CHAPTER 3

THE VERB PHRASE IN INDIAN ENGLISH
III. The Verb Phrase in Indian English

3.1 Introductory Remarks

The preceding chapter has revealed that tense, aspect, mood and voice are the major sub-systems that constitute the verb phrase in English. The main objective of this chapter is to describe different realizations of the canonical forms of tense, aspect, mood and voice and their different functions in IE. This study uses standard BrE as a convenient reference point for describing the formal and functional features of the verb phrase in IE. It also comments on the similarities and differences between the verb phrase in BrE and IE.

3.2 Methodology

According to Halliday et al. (1964), ‘For the description of a language to be of greatest use, it must account for contextual as well as formal patterns’ (p. 40). This study aims at exploring the formal and functional patterns of the verb phrase in IE on the basis of the data collected from various sources. It has been pointed out by several linguists that in the studies carried out on IE, some features have been impressionistically regarded as characteristics of IE. Linguists like
Parasher (1991), Schneider (2004) and Daswani (1978) have emphasized the need for a careful collection and analysis of reliable data. To make this study more representative, data from various registers have been analysed in this chapter. According to Srivastava and Sharma (1991), ‘The shape of Indian English is being determined by perhaps the most influential section of the educated society—writers, journalists, radio and TV commentators and above all teachers of English in India’ (p. 199). As pointed out in section 1.10, this study aims at analysing the usage of educated Indians and as suggested by Srivastava and Sharma (1991), it also takes into consideration the language used by the most ‘influential section of the educated society’.

Gottfried et al. (1977) give the following classification of the functional varieties of English.
**Stylistic Level**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stilted</th>
<th>Formal</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Everyday</th>
<th>Scientific</th>
<th>Journalistic</th>
<th>Official</th>
<th>Literary</th>
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<tr>
<td>Colloquial</td>
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<td>Intimate</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vulgar</td>
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in this study examples have been selected from all the registers indicated in the above classification and it focuses on formal, neutral, colloquial and intimate levels as far as the stylistic variation is concerned.

The easy availability of language corpora and their processing tools have opened up several new avenues of language research. Dash (2003) defines a language corpus as ‘a large collection of representative language samples obtained from texts covering different varieties of a
particular language used in various domains of linguistic activities’ (p. 87).

The machine-readable corpora that are examined in the present study are ‘The Kolhapur Corpus of Indian English’ (texts from 1978) and ‘The ICE-India Corpus’ (texts from 2002).

The Kolhapur corpus of IE has been built on the same lines as ‘The Brown Corpus of Present-day American English’ and ‘The Lancaster-Oslo/ Bergen (LOB) Corpus of Present-day British English’. All these three corpora consist of roughly one million words, containing five hundred texts of approximately two thousand words each distributed across fifteen text categories. The basic composition of American, British and IE Corpora is given in the table below.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text categories</th>
<th>No. of texts in each category</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>American Corpus 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Press: Reportage</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Press: Editorial</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C Press: Reviews</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D Religion</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E Skills, Trades &amp; Hobbies</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F Popular Lore</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G Belles Lettres</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H Miscellaneous (Govt. Documents, Foundation Reports, Industry Reports, College Catalogue, Industry House Organ)</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J Learned and Scientific Writing</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K General Fiction</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L Mystery &amp; Detective Fiction</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M Science Fiction</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N Adventure &amp; Western Fiction</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P Romance &amp; Love Story</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R Humour</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>500</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples from different registers of the Kolhapur corpus have been taken into consideration for the present analysis and they have been indicated as (KC) in this study. One of the major limitations of the Kolhapur corpus is that it focuses only on the written texts. On the other hand, the ICE-India Corpus includes the spoken component as well. Therefore, this study has selected examples from the ICE-India Corpus as well.

The ICE-India Corpus contains 500 texts. The categories included in the ICE-India Corpus are given in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ICE TEXT CATEGORIES AND FILENAMES</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SPOKEN</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Dialogues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Dialogues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unscripted Monologues</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scripted Monologues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WRITTEN</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Professional Writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correspondence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic Writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Academic Writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reportage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instructional Writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persuasive Writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The ICE-India Corpus represents the speakers of major Indian languages. One of the interesting aspects of the category of ‘Private Dialogues’ is that they are drawn largely from the trained ELT teachers. The authors and speakers of the texts of ICE were educated through the medium of English and therefore, any syntactic description based on ICE-India is naturally based on the performance of fluent users of English in India. Agnihotri (1999) maintains that the claims on the syntax of IE are generally either exaggerated or based on data from lower registers of IE and comments, ‘It has focused on data from non-fluent, school or undergraduate students of English’ (p. 192). Since the ICE-data have selected examples from educated speakers of English, it is felt that these data would be extremely useful to describe the current standard of IE, both spoken and written. The examples from the ICE-Corpus of India have been indicated as (ICE-IND) in this study. In case of both these corpora, the line numbers are mentioned after the examples.5

Though the Kolhapur corpus and the ICE-India Corpus have a different structure, both are very useful as far as the judgements of acceptability and standardization are concerned. If a particular feature occurs both in the Kolhapur Corpus and in the ICE-India Corpus, which
is over a time span of twenty-four years, we can be reasonably sure that
this usage has become a stable pan-Indian feature. Leitner (1991) points
out that studies comparing IE and other Englishes have tended most
often to be quantitative rather than qualitative. This study pays greater
attention to the qualitative differences between the verb phrase in BrE
and that in IE, though in some cases it also carries out a quantitative
analysis. For the purpose of quantitative analysis, the LOB and Brown
Corpora have also been taken into consideration.

This study aims at identifying the common patterns regarding the
verb phrase in IE from different registers but no attempt has been made
in this study to discuss the registral differences in the use of the verb
phrase in IE. It is hoped that the registral differences would be
investigated in further studies by a close analysis of the data. The
observations made in this study are based on the analysis of limited
amounts of data. However, it is felt that the findings of this study may be
seen as symptomatic of what is likely to be manifested by a larger
corpus. Apart from the Kolhapur Corpus and the ICE-India corpus the
examples of IE cited in this chapter are of the following five types.
(a) Media texts play a very significant role in norm-developing varieties
as they provide realistic representations of the language as it is actually

(b) Literary language displays a high degree of creativity. Language is the foundation on which literature is built and through the effective use of language a literary writer gives a lot of pleasure to his readers. The Indian writers in English have made a substantial contribution to the development of English literature. According to Mohan (1978), ‘Indian
English like all living organisms has now become self-generating and its creative use in literature and other forms of writing has greatly enriched its resources and established its specific identity’ (p. 202). This study explores how the verb phrase in IE has been used in both parodic and non-parodic literary texts written by Indian authors. It takes into consideration the literary works of Nissim Ezekiel, Parthasarathy, Raja Rao, Jai Nimbkar, Anita Desai, Anurag Mathur, Sudha Murthy, Chetan Bhagat, R.K. Narayan and Manju Kapur.

(c) Examples are also selected from books and articles written by Indian authors.

(d) Some of the examples cited in this study are selected from written documents like notices, letters, pamphlets and handbills.

(e) Some of the examples of IE cited here were actually used by speakers of IE in formal contexts like seminars, interviews, public speeches and talks and their utterances were noted down at the first opportunity.

The sources of the sentences in case of (a), (b), (c), (d) and (e) are provided in brackets.

(f) Some of the examples cited here were actually used by speakers of IE
in different informal situations and their utterances were also noted down at the first opportunity. Such examples are referred to as ‘Real Context Examples’ and they are indicated as (RCE) in this study.

(g) Some of the examples of IE discussed here are constructed on the basis of observation and intuition to reveal the patterns actually used by speakers of IE. Such ‘Constructed Examples’ are not provided with any label.

The various patterns with respect to the verb phrase in IE cited in this chapter have been discussed with the native speakers of English from the University of Reading and the University of Cambridge and their opinions have also been taken into consideration in this study.

3.3 Tense in Indian English

As discussed in 2.5, tense is a grammatical category referring to the time of the situation and it is indicated by the form of a verb. As in BrE, in IE also the two tenses-simple present and simple past do not correspond precisely to the difference between present and past in the real world. For example,

(1) In today’s programme we bring you a talk on the British policy towards the tribes of north-east India (ICEL-IND: S2B-033#X1:1).
(2) When Mr Atal Bihari Vajpayee arrives in Islamabad today, he would be the first Indian to set foot on Pakistani soil (KC, 1330A01-1340A01).

(3) My friend leaves for Mumbai tomorrow (RCE).


In all the above examples, the simple present tense is used to refer to the future action and thus like BrE, even in IE the simple present tense can be used to express futurity. The simple present tense is also used to express habituality in IE. For example,

(5) I go to my hostel by six o’clock and meet some of my friends, chat with them for a few minutes and have a wash (ICE-IND: S1A-016#168:1:A).

(6) India produces about 3,000 tonnes of the spices annually (KC, 0080E20-0090E20).

(7) It happens almost every year (ICE-IND: S1A-002#226:1:A).

(8) Every day we hear of adulteration of food stuff, oil, ghee, medicines and cement (KC, 1070J39-1080J39).

As in BrE, the simple present tense is also used to talk about factual and universal things in IE. For example,
(9) Smile cheers your heart, preserves peace in soul, promotes your health and beautifies your face (ICE-IND: S1A-001#127:1:A-131:1: A).

One of the important meanings associated with the past tense is to refer to a state in the past, and this meaning commonly occurs in IE. For example,

(10) Mahadeo Govind Ranade was a professor of English at Elphinstone College (KC, 0480J38-0490J38).

(11) With independence came the age of the social reforms to eradicate the evils against women (ICE-IND: S2B-035#15:1: A).

It seems that all the uses of the simple present and the simple past tenses discussed in this section are similar to the ones discussed in 2.5.3 and 2.5.4.

3.3.1 The Use of the Simple Present Tense instead of the Present Perfective

One of the common tendencies noted in the analysis is the use of the simple present to express the meaning of a persistent situation where the native speakers prefer the present perfect. The following examples illustrate this point.
(12) Mr. Chandrashekhar Tilak is the president of NSDA since 1998
(Principal: Introduction of the chief guest in a seminar, BMCC, 3 March, 2006, 10.15 a.m.).

(13) Since last 15 years we are appreciated for our designers’ creativity with practical approach (Advertisement: The Indian Express, Mumbai Newsline, 28 March, 2004, p. 3).

(14) She is a widow for the last fourteen years (Nadkarni, ‘Film City’, Sahyadri Channel, 14 February, 2005).

(15) The Warje water filtration plant which will have a capacity of 100 MLD (million litres per day) is under construction since 2000 (The Indian Express, Pune Newsline, 1 June, 2005, p. 1).

(16) Dr. Sukhadeo Thorat takes over as a chairman, UGC and he is on the faculty of Economics at the centre for the study of regional development at JNU since 1980 (Naac News, April 2006, p. 5).

(17) Since two three years..., his films are good (ICE-IND: S1A-002#250:1: B).

(18) A hallmark jewellery where brightness is a tradition since 1976 (Advertisement: Sahara TV, 25 October, 2005, 7:30 p.m.).

(19) Tantric and Astropalmist Mukhopadhyay is in the service of
Puneites for more than two decades now (Hemnani: The Indian Express, Pune Newsline, 24 December, 2002, p. 3).

(20) The fan is not repaired for two months (Ezekiel: The Railway Clerk).

(21) But since September 11, Islam is on trial (Alam: The Week, 22 September, 2002, p. 9).

(22) It is happening since the last two three years that such films are appreciated (Gupta, ‘Bollywood Bosses’, BBC World, 22 March, 2005).

(23) Since April 2007 it is observed that students do not return the books to the library in due time (Notice, PUMBA Library, University of Pune, 27 September, 2007).

(24) It is more than a month now since I joined this ship (ICE-IND: W1B-010#6:1).

(25) I am associated with this field for the last eighteen years (RCE).

Thus, many speakers of IE seem to have a tendency of substituting the present perfect by the simple present tense. It is observed that in most cases the lexical verb ‘be’ is used when the simple present is used as a substitute for the present perfect. It can be said that in BrE, in an example like ‘There has been no reply from the vice-chancellor since
2001', there is an element of redundancy, as both the verb phrase and the prepositional phrase express the meaning of a persistent situation. On the other hand, in IE, simplification is achieved by the reduction of redundancy.

It seems that the substratum influence is responsible for the use of the simple present tense instead of the perfective. For example, in Hindi it is appropriate to say a sentence like ‘Tilak 1998 se NSDA ke adhyaksha hai’.

3.3.2 The Use of the Simple Present Tense instead of the Perfect Progressive

One of the major differences between BrE and IE is that a combination of two aspectual categories—the perfect and the progressive—which is found in BrE is less frequent in IE. In IE the simple present tense is sometimes used as a substitute for the perfect progressive. For example,

(26) Since 2005 we accept theses and dissertations coming from all over the world and we make them available online (www.testonline.com).

(28) At the Math for the last two years Vithal helps by doing odd jobs (Karve: The Indian Express, Pune Newsline, 5 March, 2001, p. 1).

