CHAPTER V

INDIAN ENGLISH: AN ANALYSIS

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CHAPTER V
INDIAN ENGLISH: AN ANALYSIS

In this chapter we present a detailed analysis of the features characteristic of IE as found in our data under the three main areas of syntax, lexico-semantics (including collocation, idiomatic usage and style/register) and cohesion.

These linguistic items have been classified and described under 21 main categories, some of which have been further divided into sub-categories as stated in Chapter IV. The samples of deviations taken from our data illustrate the kind of English educated speakers in India use along the three points we have identified on the cline of Indian English bilingualism. A statistical summary of the type and number of occurrences of these deviations under the main categories and under sub-categories is presented in the tables given in Chapter VI.

5.1. Articles

This is one of the most problematic areas for non-native speakers of English because there are very few definite rules governing article usage. Sometimes even native speakers find it difficult to decide whether or not a particular usage is appropriate. For Indian speakers of English the articles present an additional problem owing to the absence of a parallel category in the deictic system of most Indian languages. The English article system is therefore one with which an IE speaker must become familiar entirely through exposure to the conventions of the
language. As is to be expected, deviations in this area arise out of the speakers' failure to observe certain restrictions on article usage.

French (1956: 8-9) gives an account of how a foreign learner may come to use the before plural nouns by a rational analogy. Having been taught to distinguish between sparrows are small birds and the sparrow is a small bird the learner sees a parallel between sparrows and birds and produces *the sparrows are the small birds.

Very often failure to observe a single set of restrictions can be the source of deviation in two opposite directions. For instance, uncountables and plurals do not normally take the definite article unless when specified with reference to something. Ignorance of this constraint with regard to specificity can lead, on the one hand, to the indiscriminate use of the article with uncountables and plurals when unspecified, and on the other, to the omission of the article when its occurrence is obligatory in specific use, e.g. compare the IE

(1) ... creates the public opinion ...

with

(2) ... school for Ø handicapped ...

Similarly proper nouns are understood to have 'unique' reference, or at least unique reference in context, and therefore take no article in English. However, it is often difficult to draw a hard-and-fast line between proper names and 'ordinary' nominals. For instance, it is quite possible
to have sentences in which the article is used with proper names, as in

(3) He is a regular Hitler.
(4) The Smith in your class is a recent immigrant.
(5) The Gainsborough is genuine enough, but the Rembrandt is a fake.
(6) The Ambassador is a popular car.
(7) Kalidas is the Shakespeare of India.
(8) This is a very different Wilson from the one we used to visit.

In addition, there are certain types of names that occur regularly with the definite article. These are: geographical names in the plural (The Netherlands, The United States of America), the names of some countries and regions (the Sudan, the Congo), the names of some towns (the Hague, the Bronx), the names of public institutions/facilities such as hotels, theatres, etc. (The Hilton, The Globe, The British Museum), newspapers (The New York Times, The Observer), etc.

The non-occurrence of the definite article with many proper names on the one hand, as against its occurrence with certain others on the other, is likely to create confusion in the minds of L2 speakers as to the concepts underlying article usage in English. Unfamiliarity with
the constraints governing the occurrence or otherwise of
the article again causes deviation in two different directions
in

\[ \hat{A} B \]

(9) ... Pune, which many describe as Oxford
    of the East ...

as against

(10) ... the Teachers' Day ...

(11) ... the rare specimen of the Hosyala
    architecture ...

It is evident from the above discussion that complete
mastery of the article system is difficult to acquire even
for IE speakers at the highest point on the cline of
bilingualism. As mentioned above, the articles are subject
to many conventional usages. For instance, one normally
says

(12) I go to church. (unless one wishes to
    refer to the building)

but

(13) I go to the theatre.

rather than

(14) I go to theatre.

In these two examples one can trace two understandable
(though not always so to the \( L_2 \) speaker) tendencies: the
first case represents an action communally associated with
the object referred to (as in \text{ go to bed/school/hospital }, etc.).
The second case represents the tendency of marking off known points on the map, either in space (as in go to the cinema/the bank/the railway station, etc.) or in time (the afternoon/the evening; the summer/the winter) (Close 1962:65).

An L₂ speaker who is not very clear about these concepts underlying article usage could very well confuse or ignore these two tendencies that native speakers perceive as distinct.

Another source of deviation are the alternative usages that exist in English, of which one allows the article while the other does not. e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The University of London</th>
<th>but</th>
<th>London University.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Tower of London</td>
<td>but</td>
<td>London Bridge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Edgware Road (the road leading to Edgware)</td>
<td>but</td>
<td>Regent Street</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The architecture of the early middle ages</td>
<td>but</td>
<td>early medieval architecture,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lacking the intuition of a native speaker, the L₂ speaker has to depend on his uncertain memory or on intelligent guesses based on analogy as guides to article
usage. These, however, are not always reliable and can give rise to forms such as the IE

the Madras University
the Fraser Road
the Hosyala architecture
etc.

The use of the indefinite article instead of the definite and vice versa are also instances of insufficient mastery of the definite/indefinite concept, giving rise to interference between the various functions of the articles.

Examples of deviant usage involving articles are among the most common in IE. Given below are examples of specific deviant forms classified according to their possible causes:

(1) Intrusion of the definite article with proper nouns. In English proper nouns do not normally take articles unless specially qualified. IE speakers tend to use the definite article with these nouns; e.g.

1. Vikram Rao has since been suspended by his employers, the Bennett Coleman and Co, ...

2. I was anxious to see the Malaysia's Radio and T.V. complex at Angkaspüri.

3. now as the Coca Cola is out of our market, ...

4. ... the people of the South India.
Deviations also arise because IE speakers tend to treat certain proper nouns as if they were common nouns which normally take the definite article, e.g.

1. High on the list of women whose contribution to society were noted in the International Women's Year is the name of Mary Baker Eddy.
2. ... the National Integration Year.
3. ... the Independence Day.
4. ... the Teachers' Day.

IE speakers tend to use the article where normally names of buildings, parks, squares, streets, etc., consisting of a proper name (denoting either a person or place) and a class noun take no definite article in English, e.g.

1. the Market Road
2. the Ferguson College
3. the Osmania University
4. the Victoria Lake
5. the Salem Junction
6. the Pimpri Colony.

(2) The intrusion of the definite article with uncountables and plurals in their non-specific use. Uncountables and plurals do not take the article except when they are specified. IE speakers tend to use the article with uncountables and plurals when unspecified, e.g.
1. ... promotion of the studies
2. ... creates the public opinion
3. ... the quality of the recruitment
4. ... concern for the posterity
5. ... worsen the living conditions
6. ... the larger interests of the society,

(3) Normalization of expressions which from a consideration of the more productive patterns of the language sound abnormal to the L2 speaker. For example, in the following expressions which are more or less "fixed" in English, IE speakers insert the article because the noun involved normally collocates with an article; e.g.

**Fixed expressions in native English**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>put behind bars</th>
<th>put behind the bars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>last but not least</td>
<td>last but not the least</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ways and means</td>
<td>the ways and means</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>set things right</td>
<td>set the things right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>down to earth</td>
<td>down to the earth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) The intrusion of the indefinite article with uncountables, perhaps because IE speakers tend to accord them the status of count nouns; e.g.

1. ... a slight hit will give him a concussion
2. To save a life, to save an honour ...
3. It is not freedom but a social anarchy.

4. ... an immediate action is called for here.

5. We hope our problems will be given a serious consideration.

6. It is a year-round work.

(5) The omission of the definite article in its "particularizing" function. IE is often characterized by the absence of the definite article where it is normally obligatory in native English to denote specificity; e.g.

1. ... the film has & transmigration of souls for its theme.

2. In view of & lack of adequate attention paid to the cultivation of voice ...

3. Due to & aforesaid reasons the liability of the graduate dairy farmers has accumulated.

4. ... and back to Deccan Gymkhana by & same route.

5. Right from the beginning he opposed & authoritarianism of Mrs. Gandhi's Government.

6. ... glorified as makers and moulders of & younger generation.

(6) The omission of the definite article in contexts where idiomatic usage requires it. The definite article is normally used with names of seas and oceans, rivers, mountain ranges, ships, trains, hotels, public facilities, newspapers and organizations. IE speakers sometimes show a tendency to omit the article with these; e.g.
1. A bridge across Godavari, near Narsapur ...

2. The envoy designate to U.K., Mr. N.G. Goray, is a scholastic thinker.

3. ... issue coins of Rs.50 and Rs.10 through Reserve Bank of India for free circulation.

4. May we request the municipal authorities to construct an overbridge with the help of Railways?

5. It is entirely the responsibility of police to enforce a strict watch over the pick-pockets.

6. Added to this, no proper lighting system is provided right from Railway Station to Telephone Exchange during nights.

This tendency is especially strong with regard to the names of certain organizations/institutions/facilities which normally occur with the definite article in native English. One reason for this could be that these names have gained widespread usage even in the Indian languages - perhaps because they denote organizations introduced into India by the British for which either Indian names were lacking or were unfamiliar, difficult or rarely used. However, in the absence of an equivalent article system in the L1s, these names which have now become assimilated into the Indian languages are used without the article and this gets carried over into their English usage as well; e.g.

1. In all the UPSC examinations, even for IAS/IFS and allied services ...

2. ... I would prefer Congress to the Janata Party.
3. I hope Government will remove the injustice and restore the original age limit.

Alternatively, there might be equivalents for these in the Indian languages, or typically Indian organizations whose names are borrowed into IE from these languages. Again since these are used in the L1 without the article they tend to be used in the same manner in IE; e.g.

1. ... our state has no member in Lok Sabha from the Janata Party.

2. Recently Malkajgiri Gram Panchayat has taken connection from Manjeera Main ...

(7) Omission of the definite article where it is normally used to emphasize the uniqueness of the persons or things referred to. Names of things unique of their kind (the Sun, the sky, etc.) or of objects which are normally solitary members of their class (e.g. the Bible, the Gita, the Odyssey, etc.) occur with the definite article in English. For an IE speaker, precisely because these objects are unique, they appear to need no specification. Rather, their familiarity renders the use of articles superfluous; e.g.

1. ... planet earth ...

2. Bible clearly tells us the signs of the end of the age.

3. ... the important and vital role which English language plays.

4. ... mass meeting at Red Fort.
5. ... the venue was shifted from & Albert Hall to the Hayward Gallery.

6. We had our own experience of democracy prior to & emergency and during the emergency.

7. ... almost succeeded in getting on top of & P.M's car ...

(8) Omission of the indefinite article in contexts that denote specificity; e.g.

1. The guests sprang up with & alacrity which belied their years.

2. equip our students with & good knowledge of English.

3. ... passengers in Main Street also will get & opportunity to have a direct bus to Deccan.

4. ... several quarters belonging to the army lying vacant for & considerable period of time.

5. If such & state of affairs continues ...

6. ... iron ore mining project is being executed at & feverish pitch.

(9) The use of the definite article instead of the indefinite and vice versa because of insufficient mastery of the definite/indefinite concept:

1. Even the parakrams are dark and it will be helpful if the minimum lighting is provided in the temples.

2. Even now thousands cf doctors are waiting to accept the job in any corner of the country.

3. ... other sections such as teachers are retired at a higher age of 60 and so on.

4. ... even after a lapse of a year, the pension and gratuity due has not been promptly settled.
5.2. **Prepositions**

Prepositional usage is one of the major areas of difficulty for learners of English everywhere and it appears that even among native speakers of English there exists some uncertainty about usage. As Rowe and Webb observe (1944:191), "incorrectness in the use of prepositions is an error into which English writers and speakers often fall, and from which even standard authors are not exempt." If idiomatic usage of prepositions poses problems for native speakers, for the L2 speaker the uncertainty is even greater.

The main reason for this, of course, is that there are few satisfactory rules about this area of the English language. Many usages are very difficult to systematize. This is not surprising considering the complexity of some of the relationships they express. These relationships are expressed by little words whose full meaning could only be explained in long circumlocutions. Moreover, the number of these little words is limited, and each may have to serve a variety of purposes as they collocate with different words to form different phrases. Prepositional usage, therefore, has to be learnt, for the most part individually, item by item. This is not an easy task. In the absence of precise rules governing the formation of these collocations
the L₂ speaker has to depend on his uncertain memory or on intelligent guesses based on analogy, both of which are unreliable guides in language use. There is a great temptation to assume in these circumstances that a set of words that are related in meaning may collocate with the same preposition. A high proportion of deviant usage in IE is due to this assumption.

Further, confusion in prepositional usage is sometimes caused by the fact that there are no prepositions in the various Indian languages that comprise the mother tongue of most Indian English speakers. Instead, Indian languages are characterized by the occurrence of postpositions which are used, more or less, to express similar relationships and perform somewhat similar functions as prepositions do in English. However, some of the relationships they express are categorized in a slightly different manner than they are in the case of English prepositions. This to some extent causes interference in the idiomatic usage of prepositions in IE, giving rise to unusual collocations and prepositional phrases of the following type:

(i) Verb + preposition, e.g.

aspire, admire, advertise, allot
contest, congratulate, entitle, for
order, spend
contribute, concentrate, lecture in
launch, admit, settle

dispute, discuss, describe, about
play, etc.

(ii) Noun + preposition, e.g.
sensitivity, appointment for
admission, contribution in
interest, scrutiny, attention, on
behaviour by

(iii) Adjective + preposition, e.g.
eligible, initiated to
liable, agitated for
content by
afraid, sorry about
e tc.

Another source of deviant usage is the uncertainty as to whether a particular word requires a preposition as a collocational partner or not. As a result, many Indian users of English show a marked tendency to add prepositions after verbs where their use would be considered erroneous,
or at least superfluous. On the other hand, there are instances where IE users omit prepositions where native speakers would consider their occurrence obligatory.

The tendency to couple verbs with prepositions and other particles in contexts in which native speakers would not appears to be a common one in IE. One reason for this may be that there already exist in the English language many cases of verb-preposition collocations which appear to be synonymous with the verbs standing on their own. These 'double-forms', as they are referred to by Rowe and Webb, give the impression, especially to foreign learners, that most, if not all, English verbs optionally collocate with prepositions; e.g. The following appear to be in free variation in native English:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Preposition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>approve</td>
<td>approve of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attend</td>
<td>attend to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pick</td>
<td>pick up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seize</td>
<td>seize upon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>call</td>
<td>call for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enter</td>
<td>enter into</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cut</td>
<td>cut down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>protest</td>
<td>protest against</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>settle</td>
<td>settle down</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Such instances of verb-preposition collocations which appear to be synonymous with the verbs standing on their own are responsible for some cases of deviant usage in IE.
Very often the choice of the wrong form may result in an entirely different meaning, e.g. in a sentence like:

The march protesting the murder of Gurdip Singh Chhagar, ...

a native speaker would have used the phrase 'protesting against the murder'. In Standard English, it is true that as a verb 'protest' may be followed by a direct object, but it has a different meaning, as in:

He protested his innocence.

where 'protested' means 'asserted his innocence by protesting' rather than 'a statement of disapproval or objection'. Similarly, in a sentence like the following:

The common man is asked to look into the board, which indicates the prices, which the shop owner has put, and which is not the same in the very next shop.

the phrase 'look into' suggests 'to investigate' whereas probably the speaker merely intended to say 'look at'. In a second language situation imperfect learning and inadequate opportunities of exposure to the living idiom are bound to lead to deviation of this kind.

Some IE speakers tend to collocate a preposition with a word belonging to one part of speech by analogy with a corresponding word in some other part of speech. For example, standard English has

'equivalent to' but 'equrate with'
IE speakers would tend to use 'equate to', 'discuss about' and 'emphasize on' respectively, because the corresponding nouns collocate with these prepositions.

There are certain other words in English, which have a common morphemic representation both as noun and verb: request, order, answer, dispute, contest, etc. In the case of these noun-verb sets the language allows only the nouns to be combined with prepositions, while the verbs generally do not take prepositions after them. Thus we have, for instance:

Order:
- as a noun: He placed an order for a new refrigerator.
- as a verb: He ordered a five-course meal.

Contest:
- as a noun: There was a keen contest for the prize.
- as a verb: He contested a seat in Parliament.

On the analogy of the noun + preposition combinations that the language allows, IE speakers tend to use prepositions with the corresponding verbs where these would be considered superfluous in native English, thus producing sentences like:

He ordered for a cup of tea.
He will contest for the elections this year.
etc.
In his exploratory survey of 'Ghanian English', K.A. Sey (1973:47) points out that deviant forms regarding prepositions are often treated as though they were indispensably centred in the preposition; but, he maintains, it is perhaps more appropriate, in very many cases, to view them as centred in the main word. That is, the speaker has already mastered the sentential functions in which these prepositions occur, but he faces problems in the selection of words to satisfy these functions along with the particular prepositions which form part of the functions. Thus Sey explains the formation of a deviant sentence like:

He vacated from the room.

as the speaker's attempt to apply the construction, or 'expression frame' as he calls it:

He X from the room

to serve a particular function. This is a construction which the speaker may have used many times before in completely acceptable sentences to serve similar functions. To complete the function he has in mind he selects words from a paradigm of verbs guided by the particular notion he intends to convey -- in this case 'movement away from a particular place'. From the various alternatives available to him, such as leave, move, withdraw, vanish, vacate, he selects vacate probably for stylistic reasons. Deviations occur because of the
speaker's failure to recognize that true synonyms are rare and that notionally equivalent words do not necessarily satisfy the same functions. Thus Sey observes how "the syntagmatic restrictions on the selection of a word to satisfy the functions are ignored altogether because of the assumption that meaning resides more in the word than in relations between words in structures" (Sey 1973:47). A similar process may be said to operate in some instances of deviation in prepositional usage in IE.

The table below denotes some of the more common deviant forms of prepositional phrases, viewed both as preposition centred and main word centred (following Sey's presentation in 'Ghanian English').

The sign Ø is used to indicate that a preposition has either been omitted in IE or that it is not required in Standard English. A more detailed discussion of specific deviant forms classified according to their possible causes follows.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IE forms</th>
<th>Deviation</th>
<th>Possible Models in Standard English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aspire for</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>wish for, long for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>advertise for (a post)</td>
<td>of</td>
<td>advertise for a maid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allot for</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>reserve for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>approve of</td>
<td>of</td>
<td>approve (the plan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>congratulate for</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>praise/admire someone for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contest for</td>
<td>of</td>
<td>contend/compete/fight for contest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>call for (a meeting)</td>
<td>of</td>
<td>call for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>entitle for</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>eligible for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do ... service for (the poor)</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>do a lot for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liable for (prosecution)</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>fit for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>appoint in (high position)</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>place in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>concentrate in</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>involved/engrossed in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contribute in</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>participate/lend a hand in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in a shambles</td>
<td>of</td>
<td>in a mess</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>should be careful in (the question of language)</td>
<td>about</td>
<td>in the case of (language)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enter into (the classroom)</td>
<td>of</td>
<td>walk into</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agree with (one point)</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>enter into details/discussions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>affected with</td>
<td>by</td>
<td>agree with you on one point</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>concerned with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IE forms</td>
<td>Deviation</td>
<td>Possible Models in Standard English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>linked with (the cost)</td>
<td>to &gt; with</td>
<td>link with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asked about (some explanation)</td>
<td>for &gt; about</td>
<td>ask about someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afraid about</td>
<td>of &gt; about</td>
<td>angry/sorry about</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dispute about</td>
<td>Ø &gt; about</td>
<td>talk about dispute (n) about</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>provide a person Ø</td>
<td>with &gt; Ø</td>
<td>give a person Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>supply a person Ø</td>
<td>with &gt; Ø</td>
<td>give a person Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>equate to</td>
<td>with &gt; to</td>
<td>compare to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inform to</td>
<td>Ø &gt; to</td>
<td>make known to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>throw parties to</td>
<td>for &gt; to</td>
<td>invite to (a party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>initiated to</td>
<td>into &gt; to</td>
<td>introduce to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eligible to</td>
<td>for &gt; to</td>
<td>fit to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pay attention on</td>
<td>to &gt; on</td>
<td>concentrate on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>insisting Ø (the payment)</td>
<td>on &gt; Ø</td>
<td>forcing/compelling/urging Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>protest Ø (the murder)</td>
<td>against &gt; Ø</td>
<td>protest Ø (his innocence)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>begin from</td>
<td>at &gt; from</td>
<td>move/go from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>commence from</td>
<td>Ø &gt; from</td>
<td>move/go from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pass an examination from</td>
<td>at &gt; from</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avail Ø (the opportunity)</td>
<td>of &gt; Ø</td>
<td>take/grab Ø (the opportunity)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the quest of</td>
<td>for &gt; of</td>
<td>in quest of/in search of</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A glance at the table given above shows that almost all IE deviant forms have possible standard English models from which they are probably derived by analogy. The precise nature of these deviations is discussed below:

(1) A preposition which collocates with a particular word may, by analogy, be compounded with another, which is notionally associated with it. In some cases such semantic associations may be slight or ill-defined; e.g.

