CHAPTER III

MORPHOLOGY
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In the traditional view of language words are strung together to form sentences. The words differ from each other in both sound and meaning or the form and the content. The content of the word is generally studied in the semantics. The way in which they are strung together is studied under syntax. Morphology is a study of the structure of words and is one of the earliest branches of study of languages. Morphology has developed into a very minute science under the broad rubric of Linguistics. It takes into its province the study of various forms of the words in terms of morphemes and allomorphs, various ways of the word formation in terms of complex and compounds of words. The former is known as inflexional morphology and the latter is called lexical morphology. Against this backdrop of brief account of morphology, the present chapter addresses itself to the morphology of Indian English.
In India where English is studied as second language, the learner is made to commit to memory the morphological forms of various classes of words like singular and plural, the gender system, the tense formation and such other grammatical categories. The variety of English taught at the school and the College levels is not morphologically different from the standard variety of English. In other words in Indian schools and colleges plural formations and gender affixes of nouns, tense making morphemes of verbs, the methods of making degrees of comparison or compound word formations are nearly the same as in the schools and colleges where English is studied as native language. While at the learning stage there is no substantial difference. When the learner puts the English language to use in spoken and written contexts he takes liberties with the rules of morphology and creates his own native brand of English. It is here that Indian English differs in its grammar from the British or the standard form of English. Whether the deviation from or the variation on the standard form of English should be treated as ungrammatical is altogether a different issue. The initial postulate of this thesis is that Indian English, like its counterparts in other Commonwealth
Countries or like American English is not ungrammatical English but is only a dialectal variation in the areas of phonology, lexis, morphology and syntax. If the grammatical deviations are treated as errors or ungrammatical forms, what we speak, read or write in India is non-English. The central point of our thesis is not that we speak non-English but that we speak a variety of English which is different from the English spoken in England. We should at the most call it a regional dialect of English which has developed its own forms of expression remote from the native land of the English language. The following is an outline of the morphology of Indian English with occasional comparison or contrast with the morphology of standard English. It is broadly divided into two sections, an inflexional morphology and a lexical morphology or word formation.
1. INFLEXIONAL MORPHOLOGY

a) **English Nouns**:

As in standard English, English nouns in Indian English have only one inflectional suffix for plural formation. Let us call it { -Z } Broadly this is the plural making morpheme. This has several allomorphs in standard English.

i) Allomorph /-Z/ is used in nouns which end in

/b d g v m n r l z /

/b/ - cub + s    k ʌ b 2
/d/ - bed + s    b ə d 2
/g/ - bug + s    bʌg 2
/v/ - hive + s   h aɪ v 2
/m/ - beam + s   b iː m 2
/n/ - tin + s    t i n 2
/y/ - king + s   k iŋ 2
/r/ - jar + s    dʒ ə r 2
/l/ - girl + s   ɡɜː l 2
/z/ - father + s f a z ə r 2


Allomorph /-s/ is used in nouns which end in /p t k f θ /

/ p / - lip + s 
/ t / - boot + s 
/ k / - book + s 
/ f / - prof + s 
/ θ / - myth + s

lips
būts
būks
pruufs
miθs

Allomorph /-iz/ is used in nouns which end in

/s/ - kiss + s 
/z/ - rose + s 
/j/ - fish + s 
/tʃ/ - witch + s 
/dʒ/ - judge + s

kisiz
rouiz
fiʃiz
witʃiz
dʒdʒiz

There are three allomorphic variations of the plural morpheme in Standard English. But in Indian English, /s/ and /z/ are merged into /s/. The allomorph /-iz/ is replaced by /-es/:

kʌbs
beds
bags
In other words, Indian English is guided by spelling in pronunciation and as a result the nature of the preceding sound does not determine the shape of the allomorph that the noun takes.

ii) In the case of some nouns the final consonant of the singular noun changes to voiced sounds before the allomorph /-z/ or /-iz/ is added to the plural.

\[
\begin{align*}
/z & \leftarrow (s)/ \quad \text{house} \quad \text{houses} \quad \text{hauz} \quad \text{hauiz} \\
/v & \leftarrow (f)/ \quad \text{knife} \quad \text{knives} \quad \text{naif} \quad \text{naivz} \\
/\ell & \leftarrow (f)/ \quad \text{leaf} \quad \text{leaves} \quad \text{li:f} \quad \text{li:vz} \\
/o\ell & \leftarrow (f)/ \quad \text{loaf} \quad \text{loaves} \quad \text{louf} \quad \text{louvz}
\end{align*}
\]
In Indian English all these three varieties of allomorphs are merged into simple 's without changing the consonant that precedes:

hauzs
naifs
li:fs
loufs
pa:zs
ba:zs

From this it is evident that Indian English favours uniformity rather than variety in the plural morphemes.