(29) Since the past few months my hands tremble when I get up in the morning (Good Health, December, 2002, p. 22).


It has been pointed out by several linguists that the non-native speakers of English follow the principle of ‘least effort’ according to which a less complicated form is preferred. The fact that Indians use the simple present tense instead of the perfect progressive shows that Indians use the strategy of simplification.

3.3.3 The Use of the Simple Present Tense instead of the Simple Past Tense

In IE sometimes the simple present tense is used instead of the simple past. The following examples illustrate this point.
(31) As the telephone only rang, and nobody lifted it, I think you had not come back (ICE-IND: W1B-002#154:1).

(32) Kishori Amonkar’s magical voice rendered with signature concentrated effort leaves Punekars spell-bound… The morning dew like stimulus is invigorating and she wants to indulge in it to the maximum (Birajdar: The Indian Express, Pune Newsline, 12 November, 2007, p. 8).

(33) If you ate hundred grams of cheese you will receive all the protein expected from a square meal (KC, 0830E19).

(34) After that he (Bhatta) would take his coconut and money offerings and hurry down to Pandit Venkatheshia’s house… Bhatta is the first Brahmin. He would be there before it is hardly eleven (Rao: Kanthapura, p. 21).

(35) In response to the question ‘How much you paid as auto fare?’, the reply is ‘Auto fare is twenty rupees’ (ICE-IND: S1A-002#78:1: A).

(36) ‘Well’, confessed Maluka with faint smile, ‘many among us felt that if some bright boys can’t see straight with Gandhi, their vision needs to be corrected’ (KC, 0920 K17).
According to Duskova (1969), the use of the simple present tense instead of the simple past is an error in performance, but in Selinker’s view (1972), it is the result of the tendency to avoid grammatical formatives—a simplification strategy.

3.3.4 The Use of the Simple Past Tense as a Substitute for the Present Perfect

Another tendency noted in the analysis is the use of the simple past tense in place of the present perfect. The examples given below were discussed with the native speakers and they pointed out that though the use of the simple past tense was not wrong in these examples they would have preferred the present perfect. The examples are as follows.

(37) I am glad the team started doing very well during my tenure (Mahindra, ‘Headlines’, NDTV, 29 November, 2005).

(38) In fact I am trying to do my post doc somewhere, I applied here and there (ICE-IND: S1A-016#131:1: A).

(39) I wonder he got temperature (ICE-IND: S1A-003#324:1: A).

(40) I got the information unofficially that I have been selected, but I am not sure (ICE-IND: S1A-016#124:1: A).
In the following example, the past perfect has been used instead of the present perfect.

(41) The excellent and tuneful harmonium accompaniment by Suyog Kundalkar and apt forceful tala by Bharat Kamat had enriched the fabric of this album (CD cover of ‘Srujan’: A vibrant garland of Bandishes by Chaitanya Kunte, Rainbow Music company, Pune).

3.3.5 Deviant Tense Forms in If-Conditionals

Conditional sentences in English present a variety of structures. Eckersley and Eckersley (1960) distinguish between two types of conditional clauses-open conditions and hypothetical conditions. The examples of open conditions given by Eckersley and Eckersley (1960) are as follows.

(a) If John works hard, he will pass his examination.

(b) If you are right, then I am wrong.

(c) If I said that, I was mistaken.

(d) If you have done your work, you may go to the cinema (p. 347).

The following are the examples of hypothetical conditions.

a) If Henry were here, he would have known the answer.
b) If Richard worked hard, then he would pass the examination.

c) If you had asked him, I would have helped you (p. 350).

In this study it has been observed that the Indians have a tendency to use the past tense instead of the present in if-conditionals. The following examples illustrate this point.

(42) If we could not complete those projects by 2000 AD our plan will go, and whole Maharashtra will not get any water. (ICE-IND: S1B-053# 95:2: B).

(43) Some of the salesmen don’t like to show our cotton saris especially if the customer came in to buy silk sari (KC, 0640P07).

(44) Meanwhile if that bastard Naresh Kumar laid a finger on her body...I’ll kill him. I’ll kill him (KC, 1200P18).

(45) If a vacancy occurs... the party or the group which had the representation in parliament would nominate another of its party member (KC, 1580A15).

(46) If however, an appropriate technology is introduced, there could be greater opportunities (KC, 0580E37).
Some cases of conditional constructions have been observed in which the verb form ‘be’ is used to express an open condition instead of the present tense. For example,

(47) If hands or feet be pressed, they puff up, the skin becomes stretched and glossy, and violet red marks result (KC, 0990F13).

(48) If it is to be judged… the answer is positive. (KC, 0320F21).

There is a tendency in IE to use ‘will + verb’ in the dependent clause. The following examples illustrate this point.

(49) As soon as I will get the letter I will send the same to you (ICE-IND: W1B-022#8:1).

(50) I will show you the greeting card as soon as we will reach home (RCE).

(51) I will work very hard for the development of this college if you will give me this job. (Candidate for an Interview: Fergusson College).

(52) The moment I will receive the letter, I will file a charge against the court (Nikam, ‘News’, NDTV, 18 December, 2007).

Sometimes the tense forms of the verbs in both the clauses seem to be deviant. Some of the most striking examples of this type are as follows.
(53) He had analysed thoroughly that if this monster is not destroyed, it shall raise its head and there will be a sort of civil war (KC, 0700H17).

(54) If anyone thinks that by the Government running the sugar mills the consumer could get "Sugar cheap", he would be mistaken (KC 1190B09).

Since the reporting verb in the first sentence is in the past tense and in the second sentence it is in the present tense, in BrE, the reported verbs would have been in the past tense and the present tense respectively. In IE, we find relaxation of rule restriction as the tense sequence is not maintained properly.

The frequency of the deviant occurrences of if-constructions in case of five categories of the Kolhapur Corpus and two categories of the ICE- India Corpus was counted. The table given below reveals the percentage of deviant if-constructions.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text category</th>
<th>No. of texts with if-constructions</th>
<th>Total occurrences of if-constructions</th>
<th>Deviations observed in if-constructions</th>
<th>Percentage of deviant constructions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[Kolhapur Corpus]</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8.27</td>
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<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9.92</td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>16.66</td>
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<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>8.69</td>
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<tr>
<td>[ICE-IND]</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>W2E</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13.15</td>
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<tr>
<td>W2F</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table reveals that there are only marginal differences in if-constructions in IE. In case of deviations, it has been observed that there
are maximum cases of the past tense used instead of the present tense in if-constructions. It is felt that in further large-scale surveys, an attempt needs to be made to find out the frequency of if-constructions in all the registers of the Kolhapur Corpus and the ICE-India Corpus.

3.3.6 Absence of Sequence of Tense Constraint

English imposes certain tense and pronominal restrictions on the embedded sentences. IE tends to relax these restrictions. The following examples illustrate this point.

(55) Deogadkar said the examination was tough as there is not cut-off passing percentage (Bhosale: Maharashtra Herald, 18 April, 2006, p. 3).

(56) “Hari, you know dad said he wants to invest in the lubricant project” (Bhagat: Five Point Someone: What Not to Do at IIT, p. 266).

(57) When I talked to Balram Gupta and told him that Dr. Naik is coming for the conference, he was happy (Professor of English: All India English Teachers’ Conference, 26 December, 2006).
(58) Mr. V.J. Philip, Principal, MCC said the conference will serve as a platform for academicians to exchange views on improving the quality of higher education (Naac News, April, 2006, p. 17).

(59) Some of them were saying that this Idd may be on sixth because it depends on the moon (ICE-IND: S1A-003#182:1: A).

(60) Mr. Gajendra Prasad Himansu, State Minister for Irrigation, while replying to Mr. Pasupati Singh said that the chief engineer has been directed to examine and to take necessary action on the report (KC, 0048A35).

(61) Assistant Municipal Commissioner Sahebrao Gaikwad told Pune Newsline on Sunday that his department has set the deadline of October 15 as a large number of property tax holders are yet to pay their taxes (Indian Express, Pune Newsline, 7 October, 2007, p. 5).

(62) But the third Madhava believed that the self and God are two totally different entities (KC, 1720D11-1740D11).

(63) And he said that everything is going to be cosy (ICE-IND: S1B-051#68:1: B).

(64) When he came in vacation, he found that everything is missing (Dr. Ajit, ‘Kaun Banega Crorepati’, Star Plus, 8 March, 2007).
(65) The P.M. said he wants to bring about real democratic norms in electioneering (ICE-IND: W2C-001#8:1).

(66) I guessed that you want to arrest me (Subtitle in English, Film ‘Bombay to Goa’).

(67) I had wished to do a B-tech Biotech course but cannot find a college that offers one in Maharashtra (Bhattacharya: The Indian Express, Express Education, 26 June, 2006, p. 1).

(68) I had also asked about the quantum of export earnings that may be obtained after the full investment (ICE-IND: S1B-056#68:1: E).

(69) He expressed his desire that he wants to sponsor the event ‘Mr. and Miss BMCC Personality Contest’ (RCE).

(70) Who leaked out the information that I will be visiting my constituency? (Laxman: The Times of India, 19 December, 2007, p. 1).

It seems that the concept of sequence of tenses is not as rigid in many Indian languages as it generally is in English. One of the main reasons for the ignorance of the rule of back-shift seems to be that this rule is generally not followed in Indian languages. For example, in Hindi, it is appropriate to say,
3.3.7 Errors in the Use of Tenses

Some observations have been made on tenses which involve different rules of tenses from those in BrE. Very few instances of the following types have been noticed in this study and so it is felt that they cannot be considered as typical of IE.

(71) I love to write about nature and sometimes my feelings will be depicted in poems (ICE-IND: S1A-016#173:1A).

(72) With the right skill sets of software technology many software companies are nowadays do not give importance to basic qualification (Roy, Education Digest 2006: An Education Times Presentation, April, 2006, p. 20).

Thus, on the basis of the above discussion it can be said that tenses in IE seem to have wider functions than BrE. Unlike in BrE, in IE the simple present tense is frequently used to express a persistent situation. The main reasons for deviations in the tense system in IE seem to be L1 interference and the urge for simplification.
3.4 Aspect in Indian English

2.4 has revealed that though the terms ‘tense’ and ‘aspect’ are interrelated, it is necessary to draw a distinction between them. Though several classifications of the term ‘aspect’ have been offered, it is generally agreed that English has two aspects—Progressive and Perfective. This section comments on the use of the progressive and the perfective aspects in IE.

3.4.1 The Progressive in Indian English

Section 2.6.1 has pointed out that be + -ing is the canonical form of the progressive. Though some observations have been made by linguists like Verma (1978), Parasher (1991) and Hosali (1984) on the use of the progressive in IE, this is perhaps the first study to observe the use of the progressive in both the Kolhapur Corpus and the ICE-INDIA Corpus. The formal and functional features of the progressive in IE are discussed in this section.

a) Formal Features of the Progressive

It has been observed that in informal situations the progressive is sometimes used elliptically. In such cases, either be or the -ing form is
found to be ellipted. The ellipsis of 'be' is frequently found in statements and polarity questions. For example,

(73) Leaving in a moment (RCE).

(74) Buying a car?

When the form 'be' is recoverable from the initial clause, 'be' is also found to be ellipted in non-initial coordinate clauses. For example,

(75) Mind is vibrating, pulsating and agitating within us (KC, 0510 D10-0511 D10).

(76) Learn from those who are doing well and copying better (The Indian Express, Express Careers, 20 December, 2007, p. 1).

-ing is also found to be ellipted when it is recoverable from the linguistic context. For example,

(77) A: Is he submitting the thesis tomorrow?

B: Yes, he is.

When the progressive occurs with the auxiliary verbs, it is realized by aux + be + -ing. For example,

(78) At a distance vultures and crows could be setting down on the carcasses (KC, 1090 K20).
(79) We would be implementing these changes from the forthcoming academic session in central Universities (Thorat: The Times of India, 26 December, 2007, p. 16).

It has been noticed that the passive progressive frequently occurs in the formal contexts and it is realized by \textit{be + being + -en}. For example,

(80) He was always being called upon to fish out lost vessels from village wells (KC, 0540 K04-0550 K04).

(81) Old Choma is being seen to brim with vigour today (KC, 0820K03).

Since all these patterns are found to exist in standard BrE as well, it is felt that there are no formal differences between the progressive in BrE and IE.

Sometimes in parodic texts ‘be’ is found to be ellipted. For example,

(82) All Madrasis talking English language wonderfully (Parthsarathy: What is your Good Name, Please?).
However, since such a pattern is not found to exist in ‘educated IE’ in this study, it is felt that this form exists only in non-standard varieties of IE.

b) Functional Features of the Progressive

There is a close association between the terms ‘form’ and ‘function’ as the same form can perform different functions. The sub-system like the progressive is multi-functional as it performs a variety of functions. While dealing with the phenomena of multi-functionality, it is possible to assign a basic meaning to a particular sub-system and then treat other meanings as derived from that basic meaning. It is also possible to treat different meanings of a sub-system separately, with an assumption that there is a close relationship between the basic meaning and the other meanings. This study adopts the latter point of view. However, an investigation into whether the progressive has a basic meaning or not can be carried out in further surveys.

i) Durativity

One of the most important meanings associated with the progressive is to express the durative character of the action. The term ‘durativity’ can be used to refer to an action that continues for a certain
period of time. It can be used to refer to an action that is happening. For example,

(83) The power famine that we are suffering originates from the restrictive provisions of those outdated legislations (KC, 1910H34-1930H34).