1. reserved for

Ten sleeper berths were allotted for Ramagundam.

2. long/wish/contend for

Indira Gandhi was made Prime Minister when she herself did not aspire for that.

3. made known to

Whether such a vote is valid or invalid should be clearly specified and informed to the citizens.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IE forms</th>
<th>Deviation</th>
<th>Possible Models in Standard English</th>
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<tr>
<td>lean on (the wall)</td>
<td>against &gt;on</td>
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<td>testimony of</td>
<td>to &gt;of</td>
<td>evidence of</td>
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<tr>
<td>unaccounted $\emptyset$ income</td>
<td>for &gt;$\emptyset$</td>
<td>unsolicited gift</td>
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</table>
These IE deviant forms may also be viewed as the result of the assignment of the main word to the wrong paradigm. In the examples given below, wrongly assigned words are underlined:

1. Anyway the young artists of this association must be [congratulated] for such performance. [commended] [praised] [admired]

2. Will Mr. Joshi [supply] us with his full address...? [give] [tell] [send] [write]

3. ... the two major national parties have entered the election arena, contesting for the power at the centre... [contending] [competing] [struggling] [fighting]

4. ... but now these have been [converted] to serve as the tool of the Government...

[made to serve] [made to function]

(2) In some cases, the analogy is a kind of inference from the notion represented by the main word; that is, the word itself suggests the sort of preposition with which it is likely to collocate; e.g.

'begin/start/commence' are associated with from because they imply a movement from some point (whether on a spatial or temporal scale) towards another:
1. The pay of the former begins from Rs.220 and the latter from Rs.387.

2. ... he will not pay interest for the period commencing from July 22, 1975.

'afraid/dispute/ask' are combined with about in the sense of 'concerning which':

1. If it is dictatorship they are afraid about believe me, we do not consider it in any way possible in such a democratic set up as ours.

Similarly, 'congratulate' is an act of commendation for having done something praiseworthy, 'contest' means to struggle or compete for something and 'alloting' is an act of putting aside, as a share or for a purpose. There is therefore a tendency among IE speakers to collocate these verbs with for on the basis of the meaning they convey; e.g.

1. Permit me to congratulate you for publishing a perceptive, provocative and most timely cartoon, wordless, yet extremely eloquent.

2. May I congratulate the Bombay police for the excellent job they are doing for the smooth flow of traffic?

3. Ten sleeper berths were allotted for Ramagundam.

Again, with is used with words like 'available', 'affect', etc., because the speaker wants to express the idea of having either as a possession or as a characteristic; e.g.


2. Sea turtles swim with a speed of 32 k.m. an hour.
3. ... some poor inhabitants of Venkatapuram Kothabasthi and surrounding villages were badly affected with this.

'Contribute' is used with in because its various senses imply 'join with others in giving, have a share in, help in,' etc. e.g.

1. Indian youth must contribute in the progress and development of our country.

2. The contribution of Mughals in the building of palaces has been most significant.

(3) A preposition that collocates with a word belonging to one part of speech may, by analogy, be collocated with a corresponding word in some other part of speech; e.g.

1. After 30 years of one party's rule, should we not desire for a change?

2. He may only dispute about the method of implementation.

3. I would request to the Government to end his solitary confinement till the case is disposed of in a court.

4. By equating Indira to India and India to Indira her colleagues made her overconfident.

(4) Deviant use of certain prepositional phrases is due to confusion of forms which are in some ways alike; e.g.

1. protest/protest against

The march protesting the murder of Gurdip Singh Chhagar, ...
2. call/call for

What the Government should do now is to call for a meeting of the representatives of the mills, ...

3. cut/cut down

After the trees were cut the forest Department scooped out the massive root portions also.

4. Approve/approve of

He certainly would have not approved the opportunism on the part of those who swore by his name.

(5) Deviant use of certain prepositional phrases is sometimes due to a fusion of two adjacent or alternative forms; e.g.

1. injustices being done to
   injustices committed against
done against

2. handicapped by
   handicapped for lack of
   for lack of something
   something

3. during the past few years
   in the past
during the past

4. the dealer to whom I went
   the dealer to
   the dealer whom I approached
   whom I approached

(6) Deviant usage in prepositions is sometimes also due to the fact that the L₁ idiom requires/suggests a preposition equivalent to the one used; e.g.

1. ... spent only Rs.8,951 in 1973-74 for a school.

2. There was still another four hours to go for breakfast.
3. ... there were 4,000 Indian and Japanese labourers in the 72 coffee estates.

4. ... and sat leaning on the wall.

5. But they get drenched in the rainy days and fall ill.

(7) IE speakers sometimes deviate in the use of prepositions occurring in certain fixed phrases and idiomatic expressions. These forms of expression have been established as the particular way preferred by native speakers over other possible constructions that the grammar of the language may allow. They are indispensable to the language, but nevertheless tend to be wrongly constructed by second language speakers, either on analogy of already existing collocations in the language, or as a result of the influence of the equivalent L₁ idiom, or the meaning suggested by the phrase in question; e.g.

1. people of every walk of life (ir.)

2. speaking volumes of the abysmal poverty of our masses (for)

3. liable for prosecution (to)

4. hit at a national solution (upon)

5. bear ample testimony of this (to)

6. put under custody (in/into)

7. put it down in my account (on)
8. from its very nature (by)
9. under the true spirit of its enactments (in)
10. for no fault of his (through)
11. Minister of Tourism (for)
12. devote his energies towards (to)

(8) Deviations are sometimes caused because of the confusion between two or more idiomatic constructions existing in the language, each combining the same word with a different preposition. In this case, second language speakers either tend to think of them as 'free variants' or are confused between the domain in which each of these constructions may be used. IE speakers are no exception, e.g.

1. need for/need of

1. It is the poor people who play the numbers, most of them are in desperate need for money, and they have no other way of getting it.

2. As I walked back and passed by the statue once again, I was reminded of how much the Mahatma had stressed the need of cleanliness and regard for the laws of hygiene.

There is a subtle distinction between the two forms. Wood (1967:371-372) points out: need of is used only
when 'need' corresponds in sense to its verbal counterpart used as a verb of full meaning; i.e. to need something - to have need of; e.g.

Our projected tour had to be abandoned through need of money.

When 'need' means 'compelling circumstances', or corresponds in sense to the auxiliary verb need, it takes for; e.g.

Is there any need for all this hurry? There is no need for alarm.

Sometimes there seems little to choose between need of and need for; e.g. 'There is need of more science teachers'. In such cases of indicates the nature of the need, for what would satisfy the need (Wood 1967). In a second language situation failure to observe this distinction or unawareness of it can easily lead to the use of one for the other.

2. compare to/compare with

1. Compared to 3,000 villages electrified 25 years ago, 200,000 villages are now electrified.

2. The seats there are so few compared to the number of applications.

3. Besides, as compared to the services rendered by the thousands of agents, the total commission received by them is by no means excessive.
The general rule is: We compare one thing to another when we state a resemblance between them, while compare with means 'place side by side', noting the resemblances and differences, usually with the stress on the differences. IE speakers appear to think of compare to as synonymous with compared with.

3. equate to/equate with

1. By equating Indira to India and India to Indira, her colleagues made her overconfident.

Again, the general rule is that we equate one thing with another if we consider them to be equal or identical (e.g. equate riches with greatness; equate religion with church-going). We equate one thing to another when we make the two equal (e.g. equate the salaries of higher civil servants to those of business executives) (Wood 1967:229).

4. on time/in time

1. A teacher will enter into the classroom in time so long as his principal is in his room.

2. The trains are running in time.

Normally on time seems to be used to indicate punctuality with reference solely to time. In time, on the other hand, carries a strong suggestion of being punctual for something,
of arriving before the commencement of something that has been arranged. Wood (1967:517) points out the difference between the two expressions as follows: in time means 'by or before the time in question' (This train will get us there in time. It arrives at 10.30 and the meeting is not until eleven o'clock.), whereas on time means at the recognized or scheduled time (The train arrived on time. He rarely gets to work on time).

Thus, as is often the case with closely similar pairs of expressions there is a slight difference of contextual meaning or emphasis between them. Some IE speakers are unaware of this and fail to make this distinction, often using the two expressions as if they were in 'free variation'.

It must be noted that the eight explanations proposed above are not mutually exclusive. Any particular deviant form might be explained in terms of one or more of these.

The use of 'Due to' in IE

According to Wood, it is incorrect to use this combination as a compound preposition to introduce an adverb phrase of reason, as is done in the following sentences from IE:
1. Due to bad drainage in Mohalla Chandchoura Gobra, Gaya, Ward No. 22, mud and water mixed with the drain rubbish and night soil accumulate in the lane which meets Mangalagouri Road near the Ramasagar tank.

2. Meanwhile due to population increase the number of water connections has increased considerably.

3. But due to one or another reason larger section of society blamed them to be selfish.

4. Due to the heavy rush many girls are unable to secure admission.

A native speaker would have used either owing to or because of in these contexts. Due is an adjective and therefore due to can be used only (a) predicatively, i.e., as a complement to a verb, usually some part of the verb 'to be', e.g. His illness is due to fatigue. (b) following a noun, and introducing an adjectival construction which qualifies that noun, e.g. 'Mistakes due to carelessness may have serious consequences', which may be regarded as ellipsis of 'which are due to carelessness, (i.e. of adjective clause), and as therefore really another form of the predicative use' (F.T. Wood, 1962:76-77).
5.3. **Adverbial Particles**

As compared with the verb + preposition combinations discussed above, the cohesion between the collocative elements in phrasal verbs is much stronger. In fact, some of the verbs occurring in these combinations do not occur without their particles, e.g. *dole out, doll up, mug up, jot down, fob off, goad on, rave at/about/against, tag on/along/after/together*, etc. Also, while with prepositional phrases the difference in meaning between the verb taken on its own and its combination with a preposition is usually slight, with phrasal verbs the difference may be considerable. Changes of meaning that occur when verbs and particles are combined to form phrasal verbs are of the following kind:

(i) The original meaning of the verb on its own may be lost altogether, e.g. *run down, make away with*. 

(ii) The particle may lose its adverbial or prepositional force and acquire an aspectual significance, e.g. *drink up, worn out, take off*, etc.

(iii) The meaning may become different from the meanings of the two elements taken separately, e.g. *give up, put up with*, etc.
It follows from this that the meaning of the combinations must be learnt independently of the separate words and so also the different contexts in which these combinations may be used as against those in which the verbs that participate in these combinations may occur on their own. Failure to recall the appropriate combinations in the contexts in question, confusion between two or more closely similar combinations and unsuccessful attempts to construct on analogy are often the cause of deviant usage in the area of phrasal verbs in IE. As in the case of prepositional phrases, uncertainty as to whether a particular verb requires an adverbial particle as a collocational partner or not sometimes leads to the use of adverbial particles where native speakers would consider them superfluous, e.g. to cope/with, bow down to, settle down for, etc. or the omission of the particle, especially where the verb on its own is entirely different in meaning from the verb in its phrasal function, e.g. shake/shake off, find/find out, catch/catch on, take/take up, etc.

It will be noticed that some of the detailed interpretations of deviant usage in the case of prepositional phrases apply here also:
1. Collocation of a particle with two or more verbs because they are notionally related. These are cases where a particle is coupled with a verb because this verb is semantically related to a phrasal verb which has the particle as a collocational partner; e.g.

(1) hold on to
    cling on to

His greatest tribute to the association is that he clings on to membership although he was expelled by the general body.

(2) cut out (a way)
    channel out

In our country soft drinks mean that huge amounts of money are being channelled out in the form of shares and royalty.

2. Confusion between forms which happen to share some common elements; e.g.

(1) bring upon/bring about

Hence any change to be brought upon has to be done by the state enactment.

(2) hammer out/hammer away

If the present government keeps hammering out that we are once again a free nation, ...
(3) tear/tear up

... he will not tear the Report and consign it to the cooum.

(4) settle down/settle for

The following probably contains a blend of these two forms:

Being well past the stage for anything superior,

He finally settled down for the simian posterior.

3. Cases where the particle appears to be derived by implication from the verb: e.g.

(1) bow down

It is deplorable that the government which has adopted an intemperate attitude towards teachers had bowed down to the militant organization of autorikshawallahs.

(2) pick up

"I used to get up at four in the morning to pick up peanuts".
(3) take on

... she in a tactical move took on the blame in the hope of blunting the mounting attack on her leadership.

4. Omission of adverbial particles in the case of verbs which do not occur without these particles in the language, on the analogy of other verbs that do; e.g.

(1) dole out

According to some people, the doling of food to the poor prevents them from ever wanting to earn their daily bread.

(2) club together

The earlier fear of clubbing the entire income of husband and wife ... has, however, not materialized.

(3) well up

Tears of anger welled in my eyes.
5.4. Tense

Tense in IE is one area where the influence of the mother tongue may be said to be conspicuous. Deviation in tense in IE takes the form of:

1. violation of sequence of tenses
2. use of the Past Perfect and the Present Perfect for the Simple Past
3. use of the Past Perfect for the Present Perfect
4. use of the Simple Present for the Present Perfect Progressive
5. use of the Progressive with verbs of perception and state

The concept of a sequence of tenses is not as rigid in many Indian languages as it generally is in English. While English has several complex rules regarding inter-clause and inter-sentential tense concord, tense in the Indian languages is relatively more flexible. Since perfect mastery of the English tense system can be acquired only through an adequate exposure to the language, it is possible to find IE speakers even at the upper end of the cline of bilingualism deviating with regard to certain finer details of this system. Specific examples of deviation in tense are given below, classified according to the nature of their deviation.
1. Violation of sequence of tenses, e.g.

(1) Some Janata Party leaders even threatened to impeach the President in case he refuses to sign.

(2) The Mizoo hostiles have been taking full advantage of this precarious position, they ambushed security forces, looted the boats, charged 'licence fees' from boatsmen plying in the river and taxed the shopkeepers in the villages around.

(3) Whoever satisfies their basic needs at the proper moment would get his/her vote.

(4) It was a breach of faith on the part of the Prime Minister in stating that MISA will not be applied to political persons ...

2.a. Use of the Past Perfect instead of the Simple Past, e.g.

(1) When the Government of India introduced the Gold Bond scheme in 1965, they had expected an investment of ₹500 crores from temples alone.

(2) I had said, "what should be guaranteed is not a separate right of freedom of the Press, but the citizen's right to information."
(3) During the Emergency when I and some others had protested to the President against censorship, Mr. Mankekar, Mr. Subramaniam and Mr. G.D. Khosla refused to do so.

(4) In their endeavour to explain the merger of parties of different ideologies, the leaders of the Janata Party had claimed that their motive is to remove Mrs. Gandhi and establish democracy.

2. b. Use of the Present Perfect for the Simple Past, e.g.

(1) No wonder such a small country like Israel can fight successfully the rich Arabs for over 25 years. This I conclude from what has appeared in your newspaper between April 9 and April 18.

(2) According to a Press report and a leaflet distributed by the organizers of the conference, the National Red Cross Societies of only 24 countries in the Asian region have participated in the conference.

The examples given above show that for IE speakers there is a special problem with regard to past time in English: the question of how to choose between the use of the Past Tense and the use of the Perfect aspect. English uses the Past Tense to refer to an action or event that takes place at a specific point or
period of time in the past, usually indicated by some adverbial expression of time. In contrast, the perfect aspect is used for a past happening which is seen in relation to a later event or time. Thus the Past Perfect indicates, 'past in the past,' i.e., a time further in the past; as seen from a definite viewpoint in the past. In order to fall within the sphere of the Past Perfect therefore, an action must have been completed at or before a certain past time, while the present perfect indicates activity performed or occurring at some time in the past but continuing or extending up to the present moment.

There is an important constraint attached to the use of the Past Perfect and the Present Perfect: the action should have taken place at some unspecified time in the past. If the action takes place at a specific time in the past -- either mentioned or implicit -- the simple Past tense is used; e.g.

1. He has met me several times.
2. We hadn't met before.
3. *He has met me yesterday.
4. *He had met me in 1972.
5. He met me yesterday/in 1972.
Thus sentences 3 and 4 would be unacceptable to native speakers of English because they violate the constraint mentioned above. Failure to distinguish between specified time in the Past Perfect and the Present Perfect versus unspecified time causes IE speakers to produce similar sentences. The reason for this is mother tongue interference, for this restriction which attaches to the English tense system does not obtain in many Indian languages. For instance, as Bhargava (1968:98) shows for HUP (Hindi, Urdu and Punjabi), even when a specified time is mentioned for an action completed at some time in the past, use of the Past Perfect is perfectly grammatical. Thus a sentence like

woo mujhee kal milaa thaa

He met me yesterday.

is perfect Hindi. In fact, Hindi frequently permits the use of the simple Past and the Past Perfect as free variants, e.g.

woo kal yahaa aayii
woo kal yahaa aayii thi

She came here yesterday.

What's more, in certain situations where English would use the Simple Past, Hindi requires the Past Perfect to refer to an action which took place at a certain time in the past and was completed; e.g.
I went there last week.

If in this situation the simple Past is used in Hindi, the statement strikes one as incomplete and raises the expectation of something to follow, e.g.

I went there last week but came back.

Thus in HUP the use of the Simple Past as against the Past Perfect will depend on whether or not one wishes to emphasize the completion of an action rather than the specific/non-specific time in which the action took place. This shows that there is not always a one-for-one correspondence between the Past Perfect and the Simple Past in English and their counterparts in the Indian languages, and that this difference in their range is carried over into the English they speak.

Similarly, there are certain areas where the Past Tense in English and the Present Perfect in HUP overlap. For instance, in Hindi the Present Perfect is used to denote an event which took place at a specific moment of time in the past and has current relevance. Thus a Hindi speaker may very well say in the evening

My brother has come this morning.
provided the brother is still present. The presence of the brother therefore relates his arrival to the present. As a result the use of the Present Perfect in such a situation is perfectly grammatical. This clearly shows that what belongs to the Past in English is expressed by the Present Perfect in HUP. Obviously, this is a potential area of interference since the choice of an IE user is determined by his native language habits.

To sum up, in the English tense system, an event which took place at some specific time in the past belongs to the Past. In HUP and other Indian languages, however, an event that took place at some specified time in the past but is related to the present is expressed by the Present Perfect while one that is unrelated to the present is expressed by the Past Perfect. In other words, the semantic domain of the Present Perfect and the Past Perfect with specific date or time in the Indian languages is covered by the Past in English. Hence the use of the Present Perfect and the Past Perfect for the Simple Past by IE speakers.

