirm, while its ending is like that of swirl, twirl and **whirl.** The word **squeelch** is used by Len Deighton in **'The Ipcress File'** to convey the squeaking and **squelching** sound made by windscreen wipers on a wet journey. **Shumbling** is used by Lawrence Durrell in **'Clea'** to describe the sound made when the coarse leaves of the Indian corn shuffle and fumble in the wind (Both examples are taken from Adams: 1973).

Compound Blends

Compound blends arc the most common type of blends and arc mostly results of conscious and wellplanned coining. They are called compound blends because they share some of the attributes of compounds. Of course, only parts of the words are blended, not whole words joined as in compounds, but normally enough is retained of the two words to enable us to identify them. Secondly, as in compounds, the second element is usually the important element, or the semantic head. For example, **brunch,** which is a blend of **breakfast** and **lunch,** is thought of mainly as a lunch and not as a breakfast. Similarly, a **heliport** is a kind of airport rather than a kind of helicopter, **smog** is more like fog than smoke, **guestimate** is a guessed estimate rather than an estimated guess, and so on. The contrast between **tigon and liger** illustrates the point very well (Ibid.). When a tiger is crossed with a lion, the offspring is called a 'tigon' if the sire is a tiger; and a 'liger' if tlie sire is a lion. A **tigon** is thought of mainly as a lion, a **liger** mainly as a tiger.

Most of these simple words will however not be found in a dictionary; nor are they in common use. They arc usually coined by a user to meet a specific expressive demand and arc soon forgotten. Only a few catch on because they meet a general need, e.g., motel. When a larger number of hotels sprang up in tlie U.S. along motorways to cater specifically to the needs of motorists, someone invented this word and it caught on. More recently, a majority of these motels were taken over by Gujarati Patels from India, and someone created another blend somewhat jokingly and started calling them **Potels,** but the coinage didn't catch on. Similarly, from time to time one has come across in newspapers blends like **selectorate** (from select and **electorate), sexcapades** (from sex and **escapades), boatel** (from boat and **hotel), automania** (from **automobile** and mania), multiversity (from **multiple** and university), **CocaColonization** (from Coca **Cola** and colonization), **Irangate (from Iran** and Watergate) and scores of others, most of which have been nine-day wonders. On the other hand, blends like **Chunnel** (Channel + tunnel), **breathalyser, telecast,** paratroops, newscast, workaholic, **travelogue, heliport,** etc, have become permanent additions to the wordstore of the English language. Many additions have also been made in the field of science and tcclinology where the need for compact names has always been felt acutely. High technology becomes **hightech** (or high-tech); **technology** and **Newspeak**

are blended to make technospeak to refer to the distinct register of technical language, **amatol** becomes the short name for the compound of ammonium nitrate and trinitrotoluene, gasoline made from alcohol is called gasohol, and so on.

Group Forming Blends

We can possibly explain best what 'group-forming' means by referring to a significant difference between prefixes on the one hand and suffixes on the other. It has been noted that prefixes are characteristically less integrated with the stem than suffixes (Sapir: 67ff.). What is meant is that prefixes seem to add a fired element (e.g. negation, reversal, size, degree, etc.; see Unit 3.) to the meaning of the stem without affecting, or rather 'infecting', its meaning or connotation in any other way. Suffixes, on the other hand, seem to add shades to the meaning of the stem, thus creating groups. For example, the three prefixes, sub-, near-, and semi- (as in sub-cylindrical meaning 'nearly cylindrical', near-saint, and semi-formal respectively) mean almost the same thing as the two suffixes **-ish** and -like, i.e. 'approximating to'. But whereas the suffixes **-ish** and **-like** seem to divide the stems to which they are attached into two groups, the prefixes don't. The two groups are as follows: those with the **-ish** suffix acquire a depreciative, derogatory shade of meaning, those with the suffix **-like** are free from it. Thus childish is used in the derogatory sense to mean 'silly', and 'immature' whereas childlike is used approvingly to mean **'innocent'**, 'free of guile', etc. Another example that Adams provides is the suffix **-eer,** which gives to the stems to which it is attached a flavour of dishonesty, e.g., profiteer, racketeer, **pulpiteer,** soneteer (it of course did not have this shade to begin with, e.g., volunteer, mountaineer). Even phonologically, suffixes seem to put stems into groups. The suffix **-eer,** for example, now tends to occur only with stems ending in **'t';** on the other hand, pseudo-, a prefix with a similar meaning, does not seem to stamp the stems semantically or phonologically.

There are a number of groups of words in English which, by virtue of sharing such suffixes, appear to be blends rather than cases of derivation. One such group is made of words like motorcade, aerocade, aquacade, carcade, **camelcade,** and so on. The first of these words, motorcade, was invented around 1913, by blending motor with cavalcade, and making a false division of cavalcade into stem + suffix. Now all words ending in **-cade** are fell to be blends involving as one of its sources cavnlcade. The element **-cade** thus forms a group of blends with the meaning 'procession'. In more recent years, since Watergate, -gate has become another element of this kind, carrying the nuance of a scandal, and has produced words like **Muldergate, Billiegate,** Cattlegate, **Irangate,** all of which are felt to be blends with Watergatc. Another element forming a semantic grouping is **-nik,** which, in words like peacenik (an antiwar demostrator protesting against the established order), straightnik (=a conventional person trying to be unconventional), draftnik (a draft-dodger), etc. harked back to beatnik, a derogatory word for the rebel youths in the late fifties who wore strange dresses and behaved unconventionally as a challenge to traditional values (=hippies). Blends with **-nik** seem to display phonological grouping also, as mostly it is bases ending in **-t** that blend with beatnik.

This last example shows the difficulty involved in drawing the boundary line between cases of suffixation and blending. Wherever a suffix displays a strong group-forming tendency, a blend suggests itself, though historically this may be incorrect. An interesting example is that of the suffix **-ster.** This suffix has a fairly long history in words like songster, gamester, **seamster,** spinster, youngster, etc. and none of the words carried a particularly strong contemptuous connotation. During the nineteenth century, particularly in the U.S., due to the coining of the word gangster, the depreciatory meaning became particularly strong, and thereafter all new words ending

in **-ster** came to be felt to be blends with a derogatory meaning, though historically this was not **correct; But most** post-gangster words like **dopester, funster, scamster, mobster, speedster, bankster,** etc. were coined as blends with **gangster,** thus **forming** a **group** of **disapproving** words **(Jesperson** VI.15.1.2-3).

4.2.4 Clipping

Clipping refers to the shortening of a long word by dropping some part of it. The dropped part may be the initial part, in which case it is called **fore-clipping,** or it may be the last part, when it is called **back-clipping,** or it may be **both,** in which case it is only the middle part of the word that is retained. The important **thing** about clipping is that is does not **affect** the meaning of the word in any way: the short and the long versions of the word mean exactly the same thing. This however does not mean that we are f e e to use the clipped word wherever the full word is used: the two kinds of words are mostly used **in different** styles. The clipped words are used mostly in speech or in informal usage in writing, e.g., when writing letters to friends, announcements to an ingroup, etc. They are generally not used in formal writing, **e.g.,** in business letters, academic papers, petitions and representations, etc. In fact, they are not used even in speech if the occasion is a formal one, a business presentation, for example. This restriction to the informal style, however, does not apply to those clippings which have existed for so long that no one remembers the original words. As a result, the clipped word has been accepted into the language as a word in its own right, without any feeling that something has been **left** out. Some such examples are **cab** (from **cabriolet), fad** (from **fadaise), miss** (from **mistress), vamp** (from **vampire), pants** (US; from **pantaloons), and** so on. The restriction applies, however, to most of the clippings to be described below. Thus **mag** for **magazine, exam** for **examination, doc** for **doctor, ad** for **advertisement,** etc. are confined to informal usage, and in some cases even to the 'lingo' of a particular group of users, the academic or the medical fraternity, for example.

Clipping does not seem to follow any definite **rules.** We have stated that the part that is clipped may be tlie fore-part, or the back-part, or both. How this is determined is not at all clear.

Semantically, too, the clipped part does not retain all tlie meanings associated with it in the full form, and it is quite arbitararily decided which meaning it **will** retain. For example, **exam** retains only the sense 'academic examination' and **not 'medical** examination', **lib** can be used only when **talking** of **Woman's lib** and not elsewhere, **condo** is **short** for **condominium** only when it **refers** to accomodation and not to 'joint sovereignty', and so on.

Finally, clippings also do not follow a methodical procedure. While in most cases simply a part of **the** word, fore or aft or both, is lopped off (as in **exam,** lab, **phone, flu, etc.)** and the remainder is retained intact, in other cases the shortening is quite irregular, **e.g., bike, mike, pram** (from **prambullator), maths,** (from **mathematics), specs** (from **spectacles), fax** (from **facsimile), Aussie** (from **Australian), bookie** (from **bookmaker), commie** (from **communist), telly** (from **television), movie** (from **moving. picture),** etc. In fact, **there** is **lack** of uniformity even in **the** clipped forms in certain cases, **e.g., mathematics is** shortened as **maths** in British English but as math in American; **Reverend as** a **title** is shortened to **Rev** or **Rev.** by some **and** as **Revd** by others.

Let us now look at **some** examples of the three types of clippings we have mentioned above.

Fore-clipping

In this type, an element from the front pan of the word is dropped and the end is retained. Some common examples of this type include **(aero)plane, (cara)van, (earth)quake, (ham)burger, (heli)copter, (omni)bus; (tele)phone, (uni)versity** (-> varsity). This type of clipping is quite common with personal names too, where the clipping is sometimes accompanied by the addition of a pet suffix like **-ie** or **-y,** e.g., Bert for Albert or **Hubert,** Becky for **Rebecca,** Bess or Bessie for Elizabeth, Drew for Andrew, Ginny for Virginia, **and** so on.

Jesperson thinks that fore-clipping has its origin in the language of children, who, unable to remember a long word or name, tend to repeat only the last part. The distortion introduced in the short names (Bess, Beckie) may extend support to this view since children tend to simplify the sounds too.

Back-clipping

This is the more common type of clipping. In this type, the elements dropped are taken from the end of the word, e.g., **ad(vertisement), bike(bicycle), cable(gram), chimp(anzee), exam(ination), gas(oline), hippo(potamus), lab(oratory), math(ematics), memo(randum), prom(enade),** pram (perambulator), **polio(myelitis),** etc. This kind of clipping is quite frequent with names, e.g., **Al** (Alfred or Albert), **Ben(jamin), Fred(erick),** Nick (Nicholas), **Phil(lip), Tom(Thomas),** and so on.

Fore-and-aft clipping

This kind of clipping, in which only the middle pan of the word is retained, is rather infrequent except with names. The common examples are **(in)flu(enza) and** fridge (from refrigerator). With names it is more common, e.g., Liz **(Elizabeth),** Lex (Alexander), Tnve **(Octavia).**

Some clippings have either now become, or are on their way to becoming, independent words. Clippings like curio (from curiosity), fan (from fanatic) and navy (from navigator) now mean different things from their source words, e.g., **fan** now means 'an admirer' or 'an enthusiast' and not 'a fanatic'. Other clippings, like lunch, **movie** and pram are on their way to becoming independent words as the source words are now becoming extinct.

4.2.5 Acronyms

The name 'acronym' was originally given to abbreviations formed from the first letters of a series of words (usually the name of an organization or a technical product), e.g., A.I.R. (All India Radio), B.B.C. (British Broadcasting Service), RADAR (Radio Detection and Ranging), NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), etc. However, so long as these abbreviations stay as a series of letters, and have to be pronounced as such (e.g., B.B.C. as \bi:bi:si:\, they are of no interest to word-formation, since they do not make words, But once such abbreviations are pronounced as words, which is made possible by the fact that the incidental collection of letters happens to follow the rules of English syllable formation, they begin to have a life of their own, so much so that after a while people seem to forget that they began their life as abbreviations. **The** name **'acronym'** has now come to be confined to such abbreviations-turned-wordu, while the 'abbreviations' themselves are now generally **laballed** as **'alphabetisms'** or **'initialisms'** to distinguish them from **abbreviations** of other **kinds like** clippings, for example.

This change of status from an 'abbreviation' to a regular word in the case of an acronym (a process we could call 'acronymization') is reflected in a number of things: first, of course, the series of letters begins to be pronounced as a single, phonological, word, with a stress pattern of it own. Thus 'radar' and 'laser' are respectively pronounced \raida:\ and \leize\, with the final 'r' surviving only as a linking 'r'. Second, they begin to be written in small letters instead of capitals, with the periods removed. Thus, originally written U.N.E.S.C.O., the name of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization is now generally written as Unesco, N.A.T.O. is now written as Nato, R.A.D.A.R. as 'radar' and so on. This process of acronymization does not take place with those abbreviations which do not make a pronounceable unit, or which are not in common use. The general trend now is to write such abbreviations, or initialisms, without periods after each letter, but still in capitals. And, of course, they are pronounced as a series of letters. Thus UFO (Unidentified Flying Object) is written the way written here and pronounced the same way: FBI CBI, IB MI, COD (Cash on Deposit), etc. also follow the same pattern.

4.3 MEANING CHANGE

So far we have focused our attention mainly on the morphological processes (affixation, reduplication, etc.) by which new words are created in English. The only non-morphological process that we examined in some detail was conversion, which we described as derivation by zero affix (Unit 3). But though no morphological change is involved in it, conversion does involve a change in the grammatical category of the word (e.g., from noun to verb, or verb to noun, etc.). The processes of word-formation that we are now going to look at involve neither any morphological change nor any change in the grammatical category of the word: it only involves modification (extension or narrowing) of the meaning of already existing words. But the process creates new words in the sense that it creates new uses from old words. Sometimes it results in the creation of a new lexical word, adding to homonymy, but mostly it just adds another sense to the words and leads to more polysemy. We referred to this phenomenon in Unit 1 when talking about polysemy, but this topic is important enough for us to give it more detailed attention at this point.

Let us start by restating the distinction between polysemy and homonymy. Homonymy occurs when two different lexical words share the same word-shape, e.g., when they are represented by the same phonological word: bat, the animal, and bat, the cricketer's implement are an example of a homonymous pair. Polysemy occurs when the meaning of a lexical word is extended in such a way that it can be applied to another idea or object through a slight reinterpretation of the original meaning. For example, we can apply the word mouth to a bag, a cave, a bottle, a tunnel, etc., by enlarging its original meaning (opening through which animals take in food) to 'an opening'. Similarly, the words herd and foot can be applied to a bed or a table, The extension of meaning in such cases is based'on the perception of a certain similarity of shape or function. No such similarity is detectable in the case of homonyms. Dictionaries usually give separate entries to homonyms while the various meanings of polysemous.items are included under a single entry.

Man's ability to reinterpret meanings, to extend and to restrict them, has enabled him to speak about new experiences, new inventions, and new discoveries without having to invent new words every time. Of course, new words have sometimes to be invented or coined, particularly when the thing or idea to be talked about happens never to have been signified before. In fact, even then the words are not always new, The so-called 'new' words are mostly actually compounds, derivations, back-formations, abbreviations,

blends, etc, involving existing words. Creation of new roots, or production of words *ex nihilo* (= 'from nothing') is a very rare event indeed. Two such words, googol and **splooshing** were mentioned in Unit 2. Most of the time however we are able to speak about new experiences by using analogies with our past experiences and our ways of talking about them. For example, as Akmajian et al (1995:43) points out, when space exploration started towards the middle of the twentieth century, mankind was face to face with totally new kinds of experiences, but it did not have to invent new words to talk about them. All it did was to adapt existing terms from the world of ocean navigation to space exploration. Thus the space vehicle was called a **(space)ship**, its parts were called hull, cabin, hatch, deck, etc., it was **launched** like an ocean-going ship, it had a **captain** and a navigator among its crew, it docked with another space vehicle, and so on. Thus, meanings of some existing terms were reinterpreted in such a way that it became possible to talk about products of a radically different technology without any loss of intelligibility.

Change of meaning is thus an important device by which the expressive capability of words in a language is significantly multiplied, even if new words are not added. The three main ways in which this change of meaning takes place are (1) generalization of the meaning, (2) narrowing or specialization and (3) change of connotations to make the word more positive or more negative.

4.3.1 Generalization

The examples of meaning change that we have given above are instances of what historians of meaning call generalization of meanings, or semantic widening. If studied over a long period, generalizalion may be seen to result in new lexemes, not in just another related sense of the same lexeme; in fact, generally the old meaning is lost. An example of this is the word **manage** which today means 'lo handle anything successfully' but once meant 'to handle a horse'. Hence 'manage' today is a different lexeme from 'menage', as it was then spelt. The new lexeme represents a generalization of the meaning of the old lexeme and replaces it, so no homonym is created. Similarly, the word manufacture, from its Latin origin, meant 'make by hand' but later its meaning was generalized and came to mean what it means today: 'to make by hand or machinery' (Katamba: 175).

Generalization can take place without affecting the existing meaning of the word. For example, the word cool has undergone generalization in our own times: it was first generalized by jazz musicians to refer to a special style of their music and now it has been generalized further to apply to almost anything as a word of approval. However, the word still retains its original, temperature-related, meaning. Here we then have a case of generalization resulting in more polysemy.

Metaphorical Extension

Another mode of generalization of meaning is metaphorical extension. This was illustrated by the space exploration example given above. Metaphorical estension occurs when certain objects, ideas, events, etc. from one field of experience are described in terms of words from a different field of objects, ideas and events. Such extension also adds lo polysemy. Another example of metaphorical extension is provided by words like chew, digest, feed, swallow, bite, regurgitate, etc. belonging to the field of food, which are now applied to the field of ideas. We speak of chewing on an idea, digesting a thought, swallowing one's words, biting off more than one can chew, feeding someone a line, regurgitating others' opinions and so on. There is probably hardly any area of human intellectual experience which does not use words with meanings generalized from the areas of basic human needs like food, sleep, sex,

etc. We speak about **sleeping on an idea, waking up to reality, engaging in social intercourse,** etc. Other fields of human activity like games, music, art, etc. also provide similar opportunities for metaphorical extension of meanings. To take a common example, the game of cricket provides a set of terms like **bat, innings, bowl, stump, century, wicket, sixer,** etc. which are now used extensively in talking about affairs of life. Someone who loses an argument decisively says he is 'clean-bowled' or **'caught-out',** one at a loss for an answer is 'stumped', one who has had his chance says he's had his 'innings', some one who does a thing without any help from anyone says he did it 'off his own bat', someone who lives to be a hundred is said to have 'knocked up a century', and so on.

Generification

Another kind of meaning generalization goes by the name of 'generification'. This occurs when a proper noun, usually the name of a person or the brand name of a product, is generalized to represent a genre of products or activity. The word **Hoover,** for example, stands for a vacuum cleaner in the UK and is converted to a verb so that 'to hoover' means to clean with a vacuum cleaner. **Hoover** was the name of the person who invented the vacuum cleaner and later the first brand name for one. Another case of generification has occurred with the name of the corporation that first marketed a photocopier: the Xerox Corporation. 'Xerox' is now applied to any photocopier and 'xeroxing' to the process of photocopying itself. Among some other names that have been generified in English are Mr. Mcadam, the inventor of the modern niethod of road-laying after whose name we get the adjective in **macadamised roads;** Mrs Malaprop, a character of little learning and great pretensions in Sheridan's play **The Rivals,** who never got a word right, so that a malapropism is now the generic description of a misused word (e.g., 'contagious countries' for 'contiguous countries'); Rev Spooner, a warden of New College, Oxford, who has left us spoonerisms (switching around the initial sounds of two or more words, as in 'Sheats and Kelly' for 'Keats and Shelley') and several others.

4.3.2 Specialization

Specialization is the opposite of generalization and refers to the narrowing of the ,meaning of a word. Historically the process is well-attesled: for example the word **pigeon** originally (in Latin, then in French) referred to any young bird but later came to refer only to a young dove and thus became more specialized in meaning; the word **voyage** originally meant a journey (in French it still does), now its meaning is specialized to a 'journey by sea or water': **deer** once referred to any animal, **fowl** to any bird, **hound** to any dog; but we know that tlieir referents are now more specific.

Narrowing of meaning, or **specialization,** is one of the main reasons for increase in . polysemy. For example, specialization takes place when a general lexical word is given a specialised use in a particular profession: **action** for a lawyer nieans 'legal action' but for a soldier it means a military operation. **'Papers'** may refer to legal or official documents, scholarly articles sent to a conference, identity documents, certificates, a resignation letter, documents showing ownership, etc. One can cite many examples of words which have a general meaning in ordinary language but specialized meaning in particular spheres of activity, e.g., **bond, company, interest, security, share** in commerce; **overture, key score in music, signature in music and printing, stage, pit, curtain** in theatre; **score, goal, back, centre,**etc. in football, and so on. In this way, the same word acquires a number of specialized senses only one of which will be applicable in a given environment,

The extreme case of specialization is the converse of generification. In generification, a Proper noun turns into a common noun; in its converse, a common noun turns into a

proper noun denoting a single object in a particular environment. Many landmarks in London bear names like **the City, the Tower,** the **abbey, the House,** illustrating this process. In France, there is a province called the Provence, which is actually the word 'province' borrowed from Latin, but the naming suggests as if that province was the province par excellence.

4.3.3 Change in Connotations

Apart from generalizations and specializations, words also undergo other processes of meaning change in which it is mainly their connotations and associations that change; the denotations may or may not. When these connotations change so that the word comes to acquire a more positive meaning, the semantic change is said to be **amcliorativc; when** they change to make the word more negative in meaning, the result is **pejorative.**

Amelioratives

Ameliorative changes are rather few but not absent. They take two forms: a word with negative connotations becomes less negative or a word acquires positive meanings. The word **pest** in English once meant 'pestilence' or 'bubonic plague'; now it means 'an annoying person or thing' or refers to insects that harm plants, etc. Another word of this type is **blame,** which comes from **blaspheme,** a much stronger word in the past. Then there are words like **awful, dreadful, frightful, horrible,** etc., used generally in hyperbolic expressions, which have practically lost their unpleasant meanings. Among the words to acquire positive meanings is the word **nice,** which comes from a Latin word meaning 'ignorant' and had the meanings 'wanlon' and 'lascivious' during Shakespeare's time in English.

Pejoratives

Pejorative changes have been more common. The word villain once referred to an humble serf who cultivated the master's land; now it means a 'scoundrel' The word **peasant** once meant 'a farmer'; now it means a lot more with connotations like 'boorish, illiterate, lacking refined manners' etc. Akmajian et al report (p.44) that the words **square** and **straight,** which once had positive meanings 'honest' and 'upright' had come to acquire negalive connotations during the 50's and the 60's, referring to 'anyone or anything hopelessly conventional and uncomprehending of 'in' things.'

Ameliorative and pejorative changes are linked to changing social attitudes and values. For example, occupations that were at one time held to be lowly. e.g., doctors and surgeons, have now come to occupy a high status in society, hence the words **doctor, surgeon, surgery,** etc, have also come to enjoy better connotations. The occupation of a farmer on the other hand seems to have declined in prestige. How changes in social attitudes effecl the meaning of a word can probably be seen best in the fortunes of the word **bourgeois:** starting as a neutral word in French denoting a citizen of a burgh (=town) as distinguished from a peasant and gentleman (=of noble birth), it later came to mean 'member of the mercantile or shop- keeping middle class' The association of this class with commercial values and exploitation made it the target of attack from the lower classes during the French Revolution; it also came lo be reviled by the upper class nobility on the one hand and by artists and intellectuals on the other as lacking in refinement and culture. The result was that the once neutral word acquired pejorative connotations and the term came to be applied more to a type of person rather than lo a class of people. Anyone who 'thought meanly' (Flaubert), or 'had no understanding of the arts, had no sense of form or style, was without enthusiasm and passion and did not admire nature' (Gautier) was a bourgeois. These connotalions of the word have

persisted and now the word has been generalized from a type of person to a type of mentality as expressed in 'too much concern with material possessions and social prestige, a desire for conservative respectability, lack of imagination and indifference towards the arts', etc.

4.4 LET US SUM UP

1. Coining and meaning-change are two other ways in which new words have been added to the English language.
2. There are five coining processes which have been particularly fruitful: back-formation, reduplication, blending, clipping and acronym formation.
3. Back-formation refers to the process by which a word is derived from another word by dropping an affix, sometimes a supposed affix.
4. Reduplication involves repetition of the whole or part of the root. Reduplication of the whole root in a word usually conveys repetition, continuation, disparagement or disapproval. Partially duplicating compounds are of two types: rhyme motivated or ablaut motivated.
5. Blends are words coined by combining elements from two other words. Blends are of three types: phonaesthemic, compound and group-forming.
6. Clipping, means shortening of a word by dropping some part of it. There can be three kinds of clipping: Fore-clipping, Back-clipping and Fore-and-Aft clipping:
7. Acronyms are words formed from the first letters of a series of words usually constituting a name, provided these letters form a pronounceable 'word', the letters are called 'alphabetisms' or 'initialisms',. Frequently used acronyms tend to acquire the status of words. They are written in small letters, without periods, and in some cases tend to undergo the same word-formation processes as do normal words.
8. Meaning change is a non-morphological process of word formation. It does not create new phonological words bul does at times create new lexical words. Mostly, however, it simply increases polysemy by adding new senses to existing words.
9. Meaning-change is of three types: generalization, specialization and change in connotations.

4.5 KEY WORDS

Acronym: An acronym is a 'letter word' i.e. a word formed from the first letters of a series of words constituting the name of an organization, a scientific product, process, etc., if it is pronounced as a single word and not as a series of letters.

Alphabetism (or Initialism): A 'letter word' which is pronounced as series of letters and not as a single word

Back-formation: The process by which a word is derived from another word by dropping an affix, sometimes a supposed affix.

Compound Blends: Compounds blends are consciously constructed compounds in which parts of two words are combined in such a way that the second element of the compound represents the main meaning and the first element a modification.

Phonologically too, the compounds have the stress pattern of the word that conlributes the second word,

Group-forming blends: Group-forming blends are blends containing a group-forming element. A group-forming element is an affix that imposes a specific meaning on the stems and thus gives the resulting words a characteristic which marks them as a member of a group. Grouping can also be phonological.

Phonaesthemic Blends: Phonaesthemic blends are blends which combine phonaesthemic elements from two other words.

Clipping: The shortening of a long word by dropping some part of it.

Back-clipping: When the shortening is achieved by dropping the end part of the word, it is called back-clipping.

Fore-and Aft clapping: When the shortening is achieved by dropping parts from the beginning and the end of a word and retaining only the middle part, it is called fore-and-aft clipping.

Fore-clipping: When the shortening is achieved by dropping a part from the front of the word, it is called fore-clipping.

Coining: Creating new words through processes like back-formation, blending, acronym formation, reduplication, clipping, etc.

Meaning Change: A non-morphological process of word-formation. Though no new words are created, the old words acquire new uses, which is equivalent to getting new words.

Amelioration: A case of meaning change through change in connotations: when the change leads to the meaning of the word becoming less negative or more positive, the change in meaning is said to be ameliorative.

Generalization: When the meaning of an existing word is extended to apply to a new situation or experience, we have generalization.

Generification: when the meaning of a proper noun is extended to denote a generic product or activity, we have generification. It is a special case of generalization.

Perjoration: Another case of change in meaning through change of connotations: when the change of connotations leads to the meaning of the word becoming more negative, the meaning change is said to be pejorative.

Specialization: Specialization occurs when the meaning of a word changes to become narrower than before. It is the reverse of generalization.

Reduplication: A process of word-formation. In this process a new compound word is created by repeating the whole or part of a root.

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4.7 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. With the help of a good dictionary, find out the meanings of the following words and then comment on the way the words were formed:

   Con (verb); deli (noun); donate; enthuse; intuit; liase; piano; pro (as in 'a tennis pro'); walkie-talkie; workaholic

2. Give the source words for the following clippings and identify the type of clipping:

   brolly; bus; flu; gym; limo; movie; perm; porn; pub; van

3. What do the following reduplicatives mean? Identify (a) the particular shade of negative meaning that you find associated with each and (b) the type (rhyme-motivated or ablaut motivated) of compounding involved.

   goody-goody; higgledy-piggledy; hocus-pocus; namby-pamby; wishy-washy

4. We have mentioned cr-, st- and -sh as phonaesthemic consonant clusters, Give examples of at least two more clusters of this type. Support your answer by citing at least four words containing the cluster and the special shades of meaning associated with them.

5. Identify the blend type and give the source words:
aerobatics; astrodome; chunnel; oceanaut; seascape

6. What do you think tlie following blends mean\denote: Give the source words: bionic; CocaColonization; daymare; Hinglish; Quasar; smothercate; solemncholy; stagflation

7. We have given several examples of metaphoric extensions of word meanings from one area of experience to another, e.g., from sea voyage to space exploration, from food to ideas, etc. Give two similar examples from your own experience.

8. What do you think does the word 'meat' mean in the word 'sweetmeat'?. This meaning of 'meat' survives from old English. Considering this, does the modern meaning of the word 'meat' represent a case of generalization or specialization of meaning?

9. The following English words have been derived from tlie Latin originals are given below with their meanings. Knowing the current meaning of the descended English words, what kind of semantic change do you notice from Latin to English?

Latin Word	Meaning	English word
Spiritus	'breath'	'spirit'
delirare	'to go out of the furrow' 'lira'= 'furrow'	'delirium'
definire	'to set bounds to' (a field)	'define'
eliminare	'to put out of the threshold'	'eliminate'

10. Identify the type of change in the connotations in the following cases:
    (a) The words 'cavalary' 'chivalry', etc. can be traced to the French word 'cheval' meaning 'horse', which comes from the Latin 'caballus' meaning 'workhorse'.
    (b) The word 'knave' can be traced to Old English 'cnafa', meaning 'boy'.

11. The English word 'baron' (French 'baron') can be traced to Old Latin \baro:n\ meaning 'strong man'. In Classical Latin, this word came to mean 'a lout', because Latin intellectuals looked down on physical strength. Still later, in Italian, the word came to mean 'scoundrel' or 'knave'. When the word was borrowed in French, it revived tlie 'strong man' meaning under the influence of feudalism, and later began to be used as a title of tlie nobility, the use which it has in English. Identify the type of connotation change (a) form Old Latin to Classical Latin and Italian, and (b) from Italian to French and English.

NOTES ON QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. 'con' = To cheat, to play a confidence trick. From 'confidence trick' -> (a) con (noun) by back clipping; conversion to 'con' (verb)

   'deli' = 'shop selling unusual and imported prepared foods'. From 'delicatssen' by back clipping.

   'donate' = 'to give voluntarily. From 'donation' by back-formation.

   'enthuse' = 'show great interest and eagerness'. From 'enthusiasm' by back-formation.

   'intuit' = 'to sense by intuitation'. From 'intuition' by back-formnlion.

'liase' = 'act as a link or go-between', From 'liaison' by back-formation.

'piano' = 'a musical instrument'. From 'pianoforte' by back-clipping.

'pro' = 'a professional'. From 'professional' (noun) by back-clipping.

'walkie-talkie' = 'small portable radio transmitter and receiver' ('talk as you walk'). A case of rhyme-motivated reduplication.

'workaholic' = 'person who works obsessively'. A blend of 'work' and 'alcoholic'

'brolly' From 'umbrella' by back-clipping

'bus' From 'omnibus' by fore-clipping

'flu' From 'influenza' by fore-and-aft clipping

'gym' From 'gymnasium' by back-clipping

'limo' From 'limousine' by back-clipping

'movie' Form 'a moving picture' by back-clipping

'perm' From: 'permanent wave' by back-clipping

'porn' From 'pornography' by back-clipping

'pub' : From 'public house' by back-clipping

'van' : From 'caravan' by fore-clipping

3. goody-goody : 'person who behaves so as to appear good and virtuous' (a) Insincerity (b) Rhyme motivated

higgledy-piggledy: 'mixed up', 'not in any order'. (a) 'lacking orderliness' (b) Rhyme motivated

hocus-pocus : 'nonsense' (a) Deception (b) Rhyme motivated

namby-pamby: 'lacking in any definite colour, ideology, character, etc.' (a) feebleness, indecision (b) Ablaut motivated

4. Several answers are possible.

5. aerobatics : Group-forming; aeronautics +acrobatics

astrodome : Group-forming; astronaut -1-.aerodrome

chunnel : Compound blend; channel + tunnel

oceanaut : Group-Forming; ocean + astronaut

seascape : Compound blend; sea + landscape

6. bionic : ' using artificial materials and methods to produce a human activity or movement', biology &electronic

CocaColonization: 'Americanization of values and life styles'; Coca Cola+ colonization

daymare: 'nightmare during the day'

Hinglish: 'the type of English spoken, written, etc, by Hindi-speaking people

quasar: 'the centre of a very distant group of stars, producing a large amout of energy'; quasi and stellar

smothercate: 'suffocate by smothering'

solemncholy: 'solemn' and 'melancholy'

stagflation: 'an economic condition marked by reduced production, no economic growth and rising prices; from **stagnation** and **inflation.**

7. Open **Question**

8. Specialization.

9. Metaphoric extension, a case of generalization.

10. (a) ameliorative (b) pejorative

11. (a) pejorative (b) **ameliorative**

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MAEN-112

Aspects of Language

Block

5

ENGLISH SYNTAX

Block Introduction

UNIT 1 **Basic Notions of Syntactic Constituents and Phrase Structure**	319
UNIT 2 **Types of Clauses and Sentences**	334
UNIT 3 **Grammatical Functions, Cases, and Thematic Roles**	348
UNIT 4 **The Syntax of Inflectional Elements: Tense & Agreement**	362
UNIT 5 **Pronouns, Reflexives, and Other Bound Elements**	370
UNIT 6 **Syntax of Scope: Adverbs, Quantifiers, and Negation**	383

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BLOCK INTRODUCTION

We have already looked at the structure of English in terms of its **phonology** and **morphology**. We now turn to another aspect of language, i.e. **Syntax**. Syntax as you know, is the study of sentences and their structures.

The study of syntax acquired a special significance from the mid-fifties with the advent of Noam Chomsky. While the structural linguists merely described the surface structure of the language, the Generativists (following Chomsky) considered explanation as the primary goal, and attempted to relate this to the properties of the human mind.

In this block, we briefly describe the work of the structuralists/descriptivists but the paradigm we have followed is that of the generativist. The units are as follows:

Unit 1: Basic Notions of Syntactic Constituency
Unit2: Types of Clauses and Sentences
Unit 3: Grammatical Functions, Case and Thematic Roles
Unit 4: The Syntax of Inflectional Elements: Tense and Agreement
Unit 5: Pronouns, Reflexives, and other Bound Elements
Unit 6: Syntax of Scope: Adverbs, Quantifiers and Negation

Good luck with your work!

UNIT 1 BASIC NOTIONS OF SYNTACTIC CONSTITUENCY

Structure

1.0 Objectives
1.1 Introduction
  1.1.1 Background: syntax and structural linguistics
  1.1.2 Syntax in generative grammar
1.2 The identification of a syntactic constituent
  1.2.1 Introduction
  1.2.2 The test of substitution
  1.2.3 Thetestofconjoining
  1.2.4 The test of distribution
  1.2.5 The test of replacement by anaphora
  1.2.6 The test of parenthetical insertion
  1.2.7 The head of a syntactic constituent
1.3 Phrase structure
  1.3.1 The phrase structure tree and its nodes
  1.3.2 Phrase structure rules in early transformational grammar
  1.3.3 From phrase structure rules to X-bar theory
1.4 Conclusion
1.5 Let Us Sum Up
1.6 Key Words
1.7 Bibliography
1.8 Questions & Exercises
Notes on "Questions & Exercises"

1.0 OBJECTIVES

The objectives of this unit are that at the end of this unit you should be able to

- begin to see what the study of syntax is all about, with reference to English,
- identify different kinds of relationships that are possible in a phrase structure tree,
- apply the various tests to identify a syntactic constituent,
- distinguish between a phrase and a clause through phrase structure rules,
- draw syntactic trees for phrases and clauses using X-bar theory.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

1.1.1 Background: Syntax and structural linguistics

A beginning definition of the term *syntax* might be that it is the study of sentences and their structure (just as morphology is the study of words and their structure). Therefore, English syntax is the study of sentences and their structure in the English language. The study of syntax has, however, acquired a special significance since the mid-1950s or so. During the four decades or so prior to the mid-1950s, the study of grammar was undertaken within a broader approach that came to be known as *Structuralism*. Structuralism analyzed human phenomena such as language, literature, and culture as *structured systems*--and not merely *as* chaotic masses of unrelated elements. As part of this broader view, *structural linguistics* also

developed--notably beginning with the Sw ss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (who is therefore often called "the father of modern linguistics")--as the study of language viewed as a structured system with mutually inter-related elements such as phonemes, morphemes, words, and phrases. With this emphasis on the detailed study of language structure in all its complexity, morphology and syntax emerged as distinct branches of linguistic analysis (whereas traditional grammar had lumped them together simply as "grammar"). Saussure's initial ideas on language were elaborated independently in the United States of America by linguists such as Edward Sapir and Leonard Bloomfield, and in Europe by the Prague School linguists Nikolay Sergeyevitch Trubetzkoy, Roman Jakobson, and a few others; in anthsopology, they were applied to the analysis of cultures notably by Claude Lévi-Strauss. Within this broader approach called *structural linguistics*, a particular school of linguistic analysis of data from actual languages emerged in the United States under the intellectual leadership of Leonard Bloomfield, which became known as descriptive *linguistics*, or the descriptivist approach to linguistics. Descriptive linguistics had as its goal the description of all the observable aspects of the structure of a language. No attempts at explanation were considered solid enough to be admitted within this approach. The descriptive linguist's task was to ask what the linguistic data were and how they were structured -- not to ask *why* they occurred the way they did. Descriptive linguistics was thus strongly empiricist, i.e., factually oriented. The analysis of words and of sentence structure was thus undertaken in a step-by-step manner, beginning with the largest unit (the word or the sentence), which was then successively broken down into smaller and smaller constituent units (much as visible matter is analysed as consisting of molecules, which in turn are subdivided into atoms, the latter again being analysable into components including various subatomic particles, etc.). This method of linguistic analysis thus came to be known as *Immediate Constituent* Analysis (or IC Analysis). Furthermore, descriptive linguistics assumed, along the lines of the approach in psychology called behaviourism that was then popular, that people learned and used languages through an intricate series of stimuli and responses, much as Pavlov's dog learned to salivate upon hearing the ringing of a bell associated with the arrival of food even when no food was actually brought in, or as rats learned to find their way through experimental mazes in order to get to pieces of cheese. There was thus no allowance made in descriptive linguistics for the existence of the human mind, or for any mentalistic explanation: the human mind was assumed to be simply a clean slate, a *tabula rasa*, on which linguistic data came to be imprinted through stimulus-response sequences as an infant learned a language in the course of growing into a fully articulate adult human being.

In the early 1950s, however, a descriptive linguist named Zellig Harris put forward the idea that certain systematic and non-mechanical relationships could be identified ainong the sentences of a given language -- an idea that was elaborated further by a gifted young student of his named Noam Chomsky, who around the mid-1950s put forward a very original and radically different view of languages and of the power of language. This new approach came to be called the *generativist* view of language, or generative *grammar*. Chomsky argued that a theory of language must have linguistic explanation as one of its primary goal, and that it must be related to properties of the human mind, since only human beings are capable of using language in a truly creative and sophisticated manner. Furthermore, certain features were to be Sound in every human language, precisely because the power of language, or the *faculty of* language, was innate and species-specific to all normal human beings. These features were thus integrated at a very abstract level into **Universal Grammar** (UG), which took on additional language-specific features in different languages of the world. The study of sentence structure could thus tell us deeper things about the organization of thought by the human mind. Thus, the study of sentence structure, viz., syntax, ceased to be simply the Immediate Constituent Analysis of sentences into their constituent phrases and the further components of these phrases. Instead, syntax came to occupy a central position in generative linguistics, and continues to do

so in ongoing work by Noam Chomsky himself and many other linguists all over the world.

1.1.2 Syntax in generative grammar

In generative grammar, syntax now has its own set of methods. Furthermore, the greater portion of these methods have been found to be applicable to the analysis of not only the structure of English and a few other well-known European languages such as French, German, Spanish, Italian, etc., but that of many non-western languages, both well-laown ones such as Arabic, Swahili, Chinese, and Japanese, as well as lesser-known languages spoken in isolated geographical areas. In this and in the subsequent units of this module, our concern will be with the syntax of English sentences from the viewpoint of Universal Grammar. The syntax of a language like English, seen from this viewpoint, is a very important part of the generative **grammar** of English, which is an abstract body of rules and principles that can tell us how the words, phrases, and sentences of a language -- in the present case, English -- are built.

As we shall get to see later, a generative grammar of a language consists of the following components: a **lexicon,** a set of rules or a **rube schema** to represent **phrase structure,** a number of **modular** sub-theories that contain **principles** obeyed by expressions in the language, a single but powerful (major) **transformational rule,** a phonological representation for each expression in the language (i.e., a representation in terms of the way the expression is pronounced), and a **logical form** for each expression (i.e., a representation that reflects the way in which the expression's meaning is interpreted -- i.e., the way in which one makes sense of the expression); a few minor transformational rules are also included. In what follows in this unit and in Units 2 to 6, we shall see what these various components are for the generative grammar of English.

1.2 THE IDENTIFICATION OF A SYNTACTIC CONSTITUENT

1.2.1 Introduction

Syntax is the branch of linguistics that is concerned with the study of units larger than the word: it is the study of the structure of *phrases*, *clauses*, and sentences. These different kinds of units larger than isolated words are different kinds of syntactic **constituents,** and are so called because they combine with each other as though they were single, indivisible units. To see this better, let us look at the simple English sentences (1a), (1b), (1c), and (1d) given below:

(1) a. Hari will speak to Veena.
b. Hari will speak to that girl.
c. This boy will speak to Veena.
d. This boy will speak to that girl.

Notice that the sequence of two words *this* boy in the sentences (1c) and (1d) occurs in exactly the same position as the proper noun Hari in the sentences (1a) and (1b). Notice also that the two-word sequence that *girl* in the sentences (1b) and (Id) similarly occurs in the same position as the proper noun Veena in the sentences (1a) and (1c). These are initial indications that the two-word sequences this *boy* and *that girl* are individual syntactic constituents. Now notice what happens if we try to replace this *boy* or Hari with some other two-word sequence such as *boy can* (which occurs in a sentence like (2)). The result will be patently absurd (and is marked by the asterisk * because it is absurd), as shown in the sentence (3):

(2) The boy can speak to me.
(3) *Boy can will speak to that girl.

(One can say: "This boy *can* and *will* speak to that girl". This sentence is not absurd in the way that the sentence **(3)** is, but notice that it is a different sentence from (3), with two extra words *This* and *and* in the correct places.) The two-word sequence *boy can* is therefore not a syntactic constituent, unlike *this boy*. We can similarly see that the two-word sequence *that girl* is a composite unit, in a way that, for example, the two-word sequence *girl will* is not. Furthermore, we can interchange the positions of *this boy* and *that girl* in a sentence like (1d) and get yet another good sentence, the sentence (4):

(4) That girl will **speak** to this boy.

This is an added indication that the two-word sequence *that girl* is a syntactic constituent, just like the two-word sequence *this boy* is: they can interchange positions with one another, i.e., are *distributional equivalents* of one another.

A commonly used term for a syntactic constituent is the term phrase. However, **clauses** and sentences are also special kinds of syntactic constituents. (We discuss clauses and sentences in greater detail in Unit 2.) The question now is: How do we go about determining whether a sequence of words within a given sentence is a syntactic constituent? In other words, what tests can we apply to determine whether a sequence of words is a syntactic constituent?

As it happens, there are several tests, i.e., criteria, that we can apply for a sequence of words in order to determine whether it is a syntactic constituent. We have informally applied two of these already: these are the criteria of substitution and distribution, respectively. In fact, there are five tests in all for syntactic constituency, which we shall be examining in Sections 1.2.2 to 1.2.6. We list these five tests below:

(i) substitution,
(ii) conjoining,
(iii) distribution,
(iv) replacement by anaphora,
(v) parenthetical insertion.

1.2.2 The test of substitution

A syntactic constituent has the property that it can either replace or be replaced by another syntactic constituent. Thus, to tell whether a sequence of words is a syntactic constituent, we have to try to replace it with another sequence of words that is known to be a syntactic constituent possessing certain features in common (e.g., containing a central word of the same part of speech). This kind of experiment with the sequence of words that we are interested in would be a test of *substituion*. For instance, all the sequences of words to the left of the broken line in the set (5), arid even a single word such as the proper noun *Veena*, can replace one another to yield perfectly grammatical sentences:

(5)	a.	This little girl	came yesterday.
	b.	My brother	
	c.	The man who is sitting over there	
	d.	Veena	

Likewise, the sequence of words *came yesterday* in *(5)* can replace other similar sequences of words (or even single words), as shown in (6):

(6)	This little girl	came yesterday.
		is Veena's niece.
		ate up all the gulab-jamuns.
		stares.

Each of these sequences of words contain at least one verb -- came, is, ate, stares (this last one does not require any other supporting word) -- which is the most central word in the sequence. We therefore say that each such sequence of words is a syntactic constituent of the type verb phrase, indicated by the abbreviation VP. Even the single verb stares is an example of a VP, because it can replace other verb phrases and the result is a perfectly correct sentence of English. Similarly, in the examples (5a-c), the word sequences this little girl, my brother, and the man *who* is sitting over there each contain a **noun** -- girl, brother, man -- which is the most central, meaningful word in the sequence. We therefore say that this little girl, my brother, and the man who is sitting over there are examples of the syntactic constituent type **noun** phrase, or NP for short. The single proper noun Veena in example (5a) is also an instance of a NP, because it can replace any of the noun phrases shown in (5a-c) and the resulting sentence is a perfectly good sentence of English.

1.2.3 The test of conjoining

A syntactic constituent can be **conjoined** with another syntactic constituent. Thus, consider the example sentences (7a) and (7b):

(7) a. [[Veena] and [this little girl]] came yesterday.
b. Veena [[came yesterday] and [collected the letters]].

In (7a), the proper noun Veena, which is also a NP, is conjoined with this little girl, which is therefore a syntactic constituent (of the type NP). By contrast, the two-word sequence this little is not a syntactic constituent, since the sentence (8), with the sequence this little conjoined with Veena, is ungrammatical:

(8) *[[Veena] and [this little]] came yesterday.

Similarly, in (7b) the sequence of words collected the letters is a syntactic constituent, because it is conjoined with the VP came *yesterday*. However, the two-word sequence collected *the* is not a syntactic constituent at all, since, when it is conjoined with the VP *came* yesterday, the sentence (9) that results is ungrammatical:

(9) *Veena [[came yesterday] and [collected the.]]

Thus, we see that the test of conjoining can tell a syntactic constituent apart from a sequence of words that is not a syntactic constituent.

1.2.4 The test of distribution

A syntactic constituent occurs as an unbroken whole in various distributional positions. Consider the sentences (10a), (10b), and (10c):

(10) a. [This little girl]-is smart.
b. I like [this little girl].
c. Veena gave the flowers [to [this little girl]].

In (10a), the three-word sequence this little girl occurs as the subject NP (the entity that the VP is smart is about). In (10b), the same sequence occurs as the direct object NP (the person towards whom my liking is directed). In (10c), it occurs as the indirect object NP (the object of the preposition to, and the person who is the recipient of the flowers that Veena gave). Now consider the sentences (11a), (11b), and (11c):

(11) a. This little girl [is smart].
b. It is this little girl who [is smart].
c. The one who [is smart] is this little girl.

Sentence (11b) is what is called a **cleft** sentence corresponding to (11a) (here, the NP this little girl is given special prominence, or is the **focus).** The two-word sequence is smart occurs as an undivided VP in (11b) as in (11a). In sentence (11c), too, the same sequence occurs as an undivided VP. Thus, the sequence is smart passes the test of distribution as a syntactic constituent: it occurs as an undivided whole in various distributional positions.

1.2.5 The test of replacement by anaphora

There is a special class of expressions called **anaphora** that "stand in" for, i.e., replace, certain kinds of syntactic constituents. Pronouns can occur in place of noun phrases when repetition of the noun phrase sounds tedious, for instance, and the phrase do so can similarly occur in place of a verb phrase. Pronouns and the phrase do so are thus examples of anaphora. The sentences (12b) and (13b), which contain a pronoun and the phrase do so, respectively, illustrate the uses of anaphora, especially when compared with (12a) and (13a):

(12) a. The boy who sits over there thinks the boy who sits over there is smart.
b. The boy who sits over there thinks he is smart.

(13) a. Monkeys eat bananas, and elephants eat bananas too.
b. Monkeys eat bananas, and elephants do so too.

Replacement by anaphora is an additional test for a syntactic constituents. Of course, not all syntactic constituents can satisfy this test, since there are only a few possible kinds of anaphora: thus, pronouns are NP-anaphora, the phrase *do* so is an example of VP-anaphora, and the word such can sometitnes occur as anaphora for adjectival phrases. When we do find a sequence of words being replaced by anaphora, however, we can conclude that the sequence of words is a syntactic constituent. Note that anaphora cannot replace any sequence of words that is not a syntactic constituent. Thus, the pronoun he cannot replace the sequence of words boy *who* sits over alone, as the unacceptable example (14) shows:

(14) *The boy who sits over there thinks the he there is smart.

Replacement by anaphora is thus a criterion that a syntactic constituent *may* meet, provided that there are anaphora for a syntactic constituent of that particular kind (e.g., a NP, a VP, or an adjectival phrase).

1.2.6 The test of parenthetical insertion

In the everyday uses of English, certain words such as incidentally, luckily, unfortunately, and certain phrases like by ***the*** way and of course, ... are often inserted into sentences: they are not mandatory, but they often serve to link the sentences to other sentences before and after them in discourse, or to reveal the speaker's attitude towards what (s)he is saying in the sentence. Such expressions are often called **parenthetical expressions.** On trying to examine the positions in a sentence where such parenthetical expressions can be inserted, linguists have found that these positions tend to occur at the edges of syntactic constituents rather than within those syntactic constituents. Thus, compare the simple sentence (15a) with the acceptable sentence (15b) -- which has the parenthetical word incidentally inserted in it -- and the unacceptable (15c):

(15) a. My cousin is an avid mountaineer.
b. My cousin, incidentally, is an avid mountaineer.
c. *My, incidentally, cousin is an avid mountaineer.

The operation that consists of the insertion of a parenthetical expression at some point in a sentence is called **parenthetical insertion.** The test of parenthetical insertion is an additional criterion that can sometimes help us decide whether a sequence of words forms a syntactic constituent. Note that it is not necessarily true that every kind of syntactic constituent resists parenthetical insertion: the sentence is a special kind of syntactic constituent, for instance, and it allows parenthetical expressions to be inserted within itself. Nonetheless, if a sequence of words does resist being broken up by parenthetical insertion, we should suspect that it might be a syntactic constituent, and see whether it satisfies any of the four earlier tests that we have discussed; it is likely that at least one of the four earlier tests will be satisfied, and thus we can conclude that the sequence of words is a syntactic constituent.

1.2.7 The head of a syntactic constituent

The five tests discussed so far show that it is possible to determine whether a sequence of words is a syntactic constituent. The most general kind of syntactic constituent is the **phrase.** We have already seen examples of noun phrases and verb phrases, and adjective phrases have also been mentioned. English also has **prepositional phrases** (or PPs for short) and **adverbial phrases** (or AdvPs). Examples of these are shown in (16) and (17), respectively:

(16) a. Ram is [in the garden].
b. The mangoes fell [from the tree].

(17) a. That boy will speak [very slowly] to this girl.
b. The soldier was killed [almost instantly].

In (16a), the three-word sequence in the garden, which contains the preposition in and the noun phrase the garden, is a prepositional phrase; in (16b), likewise, the three-word sequence from *the* tree containing the preposition *from* and the noun phrase the tree, is a prepositional phrase. In (17a), the two-word sequence very slowly, containing the **adverb** slowly and the **degree modifier** very (note that, unlike in most books on English grammar, we do not call very an adverb -- instead we give it the special name of "degree modifier", since that is the function it performs), is an adverbial phrase. In (17b), likewise, the two-word sequence *almost* instantly, containing the adverb instantly and the **quantifier** almost (a type of word that we shall see further in Unit 6), is an adverbial phrase.

The specific type to which a multi-word syntactic constituent can be assigned depends on the most "central" or "indispensable" element in the syntactic constituent. This element is called the **head** of the syntactic constituent. (To understand this better, one might think of the head of a phrase as being comparable to the head of a family: just as the head of the family acts as the representative for the entire family in matters such as the payment of bills, etc., likewise the head of the syntactic constituent could be thought of as representing the character of the entire constituent.) In the examples that we have seen so far, the head of the noun phrase (NP) is the noun (N); the head of the verb phrase (VP) is the verb (V); the head of the prepositional phrase (PP) is the preposition (P); the head of the adverbial phrase (AdvP) is the adverb (Adv); and so on.

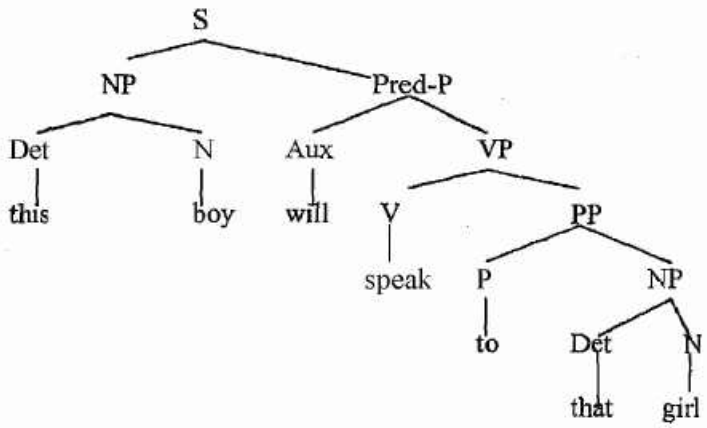
1.3 PHRASE STRUCTURE

1.3.1 The phrase structure tree and its nodes

The syntactic structure of a sentence can be, and often is, represented as an inverted tree diagram, its top being the sentence (S) which then branches into its **immediate**

constituents, NP and (tensed) VP; each of the constituents NP and VP then branches into its immediate syntactic constituents (e.g., V and object NP), ... and so on, until the smallest possible syntactic constituents, or ultimate constituents, are reached. The analysis of a linguistic expression successively into smaller and smaller immediate constituents was known prior to the days of generative grammar, and was called Immediate Constituent Analysis, or **IC Analysis** for short, in descriptive linguistics. Syntactic analysis more or less stopped after IC Analysis in the methodology of descriptive linguistics. In generative grammar, on the other hand, syntactic analysis of sentential structure only *begins* with IC Analysis. Because of this, it is convenient to represent the detailed syntactic structure of a sentence in the form of an inverted tree diagram, or phrase structure tree (earlier also called a phrase-marker), to which further syntactic operations can apply. Thus, the structure of a simple sentence like (1d) can be represented by the following phrase structure tree:

(18)



Let us now introduce a few new terms, to indicate the relations between the different components of this phrase structure tree. The labels for the various syntactic constituents, such as *S*, NP, VP, *Aux*, *Det*, *N*, V are nodes of the phrase structure tree: they are potential or actual joining-points for the different branches of the tree. The node S (for "Sentence") branches into the two nodes NP and Pred-P (Predicate-Phrase), which further branch into Det and N, on the one hand, and Aux and VP on the other. If we think of the nodes as being members of a family tree drawn for mothers and daughters, the node S is said to be the mother of the nodes NP and Predicate-Phrase (which are therefore the two daughters of the node S). We therefore say that the node S immediately dominates the nodes NP and Predicate-Phrase. Furthermore, the node *S* is the ancestor of the nodes NP and Predicate-Phrase and all the other nodes that NP and Predicate-Phrase branch into, and all the other nodes below those nodes; we therefore say that the node S dominates all the nodes that are its descendants (although it immediately dominates only its daughter nodes, NP and Predicate-Phrase). The nodes Det and N under each NP node (and therefore immediately dominated by the NP node) are sister **nodes,** since they have a common mother node, the NP node. All nodes that share a common mother node are sister nodes in relation to each other.

Notice also that the node Det occurs before the node N under each mother NP node. We therefore say that the node Det precedes the node N. Similarly, under the mother node VP, the daughter node V precedes its sister node PP.

What about a node that bears an aunt-niece relationship with another node? In the phrase structure tree (18), the node V is neither a direct ancestor (i.e., a mother, or grandmother, or great-grandmother, ...) nor a sister of the node P (which immediately dominates the preposition *to*). However, the node V can be said to be an aunt of the node P, since it is the sister of the node PP that is the mother of the node P. It so happens that, in the structure of English sentences, aunt-niece relationships play a vital role in the determination of links between certain kinds of expressions

(which we shall learn more about in Units 2-6). A special name is therefore given to this kind of aunt-niece relationship. The node V is said to c-command the node P, because the first branching node immediately above--and therefore dominating--V, i.e., VP, also dominates the node P (as its grandmother node). The c-command relationship is defined as follows:

(19) c-command: A node Y c-commands another node Z if and only if the first branching node (say, X) dominating Y also dominates Z, and neither does Y dominate Z nor does Z dominate Y.

A c-command relationship cannot therefore occur between a direct ancestor node and any of its descendant nodes.

A rather different notion from the notion of c-command is the relationship of command. A node "commands" another node if and only if they are dominated by the same S node(s). In other words, a node "commands" another node if they are *clause-mates*. In this sense, the first Det node in the tree (18) "commands" all the other nodes (except the ones that dominate it) under the S node, since there is only one S node, and it dominates all the other nodes in the tree. The notion of "command" in fact historically precedes the development of the idea of "c-command". However, the notion of "c-command" has been subsequently found to be more useful in a variety of ways, which will be seen in the units to follow.

1.3.2 Phrase structure rules in early transformational grammar

The first kind of generative grammar to be proposed by Chomsky in 1957 was transformational (generative) grammar. In this kind of grammar, two basic types of syntactic rules were proposed: these were (i) phrase structure rules, and (ii) transformational rules, or simply transformations. The phrase structure tree in (18) is in fact constructed out of a set of phrase structure rules of the following kind:

(20) a. S → NP Pred-P
b. NP → Det N
c. Pred-P → Aux VP
d. VP → V PP
e. PP → P NP

The specific words or morphemes are then inserted into the terminal nodes (the smallest, indivisible nodes) by further lexical insertion rules of the following sort:

(21) a. Det → *this*
b. Det → *that*
c. N → boy
d. N → *girl*
e. V → *speak*
f. P → to

Rules of this kind are called rewrite rules, or phrase structure rules. They are called "rewrite rules" because the symbol on the left-hand side of the arrow is "rewritten", so to speak, in terms of the symbol(s) on the right-hand side. They are called "phrase structure rules" because they enable us to diagram the phrase structure of a phrase or sentence in the form of a tree.

1.3.3 From phrase structure rules to X-bar theory

The problem with phrase structure rules was found to be that they could be virtually of any kind, without any restrictions -- whereas in actual linguistic expressions there

seem to be rather well-defined constraints on what can occur on the right-hand side of a phrase structure rule, given a particular node label on the left-hand side. Thus, there is no reason why a phrase structure rule like (23) should not be possible:

(22) AP → Det V

This kind of phrase structure rule would allow us, e.g., to form an adjectival phrase like ****that speak*** (and hence a noun phrase such as ****a that speak boy)***, which is absurd: speakers of English would dismiss such a phrase (especially such a noun phrase) as nonsensical.

Secondly, the phrase structure rule (23) would allow a Verb or a Determiner to be the head of an Adjectival Phrase, which is not only counterintuitive but in fact does not conform to the linguistic facts at all. The head of an Adjectival Phrase must be an Adjective, not a Verb or Determiner or any other lexical category of word. However, so far there was no restriction on phrase structure rules to the effect that a phrase must be rewritten so that at least one lexical category of the same type (nominal, verbal, adjectival, or prepositional) appears on the right-hand side of the rule.

The notion of phrase structure rules had to be modified in the late 1960s, therefore, and Chomsky himself was one of those to take the initiative in this direction. In his important 1970 article, "Remarks on Nominalization", Chomsky proposed that phrase structure rules must be specific instants of a simple but well-defined **rule schema** (i.e., a specification of what a phrase structure rule must be like), which came to be known as **X-bar theory.** X-bar theory simply consists of the following specifications:

(23) a. XP → (Specifier), X'
b. X' → (Adjunct), X'
c. X' → X, (Complement1), (Complement2)

(The commas between the symbols indicate that the relative order of the symbols separated by commas is irrelevant: thus, there may be languages in which X' has to be rewritten as [(Complement2) (Complement1) X].) Notice that a new kind of symbol has been introduced in these rules: this is the symbol **X'** (also X), which is read as "X bar" and which stands for a syntactic constituent whose head is of type X (i.e., N, or V, or A, or P, ... , etc.) but which is smaller than a phrase of type XP (i.e., NP, or VP, or AP, ... , etc.). A category of the type XP is called a **phrasal category** or **a maximal projection;** a category of the type X is called a **lexical category** or a **lexical head;** therefore, a category of the type X' is called an **intermediate category** or **intermediate projection.** This rule schema therefore dictates that only phrase structure rules of the following kinds will be admitted:

(24) a. NP → [Specifier Det] N'
b. N' → N' (PP)
c. N' → AP N
d. N' → N PP
e. AP → A'
f. A' → A

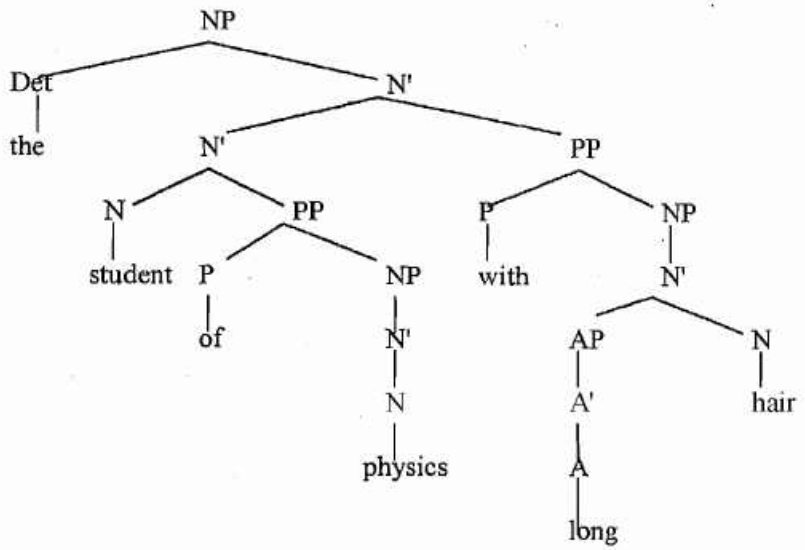
(25) a. VP → (Specifier) V'
b. V' → V NP NP

The structures of the two bracketed phrases in the sentence (26) are described by the phrase structure rules that we have given in (24) and (25):

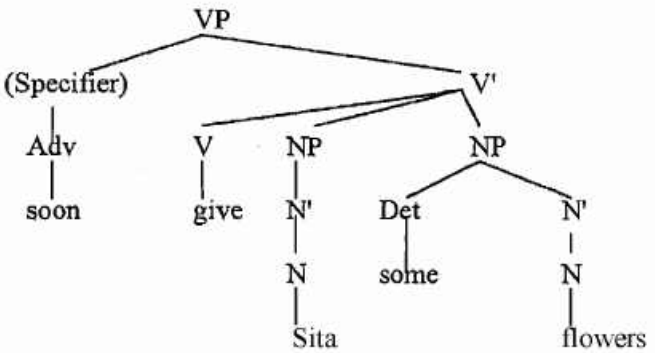
(26) [NP The student of physics with long hair] will [VP soon give Sita some flowers].

The respective structures are the following (i.e., (27a) and (27b)):

(27) a.



b.



Thus, X-bar theory allows the generation of phrase structure rules that can then be used to represent the tree structure of any phrase in English. X-bar theory gets its name from the assignment of different numbers of bars to the different category types X, X ', XP. Thus, in X-bar theory, a maximal phrasal category of the type XP is also represented as X" (X-double-bar); an intermediate category,of the type X ' is of course assigned a single bar; and a lexical category of the type X is also represented as X^{0} (X-zero or X-zero-bar).

1.4 CONCLUSION

We have thus seen that, in the study of syntax, the structure of an English sentence is arrived at step by step. The first step is to determine whether a word or sequence of words in an English phrase or sentence is a syntactic constituent: this is done by seeing whether the word or sequence of words passes one or more of a number of tests such as substitution, conjoining, distribution, replacement by anaphora, and parenthetical insertion. Once we have determined that the word or word sequence is a syntactic constituent, we can begin to formulate phrase structure rules that specify the internal structures of different kinds of syntactic constituents. However, a rule schema called X-bar theory can further specify what kinds of valid phrase structure rules can be formulated. The phrase structure of a sentence in English can then be put together on the basis of phrase structure rules in the form of a tree diagram that olearly depicts the syntactic structure of the sentence. We can then further identify

the different dominance, precedence, command, and c-command relations that hold among the different nodes of the tree diagram for the sentence. These steps constitute a method of syntactic analysis that we shall apply and find very useful for a better understanding of how the English language is built and put to use; we shall see this in greater detail in the units that follow.

1.5 LET US SUM UP

1. The study of English syntax began to receive major attention with the emergence of Structuralism in general and structuralist linguistics in particular.
2. With a shift in the focus of linguistics from Structuralist to Generative Linguistics, the study of English syntax took a new turn towards the working out of a generative grammar of English.
3. Generative linguistics has as its main goal an understanding of Universal Grammar, the body of principles and items that is common to all human languages and arises out of the innate nature of language in humankind.
4. Within generative linguistics, the study of the syntax of a language such as English seeks to describe and explain aspects of the structure of English sentences with the larger purpose of gaining a greater insight into Universal Grammar.
5. In syntax, the notion of a syntactic constituent is fundamental. Words, phrases, and clauses are all types of syntactic constituents.
6. There are at least five criteria that can be used to test whether a (randomly chosen) sequence of words in a sentence is a syntactic constituent.
7. The criteria for syntactic constituency are: (i) substitution, (ii) conjoining, (iii) distribution, (iv) replacement by anaphora, (v) parenthetical insertion.
8. Once a syntactic constituent is established, its structure can be visually depicted in a phrase structure tree diagram.
9. The details of the immediate constituents of any syntactic constituent have earlier been captured by rewrite rules or phrase structure rules.
10. The virtually unlimited power of phrase structure rules has since then come to be constrained by a rule schema known as X-bar theory.

1.6 KEYWORDS

Conjoining/Coordination: The joining or stringing together of two or more syntactic constituents by a CONJUNCTION (see below). Example: the noun phrase [[this blue book] and [that *red pen*]] has been formed by the conjoining or coordination of the two conjunct noun phrases [this blue book] and [that *red pen*], respectively.

Conjunction: A part of speech'-- a word or pair of words that serves to conjoin or coordinate two or more syntactic constituents, e.g., and, but, either ... or, neither ... nor.

Generative grammar: A view of grammar put forward by Noam Chomsky in the late 1950s, which holds that mere description of the structures found in any given language is inadequate and must be extended through formal explanatory mechanisms that account for the rule-governed creativity that is behind the production and understanding of those structures.

Structuralism: A major movement that took place in a number of fields of the humanities and the social sciences beginning in the earlier part of the twentieth century and continuing into the 1950s. In the field of linguistics, the Structuralist approach assumed that language consists of structured units that are most successfully described in terms of their distribution and relationships with one another.

Syntactic constituent: A syntactically significant element or word or sequence of words that behaves as a unified entity with respect to the criteria or tests of substitution, conjoining, distribution, replacement by anaphora, and parenthetical insertion. Words, phrases, and clauses are typical syntactic constituents.

X-bar syntax/theory: A rule schema that phrase structure rules have been found to conform to, in terms of maximal phrasal categories, intermediate categories, and (lexical) heads (such as N, V, A, P).

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1.8 QUESTIONS & EXERCISES

1. Consider the underlined word sequences in the sentences below:

   (i) Rahul gave his brother a tov car.
   (ii) Sita was reading two books together.

   Are these sequences of words syntactic constituents according to the criteria for syntactic constituency? Which of the criteria for syntactic constituency are applicable to each of these word sequences?

2. Draw four different phrase structure trees which can be generated by a set of phrases structure rules such as (a-d) below, together with a lexicon containing the entries in (e):

a. S → NP Aux VP
b. VP → V NP
c. NP → Det (AP) N
d. AP → (DegMod) A
e. *a(n)*, Det; *apple*, N; *arrest*, V; buy, *V*; *can*, Aux; *fairly*, DegMod; *girl*, N; *handsome*, *A*; *lad*, N; may, Aux; nice, *A*; *policeman*, N; *beautiful*, *A*; *rather*, DegMod; ripe, *A*; *sparrow*, N; tall, *A*; tasty, A; *that*, Det; the, Det; this, Det; very, DegMod; will, Aux.

If you feel that you need more items in the lexicon, enter your own items along with their parts of speech (as has been done above) and insert them into your phrase structure trees.

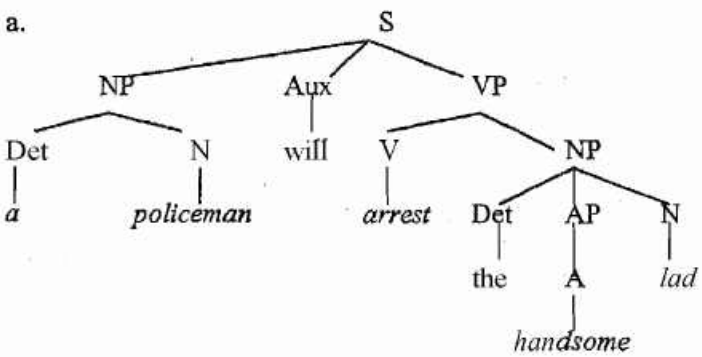
3. **An** earlier convention within X-bar theory has been to represent a question like *What did Ram do yesterday?* syntactically by the symbol S' ("S-bar"), where S is the symbol for the syntactic constituent Sentence, for a sentence like *Ram* did *a* lot of *work yesterday*. Does this convention conform strictly to X-bar theory? Either way, state the reasons why.

NOTES ON "QUESTIONS & EXERCISES"

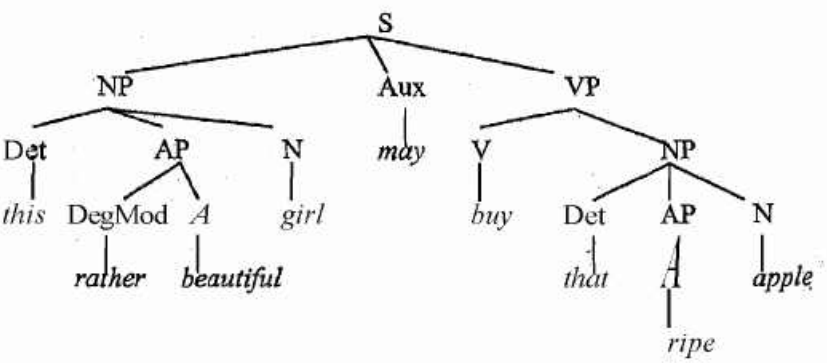
1. For the three-word sequence *a toy car* in (i), the tests of substitution, conjoining, distribution, and parenthetical insertion will be most easily applicable, and they should show that a *toy car* is a syntactic constituent. For the two-word sequence *rending two* in (ii), the tests of substitution, conjoining, distribution, and replacement by anaphora should collectively demonstrate that this sequence of words is NOT a syntactic constituent.

2. Two possible phrase structure trees generated by the phrase structure rules along with the lexicon are the following:

a.



b.



Other possible lexical items that could be inserted are: kill, V; mango, N; *snake*, N; *venomous*, A.

3. (Assuming that the answer to the first part of the question is "No":) A syntactic constituent S is not a single lexical head, unlike an A or a N or a V or a P, but a composite constituent; moreover, a question like What *did* Ram *do yesterday?* is better represented as a syntactic constituent "SP" rather than as S' (notice that the question word *what* and the Past-tense auxiliary verb *do* have to count as two separate syntactic constituents, one a Specifier and another a Complement), but the earlier convention did not provide for any syntactic constituent "SP" that would be larger than S'.

UNIT 2 TYPES OF CLAUSES AND SENTENCES

Structure

2.0 Objectives
2.1 Introduction
- 2.1.1 Clauses and sentences
- 2.1.2 Relative clauses, complement clauses and complementizers
- 2.1.3 A special kind of sentence: Questions, Wh-Movement, and Wh-traces

2.2 Clause types
- 2.2.1 The feature of finiteness in clauses
- 2.2.2 Finite clauses
- 2.2.3 Non-finite clauses: participial
- 2.2.4 Nan-finite clauses: infinitival

2.3 Sentence types
- 2.3.1 Simple indicative sentences
- 2.3.2 Simple imperative sentences
- 2.3.3 Complex sentences: embedding of clauses
- 2.3.4 Compound sentences: conjoining of clauses

2.4 Conclusion
2.5 Let Us Sum Up
2.6 Key Words
2.7 Bibliography
2.8 Questions & Exercises
Notes on "Questions & Exercises"

2.0 OBJECTIVES

The objectives of this unit are that at the end of this unit you should be able to:

- distinguish between a'clause and a sentence, and identify the complementizer of a clause,
- identify different types of clauses,
- analyse the structure of a complex sentence in terms of its main and subordinate clauses,
- identify the coordinate clauses and the conjunction(s) in a compound sentence.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

2.1.1 Clauses and sentences

In Unit 1, we have been introduced to the notion of a "syntactic constituent". In this unit, we take a special syntactic constituent, namely, the **clause,** and examine how it serves as a basic building-block for the largest kind of syntactic constituent, namely, the **sentence.** We shall see that there can be different kinds of sentences based on the number and patterning of the clauses that make up those sentences.

The term *clause* in English is from the Latin term *clausus*, which means 'closed' (from the Latin verb *claud-ere* 'to close'). A clause is a "closed" syntactic constituent in a special sense. In English, its most central constituent is the verb that belongs to it. This verb, and all the possible noun phrases and prepositional phrases that the verb must occur with, constitute the clause. There is no further noun phrase or

prepositional phrase that is needed: in that sense the clause is complete, "closed". Examples illustrative of different kinds of clauses are given in (1) below, with the clauses underlined:

(1) a. The sky is blue.
b. Sita knows [that the sky is blue].
c. Sita wants [her sister to be intelligent].
d. I saw [Hari teaching the seventh-standard students].

Note that the sentence (1a) consists of a single clause. However, the sentences (1b), (1c), and (1d) each consist of something more than just a single clause. Actually, these three sentences are each made up of two clauses. The underlined clause in each is an example of a **subordinate clause,** or **an embedded clause.** The part of each sentence that is not underlined, however, is what "supports" the subordinate (or embedded) clause: if it were not there, the subordinate clause could not occur by itself. Note, moreover, that that part also contains a verb of its own, along with a subject, and that the object is (as a first approximation) the subordinate clause. That part of the sentence is therefore also called the **main clause** or **principal clause.**

A sentence that consists of a single clause is a **simple sentence.** Thus, the sentence (1a) is a simple sentence. A simple sentence has at most one main verb. If we encounter more than one main verb in a sentence, we must immediately conclude that the sentence is not a simple sentence.

By contrast, a sentence that consists of a main clause and one or more subordinate clauses is a **complex sentence.** The sentences (1b), (1c), and (1d) are thus complex sentences. We find more than one main verb in each of these sentences, which leads us to identify two clauses: a main clause and a subordinate clause. A sentence may have a subordinate clause embedded in another subordinate clause, as in (2a), and may even have that subordinate clause embedded in another subordinate clause, ... to an indefinite extent, as the sentence from a children's verse given as (2b) shows. (Every alternate clause, beginning with the main clause, is underlined; each subordinate clause is enclosed in a pair of square brackets, [ ].)

(2) a. I doubt [that Sita knows [that the sky is blue].
b. This is the dog [that chased the cat [that killed the rat [that ate the malt [that lay in the house [that Jack built]]]]].

The only limit to the number of clauses in a complex sentence is, as far as is known today, the length of the sentence that can be retained in short-term memory by a speaker or hearer. (This is in fact why we have trouble making sense of long, complicated sentences in a written text or in a formal speech.) Now consider sentences of the kind shown in (3a-c):

(3) a. [There are clouds in the sky], and [it is raining].
b. [He worked very hard] but [he could not clear the final examinations].
c. Either [the sun rises in the east] or [the moon is made of green cheese].

Each of the sentences (3a), (3b), (3c) contains **two clauses,** but neither clause is embedded within the other clause; instead, they are "joined" by one or more special words such as and, ***but, either*** ... ***or.*** These special words belong to the part of speech called **conjunction,** i.e., they are **conjunctions.** In the sentences above, the two clauses are said to be **conjoined** clauses or **co-ordinate** clauses. Such sentences are examples of **compound sentences,** the third sub-type of sentence besides simple sentences and complex sentences.

We shall examine different clause and sentence types in more detail in Sections 2.2 and 2.3, below.

In the following subsection, we examine certain features of two salient kinds of subordinate clauses. There is also a special kind of sentence as well as embedded clause that syntactically behaves rather differently from the other kinds in a number of respects, and has a special significance in generative grammar. Questions, both simple questions and embedded questions, form this special sub-type of clauses and sentences. We discuss these in subsection 2.1.3.

2.1.2 Relative clauses, complement clauses and complementizers

Let us examine the sentence (2b), above. The embedded clauses in (2b) are instances of relative clauses, clauses that "relate to", or say something more about, an entity such as a house, a sack of malt, a cat, a dog, or even a group of human beings. Further examples of relative clauses are the embedded clauses in (4a) and (4b):

(4) a. The man [who came here yesterday] is Hari's brother
b. I can't find the knife [with which you slice onions].

A relative clause typically contains an expression that refers to the entity that the clause modifies: this expression is a relative pronoun, and it may occur with a preposition such as *with* as in (4b). In (4a), the relative pronoun is the word *who*, referring to *the man*. In (4b), the relative pronoun is the word *which*, referring to *the knife*. A relative pronoun is often the same as the corresponding question word (who? *which (one)?*), but it is not always the same, e.g., the relative pronoun *that* occurs in each of the embedded clauses in the sentence (2b) (*This is the dog [that chased the cat [that killed the rat [that ate the malt ...]]]*).

The other salient kind of embedded clause, of which the embedded clauses in (1b), (1c), (1d), and (2a) are examples, is the complement clause. A complement clause "complements" the main verb of the clause in which it is embedded, i.e., it occurs as a subject, object or prepositional object complement of the verb of that clause. Thus, in the sentence (1b) (*Sita knows [that the sky* is blue]), the clause *[that the sky* is blue] is the direct object complement of the main verb *knows* of the main clause. What about the word *that* in this complement clause--is it the same as the relative pronoun *that* in (2b)? As it happens, *that* is not a relative pronoun in (1b): note that there is no entity being modified by the complement clause *[that the sky* is blue]. Instead, the word *that* "introduces" what the clause expresses as being the complement of the main-clause verb *knows* -- it marks the clause as being a special kind of complement clause, the object complement of the verb *knows*. The word *that* in (1b) is therefore a **complementizer**.

2.1.3 A special kind of sentence: Questions, Wh-Movement, and Wh-Traces

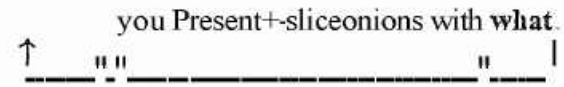
Questions form a special sentential type in English, and therefore need special attention. Consider the following sentences:

(5) a. Are there clouds in the sky?
b. Does Sita know that it is raining?
(6) a. Who came yesterday?
b. What do you slice onions with?

We know that these are questions in English, not only because each of them ends with a question mark, but also because of the function they serve (they demand answers), and also because of the rather different kind of structure that they have from the sentences we have seen before. In particular, notice that, in (5a) and (5b), it, is the finite verb (main verb or auxiliary) that occurs first in the sentence, instead of

the subject; and in (6a) and (6b), a question word (who ... ? *what* ... ?) occurs first, followed by the finite (main or auxiliary), and then comes the subject if this is distinct from the question word (as in (6b) but not in (6a) -- notice that in (6a) the question word who is itself the subject). This order of words is different from the order of words seen in the sentences in, e.g., (1), in which the subject occurs first (the *sky* in (1a)), followed by the verb (is in (1a)), which is then followed by the rest of the predicate (the adjective complement *blue* in (1a)).

The difference in word order found in questions in English has to be captured by a very different kind of rule from a phrase structure rule. This new kind of rule is called a **transformational rule,** or simply a **transformation.** In the case of a question like (6b), a transformational rule called **Question Word Movement** or **Wh-Movement** (i.e., movement of a question word, or a *wh*-word, so called because most question words begin with wh in English -- who, what, where, *when, why*) operates on a "hidden" or "deeper" representation such as (7), to move the question word *what* to the front of the sentence:

(7) 

The tense carried by the verb slice, viz., the Present tense, is separated from the actual verb in this representation (we shall see below why this has to be done). This yields the following kind of representation:

(8) what you Present+slice onions with t

The element t is a **wh-trace,** a sort of invisible mark left by the question word **what** when it has moved to the front of the sentence. The wh-trace is the first kind of **empty category** that we have seen: an "empty category" is a syntactically significant (and sometimes meaning-bearing) element that is not pronounced, and is therefore understood but not heard. (There is independent evidence that empty categories such as wh-traces do have a certain psychological reality for native speakers of English, since certain kinds of contraction or merger of words with one another are found to be blocked if there is a wh-trace between the words.)

In the next step, there is another movement, the movement of the Present tense to the left of the subject. This movement is also a transformation, and is known as **Subject-Aux Inversion** ("Aux" is originally from "Auxiliary", but also includes things like Present, Past or Future tense, agreement marking with the subject, and modals such as can, must, and should). We thus get the following representation:

(9) what Present you slice onions with *t*

But the Present tense cannot just be pronounced by itself: it needs the right kind of word to dock on to, since it does not have the status of a fully pronounced word all by itself. As it happens, in English the verb do is brought in to support the Present tense. We therefore get closer to the representation in which we normally utter (or write) the question, along with the wh-trace t:

(10) what do+-Presentyou slice onions with t

Since this is still not quite the form in which we normally speak (or write) the question, the representation (10) is called an **S-structure** representation. By contrast, the representation (7), without the prolonged arrow, is the **D-structure** representation (earlier it would be called the **deep structure** representation).

2.2 CLAUSE TYPES

2.2.1 The feature of finiteness in clauses

We now discuss an important feature, or parameter, that a clause might be characterized by. Consider the sentences (1a-d) that we have seen above, repeated here as (11a-d):

(11) a. The sky is blue.
b. Sita knows [that the sky is blue].
c. Sita wants [her sister to be intelligent].
d. I saw Hari [teaching the seventh-grade students].

The clauses underlined are of two different kinds, depending on the nature of the verb. In (11a) and (11b), the verb of the underlined clause, viz., is, is a finite verb--note that it agrees with the subject noun phrase, *the* sky, in number (singular number) and person (third person), and is a present-tense form. The verb is is thus a **finite** verb. In both (11a) and (11b), therefore, the underlined clauses are **finite clauses.** In (11c), on the other hand, the verb of the underlined clause is the infinitival verb to be, which remains invariant regardless of the number and person features of the subject (thus one could say *Sita* wants *me/you/us/them* to be intelligent, without any change in the verb to be)--note also that it is not a present-tense form, nor a past nor a future form of the verb be. The verb to be in (11c) is therefore a **non-finite.** (more specifically, **infinitival)** verb-form, and thus the underlined clause in (11c) is a **non-finite clause.** For similar reasons, the progressive participle teaching, which is the central verb-form in the underlined clause in (11d), is a non-finite verb, and the underlined clause in (11d) is a non-finite (specifically, participial) clause.

2.2.2 Finite clauses

As we have seen, a finite clause is a clause whose verb is a finite verb i.e. is marked for tense. The most readily available example of a finite clause is a simple sentence like (1a): the sentence consists of a single finite clause.

There are other kinds of finite clauses, however, which occur as subordinate clauses in complex sentences. The three salient kinds of subordinate finite clauses in English are:

(i) finite complement clauses,
(ii) relative clauses,
(iii) finite adverbial clauses.

The embedded clause in the sentence (11b) above is an example of a finite complement clause -- a finite clause that serves the function of a direct object complement to the verb. A complement clause can also occupy the position of a subject, as in the following sentence:

(12) [That Sita is intelligent] hardly surprises me.

Here the clause *that* Sita is intelligent enclosed in square brackets is in turn the subject of the main (finite) predicate phrase hardly surprises *me*. It is also possible for a finite complement clause to occur as a complement to the noun *fact*, as in the following sentences:

(13) a. [The fact [that Sita is intelligent]] hardly surprises me.
b. I am hardly surprised at [the fact [that Sita is intelligent]].

Finite complement clauses can also occur as prepositional object complements, but then they usually have the status of adverbial clauses, as we shall shortly see.

Another finite clause type is the **relative clause.** A relative clause is so called because it "relates" to a noun in a noun phrase: it modifies, or adds some qualification to, the noun inside the noun phrase. Examples are the following:

(14) a. [The man [who came yesterday]] is a friend of Ram's.
b. This is [the house [that Jack built]].

Relative clauses can also be of two kinds: **restrictive** and **non-restrictive relative clauses.** Unlike a restrictive relative clause, of which the two sentences that we have just seen are examples, a non-restrictive relative clause is separated from the main sentence by commas before and after it, as in:

(15) a. Ali, who is a friend of Rani's, is coming here tomorrow.
b. Jack's house, which was built within a short time, is prettily decorated.

A restrictive relative clause cannot be dropped as easily as a non-restrictive relative clause precisely because a non-restrictive relative clause is much less tightly constrained within the noun phrase than a restrictive relative clause.

The third finite complement clause type is the **adverbial clause**. Examples can be seen in the following sentences:

(16) a. I left the party after [the solar ecliwse ended].
b. Since [Sara studies hard], she never fails any examinations.

In the sentence (16a), the finite clause ***the solar eclipse ended*** occurs as the prepositional complement object of the preposition ***after***. Since it (along with the preposition ***after)*** says something about the time at which I left the party, it serves the function of an adverb of time (such as ***soon*** or ***later);*** it is therefore an adverbial clause. In the sentence (16b), the finite clause Sara *studies* hard is the complement of the subordinating conjunction ***since;*** here, too, the two together say something about the reason for Sara's never failing any examinations; hence ***since Sara studies hard*** has the status of an adverbial clause. Another common kind of adverbial clause is the *if*-clause in a conditional sentence, as in:

(17) a. If [Ram studies hard] he will clear the examinations.
b. If [I had wings] I would fly off to far corners of the world.
c. If [Mark had listened to his friends] he wouldn't have lost so much money.

In each case the *if*-clause specifies a condition that has to be true for the main clause (often called the then-clause) to hold good; we therefore count it as a special kind of adverbial clause.

2.2.3 Non-finite clauses: participial

Not all subordinate clauses are finite, however, as we have seen earlier. Consider the following sentences:

(18) a. I saw Hari teaching the seventh-standard students.
b. Hearing a sudden noise, Ram woke up in the middle of the night.
c. The children, having finished their homework, ran off to play outside.

In (18a), a sentence seen earlier, the direct object coinplement of the verb saw in the main clause is Hari teaching the seventh-standard *students*, which has a progressive participle, *teaching*, instead of a finite verb (such as teaches, was teaching, or taught). In (18b), hearing a sudden noise looks like a phrase containing a progressive participle hearing, rather than a full clause, since it does not have an expressed subject. However, if you think about it for a moment, you realize that the subject of hearing is understood to be *Ram*, the person who wolce up in the middle of the noise, and not anyone else. Similarly, in (c), the sequence of words having *finished* their homework looks like a phrase containing the progressive auxiliary participle *having* + past participlefinished rather than a full clause, but its understood subject is the children and not any other people. In generative syntax, the understood subject of the participle in (b) and (c) is said to be an unpronounced element which is labelled "PRO" (after "pronoun") and whose meaning is controlled -- i.e., determined -- by the subject of the matrix clause. These two properties are captured by the representations (19a) and (19b), below, for the sentences (18b) and (18c):

(19) a. [PRO_x Hearing a sudden noise], Ram_x woke up in the middle of the night.

b The $children_y$, [PRO_y having finished their homework], ran off to play outside.

The common subscripts *x* for PRO and for Ram in the sentence (19a) indicate that the understood subject ofhearing a sudden noise, i.e., PRO, has the same reference as *Ram:* this kind of indication of identity of reference is termed coindexing in syntax. The same is true for the common subscripts y for *the* children and for PRO in the sentence (19b): the two expressions are coindexed, since they bear the same reference (i.e., refer to the same entity or set of entities). We thus see that these participial phrases are secretly non-finite clauses, with an understood subject whose meaning is controlled by the main-clause subject. However, there can also be a participial clause with an unpronounced but understood subject whose meaning is indefinite, as in (20a) and (20b):

(20) a. Seeing is believing.

b. Telling lies is not a smart thing to do.

A participial form such as seeing requires an understood subject (since there have to be *some* animate beings to be able to see), as does a participial form like believing. The same would hold of the participial phrase *telling* lies. These sentences are therefore rewritten in generative syntax as follows:

(21) a. [PRO Seeing] is [PRO believing].

b. [PRO Telling lies] is not a smart thing to do.

The element PRO is an example of an empty category, a meaningful but unpronounced element. (We shall see further empty categories in the following units: they form an important set of elements in generative syntax.) This element enables us to see, again, that seeing, believing, and telling *lies* are actually parts of hidden participial clauses. The element PRO is said to have **arbitrary** reference in these sentences, since its meaning is not determined by any other noun phrase in the sentences but is understood to be something like 'everyone' or 'someone', i.e., no specific individual(s). The element PRO is also found to be useful in understanding the nature of another class of non-finite clauses, as we see below.

2.2.4 Non-finite clauses: infinitival

Consider the following sentences:

(22) a. I want to go home.

b. Sara expects Ali to come back soon.

c. To err is human.

In these sentences, the underlined expressions each have a special kind of non-finite verb, the infinitive: to go, to come, and to ***err,*** respectively. Notice, moreover, that the subject of to *come* back soon in (22b) is *Ali*, not Sara or anyone else; hence we include ***Ali*** as being the subject of the infinitival clause ***Ali*** to *come back* soon. In (22a), however, the understood subject of to go *home* is **I**, which is already the subject of want. We have learned about "PRO", an empty category whose meaning can be controlled by the main-clause subject, earlier. We can therefore rewrite (22a) and (22c) as follows, as (23a) and (23b), respectively:

(23) a. I_a want [PRO_a to go home].
b. [PRO To err] is human.

Note the coindexing of **I** and PRO in the sentence (23a): both bear the subscript index a. In (23b), on the other hand, PRO has arbitrary reference: it is not coindexed with any other noun phrase present in the sentence. Thus, we see that the bracketed expressions in these two sentences are actually infinitival complement clauses: in (23a), the infinitival clause is the direct object complement of the main-clause verb want (what is it that I want?), and in (23b), the infinitival clause is the subject of the main-clause verb is (what is human?).

We shall have occasion to look at the syntax of non-finite complement clauses again, especially in Units 3 and 5; they show certain interesting effects that result precisely from their being non-finite complement clauses.

2.3 SENTENCE TYPES

2.3.1 Simple indicative sentences

The "simplest" kind of simple sentence is the simple indicative sentence -- a single-clause sentence that is a statement of a fact. (Whether the sentence is a true or a false statement would be another matter -- let us simply note that it makes sense to ask whether a statement is true or false, whereas it does not make sense to ask, e.g., whether a question is true or false.) The sentence (1a) seen above is an example of a simple indicative sentence. In English, an indicative sentence is so called because it is in the indicative mood. This can be understood if we compare the indicative sentence type with a sentence that is an order, request, or directive. We see this in the next subsection.

2.3.2 Simple imperative sentences

Consider the following example sentences:

(24) a. Get out!
b. Close the door, please.
c. Do not téll lies.

The sentence (24a) is an order -- a command to the addressee to leave the premises. Note that it is not a statement of a fact: it does not make sense to ask, for instance, whether it is true or false. (It makes sense to ask whether the order is obeyed or not, but then we are talking about the effectiveness of the order, not its truth or falsity.) The sentence (24b) is a request made to the addressee to close the door. (The word "please" added at the end gives it the character of a request rather than a direct order.) The sentence (24c) is an injunction, or a moral directive: it asks the addressee not to tell lies, as a matter of moral principle. These three sentences are therefore simple imperative sentences: they are said to be in the imperative **mood.**

Note that these sentences are exceptions to the requirement in English that a sentence must have an overtly expressed subject. The subject pronoun you is, as a general rule, not expressed in such sentences, unless some special emphasis is intended (as in "*You* get out!").