(84) Kids are managing well and wife is struggling to mend the situations (ICE-IND: W1B-003#80:1).

The progressive generally occurs with adverbials like right now, just now, at the moment and at that time. For example,

(85) We are doing our best at the moment to improve social awareness of students (Shimpi: The times of India, 18 December, 2007, p. 8).

The progressive can also be used to refer to a ‘punctual action’, i.e. an action taking place momentarily and so not being thought of as continuing in time. For example,

(86) I was studying when he called me.

In the examples given above the simultaneity of two actions has been indicated. In these examples, the progressive form expresses durativity, whereas the non-progressive form brings out the punctuality
of the action. When both the clauses include the progressive form, they refer to both simultaneity and the durative character of the actions. For example,

(87) The students were writing the examination paper, while the teachers were attending a meeting in the staff-room.

The progressive can be used to refer to an action that continues not necessarily at the moment of speaking. For example,

(88) I am watching a lot of films directed by Sham Benegal.

(89) I am currently scoring music for the Bollywood film ‘Little Zizou’ directed by Sooni Taraporevala (Rasquinha, ‘My Dream was to play with Pandit Ravi Shankar’, The Times of India, Pune Times, 26 December, 2007, p. 5).

ii) Habitual Actions

In BrE, the progressive is occasionally used with adverbials expressing very high frequency like ‘always’, ‘for ever’, ‘constantly’ and ‘continually’. On the other hand, it has been observed that in IE, the progressive is used with all the adverbials of frequency to denote habitual actions. In IE, the progressive is compatible with the adverbials expressing low frequency like ‘sometimes’ and ‘rarely’. Thus, in IE,
simplification is achieved by using the progressive with the whole set of adverbials of frequency, and this use can be regarded as a case of over-generalization. For example,

(90) And we are always looking for a reason to go on short vacations, even weekends are a welcome break (Chakranarayan: The Indian Express, Pune Newsline, 16 May, 2005, p. 10).

(91) They are rarely participating in such competitions (RCE).

(92) She is always talking about how good you are, helping so much with her pickles and chutneys (Kapur: Home, p. 30).

(93) Our university is organizing every year Dr. P.C. Alexander (Marathi) debate competition (Kolaskar: Report on Achievements, plans and Programmes of the University, University of Pune, 6 January, 2003, p. 6).

(94) A child is for ever observing his environment (The Times of India, Times Line, 7 May, 2006, p. 2).

(95) I am always watching her (Narayan: The English Teacher, p. 120).

Generally in BrE, when the progressive is used with a sub-set of the adverbials of frequency, it expresses a pejorative attitude. For example,
(96) She is always falling down.
(97) These girls are constantly chatting in the canteen.

Hirtle (1967) points out that in such sentences ‘the resulting hint of something excessive…can give rise to emotional colouring, especially of pejorative shades’ (p. 67). Thus, though sentences like (96) and (97) can occur both in BrE and IE, in IE, these examples seem to convey a neutral meaning and the emotional colouring seems to be absent. Thus, it can be said that the same sentence has two different semantic values in BrE and IE.

It must be noted that the neutral meaning associated with the progressive in IE is also found in BrE in case of particular verbs. For example,
(98) I keep looking for the books in the library every day.
(99) I am looking for the books in the library every day.

In BrE, only (98) is acceptable, whereas in IE both (98) and (99) are acceptable.

As discussed in 3.3, the simple present tense is also used to express habitual actions. In both BrE and IE, instances have been observed in which Indians use the progressive instead of the simple
present tense. The following examples were discussed with the native speakers of English and they pointed out that they would have used the simple present tense instead of the progressive. The examples discussed with them are given below.

(100) Rai University is offering various undergraduate and post-graduate courses of international quality standard (Advertisement: Rai University, Loksatta, Mumbai, 26 May, 2004, p. 4).

(101) In response to the question, ‘Why are you so fat?’, the reply is ‘I am eating more’ (Film ‘God Gupit’, E.T.V, 14 May, 2006, 8.00 p.m.).

(102) I am working here as a language assistant (ICE-IND: S1A-002#7:1: B).

(103) When small babies are beginning to talk, they refer to themselves by whatever name they are called (KC, 0610J22-0620J23).

(104) In Andhra you are celebrating Dassera? (ICE-IND: S1A-002#133:1: A).

(105) Warna is also getting fishes (ICE-IND: S1A-003#119:1: A).

(106) Women face a lot of internal conflict when they are working (Basu: The Times of India, Pune Times, 3 September, 2005, p. 6).
These examples reveal the tendency of Indian speakers to use the progressive instead of the non-progressive.

iii) Futurity

One of the functions of the progressive is to refer to a definite arrangement in the future. In such cases, the progressive is generally used with adverbials of time denoting futurity or a future date. For example,

(107) We are convening a board meeting on January 18 to discuss the issue of hiking lending rates (The Financial Express, 14 January, 2006, p. 1).

(108) So then I hope you are coming to Goa soon (ICE-IND: S1A –1#66:1A).

(109) We are celebrating Ganesh festival from Sunday 27 August, 2006 till Thursday 31 August, 2006 (Notice, Nalini Apartments, Pune).

(110) Dr. D.K. Gosavi is coming to Bombay during the third week of March (ICE-IND: W1B-009#25: A).

The construction be going to is also frequently used to express futurity. For example,
(111) On sixth we are going to have a problem for mutton also (ICE-IND: S1A-003#185:1A).

(112) I am going to complete my work soon.

The future progressive is also occasionally found to be used in IE. For example,

(113) I shall be visiting Goa next week.

All these uses of the progressive are found to exist in standard BrE as well. In BrE, both the progressive and the non-progressive forms are used to express futurity. Scheffer (1975) brings out the difference between the use of the progressive and the non-progressive to express futurity. According to him ‘The former refers to the future as an ascertainable programme or series of events, the latter to something settled in the speaker’s mind, or to an intention’ (p. 94). For example,

(114) He leaves for Delhi tomorrow.

(115) He is leaving for Delhi tomorrow.

BrE distinguishes between sentences (114) and (115), whereas in IE, the contrast between these two patterns seems to be neutralized.
iv) **Performative Verbs**

The performatives play a very significant role in the Speech Act Theory proposed by Austin (1962). Levinson (1983) points out that generally the verbs ‘say’ and ‘tell’ are not used progressively in BrE. In IE these verbs are often used in the progressive. For example,

(116) Pronunciation is A1, I am telling you (Parthasarathy: What is your Good Name, Please?).

(117) You were saying that you need that qualification and he was saying that we should not bother about all such things (ICE-IND: S1A-003#235:1: A).

According to Platt et al. (1984), the verbs ‘say’ and ‘tell’ are used in the progressive in BrE to convey the idea of repeated telling. It seems that in IE this idea of repetition is not conveyed. Apart from these verbs the other performatives like ‘request’ and ‘suggest’ are also used in the progressive in IE. For example,

(118) I am requesting you to do this work urgently.

(119) He is suggesting that we should cancel the plan.
v) Stativity and Non-Stativity

It has been discussed in 2.4 that stative verbs are not normally used in the progressive in BrE, whereas the non-stative verbs may be used in the progressive.

It has been observed that some of the stative verbs that do not occur in the progressive form in BrE are used in the progressive in IE. According to Biber et al. (1999), certain stative verbs hardly occur with the progressive in BrE. He points out that the verbs ‘see’ and ‘hear’, referring to perceptual states or activities and the verbs ‘believe’, ‘know’, ‘want’ and ‘remember’, which refer to mental /attitudinal states or activities are not used in the progressive forms in BrE. In IE, we find relaxation of rule restriction as these verbs are often used in the progressive form in IE. The following examples illustrate this point.

(120) In case you are seeing this message, please contact NDTV (Scroll: ‘NDTV News’, NDTV, 31 March, 2007, 8.00 p.m.)

(121) What we are seeing today is the emergence of a new cult in which Stardom is gained out of acquiring an image (Ghosh, The Times of India, Pune Times, 13 February, 2007, p. 1).

(122) Everywhere, brother, as far as I am seeing there are lights (Mathur, The Inscrutable Americans, p. 10).
(123) You are improving day by day; I am seeing you (Dawar, ‘Zalak Dikhala Jaa, Sony, 21 October, 2007).

(124) And there are various other places we are seeing besides looking for oil and gas within the country (ICE-IND: S1B-055#46:1: B).

(125) “We are seeing a 10-15 per cent rise in the booking because of the same”, he said (Nambiar: The Indian Express, Pune Newsline, 23 January, 2008, p. 1).

(126) I am hearing this for the first time (Singh: The Sunday Express, 17 July, 2005, p. 8).

(127) I am believing in God (RCE).

(128) I am not believing in ceremony (Ezekiel: The Patriot).

(129) “The personnel from Air India were knowing it in advance about the arrival of the goods” Garje said (The Indian Express, Pune Edition, 14 October, 2007, p. 3).

(130) I am knowing intimately one Srijut Dandayudhapani (Parthasarthy: What is your Good Name, please?).

(131) I am knowing his situation very well (RCE).

(132) I am not knowing where to start (Mathur: The Inscrutable Americans, p. 9).
(133) I know a place in Tolstoy lane where they are wanting ladies' tailor (Desai: In Custody, p. 165).

(134) We are wanting exports (Prof. Patwardhan: T.M. Joshi Memorial Lecture, BMCC, 23 February, 2007, 11:00 a.m.).

(135) I have been wanting to buy myself one (Nimbkar: Come Rain, p. 64).

(136) They are wanting...ideal, a philosophy, a directive purpose (ICE-IND: W2D-001#97:1).

(137) She must be wanting you to do some work (Kapur: Home, p. 51).

(138) I was wanting to know where she is and what she is doing (Kapur, ‘Coffee with Karan’, Star World, 8 April, 2007).

(139) He is wanting me to go (Mathur: The Inscrutable Americans, p. 10).

(140) I am remembering we used to be neighbours

in Hindu Colony ten fifteen years before

(Parthasarthy: What is your Good Name, please?).

(141) Are you remembering the date of the final examination? (RCE).

In addition to these verbs, the verbs ‘have’ (possess), ‘belong’, ‘cost’, ‘hope’, ‘weigh’ and ‘need’ which are not used in the progressive
in BrE. are used in the progressive in IE. The following examples illustrate this point.

(142) Like us you are also having sea shores? (ICE-IND: S1A-001#42:1A).


(144) He saw the house that was just having a door to keep the cats and dogs away from the house (ICE-IND: S1A-012#236:1B).

(145) I am having so many things to tell you (Mathur: The Inscrutable Americans, p. 9).

(146) Pune and Pimri Chinchwad area is having good demand for residential purpose (The Indian Express, Pune Newsline, 19 February, 2005, p. 11).

(147) Some people are not having manners (Ezekiel: Soap).

(148) He is having three flats in Pune (RCE).

(149) Sugar, for example, is costing much (Parthasarathy: What is your Good Name, please?).

(150) Why should I be pleased, because the tuition is costing so much? (Nimbkar: Come Rain, p. 23).

(151) All these items are belonging to me (RCE).

(152) These old books are weighing ten kilos (RCE).
I was hoping that it went well (Kajol, ‘Fanaa for you’, Set Max, 25 May, 2006).

Entire country is hoping that you will do well in future (Lal, ‘Presentation Ceremony’, DD1, 22 December, 2005).

You are needing a room? (Desai: In Custody, p. 163).

His wife is needing the money for the household (Desai: In Custody, p. 145).

Gokhale (1988) convincingly argues that not all stative verbs are used in the progressive in IE. He points out that the verbs of likes and dislikes like ‘love’, ‘hate’, ‘prefer’ and ‘like’ and some miscellaneous verbs like ‘consist’, ‘include’, ‘contain’ and ‘possess’ are not used in the progressive form even in IE. It is interesting to note that not even a single instance of the use of these verbs in the progressive forms was noticed in the Kolhapur Corpus, the ICE-IND Corpus and the data collected for this study. Thus, the present study also supports the observation that only some stative verbs are used in the progressive form in IE.

William (1987) has noted the use of the progressive with stative verbs in West African varieties of English and Bamgbose (1971) has...
observed a similar kind of use in Nigerian English. Tay (1982) points out that Singapore English also exhibits a similar kind of usage. Thus, the use of the progressive with some stative verbs seems to be a common trend in countries where English is used as a second language. This could be further investigated by examining large amounts of data from various countries.

vi) The Use of the Progressive to Express the Meaning of a Persistent Situation

It has been observed that the combination of two aspectual categories—the progressive and the perfective—which is used in BrE, is less frequently found in IE. According to Dowty (1979), ‘The perfect serves to locate an event within a period of time that began in the past and extends upto the present moment’ (p. 341). According to Comrie (1976), in BrE ‘The perfect progressive combines the possible meanings of the perfect with the possible meanings of the progressive’ (p. 62).