3. The use of the Past Perfect instead of the Present Perfect; e.g.

(1) The tools, instruments, manuscripts and drawings that the festival has borrowed from various museums bear testimony to what the Muslims -- in
particular the Arabs and the Persians -- had achieved in the realm of sciences from astronomy to minerology.

(2) Mrs. Indira Gandhi has proved herself a highly consummate politician, but she had failed to sense correctly the mood of the common people.

(3) Actually in more than 50 colleges the staff had not received salary for periods ranging from 3 to 24 months.

The Present Perfect is used to refer to completed activities that took place within a period of time that extends to and includes the present moment. It is also used to refer to the present result of an activity or experience in the past. The chief interest is not in the past but in the present. The use of the Past Perfect in IE where native speakers of English would use the Present Perfect is a result of the emphasis on the completion of the activity in the past rather than its relevance to the present.

4. Use of the Simple Present Tense instead of the Present Perfect, Progressive, e.g.

(1) This is why they are able to survive for over 25 years.

(2) The impression is created that the IARI and ICAR administration is anti-science ...
(3) Further, some of the 'senior lecturers' on the old UGC scales are put on the new scales.

(4) We, since 1947, are exposed to a painful transition.

The reason why IE speakers deviate in the use of the Present Perfect Progressive is the absence of the progressive aspect of the Present Perfect in the Indian tense system, and the consequent substitution of the Simple Present in its stead.

English requires the Present Perfect Progressive to denote an action or state that began at some point in the past and continues up to the moment of speaking, and may even extend into the future. For instance, if it is raining at the moment of speaking this would be described by the sentence:

1. It is raining.

But if it began to rain at a certain time in the past, say 3 hours ago, and is still raining at the moment of speaking, one would report this fact by saying

2. It has been raining for 3 hours.

When the speaker's primary concern is with an act or process begun in the past and continuing up to the present the Present Perfect Progressive is used. The focus here is on
the continuity of the process. Thus while sentence 1 above describes the happening at the time of speaking, sentence 2 also emphasizes its continuity during a span of time.

IE speakers sometimes fail to maintain this distinction illustrated in sentences 1 and 2 above because such a distinction does not exist in their L1's. In the absence of a parallel distinction in the tense system of the Indian languages, situations which belong to the Present Perfect Progressive in English are conceived of as belonging to the Present Tense in terms of the Indian concept of tense and aspect. In the Indian tense system, an act continuing at the time of speaking, even if it began at a certain time in the past, belongs to the present. Therefore continuity in the present of an act that began in the past does not warrant the use of the Present Perfect. To belong to the Present Perfect an act should either be completed in the past or have its effect felt in the present. This difference in the semantic range of the Present and the Present Perfect and the 'gap' created by the absence of the progressive aspect of the Present Perfect in the Indian languages is crucial for IE speakers and explains the nature of the deviation in this area.

5. Use of the Present Progressive with Verbs of State and Perception, e.g.

(1) Hello. Sepoy Khem Singh, I am seeing you after a long time.
(2) Raman wanted to stop to ask "Why is she calling herself Daisy? Daisy what?"

(3) ... whereas if he is not owning any agricultural property, he will be liable to pay interest for the entire period.

(4) While Osmania and Kakathiya are having a five year MBBS course, Andhra, Nagarjuna and Shri Venkateswara Universities are having 4½ years MBBS course.

(5) Mr. P. Ramachandran was not probably knowing his own strength.

Verbs of perception and state are rarely used in the progressive tenses in English except with a change of meaning. The progressive tenses indicate an activity that is ongoing and suggest a duration or repetition. On the contrary, stative verbs (such as like, want, own, belong, etc.) describe not an activity but states that cannot be started or stopped at will. Similarly, verbs of perception are mainly verbs of condition or behaviour (such as see, hear, know, understand, etc.) not strictly under human control. Hence the incompatibility of verbs of perception and state with the progressive.

Ignorance of this semantic constraint on these verbs could lead to their being treated as 'ordinary' process verbs. Hence, knowledge of this restriction is crucial to foreign learners.
The distinction between verbs of state and process is learnt early by native speakers through exposure to the language. For foreign speakers this distinction is not always so clear. Besides, confusion is likely to arise because some of these verbs are also found in the progressive with special meanings. In these contexts the use of the progressive is perfectly acceptable in English because these verbs then are made to function as process verbs, that is, they bear a meaning which is different from what they usually mean as verbs of perception and state, e.g.

1. I am seeing (paying a visit to) my dentist this afternoon.
2. I was just seeing a visitor out (going to the front door with him).
3. What's he wanting this time?
4. How are you liking (enjoying) it?
5. We are thinking of going out.
6. We are certainly not recognizing such a fantastic claim.

Most of these exceptional uses are more frequent in spoken English but in the absence of a clearly formulated rule or guideline, foreign learners are likely to use them as they do the process verbs. Thus deviations in IE may be explained in terms of the violation of the constraint on the co-occurrence of these verbs with the progressive tenses owing to ignorance of the distinction normally made between verbs of perception and state and process verbs.
5.5. Modals

Deviant usage in IE with regard to modals comprises mainly the indiscriminate use of 'will' and 'would', and the substitution of 'may' where native speakers would have used 'should' or 'ought to'.

The use of 'would' instead of 'will' in the following sentences is fairly representative.

(1) The minimum penalty for concealment of income now would be equal to the amount of tax sought to be evaded.

(2) The British Prime Minister has promised Britain's Asian community that the Government would do everything to assure its protection.

(3) The results encourage the hope that in future it would be impossible for any political party to gain votes by fanning communal, regional and linguistic feelings.

(4) I hope the authorities would do the needful.
Similarly, while a native speaker would use 'will' in a sentence with a conditional clause in the present tense, IE speakers tend to use 'would' in such sentences too; e.g.

(1) If a vigorous movement is launched with the slogan "land to the tiller", the Government would certainly receive the support of a large section of the peasantry, ...

(2) If a husband pays any salary or commission to his wife for working with him as a steno or private secretary or in any capacity, the same would be included in his income.

(3) If more doctors are satisfied with modest expectations, then both they and the public would be greatly benefited.

Conversely, some IE speakers use 'will' where native speakers would have used 'would'; e.g.

(1) No superlative will be out of place in describing the festival.

(2) Whether he is known as Cupid, Amour, Kama or Madana, the world will certainly be a dull place without him.
(3) It will be more proper for Doordarshan to introduce useful and educative materials in place of these cheap film hits.

In native English, 'will' is used when talking of the 'pure future', i.e. when future events are not influenced by willingness, intention or likelihood or any external circumstances. But when the latter considerations have to be taken into account, 'going to' or 'likely to' is preferred. IE speakers are usually unaware of this distinction and use 'will' instead; e.g.,

(1) This will streamline the assessment records, tax recovery registers and will also wipe out fictitious tax arrears and reduce the quantum of work of the tax recovery officers.

(2) It will be easy to remove such streamers after the campaign.

The most probable root cause for the confusion between 'will' and 'would' is the absence of a corresponding pair of modals in the mother tongue of IE speakers. Most Indian languages make use of a single common device to perform the functions that these modals do in English. The indiscriminate use of 'will' for 'would' and vice versa by IE speakers is a reflection of the natural outcome of equating the two modals
with a single term in the mother tongue. Since the need to maintain such a distinction as that which exists between 'will' and 'would' for native English speakers doesn't arise in the L₁s of IE speakers, they apply a similar reasoning to English as well.

Another characteristic of IE is the use of 'may' instead of 'should', 'must', 'ought to', e.g.

(1) Priority may be given in admission in English medium high schools to students whose mother tongue is not Gujarati.

(2) The Health Minister may look into the matter personally.

(3) The authorities concerned may kindly look into this and have the waste disposal area relocated elsewhere, remote from the airport.

The use of 'may' instead of 'should/must/ought to' could perhaps be explained as follows: 'May' is more polite and tentative whereas 'should' etc., sound more assertive. 'Should' etc., also suggest personal involvement; the person accepts a certain amount of responsibility for his statement. The use of 'may' in IE is perhaps prompted by a desire to be impersonal, non-committal, or perhaps to attain a certain
amount of objectivity. Another possible source could be the use of 'may' in the formal styles in native English, as in

Specimen copies of these textbooks may be obtained on application to the publisher.

The use of 'may' from this point of view could be representative of the formal, 'bookish' style that is cherished by many misguided IE speakers as 'good English'.

The use of 'could' in contexts where native speakers would prefer 'able to' is another feature of IE. One sense in which 'could' cannot be used as the simple past tense of 'can' is when 'could' refers to "the attainment of something through some capacity." (Allen, 1959). Mere capacity may have 'could' or 'was able to'; e.g.

He could swim very well when he was young.

But something attained through a capacity may not have 'could', e.g.

He was able to swim half way before he collapsed.

'could' is impossible here.

IE speakers appear to be unaware of this constraint, thus producing sentences such as:
(1) As I could learn from Viewer’s Forum, there are requests from viewers to screen “Oliyum Oliyum” three times a week.

(2) ... The Janata merger itself is a case in point. They could accomplish at short notice what they could not bring themselves to over years of close proximity.
5.6. **Word-Order**

English has a fixed word-order and in general changes in the sequence of words are important in that they lead to changes in meaning such as those in terms of emphasis, contrast, etc., or like the subject-verb inversion turn statements into questions and so on. Knowledge of the right word-order is therefore crucial to an adequate command of the language.

IE speakers, especially at the upper end of the cline of bilingualism seem to show little deviation in this area, however, in spite of the striking difference between the SVO word-order of English and the SOV order of most Indian languages. Deviations that do occur at this level are primarily connected with the imperfect mastery of particular sub-systems of the language such as the adverbials, for instance. These areas prove problematic to IE speakers either because of the absence of definite rules regarding the position of these elements or because of their relative mobility in a sentence.

For instance, it is easy to see why a system like the adverbials should cause difficulty to an L₂ speaker of English: Since adverbs are incidental components and are less essential
than any other parts of speech, they are on that account more mobile than others. Thus, there are numerous adverbs which have variable positions in a sentence. Potter has shown (1969) how it is possible for an adverb like 'apparently' to occur in all five positions in the sentences below:

(a) Apparently the man was living a double life.  
    (where 'apparently' modifies the whole statement)

(b) The man apparently was living a double life.  
    (where 'apparently' refers to 'the man' and not 'the woman' in a certain context.)

(c) The man was apparently living a double life.  
    (Much the same as (a) but less emphatic)

(d) The man was living apparently a double life.  
    (almost parenthetical, and even less emphatic than (c))

(e) The man was living a double life apparently.  
    (where 'apparently' is a kind of afterthought)

This is not to say that there is no definite pattern with regard to the position of adverbials in English. The general tendency to make word-order more fixed in present-day English applies, though in a less degree, to adverbials also: Adverbs of frequency most usually occupy mid-position though
they may also occupy front or end position. Adverbs of time usually occur at the beginning or end of a sentence, seldom in mid-position. An adverb of place or direction follows the verb with which it is bound semantically. Other adverbs and adverb phrases normally take end positions. However, these positions are not rigidly fixed. Many adverbs may have front position for emphasis or contrast though their more usual position is elsewhere. In the absence of a knowledge of these subtle complexities governing adverbial usage, an L₂ speaker is likely to be confused as to the exact position an adverbial must occupy in a particular sentence. IE speakers show evidence of such confusion in their use of the adverbials.

Another characteristic feature of IE - more noticeable perhaps in informal speech than in writing - is the tendency to permute the introductory 'there' to clause/sentence-final position and replace it by the logical subject. In native English, sentences introduced by 'there' stand apart because this adverb serves as a blank or dummy subject and is distinguished from 'there' as an adverb of place (both in lacking stress and in behaving in most ways like the subject of a sentence). The permutation of this element to sentence-final position appears to be an outcome of a confusion between the introductory 'there' and 'there' as an adverb of place, which can occur both in front position (There you are!) as
well as in sentence final position (You'll probably find it there.).

Deviation in word-order sometimes takes the form of pre-posing of adjectives from their normal position of post-head modifiers/certain fixed expressions. IE speakers show a tendency to normalize such phrases, as in b(i) and c(i) below, by pre-posing the post-head modifier to a pre-nominal position on the analogy of such constructions as in a(ii) below:

a. (i) the categories mentioned above
   (ii) the above mentioned categories

b. (i) the authorities concerned
   (ii) the concerned authorities

c. (i) the persons responsible
   (ii) the responsible persons
   etc.

1. The insertion of an adverbial between the first and second item in a verb phrase, e.g.

(1) Mr. P. Ramchandran was not probably knowing his strength.

(2) No Prime Minister worth his or her salt could obviously countenance such a state of affairs.
2. The separation of adverbials from the words they modify when, in fact, they should immediately precede them.

(1) A transmitter may even be not heard properly in Kanchipuram.
(Instead of 'even in Kanchipuram')

(2) As our taxation set up is rather made complicated by the previous Government, ...
(Instead of 'is made rather complicated')

(3) ... results of I Year B.A. have already been declared a fortnight back and some of them received their results also.
(Have also received their results).

3. Some adverbials are treated as sentence modifiers and front-shifted while at other times adverbials are inserted within the verb phrase instead of the beginning or the end of the sentence; e.g.

(1) Absolutely there has been no irregularity in the valuation of answer papers.
(2) No Prime Minister worth his or her salt could obviously countenance such a state of affairs.

An extension of this tendency to treat adverbials as sentential modifiers is evident in their occurrence before the subject of a clause instead of with the verb phrases they modify.

(1) Can we deny the fact that still she has a following in India apart from the bulk of Congress Party, ...

(2) Not satisfied with this, again attempts were made by them to request one opposition member in the council to raise the issue.

4. Permutation of the introductory "there" to the final position in a sentence or clause; e.g.

(1) ... but only one kilo was supplied to each card holder, saying sufficient stock was not there.

(2) ... and various kinds of after-sale services are also there to be attended to by an active agent.

(3) Most students, especially girls, are usually found on rooftops in the days of their
examinations. "Why this 'rattafication'?' I asked the girl. "But this has to be there", she said.

(4) May I request the RTC authorities to remove the restriction, if it is there, on carrying rice in RTC buses ...?

5. Pre-posing of post-head modifiers to a pre-nominal position, e.g.

(1) Press notes such as these from the Corporation are misleading and keep the public and the responsible persons in the government in dark.

(2) Will the concerned company officials look into this?

(3) It is high time the concerned Minister takes a few concrete steps to avoid further tragedy.

(4) ... but how is it that the Maharashtra authorities failed to hold consultations on this issue with the concerned institutions?
5.7. Non-count Nouns used as Count Nouns

English nouns fall into the two broad categories of count (countable) nouns and non-count (uncountable) nouns. It is important to maintain this distinction because the members of the two categories behave differently in the language. Generally speaking, uncountable nouns do not occur with the indefinite article nor are they pluralized with -s. Some of these are frequently treated as countables by users of IE, that is, they are used either with the plural morpheme -s or with the indefinite article 'an': e.g.

1. The article on Ravi Verma (May 30) requires some clarifications.

2. Prof. Madan pointed out that private tutions were banned in the university ...

3. We have to tackle all major unrests in any part of the country.

4. How they howled for his blood shouting lusty abuses in Punjabi!
5. Giving blood as donation and erecting bus sheds are not social works.

6. I usually left for work at about 8 in the morning after having a toast or two and a cup of coffee.

7. To expect so much from the schools will no doubt be a folly on our part.

8. Presently, they have taken up such a big work from the Charminar Crossroads towards Vidhyanagar (opposite to RTC/VST factory), one fails to understand the necessity for asphalting such a wide footpath which is used by the public only sparingly.

9. People did not know that the Government was given the advice as early as 1964 that Teen Murti House should be made, the permanent residence of Prime Ministers, an advice which was ignored by our leaders for sentimental reasons.

10. India is a land of diversities.

Uncountable nouns present special difficulties to foreign speakers - not because the distinction does not exist in other languages, nor because of the absence of rules but
because of the complexity of the subject itself. This complexity is summed up by Jespersen as follows:

The distinction between thing-words (countables) and mass-words (uncountables) is easy enough if we look at the idea that is expressed in each single instance. But in practical language the distinction is not carried through in such a way that one and the same word stands always for one and the same idea. On the contrary a great many words may in one connection stand for something countable and in another for something uncountable.

(Jespersen 1933: 206-207)

(a) Quite a number of nouns in English can be both count and non-count. Wood, for instance, is count when it refers to a collection of trees (a forest), and non-count when it refers to the material of which trees are composed. However, there appears to be no consistent semantic relationship between countable and uncountable uses of nouns. Lamb, chicken are uncountable as food but as living creatures they are countable. But this relationship does not apply in cases like pig, sheep, deer.

On the other hand, in many cases English has a separate count noun and a separate non-count one referring to the same area of meaning; e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Non-count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a pig</td>
<td>pork</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a leaf</td>
<td>foliage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a loaf</td>
<td>bread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a meal</td>
<td>food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a job</td>
<td>work</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(b) Many nouns typically refer to substances such as air, water, milk, butter, iron, leather, rock, glass, etc. These are uncountable because it makes no sense to 'count' the quantity of a mass substance which is not naturally divisible into separate objects. However, there are some uncountable nouns which, it might be argued, should 'really' be count, because the 'substance' is divisible into separate things: e.g. furniture consists of pieces of furniture, grass of separate blades of grass, hair of separate strands of hair, and so on. Psychologically native speakers think of such things as indivisible and use a unit noun (such as piece or bit) to subdivide notionally a mass into separate pieces. But non-native speakers may not think in the same way. It might appear more logical to them to regard these as count nouns and therefore to refer to them as furnitures instead of pieces of furniture, chocolates instead of bars of chocolate, a soap instead of a cake of soap, etc.

(c) Sometimes words which are usually uncountable are 'converted' into count nouns. But there does not seem to be any clearly discernible motivation for using some normally uncountable nouns in countable functions but not others: e.g.

Two teas please (= two cups of tea)
May I have two sugars in my coffee?
   (= two lumps of sugar)
Some of the best tobaccos are grown in Turkey.
   (= kinds of tobacco)
Some abstract nouns which are normally non-count become singular count nouns when their meaning is limited by specific reference to a person, etc. e.g.

He has had a good *education*.

She plays Mozart with a rare *grace* and * delicacy* of touch.

Many nouns can be either count or non-count (with some difference of meaning). Leech and Svartik (1975:47) give the following examples:

We had little *difficulty* convincing him.

but: He is having financial *difficulties*.

He is a policeman of many years' *experience*.

but: Tell me about your *experiences* abroad.

I have some *work* to do this evening.

but: They played two *works* by an unknown *French composer*.

This often leads to deviant usage on the part of Indian users of English who having seen a noun treated as countable in one context assume wrongly that it will be countable in another.

Thus there are inherent difficulties in the learning of the uses of uncountable nouns in English as a foreign language. It is no wonder then that IE speakers sometimes betray their
confusion in the usage of uncountable nouns, and this is true even of speakers at the highest point on the cline of bilingualism.

An examination of the precise nature of the deviant usages in IE shows that they involve instances where:

(i) the noun in question has both countable and uncountable functions depending upon the meaning which is intended; e.g. work, abuse, advice, toast, folly, fruit, damage, rash, script, invitation, vacation, opinion, cost, etc.