2.3.3 Complex sentences: embedding of clauses

We now come to complex sentences. A complex sentence is a sentence consisting of a main clause -- also called the **matrix clause** -- and one or more embedded (or subordinate) clauses. The sentence (1b) that we have seen above is an example of a complex sentence, since it consists of the main or matrix clause *Sita knows (X)* and the embedded finite complement clause *that the* sky *is blue*, fulfilling the role of the main-clause direct object *X*. A sentence consisting of a main clause and a non-finite (participial or infinitival) subordinate clause is also a complex sentence: thus, the sentences that we have seen in Subsections 2.2.3 and 2.2.4, earlier, are complex sentences. A complex sentence can have repeatedly embedded subordinate clauses as well, as in the following sentences:

(25) a. This is the dog [that chased the cat [that killed the rat [that ate the malt [that lay in the house [that Jack built]]]]].

b. I wonder [whether Hari believes [that Sita knows [that the sky is blue]]].

In these two sentences, alternate subordinate clauses are underlined to highlight the "nesting" of subordinate clauses. In the sentence (a), the subordinate clauses are all relative clauses: the most deeply embedded relative clause *that Jack built* is kmbedded inside the relative clause *that* lay in *the house* _ , which is in turn embedded in the relative clause *that ate the malt* _ , which is again embedded in the relative clause *that chased the cat* _ , which is, finally, embedded inside the main or matrix clause *This is the dog* – . Likewise, in the sentence (b), the finite compleinent clause *that the sky is blue* is embedded inside the finite complement clause *that Sita knows* _ , which is in turn embedded inside the complement clause *whether Hari believes* _ , which is, finally, embedded in the matrix clause I *wonder* _ . *The* degree of "nesting", or embedding, of subordinate clauses inside a complex sentence is, in principle, infinite: we have to draw the line in accordance with how much our short-term memory can handle, since if the sentence becomes too long we may forget what we had begun saying in the first place!

A complex sentence may also have **coordinate clauses** embedded within it, as in the following sentence (26):

(26) Sita knows [that [the sky is blue] and [the moon is not made of cheese]].

Here, the embedded finite complement clause actually consists of two clauses joined together by the conjunction and: the clause *the sky* is *blue* and the clause *the moon* is *not made of cheese*. These two clauses are thus coordinate clauses that (along with the complementizer *that*) make up the conjoined complement clause *that the sky is blue and the moon is nzade of green cheese*, which is the direct object complement of the matrix verb *knows*. In principle, there can again be multiple embedding of coordinate clauses within other subordinate clauses, and of subordinate clauses within other coordinate clauses. (If the resulting sentence becomes too clumsy, involved, and complicated, however, we will have trouble keeping track of what it is trying to say in all. Therefore, in producing and understanding actual sentences, we draw the line in accordance with how much our intelligence and short-term memory can handle.) In the next subsection, we look at another sentence type, whose defining feature is in fact the occurrence of coordinate clauses.

2.3.4 **Compound** sentences: conjoining **of clauses**

Now let us consider sentences like the following:

(27) a. [Ram turned off the lights] and [Ali closed the windows].
b. [Eat], [drink], and [be merry].
c. [Sita wrote a short story] and [Sara a poem].
d. [You may be tired], but [you must work for another hour].

Each of these sentences consists of clauses that are not in the relationship of main clause to subordinate clause(s), but are "joined", or conjoined, with one another by means of conjunctions such as and and *but*. We can also say that such conjoined clauses are conjunct clauses, or coordinate clauses (a term we have seen earlier). Sentences that are made up of conjoined (or coordinate) clauses are said to be compound sentences. In some cases, the conjunction may consist of two words such as either ... or and neither ... nor:

(28) a. Either [you withdraw this proposal] or [I resign from your committee].
b. Neither [has Ram written to me about this] nor [has Sita spoken to me about it].

(Note the inversion of the subject and the auxiliary verb in the sentence (28b) -- this kind of inversion is often found when the clause has negation, i.e., a negative word such as neither or nor.) In principle, it is possible to conjoin more than just two or three clauses to form a compound sentence; however, if the sentence becomes too long it can become too much for us to process mentally. Thus, a compound sentence typically contains two or at most three conjunct clauses. However, it is also possible to have subordinate clauses embedded inside one or more of these conjunct clauses, as in the following sentence (29):

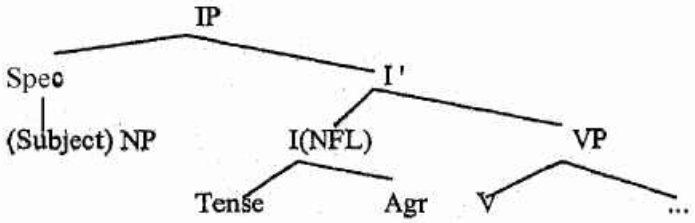
(29) [Ali turned off the lights,[before he walked out]] and [Ram locked the door [after he had closed the windows]].

Again, the degree of embedding of subordinate clauses inside a compound sentence cannot be too high for our intelligence and short-term memory to handle, but in principle there is no limit to it. Such a principled lack of limits is actually a property arising out of the rule-governed creativity of any language, including English.

2.4 CONCLUSION

We have seen that the clause is an important kind of syntactic constituent which plays a vital role in the make-up of sentences of different kinds. Therefore, the clause is assigned its own syntactic constituent types, depending on whether a complementizer or relative pronoun is included or not. A clause, excluding any complementizer or relative pronoun that might (or might not) occur with it, is assigned the following kind of phrase structure tree, with the symbol IP (for **INFL-P** or "Inflection Phrase", where "Inflection" refers to "Verbal Inflection", the tense and agreement features on the verb -- to be discussed in more detail in Unit 4):

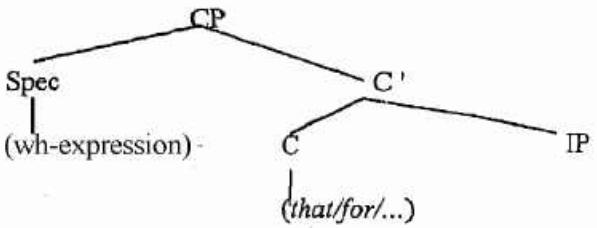
(30)



In accordance with X-bar theory (which we have already seen in Unit 1), the head of the clause, IP, is the element I (i.e., INFL), even though (unlike the syntactic head types we have seen so far) most often it is not a full word in itself but only a suffix or even a feature, such as the feature of Past Tense on a verb-form such as *hit* or cut which does not change in shape in the past tense. This is allowed in syntax: to count as a syntactically significant constituent, an element need not be a full morphological word. (Sometimes it may not even be pronounced: the empty category PRO is a syntactic constituent of this kind.)

When a complementizer or wh-expression (i.e., question word or phrase, or relative pronoun or pronominal phrase such as *with* which) is included, the constituent IP is further embedded inside another kind of syntactic constituent, called **CP** (for "Complementizer Phrase"). The head of a CP is the complementizer C, whether it is overtly present or not. The phrase structure of a CP is as follows:

(31)



Note that, in English, a simple indicative sentence is an IP, not a CP, since it does not include a complementizer or wh-expression; while a question or an embedded relative clause must necessarily be syntactically represented as a CP, not as an IP.

2.5 LET US SUM UP

1. The clause as a syntactic constituent is not always identical with a sentence: a sentence may consist of one or more clauses.
2. A clause may be defined as a syntactic constittuent whose immediate constituents are a subject and a predicate, and which may or may not contain a finite verb.
3. A clause that has its own finite verb is a finite clause; a clause that has a non-finite verb is a non-finite clause.
4. A sentence that consists of a single clause is a simple sentence.
5. A sentence that consists of a main (or principal or matrix) clause and one or more subordinate clauses is a complex sentence.
6. In principle, the degree of embedding of subordinate clauses in a coinplex sentence is infinite; the limits are imposed by how much our short-term memory and intelligence can handle.
7. A sentence that consists of one or more conjoined (or conjunct or coordinate) clauses is a compound sentence. A compound sentence may have one or more subordinate clauses embedded within any'or all of the conjunct clauses.
8. Conversely, a complex sentence may contain conjoined subordinate clauses,
9. A finite subordinate clause within a complex sentence may be a relative clause, a complement clause, or an adverbial clause.
10. A complement clause is often preceded by a complementizer such as *that.*
11. A clause by itself is a syntactic constituent of the type IP, whose head is the (finite or non-finite) INFL element 'of the clause.
12. A clause along'with a complementizer or wh-expressiqn is a syntactic constituent of the type CP, whose head is a complementizer C, whether this is overt or null.

2.6 KEYWORDS

Adverbial clause: A subordinate clause type, usually finite, that says something more about the time, place, manner, cause, or condition of occurrence of the event expressed by the main clause, just as an adverb would do.

Clause: A syntactic constituent type that is one of the largest building-blocks of the sentence; a clause has subject-predicate (deep) structure and may be finite or non-finite, depending on whether its verb is a finite verb or not.

Complement clause: An embedded clause that occurs as the subject or direct object complement to the verb of the matrix clause. A complement clause is often introduced by a COMPLEMENTIZER (q.v.).

C(omp) or Complementizer: A syntactic element that typically occurs with a complement clause, e.g., the complementizer *that* with a finite complement clause, or the complementizer *for(. .to)* with an infinitival complement clause. A complementizer is also the head (Comp or C) of the syntactic constituent of phrasal category CP.

Complex sentence: A sentence that consists of a main clause and one or more subordinate clauses, with or without repeated embedding of the subordinate clauses.

Compound sentence: A sentence that consists of two or more conjoined (or coordinate: see Key Words, Unit 1) clauses, with or without one or more subordinate clauses embedded in any or all of the conjunct clauses.

Mnite verb: In English, a verb-form that displays all the tense and agreement features that it is capable of displaying, with or without auxiliaries (including modals). Correspondingly, the clause to which the verb belongs is a finite clause. See NON-FINITE VERB for contrast.

I or INFL: The head of a clause (which is a phrasal category of the type IP), consisting of verbal inflection and/or any auxiliaries (including modals such as can and *would).*

Non-finite verb: In English, a verb-form that does not display all the possible tense and agreement features that it is capable of displaying, although it most often displays aspect (with or without the help of auxiliaries). For example, a participial verb complex such as ***having seen*** or an infinitive verb-form such as to ***have left*** would be considered non-finite. Correspondingly, the clause of which a non-finite verb is the principal verb is a lion-finite clause

Relative clause: An embedded clause that occurs as part of a noun phrase and modifies its head noun. An example is the CP modifying the underlined noun *man* in: [NP *The man* [CP *who is sitting over there*]] *is from Mumbai.*.

Simple sentence: A sentence consisting of a single clause, e.g., *The sky is blue* or *Sita was reading.*

2.7 BIBLIOGRAPHY

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2.8 QUESTIONS & EXERCISES

1. For each of the sentences given below, indicate whether the sentence is simple, complex, or compound, pointing out the different clauses (main, subordinate, and/or co-ordinate):

   (a) Tell me what you think of it.
   (b) I am leaving right now.
   (c) Fair is foul and foul is fair.
   (d) I expect Ram to help me,
   (e) Neither did Sita come here nor did Sara leave.
   (f) May you be happy throughout your life!

2. For each of the italicized clauses in the following sentences, indicate whether it is a finite or a non-finite clause, the particular sub-type of finite or non-finite clause to which it belongs, and (if you can, and to the extent possible) its internal structure:

   (a) I wonder *whether she can speak Sanskrit.*
   (b) They are anxious *for you to help them.*
   (c) I am almost sure *that no one will do the assignment.*
   (d) Please bring me the book *from which you copied theseparagraphr.*
   (e) I shall only come home *when my father is in a better mood.*
   (f) I don't like *your jumping to conclusions.*

NOTES ON "QUESTIONS & EXERCISES"

1. (a) Complex (embedded question complement: *what you think of it).*
   (b) Simple (single clause: *I am leaving right now).*

(c) Compound (conjunct clauses: ***Fair*** isfoul, foul ***is*** fair -- Note: from Shakespeare, Mncbeth).

(d) Complex (embedded infinitival clause: *Ram* to ***help me).***

(e) Compound (conjunct clauses: (Neither) did *Sita come* ***here,*** (nor) did Sara leave).

(f) Simple (single clause: May you ***be happy throughout*** your ***life).***

2. (a) Finite, complement (embedded yes-no question); (b) non-finite, infinitival; (c) finite, complement (embedded statement); (d) finite, relative (modifying the head noun ***book);*** (e) finite, adverbial (introduced by the relative pronoun ***when);*** (f) non-finite, participial (direct object complement to the main-clause verb ***like).***

UNIT 3 GRAMMATICAL FUNCTIONS, CASES, AND THEMATIC ROLES

Structure

3.0 Objectives
3.1 Introduction
  3.1.1 Understanding grammatical functions
  3.1.2 Understanding Case
  3.1.3 The notion of a thematic role
3.2 Grammatical functions
  3.2.1 Subject
  3.2.2 Direct Object
  3.2.3 Indirect Object
  3.2.4 Object of a Preposition
3.3 Case
  3.3.1 Case assignment
  3.3.2 Case and NP-Movement
  3.3.3 Exceptional Case-Marking
3.4 Thematic roles
  3.3.1 Basic thematic roles
  3.3.2 Thematic roles and the Theta Theory
  3.3.3 Thematic role versus Case
3.5 Conclusion
3.6 Let Us Sum Up
3.7 Key Words
3.8 Bibliography
3.9 Questions & Exercises
  Notes on "Questions & Exercises"

3.0 OBJECTIVES

The objectives of this unit are that at the end of this unit you should be able to

- understand grammatical functions such as Subject, Direct Object, Indirect Object, Prepositional Object,
- identify different cases in English, such as Nominative, Accusative, Genitive,
- identify thematic roles of argument noun phrases,
- distinguish between grammatical functions, cases, and thematic roles,
- understand the significance of grammatical functions, case, and thematic roles for other aspects of sentence structure.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

3.1.1 Understanding grammatical functions

In Units 1 and 2, we learned about different syntactic constituents such as phrases, clauses, and sentences. In this unit, we shall be concerned with certain kinds of relations and roles in which some of these syntactic constituents, particularly certain kinds of phrases and clauses, participate. These relations and roles are also significant for other aspects of the syntax of English, as we shall soon see.

To begin with, we shall examine the notion of a **grammatical** function. Earlier, we have used this term in passing, during our discussion of complement clauses. We shall now see that a grammatical function is a very general kind of relationship, in which not only complement clauses but also noun phrases and occasionally other kinds of syntactic constituents figure in an important way.

The first kind of grammatical function that one encounters in an English sentence is the **subject.** (This has already been mentioned informally in an earlier unit.) A typical sentence in English can be immediately divided into two parts, namely, the subject and the predicate. The subject is the noun phrase (NP; see Unit 1) that the predicate says something more about. If the main verb in the predicate is an action verb such as *hit, kill,* call, or eat, then the subject denotes the person or being performing the action expressed by the verb.

Another kind of grammatical function is the object, or more specifically the **direct** object. The direct object NP denotes the most important entity (or set of entities) towards which the verb is directed, with or without a resulting change of state in it (or them). We have also seen direct object complement clauses in Unit 2: such a clause denotes the object of a verb such as *to know* or to believe.

A third kind of grammatical function is the indirect object. **An** indirect object NP denotes the goal, recipient, or beneficiary of the action of the verb on the direct object. Consider the sentences below:

(1) a. Ali gave Salma a box of sweets.
b. Sita bought her niece a toy car.

In (1a), AN is the subject, *a* box of sweets is the direct object, and *Salma* is the indirect object since she is the recipient of the box of sweets. In (1b), *Sita* is the subject, *a* toy car is the direct object, and *her* niece is the indirect object since Sita's niece is the recipient or beneficiary of Sita's purchase.

A fourth kind of grammatical function is the prepositional object, or object **of a** preposition. In Unit 2, we have seen subordinate adverbial clauses that constitute prepositional object complements. Of course, noun phrases (including wh-phrases) in general can be objects of prepositions, as the following sentences illustrate:

(2) a. Rain is in [the garden].
b. Bobby put the flowers on [the table].
c. With [which company] are you collaborating in this joint venture?

Grammatical functions such as these play a crucial role in English syntax, since -- as we shall see in what follows in this unit and the subsequent ones -- their occurrence often determines the operation of other rules and principles of grammar as well.

3.1.2 Understanding Case

The Case of a noun phrase is another feature that plays a role in the regulation of syntactic rules such as inovemcnt transformations and agreement. Consider the sentences (3a - c) below:

(3) a. He is intelligent.
b. Sita saw him yesterday.
c. This is his house.

The underlined forms in these sentences are all forms of the masculine third-person singular pronoun *(he ... him ... his);* however, they differ in their Cases. In the sentence (3a), the pronoun he is in the Nominative **Case** (since it is the subject); in

(3b), the pronoun *him* is in the **Accusative** Case (since it is the direct object of the verb *saw*); and in (3c), the pronoun *his* is in the Genitive or Possessive **Case** (since he is the "possessor" of the house). Note also that these different Case-forms of the pronoun are not interchangeable:

(4) a. *Him/*His is intelligent. (in the sense of: He is intelligent.)
b. I saw *he/*his. (in the sense of: I saw him.)
c. This is *he/*him house.

Nouns in English have just two distinct Case-forms: the Nominative(-Accusative), without any extra marking, and the Genitive (or Possessive), with the suffix *-'s* in the singular and *-s'* in the plural.

In Section 3.3, we shall examine the syntactic features of Case in greater detail, and we shall find that it is closely linked with other syntactically significant elements such as Infl and the Verb, and also that it regulates an important kind of movement transformation. We shall also see that Case is an obligatory feature of every noun phrase in every grammatical sentence in English, and that the generative grammar of English therefore seems to have a kind of "filter" that lets only Case-marked noun phrases through

3.1.3 The notion of a thematic role

The concept of **thematic** roles or **thematic** relations is probably new to you. Thematic roles are, in a sense, closer to the actual meanings of noun phrases than either grammatical functions or Cases are. To see what we mean by thematic roles, consider the following pair of sentences:

(5) a. The door opened.
b. The security guard opened the door.

In the sentence (5a), the noun phrase *the door* is the subject, whereas in (5b) it is the direct object. In both the sentences, however, it is the entity that is the most directly affected by the action of opening. We therefore say that *the* door bears the **thematic role** THEME (sometimes called PATIENT) in both (5a) and (5b), whereas the noun phrase *the security guard* in (5b), as the entity that consciously performs the action of opening the door, has the thematic role AGENT.

There are several more thematic roles such as EXPERIENCER, INSTRUMENT, GOAL, BENEFICIARY/RECIPIENT, SOURCE, and LOCATION. In generative grammar, it is assumed that the lexical items (roughly, distinct "dictionary words") used in a given language are listed in a large **Lexicon** for the language as individual lexical entries. For many of these lexical items -- and especially for verbs -- the thematic roles borne by the subject, direct object, ..., etc. are specified in each individual lexical entry. This has certain further implications for the syntax of the language, as we shall see in Section **3.3.**

3.2 GRAMMATICAL FUNCTIONS

3.2.1 Subject

The subject of a sentence carries the most crucial grammatical function: it expresses what the rest s f the sentence, specifically the predicate phrase, is about. The subject has traditionally been defined as the "doer" of the action expressed by the verb. In actual examples, however, this definition of a subject proves to be rather inadequate.

cONSIDER THE FOLLOWING SENTENCES:

(6) a. Sita is a doctor.
b. My brother finally fell asleep.
c. Ali already knows a lot about computers.

None of the verbs in these sentences are verbs of (voluntary) action, and thus, strictly speaking, the subject cannot be called the "doer" of any action. The sentence (6a) says something about Sita's profession, the sentence (6b) tell; us about a bodily state that my brother entered into, and the sentence (6c) says something about a mental state that Ali possesses (through conscious effort on his part or otherwise). And yet there is no doubt that Sita, *my* brother, and Ali are all subjects of their respective sentences, because for every one of these the rest of the sentence, i.e., the predicate phrase is about Sita. my brother, and Ali, respectively.

Consider also the following sentences:

(7) a. All of a sudden the door opened.
b. The dog was run over by a car.

In the sentence (7a), *the door* is the subject, but it is incapable of performing the action of opening voluntarily: some person or physical force ha:; to be responsible for its opening. The sentence (b) is a sentence in the passive voice: the verb *run* (over) is in its passive form (in the shape "Auxiliary be + Past Participle"), and its subject is therefore what would normally be the direct object in the active counterpart of the sentence.

3.2.2 Direct object

A direct object, unlike a subject, is not an obligatorily present grammatical function in English. It occurs only with transitive verbs such as see, hit, kill, *eat*, and *read*; and even with verbs such as eat and *read* it may be understood rather than always overtly expressed. Consider the following pairs of sentences:

(8) a. Sita is reading.
b. Sita is reading the newspaper.

(9) a. The children finally ate at two o'clock.
b. The children finally ate their lunch at two o'clock.

In the sentences (8a) and (9a), the direct object is unexpressed but understood to be 'something that can be read' and 'something edible', respectively, while in the sentences (8b) and (9b), the direcl object is overtly expressed. In one sense, the direct object has a closer syntactic relationship with its main verb than, e.g., the subject of a sentence does; this is borne out by the fact that the nature of the direct object can be (at least partially) conjectured from the verbs ***rend*** and eat in the sentences (8a) and (9a), respectively. In structural terms, the direct object NP is a sister of the V in the syntactic tree.

As we have seen in the previous subsection (3.2.1), the subject of a passive sentence occurs as the direct object of its active counterpart. Consider the following pair of sentences:

(10) a. The mangoes were eaten (by the children) yesterday.
b. The children ate the mangoes yesterday.

The phrase by *the* children in the passive sentence (10a) is optional. The subject of a passive sentence, such as the *mangoes* in (10a), is often called a "logical object" since it still remains the set of things that were eaten, while the (optional) NP that occurs with the preposition by in (10a), and which is the subject in (10b), is often called a "logical subject", since the children remain the eaters of the mangoes. The

grammatical subject of a passive sentence is thus the "logical object" of its active counterpart, and the NP in the optional *by*-phrase in a passive sentence is the "logical subject" of its active counterpart. This relationship is also captured by the assignment of certain thematic roles to the subject and direct object NPs in active-passive sentence pairs, as we shall see below.

3.2.3 Indirect object

A verb that is ditransitive takes an indirect object as well as a direct object. The verb give, for instance, is a ditransitive verb. Consider the following sentences:

(11) a. Sita gave her sister a large gift-wrapped parcel.
b. Ali bought the children some chocolate.

Each of these sentences have two objects, a direct object and an **indirect object** that denotes the recipient(s) of the direct object as a result of the action expressed by the verb: *her* sister in (11a), who is tlie recipient of the parcel, and *the* children in (11b), who are the recipients of the chocolate that Ali bought. Each of these sentences can have an alternative form, as in:

(12) a. Sita gave a large gift-wrapped parcel to [her sister].
b. Ali bought some chocolate for [the children].

Note the difference: in these two sentences, the indirect object follows a preposition (to or *for*) after the indirect object, while in the earlier two sentences the indirect object occurs directly after the verb and before the direct object. A movement transformation called **Dative-Shift** is responsible for the two sentences: in the operation of Dative Shift, the irdirect object -- which is, in a sense, a NP in the "Dative" case in English (although English does not have any "Dative" Case-form separate from the Accusative Case-form) -- is shifted leftwards over the direct object to occur immediately after the verb, and thereafter a minor deletion transformation erases the preposition (to or *for*) that occurs before it. To see how it works, let us take the sentence (12a) and apply the movement transformation of Dative Shift and the minor Preposition Deletion transformation to it:

(13) ***Deep*** structure: Sita gave a large gift-wrapped parcel to her sister

Dative Shift

Stage *II:* Sita gave her sister a large gift-wrapped parcel to

Preposition Deletion: ∅

Stage *III:* Sita gave her sister a large gift-wrapped parcel.
(Surface structure)

We have seen another movement transformation earlier, viz., Wh-Movement, which applies only to wh-expressions (with question words or relative pronouns). Dative Shift is likewise a movement transformation that applies only to indirect objects introduced by a preposition such as to or *for*, to yield the word order Verb - Indirect ***Object*** - Direct Object.

3.2.4 Prepositional Object

The term "prepositional object" is, strictly speaking, more a structural notion than a grammatical function since, as we have just seen, an indirect object introduced by a preposition such as *to* or *for* is also the object of that preposition. Not all

prepositional objects are indirect objects, however. Consider the following sentences:

(14) a. I am going to my workplace.
b. Put the flowers in the flower-vase.
c. The rock rolled down the slope.

None of the underlined prepositional phrases in the three sentences above are phrases containing indirect objects. Yet the NPs *my workplace*, *the flower-vase*, and *the* slope are all prepositional objects, of the prepositions *to*, in, and *down*, respectively.

Sometimes a wh-expression that is a prepositional object can be moved by the transformation of Wh-Movement, leaving the preposition "stranded" by itself. This has occurred, for instance', in the following sentences:

(15) a. What_x did she do that for t_x ?
b. Which cousin_y are you planning to go to the movie with t_y ?

We have seen wh-traces before, in Unit 2. Here, the prepositional objects, being *wh*-expressions, have left wh-traces behind in their original sites as they have moved to the very front of the questions.

3.3 CASE

3.3.1 *Case* assignment and *Case* Theory

We have a preliminary understanding of Case by now. However, we must also note that distinct syntactic Cases may not necessarily be expressed by means of distinct (morphological) Case-forms. For instance, a common noun such as *book* or cut has only one Case-form for both the Nominative and the Accusative Cases:

(16) a. That book is interesting to read.
b. I've read that book before.
(17) a. This cat roams around in the neighbourhood.
b. Take this cat outside.

Every noun phrase in an English sentence must necessarily carry a syntactic Case, even though not all syntactic Cases are expressed by distinct Case-forms. The requirement that every noun phrase must bear a syntactic Case is prompted by the fact that noun phrases must rightfully "belong" within sentences: a hanging noun phrase bearing no Case in a sentence would be irrelevant to the sentence. This requirement is often labelled the Case Filter by generative grammarians:

(19) ***Case Filter:*** *NP if the NP does not have syntactic Case.

This is to be read as: "A noun phrase is ungrammatical in the language if it does not have syntactic Case". Another way of getting the work of the Case Filter done in English is to say that every noun phrase must be **assigned** a syntactic Case by some other element in the sentence. The Case Filter and matters of Case-assignment belong to a sub-part of generative grammar called Case **Theory.** The theory ensures that NPs bear meaningful and coherent relationships with the other elements in a sentence, and especially with Case-assigning elements in the sentence. As it happens, some of the most crucial syntactic elements of a sentence are Case-assigners. The verb, for instance, assigns Accusative Case to a direct object (if it is an active transitive verb), and an Infl element (which we have seen in Unit 2) carrying Tense assigns Nominative Case to the subject of its clause. The necessary condition for

Case-assignment is a special kind of relationship called government. The head of a phrase governs its Complement, and its Specifier as well. Thus, a verb governs its direct object complement (and any other complement(s) it might have, such as a prepositional phrase), and a tensed (i.e., finite) Infl element governs the subject NP in its Specifier. For government, in turn, the governing element must c-command the element that it governs (for the definition of c-command see Unit 1).

3.3.2 Case and NP-Movement

Case plays a central role in another salient kind of movement transformation besides Wh-Movement, viz., NP-Movement. The Passivization transformation, which derives a passive sentence from a deep structure which is close to its corresponding active sentence in certain respects, is now held to be a sub-type of the transformation NP-Movement. Thus, a passive sentence like (20b) below is derived from a deep structure representation that is something like (20a) – the prepositional phrase by the children is in parentheses, which indicate that the phrase is optional:

(20) **a.** ___ Past + be eaten the mangoes (by the children)
↑ |

NP-Movement (Passivization)

b. The mangoes were (= be+Past 3 pl.) eaten (by the children).

Another kind of NP-Movement is Subject-to-Subject Raising, also called Raising-to-Subject. This involves the "raising" or "upward movement" of the subject of a complement clause to the (empty) subject position of the next higher clause. Raising-to-Subject is responsible for the meaning-relationship between the following pair of sentences, with the sentence (21b) the outcome of Raising-to-Subject:

(21) a. It seems [$_{IP}$ Ram is exhausted].
b. Ram$_X$ seems [$_{IP}$ t_X to be exhausted].

In (21b), the complement clause of the verb seems has a **NP-trace** in the position of its subject, a trace left by the proper noun *Ram* in its movement to the position of the subject of seems, which would otherwise be empty. The NP Ram has to move upward to be assigned nominative Case: the INFL of the infinitival coinplement clause IP, being non-finite, is unable to assign Case to its own subject, and fortunately the verb seem does not select any subject -- hence the subject it of the tensed verb seems in (21a) is a "dummy" or "expletive" it, without any particular reference to any real-world entity. The subject of the complement clause, once it has been "raised" to the position of matrix-clause subject, can get Case from the finite INFL element (Present **3** *sg.*) of the matrix clause.

3.3.3 . Exceptional Case-Marking

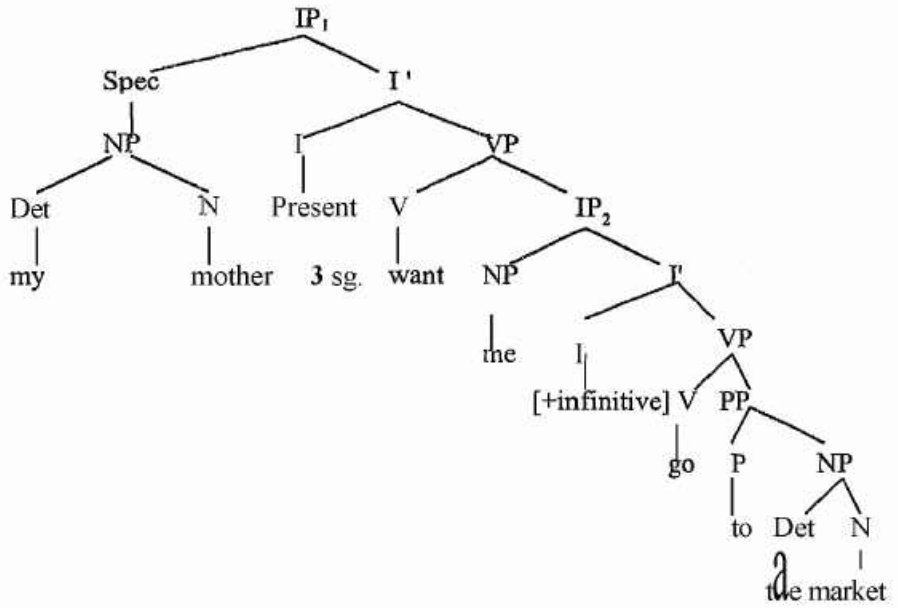
So far, we liave seen how Case can be assigned to NPs, either in their base-generated positions or after they have undergone different kinds of NP-Movement. However, there is a class of constructions in which certain NPs are unable to get Case through the regular channels that we have seen up till now. The assignment of Case to these NPs is a special kind of mechanism which is called Exceptional Case-Marking (or ECM for short). Let us look at the following examples:

(22) **a.** My mother wants [$_{IP}$ me to go to the market].
b. Harish believes [$_{IP}$ himself to be intelligent].

In the sentence (22a), the subject of the infinitival complement clause, me, bears the Accusative Case instead of the expected Nominative Case for the subject of a clause. The same holds of the subject of the infinitival complement clause, ***himself***, in the

sentence (22b). The question is, what is it that assigns the Accusative Case to the complement-clause subject? The structure of the sentence (22a) is as follows:

(23)



In this case, the verb of the matrix clause IP_1, *want*, exceptionally marks the subject of the complement clause IP_2 with the Accusative Case so that it takes the shape me rather than **I** -- note that the infinitival I(nfl) element of the complement clause, being non-finite, cannot mark the subject of the complement clause with the Nominative Case. The Case-marking of the subject is deemed exceptional because the matrix-clause verb *want* does not directly **govern** the complement-clause subject -- there is an intervening branching node IP_2 that prevents direct government of the complement-clausesubject by the matrix-clause verb. Normally, a Case-assigner must govern the NP to which it is to assign Case. For sentences like (22a) and (22b), however, this requirement of government is found to be relaxed so that the complement-clause subject does not remain Case-less.

3.4 THEMATIC ROLES

3.4.1 Basic thematic roles

We have already seen two of the basic thematic roles that a noun phrase in English can assume, namely, AGENT and TI-IEME. We have also listed a number of other thematic roles without discussing them further. We examine these thematic roles now. Consider the following sentences:

(24) a. Ram felled the tree with an axe.
b. I go to work by bus.
c. What$_i$ do you slice onions with t_i ?

(The subscripts i on *what* and the trace *t* indicate that *t* is the wh-trace of the question word *what*, as we have seen earlier.)

3.4.2 Thematic roles and the Theta Theory

The part of generative grammar that deals exclusively with thematic roles is often termed the **Theta Theory** (also written as "θ - theory"): thematic roles are also known as **θ - roles** or **theta roles** for short. Theta theory is centred around an important principle called the **Theta criterion,** which goes as follows:

(25) ***Theta Criterion:*** Every argument NP in a sentence bears one and only one theta role, and each theta role is assigned to one and only one argument NP.

The Theta Criterion thus figures in Theta Theory in the same way that the Case Filter figures in Case Theory. It ensures that no noun phrase that is selected by the lexical entry for a given verb (or predicate adjective, or even preposition) can figure in a sentence without being assigned a proper thematic role.

3.4.3 Thematic roles and Case

As should be evident to you by now, there is a lot of overlap between certain Cases and certain thematic roles: for instance, an argument NP in the Nominative Case is typically an AGENT or EXPERIENCER in its thematic role, while an argument NP in the Accusative Case that is not a prepositional object typically has the thematic role THEME (or PATIENT); and an argument NP that is the object of a preposition like *in* or on typically has the thematic role of LOCATION. However, the match between Cases and thematic roles is not always perfect. For instance, argument NPs can bear the same thematic role but different Cases, as the following pair of sentences illustrates:

(26) a. They often like amusing toys.
EXPERIENCER

b. Amusing toys are often liked by them.
EXPERIENCER

The pronoun *they* in (26a), being the subject, is in the Nominative Case-form, whereas the pronoun *them* in (26b), being the object of the preposition *by*, is in the Accusative Case-form; but they have the same theta role, that of EXPERIENCER, in the two sentences. Similarly, the same Case is often assigned to argument NPs with two different theta roles, as the following pair of examples illustrate:

(27) a. The children like sweets.
EXPERIENCER

b. The children threw stones at them.
AGENT

The same argument NP *the* children, which is also the subject in both the sentences and is assigned Nominative Case, has different theta roles, EXPERIENCER in (27a) and AGENT in (27b).

3.5 CONCLUSION

Grammatical functions, Cases, and thematic roles are often overlapping but not perfectly matching properties that NPs in a sentence display. In the lexicon, grammatical functions and thematic roles feature in the "frame specifications" for lexical entries, especially for verbs, predicate adjectives, and prepositions. The grammatical function frame (or frames) in which a lexical item can occur was earlier called the **strict subcategorization** specification(s) for the lexical item (Chomsky 1965); later, it has been renamed the **c-selection** properties of the lexical item (for "category selection": see, e.g., Lasnik & Uriagereka 1988). The specification of

covered under the term **selectional restrictions** for the lexical item (Chomsky 1965); this has also been renamed later, as the **s-selection** properties of the lexical item (for "semantic selection": Lasnik & Uriagereka 1988). Thus, the c-selection and s-selection specifications for a verb such as *put* would appear in the lexical enhy for put as follows:

(28) *put:* V, [$_{VP}$NP [v ' ___ NP PP[+LOCATIVE]]] *(c-selection)*
<AGENT, THEME, LOCATION> *(s-selection)*

This is to be interpreted as follows: the lexical item put is of the part of speech Verb; its c-selection specification says that it occurs with a subject, a direct object, and a locative prepositional phrase; and its s-selection specification says that the three arguments that it selects must bear the thematic roles AGENT, THEME, and LOCATION.

3.6 LET US SUM UP

1. Grammatical functions, Case, and thematic roles are all properties possessed by noun phrases in a sentence.
2. The principal **grammatical** functions are: the subject, the direct object, the indirect object, and the prepositional object.
3. The **principal, morphologically** distinct, Cases in English are: Nominative Case, Accusative Case, and Genitive Case.
4. In English, every noun phrase must have Case. This requirement is known as the Case Filter.
5. Furthermore, every noun phrase must be assigned Case in English, by finite INFL, V, P, or (for the Genitive Case) N.
6. Case is assigned to the subject of an infinitival complement clause through Exceptional Case-Marking, by a V or P in the matrix clause.
7. The **principal** thematic roles in English are: THEME, AGENT, LOCATION, EXPERIENCER, INSTRUMENT, RECIPIENT/BENEFICIARY, GOAL, SOURCE.
8. The assignment of thematic roles to argument NPs is regulated by the Theta Criterion, which says that every **argument** NP must be assigned at least one thematic role, and conversely, every thematic role is assigned to at most one **argument.**
9. The frame of grammatical functions in which a particular lexical item can occur is specified by the c-selection **properties** (earlier, strict subcategorization) of the lexical items as specified in the lexicon (which is an essential **component** of the generative **grammar** of a language).
10. The thematic roles that a lexical item selects are specified by the s-selection properties (earlier, **selectional** restrictions) of the item as specified in the lexicon.

3.7 KEY WORDS

Accusative Case: Soinetimes also called the **Objective** Case, this is the Case-form of pronouns such as me (and archaic thee), him, them. In English, Accusative 'Case is usually assigned by a verb to its direct or indirect object, or by a preposition to its object.

AGENT: The thematic role taken on by the (usually conscious, voluntary) "doer" of an action denoted by

a verb; for example, Ram in the sentence Ram painted *this* picture consciously and voluntarily performs the action of painting the picture, and thus takes on the thematic role of AGENT that is s-selected by the verb *paint(ed)*.

BENEFICIARY: A thematic role, usually s-selected by a ditransitive verb like give,; for example, in the sentence Sita gave Salma *some flowers*, the indirect object *Salma* is the BENEFICIARY selected by the verb gave.

Case: A morphological and/or syntactic property of NPs; in English, usually three distinct morphologcial Case-forms are found, viz., Nominative, Accusative, and Genitive. Traditionally, books of English grammar also list the Dative Case (assumed by an indirect object) and the Vocative Case (the form used to address or call someone, e.g., "Hey, John!" or "O King, ..."); however, morphologically the Dative Case is identical in form to the Accusative, and the Vocative Case to the Nominative, in English.

Dative Case: See CASE, above.

Direct object: In a sentence such as *Ram called* Harish, Harish is the direct object of the verb *call(ed)* (whereas Ram is the subject). The direct object of a (transitive) verb is thus the most important argument NP towards which the verb is directed.

Genitive Case: The Case taken by a possessor NP, as in *his* mother, Mr. *X's* car, etc.

GOAL: The thematic role that is typically assigned to the indirect object of a verb such as transfer or sell, i.e., the ultimate destination of the direct object in undergoing the action expressed by the verb, as in *Ram* sold the car to Harish; and also to the destination of someone's coming or going, as in Ram is going to the post-ofice.

Indirect object: The "other" object of a ditransitive verb, apart from the direct object: typically a GOAL or BENEFICIARY, and traditionally said to be in the "Dative Case".

LOCATION: In a sentence such as Ram is in the *garden*, the noun phrase the garden denotes where Ram is to be found, and is therefore said to bear the thematic role of a LOCATION.

Nominative Case: The Case assumed typically by the subject of a finite clause, and the most neutral, least marked among the distinct Case-forms found in English. Forms such as we, she, he, they are in the Nominative Case, as opposed to, e.g., the Accusative Case-forms us, *her*, him, them.

Prepositional **Object:** A grammatical function assumed by a NP that occurs as the complement of a preposition, e.g., *them* in the prepositional phrase by *them*.

SOURCE: A thematic role assumed typically by the object of the preposition *from*, e.g., the NP *the tree* in the sentence *The mangoes fell from the tree.* Also, in a sentence like *Ram lost the contract to Harish*, the subject *Ram* bears the thematic role of SOURCE (rather than AGENT, since Ram may not have voluntarily given up the contract to I-larish).

Subject: A grammatical function that is obligatorily present in every English sentence, either covertly (as in imperative sentences like *Go away!*, in which the subject *you* is understood but not expressed) or overtly (as in *It is rather hot outside).* When a sentence is divided into a Subject and a Predicate (phrase), the subject is what the predicate (phrase) is about.

Thematic role (theta role): A semantic role played by a NP in its capacity as an argument to a verb or preposition, or sometimes an adjective like *fond (of)* or *worth.* The lexicon in the generative grammar of a given language is believed to carry s-selection infonnation about the thematic roles required by a given lexical item.

THEME: A very common thematic role, typically assumed by the subject of a non-agentive intransitive verb (as in *The rock rolled down the hill*) or the direct object of an active transitive verb (as in *Ram rolled the rock down the hill).*

Theta Criterion: A criterion, or principle, which states that every argument NP must be assigned one and only one thematic role, and conversely, every thematic role must be assigned to one and only one argument.

3.8 BIBLIOGRAPHY

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3.9 . QUESTIONS & EXERCISES

1. A few pairs of sentences are given here. The two sentences in each pair have an argument each that has the same Case but different grammatical functions. Point out that argument, and state its Case and its grammatical function in the two sentences:

   (i) a. The children spotted him.
   b. The children were spotted with him.
   (ii) a. I have my doubts whether Mr. X will lend you the papers.
   b. I doubt whether Mr. X will accept the papers from you.
   (iii) a. There's no better exercise for you than a long walk, say I.
   b. Between you and I, he has simply gone out for a long walk.

2. The following pairs of sentences have a common argument NP which is identical in grammatical function but differs in its thematic roles in the two sentences. Point out the grammatical function and the thematic roles of that NP for each pair of sentences.

   (i) a, John hit the nail on the head.
   b. John was hit by the nail on his head.
   (ii) a. They have no doubts about this matter.
   b. They expressed no doubts in this matter.
   (iii) a. He handed all the documents over to me.
   b. It seemed to me that he had handed over all the documents.

3. You have learned about the Theta Criterion. The following sentence is an apparent exception to the Theta Criterion:

   This box has a lot of money in it.

   Discuss where the apparent violation of the Theta Criterion lies, and give arguments in favour of or against retaining the Theta Criterion in the light of the acceptability of this sentence.

NOTES ON "QUESTIONS & EXERCISES"

1. (i) a. ***him*** -- Accusative Case, direct object; b. ***him*** -- Accusative Case, object of preposition ***with.*** (ii) a. ***you*** -- Accusative Case, indirect object; b. ***you*** -- Accusative Case, object of preposition ***from.*** (iii) a. ***I*** -- Nominative Case, subject (note inverted Object-Verb-Subject order); b. **I** -- Nominative Case, but object of preposition ***between*** (as a conjunct of the coordinate NP ***you*** **and I**).

2. (i) a. ***John*** -- Nominative Case, AGENT; b. ***John*** -- Nominative Case, THEME (or PATIENT). (ii) a. ***they*** -- Nominative Case, EXPERIENCER; b. ***they*** -- Nominative Case, AGENT. (iii) a. *me* -- Accusative Case, GOAL; b. me -- Accusative Case, EXPERIENCER.

The NP this bm and the pronoun it must both be assigned the same thematic role – LOCATION -- within the same clause, which goes against the Theta Criterion.

One possible reason why the sentence cannot really be said to violate the Theta Criterion is that the pronoun *it* is not an argument selected by the verb, but simply part of the adverbial adjunct in *it*, which can be dropped without much damage to the sentence. However, if we assume that the pronoun it is an argument NP, albeit not an ESSENTIAL argument s-selected by the verb, then the Theta Criterion may have to undergo some rethinking and, if necessary, modification.

UNIT 4 THE SYNTAX OF INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS: TENSE & AGREEMENT

Structure

4.0 Objectives
4.1 Introduction
  4.1.1 The inflectionalelement INFL: verbal morphology, clausal syntax
  4.1.2 The transformation of Affix-Hopping
4.2 Tense
  4.2.1 Tense and finiteness
  4.2.2 Tense as Case-assigner
  4.2.3 Aspect and Tense
4.3 Agreement
  4.3.1 Patterns of agreement
  4.3.2 The agreement element AGR
  4.3.3 AGR as Case-assigner
4.4 Conclusion
4.5 Let Us Sum Up
4.6 Key Words
4.7 Bibliography
4.8 Questions & Exercises
Notes on "Questions & Exercises"

4.0 OBJECTIVES

The objectives of this unit are that at the end of this unit you should be able to

- recognize verbal inflection (INFL) as a significant syntactic constituent,-
- understand the transformation of Affix-Hopping and its subsequent development,
- understand how verbal inflection participates in syntactic government,
- understand the role of Tense and finiteness in the syntax of clauses,
- understand the phenomenon of Agreement and its syntactic relationship to Case.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

4.1.1 The inflectional element INFL: verbal morphology, clausal syntax,

In Unit **3,** we have seen how Cases and thematic roles are assigned by the verb along with its inflectional component. In this unit, we shall be concerned with the inflectional component of the verb. In the paper on English morphology; the notion of inflectional morphology was introduced. Verbal inflection carries information about the inflectional categories of tense, sometimes aspect and **mood,** and person, **number,** and (in some languages, though not in English) **gender.** All. of these inflectional categories have a wider role to play in the syntax of the clause in which the verb occurs with its inflection, and therefore a special kind of syntactic element INFL (from "inflection") is recognized for the composite inflectional component of the verb.

As it turns out, the element INFL satisfies the tests for syntactic constituency that we have learned about in Unit 1. Thus, it can replace a distinct syntactic constituent such as a modal auxiliary like may or must, as shown by the examples (1a) and (1b):

(1) a. Ahmed goes to school every day.
b. Ahmed must go to school every day.

Here, the present-tense third-person singular-number inflectional element *-(e)s* with the verb go in (1a) is the inflectional element INFL. The same element can occur in different distributional positions (e.g., with an auxiliary verb such as *do* or be), as (2a) and (2b) demonstrate:

(2) a. Does Ahmed go to school every day?
b. Is Ahmed going to school these days?
(= *be+-(e)s*)

Since INFL is not necessarily a full word, when it occurs as a suffix in English it needs a verb -- either a main verb or an auxiliary -- to attach to. Therefore, in the absence of auxiliary be or have, the verb do is brought in to "support" the INFL element. The insertion of auxiliary do to support the INFL element is an insertion transformation called Do-Support. (No phrase structure rule has the power to insert or delete or move any syntactic constituents -- for these operations we have to formulate specific transformational rules.)

4.1.2 The transformation of Affix-Hopping

Let us for a moment remember the deep-structure order of INFL and the verb to which it attaches in a clause. As we saw in the **Conclusion** of Unit 2, the head of the clause is I, i.e., INFL, and the VP occurs as its complement to the right of it. Therefore, INFL precedes the V head of the VP, i.e., occurs to the left of V. When the INFL element COMBINES with the V into an inflected verb-form such as *walks* or goes, however, we find INFL actually SUFFIXED to the verb root, i.e., as a morphological element combining with V, INFL occurs to the RIGHT of V. How to reconcile these two apparently contradictory observations in our theory of English grammar?

This is done by proposing that a minor transformational rule called **Affix-Hopping** operates on a morphological INFL element to make it "hop" over a verb -- whether a main verb or an auxiliary verb -- that occurs to its right (either in deep structure itself or by being inserted by a transformation such as Do-Support), so that it ends up morphologically suffixed to the verb-root.

4.2 TENSE

4.2.1 Tense and finiteness

Tense refers to the inflectional manifestation of the time of an action, event or state expressed by a clause, where the time is gauged as preceding, coinciding with, or following the time of reference of the clause. The syntax and semantics of tense is a complex and fascinating area for further study and research; here we shall embark on just an introductory exploration of the syntactic role of tense in English sentences. Consider the following sentences:

(3) a. Ram walked five kilometres yesterday.
b. Ram walks five kilometres every day.
c. Ram will walk five kilometres tomorrow

Although the subject and the main verb-root are the same in all the three sentences (3a-c), the inflected form of the verb changes according to whether the action expressed by the sentence is in the past, the present, or the future. The forms walked, walks, and will walk are the (third-person singular) Present-tense, Past-tense, and Future-tense forms, respectively, of the verb-root walk in English. While the (simple) Present and Past tenses are morphologically expressed in the suffixes *-s* and *-ed*, respectively, the Future tense is expressed syntactically in English, by the (historically modal) future auxiliaries will and shall preceding the main verb.

4.2.2 Tense as Case-assigner

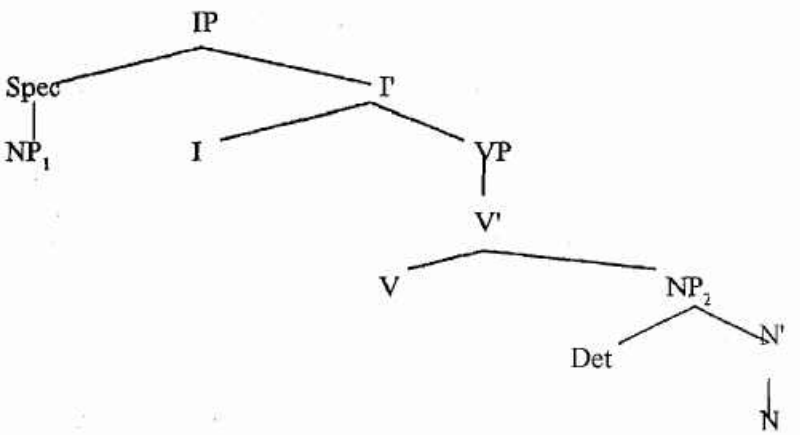
Tense plays an important role in deciding the function of INFL as governor and Case-assigner to the subject. Tensed INFL can assign Nominative Case to the subject of its clause, whereas infinitival INFL cannot. The need for Exceptional Case-Marking (see Unit 3) arises within the structure of English syntax because of this, in order that the subject of an infinitival complement clause need not go Caseless.

To understand the role of Tense as Case-assigner, we need to have an understanding of tensed INFL as the **governor** of the subject. In Unit 1, we briefly mentioned that the notion of **government** is based on the notion of c-command: a governor must (at least) c-command the syntactic constituent that it governs. We now revise this observation and introduce the relationship of **m-command,** because it turns out that the notion of government is based on a relationship of m-command, a broader notion than c-command. The relationship of m-command is defined as follows:

(4) **m-command:** A node **X** *m-commands* another node Y if and only if the lowest maximal projection dominating X also dominates Y, and neither X dominates Y nor vice-versa.

To understand what this means, let us consider the following phrase structure:

(5)



In this phrase structure tree, the only maximal projection (i.e., phrasal category of the general type XP or X") dominating I is IP; this is also a maximal projection that dominates NP_1, the subject in the Spec(ifier) of IP. Therefore, I m-commands NP_1, even though it does not c-command NP_1. Furthermore, I is the closest head m-commanding NP_1. Therefore, I is a likely governor of NP_1. Note that there is another head element, V, which is also dominated by IP. However, V does not m-command NP_1, since the lowest maximal projection dominating V, viz., VP, does not dominate NP_1. Moreover, V is not the head closest to NP_1. On two counts, therefore, V cannot be the governor of the subject NP_1. However, V is the governor of another syntactic constituent, viz., its direct object NP_2. To see why, note that V m-commands NP_2 -- the lowest maximal projection dominating V is VP, which also dominates NP_2.

Because of the function of Tense as Case-assigner, it is impossible for the subject of a finite complement clause to receive Accusative Case through Exceptional Case-Marking (see Unit 3), unlike in the case of the subject of an infinitival complement clause.

4.2.3 Aspect and Tense

Aspect is another verbal inflectional category that often occurs closely allied with Tense. Unlike Tense, however, Aspect refers not directly to the time of an event but rather to the status of completion or progression of an event at the time referred to by the Tense on the verb. English has three distinct aspects for each of the three tenses. These are (i) the **simple** or **indefinite** aspect, (ii) the **perfect** aspect, and (iii) the **progressive** or **continuous** or **imperfect** aspect. These are illustrated by the three sentences below:

(6) a. Ram reads a book every day.
b. Ram has read this book.
c. Ram is reading that book at the moment.

The tense for all these sentences is the Present tense -- even for (6b), which expresses the fact that Ram's reading of this book is complete relative to the present *moment* of time. The verb-form reads in (6a) is a simple present (or present indefinite) verb-form; the combination of auxiliary verb has and main verb read in (6b) is in the present perfect; and the combination of auxiliary verb is and main verb *reading* in (6c) is in the present continuous Tense-Aspect combination.

As a functional category, Aspect does not share the feature of finiteness that Tense possesses, and hence verb-forms such as the perfect (i.e., "past") participle and the progressive participle (in *-ing*), which possess the perfect and the progressive Aspect, respectively, count as non-finite forms. An Aspect-bearing INFL element, therefore, is not ordinarily empowered to assign Nominative Case.

4.3 AGREEMENT

4.3.1 Patterns of agreement

Languages display a rich and interesting diversity in the patterns of agreement that they adopt. English has only subject-verb agreement (and antecedent-anaphora agreement, which we shall see in Unit 5); there are languages in which the verb agrees not only with the subject but also with a direct object or an indirect object, and sometimes even with a possessor. Furthermore, some languages display distinct patterns of agreement depending on whether the verb is transitive or intransitive: typically, in this pattern of agreement the transitive verb shows the same agreement marking with a direct object as the intransitive verb would show with the subject; additionally, the transitive verb may also mark agreement with its subject. This pattern of agreement is called **ergativity,** or the **ergative-absolutive** pattern of agreement.

4.3.2 The agreement element AGR

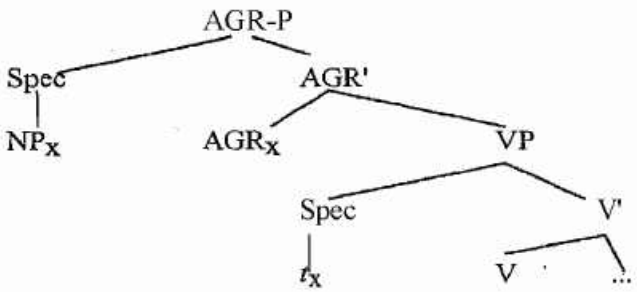
A finite inflected verb may be morphologically marked for agreement with the subject, particularly for the Present-tense third-person singular. Moreover, in a number of languages a pronominal subject can be dropped altogether if its person and number (and sometimes gender) features can, for all numbers and persons, be inferred from the morphological agreement marking on the inflected verb. This has led to the

postulation of an element AGR, which can be morphologically expressed as agreement marking, as a component of the verbal inflection element INFL.

4.3.3 AGR as Case-assigner

Like Tense, AGR also possesses the ability to assign Case -- the difference is that, in the case of AGR, Case is assigned through the coindexing of AGR with the relevant NP. In English, AGR also happens to occur as part of the INFL element of FINITE clauses alone -- non-finite verb-forms such as participles and infinitives do not display any morphological agreement with their subject. However, since AGR is a category of Universal Grammar, and since there are languages in which even non-finite verb-forms and predicate adjectives often carry agreement with the subject of the clause, the need has increasingly been felt to separate out AGR as a distinct functional head with its own maximal projection, AGR-P. The subject of such a verb-form can be assigned Nominative Case through coindexation with the AGR head element, as follows:

(8)

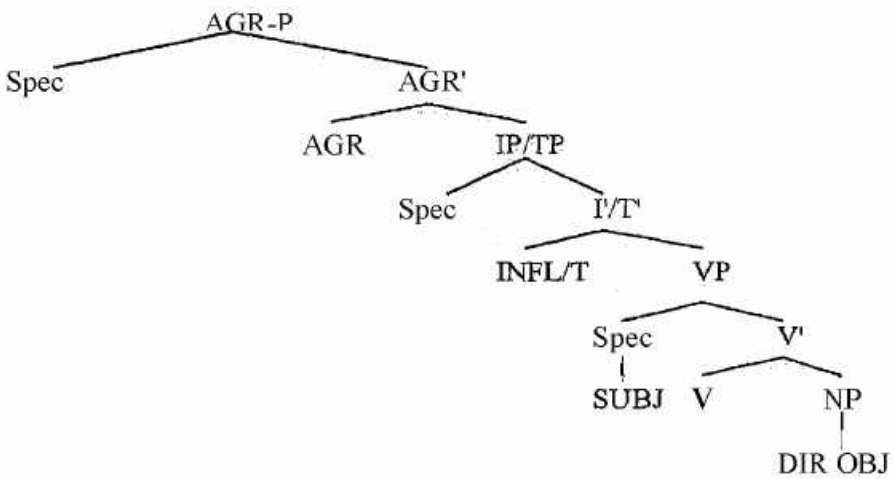


After the subject has moved upward from the Spec of VP into the Spec of AGR-P, it gets Case through coindexation with AGR. Thereafter, the AGR element and the verb V can undergo Affix-Hopping to combine into a single inflected morphological word.

4.4 CONCLUSION

As more and more evidence on Tense and agreement has come to light through research on a wide variety of languages, it has been felt necessary to split the INFL head into at least two distinct functional head elements T (for Tense) and AGR (for agreement), with their own maximal projections TP and AGR-P, respectively. The following kind of cross-linguistic tree representation has therefore been proposed by **Chomsky** (1991) and others:

(9)



Given this kind of tree representation, a finite inflected verb is assumed to acquire agreement and Tense through upward head-to-head movement: the verb first moves up to the T (or INFL) head where it acquires Tense, and then the V-T combination again moves upward to the AGR head where it acquires morphological agreement. Whether the movement is covert or overt movement, however, depends on the specific language. In English, there is some evidence that verb movement is covert -- i.e., takes place at a level of interpretation of the inflected verb -- rather than being overt, i.e., actually undergoing physical movement upward.

4.5 LET US SUM UP

1. Verbal inflection (INFL) is a crucial syntactic element that carries the tense and agreement features of a finite verb.
2. The tense component of a finite INFL carries information on the time of an action relative to the time of utterance (or writing) of the sentence or clause.
3. Aspect is different, in that it carries information on the status of completion or progression of the action or state expressed by the verb in the sentence or clause.
4. The agreement component AGR of a finite INFL encodes person and number agreement of the (finite) verb with the subject.
5. Usually T (i.e., Tense) and AGR (i.e., Agreement), but not Aspect, can function as Case-assigners.
6. Non-finite (i.e., participial or infinitival) INFL cannot therefore assign Case.
7. AGR assigns Case to the subject through the special device of coindexation with it.

4.6 KEYWORDS

AGR:	The syntactic constituent corresponding to agreement marking in verbal inflection INFL.
Agreement:	In English, the concord that is found in the inflectional marking of a (usually finite) verb with certain grammatical features such as number and person carried by the subject of that verb. Example: I *am* happy, Thou *art* happy, She *is* happy, but They are happy.
Aspect:	The status of completion or progression of the action, process, or state expressed by a verb -- e.g., the difference between the present perfect Ram has eaten and the present progressive Ram is eating.
Auxiliary (verb):	A "helping" verb that occurs in certain syntactic contexts alongside the main verb, usually to support the verbal inflection for tense and agreement -- e.g., the auxiliary has in Ram *has* left is in the present-tense third-person singular form'.
INFL:	The syntactic symbol corresponding to verbal inflection, especially tense and agreement inflection; the functional head of a clause (IP).

Inflection: One of the two major kinds of morphological marking found on words (the other being derivation); in English syntax, it refers specifically to verbal inflection.

Modal (auxiliary): A special kind of verb that expresses necessity, ability, possibility, or doubt, and occurs alongside the main verb in a clause, as in *(I doubt whether) Sita can come today.*

T(ense): The marking of a verb for the time of the action, process or state expressed by the verb relative to some specific time of reference, usually the time of utterance of the sentence or clause.

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4.8 QUESTIONS & EXERCISES

1. Provide some syntactic arguments why INFL should be considered a syntactically significant element (and not merely a morphologically significant one).

2. We have seen that finite INFL carries both tense and agreement. Is it possible for any finite verb-form to change according to tense alone if its agreement features are kept constant (e.g., third-person singular)? If so, give examples. If not, say why. Conversely, is it possible for any finite verb-form to change according to its agreement features if the tense is kept constant (e.g., Present tense)? If so, give examples. If not, say why.

3. Do you think English verbal inflection justifies the breaking up of INFL into two separate syntactic head types T and AGR, with their own maximal projections? Give one or more arguments in support of your answer.

NOTES ON **"QUESTIONS & EXERCISES"**

1. Substitution: "**Are** you leaving?" -- "Yes, I **am.**"
   Conjoining: John can, and *will*, finish all the work today.

Distribution: John likes fishing. John does not like fishing. *Does* John like fishing? Yes, John does like fishing.

2 Yes: walked, walks, will walk; comes, came, will come.
Yes: am, (art,) is, are, are, are; go, (*goest,*) goes, go, go, go.

3 Argument against: Only finite INFL has both tense and agreement in English; non-finite INFL does not.
Arguments in favour: Morphologically T and AGR are separable elements; moreover, AGR assigns Case through coindexation, whereas T does not.

UNIT 5 PRONOUNS, REFLEXIVES, AND OTHER BOUND ELEMENTS

Structure

5.0 Objectives
5.1 Introduction
  5.1.1 Recognizing anaphora
  5.1.2 Reference and coindexing
  5.1.3 The Binding Theory
5.2 Anaphors
  5.2.1 Reflexives
  5.2.2 Reciprocals
  5.2.3 Emphatic reflexives
  5.2.4 Anaphor binding
5.3 Pronouns
  5.3.1 Deictic and anaphoric pronouns
  5.3.2 Pronominal binding
5.4 Other Bound Elements
  5.4.1 Pro-drop: the empty category *pro*
  5.4.2 The empty category *NP-trace*
5.5 Conclusion
5.6 Let Us Sum Up
5.7 Key Words
5.8 Bibliography
5.9 Questions & Exercises
Notes on "Questions & Exercises"

5.0 OBJECTIVES

The objectives of this unit are that at the end of this unit you should be able to

- recognize anaphora in English,
- understand the notion of coindexing based on reference,
- understand the principles of the Binding Theory,
- recognize the difference between anaphors and pronominals in the Binding Theory,
- understand why "empty categories" such as PRO, pro, and *NP-trace* are needed.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

5.11 Recognizing anaphora

In Unit 4, we have seen how verbal inflection plays a significant role in other aspects of clausal syntax as well. In this unit, we shall examine a very interesting set of elements whose distribution can be governed by the verb and by verbal inflection, as well as by other syntactic constituents also bearing relations to the verb and verbal inflection. This set of elements, moreover, bear certain special characteristics with regard to their **reference, i.e.**, the entities that they -- and other syntactic constituents within or outside the same sentence -- may **refer** to, or denote. The special characteristic of the reference of any such element is that it *has* no ***independent***

reference of its own -- instead, it "borrows" its reference from some other linguistic expression that refers to a particular entity or set of entities. Such an element, with its reference "borrowed" from the reference of some other expression, is said to belong to the set of anaphora. Individual items from the set of anaphora are often called anaphoric devices. Examples of anaphoric devices can be seen in the following sentences:

(1) a. *Sita* said that she was angry.
b. *Ram* hurt himself.
c. Harish says that there are politicians *who are not corrupt*, but I strongly doubt that there are any such politicians.
d. I asked them to *leave the house at once*, and they did so.

In each of the sentences (1a-d), the underlined expression takes its interpretation from the word or phrase in italics. Each underlined expression is an anaphoric device of a distinct kind: in (1a), *she* is a pronoun; in (1b), ***himself*** is a reflexive; in (1c), *such* is an anaphoric device for the modifying relative clause *who are not corrupt;* and in (1d), ***did so*** is an anaphoric device for the VP *leave the house at once.*

5.1.2 Reference and coindexing

We have already learned about coindexing in previous units -- expressions that refer to the same entities or sets of entities are coindexed. Let us now look at the notion of what "referring to" means. The matter of reference to entities in the real world is a large philosophical issue, and philosophers of language continue to write hefty tomes on it; however, for the purpose at hand we need only distinguish between two different kinds of identity of meaning that can hold between two expressions that are coindexed. These are (i) identity of sense and (ii) **identity** of reference. Consider the following sentences:

(2) a. This little boy is naughtier than that one.
b. John loves his wife, and so does Bill.

In the sentence (2a), *this little boy* and *that one* clearly refer to two distinct little boys. Yet the pro-N' form *one* can replace the N' *little boy* in the NP *that little boy* (for an understanding of what "NP" and "N' " are, see Unit 1). This is because the N' *little boy* and the pro-N' anaphor *one* have identity of sense, i.e., they refer to the same "kind" of individuals, even though they do not have identify of reference, i.e., do not refer to the same individual. The sentence (2b), on the other hand, is ambiguous in its interpretation: it can have either of two readings, which are as follows:

(3) a. $John_x$ loves his_x wife, and Bill loves $John's_x$ wife.
(-- Both love the same individual.)
b. $John_x$ loves his_x wife, and $Bill_y$ loves his_y wife.
(-- They love their respective wives.)

In the reading (3a), the expression *so does* is an example of VP-anaphora that has replaced the verb phrase *[loves his wife]* under identity of reference; in the reading (3b), it is an example of VP-anaphora that has replaced *[loves his wife]* under identity of sense. Identity of reference is sometimes also called strict identity, and identity of sense is then called sloppy identity.

The expression from which an anaphoric device such as the VP-anaphora *so does* or the pronoun *his* takes its reference is said to be the antecedent of the anaphoric device. Anaphora, therefore, must have antecedents -- since otherwise they would not have any reference at all.

5.1.3 The Binding Theory

We now come to a very crucial module, or sub-part, of the theory of generative grammar, i.e., the **Binding Theory**. The **Binding Theory consists of three** Principles, of which Principles A and B have major **substantive content** and Principle C is a kind of "default" or "elsewhere" principle. The Principles of the Binding Theory are the following:

(4) Binding Theory

Principle A: An anaphor must be bound in its local domain.
Principle B: A pronominal must be *free* in its local domain.
Principle C: A **referential expression must be free** *everywhere.*

These principles may look like Greek to us right now, but let us not be put off by this -- we shall soon get to see what they mean and how they work. First we need to see what a local **domain** is.

A local domain for a syntactic constituent X -- irrespective of whether X is an anaphor, a pronominal, or a proper noun or lexical noun phrase, i.e., a referential expression -- is the minimal NP or IP dominating X, a governor of X, and (optionally) a potential antecedent of X. Consider the following example sentences:

(5) a. [$_{IP}$ Sita$_i$ does not [$_V$ despise] [$_{NP}$ herself$_i$].]
b. [$_{IP}$ John$_X$ told Bill$_Y$ [$_{NP}$ a story [$_P$ about] [$_{NP}$ himself$_{X/Y}$]].]
c. [$_{IP}$ John$_X$ loves [$_{NP}$ [$_{NP}$[$_{POSS}$] his$_X$] [$_N$ wife]].]

In the sentences (5a) and (5b), IP counts as the local domain for the underlined reflexives (*herself* and *himself*, respectively), because this is the minimal IP dominating the reflexive, its governor (the verb *despise* in (5a) and the preposition about in (5b)), and one or more potential antecedents for the reflexive. In the sentence (5c), the local domain for the possessive pronoun his could be the NP [*his* wife], since (according to the definition of m-command) the noun *wife* would count as the closest "governor" of the possessive pronoun; note that the presence of an antecedent is optional, so the NP *his* wife meets the requirements for the local domain of *his*.

The reason why IP, and not the larger NP (a *story about* himself), is taken as the local domain for the reflexive himself in (5b) is Principle A of the Binding Theory. Reflexives, including emphatic reflexives (as in *Sita herself came* here yesterday), and reciprocals (such as each other, one another) belong to the class of anaphors, the kind of anaphora that necessarily require an antecedent close to them, typically within the same clause. Principle A of the Binding Theory says that an anaphor must be bound, i.e., coindexed with an antecedent, within a local domain. There is no antecedent for the reflexive *himself* in (5b) within the NP *a story* about *himself*, and yet the sentence is found to be grammatical in English; moreover, the reflexive *himself* can be bound by either of two possible antecedents, John and *Bill*, both of which occur inside the (minimal and only) IP.

We now look at further details of the syntax of anaphors, pronominals, other bound elements, and referential expressions in relation to the principles of the Binding Theory.

5.2 ANAPHORS

5.2.1 Reflexives

We now look at the different kinds of anaphors that the English language has. The most obvious class of anaphors is the class of **reflexive** pronouns such as myself,

yourself, himself, herself, ourselves, yourselves, themselves: these are simply called **reflexives** in generative grammar (since "pronouns" refer specifically to personal pronouns such as I, you, she, we, *they*, etc.). Consider the following sentences:

(6) a. [IP Sita accidentally [V hurt] [herself/*himself].]
b. [IP1 I want [IP2 Mary to [V behave] [herself/*myself]].]
c. Mary feels that [IP2 John is not sure [P about] [himself/*ourselves]].]

Note that the reflexive must agree in person, number, and gender with the antecedent NP closest to it (and underlined) in each one of these sentences. In (6a), himself cannot occur because it does not agree with the antecedent Sita in gender; in (6b), *myself* cannot occur because it does not agree with the antecedent *Mary* in number; and in (6c), *ourselves* cannot occur because it does not agree with the antecedent John in number and person. All of these sentences conform to Principle A of the Binding Theory, according to which a reflexive must have its antecedent within its local domain. Note that the local domain for the reflexive *herself* in (6a) is the (simple, single) IP, and the antecedent Sita occurs within this IP. The local domain for the reflexive *herself* in (6b) is the infinitival complement clause IP2, since this contains *herself* and the verb behave, which is the governor of *herself*; and the antecedent of herself, i.e., *Mary*, is contained within IP2, so the reflexive is bound within its local domain, thereby making the sentence (6b) conform to Principle A. Finally, the local domain for the reflexive *himself* in the sentence (6c) is the finite complement clause IP2, since this contains *himself* and the governor of himself; viz., the preposition about; and John, the antecedent of himself, is contained within the local domain IP2 of the reflexive *himself*, so the sentence (6c) conforms to Principle A of the Binding Theory.

Now let us briefly consider an Exceptional Case-Marking sentence such as the following:

(7) [IP1 Ram [V believes] [IP2 [himself/*herself] to be super-intelligent].]

In this sentence, the local domain for the reflexive himself, which has the antecedent, cannot be the complement clause IP2. The reason is that IP2 is an infinitival complement clause, with the infinitival verb to be; since the INFL head of IP2 thus carries neither Tense nor ACR (see Unit 4), it cannot be the (@roper) governor of the reflexive *himself*, which occurs as the Specifier of IP2. The element that exceptionally governs and assigns Accusative Case to the reflexive himself, in this case, is the verb believe of the main clause IP1. IP1, which contains the governor of *himself*, viz., the verb believe, as well as IP2 which contains *himself*, is thus the local domain for *himself*; and IP2 also contains the antecedent of *himself*, viz., the main-clause subject Ram. The reflexive *himself* is thus bound within its local domain IP1, and thus the sentence ( ), despite being an Exceptional Case-Marking structure, also conforms to Principle A of the Binding Theory.

Thus, we see that Principle A holds for pretty much all the reflexives in the sentences we have seen thus far. We now turn to other kinds of anaphors, and examine whether those conform to Principle A of the Binding Theory as well.

5.2.2 Reciprocals

The reciprocal expressions, also called simply reciprocals, in English are each other and one another. (There is another expression, *mutually*, which conveys the meaning of reciprocity, but since this is an adverb, it is not counted as an anaphor -- an anaphor must be a nominal expression, i.e., have the syntax of a NP.) They are illustrated by the following sentences:

(8) a. [IP Ram and Alix [V respect] [each other$_X$/one another$_X$.]]
b. [IP The two participantsy are envious [P of] [each other$_Y$/one another$_Y$].]
c. [IP The three countriesz might [V fight] [one another$_Z$/??each other].]

In these sentences, the phrases ***each*** other and ***one*** another are reciprocals coindexed with Ram and *Ali* in (8a), the *two participants* in (8b), and the three countries in (8c), respectively: the latter lend their reference to, and are therefore the antecedents of, the respective reciprocal expressions in the three sentences. (When there are exactly two members in the antecedent of a reciprocal, the reciprocal can be either *each other* or one ***anotlzer;*** however, when there are more than two members in the antecedent, as in *the* three countries in (8c), the preferred reciprocal is *one* another rather than ***each*** other.) Note that the IP is the local domain for each of the three sentences, and it also contains the antecedent NP for each reciprocal expression. Reciprocals as anaphors are thus bound within their local domains, and conform to Principle A of the Binding Theory, just as reflexives do.

Now consider the contrast between the following sentences, one grammatical and the other ungrammatical:

(9) a. [IP2 Theyi [Vexpect]ed [IP2 ~~each other~~i to win].]
b. *[IP1 Theyi expected [IP2 that [each otheri] [I would] win].]

The sentence (9a) is an Exceptional Case-Marking sentence, so the reciprocal each other in (9a) is exceptionally governed by the main-clause verb expect; the local domain for each other is therefore not IP2 but IP1. In the ungrammatical sentence (9b), however, the reciprocal ***each other*** is governed within the finite complement clause IP2 by the I (NFL), the modal auxiliary *would*, so the local domain for each other here is IP2; but there is no antecedent for each other within IP2, so here the reciprocal is not bound within its local domain. The sentence thus violates Principle **A** of the Binding Theory, and is therefore ungrammatical.

Reciprocals as anaphors thus also conform to Principle A of the Binding Theory.

5.2.3 Emphatic reflexives

Reflexives can be used in a special way in English, as **emphatic reflexives.** Emphatic reflexives almost trivially obey Principle **A** of the Binding Theory, since they simply serve to emphasize their antecedent and do not have the status of argument NPs in themselves. Examples are the following:

(10) a. [IP Mary$_X$ baked this bread herself$_X$.]
b. [IP1 I heard that [IP2 the President himself was present on that occasion].]
c. *[IP1 I heard that [IP2 the President myself was present on the occasion].]
d. [IP1 I myself heard that [IP2 the President was present on the occasion].]

In the sentence (10a), the emphatic reflexive *herself* is coindexed with and serves to emphasize May, the subject of its local domain IP. In the sentence (10b), the antecedent of the emphatic reflexive is the President, which is the subject of its local domain IP2. The sentence (10c) is unacceptable, because the antecedent of the emphatic reflexive *myself* is **I**, which occurs outside IP2, the local domain for the reflexive myself; causing a Principle **A** violation. Finally, the sentence (10d) is grammatical, with the emphatic reflexive *myself* occurring just after its antecedent **I**,

which is the subject of the local domain IP1 of the reflexive *myself*. We thus find that even emphatic reflexives conform to Principle A of the Binding Theory.

5.2.4 Anaphor binding

The binding of an anaphor within its local domain is a special subtype of binding called **argument binding** or **A-binding** -- this is because the antecedent of the anaphor is invariably an argument NP, usually a subject, direct or indirect object. A-binding is opposed to **non-argument binding** or **A'-binding** (read "A-bar binding"), which is the binding relationship between a moved Wh-expression and its trace since the Wh-expression moves to a non-argument position, the Specifier of a CP, which is not an argument position at all. The relationship between a raised or passivized NP and its (NP-)trace is also, like anaphor binding, a relationship of A-binding, since the raised or passivized NP comes to occupy a subject position, which is an argument position. Moreover, it is a happy finding that this kind of binding is also found to conform to Principle A -- thus a raised NP cannot "skip" an intermediate higher clause to move to the subject position of a still higher clause, without leaving an intermediate trace in some suitably vacant (argument) position, and under passivization a passivized subject NP cannot "skip" the subject position of its own clause to move directly to a still higher clause without leaving an intermediate trace in that subject position. We discuss NP-traces further in Section 5.4.2.

5.3 PRONOUNS

5.3.1 Deictic and anaphoric pronouns

We now discuss pronouns, which the Binding Theory subsumes under the (larger) set of "pronominals". The reference of pronouns can be of two kinds:

(i) **deictic** reference,
(ii) **anaphoric** reference.

Pronouns with **deictic** reference, or **deictic pronouns,** are pronouns that "point" at individuals in the speech situation itself (the term deictic is from Greek *deixis,* '(the act of) pointing'). Thus, the first- and second-person pronouns I, we, thou, you are deictic pronouns, because they refer, not to fixed individuals across all situations of speaking, but to the speaker, a set of individuals including the speaker, and the addressee or set of addressees, in the given speech situation. Similarly, if someone points to a particular individual and says,

(11) *He* stole my money!

the reference of the pronoun he cannot be known unless we know whom the speaker is pointing at. Here, ***he*** is therefore a deictic pronoun. Contrast these with the use of pronouns in the following sentences:

(12) a. Harish$_x$ promised that [$_{IP}$ he$_x$ would bring the books back today].
b. Mary$_y$ alleged that [$_{IP}$ Kim$_z$ had hit her$_{y/*z}$].
c. The children$_k$ like [$_{NP}$ their$_k$ new teacher].

In each of these sentences, the pronoun takes its reference from a preceding antecedent NP: thus, in (12a), the antecedent of the pronoun he is *Harish*; in (12b), the antecedent of the pronoun ***her*** is Mary (and not *Kim* -- we shall soon see why); and in (12c), the antecedent of the possessive pronoun their is *the* children. These Pronouns are (unlike the deictic pronouns earlier) examples of anaphora, and are

therefore pronouns of anaphoric reference, or **anaphoric pronouns.** Note, however, that *anaphoric pronouns* are not to be confused with *anaphors* -- thus, reflexives and reciprocals are anaphors, not anaphoric pronouns; whereas the pronouns in the three sentences we have just seen are anaphoric pronouns, not reflexives or reciprocals. It so happens that both deictic and anaphoric pronouns are regulated by Principle B of the Binding Theory, as we shall shortly see.

5.3.2 Pronominal binding

Principle B of the Binding Theory (as we have seen in Section 5.1) says that a pronominal must befree in its local domain. We have already learned what the local domain of an anaphor or pronominal is. What Principle B says, in effect, is that a pronoun must NOT have any antecedent within its local domain. To see whether this is true of deictic pronouns, note the contrast between the pairs of sentences (13a,a'), (13b,b'), and (13c,c'):

(13) a. I_x hurt him_y.
a'. *I_x hurt me_x. (Note: I hurt *myself* is grammatical)
b. You_z despise me_x.
b'. *You_z despise you_z. (Note: You despiseyourselfis grammatical)
c. Ram_y saw me_x in the mirror.
c'. *Ram_y saw him_y in the mirror. (Note: Ram saw himselfin the mirror is grammatical)

The sentences (13a'), (13b'), and (13c') are not acceptable sentences, because in each of these the object pronoun (me, the direct object you, or him) has an antecedent -- the subject.-- within the same (simple) clause, its local domain, and thus these sentences violate Principle B of the Binding Theory. However, the pronoun is allowed to have its antecedent OUTSIDE its local domain within the same sentence. This is true of the anaphoric pronouns we have seen earlier, for instance:

(14) a. [$_{IP1}$ $Harish_x$ promised that [$_{IP2}$ he_x would bring the books back today].]
b. [$_{IP1}$ $Mary_y$ alleged that [$_{IP2}$ Kim_z had hit $her_{y/*z}$].]
c. [$_{IP}$ $The\ children_k$ like [$_{NP}$ $their_k$ new teacher].]

In the sentence (14a), the local domain for the anaphoric pronoun he is the finite complement clause IP2, since IP2 contains the pronoun he as well as tensed INFL, the governor of he. However, the antecedent of he, viz., *Harish*, is not within this local domain but outside it, in the main clause IP1. The pronoun is thus not bound within IP2, its local domain, and therefore conforms to Principle B. Similarly, in the sentence (14b), the local domain for the object pronoun her is the finite complement clause IP2, since IP2 contains her and the verb hit, the governor of her. The antecedent of *her*, viz., Mary, is not within IP2 but outside it (in IP1), and thus the pronoun her is free in its local domain IP2. This pronoun, too, therefore conforms to Principle B. We can now see why Kim cannot be the antecedent of the pronoun her (even if Kim is a woman's name). The reason is that Kim occurs within IP2, the local domain of the pronoun her, and so if *Kim* is the antecedent of her there is a Principle B violation. In the sentence (14c), the local domain for the possessive pronoun their is the NP their new tedcher, because here (as a "special" case) the pronoun their is "governed" by the possessed (head) N teacher, and so the NP their new teucher contains the pronoun their as well as its governor. The antecedent of their, however, is the children, which occurs outside the NP their children; the passessive pronoun their thus also conforms to Principle B of the Binding Theory.

In the case of deictic pronouns, since there is no antecedent NP for a deictic pronoun anywhere in the sentence there is no question of any Principle B violation -- the deictic pronoun is then trivially free -- i.e., not bound -- within its loral domain. A moment's reflection on the deictic pronouns that we have seen earlier will confirm this. Thus, deictic pronouns also conform to Principle B of the Binding Theory.

Something similar to pronominal binding is also observed for a very important kind of empty category, viz., PRO (see Unit 3), which occurs in sentences such as the following:

(15) a. [$_{IP1}$ I_X want [$_{IP2}$ PRO_X to go home].]
b. [$_{IP1}$ $Sita_i$ persuaded Ram_j [$_{IP2}$ PRO*i/j to change his_j mind].]
c. [$_{IP1}$ [$_{IP2}$ PRO To err] is human.]
d. [$_{IP}$ [$_{NP}$ PRO Telling lies] is not advisable.]

The empty category PRO is different from pronominals, however, in that it is said to have a **controller** rather than an antecedent, but is similar in that sometimes it does not have any (antecedent or) controller NP within the sentence (as in the case of deictic pronouns). Thus, in the sentences (15a) and (15b), PRO has a controller -- I and *Sita*, respectively -- but in the sentences (15c) and (15d) it has no controller. However, PRO also differs from both pronominals and anaphors in that it is **ungoverned** -- it has no governor, and therefore no local domain, either. Note that, because PRO is an empty category, it does not need to be assigned Case; thus, it does not need a governor, and indeed must not have one. When it does occur, however, the controller of PRO occurs outside the minimal IP, as in (15a) and (15b), much as in the case of the antecedent of a pronoun.

5.4 OTHER BOUND ELEMENTS

5.4.1 Pro-drop: the empty category pro

Besides PRO, there is another kind of empty category that can have an antecedent. This is the empty category pro, which occurs in imperative sentences and other sentences like the following:

(16) a. Close the door !
b. Hope everything is fine with you.
c. (X: "What did Ram do?") Y: "Sold off all his books."

Note that these sentences are all atypical English sentences in that they lack an overt subject, even though it is clear from the context who the understood subject is. Since the subject of a finite clause is in a governed position (with INFL as the governor), the empty category PRO cannot occur in this position. Therefore, there must be some other kind of empty category occupying the subject position of the main clause in all of these sentences. Generative syntacticians have named this empty category pro -- an understood but unpronounced empty category that occurs in governed positions. In Standard Western English, *pro* occurs exclusively in the position of the subject of a finite clause. Furthermore, pro is also BOUND by the AGR element of INFL. The element pro is thus somewhat exceptional, in that it is both governed and bound by agreement-carrying (i.e., finite) INFL. The sentences (16a), (16b), and (16c), above, are thus underlyingly as follows:

(17) a. [$_{IP}$ $pro_{2sg/pl}$ $AGR_{2sg/pl}$ Close the door]!
b. [$_{IP1}$ pro_{1sg} AGR_{1sg} Hope [$_{IP2}$ everything is fine with you].]

c. (A: "What did $Ram_{X,3sg}$ do?")
B: "[$pro_{X,3sg}$ [INFL PAST $AGR_{X,3sg}$] sell off all his_X books]."

The subscripts with *pro* and AGR in each sentence reflect that pro is coindexed with AGR in accordance with the number and person features of the understood subject. It turns out that *pro*, unlike PRO, cannot occur in ungoverned positions or positions that are not Case-marked. However, pro is like an overt pronoun in that it cannot have an antecedent within its local domain. Note that, in the three sentences we have just seen, pro occurs as the subject of the main clause, without any antecedent in the same clause (although in the short dialogue in (16c), pro has a discourse antecedent, *Ram).*

5.4.2 The empty category *NP-trace*

In Section 5.2.4, we mentioned that the binding of an **NP-trace** by its antecedent NP is, like anaphor binding, a kind of A-binding (i.e., "argument binding", so called because the antecedent NP has moved to an argument position). To see how this works, let us consider the following examples:

(18) *D-structure:* [IP1 — Present seem [IP2 [infin] Ram to be tired]]

NP-Movement (Raising)

S-structure: [IP1 Ram_X Present seem [IP2 t_X to be tired]]

Surface structure: Ram seems to be tired.

(19) *D-structure:* [IP __ Past be hit Ram by a stone]

NP-Movement (Passive)

S-structure: [IP Ram_Y Past be hit t_Y by a stone]

Surface structure: Ram was hit by a stone.

In these derivations, we see that a NP has to be raised or passivized precisely because it is ungovemed, and hence unable to get Case, in its D-structure position, and there is a vacant position available for it to move to, WITHIN the minimal finite clause, IP1 or IP. Assuming that the governor of the vacant position lo which the NP moves can also serve as the governor of its trace, the local domain for the NP-trace in each sentence is the finite clause IP1 or IP, as the case may be; since this contains the antecedent of the NP-trace, this trace is bound within its local domain, thereby conforming to Principle **A.** The only special assumption that needs to be made is that the governor of the antecedent of an NP-trace also governs the NP-trace, The antecedent NP and its trace are said to form a **link** of a **chain.** A chain of this kind can have more than one link, as in the following example:

(20) ***S-structure:*** [IP1 Ram_X Present be believed [IP2 t_X' to have been hit t_X by a stone]

NP-Movement (Passive) NP-Movement (Passive)

Surface structure(PF): Ram is believed to have been hit by a stone.

In this example, there are two links in the chain between the antecedent Ram_X and its original trace t_X, with the intermediate trace t_X' serving as the antecedent that A-

binds the original trace t_X; the intermediate trace t_X' is, in turn, an NP-trace A-bound by the antecedent NP Ram. The left-hand (and final) link of the chain obeys Principle A of the Binding Theory, since the local domain for the intermediate trace (under the special assumption made regarding its governor) is the main (finite) clause IP1. This makes sense, since the NP should not have to move any further beyond the local domain in order to find a governor and hence Case-assigner for itself.

5.5 CONCLUSION

The three Principles of the Binding Theory lead to the four-way classification of anaphors, pronominals, lexical NPs, and the empty categories PRO, pro, NP-trace, and Wh-trace according to the binary features [+anaphoric], [-anaphoric], [+pronominal], and [-pronominal]. The classification is shown in the following table:

Table 5.1: Four-way classification of overt *NPs* and empty categories

	+anaphoric	*-anaphoric*
+pronominal	PRO	pronouns *pro*
-pronominal	anaphors NP-traces	lexical NPs Wh-traces

Note that PRO is the only kind of element that is [+anaphoric, +pronominal]. This is because PRO does not need to be bound within any local domain, but can nonetheless have an antecedent. Wh-traces are also bound, but they are A'-bound, and A'-binding does not conform to either Principle A or Principle B of the Binding Theory. This is why Wh-traces are classified with lexical NPs as being [-anaphoric, -pronominal].

5.6 LET US SUM UP

Anaphors, pronominals, referential expressions, and empty categories are subject to the three Principles of the Binding Theory.
Anaphors include reflexives, reciprocals, and emphatic reflexives.
Pronominals include deictic and anaphoric pronouns (which are distinct from anaphors).
Referential expressions include proper names such as Sita and lexical noun phrases such as the little boy who is standing on the steps.
Principle A of the Binding Theory says that an anaphor must be bound in its local domain.
Principle B of the Binding Theory says that a pronominal must be free in its local domain.
Principle C of the Binding Theory says that a referential expression must be free (everywhere).
The empty category NP-trace conforms to Principle A of the Binding Theory, and is thus subject to anaphor binding.

9. The empty category pro conforms to Principle B of the Binding Theory, and is thus subject to pronominal binding.
10. Wh-traces, not being A-bound at all in a local domain or otherwise, are subject to Principle C of the Binding Theory.

11. The empty category PRO, being ungoverned, is not subject to the Binding Theory at all, but to Control Theory, another component of the theory of grammar.
12. Anaphors, pronominals, referential expressions, and other bound elements (including empty categories) can be classified according to the binary features [+anaphoric] and [+pronominal].

5.7 KEYWORDS

A-binding: The binding of an anaphoric expression by an antecedent that is in an argument position in the S-structure representation of a sentence. Thus, NP-traces are A-bound by their antecedents. By contrast, the binding of a Wh-trace by its antecedent Wh-expression is an instance of A'-binding ("A-bar binding"), since the (moved) antecedent Wh-expression in the Specifier of CP is not in an argument position.

anaphor: A reflexive or emphatic reflexive such as *herself*, or a reciprocal expression such as ***each other,*** which must necessarily get its reference from some other NP close to it within the same sentence. An anaphor is subject to Principle A of the Binding Theory.

anaphora: Any one of the set of expressions in a given language that may or must derive their reference from some other NP, within the same sentence or in the broader discourse (e.g., a story or a conversation) to which the sentence belcngs. Anaphors, pronouns of anaphoric reference, and VP-substitutes such as so do and do so are all examples of anaphora.

anaphor binding: Binding in accordance with Principle A of the Binding Theory. In addition to anaphors, NP-traces are also bound by their antecedents in this way.

anaphoric pronoun: A pronoun that does not have deictic reference and is not an expletive pronoun (like expletive it or *there),* but takes its reference from an antecedent, within the same sentence or elsewhere.

binding: The coreference between anaphora and their antecedents; the antecedent is said to *bind* the anaphora, and the relationship of coreference is indicated by coindexation of the antecedent and the anaphora.

Binding Theory: An important modular sub-theory within the Government-Binding Theory (later the Principles-and-Parameters Theory) of generative grammar, the Binding Theory regulates the distributions of anaphors, pronominals, and lexical NPs ("referentiql expressions" or "R-expressions") in relation to potential or actual antecedents in sentences.

deictic pronoun: A pronoun whose reference is obtained from some entity or set of entities present in the speech situation itself, often accompanied by pointing at that entity or set of entities; a deictic pronoun is thus different from an ANAPHORIC PRONOUN (q.v.), in that it does not have an overtly mentioned antecedent.

governor: A head that minimally c-commands and Case-marks an argument NP is said to be the ***governor*** of that NP, and its relationship with that NP is a relationship of ***government.*** Since every pronounced argument NP must be Case-marked, it follows that every pronounced argument NP must have a govemor. See also LOCAL DOMAIN below.

local domain: The local domain for an argument NP is defined as necessarily containing the NP and its govemor, and only optionally an antecedent for the NP. See also GOVERNOR above.

PRO: An ungoverned, unpronounced but meaningful "empty category" that is subject to Control Theory; in sentences in which it has a controller, the controller is usually found to occur outside the minimal IP containing the PRO element.

pro: An unpronounced but understood "empty category" that is governed under coindexation by AGR and occurs in certain specific syntactic contexts, e.g., as the subject of an imperative sentence or in a sentence such as ***(pro) Hope you are doing well.***

pronominal: A pronoun of anaphoric reference, it is subject to Principle B of the Binding Theory.

pronominal binding: The binding of an expression such as a pronoun or the empty categorypro subject to Principle B of the Binding Theory.

R-expression: (referential expression) A NP that refers to some entity or set of entities on its own, a lexical NP, an R-expression is subject to Principle C of the Binding Theory; in these respects, it is different from an anaphor or a pronominal.

sloppy identity: Identity of sense, i.e., of general meaning, without reference to the same entity (or set of entities), e.g., the relationship that holds between the expressions ***little boy*** and ***one*** in the conjoined noun phrase ***this little boy and that one*** : note that the two expressions refer to two distinct little boys.

strict Identity: Identity of reference, e.g., the relationship between the expressions ***the Morning Star*** and ***the Evening Star:*** both refer to the same entity, i.e., the planet Venus.

5.8 BIBLIOGRAPHY

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5.9 QUESTIONS & EXERCISES

1. The pronoun it is usually included in the set of personal pronouns in English. Can this pronoun have deictic reference? Can it have anaphoric reference? Is it possible for it to have neither deictic nor anaphoric reference but some other syntactic function altogether?

2. State in terms of the Binding Theory why the following coindexing relations cannot hold in the sentences given below:

   a. She_x loves $Sita_x$.
   b. $Sita_x$ thinks that Ram_y wants PRO_x to go home.
   c. Ram_i believes that $Harish_j$ hurt $himself_i$ by accident.

   Suggest alternative indices that would yield acceptable readings for these sentences.