There is a tendency in IE to use the progressive instead of the perfect progressive to express the meaning of a persistent situation. The following examples illustrate this point.

(157) I am residing at above said address since my birth (ICE-IND: S1B-068#2:1B).
(158) I am working in the field of sales and marketing from last ten years (Baghel: The Indian Express, Express Education, 9 April, 2007, p. 4).

(159) He is working as a professor in Chandrashekhar Agashe Physical Education College for last 29 years (The Indian Express, Pune Newsline, 1 February, 2008, p. 3).

(160) Conservation and research association (PCRA) has opened a bio-fuel centre at its headquarters in Delhi and is working on building awareness for Jatropha Curcus Cultivation and manufacture of bio-diesel (Joshi: Employment News, 23-29 July, 2005, p. 1).

(161) For the last five years they are trying that their product should be seen by the Army (Singh, ‘Tehelka.com’, Zee TV, 24 March, 2001).

(162) For the past one month, as many as three thousand people spread over eight severely drought villages in Surendranagar district of Gujarat are getting clear drinking water, thanks to the efforts of CARE today (Raval: India Today, 10July, 2000, p. 61).

(163) I am suffering from this illness since the past three years (Good Health, February 2003, p. 22).
(164) Since today morning I am suffering from headache pain

(Parthasarathy: What is your Good Name, please?).

(165) I am eschewing sugar therefore since last two months

(Parthasarathy: What is your Good Name, please?).

All the above examples show that the distinction between the progressive and the perfect progressive is neutralized in IE. In examples (164) and (165), it is felt that the deviances are motivated as the progressive is deliberately used as a substitution for the perfect progressive to create the effect of humour. All these examples also reveal that IE does not maintain any marked distinction between ‘since’ and ‘for’. In BrE, in an example like ‘He has been teaching in the University of Pune since 2000’, there is an element of redundancy as both the perfect (has been teaching) and the prepositional phrase (since 2000) express the meaning of a persistent situation. However, in IE simplification is achieved by eliminating this redundancy. In IE durativity is often expressed by the verb phrase in the progressive form and the prepositional phrase conveys the meaning of a persistent situation.
It is interesting to note that in IE sometimes the progressive and the perfect progressive occur in the same environment, but the progressive form is not corrected. The following two sentences occur in the same magazine and there was no editorial correction of (167) below.

(166) The Central Bureau of Investigation has been trying to trace the whereabouts of Petitioner’s husband since the beginning of the year 2000 (University Today, 15 May, 2000, p. 3).

(167) The fact that Prof. B.S. Katt, Dean of the faculty of Fine Arts of BHU is missing since 30 January, 2000 is now fully known (University Today, 15 May, 2000, p. 1).

Sometimes the progressive and the perfective are also found to occur in identical environments even within the same idiolect. For example,

(168) His four daughters are studying in Shillong since the death of their mother in 1997. Moshahary says Munila is a good mother and has been taking care of the house since the first day of their school (Hussain: The Week, 22 September, 2002, p. 26).

(169) We are staying in Pune since 1992, but since 2001 we have been facing a lot of problems (RCE).
These examples reveal that the substitution of the perfect progressive by the progressive can be regarded as a variable pattern in IE.

In BrE, a distinction is made among the following three sentences.

(170) I have written a short story.
(171) I am writing a short story.
(172) I have been writing a short story.

IE distinguishes between (170) and (171) and it uses (171) to communicate the meaning either of (171) or (172). It is worth investigating how IE conveys the characteristic meaning of the perfect progressive.

3.4.2 The Perfective in Indian English

It has been pointed out in 2.6.1 that ‘have + -en’ is the canonical form of the perfective. This section discusses the formal and functional features of the perfective in IE.
(a) **Formal Features of the Perfective**

It has been observed that the perfective is sometimes used elliptically especially in informal contexts. This involves the ellipsis of the auxiliary ‘have’. For example,

(173) Enjoyed today’s fabulous match? (Shastri, Cricket Commentary, DD1, 24 November, 2007).

(174) Offered you a party? (ICE-IND: S1A-003#26:1A).

The ellipsis of the lexical verb in case of the perfect and the second auxiliary and the lexical verb in case of the perfect progressive takes place when it is recoverable from the linguistic context. For example,

(175) A: Have you finished your work?

    B: Yes, I have.

(176) So you have been hitting Makhan again?

    Phatik answered indignantly: No I haven’t (Tagore, The Homecoming, p. 21).

‘Have’ is also found to be ellipted in non-initial coordinate clauses. For example,
The present day women have emerged as winners and proved that they are better equipped to take on challenges (Sinha and Ramkrishna, Effective Executive, October 2005, p. 6).

The perfective is frequently used with the modal auxiliary verbs in IE. This is realized by 'modal + have + -en'. For example,

The firecrackers may have given a sound tribute to Maharashtra team for winning the Ramakant Desai one day cricket championship as a mark of west zone supremacy (Karmarkar: The Times of India, 12 December, 2002, p. 14).

What I fail to understand is what exactly we could have done to prevent this incident (Times of India, Times News Network, 13 December, 2007, p. 10).

In formal contexts, the passive perfective occurs frequently in IE and it is characterized by 'have + been + P.P.'. For example,

Since the beginning of the era of planned development, the Indian National Congress has been inspired and guided by the vision of Jawaharlal Nehru (ICE-IND: S1B-059#25:1: A).

I have been targeted for my good work (Ians: The Times of India, Pune Times, 26 December, 2007, p. 1).
Incidentally, all these patterns are found to exist in standard BrE as well and this suggests that there are no formal differences between the perfective in BrE and IE.

(b) Functional Features of the Perfective

Like the progressive, the perfective also performs a variety of functions. According to Comrie (1976), the perfect indicates 'the continuing present relevance of a past situation' (p. 52). Several grammarians have argued that semantically the most important characteristic of the perfect is that the situation described in the sentence is considered to be relevant to a later point of time (i.e. the present). The basic meaning of the perfective is often described as referring to past with present relevance, 'retrospective present' or 'the continuing relevance of a previous situation'. Thus, since the perfect is characterized by 'present involvement', this study considers 'current relevance' as the basic meaning of the perfect.

For example,

(182) I have given my heart and soul for seventeen years (Naidu, The Times of India, 4 April, 2007, p. 1).

(183) I am glad to inform the honourable members that in Vietnam we have found natural gas (ICE-IND: S1B-055#41:1: B).
For years, Amul’s ads have delighted Indians with their witty tongue-in-cheek look at major events and issues (The Times of India, 19 October, 2007, p. 6).

In all the above examples the present perfect seems to have implications for the present time. Let us take into consideration the following pair of sentences.

(185) The water boiled.
(186) The water has boiled.

(185) merely states a fact as in a narrative, while (186) presents the same fact as something which is relevant to present concerns. It may relate to the need to add some ingredients to water and prepare something for dinner. This section discusses the functional patterns of the perfective in IE on the basis of Comrie’s classification of the types of perfect (1976).

(i) Perfect of Result

The perfect of result is one of the clearest manifestations of the present relevance of a past situation. Kruisinga (1931) expresses the view that the resultative perfect is the most frequent function of the perfect. Let us take into consideration the following two sentences.
(187) My uncle arrived in Pune.

(188) My uncle has arrived in Pune.

One of the possible differences between this pair of sentences is that (188) indicates persistence of the uncle’s arrival i.e. he is still in Pune, whereas (187) does not make any such suggestion. Laura (1994) rightly states, ‘Present perfect is used to focus upon the presently accessible consequences of a past event, rather than upon the past event per se’ (p. 114).

In BrE, when the action indicated by the verb takes place at an indefinite or unknown time, the perfective is used and when the action is made definite by the adverbials of time like ‘yesterday’, ‘last year’, ‘last month’ and ‘two weeks ago’, the simple past tense is used. The perfective is often signalled by expressions like ‘till now’, ‘since’, ‘so far’, ‘for the last few days’ and ‘recently’. Thus, there are a few adverbials in BrE that are congruent with the simple past tense and a few that collocate with the present perfect.

Comrie (1976) points out that the perfective in BrE does not co-occur with ‘punctual time adverbials’ (p. 54). One of the major tendencies discovered in the corpus is the use of the present perfect
instead of the simple past. In IF, the perfective is frequently used with the past adverbials. The following examples illustrate this point.

(189) Lord Meghnad Desai has been the Director of the centre for the study of Global Governance in 2005 (Vice Chancellor’s Speech: 101st Convocation Ceremony, University of Pune, 20 December, 2007, 11.30 p.m.).

(190) ICICI Bank has already revised its rates for corporate lending by 25 basic points to 11.25% a few weeks ago (The Economic Times, 14 January, 2006, p. 1).

(191) I have used the term ‘genetic’ in a specific context in 1996 at a conference on ‘English as an Asian Language: The Philippine Context’ (Kachru: Asian Englishes: Beyond the Canon, p. 213).

(192) In the year 2004 Harbhajan Singh has conceded 3.24 runs per over (Scroll: DD National Channel, 19 April, 2006. 11:30 p.m.).

(193) Statistics, Chemistry and Geology have received support under FIST programme last year (Kolaskar... Report on Achievements, Plans and Programmes of the University, University of Pune, 6 January, 2003, p. 6).

(194) Nana Patekar has also done some singing in the film ‘Yeshwant’ in 1970 (Scroll: Zee Cinema, 31 March, 2007. 1.30 p.m.).
Microteck inverter has made a lot of progress in the years 2004 and 2005 (Handbill: 25 April, 2006).

While Prajakta has already been a winner of Sa Re Ga Ma Pa in 2005, Hrishikesh has been a winner of the popular choice (The Indian Express, Pune Newsline, 27 April, 2006, p. 9).

You know and everybody knows that in June 1991 when our government has come into power, that time economy was totally paralysed (ICE-IND: S1B-053#40:2: B).

Candidates who have applied during the last week need not apply again (Advertisement: MIT Group of Institutions, The Indian Express, Express Careers, 9 July, 2007, p. 1).

ROA is regarded as a bench mark in the banking world, hence in 2004-05, 17 banks have crossed the mark of 11 \% ROA (Lecturer of Economics: PhD Viva-Voice Test, University of Pune).

As I explained to you on phone, my FRA statement from Dr. Ambedkar College... has been forwarded to Jt. Director, Pune... on December 8, 1997 (ICE-IND: W1B-007#91:1).

Yes, I have met you a few years ago in the Students’ hostel (Murthy: ‘Wise and Otherwise: A Salute to Life’, p. 185).
(202) ‘We have got Rs. 25 crores last year from this programme’, says COEP Director V.K. Kokate (The Indian Express, Pune Newsline, 8 April, 2006, p. 1).

(203) The present complex of temples has been constructed in 1932 (Notice, Jhula Devi Temple, Ranikhet).

(204) In April 2007 University of Pune has launched special training programmes for non-teaching staff which include soft skills programme, computer training programme… (Lokhande: University of Pune 101st Convocation: Pune University Bulletin, p. x).

(205) The last year itself has provided a lot of fodder for a teacher interested in using film to teach a written text (Tikku: ‘Bend it like Chadha: Bollywood Pride and Prejudice and the Indian Classroom’, The Journal of English Language Teaching, p. 16).

(206) I have already celebrated it on May 10, which was my father’s 10th death anniversary (Kumar: The Indian Express, Pune Newsline, 15 May, 2006, p. 8).

(207) He has been appointed Reader on 21-5-1996 (Letter, Goa University, GU/VC/AS-II/06/13825, 17 December, 2006).
Figures provided by the Central Statistical Organization reveal that between 1950-51 to 1960-61, the share of agriculture in GDP has been in the range of 52 to 55 per cent (Datt and Sundharam: Indian Economy, p. 464).

The Prime minister who is the president of the OCSIR society, the Council's highest policy making body, has met the directors of OCSIR laboratories only once in May in 1977 soon after the Janata Government was found (KC, 1740A01-1770A01).

India has exported 50,000 tonne grapes last year (Deshmukh: The Times of India, 25 December, 2007, p. 3).

Further, new forces like the Rapid Action Force and 30 battalions of the Rashtriya Rifles, a new para-military arm under the Army command, has been created in 1994 (ICE-IND : W2D-002#62:1).

On the large open ground between Don Bosco Church and Yervada Police Station, large-scale excavation has commenced almost a month back (The Maharashtra Herald, 5 October, 2007, p. 6).

TVS Motors, meanwhile, has just rolled out three variants of its new three-wheeler last week (Krishna: Businessworld, August, 2007, p. 64).
The scenario has changed drastically in the past decade (Chopra, ‘Literature as a convenient pedagogic tool for English Language Teaching in the Indian Classroom’. English in Indian Contexts, 2004, p. 29).