(ii) the noun is semantically related to other nouns which are countable; e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>non-count</th>
<th>count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>work</td>
<td>jobs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rash</td>
<td>spots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vacation</td>
<td>holidays</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diversity</td>
<td>varieties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>equipment</td>
<td>tools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clarification</td>
<td>explanations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>correspondence</td>
<td>letters</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iii) the noun in question is an uncountable one modified by a unit noun in native English, whereas IE speakers not only tend to use it without the modifying
unit noun but with the indefinite article and the plural morpheme suffix; e.g.

toasts for pieces of toast
furnitures for pieces of furniture
a chalk for a piece of chalk

(iv) the noun occurs as an uncountable noun in certain fixed expressions but is used in the plural in IE, perhaps because outside of these fixed phrases they also have countable functions; e.g.

finding faults
climate of opinions
lip sympathies
acts of omissions and commissions

(v) rarely, the noun has a countable counterpart in the same context in most Indian languages, so that IE speakers tend to use it as a count noun; e.g. abuses, fruits, etc.

(vi) the noun is very rarely, or almost never, used as a countable noun in native English but is pluralized in IE, e.g. tuitions, educations, wastes, clarification unrests, legislations, starvations, ruminations, etc.
5.8. **Plural form with certain words**

Speakers of IE show a marked tendency to prefer plural forms of nouns in a number of contexts where native speakers would use the singular form. Instances of pluralization in IE involve:

(i) Those nouns which are treated only as uncountable in native English and so never, or only very rarely, occur in the plural form; e.g.

(1) It is true that humanism is one of the bedrocks of his artistic integrity.

(2) If even such a mild action is not tolerated then could these pillars of society tell the teachers what action they should take to put sense into the muddle-headed thinking of the guardians of educations?

(3) The roads are congested, overflowing with soil, filth and other wastes.

(ii) Pluralization of a noun which can be [-count] but which is [-count] in the meaning intended. These are nouns
which have more than one meaning and are categorized as countable or uncountable nouns according to the meaning intended. IE speakers tend to treat these nouns as countable when actually the meaning requires their use as uncountable nouns; e.g.

(1) Inter-regional cultural activities and **group travels** should be organized towards better understanding of each other.

(2) ... it is customary for the various parties to hurl **abuses** rightly or wrongly against the ruling party for its lapses during its term of office.

(3) This has put me to great **hardships**.

(iii) Plural forms used in contexts where it would be unlikely in native English. In such contexts native speakers would use the singular form; e.g.

(1) By now tell-tale **rashes** had appeared on her face.

(2) After two years I returned home for the summer **vacations**.

(3) The importance of fresh **fruits** and green salads cannot be too strongly emphasized.
(4) How could the bus move out of the shed without prior checking of the brakes and its conditions?

(iv) Those nouns which are used in the singular form in certain fixed phrases and expressions, though outside of these they may be used in the plural form; e.g.

(1) No one can deny that the DMK raised its hand of protest against the emergency and the arrest of national leaders and suspension of press freedom, but it does not entitle the party to seek the suffrage of the voters in the light of its acts of omissions and commissions.

(2) Goods carried by trucks from Delhi to Uttar Pradesh require the formality of filling in a number of scheduled forms.

(3) The Janata Party came to power some six months ago. But instead of improving the condition of the poor people, the Janata leaders are 'busy' finding faults with the Congress and Indira Gandhi as a whole.
Confusion between the Gerund and the 'to' infinitive

There is a good deal of overlapping between the functions of the gerund and the 'to' infinitive though in many cases idiomatic use permits only one of them. For example, the gerund is required after verbs like dread, prevent, enjoy, avoid, hazard, remember, contemplate, involve, etc., and after all prepositions except the to of the infinitive; while the 'to' infinitive is required after dare, hope, wish, need, persuade, etc. and after certain verbs that take a direct object, such as advise, allow, prefer, force, encourage, ask, cause, etc.

There are cases where substitution of one construction for the other does not seriously affect the meaning. Verbs such as like, love, hate and prefer can be followed by a 'to' infinitive or by an '-ing' clause, e.g.

I prefer to walk than to go in a bus.

She likes/loves/hates to give parties.
although some English speakers discern a slight difference between 'to give parties' and 'giving parties' in that the infinitive clause expresses an 'idea', while the '-ing' clause expresses a 'fact' (Leech and Svartvik 1975:112).

In some cases the difference in meaning between the two constructions is considerable; e.g.

We stopped [to eat] our lunch. [eating]

And sometimes there is a change of meaning in the word preceding the infinitive or '-ing' form; e.g.

I can't help you solve this problem --
It's too difficult.

I can't help solving this problem --
it's too easy.

In IE the functions of the gerund and the 'to' infinitive are often confused. IE speakers tend to make indiscriminate substitution of one for the other; e.g.

(1) This is what almost every student feels and thinks while reading Eliot but cannot hazard to express before his teacher ...

(2) Would they apply the same mental acuity to calculate the loss that many students
are likely to suffer with their results in jeopardy?

(3) ... if we contemplate to throw it out, then all that we can expect to achieve will be utter chaos ...

(4) ... insist on the managements to spend the amount within a specified period.

(5) ... the inevitable and prohibitive cost involved to maintain such services ...

(6) ... he could write on the "advantages of spreading bubonic plague" or "the urgency to banish truth from our literature."

Instances of deviant usage in IE suggest that a majority of these are probably due to the fact that a near-synonym of the verbs preceding the infinitive construction may be followed by either the gerund or the infinitive without any drastic change in meaning. For instance, in the case of verbs like 'begin' and 'start' the speaker is faced with what might be called 'free' variants in association with certain words; e.g.

They began to run.
     running.

They started to run.
     running.
may all mean exactly the same, though individual users of the language might see or imagine some slight distinction between them. However, not all near-synonyms can be used interchangeably in this manner; e.g.

He stopped I to eat. I eating.
He ceased I to eat. I eating.

where although 'cease' and 'stop' are near-synonyms, only 'cease' allows both the constructions without any difference in the meaning, while the two constructions with 'stop' mean two quite different things. Again, of these only the 'stop' + '-ing' construction is synonymous with the two constructions in combination with 'cease', while the 'stop' + 'to'-infinitive construction has an entirely different meaning and cannot be substituted for the 'stop' + '-ing' form.

Thus failure to recognize that in certain contexts and with certain verbs the 'to' infinitive is not interchangeable with the '-ing' form is responsible for a majority of cases of deviant usage in IE. Specifically, these consist of

(i) instances where the '-ing' form functions as the object of a transitive verb which has a near-synonym that allows the 'to' infinitive; e.g.

hazard expressing/dare to express

----- > hazard to express.
contemplate throwing/plan, wish, decide, intend

to throw

--→ contemplate to throw

insist on D.O. spending/force, compel, D.O. to spend

--→ insist on D.O. to spend.

(ii) contexts in which the gerund functions as object of a
preposition in native English but where IE speakers tend to
omit the preposition altogether and substitute the 'to'
the
infinitive for/-ing' form instead. This is reinforced by
an alternative form which allows the 'to' infinitive; e.g.

urgency of banishing/need to banish

--→ urgency to banish.

apply D.O. in calculating/use D.O. to calculate

--→ apply D.O. to calculate.

(iii) With a view to + Infinitive

Indian users of English appear to have a tendency to use the
infinitive instead of the '-ing' form with the phrase 'with a
view to'; e.g.

(1) ... harass and threaten teachers with a view
probably to break the unity of the teachers.
(2) ... collect as much information as possible ... with a view to compile a concise history of the Bombay city police for the years 1917-1977.

(3) The Corporation and BDA authorities should discuss the matter ... with a view to close these graveyards ...

(4) ... the Government have arranged import of Rapeseed oil with a view to make the edible oils available to consumers at reasonable rates.

In native English this phrase is followed by the gerundive form of the verb. Wood (1962:249) points out that with a view to has the habit of attracting an infinitive instead of a gerund (probably through the influence of the preposition), but it is incorrect and must be amended. Bhargava (1968:164-165) observes that in using the infinitive with the gerundive form Indian users of English apparently confuse the phrase with a view to with in order to. The two phrases are semantically very close - both denote purpose - and can be used interchangeably syntactically. This serves to reinforce the use of the infinitive in place of the gerundive with with a view to in IE. Thus the cause of deviation is centred in the language itself.
5.10. Verbal 'ing'

IE users tend to use 'for -ing' to express purpose in contexts in which native speakers use the 'to' infinitive; e.g.

(1) ... enlisting the assistance of mere professors/lecturers for conducting the course.

(2) For enforcing this act, offices are being maintained all over the country.

(3) ... the growth of a strong opposition party to fight for regaining the impoverished rights of the citizens.

(4) ... Mr. Sanjeeva Reddy stressed the need for amending vulgar ostentation and unnecessary pomp and show.

(5) We hope to begin with the 1000 K.W. super power Transmitters for providing the much needed national channel.

In native English generally 'for -ing' describes the use of things, not the purpose for which a particular agent may use them; while the verb stem with 'to' is used as an adjunct of purpose.
Deviant usage in IE is perhaps caused by the fact that the verb stem with 'to', when used as an adjunct of purpose, sometimes has a competing construction in the shape of 'for -ing'. Thus we may speak of 'a box to keep my jewels in' as well as 'a box for keeping my jewels in'.

However, Erades (1975:112) points out that there is a slight, although not negligible, difference between the two constructions, and that they can by no means always be used indiscriminately. The verb stem, it would appear, vaguely suggests an agent, a person having a particular object in view, whereas 'for -ing' makes us think of the use to which some object can or is to be put.

Wood (in Erades 1975) observes that we have genuine purpose in

Electric fans have been installed to keep the room cool.

but in

Electric fans have been installed for keeping the room cool.

the '-ing' construction tells us the use for which the fans are intended (fans for keeping the room cool) and not the purpose for installing them. Similarly in,

The passages have been selected for reading aloud.
'for reading aloud' does not state the purpose of selecting them, but tells us something about the character of the passages themselves. Adjuncts of purpose, then, are always adverbial in character: they express the purpose prompting the activity denoted by the verb. But it is quite possible to have the verbal '-ing' in adjuncts stating the use to which something is to be put; e.g.

The land has been sold for building.

Every police car is equipped with wireless for keeping in touch with headquarters.

The above examples show that the 'for -ing' adjunct is at least partly attributive. That is why in a sentence like,

I use this box to keep my jewels in.

it is hardly possible to replace 'to keep' by 'for keeping': the sentence does not describe the character of the box but is meant to convey for what purposes the speaker uses it (Erades, 1975:112). Erades observes that one obvious reason for this is: 'to keep' is more verbal in character than 'keeping' and that although a non-finite form, it suggests a secondary (psychological, logical, notional) subject, in this case identical with the grammatical subject 'I'. On the other hand,
a question like

"What is this?"

may probably elicit the answer

That's a box for keeping my jewels in.

since it enquires after the nature of the object independently of the use to which the person addressed may put it (Erades, 1975).

IE speakers confuse the two functions when they indiscriminately use one construction for the other.

This tendency to use the 'for -ing' construction instead of the 'to-infinitive' is further reinforced by the fact that in most Indian languages the same form (e.g., -ke liye in Hindi, -ki in Telugu) is used to express both purpose and use, i.e., the distinction between them does not seem to be maintained in Indian languages. Since English requires and uses two independent forms to denote the two functions and most Indian languages make do with one and the same form, interference from L1 appears to be at least partly responsible for deviant usage in this area.
5.11. 'That' clause after certain Verbs

There is a group of English verbs which seems to present special difficulty to Indian users of English. The group may be described as strongly transitive in that an expressed object in the form of a noun, a pronoun or a noun phrase is normally mandatory after all of them.

The following sentences exemplify the way in which these verbs are very frequently used in IE:

(1) Doubts are freely expressed that the goods will be dropped within the state.

(2) We have experienced that the constitution, however good it may be, cannot effectively safeguard our rights.

(3) As for the college staff, the Government has assured that these scales would be introduced from the same dates.

(4) Oscar Wilde, I think, advised that no man should have a secret from his wife because she invariably finds it out.
(5) The University Grants Commission has recently clarified that the rule that the appointee should have an M.Phil. degree ... pertains only to fresh appointments. ...

(6) So it is difficult to justify that these rules are designed to fulfil the lofty ideal of the "protective discrimination" envisaged in the Constitution.

In English certain constraints are attached to these verbs. For instance, 'express' type verbs are normally followed by a noun, a pronoun or a noun phrase and not a 'that' clause; e.g.

He expresses his thoughts with great clarity.

Again, certain other verbs like 'assure/advise/inform' etc., are not followed immediately by a 'that' clause -- the person(s) being 'assured/advised/informed' etc., must be indicated by a noun or pronoun; e.g.

I can assure you that I will do all I can.

There is yet another class of verbs -- the 'clarify/deplore' type -- which cannot be followed immediately by a 'that' clause, nor can a word indicating the recipient of the message be inserted as with the 'assure' type verbs. In the case of such
verbs the addition of words like 'the fact', 'the idea', 'the act', 'the statement', and so on are required after the verb; e.g.

He deplored the fact that certain departments had not received sufficient funds.

The reason that IE users employ the 'that' clause with these verbs is unfamiliarity with the peculiar constraints that are attached to them. The language allows 'that' clause with many other verbs, and some of these verbs are even quasi-synonymous or notionally related to the kind of verbs mentioned above. Thus English allows

suggest that but not advise that
promise that but not assure that
make (it) clear that but not clarify that

Deviant usage in the case of verbs like 'express/assure/clarify' may also be due to analogy.
5.12. **Transitive/Intransitive Verbs**

All transitive verbs in English take a direct object denoting a person or thing affected by the action expressed in the active voice by the verb. Those verbs that cannot be used with a direct object are intransitive. However, there is a great deal of overlapping between these classes for a great many verbs — perhaps most English verbs — can be used both transitively and intransitively. For instance, verbs like *walk* and *run*, which we think of primarily as intransitive, sometimes have an object, as in:

- walk the streets
- run a business

though it would be difficult to think of a context in which *disappear* could be used transitively.

On the other hand, typically transitive verbs like *see*, *remember* and *know* are sometimes used without an object; e.g.

- He saw/remembered quite clearly.
- Can you remember?
- I don't know.
For an L₂ speaker of English unfamiliarity with the range of contexts in which particular verbs can be used transitively or in transitively may lead to the inappropriate use of these verbs. Thus IE speakers sometimes show a tendency to use transitive verbs intransitively and vice versa. The following examples show the use of transitive verbs without direct objects in contexts in which they would be considered obligatory by native speakers:

(1) Mary Barker Eddy further **substantiates** in Science and Health, ...

(2) He mimicked, jumped about, contorted his face, **enacted**, flailed his arms like a windmill ...

(3) Will any of your readers who know more about this kindly **intimate** whether these stamps have been used by the P and T Department ...

(4) Lastly, wisdom **compels** to demand to accept the truth.

Conversely, some IE speakers use the direct object in contexts, where they would not normally occur in native English, thus treating intransitive verbs as if they were transitive; e.g.

(1) I stood there ill at ease while Shyama **necked** me without the slightest embarrassment.
(2) The suggestion current among some people of reverting ICAR to a Government of India Department ...

These deviant forms may also be viewed as the result of the wrong choice of the verb in a given context. Thus an intransitive verb may be used inappropriately with a direct object on the analogy of a transitive verb to which it is notionally similar or related; e.g.

(1) Coalesce (v. i.) instead of combine (v.t) while Nanditha Krishna's account was punctuated with historical highlights R.G.K. coalesced tradition with Mount Road modernities of the city with a gifted pen.

(2) desist (v. i.) instead of discourage (v.t) ... pilgrim tax was levied in olden days by alien rulers, in order to desist the people from visiting holy places.

Deviation in IE resulting from the choice of the wrong verb is not restricted to intransitive verbs, but may occur with regard to transitive verbs as well; e.g.

(1) Nudged (v.t) instead of edged (v.i.)
At the end of each mantra Radha Pandit nudged sideways nearer her.
5.13. **Reflexive/Non-reflexive Verbs**

Reflexive verbs may be said to be a special class of transitive verbs in that they take a reflexive pronoun as a direct object. In other words, action denoted by a reflexive verb turns back upon the subject. English reflexive verbs may be subdivided into three types:

(i) Those that take only a reflexive pronoun as a direct object, e.g. to avail oneself (of an opportunity), to pride oneself (on something)

(ii) Those that can take an object other than a reflexive pronoun but not in the same sense, e.g. to apply oneself (to a task), but to apply a new method; to enjoy oneself (at a party), but to enjoy the movie.

(iii) Those that can take a non-reflexive object without much difference of meaning or can drop the reflexive pronoun altogether, e.g. to dress, to shave (oneself), etc.

Sometimes IE speakers omit the reflexive pronoun in contexts where a native speaker would consider its occurrence obligatory. At other times, they tend to insert
the reflexive pronoun where it is unnecessary. One reason for this is that many Indian languages do not have a one-to-one correspondence with the English reflexive. For instance, in most Dravidian languages the reflexive pronoun is realized in the third person only, although there exists a parallel system of personal pronouns corresponding to those used with the reflexive verbs in English. In addition to this, the absence in most Indian languages of sub-category (i) of the reflexive verbs mentioned above makes this a potential area of interference. Thus Bhargava points out (1968) how in spite of the presence of the category of personal pronouns in both systems, i.e. HUP (Hindi/Urdu/Punjabi) and English, the absence of subcategory (i) of the English reflexive verbs in HUP can lead to interference in IE, and the production of a sentence like

*He availed of the opportunity

instead of

He availed himself of the opportunity.

In fact, according to Bhargava, the latter is almost non-occurent in HUP English. That this is especially true of the verb 'avail' is also borne out by our data, e.g.

(1) This would enable a number of residents staying in these areas to avail of the service ...
(2) ... the countless number of commuters who would like to avail buses from the Pune Railway Station to the Poona University.

(3) Accredited correspondents of dailies and news agencies avail 50 percent travel concessions ...

Some of the verbs in English subcategory (ii) are also treated in the same way by IE speakers so that it is not uncommon to find an IE speaker say:

*We have a party tonight - why don't you come and enjoy?*

The obligatory use of the reflexive pronoun with certain reflexive verbs in English can only be learned through exposure, there being no one-to-one correspondence of these forms in the $L_1$. Inadequate exposure can also lead to deviation in the other direction, viz., the use of reflexive pronouns with verbs that are non-reflexive in English owing to unfamiliarity with the range of verbs that normally collocate with reflexive pronouns. IE speakers show a tendency to deviate in this direction; e.g.

(1) ... their inability to articulate themselves clearly ...
(2) There I could _swill myself_ with beer.

(3) Although they are allotted quarters for a period of one to three years to _settle themselves_ in civilian life.

However, since there are so few examples of deviation in this area it is doubtful if they are truly representative of widespread usage in educated IE.
5.14. Modification

As far as modification is concerned, IE speakers tend to deviate primarily in the use of degree expressions, more specifically in the use of adverbs such as quite, very and much and the use of intensifiers with adjectives that are normally considered 'absolute' such as perfect, unique, etc.

The use of quite as a pre-modifier where a native speaker would use very is perhaps traceable to the partial overlap of meaning and function that exists between these two words. A confusing peculiarity about quite when it is used as an adverb is that it has two meanings — one contradicting the other:

One meaning is: completely/wholly/absolutely.

Thus

(1) The theatre was quite full last night.

would mean the theatre was filled to capacity.

The other meaning is: fairly/reasonably/sufficiently.

In this sense
(2) The theatre was quite full last night. would mean it was reasonably filled but not really 'full' in the absolute sense. Thus while there is a resemblance between the first sense of quite and very, no such resemblance exists between very and the second sense of quite. Since the distinction between the two senses of quite will emerge mainly from the context alone, it is understandable that an L2 speaker should find the complex subtleties underlying the use of quite quite bewildering. The confusion that this is likely to create leads to the use of quite in IE where very would be more appropriate, e.g. 