iii) The /-in/ is another allomorphic variation of plural morpheme. Standard English has retained for historic reasons what are known as '-en' plurals in words like
'oxen', 'children', 'brethren'. In Indian English, following the spelling, this allomorph is pronounced as /-en/. However, in rapid speech we hear the plural 'childrens' from English-speaking Indians and tend to ignore it as a slip of the tongue. But behind the slip there might be a psychological compulsion to fall in line with the usual '-s' plurals in Indian English. But the difference here is the '-s' allomorph is added to a word which is already a plural. Again the semantic difference between 'brother' and 'brethren' is not often maintained in Indian English and as such the plural form /-in/ is almost unheard in Indian English.

iv ) The following replacives are inherited from Anglo-Saxon in modern English

/ e <--- (ə) / man men mən men

/ i <--- (u) / woman women wuman wimin

/ i :<--- (u) / foot feet fut fi:t

/ i :<--- (u:) / goose geese gu:s gi:s

/ ai <--- (au) / mouse mice maus mais
These mutated plurals, as they are called, are retained in Indian English presumably because they are not related to the pronunciation. Secondly, in the process of learning English as second language they are memorized right from the early stage of the learning process. Thirdly, these plurals cannot be easily fall in line with '-s' allomorphs without making it grammatically conspicuous.

v) Regarding the 'zero' allomorph in words like 'sheep', 'deer', there is no uniformity among the speakers of the Standard English in England and America. Some speakers use the 'zero' allomorph and some others use /-s/, /-z/ or /-iz/ depending upon the nature of the preceding sound. Most speakers of Indian English, however, retained the 'zero' allomorph, although occasionally by a slip they use the /-s/ allomorph.

vi) The following borrowed words in English have retained Latin plurals in English.
Gleason observes:

"There is a strong tendency to make these conform to the English pattern by changing the form of \( \{ z_1 \} \) to /-z~ -s~ -iz/.”

Indian English follows this tendency to anglicize the plurals of such foreign nouns. It goes a step further by limiting the plural allomorphs to /-s/. This would bring these words in line with the English words that take the same /-s/ allomorph.
Use of Possessive 'S:

In the case of possessive nouns the morpheme 'S' is used in the spoken form of language (in the written form it is indicated by the apostrophe S). This has the same allomorphic variation under the same phonological conditioning as in the case of plural formations '/-s/', '/-z/', '/-iz/'.

The allomorph /-s/ is used when the possessive morpheme is preceded by a voiceless sound.

- cat's  \[kæts\]
- book's  \[bʊks\]
- mat's, etc  \[mæts\]

The allomorph /-z/ is used when the possessive morpheme is preceded by a voiced sound.

- sun's rays  \[sʌnəz\ rɛiz\]

The allomorph /-iz/ is used when the possessive morpheme is preceded by s, z, ð, tʃ, dʒ.
As in the case of plural allomorphs, here also the Indian English exhibits its tendency to be uniform and therefore all these allomorphs are reduced to 's'.

b) The Verb

The inflexional morpheme /-Z3/ added to the verb paradigm when the subject is singular third person when the verb is simple present is almost like the plural morpheme in its phonological conditioning and the variety of allomorphs. Gleason's analysis may be quoted here in full.

"We may consider these cases as formed by three special allomorphs of (Z3), /Z/ plus /ə/ --- (uw)/, /z/ plus /Ø/ --- (v)/, and /z/ plus /e/ --- (ey)/; or we may consider these changes as part of the stem, in which case each stem has
two allomorphs. /duw ~ d -\text{\textquotesingle}ʊ/, /h\text{\textquotesingle}v
hx - l, and / sey ~ se -/. The latter
has much to commend it, since the same
stem forms occur before. \{-D\} in
'done' / d\text{\textquotesingle}n/, 'had' /h\text{\textquotesingle}d/, and 'said'
/sed/. Either analysis is acceptable'.2

The distribution of this morpheme is conditioned
by the number and the person of the subject and the tense
of the verb. Most of the users of the standard English
observe the rules strictly in written English. However, in
spoken English we sometimes hear expressions like,

they doesn't........
he don't ...........
she don't.........
it don't .........

This cannot be called a characteristic of Indian
English because more often than not these expressions are

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used as slips. But it is interesting to observe that such instances of grammatical **faux-fos** are accepted by the listeners with indifference and degree of tolerance in Indian English. The grammatical changes in Indian English tend towards minimal variation and finally towards uniformity in allomorphs.

i) **Past tense and past participle morphemes**

There are many varieties of past tense and past participle making morphemes in English. Some of them are morphologically conditioned and some of them are phonologically conditioned. Traditional grammar describes the verbs as strong and weak depending upon the morphemes that they take in past tense and past participle formation. In modern Linguistics they are described as verb paradigms and the following are some of the paradigmatic sub classes. In the following analysis (-D₁) and (-D₂) stand for the past tense morpheme and the past participle morpheme respectively.
The following are the pattern of distribution depending upon the sound that precedes the morpheme (phonological condition)