3. There is an important syntactic concept that lies at the basis of both Case Theory and Binding Theory. Can you identify this concept? Explain it in your own words, with examples if necessary.

NOTES ON "QUESTIONS & EXERCISES"

1. The pronoun it can have deictic reference in only very restricted, limited contexts, e.g. in *I am **scared** of -- it!* (accompanied by pointing at the relevant real or imagined object). The pronoun *it* can have anaphoric reference, which it most commonly does. Expletive *it* -- as in *It is very hot* today -- does not have either deictic or anaphoric reference.

2. a. This pattern of coindexation violates Principle C, since the R-expression *Sita* is not free here.
   b. PRO has to be coindexed with its closest possible controller, here ***Ram***. (Strictly speaking, this is not within the purview of the Binding Theory, but of Control Theory.)
   c. The reflexive ***himself*** has to be bound within its local domain (according to Principle B of the Binding Theory), and must therefore be coindexed with Harish, not with Ram.

3. The concept of government, or of a governor. Note that a governor is a Case-assigner, and is also essential for the identification of a local domain in the Binding Theory.

UNIT 6 SYNTAX OF SCOPE: ADVERBS, QUANTIFIERS AND NEGATION

Structure

6.0 Objectives
6.1 Introduction
- 6.1.1 What is "scope" in syntax?
- 6.1.2 The notion of "Logical Form" or "LF"
- 6.1.3 Scope-bearing elements in English

6.2 Adverbs
- 6.2.1 The traditional definition of an adverb
- 6.2.2 The classification of adverbs
- 6.2.3 The scope of adverbs

6.3 Quantifiers
- 6.3.1 What is a "quantifier"?
- 6.3.2 The scope of quantifiers
- 6.3.3 The special quantifiers only and even

6.4 Negation
- 6.3.1 Negation as a logical operator
- 6.3.2 Two kinds of negation in English
- 6.3.3 The scope of negation

6.5 Conclusion
6.6 Let Us Sum Up
6.7 Key Words
6.8 Bibliography
6.9 Questions & Exercises
Notes on "Questions & Exercises"

6.0 OBJECTIVES

The objectives of this unit are that at the end of this unit you should be able to

- have a basic understanding of the notion of syntactic scope,
- see the need for a distinct syntactic level called "Logical Form" or "LF",
- see how adverbs fit into phrase structure,
- understand the notion of quantification, and identify salient quantifiers in English,
- have a basic understanding of the syntax and semantics of negation,
- understand how adverbs, quantifiers, and negation interact in scope at LF.

6.1 INTRODUCTION

6.1.1 What is "scope" in syntax?

Thus far, we have examined matters of structure and reference in syntax, without regard to the possible ambiguities that may arise out of the interaction of ***meanings*** of **syntactic** elements. In this unit, we look at an **area** of syntax and semantics that involves precisely this **kind** of interaction of meanings -- the phenomenon of **scope** in the interpretation of sentences containing certain kinds of expressions in English. To see what scope is, let us consider a simple sentence of English:

(1) Everyone in this room knows two languages.

This is straightforward enough as a sentence. Yet when we think a little more about how to interpret it, we realize that it can be interpreted in two different ways. Supposing there are four individuals, W, X, Y, and Z sitting in a room. There is a set of languages, say Assamese, Bhotia, Chattisgarhi, Dutch, and English, that are spoken in areas that W, X, Y, and Z come from. Then the sentence (1) can mean either of two things, something like (2a) or something like (2b):

(2) a. W knows Chattisgarhi and English, X knows Assamese and Dutch, Y knows Bhotia and Chattisgarhi, and Z knows Bhotia and Dutch.

b. W, X, Y, and Z all know Bhotia and English.

These two interpretations of the sentence (1) can be expressed in more general terms as follows:

(3) a. For every person *x* in this room, there are two languages *y* and *z*, such that *x* knows *y*, *z*.

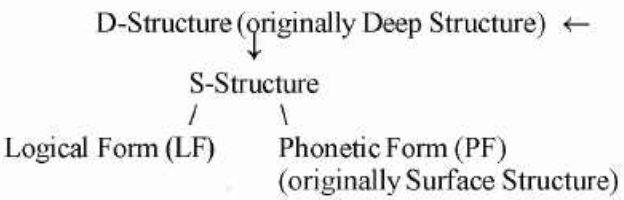
b. There are two languages *a* and b such that, for every person *x* in this room, *x* knows a and b.

These two interpretations of (1) arise out of the difference in the relative domains of applicability of the two expressions *everyone* and *two languages:* for the reading (3a), we say that *everyone* has wider (or higher) scope than *two languages,* whereas we say that for the reading (3b), *two languages* has wider (or higher) scope than *everyone.* Note that, by itself, *everyone* (i.e., all the people in this room) is quite unambiguous in its meaning, and similarly, we find the meaning of *two languages* all by itself quite straightforward.

6.1.2 The notion of "Logical Form" or "LF"

Generative grammar has undergone many revisions and extensions since its original version -- transformational generative grammar -- was put forward by Noam Chomsky in his 1957 book *Syntactic Structures.* Chomsky gave fuller shape to his theory of transformational grammar in his 1965 book *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*; this theory came to be known as the Standard Theory of transformational grammar. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, however, Chomsky and a number of other generative grammarians proposed certain further revisions and extensions, some of which had to do with the role of meaning in generative grammar. Matters such as differences in scope demanded an adequately explanatory account within the framework of generative grammar, and as a result the idea of a separate level of semantic interpretation -- i.e., interpretation of meaning -- besides the levels of deep and surface structure gained further ground within the theory of generative grammar. This led to the postulation of a level of meaning-interpretation that was originally named Logical Form and subsequently came to be called simply LF, over and above deep structure and surface structure. The different levels of representation for sentences in a language came to be structured as follows, in what came to be known as the Revised Extended Standard Theory or the Theory of Government and Binding, later called the Principles-and-Parameters Theory:

(4)



The general idea is that the S-structure of a sentence, derived from its D-structure through the operation largely of movement transformations, undergoes interpretation into two further levels -- the level of embodiment of the sentence into its actually pronounced version, i.e., PF, and the level of semantic interpretation of the sentence, i.e., LF. The interpretation of scope was found to be feasible, not at D-structure or any other level, but at LF.

6.1.3 Scope-bearing elements in English

English has several different classes of scope-bearing elements: adverbs, quantifiers, focusing words such as only and even, and negative words such as no and not, are all expressions that can have wider or narrower scope over clauses and sentences. The differences in scope of scope-bearing elements within the same sentence become especially clear when one considers the relative scope of one element as compared to that of another. We have seen this in the case of the quantifier expressions *everyone* and two (languages).

6.2 ADVERBS

6.2.1 The traditional definition of an adverb

Traditionally, an adverb has been defined as "a word that modifies a verb, an adjective, or another adverb". Therefore, a rather diverse range of words are included in the class of adverbs. Examples are the underlined words in the following sentences:

(5)
a. Harish runs fast.
b. Sita speaks Andamanese fluently.
c. Fortunately, the victim decided not to press charges.
d. The cyclone completely destroyed several villages.
e. John nevertheless continued fighting.
f. Ram was very hungry.
g. The cyclone almost completely destroyed those villages.
h. He speaks extremely slowly.

The problem is that this has meant the lumping together of different classes of words into a single class called "adverbs", even though some of them -- such as very in (f), *almost* in (g), and extremely in (h) -- are actually degree modifiers rather than adverbs proper. Accordingly, the traditional definition needs to be narrowed down further, and certain words have to be excluded from the class of adverbs so that we get a relatively homogeneous class. Note also that the traditional morphological definition of an adverb as a word ending with *-ly* is both too broad, since it includes adjectives such as deadly and *friendly* (and degree modifiers such as extremely), and too narrow, since it excludes adverbs such as fast, always, and *often*. We thus adopt the position that an adverb is a word that modifies a verb, or a verb phrase, or a sentence.

6.2.2 The classification of adverbs

McCawley (1988) classifies adverbs into three kinds: V-modifying, V'-modifying or VP-modifying, and S-modifying or IP-modifying adverbs. An adverb is a V-modifying adverb if it modifies a verb alone, as in the sentences (5a) and (5d). Note that *fast* in (5a) modifies the verb runs, and completely in (5d) gives greater focus to the meaning of the verb *destroyed* (rather than modifying the entire verb phrase destroyed several villages). On the other hand, consider the following examples:.

(6) a. The boss reluctantly granted me medical leave.
b. Sita intentionally left the money out on the table.

In these sentences, the adverbs reluctantly and intentionally are V'-modifying or VP-modifying adverbs, since they qualify the entire verb phrase rather than the verb alone: thus, reluctantly expresses the boss's manner of giving me medical leave, and intentionally qualifies the act of leaving money out on the table. Examples of S-modifying adverbs can be seen in the following examples:

(7) a. Fortunately, Ram has enough savings to meet the expenses.
b. Most probably I shall be seeing Sita next Sunday. .

The adverb *fortunately* describes the entire fact of Ram's having enough savings to meet the expenses, and is therefore an S-modifying or IP-modifying adverb. Likewise, the adverb probably adds the meaning of great likelihood to the possibility of my seeing Sita next Sunday, as a whole, and is therefore an S-modifying or IP-modifying adverb.

This three-way classification of adverbs is (as yet) not widely known, however, and certain confusions can arise especially as to whether an adverb is a V-modifying or VP-modifying adverb. A more commonly known system of classification of adverbs is the three-way classification into:

(i) **adverbs of time,**
(ii) **adverbs of place,**
(iii) **adverbs of manner.**

An adverb of time is an adverb or adverbial phrase that carries information about the time or time-scale of an event. Examples are the following:

(8) a. I shall meet you soon at the Main Crossing.
b. He finally came an hour later.
c. Ram leaves for work at 8:00 a.m.

In the sentence (8a), the adverb soon gives the hearer an approximate idea of the time-span within which the speaker can be expected to meet the addressee at the Main Crossing; in (8b), the adverbial phrase an hour later gives us the span of time that had passed when he finally came; and in (8c), the adverbial phrase at *8:00 a.m.* -- which is structurally a prepositional phrase, headed by the preposition at, conveys the accurate time at which Ram leaves for work. **An** adverb of time can also be a bare noun or noun phrase, as in the following examples:

(9) a. See you tomorrow. (Compare: Tomorrow is another day.)
b. I leave for Kathmandu next Friday. (Compare: Next Friday will be a holiday.)

An adverb of place is an adverb that conveys the location at which an event has taken place, is taking place, or is expected to take place. Adverbs of place occur in the following examples:

(10) a. Come here.
b. I shall meet you soon at the Main Crossing.
c. He put the box down ten yards away,

The (deictic -- see Unit 5) word here is an adverb of place, signalling the immediate vicinity of the speaker; the prepositional phrase ***at** the* Main Crossing is'also an adverb of place, signalling the location at which the speaker will meet the addressee; and the adverbial phrase *ten* yards away is an adverb of place indicating the distance from some understood location at which he put the box down.

An **adverb of manner** conveys information on the manner in which an action or event takes place. Adverbs of manner occur in examples such as the following:

(11) a. He runs fast.
b. She speaks slowly.
c. The performers danced very beautifully.
d. All of a sudden, Ram stopped walking.

The underlined words and phrases in these four sentences are adverbs of manner, since they convey the manner in which the actions of running, speaking, and dancing, and the event of Ram's ceasing to walk, take place.

6.2.3 The scope of adverbs

Certain adverbs exhibit scope phenomena. Take the following sentence:

(12) This teacher always has five students in his class on Mondays.

This sentence is ambiguous, since it can be interpreted to mean either (13a) or (13b):

(13) a. It is always the case that this teacher has exactly five students, no more or less, in his class on Mondays.
b. There are five students, A, B, C, D, and E, who are always to be found in this teacher's class on Mondays.

Under the interpretation (13a), the adverb always has wider scope over the quantified NP *five* students, so that no SPECIFIC five students are being mentioned here; whereas, under the interpretation (13b), the adverb always has narrower scope, with five students having wider scope over it, so that five specific students (A, B, C, D, E) are being referred to.

6.3 QUANTIFIERS

6.3.1 What is a "quantifier"?

You will have encountered the term **quantifier** several times by now, without perhaps fully knowing what it stands for. Although quantifiers do not constitute one of the traditional parts of speech (unlike nouns, pronouns, verbs, and adverbs), they form an important class of expressions -- they are expressions that indicate quantities (hence the term "quantifier"). Thus, the numerals one, two, twenty, etc., form a special class of quantifier expressions; and so-called "quantitative adjectives" such as all, some, many, any, each, etc., also belong to the class of quantifiers. Also included in the class of quantifiers are so-called "indefinite pronouns" such as someone, something, everybody, anything, since these also convey something about the number or proportion of persons and objects. Thus, quantifiers include expressions belonging to more than one of the traditionally defined parts of speech. (McCawley (1988), however, holds that every lexical noun phrase in English is implicitly or explicitly a quantifier expression, since it usually also conveys something about the number, proportion, or quantity of individuals or material.)

6.3.2 The scope of quantifiers

We have, in a sense, already seen in Subsection 6.1.1 how two quantifier expressions can interact with each other in scope. A further example is the following ambiguous sentence:

(14) Someone loves everyone.

This sentence can be interpreted in either of two ways, as follows:

(15) a. There is some person *x* such that, for every person y, *x* loves *y*.
b. For every (individual) person y, there is some person x such that x loves *y*.

The two readings differ in that, in the reading (15a), the indefinite pronoun *someone* has wider scope over the indefinite pronoun *everyone*; whereas in the reading (15b), *everyone* has wider scope over *someone*. Of course, the real-life situation in which this kind of sentence is uttered usually allows us to choose only one out of the two readings. Both the readings are made available, however, as LF representations of the sentence.

6.3.3 The special quantifiers *only* and *even*

We now come to two very commonly used words in English which behave like quantifiers in certain ways, but have traditionally been described as adverbs, although they actually belong to a class in themselves. These are the words *only* and *even*. These words have also been called focus-linked elements, because they usually serve to focus on, or "highlight", a particular word or phrase in a sentence in which either of them might occur. In spoken language, the focused word or phrase may additionally carry special emphasis or stress. Thus, consider the following sentences:

(16) a. Only *Ram* knows how to swim.
b. I only wanted to *help* you!
c. Man does not live only by *bread*.

(17) a. Even a *child* can lift this box. (... let alone a weight-lifter.)
b. I don't even want to *talk* to her. (... let alone invite her to tea!)
c. He could not have imagined it even in his *dreams*. (... let alone in real life.)

In each of these sentences, the word or phrase in italics is the element focused on by the word *only* or *even*. Note that *only* or *even* functions like an adverb only in some of these sentences; in the others, it behaves like an adjective.

The words *only* and *even* are also like quantifiers, however, in that they exhibit scope phenomena, especially in relation to negation. This can be seen from the way in which the same sentence can be extended in two ways; as follows:

(18) a. You can **not** only read these books (, you can *borrow* them as well).
b. You cannot only ***read*** these books (, you have to *summarize* them as well).

In the reading (18a), the word *only* seems to have wider scope than the negation *not*, since the extension tells us what you *can* do in addition. In the reading (18b), however, the negation *not* seems to have wider scope over *only*, since the extension tells us what you are not allowed to do all by itself. (This is reflected also in the closer relationship of the negation ***not*** with the modal *can* in the reading (18b) than in the reading (18a).)

In the case of even, however, a difference in scope seems to co-occur with a difference in the order of even and a scope-bearing element such as not. Thus, consider the following examples:

(19) a. Mary has not even begun the lecture yet (, let alone answering questions).
b. Mary has even not begun the lecture yet (, she is so keen for Sita to arrive first).

The interaction in scope between only or even and other scope-bearing elements such as adverbs, other quantifiers, and negation, is a lively area of ongoing research in syntax, and therefore still awaits a fuller understanding.

6.4 NEGATION

6.4.1 Negation as a logical operator

Negation in English is a fascinating area of syntactic study, precisely because it plays a central role in affecting both the structure and the total meaning of a sentence at the same time. The term **negation** is used to cover words such as the utterance no, not and the contraction *-n't*, the negative indefinite pronouns nothing, nobody, the adjective no (as in no *one* or no money), the adverbs nowhere, never, and the conjunctions neither ... nor. Note that, when a true sentence is negated, it hccomes a false sentence; and, conversely, when a false sentence is negated, it becomes true. For this reason, at the level of meaning (and at LF), negation is taken to be a logical operator that can affect the truth-value (i.e., truth or falsity) of the meaning of a sentence. Thus, if we accept the sentence

(20) Snow is white,

as being true, then we have to accept the sentence

(21) Snow is <u>not</u> white.

as being a false sentence; and, conversely, if we accept the sentence

(22) The moon is made of green cheese.

as being false, then we have to accept the sentence

(23) The moon is <u>not</u> made of green cheese,

as being true. However, negation is also of interest because it can sometimes create a paradox, as in the case of the following sentence:

(24) This sentence is <u>not</u> true.

If we take this sentence to be true, then in effect we have to accept that it is not true; but if we take it to be false, then in effect we are agreeing with the claim made by the sentence that it is not true, and therefore accepting that the sentence is true. (Sentences of this kind are said to be illustrations of *Russell's Paradox*, named after the famous British mathematician, philosopher, and author Bertrand Russell.)

Negation, like other logical operators, is also a scope-bearing element: we have seen an example of this already in Subsection **6.3.3.** We shall see a further example of this in Subsection **6.4.3.**

6.4.2 Two kinds of negation in English

Thus far, we have assumed that all negative expressions in English can be lumped together under the cover term "negation". However, English also has morphological prefixes such as un-, *in-/im-*, and *dis-* to express the opposites of the meanings of certain individual words: in such a situation, strictly speaking, it is not the sentential meaning as a whole that has been negated but the rather the meaning of the individual word that has been inverted. This in contrast to the behaviour of negative words like no and *not* earlier. Notice the differences in meaning between the members of the following sentential pairs:

(25) a. John is not very happy with the situation.
b. John is very unhappy with the situation.

(26) a. Sita expressed no pleasure at the prospect.
b. Sita expresseed displeasure at the prospect.

To say that John is not very happy with the situation is to make a milder statement than to say that John is very unhappy with the situation; and Sita's not expressing any pleasure at the prospect is not exactly the same thing as Sita's actually giving expression to her displeasure at the prospect. Thus, morphological negation and syntactic negation do not have the same semantics. Furthermore, it seems to make sense to look for scope phenomena only in the case of *syntactic* negation, and not morphological negation, since it is syntactic negation that has the effect of negating the meaning of the affirmative sentence as a whole.

6.4.3 The scope of negation

As promised earlier, we shall look further at how negation can interact with scope with other scope-bearing elements such as quantifiers. Consider the contrast between the following,sentences, imagining the situation to be one after an amateurs' archery meet:

(27) a. Many arrows didn't hit the target.
b. Not many arrows hit the target.

The sentence (27a) is ambiguous between the two readings (28a) and (28b) below, while the unambiguous sentence (27b) has only the reading (28b), not (28a):

(28) a. For many arrows **A,** it was not the case that **A** hit the target.
b. It was not the case that, for many arrows A, A hit the target.

On the reading (28a), the quantifier many has wider scope than the negation not , whereas on the reading (28b), ***not*** has wider scope than *many*. Note that the sentence (27a) can be extended in the following way, whereas the sentence (27b) cannot be so extended without a resulting contradition:

(29) a. Many arrows didn't hit the target (, but many did hit the target).
b. Not many arrows hit the target(, *but many did hit the target).

Furthermore, there is a class of words and phrases that occur only within the scope of negation, called **negative polarity items.** Consider the contrast among the following sets of sentences:

(30) a. Sita knows something.
b. Sita doesn't know anything.
c. ? Sita knows anything.

(31) a. I like spinach very much.
b. I don't like spinach at all.
c. *I like spinach at all.

(32) a. Mr. X drinks a lot.
b. Mr. X doesn't drink much.
c. *Mr X drinks much.

Note that, in the sentence (30b), the word anything replaces something when the negative element *-n't* occurs with the verb -- thus, it does not have the same meaning in (30b) as in (30c), which is not very natural in English (unless spoken with expressive stress on anything -- "Talk about anything and Sita knows it already"). This is because anything in (30b) is a negative polarity item, the counterpart of something in the affirmative sentence (30a). In the set of sentences (31a-c), we find that the phrase at *all* can only occur with the negative element as in (31b). In the set of sentences (32a-c), we notice that *much* occurs as the negative polarity counterpart of a lot, and that it cannot occur in a simple affirmative sentence like (32c). Thus, negation exerts an influence on the distribution of items within its scope, and especially selects negative polarity items.

6.5 CONCLUSION

In this unit, we have seen how adverbs, quantifiers, and negation are all scope-bearing elements in English. We have also seen that these elements can interact with one another in scope across their respective classes: thus, for example, negation can interact in scope with a quantifier, and a quantifier can interact in scope with an adverb. Scope-bearing elements are of syntactic interest especially because they are by *themselves* fairly innocent, unambiguous words, and give rise to ambiguity only when they occur in syntactic combinations with one another in full-fledged sentences. Scope is a major reason why a separate level of representation such as LF has had to be posited in the generative grammar of English. Scope as well as scope-bearing elements continue to be investigated actively by scholars working on matters of language, since they offer interesting insights into how linguistic meanings can be understood for sentences, whether in isolation or in pieces of discourse such as literary texts.

6.6 LET US SUM UP

1. In the model of generative grammar adopted in Government-Binding Theory, D-structure is connected to S-structure through transformations such as Wh-Movement and NP-Movement, and S-structure branches out into two interpretative levels, the level of Surface Structure or "phonetic form" (PF), and the level of "logical form" or LF.
2. Ambiguity arising out of differences in the relative scope of two expressions in a sentence is resolved at the LF level.
3. Adverbs, quantifiers, nnd negation are all scope-bearing elements in English,
4. Adverbs can be classified into V-modifying, VP-modifying, and IP-modifying adverbs.
5. Alternatively, adverbs can be classified into adverbs of time, adverbs of place, and adverbs of manner.
6. The class of quantifier expressions includes "indefinite pronouns" such as something, anyone, *everybody*; (cardinal) numerals; and quantitative adjectives such as all, *each*, some, many, and most.
7. Negation is both a logical operator and a syntactically significant scope-bearing element.
8. Adverbs, quantifiers, and negation can often display interactions of scope with one another if they occur within the same sentence.

6.7 KEY WORDS

adverb: A word or phrase (or clause) that can modify a verb, or a verb phrase, or even a clause.

Logical Form or **LF:** The level of interpretation of certain kinds of sentence-meaning that can be "read off' from the level of S-structure representation of a sentence. Matters of scope are made explicit at the LF level for a sentence containing scope-bearing elements such as adverbs, quantifiers, and negation.

negation: In logic, a one-place operator that converts a true proposition into a false one and a false proposition into a true one. In English syntax, any one of the elements no, not, *-n't*, never, neither ... nor, nowhere.

quantifier (expression): An indefinite pronoun, numeral, quantitative adjective (or adverb, e.g., *somewhere*, everywhere) that denotes a particular absolute quantity or relative proportion; quantifiers are scope-bearing elements,

scope: A semantic property specifying the domain of interpretation of an expression such as an adverb or a quantifier, often relative to another such expression; scope is resolved at the level of LF.

6.8 BIBLIOGRAPHY

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6.9 QUESTIONS & EXERCISES

1. Construct five example sentences of your own that display ambiguities of scope, and explain the alternative interpretations for each, stating which elements interact in scope.

2. Consider the following pair of sentences. Are they identical in meaning? If not, can you say why?

   (a) Every American wants to be rich.
   (b) Every American wants every American to be rich.

3. Consider the following sentence. Is it ambiguous in your opinion? If so, state the different readings of the sentence. Either way, state why you do or do not find it ambiguous.

   All schoolteachers do not rebuke their pupils because they are concerned about them.

NOTES ON "QUESTIONS & EXERCISES"

1. (Possible examples:)
   Every boy is interested in a girl.
   I didn't see only Ram.
   I don't want all of you to leave.
   Everyone didn't like the concert at all.
   Two teachers taught five students last year. (... Five each, or five altogether)

2. Hint: The sentence (a) has an empty category PRO, which is a kind of variable bound by the quantifier ***Every*** American, while the sentence (b) actually has two quantifiers, each taking its own scope.

3. On one view, this sentence is four-ways ambiguous, because of scope interaction among the quantifier expression all ***schoolteachers***, the negative element not, and the adverbial clause because ***they*** are concerned about them.

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MAEN-112

Aspects of Language

Block

6

LANGUAGE IN USE-1

Block Introduction	
UNIT 1 **Introduction to Sociolinguistics**	399
UNIT 2 **Speech Community and Multilingualism**	413
UNIT 3 **Bilingualism**	421
UNIT 4 **Language Standardization**	430

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BLOCK INTRODUCTION

In the previous blocks we have studied language divorced from use. But as you will agree language exists only because it is used in society, and therefore any study of language makes sense in the context of 'language in society'.

We begin with a brief introduction to that field in linguistics which looks at the close relationship between language and society—**Sociolinguistics** (Unit 1).

Concepts such as Speech Community are studied in a multilingual framework which will give us insights into the ways individuals locate and identify themselves in such apparently 'complex' societies (Unit 2).

We have, therefore, tried to make you understand the meaning and nature of bilingualism, its different dimensions and the power and prestige equations which arise because of it (Unit 3).

In Unit 4 we discuss the concept of a standard language, the processes involved in standardization, the need for it, and at the same time the consequences for non-standard forms.

These units will help you understand the dynamic nature of language in use.

UNIT 1 INTRODUCTION TO.SOCIOLINGUISTICS

Structure

1.0 Objectives
1.1 Introduction
  1.1.1 What is sociolinguistics?
  1.1.2 The problem of variation
1.2 Dialectology: A progenitor in the early sociolinguistic work
1.3 Sociolinguistics and the sociology of language
1.4 The ethnography of communication
1.5 Variation studies
  1.5.1 New York City: William Labov
  1.5.2 Norwich Study: Peter Trudgill
1.6 Social network and language maintenance
1.7 Acts of identity
1.8 Conclusion
1.9 Key words
1.10 Questions
1.11 Bibliography

1.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit will help you to

- get an insight into the significant relationship between language and society.
- understand and define sociolinguistics as an independent discipline.
- trace the growth of sociolinguistics from the1960's to same recent research work.
- appreciate and get familiar with the great diversity of phenomena that sociolinguists investigate, for instance, language variation, language change, language maintenance, language planning, etc,

1.1 INTRODUCTION

1.1.1 What is sociolinguistics?

We all use language everyday. But how many of us stop to think about the relevance or significance of language in our lives? Is language not unique to only humans? Is it not something that makes us distinct from animals? Are we all not creative in our use of language? Do we not use language in a variety of ways for a variety of purposes?,

Well, language is actually a great,mystery. And perhaps that is why we need to think about it more deeply and carefully.

The mysterious nature of language will begin to unfold itself once you realize that it cannot be studied in isolation. It is used in society and therefore, we need to study language in relation to society. Language is what members of a society speak. But what is a society? A society comprises of a group of individuals who are normally

drawn together for a certain purpose or purposes. **Whatever may be the purpose, the use of language is undoubtedly an integral part** of being human. Infact, an inability to use language appropriately or adequately can affect one's status in society, and may even alter one's personality.

Language cannot exist and develop outside society. What lyrics are to music, language is to society. The relationship between the two is that of interdependence. To ignore the influence of language on society or of society on language would give only an incomplete picture of the relationship that language and society share. **The main concern of sociolinguistics is to examine this complex relationship between language and society.**

Some of the questions that sociolinguists investigate are:

1. Is language static or variable?
2. To what extent are social factors responsible for language variation?
3. How is it that people are able to communicate despite variation?
4. Are standard languages different from dialects?
5. Why should each social context be examined in its own right?
6. Are there any homogenous societies in reality?
7. Can language be used as a tool for power in all spheres of social life, like education, religion, and administration, etc and lead to social exploitation?
8. Can language initiate a social change?
9. Why do languages change?
10. Is language planning essential?

Although all the questions will not be addressed in this unit, some of the theories, which will be discussed in the following sections, will deal with these issues.

It is since the 1960's that sociolinguistics has expanded considerably and become an independent field of academic research. The widespread interest in this field arose primarily because of a growing dissatisfaction with the Structural and Chomsky's perspectives on language. While the former were interested in examining the structural properties of language, the latter's main concern has been an ideal speaker-learner in a completely homogenous speech community who know their language perfectly. As a result, linguists have been engaged in characterizing the abstract knowledge or the competence that native speakers of a language possess to the total exclusion of the social context in which language is learnt and used. Apart from considering language as a system of grammar, **sociolinguists find it equally important to study its usage and functions In various situations.**

Sociolinguistics is a meeting ground for linguists and social scientists. However, many a times there have been diametrically opposite views on the relationship between language and society. While some have perceived social reality in terms of language, others have believed that the form and function are determined by social factors. Nevertheless, diverse orientations as these may be, they help us to reflect on the nature of both language and society and realize how in reality the relationship between the two is inextricably interwoven,

Sociolinguistsexamine the variable nature of language. They believe **that language is not a static entity but is dynamic.** Just as a piece of currency keeps evolving and changing, so do languages. Language variation can be investigated at any of the levels: phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic or discourse. Variation may be due to a number of factors like geographical separation, sex, age, education, social class, caste etc. or because of style and register differences. Language can also vary according to the situation or the social context. Sociolinguists try to examine and explain linguistic variation in terms of personal, geographical or social reasons.

The social context is considered to be of utmost importance in sociolinguistics. The sociolinguistic reality of a relatively homogenous society of America is very different from the heterogeneity of India. The fact that as many as 1,652 languages are spoken in India is in itself a good enough reason to believe that there is a great deal sf diversity. Yet, despite this diversity and linguistic variation, there seems to be some kind of underlying unity, which enables communication to take place quite easily. It is not unusual for an individual in India to maintain multiple identities. Far example, a gujarati speaker in Delhi may be speaking in gujarati at home with his family members, English in his office, Hindi with his friends and yet another language in another context. What is important is to remember that each social context should be examined in its own right.

Another concern of sociolinguists has been to regard **language as a marker of group solidarity** and **group identity.** An individual creates his/her identity in terms of the social group or groups he/she belongs lo. He/she shares certain social and linguistic norms with the other members s f the social group. There is, therefore, a sort of conformity to a social group. Yet, the uniqueness of each individual's experience of language and the society he/she belongs to enables him/her to filter his/her experience of new situations in his/her own way. This obviously means that since no two individuals are alike or have the same experience, they interpret situations in different ways and construct mental maps according to their own interpretation. Hence, there are as it were, two forces operating, one leading to similarities between individuals by conforming to a social group or groups and their norms and the other leading to individual differences. These forces are often referred to as **conformity** and **individualism.** The amount of variation between speakers within a social group depends on the relative strengths of these two forces.

Language is also often used as a tool of power in all spheres of social life, be it education, religion, media, administration and so on. Language of the rich and the powerful is often made a 'standard' variety at the cost of all other varieties, which are in no way linguistically inferior. Think for a moment about a school classroom in India. Just the way a school uniform is imposed on children so that they all start looking similar, standard Hindi/English is made a compulsory media of instruction in schools. This negates the multiplicity of languages that children bring with them to the classroom and leaves them feeling socially disadvantaged. More so, because a standard variety becomes essential for upward social mobility. Instead of using multilingualism as a classroom resource, variability is shunned at and classroom interaction remains largely monolithic in nature. Sociolinguists in India are now increasingly getting concerned with issues such as these and are keen to bring about a social change in keeping with our sociolinguistic reality.

The study of sociolinguistics is partly empirical and partly theoretical. It must be founded on an adequate data base like censuses, documents, surveys, and interviews. Conclusions are based on evidence and scientific analysis. Language variation, for instance, could be examined at the level of phonology. Questions like why is it that a word like 'boy' is called **'larka'** by some and 'larika' by some others can be empirically tested. Is it because these two sets of people inhabit two different regions? *Or* is it because they belong to two different castes? Or is it because they belong to different social stratas of society?

To conclude, Fishman's description of sociolinguistics appears to be quite apt and interesting. He considers sociolinguistics to encompass everything from 'who speaks (or writes) what language (or what language variety) to whom and when and to what end' (1972 b).

1.1.2 The problem of variation

Linguists, since long, have been-concerned with describing and writing the system or the grammar that each speaker **'knows'.** This knowledge is not only,something that

every individual possesses but is also some kind of shared knowledge that is possessed by all those who speak that language. Although this knowledge is abstract, as a native speaker of a particular language, one knows what is in the language and what is not, what is grammatical and what is not, what is ambiguous and what is not. Most of all, the creative ability of producing and understanding an infinite number of novel sentences from a finite set of rules is what distinguishes humans from animals.

Noam Chomsky has been the most influential personality in the late 20thC. He stresses the importance of 'competence' that native speakers possess. According to him, it is the linguist's task to characterize this 'competence'. Matters' relating to 'performance' which is the ability to be able to use specific utterances in a variety of ways according to a situation or context is not important at all. The paradigm that he has advocated has led mainstream linguists to turn their back on society and sociology. But by not addressing a whole range of questions regarding the actual usage of language or its varied nature, linguistics as a discipline, has constructed language as a highly abstract object.

What exactly does it mean that people in Delhi and Eastern U.P speak 'Hindi' or that people in America, England and Australia speak 'English'? Everyone knows that what is spoken in Delhi is quite different from what is spoken in Eastern U.P or that American English, British English and Australian English differ in significant ways.

Apart from this kind of variation, which deals with different varieties, we also know that the language we use everyday is remarkably varied. All languages have a considerable amount of internal variation and we make constant use of the many options that we have with us. No one speaks the same way all the time.

Recognition of variation implies that we understand that language is not just an abstract object of study, but something that we use. Meaningful insights into language can only be gained if matters of language use and variation are included as part of the data which is collected only to write grammars.

In the following sections, we will study the evolution of sociolinguistics, which begins with dialectology. The dialectologists were concerned with regional variation. A distinction is often made between regional and social variation. Regional variation deals with regional dialects, which mark off the residents of one region from those of the other regions. Social variation, on the other hand, deals with varieties associated with a specific social class or social status or caste, etc.

1.2 DIALECTOLOGY: A PROGENITOR IN EARLY SOCIOLINGUISTIC WORK

In the latter part of the 19thC, some dialectologists like Jules Gillieron, George Wenker, Hans Kurath and others attempted to write certain dialect forms, either in dictionaries or on maps. They mapped these dialects on a regional basis showing that languages differentiate internally as speaker's distance themselves from one another over time and space. This results in the creation of dialects of the language.

They tried to analyze speech variation and believed that speech communities are essentially heterogeneous. They were of the opinion that if a language is spoken by atleast two people, then there are always some differences of usage and if the numbers increase to thousands or millions of people, then variations of usage get more pronounced with the social and geographical structure of the society to which the speakers belong.

Several atlases like the 'Linguistic Atlas of France', 'Linguistic Atlas of New England', 'Survey of England's Dialects' and many others were prepared which mapped the geographical distribution of variant forms for 'the same thing' in 'the same language'. A list of items of usage was prepared to be checked at certain geographical locations like the pronunciation of the word 'bath' or 'greasy'. Lines called 'isoglosses' were marked on a map creating geographical boundaries indicating that on the one side of the boundary, people pronounce 'a' of 'bath' with the first vowel of **'father'**, and on the other side, perhaps people pronounce it with th. vowel of **'cat'**. Or on one side of the boundary, people pronounce 'greasy' with a **'s'** sound, whereas on the other side, with a 'z' sound.

One basic assumption of the dialectologists was that regional dialects are quite easy to sample. Two people in a particular location were interviewed exclusively in rural areas, which were regarded as 'conservative' in the sense that they were seen to preserve 'older' forms of language under investigation. The representative dialect speaker had to be relatively uncontaminated by education. Urban areas were acknowledged to be innovative, unstable linguistically and difficult to approach. The typical informant was the non-mobile older rural male, the NORM who had not travelled much. They were asked how they pronounced certain words or referred to certain objects.

By fo'cussingonly on the NORM, the dialectologists did not consider the 'corrupt' speech of the towns and tended to locate 'some real old dialect'. But data so collected was basically normative in nature and was restricted to only phonology and grammar. A lot of importance was given to 'pure' and 'accurate' data.

It was almost as if the dialectologists were looking for reasons for language change from one geographical region to another rather than accepting diversity as the base line. In trying to do so, they assumed a static structure by comparing like with the like. Also, more often than not, the dialect areas that were outlined by isoglosses on the map were artifacts of the geographer.

Although the dialectologists were keen to investigate regional variation, they failed to develop a comprehensive theory to explain it.

1.3 SOCIOLINGUISTICS AND THE SOCIOLOGY OF LANGUAGE

A distinction is often made between sociolinguisticsand the sociology of language. Since sociolinguistics is a meeting ground for both linguists and social scientists, it is not surprizing that there are as it were, two centers of gravity, known as micro and macro sociolinguistics. These represent different orientations. Micro-issues concern the linguistic aspects of society and are taken up by linguists, dialectologistsand others in language centered fields. Macro issues deal with understanding the social aspects of language and are a major concern to sociologists and social psychologists. While the former is considered sociolinguistics, the latter falls in the realm of the sociology of language.

The micro perspective investigates how social structure influences the way people talk and how language varieties and patterns of language use correlate with social attributes such as class, age, sex, etc. The macro perspective studies what societies do with their languages, for example language planning, language shift and maintenance, etc.

The difference between sociolinguistics and the sociology of language is that of emphasis, according to whether the concern is language or society and the focus of

analysis linguistic or social structures. Just as sociolinguistics is defined as the study of language in relation to society, the sociology of language is defined as the study of society in relation to language.

While sociolinguistics investigates the relationship between language and society with the goals of understanding the structure of language and of how languages function in communication, the goal of the sociology of language is to discover how social structures can be better understood through the study of language.

Both sociolinguistics and the sociology of language require a systematic study of language and society and there is general agreement that both perspectives are indispensable for a fuller understanding of language as a social phenomena.

Language planning is an area of particular interest in the sociology of language, although it operates on both the micro and macro levels. It has much to do with society's deliberate intervention in the course of language development. Language planning involves dealing with issues of standardization, status, prestige and the allocation of functions of languages in a society. Language planning is particularly important in multilingual countries, where the government usually tries to manipulate the existence of multiple languages in a particular direction.

Language planning has been of crucial importance in India. Efforts have gone into developing Hindi for serving every possible function in society. Hindi has been promoted in the Devnagari script as the official language.

Fishman has done a lot of work in this area, as language planning has become a serious concern in the United States in the recent years. Since U.S.A has a large indigenous Spanish speaking population and many immigrants, Americans have adopted a purely pragmatic approach to English. It is something to be used rather than something to take pride in. This has resulted in English being maintained in the public interest for securing progress, modernity, and efficiency.

1.4 THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF COMMUNICATION

Dell Hymes initiated the study of ethnography of communication in the 1960's. He was concerned that both linguists and anthropologists were missing a large and important area of communication by not considering speech as an activity in its own right. Anthropologists were concerned primarily with conducting ethnographic studies of different aspects of cultures, such as kinship systems, but were completely ignoring language. Linguists on the other hand, were concerned only with language as an abstract system and were not addressing issues of how somebody used one of those sentences in actual situations. By focussing exclusively on 'competence' in 'a language', 'communicative competence' was being ignored. 'Ethnography of speaking/communication examines the role of language in the 'communicative conduct of communities' - i.e. the way in which language is used in diverse cultures. It examines the functions and uses of styles, dialects and languages, and explores the way in which speech acts are interpreted and carried through in particular cultures and societies.

The ethnography of communication was therefore, proposed to fill the gap between what is usually described in ethnographies and in grammars. Although both the anthropologists and the linguists use speech as evidence of other patterns, neither brings it into focus.

The ethnography of communication is actually a question of what a child internalizes about speaking, beyond rules of grammar and a dictionary, while becoming a full-

fledged member of its speech community. It is also a question of what a foreigner must learn about a group's behaviour in order to participate appropriately and effectively in its activities. An individual speaker can in fact simultaneously belong to several speech communities.

Hymes felt that children acquire knowledge of a set of ways in which sentences are used. From a finite experience of speech interaction, they develop a general theory of speaking which is appropriate in their community. This knowledge is just like any other form of tacit cultural knowledge, which they acquire in conducting and interpreting social life. Therefore, in learning to speak, one also learns to 'talk' in the sense of communicating in those ways, which are considered as appropriate by the group to which the child belongs. Since these ways differ from group to group or from one language to another, one must learn new ways if he/she wishes to fit into that new group or new language.

The study of address form usage, for example, tells us quite a bit about how the speakers of a particular language, in a particular community, organize their social relationships. In Hindi, for instance, the use of 'tu', 'tum' and 'a:p' can convey a great deal about the way people organize their relationships. It is interesting to note that while 'tu' may be used in intimate relationships, it is also used in talking to people who are perceived as belonging to low class like the maids who work at home, vegetable vendors, drivers etc. 'tum' may be used amongst friends, workmates, etc, and 'a:p' is reserved for formal relations, like talking to a boss or a teacher and when talking to elder people. Therefore, the use of language is related to social and cultural values of a community, situations and uses. In order to study the communicative behaviour of a speech community, units of interaction like the situation, speech events and speech acts have to be studied through participant observation and introspection. But, we will not go into details of the units of interaction at this stage.

Research in the ethnography of communication is sometimes criticized for the repetitive collection of data from numerous communities in order to build a general theory of human communication.

1.5 VARIATION STUDIES

1.5.1 New York City : William Labov

The work of William Labov is regarded as the most influential in setting the model for studies of language variation and language change. His classic work 'The social stratification of English in New York City' (1966) is an important work in this area.

He investigated the sound /r/ in New York City, as he believed that r- pronunciation after vowels as in *park* and *fourth* was being reintroduced into New York speech. His hypothesis was that the pronunciation of / r/ by New York City speakers varies according to the social class that they belong to. In order to investigate whether the pronunciation varied in a systematic way, he had to carry out a large-scale survey.

He tested his hypothesis by walking around three New York City department stores: Saks, Macy's, and S.Klein which are distinguished according to the social class groups they cater to. Saks caters to the upper social class and is therefore, the most prestigious. Macy's caters to the middle class and is not as prestigious as Saks and S. Klein caters to the lower social class and is therefore, the least prestigious. He asked the shop assistants working in these stores, the location of the departments he knew to be located on the *fourthfloor* thus eliciting the use of 'r' that he required. He assumed that by investigating the speech of the shop assistants, he would get a good idea of the social stratification of the customers since it would be mirrored in a similar

stratification of these shop assistants. When they answered, Labov would seek a careful repetition of 'fourth floor' by pretending not to have heard the initial response.

The incidence of r- pronunciation was found to be maximum at Saks where it was used over *60%* of the time, at Macy's it was inserted 50% of the time and under **20%** at S. **Klein.** As he had anticipated, the results suggested that the pronunciation of **/r/** varies according to the social status of the speakers. The analysis resulted in a pattern called **class stratification.**

An interesting observation was that when he had sought a **careful** repetition of 'fourth floor', shop assistants **from** Macy's and S. Klein (the less prestigious stores) tended to improve their speech by bringing it closer to the prestigious variety - thus indicating their awareness of the prestige variants. Labov found that r- pronunciation was more likely at the ends of words (floor) than before consonants (fourth). He also noticed that it was a feature of younger people rather than of older people.

kabov claimed that **r-pronunciation is** highly valued and is associated with the upper middle class even though members of that class may not use it on all occasions. **A** further analysis of the department store data led Labov to conclude that it is the middle and low social class groups which tend to change their pronunciation in **careful** pronunciation because of their social aspirations to denote certain status and prestige.

Labov also introduced the variable of **style stratification** into his analysis. He recorded formal **and** informal speech, reading aloud **from** a text, and reading a series of minimal pairs like 'bit' and 'bid', to cover the range from least to most relaxed speech.

The final analysis showed that the amount of r-use increases by the formality of style, in addition to the social class we have discussed. The most interesting finding was that the lower middle class speakers outperformed the upper middle class speakers when they read word lists and minimal pairs. Labov called this hypercorrection. Since r-pronunciation is considered prestigious, they monitor their speech carefully in order to sound like the upper middle class but land up **outperforming** them. There is also a tendency amongst New York speakers to insert an **/r/** in words where it actually doesn't occur. For example, 'idea' is pronounced as [aydiyar] or 'India' as [indiar]. This happens as speakers **try** to overcompensate or overcorrect their pronunciation by believing that it is incorrect to drop **/r/** because it denotes prestige.

Labov's major contribution to sociolinguistics has been that variation is now understood to be systematic and is believed to crucially depend on interaction with the social setting in terms of class stratification, age, gender, etc. He has, undoubtedly, been able to establish that there is nothing pathological associated with' language variation.

However, there has been some criticism of certain aspects of the Labovian model. For instance, his procedure for identifying the linguistic and social variables is suspect. In the Labovian framework, the investigator begins with a predetermined list of linguistic variables and their variants, as well as a range of hypotheses about the social variables, such as social class, sex, region, age, etc. to which the linguistic variables are related. It is believed that there is a danger of prejudging the issue by beginning with a **wrong** hypotheses about the linguistic and social variables.

Another problem with Labov-type studies is that it assumes that societies are rigidly stratified, with different socio-economic layers stacked up on top of one another. However, this is an **oversimplification** of the way societies function. In practice, people do not live in such clear-cut layers and do interact with other social class members as well.

1.5.2 Norwich Study: Peter Trudgill

He carried out research in Norwich, England, much the same way as Labov did in New York City. He investigated phonological variables and demonstrated how the use of variant forms is related to social class and the level of formality.

Trudgill was himself a native of Norwich and therefore, had a good deal of 'inside' knowledge about the social structure of Norwich and its accent which encouraged his speakers to speak more naturally with him.

He identified five social classes: Middle middle class, Lower middle class, upper working class, middle working class, and lower working class. He examined the following phonological variables: /ng/ in singing; /t/ in butter; and /h/ in hammer. He found that as he moved up the social scale to middle middle class, the variant forms used were /n/; /t/; and /h/ whereas as one moved down the social scale, the variants used were /n/; /?/; and /h/ was dropped. The variants used by the middle middle class were the standard variants and were therefore, more prestigious and the variant forms used by the middle or low working class were the non-standard variants.

Trudgill concluded that linguistic usage of standard forms correlates positively to the upper level of social class while the usage of non-standard forms correlates positively with the lower level social class.

1.6 SOCIAL NETWORK AND LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

In the preceding sections, the two studies that have been discussed, tried to account for patterns of variability in language and looked for evidence of ongoing linguistic change. Lesley Milroy's focus of research study, was however, not on change and variability but on stability and focussing.

In the early 1980's, Milroy carried out an extensive analysis of the language of the low status working class speakers of Belfast, North Ireland. She emphasized the importance of social networks, which tend to cluster people in groups and enables them to regularly interact with one other. Such networks, she suggested, originate in kinship ties and help individuals to develop close and continuing relationships with each other. Once strong network of relationships is established, they determine access to employment and other resources and also guard against external threats.

It is in these contexts that a stable set of linguistic norms emerges and maintains itself in a community. These norms, Milroy calls, **vernacular norms.** These are seen as a symbol of solidarity and reciprocity and are in contrast to publicly legitimized linguistic norms, which denote status.

The vernacular norms are different from the status legitimate linguistic norms in that they are not codified in the form of dictionaries, grammar books etc. And yet, these norms are able to maintain solidarity and group identity. There is a sense of belonging to a locality and this is mostly true for working class networks in urban contexts. These tightly knit networks help to maintain non-standard language norms and thereby, minority languages. An example of such a strong network of relationships is the Black English vernacular, which has managed to maintain itself in a consistent form over a long period of time.

Milroy was able to identify these networks, as she became a part of them by joining them as a 'friend of a friend'. This ensured that she was accepted, and that people

would talk relatively nonnally in front of her. This was a better strategy than the one Labov used, in which it was sometimes difficult to observe people talking 'normally She studied each of her informants on a six-point scale, which characterized that person's participation in networks. The informants were scored on density and multiplexity. **'Density'** was used to refer ,o the same social contacts which many of her informants shared. **'Multiplexity'** was used to refer to the links that her informants had with each other as a kin, neighbour, workmate etc.

She examined an individual's network strength on factors like 'membership in a high density'or 'working with atleast two people of the same area'. She then correlated these factors with certain linguistic variables. Such an analysis illustrated the strength or weakness of the ties within a community. It also showed the degree of attachment of individuals to the group, having either strong or weak ties. The stronger the social network, the greater was the use of certain linguistic features of the vernacular.

She concluded that a close-knit network has the capacity to function as mechanism for maintaining vernaculars and exhibiting solidarity and group identity.

Network studies can be of immense importance as they provide a more realistic picture of the way people interact in real life.

1.7 ACTS OF IDENTITY

You are already familiar with the concepts of conformity and individualism. Society is actually structured in a multi-dimensional space and each individual, besides constructing a mental map of this space, also decides where to locate himself/herself in it. Language is a particularly important part of this space as one chooses to conform to certain linguistic and cultural norms and yet be different.

Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) in their studies tested a hypothesis of how each utterance of speech can be seen as an act of identity in this multi-dimensional space. They stated that each individual creates his/her own linguistic system either to resemble those of the group or groups he/she wishes from time to time to be identified with, or distinguish or distance himself/herself away from it. The success in doing so depends on:

1. the ability to identify a group or groups.
2. the extent of their access to them and ability to analyze their linguistic systems.
3. The strength of their motivation to either join or differentiate themselves from the group(s).
4. Their ability to change their behaviour.

Individuals can be classified more or less independently on the dimensions of age, region, class, sex; each of these being relevant to language. Language becomes an important dimension since it can signal their choice of being part of a certain group or groups and be seen as an act of identity to that group or group(s).

1.8 CONCLUSION

Our consideration of the various issues and theories must have revealed to you the complexity of the relationship between language and society. It is certainly not easy to make generalizations about the nature of their relationship. Yet, as we have said

before, to study language without considering either its uses or users in society, can give us only an abstract and incomplete picture.

The complexity of language becomes more pronounced when we consider the **issue** of variation. Variation is an inherent property of language. The reasons for language variation may be many but sociolinguists try to characterize this variation according to various regional, social or personal factors.

The dialectologists tried to investigate regional variation at the levels of phonology and grammar but could not develop a comprehensive theory. The studies of Labov and **Trudgill** deal with social variation and show how language varies according to social class and levels of formality..Labov has suggested that language variation leads to a process of language change, as the low social class people become conscious of publicly legitimized prestigious variety.

Milroy's work on social networking, on the other hand, focuses on the maintenance of vernacular norms and on forces that resist change and maintain group solidarity. **Le** Page tries to show how each speech act of an individual is an act of identity in a multi-dimensional space.

A common **thread,** that seems to tie all the issues and theories, which we have discussed in this unit, is the crucial role that language plays in society.

1.9 KEY WORDS

sociolinguistics	a branch of linguistics which studies all aspects of the relationship between language and society.
conformity	a force leading to similarities between individuals as they adhere to common linguistic, cultural and social norms.
individualism	a force leading to differences between individuals as they try to filter their experiences through their own mental map that they have constructed of society to which they belong and are affected by in different ways.
language variation	difference in linguistic **behaviour** because of differences in regions, social class, education, sex **etc.**
competence	a term used to refer to a person's 'knowledge of **her/his** language', the system of rules **s/he** has mastered so that **s/he** is able to produce and **understand** an indefinite number of sentences, and is able to recognize grammatical mistakes and ambiguities. This is an idealized conception of language.
performance	this is seen in opposition to the notion of competence and refers to the specific utterances of speech.
dialectology	the systematic study of all forms of dialect, especially regional dialect, Dialectology studies commenced in the **late** 19^{th} C.
isoglosses	lines marked on maps to indicate **geographical** boundaries.
sociology of language	study of society in relation to language which involves issues such as language planning.

ethnography of communication	the study of language in relation to the entire range of extralinguistic variables which identify the social basis of communication, the emphasis being on the description of linguistic interaction.
communicative competence	the ability to produce and understand sentences which are appropriate to the context in which they occur.
hypercorrection	a careful attempt to monitor one's speech by imitating the prestigious variety but outperforming the original.
social network	a network of relationships which originates in kinship ties.
vernacular norms	a stable set of linguistic norms which maintains itself in a community.
density	refers to the social contacts which many people in a community share.
multiplexity	refers to the links people in a community have with each other, for example, as a neighbour, friend, workmate, etc.
acts of identity	considering speech to be acts of identity conforming to a social group(s) norms.

110 QUESTIONS

1. We have said that languages contain a great deal of variety. What evidence can you cite from personal experience of the differences in the linguistic choices you make? Consider, for example, how many different ways you can ask someone to let you see your favourite programme on television. Would you speak the same way to your younger sibling as you would to your father, mother, grandfather, grandmother or any other elder member of your family at home? If not, what are the reasons for this variation?

2. Undertake a survey to examine the relationship between language and society. Make a list of the kinship system of your mothertongue, and consider the various relationships covered by those terms. Does it have many terms for defining relationships? Are there any significant differences regarding kinship system between your mothertongue and English? What could be the reasons for these differences?

We all know that India is a multilingual country and it is not unusual to find people who know more than two languages. Collect data from any five people to find out the languages they use in the following situations:

At home with:

Grandfather

Grandmother

Father

Mother

Elder **brother/sister**

Younger brother/sister

In the neighbourhood with:

People elder people to them

People younger to them

People of the same age

People of the same sex

Friends of the same sex

Friends of the opposite sex

In the school/college/office with (whichever applicable):

Teachers

Classmates

Friends of the same sex

Friends of the opposite sex

Boss

Colleagues

4. What generalizations can you **draw** on the basis of the data you have collected? Do you think that maintaining multiple identities is a way of life in India?

5. Do you agree with the view that 'A language teacher should gainfully use the multilingual character of her classroom'? Do you think that the children will begin to enjoy learning if their linguistic background is not ignored? Give reasons to support your answer.

6. Do you have a friend who speaks the same language as yours? Are there any differences in the way you ***two*** pronounce certain words or use different words for the same thing? Make a list of such words. What do you attribute these differences to: personal, regional or social factors? Elaborate.

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UNIT 2 SPEECH COMMUNITY AND MULTILINGUALISM

Structure

2.0 Objectives
2.1 Introduction
2.2 On defining a speech community
2.3 Some problems relating to the definitions
2.4 **Bi/multilingualism** and the notion of speech community
2.5 The individual and the speech community
2.6 Letussumup
2.7 Key **words**
2.8 Questions
2.9 Bibliography

2.0 OBJECTIVES

In the previous unit we made you aware of the importance of social factors in any linguistic analysis. In this unit we will explain the concept of speech **community** in a multilingual framework. You will, therefore,

- understand the notion 'speech community'
- appreciate some of the problems that the notion entails
- be able to problematize the notion and look at its different dimensions
- understand the possible ways of characterizing speech communities
- get an insight into the ways in which individuals locate and identify themselves in relation to their speech community.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Social scientists tend to categorize human groups into convenient discrete units such as 'community'. Community implies certain shared characteristics **observable** to the outsider, as well as, tacitly acceptable to the members of the community. **Human** groups or communities may, thus, share cultural traits such as customs, manners, food-habits, dress, belief-systems, etc., and the members of such groups may perceive themselves as belonging to one community as distinct **from** another community. Traditionally, religion and occupation have provided two universally acceptable bases of demarcation of communities. Thus, one may talk in terms of the Christian or the **Hindu community,** an agrarian or **shepherd** community or the business community, etc. For the linguist, another major bases for the demarcation of communities is language (or speech). Hence the notion 'of "speech community", or a human group whose members share among other things a language. In the following sections we shall examine this notion in some detail and discuss some of the problems that this apparently simple notion leads us into.

2.2 ON DEFINING A SPEECH COMMUNITY

The terms 'speech community is probably derived from The German **Sprachgemeinschaft** and refers to a group of individuals who share, ***inter alia,***

certain linguistic features and who might be said to speak the same language (or dialect or variety). While theoretical linguists like to use this term to denote a completely homogeneous group in which all members speak the same language (with perhaps the same degree of competence and fluency) with hardly any individual differences, for the sociolinguist the term denotes a 'real' group of people living in a 'real' world. Such a 'real' group would obviously consist of individuals who are different from one another in several respects such as age, sex, education, social class, etc. All these impinge on language and, hence, these individuals would differ from one another in the matter of language too. And yet, despite all these differences, all these individuals like to identify themselves with this or that speech community. Such a group or community may be simply defined as "all the people who use a given language (or dialect)" according to John Lyons (1970). Earlier Charles Hockett (1958) had provided another definition of speech community. According to him "each language defines a speech community: the whole set of people who communicate with each other, either directly or indirectly, via the common language". The two definitions given above focus on **common language** and **communication.**

A further dimension is added by another definition according to which a speech community is "any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs (language/dialect/variety) and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language use" (Gurnperz, 1968). From the foregoing it is clear that the three major components for any definition of a speech community are:

a) a common language
b) frequent interaction and communication
c) distinguishable from other **communities/groups.**

Thus, any group of people who perceive themselves as belonging to one community on the basis of some shared values, customs, manners, etc. may qualify to be called a speech community if they also share a common language and see themselves as being different from speakers of other languages. Hence, one may talk about the English speech community, the Spanish speech community, the Hindi speech community, the Telugu community, the Bangla speech community and so on.

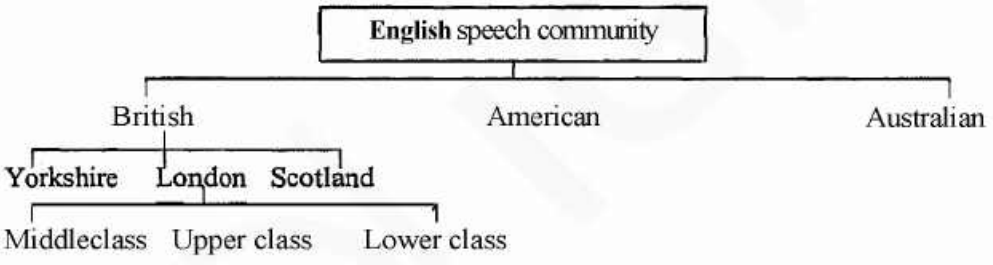
2.3 SOME PROBLEMS RELATING TO THE DEFINITIONS

While the notion of speech community may appear to be rather simple from the definitions given in 2.2 above, on closer examination we find that these, and several other definitions, give rise to several problems and leave many questions unanswered. In the following pages we shall discuss some of these problems and questions.

While the statement "all the people who use the same language" may appear very attractive, it can only account for very small, localized communities, like some small tribal groups living in relative isolation from the rest of the world, and using a language that does not have any variation on the basis of geographical area (dialect) or social class (sociolect). The members of this small, isolated, relatively uniform and geographically restricted community may truly be said to use **the same language.** However, when we come to some of the major languages of the world we find not only that the speakers of these languages are infinitely larger in number but also that they are distributed in different geographical areas (even different nations) and also there is great deal of social differentation among them. To illustrate this point, perhaps the best example one can cite is that of the English speech community. Now English is spoken and used by billions of people world-wide. Even if one were

to say that only native speakers of English are to be counted as members of the English speech community, we are still left with a huge population spread over America, Canada, The United Kindom, Australia and New Zealand which taken collectively constitutes the English speech community. Within this extremely large speech community one can immediately see divisions which are universally acknowledged and often asserted by the members of this community. Thus we often hear people talk about the American or Canadian or British or Australian English speech communities.

Furthermore, within the British English speech dommunity, we often hear of distinctions made between Yorkshire English, Scottish English, Irish English, Welsh English and so on, plus, of course, Standard British English. And since all large societies tend to have rather well-defined social class distinctions, within American or British or Australian English speech community, one would naturally find varieties of English associated with the upper class, the middle and the lower classes as shown in Labov's study. Thus, the fact that major languages (spoken by large populations) tend to have regional and social varieties and that speakers of these varieties are often identified, recognised and evaluated in terms of the variety they speak, makes the notion of a **common language** or **the same language** rather problematic. One can cite more examples (such as the example of the French or the Hindi speech community) to further support this position. French spoken in Canada or in France is quite different from each other. Similarly, Awadhi is different from Bhojpuri and Khari Bholi. So, while to the outside world or the social scientist there is one English speech community, to the insiders i.e. to the members of the community, there are perceptible differences between different sub-groups, and the speakers often invoke and highlight these differences in order to assert their distinct identity. A look at the following diagram should make this more clear.



The second component of the definition of speech community viz. frequent interaction and communication, also poses a problem. Again, given small and localized speech communities where everyone knows everyone else and there is almost daily interaction among the members, it may be reasonable to set up the criterion of frequent interaction and mutual communication; in the case of large speech communities spread over different parts of the globe, it may be rather unrealistic to talk of frequent or regular interaction. If we take the example of the Hindi speech community, we shall immediately see the point being made here. Now Hindi is spoken by several million people who live in different parts of India extending from Kashmir to Kanyakumari. Members of the Hindi speech community, though concentrated in the so-called Hindi-belt, are to be found settled in non-Hindi areas such as Manipur, Kerala, Tamilnadu, etc. Moreover, Hindi speakers have also gone and settled in other parts of the world such as the West Indies, Mauritius, the U.S.A., the U.K. etc. While one can reasonably assume a fair degree of interaction among people living in the same or adjoining areas, it is hard to imagine any degree of frequency of interaction among groups settled in non-Hindi areas of India or in countries other than India. Not only is there an absence of frequency of interaction, let us say, between Hindi speakers settled in Trivandrum and other Hindi speakers in the Hindi-belt or between Hindi speakers settled in Trinidad and Tobago and those Hindi speakers who have settled in Mauritius or Fiji, these groups who migrate and settle in non-Hindi areas or in countries abroad also develop forms of Hindi which

may be substantially different from the forms of Hindi used in the Hindi heartland (Utter Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Delhi, etc.) It may thus be said that whereas within sub-groups (e.g. Trinidadian Hindi speakers, Mauritian Hindi Speakers, Kerala-based Hindi speakers) i.e. at the level of small groups, there may be frequent interaction, communication and shared linguistic features, at the level of the huge Hindi-speaking population, clubbed together under the label "Hindi Speech Community" not only in one likely to encounter a great deal of linguistic diversity and variation, but also an absence s f regular or frequent interaction. That being so, how is it and why is it that members of such large groups (vastly dispersed and with no regular communication links or interaction) identify with a particular language and assert their 'belongingness' to a speech community. We shall try to tackle these questions in another section of this Unit. But before we do that, there is a third component of the definition of a speech community and the problems related thereto.

The third component of the definition of speech community refers to 'distinctiveness' or the perception that one is a member of a speech community and that his/her speech community has a language distinct from that of another speech community. Within the English speech community itself, as we have seen earlier, there are major divisions such as American English, British English and Australian English. Thus, while to the world at large, the three together with Canadian and New Zealand English speech communities, constitute a single speech community, the members of these communities may perceive themselves as belonging to distinct separate speech communities - the American speech community, the British speech community and the Australian or Canadian speech community. So much so that their scholars and linguists write separate grammars of their Englishes, and the speakers pride themselves on being different from the others. Do they then constitute three or four different speech communities or a single, large speech community - the English speech community.

Again, there may be cases where one community considers itself as being distinct from another in respect of language e.g. the Konkani speakers consider themselves as a separate speech community while the Marathi speech community, by and large, considers Konkani only to be a dialect of Marathi and hence, denies Konkani speakers the status of a separate, distinct speech community. More all less similar was the case with Bangla and Assamese till a few decades ago - the Bangla speech community considered Assamese a dialect of Bangla, while the Assamese speakers thought of themselves as possessing a distinct language and hence constituting a separate speech community. Such examples can be multiplied; the point is that on close examination even the criterion of distirlctiveness turns out to be rather problematic.

2.4 BI/MULTILINGUALISM AND THE NOTION OF SPEECH COMMUNITY

From the definitions of speech community that we have given so far it is clear that there is a general belief that each language defines and delimits a speech community. So the general equation that seems to be operative is "one language - one community". We have already seen some of the problems inherent in the notion of one language or a common language. Now we turn to another question: how do we determine and name a speech community that operates with and uses two or more languages? Canada is on excellent example. There most of the people learn, use and function with French and English. Do we then call a community of such people the French speech community or the English speech community (that is if we share the belief that each language defines and delimits a speech community)? Within the Indian context, widespread societal bilingualism (a state of things in which bilingualism is a feature of whole groups or societies rather than a matter of

individual accomplishment) is the norm rather than an exception. Large sections of populations in India operate with two or more languagesldialects. Thus, it is not uncommon to meet people in Delhi who know Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi and English, or people in Tamilnadu who know Tamil, Kannada, Hindi and English and so on. While, obviously, such people cannot be said to constitute the English speech community, what name/label would be most appropriate for such groups or communities. One way of taking care of such a situation could be to variously name the Delhi population as Hindi speech community (which also knows and uses Punjabi, Urdu and English), Punjabi speech community (which also knows and uses Hindi, Urdu and English), and Urdu speech community (which also knows and uses Hindi, Punjabi and English). But this indeed would be a very tedious way of dealing with the notion of speech community. One would, in defence of such a labelling, invoke the notion of 'mother tongue' of 'native language' and say that it is the mother tongue or native language which defines a speech community. But even the notion of mother tongue is problematic since we know of many people within our Indian context who do not know how to speak, read or write their so-called mother tongue, while they are quite proficient in several other Indian languages including English (and, indeed, even proficient in some foreign languages). It is not rare to meet a Malayalee who does not know Malayalam, a Gujarati who doesn't know Gujarati and a Punjabi who doesn't know Punjabi. How can they then qualify to be members of the Malayalee, Gujarati or Punjabi speech communities. It might be more sensible then, to think in terms of bilingual or multilingual speech communities where two or more languages serve the communicative and interactional needs sf large groups of people. For doing this, one would of course, have to suspend one's belief in the 'one-language: one community' equation. In the light of the foregoing it may be reasonable to suggest that speech communities may or may not be co-terminus with one or the other language. Each group of people, each social aggregate has to be viewed as operating not just with one language but with a verbal repertoire, and it is this notion of **verbal repertoire** that we shall discuss in the next section.

2.4.1 Verbal Repertoire

Even while considering so-called monolingual societies or communities, it has been widely acknowledged, that language manifests itself in different forms (varieties). These different forms may be detennined and generated by such factors as age, education, sex, socio-economic class, regional location, etc. And it is the sum total of all these that, somehow, constitutes a given language. Thus, even while talking about monolingual communities, it is a good idea to think of different varieties, dialects, styles and registers (use based) varieties. A monolingual speech community, then, would have a verbal repertoire comprising different dialects, styles, registers, etc. with each of its members sharing in a varying degree the total verbal repertoire. It may be clarified here that it is only a rare individual (if at all) who would control the entire verbal repertoire of his/her community. By the same logic, bilmultilingual communities may be seen to have different languages with their styles, registers, etc. in their verbal repertoire, with each member having differential control over small or large parts of that repertoire. Recalling the earlier example we gave of a community of speakers using Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi and English, the verbal repertoire of such a community may be represented as follows

Verbal Repertoire

Hindi	Urdu	Punjabi	English

(with their styles, registers, etc.)

Now each member of such a community would have differential control over parts of this verbal repertoire. Some would know all the four languages (and their different styles etc.), while some others may know three or two or even one part of the community's verbal repertoire. However, since most members would know two or more parts, such a community can be best characterised as a multilingual or bilingual

community. Such communities, possessing multilingual verbal repertoires, also evolve tacit rules governing use of different languages in different spheres of life (known as domains) such as home, market place, office, school, place of worship, etc. just as monolingual communities evolve tacit rules governing use of different styles/registers/varieties in different domains.

2.5 THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE SPEECH COMMUNITY

In **2.3.2** we had raised a question: 'Given diversity and variation in a language and also given the fact that there may be absence of frequent interaction, how is it that all members of a social group claim to belong to a single speech community?' In this section we shall try to answer this and related issues which pertain to the individuals who constitute a speech community and the ways in which they see themselves in relation to the language or languages of their community. Going back to our example of the English speech community, let us take the case of a taxi-driver in London hailing from Yorkshire. Now this person would start out as a speaker of the Yorkshire dialect of British English and would learn and start using Cockney English (the variety used by working and lower classes in London). If he is ambitious and has the opportunity, he may learn standard British English too. Now, this gentleman will have membership of three communities - Yorkshire speech community, Cockney speech community and Standard British English speech community, and depending on where he is, with whom he is interacting and what kind of identity he wishes to project, he may invoke anyone of these memberships and also emphasize his distinctiveness from the American or the Australian speech communities. While operating with these multiple identities and maintaining his distinctiveness, he would also claim membership of the overall speech community known to the world as "the English speech community".

In a bi/multilingual setting, one can understand this kind of individual strategy by looking at the example of a tribal child. Let us say a Santhali speaker learn Santhali as his/her first language; then s/he learns a variety of Hindi (some regional dialect of Hindi) and through formal education s/he goes on to learn standard Hindi and English. Now for this tribal individual there are identity options. S/he can claim membership of the Santhali speech community or (when s/he has negative perceptions of his/her tribal language) s/he project himself/herself as a member of the Hindi speech community or of the speech community represented by the dialect of Hindi used in his/her region or the neighbouring region. Now imagine a day when this person goes to America and settles down there, using only English most or all of the time. This would add another dimension to his/her language identity. After twenty years or so in America s/he completely gives up his/her Santhali identity, partly uses his/her Hindi identity and operates most of the time with his/her English identity. It is a different matter that to the members of the English speech community s/he will always be an outsider - an Indian, a Hindi speaker or a tribal Santhali speaker. What is important to remember is that individuals are constantly redefining their linguistic identities and relocating themselves in relation to this or that speech community, as well as, in relation to different sub-groups within a large, diversified and widely dispersed speech community. Individuals within speech communities, thus, tend to have local, regional (supralocal) and national identities and locate themselves accordingly in relation to smaller or larger speech groups or speech communities.

2.6 LET US SUM UP

In this unit, we introduced you to the notion of a speech community and the problems involved in defining it. We also tried to give you an insight into the ways in which

individual locate and identify themselves in relation to their speech community. These notions were explained in terms of the multilingual reality of India.

2.7 KEY WORDS

speech community — a group of people who form a community, e.g. a village, a region, a nation, and who have at least one speech variety in common.

In bilingual and multilingual communities; people would usually have more than one speech variety in common.

dialect — a variety of a language, spoken in one part of a country (regional dialect), or by people belonging to a particular social class (social dialect), which is different in some words, grammar and/or pronunciation from other forms of the same langauge.

bilingualism — The use of at least two languages either by an individual or by a group of speakers, such as the inhabitants of a particular region or a nation.

multilingualism — the use of three or more languages by an individual or by a group of speakers such as the inhabitants of a particular region or a nation.

verbal repertoire — the speech varieties which an individual knows

monolingual — a person who knows and uses only one language

register — a speech variety used by a particular group of people, usually sharing the same occupation (eg. doctors, lawyers) or the same interests (stamp collectors, cricket fans)

2.8 QUESTIONS

1. From the definitions of 'speech community' and the discussions thereon, try to construct your own definition of speech community.

2. Think about your own past and present life and try to describe your own speech community.

3. Having read the entire unit, discuss how 'real' and 'useful' is the notion of 'speech community'.

4. If you can't count upto 20 in a language, or don't know any nursery rhymes or small narratives in that language, or cannot hold simple day-to-day conversation on ordinary topics in that language, can you still claim membership of that language as your mother tongue and a membership of that speech community? Discuss.

5. Do you agree with the 'one language: one community' theory? What other factors, apart from language, may determine one's identification with a speech community?

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UNIT 3 BILINGUALISM

Structure

3.0 Objectives
3.1 Introduction
3.2 On defining bilingualism
3.3 Becoming a bilingual
3.4 Being a bilingual
3.5 Functioning as a bilingual
  3.5.1. Purposes
  3.5.2. Domains
3.6 Consequences of bilingualism
3.7 Let us sum up
3.8 Key words
3.9 Questions
3.10 Bibliography

3.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit will help you to

- Understand the meaning and nature of bilingualism
- Get an insight into the different dimensions of bilingualism
- Appreciate the difference between different kinds/degrees of bilingualism
- Develop a proper perspective on bilingualism and its implications for language use, language education and language dynamics
- Understand how bilingualism may lead to new power and prestige equations as far as languages are concerned.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

India has a long tradition of grassroots bilingualism. As an Indian, perhaps all of you take this fact for granted. However, if you understand what is bilingualism, it will help you understand your society better, as well as understand the complexity of the Indian sociolinguistic scenario.

Bilingualism refers to the proficiency in the use of more than one language. Till some time back it was believed that monolingualism, or the use of one language, was the norm in most parts (especially developed counties) of the world and that bilingualism was some kind of aberrant or unusual phenomenon. In recent times however, it has been gradually realised that all of us (including the so-called monolinguals) are essentially bilinguals, because even where one is supposedly using only one language (say English) one does control and employ several styles, registers and dialects of the same language. Strictly speaking, however, the term bilingualism is used to refer to situations where two or more distinct languages are involved. As a matter of fact, some people prefer to use the term bilingualism to refer to a 'two language' situation, and use the term multilingualism for situations where more than two language are involved. The term 'bilingualism' has now, however, come to be accepted as the standard cover term for referring to all situations involving two or more languages. Another thing that one must remember is that the term bilingualism is used to refer to the learning of, proficiency in and use of two or more languages. It

is an individual accomplishment, and may characterise whole groups or communities or societies. Thus one can talk of bilingual individuals or communities that are characterised by wide-spread bilingualism. On the other hand, one uses the term multilingualism to refer to the presence of several languages in a country. For instance, when we say that India is a multilingual country, what we imply is that there are several languages spoken and used in India. In the sections that follow we shall concentrate on Bilingualism and look at its various dimensions.

3.2 ON DEFINING BILINGUALISM

Any number of definitions of Bilingualism are available in the literature. We give below some of the more well-known definitions which focus on different dimensions of this phenomenon. Consider the following:

(a) Bilingualism refers to "a native-like control of two languages" (Leonard Bloomfield)

(b) Bilingualism is "the practice of using two languages simultaneously" (Uriel Weinreich)

(c) Bilingualism refers to "the simultaneous learning of two languages...."(Arsenian)

(d) Bilingualism is "the ability to use two language in the environment of the native language." (Diebold)

The above definitions, it will be noticed, focus on different dimensions of bilingualism and look at it from distinct perspectives. Thus while (c) focuses on the learning of two languages, (a) refers to the control over or proficiency in two languages and emphasizes equal, native-like control. Definition (b) clearly refers to the use of two languages, and (d) adds another dimension by referring to the ability to use two languages in the environment of the native language or L1. We shall discuss each of these separately in the sections that follow, using the terms L1 for the native language or first language and L2 for the second language or other language. Suffice it to say for the moment, that L2, for the purpose of our discussion, may be a closely related language (e.g. Oriya for a native speaker of Bangla) or a not so closely related language (e.g. Bangla for a native speaker of Tamil); a foreign language (e.g. English for speakers of Indian languages, or a classical language (e.g. Latin or Greek or Sanskrit). As a matter of fact, towards the end of this unit we purpose to present a typological sketch of bilingualism, giving an integrated view of this complex phenomenon:

3.3. BECOMING A BILINGUAL

As pointed out in the introduction, one of the important dimensions in any discussion of bilingualism, is the process of learning a second language (L2). In order to understand this process of learning, one has to find answers to the following questions:

a) When and in what circumstances does the learning of L2 take place?
b) What are the motivations for learning the L2?
c) How is the learning of L2 encouraged and supported by the society of which the learner is a member?

Answer to question (a) would obviously relate to the age at which L2 is learnt and the kind of formal or informal training one received in L2. One may begin learning L2 at a very young age, almost as early as one learns L1; or one may learn it at a later period in one's life. For instance if we take the case of English, we will see that many Indian children begin learning it almost along with their L1, while others learn it

either from the age of five,or ten, or even later, depending on the kind of school they go to or due to other circumstances. Some learn English both informally and formally, while others get to learn it only formally in the classroom. This has obvious implications for the amount of exposure one has in L2, as well as, for the degree of proficiency one attains in it. Those who learn **E2** at an early age and continue to grow up in circumstances that provide adequate exposure and reinforcement to **L2,** naturally attain greater fluency and proficiency in it. They also find it much easier to learn **L2** than those whose process of learning begins at some later stage or in different circumstances. To make the point clear, let us think of the difference between a child belonging to an educated, affluent family in a metropolitan city, who is sent to an English medium public school, and a child belonging to a lower middle-class family in a small town or village, who goes to a Government school and starts learning English only in class V, and that too only as a subject. Moreover, it is also important to remember that the early years of one's life are the best time for learning an L2.

Question (b) relates to 'why' one learns an **L2.** While learning of L1 is a necessary and inevitable consequence of growing up and socialization in a community, **L2** may be learnt for a variety of reasons. One may learn a classical language as an **L2** for purposes of acquainting oneself with one's heritage. In such cases (for instance, if one were to learn Sanskrit as an **L2** in the Indian context) the purpose is limited to the consultation of Sanskrit texts and the chances are that one would hardly ever use it in day-do-day interactions with other members of the community. It would remain a means of accessing knowledge and not become a means of communication and interaction. Moreover, the number of people in the community learning Sanskrit as an **L2** will always be rather limited, as also the exposure to spoken Sanskrit would be rare. Compare this with one who learns a modern Indian language as **L2 (e.g.** a native speaker of Tamil learning Hindi as an **L2).** Here the motivation would be entirely different. The Tamil-speaker who learns Hindi, would do so not only for familiarising him/herself with Hindi literature and cultural patterns associated with Hindi, but s/he would also have the added motivation of interacting with Hindi speakers and using Hindi in a wide variety of domains and situations in his/her life - situations pertaining to socialization, employment, mass-media, trade, etc. Thus Hindi as an **E2** would become a vibrant part of his/her verbal repertoire and would be put to active use, both in the spoken and written forms. Yet again, one might learn German or French or Spanish (in the Indian context). In such a case the motivation would be to acquaint oneself with French or German or Spanish culture and literature, possibly to visit countries where these languages are spoken, for purposes of tourism or for higher studies, etc. A speaker of Hindi, learning French as L2 would find very few other users of French in India and would need French only on very limited occasions, and for very limited purposes. Exposure to French too would be limited, and continued, stable proficiency in French would be extremely difficult to maintain. Compare this with the case of a person who learns English as **L2** in the Indian context. His/her reasons for learning English as **L2** in the Indian context would be many — education (especially higher education), employment, upward social mobility, ability to interact and socialise at the inter-regional level, prestige, etc. For him/her English as **L2** would be quite different, in terms of the functions it perfonns, from Sanskrit or another modem Indian language or French/German.

Thus, one may learn an **E2** for a host of different reasons and with varying degrees of motivation. The purposes for which **L2** is learnt may range from very limited to very extensive. All this, as we shall see, has serious implications for the amount of learning and the quality of learning of **L2** that takes place.

Question (c) above, again, has important bearing on the kind of L2 learning that takes place. A glance at the Indian scene would immediately reveal how a society supports, encourages or demands the learning of **L2** differentially. Taking the example of a person for whom Hindi is **L1,** one can immediately see how the Indian

social context extends differential pressure and provides differential support for the learning of Sanskrit, Gujarati, Tamil, French and English to such a person.

3.4 BEING A BILINGUAL

Depending on the quality and kind of learning, support and feedback with regard to L2, different people attain different levels of proficiency in L2. A report of UNESCO (1978) states that "Bilingualism is not an absolute state, not an 'all-or-none' phenomenon, but a relative state". It may range from a smattering of L2, through "a minimal but sufficiently functional competence in the operational control of a second language (L2) to what Bloomfield calls 'a native-like competence'.

In the literature on bilingualism we find a three-fold distinction with regard to proficiency in L2. Thus we find references to compound bilinguals, coordinate bilinguals and subordinate bilinguals. Researches by linguists, psycholinguists and others suggest that the subordinate bilingual is a person who has been taught the L2 through the Grammar-Translation method and is at the beginner's stage in his/her control over the L2. S/he operates with a simple mechanism whereby items of L1 are translated into equivalent items of L2. For instance for a subordinate Hindi-English bilingual, the L1 (Hindi) word /ghoRa/ which refers to a 'horse' has the translation equivalent /hors/in L2 (English). The other term used for a bilingual who operates in this manner is 'incipient bilingual'. Children, when they begin to learn a second language, often operate in this manner, just as some adults do when they learn the L2 for restricted purposes. They operate by simply asking the question: "what is /ghoRa/ in English?" and come up with the word 'horse'. Such incipient bilinguals (subordinate bilinguals) obviously have minimal proficiency in the L2 and proceed on the basis of item to item translation.

The next stage in bilingual proficiency is reached when one becomes a coordinate bilingual. The coordinate bilingual, it is suggested, operated with two separate semantic bases - one for L1 and other for L2. Thus, rather than using the simple procedure of item-to-item translation, the coordinate bilingual seems to operate with two separate items (referents) and produces the matching linguistic signs in the two languages concerned. Thus, for the Hind-English coordinate bilingual, there seem to be two referents, one of which calls up the Hindi linguistic item 'ghoRa' and the other calls up the English item 'horse' without having to take recourse to the mechanism of translation. Most intermediate level learners of an L2 can be called coordinate bilinguals who have begun to 'think' in L2' and have thus risen beyond the stage where they have to search for item-wise translation equivalents in L2. They may be referred to as 'partial bilinguals' as opposed to the incipient bilinguals discussed in the previous paragraph.

The third kind of bilingual has been referred to as compound bilingual. This bilingual, it has been suggested, operates with a fused or single semantic base, a single set of referents (a single reality, as it were) and has complete control over the two linguistic codes: L1 and L2. Unlike the subordinate or the coordinate bilinguals, s h e can, at will, call up items of L1 or L2 without having to translate or without feeling that s/he is referring to two different objects or referents. Most advanced learners of L2 may be said to have become compound bilingual: those who have 'native-like competence in the two languages', and feel equally 'at home' in them. The other term often used to refer to such bilinguals in 'full bilinguals'.

The following table will clarify further the parallelism between the different sets of terms one comes across in the literature.

Stage I	State II	Stage III
Incipient	Partial	Full
Beginner	Partial	Advanced
Subordinate	Coordinate	Compound
Inadequate	Adequate	Ambilingual

3.5 FUNCTIONING AS A BILINGUAL

In the foregoing sections we have briefly discussed the processes involved in becoming and being a bilingual. In this section we shall discuss the uses to which L2 or the second language is put, i.e. functioning as a bilingual. In order to make the discussion more meaningful for you we will sub-categorise the notion of function into "purposes" and "domains". We shall see that the these two, when put together, give us a clear picture of how a bilingual functions, as well as, the functional load that the L2 has to bear.

3.5.1 Purposes

No one learns a language without a purpose. While the L1 (Mother tongue, it may be said) is acquired without any apparent purpose in mind, a second language is learnt for specific purposes. These purposes may range from restricted, rather limited use like interacting with neighbours, shopkeepers and like, or for seeking limited, though necessary information for getting about in a new place, or acquiring knowledge about other times, other people and other cultures, to a more extensive habitual use, along with one's L1, for almost all spheres and activities of life. It is useful to think of purposes for learning L2 in terms of the following:

a. for interacting informally and casually with speakers of L2;
b. for interacting with speakers of L2 in more formal settings;
c. for purposes of academic advancement — reading books, consulting journals, listening to lectures, talks, etc;
d. for getting access to both print and electronic media;
e. for professionals/administrative purposes — for instance, for successfully functioning as a lawyer, a doctor, an engineer, a salesman, a government officer, an ambassador, etc;
f. for interacting with peer group in casual, informal or intimate encounters, as well as, in more formal contexts;

It will be obvious from the foregoing that the L2 may serve either restricted or extended purposes relating to social, academic, professional and general purposes. In the context of becoming a bilingual in English (i.e. in addition to having one of the Indian languages as one's L1) all or some of the above purposes may motivate a person to learn it. As a matter of fact, we would see that for the average Indian bilingual who knows English as L2, it serves social, academic, professional and general purposes in varying degrees. By comparison, some of the other foreign languages (and even some of the other major Indian Languages) serve rather limited purposes.

3.5.2 Domains

It is customary to divide human activity into several domains. All these domains when put together, account for most of the things that an average human being does or is expected to do. For the purpose of our discussions we shall operate with the following domains:

1. Family
2. Neighbourhood
3. School
4. Trade and commerce
5. Government and administration
6. Work-place
7. Religion

While discussing the functions of L2 it is worthwhile to try and find out which domain of life of the bilingual it enters, and which it does not enter. Again, within each domain it is possible to think of interactional situations in which L1 and L2 or one of them may be used. Thus, within the domain 'School', and again taking the example of Hindi-English bilinguals, one may ask whether English as L2 is used as medium of instruction or only taught as a subject; whether it is needed only for interaction within the classroom or outside the classroom too; whether English is used in peer-group interaction in the playing fields and school compound, and so on. Within the family domain, again one might ask whether English, along with **L1,** is used between child and parents, between child and grandparents, among siblings (brother and sisters), with visitors and callers, and so on. Answers to these questions, coupled with the specification of purposes which L2 serves, gives us a fairly complete picture of the way a bilingual functions and the **role(s)** that L2 plays in **his/her** life.

3.6 CONSEQUENCES OF BILNGUALISM

What happens when individuals or groups become bilingual? It would be useful to try and answer this question in terms of the bilingual individual, the social group of which **s/he** is a member and the languages (L1 and L2) that are involved. The question, can, thus, be reformulated as follows:

a. What consequences does bilingualism have for the individual?
b, What consequences does bilingualism have for the social **group** which is characterised by widespread bilingualism?
c. What consequences does bilingualism have for the two language concerned?
In the following section we shall deal with these questions briefly,

Consequences for the Individual

Time was when there was a fairly widespread belief that bilingualism was some kind of an aberration rather than a **normal** human condition. It was also believed that bilingualism was a hindrance to learning development. All this has changed now. It has been accepted that bilingualism is not an obstacle or a burden; it is, rather, an enabling and enriching phenomenon. Knowing two or more languages rather than only one, not only enriches a person's linguistic repertoire, it also makes the bilingual person more versatile in communicative and **interactional** terms, more open-minded, and more receptive to varied cultural conventions and customs and usages. Bilingualism also increases a person's reach in terms of information and knowledge. All these have a far more important consequence, in that, by increasing a person's receptivity, access and awareness, bilingualism also tends to make h i d e r more

tolerant and open-minded. As far as the question of bilingualism being a burden is concerned, studies have shown that bilingualism actually facilitates rather than hinders learning processes.

Consequences for **the** Bilingual Group

In cases when entire groups or communities are **characterised** by wide-spread bilingualism, **i.e.** the presence and use of two languages, there is a general tendency to allocate, different functional roles to the two languages. Thus the group may, by tacit consent, use one language for a set of functions and the other language for a different set of functions. Moreover, if the functions are seen to be in some kind of a hierarchical order , one language may come to be regarded as 'high' (H) and the other language (used for day-to-day, ordinary activities) may come to be regarded as 'Low' (L). When such a situation obtains, the two languages are said to be in a **'diglossic'** relationship. In several cases, however, **L1** and L2 operate in complementary roles and are (as in the case of Hindi-English) given equal value and respect. In cases of societal bilingualism, institutional support is given to the two languages and things are so structured and arranged as to provide equal opportunities for growth, spread and development of both **L1** and L2. Such social groups are said to be in stable societal bilingualism.

Consequences for **L1 and L2**

When two languages **(L1** and L2) are learnt, spoken and used by individuals and whole groups or **communities,** they come to form a kind of co-existent system in the linguistic repertoire of the bilinguals. The co-existence and habitual use of the two languages may have the following consequences.

a. **L1** and L2, due to mutual influence, may undergo structural changes at the level of sound, syntax, vocabulary and semantics

b. The two languages may, in due course of time and due to various **socio-**historical reasons, came to be viewed and evaluated differentially. One language may for instance, come to be perceived as the language of education, opportunity, prestige or status, while the other may not be perceived to have these attributes. **(Consider,** for example, the use of English as opposed to some of the major Indian mguages).

c. Due to habitual use of **L1** and L2 in different domains and situations, the bilingual users of the two language may begin to switch **from L1** and L2 and vice-versa (known as code switching), or even to mix the two languages **(known** as 'code-mixing'). Such switching and mixing may come to gain wide currency as well as a kind of respectability and social acceptability and may, in fact, become a kind of new **code/language.**

d. Where institutional and educational support is given to **L1** and L2 in a large measure, it may come to be viewed as an imposition or an unwanted burden. It may also happen that the L2 is viewed as language of power, prestige and opportunity, leading to negative attitudes towards **L1.** In extreme cases such a situation may lead to partial or total loss of **L1. Consider,** for example, the case of L1 speakers of minor Indian **languages** learning a major Indian language as L2, or even some urban **L1** speakers of major Indian languages learning English.

These then are the different aspects of bilingualism that should be kept in mind. It is a complex and fascinating phenomenon and, as indicated earlier in the **unit,** we present below, a typological diagram of bilingualism.

Function Status	Supplementary Vehicular language	Complementary Official/Link/ Language	Auxilliary Library Language	Equative Alternate Language
Type of Bilingualism	Isolated Bilingualism	Societal Bilingualism	Cultural Bilingualism	Equative Bilingualism
Type of Bilinguals	Unstable Bilinguals	Stable Bilinguals	Passive Bilinguals	Ambilinguals
L2 learning situation	Foreign language	Second language	Classical language	Bilingual Education

3.7 LET US SUM UP

In this unit we have discussed three important dimensions of bilingualism viz. becoming a bilingual, being a bilingual and functioning as a bilingual.

We have also discussed, albeit briefly, some of the major consequences of bilingualism in terms of the bilingual individual and the society which sustains bilingualism. We have also indicated how different languages in a bilingual context may lead to new power/status equations and this may have attitudinal implications.

At the end we have provided a typological chart of different kinds of bilingualism.

3.8 KEY WORDS

bilingualism — use of at least two language (may be more) either by an individual or by a group of speakers

compound bilinguals — speakers whose languages are intermingled in the mind

coordinate bilinguals — speakers whose language are kept as separate systems

code switching — alternately using two languages

code mixing — mixing words of one language to the other

domain — an area of human activity in which one particular language is regularly used, although sometimes more than one language may be used.

incipient bilingual — speakers who have minimal control of L2

monolingual — a person who knows and uses one language

subordinate bilingual — speakers who translate an item in L1 into an equivalent item of L2

3.9 QUESTIONS

1. Given an Indian language (your L1) and English, describe briefly the process whereby you became a bilingual.

2. What relationship, you think, exists **between** L2 learning situations and the degree of proficiency one attains in **L2?**

3. Describe succinctly your own use of English in different domains and situations.

4. How do you think English (as an L2) is perceived and valued in the pan-Indian bilingual context? What is your own perception?

5. Do you 'switc ' or 'mix' languages? Give some examples. What is your attitude towards switching and mixing?

6. Discuss how bilingualism has been an enriching and enabling factor in your own life.

7. What relationship exists between Indian languages and English?

8. Do you think the extensive use of an L2 like English in the Indian context leads to negative attitudes towards Indian languages and diminishes **use/functionality** of these languages?

h

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UNIT 4 LANGUAGE STANDARDIZATION

Structure

4.0 Objectives
4.1 Introduction
4.2 The need for standardization
4.3 The process of standardization
4.4 The consequences of standardization
4.5 A socio-ethical critique of standardization
4.6 Let us sum up
4.7 Key words
4.8 Questions
4.9 Bibliography

4.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit is designed to help you

understand the notions 'standard' and 'varieties'.
get an insight into the processes that are involved in standardization
appreciate the need for standardization
understand the use of standardized language.
problematize the notion 'standard' and see what consequences it has for other non-standard forms.
develop a critical perspective on standardization and power.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Have you ever paused to think what is meant by such sentences as: 'This book is written in English' or 'The news bulletin in English follows' or 'My son goes to an English medium school' or 'English is the National Language of England, Australia and the U.S.A.' Such sentences have one very obvious implication that there is a language which is somehow recognised as the English language and that this English language, despite regional, social and historical variation, somehow has **one** standard form which is used in the book, the news-bulletin, the **school** and the countries referred to in the above sentences. What is not so obvious, and therefore worthy of further investigation, is how from among so many diverse forms of any given language - say English or Hindi or Chinese - one form comes to be commonly understood to be the standard form. We all know that English is a global language and over the last two centuries or so, it has spread to different parts of the world. Thus, to-day we have British English, American English, Australian English, African English, Indian English, etc. each of which subsumes regional, local, social and individual variation, and each of which also boasts of having some standard fonn of its own. And yet, over and above all these, we can and do have the notion of a **standard English.** In the following sections of this unit we shall try to understand how such standard languages come into being **(i.e.** the processes involved), why such standards arise (the motivation behind the processes of standardization) and what purposes such standards serve.