He has submitted the thesis last Monday.

If we consider the last example, in BrE, the submission of the thesis at a specific point of time in the past and the current relevance of this cannot be stated simultaneously. However, in IE we find relaxation of rule restriction as in IE, it is possible to combine two pieces of information in a single phrase. Palmer (1965) seems to welcome the pattern of using the perfective with the past adverbials when he comments, ‘English would be richer if this were possible’ (p. 75).

Thus, the distinction between the present perfect and the simple past tense seems to be neutralized in IE and it seems to be characterized by a free variation of these two patterns. The following two sentences seem to have identical meanings in IE.

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(216) I watched this film yesterday.

(217) I have watched this film yesterday.
The use of the perfective with the simple past tense seems to be a common trend in countries where English is used as a second or foreign language. Swan and Smith (1987) point out that this phenomenon can be observed commonly in African Englishes and also among the German speakers of English and Tay (1982) observes this phenomenon in Singapore English. Whether this pattern exists in other non-native varieties needs to be investigated by examining large amounts of data from various countries. Williams (1987) attributes this non-native use to a ‘lexicalization of completion’ (p. 182) whereby the perfect form indicates completion of the activity rather than the continuing impact of a past event on the current situation.

One of the possible reasons for the occurrence of the perfective with the past adverbials in IE is that this pattern is permissible in several Indian languages. For example, a sentence like ‘Wo kal Bambai Gaya Hai’(He has gone to Mumbai yesterday) or ‘Usne Kal Ram ko Khat Likha Hai’ (He has written a letter to Ram yesterday) are perfectly acceptable in Hindi.

It is interesting to note that in recent times the perfective is used with the past adverbials to some extent in the native varieties of English as well. According to Hughes and Trudgill (1979), ‘This usage is an
ongoing grammatical development which may be the beginning of a change in the language (p. 9). This change in native varieties could be the result of interaction between native and non-native varieties of English.

(ii) Experiential Perfect

One of the functions of the perfect is that it is used to express what has happened once or more than once within the speaker’s or writer’s experience. Let us consider the following two sentences.

(218) My brother has gone to Delhi.

(219) My brother has been to Delhi.

BrE makes an overt distinction between ‘the perfect of result’ and ‘experiential perfect’. The meaning expressed in (218) is that my brother is in Delhi or on his way to Delhi. However, sentence (219) expresses the idea that my brother has visited Delhi, but right now he is not in Delhi.

One of the tendencies noted in the corpus is that Indians use the verb phrase ‘have gone’ instead of ‘have been’. For example,

(220) He will not come for the conference in Nagpur because Nagpur is his native place. He has gone there five times (RCE).
Students who have gone to Bombay once for the campus interview need not apply again (Notice, Department of Computer Science, T.J. College, Pune).

The above examples show that some Indians are not very familiar with this usage of 'be'. It seems that Indians rarely make use of the experiential perfect.

(iii) Perfect of Persistent Situation

The perfect is used in IE to describe an action that begins in the past and continues right up to the present moment. For example,

(222) In the last two years, however, the mood and temper of the Haryan Community has been changing with the younger elements growing conscious of their rights and privileges (KC, 0910A9-0930A9).

(223) Since the 1960’s, P and G has been analyzing the effects that the ingredients in their products have on the environment (Selvi: Effective Executive, February 2006, p. 57).

It has already been discussed in 3.4.1 (vi) that the progressive is often used in IE instead of the perfect progressive to convey the meaning of a persistent situation. Comrie (1985) argues that the use of the perfect
involves conceptualizing a given event in the multiple dimensions across the present and the past. He further points out that the situation is made more complex when the meaning of the perfect is combined with the meaning of the progressive. Thus, the Indians seem to be motivated to replace the perfect progressive by the progressive due to the complexity of the form involved and so one can ascribe this substitution to the reduction strategy.

(iv) Perfect of Recent Past

One of the functions of the perfect is to express recent past. The adverbial ‘recently’ and its near-synonyms are usually used to express the perfect of recent past. For example,

(224) The car has just arrived.

Adverbials like ‘today’, ‘this morning’, ‘this week’ and ‘this summer’ are compatible both with the perfect and the simple past in BrE and IE. For example,


(226) I have seen him this evening.
In BrE, the present perfect can be used with these adverbials only if the time of speaking is included in the adverbial. Thus, in BrE (226) is a possible utterance only if it is still the evening time. If the evening is over, the period of time indicated is wholly in the past and the present perfect cannot be used.

However, IE does not impose such a constraint. For example,

(227) Prime Minister Mr. Manmohan Singh has arrived in Pune this afternoon (All India Radio, ‘English News Bulletin’, 24 February, 2003, 11.00 p.m.).

(228) I have sent the report to the panel this morning (RCE, 3.30 p.m.).

(229) We hope you have enjoyed the game this morning (Shastri:Cricket Commentary, DD1, 12 December, 2002, said at 5.15 p.m.).

Thus, the above examples highlight that a particular pattern which is found in BrE with a more specific meaning is used in IE with a more generalized meaning.

(v) Functional Features of the Past Perfect

In BrE, the past perfect is used to refer to an action which happened before another action in the past or before a particular time in
According to Leech (1971), the past perfect refers to ‘a time further in the past, seen from the viewpoint of a definite point of time already in the past’ (p. 42). For example,

(230) Intuition told me I had found my roosting place (Sengupta: Citadel, March 2007, p. 89).

According to Comrie (1985), past perfect can be thought of as ‘past in the past’ as it is used to signal an event occurred before a particular point in the past. In IE, we find relaxation of rule restriction as Indians frequently make use of the past perfect even when two points of time or two actions are not referred to. In IE, the past perfect is often used as a substitute for the simple past. The following examples illustrate this point.


(232) Last fiscal we had collected a revenue of 60 crore (The Indian Express, Pune Newsline, 7 October, 2007, p. 5).

(233) The court was a place where Mr. Chakravarti had gone several times in the last five years (KC, 0360C06).
(234) In the last programme we had seen four basic consumer rights (ICE-IND: S2B-029#1:1: A).

(235) In July, the army had accorded a provisional NOC for one month to PMC (Aiswarya: The Indian Express, Pune Newsline, 12 December, 2007, p. 1).

(236) Pune Rural Police had recovered two suspected leopards skin in April 2007 (The Maharashtra Herald, 5 October, 2007, p. 5).

(237) In 1994 and 1997 also the CBI had wanted to probe UTI officials, but were turned down (Pillai: Outlook, 20 August, 2001, p. 2).

(238) Some students of Shivaji College had demolished the building on Saturday last (KC, 0360A14-0370A14).

(239) Safia’s father, Mati-Ullah Khan had gone to Mansera during the tumultuous days of 1947 (Bukhari: The Times of India, 12 July, 2007, p. 1).

(240) However, by 2003-04 the airline had become more aggressive in fighting private competitors (Dutta, Effective Executive, February 2006, p. 3).

(241) Anita had already lost a baby last year due to the same disease (The Indian Express, Pune Newsline, 1 April, 2006, p. 3).

(242) I had been to Pandarpur last Sunday (ICE-IND: S1A-003#4:1A).
(243) Last year we had had strict enforcement at 10.00 p.m on some days and 12 midnight on other days (The Indian Express, Pune Newsline, 3 September, 2005, p. 1).

(244) Last year when you had come you were so small (Presenter, ‘Boogie Woogie’, Sony, 29 December, 2000, 8 p.m.).

(245) The MCA had given the Pune Municipal Corporation (PMC) a proposal for the reconstruction last year (Korde: The Times of India, Pune Times, 14 November, 2007, p. 1).

These examples show that the difference between the simple past and the past perfect is neutralized in IE. There seems to be a functional overlap among the simple past, the present perfect and the past perfect and the contrast among them is neutralized at least in some contexts. In IE, the following three sentences are synonymous.

(246) He visited Goa yesterday.

(247) He has visited Goa yesterday.

(248) He had visited Goa yesterday.

IE seems to make a comparatively greater use of had + V-ed construction. The figure given below shows the total number of past
perfect constructions identified in the press reportage in the Brown, LOB and the Kolhapur Corpora.

This graph reveals that IE press corpus makes use of the had + V-ed construction when there is only one action in the past. It is interesting to note that out of 266 instances of ‘had + V-ed’ in the Kolhapur Corpus, in about 128 examples (i.e. in case of 48.12 % examples) the past perfect is used when there is only one action in the past. It is suggested that in further surveys the tokens of had + V-ed in different registers need to be counted.

The use of the past perfect when there is one action in the past is perhaps determined by the native language habits. For example, Hindi
frequently permits the use of the simple past and the past perfect as free variants. Both the sentences given below are considered to be perfectly grammatical in Hindi and they have identical meanings.

(249) Pichale Sal Wo Aya.

(250) Pichale Sal Wo Aya Tha.

Hindi does not distinguish between the simple past and the past perfect. In Hindi, both the past perfect and the simple past can be used in situations where the native English permits only the past tense.

3.5 Mood in Indian English

As discussed in 2.7.2, mood refers to distinctions in the form of the verb that express the attitude of the speaker to what is said. This section discusses the similarities and differences observed in the indicative, imperative and subjunctive moods in BrE and IE.

3.5.1 The Indicative Mood

Following Greenbaum (1991), the declaratives, the interrogatives and the exclamatory sentences are included in the indicative mood.

In BrE, the two important characteristic features of the indicative mood are that the subject is overtly present and there is an agreement
between the subject and the verb. As in BrE, even in IE the subject is overtly present. For example,

(251) The manager always comes on time.

(252) He has too much faith in your expertise (ICE-IND: S1A-003#234:1A).

The following are some of the differences between BrE and IE in the indicative mood.

i) The Lack of Subject-Verb Concord

In BrE, the subject and the verb phrase agree in number and person. Some instances of the lack of subject-verb concord have been observed in this study. The following are the examples in which the subject-verb concord rule is violated.

(253) Roman numbers indicates the number of times the post was advertised earlier (Officiating Registrar: www.unipune.ernet.in).

(254) Our reputed clients in Pune area urgently requires receptionist (Advertisement: The Indian Express, Express Careers, 27 April, 2006, p. 1).
(255) As everybody know about Life Insurance Corporation of India, LIC is the best corporation in the life insurance sector (Handbill: LIC).

(256) Rains claims more than 200 lives in Maharashtra (Scroll: India TV, 27 July, 2005, 5.30 p.m.).

(257) The current course which began in March has 123 students, says Pandit adding that feedback in colleges in Pune indicate that the dropout rate has fallen (Bhuyan: ‘UoP’s Five Level English Course Stems Dropout Rate’, The Indian Express, Pune Newsline, 25 June, 2006, p. 1).

(258) The services of Mumbai-Pune Sinhagad Express, Pragati Express and Deccan Express was cancelled for Monday (The Indian Express, Pune Newsline, 7 August, 2006, p. 1).

(259) Childbirth preparation classes starts from 30/4/05 (Notice, Deenanath Mangeshkar Hospital, 9 May, 2005).

(260) Temples in this area takes you thousands of years back (CITADEL, March, 2007, p. 61).

The above examples bring out the fact that there is a tendency in some Indian speakers to use a singular verb with a plural subject. Thus,
the third person singular marker seems to be over generalized in IE in contexts where it is not required. Richards (1971) also explains this phenomenon in terms of overgeneralization and ‘reduction of linguistic burden’. Since very few examples of the lack of subject-verb concord have been observed in this study, it is felt that these examples should not be considered to be a part of GIE or Standard IE. It is necessary to make a distinction between ‘Errors in Indian English’ and ‘Institutionalized Patterns in Indian English’.

ii) Question Formation in Indian English

The interrogative transformation in English shifts the first constituent of the auxiliary to the pre-subject NP position. IE has a much simpler system of transformation. There is a tendency in IE to form questions without making the use of subject verb inversion rule. The absence of subject-verb inversion in question formation is a commonly discussed feature in the earlier studies of IE. Kachru (1976a) points out that ‘Indian English speakers do not necessarily change the position of subject and auxiliary terms’ (p. 18). Jacob (1998) supports Kachru by stating that ‘Direct questions may ignore the norm of subject-verb inversion’ (p. 18). The present study also supports these observations.
The following are the instances of the absence of subject verb inversion noticed in this study.

(261) How this place is? (ICE-IND: S1A-012#193:1: A).

(262) How you are spending your time? (ICE-IND: S1A-016#167:1: B).

(263) When you are going to your home? (ICE-IND: S1A-016#118:1: B).

(264) How long you have been staying in Mysore? (ICE-IND: S1A-016#102:1: B).

(265) You would come for the meeting tomorrow? (RCE)

(266) Where you are staying in Mysore? (ICE-IND: S1A-016#109:1B).

(267) How much he is getting in his farm?

   (ICE-IND: S1B 053# 65:2: B).

(268) Or how much output he is getting? (ICE-IND: S1B-053#66:2: B).

(269) Where you have contacted? (ICE-IND: S1B-065#52:1: A).

(270) What you did after recalling the CR number? (ICE-IND: S1B-065#117:1: A).