/-d/ after /b d v z dʒ m n l /

rub - rubbed - rubbed rʌb - rʌbd - rʌbd
bag - bagged - bagged bæg - bægd - bægd
live- lived - lived liv - livd - livd
bathe- bathed - bathed beɪ - beɪd - beɪd
praise-praised-praised praɪz- praɪzd- praɪzd
judge - judged - judged dʒʌdʒ - dʒʌzd - dʒʌzd
can - canned - canned kæn - kænd - kænd
blame - blamed - blamed bleɪm- bleimd- bleimed
fill - filled - filled fil - fild - fild

/-t/ after /p k tʃ f θ s/  

step - stepped - stepped  step - stept-stept
look - looked - looked lʊk - likt - lukt
match - matched - matched
puff - puffed - puffed
miss - missed - missed
wish - wished - wished

mxt - mxtt
p^f - p^ft - p^ft
mis - mist - mist
wif - wift - wift

/-id / after / t,d /

seat - seated - seated
mend - mended - mended

si:t - si:tid - si:tid
mend - mendid - mendid

In Indian English the allomorph /-t/ gets voiced and therefore it is merged with allomorph /-d/. The allomorph /-id/ after 't' and 'd' is often pronounced as /-ed/ based upon more often on the spelling of past tense morpheme.

b) \{-D_1\} and \{-D_2\} = \emptyset

Which means there is no change in the form of the verb in the past tense and past participle. The following are some of the examples,
In Indian English most of these verbs have zero allomorphs. But the verbs like 'burst', 'cost', 'thurst' and
'wet' often take '－ed' for making the past tense and past participle. The word 'cost' is used especially as 'costed' as in 'the pen costed ten rupees'.

c) \{ -D_1 \} and \{ -D_2 \} = /\w / ---(i) /

It means the past tense and past participle morpheme is /－\w/. The following examples illustrate this.

cling - clung - clung

dig - dug - dug

fling - flung - flung

sling - slung - slung

slink - slunk - slunk

spin - spun - spun

sting - stung - stung

stink - stunk - stunk

string - strung - strung

win - won - won

wring - wrung - wrung

swing - swung - swung
Indian English speakers use the same allomorphs in these words after memorising them in their early stages of learning English.

d) \( \{-D_1\} \text{ and } \{-D_2\} = \{/t/ \text{ plus } /e/ \} \)

The formula may be interpreted to mean that allomorph 't' is the past tense and past participle maker. When this allomorph is added to /iː/ in the present tense it changes to /e/ in \( \{D_1\} \) and \( \{-D_2\} \). For example,

- creep - crept - crept  \( \) kriːp - krept - krept
- deal - dealt - dealt  \( \) diːl - delt - delt
- feel - felt - felt  \( \) fiːl - felt - felt
- keep - kept - kept  \( \) kiːp - kept - kept
- leap - leapt - leapt  \( \) liːp - lept - lept
- mean - meant - meant  \( \) miːn - ment - ment
- sleep - slept - slept  \( \) sliːp - slept - slept
- sweep - swept - swept  \( \) swiːp - swept - swept
- weep - wept - wept  \( \) wiːp - wept - wept
Indian English does not deviate in the formation of past tense and past participles in these verbs.

e) \{-D_1\} and \{-D_2\} = /e <--- (i)/

It means in the phonological condition of /i:/ in the middle of the word changes to /e/ in the past tense and past participle. For example,

bleed-bled-bled  bli:d-bled-bled
breed-bred-bred  bri:d-bred-bred
feed-fed-fed    fi:d-fed-fed
lead-led-led     li:d-led-led
meet-met-met     mi:t-met-met
read-read-read   ri:d-red-red

Indian English follows the same allomorphic variation of the past participle morpheme.

f) \{-D_1\} = /æ <---(i)/ and \{-D_2\} = /ʌ<---(i)/

The verbs that undergo the allomorphic variations have two types of allomorphs, ' for the past tense and for the past participle. For example,
Indian English does not register any variation in the allomorphs of these verbs.

\[ g) \{-D_1\} = /ou < --ai / and \{-D_2\} = / -in/ plus /i<--(ai)/ \]

This formula is interpreted to mean that the diphthong 'ai' changes to 'ou' in the past tense and it changes to 'i' followed 'in' in the past participle. For example,

- drive - drove - driven
- ride - rode - ridden
- rise - rose - risen
- smite - smote - smitten
- strive - strove - striven
- thrive - threw - thiven
- write - wrote - written
In Indian English the change of the diphthong to /ou/ and /in/ in the past tense and past participle respectively is observed. But in the past participle the final syllable is not 'in' as in British English but 'en' in Indian English.