(1) The difference of 0.475 is quite large.

(2) Their experience is quite relevant to us because they are ahead of us by 30 to 40 years.

Quite in the above sentences seems to suggest 'more or less', 'to a certain extent', while very would make the meaning more clear.

The confusion between very and much appears to spring purely from an ignorance of the constraints that determine the co-occurrence of these adverbs with the words they modify. As Fowler points out (1957), very and much are complementary,
each being suited to places in which the other is unnatural or wrong. Generally participles (except the 'passive' ones, which have lost their verbal force and are felt to be adjectival) are modified by much, e.g.

The privilege has been much abused
Her dress was much admired

and adjectives by very; e.g.

I was very interested in his story
We are very worried about his health.

In other words, very acts as a pre-modifier. Whereas much acts as/adverbial. However, much on its own is limited to mid-position in the clause. In end-position it has to be preceded by very as the following examples from Leech and Svarkvik (1975) show:

The party was very enjoyable. (pre-modifier)
I (very) much enjoyed the party (mid-position adverbial)
I enjoyed the party very much (end-position adverbial).

While native speakers are intuitively aware of these constraints they are not so apparent to the L2 speaker. Thus the use of much for very in IE may be explained as follows: Instead of maintaining an either/or relation between them with regard to the words they modify, IE speakers tend
to treat these as alternative choices, thus producing sentences as the following:

(1) Therefore it will be much helpful to them if the refund is ordered to be paid in June.

(2) Life in Tahiti is much different from that on any other Pacific Island.

(3) Domestic consumers of coffee seeds experience much difficulty to get good quality coffee seeds. (find it very difficult)

Some IE speakers use both 'very' and 'much' together, treating their combination as a compound modifier, possibly on the analogy of "very much" as/end-position adverbial (above), or perhaps as a kind of compromise between the two alternatives they feel they have at their choice, thus giving rise to sentences of the following type:

(1) As a matter of fact the tax officers are very much busy during the months of February and March.

(2) This is very much true and has also been proved beyond doubt even during the Congress Raj.
(3) Central Government servants are very much pleased to receive the second instalment of CDS.

The use of degree expressions with what are known as 'absolutes' ('perfect', 'unique', etc.) is considered slovenly and 'bad English' even among native speakers, who tend to do this in everyday speech. IE speakers use degree expressions to modify these adjectives because they fail to maintain a distinction between these adjectives which have an 'absolute' sense and thus do not take such modifiers and other 'ordinary' adjectives which do; e.g.

(1) The election is much more crucial because it is the forerunner to the assembly elections.

(2) ... without caring to understand the very essential and valuable services rendered by them.

(3) ... it was equally true that his flourishing film career was practically doomed in Bombay.
5.15. The Intrusive 'as' with certain Verbs

What we might term 'the intrusive "as"' occurs frequently in the English of many Indian speakers with certain kinds of verbs. These are verbs which are related in meaning or are quasi-synonymous, such as:

\{
  \begin{align*}
    \text{call} \\
    \text{name} \\
    \text{rename} \\
    \text{acclaim} \\
    \text{term} \\
    \text{style} \\
    \text{deem} \\
    \text{dub} \\
    \text{make} \\
    \text{etc.}
  \end{align*}
\}

Examples:

(1) She had her early training under Siyaji Misra and was \textit{acclaimed as} the "Queen of Thumri" by Ustad Faiyaz Khan.

(2) The Archbishop of Canterbury \textit{termed} the racial attacks \textit{as} "a disgrace to our nation".

(3) One more point which the author ought to have mentioned, is that India being \textit{styled as} the so-called "Big Brother" has to be generous ...
(4) She (The P.M.) is even dubbed as an autocrat.

(5) They have developed a vested interest in being called as "scheduled castes".

A native speaker of English would never use 'as' with the 'call' type verbs that occur in the examples from IE quoted above. There are a group of verbs in English, however, that can have (complex) complementation only with 'as' or (less commonly) 'for'. Some of these are:

- regard
- view
- treat
- describe
- represent
- know
- recognize
- accept
- acknowledge
- etc.

Examples:

(1) He is regarded as the best dentist.

(2) They recognized John as intelligent.

'As' is obligatory with the 'regard' type verbs in the above sentence patterns. Yet another group of verbs exists which are commonly used with an alternative 'as' construction:

- consider
- crown
- appoint
- elect
- etc.
Examples:

(1) He is considered (as) a hero.
(2) They elected him (as) their leader.

There is a semantic relationship between 'call' type verbs and 'regard' and 'consider' type verbs in that they share a partially similar area of meaning. It follows that sometimes these verbs can be used interchangeably with only a slight difference in the meaning. The temptation to assume in these circumstances, that a set of words that are related in meaning may occur in the same type of sentence patterns and behave in an identical manner - i.e., collocate with 'as' - is very great, and is responsible for deviant usage in this area.

When an IE speaker uses a particular verb to convey the meaning he intends he selects a word from a paradigm of verbs at his command. Selection of a 'regard' or 'consider' type verb in a given context may necessitate collocation with 'as' but this is not the case with 'call' type verbs; e.g.

(1) He shouldn't regard himself as an expert.
(2) He shouldn't consider himself (as) an expert.

but

(3) He shouldn't call himself an expert.
However, the IE speaker tends to use 'as' with such verbs on the analogy of 'regard' type verbs (with which its collocation is obligatory for complex complementation) and 'consider' type verbs (with which it collocates optionally) because they are notionally associated with each other and are used by them in similar structures. In other words, they fail to observe the syntagmatic restrictions on these verbs because of the assumption that meaning resides more in the word than in relations between words in structures.

The analogy seems to be further reinforced by implication from the notion represented by 'call' type verbs. These verbs generally imply 'assigning a certain status/role to somebody or something' which involves 'looking upon somebody or something as ... X ...' Thus the use of the intrusive 'as' in IE seems to be prompted by semantic considerations rather than the conventions of the language.
5.16. **N + N Type Constructions**

IE shows a strong tendency to form nominal groups of a substantive + substantive combination. Examples of these abound particularly in section III of our corpus (see Chapter VI, Table A). These syntactic groups resemble noun compounds except that usually a distinction is made between genuine compound formations and attributive constructions. Compounds normally have a single meaning (e.g. rainbow, skyscraper) or a special meaning distinct from that of its two parts (e.g. White House, Polar bear) and are usually characterized by the way the group is stressed: if it has a single main stress it is taken to be a single word (e.g. blackbird vs. 'black bird). In other words, the elements of a compound are felt to form a unit that is somehow integral, generic or necessary, not one that is short-lived or capricious. A syntactic group, on the other hand, is analyzable as "the additive sum of its elements. It is an informal, non-committal meeting, never a union of the constituents" (Marchand 1960:18) (e.g. earth quake vs. earth satellite). English enjoys an advantage over many other languages in that it abounds in constructions of the latter kind.
However, it is not always easy to judge between a compound noun and a nominal group. Historically, it seems a phrase that is constantly used as a set-phrase tends to acquire a single stress. On the semantic plane, nominal groups become compounds when cohesion between the elements grows closer and more permanent. e.g. Jones gives three possible pronunciations of the compound word great coat as a modern example of a transitional state between a double stress and a single stress form. It has now acquired a special meaning and is now changing over to the stress pattern of a single word (Barber 1964:86).

In the light of the above discussion it is difficult to say whether the N + N constructions in IE can be called genuine compounds or even potential ones. In view of the indeterminacy concerning these formations, we choose to treat them as syntactic or nominal groups (after Marchand 1960) of the adjunct/primary type, although it is quite possible that their formation has been influenced by the tendency of the English language for noun compounding and for nominal pre-modifier constructions.

The proliferation of these formations in IE may be due to several causes, each operating either singly or in combination with the others: first, the English language is already of what is sometimes described as a "nominalizing inclination" (Levi 1976). Of the six types of word formation
identified by Marchand, the most abundant and the most varied is compounding, and the most common English compounds are those in which two nouns are joined together.

This use of nominal pairs has especially gained an impetus in modern times, above all in journalism, advertising, publicity and show business. e.g. "Nuclear decisions" (The Observer, Jan., 1978), "sunshine strips" (The Observer, Feb., 1978), "Lace Magic" (The Observer, 13 Aug., 1978), "Planes Threat", "Nuclear Protest" (The Observer, 20 Aug., 1978), etc. These formations can be seen to serve the important pragmatic function of achieving compactness of expression without loss of essential information. Furthermore, the need for catch-phrases and compressed expressions in journalistic writing and the telegraphic condensation demanded by newspaper headlines favours such a tendency. The register of newspaper headlines sanctions such sentences as:

Railway station waiting room murder inquiry verdict.
Profits "ceiling" key to price guideline
California Mayor charged in rape try*

A more recent development in journalistic writing is the use of pre-modifying noun attributive where a straightforward inflected genitive would be the normal thing. e.g. "Sadat Plan", "Bhutto Trial", "Tito Accord" (The Observer, March 1978),

*The latter two examples are from Strevens (1972).
The $N + N$ combination is thus one of the most productive patterns in English. What IE speakers are doing is only extending the range of this already existing pattern in the language from its predominant use in specific registers to the language of everyday.

Another possible cause may be the influence of American English usage which in recent times is perhaps more predominant than that of British English. American English contains more new coinings and new expressions than is usual in British English which is rather conservative with regard to linguistic innovations (Strevens, 1972). Some of these have become familiar to speakers of British English and other varieties of English too, including IE, especially in the last 2 or 3 decades.

The tendency to form constructions of the $N + N$ type is further reinforced by similar processes in the L$_1$S of the IE speakers. Many Indian languages favour such formations, following the traditional usage in Sanskrit from which they have derived. As this is a productive pattern in the Indian languages, it is not surprising that these should come easily to IE speakers. However, very few of these formations can be traced back directly to the mother tongue in the form of literal translations. More common are nominal groups.
in which one of the elements is a borrowing from the Indian languages. These hybrid formations are coined in order to talk about situations and objects that are typically Indian and for which no words or expressions exist in English. As such, they may be looked upon as innovations in which the language is moulded to meet the demands made by Indian contexts and ways of life.

An important characteristic of the N+N type of constructions is that they serve to compress underlying propositions into shorter surface configurations, often achieving compactness of expression without loss of essential meaning. The processes by which they are derived, however, are varied. The following are specific examples classified according to the processes by which they have derived from underlying propositions.

1. Pre-posing of post-head modifier, usually a preposition phrase which undergoes deletion of certain 'inessential' or 'redundant' elements. e.g.

   (1) family members
   (2) inquiry commission
   (3) poverty eradication
   (4) interest rate
   (5) pant pocket
   (6) traffic violations
2. Compression of entire clauses into nominal groups by the process of simplification which deletes all other elements except the essential nouns; e.g.

(1) minor child
(a child who is also a minor)

(2) loan amounts
(amounts given as loan)

(3) loudspeaker nuisance
(nuisance created by loudspeakers)

(4) road hazard
(hazards encountered on the road)

(5) budget speech
(speech made on the occasion of the introduction of the budget)

(6) leave travel concession
(concession granted while travelling when on leave)

(7) vigilance efforts
(efforts made to enforce vigilance)

(8) villification campaigns
(campaigns during which villification of the opponent takes place, or which are made to serve such a purpose)
3. Nominal groups which are constructed on the analogy of other such groups or noun-compounds which are common in the language; e.g.

(1) day train -- from night train
(2) salary limit -- from speed limit age limit
(3) budget speech -- from inaugural speech
(4) labour class -- from upper/middle/working class
(5) cycle key -- from car key
(6) censor system -- from communications system
(7) employment chances -- from employment opportunities
(8) Iroad I hazard -- from occupational hazards.
Ihealth I
Itraffic I

4. -ing forms as pre-nominal modifiers; e.g.

(1) school-going children
(2) shifting families
(3) time-barring assessments
(4) printing work

5. Hybrid formations in which one of the elements is borrowed from the mother tongue.

(a) Formations in which the head word is a borrowed element; e.g.
(1) palm pundits
(2) truck wallah
(3) tennis mazdoor
(4) rubbish mazdoor
(5) hand rickshaw
(6) cycle rickshaw

(b) Formation in which the pre-head modifier is a borrowed element; e.g.

(1) paan shop
(2) goonda elements
(3) bazaar repairers
(4) rickshaw pullers.

6. Nominal groups in which fairly common English lexical items are collocated to denote meanings peculiarly Indian:

country wine
wedding season
cremation ground
circuit house
dearness allowance
chit fund
caste identity
caste symbol
etc.
5.17. **Lexical Peculiarities of IE**

"There are", Patridge observed in 1968, "and always will be variations in the vocabulary of each Dominion as compared with that of Britain. That is only natural. Natural, because inevitable. Different fauna and flora; an aboriginal race with its customs, implements, weapons, clothes; different geographical and topographical features, climatic differences, in short, new activities; these require a special vocabulary, and that special vocabulary becomes part of the everyday, as well as of the cultural life of the Dominion" (Partridge 1968:65). In many colonial varieties of English contextual differences play an important role not only by adding new items to the lexical stock of the language but also in giving extended semantic markers to certain lexical items.

As a result of having been used in India for over 200 years, IE too has developed certain distinct features in lexical usage. Apart from the use of typically Indian collocations and the prolificness of noun compounds, peculiarities of IE lexis range from varieties of semantic modification of native English words to coinage of new expressions out of Standard English material and direct borrowing from the indigenous languages of India. Lexical deviation in IE may thus be classified as:
(A) Those which spring from inadequate exposure to the language. These comprise:

(1) The use of unidiomatic expression
(2) The use of the wrong word owing to ignorance of the right one or uncertain recall.
(3) The use of the wrong word out of a pair of synonyms or quasi-synonyms.
(4) The use of high-sounding, bookish words in an attempt to sound stylistically more impressive.
(5) Malapropisms
(6) Violation of selectional restrictions
(7) Extension of derivational processes
(8) Coinages.

(B) Those which are a result of a modification of the semantic range of words. These include:

(1) Semantic extension
(2) Semantic restriction
(3) Semantic transfer
(4) Typical IE usage - uncommon in native varieties of English.
(C) Those which are a result of $L_1$ interference:

1. Literal Translations from $L_1$ Expressions.
2. Borrowings from Indian regional languages.
3. Hybrid word-formations.

It must be noted that certain lexical features of IE must be viewed not as particularly Indianisms, but as manifestations of limitations in the proficiency of any $L_2$ speaker of English. Particularly those deviations mentioned in (A) above are a reflection of (a) insufficiency of the speaker's stock of vocabulary items, (b) varying degrees of failure to recall words, and modes of derivation of words, and (c) imperfect knowledge of the constraints that operate on the co-occurrence of words.

Thus in IE, many words which are close in meaning or with overlapping meanings are substituted because these words have some semantic association with the more appropriate ones, or are synonymous with them. However, although it has been suggested that true or total synonyms are mutually interchangeable in all their environments, it is almost certainly the case that there are no total synonyms in this sense. Indeed, this is the corollary of the belief that no two words have exactly the same meaning: some words are interchangeable.
in certain environments only, e.g. deep or profound may be used with sympathy but only deep with water; a road may be broad or wide but an accent only broad. Collocational possibilities are therefore restricted even in the case of synonyms. Unfamiliarity with contextual constraints on the co-occurrence of words leads IE speakers to use the wrong words out of a pair of synonyms or quasi-synonyms. Thus violation of selectional restrictions, i.e. the combination of lexical items whose features do not match and are therefore incompatible, can result in the production of unacceptable sentences as it sometimes does in IE - an inevitable consequence of the imperfect mastery of an L₂.

Just as inevitable an outcome of a bilingual and bicultural situation are the changes that certain items of the English lexicon have undergone as a result of having to function in a different socio-cultural setting. It is a well-known socio-linguistic fact that semantic changes can be caused by cultural modifications. Societal factors lead to words acquiring specialized meanings among certain social groups and these new meanings spread throughout the community. In IE too, new meanings have been added to certain words or existent meanings have been reduced or narrowed down, so that they represent a different semantic range than they do in
British English, from which they were originally derived. For instance, words such as colony (meaning 'any group of people living together' or 'residential area'), bearer (a valet, butler, waiter), drama (a play), portion (as in 'portion for exams' used in educational circles), etc. and mother and sister as terms of address have all acquired a distinct meaning in the Indian context which native speakers are likely to find unfamiliar. These words may be said to reflect the specific interests and attitudes of the culture in which English now operates in India.

There is another set of words which may be termed 'typically Indian English usage.' These include lexical items which are familiar enough to Indian speakers but are not generally known to (or rarely used by) the majority of native speakers, the objects, concepts, etc. that these words describe being alien to their culture or the sense in which they are used in IE being quite different from the one they normally associate with these words; e.g. bearer (a waiter or hotel/club servant), cantonment (a special township originally set aside for military use - one of the relics of the British Raj still found in many Indian towns), collector (the chief official of a district, collecting revenue and holding magisterial powers). Many such words are unfamiliar to native speakers except those who have lived in
India. We also include in this set a large number of words of
Asian - not necessarily Indian-origin, such as 'compound,' 'godown', 'gymkhana', etc.

In addition to these, certain lexical innovations have taken place in IE which comprise mainly loan translations and hybrid formations. The latter consist of lexical inventions which comprise two or more elements, at least one of which is from an Indian language and one from English. These neologisms provide words and expressions to talk about the various aspects of Indian life and culture. Many of these have become fixed collocations in their specific registers, e.g. lathi-charge, goonda-elements, etc.

In some cases L1 words and expressions have been taken over into IE for lack of exact equivalents in English. These direct adaptations from the indigenous languages can be subgrouped into (a) those which have become part of the lexical stock of the English language and may be termed 'assimilated' items, following Kachru, since they are used both in British and American English, and (b) those items which have not necessarily been included in the lexicons of native varieties of English but have a high frequency in the lexicon of IE.

Another interesting feature is the increasing use of Americanisms, which is a result of the fast-spreading influence
of American English in India, particularly through the press and the movies. Considering that English came to us through the British it is natural for IE speakers to prefer British terminology to an American one in normal circumstances, but in some cases both British and American variants are used interchangeably, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>British English</th>
<th>American English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>post</td>
<td>mail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flat</td>
<td>apartment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cinema</td>
<td>movie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lorry</td>
<td>truck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boundary</td>
<td>frontier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pupil</td>
<td>student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trousers</td>
<td>pants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>living room</td>
<td>sitting room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lavatory</td>
<td>toilet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This choice of American English variants, however, seems to be restricted to certain walks of life only, for in certain other domains - the political, legal, educational, for example - where our institutions are largely patterned on English models, the words used to refer to them are, as is to be expected, English rather than American. Thus the language of the Indian parliamentary institution is largely borrowed
from Great Britain: Legislative Assembly, Parliament House, Member of the Legislative Assembly, etc., although Indian equivalents (Lok Sabha, Rajya Sabha, Member of the Lok Sabha, etc.) are gradually taking over. Similarly much of our political vocabulary is British. Words like constituency, by-election, cabinet, speaker, committee as opposed to the American Senate, Senator, convention are an illustration.

Given below are examples of lexical usage peculiar to IE:

(A) 1. The use of unidiomatic expression, e.g.

(1) Several rounds of talk failed to bring forth a solution (i.e. produce).

(2) This area is inhabited by Mizo hostiles who, for more than one reason, found it a favourable ground to operate from (i.e. base).

(3) On the other hand, the newly sprung Janata Front is just weeks old (i.e. newly formed).

(4) Why not the same be tried on street dogs? (i.e. stray dogs).

(5) ... they discussed the follies in the present education system. (i.e. faults/defects).
2. The use of the wrong word owing to ignorance of the right one or uncertain recall, e.g.