(271) You would like to know whether we came to know about the maps only recently or it has a history behind? (ICE-IND: S2B-032#24:1: A).

(272) Why we are working? (ICE-IND: W1A-016#25:1).
(273) Why they should produce two boys of disparate characteristics? (KC, 0200 C 14).

(274) If you don’t know how to go about things there what you are going to do? (ICE-IND: S1A-003#286:1: B).

(275) When you are going to your home? (ICE-IND: S1A-016#118:1: B).

(276) Why I am asking this question? (Chief Guest: BMCC Seminar, 4 March, 2006, 5.00 p.m.).

(277) When he is leaving? (RCE).

In BrE, in case of yes-no questions sometimes the subject verb inversion rule is not followed in informal contexts. However, in IE this pattern commonly occurs in formal contexts and perhaps the frequency of this pattern is more in IE. In BrE, except when the question word is the subject of a sentence, wh-questions are never asked without the subject-verb inversion. However, the tendency of not using the subject-verb inversion rule in wh-questions has also been observed in this study. Thus, the above examples show that in both yes-no questions and wh-questions there is a tendency of not using the subject-verb inversion rule. Another tendency observed in case of wh-questions and yes-no questions
is the omission of the auxiliary ‘do’. The following examples illustrate this point.

(278) Dear tourist want to see points from Gun Hill (Advertisement: Gun Hill Point, Mussorie).

(279) You know the answer or not? (Bhagat, Five Point Someone: What not to do at IIT, p. 139).

(280) What you value more? (ICE-IND: S1A-004#259:1: B).

(281) So what kind of movies you see then? (ICE-IND: S1A-016#76:1: A).

(282) What you mean then? (ICE-IND: S1B-051#36:1: A).

(283) You want one glass lassi? (Ezekiel: The Patriot).

(284) You want pork? (ICE-IND: S1A-003#105:1: A).

(285) You think so? (Desai: In Custody, p. 91).

(286) How many issues you have? (Ezekiel: The Patriot).

(287) You want a job there as a Hindi teacher? (Desai: In Custody, p. 185).

(288) You like the fun? (Swami Sukhboahanandagi, Aastha Channel, 8 May, 2006, 9.50 p.m.).

(289) What you feel about the first four lines of the poem? (said by a lecturer of English, Modern College, Pune).
(290) How many you have? (Advertisement: AXN Channel, 25 February, 2006, 9:45 p.m.).

(291) Despite the H C fatwa on cows, how many you want to count on the main roads of Delhi? (Kalra: University Today, 15 April, 2006, p. 1).

(292) What you think of small grounds for international cricket? (Manjrekar, Ten Sports Channel, 18 May, 2006, 7:45 p.m.).

(293) What you think of prospects of world peace? (Ezekiel: The Patriot)

(294) Ryan, you really think you will be happy there? (Bhagat: Five Point Seven: What not to do at IIT, p. 142).

The omission of ‘do’ in interrogative sentences can be traced to the pattern existing in Indian languages. For example, in Hindi there is no equivalent of the auxiliary ‘do’ and so perhaps due to mothertongue interference, ‘do’ is frequently omitted in IE.

According to Quirk and Greenbaum (1973), the declarative question is a type of yes-no question. It is identical in form to a statement, except for the final rising question intonation. The use of such type of questions is also observed in IE. For example,
(295) You aren’t coming? (Bhagat: Five Point Someone, p. 151).

(296) Big B is proud of Shahrukh? (The Times of India, Pune Times, 10 April, 2007, p. 6).

(297) He has sent you some poems? (Desai: In Custody, p. 16).

(298) Pope travelled to Brazil without passport? (The Times of India, 1 June, 2007, p. 15).

In BrE, the declarative questions are generally used in informal situations, and they are not used in formal contexts. But in IE we find relaxation of rule restriction, as in IE such questions are frequently used in formal contexts. The declarative questions seem to be used in wider contexts in IE. Thus, it can be said that the category of declarative questions has been extended and generalised in IE.

In BrE, the interrogative transformation rule is not applied in case of embedded interrogative sentences. It seems that the distinction between embedded and non-embedded interrogatives is not maintained in IE. For example,

(299) He asked me would I come for the picnic.

Thus, as in BrE, embedding in IE is not accomplished by the use of ‘if’ or ‘whether’.
It has been observed that the construction ‘did + past participle’, which is not permissible in BrE, is frequently used in the register of ‘Legal Cross Examination’ in the ICE-IND Corpus. For example,

(300) At what time did you visited the accuser’s house? (ICE-IND: S1B-065#182:1: A).

(301) Did he uttered anything in your presence? (ICE-IND: S1B-06#107:1: A).

(302) Did strongman said anything in your presence which you could hear? (ICE-IND: S1B-065#131:1: A).

(303) After that I didn’t accompanied… (ICE-IND: S1B-065#311:1: B).

However, since such a pattern was not noticed in any other register in this study, it cannot be considered to be a pattern of GIE or Standard IE. It is felt that the overgeneralization of past tense inflection should be considered to be a characteristic feature only of the register of law. It is hoped that in further large-scale surveys of the interrogatives in IE, the study on the registral differences would be carried out in detail.

BrE has a fairly complex system of rules to generate question tags. In BrE, the tag question is attached to a statement and there is generally a contrasting polarity in such structures. A positive main clause
is generally followed by a negative tag and vice versa. Researchers like Hosali (1991), Verma (1980) and Shekar and Hedge (1996) have mentioned the occurrence of the invariant tag ‘isn’t it’ as one of the characteristic features of IE. For example,

(304) He has left Mumbai, isn’t it? (RCE).

(305) He did not come yesterday, isn’t it?

In IE, it is also common to find a simple negative particle ‘no’ in the question tag. For example,

(306) You are tired no?

(307) I told you no?

Thus, in IE, the complex network of rules of the question tag seems to be reduced to one simple rule i.e. addition of ‘isn’t it’ or ‘no’.

In this study, the frequency of the occurrence of ‘isn’t’ and ‘no’ has been counted in ten files [S1A-001, S1A-002, S1A-003, S1A-004, S1A-012, S1A-016, S1B-061, S1B-064 and S1B-065] of the spoken corpus of ICE-IND. It is interesting to note that in none of these files a single instance of ‘isn’t it’ as a question tag was located but several instances of the question tag ‘no’ were observed. For example,

(308) You can make bhakri no? (ICE-IND: S1A-003#202:1: B).
(309) You are a Maharashtrian no? (ICE-IND: S1A-004#165:1: A).

(310) For Diwali you won’t go there no? (ICE-IND: S1A-002#124:1: A).

(311) I’ve got exams coming no? (ICE-IND: S1A-003#161:1: A).

(312) You know by nature no? (ICE-IND: S1A-001#101:1: B).

(313) That’s happening in the school where you are working no? (ICE-IND: S1A-001#170:1: A).

(314) When we come to school in the classroom, when we enter it, it is so nice no? (ICE-IND: S1A-001#184:1: A).

(315) They can try no? (ICE-IND: S1A-001#186:1: A).

(316) You won’t go there no? (ICE-IND: S1A-002#124:1: A).

(317) All bhakris, we’ll make no? (ICE-IND: S1A-003#203:1: A).

(318) Come on, give them proper salaries no? (ICE-IND: S1A-003#306:1: B).

(319) You must have done something useful no? (ICE-IND: S1A-012#39:1: B).

(320) You’ve seen no? (ICE-IND: S1A-012#292:1: B).

(321) So it’s a well developed place no? (ICE-IND: S1A-012#212:1: A).

(322) You’ll reach Poona at four no? (ICE-IND: S1A-012#162:1: B).
You are fed up with that food no? (ICE-IND: S1A-016#184:1: B).

I have been staying for thirteen years only in hostel no? (ICE-IND: S1A-076#36:1: B).

Now before going to your residence you did not visit Chandrahass Chipre’s house no? (ICE-IND: S1A-062#22:1: A).

It seems that the question tag ‘isn’t it’ is common in the written form in IE, whereas the question tag ‘no’ is more frequently used in the spoken form. It is felt that this observation needs to be verified in further studies by analysing all the files of the spoken corpus of ICE.

iii) Deviation in Responses to Yes/No Questions

In BrE, a question, like ‘Didn’t you join the class?’ is answered by saying ‘Yes, I did (join the class).’ or ‘No, I didn’t (join the class)’. However, in IE, it is common to respond to such a question by saying yes, I didn’t (join the class). Another example of this kind would be

(326) You have no problem?

Ans: - Yes, I have no problem (RCE).

It is felt that since a pattern like ‘yes, I didn’t’ leads to a lot of ambiguity, Indians must avoid the use of such a response.

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3.5.2 The Imperative Mood

As discussed in 2.7.2, the imperative has the base form and it is used mainly as a directive to request action. As in BrE, IE also uses the base form in the imperative mood. For example,

(327) Take those medicines which are available across the counter (ICE-IND-S2B-039#1: A).

(328) Move up in life with a delightful home (Advertisement: The Indian Express, Pune Newsline, 19 February, 2005, p. 11).

(329) Please close the door (RCE).

(330) Plan your travel schedules properly (ICE-IND-W1B-009#72:1).

(331) Get me bath water, please (ICE-IND-W2F-014#22:1).

(332) Rush now (Handbill: Rusa Glassware).

(333) Take care of your health (ICE-IND-W1B-009#179:1).

The above examples reveal that commands and requests are included in the imperative. The request is indicated by the use of the word ‘please’ in BrE. Indians also make use of the word ‘please’, but it seems that Indians make use of this word less frequently than in BrE, especially in informal contexts. For example,

(334) Sit sit (RCE).
(335) Come again. All are welcome whatever caste (Ezekiel: The Professor).

(336) Give me a glass of water.

(337) Send us five copies at the earliest (Letter, BMCC, Pune).

(338) Madam tell me this address (RCE).

The omission of the word ‘please’ is perhaps one of the reasons that lead to the view that Indians are less polite. However, it must be remembered that the speech act of making requests by using words like ‘please’ which is very common in BrE, is not so common in IE. Several Indian languages do not have an informal equivalent word for ‘please’ and perhaps therefore we find relatively less use of this word in IE. It is felt that if our aim in using English is national intelligibility, Indians need not pay much attention to this aspect. However, if our aim is to achieve international intelligibility, it is necessary to consciously make use of the word ‘please’.

3.5.3 The Subjunctive Mood

According to Quirk et al. (1985), though the subjunctive is ‘an optional and stylistically somewhat marked variant of other constructions… it is not so unimportant as is sometimes suggested’ (p.
155). Like BrE, IE also makes use of ‘the mandative subjunctive’, ‘the formulaic subjunctive’ and ‘the subjunctive… were’.

Haegemann (1986) discusses four different morphologically and syntactically identifiable forms of the mandative subjunctive. They are

(i) third person singular forms not ending in –s
(ii) be-forms
(iii) base verb forms
(iv) Negated clauses without do-support

All these four patterns can be found in IE. For example,

(339) He had always insisted that she carry on with all her social commitments and friends sparing time for him only when she could (KC, 1260 P01-1270 P01).

(340) Can I suggest that ELTCS produce a little bouquet on ‘How to organise training programmes? (ICE-IND: W1B-015#177:4).

(341) In this connection it is interesting to note that one of the conditions of western governments for aid asked by President Mokutu is that he meet the legitimate demands of the Shaba tribes and effect a reconciliation with them (KC,1160A03-1190A03).
At that time people from the south, from Bengal, from Maharashtra and from Gujarat proposed that Hindi be the 'common national language', that is what they called it at that time (KC, 1630 H19-1650 H19).

He mildly suggested that I call a press conference without loss of time (KC, 1790 B07-1800 B07).

His moral sense demanded that he not allow an innocent person to suffer for him (KC, 1110 K02-1120 K02).

As in BrE, it is observed that in IE, 'triggering' predicates i.e. volition verbs, adjectives and nouns are not essentially complemented by the subjunctive but they use other alternatives like 'finite verb constructions with that’, 'putative should’ and ‘non-finite verb constructions’. The following examples illustrate this point.

The French leader was forced to leave Canada since Ottawa insisted that his public statement was an interference into Canada’s internal political matters (KC, 0590 f 26-0610F26).

The AP official Language Commission has recommended to the state Government that Telugu should be introduced as the language for all administrative purposes at the level of the
directorates and offices of heads of departments (KC, 1360 B18-1390 B18).

(347) On one such sunny day as this, Jamshed had suggested going to the Carnival (KC, 0980 K 47-0990 K47).

It has been observed that in both BrE and IE, verbs like 'propose', 'recommend', 'demand' and 'insist' frequently occur with the subjunctive.

In the if-clause, the were-subjunctive can be replaced by an indicative was-construction. As stated in 2.7.2, ‘were’ subjunctive is used to express wishes or states of affairs that are ‘hypothetical’ or ‘unreal’. It has been observed that IE makes a less frequent use of the ‘were subjunctive’. The following table clarifies this point.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>KC</th>
<th>LOB</th>
<th>Brown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>was</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>were</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The frequency of ‘were’ and ‘was’ after if-clauses in the three corpora)
This table shows that in BrE and AmE, the ‘were’ subjunctive occurs frequently, whereas in IE the indicative ‘was’ predominates in if-clauses.