This is in conformity with 'id' becoming 'ed' in the past tense formation of the (a) group.

h) (-D₁) and (-D₂) = /t<---(d)/

In this category of verbs the /d/ sound at the end is replaced by the allomorph /t/. For example:

bend - bent - bent
build - built - built
lend - lent - lent
rend - rent - rent
send - sent - sent
spend - spent - spent
Indian English follows the same allomorphs in these verbs. However, sometimes by force of habit some people might use 'id' past tense in the case of 'build' which is not a general characteristic but should be treated as an individualising tendency.

\[ i(-D_1) = /ou \quad (i:\text{ })/ \quad \text{and} \quad (-D_2) = /-in/ \quad \text{plus}/ou<--(i:\text{ )}/ \]

This formula may be interpreted to mean that /i:/ in the present tense changes to 'ou' in the past tense and the same change is followed by the final syllable /in/ in the past participle. For example,

- freeze - froze - frozen \quad fri:z-frouz-frouzn
- speak - spoke - spoken \quad spi:k-spouk-spoukn
- steal - stole - stolen \quad sti:l-stoul-stouln
- weave - wove - woven \quad wi:v - wouv - wouvn

But in Indian English /in/ is changed /en/ for uniformity with the verbs listed as in (g) above.
In this group of verbs the medial diphthong /ai/ is replaced by /ou/. For example,

bind - bound - bound  baind - bound - bound
find - found - found  faind - found - found
grind- ground- ground  graind- ground- ground
wind - wound - wound  waind - wound - wound

By and large these verbs in Indian English take the same forms of past tense and past participle. However, sometimes we hear speakers using 'winded'in place of 'wound', but that is not a general rule.

According to this formula, there is a difference between the past tense allomorph and the allomorph of the past participle. To make the past tense the diphthong /ou/ in the present tense changes to /u:/.

The past participle, however, is made by adding the allomorph /n/ to the present tense form of the verb. For example:
The Indian students of English are made to learn these verbs by rote from childhood and therefore Indian English does not register morphological deviations in the case of these verbs.

1) \{-D_1\} = /ði:/--(eə)/ and \{-D_2\} = /n/ plus /tʃ/-- (eə) /

In this category of verbs, the sound 'eə' changes to /tʃ:/ to make the past tense. The past tense thus made takes the morpheme /n/ to make the past participle. For example, 1s I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Past Tense</th>
<th>Past Participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td>bore</td>
<td>born</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swear</td>
<td>swore</td>
<td>sworn</td>
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<tr>
<td>tear</td>
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<td>torn</td>
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<tr>
<td>wear</td>
<td>wore</td>
<td>worn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most Indian speakers of English do not deviate from this pattern.
\( m \) \{ \mathcal{D}_1 \} = /u \leftarrow (ei) / \text{ and } \{ \mathcal{D}_2 \} = /ə n / \\

According to this formula the /ei/ of the present tense changes to 'u' to make the past tense. The Past participle is made by adding the allomorph /ən/ to the present tense form of the verb. For example,

\begin{align*}
\text{forsake} & \rightarrow \text{forsook} \rightarrow \text{forsaken} \\
\text{shake} & \rightarrow \text{shook} \rightarrow \text{shaken} \\
\text{take} & \rightarrow \text{took} \rightarrow \text{taken}
\end{align*}

The Indian speakers of English follow this pattern. But in place of /n/, they use /en/ falling in line with the verbs listed in number 'g' group.
2. LEXICAL MORPHOLOGY

The title of the section is synonymous with derivative morphology. But in the case of derivative morphology both the complex and the compound words are analysed. In fact in Indian English there are not many complex words peculiarly characterising it. Only complex words like pan-wallah, milk-wallah, paper-wallah, pani-wallah, bread-wallah, jatka-wallah, rickshaw-wallah are peculiarly Indian and are fully used by the Indian writers in English.

The complex word formation in Indian English follows the patterns used in British Standard English. In written Indian English all the suffixes and prefixes including the native, Greek, Latin ones used in British Standard English are available in formal writing, written text-books, research studies, magazines, journals and newspapers. There is perhaps no deviation noticeable in this area of word formation. But where the level of English education is not very high, we come across the following complex formations.

\[
proud + Y = proudly
\]
\[
rush + Y = rushy
\]
Such complex formations are generally used in spoken English, but some of them like goondaism, rowdyism are now being accepted in the literary circles. But the words 'proudy' and 'rushy' have a wider currency. But they are not accepted in the Indian variety of standard English.

The compound words, their formation, their semantic range provide greater scope for an in-depth study. So under this title the focus is sharply on the derivative morphology of compound words.

A compound word may be defined as a combination of two or more words so as to function as one word or as one morphological unit. In the morphological analysis of compound words usually a meaning based definition is made use of. Bloomfield says, "we cannot gauge meanings accu-
rately enough; moreover many a phrase is as specialized in meaning as in any compound" (3). He therefore recommends stress as the best criterion for determining the compound word. He further says,

"Whenever we hear lesser or least stress upon a word which would always show stress in a phrase, we describe it as a compound-member: ice-cream /ais 'kri:m/ is a phrase although there is no denotative difference of meaning". 4