4.2 THE NEED FOR STANDARDIZATION

There has been a sort of consensus among scholars (including sociologists, linguists and educationists) that in view of the seemingly endless variation and diversity in languages, some form of standardization or fixing of norms is essential. It has been argued (though it is still a moot point, and we shall return to it later in this unit) that heterogeneity and diversity is in some ways a hindrance to progress, development and governance. No doubt there are different forms of language — regional dialects, social dialects, and so on — but some form has to be 'fixed' as standard even for purposes of studying and analyzing the structure of the language (the 'grammarians' enterprise) and for using that as reference-point for talking about other dialects or varieties. The creation of (or rather the construction of) a standard form or standard language, it is further argued, brings about unity and uniformity which are essential conditions for development, progress and government.

It has been further argued that people (who are speakers of various dialects) need one standard language both in the spoken and written modes, in order to feel that they are one people. This feeling of oneness, despite dialect differences, makes them feel proud of this single standard language and they begin to share the prestige associated with the standard language. In practical terms, if there is one standard language, it becomes easy for the rulers (leaders) to govern them, legislate for them, lay down the laws of the land, create educational materials, provide literacy and create more and more channels of communication for them. All these arguments, in their essence, mean that some standard form of a language is needed for literacy, education, law and order, governance, inter-regional communication, for creation of discourses in various disciplines and for providing people with an 'identity' of which they can feel proud.

On the face of it, these arguments appear to be totally unexceptionable, but as we go on we shall see that several serious socio-political and psychological implications are contained in these arguments, as well as in the age-old human quest for the creation and support and perpetuation of standard languages. In brief, then, we need a standard language for

a) creation of scientific descriptions of language,
b) creation of text books, primers, reference materials,
c) creation of discourse in various disciplines,
d) dissemination of knowledge,
e) education and literary,
f) a sense of unity and identity,
g) proper and smooth functioning of law and order,
h) easy governance
i) inter-regional and/or international communication.
j) modernity, stability and development

4.3 THE PROCESS OF STANDARDIZATION

Standardization refers to the process by which a language gets codified in some way. Quite often certain events or items may also be associated with this process. In the case of the standization of English it is customary to mention such things as Wycliffe's translation of the Bible into English, Caxton's establishment of the printing press in England and Dr. Johnson's dictionary of English published in 1755, etc.

Apart from such events or items, linguists and sociolinguists generally agree that the coming into being of a standard language i.e. the process of standardization involves four stages. Einar Haugen (1966) has proposed the following four stages:

(i) Selection

First of all, one variety of a language has to be selected from amongst the several varieties that are used by speakers of a language. If we look at the process of selection in different ages and places, we shall find that the variety that gets selected is more often than not associated with **power.** The power may be economic, political, cultural or a combination of two or more of these. It is perhaps reasonable to expect that in any society, the 'elite' - political, economic or cultural - would see to it that the variety of language they use is chosen for standardization. The powerful elite are naturally eager to retain and perpetuate their power and influence and, language being one of the most powerful and versatile instrument of social control, they see to it their own variety gets selected for standardization. It would be an interesting project for those interested to find out how and why a particular variety of English got selected in England at a given point of time, and how and why a particular variety of Hindi got selected for similar purposes in post-independence India. As has been pointed out in another unit, "we need to remind ourselves again and again that the selection .....of a particular variety is not a socially natural and innocent process".

(ii) Codification

Once a particular variety has been selected, it needs to be codified i.e. the grammatical rules, the norms of pronunciation, the spellings and other writing conventions have to be 'fixed'. This stage of the process of standardization involves the writing of standard grammars, manuals of pronunciations, thesauruses, reference books, dictionaries. Codification and the fixing of norms of usage imply that the forms enshrined in the grammars and other reference books come to be seen as the only 'correct', 'pure', 'elegant' or 'sophisticated' forms. It is the codified standard forms that are then used for creation of text books, reference manuals, learned discourse, legal texts, legislative documents and all other important materials. The media (both the print and electronic media) uses this codified variety, the education system propagates it and the administration and judiciary sustain it. This codified, frozen set of linguistic norms thus comes to be accepted as **'The Correct'** standard and becomes the reference point used for treating all other varieties as deviations from the norm, as sub-standard or non-standard. We shall return to this particular point later in this unit.

(ii) Elaboration of Function

The standard language, once codified, is not expected to be used in informal contexts i.e. in domains such as the family, the neighbourhood or the playfield or in semi-formal interactions between peers, buyer-sellers or across-the-counter situations. However, in fomal, public domains this standard language is a must. The most powerful and pervasive use of the standard language is in education. Text-books, learned materials, lectures, seminars, examinations — all these require the use of standard language. Higher education, technical education and scientific education, especially, call for the use of standard language. Government agencies, law and judiciary, bureaucracy, diplomacy, trade and commerce — all these again call for the use of the standard language. As the standard language comes to be used in more and more domains it needs to be expanded in terms of special, technical vocabularies, which often requires the creation of new words and new terminologies. Several standard languages meet this requirement by drawing upon classical sources — English, for instance, draws much of its technical/special lexicon from Latin and Greek, while in the case of Hindi, the source is Sanskrit. This often has the effect of making the standard language beyond the reach of the common man, giving it an

artificial air and, generally, causing unease and even resentment among the average learners and common masses. Elaboration of function also requires the creation of new styles of discourse (e.g. business English, diplomatic English, etc.) and more formal forms and formats of writing.

iv) Acceptance

The variety that gets codified and standardized has to gain wide acceptance within the community. The speakers, though belonging to diverse dialect-groups, must come to recognise, accept and cherish it as their 'language'. Sometimes it may so happen that the standardized language is also recognized as the 'national' or 'official' language, thus giving its users a distinct national-linguistic identity. English, in its standardized forms, is the national, official and dominant language in England, the U.S.A. and Australia; Hindi is the 'National official' language in India, while languages like Bangla, Gujarati, Marathi, Kannada and Manipuri are recognized, used and accepted as official languages in their respective states. Acceptance of standardized languages, thus, gives people distinct regional or national identities and this, in turn, further strengthens the prestige and power of the standard languages.

4.4 THE CONSEQUENCES OF STANDARDIZATION

Standardization brings into being **Standard Language.** Once a standard language has come into being it serves several useful purposes. For the community (social group, region or nation state) it serves as a symbol of distinct, separate identity, as a token of independence. Australians and Americans are rather proud of their nationhood and of their distinct identity, and as a mark of that national pride they proclaim their standard English as Australian or American. Another positive outcome of standardization is that the community or nation-state gets a formalized, uniform linguistic entity (i.e. a standard language) that can open channels of communication between linguistically (dialectally) diverse groups and communities. This is important for people and messages to travel across space, overcoming dialectal differences, and get wider acceptability. In another sense too, the presence of a standard language helps people forget (or at least push below the surface) their dialect differences and forge associations with one another in the name of the standard language.

In practical terms, standardization leads to smoother governance, wider communicability of messages and speedier and easier dissemination of knowledge. Education, especially formal education benefits a great deal from the availability of a standard language which provides a 'pedagogial ideal' to the teachers and pupils. The standard language **is what schools teach** and it is also the medium **through which schools teach.** For the learners, being educated becomes synonymous with gaining mastery over th standard language, not only for being able to speak and write in it, but also for accessing new knowledges and technologies throught it.

Standardization, furthermore, enable writers, scientists, thinkers to create newer repositories of ideas, thoughts and discoveries in the forms of books, journals and other forms of scholarly discourse. Electronic and print media (especially the latter) use the standard form extensively for news, views and opinions. In fact, one of the chief uses of standard language is the creation of a vast body of written documents, so much so that often standard language becomes synonymous with written language.

On the negative side, standardization acts as a **powerful instrument for the domination of the elite over the masses.** The standard language, because of its all pervasive use in administration, bureaucracy, law, the professions and, most importantly, in education helps the elite consolidate and perpetuate their power. Though theoretically the standard language and the 'fruits' of standardization are available to all, in actual practice, the vast majority remains outside the sphere of the standard

language. Thus, while the presence of a standard language creates a kind of social mandate that in order to move up in terms of socio-economic success, education and professional advancement, one needs the standard language, the institutional and organisational structures are such that a large majority of people are unable to learn and use the standard language. That being so, this vast majority is then perceived as being constituted of speakers of non-standard, sub-standard or mere dialects. In turn they lose out socio-economically and politically and are doomed to stay in positions of powerlessness. Another consequence of standardization is that speakers of dialects or non-standard varieties develop strong negative perceptions of their own varieties and even their own speech communities. These negative perceptions, over a period of time, get fixed in the psyche of individuals and communities and become obstacles in their full and meaningful participation in national/regional enterprises.

4.5 A CRITIQUE OF STANDARDIZATION

Languages have always been standardized and all societies have created standard languages in order to consolidate and sustain their power and to exercise social control. Language standardization and codification has always been seen as a positive human intervention aimed at the 'larger good' of the people. The arguments built up in favour of codification and creation of standards have highlighted the need to bring the masses (representing different dialects/varieties) into the mainstream by malting them literate and educating them in and through the standard language. While, on the face of it, it is a laudable aim, the fact remains that in most societies the access to standard language and the knowledge and technologies associated with it have been largely the preserve of the select few — the elite and their cohoi-ts. The masses have, as a result, been made to aspire and struggle and reach out to learn the standard language, but a vast majority has always been denied this access due to social, political and other factors. Those who fail to access the standard language are thus twice-cursed - they do not learn the standard language, and they also begin to attach stigma to their own 'nonstandard forms' or dialects. They desert their mother tongues in their pursuit of the standard languages, which constantly eludes them. These vast numbers of people are then characterized as 'uneducated', 'illiterate', 'uncouth', 'uncultured' (the terms we often come across are jaahil, ganwaar, anparh, etc.) because there is a very convenient myth constructed and floated by the 'elite' that knowledge and wisdom and modernity and progress can come only through the standard language. It is never stated that dialects or non-standard varieties can and do represent knowledges, belief systems, great deal of creativity and insights into life and nature. As a consequence, non-standard varieties get relegated to unimportant margins of life, discourse and scholarly speculation. Consider the following two statements that have been taken from as rather reputable text books on sociolinguistics:

1. "It is probably fair to say that the only kind of variety which would count as 'proper language' is a standard language"
2. "Standard English (e.g. the kind of English used in this book) is not a dialect at all, but a language, whereas the varieties that are not used in formal writing are dialects"

(R.A. Hudson)

One can immediately see from these statements the kind of logic that is inexorably built up by those who create the standard language and who stand to benefit from it the most: standard language is the only 'proper language' and this 'proper language' is the only form that is suitable for 'foimal' (read this to mean learned or scholarly or serious) writing. This being the logic, it is small wonder that all the knowledge and learning and culture are appropriated by those who control and use the standard

language, and it is then at their sole discretion that all these 'riches' have to be apportioned among the masses of common people **(i.e.** speakers of **dialects).**

Standardization and the concomitant codification of language, it is argued, are aimed at minimizing vagueness and ambiguity. The implication is damning for non-standard varieties - they are full of vagueness and **ambiguities** and uncertain articulations, and it needs the intervention of well-meaning linguists and language planners to remove, or at least reduce this vagueness and **ambiguity** through a process of standardization. In order to counter this kind of argument, it has been suggested that standard languages (the result of codification) may be good for formal discourse in spoken and written forms, but they lack **charm** and **earthiness** and a **certain cadence** which the so-called dialects and non-standard varieties **have**

4.6 LET US SUM UP

In this unit, we have tried to make you understand the notion of 'standard' and **'dialects'/'varieties'.** We have also given you an insight into the processes of standardization, the need for a standard language and the consequences for the non-standard varieties,

4.7 KEYWORDS

standardization	the process of making a variety of language conform to a **standard variety.** This may take place in connection with the writing system or spelling or even pronunciation, and is usually implemented by government authority.
standard language	That particular variety **of a** language, usually both spoken and written, which is accepted as the norm for educated usage. The standard variety is taught in schools and used for almost all publication; educated speakers speak it in all circumstances, except possibly in speaking to close relatives.
standard English	That particular variety of English which is considered to be appropriate in formal contexts, and which is considered by many educated speakers to be appropriate in all contexts. Acquiring fluency in standard English is a large part of what we consider education. Within limits pronunciation is not considered part of standard English, and standard English may be spoken with almost any kind of regional accent. However, in the written form, standard English is generally the same all over the world.
selection	The first step in standardization: choosing which dialect should be the standard.
codification	'Fixing' **conventions/rules (i.e.** grammatical rules, norms of pronunciation, spelling and other writing convention) in the process of 'creating' a standard language.

elaboration of function	Taking a language which has previously been used only for certain purposes and introducing changes (such as new vocabulary) that will allow it to be used for a much wider range of purposes, such as writing laws, and writing on other academic subjects. This is usually a central part of language planning.
acceptance	The final stage in language planning in which the newly constructed language comes to be generally used by the community.

4.8 QUESTIONS

1. Which language do you identify with and why? Do you think it is a standard language or a dialect?

2. Do you agree with the two statements quoted in 4.5 above? Give your arguments.

3. 'Standard language' - the notion suggests that there can only be one standard language and the rest are dialects. Would you agree with this or would you rather maintain that it is possible to have several standards? Consider the case of English and Hindi and answer.

4. Reflect on the different ways in which dialects and their users can suffer as a result of the hegemony and poker of a standard language.

5. Can there ever be only one 'correct' way of saying/writing things? Take sides and discuss.

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MAEN-112
Aspects of Language

Block

7

LANGUAGE IN USE-2

Block Introduction	
UNIT 1 **Multilingual Use of Codes**	441
UNIT 2 **Language Planning**	454
UNIT 3 **Conversational Analysis**	478
UNIT 4 **Learner Factors in Second Languages Acquisition-1**	486
UNIT 5 **Learner Factors in Second Languages Acquisition-2**	495

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MAEN-112/438

BLOCK INTRODUCTION

This is the second block on **Language in Use**. In the previous block our aim was to introduce you to two important areas of Language in Use: 1) Sociolinguistics 2) Bilingualism. The latter is especially important as it gives us an insight into the sociolinguistic reality of India.

In this block we continue our attempt to describe the multilingual scenario in India by **a unit on code mixing** in a multilingual set up. We also have a unit on **language** Planning. This area is important for all societies, but more so for complex multilingual societies where, languages of majorities and minorities have to be given satisfactory interplay. Then we go on to another area of language use: **Pragmatics. Here we** have discussed one aspect, i.e. **conversational analysis.** Finally, we enter **the sociology** of education with two units on **learner characteristics**. We hope you **enjoy reading** the units.

good
badluck .

UNIT 1 MULTILINGUAL USE OF CODES

Structure

1.0 Objectives
1.1 Introduction
1.2 Levels of Multilingualism
  1.2.1 Level of the State
  1.2.2 Level of the Community
  1.2.3 Level of the Individual
1.3 Mixing Codes
  1.3.1 Borrowing
  1.3.2 Mixing
  1.3.3 The Base Language
  1.3.4 The Clause
  1.3.5 The Verb
  1.3.6 The Grammatical Category
  1.3.7 The Word Class
  1.3.8 The Constraints
  1.3.9 Indeterminate
  1.3.10 Absence of Social Function
  1.3.11 Social Meanings
1.4 Switching Codes
  1.4.1 Switching and Mixing
  1.4.2 An Illustration
  1.4.3 Analysis
1.5 Let Us Sum Up
1.6 Key Words
1.7 Reading List
1.8 Exercises

1.0 OBJECTIVES

The objectives of this unit are to enable you to:

- Understand your experience of living with many languages;
- Distinguish between the use of many languages at different levels;
- Know under what conditions and for what purposes the languages are mixed;
- Realise why people switch between languages and how it is natural language use;
- Appreciate many languages and resources for creative communication.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous units, you have learnt about many languages and about variations within a language that correlate with the region of birth, the social group and status of the user of the language, and with the content and communicative intent of the use of language. This diversity and variation is similar to the lexicon of a language having more than one word-called synonyms – to express one meaning. These synonyms are not redundant and superfluous, they are purposeful and enriching. They are like a rich person having more than one dress to wear on different occasions: like relaxing at home, working in office, playing in the field, performing a ritual, etc. They give you a choice. To have choices is to have empowerment.

You have also learnt in the precious units that languages, besides their personal names for identification, like English, Hindi, Tamil, Santali, Angami etc, have category names for functional and status description like mother tongue, tribal language, regional language, minority language, link language, scheduled language, official language, etc. These descriptive labels of languages are an expression of their position in a multilingual setting. Multilingualism is not just a matter of number of languages but is more importantly a matter of functional and political relation between languages. These labels are therefore important to understand the structure of multilingualism. Almost all countries in the world are multilingual but they differ in structuring their languages. They also differ with regard to flexibility in the structure and the opportunities made available to languages to change their place in the structure.

Unlike the names of languages, the labels are not naturally exclusive. A tribal language may be an official language as Mizo is the official language of Mizoram; a scheduled language like Sindhi is a minority language. The labels also change—depending on change in socio-political conditions. Konkani, which was a minority language, became a majority language when the new state of Goa was created and it also became its official language and a scheduled language listed in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. Such dynamics makes the multilingual structure changeable.

The labels of language also indicate different functions of the languages. **Mother tongue** has the function of socially identifying a group of speakers. It consequently excludes other groups. **Minority language** signals certain safeguards for cultural preservations and educational opportunities provided in the Constitution. **Official language** is the instrument for transaction with and within the government. **Link language** is for communication between speakers of different languages, and so on.

The above kinds of structural and functional relation between languages in multilingualism have a bearing on the choice of language for a given purpose – as was mentioned earlier. The choice is not totally free. For example the role of Hindi as the official language of Himachal Pradesh, for example, precludes the use of a Pahadi language for official work by its speaker. Therefore if a certain role is assigned to a language, it prevents another language from being assigned the same role.

The freedom of choice of language at the individual level, on the other hand, is determined by the knowledge of language of people one interacts with. When two individuals speak different languages, communication is possible only when a third language known to both is chosen or when one of the two languages that are known to both is chosen. When a Tamil speaker and a Hindi speaker meet, the chosen language for communication may be English or Hindi. The social attitude towards the languages also plays a role in the choice. Often the social relations between the interlocutors have a bearing: the language of the person with higher social status in an asymmetrical social relation is the normal choice. Nevertheless, it is also common to use both language —— witching between them or mixing them. This unit is about this choice of more than one language, normally two, by bilingual speakers in given social situations. Before going into the factors that motivate this choice and the factors that impose constraints on the choice made, we shall see some general features of the nature of multilingualism as found in the state, in the community, and in the individuals.

1.2 LEVEES OF MULTILINGUALISM

1.2.1 Level of the State.

India is a multilingual country. There are speakers of about 200 languages that historically belong to four different language families viz.; Indo European (54)

Dravidian (20) Austro-Asiatic (20) and Sino-Tibetan (84). The rest (22) are unclassified and foreign languages. These languages are abstractions of over 11600 mother tongues reported by the people in the 1961 census. They vary in size from less than 25 who are speakers of Andarnanese to more than 25 crores, who are speakers of Hindi, according to 1981 census. This language diversity is not merely demographic; it is also functional. There are 22 official languages used as medium of administration, 43 educational languages used as medium of instruction at the primary level, nearly 100 languages used as medium of information dissemination through print and so on.

Though the country is divided into states on linguistic lines, each state is multilingual. Linguistic minorities vary from 4% in Kerala to almost 40% in Manipur. The states are functionally multilingual to different degrees.

Use of language at the level of the state is determined by the language policy formulated by the ruling class. The policy generally pertains to language us in public domains and it is prescriptive in areas like public administration, education, and law. It is supportive in areas like cultural production, entertainment and the market. The policy does not encompass language use in private domains like home, places of worship and community formations. The policy aims at having clear language boundaries and formal distinction between languages; minimising variation within a language through standardization; and distancing the official language from the grass root language in terms of grammatical structure and vocabulary.

The choice of a particular language or languages in public domains and of particular forms of those languages becomes dependent on the policy of the State.

1.2.2 Level of the Community

A community is a group of people who share by convention and consensus common interests, values, behavioural norms and a heritage, real or assumed. When the shared element is a language, it is a linguistic community. Besides sharing a language that is generally naturally transmitted across generations, a linguistic community also shares the norms of use of that language and the beliefs about that language. It is not necessary, however, that a community shares a language. There can be a multilingual community. The use of languages for different purposes is determined by the community by convention and consensus. The use pertains to private domains. It does not preclude the use of non-standard varieties. As a matter fact, they may be preferred to express the identity of the community in contrast to the State's prescription of the use of the standard variety in the public domains for its normalizing value.

A linguistic community that is monolingual may have a **diglossic language. A** diglossic language is one where there are two varieties: **high** and **low.** The high variety is formally learnt by instruction; it is used in "formal" social contexts like public speech, class room instruction and for identification of knowledge and another creations that are preserved and transmitted in the written mode. The low variety is informally leamt at home and is used for informal communication.

Thus the two high and low varieties of the same language have different functions and are used in different social contexts. Their use is conventionalized socially. When using a language, the choice of the appropriate variety has to follow the social convention.

1.2.3 Level of the Individual

In a multilingual community, speakers have more than one language. From a communication point of view, it is meaningful to talk of their **language repertoire** rather than of his or her mother tongue. They may have learnt **more than one**

language simultaneously from the beginning. Mother tongue, as a label of social identification is just one of the languages in their repertoire.

When speakers have a repertoire of languages, they have a choice in the use of language. Language is used for giving and getting information, for sharing emotions, for getting action done, for acquiring knowledge, etc. But these acts of communication are not the only use of language. Language is also used for acknowledging and establishing social relation. A communication act of the language is interwined with a social act.

There are fundamentally two socials relations—the relation of solidarity or intimacy between people and the relation of power or distance between people. The first is the relation of inclusion and the second is the relation of exclusion. The choice of language, as the choice of particular words, grammatical forms and syntactic structures, derives from the social relation that is acknowledged or to be established. When it is the acknowledgement of an existing social relation, there are socially accepted rules of language use. Language choice follows these rules. When it is establishment of a new social relation, the speaker chooses the languages use rule that serves the purpose. These rules themselves are socially conditioned.

The above description is a brief introduction to how languages acquire their functions at different levels. Language use is the choice of the appropriate language for a given function. It is not always the case that the choice between languages is mutually exclusive in a particular speech event. The choice may involve mixing of two languages or switching between two languages. This choice is also for carrying out intended functions as the choice of single languages is. The mixing and switching of languages does not indicate lack of linguistic competence on the part of the speaker. Nor is it indicative of laziness to maintain language boundaries. Boundary crossing is a communication strategy and it has a communicative function.

This unit is about crossing language boundaries in communication with a social intent. It is, in other words, about constructing and conveying social meanings making use of the resources of two languages.

1.3 MIXING CODES

1.3.1 Borrowing

Languages do not exit in isolation from each other. They interact with each other and the interaction has some consequences to the grammar and vocabulary of the languages concerned. They make use of each other's resources for their enrichment and effectiveness. The most common in this process is **borrowing** – the process of acquiring grammatical features and words from another language. The borrowed grammatical features and words become part of the borrowing language and get assimilated into its system. A manifestation of this is that even a monolingual speaker, who has no knowledge of the donor language, will use these grammatical features and words as if they are a part of his/her language. They are in other words transmitted from one generation to another long, after the borrowing and donor languages are not in contact.

1.3.2 Mixing

When the languages continue to be in contact and when the speakers are bilingual, borrowing may continue. There may also be mixing of the languages. The mixing of languages is called code mixing. The educated speakers in India, who are bilingual in English along with another Indian language, mix English with the Indian languages.

Let us call the language that is used for mixing the Supra language (some call it Source language) and the language that gets mixed the Base language. Any language in the repertoire of the speaker can be supra (SL) or Base Language (BL).

1.3.3 The Base Language

There is then a methodological question as to which is SL and which is BL The difficulty of this question can be seen in sentences like (1), which have words from English and Hindi more or less equally.

1. a. train aaj three hours late hai
   The train is delayed by three hours today.
   b. association president ek corrupt aadmi hai
   The Association President is a corrupt man.

The number of words therefore cannot help to identify the BL or SL of a mixed utterance. Not even the morphology helps. In 1 (a) the noun has the plural suffix of English and the verb is inflected like Hindi. The syntax helps. The verb occurs finally in a sentence in Hindi, the copula (be) verb occurs after the predicate. Because the verb is final in (1), these sentences may be said to have Hindi as their BL.

1.3.4 The Clause

This syntactic criterion however is clause based. If a sentence has more than one clause, the two clauses may have different syntactic structures. In 2 below the main clauses have the Hindi syntactic structure in that the verb is final and the compleinent and relative clauses have English syntactic structure in that the verb is in the middle.

2. a. yo log impression aisa dete hain that they are very busy.
   These people give the impression that they are very busy.
   b. hamaari class men kaii girls hain who have got good marks.
   There are many girls in my class who have got good marks,

(2) shows that when languages are mixed not every clause in a sentence has consistently the syntactic structure of one language.

The syntactic structure of the main clause in (2) is Hindi and this may be taken to decide that in that sentence BL is Hindi and SL is English. In (3), the syntactic structure of the main clause is English and therefore its BL must be taken as English.

3. a. Then she said kii aissa kiyaa tum logon ne
   Then she said that you have done this.
   b. We can't generalize kii love marriage as such is bad
   We can't generalize that love marriage as such is bad.

In the complement clause of 3 (a), the verb is not final. Hindi allows rearranging the word order. This makes it possible for the final verb to be moved to the front. This ordering does not change the status of the syntactic structure of the complement clause from that of Hindi. That is, at the clause level, the complement clause remains to be Hindi and SL, which is mixed on to English, which is used for the main clause.

1.3.5 The Verb

It makes it necessary to say that, in addition to the syntactic structure of the clause, the language of the predicate helps to decide on BL. The BL of a mixed sentence is the language of its main clause. To be more precise, it the language of the inflection of the verb. When an English verb is mixed in a Hindi sentence, the inflection is not with English suffixes but with Hindi suffixes , that are added to the dummy verb kar 'do' (or its equivalent in other Indian languages) or to the auxiliary (vector) verb.

4. a. mein try kartaa hun
   I am trying
   b. usne kisko love kiyaa?
   Whom did he love?
   c. muja drop kijiye
   Please drop me.

The above examples of code mixing show that it is not only words, but also phrases and clauses that are mixed. Among the words, it is not only content words that have referential meaning, but also functional words that have grammatical meaning that occur independently like **but, to** of English, **to** 'conditional' **aur** 'and' of Hindi are also mixed. The condition is that the mixed form must be a free form.

1.3.6 The Grammatical Category

A word from SL may be modified to fit the morphological form of BL. Not all English adverbs have the suffix-ly. But the adverb in Tamil, with a few exceptions, has the suffix-aa. When an English adverb without the adverbial suffix is mixed on to Tamil, it takes the suffix-aa, just like the adverbs with –ly.

5. a. avan quick-aa vandaan
   he -adv. came
   He came quickly
   b. avan fast-aa vandaan
   he -adv came
   He came fast.

There is less pressure to maintain the morphological structure of BL in the mixed sentence.

Normally, the grammatical category status of the mixed word in SL will be maintained in BL. That is, a-noun will be a noun, an adjective will be an adjective and so on. The phrasal verbs of English, however, may be mixed by reducing its phrasal structure and using the preposition as a verb in place of the whole phrasal verb.

6. a. light on-karoo
   Turn on the light
   b. ball out-kiyaa
   (etc.) kicked out the ball

1.3.7 The Word Class

Though all word classes are mixed, they are not mixed with the same frequency. With all languages, nouns are most frequently mixed of the four word classes. The frequency of other three word classes seems to differ depending on the typological structure of BL and the genetic relation of BL to SL. The order given for mixing English on to Spanish is noun, adjective, adverb, verb and functional words. In the' mixing of English on to Indian Languages, verb (with a dummy verb for inflection) is not the last in the order of frequency.

In each word class, each member is not equally mixed. Mixing of some members are marked. Some members are not permitted to be mixed. It is difficult to formulate rules to cover the words that are excluded from mixing. There are, however, some sub-categories of a class of words like pronouns (personal, anaphoric and interrogative) that are not mixed from English in Indian Languages.'

1.3.8 The Constraints

Mixing is not totally free linguistic behaviour. There are some constraints on mixing that are evidenced by the fact that some mixed sentences are ungrammatical. They

are not produced; if they are produced they are performance errors of speech. Mixing in this sense is a rule governed linguistic behaviour. It also exhibits rules of linguistic competence. Mixing cannot generate a sentence that violates any principle of the Universal Grammar. It cannot generate at the clause level a clause that violates any grammatical rule of the language it represents.

In addition to these general constraints there are some language specific constraints. Linguists have tried to generalize on the basis of such specific constraints the rules for general constraints on mixing. But they have not succeeded. The issue remains open.

1.3.9 Indeterminacy

Though a mixed language has general grammatical properties like any unmixed natural language, a characteristic feature of it is indeterminacy. What is mixed and how much is mixed in expressing a prepositional meaning? Speakers vary among themselves and a speakers may vary from one time to another. In unmixed languages also, availability of synonyms at lexical and structural levels introduces some indeterminacy in expressing a propositional meaning. Predictability of a particular expression given a constant meaning is not strong in isolation. But the choice of expression is conditioned to a large extent by textual **cohesion** with regard to point of view, topic continuity or change, old-new information, style, etc. For a given prepositional meaning, for example, the choice of active or passive sentence may be predicted from one or more features of coherence of a text.

1.3.10 Absence of Social Function

In language mixing indeterminacy of predictability of choice of an expression by the speaker at the lexical, phrasal and causal levels is quantitatively large. Predictability enhances when the social meanings intended by the speakers are known. These are, however, difficult to know, as they are interpretive rather than descriptive. These social-non-proportional-meanings are sometimes called the functions of code mixing or motivations for code mixing.

The mixed code could be a code in addition to the unmixed codes that is made use of by the stable bilinguals of these unmixed codes. The mixed code itself may be chosen to express the identity of being an educated bilingual or to maintain the double identity of belonging to the Indian language speech community and to the English speaking speech community. Apart from the expression of this social identity or identities, the choice of the mixed code does not convey social meanings.

When mixing is chosen as a communication tool rather than a strategy for conveying social meanings, forms that are familiar as formulaic or set expressions are used from the BL or SL. The building blocks of a language are not words alone but also fixed combination of words. Words and combination of words from more than one language, make a mixed language: They may also come in handy when the speaker is at a loss for expression in one language or when one language lacks expressions of brevity and directness for intended propositional meanings. When a language lacks common words or when the words are too formal or pedantic for an ordinary conversation, words from another language may be mixed. Using English words when discussing science in our Indian language is an example of this.

1.3.11 Social Meanings

The discussion above points out that not all mixed expressions convey social meanings. Conveying social meanings is one aspect of mixed codes, The social meanings have basically two functions mentioned earlier viz. expressing intimacy and expressing distance. The mixing of Hindi in a mainly English text in advertisements of products targeting the youth, in gossip columns in film magazines,

terms of endearment in teenage conversations are marked examples of intimacy. The mixing of English in an Indian Language to avoid socially or regionally marlced forms that will reveal the social or regional identity of the spealcer in mixed gatherings is to distance the spealcer from his or her background. Mixing with English here plays the role of the standard dialect, as English is socially and regionally neutral. When conveying an unpleasant message lilce death, the intimate impact of the message is softened by the choice of English words. Again if we mix English there is social and psychological distancing from the content when talking of taboo topics like sex or other sensitive topics. The use of English words in this mixing becomes like a euphemism; the use of the word 'comnlunity' for 'jati' is an example of this. Such distancing makes the conversation relatively more formal and less intimate.

The above brief description of the uses that code mixing is put to by speakers points out that the mixed code has its communicative functions lilce any ordinaiy language. The mixed language is a grammatical and functional systems of communication. It is an additional resource built out of the resources of independent languages. It is a process used by the bilingual speaker anew in every speech event.

1.4 SWITCHING CODES

1.4.1 Switching and Mixing

Switching between languages in different from mixing languages. As someone speaking in the home dialect with the members of the family switches to the standard dialect when friends walk in or someone speaking in the high variety of a diglossic language from a public platform switches to the low variety to make a joke, one can switch to a different language in a conversation. Switching is motivated by a change in the speech event: like in its participants or its topic. The language switched to is regarded as appropriate to the change in the speech event, This is a clear case of code switching.

Code switching may take place even when the speech event in constant and which continues to have the same participants and the same topic. There is nevertheless some subtle change in the social relation between the participants. Social relation may be negotiated and modified in the duration of the speech event. Playing according to rules of the given social relation such as the relation between the teacher and the student or husband and wife is only one dimension of conversational strategy. To negotiate change in the given relation and to play siinultaneously with more than one relation in a conversation are other dimensions. The latter is possible because every person has more than one social identity – like the teacher and the friend of the father, for example and this multiple identity is manipulated in a conversation. Code-switching is a strategy to constitute a relational change or multiple relations in the course of a conversation.

In spite of the difference in the communicative purpose between code-mixing and code-switching it is difficult to distinguish them in linguistic terms. The stretches of the languages involved are generally longer in switching than in mixing. The other language stretches typically but not necessarily over a single sentence. **Nevertheless, it is appropriate to talk about mixing as concerning a unit of grammar and switching as concerning a unit of discourse.**

1.4.2 An Illustration

The following instance of code-switching between Tamil and English (taken from Canagorajah) illustrates the discourse functions of switching.

Context: Department of English in the university. The chair has just explained that the visitor is not qualified to register for a master's degree in English, and that he has to do a special qualifying test before he can register.

(16) Visitor: I am over fifty now. It is difficult to study for an exam at this stage. (pause). But it you as head recommend that I be allowed to register, based on my teaching experience, the university will allow me, no?

(17) Chair: Actually the administrative part for higher students comes under a different department. I don't have much influence there.

(18) Visitor: (pause). Non unmayor unkatai father-inrai friend. onRaai teach PaNNina naaisakal ippa cettu ponnaar, enn?

('I am actually a friend of your father. We did teach together. He is now deceased, isn't he?')

(19) Chair: Is that so? I didn't know that. (pause)

(20) Visitor: appea irundoal haTTaayam help-paNNi iruppea. unka Te mother-ayum nallaa teriyam ava enka ippa?

('If your father had been here, he would have surely helped me. I know your mother well too. Where is she now?')

(21) Chair: She is in Colombo (pause)

(22) Visitor: appa nothing can be done enna? (pause) I will see you later,

'So nothing can be done, is that so?.....'

(23) Chair: Vom. Vaainkoo. nallam canticcatu

'Yes. Come again. Nice meeting you'.

1.4.3 Analysis

The above conversation is opened in English by the visitor as that is appropriate for the formal setting and purpose. There is a strategic change from formal relation to personal, from the relation of power to solidarity. Thus change in relation is effected by switching to Tamil, the native language shared by the visitor and the chair. This change is signalled by the pause preceding the switch. The chair, however, does not want to concede the relational change; does not switch to Tamil and continues in English. His conflict about the choice of relation is indicated by the pauses after his sentences (19 and 21). At the end of the conversation after the purpose by continuing in English and maintaining the formal relation is accomplished, the chair switches to Tamil to Say goodbye (23). He thus acknowledges the intimate relation that the visitor tried to establish to get his thing done. Such negotiation of relationship and of getting things done is one of the functions of code-switching.

It may be noted that the visitor's switch to Tamil is a mixed code. The visitor, while negotiating a relationship of intimacy, maintains his identity of an educated person through the mixed code. It shows that switching can be to a mixed code, whose function is different from that of switching. This points out to the need for differentiating between code mixing and code switching.

1.5 LET US SUM UP

Languages are a resource to enrich one's functionality. The communicative and social functions of the language are distributed over many languages in the multilingual arrangement of a country. Such an arrangement is true of a community

and of an individual also. The distribution of functions of languages has political dimensions when it is decided by the policy of the state with regard to public domains. It is designed to maintain the power structure. At this macro level, the individual has a predetermined choice of language for use in public domains and has less freedom. The distribution of functions of languages at the community level is determined by the conventions controlled by the elite of the community.

At the individual level, in interpersonal interactions the speakers have the freedom to negotiate their social goals by their choice of language. Here they may choose to break language boundaries and the result is code-mixing. Code-mixing and code-switching represent language choice at the micro level, at the interpersonal level.

Code-mixing presupposes competence in two languages, not lack of it. It is not chaotic, but follows grammatical rules, not of one language but two languages. There are restrictions on what can be mixed. Code-mixing is not arbitrary, but functional. It conveys the social meanings of identity and distancing with regard to speech participants and speech content.

Code-switching is also a linguistic behaviour of competent bilinguals as code-mixing is. It however is contingent on change in speech participants or speech content in the course of a conversation. These changes necessitate the choice of another language appropriate for the new set of speech participants or the new speech content. Code-switching takes place even when there is no conspicuous change. The speaker may negotiate the social relationship with the other participant in terms of solidarity and power by the switching of his or her language in the course of the conversation.

Code-mixing and code switching are strategic interpersed use of two or more languages to achieve communicative and social goals. They increase the functionality of languages.

1.6 KEYWORDS

bilingual:	A bilingual is one who knows and uses more than one language.
language **policy:**	Language policy is a statement of goals to be achieved through language by giving status and role to languages.
standardization:	Standardization is **a** linguistic process that develops a form of language by reducing the variation in it for use in public domains.
public domain:	Public domain is an area of language use that is controlled institutionally and not by the common people.
linguistic community:	Linguistic "community is a group of people who share a language and the norms of its use as well as values assigned to it.
multilingual community:	Multilingual community is a linguistic community sharing more than one language and their functional allocation.

diglossic language:	Diglossic language is a language that has two standard varieties each with a grammar and a lexicon having distinctive features; the two varieties have mutually exclusive domains of use and different modes of acquisition.
language repertoire:	Language repertoire is the set of languages a speaker possesses and uses.
mother tongue:	Mother tongue is one of the languages in the language repertoire of a speaker which is used to identity him or her socially--based on language.
solidarity:	Solidarity is a social relation of inclusiveness, of intimacy.
power:	Power is a social relation of exclusiveness, of distance.
speech event:	Speech event is ad event for interpersonal communication between people bounded by time and purpose.
borrowing:	Borrowing is the use of words and grammatical features from another language, which are assimilated into the System.
mixing:	Mixing is the alternating use of words and grammatical structures of another language by a bilingual to convey social meanings.
base language:	Base language is the language on to which the elements of another language are mixed.
supra language:	Supra language is the language from which the elements are mixed on to another language.
source language:	Source language is another name for supra language.
constraints:	The constraints are systematic restrictions of mixing; violation of a constraint will give an ill-formed mixed sentence.
propositional meaning:	Propositional meaning is the meaning of an utterance which is the sum of the denotative meanings of its words and the grammatical meanings of their structural relationship,
social meaning:	Social meaning is the add on meaning to the propositional meaning that says something about the people involved in the speech, particularly the social relationship between them and to the content of speech.
switching:	Switching is the alternative use of another language for the length of a discourse unit when there is a change in speech participants or speech content or both.

negotiation: Negotiation is a communicative act in which a language or elements of a language are used to achieve symbolic interpersonal goals like status, new social relation etc.

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1.8 EXERCISE

1. What is a mother tongue? What is your mother tongue? Why do you call it your mother tongue?

2. List the scheduled languages of India? Why are they called scheduled? Why is English not a scheduled language?.

3. What are the languages in your repertoire? In what contexts and for what purposes do you use each of them?

4. Are you free to choose a language for your intended use in both private and public domains? What are the limitations?

5. Describe the linguistic community you live in as regards its norms of language use and values about languages.

6. Indian languages borrow from English. Give examples of English borrowings at the lexical, structural and semantic levels.

7. Transcribe a brief conversation of English educated bilinguals (that may include you) and list what have been mixed and at what points in the structure of the sentence.

8. Identify the social meanings of mixed elements in the above description.

9. Can you think of any mixed sentence of your language and English which is unacceptable (ungrammatical) as a mixed sentence?

10. Watch a dialogue in a movie or a television programme where there is code-switching and try to explain the motivation for the switch.

UNIT 2 LANGUAGE PLANNING

Structure

2.0 Objectives
2.1 Planning in General
2.2 Language Planning: An Introduction
2.3 Towards Defining Language Planning
  2.3.1 Various Definitions
  2.3.2 Practical Considerations
  2.3.3 Two Concepts of Language Planning
2.4 History of Language Planning
  2.4.1 The 1960s: Planning for problem-solving
  2.4.2 The 1970s: Planning for change
  2.4.3 The 1980s: Focus on Evaluation
  2.4.4 The 1990s: Critical Reflection
2.5 Language problems
  2.5.1 Perception of Language problems
  2.5.2 Typologies of Language Problems
2.6 Types of Language Planning
  2.6.1 Status Planning vs. Corpus Planning
  2.6.2 Comprehensive Planning vs. Partial Planning
  2.6.3 Global Planning vs. Local Planning
  2.6.4 Imperative Planning vs. Indicative Planning
  2.6.5 Centralised Planning vs. Decentralised Planning
  2.6.6 Intrinsic Planning, Extrinsic Planning, Intrinsic-cum-Extrinsic Planning
  2.6.7 Status Planning: Acquisition Planning, Corpus Planning
  2.6.8 Corpus Planning Prestige Planning, Status Planning
  2.6.9 Micro Planning vs. Macro Planning
2.7 Language Planning Process
  2.7.1 Language Planning Choice
  2.7.2 Language Planning Policy
2.8 Ideology of Language Planning Theory
  2.8.1 Neoclassical Approach
  2.8.2 Historical Structural Approach
2.9 Goals of Language Planning
2.10 Orientations in Language Planning
  2.10.1 Language as Problem Orientation
  2.10.2 Language as Right Orientation
  2.10.3 Language as Resource Orientation
2.11 Factors Influencing Language Planning
2.12 Limitations of Language Planning
2.13 Let Us Sum Up
2.14 References
2.15 Exercises

2.0 OBJECTIVES

In this unit, we look at another dimension of language in use, i.e. language planning. In complex multilingual societies language planning assumes an even more important role since minority languages and other marginalized languages must be given a certain space.

In this unit we have given a comprehensive picture of language planning which includes the following:

1. History of Language Planning
2. Types of Language Planning
3. Goals of Language Planning
4. Factors influencing Language Planning
5. Limitations of Language Planning

2.1 PLANNING IN GENERAL

In general terms planning is concerned with deliberately achieving some objective through the utilization of resources in a consciously controlled way. The concept of planning has, however, been a subject of considerable debate. Its definition ranges from "one specifying an activity that includes the broadest kind of human problem-solving on decision-making to a more limited one specifying an activity that is initiated and supported by some formal body" (Rubin 1971:217-18).

Planning is "oriented towards a problem" (Thorburn 1971`:254). It is an organised, conscious and continued attempt to choose between alternative ways of solving a problem and to select the best available alternatives to achieve specific goals. Planning does not just happen. It is not an automatic process. Rather it is a conscious and deliberate attempt involving a pre-determined end and a definite goal. It involves an activity whereby "goals are established, means are selected, and outcomes predicted in a systematic and explicit manner" (Rubin 1971:218).

Friend and Jessop (1969) view planning as a "process of strategic choice, requiring a capacity to anticipate the future and yet also to adapt to the unforeseen" (cited in Singh 1992:9). The elements of ***future and unforeseen*** relate planning to forecasting and highlight the risk-taking nature of planning. Inasmuch as forecasting is used in planning to predict what action other people will take and what future conditions will exist, distinction between forecasting and planning becomes difficult. However, planning is not forecasting and is different and distinguishable from it, "Forecasting does not serve the purposes of planners who seek to direct their organisations to the future. It is certainly of little use to planners who would innovate and change the ways in which people work and live" (Srivastava 1987:139).

It is processual in character and future-oriented in the sense that it systematically organises and carries out the decisions and measures the results of these decisions against the expectations through organised systematic feedback. However, it does not deal with future decisions. Rather, it deals with the ***futurity*** of present decisions (Srivastava 1987-139).

2.2 LANGUAGE PLANNING: AN INTRODUCTION

Language is always in a state of flux. There is a whole spectrum of language ***variation*** not only in ***structure*** but also in the ***use*** of language. Speakers do not use the same varieties for all purposes. They may ***shift*** from one to another. All this means that speakers constantly have ***alternatives*** available to them. They are constantly choosing between linguistic varieties or among variants within a linguistic system. The existence of alternatives makes planning possible, Language Planning (LP) is usually seen as an explicit choice among alternatives. Choice means ***evaluating*** the alternatives.

Language Planning is not the first term to appear in the literature. The maze of names can be found in literature on LP ranging from *glottopolitics* (Hall 1951), *language engineering* (Alisjahbana 1961), *language development* (Noss 1967), *language regulation* (Gorman 1973), *language policy* (as a synonym for *languageplanning*), *language management* (Jemudd and Neustupny 1986) to the present day most popularly and widely used term *languageplanning*. This term is found in the titles of a newsletter (*New Language Planning Newsletter*), a journal (*Language Problems and Lunguage Plunning*) a number of anthologies (Kalelkar and Khubchandani, eds., *Linguistics and Language Planning*, 1969; Rubin and Jernudd, eds; *Can Language Be Planned'?*, 1971; Rubin and Shuy, eds., *Language Planning: Current Issues and Research*, 1973; Fishman, ed., *Advances in Language Planning*, 1974; Rubin et al, eds., *Language Planning Processes*, 1977; Cobarmbias and Fishrnan, eds., *Progress in Lunguage Planning*, 1983; Annamalai et al, eds., *Language Planning*, 1986, Singh and Srivastava, eds., *Perspective in Language Planning, 1987*; Hasnain, ed., *Dynamics of Language Planning*, 1995), at least four books (Eastman's *Language Planning: An Introduction*, 1983; Dua's *Language Planning in India* 1985; Cooper's *Language Planning and Social Change*, 1989; Singh's *On Language Development and Planning*, 1992), a major bibliography on the topic (Rubin and Jernudd, *References for Students of Language Planning* 1979) and a directory of organisations dealing with planning (Rubin's *Directory of Language Planning Organizations*, 1979).

Haugen (1965:188) informs us that in 1957 Uriel Weinreich for the first time used the team *language planning* as the title of a Seminar held at Columbia University, but it was Haugen himself (1959) who introduced the term to the literature, followed by P.S. Ray (1961) who made an attempt to define this new area of investigation. In his 1959's article Haugen defined LP as "the activity preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionaiy for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community" (1959:8).

2.3 . TOWARDS DEFINING LANGUAGE PLANNING

2.3.1 Various Definitions

A number of definitions of language planning appeared after the publication of Haugen's 1959 article. Some of these definitions are:

1. "... the term LP includes the normative work of language academies and committees, all forms of what is commonly known as *language cultivation*, and all proposals for language reform or standardization" (Haugen 1969 cited in Cooper 1989:30).

2. Thorburn believes that language planning occurs "when one tries to apply the amalgamated knowledge of language to change the language behavior of a group of people" (1971:254).

3. "Language planning is *deliberate* language change; that is, changes in the systems of language code or speaking or both that are planned by organizations that are established for such purposes or given a mandate to fulfill such purposes. As such, langauge planning is focussed on problem-solving and is characterized by the formulation and evaluation of alternatives for solving language problems to find the best (or optimal, most efficient) decisions" (Rubin and Jernudd 1971:xvi).

4. "We do not define planning as an idealistic and exclusively linguistic activity but as a political and administrative activity for solving language problems in society" (Jernudd and Das Gupta 1971:211).

5. Language planning is the "coordinated measures taken to select, codify and, in some cases, to elaborate orthographic, grammatical, lexical, or semantic features of a language and to disseminate the corpus agreed upon" (Gorman 1973:73).

6. "The terms *language planning* refers to the organized pursuit of solutions to language problems, typically at the national level" (Fishman 1974:79).

7. "Language planning is the methodical activity of regulating and improving existing languages or creating new common regional, national or international langauges" (Tauli 1974: 56).

8. The term language planning refers to "an activity which *attempts* to solve *a* language problem, usually on a national scale, and which focusses on either language form or language use or both" (Karam 1974:105).

9. Language planning may be defined as "a government authorised, longterm sustained and conscious effort to alter a language itself or to change a language's functions in a society for the purpose of solving communication problems" (Weinstein 1980, cited in Cooper 1989:31).

10. Neustupny (1983) refers to language planning as systematic, theory-based, rational, and organised societal attention to language problems (restatement of the definition).

11. The study of language planning "focusses on the decision making . . . [It] is concerned with how language can be conducted and interpreted successfully in a speech community, given the language goals of that community. . . [It] looks at the choices available to a speech community and at possible recommendations of language policy for adoption by that community" (Eastman 1983:2).

12. "Language planning is usually seen as an explicit choice among alternatives" (Fasold 1984: 246).

13. Cooper defined language planning as "deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisition, structure or functional allocations of their language codes" (1989:183).

14. Dua's definition of LP is based on language system. He defines LP as "an organized and systematic pursuit for changing the function and status of the varieties of linguistic repertbire keeping in view the goals and aspirations of the community in question" (1992:9).

15. Khubchandani (1983, 1995) looks at LP as a campaign to initiate "deliberate changes in the content, the function and the status of a language . . . inspired by some ideology, and are either imposed over people [by elites] through authority, or are canvassed on the strength of emotions" (1995:127).

16. Jernudd defines LP as "proactive organized language management which typically but not necessarily proceeds with government - authorized involvement by public agencies and/or with the support of subsidy" (1990:52).

2.3.2 Practical Considerations

Language planning can best be understood in terms of the following questions: *who* plans *what*, for *whom* and ***how?***

Who:

The activities of LP can be undertaken by government, government-authorized agencies, non-government bodies, academies, and even individuals (e.g. Ben Yehuda in Palestine, Samuel Johnson in England, Noah Webster in the United States, Aasen in Norway, Korais in Greece, Aavik in Estonia, Arzoo, Hatim, Wali and Insha in case of Urdu, and Raghunath Murmu in case of Santali, etc.

Jernudd (1973) has shortlisted the following language planning agents, in addition to government and individuals as literateures:

(a) national, but non-governmental agencies, e.g. Singapore Chamber of Commerce, which constructed and issued language examinations and a style manual for business correspondence in Malay;

(b) non-national and non-governmental agencies, e.g. the Shell Company provides its own Malay Oil Terminology in Malaysia and influences language development in its personnel and training policies;

(c) a newspaper's proof reading function.

What:

The language planners may focus their attention on corpus, status or the crucial relationship of values, i.e., prestige associated with corpus and status planning activities. If the object of language policy making is *language teaching*, then the focus of language planning may be on acquisition.

For Whom:

Language planning is carried out for larger aggregates at the society or state level (or even cutting across national boundaries), for smaller aggregates --- ethnic group, religious group, occupational group, etc. Cooper looks at the target group of language planning as communication networks. According to him, communication network is "a set of verbal interactional links among persons, each network set off from others by sparsity of interaction" (1989: 38-39). This is diagramatically represented as:

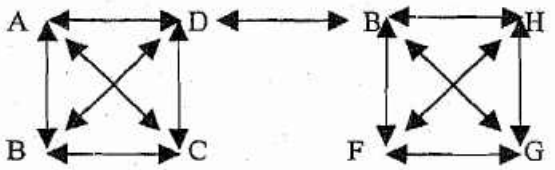

Figure 1: Two interaction networks

There are two communication networks (ABCD and EFGH) were the arrows between pairs of persons (A<--->B, B<--->C, E<--->F, etc.) indicate verbal interaction between them, be it oral or written. The two networks are connected because D and E interact with one another (D<--->E). Cooper outlines several advantages of viewing LP target population as a communication network. It does not restrict the analysis to micro or macro level, it makes the study of LP "consistent with the study of language spread " and it also enables us " to trace the diffusion of innovation or the resistance to innovation with which language planning is concerned" (1989:39).

How:

This question is connected with the *planning* and *implementation* stages of a larger planning process. Rubin (1971) identifies four steps of this larger process, three of

which relate to developing and implementing the plan while the fourth one relates to evaluation:

1. Fact-finding: a substantial amount of background information should be available before any planning decisions are made.

2. Planning: formulating goals, the means to achieve them, and the expected outcomes.

3. Implementation: putting the plan into action.

4. Feedback: at this step, the planner finds out how well the plan has worked.

Neustupny's view of LP as a rational activity has been quite influential in looking into 'How is LP done?' He views LP as a special type of language *correction* , which refers to all planned and unplanned, conscious and unconscious language modification, whether by an individual or an organisation. Language correction implies the existence of a communicative problem which requires a solution. Here the problem is first perceived by the speaker, who seeks the way to solve it and then implements the solution.

The communicative problem may reside at an individual level or at a group level. When the problem confronts a group and when the group or its representative attempts to solve it, then it is referred to as language treatment. According to Neustupny "the term language treatment has been coined to refer broadly to all organized forms of societal attention to language problem, both in the past and at present" (1983:2). He considers language planning as a subset of language treatment, which , in turn, is a subset of language correction. Thus, for him language correction becomes the widest frame of reference.

Communication problems have also been looked at from the perspective which arises out of a theory of language problems (Neustupny 1968, 1978:243-257; Jernudd and Das Gupta 1971: 205-206). A theory of language problems is explict about relationships between discourse and peoples behaviour towards discourse, and can therefore "serve as the basis for theory of language management and language planning.... Participants in processes of language management claim that certain features of language, or a language system, are inadeuqate . . . [These claims] arise out of linguistic interest or out of non linguistic interest" (Jernudd and Neustupny 1991: 31). Here the linguistic interests are a direct part of the communication process while the non-linguistic interests "must be introduced into discourse in order to become problems of language. They are then perceived as inadequacies and corrected through the normal management process" (Jemudd & Neustupny 1986: 6). The discourse based approach has been referred to as (the study of) language management, and language planning has been modelled as a type of *language* management,

The model for language management in discourse holds that "a person:

1. produces messages;

2. monitors the language that constitutes these messages, and notes (or not) a difference from norm;

3. evaluate (or not) the kind and degree of deviation from norm;

4. selects (or not) an adjustment strategy or at least adhoc means of adjustment for the inadequacy; such adjustment can be pre-, in- or post- correction of self or of other participants' language;

5. acts (or not) to implement the selected adjustment" (Jernudd and Neustupny 1991:32).

2.3.3 Two Concepts of Language Planning

Can language planning create an 'optimal language' i.e. a particular code that can further develop to optimally serve the best communicative needs of the speech community? This question can be answered on the basis of the following two theoretical viewpoints:

Instrumental ***theo***y of language planning:

A theory, proposed by Tauli (1974), is based on the assumption that language is like a tool or an instrument which can be evaluated, changed, regulated and improved. Even a new language can be created. Further, according to Tauli, languages can be evaluated with regard to efficiency. This approach characteristically considers some languages inherently better than others in their balance of beauty, clarity, *elasticity* and ***economy.*** LP should be used to improve the quality of the inadequate language. This approach, however, does not take into account the symbolic value of language and language attitudes and represents an idealist conception of language.

Sociolinguistic theory of ***language*** planning:

This theory believes in the social nature of language and rejects the theory of instrumentalism. It is based on two principles:

(a) all known languages are symbolic systems of equal native value;

(b) language planning should not only deal with the technical aspects of language, but also with its social aspects.

Hence superiority of languages or linguistic structures has no place here, nor are languages considered as tools. There is a social nature of language and language is seen as a resource that can be utilised in improving social life. It attaches different values to languages, and speakers' identities are strongly linked to the language they speak. The scholars who work in this frame of reference (Jernudd, Das Gupta, Fishrnan, Rubin, Singh, Dua, etc.) take the idea of planning seriously.

2.4 HISTORY OF LANGUAGE PLANNING

While the field of language planning is a twentieth century endeavour, the activities of language planning have a much longer history. Whether it is a case of establishment of language academies--in Florence (1582), France (1634), Spain (1713) and Sweden (1786) to preserve and defend the 'purity of language', or the spread of literacy and consequences of printing on standardisation in Europe, America, India, or Hebrew's revitalization in Palestine on account of Jewish immigration to Palestine, or the American feminist campaign for nonsexist language usage in the 60s in America, or pclitical events that led to the establishment of new official languages, or the activities of the Soviet government in the 1920s and early 1930s to create written forms for the many linguistic minorities within the Soviet Union or the Prague linguists concern with "language cultivation" in the *1930s,* etc., all these are instances of certain activities anticipating the modem goals of language planning. Against the backdrop of these activities, language planning began to emerge as a field in its own right. Eastman (1983) provides a decade-wise presentation of history of language planning, beginning in 1960 through 1980. Her presentation has been adopted here and further updated.

2.4.1 The 1960s : Planning for problem-solving

Language planning in the 60s tried to solve societal language problem. The societal language problems may arise as a result of the relationship between language and ethnicity. Since language is a factor of ethnic identity, a marker of social class and a reflection of status and mobility in a multilingual context, studying socially related language problems became a concern of LP of the 60s. LP was no longer considered as "primarily the activity of preparing a language to serve a social function, as it had been earlier" (Eastman 1983:116). It was rather looked at as providing solutions to language problems in a multilingual context or in the context of problems faced by multiethnic communities in developed or developing nations (for example, problems concerning language types, language attitudes, diglossia, factors that contribute to language maintenance and shift etc.).

The 1960s also marked the period of growing interest in the formulation of language policies and its implementation. It is this period that witnessed the emergence of concepts like ***selection, codification, elaboration, implementation***– concepts proposed by Haugen's 1966 case study of LP in Norway and which are still central to LP of today,

2.4.2 The 1970s : Planning for change

The language planning in the 70s emphasized change. From planning for problem-solving purpose it came to planning for change. Here Lambert's notion of language attitudes as changeable underlies the definition of LP that guided research during the 1970's. To deliberately change language, it is necessary to change the attitudes people have toward language. Eastman observes that although problem-solving aspect still continued in the LP of the 1970s, "the field in general was consolidated such that all solutions pursued involved language change, generally by means of language choice and language policy formation" (1983:121). Arising from language choice are the issues concerning role of planning in the context of (Language for Wider Communication) LWCs, relationship between the spread of lingua francas and the use of LWCs, etc. For example, the case of South Asian English as a potential LWC in India (Kachru 1978) or the situation of Swahili in Kenya.

According to Eastman (1983), LP in the beginning of 70s had two-pronged emphasis: **language standardisation** and **multilingualism.** Although LP literature of the 70s is replete with overlapping and confusing terminology in this area, in general standardisation as the branch of LP was concerned with unifying underlying linguistic diversity in national contexts. The multilingualism aspect was largely dominated by the policy approach where the emphasis was placed on "finding out what linguistic varieties exist and how they are distributed rather than on questions of style, correctness, efficiency and the like" (Eastman 1983:125).

2,4.3 The 1980s : Focus on Evaluation

The 80s marked the beginning of a theoretical base of LP which was possible on account of a number of case studies done in the 70s in multilingual contexts. The results of all these studies made it possible to focus in the area of evaluation of results. It is on account of not being able to focus on evaluation that LP lagged behind other forms of cultural or development planning. The 80s, thus, paid heed to Haugen's (1966) plea that LP ought to focus on the evaluation of linguistic change as well as on ways to bring it about.

In the 80s, questions concerning the social and cultural context in which LP takes place had begun to appear in the literature. Questions concerning social motivations for LP in society, the reasons for success and failures, etc. were raised. Against the background of evaluation Cooper (1989) proceeded to raise a question : "Is a theory

of language planning possible?" By focusing his interest on the social and not on the linguistic issues, Cooper proposed a sociological perspective to LP, which reiterated Fishman's (1987) social science approach to LP. Fishman constructs LP around such issues as ethnic identity, nationism and nationalism, functional inequality and undercut pluralism and holds the view that language planners should be: "issue definers and consciousness raiser's vis-a-vis the goal of ethno-cultural pluralisin and ethno-cultural democracy" (cited in Jemudd 1991:128).

Besides the social science approach to LP, the 80s also marlced the beginning of Language Management Approaclz to LP. The fundamental aspect of language management is problem-solving that removes inadequacies in individual discourse.

2.4.4 The 1990s: Critical Reflection

The 1990s allowed the continual broadening and deepening of the field of LP by scholars from a multidisciplinaiy background. By taking insights from postmodernist trends and Critical theory, a number of scholars from various academic desciplines and specialities proposed theoretical and analytical approaches that talce into account broader historical and economic forces influencing social policy, of which language planning and policy is one element. Specific language policies in specific contexts are being investigated to explain why particular languages are maintained or allowed to die, why one language is acquired and another is not, and why and how "language is built into the economic and social structure of society" (Tollefson 1991:2). Recent research in the 90s has often dealt with issues concerning language rights, the ways language policies perpetuate structural socioeconomic inequalities (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1994) and bottom up efforts to revitalize threatened and non-dominant languages (Fishman 1991), etc.

The 1990 has also witnessed certain approaches that tend to problematize language with a view to looking into mechanism of social control by dominant elites (as Khubchandani's 1983, 1995 Critique of *Language* Planning) and unraveling the 'invisible' ideology in language policy perpetuated for exclusion and inequality. Jemudd's (1996) recent write-up on "Contact Linguistics" is indicative of the fact that in the 1990s, language planning is also motivated by "migrations and ethnic relations, by new nationalisms, by the maintenance of state power by one interest group, by consequences of economic globalization of the economy...." (1991:130).

2.5 LANGUAGE PROBLEMS

Understanding language problems is essential before formulating any language policy or theory of language planning. In fact LP is an "organized pursuit of solutions to language problems, typically at the national level" (Fishman 1974: 79). Hence the primary focus of LP has been on language problems. As Dua has pointed out "the characterization and systematic account of language problems of a speech community is a prerequisite to an adequate theory of policy formation, language planning and language treatment" (1985:3).

2.5.1 Perception of Language Problems

Andreas Faludi (1973) defines a problem as "a state or tension between the end pursued by a subject and his image of the environment" (cited in Singh 1992:23). This definition has been a delight for the language planners as well as other planning theoreticians. Faludi's perception of problem appears rather simple and there are layers of complex and significant issues involved in the characterizstion and description of language problems which need to be peeled off before one settles down for defining the nature, scope and mode of language problems. Who defines language

problems?; what is the nature of the language problems defined; what are the language problems defined, how and when? Faludi's definition, according to Singh (1992) seems to be "a simplification of the situation". The key terms used in his definition, according to Singh, demand clarification and elicitation. "If a problem is to be characterized as a state, then one must consider the possible kinds of state [like] 'physical state', 'ideational state' 'theoretical state', 'hypothetical state"' (Singh 1992:23). Even the state may never be static. It is a continuing process, quite flexible and even "volving". If one uses the state of tension to describe language problems then "tension can be desirable as well as undesirable, and it is the latter which Faludi's definition seems appropriate"(24). Although Faludi recognises the tension between the end and the image as problematic, there are "various other kinds of dyads that could contribute to undesirable tension", like "the fact vs, the fict", "the end and the means", "the goals and the opposing forces" etc (24).

Against the backdrop of various complexities involved in defining language problem, Singh provides a probable definition of language problem as :

"a set of problems—some purely linguistic and others so to a varying degree—which is a reasonably persistent or evolving state physical, ideational, hypothetical or theoretical (as well as at times, absence of an ideal state) --- of undesirable, and therefore, unproductive tension between any one of the following: the end pursued by the subject and his image of the environment, the fact and the fict (or the way the subjects want the facts to be), the end and the means the subjects identify to achieve it, or the goals and the forces of opposition that impede the subjects in achieving them" (1992:24).

2.5.2 Typologies of Language Problems

A number of proposals for typologies of language problems have been suggested. These are :

***Haugen's approach*:**

The earliest description of language problems has been presented by Haugen (1946) in terms of :

a. Selection of norm,
b. Codification of norm,
c. Elaboration of norm, and
d. Acceptance by the members of a speech community.

While the first two relate to languageform the latter two relate to *language function.* He further introduces a distinction between initiation and implementation, to which selection and elaboration belong to the former and codification and acceptance to the latter (see Figure-2). He also assigns selection and acceptances to society and codification and elaboration to language.

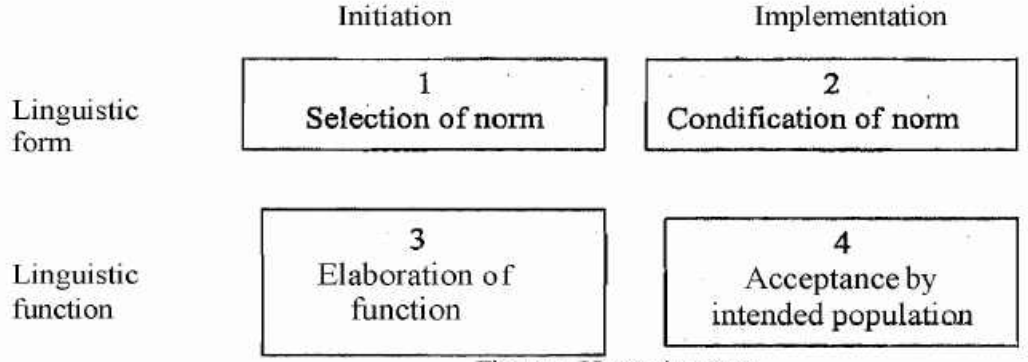

Figure 2: Haugen's scheme

Neustupny's approach:

Neustupny (1968, 1970, 1978) takes up the question of language problems in a broader framework. He makes a distinction between *verbal* vs. *non-verbal communication* problems and further divides verbal problems into *language code* and *speech* problems. He emphasises that preoccupation with language code at the expense of speech problems will not help resolve language problems.

He also makes a distinction between *policy* vs. *cultivation* approach. The former focusses attention on the language code, covering problems like standardisation, literacy, orthographies, selection of the national/official language, etc. The latter deals with problems of correctness, style, efficiency of communication, etc. According to Neustupny, *policy* approach is characteristic of the "less developed, modern or modernizing societies" which are marked by "a high degree of arbitrary social and linguistic heterogeneity" (1970:43-44). The *cultivation* approach, on the other hand, is characteristic of "more developed communities".

Neustupny (1970) reformulated Haugen's (1966) proposal and suggested four major problem areas and their corresponding processes as major fields of language planning in form and format of problem-process relationship.

	1	2	3	4
Problem	**Selection**	**Stability**	**Expansion**	**Differentiation**
Process	Policy decision Legitimisation	Codification =Standardisation	Elaboration =Modernisation	Cultivation =Stylisation.

Figure 3 (format partly modified by Srivastava, 1987).

i. The selection of code(s) as official or national language is carried out through policy decision. For example, in India it has been our policy decision to promote regional languages to official status at the state level. When a particular code is selected under official policy formulation for its use at national or state level, then it has been referred to as *"legitimisation of languages"* by Srivastava (1987).

2. Where there exists multiple variations, standardisation prescribes authentic variant of a language through codification.

3. Selected code is put to use in new emerging domains of social activities in which it was not used earlier. This is referred to as modernisation of a language through elaboration.

4. Stylisation is a process that makes a language situation-bound, event-centered and communication-oriented through cultivation and promotion of different language studies.

Neustupny (1978) further broadened the framework of language problems and discussed it within correction model. He reformulates language probleins as occurrences of the marker "inadequate", which can be attached to certain features of communicative acts or features of communicative systems. When "inadequacies" are located in the communicative acts, we have language behaviour characterised by hypercorrection, request for clarification or repetition etc.

Rabin's approach:

Rabin (1971) presents a tripartite classification of language planning aims which tend to cover different kinds of language problems. These problems require involvement

of interdisciplinary researchers for their effective handling. According to Rabin there are three language planning aims:

a. Extra-linguistic aims which focus on the use of a given language block or relative extent of usage of competing language blocks horizontally over different regions and vertically among different social classes within a region. These aims concern primarily sociologists and political scientists and its implementation can be realised in educational planning.

b. Semi-linguistic aims are concerned with problems of writing, spelling, pronunciation and restrictions in speaking. The study of these problems require the involvement of strong sociological and psychological factors alongwith contributions from linguistics.

c. Linguistic aims handle problems of vocabulary, structure and style. According to Rabin these aims fall in the province of the normative linguists, in collaboration with the literary practitioner.

Ferguson's approach.:

Ferguson (1968) conceived of three types of problems which are basically three components of language development. These problems are:

a. Standardization, which he defines as" the process of acceptance of one variety of a language throughout the speech community as a supra-dialectal norm" (1968:31).

b. Modernization, which is a process by which a language joins "the world community of inter-translatable languages recognized as appropriate vehicles of modern forms of discourse" (1968:32). This process is said to have two aspects : (i) the expansion of the lexicon of the language by new words and expressions, and (ii) the development of new styles and forms of discourses.

c. Graphization which is concerned with spelling and orthography.

Fishman's approach:

Fishman (1968) shows his concern with problems of language choice (a selection), codification and elaboration. With regard to language choice he identifies two clusters of problems in the context of developing nations. The first cluster of problems centres around the question of national language as a unifying symbol directed towards authenticity of goals and socio-cultural integration beyond the local level. The second cluster focusses on the efficiency and instrumentality of communication and politico-geographical integration and is less directed towards authenticity of goals.

Dua's typology of language problems:

After reviewing various typologies of language problems, Dua (1985) provides a systematic framework in terms of five aspects of language : structure, use, user, material and language as a symbol. His typology of language problems has been represented through a geometerical design (Figure 4), in the middle of which rest the questions : who ***defines*** what, when, how and social context of language problem. The five aspects of language have been linked with these questions.

(i) Problems of Language as a Symbol:

The language problems involving symbolic Significance of language include the issues of solidarity; socio cultural integration and multi-level identities as well as

distribution of power, status and socio-economic advantages. These problems are found in both developed and developing nations.

(ii) Problems of Language Structure:

These problems have been considered under language code and speech problems which include a wide range of processes such as codification, elaboration and cultivation or graphisation, standardisation and modernisation.

(iii) Problems of Language Use:

These problems have received a great deal of attention by language planners and policy makers in both developing and developed countries. Here the emphasis has been in the area of language use in education and this has serious implications for language-education, policy and planning. Besides education, other domains that raise significant problems of language use are health/medical, legal, media and communication, etc.

(iv) Problems of Language Users:

This includes the problem of identifying adequate number of trained persons who can put language to use in different domains of communication. The trained persons will be required to resolve language problems in the process of implementation. It is also concerned with the facilities for training or for learning and acquisition of language varieties, availability of channels for redressal of language problems raised by users, etc.

It also includes a study of the level of awareness of the norm, intergroup attitudes and other psycho-social issues which are useful in the spread of linguistic innovation and change and in predicting the degree of success in language planning.

(v) Problems of Language Materials:

It suggests the need for having (a) basic reference materials (including grammars, learning materials, dictionaries, glossaries, thesaurus), (b) translation of materials, textbooks, abstracts, legal documents or official records, (c) textbooks, and (d) creative and journalistic or scientific literature in a language. All these are required to "resolve problems of language use and users and to effectively implement language policies" (Dua 1985:34).

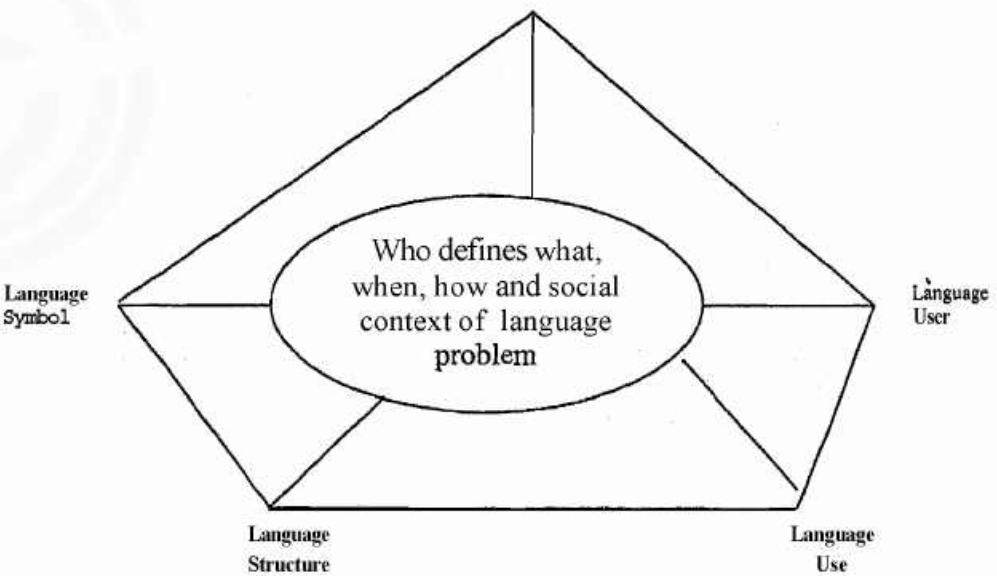

Figure 4: Dua's typology

2.6 TYPES OF LANGUAGE PLANNING

In language planning literature the type of planning which has assumed greater prominence and attracted wide attention of scholars is status vs. corpus planning. Besides this, there are other types of language planning as well which have been outlined by Singh (1992).

2.6.1 Status Planning vs. Corpus Planning

One of the definitions of language planning reads thus: "a government-authorized, long term sustained and conscious effort to alter a language itseljor to change a language'sfunctions in a society for the purpose of solving communication *problems"* (Weinstein 1983, cited in Hornberger: 1990). This definition, although relatively recent, has been selected for two reasons first, it reiterates a focus on problems that has traditionally characterised language planning, and secondly, it alludes to a distinction between status planning and *corpus planning.*

This distinction, which was first introduced by Heinz Kloss (1969), basically amounts to making a distinction between linguistic innovations that relate to the allocation of *language functions* (*language's function* in Weinstein's tenn) of a language variety in a given speech community (status planning) and linguistic innovations that relate to the structure of a language (language itseljaccording to Weinstein) or of a language variety (corpus planning).

Status planning refers to cases in which the attributed status of a language or variety is changed. It includes, for example, the designation of a language as the official or national language; decisions about language to be added or deleted on the list of those permitted in some context; decisions about the language of religion or language of instruction in the educational system, etc.

Corpus planning refers to changes in structure, vocabulary, morphology, spelling or even adoption of a new script. It is basically concerned with changing the structure or corpus of the language--thenature of language itself. Corpus planning often accompanies status'planning--when a particlar variety has been chosen to perform official functions, the chosen varietyper se requires development and expansion to meet the demands of the society. It includes Ferguson's three dismensions of language development: "graphization—reduction to writing; standardization--the development of a norm which overrides regional and social dialects; modernization—the development of intertranslatability with other languages in a range of topics and forms of discourse..." (1971:221).

2.6.2 Comprehensive Planning vs. Partial Planning

In more general term, if a language plan covers both status and corpus problems, then it is a comprehensible plan. In this plan both public planning and private development activities are coordinated. According to Singh "Comprehensive language planning is so named because... in such instances a language plan becomes a part of the general socio-economic plan... and [also] because it takes the whole geo-political entity or speech community into consideration, and then accounts for aggregate linguistic resources (functions, structural variations, inter-intelligibility,... registers, linguistic attitudes, etc.) available within the speech community and aggregate targets to be reached by the polity or community as a whole" (1992:42).

2.6.3 Global Planning vs. Local Planning

Global langugge planning involves issues which are of major socio-psychological and emotional concerns or it takes major decisions pertaining to language status changes

or whole-scale corpus changes such as adoption of a new script, etc. It does not refer to any "Universalistic assumption" nor is it a "comprehensive more" (Singh 1992:43). Local language planning takes up problems that are at individual, small group, local or single institution level. Since it identifies limited problems, it has more chances of being successful.

2.6.4 Imperative Planning vs. Indicative Planning

Imperative language planning can be planning by compulsion and planning by inducement, while indicative language planning is not any of these.

2.6.5 Centralised Planning vs. Decentralised Planning

Centralised language planning includes all centalised plans which are usually official or public. It may also include academies or institutions which may reside outside the direct political control, but "can make a language plan centralised" (Singh 1992:44). When the plans are implemented at provincial level by local governments they are said to be decentralised plans. These provincial set ups have greater autonomy in deciding their language plans globally or comprehensively.

2.6.6 Intrinsic Planning, Extrinsic Planning, Intrinsic-cum- Extrinsic Planning

This three-fold classification was proposed by Srivastava (1987). Intrinsic language planning" brings about the change internal to the structure of language" (1987:149). Modernisation or elaboration is a good example of this kind of planning. Extrinsic language planning is "concerned primarily with the factors external to language; no direct change in the structure of the language takes place" (1987:149). Inter-ethnic or interlingual relation, roles or functions of languages and other speech varieties, etc. are examples of extrinsic planning. The interplay between internal and external factors bring about intinsic-cum-extrinsic language planning. Here the language structure as well as the status of the language is affected. Srivastava illustrates this through the difference between the concepts of standardised and standard language, Standard language and standardised languages are two different concepts. Here the former has history, prestige and status of a language, while the latter is an outcome of the standardization process. According to him, it is not necessary for a standardised language to attain the status of a standard language. Here the best example is the case of various dialects of Hindi in the context of Hindi speech community which may have been standardised but still remain dialects of standard Hindi language.

2.6.7 Status Planning, Acquisition Planning, Carpus Planning

If one looks at Prator's definition of language planning as "language policy-making involves decisions concerning the teaching and use of language, and their careful formulation by those empowered to do so, for the guidance of others" (cited in Cooper 1989:31), the mention of language teaching as an object of policy-making, is suggestive of a third focus of language planning. Cooper (1989) refers to it as *acquisition planning,* which is directed towards the users. He thus insists that *acquisition planning* should "be added to the status planning corpus planning distinction" (1989:33).

2.6.8 Corpus Planning, Prestige Planning, Status Planning

This has been proposed by Haarmann (1990), who believes that there is the crucial relationship of values associated with both status and corpus planning activities which have not been given serious attention. "Every planning effort... has to rely on a kind of psychological background which favors an effective implementation of planning goals and which, ultimately, is the most crucial variable for a long-term

success of planning. Any kind of planning has to attract positive values" (Haarmann 1990:104). Positive values bring prestige to the planning. However, in the earlier studies on language planning, *prestige values* were never taken seriously. Instead they were often subsumed under the general heading of 'planning'. Haarmann thus introduces three elementary ranges of language planning activities namely: corpus planning, status planning, and prestige planning. These are represented diagramatically as:

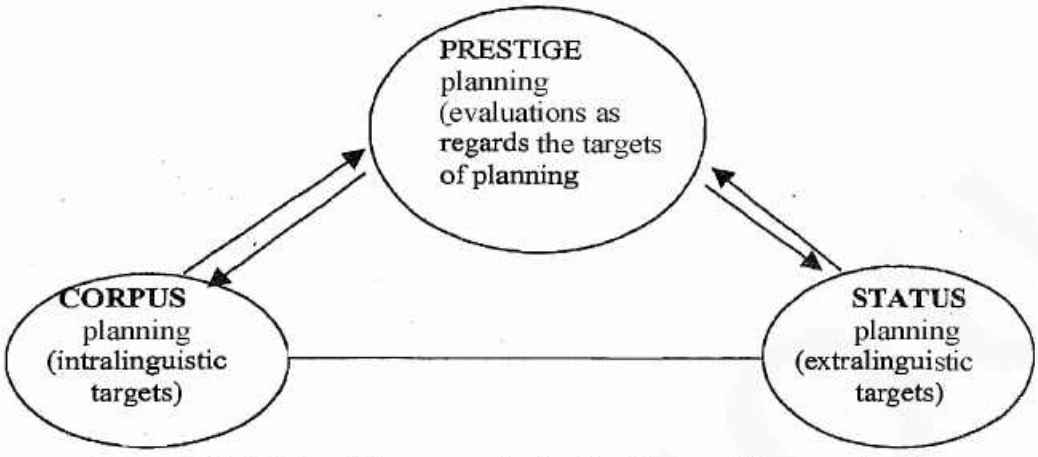

Figure 5: Basic interrelations among the functional ranges of language planning

Inclusion of prestige brings *processual character* to language planning where "understanding of the overall effect' of language planning cannot be attained solely by inspecting the following string of relations:

who is engaged in planning *what* language *for whom* and *why?*

Another set of relations must also be taken into consideration:

who accepts *what* planning provisions *from whom* and under *what* conditions?" (1990:123).

2.6.9 Micro Planning vs. Macro Planning'

Although reference to micro-and macro-planning can be seen in Fishman (1974), recently some scholars have begun to distinguish between micro vs macro processes in language planning particularly against the background of the revival of Hebrew. Macro language planning is carried out at governmental level, while micro language planning takes place at local levels where aggregate of small individuals are involved. The small individuals may include language pedagogues and other activists like parents, school superintendents, local leaders, etc. These have been referred to as *Micro Language* ***Planning Agents*** by Nahir (1998:352) and are seen to be operating in *Micro Language Planning Cells".* He looks at Hebrew Revival as an example of micro language planning.

2.7 LANGUAGE PLANNING PROCESSES

There are two essential processes of language planning. These are:

1. the choice of language or languages,
2. establishing a policy to be followed for the chosen language.

2.7.1 Language Planning Choice

Before formulating Language Planning Policy there is a need to *choose* the language(s). Language choice may involve decisions regarding National Languages, Languages of Wider Communication (LWCs), particularly in developing nations.

Fishman outlines certain features (total six in number) and claims that language choices are made with respect to presence or absence of these features. According to him three types of language choices are possible: Types **A,** Type B, and Type C. (Table 1).

Type A choice are made by "a-modal" nations which are linguistically complex, marked by the presence of primarily oral traditions rather than written. Hence the language choice is for political integration. Many developing or Third World countries are of this type. Here LWC is chosen as an official language and as a national language and, at the same time, standardisation is carried out so that people can become literate in their first language as well as the LWC. For example, choice of English in the Western Cameroon and of French in Eastern Cameroon, ,

Table: 1. Types of Language Choice (modified from Fishman 1969a:192)

Features	a-modal nations (Type A)	uni-modal nations (Type B)	multi-modal nations (Type C)
1. Is there a Great Tradition?*	no	yes	many
2. Reason for selection of national language	for political integration	for nationalism	for compromise
3. 'Reason LWC is used	as a national symbol	for the transition	as a unifying force
4. LP activity to be done	standardization	diglossia	modernization
5. Is bilingualism a goal?	no	yes, but situational	yes
6. Is biculturalism a goal?	no	yes, but situational	yes

* *The term Great Tradition refers to a literary tradition of long standing thought . to be great by the people **who** have it, and considered a part of their cultural heritage. (cited in **Eastman** 1983:13).*

Type B choices are made by "uni-modal" nations which are characterised by the presence of both indigenous language and LWC. Here LWC, which often exists as a result of colonial policy, is preferred by the newly educate'd people for education, while the indigenous language, which has a literary tradition is favoured for purposes of nationalism. For example, Swahili in Tanzania.

Type C choices are made by "multimodal" nations which are marked by linguistic heterogeneity. Here many indigenous languages with literary traditions coexist and compete with each other and thus make bilingualism a norm and a desirable goal. India is an example of Type C nation.

2.7.2 Language Planning Policy

Language Policy:

Language policy is a broad overarching term for decisions on rights and access to languages and on the roles and functions of particular languages or varieties of

languages in a given polity. It is a system of measures taken by the government, institutions, social groups to alter or maintain the existing functional allocations of languages, to introduce new linguistic norms or to maintain the existing norms which are in use.

Language policy may deal with issues in education i.e.. how best to organise schooling that may lead to high levels of bi-or multilingualism for both minority and dominant groups; with the choice of a language for certain communicative purposes; assess in broader sociopolitical domains like maintenance of indigenous cultures, the promotion of language rights, choice of national and official languages in modern states, etc.

Language policy programmes are drawn up for the solution of language problems arising in a particular society. These problems can be with regard to functional allocations of a language or with the use of language and its internal structure. For example, a study of the language policy in India presupposes, on the one hand, a study of the way the official languages (Hindi and English), the regional languages (Tamil, Punjabi, Bengali, Marathi, Kannada, etc.) and various other languages of small ethnic groups are distributed among social interaction domains, and, on the other hand, an inquiry into the way the internal resources (grammar, vocabulary) of each language make communication possible in its respective domain.

A language policy may be ***retrospective*** or ***prospective.*** *A* retrospective language policy aims at conserving the ,existinglanguage situation or even conserving the existing language norms. A prospective language policy looks at changes in language situation as an ongoing process and hence provides a ground for the codification of new norms, standardisation, spelling reforms, terminological development, etc.

Since a language policy is by definition the policy of a government, social group or slate, it is bound to reflect the interests of a particular group or dominant elites. This makes language policies ideological, although the ideology may not be apparent or acknowledged by practitioners or theorists. Tollefson (1991) refers to it as an example of ***'invisible'*** ideology : "The policy of requiring everyone to learn a single dominant language is widely seen as a common sense solution to the communication problems of multilingual societies. The appeal of this assuinption is such that mongolianism is seen as a solution to linguistic inequality. If linguistic minorities learn the dominant language, so the argument goes, then they will not suffer economic or social inequality: The assumption is an example of an ideology, which refers to normally unconscious assumptions that come to be seen as common sense . . such assumptions justify enclusionary policies and sustain inequality". (Tollefson 1991:10).

A language policy impregnated with ideology may become a cause of strong reaction and protests. For example, imposition of Urdu in Bengali dominated erstwhile East Pakistan accelerated the liberation movement resulting in the creation of Bangladesh, or even attempts in 1964-65 to introduce Hindi as the only official language of India gave rise to the strong opposition from Tamil and Bengali speakers.

A language policy may have nationalistic overtones and a anti-colonialist ideology. For example, drive to use Hindi as an official language after independence, or Tagalog in Philippines, Burmese in Burma, etc.

Language Policy Stages:

The implementation of a language policy is a process including the stage of formulating policy goals and objectives. Depending upon the nature of language policy, language policy programmes may,be evolved. For example, if the language policy is prospective, the language policy programme may include the goal of

elaboration and codification of both --- new norms of language use according to the topic, social and situational context of discourse, and new norms of language as such.

Preparation for the implementation of the goal is the next stage of a language policy. Implementation provides "the authoritative backbone to achieve the goals and the motivation for the use of the language of the policy by the people affected" (Eastman 1983:12). People may accept the recommendations (fully or partially) or may even reject them altogether.

Acceptance or rejection of recommendations are determined by the evaluation of the proposed innovation. The evaluation may be positive or negative. The motivating factors for positive evaluation can be *aesthetic* (new coinage sounds good), *psychological* (is easy to remember) and *sociological* (it has a social prestige).

In promoting the acceptance of language policy recommendations, schools, mass media, literatures, etc play an important role.

2.8 IDEOLOGY OF LANGUAGE PLANNING THEORY

If one explores the ideological foundations of research on language planning and language policy, two approaches to research can be discerned. These are : the *neoclassical* approach and the *historical-structural* approach. While in the former individual linguistic decisions are emphasised, the latter emphasises constraints on individual decision making.

2.8.1 Neoclassical approach

The premises of the neoclassical approach are articles of faith. It is characterised by assumptions that :

the key to understandingsocial system is the individual;
individual decisions are of paramount importance;
individual decisions are predictable but free.

Inasmuch as the rational calculus of individuals remains the focus of research in the neoclassical approach, evaluation of the stated goals of language planning becomes problematic. The ideology inherent to the neoclassical approach profoundly affect the relationship of language planning researches to the object of their inquiry. It insulates the researcher "from any evaluation which is 'external' to the planning process" and reduces him to the status of an observer "who is not part of the historical context and whose primary responsibility is to analyze the planning process without 'interfering' in it" (Tollefson 1991:28). Thus, instead of enabling the planners in the planning process, the neoclassical model presents a theoretical obstacle. It fails to correlate planning decisions with changes in language structure and use, and it is also "unable to explain how, and under what conditions, planning decisions bring about linguistic change" (Tollefson 1991:29).

2.8.2 Historical structural approach

This approach rejects the neoclassical assumption that the rational calculus of an individual should be the focus of research. It correlates planning decisions with changes in language structure and use in terms of the social, political and economic factors, and also looks into the origins of constraints on planning. It focuses itself on the sources of the costs and benefits of individuals' choices and raises certain questions like :"why must that individual expend those particular costs? Why are those particular benefits rather than others available to that individual? What are the

costs and benefits for other people in the community? What language choices do they confront?" (Tollefson 1991:32). The underlying objective of this approach is to "discover the historical and structural pressures that lead to particular policies and plans and that constrain individual choices" (Tollefson 1991:32). It treats language planning as a macro-social process where the historical process and structural considerations are inseperable. The historical-structural approach believes that the action of groups is not the same as the sum total of the individual actions of its members. Hence the actions of planning bodies as well as of the populations they affect are to be viewed as products of history and the social refationships which organize groups. Thus, according to this approach, "[T]he primary task for researchers is to develop a theory of language planning that makes explicit the mechanisms by which planning processes interact with other historical-structural forces that form language communities and determine patterns of language structure and use" (Tollefson 1991:36). It is difficult to achieve this task if the emphasis is placed on individual decisions.

2.9 GOALS OF LANGUAGE PLANNING

Between 1984 and 1990, there has been a remarkable increase in the list of goals that language planning activities are expected to carryout. Nahir (1977) initially wrote about five goals of language planning. Later he added six more in his classification of language planning goals (1984). Hornberger further added five more by drawing from other literature in language planning and ultimately made the number reach to sixteen. The 16 language planning goals have been categorized in two groups (1990:20) namely:

(i) goals with regard to *language status.* These include officialisation, nationalisation, status standardisation, vernacularisation, revival, spread, maintenance and interlingual communication.

(ii) goals with regard to *language corpus.* These include purification, reform, corpus standardisation, lexical modernization, terminology unification, stylistic simplification, auxiliary code standardisation and graphisation.

2.10 ORIENTATIONS IN LANGUAGE PLANNING

Orientations merely describe "what is thinkable about language in society" (Ruiz cited in Hornberger 1990:24). Ruiz has identified three orientations toward language that may underlie language planning efforts. These arc :

2.10.1 Language as problem orientation

According to this orientation, language is viewed as an obstacle which comes in the way of linguistic minorities and the mainstream.

2.10.2 Language as right orientation

This orientation treats language right as a basic human and civil right and, thus, stresses on the right of linguistic minority groups to speak and maintain their mother tongue.

2.10.3 Language as resource orientation

Here the importance to the notion of conserving and developing all of its linguistic resources is emphasised. Hence linguistic diversity is never viewed as a drawback or

a disunifiying faotor in society. Rather it provides certain insights whioh may be utilised for developing a better understanding of language situation and formulating a comprehensive theory of language planning.

2 . 1 FACTORS INFLUENCING LANGUAGE PLANNING

Since language planning does not take place in a social vacuum, a number of factors may affect language planning. These may be:

1. *Socio-demographic factors* which include the number of languages spoken, the number of their speakers, and their geographical distribution.

2. *Linguistic factors* which mainly have to 40 with the status and the character of a language and the similarities and dissimilarities between them.

3. *Socio-psychological factors* which in their broadest sense, concern the attitudes of people towards a language. The attitudes may be with regard to both the social meanings attached to various languages and the social distribution of languages in speech community.

4. *Politico-economic factors* are of considerable importance in the success or failure of language planning.

5. *Religious factors* which concern the relation between language and religion, and more categorically, the use of local languages in the spread of religion.

6. *PR factors:* Haugen opens his discussion of implementations in corpus planning with the observation that "This topic is basically one that ought to be handled by either a political scientist or a PR man" (1983:69).

2.12 LIMITATIONS OF LANGUAGE PLANNING

There are certain limitations of language planning. These are:

(i) *Uncertainty:* Problems ofuncertainty always looms large even when there is a careful plan. These uncertainties can be those that are unknown or those that are only predictable within certain probability limits.

(ii) *Limitedplanning:* Of all the activities of man, language is perhaps, the most widespread and the most essential one. Hence to plan this activity will be very difficult. Language planning can, therefore, be discussed only in a very limited sense and for a very special goal.

(iii) *Costliness:* Practical limitation of planning is the costliness of making plans. Since lot of time and energy is spent on acquiring the necessary information to make a good plan, the cost of planning may not necessarily be felt to be rewarded by sufficient benefits.

2.13 LET US SUM UP

In this unit we have given a comprehensive picture of language planning which included the history of language planning, its processes and limitations of language

planning. We have also given you in detail types of language planning and orientation in language planning.

We hope that you would now be able to understand the difficulties, texts and subtexts involved in the language policy of any nation.

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2.15 EXERCISES

1. Why is language planning essential in any country? What are the factors which influence language planning? What do you think would be the limitations of language planning in India?
2. What are the questions that you ask yourself when planning a language?
3. From the 1960's to the 1990's what are the changes in focus that have taken place in language planning?