(1) The flashpoint of the two-month extravaganza organized by the Islamic Council of Europe will be a display of rare and ancient Qurans. (highlight)

(2) Rootless Paharis, Nepalis, Rajasthani construction workers, castaways and products of broken homes were close at hand. (outcastes).

(3) The opposition brings to light the loopholes in the administration, ... (drawbacks/defects/shortcomings).

(4) ... should be treated as a party out to worsen living conditions and to further future generations with dire poverty. (burden).

(5) It is true that many faults were committed during the Emergency. (excesses).

3. The use of the wrong word out of a pair of synonyms or quasi-synonyms. English has a number of verbs with partially overlapping or similar meanings, such as speak/talk, live/stay, gather/collect, keep/put, lift/raise/elevate, do/make, give/provide, have/get, reject/refuse, remove/abolish,
and so on. These words cannot always appear in similar or identical environments, however, and a native speaker knows intuitively the contextual constraints that govern their occurrence or non-occurrence in a sentence. IE speakers who are unaware of, or unpractised in, the subtle complexities underlying their use tend to employ these verbs interchangeably, treating them almost as free variants, e.g.

(1) talk/speak
   He could not talk in English with his colleagues.
   I have spent the best years of my life amongst them and know what I am speaking about.

(2) live/stay
   I have stayed in Goa (Vasco) for quite some time.
   Because of the embankment work the families staying on the banks of the river had to be shifted.

(3) make/do
   ... price reductions are to be done only by the private sector.
   No attempt was done to assess the case properly.
   Mr. Narsimhaiah was appointed Vice-Chancellor, not to make research on the existence or otherwise of God, ...
(4) have/get

It is a pity that instead of deriving pleasure from having a view of the variety of animals at the zoo, ...

... in particular passengers in Main Street also will get opportunity to have a direct bus to Deccan.

(5) remove/abolish/do away with/put an end to

The annual examination system should be removed and weekly tests, viva voce, etc., should be implemented.

In 1972 when the State Government sought to remove English as a medium of instruction, ...

(6) gather/collect

He knew a second-hand bookseller at the market who gathered books from far and wide.

(7) increase/enhance

This is simply a prescription which will enhance the developing country's lethargy.

This area is fast becoming a thickly populated one with the enhanced frequency of inflow and outflow of the people from all parts of the country.
... the corporation had unreasonably enhanced taxes during past 10-15 years ...

(8) raise/lift/elevate

Sanjeev lifts some very ordinary scenes by the empathy of his personality (raises).

... should be educated about the urgency of elevating the SC/ST community (raising).

(9) give/provide/render

... the sincere and selfless service given by her (rendered).

If the zoo authorities cannot give these animals better and more salubrious conditions ... (provide).

(10) keep/put

"In the almirah, I've kept -" she would mention some food or drink.

This use of the wrong or unlikely word which has some semantic association with the more appropriate one is not restricted to verbs alone but also extends to other words, e.g.
(1) ... under the control and supervision of the HR and CE Board, which is a limb of the Government ... (organ).

(2) He wondered what opposition she would have to quelling the people if the promises made to them were not fulfilled (a. objection, b. suppressing).

(3) ... and revenue of one state is not diverted to the other state due to the varied rates of taxation (different).

(4) His second utterance, that efforts made by Mrs. Ghandi in her British T.V. interview would convince none, is obviously devoid of any logic at all (statement).

4. The use of high-sounding, bookish words in order to sound learned. In some cases the choice of an unlikely word (from the point of view of native speakers of English) is not a result of ignorance of the appropriate one, but a vain attempt to use a stylistically more impressive word, e.g.

(1) Armed with a pair of dark glasses purchased on the road, he calls at her office the next day (bought).
(2) The longer time consumed for the rendering of a krithi of each of these two composers in comparison with that occupied ... (spent/taken).

(3) But still our aspiration is that his music will never go into oblivion. (hope).

(4) These statements vividly mirror caste-prejudices and pre-judgements which the managers who are mainly caste-Hindus, entertain with effrontery (aren't ashamed to entertain).

(5) It is hoped that the Chief Minister will bestow his attention and take action in the matter at an early date. (give/direct).

5. Malapropisms. These have been described by Hockett as a kind of 'reshaping' that takes place because the speaker is insufficiently familiar with a learned form he wishes to use. This happens to native speakers too and apparently Hockett had them in mind. In an L₂ situation, the application of the term need not be restricted to partial recall of 'learned' words only. Sometimes what the speaker produces bears some phonetic resemblance to the intended word. e.g.

(1) At the end of each mantra Radha Pandit nudged sideways nearer her. (edged).
(2) It is extremely unfortunate that certain reactionary forces were allowed to poison the mind of a section of our youth ... They have not been completely routed out yet (rooted out).

(3) Rootless Paharis, Nepalis, Rajasthani construction workers, castaways and products of broken homes were close at hand (outcasts).

In some cases the choice of the wrong word may be explained in terms of a semantic confusion between *it* and the appropriate ones; e.g.

(1) "I was afraid ... people might mistake us" (misunderstand).

(2) The stunting belief in a "previous birth" and "fate" (stultifying).

(3) ... none of them has developed the party apparatus to a noticeable extent to captivate the electorate to vote it alternatively to power (semantic confusion between 'persuade the electorate' and 'capture the good will of the electorate').

In still other cases, the wrong part of speech of the intended word is used, e.g.
(1) Frequent closure of schools hampers the interest of school-going children (closing).

(2) ... the back-drop was indubitably English: the shops, the chimneystopped houses, the grey asphalt footpaths, even the lowered sky and constant drizzle ... (lowering).

(3) No amount of complaint against their defiant attitude has served any purpose. (complaining).

Yet another source of malapropism may be the existence of more than one lexical item in the same part of speech sharing a common stem:

(1) ... even though the story that the book tells is not fully authentic and is often imaginative ... (imaginary)

(2) I request the authorities to arrange for installing some indications of warning ... (indicators)

(3) It is learned from the slum dwellers that the BDA promised them alternate sites and that they would vacate only when arrangements are made. (alternative)
(4) The limitation was fixed several decades ago when the conditions were altogether different.

6. Violation of selectional restrictions, e.g.

(1) But talking with a chaste rustic accent presented difficulties.

('chaste' is normally used of a $\leftarrow$ +human $\rightarrow$ subject, or of style or taste, not usually of accent.)

(2) Property right was made a scapegoat and in the camouflage other valuable elementary civil rights were flippantly fliouted.

('scapegoat' normally refers to a person, animal, institution or race, and cannot be used of 'property right' which is $\leftarrow$ +abstract$\rightarrow$)

(3) He wondered what opposition she would have to quelling the people if the promises made to them were not fulfilled.

('quell' does not normally take a $\leftarrow$ +concrete$\rightarrow$ object but occurs with $\leftarrow$ +abstract$\rightarrow$ nouns as object, such as 'fears', 'emotions', 'anguish', 'mutiny; etc.)
(4) Teng is a very practical man and very durable too.
('durable' is used of \(\sim\text{-animate}\) things)

(5) Jangaon town is bifurcated into two by the railway station.
('bifurcated' is used of roads, rivers, boughs of trees, etc; a 'town' can be 'divided' by something).

7. Extension of derivational processes, e.g.

(1) ... take the bashing

(2) ... looked like a demoness

(3) 'Eve's Weekly and Gwalior suiting'
   (IE also allows 'shirting' and 'panting')

(4) The licence of the Tata House is violative of the policy that the power generation is exclusive ...

8. Coinages: some of these have become a well-established part of IE, e.g.

(1) Cent per cent import duty on raw materials...

(2) ... young men who drive mobikes ...

(3) Gwalior suiting
Some others are nonce-creations which are formed by combining existing elements in the language based on English productive patterns of derivation, i.e. devices such as prefixation and suffixation are used so that words are shifted from one part of speech to another on the analogy of existing patterns of derivation, e.g.

(1) ... except for a 22 k.m. jeepable road.

(2) Cannot all the oil cornered by a few unscrupulous traders be dehoarded ...?

(3) With semesterization a start has already been made...

(4) ... a proof of your journalistic watch-dogism.

It is interesting to note that creations such as these are not peculiar to IE but may be found in any situation - native as well as non-native - where speakers attempt to make intelligent use of the language. Very often these are motivated by the need for words to express certain specific ideas they may have in mind and for which the language, lacking a single word, requires an entire phrase or clause, e.g.
(1) ... carrying his poetness into everything.

(2) What the country needs most at the moment is demaofication.

(3) ... the thick-skinned nouveau political careerist will succeed in converting democracy to mobocracy.

(B) 1. Semantic Extension:

These are cases where a word retains its Standard English meaning but acquires additional ones in IE, unknown in Standard English, though in most cases it is possible to discover the connection between these extended meanings and the Standard English meanings; e.g.

(a) **Batch** in Standard English refers to a number of persons receiving attention as a group; more usually to a number of objects taken together. In IE the semantic range has been extended to refer to any group of students who are studying, or may have studied, together. Indeed, where a native speaker would use 'group of students' IE speakers show a definite preference for a 'batch of students':

(1) Medical graduates passed in 1972 are being taken into service now, leaving the later batch students.
(2) ... a tutorial in each subject upto the degree level should be introduced with each batch consisting of not more than fifteen students.

(b) Cot is a pan-Indian equivalent for 'bed' in IE, derived from the Hindi equivalent 'khat'. In British English the term is restricted in reference to a small, narrow bed either for a baby (equivalent to the US 'crib') or a camp bed, or a bunk on board a ship. In IE 'cot' and 'bed' are in free variation. Some IE speakers make a distinction between the two in that the former is used to refer to the 'bedstead' alone, while the latter refers to the 'bedstead plus mattress':

(1) A black wispy form close to my cot completely blocked my view.

(c) Colony is used in IE to mean (i) any group of people living together - and not necessarily those sharing the same trade, occupation, profession, etc. (ii) a residential area; e.g.

(1) A new colony has come up just behind Shankarmath ...

(2) ... stray dogs are increasing in Pimpri Colony every season.
(d) **Teasing of women/eve-teasing/eve-teaser**

'Teasing' has acquired a special sense in the cultural context of Indian life in the above expressions and refers to a form of harassment of women by pranksters, not always in innocent fun. Whereas 'teasing' in Standard English presupposes some amount of familiarity or interaction between the person(s) teased and the teaser, 'eve-teasing' requires no such previous acquaintance. More often than not it is inflicted on total strangers:

1. Thefts, robbery, **teasing of women** and goondaism are increasing ...

(e) **Rank** is used as a synonym for 'examination grades' in IE in addition to its Standard English meaning referring to the status or place a person occupies in a professional sphere, the army or society in general (i.e. his social position):

1. ... to award a gold medal of the value of ₹.500/- to the boy/girl for obtaining the first rank in the SSLC Public Examination.

2. ... to those who come within the first 10 ranks from the ensuing SSLC and ASLC Examinations.
(f) Seats is extended in meaning to refer to the allocation of places to pupils in colleges and other educational institutions for various courses. The term has acquired a special sense with regard to the total possible intake of these institutions in that the number of pupils generally far exceeds the number of places available. 'Seats' in IE is also used to refer to places in employment or office, especially a government appointment. Indeed, IE speakers seldom use the term 'places' in these contexts:

(1) SC/ST are hired in these categories despite seats reserved against their posts.

(2) ... the reservation of seats in educational institutions and in service matters has become another handicap.

(3) ... how the authorities will go about allotting seats to successful candidates at the former private medical college.

2. Semantic Restriction:

Semantic restriction is a reduction or narrowing of the range of contexts in which a word is used in IE, i.e. IE speakers restrict the meaning of a word to only a limited area within its Standard English semantic field; e.g.
(a) **Tutions** in British English refers to 'teaching' in a general sense. In IE the term is often used in a restricted sense to mean 'private tuitions', a synonym for 'coaching', where one gives private lessons to prepare students for a public examination. When used in this sense, the word generally occurs with the modifier 'private' in British English, while IE speakers often use it without such specification:

(1) ... where, he alleged, teachers were making huge profits from **tuitions** and favouring their own students.

(b) **Fetch** in British English means 'to go for and bring back'(sb. or sth.). In IE the word is sometimes used as a synonym for 'bring' or 'get':

(1) "I thought I might **fetch** your cheque in person. I had the address on your letter, you know."

3. **Semantic Transfer**: These are cases where a word is used almost completely outside its normal Standard English field; e.g.

(a) **Amount** is sometimes used as a synonym for money or cash in IE. It probably started as an abbreviation of an 'amount of money':
(1) ... the Corporation has spent a lot of amount on the so-called tree-planting throughout the length and breadth of the twin cities ...

(2) But the bulk of the residents, including those in the TPS College road area, have spent heavy amounts due to the distance of the water main for getting connection.

In Standard English this usage is possible only when money, or an expression that implies money, has already been mentioned in the discourse. (e.g. He owed me ₹100 but could pay only half the amount.)

(b) Bogie in British English refers either to a (i) trolley or (ii) four-wheeled undercarriage fitted under a railway engine or wagon to enable it to go round curves. In IE, a 'bogie' is what native speakers would normally call a 'railway carriage' or 'coach':

(1) As the speed increases, a very much more powerful locomotive is required for a given load and that is why the load of the train was restricted to 8 bogies.

(2) A new train may be started from Machiguda with Manmad and Ajmer bogies hauled by a diesel locomotive consisting of 18 bogies.
(c) Goggles: In British English the word has a specialized meaning: large glasses with hoods worn by racing motorists. In IE it is commonly used to refer to 'sunglasses':

(1) ... and that would be the best anti-dote for love-sickness in case she suffered from it, better than distorting goggles.

(d) Kerchief and 'handkerchief' are used as synonyms by some IE speakers, whereas in Standard English 'kerchief' has a restricted meaning: a piece of cloth or lace used as a head covering.

(1) He took out his kerchief and mopped his brow.

(e) Weightage belongs to the register of shipping in British English where it is used with 'tonnage' to denote the weight of the goods being shipped. In IE, however, weightage is used in the sense of 'weight', i.e. degree of importance or influence:

(1) ... toe an impartial line and give equal weightage to criticism of the Government and opposition opinion too.

4. Typically Indian English Usage: This includes words that are commonly used by IE speakers but are unknown to most native speakers of English, because these words describe objects,
concepts and contexts peculiar to IE and are, therefore, invested with meanings that native speakers are unfamiliar with. Some of these words are also commonly found in South Asian English:

(1) Shri Dholey ... began his career as a peon in a Government organization.

(2) Inspector M.G. Rijhsinghani ... seized seven crates with 800 sticks of highly explosive dynamite from the godown of Road Link Transport Co.

(3) I discovered to my surprise, another car parked in the compound of the house.

(4) He saw service in Rawalpindi, Wazirstan and Lahore and in 1921 he was posted at Dagshai, a cantonment in Simla Hills.

(5) "In the almirah, I've kept -" she would mention some food or drink.

(C) 1. Literal translations from $L_1$: Certain expressions crop up in IE which may appear unidiomatic to native speakers because they are a result of literal translations of $L_1$ expressions, e.g.
(1) Bimal Roy's been remembering you.

(2) "Leave way!" shouted the lawyer, who became excited at the sight of it.

(3) ... the schoolgoing children are put to much inconvenience and hardship in normal days, and what to say of the monsoon?

(4) Even new localities that have grown up have hardly any road or drainage worth the name.

(5) Actually seeing, 90 percent of our daily friction in life is caused by the tone of voice and our manner of speaking.

(6) By this only best players would reach national as well as international meets.

Some of these translation equivalents involve the use of verbs like 'take/give/get/come/do' etc., in unusual collocations because the corresponding verbs in the L1 occur in similar collocations, e.g.

(1) The incident occurred soon after the Nationalist Party took out an anti-Asian demonstration.
(2) They were all weather-beaten men who seemed to have taken birth from the very granite stones and concrete boulders lying about there.

(3) For this purpose authors have given stress on labour-intensive industries and labour-intensive works.

(4) ... if it doesn't work, take a divorce ...

(5) ... while they try to get publicity about their work.

(6) ... 3500 students, who have taken admission ... with the help of heavy capitation fee.

(7) When the Government of Hitendra Desai had given a call for the boycott of Mrs. Gandhi during her visit to Ahmedabad, Vikram Rao organized "an airport rally" of journalists.

Some of these are translations of culture-bound expressions in L₁, but these are fewer in everyday language use than they are in literary compositions which seek to portray aspects of Indian life, e.g.

(1) I'll write another one for you. Keep this one for the day because you should not miss the good time. (i.e. auspicious time).
(2) The merchants as well as shoppers find it difficult to carry their business due to beggar’s nuisance.

2. Borrowings from Indian regional languages: The direct adoption of $L_1$ words and expressions is normally restricted to those for which there are no translation equivalents in English. This is particularly the case where the associations of such expressions are in particular contexts so fundamentally bound with cultural phenomena that any form of translation would emasculate the sense of the original drastically. Consequently, most of these words have become an integral part of IE and frequently occur in IE writing, particularly the newspapers.

For instance, words like ahimsa, satyagraha and swarajya have become part of the political register of IE. Other words like morcha, bandh, dharna, gherao, goonda, dada, dadagiri, etc., refer to anti-social elements in the country just as lexical items such as gharana, mohalla, tamasha, jathra, shamiana, etc., are associated with the socio-cultural aspects of Indian life.

Similarly, words pertaining to religion such as pooja, darshan, rishis, pandits, dharma, slokas, kirthanas, parakrams, etc., to music and dance such as raga, swara, dadra, tappa, thumri, krithi, tarangam, pallavi, etc., and to various
professions and professional spheres such as dhobi, mazdoor, hamal, vaid, munsif, lascar, daftary, kacheri, etc. have been incorporated into IE simply because we need these to talk about the various aspects of Indian life and culture. Words like methi, kwatha, chapati, chutney, idli, paan, etc. refer to articles of food while dhoti, sari, kurta, chappals, etc. to articles of clothing commonly used in India.

It is interesting to note that many of these words are inflected for plural with the English plural morpheme rather than with the appropriate L₁ morpheme: e.g. bandhs, chapatis, chappals, dharnas, dhobis, ghraos, kirthanas, krithis, lakhs, morchas, mohallas, pandits, ragas, rishis, vidwans, etc.

3. Hybrid word-formations: An L₁ word is often collocated with an English one, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indian language item as 'head'</th>
<th>Indian language item as 'modifier'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>truck wallahs</td>
<td>paan-shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>company sahib</td>
<td>goonda elements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palm pandits</td>
<td>muffasil journalists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>partial bandh</td>
<td>ayurvedic physicians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rubbish mazdoor</td>
<td>rikshaw-driver/puller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>autorikshaw wallahs</td>
<td>bamboo baricades/railings</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.18. Collocation

Collocation is the habitual company that words keep. Some writers define it as the likelihood that any particular lexical item will occur in the immediate environment of any other. Others give the term a wider application and use it to indicate the likelihood of the occurrence of any language items, not only lexical ones. In this study we restrict the term to the former definition.

Largely governed by the conventions of usage collocation represents a major area of difficulty for learners of English as a second or foreign language. Collocation does not lend itself very readily to rule making, to generalization, and has to be learned, to a large extent, on an item by item basis. Native speakers become accustomed to the mutual expectancies that hold between words in utterances irrespective of their grammatical relations as members of word classes or as 'parts of speech'. Unfamiliarity with these mutual expectancies could, however, lead to collocationally deviant usage on the part of non-native speakers.
Collocation involves lexical choice. However, because of the wide range of choice of these items at any given point, it becomes difficult to draw a line between those that can and those that cannot be chosen. Thus there can be only "more probable" and "less probable" items (Halliday et al. 1964:34). In this sense deviant usage as far as collocation is concerned can be stated only in terms of that which is "more usual" and that which is "less usual" among speakers of native English. Moreover, collocations are far more personally variable among speakers of a single dialect within a language than are grammatical classes, for instance. The special "flavour" of IE comes at least in part from the idiosyncratic collocations which speakers of this variety use.