Orthographically there are three ways of writing compound words. One of them is to write the words independently as 'head master', 'glass case', 'white house', but often these words written independently may be taken for a syntactic phrases. A better way of writing a compound word is to hyphenate the two constituent words as in 'sea-god', 'Red-fort', 'home-sickness'. Every compound word passes through this stage before it is represented by the third way of writing, namely merging the two constituent words into one single unit as 'bedroom', 'head-master', 'schoolboy' and so on.
English has inherited the habit of making words from its own resources from the Saxon tradition. From the Anglo-Saxon times to the present day the English language has made thousands of compound words. As Otto Jespersen observes:

"New compounds have at all times been formed, and so constantly being formed whenever the necessity arises — very often without the user being conscious of the fact that he is framing a new combination." (5)

In countries other than England, English is equally rich in compound formations. For example, when the immigrants in Australia and America found themselves confronted with an entirely different flora and fauna they formed such compounds as 'frail-bird', 'ground-lock', 'sugar-grass', 'frog's mouth', 'ironpath', 'thousand-jacket'.

In the ordinary everyday language new compounds are constantly being formed wherever English is spoken and
written. Otto Jesperson speaks of two opposite tendencies regarding compound words. One of them is a tendency to strengthen the feeling that the compound word is composite in nature and that each element in it is dependent on the other. The second tendency is to strengthen the feeling that a compound word has unity and is therefore a fixed unit without a composite character.

Indian English as it is spoken by majority of English knowing Indians and as it is written in government offices, newspapers, text books and creative writings makes use of the same kind of compound making as standard English. Besides this it has the genius of the native language to make compound words in their own characteristic manner. The way of making such compounds in native languages is passed on to English and this is a new dimension to the compound word formation. The following are some of the types of compounds used in Indian English in terms of the structure, which mean the function of the constituent elements and the construction as a whole.
The following are the main varieties of the compound word formation in Standard English. By and large the same methods are applied in making compounds in Indian English and the same constituents go into compound words. Under each category examples of compounds are given from Standard English followed by compounds of the same category selected from Indian English writings or Indian spoken English.

I. SUBSTANTIVE COMPOUNDS (OR COMPOUND NOUNS)

Compound words are made of two constituent nouns and the resulting compound is also a noun. There are several types of compound nouns of this category.

a) In most of the compounds in English the second element is qualified or determined by the first. This kind of compound formation is extremely frequent and they should be considered as the normal one. If we invert the places of the constituents in the compound, the whole meaning will be changed (sometimes there will be no mean
ings at all). For example, 'race-horse' and 'horse-race'; 'a book-case' and 'a case-book'. Examples of this type are available in plenty in English.

dog-show
handshake
grave-digger
typewriter
innkeeper
wool-gathering
body-guard
brick layer
nutcraker and so on.

Indian examples of this type are available in the following words:

Noun + Noun

street-corner
khadi-bound 7
milk-pot
field-bunds
flower-garden
man-hand
woman-hand
kumkum-worship
gold-cases
plough-head
toddy-pot
leather-workers
skull-cap
sweeper-girl
pocket-money
cart-wheels
ant-hill
mass-production
tuft-knot
rope-cot
lip-sympathy
pocket-book
rose-red
camp-hospital
rose-water
shirt-pocket
hat-box
wrist-watch
bed-lamp and so on.
b) In this kind of compound formation the first constituent is determined or qualified by the second. For example,

mid-ocean  
mid-day  
mid-night

In this category there are many technical or scientific words of Greek and Latin origin. For example:

cauliflower 
pharmacopoeia 
hippopotamus

Indian examples are

middle class 
mini-camera 
mid-morning 
middle-age 
mini-bus 
mini-shirt 
mini-golf 
mini-tab, etc.
c) Normally in this kind of compound formation the constituent members are said to be in apposition to each other. But on careful observation they might give us a feeling that one of the constituents is superior in relation to the other. Most of the compounds of this kind are available in animate objects. For example:

boy king
man servant
washer woman
fellow-citizen
fellow-creature
major general
girl friend
woman writer
lady doctor
maid-servant
boy friend
dog-wolf, etc.

Some Indian English examples are

fellow-traveller
fellow-sufferer
poet-friend
fellow-ship
fellow-feeling

d) These compounds are given the name taken over from the ancient Indian grammarians. They are called Bahuvrihi formations. Bahuvrihi compounds almost always denote animate things or personified inanimate things. Generally the second member of the compound is the name of a part of the body or dress.

Some examples are:

- hunch-back
- pot-belly
- blue-stocking
- bald-head
- madcap
- pale-face
- long-face, etc.

Since bahuvrihi formation is essentially Indian, Indian English takes to it naturally and spontaneously. The following examples illustrate the formation:

monkey face
sharp-tongue
absent-mind
close-fisted hand
round-face
moon-face
grey-beard
bell-metal voice
frog-croaking voice
serpent-eyes, etc.

e) In this kind of compound formation two constituents are joined by means of a preposition which comes in between. Of these two constituents the first element is considered important and is inflected for plural number. For example:

father-in-law fathers-in-law
son-in-law sons-in-law
mother-in-law mothers-in-law
brother-in-law brothers-in-law
lady-in-waiting ladies-in-waiting
man-at-arms men-at-arms -- etc.
II. STRING COMPOUNDS

In string compounds the first element may itself be a compound to which the other constituent is added. Some linguists treated them as syntactic phrases. But Otto Jespersen listed them under compounds.