UNIT 3 CONVERSATIONAL ANALYSIS

Structure

3.0 Objectives
3.1 Introduction
3.2 The Structure of Conversations
  3.2.1 Conversational openings
  3.2.2 The main body of conversation
  3.2.3 The closing of a conversation
3.3 The Cooperative Principle
3.4 Conversational Implicatures
3.5 Speech Acts
3.6 Let Us Sum Up
3.7 Key Words
3.8 Reading List
3.9 Exercises

3.0 OBJECTIVES

The objective of this unit is to understand that even conversations are structured. This unit discusses some of the important ways of analysing conversations.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous units we discussed code-mixing and language planning. In this unit we look at another aspect of language in use – conversational analysis. Many discourse analysts have voiced the need to go beyond the analysis of sounds, words and sentences, and incorporate analyses of how conversation works : "that is, how talk between people is organised; what makes it coherent and understandable; how people introduce and change topics; how they interrupt, ask questions, and give or evade answers; and, in general, how the conversational flow is maintained or disrupted" (Stubbs, 1983 : 7).

There are a number of approaches to conversational analysis. A few of these are discussed in this unit.

3.2 THE STRUCTURE OF CONVERSATIONS

Language is organised systematically not only at the levels of sounds, words and sentences, but also at the level of conversations. Conversations are structured in the sense that they have a beginning, a middle and an end. They are also structured in the sense that not anything can follow anything in a conversation. There are syntagmatic constraints on the possible sequences of utterances. The following examples would make the point clear :

Example 1: A telephone conversation :

Caller : Is that two nine one six four three six?
Callee : Which number have you dialled?

Example 2 : Conversational exchange between a customer and a salesman at a readymade garments shop :

Customer : Do you have a plain white shirt in my size?

Shopkeeper : Welcome sir, can I help you?

What makes these exchanges amusing is that the two utterances are occumng in the wrong structural positions. The very fact that we find the above exchanges funny proves that some conversational sequences are acceptable whereas others are not.

Broadly speaking, any conversation can be divided into three main parts : **the opening, the middle** and **the closing.** We'll briefly discuss each one of these.

3.2.1 Conversational Openings

There are many ways of opening a'conversation or other talk-exchange. We can start the conversation without any preliminaries : "When will it stop raining ?" or we can open a conversation with the help of a **vocative** or attention-getter like "Excuse me,", "Hey", "Hey, Rita,", We can also open a conversation with the help of a **greeting** like "Hello!", "How nice to see you!", "What a pleasant surprise!", "Long time no see!", etc.

Though the act of opening a conversation is universal to all speech communities, there is a possibility that the. way the conversations are opened may vary from one speech community to the other. Godard(1977) did a contrastive analysis of the phone call beginnings in the United States and in France. She found that the conversational openings are much more direct in the United States where the caller is not required to check the number, excuse and identify himself, or engage in polite conversation with whoever answers. In France, on the other hand, all these things are a must.

3.2.2 The Main Body of Conversation

After the opening of the conversation comes the main body of conversation which can vary in length. In some cases it may not exist at all. This will happen when the opening is directly followed by a closing, Following is an example of such a talk exchange:

Example 3 : Two friends (A and B) meet each other in the college corridor. Both are in a hurry to reach their respective classrooms and both are aware of this. The exchange goes on as follows :

A : Hello !
B : Hi !
A : Bye !
B : Bye !

In this case we have an opening directly followed by a closing. However, most of the time this is not the case. In between the opening and the closing lies the main body of the conversation. It is here that we find topics being raised and changed, interruptions made, questions asked, answered or evaded,

An overall smooth running of any activity involving more than one person requires coordination. This coordination can be achieved with the help of **turn-taking.** Turn-taking is used for regulating traffic at intersections, for dealing with customers in shops, for ordering of moves in games, etc. It is also used for the

smooth exchange of speaking turns in conversatians, thus avoiding an excessive amount of simultaneous talking.

How exactly does this turn-talung take place? Have you ever heard anyone say : "My turn is over. You may speak now!"? How does one get a turn to speak and how does she/he pass it on? According to Saclts, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974), turn-taking is governed by three principles:

1) The current speaker 'selects' the next speaker, as for example by aslting a question to someone in particular.

2) In case the current speaker does not select the next speaker, then the hearers may, but need not self-select themselves for the next spealtership The first to talk becomes the speaker.

3) If the current speaker does not select the next speaker and if no other person self-selects, then the current speaker may, but need not, continue.

A hearer may self-select himself/herself for the next turn either when the current speaker gives a signal that she/he is ending his/her turn (also known as the **turn-**yielding signal) or by interrupting. How does one 'signal' the end of hislher turn? One way is obviously by asking a question. There are other ways also which we unconsciously use all the time to signal the end of our turn. For example, we lower our pitch and/or volume, we terminate any hand gesticulation that we had been using while talking, we laugh on the completion of an utterance, we repeat in a low tone and a low pitch what we had just said.

It is not that we take a turn only when the current speaker gives a turn-yielding signal. We can, and do at times, 'snatch' a turn by interrupting. People employ different strategies for interrupting. Two of these are : starting on a higher pitch level than the current speaker, and using certain negative words like 'but' or 'no' although they have nothing contradictory to say (this is also known as **'butting-**in').

Just as conversational openings show cultural differences, even turn-taking strategies show cultural differences. What is acceptable in one society may be considered rude or over-polite to the other.

Investigations of face-to-face conversations have suggested that visually-mediated cue's play an important role in the regulation of speaker turns. Does that mean that the turn-taking mechanism will get disrupted in the absence of a visual medium ? A moment's reflection shows that this is not so because if it had been so, then smooth transition of turns on the telephone would not have been possible.

3.2.3 The Closing of a Conversation

All the conversations that are begun have to be ended, and so the last part of every conversation is the closing of the conversation. This part has also been referred to as the 'closing section' (Schegloff and Sacks 1973) because it starts with the initiation of the closing and ends with the termination of the talk exchange. And, as we shall see shortly, a lot can occur in between.

For closing a conversation, the participants must first agree that they have nothing more to say. This agreement is achieved by the initiation of the closing by one participant and its acknowledgement by the other. Following is an example of a pre-closing sequence :

Example: 4

A : We-ell, it's been really nice talking to you !
B : Same here !

This pre-closing initiation and acknowledgement is followed by the 'leave-taking section', where the speakers may reinvoke materials just talked about, make arrangements for future contact, wish each other well, etc. The 'leave-taking section' ends with a terminal exchange, which consists of two adjacently positioned utterances, each produced by a different person. The following is a typical example of a terminal exchange :

Example : 5

A : Bye!
B : See you !

In most of the cases the terminal exchange ends the conversation. But, there is always a possibility of re-opening the conversation just after the terminal exchange and before the contact-termination, like - "oh, by the way, I forgot to tell you ...", or a desperate remark over the telephone, trying to stop the other person from disconnecting - "wait, wait a minute, I want to ask you something..." etc.

3.3 THE COOPERATIVE PRINCIPLE

A conversation requires a coordinated effort of two or more individuals. Mere talk to produce sentences does not constitute conversation.

Grice (1975 : 45) writes : "Our talk exchanges do not normally consist of a succession of disconnected remarks, and would not be rational if they did. They are characteristically, to some degree at least, of cooperative efforts, and each participant recognises in them, to some extent, a common purpose or set of purposes, or at least a mutually accepted direction."

According to Grice, all the speakers are expected to make their conversational contribution such as is required by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which one is engaged. He has termed this as the Cooperative Principle and proposed four 'maxims' or rules of conversation. Acting in accordance with these maxims will, according to Grice, yield results consistent with the Cooperative Principle. These maxims are:

1. **Maxim of** Quantity

Give the right amount of information when you talk:

1. Make your contribution as informative as is required by the current purposes of the conversation.

2. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

For example, if someone asks you casually as to where you stay, a cooperative answer would be something like "Karol Bagh" or "Defence Colony". A reply such as "on the earth" would not be informative enough, and something like "house number 760, street no. 5, Joshi road, Karol Bagh" would be over-informative,

2. . Maxim of Quality

Try to make your contribution one that is true :

2. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

For example, if someone asks you your name and your name is Pooja, then reply truthfully and don't say something like : "Akanksha" or "Medha".

3. Maxim of Relevance

Be relevant.

For example, if someone asks you: "Is that your son ?", give a reply such as "yes", "no" ,"I wish he was!" or "Thank god he isn't!", and not something like " I love mangoes" or "I'm going to China next week"..

4. Maxim of Manner

Be perspicuous :

1. Avoid obscurity of expression
2. Avoid ambiguity
3. Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity)
4. Be orderly

For example, describe things in the order in which they occurred : "We went to Sukriti's place , had lunch with her and then went to Anupam PVR for the 3 to 6 show" rather than "We went to Anupam PVR for the 3 to 6 show and then went to Sukriti's place and had lunch with her"

3.4 CONVERSATIONAL IMPLICATURES

It would appear to most people that the Cooperative Principle is sheer common sense. It becomes interesting when we consider examples where people apparently do not follow this principle. In answer to the question : " How's life ?" one can receive a reply such as : "My maid is not well" which does not answer the question. In answer to the question : "Where have you been ?" one could get the response : "I've been to heaven !", which is certainly not true.

At the surface of it it appears that such replies are violating the cooperative principle. But, a minute's reflection will make it clear that such replies actually show how strongly this principle works : people are so certain that the other person is following the cooperative principle that even an apparent violation is also seen as important and informative. For example, if someone asks "How's life ?" and the reply is "My maid is not well" which seems to violate the maxim of relevance, the hearer is likely to assume that the information about the maid is somehow relevant and important. In trying to find out how this seemingly irrelevant information could be relevant, the listener will fill in the gaps with assumptions such as "since the maid does all the cleaning, washing and cooking for her, and she is not well, so the speaker must be having a tough time doing all the work herself."

Similarly, if someone tells an apparent lie such as "I've been to heaven!", the listener would not think "what a lie !". (S)he, on the other hand, would try to make out why the speaker had said such a thing. That is, the listeners always assume

that the speaker is adhering to the cooperative principle, and even apparent violations are treated as adherence and interpretations or implications are drawn accordingly. These implications are called conversational **implicatures.**

3.5 SPEECH ACTS

Speech acts are acts performed in uttering expressions, A number of utterances behave somewhat like actions. For example, the words "Give way!" convey the same notion as pushing someone out of the way. In fact, one could argue that all utterances are acts of some type. Even an utterance such as 'I am tired' can be regarded as a special type of act of making a statement : (I state that) I am tired.

This approach towards language is known as the Speech Act Theory, and it is just another method of classifying the ways in which humans use language. For example, the various possible speech acts which a speaker might attempt to perform would include statements, questions, commands, requests, promises, threats, suggestions, persuations,and so on. The most important or frequently encountered of these speech acts are the following :

statement: I'm going.
question : Did you meet her ?
command : Get lost !

These are examples of Direct Speech Acts, where the act is expressed directly by obvious linguistic means. Indirect Speech Acts on the other hand have the syntactic structure of another type of act. For example, if I'm feeling cold and I want to tell the other person present in the room to shut the window, I could, utter any of the following :

Shut the window!
Could you shut the window (please)?
Aren't you feeling cold?
It's really cold in here.
If that window remains open, I'm going to freeze.

Although all the above utterances are 'intended to be commands or requests, not all of them have the typical command or request structure. Some of them have the overt structure of a question whereas there are others that look like statements. These are examples of indirect speech acts. Funny situations would arise if the hearer takes these indirect speech acts literally. For example, if on your saying " Could you shut the window ?" which has the structure of a question , the hearer "Aren't you feeling cold ?" he replies "You bet I am !". These humourous situations arise because the hearer is taking your indirect speech act as direct.

3.6 LET US SUM UP

In this unit we have seen that conversations have also got a structure. They have an opening, a middle and an end. There are certain acceptable ways of opening and closing conversations and for taking turns while talking, and these ways could vary from culture to culture.

We have also seen that a conversation is a cooperative effort of two or more individuals. Even when a speaker appears to be non-cooperative, the hearer still

assumes that s/he is cooperative and tries to draw interpretations or implicatures to make sense of what has been said.

We have also looked at another way of analysing utterances as acts of different types!

3.7 KEY WORDS

closing section	it starts with the initiation of closing and ends with the termination of conversation.
conversational implicature	listeners interpret what people say conforming to the cooperative principle,even when this principle is overtly broken. They draw implications from such utterances which are not strictly there in the linguistic meaning. These are called conversational implicatures.
cooperative principle	the speakers of a conversation are expected to make their conversational contribution such as is required by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which they are engaged. This is called the cooperative principle.
speech act theory	a theory that tries to analyse in terms of the intentions of the speaker while speaking and the effects s/he achieves on his/her listeners.
terminal exchange	it consists of two adjacently positioned utterances, each produced by a different person. It is used to end the conversation. For example, speaker **A** : Bye. speaker B : Bye.
turn-yielding signal	any signal given by the speaker to indicate that s/he is ending his/her turn.
vocative	this term refers to the word, which is usually a noun or a pronoun, that is used for addressing.

3.8 READING LIST

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3.9 EXERCISES

1. Do you agree that conversations are structured? Give reasons for your answer.

2. Discuss the different ways in which a conversation can be opened.

3. What is meant by the term 'turn-taking' in conversation? What are the three principles of turn-taking?

4. What is meant by 'butting-in' ? What are the other interruptive strategies employed by people ?

5. Discuss the various steps involved in closing a conversation.

6. What is meant by the Cooperative Principle ? Discuss the four maxims that form the cooperative Principle.

7. Which maxim is one trying to safeguard when one says :

   (i) Well, to cut it short,...
   (ii) I think ....
   (iii) I won't bore you with all the details...
   (iv) As far as I know,...

8. Explain, with suitable examples, what the term conversational implicature means.

9. If, in reply to your question - "Are you coming for the picnic tomorrow ?", you get a reply - "My mother is not well.", what implicature will you draw?

10. What is the difference between conversationally implicating something and saying it? Give an example to make the difference clear.

11. How would you analyze the following exchange in terms of the actions performed by the speakers :

    father : Isn't it past your bedtime ?

    son : I've reached the climax of the story !

UNIT 4 LEARNER FACTORS IN SECOND LANGUAGES ACQUISITION-1

Structure

4.0 Objectives
4.1 Introduction
4.2 Age
4.3 Sex
4.4 Intelligence
4.5 Aptitude
4.6 Let Us Sum Up
4.7 Key Words
4.8 Reading List

4.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit focusses on the shift in second/foreign language research from traditional approaches to language teaching, which were largely teacher centered, to the current approaches that value the creativity of the leamer and treat the learner as an active participant in the process of learning a foreign/second language. This unit will describe in some detail the contribution of the following learner variables:

- Age
- Sex
- Intelligence
- Aptitude

4.0 INTRODUCTION

The emphasis of theory and practice of second language learning in the late nineteenth and greater half of the twentieth century was mainly on the behaviourist ideas of association between stimulus and response. It viewed the human mind as a blank slate and considered language learning as a mechanical process of habit forination. The greatest advocate of this view was the American psychologist B.F Skinner. This view was challenged by the revolutionary ideas of Noam Chomsky in 1959. He felt that behaviourism simplified the learning process and underestimated the role of creativity of the human mind. He asserted the remarkable capacity of the child to "generalize, hypothesize and process information in a variety of very special, apparently highly complex ways ... which may be largely innate, or may develop through some sort of learning or through maturation of the nervous system (p.158)". **This shift had a tremendous impact on research in both the first and second language learning. The learner, rather than the teacher or the materials, became the focus of study.** The learner began to be viewed as an active participant in the process of learning. In teaching, more and more emphasis began to be given to those exercises in teaching which would help the learner to induce the language system and internalise the rules that govern the target language. In other words to actively participate in the learning process. However, focus on the learner gradually led researchers such as Widdowson, Morrow and others to look beyond the linguistic

needs to the communication needs of the learners. Another important consequence of the increasing focus on the learner was that the output of the learner began to be considered independent of the learner's first or target language. This output began to be called 'transitional competence' (Corder 1971), 'approximate system' (Nemser 1971) and 'inter-language' (Selinlcer 1972).

This shift from the teacher and the teaching materials to the learner, his/her needs and his/her linguistic output has also led some researchers to look into the learner characteristics in greater detail and identify those characteristics that appear to be more responsible for success or failure in second/foreign language learning. Significant among the learner characteristics identified so far, include the learner' age, intelligence, aptitude, motivation, attitude, personality and cognitive style.

4.2 AGE

Most people, including some psychologists and linguists, believe that children are better at learning second languages than adults. Penfield (1953) argued that the human brain loses its plasticity after puberty. He stressed that children relearn their language after injury or disease. Lenneberg (1968) suggested that laterlization made the brain functions become specialized in the early teens. He suggests that there is a **critical period** (between two years and puberty) for effective language acquisition. After that, while it is possible to acquire another language, it is done in a physiologically different and more difficult way. Another explanation for this apparent decline in adult language acquisition was that the adult's abstract mode of thinking interfered with natural language learning process. Yet another explanation for the decline in adult learners is that they generally do not have the same peer group pressure, the intensity of motivation and attitude towards the target language and culture that children have. Adults are also much less willing to give up their well-established social identity. Seliger (1978) points out that there is much evidence to show that children acquire the phonological system of another language much better than adults, and proposes the concept of 'multiple critical periods' correlating with localization and gradual loss of plasticity. It appears that language acquisition abilities are not lost at once. There is only a gradual reduction of such abilities. Whitaker (1978) points out that though there is evidence that under unusual circumstances language acquisition may occur after puberty, possibly through the right hemisphere of the brain, it is neither as rapid nor as successful as normal acquisition.

However, several researchers have shown that adults are actually better learners than children. Cook (1991) refers to the research carried out on the English-speaking adults and children who had gone to live in Holland. He reports that Snow & Hoefnagel-Hohle (1978) found at the end of three months that the older learners were better at all aspects of Dutch except pronunciation.

To quote Cook (1991)

> The sum up, if children and adults are compared who are learning a second language in exactly the same way, whether as immigrants to Holland, or by the same method in the Classroom, adults are better. The apparent superiority of'adults in such controlled research may mean that the typical situations in which children find themselves are better suited to L2 learning than those adults encounter. Age itself is not so important as the different interaction that learners of different ages have with the situations and with other people.
>
> (Cook, 1991: 84)

He further adds

> Adults start more quickly and then slow down. Though children start more slowly, they finish up at a higher level.
>
> (Cook, 1991: 85)

Thus, the researchers working on the importance of age in second language learning have shown that age is an important learner characteristic and therefore it cannot be ignored in deciding when to start teaching a second language. It is equally important to find out what materials and teaching style/strategies would be suitable for a particular age group in a specific learning situation.

4.3 SEX

Several studies of first/second language acquisition have shown girls to be better learners than boys. Trudgill (1974) showed that women used the prestige linguistic forms more frequently than men, and related this phenomenon to female social insecurity. Trudgill argued that women are socially and economically less secure than men and compensate for it linguistically. Society expects women to be more correct, discreet, quiet and polite and increases the pressure on them to use more 'correct' and prestigious linguistic forms than men. In a study of Panjabi migrant children in England learning English as a second language, Agnihotri (1979) showed that girls assimilated the prestige linguistic forms faster than the boys while resisting the stigmatised forms. Another researcher, Satyanath (1982) found that Kannadiga women in Delhi showed a higher percentage of assimilation of linguistic features associated with Hindi (the language of the host society) and a higher degree of usage than men. He found that younger women assimilated the host society's language and culture maximally. Unlike Trudgill (1974) who considered social insecurity to be responsible for higher use of prestige forms, Satyanath explained this in terms of the sociocultural aspects of the Kannadiga community in which women negotiate a greater part of the interaction with the host society.

However, in the field of formal foreign langauge learning there are only a few studies investigating sex as a variable. Even in these studies, several investigators generally found girls to be better learners. Burstall (1975) pointed to an interesting possible relationship between sex differences and socioeconomic status. NFER study revealed that the most marked sex differences occurred in the secondary schools where the students were predominantly from the lower socioeconomic strata.

4.4 INTELLIGENCE

What is Intelligence?

Intelligence is usually conceived of as the ability to understand, to learn and think things out quickly, especially compared with other people, and consists of verbal ability, reasoning ability, concept formation ability, etc. Carroll (1965) conceived of intelligence as the learner's capacity to understand instructions, and to understand what is required of him/her in the learning situation. It is a talent for not getting sidetracked or wasting one's efforts.

Intelligence Tests

Most of the intelligence tests measure a number of abilities simultaneously. The most commonly used individual intelligence tests include Stanford-Binet test,

Wechsler Adult intelligence Scale (WAIS), Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC). Some of the group tests of intelligence are Army Beta Test, Army Alpha Test, Army General Classification Test (AGCT), etc. The Stanford-Binet test puts heavy stress upon verbal ability. It can't be used with children who are illiterate. Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale **(WAIS)** consists of the following verbal and performance (non-verbal) subtests.

Verbal **Subtests**	Performance (non-verbal) **Subtests**
Information	Picture arrangement
General Comprehension	Picture Completion
Memory Span	Block design
Arithmetic reasoning	Object assembly
Similarities	Digit symbol
Vocabulary	

The group test, The Army Beta Test, meant mainly for illiterates and foreigners not proficient in English, emphasizes non-verbal problems for which simple instructions can be given orally.

The Army **Alpha** Test designated for the typical individual who can read and write, include some of the problems like the following:-

A If 5 % tons of bark cost **$33,** what will **3** ½ cost? ( )

B. **A** train is harder to stop than an automobile because

( ) it is longer, ( ) it is heavier,
( ) the brakes are not so good.

C. If the two words of a pair mean the same or nearly the same thing, draw a line under same. If they mean the opposite or nearly the opposite, draw a line under opposite.

comprehensive	restricted	same	opposite
allure	attract	same	opposite
talent	hidden	same	opposite
deride	ridicule	same	opposite

D. If, when you have arranged the following words to make a sentence, the sentence is true, underline true; if it is false, underline false.

People enemies arrogant many make	true	false
Never who needless those stumble are	true	false
Never man the show the deeds	true	false

E. Underline which

The pitcher **has** an important place in	tennis	**football**
	baseball	handball

F. Underline which–

Dismal is to dark				
as **cheerful** is to	**laugh**	,bright	house	gloomy

Role of Intelligence

All these tests may be useful as measures of mental ability of either an individual or a group of individuals. But these scores cannot be treated as sure predictors of success in a foreign/second language. Nor can they be considered as a reflection of abilities to acquire language. Pimsleur et al (1962) reported on a large number of studies examining the relationship of intelligence with foreign language learning. Though some of the studies gave evidence for the positive relationship between intelligence and success in a foreign langauge, most of the studies were sceptical of such a relationship. Carroll and Sapon (1959) noted that very few of the abilities measured in an intelligence test were found relevant to foreign language learning, and it was for this reason that there was a very insignificant relationship between the scores on an intelligence test and a foreign language test. More research is needed to identify those abilities that match significantly with foreign language scores. Incidentally, these abilities have been called by many researchers as language aptitude abilities. We shall look into these abilities in the next section.

4.5 APTITUDE

What is Aptitude?

Aptitude for a particular job or skill is the ability to learn it quickly and easily and to do it well. What people generally call a 'knack for languages' is nothing but aptitude for languages. But it is very difficult to determine what this knack is. It is certainly more than 'having an ear' 'for languages because everyone learns his/her first language.

It is popularly believed that some people have more aptitude for learning a second language than others. This observation has generally been made in connection with classroom learning, and not learning in real-life situations.

Aptitude Measures

The two best known measures of FL (foreign language) aptitude for native speakers of English are the Modern Language Aptitude Test (MLAT) developed by Carroll and Sapon (1959) and the Pimsleur Language Aptitude Battery (LAB) (1966). MLAT incorporates four factors that predict a student's success in the classroom. This consists of:

i. phonemic coding ability: student's ability to use phonetic scripts to distinguish phonemes in the languages.
ii. grammatical sensitivity: student's ability to pick out grammatical functions in a sentence.
iii. inductive language learning ability: student's ability to generalise patterns from one sentence to another.
iv. rote learning: student's ability to remember vocabulary lists of foreign words paired with translations.

These components were eventually measured in the following five sub-test of MLAT:

Part one: Number Learning: The respondent is taught, on tape, the Kurdish number system from 1 to 4 plus the 'tens' and 'hundreds' forms of these numbers, then tested by hearing numbers which are combinations of these elements, e.g. 312, 122, 41, etc. The test aims at measuring associative memory. Subjects hear a new language for numbers, and, after some practice in using these numbers, are required to translate from a new language to English.

Part Two: Phonetic Script: This sub-test measures phonetic coding ability. The respondent learns a system of phonetic notation for some English phonemes. S/he is then tested on this, e..g. 'Underline the word you hear: Tik; Tiyk; Tis; Tiys'.

Part Three: **Spelling Clues:** This is a speed test that measures both native language vocabulary and phonemic coding ability. The respondent is given clues to the pronunciation of a word, **e.g. 'luv'** for 'love' and is then asked to choose a **synonym from** a list of alternatives

A. carry
B. exist
C. affection
D. wash
E. spy

In this case C. affection correspond most nearly in meaning to 'luv'.

Part Four: Words in Sentences: This tests **grammatical** sensitivity. The respondent is given pairs of sentences. In the first sentence (key sentence) in each pair a certain word or phrase is underlined, and the respondent is asked to tick (✓) one of the five underlined words or phrases in the second sentence that functions most nearly like the word or phrase in the key sentence in the pair. As you can see, in the following pairs of sentence:

London is the capital **of** England,
He liked to go fishing in Maine

The word 'he' in the second sentence performs the same function as 'London' in the key sentence.

Part V: Paired Associates: The respondent studies a written Kurdish – English vocabulary list, practices the stimulus – response pairs **seen,** and is then tested by means of multiple-choice items. **This** is a test of **associative** memory. For instance, the respondent is asked to decide which word of English has the same meaning as the Kurdish word **roo.**

Example:

roo

a. art
b. draw
c. run
d. ask
e. camel

The **correct** choice is **a**.

There are several slightly different **forms** of MLAT available. The MLAT itself is for use with people of 14 years of age **and** above. There is also an elementary form (EMLAT) for use with children between the ages of eight and eleven. There is also a short form of the test for use when the time is limited.

Pimsleur Language Aptitude Battery (LAB) **is appropriate** for children aged 13 to 19. It emphasises inductive language learning **capacity** and auditory ability. It consists of six sections, the fint two depending **simply** on verbal **report.** Part one, grade point average, **requires** that subjects report their most recent year-end grades in English, Mathematics, Science and History (or social science) and Part two is based on the students' self-ratings on a five point scale of their interest in studying a **foreign**

language, Part three consists of a vocabulary test. Part four is the langauge analysis test. In this test, subjects are presented with a list of words and phrases in Kabardian (a fictitious language) and their English equivalents. From these, subjects must deduce how to say other things in Karbardian and select the correct answer from the alternatives provided. In part five, sound discrimination, subjects are taught, by means of a tape recording, three similar-sounding words in a foreign language. They then hear sentences, spoken in the language and must indicate which of the three words each sentence contains. Part six is the sound symbol test. Subjects hear a two or three syllable nonsense word and must indicate which of the four printed alternatives it was. Pimsleur et. al (1966) suggested that 20 to 30 per cent of children under-achieve in foreign language learning because they have poor auditory ability.

Review of Research on Aptitude

Most research in language aptitude since then has been either in validation of the existing tests, or developing aptitude batteries for use in particular countries. For instance, the York Language Analysis Test has been developed and has been widely used in Britain. The most important research aimed at the production of a new test battery has been carried out by the American Armed Forces. This was the result of dissatisfaction felt with MLAT for not being able to discriminate at higher levels. Another type of research has examined the component for aptitude in greater depth. Skehan (1980-1982) examined the memory component in detail. He hypothesized that an ability to analyse text, to extract its propositional content and remember such content would be related to greater foreign language learning success (Skehan 1989:31). Jakobovits (1970) suggested that sub-contents of FL aptitude may be exploited usefully in foreign language teaching. The teacher who has the information about the aptitude of his/her students can modify his/her instructional materials accordingly. This information can also be used to stream students into different classes with different goals. It can also help to advise students whether s/he should set a particular target in a given time frame.

4.6 . LET US SUM UP

In this unit we have looked at some of the personal and cognitive learner characteristics which have a bearing on second language acquisition. We have also cited some research conducted in these areas. These factors include personal factors such as age, sex and cognitive factors such as intelligence and aptitude.

4.7 KEYWORDS

aptitude — The natural ability to learn a language which does not include intelligence, motivation, interest, etc. Language aptitude is thought to be a combination of various abilities, such as the ability to recognize the different grammatical function of words in sentences, the ability to recognize sound patterns in a new language, the ability to infer language rules. A person with a high language aptitude can learn a second/foreign language more quickly and easily than a person with a low language aptitude, all other factors being equal.

auditory — related to hearing

behaviourist theory	a theory of psychology which states that human behaviour should be studied in terms of physical processes only. It led to theories of learning which explained how an external event (a stimulus) caused a change in the individual (a response). This theory had a tremendous impact on language learning.
cognitive	the particular way in which a learner tries to learn something. In second or foreign language learning, different learners may prefer different solutions to learning problems. For example, some learners may want explanations for grammatical rules, others may not need them.
interlanguage/transitional competence/approximate system	the type of language produced by second/foreign language learners who are in the process of learning a language.
critical period	the theory in child development that says that there is a period during which language can be acquired with greater case than at any other time.
inductive language learning	learners are not taught grammatical or other types of rules directly but are left to discover or induce rules from their experience of using the language.
interalization	the development of control over different functions in different parts of the brain.
phonetic notation	special symbols which express the sounds of an actual spoken utterance. A transcription of such an utterance in phonetic symbols is said to be in **phonetic notation** or **phonetic script.**

4.8 SUGGESTED READING

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UNIT 5 LEARNER FACTORS IN SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION-2

Structure

5.0 Objectives
5.1 Cognitive Style
5.2 Personality Factors
5.3 Attitude
5.4 Motivation
5.5 Let Us Sum Up
5.6 Key Words
5.7 References
5.8 Questions and Exercises

5.0 OBJECTIVES

This is the second unit on learner factors in second language acquisition. It discusses some more cognitive and affective factors which contribute to second language acquisition. These are:

- cognitive style
- personality factors
- attitude
- motivation

We have concentrated on the research conducted in these aspects and its effect on second language acquisition.

5.1 COGNITIVE STYLE

What is Cognitive Style?

It refers to an individual's typical way of organising his/her universe, and reflects his/her personality or performance and not his/her ability or intelligence. For example, two boys Anwar and Kanwal, look at two different kinds of cars but their responses are quite different. Anwar thinks of how comfortable each car is, whereas Kanwal comments on each car's engine, its capacity and how each car is designed differently. These responses of Anwar and Kanwal show that Anwar focuses on the usefulness of the car and Kanwal on the technical aspects. The former therefore is a functionalist and the latter an analyser. Both the responses reflect different styles of learning or cognitive styles.

Types of Cognitive Styles

a. Field independence - Field dependence

Researchers have broadly identified three different cognitive styles, which they call **field-independence/field-dependendence, reflection-impulsivity,** and **categorization styles.** The cognitive style called field-dependence is defined by a person who cannot consider an object or event separately from the context in which it appears. The context in which an object appears is its field. On the other hand, the

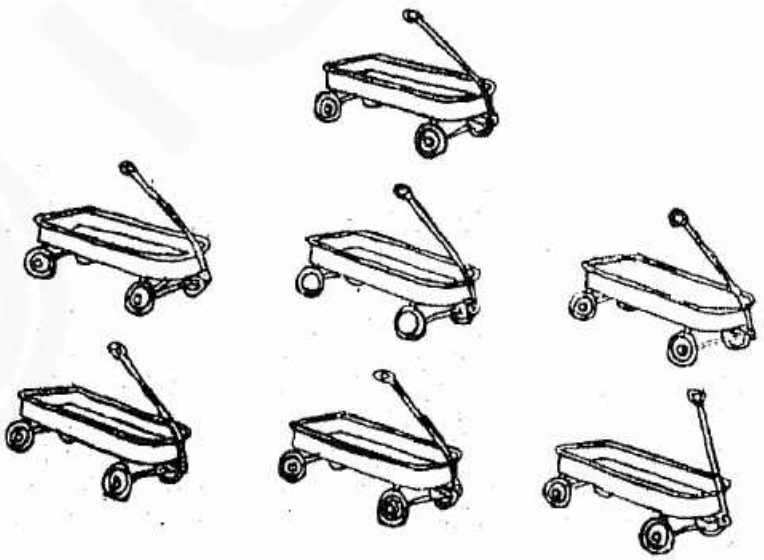
field-independent persons have the capacity to process information or consider an object or event independent of the context. For example, when a person with a field independent cognitive style looks at a painting s/he has no difficulty in finding the central motif of the painting and relating the details to the central motif.

Researchers have related this concept of field independence/field dependence to second language learning. Skehan(1989) noted that the field dependent persons would have greater communicative, greater conversational resourcefulness, greater negotiation skills, all of which should be beneficial for exposure to language and therefore to language development through interaction. One research group noticed that field independence helped the learners with conventional classroom learning. Another research group found a very significant relationship between field independence and performance on a French oral production test and on a French listening comprehension test. On the other hand, some other researchers did not find any significant difference in how much the learners spoke and how well they spoke among the learners with either the field dependent or field independent cognitive style. These and many other researchers suggest that there is at best, a weak relationship between field independent cognitive style and second language learning.

b. Reflection - impulsivity

The cognitive style that:refers to the degree to which children reflect upon a problem is called reflection - impulsivity. One of the tasks used to find out whether a particular individual is reflective or impulsive is to ask him/her to choose a picture or design that is similar to the standard picture or design. This method is known as matching Familiar Figure Test.

Here is an example of an item taken from the Matching Familiar Figures test. The child is asked to find out which of the following six pictures on the bottom is exactly the same as the 'standard' on the top.



The learners who are faster and less accurate are called impulsive, and those who are slower and more accurate are called reflective. Researchers have shown that learners after the age of eleven are better able to answer with greater speed and more accuracy. The tendency to be reflectiveimpulsiveis not fixed and therefore can be altered with training.

c. Categorization Styles

The cognitive styles broadly called categorization styles refer to how an individual classifies or arranges information, things or objects. They have been subdivided into three types:

i.	descriptive	-	analytic style
ii	categorical	-	inferential style
iii	relational		contextual style

A descriptive - analytic cognitive style concentrates on a single detail common to all objects. A categorical - inferential style focuses on the class of objects, whereas a relation - contextual focuses on a common theme or function.

Each of these cognitive styles may have its effect on second language learning. Though the field independent/field dependent cognitive style has been explored in detail in relation to second language learning, other cognitive styles need to be studied in detail in this context. It is felt that a difference in the cognitive style of a learner may make a significant difference in success in second language learning. It is also important to remember that since these differences are highly individual they should be kept in mind at the time of selecting teaching strategies and developing any educational curriculum.

5.2 PERSONALITY FACTORS

Review of Research on the Role of Personality

Several researchers (e.g. Pimsleur et. al 1964, Smart et.al 1970, Bartz (1974) have emphasized the importance of personality in foreign/second language learning. Piinsleur et.al (1964) compared average achievers and underachievers in high schools and noted that a successful learner was invariably found to have personality traits such as social conformity, extroversion, flexibility and tolerance for ambiguity. Bartz (1974) found that introversion, soberness and self-sufficiency were strongly correlated with oral components of communicative competence. He further demonstrated that students with traits of imagination, placidness and low anxiety tended to score higher on the written components of coinmunicative competence test.

Naiman, Frohlich and Stern (1975) found that teachers viewed successful students as meticulous, mature, responsible, self-confident, extrovert, independent, passive, shy and introverted. The apparently contradictoiy traits appealed to different teachers differently. Unsuccessful students, on the other hand, were most frequently described as demonstrating a lack of self-confidence and as being timid, shy, careless, afraid to express themselves and nervous.

Pritchard (1952) reported a particularly high correlation of .94 between sociability and ratings of French fluency of 33 grammar school students. Some support for a link between sociability and second language acquisition was also provided by Chastian (1975). He tested 80 students of French, 72 of German, and 77 of Spanish introductory university level courses, administering among other measures the MarloveCrowne Scale (Crowne and Marlowe 1964) which assesses the extent to which students are outgoing. He obtained significant positive correlation between this test and grades in German and Spanish, but not French. Smart et.al 1970, found that a dimension of 'social spontaneity' differentiated overachievers from average achievers but did not distinguish underachieves from either group. That is, overachievers were significantly lower in social spontaneity than average achievers, indicating that they tended to be introverted. They do not enjoy social activities, prefer not to be in crowds, do not spend their free time at social functions, seldom take the initiative at social gatherings, work better by themselves, and prefer to work alone (Smart et.al 1970,419).

The study by Naiman et.al (1975) demonstrates that individuals with high levels of anxiety are less successful in learning second languages than more relaxed

individuals. Two researchers (Krashen 1981; Rivers 1964) consider anxiety as a potent deterrent to second language achievement.

Taylor, Catford, Guiora and Lane (1971) hypothesize that the 'more sensitive an individual is to the feelings and behaviours of another person the more likely he is to perceive and recognize the subtleties and unique aspects of the second language and incorporate them in speaking' (147). Research literature supporting this hypothesis is questionable. Naiman et.al (1978) obtained negative results using Hogan's Empathy Scale. They found no relationship between this measure of empathy and scores on the International French Achievement test (r=.01) or performance on an imitation test focusing on French pronunciation (r=.03). Genesee and Hamayan (1980) failed to find any positive relationship between personality variables and achievement. Even Strong (1983) working on a group of kindergarteners in a California school did not find any relationship between a measure of extroversion and various measures of structure, vocabulary and pronunication of the target language. Thus, it is evident that the question whether certain personality traits help language learning is still an open question. Skehen (1989) suggests that future research must firstly attend more vigorously to contextual factors such as the age of the extroverts in the younger age group may have different correlationship with language proficiency as compared to the older extroverts. Similiary, extroverts learning a second language in a formal situation may not have the same set of correlations with proficiency in the second language as the extroverts learning it in a naturalistic environment. Secondly, future research must also try to improve the definition of the trait-contrast as used in language learning. For example, a construct like extroversion may have certain meaning as it is used in psychology, but it may have a restricted meaning in second language learning. Thirdly, the instruments used to measure personality traits need to be more systematic and reliable.

How in Personality Measured?

Personality traits in a person have been elicited by psychologists in a number of ways. Most commonly, a questionnaire consisting of several statements is given and the subject is asked to agree or disagree with them on a 5-pointscale, ranging from 'not at all' (scored 'I') to 'very often ' (scored '5'). The aggregate score on the statements is regarded and score for the trait measured. Not all traits are assessed by agreement or disagreement to verbal statements. For example, in the technique called Thematic Appreciation Test (TAT) the subject is presented with a number of pictures usually of people involved in somewhat ambiguous situations, and is asked to write a story about each. These responses are analysed to find out the personality traits of the subjects.

5.3 ATTITUDE

What is attitude?

According Allport (1954:45), "an attitude is a mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all object and situations with which it is related.' In operational terms an individual's attitude is according to Gardner (1985) 'an evaluative reaction to some referent or attitude object, inferred on the basis of the individual's beliefs or opinions about the referent (p.9)'.

Review of Research on the Role of Attitudes

The nature of attitude of a second language learner can vary from the attitude towards the teacher or the language itself or the group that speaks the language. It may also refer to more general dispositions such as ethnocentrism, authoritarianism or anomie.

Attitudes towards learning the second language and the second language community have received more attention than other factors in second language research. Some researchers support the belief that measures of attitudes towards learning a second language and the second language community correlate significantly with achievement. For example, Lambert and his associates at McGill University conducted a series of studies (Gardner & Lambert 1972) to investigate the role of attitude in second language learning and came to the conclusion that 'a friendly outlook towards the other group whose language is being learnt can differentially sensitize the learner to the audio-lingual features of the language, making him more perceptive to forms of pronunciation and accent than is the case for a learner without this open and friendly disposition'. (Gardner & Lambert 1972:134).

Spolsky (1969) argues strongly that 'one of the most important attitudinal factors is the attitude of the learner to the language and to its speakers' (p.274). In an investigation of 315 foreign students from 80 different countries living in the U.S.A., he found significant association between the perception of similarity between self and English speakers and grades in English. Similarly, Oller, Hudson and Liu (1977) found achievement in the second language correlating highly significantly to evaluative reactions to the target language group. Burstall (1975) quotes several studies which show a positive correlation between attitudes and achievement. But she is skeptical about the causal relationship between the two. She quotes the NFER evaluation which shows that an early achievement in French affected later attitudes towards — and achievement in French to a significantly greater extent than early attitudes towards French affected the subsequent development of attitude or achievement. The initial success or failure in language learning may thus be a powerful determinant of linguistic attitudes.

Research in second language learning has also shown that success or failure in a second language is also related, though weakly, to general disposition of the learners such as ethnocentrism or authoritarianism. Gardner and Lambert (1972) believe that:

> Learners who have strong ethnocentric or authoritarian attitude or who have learned to be ,prejudicedtowards foreign people are unlikely to approach the language learning task with an integrative outlook (p.16).
>
> Authoritarianism refers to anti-democratic feelings and is generally measured through respect for authority, use of force, nationalism, etc. Agreement or disagreement with some of the following statements may elicit the second language learner's task with an integrative outlook (p.16).

Authoritarianism refers to anti-democratic feelings and is generally measured through respect for authority, use of force, nationalism, etc. Agreement or disagreement with some of the following statements may elicit the second language learners' authoritarianldemocratic disposition:

1. Children should always obey their elders.
2. Eve-teasing or rape is a serious crime; the culprits should be hanged in public.
3. If people would talk less and work more, everybody will be better off.
4. What young people need is strict discipline and the will to work for the country.

Ethnocentrism, on the other hand, refers to people who suspect foreign people and ideas and is generally measured through attitude towards the foreigners, preservation of nationality, respect for national symbols, etc. Agreement or disagreement with the following statements can elicit second language learners' ethnocentric tendencies:

1. Certain people who do not salute the national flag should be punished.

2. India is surrounded by enemies on all sides: we should strengthen our armed forces very fast.
3. Epics greater than 'Ramayana' and 'Mahabharata' cannot be written.
4. Indian women are chaster than women elsewhere in the world.

Gardner and Lambert (1972) examined the influence of these dispositions in learning second languages in Maine, Louisiana, Connecticut and Philippines. It is only in the Connecticut study that authoritarianism was found to have significant correlations with achievement variables other than listening comprehension. In Maine, the ethnocentric syndrome is not directly related to any of the French achievement measures. In the Connecticut study, ethnocentrism configurates only with achievement variables of free speech. Similarly, in the Louisiana study ethnocentrism configurates only with one component of listening comprehension. Khanna (1983) working with undergraduates found very significant correlations between achievement in English and authoritarian and ethnocentric tendencies.

Some Unresolved Issues

Research on the relationship between attitudes towards the target language and achievement in it has raised several issues. It has been found that attitudes towards learning languages are more related to language achievement than attitude towards any other school subject. Further, some aspects of attitude are more highly related to language achievement than others, Some research has shown girls to be better second language learners than boys. Attitudes have also been found to be influenced by the students' upbringing. Attitudes towards the target language vary from one geographical area to another. Some research has shown that attitude towards learning a second language becomes less positive with age because learners become more mature and aware. It is also noticed that as learners grow older, the correlations between the attitudes towards the target language and achievement grow higher, though less positive. More research needs to be done on the effect of age and sex on evaluative reactions towards the target language speakers. Research has shown that the learners who had more exposure to the target language also had more exposure to the target language speakers. It has also shown that the learners who had more exposure to the target language also had more favourable attitudes towards it.

5.4 MOTIVATION

What is Motivation?

The term motivation in the second language learning context is seen according to Gardner (1985) as 'referring to the extent to which the individual works or strives to learn the language because of a desire to do so and the satisfaction experienced in this activity (p.10)'. The desire to learn the language, or favourable attitudes towards learning the second language, do not reflect motivation in and of themselves. The individual may wish to learn the second language and may enjoy doing it, but, if this is not accompanied by a striving to do so, then it is not motivation in the real sense. It is only when the desire to learn the second language and favourable attitude towards it are linked with the effort or drive to achieve it, then we can say that the learner is motivated.

Types of Motivation

Gardner and Lambert (1959, 1972) have done pioneering work to explore the nature of motivation specific to language study. They built on Mowrer's (1950) concept of identification, which is the tendency of the child to imitate the parent in first language development. They considered the extent to which people esteem and want to identify with not only particular individuals but also foreign peoples. Gardner & Lambert

suggested that those people who identify positively with the target language group would like to resemble the target language group, understand their culture, and be able to participate in it. This pattern of motivation they call an **integrative orientation.** Gardner & Lambert (1972) contrasted this orientation with **instrumental orientation** which is characterized by utilitarian objectives such as obtaining admission in a particular course, professional advancement, and so on. The learner's interest in the other group is confined to achieving personal advantages.

In order to elicit these motivational orientations, statements such as the following have been devised.

Integrative Motivation

I am studying English because

1. It will help me to mix with English people.
2. It will improve my personality.
3. It will help me to better understand English people.
4. It will help me to read and understand and appreciate English literature, music and films.

Instrumental Motivation

I am studying English because

1. It will help me to get a good job.
2. It will help me to become a better educated person.
3. It will help me to get a degree.
4. It will help me travel anywhere without any difficulty.

Gardner and Lambert initiated the dichotomy of orientations only for the purposes of measurement. They subsequently considered other possible orientations such as manipulative or machiavellian one and argued for developing a procedure for assessing orientations which did not depend upon categorical system (Gardner and Lambert 1971).

Review of Research on Motivation

Gardner and Lambert (1950, 1972) showed that success in a foreign/second language learning is likely to be less if the underlying motivational orientation is instrumental rather than integrative. Burstall (1975), however, pointed out, that this hypothesis was examined in the course of NFFR evaluation of the teaching of French in primary schools and only a partial support to the view put forward by Gardner & Lambert could be established. Although pupil's attitude and achievement proved to be closely associated, motivational orientation of individual pupils appeared to be neither exclusively integrative nor instrumental. It is interesting to note that in the Philippines study (reported in Gardner & Lambert 1972) the authors' hypothesis was challenged. Their research showed ihat in settings where there was an urgency about mastering a second language for utilitarian ends the instrumental orientation to second language learning is very effective. Au's (1988) study gave substantial evidence against the hypothesis that the integrative motive was positively related to second language achievement.

He says:

> How could a less integratively motivated L_2 learner emerge as a better learner in some contexts7 What are these contexts that happen to facilitate the L_2 achievement of the less integratively motivated learners?

> How can some contexts reverse the effect of integrative motivation? Gardner and his associates do not seem to have answers to these questions. Infact as they have paid little attention to these finding, for them these questions simply do not arise.
>
> (Au 1988:22)

For example, in Anisfled and Lambert (1961), Lyczak, Fu and Ho (1976) Clement, Gardner and Smythe (1977,1980) and Wong (1982) either no significant or negative correlations were found between components of motivational, attitudinal and achievement measures.

Gardner's Socio-educational Model

The social psychological model was significantly modified and elaborated in Gardner (1985). This model was more comprehensive than before because it included, in addition to individual differences, the social milieu, the formal and informal language acquisition context and linguistic and non-linguistic outcomes as important components of the model. It also, perhaps for the first time, provided clear definitions of motivation, motivational orientation and the integrative motive. Motivation was seen as a combination of attitudes towards the target language and the effort and desire to learn it. Motivational orientation, on the other hand, was seen as representing ultimate goals of learning the language. They could be integrative, instrumental, manipulative etc. The integrative motive is a hypothetical construct comprising motivation, positive attitudes to the learning situation (i.e. attitudes to the language teacher and the course) and integrativeness (i.e. attitudes to the other community or communities, integrative orientation and interest in foreign languages).

It is surprising that in spite of repeated emphasis on the social milieu and learning context in learning a second language, Gardner (1988: 108-9) considers them as 'Confounding variables', It is not out of place here to mention that the significance of social environment can be seen through such variables as age, previous language training available, sources of exposure, socio-economic status, physical conditions of the learning situation, patterns of language use in different types of activity, teacher effectiveness etc. The interaction between the social environment and the individual learner can be seen only when variables concerning both the social environment and the individual are systematically measured and analyzed.

Some **Indian** Studies

Several studies conducted in India and England underline the overwhelming importance of social rather than individual variables. Many of these studies (Agnihotri, Khanna and Mukherjee 1988; Khanna 1983; Khanna and Agnihotri 1982; Sahgal 1983; Virmani 1991; and Sahgal 1992) are concerned with the acquisition of English as a second language in the non-native context of Delhi. English in Delhi is used in a variety of social contexts including mass media, higher education, law, administration, elite social interactions and inter group communication. Khanna, Verma, Agnihotri and Sinha (1990) worked with adultimmigrants learning English as a second language in the native British context. They noticed that the teachers' evaluation of the learners proficiency correlated significantly with claimed control, patterns of language use, exposure ta English, use of English in the family, motivational orientation and desire to learn English (See Table 3 in Agnihotri and Khanna, 1997). As distinguished from other studies done in India, this study was conducted in a socio-cultural setting where the target language community was present and was also the majority host community.

Is Motivation the Cause or Result **of** Success?

Another question that has engaged the attention of second language researchers is whether it is the motivation that causes success or vice-versa. Burstall (1975) working with primary school children learning French came to the conclusion that it

is the achievement which is primary and motivation the consequences. Hermann (1980) too argued that it was the degree of success within the instruction which had produced the different motivational orientations. Similar results have been reported by other researchers. However, Gardner (1985) asserts that there is no evidence that differential success influences attitudes and motivation. In the absence of any conclusive evidence about the direction and nature of relationship between motivation and success, more in-depth research is needed which monitors level over time in some detail rather than takes the 'snapshot' approach through test administration at the beginning and end of courses.

5.5 LET US SUM UP

In this unit we have focussed on some more learner characteristics, and the effect of these on second language learning/acquisition. These variables/factors are:

- Cognitive factors
- Personality factors
- Attitude
- Motivation

These factors have been identified, and research conducted all over the world in different environents in several studies.

5.6 KEYWORDS

attitude — the attitude which speakers of different languages or language varieties have towards each other's languages or to their own language. Positive or negative feelings towards a language or a language group may affect a person's ability to learn a language.

authoritarianism — anti-decomocratic tendencies

anomic — In learning a new language people may emotionally begin to move away from their own language and. culture, and at the same time may not be sure about their feelings towards the new language group. This leads to a feeling of insecurity.

'ethnocentric — the desire to interact mainly with one's own language group, People with such tendencies are convinced about the superiority of their own culture and language.

field dependent — a learning style in which a learner tends to look at the whole of a learning task which contains many items.

field independent — a learning style in which a learner is able to identify or focus on particular items and is not distracted by other items in the background or context.

motivation — the desire to learn a second/foreign language, and the effort used in learning it. Two types of motivation are sometimes distinguished:

i) **instrumental motivation:** desire to learn a language because it would fulfil certain utilitarian goals, such as getting a job, passing an examination, etc.

ii) **integrative motivation:** desire to learn a language in order to communicate with people of another culture who speak it; the desire is also there to identify closely with the target language group.

target language the new language which a person is learning.

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5.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Who in your observation are better learners, boys or girls? Could you think of some reasons.

2. How is aptitude different from intelligence? Is there any overlap between the two? Are these genetically determined or are they acquirable? State some evidence in support of your belief.

3. What is meant by the statement: 'He has an 'ear' for the language?' Elaborate this statement with examples.,

4. You have learnt 'about several cognitive styles that individual tend to have. Make an assessment of the learning styles of any ten students and classify them in different groups.

5. Make a list of atleast four instrumental and four integrative reasons for whicl Indians generally learn English. Also make a list of four instrumental and four integrative reasons for which you leamt your mother tongue.

6. Make a questionnaire and study the motivational orientations of a group of learners who may have scored more than **80%** marks in their Board examination. Comment on the type of orientations they have.

7. Some people perform better than others in learning a second language, Whai are the explanations offered by second language learning research?

8. Learning a second language takes place both in the classroom and outside tht classroom. Identify the variables that influence second language learning outside the classroom, and then discuss their relative significance.

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MAEN-112

Aspects of Language

Block

8

THE SPREAD OF ENGLISH

Block Introduction

UNIT 1	
Variation And Varieties	513
UNIT 2	
Consolidation and Standardization of English	526
UNIT 3	
The Spread and Rise of Englishes	535
UNIT 4	
Indian English	553

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INTRODUCTION TO THE BLOCK

In this block we describe the origin and development of the English language in terms of the historical and sociolinguistic factors which have contributed to its making and proliferation. This block is divided into four units:

Unit 1: Variation and Varieties of English

Change is often, if not always, brought about by variation. The most important thing about language is that people talk differently and this accounts for variation from person to person and from place to place. Consequently we have language varieties - geographic and social. We also have style-varieties. We will take a historical look at different kinds of variation and different varieties of English and describe their main features with examples.

Unit 2: Consolidation and Standardization of English

In spite of rampant variation, people are able to successfully communicate with each other. This is made possible by the fact that one of the varieties or dialects acquires the status of a *Standard, a variety* that is used for wider communication and that enjoys a certain prestige as it is used by the educated, the cultured or the otherwise important (elite?) sections of the speech community. A number of factors play a role in the rise of a standard. We will discuss the notions of 'consolidation', 'authority' and 'standard' and describe the factors that contribute to the rise of a standard. We will also describe how from 16th century onwards the East Midland dialect, spoken in the area that includes London and the two premier universities (Cambridge and Oxford), the speech of the emerging merchant class, gradually gained importance and came to be recognised as the standard variety of English. The variety then was used in government, administration, judiciary, media, besides becoming the medium of a significant body of literature.

Unit 3: Spread and Rise of Englishes

With the English people migrating to other lands from 16th century onwards and with the rise of Great Britain as an imperial power, English took roots in lands other than Britain. It interacted with the native languages to give rise to a number of non-native varieties of English - American English, Canadian English, Australian English, and Englishes of South-East Asia including Indian English. We will look at this historical process and the linguistic principles and properties of language varieties produced by these historical processes of migration, settlement, and contact.

Unit 4: Indian English

In this last unit, we will examine the Indian varieties of English and discuss the related questions of bi- and multi-lingualism, and the social and cognitive dimensions of this phenomenon. We will also examine briefly the questions of language politics and language in relation to national identity. Finally, we will discuss both the contextual, cultural and formal features of Indian English. We shall also briefly touch upon the burgeoning of Indian Writing in English.

UNIT 1 VARIATION AND VARIETIES

Structure

1.1 Introduction
1.2 The Indo-European family of languages
1.3 English: Its origin and development
1.4 International varieties of English
1.5 Pidgins and Creoles
1.6 Social varieties of language
1.7 Variation studies
1.8 Let us sum up
1.9 Key words
1.10 Reading list
1.11 Questions

1.0 OBJECTIVES

The aim of this unit is to make you aware that

- Language is a dynamic entity subject to variation and change.
- Variation and language change occurs through a period of time.
- English has emerged from a tribal language to an international language.
- There is continution in which we can see the development of English from a pidgin to a 'standardized' variety.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

It must be quite clear by now that language by its nature is dynamic and variable. There is no such thing as uniformity in language. Not only does the speech of one community differ from that of another, but the speech of different individuals of a single community, even members of the same family, is marked by individual peculiarities. These individual pecurarities are known as the **'idiolect'.**

Where constant communication takes place among the people speaking a language, individual differences become merged in the general speech of the community, and a certain conformity prevails. The differences may be slight if the separation is slight and we may have merely local ***dialects.*** On the other hand, they may become so considerable as to render the language of one district unintelligible to the speakers of another. In this case we may have the development of separate ***languages***. Even where the differentiation has gone this far, it is usually possible to recognise a sufficient number of common features which the resulting languages still retain in common to indicate that at one time they were one.

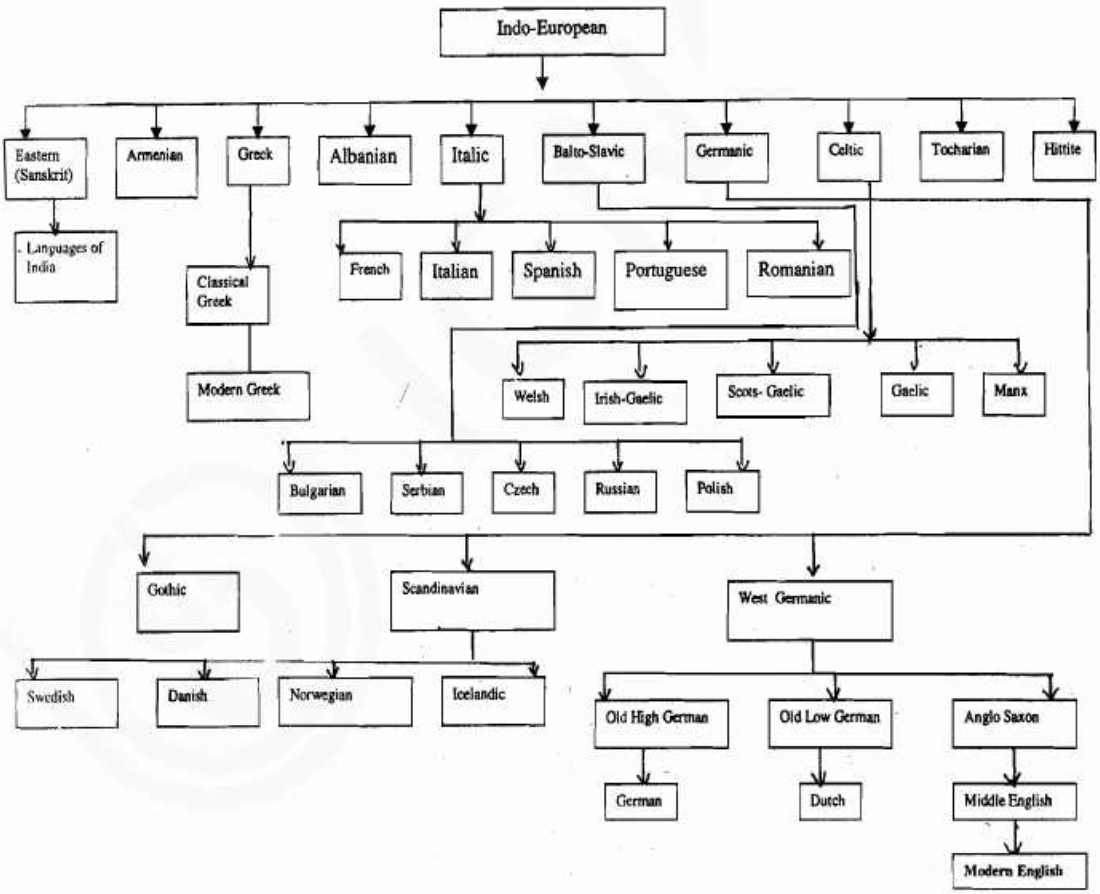
1.2 THE INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY OF LANGUAGES

The languages thus brought into relationship by descent or progressive differentiation from a parent speech are conveniently called a *family of languages*. Various names have been used to designate this family. A century ago the term *Aryan* was

commonly employed which has now been generally abandoned. A more common term is *Indo-Germanic* which however is also objected to as giving undue emphasis to the Germanic languages. The term now most widely employed is *Indo-European* suggesting more clearly the geographical extent of the family. The parent tongue from which the Indo –European languages have sprung had already become divided and scattered before the dawn of history. There is moreover no written record of the common Indo-European language.

The surviving languages show various degrees of similarity to one another, bearing a more or less direct relationship to their geographical distribution. They accordingly fall into eleven groups: *Indian, Iranian, Armenian, Hellenic, Albanian, Italic, Balto-Slavic, Germanic, Celtic, Hittite,* and *Tocharian*. Germanic is of special interest to us, as it is from West Germanic that English originates.

The descent of Modern English and its relation to the other members of the family can be shown in tabular form.:



The evidence within the surviving languages also suggests a common ancestry. The resemblance within the languages are quite striking as is evident from the following comparisons of the word *father* and the verb *to be* across five languages:

Old English	**Gothic**	**Latin**	**Greek**	**Sanskrit**
fæder (father)	*fadar*	*pater*	*pater*	*pitar*
neta (nephew)	-	*nepos*	-	*napat*
feor (far)	*fairra*	-	*pera*	*paras*
faron (go, fare)	*faran*	*(ex) perior*	*perao*	*pr-*
full (full)	*fulls*	*plenus*	*pleres*	*purna*
fearh (pig)	-	*porcus*	-	-
Feper (feather)	-	*penna*	*pleron*	*patra-*
fell (skin)	*fill*	*pellis*	*pella*	-

To be

Old English	**Gothic**	**Latin**	**Greek**	**Sanskrit**
eom (am)	*im*	*sum*	*eimi*	*asmi*
eart (art)	*is*	*es*	*ei*	*asi*
is (is)	*ist*	*est*	*esti*	*asti*
sindom (are)	*sijum*	*sumus*	*esmen*	*smas*
sindom (are)	*sijup*	*estis*	*este*	*stha*
sindom (are)	*sind*	*sunt*	*eisi*	*santi*

1.3 ENGLISH: ITS ORIGIN AND DEVLOPMENT

This topic has been dealt with in Block 2. We recapitulate it here to delineate for you the spread of English all over the world. After this brief discussion about the family history of English, we can proceed to the English language proper. We are so accustomed to thinking of English as an inseparable adjunct to the English people that we tend to forget that it has been the language of England only for a short period of its history. Since its introduction into Britain in about the middle of the fifth century it has had a career of only about 1500 years. Yet this part of the world has been inhabited for thousands of years. During this long stretch of time the presence of a number of cultures with individual languages of their own, can be detected. But unfortunately little can be said about the early languages of England. About the Paleolithic and Neolithic humans not much is known and their language has also not survived. The first people in England about whose language we have definite knowledge are the Celts. Celtic was probably the first Indo-European tongue spoken in England and was divided into two branches —Gaelic and Brythonic. The language in England before English was Latin which was the result of the Romanisation of the island.

The Germanic Conquest. About 449 an event occurred that profoundly affected the course of history - the invasion of Britain by some Germanic tribes. Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (731) tells as that the Germanic tribes which conquered England were the Jutes, Saxons and Angels. In the beginning the Celts called their Germanic conquerors Saxons indiscriminately. From the beginning however writers never called their language anything but *Englisc* (English) The word is derived from the name of the Angels (Old English *Engle*) but is used indiscriminately for the language of all the invading tribes. In a like manner the land and its people are called *Anglecynn* (Angle-kin). From about the year 1000 *England* (Land of the Angels) begins to take its place. *English* is thus older than *England*.

The origin and position of English. The English language as it is spoken today has risen from the dialects spoken by the Germanic tribes who invaded England. The evolution of English in the 1500 years of its existence has been an unbroken one.

Within this development however it is possible to recognise three main periods - from 450 to 1150 is the **Old English Period**; from 1150 to 1500 the **Middle English period**; the language since 1500 is called **Modern English.** (See Block 2)

The dialects of Old English: Old English was not an entirely uniform language. Not only were the earliest written texts different but the language differed somewhat from one locality to another. In all, we can identify four dialects in Old English: *Northumbrian, Mercian, West Saxon* and *Kentish*. Of these Northumbrian and Mercian were spoken in the region spoken north of the Thames and inhabited by the Angels. They possess certain features in common and are sometimes collectively known as Anglian. Little is known of Kentish which was the dialect of the Jutes in the southeast. The only dialect in which there is an extensive collection of texts is West Saxon which was the dialect of the Jutes in the south west. Nearly all of Old English literature still preserved today is in this dialect. With the ascendancy of the West Saxon Kingdom, the West Saxon dialect attained something of the position of a literary standard. The Norman conquest however cut short this movement and when in the late Middle English period a standard English once again began to develop, it was on the basis of a new dialect, East Midland, which in turn was a descendent of Old Mercian.

The dialects of Middle English: Middle English was a period of momentous changes (already discussed in Block 2). One striking characteristic of Middle English was its great variety, not only in the spoken forms of the language but also in written literature. In the absence of a standard medium, the writers naturally wrote in the dialects of that part of the country to which they belonged. The language differed from county to county and sometimes between different parts of the same county. The features characteristic of a given dialect did not cover the whole territory; some extended into adjoining districts or may be were characteristic of another dialect as well. Consequently it is rather difficult to mark dialectal divisions or dialectal boundaries. It is however customary to distinguish four principal dialects of Middle English: *Northern, East Midland, West Midland* and *Southern*. Generally speaking the Northern dialect extended as far south as the Humber; East and West Midland together covered the area between the Humber and the Thames; and Southern occupied the districts south of the Thames including the West Saxon and Kentish districts of Old English. The peculiarities that distinguished these dialects were partly matters of pronunciation, partly of vocabulary and partly of inflection. Dialectical differences were more pronounced between the Northern and Southern divisions; the Midland dialects often occupied an intermediate position tending towards one or the other in those districts lying nearer to the adjacent dialects.

The rise of Standard English: Out of this variety of local dialects there emerged toward the end of the fourteenth century a written language, that in the course of the fifteenth century won general recognition and has since become the recognised standard in both speech and writing. **It was the East Midland type of speech,** particularly the dialect of the metropolis London that became the basis for the formation of this standard. Several causes contributed to this result. In the first place the Midland dialect of English occupied a middle position between the extreme divergences of the north and the south. Secondly, the East Midland district was the largest and the most populous of the major dialectal areas. A third factor was the presence of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge in this region. But by far the most influential factor in the rise of standard English was the importance of London as the capital of England. It was the social, commercial, political, intellectual and religious centre of England and witnessed a steady exchange of ideas and idioms. By the fifteenth century London speech was accepted as the standard in writing though considerable diversity still existed in the spoken dialects.

Modern English: The survey of the English language in the Modern era gets complicated not only because of the addition of an international angle, but also because of the radical changes in vocabulary, meaning, pronunciation and grammar

under pressure from different factors. Chief among these is the tremendous growth of science which has added a new range of words to the English vocabulary. The influences of films, broadcasting, automobile, computers, the two World Wars have been as intensive as it has been extensive. However, it is to widespread penetration of the language in the various parts of the former British Empire, as well as in the United States that attracts the most attention. Differences of culture, locale and utility have produced different varieties of English in different parts of the world, which are distinct from the language of England. In many areas English has become a second language, used alongside one or more local language for public purposes, communication, entertainment, etc. In India, for example, English is one of the official languages along with Hindi and eighteen recognised national languages. A distinction is usually made between English as a second language and English as a foreign language. A German or a Norwegian learning English learns it as a foreign language, uses it for communicating with foreigners and rarely with their own countrymen. An Indian however learns English as a second language and uses it to communicate with other Indians. The distinction between a second language and a foreign language is not sharp and the distinction gets fuzzy in most cases.

1.4 INTERNATIONAL VARIETIES OF ENGLISH

The world-wide expansion of English means that it is one of the most widely spoken languages in the world today. The English speaking world can be broadly divided into the following areas :

North America: The English of the United States and Canada has major differences with standard British English. The original inhabitants being outnumbered and dominated by the English speakers exerted little or no influence on the language. In the United States the language shows great dialectal differentiation, with differences in the West being less sharp than on the Atlantic Coast. Three main dialect areas are usually recognised - Northern, Midland and Southern. As would be expected Canadian English has much in common with American English while retaining a few features of British pronunciation and spelling.

Australia and New Zealand: Here also the native language had hardly exerted any influence on the language of the settlers. The language here shows little regional variation, though there are social variations in Australia in term of accent. Australian English is not only characterised by interesting differences of vocabulary but varies strikingly in pronunciation from the received standard of British English. Australian *hay* might register to Americans as *high* or *basin* as *bison.* Some words from aboriginal languages like *Kangaroo* and *boomerang* have become general English but *wambat* (an animal) is still typically Australian as is *larrikan* (rowdy loafer), *bush* (back country), *swag* (tramp's bundle). The distinctive characteristics of Australian pronunciation and the uniformity of the language throughout the continent are attributed to the fact that the early settlers were chiefly prisoners and adventurers drawn from the lower classes of England

South Asia: The region includes India. Nepal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Pakistan. The problems and prospects of Indian English were summarised by Raja Rao exactly fifty years ago "One has to convey in a language, usage that is not one's own the spirit that is one's own. One has to convey in a language that is not one's own the various shades and omissions of a certain thought movement that looks maltreated in an alien language. I use the word 'alien', yet English is not really an alien language to us. It is the language of our intellectual make-up, but not of our emotional make-up. We are all instinctively bi-lingual…..". Peculiarities of syntax, vocabulary, pronunciation which the British regarded with condescension during the days of the Raj have now been widely accepted. Certain pronunciation result from the influence

of Indian languages. Speakers of Hindi habitually pronounce words like *station* with an initial vowel [iste: en]. Words and phrases that strike British and American speakers as strange are natural expressions of cultural contexts absent in the West - expression such as these *bow my forehead, fall at your feet, policewala, mother of my daughter*. It follows logically that the varieties of English spoken in Nepal, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Sri Lanka, etc. will be conditioned by the culture and native languages of their own countries.

Singapore, Malaysia, Hong Kong: The development of English in these regions is interesting because of the influence of Chinese, Malay, Tamil and the language policies of the various governments. In Malaysia, Bhasa Malay was promoted as the official language but political gains were offset by growing alienation in international commerce, science, etc. This has led to a quiet re-emphasis on English. In Singapore the relationship between English and the Asian languages has been the reverse of that in Malaysia. English being one the four official languages, it has become the medium of social, political, commercial, educational interaction.

In **Hong Kong** English is much less used for oral communication than in Singapore. English in Singapore and Malaysia is marked by the omission of *be* both as a copula (*This coffee house-very cheap*) and auxiliary (*my brother-working*), differences of syntax in the word order of questions (*May I ask where is the counter?*) and difference of stress.

The Caribbean: The countries of the Caribbean also face multilingual situations which makes the solution to social problems involving language appear more difficult. The question of whether Jamaican Creole is a separate language or a point on a continuum that includes Jamaican English is a politically charged issue with implications for educational policy, legal system and mass media. Any survey of the history of English in the Caribbean would have to take into account the arrival of settlers in James Town, Virginia in 1607 and in Bermuda two years later; the Spanish presence in the Caribbean has left its heritage in Puerto Rico, Belize Panama and Guyana where Spanish and English survive side by side. For most of the anglophone Caribbean (Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago, the Leeward Islands, Windward Islands) the most relevant languages in contact are those of the West Coast of Africa – Ewe, Twi, Efik, Yoruba, Ibo, Hausa and other African languages spoken by the slaves brought to the islands in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century. Loan words and translations of African metaphors enrich the vocabulary. *Na:ma* (meat), *juk* (poke), *door-mouth* (a doorway), *strong-eye* (determined), *reggae*. In addition to syllable timed rhythm, final syllables in Jamaican English have rising tone reflecting the West African tone language spoken by the slaves who carried their own phonology into their interpretation of a Germanic Language with light and heavy stress.

South Africa: The present Republic of South Africa has been occupied successively by Bushmen, Hottentots, Bantus, Portuguese, the Dutch and the English. From these sources and especially from Dutch and its South African development, *Afrikaans*, the English language has acquired several features. While *apartheid* and *veldt* have become a part of the English vocabulary, *biltong* (meat), *lekker* (nice), *gogga* (insect), *donga* (ravine), *kopje* (hill) remain uniquely South African with little international appeal. In pronunciation, South African English has been influenced by Afrikaans and to a lesser extent by numerous Scottish school masters. To Afrikaans it owes the modification of certain vowels [*pen*] for *pin*, [*kɛb*] for *cab* etc, the high pitch and the tendency to omit one or more consonants at the end of a word – *tex* for *text*.

West and East Africa: West African English is remarkable for its variety. With as yet no identifiable standard, it is difficult to draw the line between an incorrect usage and a local variant. In Nigeria, English exists alongside Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba and scores of smaller langauges. The distinctive accent of Nigerian English has been influenced by the first language of the people – Yoruba and Igbo in the South and

Hausa in the North. *Follow* is pronounced as [*fələ*] due to vowel harmony in Igbo, while Hausa speakers tend to breakup clusters by inserting vowels so that screw becomes [*sukuru*], *beat* and *bit* have the same tense vowel. This produces a large number of homophones in Nigerian and other African varieties – *leave-live, seen-sin, Don't sleep on the floor-Don't slip on the floor*. Typical lexical items in Nigerian English reflect aspects of the cultural background by way of borrowings *head-tie* (woman's headdress), *juju music* (a type of dance music). Extension and narrowing of meaning occur in *corner* (bend in the road), *globe* (bulb), *environment* (neighbourhood). Some words and expressions have wide currency throughout West African English – *balance* (change), *bata* (shoe), *give kola* (offer bribe), *have long legs* (have influence), and sometimes it becomes difficult to distinguish between general West African usage and a national variety – Nigerian English, Ghanian English, etc. One may also note the formation with plural suffix of words that are not normally count nouns – *equipments*, *aircrafts*, *deadwoods*,etc; after some verbs *to* is dropped from the following infinitive – *enable him do it*; standard English transitive verbs gain particles and become phrasal verbs – *voice out (I am going to voice out my opinion), discuss about (we will discuss about that later).*

In East Africa the most important African language is the Bantu Kiswahili due to which the East African variety of English has acquired some of its characteristic phonological patterns – for example the lack of [ʒ] and [θ] as in *this/thing* which is pronounced as *zis siŋ*. Some verbs that are phrasal in standard English lose the adverbial particle but keep the meaning of the phrasal verb – *Her name cropped in the conversation* for ***cropped up***, *I picked him outside his house* instead of ***picked him up***. Some nouns in Kenyan and Tanzanian speech have a plural form but are treated as singular:- *behaviours, laps, minds, noses, popcorns*. In *My noses are stuffed up,* the influence of Bantu is clear since there is no single word for nostril in Bantu.

The above survey of the varieties of English describe language variation not only through time but also across space. As has already been mentioned, dialects are varieties of English co-related to particular spatial points. If the geographical barriers between regions are slight, then dialectical variations between regions are also negligible and the speech of one region is largely comprehensible to the inhabitants of the neighbouring regions. But if geographical barriers are significantly large, then with time dialects develop into separate independent languages and a great deal of comprehensibility between varieties is lost. As for instance Swedish and Danish which today are independent languages have both originated from Scandinavian. Within a particular geographical area (country), at any given point of time, there are many dialects in existence. One of these dialects due to social, political, economic or intellectual reasons wins predominance over the others dialects and becomes the received *standard language* of the country. Grammars of the variety are written, it is used for all scholarly and written purposes. In short, it becomes the language of the educated class. So it is interesting to note that the standard language of a country gets its exalted status for purely political or social reasons. There is nothing intrinsic in the language variety which makes it qualitatively superior to the other prevailing dialects. In Britain standard speech is best exemplified by the speech of those educated in the public schools. It is class rather than a regional variety. The standard variety of Britain in not the same as the standard variety of USA, Canada, Australia or India. Due to the spread of English to many parts of the world, the speech of Britain is no longer considered the norm by which others must be judged. Indian English or Canadian English is just as "standard" as that of London and Oxford. In countries where English is a first language there is a solid core of common usage which makes "Standard World English" plausible. Regional varieties are marked in spoken speech, many of them being matters of accent. But if we examine the more formal uses of language, especially the style of written language the differences become very small. There is therefore a standard literary language throughout the English speaking communities and it is this, if anything, which deserves the title Standard English.

1.5 PIDGINS AND CREOLES

This brings us to two interesting varieties of language which despite their origin as a social variety progress further to become established as geographical or regional varieties. Pidgins and Creoles are results of extreme forms of language contact situations. There happen numerous situations in life when due to certain reasons (mainly economic) speakers of different languages come together but have no common language between them to communicate with each other. For instance, situations which arose when slaves from different parts of Africa, speaking different languages were brought to America, or the situations which arose when sailors from different linguistic backgrounds met on a ship to live and work together. In such situations the necessities of communication require the birth of a new code. This new code which is no one's mother tongue and contains elements from numerous languages is called *pidgin* and the process by which it happens is called *pidginisation.*

Reduction and *Simplification* are the two process by which pidiginisation proceeds. In English-based pidgins the main features taken over are *lexical*; but the new language draws on English only minimally for *phonology* and *grammar*. A pidgin preserves the absolutely minimal grammatical structures needed for effective communication and reduces redundancy to almost nil. The various pidgins spoken all over the world often resemble one another in structure, rather than the dominant languages from which they are derived. One result of this typical pidgin structure is that an English-based pidgin is generally not considered to be a dialect of English, but to be a different language in its own right, though there is an area of overlap - e.g. in Jamaica with its continium of usage from creole to standard English, the intermediary *'mesolects'* are thought of as dialects of English.

The great simplification of pidgin structures is seen in both phonology and grammar. The number of phonemes is reduced--for example in Jamaican pidgins *block* and *black* become identical, as do *beer* and *bear*, *pour* and *poor, farm* and *form*. The morphological system is also much simplified. Both nouns and verbs have only one form - there is no distinction between singular and plural. English-based pidgins draw most of their vocabulary from English, but also make changes to it. Words are often used with new meaning like West African *chop* means *to eat* and *bif* means *animal, meat.*

Pidgins fulfill a wide range of functions: in West Africa, English based pidgins are used for all normal language functions along with standard English and the local languages and some speakers use pidgins more frequently than their native language.

Initially a pidgin is nobody's mother tongue. But since this is the only language of communication and interaction among a diverse group of people, the frequency of its use slowly increases as does the number of its speakers. The pidgin no longer remains only the language of the work place but also becomes the language of the home. It is then passed on to the newer generations who learn the pidgin as their mother-tongue. A functional switch of languages takes place, and when this happens, a pidgin becomes a *Creole.*

The process of *Creolisation* is the reverse of the process of pidginisation. A pidgin is a highly reduced language, strictly confined to the work place. But when it develops into a Creole, a functional expansion of the language takes place and it becomes the language of the home, of the market, of personal and informal interaction. Because of increased demands on the language, its vocabulary expands, grammatical structures become more elaborate, and *elaboration* and *expansion* take place – possessive markers, markers of intensity, tense markers, pronominal forms all come in, but in an altered form from that of the parent pidgin.

The next stage in the development of the language may be called *de-creolisation* - when the language acquires a standard form, is taught in educational institutions, is officially institutionalised, or it approaches the standard forms of an already existing

standard language. This produces a very fluid linguistic scene in the country where speakers have varying degrees of proficiency in the various languages. The languages at the top of the hierarchy (the Standard forms) are called *Acrolect*, those at the bottom are called *Basilect*, while those inbetween are called *Mesolect*. The general movement in society is upward. The majority speak the *basilect*. But with increase in education, the community as a whole makes deliberate efforts to move towards the *acrolect*. Therefore there is a usage continuum in society. As this happens, the process of decreolisation gains momentum and the language moves towards the structures of a standard language.

Of the approximately 125 pidgins and creoles spoken throughout the world, more than thirty five are English based. Historical settlement and colonization produced two major groups of English based pidgins--creoles—the *Atlantic group* and the *Pacific group*. The Atlantic creoles were established in West Africa and the Caribbean and the Pacific varieties are those of the South Sea Islands, Papua New Guinea, Australia, Hawaii and the coasts of South-East Asia.

1.6 SOCIAL VARIETIES OF LANGUAGE

Till now we have confined our discussion to varieties and variations which arise in language due to geographical reasons. But language is not a phenomena which exists in a vacuum. It is an essential element of the social fabric and the primary medium of social interaction and communication. An individual living in society has different *roles* at different times in his/her life. These roles are of two types - *actualised* and *ideologised* which together constitute the *Role Repertoire* of an individual. To perform the various roles in life an individual takes recourse to different codes. *Verbal Repertoire* is the sum total of all codes the speaker has acquired experientially and symbolically. As in Role Repertoire, so in Verbal Repertoire there are some codes which we actually use while there are others which we aspire to use. Here the question of *access* comes in. Those who have access to a larger variety of roles have access to a greater variety of verbal codes. The relationship between social life and actual language use has been the subject of varied and extensive debate.

Role-relationship is another aspect of life which determines social use of language. In all role-relationships there is a tacit agreement on approved codes of behaviour. In transactional interaction (e.g. between a customer and a seller) the roles are rigidily defined with very little scope for flexibility in the use of language. But in the role-relationship between a father and a son there is an element of informality. In such *personal interactions* language use in more fluid and there is less emphasis on mutual rights and obligations.

These interactions are further categorized in terms of *situation*. Malinowski and Firth provided a detailed analysis of situation. Firth uses the term *context of situation* which has the flowing components:

Participants
Locale
Topic
Attitude (of the participants)

Analysing participants is not merely a matter of naming them but analysis of them in terms of their age, gender, education, social status, etc.

Locale may either be a classroom, a playing field, a railway platform. Locale together with topic define *setting* which can either be formal or informal. Depending on the degree of formality the use of language varies. The context of situation is not static and therefore language use also remains fluid.

To arrive at a higher level of social analysis another term commonly used is *Domain*. It is a typical sphere of activity and can be divided into many sub-spheres. These include family, neighbourhood, school, work place, commerce and trade, government and administration. These sub-spheres are then further divided according to the context of situation, role relationship, etc. The division continues till we arrive at the individual user of language.

Apart from domain, role-relationship, situation etc. social reality can be analysed through the concepts of *speech act* and *speech event*. A speech act is a minimal speech unit which is socially meaningful in a given interaction, for example, a polite question. A speech event can be seen as a bundle of speech acts. In other words it is a substantial amount of speech which covers a particular event, a specific situation or a special role- relationship.

An important notion in the social use of language is that of *Function*. Each time we use language in any kind of situation, in any kind of interaction, that particular use of language is meant to perform some communicative function. The classic model of language function was given by Roman Jakobson, who suggested seven functions of language, later reduced to three by M. Halliday (1) *Ideational (2) Indexical (3) Interaction management.* Naming segments of reality to enable us to constitute and talk about the world around us is the **ideational** function of language. When our use of language reflects our personality and conveys information about us (eg. educational, social status, etc.) then this is **indexical** use of language. Each person when in interaction with others uses language to indicate, establish or maintain social relationships—in short to manage our affairs in social life.

The next important concept is that of the forms of language determined by *use*. These forms are also called *Registers*. Halliday stipulates that any discourse can be analysed in terms of (a) *field* of discourse (subject), (b) *mode* of discourse (written/spoken) (c) *Style* (formal/informal). In recent years the term *functional variety* is preferred by scholar instead of the term *register*. Functional variations of language lead to what is known as *interpersonal variation*, that is, the same individual using different codes at different times, in different situations. Language use here is determined by the *field* of discourse, what function the speaker has to perform, role relationship with the hearer and so on. In the case of multilingual speakers the case becomes even more complicated.

Interpersonal variation of language stipulates that no two individuals speak in the same way. If this kind of variation is taken to its extreme limit it leads to what is called *ideolect*, that is, the view that any use of language is highly idiosyncractic. Inter and intra personal variation is by and large systematic and context bound, and can therefore be studied and analysed.

1.7 VARIATION STUDIES

Using norms like social class and contextual styles, sociolinguistics determine the co-relation between language use and social structures. Social classes are constructed on the basis of several parameters like income, profession, education, area of residence, age, gender, etc. Social classes like upper class (UC) - upper middle class (UMC), lower working class (LWC) are identified but this classification can vary from one community to another.

In 1958 Fischer studied the variable *-ing*. He found that this variable has two variants *[iŋ]* and *[In]*. He conducted a study on a small sample of twelve boys and twelve girls in a school. His independent variables were gender, model vs typical students

and the degree of formality. He worked on casual verbs like *singing* and *jumping* and formal verbs like *learning* and *educating*. His findings were as follows: (1) boys use *[In]* more than girls; (2) typical students use the *[In]* form more than model students; (3) *[In]* is associated with situations of informality; (4) casual verbs are more prone to taking the *[In]* form. These four conclusions were inter-related and higher levels of generalisations were arrived at on the basis of these conclusions, i.e *[iŋ]* is the standard form and girls tend to be more correct in their pronunciation. This very small study however drew attention to some important facts—that correlation can be established between dependent and independent variables; that higher order of generalisations are possible from small statistical studies. This study also focussed attention on the fact that the formality of situation has a great bearing on speech. An increase in formality produces a movement towards the standard form, but this standard form itself is dynamic as discussed earlier. Earlier the *[In]* form was considered more prestigious and was written as *in'* instead of (*ing*) in poetry. The standardisation of the variant *ing* is the result of changes in ideology and socio-political structures—for instance the spread of English and the democratisation of the English speaking world.

In 1966 Labov studied the variable *r* and its variants (See Block 7). In his research in New York Labov observed the realisation of *r* to be ascendent and asociated with the speech of the UMC. He also observed that more and more young people were using the *[r]* because of the spread of standard American pronunciation through education. Other studies correlating languages patterns with social class have been conducted by Trudgill, Gumperz, Jehangiri, Bickerton and Bailey, Wardaugh and others.

1.8 LET US SUM UP

The above discussions have made it clear that language is a heterogeneous and dynamic phenomena. Its forms and variation depend not only on geographical factors but also on social structure and behaviour. Each user of language in his/her own way is a creative user of language, varying linguistic codes according to situation, context, hearer, norms of acceptability and propriety, etc. This constant interaction between social reality and language use produces a dynamic, fluid environment where language and language use become complex and challenging objects of study.

1.9 KEY WORDS

Variable — a linguistic item which has various forms (variants). The different forms of the variable may be related to differences in **style** or to differences in the **socio-economic** background, **education, age**, or **gender** of the speaker. There are variables in **phonology, morphology, syntax** and **lexicon.**

Idiolect — the language system of an individual as expressed by the way s/he speaks or writes within the over all system of a particular language.

Family of languages — a 'family of languages' is a set of languages deriving from a common ancestory or parent, e.g. Indo-European family consists of 'daughter' languages—Sanskrit, Greek, Latin.

Pidgin — a language which develops as a **contact language** when groups of people who speak different languages come into contact and communicate with one another, as when foreign

traders communicate with the local population or workers on plantations or in factories communicate with one another or with their bosses. A pidgin usually has a limited vocabulary and a very reduced grammatical structure which may expand when a pidgin is used for a long period of time.

Creole — a pidgin language which has become the natural language of a group of speakers, being used for all or many of their daily communicative needs. Usually, the sentence structures and vocabulary range of a creole are far more complex than those of a pidgin. Creoles are usually classified according to the language from which most of their vocabulary comes, eg. English-based, French-based, Portuguese-based, and Swahili-based creoles.

Mesolect — a term used by some in the study of the development of CREOLE languages, to refer to intermediate linguistic varieties (or tects) which fall between **acrolect** and **basilect.**

Acrolect — a term used in the study of creole languages to refer to a prestige or standard variety. **Basilects** are remoté from the prestige variety and can be contrasted with the mesolect.

Verbal repertoire — the speech varieties (languages, dialects, sociolects, styles, register) which an individual knows.

Role-relationship — the relationship which people have to each other in an act of communication and which influences the way they speak to each other. For example a junior colleague will use more deferential language towards his/her boss.

Domain — an area of human activity in which one particular speech variety or a combination of several speech varieties is regularly used. For example, situations in which the persons talking to one another are members of the family would belong to the *family domain*.

Speech act — an analysis of the role of utterances in relation to the behaviour of the speaker and hearer in interpersonal communication.

Speech event — the basic unit for the analysis of spoken interaction. Speech events are governed by rules and norms for the use of speech, which may be different in different communities.

Register — a variety of language defined according to its use in social situations.

1.10 READING LIST

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1.11 QUESTIONS

1. What is the difference between dialect and ideolect? Explain with examples.
2. What is the process that leads to pidginization and creolization?
3. In studies of language variation, a large geographical barrier is often seen as a factor in the development of different varieties of a language. Which area, i.e. phonology, lexicon, syntax would vary the most? Why? Give examples to substantiate your answer.
4. What is standard English? What gives rise to a standard language?

UNIT 2 CONSOLIDATION AND STANDARDISATION OF ENGLISH

Structure

2.0 Objectives
2.1 Background
2.2 Standard English
2.3 The Process of Standardisation of English
2.4 Let Us Sum Up
2.5 Key Words
2.6 Reading List
2.7 Questions

2.0 OBJECTIVES

In the last unit we discussed how language varies from person to person and from place to place. We also took a historical look at different kinds of variation and different varieties of English and described their main features with examples. But the question that inevitably comes up is, in spite of rampant variation, how are people able to communicate successfully with each other? In this unit, we shall discuss this question in detail with particular emphasis on the notion of consolidation and standardisation of the English language. We have already touched on the general concept of standardization in Block 6. Do re-read that unit before reading this one.

2.1 BACKGROUND

The answer to the question just raised above is simple. People are able to communicate successfully with each other in spite of rampant variation because of the fact that there is often a *need* to communicate and that one of the varieties or dialects acquires the status of a *standard*. This variety is used for wider communication and enjoys a certain prestige as it is used by the educated, the cultured or the otherwise important sections of the speech community. But the mechanism of standardisation is not very simple. It involves a very complex set of processes that takes a considerable amount of time and the energy of a series of generations. And this is not only true of English but of all languages. But before we enumerate the mechanism of standardisation, let us see what we mean by standard English.

2.2 STANDARD ENGLISH

While trying to define what standard English is, one is bound to encounter questions like: what does one mean by it; is there, in fact, such a thing and is it desirable that there should be a standard. These questions have been debated for long and there are people who disapprove the notion of a 'standard' language because it is inevitably the language of the elite, and because language is inheriently a dynamic, variable entity. How can we, for instance, amidst such diversity and confusion, fix a standard? Whom or what are we to take as our criterion of correctness? Any ruling that we may

lay down will be purely arbitrary. Moreover, isn't it unscientific and against the natural property of language to imagine that it can be fixed?

But these objections do not necessarily dispose off the question of 'standard'. We, while objecting to a **standard English** do not distinguish between **standard English** and **standardised English.** It is true that there is not, and never could be, a standardized English; but there is such a thing as standard English. It is not easy to define, but we all intuitively know what it is, we all realize that it exists, and most of us can recognize it when we hear it. It is not rigid or inflexible. Within its framework there is room for a certain amount of variation. But yet there are certain things which we must not use. For instance, we do not use *childs* as the plural of *child* though historically it is more correct than *children.*

One thing that should be borne in mind while discussing standardisation is, since speech, by its very nature, is less amenable to being fixed than writing, the concept of a standard makes most sense when we refer to the written word. (When we are taught to write, it is the standard language that we are taught!)

2.3 THE PROCESS OF STANDARDISATION

The Standardisation process proceeds in four inter-linked and often over-lapping stages. These stages are applicable not only to the growth of the English standard but also to the growth of standard varieties everywhere. Here we shall discuss only the former. Thus, the four inter-linked stages are:

(a) *Selection* of the east midland dialect as the dominant variety.
(b) The *acceptance* of the functions of the standard
(c) The *elaboration* of the functions of the standard.
(d) *Codification,* that is, the attempt to 'fix' the standard variety in dictionaries and grammars.

Let us discuss these in detail:

(a) Selection of the Standard Variety

The origins of the standard variety of English lie with the merchant class based in London. The dialect they spoke was the East Midland one—associated at first with Norfolk, later with Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Bedfordshire—and already by the14th century this was a class dialect within London. The lower class spoke another dialect, a south-eastern one, the antecedent of Cockney. The dialects were similar in many respects but there were some regular differences; for instance, the merchant would say *mill* with the short */i/* of *pin*, but the tradesman said *mell*, with the */e/* of *pen*. It is crucial to emphasize this linguistic stratification in London, since the subsequent history of the standard variety has much to do with its relationship to the speech of the Londoner in the street.

By the end of the 14th century, East Midland was an embryonic written standard. However, there were variations within the dialect. So, at first we see in use a number of different written standards. After about 1430, however, one of these variants became increasingly dominant because of its use in government and official documents. By the end of that century, the fixing of the selected variety was greatly strengthened, and accelerated, by the printing press.

We cannot yet assume the existence of a standard that is spoken. It took sometime for the East Midland speech of the London merchants to acquire prestige. But there is another reason why East Midland, or variants of it, may have been quite widely

adopted during the later Middle Ages. Students from all over England came together in the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge, both only a few miles from London. In the triangle formed by these three centres, a great deal of East Midland speech would have been heard, and possibly used as a kind of **Lingua Franca** among a mobile social group. If such a popular dialect existed, it would have helped to spread East Midland, not because of its prestige value, or because it was imposed by the most powerful group but because of its usefulness in communicating with people who spoke another dialect. One of these uses was as a medium for popular culture: in particular the tradition of folk-song, which flourished in the age of standardisation. A survey of the folk songs from 16th century to the present reveals that the linguistic medium for folk-song is one which does not, on the whole, reflect regional differences.