3.6 Voice in Indian English

As discussed in 2.8, voice is concerned with whether the subject in a sentence performs or receives the action stated in the verb. IE shares a lot of formal patterns with BrE as far as the passive voice is concerned. The functions of the passive discussed by Jespersen (1933) and Christophersen and Sandved (1969) also seem to be reflected in IE. In this study several similarities between the voice in BrE and IE have been observed. These similarities are as follows.

3.6.1 The Formal and Functional Features of the Passive in IE

a) Various Types of Passive Verb Phrase

As in BrE, the different types of passive verb phrase like progressive + passive, perfective + passive, modal + passive and modal+perfective + passive are found in IE. The following examples illustrate this point.
I would like to know from the honourable minister whether the foreign investors are being encouraged, are being asked to set up their industries (ICE-IND: S1B-056#59:1: E).

Ever since we have launched on this tryst with globalisation the Indian rupee has been constantly devalued (ICE-IND: S1B-054#171: A).

I may be taunted with the retort that this is all utopian and therefore, not worth a single thought (KC, 1640 J39-1650J39).

He may have been asked to leave the campus (RCE).

b) Sentences Containing more than One Passive Clause

As far as the style is concerned, the passive is considered to be more complex and less direct than the active. As in BrE, in IE also the use of more than one passive in a sentence generally adds to the complexity of the sentence. For example,

It did not take long for the people to realize that they had been duped and that the so-called excesses of the Emergency had been blown up out of all proportion - that the numbers of those detained without trial or forcibly sterilised had been recklessly multiplied: that while clearance of slums built on public land had been made out into an act of vandalism nothing was told them of
the alternative accommodation provided to the slum dwellers (KC, 1180 B21-1240 B21).

(353) Sir I would like to know from the honourable minister whether these foreign investors are being encouraged, are being asked to set up their industries (ICE –IND: S1B-056#59:1: E).

(354) It should be noted that Mr. P.C. Alexander has been retained as the Governor of Tamil Nadu and Prof. Nurul Hassan has been shifted back to West Bengal (ICE –IND : W1E-009#80:3).

**c) The Use of Passive in Yes/No Interrogatives and Wh-Interrogatives**

It has been observed that in both the Kolhapur Corpus and the International Corpus of English, this pattern is frequently used in the register of literature and it seems that it is not used in government reports. The following are some of the examples of this pattern.

(355) Or will the art, like many other folk arts, be wiped out? (KC, 0991 C05-1000 C05).

(356) Now what type of drinks are being served by Chipre? (ICE –IND: S1B-061#37:1: A).
d) The Use of Prepositional Passive

As in BrE, in IE also the prepositional passive is used in two ways—either a verb is followed by a preposition or a phrasal verb is followed by a preposition. In the IE Corpora there seem to be more instances of the former pattern. This could be further investigated by counting the frequency in different registers of IE. The following are examples of these two types of the prepositional passive.

(357) Hey you know these scholars are very well looked after (ICE-IND: S1A-032#70:1: A).

(358) He was only concerned about his studies and sports and that being taken care of (ICE-IND: W2F-013#160:2).

(359) The hopes were raised among many people (ICE–IND: S1B-51#65:1: B).

(360) The garbage was cleared up in the first days after the occurrence of plague (ICE–IND: S1B-058#20:1: C).

(361) Manjula’s graceful neck was graced with the mangalasootram (KC, 1320 K 19).

(362) I may be taunted with the retort that this is all utopian and therefore, not worth a single thought (KC, 1640 J39-1650 J30).
f) The Use of Non-Finite Passives

As in BrE, the non-finite passives are also used in IE. The following example illustrates this point.

(363) No special effort seems to have been made to ferret out facts from wherever they may still be locked up (KC, 1450C13-1460 C13).

g) The Use of Short Passives or Agentless Passives

As in BrE, even in IE the agentless passive class seems to be the central passive class. For example,

(364) All the students are hereby informed that they should submit their forms on or before 18/07/07 (Notice, Department of English, University of Pune).

(365) You are kindly requested to give wide publicity to this workshop in your esteemed organization (Letter, Mr. Virendra Gumaste, Department of Bioinformatics, 18 September, 2007, University of Pune).

(366) All the students are hereby informed that the use of mobile phones has been prohibited inside the Department of Management Science. You are requested to step out of the building to make calls (Notice, Departments of Management Sciences, 2nd October, 2007, University of Pune).
As in BrE, it has been observed that in IE, the agentless passive is predominantly used in scientific writing. For example,

(367) Solid wastes may be defined as ‘useless, unwanted or discarded materials that arise from man’s activities and are not free-flowing’ (ICE –IND: W2A-031#23:1).

(368) Generally water or rocks are used for the purpose of storing (ICE –IND: W1A-020#23:1).

(369) The heat absorbed by the black spots is transferred (ICE–IND: W1AB-020#18:1).

(370) Last year we clearly saw… that the inflation rate was brought down (ICE –IND: S1B-054#128:2: B).

(371) After great deal of efforts, after very long years, some oil field and gas fields have been identified (ICE–IND: S1B-055#63:1:G).

(372) These three concepts have been given more importance in the modern maps (ICE –IND: S2-033#38:1: A).

(373) The drug was found to be effective so far as prevention of miscarriage or abortion was concerned (ICE–IND: S2B-029#70:1: A).

(374) During the vedic period only three musical notes were used (ICE–IND: S2B-028#70:1: A).
(375) For this he was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1973 (ICE –IND: S2B-049#82:1: A).

h) The Use of Passive for Emphasis

In order to put emphasis on the doer of the action, the passive voice is often used. When the agent of the action is placed at the end of the sentence, it receives end-focus. For example,

(376) Terrace will be closed by Mr Santosh (Canteen person) or in his absence by the office persons (Notice, Department of Bioinformatics, University of Pune).


(378) The proposal was rejected by the Vice-Chancellor who said expenditure on any project would be incurred within eight months after it was sanctioned (The Indian Express, Pune Newsline, 31 October, 2007, p. 3).

(379) In Andhra Pradesh about ninety-two applications were recalled by the government (ICE IND: S1B-051#79:1: B).

(380) Classical music was written by savants who were mostly saints (ICE –IND : S2B-031#147:1:A).
The function was presided over by Prof. Basu and it was attended by about 200 devotees (ICE – IND: W1B-004#73:2).

We have been approached by MacMillan and by Oxford (ICE – IND: W1B-005#14:1).

Dyes with an olefinic linkage in the chromophoric group are readily oxidized by perborate (ICE – IND: W2A-021#7:1).

Then he was converted from that way of life by Gautama (KC, 0400 K02-0410 K02).

3.6.2 Preference for the Passive in Indian English

Excessive use of the passive construction seems to be one of the special characteristics of IE. The reasons for preference of the passive voice in IE could be investigated in further large-scale studies. The following are some of the examples, where the native speakers pointed out that they would have preferred the active voice.

Your suggestions may please be communicated to the Principal before 5 December, 2007 (Said by the co-ordinator of a seminar in a meeting, BMCC).

Hair will be cut here (Notice, shop in Pune).
Rs. 13 lakh has been received and plot purchased (Chopra: The Indian Express, Express Estates, 15 December, 2007, p. 1).

### 3.6.3 Errors in the Use of the Passive in Indian English

Some instances which are different from the rules of the passive construction in BrE have been observed in this study. Since such examples are very few in number, they are considered errors according to the rules followed in IE. For example,

(388) I have brought with me from Pune some of your clothes which you had been left behind ((ICE-IND: W1B-001#13:1).

(389) His writings has published in journals and periodicals like New Quest, The Times of India... (Chindadhe: Five Indian English Poets, cover page).

(390) But British made a substantial change in the system which was existed during the Ahom time (ICE-IND: S2B-033#21:1: A).

(391) He has been done shootings for Bombay Times, Pune Times, Femina, Magna group... (CITADEL, March, 2007, p. 56).
3.7 Differences Related to Classification of Verbs

Section 2.4 has discussed the differences between stative and dynamic verbs, transitive and intransitive verbs and primary and modal auxiliary verbs. Section 3.4.1 has pointed out that some stative verbs can be used in the progressive form in IE. This section points out the differences between BrE and IE taking into consideration the transitive and intransitive verbs and the primary and modal auxiliary verbs.

3.7.1 Transitive and Intransitive Verbs

As discussed in 2.4.2, all transitive verbs in English take a direct object, denoting a person or thing affected by the action expressed in the active voice of the verb. The verbs that cannot be used with the direct object are labelled intransitive verbs. Most English verbs can be used both transitively and intransitively (See Biber et al., 1999).

Jacob (1998) points out that in IE ‘inaccuracies relating to verb phrases are very common’ (p. 19) and to support this claim, he gives one example of a transitive verb being used intransitively. Hosali (1991) also points out that this feature is used in a distinctive manner by a large number of educated Indian speakers of English’ (p. 65), but she also provides only one example to support her claim. This study has also
observed that certain verbs which are used intransitively in IE are used transitively in BrE.

(392) My parents just visited. Just last week we had seen them off (KC, 0142 A 13).

(393) During the examination there is absolutely no time to enjoy (RCE).

(394) I am also happy to inform that my government has decided to increase the pensionary benefits of JCO’s and NCO’s of our armed forces (A.P.J. Abdul Kalam: Address to the Nation on 26 January, 2006, www.google.com).

(395) He warned that the results of this action would be bad (RCE).

(396) We hereby inform that the late fees will not be accepted after 27 October, 07 (Notice, Department of Bioinformatics, University of Pune).

(397) Yeah, I like very much (ICE-IND: S1A-016#198:1: B).

(398) I wish I could attend (ICE-IND: W1B-007#108:2).

(399) I gave or you gave? (RCE).

(400) All the LLM students of 2007-08 are hereby informed that whosoever does not fulfil the minimum criteria of 85% attendance... will not be granted and hence will not be eligible to
sit and appear in the University examination (Notice: Department of Law, University of Pune, 18 August, 2007).

It has been observed that the verb ‘avail’ is frequently used intransitively in IE. For example,

(401) Also, students will be able to avail of internship in both of our laboratories (Bhuyan: The Indian Express, Pune Newsline, 12 April, 2006, p. 1).

(402) Most of the people actually avail the benefits of reservation (Headlines Today, ‘The Last Word’, 23 May, 2006, 6:15 p.m.)

(403) Want to improve your mortgage services? Avail SBI loan facility (Advertisement: Dehradun Railway Station, 14 June, 2006).

(404) Please indicate by writing yes/no against your name in the staff list whether you would like to avail this facility provided by the college (Notice, BMCC, 5 July, 2006).

(405) Accredited institutions are advised to avail this facility (Naac News, April, 2006, p. 19).

(406) Those members who wish to avail this facility are required to deposit in advance a non-refundable amount of Rs. 100 (Notice: Pumba Library, University of Pune, 27 September, 07).
(407) Avail our unique golden harvest monthly scheme and get the last instalment free. Also avail our gold jewellery exchange programme (Handbill: Tanishq: A Tata Product).

3.7.2 Primary and Modal Auxiliary Verbs

Section 2.4.3 has discussed the difference between primary and modal auxiliary verbs. As in BrE, the three primary verbs-‘be’, ‘have’ and ‘do’-also perform a dual role in IE. They can function both as lexical and auxiliary verbs in IE. For example,

(408) He is a great musician (Lexical verb).

(409) My granddaughter is listening to music (is-auxiliary verb, listening-lexical verb).

Modal auxiliary verbs provide a means of expressing the likelihood or possibility of a state of affairs. As discussed in 2.4.3, modal auxiliary verbs perform several functions. In this study some marginal differences between the modals in BrE and IE have been observed.

The modal auxiliaries ‘can’ and ‘could’ and ‘will’ and ‘would’ seem to be used indiscriminately in IE. One of the possible reasons for this might be the absence of a corresponding pair of modals in the mothertongues of IE speakers.
In BrE, 'would' or 'could' is considered to be more polite than 'will' or 'can' in certain circumstances. For example, 'Would you spare some time for me tomorrow in the evening?' is more tentative and so more polite than 'Will you spare some time for me tomorrow in the evening?' However, when the message to be communicated is free from doubt, uncertainty and tentativeness, BrE prefers 'will' and 'can' forms.

The following are the uses of 'could' and 'would' in contexts where the native speakers use 'can' and 'will'.

(410) I would be reaching the theatre around 10.00 p.m (RCE).

(411) After four decades of independence, India could hardly claim to be a leader in any product or service (University News, 27 August-2 September 2007, p. 18).

(412) We could give you a thousand reasons to bank with us (Advertisement: INDIA TODAY, 20 August, 2007, p. 83).