For example,

moon-light dinner
dead-letter office
first-class passenger
public-school product
ten-rupee-a day and so on.

In some of the string compounds the first element may consist of a noun followed by a preposition which is further followed by a noun.

a house-to-house search
hand-to-hand nature of the battle
a coin-in-sloth machine

Some of the Indian examples are:
crystal-clear water
silver-mounted cane
old-fashioned house
slate-coloured pigeons
gold-embroidered cap
motor-lorry stand
elephant-mouthed tap
down-trodden people
long-cherished desire
fair-complexioned person
light-hearted fellow
newly-wedded brides
expensive-looking frames
white-blue lower sky
nine-beamed houses
Hindu-Muslim unity
that-house people
nine-pillared house
mud-feathered nests
hand-to-mouth existence, etc.
III. CLIPPED COMPOUNDS

These are in contrast with string compounds. In these, a compound word is clipped or chopped into a single word. This is a kind of shortening of a compound word or a phrase into a single word for convenience. For example:

- copper (copper coin)
- return (return ticket)
- news boy (news paper boy)
- waste basket (waste paper basket)
- saloon (saloon car)
- canery (canery bird) and so on.

In the compounds so far illustrated, the first and the second constituents are nouns and the resulting compound is also a substantive. But in the following types of compounds the grammatical function of the constituent words is different and that of the resulting compound falls in line with one of the two constituents.
Adjective + Noun

black bird
easy-chair
high-way
short hand
strong box
half-way
public school
wild fire
free-man
black board
grand father, etc.

Examples from Indian English are:

strong room
loud-speaker
old-fashion
long-face
deep-voice
sour-milk
soft-voiced
late-comer
under-shorts
low-born
high-born
bigman
grey-beard
round-face and so on.

We have to be careful about the meanings of these compounds because the adjective does not qualify the noun that follows every time. For example, 'green house' is 'green' but 'mad house' is not 'mad' but 'a house for mad people'. 'A sick man' is 'sick' but 'a sick room' is 'a room for sick people'.

**Pronoun + Noun**

This compound formation begins with pronoun 'he' or 'she' which denotes the sex of the compound like he-rabbit, she-cat. However, such compounds are not very frequent either in Standard English or in Indian English.
she-camel
he-goat
she-goat
he-buffalo
she-buffalo
she-friends 11
he-man 12

Verb + Noun
cry-baby
pick pocket
wash-basin
pay-day
showman
throw-stick
grind-stone, etc.

Examples from Indian English are:
puffed-rice
separate-eating
haunted-fields
stretch-pants
popped-rice
search-warrant

Some compounds of this kind contain infinitives as per example, 'stay at home people', 'sit-down-strike', 'pen-down-strike'. Sometimes the verb element in the compound may take the present participle '-ing'. For example:

spinning wheels
eating leaves
retiring room
baking powder
washing machine
playing field
playing cards
Particle + Noun

Quite a number of words in English take adverb particle as the first unit and a noun as a second unit.

out house
out-patient
out-post
in side
under-agent
under-day, etc.

In the following examples, the adverb particle followed by a noun which is identical in form with the corresponding verb.

out break
off shoot
income
outcome
offspring
under dog
Examples from Indian English are:

over-ripe
down-trodden
up train
down train
under clothes
over-head
out-caste
in gate
out gate and so on.

Noun + Adjective (Participle form)

The first element in these compounds is a noun and the second element is either past participle or present participle. For example:

god-given
god-forsaken
god-fearing
grass green
heart-rending
milk-white
sky-blue
jet-black
dog-tired
sun-bright
knee-deep
life long
shoulder high
paper thin
snow-white, etc.

Some of the examples from Indian English are:

story-telling
rain-crowned
money-offerings
city-bred
elephant-haunted
hand-made
hymn-singing
brick-built
air-cooled
tear-stained
eve-teasing
heart-burning
rain-bearing
love-making
merry-making
stone-cutting
oven-baked
mango-shaped
ice-cooled and so on.

Pronoun + Adjective (Participle)

all-seeing
all suffering
all-bountiful
Almighty
all purpose
all-knowing
**Adjective + Adjective**

reddish - brown
bluish - grey
twenty - three
clean shaven
deaf tired, etc.

some of the examples from Indian English are:

poorest-paid
Indian-made
well-behaved
One-roomed
sharp-tongued
able-bodied
regular-featured
long-stalked
long-toed
lean-ribbed
long-faced
bright-eyed and so on.
Particle + Adjective (Participle)

over - careful
over - confident
over - delicate
over - much
far - fetched
far - reaching, etc

Indian examples are
ever - falling
ever - lit
over - headed
over - riped
over - sweetened
over - baked
over - happy and so on

Noun + Verb

henpecked
backbite
soothsay
caretake
eavesdrop
fortune hunt
house break
house keep
man - handle
type - write
tongue - tie

Compounds of this type particularly verbs are not very common in Germanic languages. But English has developed independent of the Germanic tradition.