Apart from these regional and socio-economic factors, there is also a political dimension to the question of the selection of the standard variety. As has been seen in France and Spain, in England too, a standard emerged when ideas about **nationhood** and **political autonomy** gained currency.

(b) Acceptance of the Standard

By about the middle of the 15th century, the East Midland dialect had been accepted as a written standard by those who wrote official documents. But its acceptance was not explicit; it was a matter of convention rather than a *diktat*. By the 16th century, the standard variety was well-established in the domain of literature. A comparison between the literary outputs of the Elizabethans with that of the 14th century would reveal a striking difference in language. For instance, Chaucer wrote in a dialect quite different from the dialect in which Langland wrote. There was much regional diversity in terms of vocabulary, grammar especially in the English literature of the 14th century. Thus, while Chaucer wrote in the East Midland dialect as it was spoken in London, he was not yet writing in a *national* literary standard, since his contemporaries had their own, local standards. By Shakespeare's time this regional variation in the language of printed literature had all but disappeared.

Thus, the establishment of a literary standard paved the way for fixing the sense of a linguistic norm. Once the norm had been established, at least in the written language, it became possible to break it for stylistic purposes—in particular, for representing the speech of people from far away regions whose language was supposed to have certain clearly identifiable characteristics. Hence, in the course of the 16th century, the growing sense of a literary norm can be seen by the numerous attempts to represent the speech of foreigners, the linguistic characteristics of Welsh, Scottish, and Irish people, and the speakers of other dialects of English. It is now that we begin to see the stereo-typing of such speakers. Increasingly, they play the role of buffoons or boors. Non-standard speech is equated with simplicity or roughness; and in order to depict those qualities in literature, some form of *marking* for non-standard features is adopted.

Acceptance of the standard, therefore, occasions a rejection of kinds of English that are felt to be outside the norm. Thus, while Chaucer could objectively depict the speech of the people whose dialect was not his own, it was otherwise in the 16th century. For instance, one dialect which was singled out by play-wrights and others as the butt for a cheap laugh was Kentish. We are immediately reminded here of *King Lear* where Edgar speaks in the Kentish dialect to Oswald evoking laughter in the audience.

Such literary practices reflect the growing awareness of a standard variety in the course of the 16th century. By then, attempts were being made to *define* the standard: it had reached the **stage of explicit acceptance.**

But, acceptance by whom? Acceptance by government functionaries and small groups of literary figures is not the same as acceptance by the aristocracy; still less is its acceptance by the vast majority of ordinary people. But by the end of the 16th century, we have an accepted standard, and some prestigious speech forms, that were being promoted consciously and unconsciously by a tiny elite. We do not know, however, the extent to which we can speak of a standard pronunciation at this time, or how widespread that pronunciation was among the aristocracy in general. What we can be sure of is that the prestige of one dialect triggered the disparagement of the others. Kentish is only the first to be stigmatized. In the course of the following centuries, the dialects of other parts of England are labeled variously as 'offensive', 'disgusting', and 'barbarous'.

(c) Elaboration of Function

At this stage, there was an attempt to achieve one of the two major goals of standardisation: **maximal usage in function.** The new standard had to function in the domains of law, government, literature, religion, scholarship and education wherein previously only Latin and French were used. Therefore, the standard had to develop new structures and new meanings, appropriate to its use in different domains. Each group of specialist--lawyers, writers of religious texts , administrators—cultivated their own registers within the standard. Thus, it would be wrong to assume the standard as monolithic. It had to develop variations in register to suit its wide range of functions.

The major source of variation, thus, was no more regional, as different styles developed their own particularities. Often these were influenced by Latin and French usage. For instance, the English of religion and law were greatly influenced by these foreign usage. In all styles, words developed additional technical meanings as they came to be used in certain contexts, and these technical meanings often influenced spoken usage. In short, English vocabulary became differentiated to an extent previously unknown, in that words can be identified as 'literary', or 'legal' or 'technical' in one sphere or another.

Let us look at certain elaboration of the functions of the standard, as it developed in the domains previously associated with French and Latin:

(i) In 1362, English was used for the first time in the domains of both government and law. But now, the use of French in written documents continued until the 18th century and today legal English still employs French and Latin terminology like *fee simple* and h*abeas corpus*.

(ii) Though the use of English as a literary medium was apparent by the end of the 16th century, the acceptance of its potential in this respect was won after a great deal of controversy. There ensued a debate about the suitability of English as a compositional language and while some scholars considered English unsuitable for composing great works of literature as it was 'dull', 'cantered' and 'barbarous', others were of the opinion that there was nothing worth saying that could not be said in English. A compromise view held that English could attain *eloquence* of the classical languages by injecting thousands of Latin loan-words into the language. But by 1580s the controversy had subsided and a balance had been achieved between native usage and foreign importation. English was declared to have achieved a state of eloquence. Moreover, the suitability of English as a literary medium was no more in doubt because poets like Spenser, Sidney and Shakespeare had composed works that many felt were a match for any literature. And with this new-found confidence writers were able to conduct stylistic experiments.

(iii) Another important domain where we encounter the power of Anglo-Saxon tradition was that of religion. The 16th century witnessed a flurry of Biblical

translation, and the preparation of prayer books and other Christian texts. This process of vernacularization culminated in the publication of the authorized version of the Bible in 1611. This version furnished English with what might be called a classical variety of its own.

(iv) The crucial stage, it has been suggested, in functional elaboration is the development of a medium for serious, expository prose. Inspired by the example of the Authorized version, writers began to cultivate prose to such an extent that the 17th century has been called the century of prose; and a significant aspect of that trend was the increased use of English writing of a scientific and scholarly nature. Fed by a developing interest in science and philosophy, people wrote political pamphlets, journals, essays, and the first newspapers in English. By the end of the 17th century the range had expanded to imaginative, fictional writing. Such a wide functional range was responsible for the increased used of English which, in turn, enhanced the status of the language.

(v) With the displacement of Latin as the language of scholarship, English gradually became the language of education. Formal education was extended throughout the 15th and 16th centuries. Grammar schools were founded and there was a gradual loosening of the Church's hold on institutions of learning and literacy. The growth of secular education increased the demand for learning of English. Moreover, the Protestant reformation promoted the English language as a medium of religious instruction, further undermining Latin as the language of instruction. But it is wrong to assume that Latin was entirely shown the door. Instead, in the literary and cultural Renaissance of the 16th century, Latin became the object of renewed interest and enthusiasm. But it was the classical Latin, rather than the medieval variety of the Church, that was studied and analyzed. Latin had received a fresh boost, but as a taught language rather than as a medium of learning. Paradoxically, enthusiasm for Latin ultimately furthered the cause of English. It led to massive translations into English, which in turn directed people's minds to the forms and structures of the vernacular (English). Thus, education, for most people, except certain sections of the society, was vernacularized and it was the standard variety of English that became the medium of teaching. In time, however, it was also to become the form of English taught not only to foreign and second-language learners, but to the English themselves.

(d) Codification

This is the final stage of the process of standardisation. We have already seen that maximal variation in function is one of the two goals of standardisation. The other goal closely associated with this is the attainment of minimal variation of form. In practice, this means trying to eliminate variation within the standard, and stemming the process of linguistic change. Both these aims, that of elimination of variation and stemming the process of change, constitute the stage called **codification.**

Codification is undertaken by a small elite group of scholars and the method used by them is that of prescription: the evaluation of variants as 'correct', and the elimination of variants which, for some reasons, are felt to be undesirable.

In the codification of English, the example set by other languages is of immense importance. The codifiers looked back at classical Latin and envied the fixity and order of its grammar. Moreover, there were other models too to emulate. Both Italy (in 1582) and France (in 1655) had developed Academies—bodies of learned men, who could make pronouncements on particular variants and changes. For a time, the idea of an English Academy was mooted and among its greatest advocates were figures like Swift, Dryden and Defoe. But by the middle of the 18th century, support for such an institution had waned. As a result certain substitutes to the Academy were

recommended. These include particular books written or composed by established scholars and literary men. The most famous of these was undoubtedly the *Dictionary* of Dr. Johnson.

Dr. Johnson's *Dictionary* is not only of importance in the field of spelling standardisation, but also in the realm of the codification of words and meanings. Dr. Johnson's contribution lies in the fact that he provided an alphabetical list of all the words in the standard language, with their meanings. Before Johnson, the different dictionaries that were available were not of this type. They were either dictionaries of hard words, or bilingual ones. But Johnson achieved something very unique. He listed the range of meanings for each word, including the commonest; and he illustrated each strand of meaning with quotations from writers. In addition, he also provides certain facts about the nature of language, its history, and also its grammar. The prestige enjoyed by the *Dictionary* during the late 18th and early 19th centuries was enormous. This was partly because it answered a need frequently felt by educated and literary people. Moreover, Johnson was regarded as a great man, with an established literary reputation. The individuality of Johnson can be seen on almost ever page of his *Dictionary*. In spite of the fact that sometimes he is frivolous, prejudiced, and wrong, his work is a **landmark in the history of standardisation of English.**

The second half of the 18th century was also the high water-mark for the codification of grammar. The prescriptive nature of codification is seen most clearly with regard to this aspect of language. Although treatises on English grammar had begun to appear in the 16th century, and in the 17th century were compiled by even such authors as Ben Jonson and Milton, it was only in the 18th century that we find a striking outburst of interest in grammar. Treatises like Joseph Priestley's *The Rudiments of English Grammar* (1761), Robert Loweth's *A Short Introduction to English Grammar* (1762) and John Ash's *Grammatical Institutes* (1763) and many more appeared on the scene. The 18th century grammarians aimed to do three things:

(1) To codify the principles of the language and reduce it to rules
(2) To settle disputed points and decide cases of divided usage
(3) To point out common errors

All three aims were pursued concurrently.

The 18th century was the period of the beginning of prescriptive grammar. Certain traditional structures were replaced by more 'correct' forms. For instance, the English pattern *it's me* which had been common for centuries and still is, was deemed incorrect since it did not follow the Latin usage. Hence it was replaced with *It's I*. Similarly *different from* was preferable to *different to* or *different than*, because the *di* part of the word originally indicated 'division' or 'separateness': and therefore *from* suits the etymological argument better. Another instance can be cited in relation to negation. Since Anglo-Saxon times, English had signaled negation by the cumulative use of negative particles. Hence, *I don't know nothing* was a traditional English pattern. By the end of the 18th century this had been labeled illogical, by applying the rule that 'two negatives make a positive'. So, throughout the 18th century, especially in the later part of it, the grammarians were busy codifying rules about grammatical usage and the English we use today is largely a result of these reforms.

Pronunciation is the most difficult aspect of language to codify. The English spelling is the most imperfect and inappropriate model for the sounds we make; yet people have felt bound by it for more than 400 years. Already in the 16th century some scholars interested in the codification of pronunciation had begun to consider the relationship between sounds and spellings. For instance, while Hart, a phonetician argued that spelling should be reformed so as to draw it into line with pronunciation, Mulcaster, a headmaster, rejected this plea for a phonemic model, arguing that people

pronounced differently. But others, like Sir Thomas Elyot, clearly sided with the former view.

Attempts to base pronunciation on spelling were not helped by developments in the writing system in the early phase of standardisation. The early printers introduced spellings that had nothing to do with sounds, like the *ue* of *tongue*. Other spellings were remodelled by scholars themselves, to show their origins: the nativised spelling *dette* had a *b* inserted to show that it came from Latin *debitum*. Such pedantry was not the only complicating factor. As already mentioned, the early standard was a very mixed variety, mingling not only the pronunciations of different areas, but also to some extent their traditional spelling systems. The spelling of *busy*, for instance, may reflect the old Winchester standard, whereas its pronunciation is an East Midland one. Some pronunciations themselves appear to have a South-Western origin and some pronunciations seem to have had an East Anglian source. The famous example of spelling irregularity in *bough, though, rough, cough* and *tough* shows how spelling can create the illusion of relationship among words that are either of different origin or whose pronunciations have diverged.

In the early years of standardisation, the precepts of the codifiers had to compete with the push and pull of fashion. Some pronunciations were undoubtedly adopted because for one reason or another, they were considered prestigious. But by the end of the 18th century, codification of the other levels of structure led to the production of the pronouncing dictionary, a book in which the pronunciation of words in the standard variety could be looked up.

Johnson's *Dictionary* had codified not only words but their spellings also; and now that spelling was virtually fixed, it was easier to recommend pronunciation based on them. Johnson himself was of the view that the best pronunciation were those that accorded with the spelling. This precepts was put into effect by John Walker in his *A Critical Pronouncing Dictioinary* (1791). If there was an *h* in the spelling, then *h* should be sounded. The verbal endings *–ing*, as in *going*, should not be pronounced *in'* for the same reason. The pronunciation of whole words like *forehead, often* and *waistcoat* should moreover be reformed in accordance with spelling.

But this process of codification of pronunciation was simultaneously accompanied by the elimination of certain sort of pronunciation. For instance, the most barbarous kind of pronunciation was that associated with the Cockney speech of London and people were asked not to follow it.

By the early 19th century the institution of public schools had developed where a pronunciation that may be described as codified grew up, cultivated and taught.

We should also remember that this process of standardisation was intricately related to social factors. Factors like class and community played a very important role both in the process of codification and elimination. In other words the power relations within the English society were instrumental in the formation of the standard.

2.4 LET US SUM UP

In this unit we have seen how the English language developed a standard dialect. This process of standardisation began quite early and reached its zenith in the 18th century when serious attempts were made by illustrious figures like Dr. Johnson to give the language certain prestige and credibility by standardising various aspects of the language like spelling, pronunciation, etc. We also saw that the process of standardisation involved four different complex stages: **selection, acceptance, elaboration** and **codification**. Moreover, we also came to know that the process of

standardisation was not an isolated affair but was intricately associated with the power-relations within the English Society.

2.5 KEY WORDS

Standard	the variety of a language that has the high status in a community or nation and which is based on the speech/writing of the educated, politically and socially powerful group. A standard variety is usually described in dictionaries, grammars, taught in school and universities, and used in media.
Standardization	The process by which a language becomes a standard is known as standardization.
Lingua Franca	a language that is used for communication between different groups of people, each speaking a different language.
Dialect	a variety of a language, spoken in one part of a country (regional dialect), or by people belonging to a particular social class.
Language variation	differences in linguistic behaviour because of differences in region, social class, occupation, gender, etc.
Regional variation	variation in speech according to the particular area where a speaker comes from. Variation may occur with respect to pronunciation, vocabulary, or syntax.
Register	variety of language defined according to its use in situations, i.e. according to the relationship between the participants, the topic discussed and mode of communication (speech or writing)
Prescription	based **not** on usage, but on what the codifiers consider the best or most correct usage.

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2.7 QUESTIONS

1. What do you understand by the term standard language? What are its advantages and disadvantages?
2. Describe in detail the process of standardization of language giving examples from the English Language.
3. Why is Samuel Johnson's dictionary a landmark in the history of standardization of English? Discuss.

UNIT 3 THE SPREAD AND RISE OF ENGLISHES

Structure

3.0 Objectives
3.1 Introduction
3.2 Spread of English in Scotland
3.3 Spread of English in the Celtic territories
3.4 Spread of English overseas
3.5 The Caribbean English
3.6 The rise of new standards
3.7 American English
3.8 The language of imperial rule
3.9 Let us sum up
3.10 Key words
3.11 Reading list
3.12 Questions

3.0 OBJECTIVES

In the previous units we discussed the origin of English from a sociolinguistic perspective. We briefly touched on its spread to other parts of the world (unit 1). We also discussed the process of standardization of English through the centuries (unit 2). In this unit, we will concentrate on the spread of English both within England and overseas. We will look at its role where it is a native language, and when it is a second language. We will also discuss the historical and socio-political reasons for its enormous growth and popularity.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The spread and rise of English presupposes and entails the existence and subsequent dissemination of a language that not only took firm roots in its own country but also through various manoeuvres could and did establish itself in other parts of the world as well. English today is spoken by several hundred million people spanning five continents. It functions in different kinds of societies as a mother tongue, a second language, a vehicle of officialdom, a medium of education, and as a language for science, business, and commerce. It is also used as a *lingua franca*—a language used among people who have no other tongue in common—and in some places it has provided the base for pidgins and creoles. It is also spoken by people who use more than two or three languages in the course of their daily lives, and it has come to symbolise many different and often sensitive issues and institutions in different areas: education, literacy, social mobility, economic advancement, Christianity, and colonial dominance. So great has been the variation in English that it is often difficult to say whether a certain variety in one place or another could be properly termed as 'English', especially the kind of English that is generally associated with the parent country. The language has been so indigenized at certain places that the traditional associations of English as British has been almost forgotten giving rise to local varieties and laying claims to novel formations within the language itself. A vital characteristic of language itself is that it is amenable to change and can adapt itself to changing situations. Perhaps another feature of all languages is that it can never be owned, for the moment it is spoken by another speaker it becomes another language. The language of all powerful cultures always get disseminated by various

means—contact, trade and commerce, borrowings, discovery (as happened to Greek literature and language after years of isolation during the Renaissance), and domination. English, it must be remembered at the outset, was probably first and foremost the language of trade and domination when the British spread their empire and subsequently the language of the colonized through policies of aggression and expansion. This was true of the spread of English even in the British Isles.

3.2 THE SPREAD OF ENGLISH IN SCOTLAND

In the course of the last four centuries, the minority languages of the British Isles have been undermined by English political and economic power, the policies of English governments, and English attitudes, both official and unofficial. The dominance of English on the regional dialects of England has been visited, on a grander scale, and with far-reaching consequences, on the speech of regions diverse in language and culture, and situated far away from the metropolitan south-east. The languages that English came in contact with and later coerced into the backstage of the linguistic scene were Celtic, and therefore structurally distant from English. They represent two branches of the Celtic language family. The Gaelic of Ireland, and its implantations in the Scottish Highlands and the Isle of Man, forms one branch. Welsh and Cornish, together with the Breton of north-west France, are more closely related to the British Celtic that was displaced during the Anglo-Saxon settlement, as described in unit one. While the two branches had diverged considerably, rather as, say, Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish have done, there was contact between the languages of each branch, at least until English domination severed the links. Such contacts ensured a degree of mutual intelligibility between Gaelic-speaking Irish and Scottish Highlander, and between Welsh and Cornish; but since the arrival (and perhaps, imposition) of English, the absence of a centre in either branch of Celtic has precluded the cultivation of standard varieties and hastened the proliferation of regional ones. We cannot therefore speak of a standard Welsh, or a standard Scottish Gaelic, in the same way as we can of a standard English.

We can easily speak of three factors that readily contributed to the spread and dominance of English in the British Isles as well as other dominions: 1) military conquests 2) the establishment of English as a language of social aspiration 3) industrialisation and the subsequent disruption of life in rural areas. Two broad generalisations about the process of imposition may perhaps be made. First, we shall see the significance of the Tudors—who were, ironically enough, of Welsh descent—in implementing what we might call today a language policy towards the rest of the British Isles. Secondly, the educational system everywhere was instrumental in the spread of Standard English. In addition, after the introduction in 1870 of universal primary education, no other language was even recognised in the schools. Significantly enough, in the twentieth century it is in education that campaigns to promote the minority languages have found both a focus, and some notable success.

Let us look at the development and spread of English in Scotland and the Celtic territories. The language that was prevalent in Scotland split as early as seventh century AD. In Northumbria, an Anglo-Saxon variety developed, while in the Highlands, Gaelic prevailed. After Bannockburn in 1314 in which the Scottish kings repulsed the English, the Scottish court developed its own educational institutions, parliament, law and literature. Latin which was the language of the church and thus of the elite was gradually replaced by Scots. It must however be remembered that Scots was developed not with any apparent national consciousness as was in the case of English which had a tangible language to fight against, namely French. The replacement of Latin with Scots was seen as a kind of vernacularisation rather than

explicit promotion of a national language. By the end of the sixteenth century, Scots was fairly standardised.

By the end of the sixteenth century, Scots may be seen as a national language in embryo, whose subsequent development was dominated by the imposition of English.

The undermining of Scots was not the result of decrees and proscriptions, but of the gradual weakening of independent Scottish institutions. The Reformation, which played such a key part in Tudor policy, had its strong adherents among sections of the Scottish bourgeoisie. So there was no need for the English to impose it. Sections of the Scottish bourgeoisie probably also preferred greater contact with England for economic reasons. Moreover, elsewhere in the British Isles, the language of religion has often proved an important factor in language maintenance; but in southern Scotland, it does not seem to have been an issue. Scots, accordingly, never became the language of prayer books and The Bible in Scotland, and this seems to have been vital in exposing Scottish people to the standard language of England. The Union of Crowns in 1603 ensured that a Scottish king was on the throne of England, but it was in London that he held his court. Finally, the Act of Union in 1707 guaranteed that Scotland's laws and administrative arrangements were determined in London, and therefore in English. By the eighteenth century, Scots had become the 'low' language and Standard English was now the medium of law, administration, education and religion. The Scottish gentry, from the eighteenth century onwards, tended to receive an English education since by then English had become the language of social prestige. After the Education Act of 1872, the use of Scots in schools was punished as it lost all social status.

Unlike the dialects of England, however, Scots was never reduced to a **patois**. A literary tradition was maintained by poets such as Burns; and in the nineteenth century Scots was used to record versions of ballads and folk songs as they were found by assiduous Scottish collectors. In the twentieth century, attempts have been made by poets like Hugh Macdiarmid to promote Scots as the medium for a 'serious and tough minded poetry'. Instruments of coercion are still, however, progressively used by the English to relegate Scots to the status of a dialect. With no census returns to remind them of the number of speakers of Scots, no classical texts to give them a sense of historicity, many Scottish people, like some speakers of English based Creoles, may feel that their tongue is not different enough from English to call it a separate language. From eighteenth century onwards, we also find an incessant repetition of Scottish stereotypes in English literature, where the former are shown as speaking a Creole English as opposed to a 'high' English, spoken by the chief protagonists. In other words, it is linguistic criteria that are uppermost in their minds: Scots sounds, grammar, and vocabulary are close to those of English in a way that those of Gaelic, say, are not. But purely linguistic criteria are not enough in settling demarcation disputes of this kind. To call Scots a dialect of English is to ignore its development during Scottish independence, and to reduce its status to that of the regional dialect of England, unless we use the term 'dialect' in a more specialised sense, to refer to regional varieties with their traditions of writings.

Opponents of the view that Scots and English are separate languages are likely to argue that many Scots usages can be found in the northern dialects of English. Though it can be shown that certain usages alleged to be Scots, like 'gaed' (went) and 'sair' (sore), used to be heard either in Northumberland or Cumbria, geographical patterns of usage are often complex. Sometimes, areas on each side of the border share a form unknown in Standard English. Differences between Scots and English are often, therefore, not absolute but we can still point to some items that seem characteristic Scots usages. Let us look at the loan words: 'gar' (make), 'gowk' (cuckoo) from Scandinavian, 'dote' (endow), 'vivers' (victuals), 'howtowdie' (young hen) from French, some Gaelic words such as 'tocher' (dowry), and 'clarsach' (harp). Modal verbs are sometimes used differently: '*Will* I push it?' instead of the usual English 'shall'. Differences in pronunciation are striking. Not only is there a different

system of vowels /r/ — *fern*, *fir*, and *fur* often have /e/, /I/ and /ʌ/ — but there is a significant point of divergence from all varieties of English in that vowel length is a contrastive feature of much less importance. For example, Scots vowels are to be regarded as short except in certain positions: finally as in 'see', before /r/ as in 'seer' and before voiced fricatives as in 'seethe'. Elsewhere, in 'seat' and 'seed' for instance, the vowel would be short.

Whatever linguistic changes are under way in Scotland, commitment to Scots has increased in recent years. Many young middle class Scots resent what they see as the Anglicisation of their culture and their loyalty to Scots may be an assertion of their ethnicity. But since it has in general been the lower class that has maintained the minority languages, commitment to those languages is also a commitment to the values of the class. Many Scottish people feel justifiably bitter at finding their linguistic inheritance relegated to a paragraph or two in histories of English. Nationalistic feelings are often apt to adopt strategies that are clearly manipulative. What one does need to respect is the Scots literary tradition is markedly different in language from the standard English one; and one needs to accept the view that if English is an international language then Scots is the first national variety of English outside England just as American English is a later one.

3.3 THE SPREAD OF ENGLISH IN THE CELTIC TERRITORIES

The Tudors formulated a policy of expansion and imposition of English throughout the British Isles. Religious uniformity was one instrument of hegemony, and this meant carrying the Reformation to the linguistic minorities. The Tudors encountered great difficulties in extending Reformation to Ireland. Since England was at war with Catholic Spain, it could not afford to have an unreformed church at its doorsteps. Therefore, the Irish were treated with brutality and paranoia. Its ancient local culture was suppressed and overlaid by a Protestant English-speaking one. Spuriously benign arguments were often advanced to justify the process of suppression. For example in Wales it was suggested that the use of Welsh was a cause of poverty: if people would only learn the right language, they could better themselves. Settlers from England and Scotland were planted on land confiscated from the Irish, and merchant companies in London were given a free reign to establish themselves. Throughout the Celtic British Isles, the education system played an important part in the imposition of English. An education system that was essentially English in nature not only became an obstacle in the standardisation of local languages but also played a vital role in the breaking of links between the languages of the Celtic family. Even before the Education Act of the 1870s, schools in Ireland had been used to coerce children to speak English, although Wales had maintained traditions of Welsh teaching in the Circulating Schools of the eighteenth century. The education system is not only to be construed as a mechanism for the imposition of a language but also as a means for subverting history. The Irish now had to read their history as studied and interpreted by the British along with English history. The Celtic languages were also threatened by economic factors. The Celtic communities were more or less dependent on an agrarian economy. The industrialisation in England weaned away a sizeable number of rural populace from the traditional industries and consequently left those industries high and dry. In the Scottish Highlands, massive depopulation followed the unsuccessful Rising of 1745. In Ireland the potato famines of 1840s hit hardest the Gaelic speakers of the west: death or immigration reduced Ireland's population by one-quarter. The English also followed a policy of industrialisation that eroded the base of agro-based economies. In the religious domain, the Reformation in Ireland was achieved not only by conversion but by plantation—an English speaking community was progressively settled on Irish farms and this language contact between English and Gaelic was bound to result in the loss of Gaelic since English

was the dominant language. Gaelic gradually became the marker of rural, Catholic poverty; English was associated with ownership, Protestantism and the towns.

The psychological effects of centuries of cultural and linguistic imperialism on speakers of the minority languages have been severe. The processes of government and law, enshrined in an alien language, have often been disorientating, if not totally mystifying, to the community. A sense of powerlessness undermined the feeling of local identity. This has often been magnified by the education system, where success at first was equated with proficiency in English, and later with working far away; discouraged and demoralised, those who remained in the local community awaited and expected initiative and leadership from the rulers. At the more personal level, speakers of all the minority languages have been made to feel ashamed of their native speech. Linguistically insecure, and therefore nervous, if not sullenly defiant in their use of English, children in the schools of Scotland and Wales were often judged inarticulate like their Black counterparts in the USA. A movement to promote the minority language did not emerge until 1893. **The Gaelic League** set up classes to teach it, and the language became a symbol for the cause of independence, though not a vehicle of it. In 1921, however, Gaelic was declared the national language of the new Free State, and it has since been promoted in the educational system. Several varieties of Hiberno-English have emerged from the long and complex involvement of the English with Ireland. Hiberno-English often preserves features that were once common in England. Gaelic influence on Hiberno-English can be seen at all levels of structure. Consonant-clusters unknown in Gaelic, such as 'lm', as in 'film', are pronounced in accordance with Gaelic patterns of vowels and consonant combination. The grammar of tense and aspect has also been re-structured. A habitual present is realised as 'I do be', and the perfect is modelled on Gaelic: the present tense of 'be' is linked to the '–ing' form of the following verb by 'after', as in 'he is after writing' (instead of 'he has written'). The verb group 'have been' is therefore rare: 'how long are you here' refers to past, not future time. And Gaelic – influenced structures are also found in written usage. Literal translations of idioms, such as 'we are going to put the fight upon the rebels' are found in the work of writers such as Synge, Lady Gregory, and Douglas Hyde, at a time when the nationalist movement was urging the cultivation of the English of Ireland as a literary medium.

It is really difficult at the present moment to categorise Irish English as a different language than English despite the fact that Irish Gaelic had more than eight centuries of contact with English. English has so thoroughly seeped into the Irish society that it would take a Herculean effort to trace the cross influences that affected both the languages due to exposure to each other. However as it often happens, there has been a conscious effort on the part of the Irish after independence to revert to Gaelic after centuries of cultural and linguistic domination. This has resulted in a kind of diglossia in the Celtic areas where English today occupies the first language status while the local languages are learnt to feed a resurgent national consciousness. Moreover, communities that still are dependent upon the traditional industries as their means of livelihood have retained the Celtic language as their first one.

3.4 THE SPREAD OF ENGLISH OVERSEAS

By 1600, England had made trading contacts in three continents. Fishing expeditions off Newfoundland were to open up a trade in fur; the quest for ivory and gold established contact with parts of the west coast of Africa, which led to the trade in African slaves; and the East India Company had gained a foothold in India. The activities of these companies lasted throughout the colonial period, and their importance for the history of English is that they brought speakers of English into contact with people throughout the world. Unlike Scotland or Ireland, which were considered by the English as their own territory and thus readily exploitable, these

new lands were alien territories that had to be carefully studied, comprehended and then exploited. They had different languages, cultures, religions and value systems. Moreover, the English for the first time were encountering a society that used languages radically different from the one they spoke. Communication could have been possible only through the imposition of the dominant language. The immediate aim of the English was not however to create an English-speaking society (this came later with the firm establishment of the British Empire and the necessity to rule), but how to sufficiently exploit the newfound resources. Thus, the languages that came in contact with English in this early period were shaped in such a fashion that they could facilitate the trading interests of the British and help them to communicate with the ruled. Contact with people in West Africa, for instance, gave rise to English-based pidgins through intermittent and unsystematic contact. These were originally used for marginal purposes such as trade. But by the eighteenth century, it seems that such pidginised varieties of English were the dominant trade languages on Africa's west coast, having displaced pidgins based on the languages of other European colonial nations. West African pidgins could therefore function as a kind of lingua franca in an area of immense multilingualism; and even today substantial numbers of speakers in West African nations, such as Cameroon and Sierra Leone, speak them. Pidgins were the only languages available to the African people during the slave trade while they were shipped off to work in colonies elsewhere. To operate as first languages, the functions of pidgins had to be elaborated, their structures amplified: they became Creoles. Creoles of various origins are still spoken in many islands of the West Indies.

3.5 THE CARIBBEAN ENGLISH

The Caribs were first ruled by the Spanish who brought along with them a sizeable population of West African slaves to work for their mines. Gradually the English acquired their own possessions, usually by dismembering the empires of others. From Spain were gained St Kitts and Barbados in the 1620s, and, more important, Jamaica in 1660. Later the African slaves were brought to work at the tobacco and sugar plantation facilitating the way for a Creole speech to be established on those islands. An account of the Jamaica speech in the middle of the eighteenth century shows a continuum between the African speech of newly imported slaves and the Standard English speech of trading company officials. There was the Creole of those Blacks who had been settled on the island for sometime, the less strongly creolised speech of freed slaves, the speech of poor whites, the English dialect speech of newly-arrived servants from the British Isles, and the 'Jamaican accent' of some planters and merchants. Since the abolition of slavery in the 1830s, this continuum has been preserved, in that Standard English has been taught in the education system. Jamaicans have been taught to see themselves as speakers of English, and their Creole has been dismissed as dialectal, or at worst, inadequate. Thus, many Jamaicans have turned away from what they call their 'patois'. We can therefore describe the linguistic situation in contemporary Jamaica as a post-creole continuum, in which several varieties of local speeches have emerged, as speakers have oriented themselves towards Standard English.

Jamaica speech shows its hybrid history: English dialect words such as 'maliflaking' (beating), borrowed from either convicts or servants; Hindi ones like 'roti' (bread), from contact with traders from the East; words from African languages, like 'jook' (pierce), and common English words with new meanings, such as 'look for' (visit). Plural inflections are often absent, as are distinctive past tense forms; the latter because consonant clusters, such as /st/, are often reduced, so that 'pass' and 'passed' sound alike. Such features—which are also found in the Black speech of the United States—are often adopted by British-born children of West Indian background as a means of identifying themselves with the Caribbean culture. Whether this kind of

English is to be corrected with a view to approximate the Standard form is a question that has lost relevance in today's English-speaking world as different varieties of Englishes compete with each other, and there is no single standard by which to judge the 'rightness' or 'wrongness' of a usage.

3.6 THE RISE OF NEW STANDARDS

The written standard of English is international. Differences at the level of spelling, grammar and vocabulary are very minor and hardly noticeable. For example, 'honor', 'gotten', 'fall' for 'autumn' are used in American English. The divergence that is most noticeable is at the level of pronunciation. Each area has its own norms of pronunciation, at times formulated with an ear to the standard in England, at other times responding to local circumstances. When people settle in a new area, the second generation often tries to identify with the new-found norms and culture. However, it is also true that immigrants cling to the vestiges of their past. Thus, early colonial settlers in America, for example, clung to the accent of south- east England since it was considered to be the ' correct' pronunciation. It may be said with reasonable generality that the speech of the colonial settlers was relatively more uniform than that of England. Various reasons could be attributed to this relative uniformity. The colonial settlements were more urban or semi-urban in nature than England where dialectal variations occurred mostly in the rural areas. There was more mobility involved after the introduction of railways in the nineteenth century, thus facilitating the colonial settler with a means of transport that not only allowed him/her to travel to places faster but also denying him/her to settle down at a place for a long time—a prerequisite for a local variant to develop and flourish. Education system in the colonies took root early and this became one of the most powerful instruments for standardization.

In modern times, no conscious attempt has been made by these erstwhile colonies to standardise their English vis-à-vis that spoken in England. In fact, a norm to promote one's own standards is fast gaining ground as in the cases of Afrikaans English and American English. The absence of marked dialectal variation has meant that there were few of the social problems associated with the selection of a standard variety that we have seen in England and other European societies. In a sense, the standards selected themselves. This is not to say that the early colonial societies were egalitarian; but there was less social stratification, in general, among the settler population, than in Europe and at times these societies were strongly anti-elitist. It has been suggested that in the early Australian society, the elite were actually the ex-convicts who had completed their sentence, and subsequently had become experts in sheep shearing and cattle-herding. And in newly independent America, some argued that questions of a standard in the language would be settled by the nature of the American society—for instance its mobility—rather than any kind of academy of intellectuals: many Americans wanted to get away from the identification of correctness, or standardisation, with a wealthy, powerful elite. Instead, they concerned themselves with elaborating the functions of American English, by encouraging the writing of scientific and imaginative prose; and they also concentrated, to the point of obsession, on the process of codification. However, day to day new norms are evolved to standardise what is seen as one's own language. In Australia today, there is a strong sense of a local standard in matters of vocabulary and pronunciation, a development hastened perhaps by the growing dominance of the USA and its variety of English. The American influence can be most powerfully felt in the English used in Canada and it is likely that Canadian English will be more Americanised if new norms are not evolved soon. In South Africa, the development of a local standard has corresponded, very roughly, with the gradual rise of Afrikaaner political power in the course of the twentieth century. Declared the only official language in 1822, English was widely learned by an often resentful

Afrikaans- speaking community; and the RP norms of the Victorian age were reinforced when English entrepreneurs came to dominate economic life after the discovery of minerals in the 1870s led to industrialisation. Now that the power of the English in both political and economic life has been challenged, a variant of South African English, often showing traces of Afrikaans influence, has acquired the status of a local standard of pronunciation.

As American English is perhaps the most widely accessible English in the world today (thanks to Hollywood), we would broadly discuss the main features of American English, its history and development, the linguistic features that make it distinct from British English and the implications that such a development have.

3.7 AMERICAN ENGLISH

The publication of Webster's *Dictionary* with its changes in spellings in 1806 perhaps marks the first attempt to codify the perceived differences between American and British English. But much before that, the English language was brought to America by colonists from England who settled along the Atlantic seaboard in the seventeenth century. It was therefore the language spoken in England at that time. In the peopling of America, three great periods of European immigration are to be distinguished. The first extends from the settlement of Jamestown in 1607 to the end of colonial times. This may be put conveniently at 1787, when Congress finally approved the Federal Constitution. The second period covers the expansion of the original thirteen colonies west of the Appalachians, at first into the South and then into the Old Northwest Territory, ending finally in the Pacific. This era may be said to close with the Civil War, about 1860, and was marked by the arrival of fresh immigrants from two great sources, Ireland and Germany. The third period, the period since the Civil War, is marked by an important change in the source from which the immigrants have been derived. In the two preceding periods, and indeed upto 1890, the British Isles and the Teutonic countries of Northern Europe furnished from 75 to 90 percent of all who came to America. But since about 1890, great numbers from southern Europe and the Slavic countries have poured in. It is, however the first and the second period that perhaps make the most fascinating study. Those who came later were largely assimilated in a generation or two, and though their influence may have been felt, it is difficult to define and seems not to have been great. There are, however certain usages that seem to rivet our attention to American English. In spite of the diversity of the populace, American English seems to have certain typical characteristics that cuts across geographical boundaries, or for that matter, across class, race or nationality. There may have been various reasons for the apparent uniformity that the American variety of English evinces: the tendency to stay together in an alien land, the spirit of congregationalism to brave the New World, the religious uniformity that characterized all early settlements, the urge to explore and dominate the new land resulting in mass movement of communities, a natural proclivity to cling to the Old World, and after independence, a belligerent attitude to preserve one's own language and culture. Like all transplanted languages, American English too has its history of development and subsequent spread. We will have a brief look at the most prominent features of this language as it developed through the ages, trying to fathom why certain forms came into existence and what were the reasons for their retention or subsequent disappearance.

American English, as has already been observed, shows a high degree of uniformity. This is, perhaps, largely due to the high degree of mobility that the Americans enjoyed. It has been remarked that it would be rare to find an American living in the place in which s/he was born, and while this is an obvious exaggeration, it is nevertheless true that change of abode is distinctly common. After the introduction of railways in America, there has been a mushrooming of settlements in the frontier

towns, and this increased mobility worked against the evolving of a local standard. It also encouraged the mixing of population resulting in no fixed standards for a particular region. The introduction of early education in the colonies also forbade the introduction of an alien standard on to the American people. Thus, the British were denied to use one of their prime strategies in the American Colonies. The system of public education that was developed in America had a standardising influence on the English spoken in America.

A second quality that is often attributed to American English is its archaism, the preservation of old features of the language which have been long discarded in the parent country. The preservation of 'r' in General American and the flat 'a' in 'fast', 'path', etc. are two such that were abandoned in England at the end of the eighteenth century. The pronunciation of 'either' or 'neither' is done with the vowel sound of 'teeth' or 'beneath' which, in turn, has been long replaced in England by the dipthongised sound /ai/. The use of 'gotten' instead of 'got' is another such example of archaism. Certain old semantic forms are still retained. For example, the word 'mad' is still used in the Shakespearean sense of 'angry'; or the use of the adjective 'rare' for meat has still not replaced the more commonly used British 'underdone'. The American 'I guess', so often ridiculed in England, is as old as Chaucer and was still current in English speech in the seventeenth century. It has been perhaps the characteristic of all transplanted languages that they result in a sort of arrested development, and it is a well- recognised fact in cultural history that isolated communities tend to preserve old customs and beliefs. Nevertheless, it would be extremely difficult to contend which language is the more conservative one – English in America or English in England. In general, it is true that American English has preserved certain grammatical features of English that has long gone out of vogue in the Standard English of England. But it has also introduced innovations equally important.

It has been the basic feature of all colonial settlements that they have to contend with a world that heavily taxes the existent resources of their language. They not only lack words for the many new objects that they come across, but also have a dearth of vocabulary for the succession of new experiences that they undergo. Accordingly, in a colonial language, changes of vocabulary take place almost from the moment the first settlers arrive. The change in language, with a view to accommodate the new world-experience, is generally done in two ways: random borrowings from a language that has ready-made words for the experiences, or coining of new terms with the help of one's own existent vocabulary. In America, we see both the processes at work. When the colonial settlers came from England to America, they had to come to terms with a completely new topography, and thus had to coin new words to categorise it. Thus, came into use words like 'bluff', 'foothill', 'notch', 'gap', 'divide', 'watershed', 'clearing', etc. It is to be noted that all these words were English in origin, but when applied to a different world, changed their semantic value. Then there were the many living and growing things that were peculiar to the New World. The names of some of these, the colonists learned from the Indians: words like 'moose', 'racoon', 'skunk', 'opossum', 'chipmunk', etc.; others they formed by a descriptive process long familiar in the language – 'mud hen', 'garter snake', 'bullfrog', 'potato bug', etc. Contact with the Indians resulted in the influx of many Indian words pertaining to their way of life: 'wigwam', 'tomahawk', 'canoe', 'toboggan', 'moccasin', etc. The Americans had also devised a new form of government, which was distinct from the monarchical system in England. This new form of administration and government required the introduction of new words like 'congressional', 'presidential', 'gubernatorial', 'congressman', etc. The expansion of the American frontier, finding of new lands and the subsequent confrontation with the French colonists also resulted in the enriching of the American language. Words like 'portage', 'chowder', 'cache', 'bureau', started being used in the American language due to their contact with the French. Similarly, from the Dutch they borrowed words like 'cookie', 'stoop', etc., and from the Germans, 'noodle', 'smearcase', 'sauerkraut', etc.

The American Revolution and the subsequent ratification of the Bill of Rights created a certain kind of resurgent national consciousness among the Americans and many of them thought that the language that they were using was not only distinctive but would also enjoy the same glorious future as the country itself. There were arguments in favour of developing a distinctive brand of American English that would be easily identifiable from British English. Accustomed for generations to dependence upon the mother country, the people settled in America imported most of their books and many of their ideas from Europe. But with political independence achieved, many of the colonists began to manifest distaste for anything that seemed to perpetuate the former's dependence. An ardent, sometimes belligerent patriotism sprang up, and among many people, it became the order of the day to demand an American civilisation as distinct from that of Europe as were the political and social ideals that were being established in the New World. And it is in this context, that Webster's *Dictionary* holds a prominent place.

The subsequent publication of the *American Dictionary* (1828) cannot be underestimated in the subsequent development of American English. But even before that some Americans wanted to regulate their own language. Accordingly, The **American Academy of Language** and **Belles Lettres** was founded in 1821. The main aim of the Academy was to preserve the 'Americanness' of the language in such a fashion that a Standard American language emerges out of it. However, a sizeable section of the population (Webster himself being one of them) protested against an academy that would guide the usage of a particular clique and thus form an elite group, and gradually interest in the Academy waned. Coming back to the *Dictionary*, it not only highlighted orthographic differences, but also pronunciation differences. The changes in the Dictionary were so wide-ranging and various, that its effects in the American language can be felt even today. Thus, words with the customary 'u' in the middle position were written without it, e.g., 'honor', 'color' instead of 'honour', 'colour'. While the English used two consonants in some words, the Americans employ only one: 'traveler' for 'traveller', 'wagon' for 'waggon' etc. The changing of 're' to 'er' in many words is also typically American: 'fiber', 'center', 'theater', etc.

At the pronunciation level, the introduction of the flat 'a' in words like 'fast', 'path', 'grass', 'dance', 'half', etc. is common. Differences can be seen in the pronunciation of the 'o' in such words as 'not', 'lot', 'hot', 'top', etc. In England, this is still an open 'o' pronounced with the lips rounded, but in America, except in parts of New England, it has commonly lost its rounding and in most words has become a sound identical in quality with the 'a' in 'father', only shorter. A more important difference is the greater clarity with which unaccented syllables are pronounced. Thus, 'secret'ry' or 'necess'ry', as it is pronounced in England, is pronounced with a secondary stress on one of the unaccented syllables of a long word. This is, perhaps, due to the American disposition to pronounce all the syllables in a long word. There are other differences of less moment between English and American pronunciation. Thus, in England 'been' has the same sound as 'bean', but in America it is like 'bin'. 'Leisure' often has in America what is popularly called a long vowel, but in England it usually rhymes with 'pleasure'.

Though it has been established that there are marked dialectal variations in American English (AC Baugh recognises seven of them), it is more or less the mid-west variety of English, otherwise known as the General American, that is actively promoted and patronised in the search for a standard American English. Though in early years of America, English was not imposed upon the émigré population, gradually it acquired the status of power and prestige. The immigrants with a different language had to learn English with a view to climb the social ladder. In modern times, Mexican-Americans in California and the south-west suffer discrimination in jobs, and are generally of low status. However, despite the prestige of General American, different regions of the USA still preserve to a large extent their own norms of language.

Southern speakers, for example, tend to be socially stereotyped, and their speech in, say, the mid-West gives rise to comment and even hilarity. But throughout USA, certain pronunciations and morphological items are widely stigmatised. The pronunciation of 'pen' to sound like 'pin', the insertion of an 'r' in 'wash' (so that it sounds like 'worsh'), and the past tense form 'drownded' tend to be regarded as markers of 'low' status.

Since the publication of the *Dictionary*, however, the British and the American are engaged in a virtual war of words. It has given rise to a great deal of acrimony, the mute point of debate being the 'correct' use of English. The British for a long time could not accept the introduction of words like 'crass' in the American lexicography; nor did they recognise morphemic changes like '–ise' (used with words like 'utility' to form 'utilise'); nor could they accept functional shifts in which a word was used both as a noun as well as a verb ('spade'). It is perhaps, natural for any native speaker to guard his/her language with a great amount of zeal, but it too should be realised that once a language is transplanted in another region, it tends to develop its own system of growth and development. Like all other Englishes that we have discussed so far, American English too grew from the same root but branched into a different form. And like all other Englishes, it would be futile to argue that American English is better or worse than British English. A language that was brought along by the British settlers has taken root and is bound to develop in its own fashion.

We have already mentioned in passing how the development of Canadian and Australian English also followed the same pattern of that of other colonial settlements. While Canadian English was largely influenced by the growth of American English, Australian English has a different history. It must, however be remembered that Canada was at the same time both a British as well as a French colony. Thus, the possibility of interaction between the two languages was greater than in most of the colonies. The Canadian English speaker would thus, tend to use more French words in his/her English than a native speaker. Moreover, due to the equal amount of patronage extended to both the languages, a Canadian speaker is generally bilingual and there is a greater amount of code mixing. But in general, the trends in Canadian English follow that of the American and it seems that it would continue doing so until indigenous standards of evaluation are evolved. In recent times, there is a mood in Canada to develop its own standards and a strong national consciousness is emerging with regards to one's own language. We may here pause and briefly reflect on the nature of Canadian English before we embark on a journey towards more familiar shores of South-East Asia.

Every revolution has its casualties. The Loyalists, those who backed the British during the American Revolution, were driven into exile partly by mob violence and partly by a desire to protect their investments. Some went back to England, some to the West Indies, but the majority fled north to Canada, and settled in the part that is now Ontario. This was the beginning of Canadian English. The Ontario Loyalists were late arrivals but, west of Quebec, they dominated the making of modern Canada, and their speech has become the basis for what is called **General Canadian**, a definition based on the urban middle-class speech, not rural variants. From this point of view, Canadian English is another regional variant of North American English, but one which spans the entire continent instead of occupying just one region. Canadian English is usually defined by the ways in which it differs from what American or British observers consider their norm. American visitors at first think how British the Canadian Vocabulary is—'tap', 'braces', and 'porridge', instead of 'faucet', 'suspenders', and 'oatmeal'. The British think how Americanised the Canadians have become for they hear 'gas', 'truck', and 'wrench' for 'petrol', 'lorry' and 'spanner'. Considering the bombardment by American English from everywhere, it is remarkable that Canada's twenty-five million people should have preserved national characteristics as distinct as they are, and perhaps even more remarkable that the regional differences in Canadian English have not yet been snuffed out by the influence of American English. The differences are mainly of vocabulary and

pronunciation. There is no distinctive Canadian grammar. Until recently, most of the books that the Canadians read were mostly British or American, and their grammar reflects that. Canadian English uses elements of both, retaining more of the formality of the Standard British English. Canadian spelling retains some of the British forms, but not all. Among the original Canadian idioms, perhaps the most famous is the almost universal use of 'eh?'. It has been primarily in pronunciation that Canadian English asserts its distinctiveness. Canadian pronunciation also reflects the continuing schizophrenia of a people struggling for national identity against two strong influences. There is a constant tussle in Canadian English over the British and American usages. The most obvious and distinctive feature of Canadian speech is probably its vowel sound, the diphthong 'ou'. Thus, 'out' rhymes with 'boat', so that a phrase like "out and about in a boat" emerges as "oat and aboat in a boat". There is also a tendency to merge the two vowels in words like 'cot' and 'caught', 'don' and 'dawn', 'offal' and 'awful'. When Canadians pronounce these word-pairs they sound identical. There is also a marked tendency in Canadian English recently to adopt American pronunciations, thus marking a gradual shift from the traditional British accent.

In the nineteenth century, American English, bursting at the seams with new energy and new experiences, left Canadian English far behind. Wave upon wave of new Americans were now flooding in from Ireland, Germany, Italy and, in due course Central Europe. If Canadian English lacks the robust adventurousness of American English, it is because its character owes so much to the people who settled there after the American Revolution, called 'Loyalists' by the British, but 'Tories' by the Americans. Like other aspects of Canadian culture, it is torn between the push-pull of the British and American models.

3.8 THE LANGUAGE OF IMPERIAL RULE

In the ten years between Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee in 1887 and the Diamond Jubilee of 1897, all eyes were on London as the capital of the empire and the source of English speaking culture throughout the world. The emotions felt towards 'home' by the new settlers in New Zealand, Canada, South Africa and especially Australia were, one imagines, a confusion of bitterness, affection, cynicism and longing, but in the harsh, unfamiliar environment of the *veldt* or the prairie or the bush, the things that bind are stronger than the things that divide. Even American English, the oldest of the overseas variants, was, as many of its writers complained, still overawed by its British parent. London boomed, growing from three million people in the early 1860s to four and a half million by 1901. London had become an international city, in which there were more Scotsmen than in Aberdeen, more Irishmen than in Dublin, more Roman Catholics than in the Eternal City. Bernard Shaw, who loved to mock Anglo-Saxon self-importance, summarised the state of the English world rule in *The Man of Destiny*:

> There is nothing so bad or so good that you will not find an Englishman doing it; but you will never find an Englishman in the wrong. He does everything on principle. He fights you on patriotic principles; he robs you on business principles; he enslaves you on imperial principles.

In the coming twenty-first century the legacy of those 'imperial principles' would mean that for the first time speakers of the mother tongue will be outnumbered by non-native English speakers: Africans, Indians, Chinese and Malays. English, the legacy of the empire, is the *de facto* international language of the so-called Third World. In four continents, Asia, America, Africa and the vast ocean basin of the

Pacific, it is the official language in some thirty-four countries, from islands as far apart as Jamaica and Singapore, to states ranging from Sierra Leone to the vast subcontinent of India. The emergence of these new Englishes is an interesting historical fact. However, since we have already discussed the emergence and development of Caribbean English, we would turn our attention to the other end of the world and try to understand the development of English in south-east Asia, especially in the Indian subcontinent.

By some estimates, there are now more speakers of English in India than in Britain, about seventy million, and their sounds range from the most *pucca* Oxbridge enunciations to the obscure pidgins of the street. A country with many languages has remade English with many voices. Part of the fascination of English in India to the standard English-speaking visitor is the richness and completeness of its appropriation of the Indian people. English is the *de facto* language of official life in virtually every sphere. The speakers of English—overwhelmingly form the educated ruling elite—number more than the speakers of some official languages, like Assamese and Punjabi. The continuing power and influence of the language is remarkable. It is the state language of two states—Meghalaya and Nagaland—and it is taught as a second language in almost every stage of education in all the states of the country. Out of nearly 16000 newspapers registered in India in 1978, about 3000 were in English, a figure surpassed only by Hindi newspapers. More important is the fact that English newspapers are published in almost every state, more than Hindi-Urdu or Bengali. The marriage of English and the languages of India has made what Anthony Burgess has called a 'whole language, complete with the colloquialisms of Calcutta and London, Shakespearean archaisms, bazaar whinings, references to the Hindu pantheon, the jargon of Indian litigation, and shrill Babu irritability altogether. It's not pure English, but it's like the English of Shakespeare, Joyce and Kipling—gloriously impure.'

The English have had a toehold in the Indian subcontinent since 1600, when the newly formed East India Company established settlements in Madras, Calcutta and later Bombay. By the end of the eighteenth century, the Company controlled virtually all aspects of the Indian administration, reinforced culturally by the work of Christian missionaries. In 1813, the East India Company was dissolved and India became the keystone of an English speaking empire stretching throughout Southeast Asia. A flood of English-speaking administrators, army officers, educators and missionaries scattered English throughout the subcontinent, and the English of the subject Indians ('Babu' or 'Cheechee' English) became a widespread means of communication between master and servant. Almost from the first, many prominent Indian leaders began to demand that the East India Company give instruction in English and not Sanskrit or Arabic, so that young Indians could have access to the science and technology of the West. We may skip over the history of acrimony caused between the Orientalists (those who wanted Sanskrit or Arabic) and the Anglicists (those who wanted English) over the introduction of English in India. The real beginnings of bilingualism in India can be traced to the year 1835, when the historian Thomas Macaulay, as president of the Indian Committee of Public Instruction, proposed the creation of 'a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions of whom they govern—a class of persons, Indians in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinion, in morals and in intellect.' Macaulay's plan was adopted. At a stroke, English became the language of government, education and advancement, at once a symbol of imperial rule and of self-improvement.

The results of this policy were dramatic. English-speaking universities were set up in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in 1857, the year of the mutiny. By the end of the century, with many more colleges and universities established, English had become the prestige language of India. When the nationalist movement began to gather momentum during and after the First World War the medium of nationalist opposition was not Hindi, or one of the many other Indian languages, but English. The imperialists' fascination with India was expressed in a substantial adoption of

Indian words and phrases. Words of Indian origin have insinuated themselves into English since the days of Elizabeth I, words like 'brahmin', 'calico', 'curry' and 'rajah'. By the end of the seventeenth century, they had been joined by 'coolie', 'juggernaut', 'bungalow', 'cheroot', 'pundit' and 'chintz'; and at the end of the eighteenth century, 'bandanna', 'jungle', 'jute', 'toddy' and 'verandah'. Throughout the nineteenth century, the English administrators added more and more local words to their basic vocabularies, words like 'chutney', 'guru', 'cummerbund' and 'purdah'.

The scale of English borrowing from Indian speech has had various estimates. *The Oxford English Dictionary* lists about nine hundred words; a mid-nineteenth century glossary runs to twenty six thousand. One volume above all, *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words*, compiled and published in 1886, is the classic summary of the mingling of the two cultures before the age of independence. The Raj created an essentially bilingual society, Indian English and one or more native languages. There were infinite gradations of Indian English ranging from the less-educated varieties (variously referred to by 'Hobson-Jobson', as 'Babu' English, 'Butler' English, 'Bearer' English and 'Kitchen' English), to educated or standard Indian English. Yule and Burnell, the publishers of *Hobson Jobson*, identifying speech patterns, described the most pidginized Indian English as follows:

> The broken English spoken by native servants in the Madras Presidency; which is not very much better than the pidgeon- English of China. It is a singular dialect...thus "I telling" = "I will tell"; " I done tell"= "I have told"; "done come"= "actually arrived"...The oddest characteristic about this jargon is (or was) that masters used it in speaking to their servants as well as servants to their masters.

At the other end of the scale, college graduates might occasionally embellish the language of the Raj with an exotic native flourish. The author of *Onoocool Chunder Mookerjee,* a memoir published in 1873, writes that, "The house became a second Babel, or a pretty kettle of fish. His elevation created a catholic ravishment throughout the domain under the benign and fostering sceptre of great Albion." As in the English of some Irish writers, one can almost hear the writer translating into English from his mother tongue. Much more common was the bureaucratic use of Indian English. Below the level of the most highly educated, whose English was invariably modelled on old fashioned teaching, were the English-using clerks of the Imperial administration. They tended to introduce some characteristic Indian usage into their speech. They would say "I am doing" instead of "I constantly do"; "I am doing it" for "I have been doing it"; "when I will come" for "when I come".

Another characteristic of Indian English is the literal translation of idioms, echoing the earlier medieval tradition of translation of French into English. Today there are several such Indian English translations that may become part of a shared vocabulary: "May the fire ovens consume you", "a crocodile in a loin cloth", and comparisons like "as good as kitchen ashes", "as helpless as a calf'. In addition to these kind of translations, Indian English possesses a number of distinctive stylistic features, some of which are inspired by local languages and some by the influence of English educational traditions. For example, there is a drift away from the Anglo-Saxon words towards a Latinised vocabulary. An Indian speaker would prefer to say 'demise' than 'death'. There is a great range of polite forms in Indian English: writing "I bow at his foot", "long live the gods", "we only pray for your kindness". The speakers of Indian English influenced by their own languages, like to create phrases like 'nation building', 'change of heart' and 'dumb millions'. They also abbreviate and rearrange English phrases. 'An address of welcome' can become 'a welcome address', and 'a bunch of keys' will be 'a key bunch'.

The Indian writer Raja Rao made a famous summary of the problems of the bilingual community:

> The telling has not been easy. One has to convey in a language that is not one's own the spirit that is one's own. One has to convey various shades and omissions of a certain thought-movement that looks maltreated in an alien language. I use the word "alien", yet English is not really an alien language to us. It is the language of our intellectual makeup—like Sanskrit or Persian was before—but not of our emotional makeup. We are instinctively bilingual, many of us writing in our own language and in English. *We cannot write like the English. We should not.* We cannot write only as Indians. We have grown to look at the large world as part of us. *Our method of expression therefore has to be a dialect which will some day prove to be as distinctive and colourful as the Irish or the American.* Time alone will justify it. (Italics ours)

Raja Rao also addressed the question of style in Indian English. He wrote: "The tempo of Indian life must be infused into our English expression, even as the tempo of American or Irish life has gone into the making of theirs." After independence, the question of language and style became crucial. The Constitution of 1950 recognised fourteen Indian languages of which Hindi was to be the first national language. The government policy was to shake India free of English "within a generation". English was to be a transitional language until 1965. In reality, it is still the language that examines the students in the universities, conducts foreign affairs and opens the way to a business career. Now, with globalization and computerization, English is here to stay.

Indian English has begun to develop its own literary credibility. Before independence, there were English writers who wrote about India as outsiders, but after the publication of Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* (1980), there has been a sudden boom in Indian English writing. This however does not mean that there has been no writing in English before Rushdie. A galaxy of Indian English novelists like R K Narayanan, Raja Rao, Mulk Raj Anand, Bhabani Bhattacharya, and even earlier, poets like Derozio, Michael Madhusudan Dutt, Manmohan Ghosh, Aurobindo, etc. have written in English and earned accolades all over the world. *Rajmohan's Wife* (1885), the first novel by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, who is usually hailed as the father of modern Indian literature, was also in English.

A detailed discussion of Indian English, the strategies that were employed for the spread of education, the often acrimonious debates that they gave rise to, the language politics that they evoked in the pre-independence and the post-independence era, the grammatical peculiarities of Indian English, the methods adopted by the Indians to subvert and finally appropriate an alien language, and the literary implications of such a language is an engrossing study in itself.

Now let us take a brief look at the use of English in Singapore as a representative variety of other South-East Asian countries. The growth and development of English in Singapore follows almost the same pattern as in Japan, Hong Kong and Korea. Singapore is the gateway to the Far East, offering in a small space the quintessence of Chinese, Malay, and Tamil culture. A population of about two and a half million people — Chinese, Malay, Indian—is officially encouraged to speak and write English. The English favoured by the government is, of course, the Standard English of international finance, trade and technology, But the English emerging in the multi-racial, multi-cultural society of Singapore is rather different. The mother tongue of the Singaporeasns may be any one of the several varieties of Chinese, MalMalay of Tamil available in the island. For them, English is a learned language, profound,ly influenced by the grammatical structure of Mandarin, or Cantonese, or Malay. Outside the home, the peer pressure of the schools and the necessity of English in

any work situation reinforces the non-standard nature of Singaporean English. After more than a generation of language planning, the Singaporeans have developed their own kind of English. They have also developed a distinct accent which the outsider may at first mistake for Japlish (Japanese English). The most celebrated Singlish characteristic is the use of 'lah' at the end of the sentence: 'He is big sized, lah'. The emergence of distinctive Singaporean English—both in accent, vocabulary and idiom—has provoked some interesting and contradictory reactions within the Singaporean society. At one level, there is a distinct pride, mixed with the snob reaction that Singlish is the language of hawkers and taxi drivers. There is also a fear that this 'new English' will deprive Singapore of the very thing it most wants—membership of the international community of English-speaking nations. In 1978, Lee Kuan Yew, the then Prime Minister, remarked: "The English we are beginning to see or hear our people speak is a very strange Singapore pidgin, a Singapore dialect English which is not ideal but which is best for the time being, and which we can improve upon if we concentrate our effort and considerable resources". By 1981, the prime minister's campaign against Singlish had escalated. First-language English speakers were hired from abroad to improve the standard of English education. In government, Singapore's bureaucrats were sent on special courses to improve their writing skills. Singapore Broadcasting, modelled on the BBC, began to clamp down on Singlish broadcasts. The government's concern however, does not suggest the emergence of a divergent standard of *written* English in Singapore. At the spoken, idiomatic level, the situation is much more complex, and it is certain that much more attention will be focused on Singlish as a medium of dissent, a rejection of the formal standards of the past and the voice of the new and distinctive nationalism. The champions of Singlish argue that it is a new, unique and vital branch of the great tree of English. They point to an active slang as a sure sign that the language is alive. Defenders of Singlish point out that Standard English has a wide range of spoken varieties, and Singlish is the latest member of a many-accented club. Like Jamaican creole, Singlish is also finding its voice among writers, valued for a vividness of expression that cannot be equalled by Standard English. Is this the beginning of a new language or is it an example of the kind of local variety we have seen from the first landing of the Angles and the Saxons in Britain? It is certainly true that this kind of local 'corruption' can be found throughout the English-speaking countries of Asia. And it is also true that in each country where bi- or multilingualism exists there are two standards of English that are followed—one is the standard of international communication, and the other the local standard that may have infinite varieties, and we have already seen that the branding of these local standards as 'dialectal' or 'deviational' or 'corrupt' do not hold much ground, as language once spoken by the "other" can never be the same again.

3.9 LET US SUM UP

English is perhaps the only language that can be called a world language. The language scattered across continents and spoken by more than three hundred million people, alone deserves that title. The story of English is a fascinating study and no single standard theory can be applied to a language that has undergone innumerable transformations, within the country as well as outside it. The spread and rise of Englishes that compete with each other as well as the Standard form, were sometimes the result of the British policy of domination and at others the cumulative effect of the subversive tendencies within the language itself, that redefined the relations between the dominant language and the subject languages. The intermingling of different languages with English not only gave rise to new Englishes but also new identities, new nations, new literatures and an innovative window to look upon the world. The influence of English cannot be denied in any sphere of our life: it is the prestige language, the language of global access, the language that conducts the affairs of the world. We, however, must be awarte of the fact that the English that we

use is our own English and not the language that the once-rulers imposed upon us. It is reworked English and not the English of our colonial masters. English now, has not two (America and Britain) homelands but several, and there is absolutely no reason to compare one's own English with the norms that are followed in these countries. The Englishes are constantly developing their own norms and their own standards of evaluation. Our journey through the English-speaking world confirms the view that the English language cannot be controlled by legislation or remade by committees. Towards the end of his life, Walt Whitman, reflecting on language, defined it as "something arising out of the work, needs, ties, joys, affections, tastes, of long generations of humanity" and having "its basis broad and low, close to the ground". English has its own momentum and its own laws. Tourism, satellite televisions and word processors spread English faster and farther than ever before, and if a particular usage or a particular pronunciation finds favour there will be no controlling it.

Language has always served as a mirror to society. English today is no exception. In its present state, it reflects very accurately the crises and contradictions of which it is a part. In Britain, its first home, it has become standardised and centralised in the South, apparently cautious of change. The English of the United States has become the voice of the developed nations in finance, trade and technology. Within the United States, the huge socio-economic significance of the South and West has given the voice and accents of the South-West a new and preponderant influence. In the British Commonwealth, the independent traditions of Australia, Canada and New Zealand have breathed a new life into the English that was exported from Britain more that two hundred years ago. In the Caribbean, it is the focus of an emergent nationalism. In Africa, it is a continent-wide form of communication. In South Africa, it is the medium of Black consciousness. In India and South-East Asia, it is associated with the aspirations of the developing nations, and, reflecting the confidence of these Asian countries, it is making its own distinctive forms. In the words of Emerson, "Language is a city, to the building of which every human being brought a stone".

3.10 KEY WORDS

Lingua franca — a language that is used for communication between different groups of people, each speaking a different language.

Pidgin — a language which develops as a **contact language** when groups of people who speak different languages come into contact and communicate with one another, as when foreign traders communicate with the local population or workers on plantations or in factories communicate with one another or with their bosses. A pidgin usually has a limited vocabulary and a very reduced grammatical structure which may expand when a pidgin is used over a long period of time or for many purposes. For example. Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin):

Yu ken kisim long olgeta bik pela stua.
You can get (it) all big (noun marker) stores.

Creole — a PIDGIN language which has become the native language of a group of speakers, being used for all or many of their daily communicative needs. Usually, the sentence structures and vocabulary range of a creole are far more complex than those of a pidgin language. Creoles are usually classified according to the language from which most of their

vocabulary comes, eg. English-based, French-based. Portuguese-based, and Swahili-based creoles. Examples of English-based creoles are Jamaican Creole, Hawaiian Creole and Krio in Sierra Leone, West Africa.

Variation — differences in pronunciation, grammar, or word choice within a language which may be related to region, social, class or degree of formality.

Vernacular — the ordinary, every day spoken language of the people in a community as opposed to a different variety of the same language, or to a different language, which is used in the same community for official purposes, for education, or high culture.

Patois — a regional speach-form of low prestige.

Hiberno-English — the English of Ireland

Post-Creole continuum — the range of language varieties, from acrolect to basilect, which results when a Creole undergoes some degree of **decreolization** i.e a process in which a creole changes so that it becomes more similar to a natural language.

3.11 READING LIST

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3.12 QUESTIONS

1. Describe the historical and sociolinguistic reasons for the dissemination of English in the British Isle.
2. What are the reasons which led to the spread of English overseas? How is American English different from Carribean English?
3. Australian English and Indian English are both transplanted varieties, yet there is a basic difference between both the varieties. Discuss.
4. What are the similarities and difference between Canadian and American English? Why?

UNIT 4 INDIAN ENGLISH

Structure

4.0 Objectives
4.1 Introduction
4.2 The Arrival of English
4.3 The Establishment of English
4.4 Consolidation and Development
4.5 Post-Independence Language Policy
4.6 Cline of Bilingualism
4.7 The 'Indianness' in Indian English
4.8 Indian Writing in English
4.9 Let Us Sum Up
4.10 Key Words
4.11 Reading List
4.12 Questions

4.0 OBJECTIVES

In this unit we will discuss in detail about the arrival, establishment and development of English in India. We will also describe the post-Independence scenario vis-à-vis English and the regional languages. We will discuss some of the features of Indian English and Indian Writing in English.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

What constitutes 'Indian English'? Is it a mere conglomeration of certain grammatical, semantic, lexical and morphological features that govern its use; or is it a channel that opens out to a newer world -- a world that entices the learner as well as the user with promises of greater prestige and power? English, in India, is used as a medium of communication by more than eighty million people, an estimate which far surpasses the speakers of English even in Great Britain. That too, in a country where there are nineteen other national languages along with numerous dialects ranging over the thousand mark. What makes English such a widely-spoken language in India? Is it a *local* phenomenon (local, in the etymological sense of, *localized*, spoken among a select few), or does it follow a pattern of pan-Indianness. And if it does, what are the basic features of this English? And what strategies, manouevers or even instruments of coercion were used for its establishment and subsequent dissemination? In other words, what were the *a priori* historical principles immanent in the discourse of imperialism? The arrival, the spread, the disemminative principles, the education policies, the language policies, the language politics, the hierarchies of power inherent in a language, and the position of the learner/user vis-à-vis the power-language are some of the pertinent questions that will be raised and analyzed during the course of this chapter, and attempts will be made to analyze the nature of this language that is homogeneously termed 'Indian English'.

4.2 THE ARRIVAL OF ENGLISH

By the year 1600, England had established trading contacts with three continents- America, Africa, and Asia. The growth of English in South Asia, and especially in

India, can be directly correlated with the growth of imperial rule in India. It is customary to trace the roots of English on the Indian subcontinent to 31 December, 1600, when Queen Elizbeth I granted a Charter to a few merchants of the city of London giving them a monopoly of trade with India and the East. It must be noted in this early phase of arrival that the British, first and foremost, were committed to the expansion of trade rather than territory, which meant that the language of administration that required speakers and comprehenders, was still not involved. The language of trade essentially meant the influx of certain Indian words into the English vocabulary and vice-versa for effective communication between two trading communities. The language however, found a different outlet to spread itself– missionary work and proselytization.

With the establishment of trading contacts with India, preachers of the Protestant faith started coming to South Asia essentially for proselytizing purposes. The people of the sub-continent were thus, not only exposed to a new religion (though there is evidence that Christianity came to India as early as the 4th century A.D.), but also to a new language, for the language of the preachers, in the early phase was their native one. The efforts started in 1614 and became more and more effective after 1659, once the missionaries were allowed to use the ships of the East India Company. In 1698, when the Charter of the Company was renewed, a 'missionary clause' was added to it. This 'clause' silenced the critics of the East India Company in Britain, by emphasizing the fact that the company was not merely interested in trading but also in the enhancement of the Church; furthermore, it provided the company with a legitimizing principle for the exploitation that they were perpetrating on the land. This policy, however, changed again in 1765, when encouragement of missionaries was stopped. This created great resentment in missionary circles in England, and the Clapham Sect started agitating for freedom for missionary work in India. Charles Grant was perhaps, the most influential figure who vociferously supported the cause of the missionaries in India.

In 1813, with the efforts of Charles Grant, William Wilberforce, and the Foreign Secretary, Lord Castlereagh, the House of Commons in its 13th Resolution

resolved that it is the opinion of this committee that it is the duty of this Country to promote the interests and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and that measures ought to be introduced as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement.

This helped the missionary work in India, and thus the proselytizing and educational activities of the missionaries—which were very restricted and unplanned from 1600 to 1765—were revitalized.

On 9 July 1854, Sir Charles Wood sent the Court of Directors the Dispatch which came later to Lord Dalhousie, the Governor General of India. It was due to this Dispatch that in 1857, three universities were established in India, at Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. By the end of the Nineteenth century, the Punjab (Lahore) and Allahabad universities were established. With the spread of colleges and the increase of universities, the importance of English was rising, and in the early twentieth century English was formally established as the official and academic language of India. English thus became the 'prestige' language, completely replacing Persian and the Indian languages (what were then called the *vernaculars*). In the second decade of the twentieth century, as the nationalist movement gained strength, an anti-English feeling emerged; but, strangely enough, the medium of the movement itself was English. By 1928 a reasonably influential English press and a taste for English publications had been created.

But we have already crossed the boundaries of the 'arrival' of English and moved towards its establishment. But before we proceed further, we must go back in time to trace, if possible, the founding moment that led to its establishment. But even before that, a word about the Dispatch. The Dispatch contained two interesting clauses-one emphasizing the use of *vernaculars* instead of Sanskrit and Arabic, and second, making English education optional, stating that 'the English language should be taught where there is a demand for it'. This was in fact, an attempt to dilute the Macaulay Minute promulgated in 1835, though the policy of education that was followed in later years was more influenced by the Minute than the Dispatch.

4.3 THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ENGLISH

After 1765, the East India Company became a political power in India; its attention was, naturally, attracted by wider problems. The political suzerainty that they enjoyed over a vast tract of land forced them to take up directly the reigns of administration, and this necessitated a different approach towards a language which till then more or less belonged to the domain of missionary education. The education of Anglo-Indian children became secondary, whereas it had earlier been one of the main objects of schools. In 1787, the Court of Directors of the East India Company appreciated the efforts of the Reverend Mr. Schwartz to establish two schools in Tanjore and Marwar for the children of soldiers, encouraging him with a grant of 250 pagodas per year per school. It was an initial but crucial stage, for it might have left no mark had the later discussions not gone in favour of English.

The highly controversial and very significant Minute of 1835 was passed on 2 February. The Minute, however, was not passed without debate and controversy. There were two views about educating the people of South Asia in English, both the views having their groups of detractors and adherents. Both the views known later as the Anglicist-Orientalist controversy, stemmed from the same argumentative principle: the urge to educate a mass which was considered to be 'barbaric' and 'retrograde'. The controversy was centered around the nature of instruction, the medium through which 'knowledge' could be imparted to the 'natives'. The arguments were further fuelled by the presence of certain Indians in both the camps. Even before Raja Rammohan Roy's plea for introducing English in India, there was already a small group of Indians, especially in Bengal, who wanted to study English in addition to Persian and Bengali. Perhaps this was one way for Hindus to show their concern about the domination of Persian or Arabic; or perhaps this was done essentially for socio-economic and educational reasons. It is well known that, in aiding the passing of the crucial Minute in 1835, Macaulay's hand was considerably strengthened by a small group of Indians led by Raja Rammohan Roy, who preferred English to Indian language for academic, scientific and other international reasons. Roy's often quoted letter to Lord Amherst, dated 11 December 1823, is an important document which contributed to the introduction of bilingualism in English in the Indian subcontinent. Referring to the British proposal of establishing a Sanskrit school in Calcutta, Rammohan Roy said:

> *When this Seminary of learning was proposed, we understand that the Government in England had ordered a considerable sum of money to be annually devoted to the instruction of its Indian subjects. We were filled with sanguine hopes that this sum would be laid out in employing European gentlemen of talents and education to instruct the natives of India in mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy, and other useful*

sciences, which the natives of Europe have carried to a degree of perfection that has raised them above the inhabitants of other parts of the world....

Roy's rhetoric was directed in a masked manner against the government support for Sanskrit education, the rhetoric being itself garbed in the apparels of humanist philosophy. This was one of the most potent instruments in the hands of Macaulay who clearly and visibly in his Minute reiterated the same arguments in favour of English education.

As has already been pointed out, the Anglicist-Orientalist controversy centered a round the kind of education that the rulers were going to propagate. To put the controversy at a simplistic level, one group led by Charles Grant, Lord Moira and T.B. Macaulay favoured English rather than the Indian languages in the education system of India. They were popularly termed as the **Anglicists**. The **Orientalists**, led by H.T. Princep, were against the use of English as a compulsory language, terming the Minute 'hasty and indiscreet'. In his dissenting Minute Princep wrote: 'The next step will be to transfer the professors' allowance to teachers of English, and then will follow in due course the voting of Arabic and Persian to be dead and damned'. It is however easy to be waylaid by the Orientalist argument as supportive and favourable towards indigenous teaching. Both the arguments were flip sides of the same coin. Both the arguments were driven by the same pedagogic principles. The logic for both sides of the camp ran the same: the natives are backward and immersed in darkness; they need the 'light' of education to dispel it, but the natives are not fit enough to formulate their own education policy; thus, the ruling race would help formulate it for them. And it was only at this stage, that the Orientalist and Anglicist arguments differed. While the Anglicists argued that education policy should be framed in English, the Orientalists believed that the same education could be imparted through Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. It was only that the Orientalists needed to mould and re-interpret the literature for them. It was however, the Anglicists' argument that gained the upper hand resulting in the passing of the Macaulay Minute.

The Minute specifically states the agenda of the British educators, being aimed at forming "a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern—a class of persons, Indians in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinion, in morals and in intellect". Referring to Sanskrit and Arabic, he says: 'I have no knowledge of either Sanskrit or Arabic. But I have done what I could to form a correct estimate of their value.. I am quite ready to take the oriental learning at the valuation of the orientalists themselves. I have never found one amongst them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia'. The Minute received the seal of approval from Lord William Bentinck, and on 7 March 1835, an official resolution endorsing Macaulay's policy was passed. This firmly established the beginnings of the process of producing English-knowing bilinguals in India.

The Minute sought now to teach what was termed as strictly 'useful', through English language, literature and culture. However, the 'useful' (i.e., 'science') could have been promoted even through translations into the indigenous languages. It must be conceded that but for Princep's strong objections oriental education would have faced complete extinction with the abolition of the Mudrassa and Sanskrit college.

4.4 CONSOLIDATION AND DEVELOPMENT

It was Lord Auckland, the then Governor-General of India, who through his Minute dated 24th November 1839, put an end to the Orientalist-Anglicist controversy by ear-marking additional funds for the development of both the Oriental and the

English education. Auckland favoured the promotion first of Oriental instruction, and only thereafter of the English classes whose principal aim would be "to communicate through the means of the English language, a complete education in European literature, philosophy and science to the greatest number of students who may be found ready to accept it at our hands". Auckland's verdict thereby went in favour of English and as the Indian Education Commission, 1882, noted in its Historical Review of Education in India: "Since that time education in India has proceeded upon the recognition of the value of English instruction, of the duty of the state to spread Western knowledge among its subjects".

The Macaulayan course of language and education underwent a review in Wood's Education Dispatch of 1854, described by some as 'The Magna Carta of Indian Education'. It reviewed the past educational policies and outlined a policy for the future . The occasion for this was provided by the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1853. The Indian Education Commission supported the Dispatch of 1854 in its stated goal of improvement and wider extension of education, both English and vernacular, and made a specific recommendation towards the study of English, that "the English language is to be the medium of instruction in the higher branches and the vernacular in the lower. English is to be taught wherever there is a demand for it, but it is not to be substituted for the vernacular language of the country". The Dispatch itself had stated: "We look, therefore, to the English language and to the vernacular languages of India together as the *media* for the diffusion of European knowledge, and it is our desire to see them cultivated together in all schools in India of sufficiently high class to maintain a school master possessing the requisite qualifications". The Dispatch thus, rejected what according to the British was a retrograde policy as approved by Lord Auckland. Nevertheless, it failed to resolve the basic tension that existed between English and Indian languages. Although the traditional role of classical languages was recognized, the choice of English as medium of instruction in the highest branches of learning, and the spread of modern knowledge and education, could hardly give the vernaculars the importance and position which could help them grow and develop. The practical situation whereby English education helped secure a government job also came in the way of the choice of the medium being placed on the vernaculars.

The Indian Education Commission (1882), appointed to enquire into the Dispatch of 1854, and to suggest methods for more completely carrying out the policy therein laid down, observed that there was no uniform pattern in respect of the medium language. They found that

1. the mother tongue as a medium of instruction was neglected since a child studied the mother-tongue for periods varying between two to four years after which he read English, thus widening the gap between the Anglo-Vernacular and the Vernacular Schools;

2. English was studied as a subject for 2-3 years and then used as a medium thereby leaving scope for improving knowledge of English before its adoption as a medium;

3. at High School, English was invariably the medium of instruction;

4. the highest instruction in the vernacular was upto the middle stage except in Punjab;

5. throughout the Secondary Course, English was employed as the medium of instruction.

Thus, the Indian Education Commission did not make any recommendations to help the study of modern Indian languages or decrease the dominance of English. Hence, English brought about a more drastic change in the Indian linguistic situation than it may appear. It took on the role and functions of several languages. Its introduction was even more radical a step than that of Persian. Its position can be likened to that of French in England following the Norman Conquest. In India, English was spoken by the elite classes, and the vernaculars by the common folk, just as the elite classes after the Norman Conquest in England spoke French and the common people spoke Anglo-Saxon. Macaulay could not have been more successful.

The object of the secondary course of study in 1882 was to spread a 'knowledge of English' and 'not European knowledge of a less high order' through English as well as through the mother-tongue as laid down in the Dispatch of 1854. The effect of this was that Indian languages came to be neglected. Also, the dominance of English in the secondary course grew unabated so much so that its study was begun even before the pupil had obtained a good knowledge of his/her mother-tongue, and often students felt burdened by the difficulties caused by the medium of instruction and examination.

A significant change in this policy was first mooted between 1902 and 1920, that is, between the appointment of the Indian Universities Commission and the transfer of education under Indian control. Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India (1898-1905), a pervasive and powerful influence during those years and a protagonist of the development of modern Indian languages, summoned, during this phase, in 1901 to be exact, the first All-India Conference of Directors of Public Instruction. The deliberations of the Conference were a great help to him in planning his educational reforms. Whereas in higher education he was for the improvement of the quality of education, in Primary education he was for its expansion together with its improvement, and at High School he supported the extensive use of English. Regarding Primary Education, particularly education of the children in the vernaculars, he noted among other things, how wrong it was to teach young children a foreign language when they were not given an opportunity to extend and deepen the knowledge of their own mother tongues.

Lord Curzon also attached great importance to the task of University reforms and consequently appointed on 27th January 1902 the Indian Universities Commission (1902). The Commission submitted its report in the same year adopting the model of London University as modified by the Act of 1898. The Indian Universities Commission did not commend the Madras University example where a modern Indian language was allowed as an alternative to a classical language. The Commission instead emphasized the need for the better teaching of English at school. In higher education it recognized the extension of European knowledge through the medium of English. It is interesting that very subtly a case was made for beginning the study of English even earlier than was the case. The objective evidently being to introduce the study of English early. Even for the teaching of English, Indians were not considered to be well qualified.

The question of determining the stage at which English study must begin and the adoption of modern Indian languages at the middle school stage assumed great importance a little later. The 'Government Resolution on Education Policy', 1904, emphasized the importance of mastering the vernacular before the study of English was begun. Thus English was not recommended for study at the primary level except for large cities like Madras, where, like Urdu, it served the purpose of a lingua franca to some extent. Furthermore, premature introduction of English as the medium of instruction before achieving comprehension in it was criticized. The Resolution reminded of the principle affirmed in the Dispatch of 1854 that Indian vernaculars

were to bring European knowledge within the reach of all classes of people. It was thus thought necessary to correct the practice of learning English for its commercial value and relegate the study of the vernaculars to the background.

Taken as a whole, the period 1854 to 1921 saw a large expansion of the modern system of education at the expense of the traditional system. Inspite of the efforts for teaching of modern Indian languages, the medium of instruction still remained English especially at the higher levels of education and the craze for English education continued to spread and dominate the Indian education scene.

The ever-burgeoning national movement in India had its effect on the growth of Education and English in India. Surprisingly, a movement that took the standpoint of ousting the British from the country, was itself divided over the question of English in India. So, on the one hand, we have Annie Besant attacking the predominance of English in Indian education, while on the other, Lala Lajpat Rai who argued that in our need to become modern and to be able to shed the illogical constraints on our thought and society we must learn the modern sciences, the modern literatures and consequently European languages and literatures. In this sense, Lajpat Rai would belong to the tradition of Raja Rammohan Roy. There was however, a strong protest from Mahatma Gandhi who argued that the dominance of English over the vernaculars is unnatural, particularly its use as the medium of instruction at the earliest age possible. The opposition to English was strongly expressed by Gandhi who ridiculed the fake 'elitist' values attached to the learning of English at the expense of one's own mother-tongues:

> I want the culture of all the lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any... But I would not have a single Indian to forget, neglect or be ashamed of his mother-tongue or to feel that he or she cannot think or express the best thought in his or her own vernacular.

Between 1936-37 and 1946-47 several changes took place: the number of University students doubled, though in the secondary education expansion was neither so extensive nor so rapid. It was as a matter of fact slower than in the earlier periods. However, in the matter of medium of instruction and text-book production there was a change towards the adoption of mother-tongue as the medium of instruction. It came to be realized that English could not continue to hold the dominant position in the Secondary course. The regionalization of the medium at the Secondary stage was implemented. The hours of English study and its use were reduced though instruction in the Universities largely continued to be in English. By and large this situation remained unchanged till 1947

4.5 POST - INDEPENDENCE LANGUAGE POLICY

The language policy followed in the post-independence era was expected to be pro-vernacular rather than pro-English. Mahatma Gandhi, as early as 1937, had commented on the deleterious effect of early education through English:

> English having been made the medium of instruction in all the higher branches of learning, has created a permanent bar between the highly educated few and the uneducated many. It has prevented knowledge from percolating to the masses. The excessive importance given to English has cast upon the educated class a burden which has maimed them mentally for life and made them strangers in their own land.

It is certain that certain efforts were made to break with the existing system for obvious political reasons. However, as Jawaharlal Nehru observed at the All India Educational Conference in 1948, any plan for education in India tended to maintain the existing system with slight modifications. He cautioned against this tendency and said the changes in the country must be reflected in the education system. He was for revolutionizing the entire basis of education. With the British leaving India in 1947, the problem of English education attained new dimensions. The Government of India Act, 1935 was replaced by the Constitution of India. Article 343 of the Indian Constitution declared Hindi in Devanagri script as the official language of the Union and this officially rendered the bilingual situation in the country trilingual. An integrated language policy became all the more necessary for educational, cultural and political reasons. The specific problem was the need to introduce the vernacular, and yet retain English for a variety of needs—as a library language, as a medium at the higher levels of education, as a link language and as the official language. This required excellence in English, but the weightage given to the study of English had to be reduced. The language issue gave rise to diverse controversies and various education commissions, language commissions and study groups appointed by the Government of India devoted their deliberations to find a solution. The Constitution of 1950 recognized fourteen Indian Languages of which Hindi was to be the first national language. English was to be a transitional language until 1965.

This ambivalence towards English is perhaps, the result of not only the language policies followed in the post independence era, but also the inherent position of English vis-à-vis the Indian languages. Thus, while most of the commissions recommended the switching over to Indian languages as mediums of instruction in the post-British period, all of them favoured the retaining of English as a 'library language'. For example, the University Education Commission, 1948-49, under the Chairmanship of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan argued for the replacement of English with an Indian language, but at the same time proposed the retention of English with a view 'to keep ourselves in touch with the living stream of ever-growing knowledge'.

Hence, the present position of English in India is as follows: it is recognized constitutionally as the Associate National Official Language and as inter-regional link language; educationally it is recognized as an essential component of formal education, and as the preferred medium of learning, with specialized education in science and technology available through the medium of English only. Socially it is recognized and upheld as a mark of education, culture and prestige. The polity and society confers great value on the learning of English, gives it enormous potential, thus creating a great demand for English-knowing Indian bi- or multi-linguals. In the process of globalization, the value for English has grown even more internationally. English is evidently here to stay for a long time.

4.6 CLINE OF BILINGUALISM

Since the establishment and development of English in India, the language has always been used as a second language (L_2) rather than as the mother-tongue (L_1). It has essentially created bilinguals, and sometimes, multilinguals responding to an Indian context. At the outset, it should be mentioned here that English in India functions in the following sociolinguistic setting: i) it is a second language; ii) it is used as a link language both intra-nationally and internationally; iii) it is used in Indian English writings (fiction, newspapers, etc.). In fact, it has burgeoned in this sphere winning international accolades.

It may be said that Indians are bilingual in the sense that they are using English as a *complementary language* in typically Indian contexts. In the use of the written medium of Indian English a distinction is possible along the lines of writer/reader relationship. An Indian bilingual use of English may be conditioned by the reading public of his/her work. This is clear in the creative work of Indian English writers, especially the novelists and short-story writers. Thus, on the basis of writer/reader relationship we have two forms of Indian English: one written in India, the reading public of which is exclusively Indian, another which is written either in or outside India, for Indians or non-Indians.

English in India inevitably is 'in contact' situation with other Indian languages. In linguistic terms a study of a language contact situation involves a study of transfer at different levels. In such a situation there are at least two language (L_1 and L_2) and in certain cases, two cultures (C_1 and C_2) involved. In Indian English, the process of transfer may result in the following: i) transfer of context; ii) transfer of formal items; iii) transfer of form/context components. 'Transfer of Context' refers to the transfer of 'elements' of certain contexts from C_1 and L_1 to L_2. If the participants, however, belong to different cultural and language backgrounds (e.g., Hindi-English, Tamil-English, French-Russian), this may involve the transfer of certain contextual units which may be non-belonging elements of the culture of L_2, such as the caste system of India, social and religious taboos, notions of superiority and inferiority, and the like. For example, the use of such words and phrases in the form of a complete nominal unit- 'Cherisher of the poor', 'king of pearls', 'government', 'huzoor', 'ma-bap', 'policewala' or 'pandit'. All these are not only contextually transferred to L_2, but also the meaning of these Indian English words take the form of L_1 when used in L_2.

Transfer of formal items refers to structural features of L_1 being transferred to L_2. 'Transfer of formal items' may be of two types :

a) Formal items from different ranks may be transferred from L_1, e.g., sentences, clauses, phrases, fixed collocations, compounds, etc. For example, 'salt giver', 'spoiler of my salt', 'sister-sleeper', 'bow my forehead', 'turmeric ceremony' etc.

b) L_1 meanings may be transferred to L_2 items. For instance, the term 'brother-in-law' has one restricted meaning in British English as a kinship term; in Indian English it has acquired three distinct meanings as a term of i) abuse, ii) affection or intimacy, and iii) kinship. In the use of the items 'flower-bed', 'government', etc. these is a change of register in Indian English with the result that a native speaker of English will not understand these items without understanding the defining-context. Examples are: "On this, her flower-bed, her seven children were born", or "Government, she knows nothing about drinks". The word 'government' is used here as a mode of address for a person who represents the state, and hence authority.

'Transfer of form/context components' involve the transfer of fixed formal exponents of a context to L_2 where these contextual units are absent. So socially-determined speech-functions such as modes of addresses/reference, greetings, blessings/prayers etc. are related to the C_1 in the Indian context of culture.

Let us now shift our attention to the cline of bilingualism that exists in India. But, first and foremost, who can be called an Indian English bilingual? A standard (or educated) Indian English bilingual may be defined as one who is intelligible not only to other Indians in different parts of the subcontinent, but ideally speaking, to the educated native speakers of English, too. But, intelligibility does not necessarily

imply that the user's command of English equals that of the native speaker. The term *intelligibility* may be used in a wider sense to imply an Indian bilingual's capacity to use English effectively for social control in all those social activities in which English is used in India. In Indian English, we may then imagine a scale of bilingualism running from almost monolinguals at one end, through varying degrees of bilingualism, to absolute ambilingualism at the other end.

In India an idiom of English has developed which is Indian in the sense that there are formal and contextual exponents of Indianness in such writing, and the defining context of such idioms is the Indian setting. It is by inter-relating the socio-cultural and linguistic factors of India that we may be able to make a crucial distinction between those formations which are deviations from other L_1 varieties of English, and those formations which are termed 'mistakes' or sub-standard formations. One might then ask: In what sense is Indian English 'distinctive' and has a distinctive form of Indian English really evolved in such a multi-lingual situation as prevalent in India? That is the topic of discussion in our next section.

4.7 THE 'INDIANNESS' IN INDIAN ENGLISH

We have already discussed some of the features of context-oriented Indianisms while discussing bilingualism in India. We shall in this section consider mainly the formal features of some of the transferred Indianisms.

It is useful to describe Indianisms in more than one way. In terms of lexical structure and grammatical structure the transfer may result in collocational and/or grammatical deviations. The transfer of Indianisms in Indian English may involve equivalence of formal items of L_1 and L_2 in two ways:

(a) It may be a translation of an Indian item, or
(b) It may be a shift based on an underlying Indian source item.

1. **Translation** : Translation may be defined as establishing equivalent or partially equivalent formations in Indian English from the formation in Indian languages. In translation, there is not necessarily a one-to-one correspondence between the items of L_1 and L_2. For instance, 'namak haram' has been translated by Mulk Raj Anand as the 'spoiler of salt'. Here, an item of word rank L_1 is transferred at group rank into L_2. Yet another compound,' Iswar-prem' has been translated by the same author as 'god-love'. Various other examples are available - 'twice-born', 'waist-thread', 'cow-worship', etc. Moreover, there can be translations in which the nearest equivalent of English is attempted following the same patterns of L_1. For example, 'car-festival', 'caste-mark', 'caste-dinner', 'cow-worship', 'cousin-sister', 'cousin-brother', etc.

2. **Shift** : A shift is different from translation in the sense that in a shift no attempt is made to establish formal equivalence. An Indianism classified as a shift is usually an adaptation of an underlying formal item of an Indian language which provides its source. Shifts are better explained and understood if considered with their appropriate contextual units from Indian culture. The following types of Indianisms may be treated as shifts: 'may the vessel of your life never float in the sea of existence'; 'may the fire of ovens consume you'; 'a crocodile in a loin-cloth'. Generally, the underlying source item for a shift is a fixed collocation of an Indian language.