As discussed in 3.3.5, there are also several instances of the use of past modals in if-clauses. For example,

(413) If prison industries are run on proper lines... the tax payer would be saved from any burden of prisons (KC, 1150 A24).
The overall predominance of the past forms of the modals in IE may be due to the over-generalization of the politeness factor in meaning. Trudgill and Hannah (1979) point out that ‘could’ and ‘would’ are seen as more tentative and therefore more polite by Indian speakers of English.

Interestingly, ‘can’ and ‘could’ are also found to occur even in identical environments within the same idiolect. The following two examples occur in the category of ‘Humour’ in the Kolhapur Corpus.

(414) If all the passengers on board a crowded bus, deflate their wings in unison even for a minute, some more waiting passengers could be sucked in (KC, 0810 R05 0830 R05).

(415) If all the passengers take regular Yogic exercises, they can come out unharmed even from the most crowded buses of Aryavarta (KC, 0920 R05-0940 R05).

Williams (1987) has noted the extensive use of ‘could’ and ‘would’ in Malaysian English and Singapore English. Whether this use is a cross-linguistic feature of second language varieties of English needs to be investigated in further studies.
The distinction between ‘could’ and ‘be able’ also seems to be neutralized in IE. In BrE, ‘could’ is used in contexts when we refer to someone’s general ability. For example,

(416) By the age of five Peter could dance well.

But when we talk about someone managing to do something on a particular occasion, ‘be able to’ is generally used in BrE. Allen (1959) points out that 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’ (p. 37). For example,

(417) He was able to open the parachute during the plane crash and save his life.

The use of ‘could’ instead of ‘be able to’ would be inappropriate in the above example in BrE. However, speakers of IE seem to be unaware of this constraint and occasionally use ‘could’ instead of ‘be able to’. The following examples illustrate this point.

(418) During my stay in Kolhapur, I was happy that in spite of several problems I could do some writing (ICE-IND: W1B-002#9:1).

(419) They could not get accommodation in the nearby Tourist Corporation Hotel for a long time (KC, 1830A12-1840A12).
Though both ‘could’ and ‘be able to’ are grammatically correct in these sentences, the native speakers pointed out that ‘be able to’ entails more effort and is, therefore, more likely to be used in these examples.

As in BrE, the modal auxiliary ‘may’ is used to express ‘permission’ and ‘possibility’ in IE. For example,

(420) **May** I know from the honourable minister what are those fundamentally wrong and defective defects in the system? (ICE-IND: S1B-056#10:1:B).

(421) One **may** also take a trip to Auroville, which is about 8/9 kms from Pondicherry (ICE-IND: W1B-004#61:2).

Apart from these two meanings, ‘may’ seems to carry the additional meaning of ‘necessity’ in IE. In the examples given below, ‘may’ is used instead of ‘should’ to express the meaning of ‘definite requirement’.

(422) Students **may** note that the break is strictly for half an hour and they must be back in the classroom by 12:30 (Notice, Department of Sociology, University of Pune, 27 August, 2007).
Applications giving full particulars in the following format may kindly be submitted before 15 September, 07 (Letter, NCL/No-RVG/CEPD, 9 August, 2007).

The M.A. Semester III lectures will be held from 6th July. The time table is already displayed on the notice-board. Students may please note the same (Notice, Department of Psychology, University of Pune).

However, it may be remembered that India has bought SU-30 fighter planes, though Russia sold the same make of planes to China also (Ahmed: Business World, September 2007, p. 28).

Students who have not appeared for Internal Test (I) or (II) may appear for a special test conducted for them on Wednesday, 10 October, 2007. No further internal assessment test will be taken (Notice, Department of Management Sciences, University of Pune, 2 October, 2007).

These examples reveal that there is a tendency in IE to use ‘may’ instead of ‘should/must/ought to’. ‘May’ seems to carry strong connotations of politeness to many Indian users of English and thus ‘may’ seems to be used in IE to express obligation in a polite manner.
Only one example was observed in this study where the modal auxiliary ‘can’ is used instead of ‘must’.

(427) If this evolution is to take place... the initiative can come from India (KC, 0770 G01).

In some cases, auxiliary verbs and adverbials are brought together and they express contradictory meanings in IE. For example,

(428) Most probably he may come (RCE).

(429) If we take in an isolated manner, the question of law and order alone, probably that conference may not be able to get any solution whatsoever (KC, 0540 H17).

Sometimes the auxiliary verb and the adverbial seem to be used redundantly in IE, without taking into consideration its meaning. For example,

(430) But of course his return can only be possible if he tenders an apology for his walk out from the Patiala Camp (KC, 0210 A20).

As in BrE, ‘must’ is used to express ‘obligation’ and ‘necessity’ and ‘will’ and ‘shall’ are used to express ‘prediction’ and ‘volition’ in IE. The modal auxiliary ‘ought to’ seems to be rarely used in IE.
This discussion reveals that apart from a few exceptions, the modal usage in IE conforms to that in BrE.

3.8 Differences Related to Some Verbs in Indian English

(a) The verb phrase ‘look forward to’ is always followed by ‘V-ing’ in BrE. However, it has been observed that in IE there is a tendency to use ‘look forward to + the Main verb’. For example,

(431) The Jammu and Kashmir Chief Minister Dr. Farooq Abdullah could now look forward to carry on his alliance government for a full term, if normal conditions prevail in the valley (ICE-IND: W2E-09#7:1).

(432) I look forward to meet a number of students applying from your college in this path breaking national adventure (Letter, Mani, Department of Bioinformatics, University of Pune, 25 August, 2007)

Thus, there seems to be a tendency in IE to prefer the ‘to infinitive’ form to the gerund after ‘look forward to’.

(b) The distinction between the verbs ‘stay’ and ‘live’ seems to be neutralized in IE. In BrE, the verb ‘stay’ suggests certain impermanence,
whereas the verb ‘live’ denotes a certain degree of permanence. However, Indians commonly use sentences of the following types.

(433) All my life I stayed in Baroda (RCE).

(434) So who are all staying in your house? (The response is ‘My mother, father and sister’) (ICE-IND: S1A-016#37:1: A).

(435) On the other hand, we find Laxmi who stays alone inside the temple (ICE-IND: S1A-004#52:1: A).

In all these sentences, the context demands the use of the verb ‘live’ according to the rules of BrE. In some cases, the verb ‘live’ is also used instead of ‘stay’. For example,


This confusion between the two verbs may arise due to mothertongue interference. In many Indian languages, there is only one verb which brings out the meaning of ‘stay’ or ‘live’.

(c) In the following examples, a different verb is used in BrE. The verb that is generally used in BrE is indicated in brackets.

(437) Ajay stood first in History in the University (RCE) (GOT A FIRST IN).
(438) I have just given examination of 12th standard (Solake, ‘Reader’s Pulse’, The Indian Express, Express Education, 7 May, 2007, p. 8) (APPEARED FOR).

(439) When I went to his house, I took coffee (RCE) (HAD).

(440) Deve Gowda saw the situation by helicopter (ICE-IND: S1A-002#209:1:B) (INSPECTED).

(441) If I drink tea right now, I won’t get sleep at night (RCE) (BE ABLE TO GO TO SLEEP).

(442) When I entered his house, I kept the key on the table (RCE) (PUT).

Some differences in complement structures with certain verbs are also observed. For example,

(443) We have requested to you for 8 classrooms for conducting foreign language classes (REQUESTED YOU) (Letter, Symbiosis Institute of Foreign Languages, 14 November, 2005, SSC/1495/2005).

(444) He discussed about the matter (DISCUSSED THE MATTER).

(445) When he reached New York, he found it difficult to cope up with the new environment (TO COPE WITH).
It is not clear whether examples of this kind are a part of IE or whether they should be considered errors in IE. Thus, there is a need to draw a distinction between ‘Errors in Indian English’ and ‘systematic/institutionalized Indian English’. It is hoped that grammarians would carefully scrutinize a vast amount of data and make this decision.

Some verbs are used creatively in IE. For example,

(446) Sit down, sit down. And don’t sir me, call me Kamal (Bhagat, Five Point Someone : What not to do at IIT, p. 253).


It has also been observed that some verbs are used differently in IE because an idiom is directly translated from the mother tongue. Sentences of the following types are likely to be incomprehensible to a native speaker. For example,

(448) Rahul has his eyes on his uncle’s land (HE IS INTERESTED IN OBTAINING THE LAND).

(449) Please stop eating my head. I am very tired (DON’T DISTURB ME).
(450) Come outside and I will show you (Ezekiel: Soap) (WILL TAKE REVENGE ON YOU).

It is hoped that in further studies other verbs used differently and creatively by Indian users of English would be identified.

3.9 Similarities and Differences between British English and Indian English

The next chapter aims at studying the pedagogical implications of this study. In order to assess the implications of this study for the intelligibility and acceptability of IE, this section reviews the similarities and differences between BrE and IE with reference to the verb phrase in IE.

(a) Some of the formal features of the verb phrase are shared by both BrE and IE. For example, the ellipsis of ‘be’ in statements and polarity questions, the use of passive progressive and passive perfective, the use of perfective with modal auxiliary verbs and the different types of the passive verb phrase (progressive + passive, perfective + passive, modal + passive and modal + perfective + passive) are used both in BrE and IE.
Stative verbs like ‘love’, ‘hate’, ‘prefer’ and ‘consist’ are not used in the progressive form in both BrE and IE.

(b) Some of the patterns have identical functions in both the varieties. For example, the use of the present tense to express futurity, habituality and the use of the past tense to refer to a state in the past; the use of the progressive to express continuation, incompleteness, futurity and simultaneity; the use of the perfective to express current relevance, persistent situation and activity in the recent past and the use of the subjunctive to express hypothetical condition.

(c) This discussion reveals that there are considerable similarities between BrE and IE. The differences between them seem to arise due to the extension or generalization of the patterns found in BrE. The following are types of extension noted in this study.

(i) Extension of a pattern from a sub-set to the entire set

In BrE, the progressive is occasionally used with a pejorative implication with adverbials expressing very high frequency. On the other hand, in IE the progressive is used with all the adverbials of frequency to denote habituality. Section 3.4.1 has pointed out that in BrE, the perfective is not used with definite adverbials and it occurs only with a sub-set of the adverbials of time, viz. indefinite adverbials of time.

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However, in IE the perfective co-occurs with the entire set of past adverbials.

(ii) Extension of the progressive to replace the perfect progressive

In case of some speakers of IE, the progressive is used as a substitute for the perfect progressive. In IE, the progressive occasionally occurs with prepositional phrases beginning with ‘since’ and ‘for’, to express the meaning of a persistent situation. Thus, the progressive overtakes the function of the perfective in this case.

(iii) Extension of the simple present to substitute the present perfect

Simple present is frequently used by speakers of IE to express the meaning of a persistent situation instead of the present perfect. Section 3.3.1 has shown that in most such cases the lexical verb ‘be’ is used.

(iv) Extension of the past tense to substitute the present perfect

It has been noted in section 3.3.4 that there is a tendency in IE to use the past tense in place of the present perfect.

(d) Some of the contrasts in BrE may be found to be neutralized in IE, at least in case of some speakers of IE. For example, the differences between the simple past and the past perfect; the present progressive and the present perfect progressive and the simple past and the past perfect are neutralized in IE. As discussed in 3.4.1 b (iii), the contrast between
He leaves for Delhi tomorrow and He is leaving for Delhi tomorrow also seems to be neutralized in IE.

(e) It seems that Indians do not frequently make use of the experiential perfect and the subjunctive ‘were’.

(f) The strategy of simplification is generally adopted by Indian speakers of English. The complex network of the rules of the question tag seems to be ignored in case of IE and the question tags ‘isn’t it’ and ‘no’ are commonly used in IE. There is a tendency to deviate from the rules of sequences of tenses in IE. In case of some speakers of IE, the subject verb concord is not maintained. In BrE, the present perfect is used with adverbials like ‘this morning’ and ‘this week’, only if the time of speaking is included in the adverbial. IE does not impose such a constraint.

(g) Some differences between BrE and IE arise due to the interference from L1. There is a tendency in IE to form questions without making use of subject-verb inversion. The use of the question tag ‘no’ is also mainly the result of the use of ‘Na’ in Indian languages. The use of the perfective with past adverbials and the use of the past perfect when there is only one action in the past may also be the result of mother tongue interference.
The above discussion shows that there is a close relationship between the patterns in IE and BrE. It can be inferred from the examples of IE cited in this chapter that the various patterns regarding the verb phrase in IE are related to and extend from the patterns in BrE. In spite of some differences, due to the considerable ‘common core’ shared by these varieties, IE is not likely to lead to any ‘long term negative consequences for global English’ (Svartvik, 1985, p. 34). However, it is felt that for IE to become ‘a source of national pride and symbol of independence’ (Aitchison, 1981, p. 232), serious attempts at institutionalization and codification of grammatical characteristics of IE should be carried out at the earliest. According to Rubdy (1981), ‘The full complexity of this variety does not become evident. Extensive research is required in order to determine scientifically what really constitutes Indian English’ (p. 17). It is hoped that a lot of systematic work on IE would be carried out in the near future so that it would gain a better status and prestige in all the countries where English is used as a native and a non native variety.