Deviant collocations in IE may be divided into those which are formally deviant and those which are contextually deviant, or both together. Several factors may be responsible for formally deviant collocations among IE speakers. The source of deviance may lie at times in the language itself. Sometimes members of the same lexical set, i.e., items which refer to similar objects, have a similar range of collocation, e.g., 'chair', 'seat', 'settee' have a number of highly probable collocations in common - with 'sit' and 'comfortable', for instance. But not all members of the same lexical set may yield the same groupings. 'Shop' and 'emporium', for example,
refer to 'very much alike objects' but have different ranges of collocations. Unusual collocations in IE often result from an extension of the range of collocability of the lexical item in native English. Thus, for instance, it is usual in native English to sport a new dress, hat, bag, ring, etc., but not to sport new shoes.

Similarly, the collocations house key, garage key, car key, etc. are normal in native English, but not so the IE cycle key, cupboard key, etc.

Other examples from the data are:

(1) Among the labour class, a dada of building workers is the union leader.

(2) The Janata Party manifesto makes tall promises to the minorities (particularly Muslims) that they would give a rightful place to them in society.
(3) In France the late De Gaulle put to vote his **sweeping policies** with great vigour and hope ...

(4) It becomes a real ordeal, especially during the **wedding season**.

(5) So I would like to add a few more **burning problems** the Kolar people have been facing.

While these collocations are based on analogy and extension certain other collocations in IE appear odd because notionally related or similar words are interchanged; e.g.

(1) ... you have _lowered the image_ of Panditji.
   (for 'depreciated the image')

(2) ... present day musicians do not _bestow_ much _attention_ to _pallavi_.
   (for 'give/pay attention to')

(3) ... the government could have _put a brake to_ such _excesses_ at the initial stage itself.
   (for 'put an end/stop to')

(4) The non-cooperation movement ... should be _heavily condemned_.
   (for 'strongly/severely condemned')
The canal can be well utilised as a water way and for nurturing sea-food too. 
(for 'cultivating seafood')

Faulty collocation can sometimes produce an unintentional comic effect, as in the following example:

It is known that certain policemen have been awarded bribes by the gamblers.

In native English—as well as in IE 'award' collocates more usually with 'prize', 'gold medals', etc.

Collocational deviations are also due to the tendency IE speakers have for employing pompous and high-sounding words where native speakers would perhaps prefer simpler and more commonplace ones. This preference for learned or 'bookish' expressions is evident in the choice of IE users for words like

- purchase instead of buy
- consume instead of use/eat/drink
- demise instead of death
- etc.
Some examples of these are:

(1) This is simply a prescription which will enhance the developing country's state of lethargy.
   (for 'increase')

(2) ... blocking all examination work and threatening to liquidate the future of thousands of our serious students, working hard at the last moment.
   (for 'ruin/jeopardize')

(3) let me ventilate the plight of the passengers of Ghorwadi station.
   (for 'describe')

Certain other deviant collocations are a result of the blending or fusion of two different phrases which are probably put together due to uncertain recall on the part of IE speakers or a confusion in their minds with regard to the words that usually collocate in these phrases; e.g.

(1) I would like to bring to your notice that 120 doctors were ousted from service on July 26th of 1976 ...
   (blending of 'oust from office' and 'termination of service')
(2) ... much importance has been laid in the 5th Five Year Plan allocating ₹4,108 crores only for the development of rural roads. ('give importance to something' and 'lay emphasis/stress on something')

(3) ... sometimes even one mark can tilt the future of a candidate. ('affect the future' and 'tilt the balance').

Another type of collocationally deviant usage occurs when words are put together in such a way that the selectional restrictions that hold between them are violated. Unfamiliarity with the mutual dependencies that hold between words and unsuccessful attempts at figurative expression thus give rise to mixed metaphors and quaint expressions such as the following:

(1) If these two aspects are borne in mind at the time new procedures are laid down for grants, then there will be no delayed or truncated payments of salaries.

(2) The Madras University contemplates to restructure the undergraduate course, in the wake of the amputation of the pre-university course from the colleges.
(3) This viewpoint, in fact, eclipses the pure stream of literary thought.

(4) When all the avenues of negotiations have been tried and have proved abortive, ...

(5) ... many people ... could not decipher the atmosphere prevalent in India as 'fear psychosis'.

Sometimes unusual collocations occur because of the interference of the mother tongue. Literal translations from the L1 idiom may result in collocations such as 'take out a procession' (instead of 'lead a procession'), 'give stress' (instead of 'lay stress'); 'take a divorce' (instead of 'get a divorce') etc.

Certain other collocations occur because the Indian socio-cultural context demands them. These do not occur in native English and may be regarded as contextually deviant in that they do not perform the same function in British or American culture. These reflect the social, cultural, religious and philosophical aspects of Indian life, its tradition, customs and values and even its physical environment, which may be absent in English contexts and therefore may be understood only in terms of Indian contexts.
As is to be expected, such collocations involve transfer of meaning from \( C_1 \) in addition to the transfer of the collocation from \( L_1 \), e.g. 'caste-conscious', 'circuit-house', 'cremation-ground' etc. Many of these collocations make use of fairly common English lexical items whose combination, however, denotes meanings peculiarly Indian:

1. The menace of **black money** and tax evasion is sought to be curbed by strict laws.
2. He drinks **country wine**.
3. We rushed to Firpos, myself and Asit Sen - only to be told it was a 'dry' day.
4. A tufted priest stretched a jasmine garland across the board, touched it with sandal-paste, recited something aloud, commanding the lawyer to repeat after him, circled a camphor, and sounded a bell all at once.

Similarly, certain objects, concepts, relations may be typically Indian and if no words exist in English to identify these, new collocations may have to be created by borrowing words from Indian languages. This gives rise to hybrid collocations in which one of the items is an Indian word, e.g. 'paan-shop', 'tanga driver', 'choli-piece', 'satyagraha movement', etc. (see also p.301).

Given below is a chart illustrating some instances of deviant collocations in IE. Each of the factors mentioned above may operate separately or together to produce collocationally deviant usage in IE.
5.19. **Set Phrases/Idiomatic and Semi-Idiomatic Expressions**

English has a wide range of idiomatic expressions which are made up of certain fixed elements, e.g. expressions such as lose trace of, make a mental note of, take to one's heels, etc. are part of the currency of everyday speech. Familiarity with these and the ability to use them appropriately in context are among the distinguishing marks of a native-like command of English.

To say that such expressions are commonly used in English is not, however, to say that their meanings are always self-evident. A non-native speaker, for instance, would surely understand the phrase to be angry or to be in a rage more readily than to blow one's top, where the sense of the combination is difficult to explain in terms of its constituent parts.

Idiomatic expressions are a special kind of collocation that have a stronger cohesion than others in that their constituent components are more or less fixed and often a knowledge of the meaning of individual words gives no
clue to their real semantic function, e.g. Compare the instruction, *Don't stand on the chair* with the expression *Don't stand on ceremony*. It follows from this that their constituent components are not normally interchangeable as they are when used in a literal sense, e.g. we can equally well talk of *angling for* or *fishing for compliments*, but we should not say of a friend that he had difficulty in *making up his thoughts* (as distinct from *his mind*) or that he was *fond of feeding fuel to the fire* (instead of *adding to it*).

Idiomatic expressions are thus characterized by:

(a) Their formal cohesion, i.e. it is not possible to separate the constituent elements by inserting other elements; e.g.

hit the nail on the head.

but not

hit the *crooked* nail *exactly* on the head.

(b) The comparative immutability of the constituent elements; e.g.

hit the nail on the head.

but not

*strike* the nail on the head.
unless we were thinking literally of someone's skill with the hammer rather than figuratively of his ability to say precisely what he meant.

nor

hit the nail on its head.

which would mean literally hitting it.

(c) It is not usually subject to the rules of transformation, e.g. the following transformations would be unacceptable:

hit the nails on the heads.
the nail was hit on the head.

etc.

The mature speaker of the language picks his way with unconscious ease when it comes to idiomatic use of this type but the L₂ speaker, or the native speaker of English whose control of idiom is not yet sure, is likely to encounter pitfalls. This is because idiomatic expressions do not lend themselves very readily to rule-making and to generalization. They have to be learnt, to a large extent, on an item by item basis and knowledge of their use in appropriate contexts comes only after a certain stage of sophistication has been reached in language learning. As Robins (1964:65) remarks, "a knowledge of such individual features of a language,
acquired by experience ... usually comes at the end of one's learning a foreign language."

Lacking the native speaker's linguistic intuitions, the $L_2$ speaker has to depend on his limited acquaintance with the target language and his ability to recall. And particularly since such expressions are not constructed in the usual way, that is, by application of generative transformational rules, they tend to present special problems to $L_2$ speakers when memory fails. This often results in the omission or insertion of elements in the Standard English idiom, blending of elements with other notionally similar ones, and so on. In addition to this, many IE speakers tend to use these fixed phrases and stock expressions as though they were free collocations. This commonly takes the form of substitution of function words and lexical items and even of permutation of items leading to changes in word order.

The modifications made by IE speakers are of the following kind:

1. Insertion of elements in certain set phrases and fixed expressions; e.g.

   (1) put behind the bars (for 'put behind bars')
   (2) jump into hasty conclusions (for 'jump to conclusions')
   (3) swore by his name (for 'swore by him')
   (4) down to the earth theme (for 'down to earth').
2. Omission of elements in certain set phrases and expressions; e.g.

   (1) a role after my heart (for 'a role after my own heart')

   (2) burnt to its foundation (for 'burnt to its foundations')

3. A fusion or blending of notionally similar expressions. Sometimes there is also a blend of expressions which are not so closely related semantically; e.g.

   (1) was hand in glove with/joined forces with

       But his principle goes against his practice
       when he joined hand in glove with the DMK leaders.

   (2) rot can set in/misfortune can befall

       The defeat of the late Kamraj ... was definitely
       a foretaste of what rot can befall on any leader
       in the uncertain field of politics.

   (3) face the music/pay someone in the same coin

       Mr. Fernandes has to face the same coin that
       he played against the Congress Government
       previously.

4. Substitution of function words in certain fixed expressions; e.g.

   (1) ... they were condemned to live the lie.
       (for 'live a lie')
(2) ... victimization of an official for no fault of his (through no fault of his).

(3) ... send their warships to the various areas around the world to show their flag.
   (for 'to show the flag')

5. Substitution of lexical elements which are fairly fixed in certain idiomatic expressions; e.g.

   (1) ... high prices cannot be justified by the cent percent import duty on new materials ...
      (for 'hundred per cent')

   (2) Meanwhile, Goseva Sanghas are happy that they get a fresh lease for existence.
      (for 'a new lease of life')

   (3) ... had I not seen my friend narrowly escape the clutches of death when his wound became sceptic. (for 'jaws of death').

6. Contextually deviant instances, i.e., the inappropriate use of expressions in the contexts in question; etc.

   (1) Mr. Fernandes has to face the same coin that he played against the Congress Government previously.
(2) All of them have hit the mattress. They are lying low, wistfully dreaming of the old days and fervently praying for an early return to normalcy.

In the above sentence deviation occurs not only in the form of substitution of a lexical element, viz. 'mattress' for 'hay/sack', but in that the context demands an expression equivalent to 'remain in hiding' rather than 'to sleep' which is what 'hit the hay/sack' means.

7. Co-textually deviant instances, i.e. the syntactic (formal) context is odd, e.g. in the sentence:

(1) Meanwhile, in the Republic Camp, President Ford and Ronald Reagan were locked in a neck-to-neck race.

The phrase 'neck-to-neck' is used attributively - which is rare in native English - besides the substitution of 'to' for 'and'.

Sometimes the violation of selectional restrictions - in this case on the verb phrase - results in syntactically deviant expression:

(2) Songs began to lose their importance only after Salim-Javed packed a new fight-composing punch in their dialogues.

Here the deviation lies in (a) the insertion of the lexical item, fight-composing and (b) the use of a [+human] noun as the subject of the verb phrase, to pack a punch.
5.20. **Style/Register in IE**

Appropriateness in style is to a large extent determined by situation and the social norms in a particular situation. In broader terms it is possible to speak of features of style of a particular language or dialect, where as a result of social attitude towards it, certain stylistic tendencies develop. This is especially true of standard dialects that have class association, and foreign languages that have high prestige value.

Where an L₂ is merely a trade or contact language and communication is the prime consideration, there is rarely any pretension to grace of style as long as intelligibility is maintained. On the other hand, as Sey (1973) points out, where the L₂ happens to be a prestige language, as in the case of Educated English in former British colonies, refinement of expression commands as much attention as intelligibility - indeed, paradoxical as this may appear, sometimes even at the cost of intelligibility. This happens when L₂ speakers begin to identify refinement of expression with the use of difficult, literary and 'bookish' words rather than a device used to facilitate communication. Indian speakers show a tendency to do this. A misguided conception has developed among IE speakers that the more learned the words and expressions they use, the more stylistically impressive they sound.
The prestige attached to the use of learned words in IE is similar to that observed in Ghanaian English by Sey (1973). His observations on the stylistic peculiarities of Ghanaian English hold good for IE too: "Style itself tends to be viewed as a purely decorative device rather than an aid to more effective expression and fuller comprehension; and especially among the more naive speakers, it appears to be identified with the use of words and phrases that are presumed to be 'learned', and also with the impressive display of an extensive range of vocabulary. Since these are not always matched by equally impressive command of varied and controlled use of sentence structures, a kind of prose results which is either monotonous or jerky in rhythm - a string of loosely connected simple sentences interlarded with unexpected and ill-fitting preciosity. In some cases attempts at the use of more complex sentences only result in over-involved syntax" (Sey 1973:123).

The verbosity and preciosity mentioned by Sey as characteristic of Ghanaian English is found to exist in IE as well. There appears to be little respect for the simple, plain word. Instead, the ability to use learned words and expressions and a wide range of vocabulary are looked upon
as indications of a greater command of the language, and therefore, of higher education and prestige. This notion is partly reinforced by the kind of texts prescribed at school and college, where students are still fed on classical literature of the 18th and 19th centuries. These are held up as models of 'good English' with the result that not only is the English used by Indians 'bookish', but dated, in that it shows an unawareness of contemporary idiomatic usage. Archaic, obsolete words occur alongside colloquial expressions and even slang. There is a mixing of levels where formal and informal expressions are combined to form stylistically incongruous sentences, and words are used without regard to their appropriateness to situation or verbal context. The following examples from IE provide an illustration of these tendencies:

1. The use of slang words, e.g.

   (1) His **boss** advised him to join a night school.

   (2) The jeep was already there **tooting** the horn.

   (3) There I could **swill** myself with beer.

   (4) Many are using **incapacitated** parrots for predicting fortune, while the established in the field attract the public by advertising their stay in **posh** hotels.
(5) Did the CPI not proclaim from housetops that the **busting** of Mrs. Gandhi from power would mean a counter-revolution on the Allende model?

Sometimes the combination of slang or colloquial words with extremely formal expressions gives rise to a stylistic melange, e.g.

(1) The charge has been made against samachar that it has thoroughly disgraced itself by **dishing out false and fabricated reports**.

(2) **... scientific research in the country is bound to subserve the personal and ideological whims and fancies of political bosses and bureaucratic masters.**

(3) The date earlier fixed for its compulsory use viz., Jan. 1, was extended to April 1 due to complaints from the public about **the exorbitant and fancy prices** charged for helmets ...

2. The use of colloquial words and expressions: These are considered suitable for ordinary conversation but not normally in formal writing; e.g.

(1) **How come** soyabean has not made much headway in India?
(2) The movie was well directed by Hemant Gupta and had appealing music by C. Ramchandra, but it was no go.

(3) A sizeable number of students and teachers to be found in each department hail from different parts of the country.

(4) One consignment to Radhesham of Sriram Medical Hall, Varanasi was intercepted and he was nabbed.

(5) One manager stated, "I find their performance in the clerical cadre hopeless."

(6) Therefore it does not mean that the Janata Party has given the go by to the property right.

3. Certain words which are dated or archaic occur quite frequently in IE, e.g.

(1) Over 50,625 armed miscreants were apprehended and approximately 900 firearms and 7,600 bombs were recovered.

(2) She berated him in my presence.

(3) I have to travel from my residence by PMT bus route No. 41.
4. The use of register-bound expressions in non-registral contexts: Certain words and expressions which are restricted to particular registers in native English, such as official, legal, etc., are carried over into common usage, e.g.

(1) The P and T department should introduce condolatory phrases like "shocked to learn the sad/untimely demise of Shri/Smt. ..."

(2) The cotton portion of this blended cloth is then burned off by treating the same with 70 per cent sulphuric acid.

(3) I passed the SSLC this year and am eligible for the NMS but have been denied the same.

(4) However, in spite of the replacement, the screw was loose and subsequently I lost the same twice.

(5) The authorities should do the needful immediately and undertake measures for long-term remedies.

(6) Commuters will be grateful if the Railway authorities pay heed to the above grievances and do the needful.

5. Verbosity or extravagant use of words: These comprise mainly cases of tautology in which two or more near-synonyms are put together by the co-ordinating conjunctions and, or, e.g.
(1) ... has thought it wise to re-introduce prohibition, which from past experience, has proved to be a complete and total failure.

(2) If the treatment meted out to the hapless and hopeless citizen is derisive and humiliating, democracy is correspondingly denigrated and naturally doomed. Particularly is it so when breaking the laws, the powerful and the rich are accorded deferential and exalting treatment, when they should be awarded maximum penalty under the law.

(3) It is unfortunate that our journalists too yield to this game and gimmick.

(4) He vehemently condemned the favouritism and nepotism of the Congress Government.

(5) Will the people in charge of organizing or helping the rally make better and adequate arrangements in co-operation with the police authority ...?

(6) Nothing in the world can be improved if complaint or constructive suggestion is dubbed or deemed as sin.
6. Preciosity: IE speakers show a preference for learned words and phrases where more familiar expressions would be more appropriate, e.g.

(1) Town electricity has, as if also joined hands in the joy-ride of miscreants and it collapses systematically at least twice between the above period. (fails regularly).

(2) But still our aspiration is that his music will never go into oblivion. (hope).

(3) But considering it my duty I offered my assistance to the commission, amicus curiae, bereft of my representative character as the Advocate General of the State ... ('not in the capacity as the Advocate General' ...)

(4) I suggest that the Government of India has a look into the procedures prescribed by the Board and revise them to be more practical, within the ambit of the act. (bounds/extent/range of authority).

(5) Pakistan has enhanced its defense outlay even though it has got a smaller, more homogeneous area to defend. (increased)
5.21. **Absence of Cohesion: Inter-Sentential, Intra-Sentential**

A. **Rhetorical or non-structural cohesive devices:**
   1. Absence of specific anaphoric referents
   2. Ambiguous reference
   3. Partial reference
   4. Inappropriate use of sentence connectors

B. **Purely structural sources of cohesion: coordination**
   1. Lack of cohesion due to non-parallel conjoined clauses
   2. Inappropriate choice of conjunctions
   3. Excessive coordination
   
   **Subordination**
   1. Wrong choice of complementizers
   2. Excessive subordination

C. **Lack of cohesion due to the violation of other intra-sentential cohesive ties:**
   1. Dangling participles
   2. The fusion of two alternative phrases
   3. Ellipsis
   4. Pleonasms
   5. Superfluous constructions
   6. Condensation
   7. Longwindedness
   8. **Awkwardness of expression resulting from L1 translation**
   9. **Awkwardness of expression resulting from clumsy syntax.**
Deviations in this area are caused by violation of inter-sentential and intra-sentential cohesive ties. Cohesion refers to the interdependence of elements in discourse, signalled either by syntactic or semantic processes which facilitate interpretation of the message. The cohesive ties that link these elements can be sentential or supra-sentential.