An Indian English collocation includes those formations which have Indian characteristics in the following three senses. First, they may deviate grammatically from American and British English formations. Second, they may involve loan shifts from Indian languages. Third, they may be formally non-deviant but contextually deviant, that is, if they have those contextual units which are part of Indian culture but are absent in those cultures where English is spoken as the L_1. The collocational deviation of Indianisms, then, may be of two types: formal and contextual. By formal deviation is meant the deviation in terms of the lexical items which operate in the structure of a collocation. Thus we get lexical and contextually Indian collocations, e.g., 'sister-sleeper' 'dining-leaf', 'rape-sister', 'flower-bed'. It is to be noted that collocations like 'sister-sleeper' or 'flower bed' are not grammatically deviant, but only lexically deviant because in Indian English 'sleeper' is used in a particular sense in which it is not used in English.

It is interesting to note that there is on the whole an underlying regular syntactic process involved in forming Indian English collocations. In a large number of Indianisms a syntactic unit of a higher rank in English is reduced to a lower rank in Indian English. In any such Indianisms, the reduction first involves the process of deletion and then permutation of the lexical items. Consider, for example, the following nominal groups of English: (1) 'an address of welcome', (2) 'a bunch of keys', and (3) 'love of god'. In Indian English, these are reduced to: (1)'welcome address', (2) 'key-bunch', and (3) 'God-love'. We have even-formations like 'America - returned' or 'England-returned'.

Those Indianisms which have specific meaning (and function) in Indian culture may be termed contextually determined or contextually loaded Indianisms. Contextually determined Indianisms may be 'deviant' in the sense that they are unintelligible to the user of other varieties of English because they are not acquainted with those typically Indian contexts is which such formations are used by Indians.

Contextually determined Indianisms involve the transfer of meaning from the native culture of Indian English writers/speakers, in addition to the transfer of collocations from Indian languages: e.g., the use of 'flower-bed' in the sense of 'nuptial-bed'. We have a considerable list of such formations that occur in almost all the spheres of life: 'alms-bowl', 'bamboo-stretcher', 'bath-fire', 'betel-bag', 'black-money', 'bride-showing', 'car-festival', 'cow-dung cakes', 'eating leaves', 'leaf-plate', 'rice eating ceremony', 'sacred ash', 'saucer-lamp', 'reed mat', 'upper-cloth', 'village-elders', 'wedding-house', 'wrist-band', etc.

In addition to these, we can have hybrid or mixed formations which comprise two or more elements, and in which at least one element is from an Indian language and one from English. For example, 'attar-bottle', 'Congress-pandal', 'kumkum-mark', 'nazul-land', 'police-jamadar', etc.

It is true that the use of varieties of a language in different cultures raises interesting issues. The term 'English language' may be used as a cover-term for L_1 varieties of English and also for the 'other Englishes' which have slowly developed in West Africa, India, Malaysia, and so forth because of political, commercial and educational contacts of these countries with the English-speaking countries.

In India, the English language has blended itself with the cultural and social life of the country and has become, as Raja Rao says, the language of the 'intellectual make-up' of Indians. It is the only language, which has been retained and used by Indian intellectuals in spite of political pressures and regional language loyalty. In certain ways the use of English as a link language has for the first time created a pan-Indian literature (except, of course, the earlier use of Sanskrit) which symbolizes

cultural and socio-political aspirations of Indians. Thus, a foreign language has become culture bound in India more deeply than Persian and Arabic were in the times of the Muslim rulers.

4.8. INDIAN WRITING IN ENGLISH

We would end our discussion on Indian English with a brief note on Indian English literature. Indian English writing, broadly speaking, can be traced back to as early as 1830, five years before Macaulay's famous Minute, when the first book of poems in English by an Indian - *Shair and Other Poems* by Kashiprasad Ghose was published. The history of Indian English literature is thus, a long and variegated one. Indian English poetry, the first of the genres to emerge in Indian English writing, was once described as "Matthew Arnold in a sari", and later as "Shakuntala in skirts", with a third critic noting "the stamp 'Made in India' on the fabric". It may now safely be said that Indian English poetry, and for that matter, Indian English literature, has emerged in its own right within the literary fabric of the world. Like in English literature, Indian literature in English developed three distinct genres in the earlier stages—poetry, drama and the novel. While the first two were already available to Indian writers due to the Sanskrit tradition, the last genre was perhaps a direct import from the British. We will deal with each of the three genres very briefly, trying to locate the origins and their subsequent development.

It is often remarked that almost always the early Indian English poets turned to the past, to history and to legends and myths, in their attempts to come to terms with the present. It would be a simplification to argue that they fell into the orientalist trap. However, actually they were trying to come to terms with their Indian selves in a foreign idiom. Their attempts may strike us as naive but they were genuine. It would be untrue to say that in their attempts to incorporate Indian myths and symbols in their poetry, in their retelling the legends, or in their historical poetry, the Indian poets took the easy way out. They were not taking the easy way out; they were taking what they perceived to be the only way. It was their awareness of colonial subjugation and their distancing from their cultural tradition that impelled them to explore and use the past with poetic resources at their command and within the poetical conventions available to them.

It must be remembered here that the Indian English writer from the early years has suffered from, what Upamanyu Chatterjee has termed, "an intrinsic schizophrenia". The pull of a foreign language coupled with the inherent traditions of an Indian English writer have helped in the emergence of a distinct voice that can be safely called indigenous. This push and pull between a foreign language and native tradition has not only made Indian English writing more *accommodative* but also created a space for divergent voices to emerge in a language that till today, is considered by many as non-native.

The range of typically Indian experience are corroborated in English to give a panoramic view of India, not only in poetry, but in drama and novel as well. For example, the play *Nil Darpan* (1860) by Dinabandhu Mitra was translated into English by Michael Madhusudan Dutt as *Indigo Planting Mirror*, its theme being the brutal oppression of the Bengali villagers by the English indigo planters. It is interesting to note that though India had a long tradition of dramatic writings, this play as translated by Dutt followed the English dramatic conventions to a greater extent, thereby producing a play that was set in a distinct Indian context but followed the patterns of a Shakespearean play. This tension is perhaps, the most conspicuous in the Indian English novel.

Regarding the development of the genre of novel, Meenakshi Mukherjee, author of *Twice-born Fiction*, has an interesting point to make. She shifts the focus of attention from the writer to the reader and then back to the writer again. In other words, what were the writers reading that influenced their intellectual make-up, and set the literary conventions for an indigenous novel form to come up. She identifies four possible sources about the range of reading of the nineteenth century Indian: (a) **Curricula**: Texts that were actually transmitted through formal education. (b) **References**: Occasional references made in Indian language texts of the Nineteenth century about autobiography, intellectual discourses of western thinkers, novels that enjoyed popularity at that point of time, etc. (c) **Translation**: The books actually translated from English into the Indian languages, and she uses the term 'translation' to include the entire spectrum-adaptation, imitation, parody, pastiche and plagiarism. (d) **Influences**: Literary influences and intellectual borrowings that were used and assimilated. These four categories, if methodically studied, can not only explain the emergence of the Indian English novel but the entire gamut of Indian English literature.

The Indian English novel owes its existence to the English novel. Since the publication of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's *Rajmohan's Wife* (1885), purportedly the first Indian English novel, we have a galaxy of other Indian English writers that have tried to portray in their texts a decidedly Indian context resulting in the formation of a distinctly Indian idiom as well as new words that have been subsequently assimilated in the English language. Writers like R.K. Narayan, Raja Rao, Mulk Raj Anand, Bhabani Bhattacharya, Anita Desai, Ruskin Bond, etc. need no introduction. With the publication of Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* (1980), Indian English writing has received a new lease of life. Following in the wake of Rushdie's highly successful novel, writers like Upamanyu Chatterjee, Amitav Ghosh, I.Allan Sealy, Vikaram Seth and Arundhati Roy, have followed the tradition of Indian English writing in an exciting manner, opening up new possibilities in the English language. It has also given rise to what is termed as the literary 'diaspora' a class of writers estranged from the land and writing about it in an 'alien' language, through a 'fragmented mirror' (Rushdie). Whether Indian diasporic writing is an evanescent phenomenon or a new window on the world is open to the test of time.

It is however, true that Indian English writing now demands its own place in the galaxy of English writings. A language that was established and developed after acrimonious debates has finally emerged into a vibrant medium that has successfully created a literary niche for itself. Indian English today demands its own place of recognition and ranks along with all the 'other English writings' - African, Australian, Canadian - that the British had left as a legacy.

4.9 LET US SUM UP

In this unit we discussed in detail, the arrival of English in India, its gradual establishment and development. In its long sojourn on Indian soil, English has Indianized itself considerably. We discussed some of the features of this Indianization. In recent years a vast body of literature has been written in English which has been internationally acclaimed. We have given you a brief overview of this literature. We have also discuss the role of English, vis-à-vis the 'Indian' languages in the post-Independence era.

4.10 KEY WORDS

semantic	pertaining to meaning
lexical	pertaining to words
morphology	pertaining to study of rules of word-formation
pan-Indian	pertaining to the whole of India
vernacular	a language used by most of the population, but which is not the official language of the state or country
library language	passive knowledge of a language through which you can get information
multilinguals/ bilinguals	a person who knows and uses three or more languages
language contact	contact between languages, especially when at least one of the languages is influenced by the contact. This influence takes place typically when the languages are spoken in the same or adjoining regions and when there is a high degree of communication between the people speaking them. This influence may be at the level of sound system, syntax, semantics or communicative strategies such as address forms and greetings
language transfer	features of one language influencing features of another language
L_1	first language
L_2	second language
cline of bilingualism	a scale of bilingualism running from least control in one language (Incipient bilingualism) to full control in two languages
monolingual	a person who has an active knowledge of only one language, though perhaps a passive knowledge of others
ambilinguals	persons having native-like proficiency in two or more languages.

4.11 READING LIST

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4.12 QUESTIONS

1. What role did religion play in the establishment of English in India?

2. What were the similarities and differences in the Anglicist-Orientalist controversy?

3. What do you think is the role of English vis-à-vis the Indian languages in modern India?

4. What do you understand by the terms "cline of bilingualism"?

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MAEN-112

Aspects of Language

Block

9

STYLISTICS

Block Introduction

UNIT 1
Language Variation - the Context of Situation 573

UNIT 2
The Connection between Linguistics, Literary Criticism and Stylistics 582

UNIT 3
Style and Content 589

UNIT 4
Analysing Texts-I 599

UNIT 5
Analysing Texts-II 624

UNIT 6
Analysing Texts-III 638

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BLOCK INTRODUCTION

This is one of the most important blocks of this course. In this block we give you tools to look at literature from the point of view of the medium in which it is written, i.e. linguistic tools. You will now be able to relate to the literary texts that you study with greater insight and perception.

You will also notice in this section that with the gradual maturation of the discipline of linguistics and literary criticism, the rivalry between the two disciplines have been eliminated and a mutually cooperative role in the field of literary evaluation and appreciation has been established.

Another important facet of this block is that we have devoted three units on giving you hands on experience with analysing fiction and poetry.

The units in this block are:

Unit 1 Language Variation - the Context of Situation
Unit 2 The Connection between Linguistics, Literary Criticism and Sylistics
Unit 3 Style and Content
Unit 4,5 & 6 Analysing Texts I - II - III

This block will also feed into the next course which is primarily concerned with literary criticism.

UNIT 1 LANGUAGE VARIATION - THE CONTEXT OF SITUATION

Structure

1.0 Objectives
1.1 Introduction
1.2 What is Language?
1.3 Language Variation
1.3.1 Dialect
1.3.2 Style
1.4 Let Us Sum Up
1.5 Key Words
1.6 Questions
1.7 Reading List

1.0 OBJECTIVES

Our aim in this Unit is to make you understand the field of stylistics in terms of fundamental questions, such as

1) What is language?
2) The nature of language variation: dialect, style, register.

In other words, we are placing **stylistics** in the context of the situation

1.1 INTRODUCTION

What is stylistics? It is a study of languages used for a particular purpose, generally for a literary purpose, though it is of course possible to do a stylistic analysis of the language used in advertising, or even in casual conversation. Stylistics is an attempt to characterise the nature of the linguistic features occurring in a particular piece of text (whether spoken or written, though usually the implication is written text). A piece of writing is distinguished from other pieces of writing, not only because of its content, or what it is trying to say, but by how it is said, that is, by the choice of linguistic features, and how these are arranged in the text. Stylistics is concerned with analysing the choice of linguistic features and their arrangement in the text.

But before we embark on a study of stylistics, it is important to begin right at the beginning – with the fundamental questions : What is language? A lot of what is discussed in this unit will be repetitive – but it is essential to our discussion, and will help you understand the concepts better.

1.2 WHAT IS LANGUAGE?

The concept of what language is has to be closely linked with what it means to know a language. Knowledge of a language, or language proficiency can be thought of in terms of the distinction between 'competence' and 'performance' made by Chomsky. Competence relates to the potential for language ability that the child is born with and

which matures with age. Performance is the expression of this language ability in actual speech and writing.

Competence, being concerned in essence with the ability on the part of the child to produce language as such, is thus, when the competence is narrowed to the knowledge of one specific language, further narrowed down to the representative forms of that language, namely, the standard dialect, or the standard version of the language. Thus, knowledge of the language is knowledge of its standard version. This version is what is codified in dictionaries and grammar books, and is the form used for wider communication.

Secondly, the notion of competence is basically linked with knowledge of syntax, for syntax is the backbone of language. The realm of syntax is the simple sentence, within which operate all the aspects of syntax. The relationship of one sentence to another, to the paragraph in which it occurs, and the total text of which it is a part is not the concern of syntax.

Thirdly, competence relates to **potential for use**, not use itself. Thus, it leaves out of consideration a major aspect of language in use, namely, the use of language in context. Since the only form of language that language users know is language in context, any theory of language which ignores this aspect of language in use cannot be entirely satisfactory.

Shortly after the Chomskyan revolution, sociolinguists like Gumperz, Ferguson, Fishman and so on, became aware that merely the theory of language without the use of that language was not of much value, and hence they insisted that at the very least, any notion of language must include i) non-standard forms of the language, ii) the linguistic context in which it appears and, iii) the speech context in which it is used. Thus language was made to move out of its ivory tower of the isolated sentence into the hurly burly of life in the marketplace. Speech and writing, as they actually occur in their linguistic and sociolinguistic context, and in the dialect / style/ register in which they occur was now to be considered language. Control of all these aspects was considered to give rise to 'communicative competence'. Thus, there is a marked distinction between the concepts of 'competence' (linguistic; sentence-based; based on standard variety of language) and 'communicative competence' (sociolinguistic; text- and context-based; based on different varieties of the language).

1.3 LANGUAGE VARIATION

What are these different varieties of individual languages?

Linguistic conventions develop in different social groups, and these serve to separate one language from another. But, over the years, as social groups migrate and change their cultural characteristics, the language spoken submits to change and variation. Linguistic change can also be of another kind - language variation down the centuries. This variation can be 'synchronic' (variation within one time period, in terms of region, class or caste) or 'diachronic' (variation due to time factors).

We are aware of the **diachronic variations** of English. For example, the English used by Chaucer differs radically from that used by Milton and both these are different from that of T.S. Eliot. However, many of us are not aware of **synchronic variation.** Look at the following specimens, all of twentieth century English :

1. "Not me," Lump says, "Jedge tole me ef I get caught swipin' any more stuff out'n stores, he'd send me to state's prison sure 'nough" (an uneducated American dialect)

2. Dickie : 'I'm on mother's side. The old boy's so doddery now he can hardly finish the course at all. I timed him today. It took him seventy-five seconds dead from a flying start to reach the pulpit, and he needed the whip coming round the bend----------'

   (Dickie, an adolescent (hence the slang) in Terence Rattigan's play 'The Winslow Boy')

3. Let us propose, then, as a tentative hypothesis, that a great many items appear in the lexicon with fixed selection and subcategorization features, but with a choice as to the features associated with the lexical categories noun, verb, adjective. (Chomsky: technical writing in linguistics)

4. There the smoke of the camp was redolent with the scent of burning gum leaves, there was the splash of the lizard taking to its water, the twittering birds in the trees (literary prose)

All the above are samples of twentieth century **writing,** yet they vary considerably in terms of the social class of the speaker, his age, **the region** he comes from, and the type of register he is using, whether literary, technical or otherwise. **These distinctions involve synchronic variation**, which is of three kinds: variation of Dialect, Style, and Register.

1.3.1 Dialect

Dialects may be i) regional or ii) social class/ caste varieties of a language. British and American English are regional dialectal varieties, just as within Britain, also, there are numerous dialects of English- the Lancashire dialect, the Scottish dialect, the Yorkshire variety and so on. The flower girl in Shaw's *Pygmalion,* for example, uses the Cockney dialect :

" There's menners f'yer ? Teoo banches of voylets tred into the mad"

Dialectal differences may be phonological, morphological, syntactic or lexical in nature. For example, a feature of the phonological difference between General American English and British R. P. (Received Pronunciation) is the vowel sound in the words 'last' and 'dance' in the two dialects as shown below.

	British R.P.	American English
Pronunciation difference		
last	/la:st/	/læst/
dance	/da:ns/	/dæns/
Syntactic difference:	different fron. I'll meet them	different than I'll meet up with them
Lexical difference:	petrol	gas
Morphological difference:	dived	dove

Idiolect

We are aware of how any two speakers will differ in their use of English with respect to points of syntax, phonology or vocabulary. For example, some speakers may pronounce 'uncle' as /ʌnkl/, others may say /ʌnkəl/ or /ʌnkil/. One speaker may use 'you know' in each sentence, while another might say, 'See what I mean?', or perhaps no filler at all. The term 'idiolect' is used to indicate the dialect of one person.

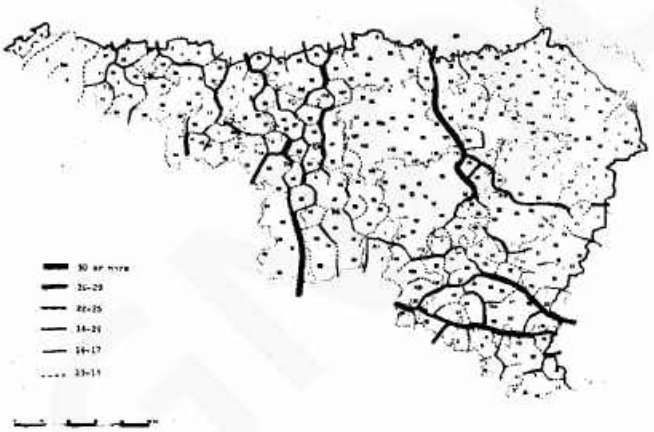
Such differences in phonology, morphology, syntax as they occur in the dialect of specific geographical regions may be marked by what are called dialect boundaries.

Thus in an imaginary state in India where some people use the word 'sigri' for stove and others call it 'sigli', the map may indicate the dialect boundary as follows (where 'x' indicates the use of 'sigri' and 'o' indicates the use of 'sigli':

Isogloss

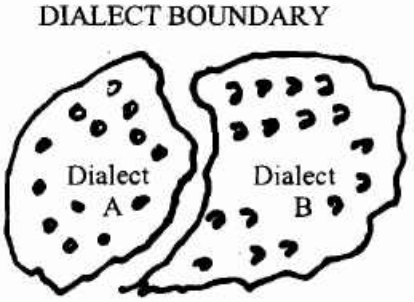
The boundary-line which demarcates the 'sigri' area from the 'sigli' area would be called an 'isogloss'. An isogloss is an imaginary line which divides two areas which differ in the use of a linguistic item.

We can draw a number of isoglosses in a similar fashion indicating other differences, e.g. an initial /s/ and an initial /sh/ in the same word or a terminal /i/ or terminal /e/ in the same word. The isoglosses need not coincide and the map would show a criss-cross of isoglosses as follows:



Bundling of isoglosses

Somewhere in the middle, a number of isoglosses tend to come together. Such a grouping of isoglosses is referred to as 'bundling'. Such a bundling of isoglosses is generally considered as a dialect boundary, as shown below:



Dialects and Languages

What are the criteria by which we may identify dialects of the same language or distinguish one language as different from another? Why do we say that Bhojpuri and Avadhi are dialects of Hindi and that Punjabi and Hindi are two different languages?

The concept of **mutual intelligibility** is a partial answer. If two speakers of different dialects are mutually intelligible to each other in their day to day communication, then they are speaking the same language. However, this is not a totally valid criterion. Two languages like Hindi and Punjabi may be so closely related that there is bound to be some mutual intelligibility between speakers of the two languages. On the other hand, speakers of two dialects of the same language may not be mutually intelligible as happens in the case of some varieties of Chinese (e.g. Pekingese and Cantonese), as also of Konkani and Marathi.

A dialect is raised to the status of a language through non-linguistic considerations: it gains separate status when it becomes politically and socially powerful.

Haugen (1966) indicates two clearly distinct dimensions involved in the understanding of the terms 'language' and 'dialect': structural and functional dimensions.

The **structural** dimension is descriptive, analysing the structure of languages; the **functional** is concerned with the use the speakers make of the codes , and this falls within the domain of the sociolinguist. In the modern world, says Haugen, " technological and political revolutions have brought Everyman the opportunity to participate in political decisions to his advantage. The invention of printing, the rise of industry and the spread of popular education have brought into being the modern nation-state, which extends some of the loyalties of the family and the neighbourhood or the clan to the whole state. Nation and language have become inextricably intertwined. Every self-respecting nation has to have a language, not just a 'vernacular' or a 'dialect' as a medium of communication, but a fully developed language. Anything less marks it as underdeveloped." Haugen goes on to say that he would rather call underdeveloped languages 'vernaculars' and not 'dialects', because dialects are viable linguistic codes, which are language varieties in their own right, and not at all underdeveloped.

It is, in any case, important to remember that all dialects of a language are equally efficient for purposes of the communication for which they are intended. The dialect which becomes 'prestigious', because it is used by the political leaders and the upper socio-economic classes, becomes the medium of instruction, is used by the press, and for purposes of national communication. Such a dominant dialect can be called the **standard dialect.** However, it is in no way superior to the other dialects, which though non-standard, are not sub-standard in any way. In a village, it might be more appropriate to use the regional variety if one wants to mingle with the people on terms of equality. One of the reasons why the Indian family planning propaganda has failed so miserably in the villages is that speeches are usually made in very stilted, formal language of the standard dialect variety. The regional variety is what would have been appropriate here. For one thing it would have been understood.

Accent

This refers to the peculiarities of pronunciation used by the speaker, or to phonological variations in dialect. Thus, English may be spoken with a British, American or Bengali accent. The standard British accent is known as Received Pronunciation (R.P.). An Indian may speak English with a regional Indian accent or use what has come to be codified as General Indian English (G.I.E.) by Bansal (1969), with pronunciation differences as shown in the examples below:

Word	R.P.	G.I.E.
gate	/geɪt/	/ge:t/
home	/haum/	/ho:m/

1.3.2 Style

Dialectal variation, as we have seen, is governed by differences in social class and region. But linguistic variation can also arise because of the nature of the **speech context** or **social situation**. This type of variation is called 'style'. The same individual has the ability to use different stylistic varieties of the language depending on his/her purpose, or the situation in which it is to be used. Talking to your wife or a friend will be different from talking to your boss. Thus there are formal and informal styles. It is possible to consider a continuum of styles ranging from the Intimate to

the Casual, to the Consultative (Informal), then Formal, and finally Frozen. The more formal the style, the less possibility there is of variation. The extreme of formality is 'frozen' style (e.g. 'Smoking is prohibited'; 'Trespassers will be prosecuted') where the expression is fixed by convention. From the informal to the intimate range, there is scope for considerable variation. We are not required to mind our words so much when speaking informally.

An example of a statement worked through the various styles will make the distinctions clear.

Frozen: Visitors should use the two exits at the rear on their way out.

Formal: Visitors should leave by the exits at the rear.

Consultative: Would you mind leaving by the exits at the rear?

Casual: You could leave by the doors at the back.

Intimate: Out you go by the back door!

Style is required to be appropriate to the speech situation in which the interaction takes place. Various factors are at work to create a speech situation. Firstly, there are the participants in an interaction. The relationship between the participants is of importance. Are they equal in status, or is one considered superior and the other inferior, whether in terms of age, sex, or social status. It may even be that, in the given situation, one person has the upper hand. This factor will affect the language used by the 'superior' and the 'inferior' individuals.

In some situations, the difference is not just of style, but even of dialect or, perhaps, a different language altogether may be required to be spoken by the person perceived as 'lower'. Lower castes, for example, were not allowed to use the upper caste dialect in interacting with the upper caste. They were supposed to indicate their inferiority by using the lower caste dialect. Even if the lower caste person had studied in the city and used the upper caste dialect with facility, on his return to the village, he was expected to return to his old position and signal this by the linguistic code he used. Thus, the distinction between style and dialect is not always clear. It gets blurred in actual contexts of use, where, particularly in multilingual societies, change in style is expressed through change of dialect.

The style of language employed would differ inevitably if a large group was being addressed, or if it was only one or two people. Interaction, moreover, can take place between a person and an unknown group, or a group that is not even present, for example, the readers of a newspaper. Here, again, the style would differ considerably from personal communication, even in writing.

Again, there might be age-based differences in certain cultures and sex-based differences. A younger person might be expected to be more polite than the older one. Similarly, a female, regardless of age, might be expected to be more polite to a male, or *vice versa*.. Recorded conversations or dialogue in novels or plays can provide useful data for study in this regard. Norms of politeness are culture-specific, and emerge clearly in interaction situations.

If the expectations of appropriateness of language vary between the two participants in an interaction situation, then tension can arise. This can be observed in both real life and literary uses of language. Lack of appropriateness can lead to rudeness, whether intended or otherwise. It can also lead to lack of comprehension, when one participant assumes some background knowledge on the part of the other, and this does not actually exist. The presuppositions that are expected are missing. Shared

background knowledge and conventions of what requires to be specified in speech are culturally conditioned.

The second important factor relates to time and place. When and where does the interaction occur? Words used at dead of night might take on a different meaning from the same words spoken in broad daylight. Similarly there are occasions for saying things and changes in venue can affect meaning. Court room discourse, when the lawyer is addressing the judge, necessarily makes different demands on the speaker from a casual conversation in the corridor regarding the same matter, and carries a different associative meaning.

Thirdly, the nature of the topic that is being discussed can affect the type of language used. If it requires intellectual discussion, the style may become formal, but if household matters are being discussed, the style may be casual. A different dialect or even a different language may even be used in these circumstances. In India, many people discuss ideas in English, and household matters in their mother tongue. Certainly, there would be a change in the linguistic style, even if dialect or language change was not used to indicate the change in style.

The medium of the discourse, that is, whether speech or writing, can also determine style. A personal letter will be different from a face-to-face interaction, even though the participants and the topic remain the same. Writing does introduce a greater degree of formality than speech. Style varies also according to the mode of the interaction, e.g. telephone conversations, radio and television shows. In the last two modes, the style may again vary depending on whether the show is a newscast, a chat-show, a documentary or a pot- boiler. In the written mode, telegraphic messages, personal/ business letters, newspaper articles or scientific treatises will all use different stylistic varieties of the language.

Register

Register refers to linguistic variation determined by subject matter, e.g. scientific writing is a register which is distinguished by the increased use of the passive voice, formulae, technical terminology, etc. For example:
"Neuraminic acid in the form of its alkali-stable methoxy derivative was first isolated by Klenk from gangliosides and more recently from bovine sub-maxillary gland mucin and from a urine muco-protein, its composition being C H NO or perhaps C N NO."

Again, the peculiarity of a piling up of adjectives, strings of prepositional phrases, and relative clauses, even though the information so conveyed is frequently not properly relevant to the rest of the discourse, is common to the register of Journalism. For example:

"Mr. John William Allaway, a 46-year old plumber, his wife , Florence, aged 32, and their 15 year old son John, escaped unhurt in their nightclothes after a fire broke out at their 200 year old home, Rose Hill Cottage, at Gallows Hill, King's Langley, Herts."

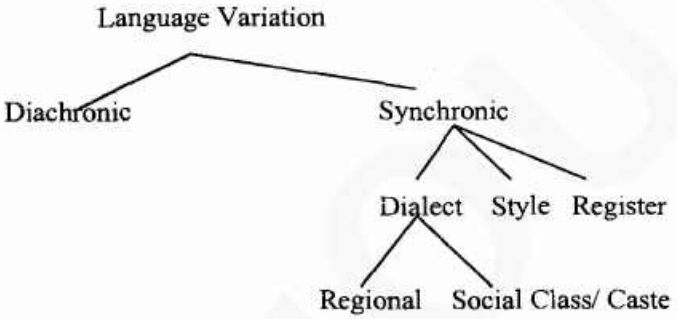
Literary register, on the other hand, is distinguished by its "precision and elegance", to use Quirk's compact phrase, its ability to depict a situation through language that reflects it accurately.

1.4 LET US SUM UP

1. Language can be thought of as a set of linguistic patterns or structures. The field of the operations of linguistics is the simple sentence, isolated from the context in which it occurs. It is also the study of the 'ideal' language, i.e. the

standard version of the language. This is the Chomskyan view of language. The development of sociolinguistics led to an alternative view that is very different. This is that language is basically text- and context-based, and takes account of language variation.

2. Language structure tends to change or introduce variations over time and across space, i.e. both diachronically and synchronically, in response to changing social needs. Language variation may be represented diagrammatically as follows:



3. 'Style' is conditioned by the following components of the speech situation:

a) The nature of the participants
b) Time, place of interaction
c) Topic of conversation
d) Medium, mode-of communication

1.5 KEYWORDS

Competence: an abstract idealization of a speaker's knowledge of his/her language, excluding such factors as slips of tongue, memory limitations and distraction.

Performance: The actual linguistic behaviour of particular individuals on particular occasions, including any hestitations, memory lapses, slips of the tongue, etc.

Communicative Competence: The ability to use a language appropriately in social situations.

Accent: a particular way of pronouncing a language.

Style: any particular and somewhat distinctive way of using a language.

1.6 QUESTIONS

Answer briefly in about 50 to 100 words:

(1) What is meant by 'competence' and 'performance'?
(2) What are the three ways in which linguistic competence is characterised?

(3) What is 'communicative competence'? What are the three ways in which it is a break away from the notion of competence? Why is this concept importance?

(4) What are the two kinds of language variation? Exemplify these.

(5) Explain briefly how a dialect boundary is determined .

(6) Distinguish between dialect and language . How does a dialect achieve the status of 'language'? Explain briefly.

(7) What is meant by 'non-standard' dialect ? How does it relate to a 'standard' dialect?

(8) What are the three main types of synchronic variation? Define them briefly.

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UNIT 2 THE CONNECTION BETWEEN LINGUISTICS, LITERARY CRITICISM AND STYLISTICS

Structure

2.0 Objectives
2.1 Introduction
2.2 Linguistics and Literary Criticism
2.3 Stylistics
2.4 Let Us Sum Up
2.5 Key Words
2.6 Questions
2.7 Reading List

2.0 OBJECTIVES

The aim of the unit is to show you the relationship between linguistics, literary criticism and stylistics.

This will help you understand that linguistics and literary criticism are not rival disciplines, but in fact have a close relationship with each other. In fact, the interrelations between the two fields have given rise to the discipline of **Stylistics.**

2.1 INTRODUCTION

First we must ask ourselves the question, 'what is linguistics?' Linguistics may be briefly defined as the scientific study of language within the realm of the sentence. It can be divided into different branches, namely, Phonetics and Phonology; Morphology and Syntax; and Semantics, and each of these areas contributes to our understanding of how language works.

But as we have seen earlier, language is not restricted to the sentence. It operates not only in the purely linguistic sphere, that is the sentence, but also in text/ discourse (that is the linguistic context, which may be larger than the sentence, and sometimes smaller than the sentence) and also in the speech context, or the social situation in which speech occurs. This last comprises the participants in the communication, the place and time of interaction, the topic, medium, etc. Thus, linguistic, textual and sociolinguistic factors are all required in order to understand the nature of language. In addition, there is the psycholinguistic aspect which is involved in the processing of language in the minds of the speaker and the listener. Language is not then, a purely linguistic artifact, but a process of communication between human beings in a linguistic and speech context.

Let us see how language functions as a tool of communication. Any act of communication begins as an experience or a message in the brain of the speaker/ writer. In order to communicate this experience, words or sentences (which are in fact sequences of sounds) are uttered/ written. The listener who knows how to interpret these sound sequences, or the reader the graphological message and capture the experience which the speaker wants to communicate. Language is, therefore, a system that mediates between the world of sound/ script and the world of experience.

2.2 LINGUISTICS AND LITERARY CRITICISM

Let us see how linguistics relates to literary criticism. We are all aware that language is the stuff of which literature is made, whatever be the literary genre concerned, novel, drama, poetry. Linguistics describes the system underlying language use, while literature makes use of the relevant aspects of these linguistic features to express what the writer has to say. Thus, a study of the linguistic features concerned in a particular literary text will shed much light on the feelings or ideas the writer wishes to express. The distinction between linguistics and literature can also be expressed with reference to the Swiss linguist de Saussure's distinction between 'langue' and 'parole'. Linguistics could be taken as a parallel to 'langue' or the code, or system of rules common to speakers of a language (say, English), while literature could be parallel to 'parole' or the particular uses of the system made by language users on specific occasions. Literature is, thus, the creative use that the poet, novelist or dramatist makes of the language.

We have seen that language is not only a linguistic system: it is used for purposes of communicating a specific message to a participant in the speech situation. The real life speech situation has its own parameters, as seen earlier, and the language used has to be appropriate to that context. Literature recreates life, and therefore reflects real life speech situations. But literary situations, however realistic, are ultimately figments of the imagination of the writer. In real life, we can say along with Shylock, 'If you prick us, do we not bleed?'. In a novel, the character does not actually bleed. In a dramatic performance, the character does not die, he only acts as if he has died. Again, it is not possible to save Desdemona from death on the stage. Even if you rescue the actress, Desdemona cannot be saved. The literary situation, therefore, is different from the everyday situations of life.

Literature can, therefore, be considered to reflect life, and simultaneously create a world which is separate from that of reality. It is a world, which though analogous to that of reality, is still separate from it. The conventions of speech interaction apply to literature, but it can free itself from these shackles by a variety of means, primarily, the use of metaphor. Thus Wilfred Owen can say,

> 'I am the enemy you killed, my friend'

In terms of real life, this is a meaningless utterance. The use of the words 'enemy' and 'friend' contradict each other. Secondly, the speaker is already dead, and can therefore, not be in a position to speak. However, as a line in Owen's poem, it is very effective and meaningful, because it brings in dimensions of life that are not confined to the literal, surface reality.

Commenting on the relationship between the two disciplines, literature and linguistics, G N Leech writes:
"By popular definition, literature is the creative use of language, and this in the context of general linguistic description can be equated with the use of unorthodox or deviant forms of language." Literature, therefore, contains additional dimensions of meaning and aesthetics, which do not figure in the world of linguistics. Linguistics, however, helps in analyzing the meaning and effect of style in literature in more objective terms such as word forms, sentence structure, syntax, sound sequences, etc. Prior to the application of linguistic analysis, literary style was appraised only subjectively, not on the basis of concrete or objective criteria.

The influence of linguistics on stylistic analysis is of recent origin: " .. **a discipline** has to attain a degree of maturity and confidence before it **can profitably take into its** ken a type of material guaranteed to **produce exceptions to rules of general**

application" says Leech. It is interesting to review the evolution of criticism and its gradually growing concern with the language of literature in Britain. The importance of linguistic description seems to be a growing factor within the special purview of literary criticism.

Roger Fowler (1971) describes this in an essay entitled '*Criticism and the language of literature: some traditions and trends in Great Britain.*' "A work of literature", he says, "is usefully considered as a verbal structure, whatever else it may be. This verbal structure may be described." Though description and criticism have different goals, yet, "criticism in this century in terms of most theoretical and practical efforts has entailed the activity of description. 'Objectivity' is a desirable attribute in the modern scientific age: hence the willingness of the 20th century to accept the label 'descriptive criticism' as a shorthand indication of what it is doing."

While accepting the importance of evaluation, R. A. Sayce (1953) had remarked, "The critic's first and most important task must be to discover, as far as he is able, the objective characteristics of the work under consideration." The characteristics he had in mind were aspects of the language, syntax, sound patterns, etc. At the turn of the century, T.S. Eliot (1923) (cited in Fowler, 1971) had objected to two major failings of critics:

1) Literary criticism had become an emotive response to a stimulus: it had degenerated into an art of persuasion, an art founded on oratory.
2) Criticism lacked a significant and shared critical vocabulary. The critic refused to analyze, to say how, in terms of his perception of the verbal text, he made his evaluation.

Richards in his two seminal works on Criticism aimed, as Tillyard puts it, "firstly, to supplant the easy-going and vaguely laudatory criticism that was still largely in vogue, by something more rigorous, and secondly, to apply the science of psychology to the process of making and enjoying literature."

In *Practical Criticism* Richards directed his attention to individual poems and tried to provide guidelines for literary analysis through the dissection of isolated texts. Nevertheless, Fowler feels that " the ends to which the detailed scrutiny is addressed as well as the terms and assumptions it employs, suggest a distinctly non-cognitive and non-verbally directed quality". In fact much of English literary criticism since Richards, he says, displays fundamentally affective and emotional tendencies, if not moralistic tendencies, for which "the terms of descriptive criticism function as a screen of pseudo-objectivity."

Richards, nevertheless, is deemed to be the father of modern critical theory There are two major reasons for this. He wished to professionalize literary criticism and discourage irresponsible forms of amateur criticism, and to this end he concentrated on practical criticism. Simultaneously, however, he raised the theory of literary criticism to a new level of seriousness with his concentration on the textual features of analysis.

Inspired by him, the next generation of literary critics (the New Critics) came up with a battery of concepts for the analysis of text, e.g. Empson's 'ambiguity', Brookes' 'paradox', and Blackmure's 'gesture' and 'irony', 'tension' and 'dramatic structure'.

However the terms needed to be 'more' concrete than merely vaguely deferential to the sense of complexity, the multi-levelled meanings, in literature. The terms "had to be given meaning by a sensitive insight into the way language works. Richards' dogmatic linguistic categories could not impart meaning to a descriptive terminology." (Fowler 1971)

Empson's *Seven Types of Ambiguity* (1930) became the major and continuing stimulus to descriptive criticism in England. In an argument for the rational analysis of poetry, Empson says,

"Unexplained beauty arouses an irritation in me. The reasons that make a line of verse likely to give pleasure, I believe, are like the reasons for anything else, one can reason about them...." Empson's contribution has been in terms of his focus on "the words, the sentences, the syntax, the metrical structure of poems, of meanings from the near equivalence of two shades to the stark opposition of contraries. " (Fowler 1971).

For Donald Davie, twenty-five years later, the linguistic world of poetry is a syntactic world, and he helped to make syntax the focus of literary criticism. His confidence in the domination of style by syntax is evident in his generalization "what is common to all modern poetry is the assertion or the assumption (most often the latter) that syntax in poetry is wholly different from syntax as understood by logicians and grammarians. When the poet retains syntactic forms acceptable to the grammarian, this is merely a convention which he chooses to observe (Davie, 1955. *In Articulate Energy: An Enquiry into the Syntax of English poetry*)

Winifred Nowottny (1962) talks of literary form and the necessity to ground literary criticism on verbal analysis. "In considering the language of poetry", she says, "it is prudent to begin with what is 'there' in the poem - 'there' in the sense that it can be described and referred to as inarguably given by the words" (*The Language Poets Use*: I)

Thus, says Fowler, " whenever one begins an analysis of a poem, one is going to be led off into other corners, detect new relations between elements, interpret details in the light of unique confrontations of linguistic levels." An explication of syntax leads to discussion of metre and meaning.

David Lodge's book *Language of Fiction* (1966) emerged from substantially the same critical and linguistic background as Nowottny's. Lodge recognized that stylistic description had its limits. By itself it was not capable of carrying the entire burden of criticism. He, therefore, suggests some alternative principles for the evaluation of style in narrative:

a) To isolate deliberately or at random, one or more passages and to exhaustively analyze these (the 'textual' approach).
b) To trace significant threads through the language of an entire novel. (the 'structural' approach).

Subsequent advances in Britain and America are: J. P. Thorne's work in the area of 'stylistics,' generative grammars, M A K Hallliday's article 'Categories of the Theory' (1961) and samples of analysis have been provided by stalwarts like Halliday, Sinclair, and Fowler and more recently, on the area of poetry and fiction by Geoffrey Leech .

2.3 STYLISTICS

The word 'style' has a fairly uncontroversial meaning, referring to the way in which language is used in a given context, by a given person, for a given purpose, and so on. The speaker/ writer makes selections from the linguistic system for the required occasion. However, even in talking about the same topic, for example, the weather, style is dictated by the occasion. Thus, certain English expressions like "bright intervals" "scattered showers" etc. belong to the style of weather forecasts, while

others like "lovely day", "a bit chilly", etc. are expressions used in everyday conversational remarks about the weather. It is the appropriate selection of elements from the total linguistic repertoire that constitutes style.

'Style' can be studied in both the spoken and written varieties of language, whether literary and non-literary. Within the field of literary writing, the term may be used to refer to the linguistic habits of a writer (e.g. the style of Dickens or Proust), or to the way language is used in a particular genre, period or school of writing, or some combination of these, e.g. epistolary style, euphemistic style, etc.

Thus, it is various kinds of literary style that literary criticism seeks to identify and evaluate. Style, according to Geoffrey Leech, is a relational term. We talk about the style of x, referring through 'style' to characteristics of language use. These are correlated with some extralinguistic x, which we may call the writings defined by x (writer, period, etc.), which in turn provide the data that linguistics helps to analyze, in terms of the characteristics of language use.

But in an extensive or varied corpus it becomes difficult to identify a common set of linguistic habits. The small details reflecting a habit of expression or thought may help provide what may be called the linguistic 'thumbprint' of the author. One of the uses of stylistics is the role it can play in establishing the authorship or date of a literary work. Rigorous statistical studies of style are required, concentrating on specific linguistic traits which might be the clue to an author's personal style (e.g. the range of vocabulary, or sentence length, or frequency of certain syntactic features, like conjunctions). This area of study is called **attributive statistics**. This is different from literary stylistics, however, which looks for the correlation between features of language and the meaning that is to be derived.

But, the distinctiveness of personal style should not be over-emphasized. Samuel Johnson uses a different style in the didactic, expository prose of his essays in *The Rambler*, a simpler narrative prose in *Rasselas*, and an informal discursiveness in his private letters. Therefore, it can be said that Johnson has several styles, and not just one that reflects his personality. Consider that if it is difficult to generalize about the style of an author, how much more difficult it becomes to generalize about the style of a genre or an epoch. The more general the domain, the more selective and tentative are the statements about its distinctive style. It is only in a text, whether considered as a whole or in an extract, that we can get closest to a homogenous and specific use of language. Even in a text like a novel, however, the author's style in his commentary may differ from the voices of his characters.

However, we do not study style for its own sake. We study the style of a work because we want to explain some aspect of its meaning, and, to consider how the style brings out its meaning. Thus the linguistic question is – why does the author seek to express himself here in a particular way? From the critic's point of view the question is, "how is such and such an aesthetic effect achieved through language?"

The aim of literary stylistics, therefore, is to relate the critic's concern about aesthetic appreciation with the linguist's concern regarding linguistic description. The tussle between the linguist and the literary critic thus gets reduced and in the last two or three decades we have had more and more linguists turning to literature to study the rich and individualistic (often, deviant) ways in which language is used. As he proceeds with the analysis of the literary text, the linguist forms his/her own subjectibe, emotive impressions, and does not only bring a clinically antiseptic attitude to his/her reading. On the other hand, as we have seen in an earlier section, literary critics have felt the need for bringing in greater objectivity, through the use of linguistic analysis, into their aesthetic appreciation and evaluation of a literary text.

A question often asked in this connection is, at which end do we start our literary criticism - the aesthetic or the linguistic? But a hard and fast rule is not the answer to

the question. The image used by Spitzer of the 'philological circle of understanding' is more appropriate as represented below.

Spitzer argued that the task of a linguistic-cum-literary explanation proceeds by means of a movement to and from the linguistic details to the literary centre of the writer's art. In the cyclical motion that results, linguistic observation stimulates and modifies literary insight, and then, literary insight, in its turn, stimulates further linguistic observation. There is no logical starting point since both the literary and the linguistic parameters, however imperfectly developed, are brought simultaneously into operation. The cyclical motion between theory formulation and theory testing brings out the scientific nature of the method.

2.4 LET US SUM UP

To summarize briefly, we have seen in this section how with the gradual maturation of the discipline of linguistics, it has come to play an important role in literary criticism. It has given rise to the field of stylistics where the rivalry between the linguist and the literary critic can be gradually eliminated, and in fact, a mutually co-operative role in the field of literary evaluation and appreciation can be established.

2.5 KEY WORDS

aesthetics:	philosophical investigation into the nature of beauty and the perception of beauty, especially in the arts.
literary criticism:	a reasoned discussion of literary works.
ambiguity:	an openness to different interpretations; or an instance in which use of language may be understood in diverse ways.
paradox	a statement or expression so as to provoke use into seeking another sense or context in which it would by true eg. Wordsworth's line 'The Child is the Father of the Man'.
irony	a subtly humorous perception of inconsistency. The straightforward statement or event is undermined by its context so as to give it a very different significance.
stylistics	a branch of modern linguistics devoted to the detailed analysis of literary style or the linguistic choices made by speakers and writers in non-literary contexts.

2.6 QUESTIONS

1. You have read the views of many scholars on the relationship between linguistics and literary criticism. Try and cull out your own view in about 200 words.

2. What is style? Does each author have their own personal style? Comment.

3. Would a linguistic description of a literary work give a true picture of the emotion it evokes? Discuss.

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UNIT 3 STYLE AND CONTENT

Structure

3.0 Objectives
3.1 Introduction
3.2 Style
  3.2.1 Dualism
  3.2.2 Monism: the inseparability of style and content
  3.2.3 Comparing Monism and Dualism
  3.2.4 Pluralism: analysing style in terms of functions
3.3 Let Us Sum Up
3.4 Key Words
3.5 Questions
3.6 Answers

3.0 OBJECTIVES

In this unit, we discuss the three schools of thought, among the theorists of style: the Dualists, the Monists and the Pluralists. We discuss each in detail.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

We have so far seen that Style refers to the way in which language is used in a given context, by a given person , and for a given purpose. We have also seen in how these conditions of context , speaker, purpose and cultural factors have often governed the selection and use of different aspects of a language such as vocabulary, syntax, accent, etc. leading to the evolution of standardized language variations called 'dialects' and 'registers'. Thus we have had, for example, variations of British and American English, registers of medicine and law, and cockney and other accents of speech, and other varieties of styles adopted by the addresser to the addressee. In literature, where the writer is concerned with presenting a 'story' or a 'message' through particular characters / speakers in specific circumstances or 'contexts' the writer would need to be a very careful 'manipulator of language to set up what, we shall later explain , is called the 'mock reality'. It becomes important, therefore, for an appreciater of literature to understand how the particular use of language (or style) relates to the 'content' of the mock reality and also how this mock reality is different from the 'real' reality that surrounds us in the world. This leads us to an examination of the relationship between style and content and the various theories that critics have upheld on this issue.

3.2 STYLE

STYLE has commonly been defined as a 'way of writing' or a 'mode of expression'. This has implied a separation between style and content. This tradition of thought , therefore, restricts style to those choices which are choices of MANNER rather than MATTER , of EXPRESSION rather than CONTENT. This approach has been called the DUALIST view. The MONIST view, a theory that began with Aristotle and Plato, makes no distinction in language between form and meaning. In Flaubert's

words : "It is like body and soul : form and content to me are one." A third approach to style is the PLURALIST approach. It holds that style is a choice of language according to the function(s) it is expected to perform. We shall take up these three approaches in turn.

3.2.1 Dualism

DUALISM can be said to be of two kinds

1) **Style as the 'dress of thought'**. (Leech & Short 1981) . While the thought or 'content' remains the same, the words , phrases , language used to 'house' the thought may change without making a difference to the substance or total meaning of the thought. Underlying this idea is a distinction between what the writer has to say and how it is presented to the reader. This metaphor of style as some kind of adornment or covering , though no longer widely current, was commonly in Renaissance pronouncements on style. Alexander Pope's well - known definition of wit was an example:

"True wit is nature to advantage dressed
What oft was thought but ne'er so well expressed"
(An Essay on Literary Criticism)

Such artificial styles were cultivated by Renaissance mannerists like Sydney and Lyly. For example,

As therefore

the sweetest rose hath his prickle,
the finest velvet his brack,
the fairest flower his bran,

the sharpest wit hath
his wanton will and

the holiest head
his wicked way.

While the core idea in the various metaphors is the same--- that every good thing has its weakness or wicked aspect---- the attention of the reader is chiefly drawn to the details of the metaphors, further emphasized by alliteration and parallelistic constructions. Obviously the aesthetic form tends to attract the reader's attention here rather than the meaning. However, the schematism of form cannot be divorced from the schematic relation between the ideas presented.

A converse implication of the 'dress of thought' view is that it is possible to write in a style which is the nadir of plainness and neutrality. Says Wesley :

'Style is the dress of thought, a modest dress,
Neat, but not gaudy, will true critics please,'

The French writer, Roland Barthes has referred to the ' transparency' of classical writing, and has postulated a mode of ' writing at degree zero', which "initiated by Camus's 'Outsider' achieves a style of absence which is almost an ideal absence of style". However this is again an extreme view.

French stylisticians have contended that no matter how 'naked, or bare the style may be, there is still an expressive or emotive element of language that gets added to the neutral presentation of language. Thus, Eliza's "Not bloody likely" in Pygmalion by

Bernard Shaw has an expressiveness and , therefore, a style which the otherwise equivalent monosyllable 'No' does not.

Every word has **some** associations---emotive, moral, ideological---- in addition to its brute sense .Even in 'unmarked', 'neutral' linguistic choices, say pronouns, the third person (he, she, they, etc.) may be regarded as neutral in narration as compared with 'I' and 'you'. Yet such a linguistic choice may have implications which may be fruitfully examined in stylistics: the third person pronoun, for example, distances the author and the reader from the character it denotes. So it may be safer to say that style is a property of all texts, Texts may differ greatly in their degree of stylistic interest of markedness and some texts may be more 'transparent' than others. But for all practical purposes, the idea of style as an 'optional extra' must be firmly rejected.

2) **Style as a 'manner of expression'** (Leech and Short 1981), is another kind of dualism. This understanding of dualism can be contrasted with monism. This implies that every writer necessarily makes choices of expression. While the substance or 'content' of the thought is the same , the manner of saying it , the words , phrases, language chosen to express it may slightly vary the total meaning. It is in these choices , in this way of putting things that style resides.

The dualist holds that there can be different ways of conveying the same content. The monist holds that this is a mistake, and that any alteration of form entails a change of content.

Style as a manner of doing something is also applicable in fields outside language, for example, sports ,music, architecture. And here, as in language, some elements may be invariant. Thus, in the field of tennis, the rules of the game are invariant but the choice of backhands, forehands, volleys etc. would be variant. Similarly, in literary or other texts while the writer has to adhere to the rules of syntax and graphology etc. , he still exercises choice in the matter of the words on the page. The idea of style implies ,therefore, that the words on the page might have been different or differently arranged without a corresponding difference in substance. Ohmann, in the example, offers the following paraphrase of 'After dinner, the senator made a speech.' :

1) When dinner was over, the senator made a speech.

2) The speech was made by the senator after dinner.

3) The senator made a postprandial oration.

However, Ohmann here concentrates on the grammatical aspect of style where the differences are grammatical rather than lexical except for the Johnsonian flavour of the third sentence. Phrase Structure Rules and Transformational Rules of English Grammar provide a linguistic basis for the notion of paraphrase and hence for the grammar of style. However it may be noted that the lexical choice (postprandial oration) exercised in the third sentence brings in a sense of style by adding a dimension of weight and pomposity to the statement.

But dualism based on the concept of paraphrase often uses the two terms 'meaning' and 'content' loosely and interchangeably. For a more precise distinction , the words SENSE and SIGNIFICANCE may be used : 'sense referring to the basic, logical , conceptual, paraphrasable meaning, and 'significance' to the total of what is communicated to the world by a given sentence or text. Thus in the above example, the third sentence (postprandial oration) carries a 'significance' including the Johnnsonian colour that goes beyond the 'sense' of the earlier two sentences. Dualists see a valid separation of 'sense' from 'significance'. But though they assume that one can paraphrase the sense of a text, they do not treat stylistic choices as devoid of significance : if they did , they would scarcely find style worth studying. An enlightened dualist will search for some significance which can be called

STYLISTIC VALUE in a writer's choice to express his sense in this rather than that way. This view is formalized by Leech & Short in the equation :

SENSE + STYLISTIC VALUE = (total) SIGNIFICANCE

Even a seemingly 'neutral' style may be as much a choice of the writer to express a certain sense as any other choice.

3.2.2 MONISM : the Inseparability of Style and Content

The Dualists notion of paraphrase, that the basic sense of a text can be preserved in different renderings may not be challenged in workaday uses of language. But in literature, particularly poetry, paraphrase becomes problematic. For example, in paraphrasing a metaphor like

Come steeling night

Scarf up the tender eye of pitiful day. (Macbeth, III, ii, 46)

do we try to expound the hidden metaphorical meanings, or the surface literal meanings? As Terence Hawker says, " Metaphor-------is not fanciful embroidery of the facts." Metaphor denies us a literal sense and so induces us to **make** sense, i.e. to find interpretations beyond the truth- functional meaning captured by paraphrase.

Stylistic monism , therefore, finds its strongest ground in poetry, where through devices like metaphor, irony and ambiguity, meaning becomes multi-valued , and sense loses its primacy. Rejecting the form-meaning dichotomy, Monism rejected the idea that a poem conveys a message, preferring to see it as an autonomous verbal artefact.' 'A poem should not mean but be,' was Archibald Macleish's extreme statement of this position. Moreover, stylistic monism also finds its ground in prose. Features of poetry are also to be found in the most prosaic of prose, not to mention everyday speech. Some authors have expressed this sense of the artistic integrity and inviolability of their work as in Tolstoy's words : " This indeed is one of the significant facts about a true work of art--that its content in its entirety can be expressed only by itself." Thus the New Critical methods have been applied to prose fiction too. David Lodge in 'Language of Fiction' argues that the following tenets apply to both poetry and prose :

(I) It is impossible to paraphrase literary writing.

(II) It is impossible to translate a literary work.

(III) It is impossible to divorce the general appreciation of a literary work from the appreciation of its style.

It is obvious that both (I) paraphrase and (II) translation if understood as expression of the same content in different words, presuppose a dualist philosophy.

A third case for style adopts a monist approach, heralding the view of the New Critics that criticism is in essence language criticism. This approach has gained momentum over the last 40 years. With regard to criticism of prose fiction too, it is upheld that there can be no separation of the author's creation of a fiction of plot, character, social and moral life, from the language in which it is portrayed. The mock reality is entirely based on the words of the text. As Lodge says the novelist's medium is language: whatever he does, he does in and through language. It is the phonological, emotional and cultural dimensions too of the particular words in the text that contributes to the total significnce of the textual extract which thus gains stylistic value. All the choices the writer makes are, therefore, equally matters of language.

3.2.3 Comparing Monism and Dualism

Simply put dualism is happier with prose and monism with poetry, But as has been indicated earlier, the real situation is much more complex. The difference between prose and poetry at its most banal level is defined by the absence or presence of verse form. But a lot of prose can get poetic and poetry may be read prosaically.

The Prague School of Poetics has distinguished the 'poetic function' of language by its FOREGROUNDING or DEAUTOMIZATION of the linguistic code. This implies an aesthetic exploitation of language which takes the form of surprising the reader into a fresh awareness of and sensitivity to the linguistic medium which is normally taken for granted as an automatized background of communication. Thus consider the following extract from James Joyce :

" Once upon a time and a very good time it was there was a moocow coming down along the road and this moocow that was coming down along the road met a nicens little boy named baby tuckoo---

His father told him that story: his father looked at him through a glass: he had a hairy face.

He was baby tuckoo. The moocow came down the road where Betty Byrne lived: she sold lemon platt. "

The foregrounding here is not limited to the more obvious poetic devices, such as metaphor and alliteration. It denies the normally expected clues of context and coherence. Joyce confronts us with a piece of apparently inept, uncontextualized, childish language lacking normal 'prosaic' logical transitions and so shocks us into a 're-experience' (rather than a reminiscence) of a childhood consciousness. This renders what may be called an OPAQUE quality of prose style where the medium attracts attention in its own right, and interpretation of sense may even be frustrated and obstructed by abnormalities in the use of the lexical and grammatical features of the medium. On the other hand, in a TRANSPARENT quality of prose style, the reader need not become consciously aware of the medium through which the sense is conveyed to him. Here is a more transparent version by Burgess of the Joyce extract quoted above :

"My earliest recollections are of my father and my mother bending over my cot and of the difference in personal odour that subsisted between my two parents. My father, certainly did not have so pleasant an odour as my mother. I remember I would be told infantile stories, altogether appropriate to my infantile station. One of them I seem to recall, was concerned with a cow coming down the lane---which lane was never specified---and meeting a child who was called (I am embarrassed , inevitably to recollect this in maturity) some such name as Baby Tuckoo. I myself, apparently, was to be thought of as Baby Tuckoo. Or was it Cuckoo? It is, of course, so long ago....."

Thus a writer in breaking or bending the normal rules of syntax, graphology etc. does so because it is a part of the formulation of the 'new' experience of the author which thus gets transmitted to the reader with the linguistic medium becoming a part of the experience or the verbal artefact.

3.2.4 PLURALISM : Analyzing Style in Terms of Functions

A third approach to Style is called Pluralism. According to the Pluralist, language performs a number of different functions and any piece of language is likely to be the result of choices made on different functional levels.

Language can perform varied functions. These functions may be

1) referential (e.g. newspaper reports)
2) directive / persuasive (e.g. advertising)
3) emotive or social (e.g. casual conversation)

To this functional variety of language, the pluralist adds the idea that is intrinsically multifunctional. For example:

'Is your father feeling better?' may be simultaneously

a) referential (referring to a person and his illness)
b) directive (demanding a reply from the hearer)
c) social (maintaining a bond of sympathy between the speaker and hearer)

From this point of view the dualist is wrong in assuming that there is some unitary conceptual 'content' in every piece of language.

Pluralists tend to disagree on what the functions are, and even their number. Thus I.A. Richards (1929) distinguishes four types of functions and four kinds of meaning *sence, feeling, tone,* and *intention.* Jakobson's (1961) scheme is based on a more systematic theory of language and distinguishes six functions (*referential, emotive, conative, phatic, poetic, metalinguistic*) each corresponding to one essential aspect of the discourse situation. More recently, Halliday's functional model of language acknowledges three major functions which he calls *'ideational, interpersonal'*, and *'textual'.*

The pluralists also tend to disagree on how functions are manifested in literary language. Richards holds that the 'function' of feeling tends to dominate that of 'sense' in poetry. Jakobson identifies a special poetic function which can be found in many uses of language but which dominates over the functions in poetry. Thus these linguists have different listings of functions and also hold different views the 'poetic function'. Halliday does not commit himself to a functional definition of literary language but recognizes that different kinds of literary writing may foreground different functions.

The extract below from William Golding's novel (The Inheritors) deals with the prehistoric struggles for survival between 'homo sapiens' and Neanderthal man , resulting in the latter's extinction. The special Lok- style which Golding uses to present the point of view of Lok, the Neanderthal man gradually shifts in style to the 'homo sapiens' point of view at the end of the novel. These contrasting styles represent primarily the function of language which Halliday calls IDEATIONAL: i.e. the way in which language conveys and organizes the cognitive realities of experience, roughly corresponding to what was earlier called 'sense'.

" The bushes twitched again. Lok steadied by the tree and gazed . A head and chest faced him , half - hidden. There were white bone things behind the leaves and hair..... The man turned sideways in the bushes and looked at Lok along his shoulder. A stick rose upright and there was a lump of bone in the middle. Lok peered at the stick and the lump of bone and the small eyes in the bone things over the face. Suddenly Lok understood that the man was holding the stick out to him but neither he nor Lok could reach across the river. He would have laughed if it were not for the echo of the screaming in his head. The stick began to grow shorter at both ends. Then it shot out at full length again.

The dead tree by Lok's ear acquired a voice.
'Clop!'
His ears twitched and he turned to the tree.

----- Golding (The Inheritors)

Here, we are seeing through the uncomprehending mind of Lok, a man's attempt to shoot with an arrow. Lok's view of things lacks the sense of cause and effect, as descendants of his vanquishers take for granted. This is reflected in the limited grammar of Lok's language, particularly its paucity of clauses with a direct object or clauses with a human subject (e.g. The bushes twitched again, Lok steadied by the tree, The stick rose upright). Again, there are no adverbs or adverbial phrases, except those of time and place. To represent the limited universe of Lok, Golding uses a limited language, particularly in the area of transitivity, (a term which for Halliday comprehends relations between verbs , noun phrases, and adverbials in the clause).

Halliday's view is that all linguistic choices are meaning meaningful, and all linguistic choices are stylistic. Pluralism can, therefore, be regarded as a more sophisticated version of monism. The flaw of monism is that it tends to view a text as an undifferentiated whole and by considering meaning inseparable from form, the monist cannot discuss language at all, for meaning can only be discussed by repeating the very words in which it is expressed. But the pluralist is in a happier position. He can show how choices of language are interrelated to one another within a network of functional choices. The choice a writer makes can be seen against the background of relations of contrast and dependence between one choice and another.

The pluralist therefore has a theory of language whereas the monist does not.

3.3 LET US SUM UP

We have seen that style refers to the argument about choices of manner and expression rather than matter or content. There have been three schools of thought among the theorists of style : the Dualists ,the Monists, and the Pluralists.

One group of Dualists contend that language is used as a dress of thought - when it is fancy it attracts the reader's attention and at its most transparent the degree of style is almost at zero --- in any case the degree of style makes no difference to the thought content. Another group of dualists hold that the choices operate at two levels : choice of content and choice of expression or (style). The concept of 'stylistic value' is brought in to show the difference between 'sense' and 'significance'

The Monists equate the choice of expression with the choice of content and allow no room for paraphrase and translation. It tends to eliminate any discussion of language or style.

Both these schools are based on a simplistic approach. The Pluralists take account of the complexities of literature and its appreciation. It adopts tenets of both the dualist and monist schools. It considers style in terms of the functions of language and accepts that a piece of text can be multifunctional. It distinguishes between 'sense' and 'reference' and also takes account of the variant and invariant factors involved in the choices underlying style. It studies style in terms of 'foregrounding' and 'de-automatization' and helps to a clearer, more objective and convincing analysis of style and literary appreciation.

3.4 KEY WORDS

metaphor: a figure of speech, in which one thing, idea, or action is referred to by a word or expression normally denoting another thing, idea, or action, so as to suggest some common quality shared by the two. In metaphor, this resemblance is assumed as an

imaginary identity rather than directly stated as a comparison: referring to a man as *that pig*, or saying *he is a pig* is metaphorical, whereas *he is a like a pig* is a *similie*.

alliteration: the repetition of the same sounds—usually initial consonants of words or of stressed syllables—in any sequence of neighbouring words: 'Land-scape-love, lord of language' (Tennyson)

parallelism: the arrangement of similarly constructed clauses, sentences, or verse lines in a pairing or other sequence suggesting some correspondence between them. The effect of parallelism is usually one of balanced arrangement achieved through repetition of the same syntactic form; eg

.....
the finest velvet his brack
the fairest flower his bren

foregrounding: giving unusual prominence to one element or property of a text, relative to less noticeable aspects.

referential language: language which aims only to *denote;* for instance, the language of the scientist and the philosopher.

emotive language: language intended to express or arouse emotional reactions towards the subject.

phatic language: exchanges to maintain social communication, for example, about the state of the weather and a person's health.

conative: the function of language by which the speaker tries to get somebody else to do something

ideational function: that part of language use involving information, evaluation and judgements

interpersonal function: that part of language use involving interactions with other people: greeting, persuading, ordering, etc.

3.5 QUESTIONS

1. What is the simple definition of 'Style'?
2. What does the content of literature refer to?
3. What are the three views of the critics about the relationship between style and content?
4. What are the two forms of Dualism? Explain briefly the difference between them.

5. What is the different between 'sense' and 'significance'?
6. What is Monism? In which part of literature does it find its strongest ground? Why/How?
7. Can Dualism and Monism be separated for application to prose and poetry? Why?
8. What is foregrounding?
9. What are the basic assumptions on which the pluralist approach is based?
10. Is pluralism superior to both Monism and Dualism? How?

3.6 ANSWERS

1. Style is the way in which language is used in a given context by a given person and for a given purpose.

2. Content refers to the story or message presented by the writer by using specific characters in specific circumstances. The language chosen for this presentation sets up a mock reality which can be referred to as 'content'

3. a) The Dualist view makes a distinction between what the writer says and how he says it.
   b) The Monist holds that they are inseparable.
   c) According to the Pluralist, the language is chosen according to the functions it is expected to perform in the piece of writing.

4. Dualism: (a) Style as the 'dress of though' view holds that while the core content has 'zero' style value it is 'paraded' in ornamental images / expressions which attract the greater attention of the appreciator of literature.

   Dualism (b) 'Style as a manner of expression' maintains that the same core idea can be expressed in different forms for different effects.

5. 'Sense' refers to the basic conceptual paraphrasable meaning and 'significance' refers to the total effect of the text which goes 'beyond' the basic meaning.

6. (I) Monism holds that style is inseparable from content. 'Sense' and 'significance' blend into one.

   It finds its strongest ground in poetry which is considered largely unparaphrasable or untranslatable.

7. (I) No, because pros can often be poetic and poetry may also be banal prose in verse form.

8. Foregrounding or de-automatisation is the exploitation of language i.e. the bending or breaking of the automatised rules of language to use the phonological, graphological and syntactical resources of language to surprise the reader into a fresh awareness and sensitivity. It shocks him into a 're-experience'.

9. a) Language performs different functions.
   b) A piece of text could be multifunctional.

10. Superior to Dualism :

While Dualism accepts stylistic variants with stylistic values, it does not explain how language creates a particular cognitive view of things. Pluralism, however, holds that language contributes to the entire concept of the content and does not function as a mere dress of thought or a manner of expression.

Superior to Monism

While Monism views a text as an undifferentiated whole of language (style) and content, Pluralism has a theory of language and can show how linguistic choices are inter-related to one another within a network of functional choices. Pluralism, therefore, becomes a more sophisticated approach, much better able to analyze the intricate working of literature and leading to a more enlightened appreciation of it.

UNIT 4 ANALYSING TEXTS-I

Structure

4.0 Objectives
4.1 Literal versus figurative meaning
4.2 Foregrounding
  4.2.1 Foregrounding through parallelism
  4.2.2 Foregrounding through the use of deviant constructions
4.3 Analysis of fiction
4.4 Analysis of poetry
4.5 Let us sum up
4.6 Key words

4.0 OBJECTIVES

In this unit we are consolidating the theoretical inputs of other blocks/units to analyse different types of literary texts. We will use linguistic criteria to study these texts.

This unit and the next two do not follow the structure of the earlier blocks — primarily because we are giving you hands on experience in analysing texts.

This kind of analysis will help you in understanding literature better.

4.1 LITERAL VERSUS FIGURATIVE MEANING

Without going into any sophisticated theories of meaning, it is possible to say that meaning is of two basic types: core meaning and implied meaning. The core meaning, as defined here, includes the central but non-figurative meaning, the meaning available on the surface of the utterance, the literal meaning. Some degree of abstraction from facts is required even in arriving at the core literal meaning, but this stays as close to the surface, or to the facts as possible. Implied meaning is based on generalisation or interpretation from facts, such as the thematic content of a literary work. It also involves figurative meaning, such as **metaphor, symbol, irony**, etc.

In ordinary language, as opposed to literary language, it is possible to separate the two types of meaning and talk of literal versus figurative meaning in a way that is not possible in literary texts. In a literary text, for one thing, there are no facts. Everything is a figment of the imagination and has been introduced in order that a certain world-view, or meaning, is brought into being. The better the work, the more will every detail contribute to the development of the theme and the plot, and the more closely will the meaning and the words used to express it be linked. No detail, or any part of the action, can be put in for its own sake. Everything has to have a purpose and nothing inessential can be admitted. The function of stylistics is to yield up the very meaning of the work, its informing principles, its thematic content.

The importance of a fact/ idea/ activity lies not in its objective verifiability, but in the part it plays in developing the whole work. Just by studying the use of pronouns in *Othello*, for instance, we can arrive at an interpretation of the character of the protagonist. The use of the first and third person pronouns by Othello, both used on different types of occasions to refer to himself, can be significant in understanding

how he views his public and private personas (cf. (Widdowson in Carter (ed), 1982). Early on in the play, for example, he speaks of himself thus:

Rude am I in my speech
And little blest with the set phrase of peace. (I, iii, 81-2)
(first person pronoun to refer to himself)

In his last speech he says of himself:

then must you speak
Of one that lov'd not wisely, but too well:
Of one not easily jealous, but being wrought,
Perplex'd in the extreme... (V, ii, 344—7).
(third person pronoun to refer to himself)

An analysis of the play can reveal remarkable consistency in Othello 's use of the first person to indicate his own view of himself as clumsy and unsophisticated, whereas he uses the third person to present the image to the world which he would like perpetuated. "Iago's tactics are to create a confusion of first- and third-person worlds which is a reflection of Othello's own mental disposition. Such a confusion, therefore, provides the conditions in which Othello will reveal his own weakness, the inner uncertainty and doubt that he customarily conceals by the projection of a third-person image." (Widdowson, ibid). **So, even the use of pronouns in a literary text can affect the larger meaning of the whole**.

The language of a literary work thus seems to acquire a special kind of meaning by the context in which it occurs, the context of the world created by the writer. Nothing, therefore, is purely literal, or true, if divorced from its context in literature. However, over and above this, language in a literary work can be figuratively used. The words can be ironic, as in the opening lines of Jane Austen's novel, *Pride and Prejudice*: "It is a truth universally acknowledged that a single man in possession of a large fortune must be in need of a wife." The words are, clearly, not literally intended. Jane Austen is laughing, somewhat mockingly, at the match-making tendencies of society. These words, along with all the other words in the novel, help to create the context, the world-view and the value system operating in the novel. The effect of each line is in its relation to the others, some getting highlighted, the others being subordinated. Every word is there for a meaning, for an effect, and all of them put together create the totality of the meaning.

The writer of a literary work does not directly address an audience - the world of the work is complete in itself, the characters speak to each other, not to the audience. If a writer deliberately steps out of the action and directly addresses his/her audience, some degree of alienation is introduced, that is, the illusion created by the fictional plot is disturbed. But quintessentially, even with direct authorial comment, the text remains intact and closed, so it is possible for MacNeice to say in a poem, "I am the enemy you killed, my friend", or "I am not yet born, O hear me". This is not the writer MacNeice speaking directly to the reader. As far as the literary text is concerned, the participants of the literary discourse are within it, not outside.

The language of everyday use is **basically intended to be taken literally**, and is used to further communication among the participants in an interaction. In order for communication to take place, what is said has to build on the presuppositions and background knowledge of the participants, i.e. it has to be relevant to the context of situation. The language of literature, however, as we have seen, is **basically intended figuratively**, i.e. it has to be interpreted in relation to the organic unity of the whole text. It is possible to posit that a language, such as the language of advertising (as also the language of games, or of humorous anecdotes) can occupy an intermediate position between the language of everyday use and that of literature.

The language of advertising is intended to be persuasive, to create an effect on the mind of the reader which will make her/him wish to buy a particular product. This

striving after a specific effect brings advertising language close to everyday language use, i.e. it is a communication between the sender and receiver of a message. On the other hand, advertising attempts to create a world for its product, and literature also attempts to create its own world, largely through language. For example, the slogan, 'Drinka pinta milka day' can draw on the resources of ordinary language and at the same time use poetic licence because it is not functioning as a part of real life, but instead is creating its own context. The choice of expression in a particular advertisement is based on the norms of appropriateness relating to the context of situation it has created. In this it is similar to both literary language and the everyday use of language.

Literary texts can provide meaning through '**foregrounding**', when some pieces of information are given prominence in relation to other information. The prominent information is said to be 'foregrounded', while the rest is subordinated or 'backgrounded'. The items that are foregrounded stand out and are remembered, while those that are backgrounded, merge into the general scene. What is foregrounded provides the basic focus of the passage and provides logical connections between what comes before and after. In order to establish its importance in the text, it has to be appropriately signalled through linguistic means.

This linguistic indication of prominence, or foregrounding, can be achieved in two ways, through:

1. the creation of rhythmic patterns, or what are termed 'parallelisms', and
2. the use of irregularity in language use, or deviation from the accepted norms of grammar, lexis, phonology.

In the next section we discuss the technique of foregrounding through grammatical parallelism, phonological parallelism and foregrounding through the use of deviant constructions.

4.2 FOREGROUNDING

4.2.1 Foregrounding through parallelism

Parallel constructions are those in which one structure seems equivalent or parallel to another. Constructions can be said to be foregrounded if they introduce extra regularity into the language, that is, regularity which is over and above the demands of correctness. The following are instances of phonological over-regularity: rhyme, rhythm, metre, alliteration (consonant harmony), assonance (vowel harmony).

Parallel constructions which occur in sequence and appear similar in structure usually indicate similarity of meaning. They may, however, signal irony, where similarity of structure gives rise to an expectation of similarity of meaning. In ironical use, this expectation is belied and the meaning of the two structures, instead of being similar is, in fact, opposed.

i. Grammatical parallelism

Let us first consider grammatical structure. This may be at the level of words, phrases, clauses or sentences. The following are examples:

a. 'The poor young man hesitated and procrastinated.' (Henry James: 'The Pupil')
'Hesitated' and 'procrastinated' have roughly the same number of syllables, and are similar in meaning. These words are, thus, parallel constructions.

Co-ordination of two constructions which are parallel helps to reinforce the meaning and give it emphasis in the context.

b. 'As idle as a painted ship
Upon a painted ocean' (Coleridge: 'The Ancient Mariner')

The constructions 'a painted ship' and 'a painted ocean' are phrases which are parallel to each other, in terms of the structure, to the extent of being almost identical. They differ only in respect of one word in each of the phrases. The emphasis being placed on 'painted' brings out the unreality of the situation. The words are also ironical in the context of the poem, because a real ship on a real ocean is being compared to something which is painted, and therefore unreal.

c. 'The fair breeze blew, the white foam flew' (Coleridge: 'The Ancient Mariner')

In this case, it is the two clauses, 'The fair breeze blew' and 'the white foam flew' which are parallel to each other, separated only by a comma. They have exactly the same construction, and the meaning is complementary, though not identical. The fact of the repetition of the structure emphasises the pleasantness of the scene and the light-heartedness of the mood. The parallelism also indicates through the rhythm it creates that the regular course of events being described is in accordance with nature at its best.

d. 'I kiss'd thee e're I kill'd thee' (Shakespeare: *Othello*)

Note that 'kiss'd' and 'kill'd' are similar in structure, in fact identical, except for one consonant in each of the two structures. The words are, however, completely opposed in meaning. By using grammatical and phonetic parallelism, however, the act of kissing (love is the essence of life) and the act of killing appear to Othello's tortured mind at that moment as being identical. He cannot live with the kind of love he has: death is the only answer for it.

e. 'Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey
Where wealth accumulates and men decay'
(Goldsmith: 'The Deserted Village')

Note the parallelisms the poet has used to achieve his effects.

i) The use of rhyme, i.e. the use of parallel vowel sounds: *prey, decay*
ii) Parallels in grammatical structure, in this case, two main clauses: 'wealth accumulates' 'men decay'
iii) The repetition of words 'Ill' and 'ills'
iv) Parallels in rhythm: Both the lines have a pause in the middle of the line, though the pause is longer in the first line.

What is the effect of these parallelisms in the last example? The basic idea that is being dealt with is that an increase in wealth leads to a decrease in human qualities. The grammatical parallel in the second line effectively brings out the irony of this statement. The parallel would seem to suggest that the two are similar, that an increase in material wealth would lead to all round prosperity, but this expectation is then dashed to the ground. Hence the irony. Notice the economy with which this idea is brought out: the structure creates the meaning; it does not have to be spelt out further. Also notice that the first line which appears to have two distinct parts, is in fact dealing with one idea, but that idea is being reinforced by repetition. It also forms a fitting background to the second line which is foregrounded by the two parallel constructions. It is the second line which is memorable, because the author

intends it to be foregrounded. Notice also the greater force of 'wealth accumulates' (more high-sounding words) as opposed to 'men decay' (simpler words), which brings out the irony even more clearly. Wealth is given greater status (through the words) but in fact, the author suggests that it is nowhere as important as human qualities.

ii. Phonological parallelism

Parallelism can be at the level of sounds.

a. 'The fair breeze blew, the white foam flew'

- Consonants: the /f/ and /b/ sounds predominate, i.e., there is alliteration, which is a form of parallelism. In addition, there is grammatical parallelism.
- Vowels, diphthongs: the /u:/ as in 'blew' and 'flew' is identical in each, and gives rise to internal rhyme. Rhyme is a form of parallelism. So also is metre. In fact, any form of rhythmic patterning creates parallelism.
- Similarity in vowel sounds, even without giving rise to rhyme, will also create parallelisms.

  e.g. a large number of back vowels (i.e. rounded sounds, e.g. /ou/ or /u/) or

  many front vowels (i.e. vowels produced with spread lips, e.g. /i/, /e/, /æ/).

In all these cases, the parallel constructions build on the potential of the language and create greater regularity in the patterning of language than would normally occur in the flow of ordinary speech. This draws our attention, and such constructions are considered to be foregrounded.

4.2.2 Foregrounding through the use of deviant constructions

Constructions can be said to be foregrounded if they deviate from the rules of normal language, i.e. from the accepted norms of grammar, lexis, or phonology. Let us consider some examples.

a. 'The what of a which of a wind' (e. e. cummings)

where 'what' and 'which' are being made to function as nouns instead of as relative pronouns. This makes the utterance intriguing and mysterious because the change of parts of speech gives new meaning to the words. We feel we are being introduced to a world where everything has a different meaning, we have to look at it afresh. At the same time, the alliteration (an instance of parallelism) suggests that it is a world of lyricism and light-heartedness.

b. 'a grief ago' (Dylan Thomas)

where 'grief' is made to function as if it was a period of time, such as 'a month ago'. Just as we are able to measure out units of time, we now see that we can measure out units of grief. The economy of words in the utterance gives it force and power.

c. '.....and I shall see
Some squeaking Cleopatra boy my greatness
I' the posture of a whore.'
(Shakespeare: *Antony & Cleopatra*)

Notice that the word 'boy' is wrongly used as a verb, when grammatically it is a noun. This has been deliberately done by Shakespeare to present in capsule the idea

of boy actors taking on the role of women on the Elizabethan stage. Again, notice the economy of the utterance.

d. '.....the widow-making, unchilding, unfathering deeps
(Hopkins: 'The Wreck of the Deutschland')

The three adjectives used here are not words of the language. They are words which have been coined for a particular purpose. Though women can be made widows, the compound word 'widow-making' does not exist. Again, the words '*child*' and '*father*' exist as nouns, and '*fathering*' can exist as a verb, but using them as adjectives is grammatically incorrect. Moreover, it is not correct to add the negative prefix '*un-*' to these nouns. Why then has Hopkins violated the rules of grammar? He appears to be doing this in order to emphasise the violence perpetrated by nature on man when it swallows up the steamer, 'The Deutschland', and by doing this, killing husbands, children, fathers. The extent of the violence done to the grammar reflects the magnitude of the violence unleashed by nature.

In the example drawn from Goldsmith, the first line has been backgrounded in comparison with the second line. The examples from Shakespeare and Hopkins present the foregrounded version, i.e. the deviation from the normal, grammatical use of language which forms the background.

It is clear that ordinary language is always the background to literary language, whether the language used in a poem or novel is grammatically correct or not. The language used in poetry is selected from the background of normal language in order to achieve a particular purpose. The language of poetry may, of course, vary from age to age, depending, to a large extent, on the type of language commonly used in that age. So, the Romantics can make a deliberate break from the language of the Augustan period, and T.S. Eliot from the language of the Georgians and the Victorians.

4.3 ANALYSIS OF FICTION

Stylistics is concerned with every bit of language used in a literary or non-literary work, or speech situation. We will, however, restrict ourselves only to the use of language in literary works. There will then be the need to study the choice of every word, phrase, clause, sentence in the work, as well as the relationships between sentences or the type of cohesion and coherence employed in order to make the literary text hold together. We will now look at several passages taken from fiction and analyse them in detail stylistically.

Passage 1

Read the following passage, taken from George Eliot's *Middlemarch*.

S1) Miss Brooke had that kind of beauty which seems to be thrown into relief by poor dress. (S2) Her hand and wrist were so finely formed that she could wear sleeves not less bare of style than those in which the Blessed Virgin appeared to Italian painters; and her profile as well as her stature and bearing seemed to gain the more dignity from her plain garments, which by the side of provincial fashion gave her the impressiveness of a fine quotation from the Bible – or from one of our older poets – in a paragraph of today's newspaper. (S3) She was usually spoken of as being remarkably clever, but with the addition that her sister Celia had more common-sense. (S4) Nevertheless, Celia wore scarcely more trimmings; and it was only to close observers that

her dress differed from her sister's and had a shade of coquetry in its arrangements; for Miss Brooke's plain dressing was due to mixed conditions, in most of which her sister shared.

The first question I would like to ask you, now that you have read the passage, is:

1 What is the passage about?

Many people are likely to answer: i) The two sisters, Miss Brooke and Celia, or ii) The clothes that the sisters wear. And, certainly the passage is about these things. But one must recognise that this is only the surface meaning of the passage. What the passage is in fact about, that is, its deeper meaning, is the character of the two sisters which is being brought out by their patterns of dress. Their personalities are quite different, and the difference emerges through the (minute) differences in their dress. But as both exist within the same social conditions, there is greater similarity than difference in their dress.

2 What can you say about the nature of their clothes?

The clothes of both the sisters are very simple, but even so, Celia's dress has a trace of coquetry about it.

3 Why are their clothes so simple?

Partly because they are not so well off ('mixed conditions').

4 What is suggested about the nature of provincial fashion?

That female dress is not so simple, but instead has a lot of trimmings.

5 What is the social class to which the sisters belong?

They form part of the gentility. How do we know? They are distinct from the others of the region, particularly, Miss Brooke. They do not care whether they conform to the prevailing fashion or not – this is something only the upper class can afford to do. In addition, Miss Brooke is referred to in the most glorious terms. She is compared with the Virgin Mary – the ideal of Christian womanhood - and this suggests the elevated nature of her character. She is, in fact, compared to the portraits of the Virgin by the Italian painters. The suggestion is of the Italian painters of the Renaissance, because that was the height of the glory of Italian painting, (and it happened to be one of the highpoints of European painting as such). She is also compared to a fine quotation from the Bible or 'from one of our elder poets' (that is the classical poets of the Greek or Roman period). This suggests that she has a classical beauty which does not require any frills or embellishments to bring it out. She does not have to attempt to prove herself, whether in looks, clothes or character. The world around her, in comparison, is mundane, 'the paragraph of today's newspaper' in which she appears as the 'fine quotation'.

6 What features of Miss Brooke's character emerge?

She has great stature and personality. She stands far above other ordinary people in terms of her integrity and purity of character, dignity and impressiveness. She is also characterised by poetic beauty and grace, and she belongs to the highest class in society. However, she is simplicity itself, and does not put on any airs.

Notice that most of the above conclusions that we have arrived at, have not actually been stated, but they are clearly implied. We are able to arrive at these conclusions by means of careful analysis.

Now let us look at the specifically stylistic aspects of this passage.

1 Notice the length of the lines, particularly Sentence 2 (S2). Why is this such an extraordinarily long line? S1 and S3 are normal in length. What made George Eliot decide to keep all the information in S2 in a single sentence? There is great complexity of thought in S2, and several comparisons. In fact S2 is foregrounded, and one of the factors which makes for its foregrounding is its length. Complexity of thought is very often linked with complexity in sentence structure, and S2 does have a number of subordinate clauses.

2 How are the sentences linked together? What are the forms of cohesion. within and across sentences?

i) The sentences are linked by being an elaboration and enumeration of Miss Brooke's 'kind of beauty'.

ii) Words like '*than*', '*but*' and '*nevertheless*' indicate that the relationship of comparison and contrast is being frequently used.

iii) Words like '*so...that*' (S2), '*only...that*' (S4), 'for' (S4) indicate that reasons for behaviour are being presented. The linkage is between the actual behaviour and the reasons for it.

iv) Pronouns, such as '*her*', '*she*', or expressions employing pronouns, such as 'her sister' are used to link sentences.

v) The semantic range of the words used (i.e. the range of words linked in meaning) adds to the cohesion of the passage. Look at the sets of related words used:

- *beauty, finely formed, style, fashion, coquetry*
- *poor dress, sleeves, plain garments, provincial fashion, trimmings, dress, plain dressing*
- *hand and wrist, profile, stature and bearing*
- *dignity, impressiveness, clever, common sense*

3. What can you say about the imagery of the passage?

Similes: Miss Brooke's beauty is compared with the vision of the Virgin Mary as she appeared to the Renaissance Italian painters (visual image). Her character (her dignity and impressiveness) is compared to a fine quotation from i) the Bible and ii) 'one of our elder poets' (analytical images).

4. What can you say about the vocabulary of the passage?

A large number of abstract nouns are used: beauty, stature, dignity, impressiveness, clever, common sense, coquetry. This indicates that the passage deals with ideas. In spite of the description, it is a highly intellectual passage.

Several of the words used are polysyllabic, but they are not particularly difficult.

4.3.1 Grammatical analysis

Let us now analyse the clause structure of the passage. Clauses, as we all know from our study of traditional grammar, can be of three types: Simple, Compound and Complex. In the Simple sentence, the whole sentence consists of only one clause. which is the main clause. In a Compound sentence, there is more than one clause.

and these clauses are all independent or main clauses. The third type of sentence is the Complex sentence, where one or more main clause(s) are found to contain subordinate clauses, that is, clauses which cannot exist without the main clause.

Please note that a clause requires at least one verb. If there is no verb, there cannot be a clause. However long the phrase might be, if it has no verb, it remains a phrase and does not become a clause.

If the verb is so fundamental to the clause, we need to know something about it. How can we identify a verb? The framework that we will be following here falls into the **School of Halliday** (which is different from traditional grammar in several ways). Please note that according to this school of grammar, **verbs** are considered to fall into two major categories: **Finite** and **non-finite**. Finite verbs take tense and aspect, i.e., they are the regularly conjugated verbs. Non-finite verbs are not full verbs. They consist of the following: infinitives (e.g. *to be*); present participles (e.g. *being*); past participles (e.g. *been*). Non-finite forms cannot be conjugated. Don't be confused by the fact that in traditional grammar they were not considered verbs at all.

Let us look at some examples to understand the meaning of the terms used above relating to non-finite verbs, namely, *infinitive, present participle, past participle.*

'To be or not to be that is the question.'

'*To be*' and then again '*to be*' are verbs in the infinitive form. '*Is*' is a finite verb.

'Being unwell, she could not go to work.'
'*Being*' is the present participle.

Please note the difference between the use of the present participle and the present continuous tense in the following:

'She was coming home.' This is the present continuous tense.

'Coming home, she had a fall.' Here '*Coming*' is the present participle; it is not the present continuous tense. You cannot say, 'She was coming home, she had a fall'. This is incorrect grammar. '*Coming*', therefore, is not short for, 'She was coming'. It is a non-finite verb form: a present participle.

'She had been unwell, so she could not finish her work on time.'

'*Had been*' is the past perfect tense. We have 2 finite (complete) verbs in this sentence, '*had been*' and '*could not finish*'.

'Having been unwell, she could not finish her work on time.'

'*Having been*' is the past participle, not the past perfect tense. This is a non-finite verb, just as '*Coming*' in '*Coming home*' was non-finite. In this sentence, the first verb is non-finite, and the second is finite.

'She had dropped her brother off at school, so she was at last free'.

'H*ad dropped*' is the past perfect tense, and so a finite verb. 'Was' is a finite verb (simple past tense).

'Having dropped her brother off at school, she was at last free'. '*Having dropped*' is the past participle, not the past perfect tense (as in the example '*Having been*' above). It is, therefore, non-finite, while, '*was*' is finite.

Note again that both finite and non-finite verbs can form clauses. Again, a clause must have a verb, whether it is finite or non-finite. The present continuous tense as well as the past perfect tense will normally give rise to independent clauses as seen below. However, the present participle and the past participle can only give rise to dependent clauses. The test of a non-finite clause is that it cannot be conjugated. You cannot say,

*She coming home

*She having been unwell

*She having dropped her brother off at school.

In each of these cases, the present/ past participle becomes the verb in the dependent clause which needs to be completed by the main verb in the main clause.

Let us now turn to the system of bracketing employed to mark off clauses. Note that whenever there is a subordinate clause as in the case of those with the non-finite verbs as given above, the subordinate clause is marked off by brackets. The subordinate clause is contained within the main clause which is also marked off by brackets. Let us examine the sentences used above.

1. [[To be] or [not to be] that is the question.]

   The whole sentence is the main clause which contains two subordinate clauses [to be] ; [[not to be]. The main clause is enclosed by brackets. It contains two subordinate clauses within it, which are also marked off by brackets.

2. [[Being unwell,] she could not go to work.]

   The main clause is the whole sentence and is enclosed by brackets. The subordinate clause (dependent clause) occurs at the beginning, and the bracket for enclosing it occurs immediately after the bracket enclosing the main clause.

3. [[Coming home,] she had a fall.]

   Now you analyse this.

4. [She had been unwell,] [so she could not finish her work on time.]

   There are 2 main clauses (or independent clauses) here, so each is enclosed by its own brackets independently.

5. [She had dropped her brother off at school,] [so she was at last free.]

   Now you analyse this.

6. [[Having dropped her brother off at school,] she was at last free.]
   Now you analyse this.

We will now look at a passage and analyse it first into Main and Subordinate clauses, and later indicate the type of subordinate clauses used. Note that subordinate clauses have to be subordinate to something, that something being the Main Clause (MCl).

(S1) [Miss Brooke had that kind of beauty [which seems to be thrown into relief
MCl SCl
by poor dress.]] (S2) [Her hand and wrist were so finely formed [that she could
MCl SCl
wear sleeves not less bare of style than those [in which the Blessed Virgin
SCl
appeared to Italian painters;] and [her profile as well as her stature and bearing
MCl
seemed to gain the more dignity from her plain garments, [which by the side of
SCl
provincial fashion gave her the impressiveness of a fine quotation from the

Bible – or from one of our older poets – in a paragraph of today's newspaper.]]

(S3) [She was usually spoken of as [being remarkably clever,]] but [with the
MCl SCl MCl
addition that her sister Celia had more common-sense.] (S4) [Nevertheless,
MCl
Celia wore scarcely more trimmings] and [it was only to close observers that
MCl
her dress [differed from her sister's] and [had a shade of coquetry in its
SCl SCl
arrangements;]] [for Miss Brooke's plain dressing was due to mixed conditions,
MCl
[in most of which her sister shared.]]
SCl

Note that the main clause carries the main force of the sentence, and if there is more than one main clause, the sentence has more than one focus. Subordinate clauses are subordinated in focus. There is nothing inherently unimportant about the nature of the information. It is just that the writer has chosen to subordinate it, in order to pursue the main ideas s/he has in mind.

Note the conventions that have been used to indicate the clauses:
MCl = Main clause
SCl = Subordinate clause

Each independent clause is marked off by square brackets, namely [---]. Within these, there may be dependent clauses, also marked off by square brackets. Please note that if there is only one main clause, it covers the whole sentence. So the main clause bracket comes at the beginning of the sentence and again at the end of the sentence. e.g. 'The girl who was wearing trousers, came into the room.' Now 'the girl came into the room' is the main clause, while 'who was wearing trousers' is the subordinate clause. The bracketing will be as follows.

[The girl [who was wearing trousers] came into the room.]

Note that the main clause brackets are at the beginning and end of the sentence, while the subordinate clause is marked off inbetween.

Also note that the sentence-initial bracket for the main clause will be required even if the sentence begins with a subordinate clause. e.g. 'Before sitting down, she cleared off the mess.' The main clause is 'she cleared off the mess', because that is the main message of the sentence. The subordinate clause occurs at the beginning of the sentence 'Before sitting down'. The bracketing will be as follows.

[[Before sitting down] she cleared off the mess.]

At the beginning of the sentence, you have the beginning of the main clause which at that point is the subordinate clause. At the end of the subordinate clause, the real part of the main clause comes on. The double brackets at the beginning of the sentence indicate the beginning of the main clause and then the beginning of the subordinate clause.