Some of the examples from Indian English are:

boot - lick
mud - feathered
melon- sized
human- sized
city - bred
hand -made and so on
Particle + Verb

A number of adverbial particles combined with verbs to make compound words. They are quite common in English.

Over + Verb

overcome
overgrow
overlap
overleap
overbrim
override
overtake
overtake
overlook
oversee
overrule and so on

Under + Verb

underline
undermine
under - develop
under value
under sale
under paid, etc.
**Up + Verb**

uphold
upset
uplift
uprise
uproot, etc.

**Off + Verb**

offset

**out + Verb**

outgo
outtritted
out - drink
out - dance
out - flown
out bombed, etc.
Creative Morphological Structures

When a creative writer, a novelist or a poet experiments with language, he tries to bring out its hidden potentialities in phonology, morphology and Syntax. James Jayce’s experiments are very well known. He has taken linguistic experiments rather too far - to the point of complete obscurity. Where English is studied as second language such joycean drastic experiment is neither feasible nor desirable. Still to a limited extent some writers like Mulkraj Anad, Raja Rao made such experiments at the morphological and syntactical levels. RajaRao’s morphological constructions are given below as samples illustrative of what the language conscious creative writer can do to his medium. Although some of these constructions can be included in other morphological categories, they are given separately here as typical of creative writer’s experiments.14

Noun + Noun

Trumpet Lingayya
Pipe Ramayya
Temple Lakshmamma
Snuff Sasri
Noun + Noun (appositional)
Post - master Suryanarayana
Patwari Nanzundayya
Barber Chennayya

Compound Noun + Personal Noun
Waterfall Venkamma
Jack tree Thippa
Front house Akkamma
Gap tooth Siddaiah
Corner house Narasamma
Coffee Planter Ramayya

Caste Name + Common Noun
Brahmin Quarters
Pariah Quarters
Potters Quarters
Weavers Quarters
Shudra Quarters

Present Participle + Proper Noun
Husking Rangi
Noun + Present Participle + Noun

Rice - pounding Rajamma
Nose - scratching Nanjamma

Numerical Adjective + Participle + Noun

One - eyed linga
Nine - pillard house

Noun + Particle + Noun

Pock - marked Siddha
Left- handed Madanna

Participle + Participle + Noun

Bent - legged Chandrayya

Noun + Noun + Noun

Horse - head hill

There are larger compounds in which possesive noun with the apostrophe mark becomes one of the components, as

the black - serpent's ant-hill
This kind of formation is also used for kinship expressions, as

Barber Chennayya’s wife’s brother
Drunkard Dheerappa’s brother’s son

TYPICAL INDIAN COMPOUNDS

Certain compounds in Indian English are typically Indian in the sense they are modelled on similar compound formations in Indian languages. Such compounds are called Indianisms, a term which shows the model of the formation and the Indian context in which such words are used. As Kachru observes, "Contextually determined Indianisms may be 'deviant' in the sense that they are unintelligible to the user of the varieties of English because they are not acquainted with those typically Indian contexts in which such formations are used by Indians"15. These Indianisms involve transfer of collocations from Indian languages and transfer of meaning from the native culture of the Indian English writers. The following are some such non-hybrid compounds which involve a semantic shift in Indian English or which are contextually Indian.
ankle - belts
ash - marks
bangle - man
bangle - seller
black money
blessing ceremony
bride showing
car festival
cow worship
cousin sister
cousin brother
dining-leaf
rice-eating ceremony
wedding house and so on.

HYBRID INDIANISMS

Hybrid Indianisms are those compound words in which one element is from Indian language and the other is from English. For example:

Congress Pandal
kumkum mark
attar bottle
lathi charge

police thana

the following are some of the details regarding hybrid formation in Indian English.

i) Hybrid collocations:- Hybrid collocations, unlike non-hybrid collocations mentioned earlier, are composed of elements from at least two different languages. The following are some examples.

Khilafat committee
Sarvodaya leader
Satyagraha movement
Swadeshi cloth
Swatanthra Party and so on.

ii) Hybrid reduplication:- These are hybrid formations in which the constituent elements drawn from two different languages have identical meaning. Since the same meaning is repeated by the two constituent words, they are reduplicate compounds. As the constituent elements are taken from two languages, they are hybrids. Combining the two characteristics they are called hybrid reduplications.
For example:

Lathi stick
Cotton Kapas
Curved Kukri

In Telugu the following hybrid reduplications are often heard.

side pakka
paper kayitham
sagatu average
bridge vanthena
gazu glass

**CLASSIFICATION OF HYBRIDS**

Hybrid formation in Indian English may be classified according to the units and the elements which constitute their structure. Since hybrid formations are mostly of a nominal group, they may be classified into groups in terms of the element that serves as a **Head** and the element that serves as a **Modifier**.
a) **Indian component as Head:** In these compounds the first component is the modifier and it is in English. The second component is the Head and it is Indian. The following examples illustrate this category.