A perfect command of an L₂ calls for not merely the ability to produce grammatical sentences, but acceptable and appropriate ones as well, i.e., besides syntactic correctness, one looks for relevance to context, logical coherence and neatness and clarity of expression or cohesion. Here one enters the domain of rhetorical appropriateness which is just as much a part of the competence of an L₂ speaker. With regard to this aspect of the English language, however, one may note that although there are IE speakers who are able to write lucid, uninvolved prose, the general tendency is to produce awkward, longwinded and involved sentences in a piece of discourse, particularly if the style happens to be formal. This results in the production of extremely complex sentences, characterized by excessive coordination and subordination, often at the expense of cohesion.

Lack of cohesion in IE is sometimes due to syntactic processes such as the absence of parallelism in conjoined
clauses, pleonasms, the fusion of alternative expressions, ellipsis, condensation of clauses into phrases, etc., or semantic processes such as those pertaining to reference, lexical cohesion and conjunction. Examples of these are given below:

A. Rhetorical or non-structural cohesive devices:

1. Absence of specific anaphoric referents, e.g.

   (1) The visitors swaggered about our bazaars and spent money like rich Americans. To prove it, they bought land at fabulous prices in their home villages.

   (2) If one has harped on the problems strewn across India's path to the pot of gold at the end of the Olympic rainbow, it is only to remind readers that it will be no easy task.

2. Ambiguous reference, e.g.

   (1) Education should also provide food for the spirit, which factor is conspicuously absent in our present system.

   (2) In the free countries of the West, the people have the right to agitate and change the ruler
even during a war, when there is the need. Mr. Anthony Eden during the Suez Campaign and Mr. Neville Chamberlain during the Second World War are examples. The question of destabilising does not bother them during a crisis.

3. Partial reference, i.e., the anaphoric reference is applicable to only one of the elements in the conjoined phrase; e.g.

(1) Overwatering of gardens and flowerpots should be avoided so that water does not collect in those places.

(2) Apart from these things, most of the trees and enclosures have already been damaged even during the process of their installation.

4. Inappropriate use of sentence connectors generally caused by a confusion between two conjunctions of similar or nearly similar meaning; e.g.

(1) The Maharashtra Government has made English the medium of instruction for teaching Science and Mathematics in their schools. It would be
worthwhile if this lead in the field of education is followed by other states as well. Even otherwise it would promote the cause of education in this country, if the centre by virtue of its powers derived from the concurrent list, makes arrangements for ensuring uniform standards in the states for the teaching of English and other core subjects like science and mathematics. (Apart from this ...).

(2) Without their active co-operation these unsocial elements cannot be rounded up. Otherwise many innocent people will become victims on this festival. (And if this is not done ...)

(3) The State Government whose concurrence is also required will be doing a lot of service for the poor and the middle class of the people by supporting this wise move of the Central Government. On the other hand, the State Government will be getting more income to their share by way of distribution of the Excise Duty collections.

(Furthermore)

5. The use of 'as such' in IE to mean "consequently/this being so/as this is the case," etc.
(1) The island might have earned this sobriquet from the fact that the Minicoy male, who is a born sailor, is in great demand for work in ocean-going vessels, and as such, at any given time, almost 90 per cent of the adult male population of the island may be away from their island homes.

(2) As most of the residents come from poor and middle income groups, they can neither individually nor collectively make such deposit demanded by the Water Board. As such it is suggested that the amount already sanctioned by the Government for rural water supply scheme may be diverted to the Water Board for provision of at least public taps in the panchyat area comprising P and T Colony and Venkateshapuram.

B. Purely Structural Sources of cohesion:

Coordination

1. Lack of cohesion due to non-parallel conjoined clauses, e.g.

(1) 'Like this' he said, 'picking up an old broomstick from a corner and sprang like a deer twice in the air.'
(2) The more appropriate thing would have been to provide a square box beside each symbol and asking the voter to put the impression from the rubber stamp inside this square.

(3) Emergency was declared to save her son and thus perpetuated the dynastic rule.

(4) With low production cost and being a rotational crop with an additional quality of nitrogen fixation in the soil, it is gradually drawing the attention of those interested in the future of soya bean in our country.

2. Inappropriate choice of conjunction resulting from a confusion between conjunctions of similar or nearly similar meaning, e.g.

(1) Her works are in the collections of Lalit Kala Academies of various states besides with numerous private collectors in India and abroad. (in addition to being )

(2) "Protection of Law - I and II," by Sunanda K. Dutta Ray (April 13, 14-15) was one of the most revealing series of articles after censorship was lifted. (since)
(3) ... which will enable the students to rush to the respective centres no sooner the results are declared and find out their results immediately without any delay. (as soon as).

(4) Thank God Newton and Einstein were not students of this university lest posterity would have been oblivious of the theories of gravitation and relativity, since they would have failed in their I Year! (otherwise)

Deviation in the use of "as well as" in IE: With the conjunction "as well as" the normal order is that the new or unknown element is mentioned first and the known or expected occurs after the conjunction, and not vice versa. IE speakers seem to be unaware of this convention of usage. "As well as" is therefore treated as a free variant of "and", thus causing a displacement of the phrase to be focussed on; e.g.

(1) In normal times politicians intent upon fomenting trouble have always met with stiff resistance from teachers as well as students.

(2) The Congress in its formulation of economic policies in the past as well as the future cannot fail to take adequate notice of the following aspects.
(3) The IMA should constantly seek to raise the standard of professional efficiency as well as of ethics.

The use of "as also" in IE instead of "and also"; e.g.

(1) The potential is there as also the need.

(2) ... one cannot discount the merits of smaller nations like some of the European countries, notably 1974 world cup champions, Holland, Spain and Australia, who knocked us out of the reckoning for the top spot at the 1968 Mexico Olympics as also, Argentina, who stunned us with a 2-1 victory.

The use of "in case" instead of "if" in IE; e.g.

(1) Some Janata Party leaders even threatened to impeach the President in case he refuses to sign.

(2) I am of the view that in case we are able to devise (or revise) some better way for examining our students, many of our problems will be solved.
3. Excessive coordination, e.g.

(1) It would be anomalous to see two brothers living in the same house but one serves as a peon in the Central Government department and the other a peon in the State Government and apart from the disparity in emoluments there is still a world of difference in benefits during the service and after the service in addition to the difference in the retirement age.

(2) Whatever may be the truth but it is a fact that this agitation was a historic one in the sense that medicos from all the four Government medical colleges came together and fought for a noble cause but at last gained nothing but the security of the life of thousands of innocent patients because the Government has decided not to give even provisional registration to graduates of unrecognized private medical colleges.

Subordination

1. Wrong choice of complementizers, e.g.
(1) I suggest to the authorities to include statistics for the medical graduates. ('to' infinitive instead of a 'that-' clause).

(2) The Traffic Police should lose no time to book cases against vehicles emitting black smoke which not only causes air pollution and are a serious health hazard besides being contributive in one way or the other for road accidents. ('to' infinitive instead of '-ing' form).

(3) It is high time for the Janata Party to reassure the people firmly that all their fears are without any basis. ('for to' instead of a 'that-' clause)

2. Excessive Subordination, e.g.

(1) May I appeal to that section of ordinary citizens who, like me, have no time or inclination to indulge in the polemics of professionalism in theorisation on democracy, which to have any meaning in this country, requires, first, the institution of the type advocated by the great intellectual, the late Mr. V.S. Shrinivasa Sastri 'to educate' those who seek political power.
(2) I thank the Government of India for implementing this project through respective State Governments which is a success to save the tiger which has become a rare species and is on the verge of extinction.

C. Lack of cohesion due to the violation of intra-sentential cohesive ties: This manifests itself in clumsy syntax and awkwardness of expression. Cohesion may also be marred by the tendency among IE speakers towards long-windedness, repetition, redundancy and simplification, or even an infelicitous use of language:

1. Dangling participles, e.g.

   (1) Added to all this is the misery of the teacher who has been arbitrarily sacked, flouting all rules.

   (2) Being a product of the new theatre school its influence was much in evidence in his dialogue direction.

   (3) Coming to the election manifestos of various opposition parties these promise the people of India, the moon, Shangri-la and Utopia all rolled into one.
2. The fusion of two alternative phrases, e.g.

(1) He followed her down, striving his best not to watch her back, looking fixedly at his own feet.

('striving not to' + 'doing his best not to')

(2) It is indeed surprising to note the attitude of our corporates towards the citizens of Pune, Hadapsar in particular, as regards the fly menace is concerned.

('as regards (with regard to) the fly menace' + 'as far as the fly menace is concerned')

(3) Could the Janata Government come to the rescue of the Khajurar villagers from their plight?

('come to the rescue of the Khajurar villagers' + 'rescue the Khajurar villagers from their plight')

(4) Because of this reason, sometimes it does not stop on the Ganj Peth ...

('because of this' + 'for this reason')

3. Ellipsis, i.e., the need to spell out the meaning more explicitly in terms of syntactic construction: In some cases a single word or phrase may be omitted, often because
these are taken for granted or assumed as known; e.g.

(1) May I congratulate you for the excellent job they are doing for the smooth flow of traffic. (maintenance of the)

(2) Asian leaders demanded the arrest of Kingsley Road of the Fascist National Party for his racist abuses at immigrants. (directed/hurled)

(3) In the past, AIR showed similar finesse in relaying a few events from Bangla Desh Radio relating to the fall of East Pakistan. (reports on the)

(4) The staff engaged in small pox eradication such as PHA, enumerator, etc. should not be neglected in promotion of gradation. (matters of)

(5) their maintenance is out of all proportion to the services they render. (The cost of)

4. Pleonasms, e.g.

(1) He always had a pile of backlog to work off.

(2) These helped the Muslim scholars to found the basis of the system of Islamic medicine.

(3) It is also used in snack foods and breakfast cereals.
(4) ... the ensuing change ... is undoubtedly bound
to create uneasiness about the future.

5. Superfluous constructions: These comprise the use of words
and phrases which are redundant in the context, e.g.

(1) The nightmare the press went through in the last
    one year and the revelation of the lengths to
    which the government could go ...

(2) Thereafter it was prolonged for a further one year.
    (another year)

(3) The officer all the year round should receive
 applications for rectifications and carry out the
 same within a week's time. (within a week)

It may be noted that the expression
"within a I week I's time" is commonly used in IE.
    I month I
    I year I

Redundancy also manifests itself in the use of superfluous
adjuncts in IE, e.g.

(1) It will be too simplistic and rather naive to
dismiss the incident as an outcome of the culture
we have imbibed ...

(2) If these elements succeed in their attempts to create
    confusion all round, there is nobody else to save the
    nation and the millions of our people but only God.
(3) What is needed is only a sustained campaign in the villages.

(4) The only alternative is just to switch off the TV which the children will not permit us to do.

6. Condensation: This involves the telescoping or compressing of clauses and phrases and sometimes of clauses into phrases by means of gapping and elision of lexical items important from the point of view of the communication content; e.g.

(1) Further the very meaning of merit scholarship is lost when the salary is considered for awarding it. (When the salary is made the basis for consideration in awarding it.)

(2) Students with English medium whose mother tongue is not Gujarati are facing a grave problem in Gujarat. (Students with English as the medium of instruction.)

(3) ... a detailed debate on their election manifestos which can give a fair amount of information for the electorate to decide the party for voting. (to decide the party for which they want to vote.)

This is combined sometimes with the pre-posing of a post-head modifier in a nominal group; e.g.
(1) ... the development of rural roads ... (roads in rural areas)

(2) They collected money from the people, arbitrated in neighbourly disputes, aided in the recovery of stolen property ... (disputes among neighbours)

(3) It will not in any way improve the breeding conditions of the existing fauna ... (conditions conducive to the breeding of)

(4) ... taking the superannuation as 58 years ... (taking the year fixed for superannuation to be 58).

7. Longwindedness, e.g.

(1) As for newspapers, all passengers who usually patronize our national airlines barring the few prejudiced ones, are aware that the overwhelming bulk of newspapers chosen by the executives of the two airlines for being placed on their flights do not have a reputation for having greatly supported the then ruling party.

(2) Yet another point that should receive the consideration of the Government is that in many cases the period of pension of many persons is greater than
the service period and it is likely to be increased in future in view of the increased longevity if the Government continues to keep the level unattended to.

8. Awkwardness of expression resulting from L1 translations; e.g.

(1) Immediately she got down from her car, came among the people, spoke to them in their vernacular language, and thus moved the hearts of the people of our village.

(2) But having been in her office all evening, it might look odd to go after her again.

(3) When samples were taken and sent to England for testing, result came that it contains 60 per cent or more of iron.

(4) Jalso is a Gujarati word given for festival.

9. Awkwardness of expression resulting from clumsy syntax.

The examples grouped under this sub-category are an outcome of the combination of several processes, and not of just any one of the processes so far discussed. One finds a number of things happening simultaneously in a single sentence: ellipsis and gapping where the meaning needs to be more explicitly
stated in terms of the ordering of syntactic constituents, reduction of a clause to a phrase when a clause would have conveyed the meaning more clearly, the use of superfluous items in an attempt to make up for the loss of meaning resulting from the above two processes, inappropriate choice of certain syntactic and lexical items as well as incorrect placement of these items in the structure of these sentences, and so on. Examples of these abound in both sections II and III of our corpus, but particularly in section III.

These sections of the corpus contain 'letters to the editor' from various national and regional level newspapers. Since the purpose of these letters is to draw the readers' attention to certain facts and events, they lead us to expect a style which is simple, direct and unambiguous, concentrating on clarity and precision in the communicating of the message. Instead, one finds highly involved sentences containing a number of embeddings - attempts to weave into the discourse, and sometimes into a single sentence, too many threads of the argument at one and the same time. With so much information built into a single sentence, it becomes difficult for the reader to keep track of the main points at issue. In fact, these often get sidetracked while those which are quite irrelevant or peripheral to the argument are brought into focus, thus defeating the very purpose of these letters. In order to enable the reader to move more easily from one point to the next, therefore, many of these sentences need to be
re-cast by means of using a larger number of co-ordinate clauses in place of subordinate clauses, or complete clauses instead of phrases - or even breaking up entire sentences into 2 or 3 shorter, simpler ones.

The sentences analysed below and the reconstruction that follows each of these are illustrative of the above-mentioned processes in operation, making for very awkward and clumsy expression:

(1) May I, therefore, request the authorities to consider their cases, sympathetically by adding, all the 10 marks, to failed subjects if necessary to help them to get over their plight, or by issuing instructions to the school authorities, so that these children may be taken into the schools, where they have been studying, so far, to enable them to repeat the courses?

Reconstruction:

May I, therefore, request the authorities to consider their case sympathetically and grant them the required grace marks (to help them get through) in the subjects in which they have failed, or issue instructions to the school authorities to admit children into the schools where they have been studying until now to enable them to repeat the courses?
(i) their cases → their case

In the above sentence 'the students who have failed' are to be treated together as denoting a single unit, so the pronoun 'their' in the noun phrase, 'their cases' does not refer to separate cases.

(ii) by adding all the 10 marks → and grant them the required grace marks

(a) The use of a phrase instead of a clause. No semantic fit between the verb 'consider' and the by '-ing' phrase, since the 'adding/granting of marks' can occur only after 'the case' has been 'considered' and not simultaneously or before, as the by '-ing' phrase seems to suggest.

(b) Inappropriate choice of a lexical item. ('add' in place of 'grant').

(iii) by issuing instructions to the school authorities so that the children may be taken into the schools → and issue instructions to the school authorities to admit the children into the schools

(a) The use of a phrase in place of a clause. No semantic fit between the verb 'consider' and by '-ing' phrase as in (ii) above.

(b) The use of the passive here results in highlighting 'children' who are the affected whereas the use of the active voice will bring into focus 'the school authorities' which have the role of the agent in the clause.
(c) Inappropriate choice of a lexical item. ('taken' in place of 'admitted')

(iv) failed subjects — subjects in which they have failed

Incorrect compounding mechanism. Moreover, the past-participle of 'fail' does not generally function as an adjective.

(v) to help them get over their plight — to help them get through/pass

The use of a pompous expression. Moreover, 'to get over' and 'plight' do not normally collocate.

(vi) studying so far — studying until now

Inappropriate choice of the adverbial.

(vii) to enable them to repeat the courses.

A dangling phrasal complement as the sentence stands in the original. Instead of using a clause of purpose conjunct with the earlier clause, 'so that ... so far', the writer uses a phrasal complement, 'to enable ... courses', which is syntactically unrelated to any antecedent. Besides, whereas the earlier clause (so that ... so far) with which the phrasal complement is semantically related puts 'the children' in the subject position, the phrase (to enable them to repeat the courses) uses the active voice, treating 'the school authorities' as the agent and 'the children' as the object of the action. This results in a shift of
focus within the same sentence - from 'the school authorities' to 'the children'.

(2) **If rice is prohibited, can the RTC quote a single case of taking action against any conductor for allowing rice?**

Reconstruction:

If the RTC claims that the transportation of rice (across states) is still prohibited, can it produce evidence of a single case of its having taken action against any of the conductors for having allowed rice to be transported?

(i) **If rice is prohibited** → **If the RTC claims that the transportation of rice is prohibited**

Lack of logical connection between the 'if' clause and the main clause. Since the sentence conveys information about the action of the RTC, the RTC must be the subject of the 'if' clause.

(ii) **Rice is prohibited** → **Transportation of rice is prohibited**

Ellipsis - taking for granted that 'rice' is understood to mean 'transportation of rice'. Moreover, 'prohibit' demands for an object an action, and not a thing.

(iii) **Quote a case** → **Quote evidence of a case/produce evidence**

Unusual collocation resulting from ellipsis.
(iv) a case of taking action → a case of their having taken action

(a) The use of the progressive aspect in place of the perfective.

(b) Subject left unspecified.

(v) for allowing → for having allowed

The use of the progressive aspect in place of the perfective.

(vi) allowing rice → allowing the transportation of rice/allowing rice to be transported

The verb 'allow' like 'prohibit' requires an action for an object.

(3) It was a breach of faith on the part of the Prime Minister in stating that MISA will not be applied to political persons but doing the reverse.

Reconstruction:

It was a breach of faith on the part of the Prime Minister that although she stated that MISA would not be used against persons engaged in political activities, she in fact did just the opposite of what she said.

(i) It was a breach of faith ... in stating that ... → It was a breach of faith ... that although she stated ...
No fit between 'it' construction and the complement. 
'It' construction + 'be' type verb requires an extraposed appositional clause, not a prepositional phrase.

(ii) Will not be applied — would not be used against
(a) The use of the wrong sequence of tense.
(b) Inappropriate choice of a lexical item. ('apply' in place of 'use')

(iii) Political persons — persons engaged in political activities
Incorrect condensation leading to unusual collocation.

(iv) but doing the reverse — she in fact did just the opposite of what she said
(a) The use of co-ordination instead of subordination, thus giving equal prominence to both the propositions: 'in stating that MISA will not be applied ...' as well as 'doing the reverse', whereas 'the breach of faith' referred to here should be more closely linked to the latter since it lies not so much in 'the statement' (of the Prime Minister) as in the action contrary to the 'statement.' A change of focus is required - the 'statement' should occupy the position of given information and action contrary to the 'statement' should have the position of new information.

(b) Inappropriate choice of a lexical item. ('reverse').