In the passage being analysed, what is the proportion of independent clauses to dependent clauses? **The greater the number of independent clauses, usually the more clear-cut is the passage, the more simple and readable. Complexity in thought is usually conveyed by the use of dependent clauses, subordinated to main clauses.**

In this passage, there are 9 independent and 6 dependent clauses. So the independent clauses are more than the dependent clauses, making for the easy readability of the passage. However, there is indication of complexity of thought because of the use of a number of subordinate clauses.

Let us now analyse the clause structure again, this time looking at the types of subordinate clauses used. The following types of subordinate clauses are likely to occur:

Subordinate Clauses

RCl	= Relative Clause
NCl	= Noun Clause
NCli	= Noun Clause (infinitival)
ACl	= Adverbial Clause
NP	= Noun Phrase (indicated only when followed by a relative clause)
PRCl	= Prepositional Relative Clause
CCl	= Comparative Clause

Cl in parenthesis = Clause in parenthesis

Phrases

Phrases are not indicated, except in the case of Relative Clauses, where the preceding Noun Phrase is marked off because it contains within itself the Relative Clause. The relative clause is considered to be a part of the Noun Phrase (NP): it is the post-modification of the Noun Phrase. This phrase will be marked by a round bracket before the Noun Phrase and end with a round bracket after the Relative Clause, to indicate the end of the NP within which the Relative Clause occurs.

(S1) [Miss Brooke had that kind of beauty [which seems to be thrown into relief
MCl RCl
by poor dress.]] (S2) [Her hand and wrist were so finely formed [that she could
MCl ACl (result)
wear sleeves not less bare of style than those [in which the Blessed Virgin
PRCl
appeared to Italian painters;] and [her profile as well as her stature and bearing
MCl
seemed to gain the more dignity from her plain garments, [which by the side of
RCl
provincial fashion gave her the impressiveness of a fine quotation from the
Bible – or from one of our older poets – in a paragraph of today's newspaper.]]
(S3) [She was usually spoken of as [being remarkably clever,]] but [with the
MCl NCling MCl
addition that her sister Celia had more common-sense.] (S4) [Nevertheless,
MCl
Celia wore scarcely more trimmings] and [it was only to close observers that
MCl
her dress [differed from her sister's] and [had a shade of coquetry in its
NCl NCl
arrangements;]] [for Miss Brooke's plain dressing was due to mixed conditions,
MCl
[in most of which her sister shared.]
PRCl

Of the subordinate clauses indicated here, there is 1 Adverbial Clause, 2 Relative Clauses, 2 Prepositional Relative Clauses, 2 Noun Clauses and 1 Noun Clause (non-finite: *-ing*). The Adverbial Clause of result shows the effect of Miss Brooke's clothes on her looks and character. The Relative Clauses are descriptive of her clothes and therefore of her character. The Noun Clauses provides an analysis of her dress.

Phrase structure of the passage.

There are a large number of prepositional phrases in the passage. Prepositional phrases have an adverbial function. Prepositional phrases necessarily contain noun phrases. Thus, prepositional phrases have features of nominal (noun) and adverbial constructions. Nominals are analytic, while adverbials fall basically into 2 categories: descriptive (manner, place, time) and analytic (reason, purpose, result). According to the phrases used, the passage is both analytic and descriptive. This is also true of the clauses used. Thus the phrasal and clause analysis fits in with our reading of the passage, and provides an explanation of the effect created.

Note: *Please note that there may be more than one way of identifying clauses and labelling the subordinate clauses. Grammar book sentences, which are absolutely clear-cut, don't usually occur in actual passages. So it may be possible to argue for one interpretation or another.*

Building on the work done, we will now deal with another passage in greater detail.

Passage 2

(S1) There was once in the city of Alifbay, a sad city, the saddest of cities, a city so ruinously sad that it had forgotten its name. (S2) It stood by a mournful sea full of glumfish, which were so miserable to eat that they made people belch with melancholy even though the skies were blue.

(S3) In the north of the sad city stood mighty factories in which (so I'm told) sadness was actually manufactured, packaged and sent all over the world, which never seemed to get enough of it. (S4) Black smoke poured out of the chimneys of the sadness factories and hung over the city like bad news.

(S5) And in the depths of the city, beyond an old zone of ruined buildings that looked like broken hearts, there lived a happy young fellow by the name of Haroun, the only child of the storyteller Rashid Khalifa, whose cheerfulness was famous throughout that unhappy metropolis, and whose never-ending stream of tall, short and winding tales had earned him not one but two nicknames. (S6) To his admirers he Rashid the Ocean of Notions, as stuffed with cheery stories as the sea was full of glumfish; but to his jealous rivals he was the Shah of Blah.

1. Now we will analyse the passage into clauses and identify the types of subordinate clauses used.

(S1) [There was once in the country of Alifbay, a sad city, the saddest of cities,
MCl
a city so ruinously sad [that it had forgotten its name.])] (S2) [It stood by
ACl MCl
a mournful sea full of (glumfish, [which were so miserable to eat [that
NP RCl RCl
they made people [belch with melancholy [even though the skies were
NCli ACl
blue.]]]])]
(S3) [In the north of the sad city stood (mighty factories [in which [(so I'm
MCl NP PRCl Cl in
told)] <sadness was actually manufactured,]> <[packaged]> and <[sent all
PRCl PRCl

over (the world, >[which never seemed to get enough of it.])]]])]
RCl
(S4) <[Black smoke poured out of the chimneys of the sadness factories]>
MCl
and <[hung over the city like bad news].>
MCl
(S5) [And in the depths of the city, beyond an old zone of (ruined
MCl NP
buildings [that looked like broken hearts,]) there lived a happy young
RCl
fellow by the name of (Haroun, the only child of the storyteller Rashid
NP
Khalifa, <[whose cheerfulness was famous throughout that unhappy
RCl
metropolis,]>and <[whose never-ending stream of tall, short and winding
RCl
tales had earned him not one but two nicknames.])]

(S6) [<To his admirers he was Rashid the Ocean of Notions>, [as stuffed with
MCl CC1
cheery stories] [as the sea was full of glumfish;]] but <[to his jealous
CC2 MCl
rivals he was the Shah of Blah.]>

Note: *Please note that PRCl means Prepositional Relative Clause, i.e. a Relative Clause which begins with a preposition, e.g. '(a book, [with which you have to be careful']).*

Also note that there may be coordinate clauses and these are usually indicated by angular brackets. The clauses which are coordinate may be coordinate to the MCl, or to one of the subordinate clauses.

Let us now look at some of the features of language that are significant in this passage. The verbs appear to be striking. Let us analyse these.

We find a large number of **dynamic ver**bs, e.g. *belch, manufactured, packaged, poured, hung, stuffed.* Dynamic verbs are those which deal with physical action. The more precise the physical action, the more dynamic it is, e.g. '*pranced'* is more dynamic than '*walked'*.

There are also many **stative verbs**, e.g. *be* (5 instances), *had forgotten, stood, made, told, looked, lived, earned.* Stative verbs are those which deal with states, physical or mental states, or mental activity, e.g. '*remembered'*.

The dynamic verbs make this passage lively, while the stative verbs help to provide the descriptive element, that is the background of the story.

Note that stativeness leads to statements of fact, e.g. "The book is on the table"; or to the presentation of author's/ character's attitudes, e.g. "He thought that all would be well".

Dynamicness of verbs leads to:

a. figurative speech,
e.g. "Black smoke poured out of the chimneys", and

b. precision of description, e.g. "They were prancing to battle". Notice how much less dynamic is the statement, "They were going to battle".

Many of the figures of speech used are also dramatic. Let us consider their effect on the passage. Two main functions seem to be achieved through figures of speech in this passage.

First, the basic qualities of phenomena are changed, so material items are seen as animate or human, or the abstract is made concrete, and so on. As this has the effect of making the familiar appear strange and unfamiliar, the passage acquires a sense of fantasy.

Second, a large number of similes are employed. Here again, the two items being compared are not really comparable on the surface. The point of comparison is abstract or is far-fetched, and the comparison is made for purposes of humour.

Let us now analyse these in greater detail. The figures of speech employed here are:

a) Changing the qualities of phenomena
   i) Personification of inanimate phenomena, e.g. "a sad city"; "a city that had forgotten its name", "mournful sea", "unhappy metropolis"
   ii) Concretisation of abstract qualities, e.g. sadness is treated like a commodity in 'sadness was actually manufactured, packaged...'
   iii) Treating categories of phenomena as if they belonged to another category, e.g. "black smoke" (a gaseous state) is treated like a liquid ('poured'); and then like a solid ('hung')

   Similes, e.g.

   (S4) "Black smoke hung over the city like bad news"
   (S5) "ruined buildings that looked like broken hearts"
   (S6) "as stuffed with cheery stories as the sea was full of glumfish"

Changing the qualities of phenomena as well as the use of similes together create the feeling of an atmosphere different from that of everyday life. They help to lead us into a fairy tale world.

Another point to notice is the large number of Noun Phrases used in the passage. However, in spite of these, the passage is not difficult to process. Let us consider the linguistic devices that are used to make it readable.

A large number of the NPs occur as a part of Prepositional Phrases, which have the adverbial function of place ("in the country of Alifbay"; "by a mournful sea full of glumfish", etc) and manner ("with melancholy"; "with cheery stories"). These make for description, not analysis, and hence are easy to process.

Again there is a great deal of post-modification through relative clauses (e.g. "all over the world which never seemed to get enough of it"; "ruined buildings that looked like broken hearts"). Unlike most uses of relative clauses, these are not purely descriptive: they provide a comment through humorous, somewhat ironic means. This adds a lighter touch.

Another factor that makes for easy processing is the repetition of constructions (parallelisms), e.g.:

a sad city the saddest of cities a city so ruinously sad that...name
manufactured packaged sent
Black smoke poured out...sadness factories and hung over...bad news.
This makes for rhythm which gives rise to ease in remembering.

Let us now analyse another passage.

Passage 3

(S1) Sophie Amundsen was often dissatisfied with her appearance. (S2) She was frequently told that she had beautiful almond-shaped eyes, but that was probably just something people said because her nose was too small and her mouth was a bit too big. (S3) And her ears were much too close to her eyes. (S4) Worst of all was her straight hair, which it was impossible to do anything with. (S5) Sometimes her father would stroke her hair and call her 'the girl with the flaxen hair', after a piece of music by Claude Debussy. (S6) It was all right for him, he was not condemned to living with this straight dark hair. (S7) Neither mousse nor styling gel had the slightest effect on Sophie's hair. (S8) Sometimes she thought she was so ugly that she wondered if she was malformed at birth. (S9) Her mother always went on about her difficult labour. (S10) But was that really what determined how you looked? (S11) Wasn't it odd that she didn't know who she was? (S12) And wasn't it unreasonable that she hadn't been allowed to have any say in what she would look like? (S13) Her looks had just been dumped on her. (S14) She could choose her own friends, but she certainly hadn't chosen herself.

The clause analysis is as follows.

Note: *Please note that PRCl means Prepositional Relative Clause, i.e. a Relative Clause which begins with a preposition, e.g. '(a book, [with which you have to be careful])'.*

Also note that there may be coordinate clauses and these are usually indicated by angular brackets. The clauses which are coordinate may be coordinate to the MCl, or to one of the subordinate clauses.

(S1) [Sophie Amundsen was often dissatisfied with her appearance.]
MCl
(S2) [She was frequently told [that she had beautiful almond-shaped
MCl NCl
eyes,]] but [that was [probably just something people said [because <her
MCl ACl MCll
nose was too small>] and [<her mouth was a bit too big.>]]] (S3)<[And her
MCl MCl
ears were much too close to her eyes.] (S4) [Worst of all was her (straight
MCl NP
hair, [which it was impossible [to do anything with.]])] (S5) [Sometimes
PRCl NCli MCl
her father would <stroke her hair>]and [<call her 'the girl with the flaxen
MCl
hair'>, after a piece of music by Claude Debussy.] (S6) [It was all right
MCl
for him, [he was not condemned to [living with this straight dark hair.]]]
ACl NCling
(S7) [Neither mousse nor styling gel had the slightest effect on Sophie's
MCl
hair.] (S8) [Sometimes she thought [she was so ugly [that she wondered
NCl NCl
[if she was malformed at birth.]]] (S9) [Her mother always went on about
NCl MCl
her difficult labour.]

(S10) [But was that really [what determined [how you looked?]]
MCl NCl NCl
(S11) [Wasn't it odd [that she didn't know [who she was?]]] (S12) [And
MCl NCl NCl MCl
wasn't it unreasonable [that she hadn't been allowed [to have any say in
NCl NCli

[what she would look like?]]]] (S13) [Her looks had just been dumped on
NCl MCl
her.] (S14) <[She could choose her own friends,]> but <[she certainly
MCl MCl
hadn't chosen herself.]>

The *verbs* in this passage are worth commenting on for exactly the opposite reasons from the previous passage. They are most unremarkable. Mostly the verb *to be* is used and there are many instances of the modal form *(would)*. There are also verbs like *thought*, *wondered*. That is, there are mainly stative verbs. The use of stative verbs creates a passage which reflects the narrator's thought processes. There is no action or movement, only the presentation of thought processes, and conjectures about the probable reasons for the way the character looked.

The passive voice is used to a large extent, (e.g. 'he was not condemned to living with this straight dark hair') because the narrator looks upon herself as being acted upon, not as an actor in the events concerning her own looks.

Also noteworthy is the use of **'free indirect speech'**. Let us understand what this means. Everyone knows what 'direct speech' and 'indirect speech' are. Direct speech consists of the character's own words. Indirect speech is the character's thoughts/ feelings expressed by the author. **Free indirect speech is simultaneously the author's statement of the character's thoughts and the character in the act of thinking them**. Look at the utterances from S10 to S14, presented for convenience below. Each of these is both the author's report and the character's own thoughts.

(S10) But was that really what determined how you looked? (S11) Wasn't it odd that she didn't know who she was? (S12) And wasn't it unreasonable that she hadn't been allowed to have any say in what she would look like? (S13) Her looks had just been dumped on her. (S14) She could choose her own friends, but she certainly hadn't chosen herself.

In the sentences given above, we have Sophie looking at her own feelings. But the sentences are simultaneously presented as the author's own analysis of the character. That is to say, we are looking at the action from both the author's and character's perspective at the same time. This gives a feeling of authenticity, and a feeling that the author has penetrated to the heart of the character.

Let us look at one more passage.

Passage 4

(S1) If what we call a desert is a place without a soul in which the sky alone is king, then Oran awaits its prophets. (S2) All around and above the town the brutal nature of Africa is, in fact, resplendent in its most burning glory. (S3) It splits open the ill-chosen decor which men have laid upon it, utters its violent cries between each house and over all the housetops. (S4) If you go up on to one of the roads running along the side of the Santa Cruz mountain, what you see first of all are the scattered and brightly coloured blocks of Oran. (S5) But as soon as you go a little higher, the jagged cliffs surrounding the plateau seem to be crouching in the sea like red beasts. (S6) From higher still, great whirlpools of sun and wind swirl over the untidy town, blowing and battering through it as it lies scattered in confusion over all four corners of the rocky landscape. (S7) You see the clash between the magnificent anarchy of the permanence of an unchanging sea. This gives the road along the mountainside an overwhelming scent of life.

Clause Analysis

Now you do the clause analysis. The bracketing of the clauses has been done for you. You have to fill in the categories: MCl, coordinate clause (also to be indicated as MCl), and the different subordinate clauses: ACl, NCl, NCli, NCling, NClen, RCl, PRCl.

Note that **Cli** means one in which an infinitive verb is used; **Cling** is one in which a present participial form of verb is used; and **Clen** one in which a past participial form of verb is used. They may combined with a noun clause to form NCli etc, or a relative clause to form RCli etc, or an adverbial clause to form ACli etc.

(S1)' [[If [what we call a desert] is a place without a soul, [in which the sky alone is king,]] then Oran awaits its prophets.] (S2) [All around and above the town the brutal nature of Africa is, in fact, resplendent in its most burning glory.] (S3) [It splits open (the ill-chosen decor [which men have laid upon it]], [utters its violent cries between each house and over all the housetops.] (S4) [[If you go up on to one of (the roads [running along the side of the Santa Cruz mountain])] , [what you see first of all] are the scattered and brightly coloured blocks of Oran.] (S5) [[But [as soon as you go a little higher,] (the jagged cliffs [surrounding the plateau]) seem to be crouching in the sea like red beasts.] (S6) [From higher still, great whirlpools of sun and wind swirl over the untidy town, [blowing] and [battering through it [as it lies [scattered in confusion over all four corners of the rocky landscape.]]]] (S7) [You see the clash between this magnificent anarchy and the permanence of an unchanging sea.] (S8) [This gives the road along the mountain-side an overwhelming sense of life.]

Now check your work.

(S1) [[If [what we call a desert] is a place without a soul, [in which the sky
MCl ACl NCl PRCl
alone is king,]] then Oran awaits its prophets.] (S2) [All around and
MCl
above the town the brutal nature of Africa is, in fact, resplendent in its

most burning glory.] (S3) [It splits open (the ill-chosen decor [which men
MCl RCl
have laid upon it]], [utters its violent cries between each house and over
MCl
all the housetops.] (S4) [[If you go up on to one of (the roads [running
MCl ACl RCling
along the side of the Santa Cruz mountain])] , [what you see first of all]
NCl
are the scattered and brightly coloured blocks of Oran.] (S5) [[But [as
MCl ACl

soon as you go a little higher,] (the jagged cliffs [surrounding the plateau])
NP RCling
seem to be crouching in the sea like red beasts.] (S6) [From higher still,
MCl
great whirlpools of sun and wind swirl over the untidy town, [blowing]
NCling
and [battering through it [as it lies [scattered in confusion over all four
NCling ACl AClen
corners of the rocky landscape.]]]] (S7) [You see the clash between this
MCl
magnificent anarchy and the permanence of an unchanging sea.] (S8)

[This gives the road along the mountain-side an overwhelming sense of
MCl
life.]

Stylistic Analysis

The verb forms used in the passage are striking. Consider the following two types of verb forms:
Dynamic verbs: *awaits* its prophets (in this context, dynamic), *splits* open, *utters* its violent cries, *running* along the side of, *seem to be crouching*, *swirl*, *blowing*, *battering*
Stative verbs: *be* (3), *call, see* (2), *lies/ laid* (2), *gives, go* (2),

There is a great deal of violence in the passage, partly brought out through the use of the dynamic verbs. The stative verbs are quite colourless, and form a background for the dynamic verbs and **powerful adjectives** (*resplendent*, *burning*, *jagged*, etc.).

A fair number of the dynamic verbs are of the Cling (i.e. Non-finite present participial clause) pattern, indicating a restlessness of motion, and unrelieved continuity of violent action.

By and large, the simple present tense is used, indicating that the description is of a scene of some permanence, one that will not change readily, and is a habitual feature of the environment.

But the passage is more than merely descriptive: it is **analytical**. It seems to analyse the scene from a critical, almost moral view-point. Certain linguistic features indicate this very clearly. These are

i) long and striking NPs, e.g. "resplendent in its most burning glory", "its violent cries between each house and over all the housetops"; "the scattered and brightly coloured blocks of Oran", "great whirlpools of sun and wind ", "all four corners of the rocky landscape"

ii) NPs containing post-modification by Relative Clauses, e.g. "a soul in which the sky alone is king", "the ill-chosen decor which men have laid upon it", "the jagged cliffs surrounding the plateau"

The use of long NPs is the usual indicator of complexity of thought structure, and evidence of analytical comments.

iii) Aphoristic statements like "a desert is a place without a soul in which the sky alone is king" which seem to have a poetic profundity.

iv) The use of the *if* clauses. Two such clauses occur and the second is followed by "But as soon as you go a little higher..." which contradicts the previous *if*, takes the passage away from plain description, bringing in conditionality, and therefore, analytical thinking.

Another question arises about the **length of sentences** in the passage and their effect on the passage.

The sentences seem to be of average length, neither longer nor shorter than is usual. The passage is extremely dense, in spite of the *lack* of unwieldy sentence length. The **density** is caused by foregrounding a large number of items, dynamic verbs, adjectives, as well as the piling on of colour and violent action. What saves it from further density is the relatively low level of complexity in clause structure, i.e. the level of subordination of clauses is low, and most of the subordinate clauses are Relative Clauses and Adverbial Clauses of place and manner. The Adverbial Clauses of condition, however, do lead to complexity.

4.4 ANALYSIS OF POETRY

Let us now look at a few examples drawn from poetry. And consider the effect of the language used on the stylistic effect they create.

1. 'I am the heir of all the ages' (Tennyson: from 'Locksley Hall')

You will now have to recall all that you learnt about phonetics and phonology in order to analyse the stylistic effects here. You will notice that the line given above is almost free of consonant sounds. The vowel sounds predominate. This is a somewhat unusual state of affairs and therefore worthy of investigation. We can say that vowels in this line are foregrounded. Let us now consider the nature of the vowel sounds used. I will list these through a phonetic transcription of the line.

aiəmðieirəvɔ:lðieidiz.

Notice that all the vowel sounds and diphthongs fall into the category of front vowels and front-oriented diphthongs. These front sounds are all produced with spread lips and are not rounded. The effect of these sounds is flat, sharp and sometimes harsh. Such a long line of these sounds does indeed produce a calculated effect. It gives the impression of great length. It draws out time to appear immeasurably long. The *'ages'* seem like an unbroken succession flowing down time. There are no consonants to stop the flow of the air stream, and thus, by implication, nothing comes in the way of the unbroken stream of time. There are no rounded vowels to give variety, or provide the notion of cyclical periods of time, it is just one uninterrupted flow. The 'heir' of all this stands at the very end and thus, he is to be thought of as the culminating point. This is the effect that is created.

2. Now let us look at another line.

'Fair is foul, and foul is fair.' (*Macbeth*, I, i)

Notice that while the words *'fair'* and *'foul'* are absolutely opposed in meaning, in terms of the consonant sounds used, they are very similar. In both these words, the first sound is /f/. The last sounds are /r/ and /l/, both of which are very similar. So similar are they in place and manner of production, that children often confuse them, and the Japanese regularly produce the sound /l/ in place of /r/ when they speak English. The consonants of the two words, then are identical, or near identical. The vowels, however, are very different. The vowel /eə/ occurs in 'fair' and the vowel /au/ in 'foul'. The first is a front vowel produced with spread lips and the second a back vowel produced with rounded lips. The similarity of the two consonants is offset only by the difference in the vowels. This play on identity and slight difference in

sounds depicts very clearly how the two concepts, fairness and foulness can be confused in *Macbeth*.

3. Let us look at another.

'So all day long the noise of battle rolled' (Tennyson: 'Morte D'Arthur')

Let us analyse the consonants here.
What is the most dominant consonant? Why?
/l/. Because it occurs most frequently in important words.
Which are the other important consonants?
/d/ /b/ /n/ /ng/ /r/

Let us look at the features of these consonants. The /l/, /r/ /n/ and /ng/ sounds are all called **continuants**, because the sounds can be continued without any stoppage in the air stream. Being continuants, the sounds add to the flow and length of the line. So it appears that the battle was long and continuous. The plosive consonants /b/ and /d/ which interrupt the free flow of sound by virtue of stopping the air stream and then releasing it with a kind of explosion, suggest that it was a grim battle.

Which vowel sounds are used?
Səu͡ɔ:l dei͡ lɒng nɔi͡z bætl rəu͡ld

They are mainly back-oriented diphthongs: /əu/, /əu/, /ɔi/. There are only two front sounds: one front vowel and one front-oriented diphthong. The back-oriented diphthongs are necessarily rounded sounds. So there is a predominance of rounded vocalic (vowel) sounds. This makes the action seem to be cyclical, the same events occurring again and again.
So, in addition to the battle being long and continuous, it also cyclical. The roundedness also suggests that the events are of momentous importance. It is not a modern type of battle where you visualise a large number of dead bodies lying around. It is a battle where deeds of personal heroism and glory are performed. It appears as if the battle itself is great and glorious. The rounded vowels are like drumbeats proclaiming to the world that this great event is taking place.

4. Now look at these lines.
'Here files of pins extend their shining rows,
Puffs, powders, patches, bibles, billets-doux.'
(Pope: from *The Rape of the Lock*)

Look first at the contrast between the two lines. The first is one unbroken line. The second has a pause after each word. The second line has an unusual number of pauses, and these pauses are therefore foregrounded. A list of items is being presented.

The scene is the description of a dressing table. Everything is organised in a manner resembling the ranks of an army of soldiers. (And in fact the poem is a humorous account of the war of the sexes). Notice that we have 'files of pins' and 'shining rows' – everything is precisely organised like soldiers lined up for battle. Because there are no pauses, we see the pins extending over a huge space. So it is a battle of some importance. The second line is very different, where we see each item individually, and each appears out of proportion huge. Now look more closely at what these items are. Among puffs, powders and patches, suddenly you have 'bibles'. Bibles, that is copies of the holy book are placed on the dressing table quite as if they were also cosmetic items meant to enhance a lady's beauty. The bibles and 'billet-doux' (French for love letters) jostle for space among the puffs and powders. The poet is obviously being ironical. He is telling us that for the lady he is depicting, the holy book and items of cosmetics have the same value. Even more indirectly, the

poet is criticising the nature of the upper class society of his day for having no concern for religion and morality, but only for superficial, material values.

5. Now we shall look at the following poem by e.e.cummings:

a wind has blown the rain away and blown
the sky and all the leaves away,
and the trees stand. I think I too have known
autumn too long
and what have you to say,
wind wind wind - did you love somebody
and have the petal of somewhere in your heart
pinched from dumb summer?

a) First, I provide the phonetic symbols of the consonants occurring here, classifying them according to place, manner and type of articulation (three-term labels). I am also underlining all the content words, for you get the hang of identifying them. The sounds in content words have much greater stylistic effect than those in non-content words, for content words normally carry greater stress. I only provide a few sample three-term labels (indicating voicing, place and manner of articulation).

a wind has blown the rain away and blown
w nd h z bl n r n w nd bl n
the sky and all the leaves away,
sk nd l l v z w
and the trees stand. I think I too have known
nd tr z st nd nk t h v n n
autumn too long
t m t l n
and what have you to say,
nd w t h v j t s
wind wind wind - did you love somebody
w nd w nd w nd d d j l v s m b d
and have the petal of somewhere in your heart
nd h v p t l v s mw n j h t
pinched from dumb summer?
P n t t fr m d m s m

/n/ (voiced) alveolar nasal
/d/ voiced alveolar plosive
/b/ voiced bilabial plosive
/t/ voiceless alveolar affricate
/w/ rounded semi-vowel l (voiced) lateral
/v/ voiced labio-dental fricative
/s/ voiceless alveolar fricative
/j/ unrounded semi-vowel

b) Which consonantal sounds predominate in this poem? What is their effect on the poem as a whole?

The predominant consonants are /w/, /l/, /n/: a semi-vowel, lateral and nasal, all of them liquids and continuants. These create the sense of flow and help to provide the lyricism of the poem. There are also fricatives in the extract: prominently, /v/, /r/, /z/, /s/, /ʒ/, which are also continuants. There are a few plosives, notably /b/, /d/, /g/ (voiced) and /t/, /k/, and in the last two lines, /p/ (voiceless). These arrest the flow of the breath and create a harsher effect. They arrest the easy flow of sounds with the definiteness of harsh reality, the love that has been nipped in the bud. However, note that these are mainly the voiceless plosives, the softer sounds. In addition, the consonant clusters that occur, bl, nd, nt have plosives linked with continuants or with fricatives, as in sk, tr, st so the effect is not so harsh, not that of a mood of bitterness caused by the blighting of his love, but of anguish and pain. The harshness of the plosives is thereby tempered, and in spite of the heartbreak the poet is

undergoing, the poem remains predominantly lyrical, the lyricism indicating the beauty of the love that he has now lost. It does not cease to be beautiful even in his state of deprivation.

c) Rewrite the last four lines of the poem, providing the phonetic symbols of the vowels/ diphthongs occurring there. Classify them according to whether they are:

i) front, central and back vowels; close, half-open, open
ii) diphthongs which, in terms of prominence, are predominantly oriented to the front, back or centre (e.g. /ɔi/ is predominantly back-oriented)

and what have you to say,
u u ei
wind wind wind - did you love somebody
i i i i u i
and have the petal of somewhere in your heart
e i
pinched from dumb summer?
i

[I will only provide a few sample descriptions of vowels and diphthongs.]
/u/ rounded close back vowel /i/ unrounded close front vowel
/ei/ front-oriented diphthong /e/ unrounded half-close front vowel

d) Which type of vowels and diphthongs predominate in the WHOLE poem? What effect do they create?

The front vowels and front-oriented diphthongs predominate in the poem. This gives rise to the effect of the jarring of emotions, of lack of completion, of pain and suffering. There is a larger proportion of back vowels and back-oriented diphthongs in the first five lines than in the latter part. The greater number of front vowels and front-oriented diphthongs in the last four lines brings out the extreme anguish felt by the poet, the devastation he experiences.

e) Let us consider the phonological features used to create the effect of the poem, particularly in terms of alliteration and assonance (vowel harmony).

There is a high degree of alliteration in the extract. The sounds /n/, /l/ and /w/: liquids and semi-vowel, occur most frequently and create the feeling of lyricism and flow. In the last two lines the sounds /p/ and /m/, /n/ occur several times, reinforcing the poet's suffering, and his sense of helplessness in his suffering. There is also a considerable amount of assonance: the /əu/ sound in blown (2) and known; the /ɔ:/ sound in all, autumn; the repetition of the /i/ sound in wind (4), think, pinched; the /ei/ sound in rain, away, say; the /ʌ/ sound in dumb and summer. The assonance occurs in the rhyming words as well as in the middle of lines. It strengthens the musical quality of the poem, and makes it more poignant.

Other noteworthy features are the flowing rhythm, the run-on lines indicating the uncontrollable outpouring of his emotions. There are also long pauses, after 'trees stand', 'too long', and after 'wind wind wind' which enable us to see the poet in the act of trying to articulate the overpowering nature of his emotions, of pausing in the act, moving from one thought/ feeling to another.

f) Let us look at the imagery in the poem.

The imagery is drawn from nature, and from nature in a state of turbulence. It is something larger than man but seems to have the same problems as seen

in one small self, i.e. nature is personified, as in 'wind wind wind - did you love somebody', where human emotions are attributed to the wind. Second, human emotions are seen in terms of nature, as in 'I think I too have known /autumn too long', where *'autumn'* is not just the season, but an image which reflects the sense of complete bleakness and devastation that the poet is experiencing. Third, nature is merely described, as in the first three lines 'a wind...trees stand.' But this also reflects the emotional state of affairs he is expressing.

To sum up, nature appears as elemental and basic to life, and his sense of loss is seen as both personal and as having far wider dimensions, becoming universal in its implications.

4.5 LET US SUM UP

In Section I of this Unit, we have dealt with the following ideas:

1. The language of every day use forms the background against which literature (literary language) is produced.
2. Other specific forms of language, like the language of advertising, are related in some ways to literary language, e.g. advertising, like literature, creates its own world in which its language makes sense.
3. Literary language necessarily reflects the thematic content of the work, because the style creates the world of the novel/ poem within which the action takes place. Thus, stylistics yields essential knowledge about the literary text.
4. The language of literature can never be taken as literally as ordinary language can be taken, because it has meaning, not of itself alone, but by the context which it has been selected to reflect., within a literary work, however, we can distinguish between literal and figurative uses of language.
5. The world of a literary work is closed and complete, in the sense that it is an organic whole. (Naturally, of course, it has to reflect reality if it has to have any significance at all.) The reader is not part of the dimensions of the work. He/she stands outside.
6. The literary work is foregrounded against ordinary language, i.e. it stands out as a special use of language for a specific purpose. Within the literary work itself, some part of the language used is foregrounded and the rest forms the background.
7. Foregrounding takes place in two ways, through: i) the creation of rhythmic patterns or parallelisms and ii) deviation from the accepted conventions of grammar, lexis, phonology and discourse patterns.

Finally, keeping all these factors in mind, we have analysed both fiction and poetry.

4.6 KEY WORDS

Figurative meaning: Language which uses figures of speech for example, **metaphor, similie, alliteration.** Figurative language must be distinguished from literal language.

Symbol: an object, animate or inanimate, which represents or 'stands for' something else.

foregrounding: any process for making something into the most central and prominent figure during a certain stretch of discourse.

parallelism: a very common device in poetry. It consists of phrases or sentences of similar construction and meaning placed side by side, balancing each other.

alliteration: a figure of speech in which consonants, especially at the beginning of words, or stressed syllables, are repeated.

assonance: consists of the repetition of similar vowel sounds, usually close together, to achieve a particular effect.

dynamic verb: a verb which denotes an action or an event, such as **go, kill, kiss or explode.**

stative verb: a verb whose meaning is a state of affairs, rather than an event or an action. Examples are **know, love, exist and believe.**

UNIT 5 ANALYSING TEXTS-II

Structure

5.0 Objectives
5.1 Passages
5.2 Checklist to study texts
5.3 More passages
5.4 Let us sum up
5.5 Key words

5.0 OBJECTIVES

In the previous Unit, we have examined several passages and extracts from poems to derive the stylistic effect created by the language used.

Now we will look at a few passages in order to analyse their effect from the point of view of dialectal variation. We also give you a Checklist which will help you analyse passages from prose fiction. Then we give you passages to analyse on your own.

5.1 PASSAGES

Passage 1

'Has he many men, then?' said Elizabeth-Jane.

'Many! Why, my good maid, he's the powerfullest member of the Town council, and quite a principal man in the country round besides. Never a big dealing in wheat, barley, oats, hay, roots, and such-like but Henchard's got a hand in it. Ay, and he'll go into other things too; and that's where he makes his mistake. He worked his way up from nothing when 'a came here; and now he's a pillar of the town. Not but what he's been shaken a little to-year about this bad corn he has supplied in his contracts. I've seen the sun rise over Durnover Moor these nine-and- sixty year, and though Mr Henchard has never cussed me unfairly ever since I've worked for'n, seeing I be but a small man, I must say that I have never before tasted such rough bread as has been made from Henchard's wheat lately. 'Tis that growed out that ye could a'most call it malt, and there's list at bottom o' the loaf as thick as the sole of one's shoe.'

Notice that there are a large number of occurrences of non-standard English. These appear to be dialectal variations which have been introduced for a particular stylistic purpose.

a) Let us first note the instances of dialectal variation, and the nature of the variation.

1 'Why my good maid'

This is a somewhat archaic use of the word 'maid', and because it appears perfectly naturally here, it probably means that the writer lived in the nineteenth century or thereabouts.

2 'he's probably the powerfullest member of the Town Council'

This suggests that possibly the speaker is uneducated and comes from a village. The references are to farming.

1. 'Mr Henchard has never cussed me unfairly'
'cussed' = cursed. Pronunciation variation.

2. 'I've worked tor n
Pronunciation variation

3. 'could a'most call it malt'
Pronunciation variation

4. 'seeing I be but a small man'
Grammatical variation

5. 'Tis that I growed out'
Grammatical variation

6. 'these nine-and-sixty year
Grammatical variation; also variation in phraseology

7. 'there's a list at bottom o'the loaf as thick as the sole of one's shoe
Colourful language with similes is very often used in non-standard dialects, both regional and urban.

b) What is the effect sought to be created by the use of this dialect?

It brings out the atmosphere of a village or small town. It also tells us something about the character, whose language, colourful to us, seems to suggest the stolidity of a villager, one who is not in a hurry to make up his mind about people, but when he does so, it is for sound reasons. We would tend to believe what such a character had to say.

Remember that language is not a monolithic whole. Most languages have different varieties spoken in different geographical regions, wherein the speech community resides. In addition to geographical distinction, languages can also differ on the basis of caste, class, age or sex.

That variety of any language which for social, economic or cultural reasons, is used in print and taught in school, is called the standard variety of the language.

Dialects usually differ from the standard variety of the language on the basis of vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation. The word 'dialect' is used by traditional grammarians in a pejorative sense. However, to a linguist, all varieties of a language are equally important.

Most people in England speak in a dialectal variety rather than in standard English. Those who live in cities speak in urban dialects and those who live in the countryside speak in rural dialects. 'Cockney', which is spoken in London, is an important urban dialect of English. Most urban dialects are considered 'ugly', while rural dialects are to be 'quaint' and 'musical'. These are value judgements to which most linguists do not subscribe.

Most works of literature are written by educated persons, who are familiar with the standard variety of their language, so, this is the variety most often used in literature. However, dialects are employed quite often, in order to

make the characters speak the variety of the language they would normally use in real life.

Now, you analyse a passage along the above lines.

Passage 2

The head gaoler eyed him gloomily, and looked pained when Jack Carstares with studied boorishness leaned carelessly against a fine carved table.

"We 'ave refrained from 'andcuffin' pris'ner, sir, at your horders, " he said, in a tone that warned O'Hara that should harm come of it, on his head be the blame. Sir Miles O'Hara nodded.

"Quite right," he said pleasantly, and glanced at the cloaked and masked figure before him with more suspicion than ever.

"But I regrets to 'ave to report very hobstinate be'aviour on part of pris'ner, Sir." added the gaoler impressively.

" Indeed?" said Miles gravely. "How so?"

Jack controlled an insane desire to laugh, and listened to the gaoler's complaint.

"You see the pris'ner, sir, with that great mask on 'is face? Afore we set out to come 'ere, I told 'im to take it hoff. And 'e refoosed, sir. Seeing as 'ow you gave no horders, I did not force 'im to hobey."

" Ah!... Your name, please?"

"John Smith, sir," answered Carstares promptly and hoarsely.

O'Hara wrote it down with a sceptical smile on his lips that Jack did not quite like.

1. What are the instances of dialectal variation in this passage?
2. What is the nature of the dialectal variation? What effect is created by this use of dialect?

The answers to these questions will be given later.

5.2 CHECKLIST TO STUDY TEXTS

Let us return to a more extensive discussion of stylistic effect, than mere dialectal change. In order for you to think of the appropriate features of a passage on your own, it is necessary to be aware of the variety of features one needs to consider. With this in mind, a useful Checklist is reproduced below, taken (with some modifications) from *Style in Fiction* by G.N. Leech & Mick Short, Longman, 1981.

A. Lexical categories

1. **General**: Is the vocabulary simple or complex? i) formal or colloquial? Descriptive or evaluative? General or specific?: How far does the writer make use of the emotive and other associations of words, as opposed to their referential meaning? Does the text contain i) idiomatic phrases, and if so, with what kind of dialect or register are these idioms associated? Is there any use of rare or specialised vocabulary?, Are any particular morphological

categories noteworthy (e.g. compound words, or words with particular suffixes)? To what semantic fields do the words belong?

2. **Nouns**: Are the nouns abstract or concrete? What kinds of abstract nouns occur (e.g.. nouns referring to events, perceptions, processes, moral qualities, social qualities)? What use is made of proper nouns? Collective nouns?
3. **Adjectives**: Are the adjectives frequent? To what kinds of attribute do adjectives refer? physical? psychological? visual? auditory? colour? referential? emotive? evaluative? etc. Are the adjectives gradable or non-gradable?
4. **Verbs**: Do the verbs carry an important part of the meaning? Are they stative (referring to states) or dynamic (referring to actions, events, etc)? Do they refer to movements, physical acts, speech acts, psychological states or activities, perceptions, etc? Are they transitive, intransitive, linking verbs, etc?
5. **Adverbs**: Are adverbs frequently used? What semantic functions do they perform (manner, place, duration, time, degree, etc.)? Is there any significant use of sentence adverbs (e.g. conjuncts such as *so, therefore, however*; or disjuncts such as *certainly, obviously, frankly*)?

B. Grammatical Categories

1. **Sentence Types:** Does the author use only statements (declarative sentences) or does he also use questions, commands, exclamations, or minor sentence types (such as sentences with no verb)? If these other types are used, what is their function?
2. **Sentence Complexity:** Do sentences on the whole have a simple or a complex structure? What is the average sentence length (in number of words?) What is the ratio of dependent to independent clauses? Does complexity vary strikingly from one sentence to another? Is complexity mainly due to i) co-ordination, ii) subordination, iii) parataxis (i.e. juxtaposition of clauses or other equivalent structures)? In what parts of a sentence does complexity tend to occur? For instance, is there any notable occurrence of anticipatory structure (e.g. of complex subjects preceding the verbs, of dependent clauses preceding the subject of a main clause)?
3. **Clause Types:** What types of dependent clause are favoured: relative clauses, adverbial clauses, different types of nominal clauses (e.g. that-clauses, clauses appearing as the subject of a sentence) infinitive clauses (*Vi*), *-ing* clauses (*V –ing*), *-en* clauses (*V -en* clauses), verbless clauses (*Vo*)?
4. **Clause Structure:** Is there anything significant about clause elements (e.g. the frequency of i) objects, complements, adverbials; ii) transitive or intransitive verb constructions? Are there any unusual orderings (e.g. initial adverbials, fronting of object, of complement, etc)? Do special kinds of clause construction occur (such as those with preparatory *it* or *there*)?
5. **Noun Phrases:** Are they relatively simple or complex? Where does the complexity lie (e.g. in pre-modification by adjectives, nouns, etc. or in post-modification by prepositional phrases, relative clauses, etc.). Note occurrence of listings (e.g. sequences of adjectives), co-ordination, or apposition.
6. **Verb Phrases:** Are there any significant departures from the use of the simple past tense? For example, notice occurrences and functions of the present tense; of the progressive aspect (e.g. *lying*); of the perfective aspect (e.g. *has/ had appeared*); of modal auxiliaries (e.g. *can, must, would*, etc.).
7. **Other Phrase Types:** Is there anything to be said about other phrase types: prepositional phrases, adverb phrases, adjective phrases?
8. **Word Classes:** Having already considered major or lexical word classes, we may here consider minor word classes (or function words/ parts of speech) such as prepositions, conjunctions, pronouns, determiners, auxiliaries, interjections. Are particular words of those types used for particular effect (e.g. the definite or indefinite article; first person pronouns *I, we*, etc.;

demonstratives such as *this* and *that*; negative words, such as *not, nothing, no*)?

9. **General:** Note whether any general types of grammatical constructions are used for special effect, e.g. comparative or superlative constructions; co-ordinating or listing constructions; parenthetical constructions; appended or interpolated structures, such as occur in casual speech. Do lists and co-ordinations (e.g. lists of nouns) tend to occur with two, three or more than three members?

10. **Figures of speech, etc.**: Here we consider the incidence of features which are foregrounded by virtue of departing in some way from general norms of communication by means of the language code, for example, exploitation of regularities of formal patterning, or of deviations from the linguistic code. For identifying such features, the traditional figures of speech (schemes and tropes) are often useful categories.

10.1 Schemes

Grammatical and Lexical Schemes: Are there any cases of formal and structural repetition (anaphora, parallellism, etc), or of mirror-image patterns (chiasmus)? Is the rhetorical effect of these one of antithesis, reinforcement, climax, anticlimax, etc?

Phonological Schemes: Are there any phonological patterns of rhyme, alliteration, assonance, etc.? Are there any salient rhythmical patterns? Do vowel and consonant sounds pattern and cluster in particular ways? How do these phonological features interact with meaning?

Tropes: Are there any obvious violations of, or departures from the linguistic code? For example, are there any neologisms (i.e. words coined by the writer, such as *Americanly*)? deviant lexical collocations (such as portentous infants)? semantic, syntactic, phonological, or graphological deviations?

Such deviations will often be the clue to special interpretations associated with traditional figures of speech, such as metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, paradox, irony. If such tropes occur, what kind of special interpretation is involved (e.g. metaphor can be classified as personifying, animising, concretising, synaesthetic, etc.)? Because of its close connection with metaphor, simile may also be considered here. Does the text contain any similes, or similar constructions (e.g. *as if* constructions)? What dissimilar semantic fields are related through simile?

C. Cohesion & Context:

1. **Cohesion**: (i.e. ways in which one part of a text is linked to another, e.g. the ways in which sentences are connected. This is the internal organisation of the text.)

1.1 Does the text contain logical or other links between sentences (e.g. co-ordinating conjunctions or linking adverbials)? Or does it tend to rely on implicit connections of meaning?

1.2 What sort of use is made of cross-reference by pronouns (*she, it, they*, etc), by substitute forms (*do, so*, etc) or ellipsis? Alternatively, is any use made of 'elegant variation' (i.e. the avoidance of repetition by the substitution of a descriptive phrase, e.g. '*the old lawyer*' or '*her uncle*' may be used to substitute for the repetition of an earlier '*Mr Jones*')?

1.3 Are meaning connections reinforced by repetition of words and phrases, or by repeatedly using words from the same semantic field?

2. **Context**: (i.e. the external relations of a text or a part of a text, seeing it as a discourse presupposing a social relation between its participants (author and

reader; character and character, etc.), and a sharing by participants of knowledge and assumptions.)

2.1 Does the writer address the reader directly, or through the words or thoughts of some fictional character? What linguistic clues (e.g. first person pronouns – *I, me, my, mine*) are there of the addresser-addressee relationship?

2.2 What attitude does the author imply towards his subject? If a character's words or thoughts are represented, is this done by direct quotation (direct speech) or by some other method (e.g. indirect, free indirect speech)?

2.3 Are there significant changes of style according to who is supposedly speaking or thinking the words on the page?

By now you should be in a position to handle some extracts on your own. I shall give you some passages and lines from poetry and give you some leading questions. Please make an attempt to work through these. The answers are given at the end, but you should avoid looking at the answers till you have finished your analysis.

5.3 MORE PASSAGES

Passage 3

(S1) The Ganges though flowing from the foot of Vishnu and through Shiva's hair, is not an ancient stream. (S2) Geology, looking further than religion, knows of a time when neither the river nor the Himalayas that nourished it existed, and an ocean flowed over the holy places of Hindusthan. (S3) The mountains rose, their debris silted up the ocean, the gods took their seats on them and contrived the river, and the India we call immemorial came into being. (S4) But India is really far older. (S5) In the days of the pre-historic ocean, the southern part of the peninsula already existed, and the high places of Dravidia have been land since time began and have seen on the one side, the sinking of a continent that joined them to Africa, and on the other, the upheaval of the Himalayas from a sea.

(E.M. Forster: from *A Passage to India*)

a) Separate the main clause from the subordinate clause in S1. Which is the main clause? Which is the subordinate clause?

b) Which carries the major information? What is the major information of the sentence?

c) Analyse S2. Separate the main clause(s) from the subordinate clause(s). What meaning is conveyed by the main clause and what meaning by the subordinate clause?

d) By now are you in a position to state the main meaning of the passage?

e) Analyse the sentence construction of S3. Divide it into clauses. What do you notice about the structure? What do you notice about the meaning?

f) Comment on the use of some of the words which stand out, e.g. 'contrive', 'the India we call immemorial came into being'. How do these affect the meaning?

g) Why do you think that S4 following S3 (which is so long) is such a short sentence? What is the effect of its brevity?

h) Divide S5 into clauses, and analyse the clause structure. Comment on the parallelism in the sentence.

i) Why do we have such a long sentence again in S5? What is the effect created by its length?

j) What is the main meaning of the passage? Is it at all different from its surface meaning?

Now you analyse another passage on your own.

Passage 4

(S1) The west of Ireland, as every school boy knows, is that part of the country to which Cromwell banished the heretical natives after he had successfully brought the nation to heel. (S2) Today, it is as impoverished and barren as ever it was, bleak and lonesome and cowering from the savagery of the Atlantic which batters its coast-line with all the fury that has gathered in over three thousand miles. (S3) But the West of Ireland can also be heartbreakingly beautiful; and on a fine April morning with the smell of gorse and clover filling the air and the bees showing the only evidence of industry in a landscape that is peopleless, as far as the eye can see, on such a morning in the West of Ireland you can get a whiff of Paradise.

1. Analyse the clauses in the passage, dividing them into dependent and independent clauses, indicating the type of dependent clause. What is the effect of these clause types on the passage?

2. Which types of phrases are predominantly used?

3. Comment on the linkages between sentences/clauses

4. Discuss the use of comparison and contrast in the passage.

The answers are provided later.

ANSWERS

The following are the **answers** to questions on **Passage 2**.

1. The variation is mainly in terms of phonology, e.g.

'to 'ave to report very hobstinate be'aviour on part of pris'ner, Sir," '
There are many other such instances.
The variation is also in terms of grammar, though to a lesser extent, e.g.
'Afore we set out'
'I regrets to 'ave to report very hobstinate be'aviour on part of pris'ner, Sir,"

The dialect appears to be lower class language, perhaps urban lower class language because there appears to be a court, prisoner and gaolers. The variation in dialect makes the language of the gaolers stand out in relief against the language of the others and the language of narration. It makes the gaolers seem quite distinct from the others, thereby adding local colour and authenticity of language.

ANSWERS

Now we shall look at **answers** to the questions posed on **Passage 3.**

a) Separate the main clause from the subordinate clause in S1. Which is the main clause? Which is the subordinate clause?

[The Ganges [though flowing from the foot of Vishnu and through Shiva's
MCl SCl
hair,] is not an ancient stream.]

b) Which carries the major information? What is the major information of the sentence?

The main clause. 'The Ganges is not an ancient stream' is the major proposition being put forward.

c) Analyse S2. Separate the main clause(s) from the subordinate clause(s). What meaning is conveyed by the main clause and what meaning by the subordinate clause?

[Geology, [looking further than religion,] knows of a time [when neither the

MCl RCling ACl (time)

river nor (the Himalayas [that nourished it])] existed,] and [an ocean flowed

RCl MCl

over the holy places of Hindusthan.]

The main clauses assert that Geology knows of a time when nothing existed, and an ocean flowed over the holy places of Hindusthan. The subordinate clauses indicate that knowledge can look further than religion, and mention a period of time when neither the river nor the Himalayas existed.

Notice that the main clauses deal with the factual position, and the subordinate clauses with hypothetical ideas. This indicates that the passage ultimately gives greater value to facts. Even though the religious/ mythological position is being expressed right through the passage, it is being expressed in subordinate clauses, and therefore the religious information is being subordinated to the geological.

d) By now are you in a position to state the main meaning of the passage?

The main meaning of the passage is that the scientific explanation of the geological development of India is more correct than the religious/ mythological. The mythological explanation is also given a great deal of importance, that is, it is accepted as a possible viewpoint, but the writer suggests that it cannot be considered valid, because it deviates from factual truth. This is never stated as such, however, by consistently putting the mythological viewpoint in dependent clauses, the information itself is effectively subordinated.

Forster has deliberately brought in both viewpoints, because in order to understand the nature of India, both have to be considered. To look at one alone would not give one an understanding of the complex phenomenon that is India. He has also repeatedly put both explanations in the same sentence. This indicates that he feels that the two, however opposed they may be, are inextricably interconnected. Together they provide the idea of an India that is elusive, never fully to be grasped, because it includes within itself, and as part of its essential being, contradictory ideas. This is the perspective that infuses the novel, *A Passage to India*, and makes it such a complex and insightful approach to India.

e) Analyse the sentence construction of S3. Divide it into clauses. What do you notice about the structure? What do you notice about the meaning?

[The mountains rose,] [their debris silted up the ocean,] [the gods took their
MCl MCl MCl
seats on them] and [contrived the river], and [(the India [we call immemorial])
MCl MCl RCl
came into being]]

There are 5 main clauses and one subordinate clause. Notice that the subordinate clause is a relative clause. [We can recognise that it is a relative clause because we can say 'the India that/ which we call immemorial'. The relative clause marker (that/ which/ who etc. is missing, but it relates to the preceding noun phrase 'the India'. It post-modifies it, performing an adjectival function.]

The fact that there are so many main clauses makes the sentence very easy to process. (Subordination of information in subordinate clauses makes for complexity.) But, also notice that each main clause seems to mirror the others, that is to say, they are parallel constructions. The fact of parallel constructions has its own effect. It introduces rhythm, a poetic, lyrical touch. The parallelisms build on one another and lead up to a climax.

Notice that the geological and mythological aspects are inextricably intertwined. The two opposed explanations are jointly employed to create our vision of India. Notice also the humour in 'the gods took their seats on them' (as if they were VIPs posing for a group photograph).

f) Comment on the use of some of the words which stand out, e.g. *'contrive'*, *'the India we call immemorial came into being'*. How do these affect the meaning?

The word *'contrived'* is a loaded word. The writer could easily have used the word 'created'. The choice of word suggests that the gods, like magicians, through some kind of sleight of hand, create the river. *'The India we call immemorial'* is humorous and faintly ironic.

g) Why do you think that S4 following S3 (which is so long) is such a short sentence? What is the effect of its brevity?

The short sentence, 'But India is really far older' occurs between two long sentences, and because of its positioning, makes an impact. It is a factual statement, while the two that it is sandwiched between, are a mixture of the mythological and factual, with their rolling rhythms and parallel constructions, and with their humorous, dramatic and lyrical elements. The short, pithy sentence helps to emphasise, and fairly forcefully bring out the greater importance the writer gives to the scientific explanation.

h) Divide S5 into clauses, and analyse the clause structure. Comment on the parallelism in the sentence.

[In the days of the pre-historic ocean, the southern part of the peninsula already
MCl
existed,] and [the high places of Dravidia have been land [since time
MCl ACl (time)
began]] and [have seen on the one side, the sinking of (a continent [that
MCl RCl
joined them to Africa,]) and on the other, the upheaval of the Himalayas

from a sea.]

There are many parallel constructions here.
'the Southern part of the peninsula' 'the high places of Dravidia'
'on the one side' 'on the other'
'the sinking of a continent that joined them to Africa' 'the upheaval of the Himalayas from a sea'

Notice also the parallelism between 'the high places of Dravidia' and 'the holy places of Hindusthan' in S2. This adds to the cohesion of the passage. Moreover, it does something even more interesting. The previous reference to 'holy places' imbues 'high places' which is phonologically very similar, with the quality of holiness. "High' does not remain just physical height, but becomes a moral height as well.

Notice also the lyricism of

'the high places of Dravidia have been land since time began'.

The 'high' as we have just seen has taken on some of the meaning of 'holy', and the cadence of 'have been land since time began' brings with it the suggestion of something great and glorious from the Bible.

i) Contrast the use of verbs in S2 with the use of nouns in S5.

S2 is full of dynamic verbs, namely, *rose, silted up, took, contrived, came*, of which some are more dynamic than the others. The sentence, thus, is lively, dramatic and very easy to process. S5, on the other hand, is full of noun phrases:

the pre-historic ocean,
the southern part of the peninsula
the high places of Dravidia
the one side,
the sinking of a continent,
the other,
the upheaval of the Himalayas from a sea.
Noun phrases inevitably make a sentence heavier, perhaps more analytical, more reflective.

j) Why do we have such a long sentence again in S5? What is the effect created by its length?

It has a complex role to perform, namely, to continue with the main narrative, that is the geological development of the Himalayas, while continuing to provide both types of explanations, religious and scientific. Its measured, cadenced tones give it gravity, depth, while the poetic element adds lyricism.

k) What is the main meaning of the passage? Is it at all different from its surface meaning?

On the surface, what is being dealt with is the origin of the Himalayas and the river Ganges from two different perspectives. It is possible to understand India from a scientific, technological point of view. But it is also possible to see her as mysterious, never-quite-to-be-understood fully, glimpsed only through parable and myth. The two explanations of the meaning of India just cannot be separated from each other. In order to understand India, it is necessary to consider her on from both these angles. This is its deeper meaning.

Answers to Passage 4

1. Analyse the clauses in the passage, dividing them into dependent and independent clauses, indicating the type of dependent clause. What is the effect of these on the passage?

S1. [The West of Ireland, [as every school boy knows],
MCl ACl
is (that part of the country [to which Cromwell banished the
Prep RCl
heretical natives) [after he had successfully brought the nation to heel.]]]
ACl
S2. [Today, it is as impoverished and barren [as ever it was],
MCl ACl
bleak and lonesome and [cowering from (the savagery of the Atlantic
RCling
[which batters its coast-line) with (all the fury
RCl
[that it has gathered in over three thousand miles.])])]]
RCl
S3. [But the West of Ireland can also be heartbreakingly beautiful];
MCl
and [on a fine April morning with [the smell of gorse and clover
MCl NCling
filling the air] and [the bees showing the only evidence
NCling
of industry (in a landscape] [that is peopleless)
RCl
[as far as the eye can see]]] –[on such a morning
RCl MCl
in the West of Ireland you can get a whiff of Paradise.]

Main Clauses: Five
Subordinate Clauses: Twelve
[ACl: 3; RCl: 6 (including RCling: 1; PRCling: 1) ; NCling: 2]

There is twice the number of subordinate clauses to main clauses, indicating complexity of thought. The first and last RCls (`to which Cromwell...heretical natives' ; `that is peopleless as far as the eye can see') are more than descriptive, they are also analytical. The other RCls are entirely descriptive. There are 2 instances of NCling, which are also descriptive. The 3 ACls deal with time and place, adding to the description. The passage is found to be descriptive and the clause structure supports this impression.

2. Which types of phrases are predominantly used?

There are a large number of NPs, particularly, long NPs.
e.g. `The West of Ireland',
`that part of the country to which Cromwell banished the heretical natives'.
`the savagery of the Atlantic',
`the only evidence of industry in a landscape that is peopleless as far as the eye can see'.
The NPs indicate the analysis and reflection in the passage.
There are also some AdjPs,
e.g.`impoverished and barren',
breathtakingly beautiful'.
The AdjPs give rise to description.

3. Comment on the linkages between sentences/clauses.

Examples of linkages: 'as every schoolboy knows',
'Today',
'on such a morning'
These are adverbials. The first implies that something is common knowledge, and the next two deal with contrasts based on time factors. Contrast is also signalled very clearly by the use of 'But' at the beginning of S3.
'The West of Ireland' is used 3 times, instead of a word/ phrase used for elegant variation. This does not make the passage seem monotonous, as one would expect, but adds to the poetry in the passage.

The parallelisms also indicate linkage of ideas.
e.g. i) 'to which Cromwell banished the heretical natives'
'which batters its coast-line'

ii) 'impoverished and barren'
'bleak and lonesome' BUT 'heartbreakingly beautiful'

4. Discuss the use of comparison and contrast in the passage.

The passage describes the West of Ireland, on the one hand, as being 'impoverished and barren' and on the other as being 'heartbreakingly beautiful'. The description is built on contrasts. The relative clauses, adjectival phrases and nominals give rise to the descriptive element. The NPs introduce reflection and analysis, while the adverbials locate the scenery in time and place. Contrast is achieved partly by the time adverbials, and the prominent position given to the word 'But'.

Now you analyse the following passages employing the techniques used earlier. Please turn to the Checklist from Leech & Short for ideas on what to look for. No answers are provided.

Passage 5

(S1) In the centre of the table was a small silver vase with four roses, deep red roses, tidily arranged (for James Curry was a man who loved precision) like the four points of the compass – North, South, East and West. (S2) And around this rose-pointed compass the guests were arranged. (S3) Finding the right arrangement had not been easy, but James Curry had hit on a simple solution: to put the 'talkers' opposite each other, and the 'non- talkers' between them. (S4) Like this, he was sure at least that the conversation would be directed towards the centre – towards the silver vase – and not away from it. (S5) On this basis, he had divided his guests into those who talked 'too much' and those who talked 'too little'.

1. Is the vocabulary simple or complex? Are there long sentences? Long phrases? What can you say about the nature of the passage on the basis of your answers to these questions?
2. Is this a narrative, descriptive, analytical passage? Check out your answer by analysing the clause structure of the passage. If there are a large number of noun phrases, or a large number of adverbial clauses of result, purpose, condition, it is likely to analytic, reflective. If there are a large number of relative clauses and adverbial clauses of time, place and manner, it is likely to be descriptive or narrative.
3. Look at the verb structure. What is the tense that is predominantly used? Is there any use of non-finite verbs? Remember that non-finite verbs are indicative of timelessness. Are the verbs dynamic or stative? Remember that dynamic verbs deal with action, stative verbs with states (often of the mind).

4. Which types of parts of speech are emphasised? Is there any use of adjectives?
5. Are there any instances of parallelism? Mention instances.
6. Are any figures of speech used?
7. What is the meaning of the passage? How does the language bring out its meaning? Is the surface meaning the same as its inner meaning?

You will have to work out the answers to the questions on your own.

Now, look at another passage.

Passage 6

The largest building, in the very centre of the town, is boarded up completely and leans so far to the right that it seems bound to collapse at any minute. The house is very old. There is about it a curious, cracked look that is very puzzling until you suddenly realise that at one time, and long ago, the right side of the front porch had been painted, and part of the wall – but the painting was left unfinished and one portion of the house is darker and dingier than the other. The building looks completely deserted. Nevertheless, on the second floor there is one window which is not boarded; sometimes in the late afternoon when the heat is at its worst a hand will slowly open the shutter and a face will look down on the town.

1. How many people live in this building? What is the age and sex of the face which looks down on the town in the late afternoon? How do you know?
2. Does the face belong to the owner of the house? Is the house situated in a prosperous part of the town? Is it a small town or a large city? How do you know?
3. What is the passage about?
4. Is the description objective or is the viewer in evidence?
5. What sort of an expectation does the passage arouse?
6. Comment on the sentence length of the passage. What effect does this give rise to?
7. Analyse the clause structure of the passage. What does the distribution of independent and dependent clauses tell you about the nature of the passage? What sort of dependent clauses are used? What effect do these have?
8. What sort of phrases are used most frequently? What is their effect?
9. Which types of parts of speech are used most frequently?
10. Are there any instances of parallelism?
11. Write out an analysis of this passage, based on your answers to these questions, in 2-3 paragraphs. Relate the linguistic analysis to the kind of effect created by the writer.

You will have to work out the answers to the questions on your own.

5.4 LET US SUM UP

In this unit we have helped you analyse passages from prose fiction. We have given you a checklist in order to help you analyse those passages. We have given you the answers for some of the passages. We hope you will now need less and less help in analysing the passages.

5.5 KEY WORDS

dialect: a particular variety of a language spoken by the people in some geographical area (regional dialect) or in a particular social group (a social dialect)

lexical:	pertaining to words
transitive verb:	a verb which takes a direct object
intransitive verb:	a verb which does not take a direct object
parenthetical construction:	a word, phrase or sentence which interrupts a sentence and has no grammatical connection to the interrupted sentence
neologism:	a newly created word, such as (in recent years) **Internet, yuppy**
metonymy:	a figure of speech that replace the name of one thing with the name of something else closely associated with it. Eg. **the press** for *journalism*.
synecdoche:	a figure of speech by which something is referred to indirectly, either by naming only some part or constituent of it, eg. 'hands' for manual labour.
cohesion:	the presence in a text of explicit linguistic links between the various parts of the text which help to give the whole thing a clear structure.
scheme:	a term once used for a rhetorical figure of speech, usually one that departs from the normal order or sound of words but does not extend their meanings as a trope does.
trope:	a figure of speech, especially one that uses words in senses beyond their literal meaning. The major figures that are agreed upon as being tropes are metaphor, similie, metonymy, synecdoche, irony, personification, etc.

UNIT 6 ANALYSING TEXTS-III

Structure

6.0 Objectives
6.1 Extracts
6.2 Let us sum up
6.3 Key words
6.4 References

6.0 OBJECTIVES

In the previous Unit, we have analysed several passages, focusing sometimes on the context of occurrence, and sometimes on the linguistic aspects. Now, we will look at some instances of poetry, sometimes just individual lines, sometimes, short poems. We have also given you practice with some passages.

Let us work through some questions on the extract given below:

Extract/ Poem 1

The barge she sat in, like a burnished throne,
Burned on the water: the poop was beaten gold;
Purple the sails, and so perfumed that
The winds were lovesick with them...
(*Antony & Cleopatra*, II, ii, 196-97)

1. Which is the dominant consonant in the lines 'The barge...on the water'?

   Which is the dominant consonant in the lines 'the poop... purple the sails'?

   In the first case, the dominant consonant is /b/, while /n/ is the second most important. In the second case, /p/ is the dominant consonant, with /l/ as the second most important. Notice that /b/ is the voiced counterpart of /p/, both being bilabial plosives, and thus, they are very similar in sound. Notice also that /n/ and /l/ are both continuants.

2. What is the effect of these sounds on the meaning to be conveyed?

   /b/ being voiced, is much harder in quality than /p/ (voiceless) which is softer. The barge comes out, as it should, as much heavier and more solid (because of the voiced sound) than the poop and the sails (because of the voiceless sound). However, the two are integrally related, because of the similarity in kind of consonant. The continuants provide the liquid nature of the sounds. The first part appears to glisten and shine, and the second to glide and flow.

3. What information do the dominant vowels/ diphthongs provide?

   The vowels/ diphthongs used here are mainly front sounds, or central sounds, which are similar in that they are also unrounded. There are only three back vowels/ diphthongs (rounded). The rounded sounds stand out, against a strong background of vowels produced with spread lips. Strength is being suggested by the front and central sounds, and the glory of the boat by the back sounds.

4. What are these lines about?

The surface meaning is the description of a boat. The deeper meaning is that the boat and its various parts are a means of indirectly describing the occupant of the boat, namely Cleopatra. So Cleopatra is seen to be an exotic creature, full of intensity and passion. She is also delicately and lyrically feminine. All this is being suggested by the vowels and consonants used.

Notice also that all the four elements go into her composition – earth (matter, the boat); water; air (*the winds*); fire (*burned*). She is thus seen as the complete woman, a microcosm of the universe.

Now let us look at another extract:

Extract/ Poem 2

Viciousness in the kitchen!
The potatoes hiss.
It is all Hollywood, windowless. (Sylvia Plath: from 'Lesbos')

1. What is the dominant consonant here? What effect does it create?

The /s/ or /ʃ/sound, which creates the effect of the hissing of a snake.

2. Which are more prominent - the back vowels or the front vowels (including the central vowels)?

The front vowels. There are only 3 rounded sounds: (potatOEs , HollywOOd; windOWless). The front vowels create a sense of the sharp tone, the harsh, almost claustrophobic effect of the kitchen.

3. What is the meaning of the passage?

On the surface, it is about the kitchen and what is cooking. But really it is about something much deeper.

4. Who is in the kitchen?

A woman, of course. Who else?

5. Is she alone?

Yes.

6. What is her age?

Youngish.

7. What is the size of the room?

Kitchens are known to the smallest and least attractive of the rooms in an average home. And yet, the woman is expected to spend a great deal of her day there.

8. How do we know all this – it is not mentioned.

The lines seem to suggest this.

9. So, what is the real meaning?

The woman in the kitchen, who is cooking the most ordinary of vegetables, the potato, is so tired of the paralysingly humdrum nature of her life, that like the steam escaping from the potatoes on the boil, she is exploding with frustration. The room becomes even smaller and more airless than it is, because of the steam and her overflowing frustration.

10. The room is also compared with Hollywood. Why?

Hollywood is the home of illusions, where the unreal is made to pass as the real. Marriage, which seems the be-all and end-all of a young girl's existence is seen as a hoax, which promises all that is attractive – love, passion, freedom, but ends up as quite the opposite, because in fact, marriage seems to imprison the woman in the home, and particularly in the kitchen.

The lines are a blighting commentary on the life of women. It is an intensely feminist statement.

Now let us now look at a short poem.

Extract/ Poem 3

Sally in March
In the lost gardens my little daughter
Taps pond-ice with her spade.
Round her long snow-lawns turn to water
Where flocks of exiled sea-gulls wade.

In the great house sun touches dust;
Huge cupboards stir from winter sleep.
The spade breaks silence. Over the pond's crust
Peninsulas of water creep.

(Brian Cox - *Collected Poems*)

1. Analyse the consonants in the first stanza.

/n/	:	voiced alveolar nasal
/l/	:	voiced lateral approximant (other terms might also be used)
/s/	:	voiceless alveolar fricative
/t/	:	voiceless alveolar plosive
/g/	:	voiced velar plosive
/d/	:	voiced alveolar plosive
/z/	:	voiced alveolar fricative
/m/	:	voiced labial nasal
/p/	:	voiceless labial plosive
/w/	:	rounded semi-vowel (in function a consonant)
/h/	:	voiceless glottal fricative
/r/	:	voiceless post-alveolar continuant/ approximant (other terms might be used as well)

2. Which consonantal sounds predominate in this poem? What is their effect on the poem?

There is a marked use of plosives in the poem, which gives it its earthy quality. The mystery and wonder is provided by the /s/ and /z/ sounds, and the fluidity of the movement by the /n/ and /l/ sounds. The consonant sounds in the poem are limited: The same sounds occur again and again. This does not create a sense of being closed in. On the contrary, there is a sense of

space and languid movement, and in fact, the alliteration contributes to the musical harmony of the poem.

In the first stanza, voiced plosives seem to predominate, and in the second, voiceless plosives. The decisiveness of the action of the spade on the pond-ice is brought out by the voiced plosives. The voiceless plosives which seem to be slightly more frequent than voiced plosives in Stanza 2, bring in a sense of softness and mystery. This is reinforced by the sibilants which seem to pervade the poem. The laterals, nasals and /r/ make for the liquid movement of the whole.

3. Analyse the vowels in the second stanza.

front vowels: /i/ (WINter); /i:/ (sleep); /e/ (pen); /i/ (in); /a/ (peninsulAS); /i:/ (creep)

central vowels: /ʌ/ (cup) ; /ɜ:/ stir; /ə/ (winTER); /ə/ (the); /ə/ (silENCE); /ə/ (ovER); /ʌ/ (crust); /ə/ (of); /ə/ (waTER)

back vowels: /(j)u:/ (huge); /ɔ:/ (boards); /ə/ (from); /əʊ/ (OVer); /ɒ/ (pond's); /(j)u:/ (peninSUlas); /ɔ:/ (WATer)

ii) front-oriented diphthongs :
/ei/ (spade); /ei/ (breaks); /ai/ (SILence)

back-oriented diphthongs: none
centre-oriented diphthongs: none

4. Which type of vowels and diphthongs predominate in the WHOLE poem? What is their effect on the poem?

/æ/ (taps)
/ɒ/ (lost, pond, long, flocks, pond)
/ɔ:/ (DAUGHter, lawns, water, water)
/ei/ (spade, wade, great, spade)
/ʌ/ (gulls, sun, dust, CUPboards, crust)
/i:/ (sleep, sea, creep)
/ai/ (ice, SILence, exILed)

There seems to be an even number of prominent front, back and central vowels/diphthongs, creating a sense of well-regulated harmony. The front sounds have a certain sharpness (and sometimes length), the back sounds a roundedness, the central sounds neutrality and sometimes length. The front vowels/diphthongs give rise to a sharp distinctness in the action and the musical flow (e.g. *taps, spade, exiled, wade, spade breaks silence*). The back vowels give rise to the rounded contours of *'pond', 'snow-lawns', 'peninsulas of water'*.

5. What sort of phonological parallelism do you notice in the poem? What is its effect?

There is a great deal of alliteration and assonance in the poem. This makes for the limpid grace and musical flow of the poem. The alliteration/ assonance does not get out of control and begin to create music for its own sake. It is used only in order to express the meaning and feeling of the poem, which is the wonder and mystery of the world in springtime, located in a child's perceptions; huge spaces, emptiness, exile, now showing signs of change

6. Is there any action in the poem? What sort of action do you notice?

Human action: e.g. The child's tapping the pond-ice
Non-human action: e.g. The snow-lawns turn into water
The exiled sea-gulls wade
The sun touches dust
The cupboards stir from winter sleep
The spade breaks silence
Peninsulas of water creep

The non-human action is partly factual and partly figurative (personification) as in cupboards stir' 'The spade breaks silence', and the figurative aspect is the child's perceptions being concretised. The human action is simple and matter of fact, while the non-human action evokes wonder in the child, and it is the child's perceptions that are being expressed. The poem is concerned with capturing the wonder and mystery of a child's awakening perceptions in springtime. She can act, decisively, but in a small way. Much more momentous action is taking place all around her. The vivid verbs (*wade, touches, stir, breaks, creep*) convey the sense of languid action, of an awakening from sleep. The dynamic verb reflecting the child's action (*taps*) is the only one which is conscious and willed. The rest reflect the natural processes of the forces of life.

Now, we turn again to prose passages. As you have had plenty of practice in handling these already, analyse the following, using the questions given below.

Passage 1

As everyone knows, the movie business isn't what it used to be. For many of us who used to work at the studios, the pleasant, oversized cheques that came every Thursday have stopped. The blow fell softly mainly because when the crisis developed we couldn't believe, or didn't want to believe that it was upon us. Some of us went back to the kind of work we had done before we were brought out to Hollywood. Others, like a certain group of people I had come to know, and saw almost every week, simply stayed on, hanging.

1. Analyse the clause structure of the passage, following the lines of previous analyses. What is the impact of clause structure on the effect of the passage?

2. Comment on the stylistic features used.

The answers are given later.

Now we turn to a brief extract from *The Tempest*. Answer the questions given below. By now, you should be in a position to answer them yourself. However, the answers are given later, in any case, for you check your responses.

Extract/ Poem 4

Our revels now are ended. These our actors,
As I foretold you, were all spirits, and
Are melted into air, into thin air:
And, like the baseless fabric of this vision,
The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
And, like this insubstantial pageant faded
Leave not a rack behind. We are such stuff
As dreams are made on; and our little life
Rounded with a sleep.

(from *The Tempest*: Act IV, Sc. I)

1. List the consonants occurring in the extract, stating the voicing, the place and manner of articulation.
2. Which type of consonants occur most frequently? What effect do these consonants have?
3. Which type of vowels/ diphthongs occur in the extract? List them in the categories: Front vowels/ front-oriented diphthongs; Central vowels/ centre-oriented diphthongs; and back vowels and back-oriented diphthongs.
4. Which type of vowels occur most frequently? What effect do they have?
5. Comment on the striking phonological features of the extract, and give examples of these features.

Answers to questions on Extract/ Poem 4

1. List the consonants occurring in the extract, stating the voicing, the place and manner of articulation.

/ð/ voiced interdental fricative
/z/ voiced alveolar fricative
/k/ voiceless velar plosive
/t/ voiceless alveolar plosive
/f/ voiceless labial fricative
/l/ voiced post-alveolar palatal
/d/ voiced alveolar plosive
/w/ semi-vowel
/s/ voiceless alveolar fricative
/p/ voiceless bilabial plosive
/r/ voiced post-alveolar fricative
/n/ voiced alveolar nasal
/m/ voiced bilabial nasal
/b/ voiced bilabial plosive
/v/ voiced labial fricative
/θ/ voiceless interdental fricative
/g/ voiced velar plosive
/d / voiced alveolar plosive

2. Which type of consonants occur most frequently? What effect do these consonants have?

Voiceless plosives and fricatives predominate. There is a sprinkling of voiced plosives and fricatives. The voiceless sounds create the atmosphere of insubstantiality, of a fairy world, and this is the primary effect, while the voiced sounds bring in the element of hard reality which is being abandoned and left behind.

3. Which type of vowels/ diphthongs occur in the extract? List them in the categories: Front vowels/ front-oriented diphthongs; Central vowels/ centre-oriented diphthongs; and back vowels and back-oriented diphthongs.

Front vowels/ diphthongs: /e/, /ei/, /i/; /æ/, /ai/; /i:/

Central vowels/ diphthongs: /ə/, /ʌ/ /eə/

Back vowels/ diphthongs: /au/, /ou/ /ɔ:/

4. Which type of vowels occur most frequently? What effect do they have?

Front vowels/ diphthongs are much more frequent than back or central, though back vowels occur in some of the important words, e.g. 'foretold',

'cloud' 'towers' 'gorgeous' 'solemnn' 'globe' 'not'. The back vowels create the impression of roundedness, of grandeur, of glory which has been conjured up by the magic of the performance. The front vowels present what the magician started with and is now being left with - bleak and thin as it is.

5. Comment on the striking phonological and other stylistic features of the extract, and give examples of these features.

a. Phonological features: Alliteration and vowel harmony

i) Alliteration

There is a fair amount of alliteration in the extract, which make for the easy flow and liquidity of the movement of lines. The lightness of the lines strengthens the notion that a magician by the wave of a hand can create an illusion and then make it fade.

e.g. cloud-capp'd; great globe; solemn temples (the /m/ sound)

ii) Foregrounding of rounded consonants

By and large, there are front and central vowels, and front and central-oriented diphthongs. These provide the background, the dissolving of the illusion. Foregrounded are the glorious things which dissolve, and each of these, 'the cloud-capp'd towers'; 'the gorgeous palaces'; 'the solemn temples'; 'the great globe itself' has at least one rounded (back) vowel/ back-oriented diphthong. The roundedness of the sounds stands out against the background of the sounds produced with spread lips (front sounds) and provides a sense of the glory of these things which are doomed to fade.

b. **Parallelisms**

e.g. These our actors As I foretold you
melted into air into thin air
the cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces,
the solemn temples, the great globe itself, all which it inherit

c. Pauses:

A large number of pauses occur, separating a list of objects. Because of the parallelisms and pauses, these objects are made to appear similar, or at least as those which fall into the same category, namely the category of the glorious things of this world. Individual objects like 'the cloud-capp'd towers' are made to seem as important as the larger whole which contains these, that is, 'the great globe itself'.

Answers to Questions on Passage 1

3. Analyse the clause of the passage, following the lines of previous analyses. What is the impact of clause structure on the effect of the passage?

[[As everyone knows], the movie business isn't [what it used to be]].
MCl ACl NCl
[For many of us [who used to work at the studios],
MCl RCl
the pleasant, oversized cheques [that came every Thursday]
RCl
have stopped.] [The blow fell softly], [mainly because
MCl MCl
[when the crisis developed] we couldn't believe] or [didn't want [to believe]
ACl MCl NCl

[that it was upon us]. [Some of us went back to the kind of work [we had
NCl MCl RCl
done [before we were brought out to Hollywood.]]] [Others, like a certain
ACl (Passive) MCl
group of people <[I had come [to know,]> and <[saw almost every week,]>
RCl NCli coordinate to RCl
simply stayed on, [hanging.]
ACling

Main Clauses: 7
Subordinate Clauses: 19
ACl: 3; ACling : 1; NCl: 2; NCli: 2; RCl: 5

Adverbial clauses, Noun Clauses and then, Relative clauses occur most frequently. The Adverbial (time) and Relative clauses make it descriptive, while the Noun clauses make us consider the reason why the over-sized cheques did not come in any more. The fact that there are 5 non-finite clauses adds to the abstraction and the stativeness of the passage. There is no movement or action: there is merely a discussion of the reason why such a state of affairs came into being.

2. Comment on the stylistic features used.

Parallelisms: The passage becomes interesting because of the parallelisms, which add rhythm to the lines e.g.

i. 'Some of us went back to the kind of work we had done before we were brought out to Hollywood. '
'Others, like a certain group of people I had come to know, and saw almost every week, simply stayed on'

ii. 'I had come to know'
'saw almost every week'

Phrases: Prepositional phrases are the most prominent. Of necessity, they contain Noun phrases. Prepositional Phrases introduce both an adverbial and a nominal element. Thus, there is both description as well as abstraction from a context, analysis and reflection. Within these, notice the long noun phrases, such as
'the pleasant, oversized cheques that came every Thursday'
'the kind of work we had done'

Verbs: The verbs are mainly dynamic (approx. 18), but there is an unusually large number of stative verbs as well, almost one per Main Clause (5). The dynamic verbs provide the action, while the stative verbs provide scope for abstraction, reflection. The passage provides both action and reflection. It presents the mind of the writer looking back on a situation.

Foregrounding: Foregrounded are:
The adjective *oversized*
The adverb *softly* in 'The blow fell softly'
The present participle *hanging* in the last sentence.
The use of very precise and effective words, along with the rhythmic parallelisms make the passage very readable.

Now analyse the following passage:

Passage 2

(S1) They were prancing past this hill, they were streaming to battle. (S2) Going to battle! (S3) He realized that he had not taken in precisely this thin high sensuous

breath of pleasure in close to twenty-four years, not since the first time he had gone into combat, and found to his surprise that the walk towards the fire-fight was one of the more agreeable – if stricken – moments of his life. (S4) Later, in the skirmish itself it was less agreeable – and he had perspired so profusely he had hardly been able to see through his sweat – much later, months later, combat was disagreeable, it engaged to consist of large doses of fatigue, the intestinal agitations of the tropics, endless promenades through mud, and general apathy towards whether one lived or not. (S5) But the first breath had left a feather on his memory, it was in the wind now; he realized that an odd, yes, a zany part of him had been expecting quietly and confidently for years, that before he was done he would lead an army. (S6) The lives of Leon Trotsky and Earnest Hemingway had done nothing to dispel this expectation.

(from *Armies of the Night* --Norman Mailer)

1. Look at S1. Is there any movement or action in this sentence? How does it compare, in this respect, with the rest of the sentences?

   There is plenty of action in S1, and none at all in the rest of the sentences.

2. What sort of action is there in S1? Through what part of speech is this action indicated? What can you say about it?

   There is physical movement, a very precise description of movement, created by both the use of dynamic verbs and the parallelism of clauses. The parallelism of the clauses
   'They were prancing past this hill '
   'they were streaming to battle'
   enhances the sweep of the movement. One part of the parallelism reinforces the other. It is a highly visual, almost cinematic image, which, so to speak, covers the whole screen.

3. Look at S2. There is no finite verb here. Technically it is not a sentence at all. Who is speaking? The author? The author on behalf of the character? The character himself?

   Only one non-finite verb occurs here – a present participle. Notice that the meaning would change substantially if the sentence ran, 'We were going to battle'. It would, for one thing, be impossible to put an exclamation mark after it. The sentence would become merely a mundane statement of activity The actual formulation conveys a sense of thrill and excitement, which would disappear if reformulated by using 'going' as a finite verb. This verbless sentence, which is grammatically incomplete, and therefore, incorrect, is therefore, perfectly appropriate in its context and conveys a specific meaning.

S2 is able to take us, from the full-scale vision of an army sweeping to battle presented in S1, directly into the protagonist's mind. Moreover, we enter his mind without any previous introduction to him, or through any intervention by the author, in terms of the author reporting the character's speech. So, what we have in S2 is the character's thoughts given to us directly. There is no reported speech or reported thought. It is not even the writer's interpretation of what the character thinks. It is the character's thought processes directly presented. Notice that before we even see the character we enter his mind. (In this extract we don't see the character at all.) The only objective, external activity is in S1. Thus, S2 is the writer's presentation of the character in the process of thinking. This is what is called 'free indirect speech'.

Also, look at S6. It is a comment on the protagonist's realisation that he had expected to lead an army at some stage in his life. The realisation is the protagonist's, but what about the comment? It is a wryly ironical observation. Is it made by the protagonist or the author? Is the author distancing himself from his

character by putting this in? Or is the character capable of seeing himself in perspective and mocking his own ambitions?

I think that the writer has deliberately left this question open. The comment could have been made by the character himself, because he has given plenty of evidence of his ability for self-analysis in S3, S4 and S5. But it could also very easily have been made by the author. This also, therefore, is an instance of free indirect speech, with the character's thought processes and the author's comment being inextricably linked.

4. Analyse the chronology of the passage. Write down what happened when, in its actual order of occurrence.

24 years ago: walk towards the fire-fight: An agreeable, even though stricken moment of his life.
Later in the skirmish: Events appear less agreeable
Months later: combat appeared disagreeable
Now: i. Movement of the army which he is leading (S1)
ii. The thrill of battle once again (S2)
iii. Realisation: a) had been unconsciously expecting to head an army at some stage in his career (S5)

b) Ironical realisation that he had not learned the lesson that the lives of Trotsky and Hemingway should have taught him. He should have realised from the lives of these two persons that leaders can be discarded and thrown away by an ungrateful people, and that however idealistic you might be and however skilfully you fight or command, you will not save the world. (S6)

5. Which types of phrases are prominent in the passage?

From S3 onwards the noun phrases are long and frequent, e.g.
'this thin high sensuous breath of pleasure'
'the walk towards the fire-fight'
'one of the more agreeable – if stricken – moments of his life'
'large doses of fatigue, the intestinal agitations of the tropics, endless promenades through mud, and general apathy towards whether one lived or not'
'the first breath'
'a feather on his memory'
'an odd, yes, a zany part of him'
'the lives of Leon Trotsky and Ernest Hemingway'.
The passage is light and flowing, in spite of the long noun phrases, and that is partly due to the adverbial constructions, adverbs and prepositional phrases (which have an adverbial function).

There are a large number of these prepositional phrases, e.g.:
'in close to twenty-four years'
'towards the fire-fight'
'in the skirmish itself'
'in the wind now'

6. Analyse the verbs in the passage. Contrast the verbs in S1 with those in the rest of the passage. What do they tell us about the nature of the passage?

The tense of the verbs changes in accordance with the time period referred to. S1 has the past continuous tense (to give a sense of immediacy to a story which is being told basically in the past tense). S3 has the simple past tense (the normal tense for narrating a story), which then moves into the past perfect, when the character is dealing with events further in the past. Notice that 'found to his surprise' implies 'had found'. What he found '*was*' 'one of the more agreeable...life'. '*Was*' is not in the past perfect, but in the simple

past tense, because it expresses his finding, and as this remains true for him at any time, it is stated in the tense in which he is telling the story. In S4, he seems to take the period of 24 years ago as the base line, and therefore the main verbs are in the simple past. Only the parenthetical utterance is in the past perfect – this is because the change in tense helps to differentiate the parenthesis from the regular story. In S5, the past '*had left*', '*had been expecting*' is distinguished from the present '*was*' because it is different periods of time that are being dealt with.

Notice also that many of the verbs are to do with mental activity, e.g. '*realised*' (S3 and S5), '*found*' '*had been expecting*'. The metaphor in S5, 'But the first breath... in the wind now' is also dealing with mental activity. The verb '*to be*' is very frequently used. This is the linking verb, or the verb of existence, which is also stative.

Non-finite verbs (e.g. 'engaged *to consist of*'; *'to dispel* this expectation') and modals ('*would lead* an army') are also used which emphasise the stativeness of what is being presented.

7. What can you say about the other parts of speech used?

Hardly any adjectives stand out. Agreeable' occurs twice, then 'disagreable', but these are very mundane adjectives, becoming even more mundane through the repetition. The ones that stand out are: 'sensuous', 'stricken', 'intestinal', 'endless' and 'zany'. But the adjectives are not packed in. There is no sense of density of language or a richness of mosaic. The language is clear and sinuous. It is even fast-paced considering that it is dealing with mental action.

If anything, the adverbs are more prominent, but in a quiet way.
'precisely' 'so profusely' 'quietly and confidently'

8. S1 was a fairly short sentence, and S2 very short indeed. In contrast, S3 is long and S4 very long. Again S5 is fairly long, while S6 is the only sentence of average length. What can you say about sentence length in the passage?

The sentences in which the character is drawing on his memory of the past are full of dependent clauses and are very long. The other sentences are much shorter. The variation in sentence length, along with other features of the style employed make for a limpidity and flow, which is difficult to believe, given the complexity of sentences 3 and 4. Mailer is, obviously, a master of style.

9. Comment on the imagery in the passage.

There is a very strong visual image in S1 of a whole army sweeping forward to battle. The suggestion is of light-heartedness, self-confidence, and of a large contingent of the army in movement.

Subsequently, in S5 there is an image in the form of a metaphor, of a feather in the wind:
'But the first breath had left a feather on his memory, it was in the wind now'
The first breath of pleasure had made an impression on him, and this impression is now activated.

The metaphor provides a sense of lightness and a touch of poetry to his reminiscences. This enables us to get a varied picture of the man. There is the word 'prancing' used earlier, and the self-mockery in the last line, and along with the poetry of this line, we get a varied and complex image of the

man. Note that this image of the protagonist is provided without directly describing him at all.

Now read the following passage, and analyse it from the point of view of the similes used, and the effect of the similes.

Passage 3

She wanted to get out of this fixed, leaping, forward-travelling movement, to rise from it as a bird rises with wet, limp feet from the sea, to lift herself as a bird lifts its breast and thrusts its body from the pulse and heave of the sea that bears it forward to an unwilling conclusion, tear herself away like a bird on wings, and in the open space where there is clarity, rise up above the fixed, surcharged motion, separate speck that hangs suspended, moves this way and that, seeing and answering before it sinks again, having chosen or found the direction in which it shall be carried forward.

(from D.H. Lawrence: *The Rainbow*)

1. What is the predominant image in the passage?

   Of the bird. Notice that the same image is expanded on, and different aspects of the bird are seen. The woman is not visualised at all, except as a bird.

2. What are the figures of speech used?

   The **simile**, mainly. There are 3 uses of this:
   'as a bird rises...' 'as a bird lifts its breast...' 'tear herself away like a bird...'
   After this, there are no explicit similes, the woman has become the bird. The repeated similes of the woman with the bird, and the final identification of the two, make the bird **symbolic** of the woman.

3. What stylistic features support this symbolisation?

   The parallelisms which give rise to rhythm and lyricism:
   'to get out of this fixed...movement'
   'to rise from it...from the sea'
   ' to lift herself... of the sea'
   'tear herself away...bird on wings'
   'rise up ...surcharged motion'
   These support the bird image and make us accept the simile so completely that finally the bird is not just being compared to the woman, it becomes a symbol for the woman.

Now read this final passage and answer the questions given below. No answers are provided.

Passage 4

(S1) A scream, the echo of a scream hangs over that Nova Scotian village. (S2) No one hear it; it hangs there for ever, a slight stain in those pure blue skies, skies that travellers compare to those of Switzerland, too dark, too blue, so that they seem to keep on darkening a little more around the horizon – or is it around the rims of the eyes? – the colour of the cloud of bloom on the elm trees, the violet on the fields of oats; something darkening over the woods and waters as well as the sky. (S3) The scream hangs like that, unheard, in memory – in the past, in the present, and those years between. (S4) It was not even loud to begin with, perhaps. (S5) It just came there to live, for ever – not loud, just alive for ever. (S6) Its pitch would be the pitch of my village. (S7) Flick the lightning rod on top of the church steeple with your fingernail and you will hear it.

a) What do you think the passage is about? Do you think there is a real scream to be heard?
b) Is there a difference between the surface meaning and the implied meaning? What is the relationship between the surface and the implication?
c) What is likely to have caused this 'scream'?
d) Look at the passage carefully. Mark out the types of phrases that seem to occur again and again (such as Noun Phrases, Adverbial Phrases, etc.) Which types are most frequent?
e) What do you think is the effect of these phrases?
f) What can you say about the use of colour in the passage? What is the effect of the colours used?
g) Consider the similes and implicit comparisons in the passage. What is their effect?
h) There is a great deal of imagery from nature. Why has this been introduced?
i) What is the necessity of the reference to the Church?
j) Comment on the verbs used.
k) Do you notice any parallelisms in the passage? Indicate the instances of parallelism and the type of parallelism used.
l) What can you say about the length of sentences in the passage?
m) Analyse the clause structure of the passage. Are there many dependent clauses? Which predominate? What does the clause structure reveal about the nature of the passage?

Now analyse the following extract from a poem. No answers are given to the questions asked.

Extract/ Poem 5

Yes, I know all that. I should be modern.
Marry again. See strippers at the Tease.
Touch Africa. Go to the movies.

Impale a six-inch spider
under a lens. Join the Test-
ban, or become The Outsider.

Or pay to shake my fist
(or whatever-you-call-it) at a psychoanalyst.
And when I burn

I should smile, dry-eyed,
and nurse martinis like the Marginal Man.
But, sorry, I cannot unlearn

conventions of despair.
They have their pride.
I must seek and will find

My particular hell only in my hindu mind.
(from 'Conventions of Despair' – A.K. Ramanujan)

1. What are the striking features of the poem? Analyse it from the point of view of

i) Parallelisms. List them and comment on them. Does parallelism of structure lead to parallelism of meaning?
ii) Pauses. What is the effect of these on the tone of the extract?

iii) Vocabulary. Comment on the words used and on the introduction of the concepts, 'The Outsider' , 'Marginal Man'.

2. What is the addresser-addressee relationship?
3. State the central idea of the poem in a few words.
4. Comment on the vowels and consonants used and their effect on the poem.

I am sure that by now you will be able to work out the answers for yourself. If you go over the previous analyses, and practice this type of analysis on poems and prose extracts, you will soon become proficient at it and be able to get a great deal more out of reading literature.

6.2 LET US SUM UP

You have analysed poems, extracts of plays and passages. It is hoped that you have enjoyed working through these extracts and have got fresh insights into what goes into the making of literature. Stylistics as a tool enables us to get a precise impression of the literary work, through close analysis of the language used. It is hoped that you will continue to apply these insights in your reading of English literature.

6.3 KEY WORDS

symbolic: anything that stands for or represents something else beyond it - usually an idea conventionally associated with it.

lyricism: a fairly short piece of literature which expresses personal mood, feeling or mediation of a single speaker.

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