British circar
Babu English
City Kothwali
Coconut Paysam
College babu
Christian Sadhu
Flower bazaar
Solar topee
Rail gadi
tamarind Chattney
village panchayat

b) **Indian Component as a Modifier:** In this category of hybrids the position of the modifier is changed to the initial component of the hybrid compounds and the modifiers are Indian words.
bazaar musician
Kashi Pilgrimage
Beedi sellers
Ashram sweeper
Tiffin carrier
Ahimsa soldier
Ayurvedic system
mela grounds
panka puller
upanayanam ceremony

c) String hybrid formation:– In this category of hybrids one of the elements in the string is an Indian word. For example:

hillmen coolie
home-spun khaddar
pot -bellied baniya
state - wide hartal and so on.
The thematic distribution of hybrids in Indian English:

This is also called contextual classification. According to the semantic area of the word, the following classification of the hybrid may be made.

1) **Administration**:- Examples: City kothwali, kothwali police, Tahsil office, mafasil town, etc.

2) **Agriculture**:- Basmathi rice, rabi crop, takkavi loan

3) **Art**:- Bazaar music, notch girl, veena solo

4) **Buildings**:- Dock bungalow, Durbar hall

5) **Edibles**:- Tamarind chattney, Potato bonda, Double roti Mango chattney, Onion pakoda

6) **Attitudes**:- Babu mentality, Vilayathi fashion, Pariah mixer, Circari spy

7) **Occupations**:- Beedi seller, Gang cooli, Zatka driver, palki bearer, Pan maker, Tanga driver
8) **Politics:**- Ahimsa soldier, Khadi board, Khadiclad, Kisan Candidate, shaheed day

9) **Religion:**- Aarathi ceremony, Ashirvad ceremony, Bhajan song, Poojaday, Sankranthi fair, Yoga exercise, Ganesh festival

10) **Social:**- Brahmin corner, Brahmin quarter, aam session, communal hookha, hukka party, Sindhur mark, Zenana affair and so on

The list of themes or contexts is not exhaustive. It is possible to make a more minute classification including much smaller areas of themes or contexts. But the list given above is hopefully illustrative of Indian Vocabulary used in Indian English.

IV Reduplicative Compounds

Reduplication means repetition. The same syllable or syllables get repeated in a number of languages. The repetition often adds strength to the utterance. For example,
Come, come
Hear, hear
Pretty, pretty
Slowly, slowly
Many, many
Small, small
very, very, etc

These compounds are three types. In the first type the whole syllable is repeated without any change in the sound. For example

quack - quack
clock - clock
ding - ding
lock - lock
pooh - pooh
hish - hish
ting - ting, etc.

In the second variety, the vowel of the first syllable is changed before it is repeated. For example:

chit - chat
flip - flap
dilly - dally
pick - pack
knick - knob
splish - splash
sing - song
zig - zag
dip - drop
slish - slash, etc

In the third variety, a word or syllable is repeated with a change of initial consonant. For example:

hotch - potch
charlie - parlie
hickory - dickery
hubble - bubble
hurley - burley
mumbo - jumbo and so on

The other aspects of derivative morphology like the formation of comparative and superlative degrees do not exhibit differences conspicuous enough to be treated as characteristic of Indian English. One peculiarity we
have noticed in the formation of comparatives and superlatives is the use of 'more' and 'most' with the Latin comparatives which do not need such words.

The following are heard in Indian English.

1. junior (Latin Comparative)
   more junior (Indian English Comparative)
   most junior (Indian English Superlative)

2. Senior (Latin Comparative)
   more senior (Indian English Comparative)
   most senior (Indian English Superlative)

3. Superior (Latin Comparative)
   more superior (Indian English Comparative)
   most superior (Indian English Superlative)

4. Inferior (Latin Comparative)
   more inferior (Indian English Comparative)
   most inferior (Indian English Superlative)
5. Interior (Latin Comparative)
more interior (Indian English Comparative)
most interior (Indian English Superlative)

6. exterior (Latin Comparative)
more exterior (Indian English Comparative)
most exterior (Indian English Superlative)

Indian English uses comparative and superlative degrees of adjectives which do not normally form such and comparisions. For example, a word like 'round' has 'rounder' and 'roundest' forms. The logic for such absence is that the thing is either round or not round. There cannot be a difference in the degree of roundness. Similarly the word 'perfect' in Standard English has no comparison. In Indian English, particularly spoken English, 'more perfect' and 'most perfect' are also heard.

By and large morphology of Indian English is not markedly different from that of the British Standard English. The remarkable similarity between them is due to the fact that derivative words are thoroughly memorised by
the Indian students of English. The differences noted here in the area of inflexional morphology are conspicuous enough to be described as deviants from Standard English. This is one of the areas which proves that Indian English is not a slavish imitation of British Standard English, but it has independent dialectal status.
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