World Englishes: Indian English

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Filozofski fakultet Osijek

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Bachelor's Thesis

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IZJAVA

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Summary

Indian English is a diverse non-standard language variety that has existed in India since the nineteenth century. As a language of law and administration, it has gained importance among its speakers, especially those in higher education. By the end of the century, Indian English had established itself as a *lingua franca* through its consistent use in media and literature (*the literary renaissance*). Following this pattern, speakers of Indian English adapted to the demand of standard varieties and adjusted standardized grammatical, lexical, and phonological structures to their language variety. The emergence of these systems brought on a need for research into the language's morphosyntactic, phonological, and lexicosyntactic features, resulting in a number of studies that examine their development throughout history. Therefore, this paper will focus on giving an overview of relevant studies on Indian English and its morphosyntactic, phonetical, and lexicosyntactic properties.

Keywords: Indian English, World Englishes, Morphosyntax, Phonetics, Lexicosyntax

Sažetak

Indijski engleski je nestandardna jezična varijanta koja u Indiji postoji od devetnaestog stoljeća. Kao jezik prava i uprave, stekao je važnost među govornicima, posebice onima u visokom obrazovanju. Do kraja stoljeća indijski se engleski ustanovio kao *lingua franca* dosljednom uporabom u medijima i književnosti (književna renesansa, eng.*literary renaissance*). Slijedeći ovaj obrazac, govornici indijskog engleskog jezika prilagodili su se zahtjevima standardnih jezičnih varijeteta te uskladili standardizirane gramatičke, leksičke i fonološke strukture sa svojom jezičnom varijantom. Pojava ovih sustava dovela je do potrebe za istraživanjem morfosintaksičkih, fonoloških i leksikosintaksičkih značajki jezika, što je rezultiralo brojnim istraživanjima koja proučavaju njegov razvoj tijekom povijesti. Stoga će se ovaj rad usredotočiti na pregled relevantnih studija o indijskom engleskom jeziku i njegovim morfosintaksičkim, fonetskim i leksikosintaksičkim svojstvima.

Ključne riječi: indijski engleski, svjetski engleski jezici, morfosintaksa, fonetika, leksikosintaksa

Table of Contents

1. Introduction

The aim of the paper is to give a brief survey of the main theoretical traditions and research findings that relate to Indian English and its morphosyntactic, phonetic, and lexicosyntactic properties. This paper is organized into four main sections, the first of which will provide a theoretical and historical background to the study of World Englishes and Indian English (IndE). The next section will define morphosyntactic features of Indian English, namely article use, subject-verb agreement, tense and aspect, and inversion in direct and embedded wh-questions. This section will focus on the role of morphosyntax in developing a unique article and verb system and its influence on the differentiation of IndE from standard varieties of English. In the following section, the paper will describe phonetic, phonological, and prosodic features of IndE through a definition of its characteristic vowel and consonant structures, stress patterns, intonation, and rhythm. The final section will focus on the lexicosyntactic properties of Indian English, emphasizing the nature of particle verbs in written and spoken discourse. Therefore, this paper will give an overview of the morphosyntactic, lexicosyntactic and phonological features of Indian English as a non-standard language variety, and define the aspects that differentiate IndE from standard varieties (American English, British English), focusing on their historical and sociolinguistic context.

2. World Englishes

The relationship between World Englishes and standard varieties of English is an issue that numerous linguists and researchers, such as Quirk (1972) and Kachru (1982), have brought into question. There is a divide between different schools of thought with a focus on the possible effects of standardization on the development of native-speaker varieties, calling for regulation or abandonment of stale linguistic practices. Some argue that Standard English already serves a purpose as a language of administration or a *lingua franca*, and, as such, remains a stable influence on the development of native varieties. Others, however, emphasize the role of Indian English as a variety that is constantly developing, its features being a result of complex regional, sociolinguistic and political changes that make its regulation and standardization difficult. Therefore, the following part of the paper will give a short overview of the terms related to language varieties, focusing on Indian English.

The term World Englishes may have a "wider and narrower application" (Bolton, 2006, p. 289) than just being "the study of language variation and change" (ibid., p. 289). In this sense, the wider application focuses on numerous English varieties that feature English as a non-native language and its use in countries such as the USA, Asian and European countries, New Zealand, and Australia. The narrower application refers to "schools of thought closely associated with the Kachruvian approach" (Bolton, 2006, p. 289). In that sense, the notion of world Englishes implies the study of language varieties, a term that signifies any "system of linguistic expression whose use is governed by situational variables" (Crystal, 2003, p. 408). Consequently, language varieties can be classified into different forms of language production, such as dialect, register, medium, field, accent, sociolect, or style, and can be influenced by gender, age, and personal characteristics, among others. In recent literature, there is a tendency to regard non-standard speaker varieties as equally important as standard varieties of English, the goal no longer being "to sound like a native (English) speaker" (Crystal, 2003, p. 408). Following the recent contributions to studies of language varieties, Kachru (1982) constructed the "Three Circles of English" model as a response to the contemporary issues of standardization and postcolonialism. The model consisted of three circles: the "Inner," "Outer" and "Expanding Circle," all of which represented "the types of spread of English, the patterns of acquisition, and the functional domains in which English is used internationally" (Bolton, 2006, p. 292). The following part of the paper will focus on Indian English as a language variety of the Outer Circle, giving a short overview of its historical and sociolinguistic context.

2.1. *The History of the British Rule in India and the rise of Indian English*

According to Anderson (1854), the history of the British rule in West India can be divided into five periods, among which the first two deal with establishments in Surat and Bombay, while the following three depict the rise, annexation and downfall of Bombay and its government. Anderson (1854) describes the arrival of the English after the Portuguese expeditions to the Western coast of India through the eyes of Thomas Stephens, “the first Englishman of whom we are sure that he visited the Western shores of India” (Anderson, 1854, p. 3). Furthermore, Anderson mentions that Stephens' letters may have influenced the expeditions of local English merchants who had been travelling to the East. The first tradesmen opened factories and trade points in cities across West India, but “only obtained respect and influence amongst the natives by means of hard fighting” (ibid., p. 7). The development and usage of the English language reflected the controlling nature of the English colonial system: “a system of 'eternal dependency' ... pursuing such policies as refusal of permission to the colonies to build markets of their own” (Gaulam, 1972, p. 96). Although India was industrially and agriculturally advanced, the British Empire set trade terms and conditions that benefitted the English out of fear for international and local competitors, further exemplified by the fact that “a large portion of (Bengal's) scanty capital was annually abstracted to enrich and swell the resources of Britain” (ibid., p. 98).

In the late seventeenth century, India was affected by numerous wars and internal problems linked with administration, which led to “a great economic impoverishment ... a rapid lowering of mechanical skill and standard of civilization, a disappearance of art and culture over wide tracts of the country” (Majumdar, 1946, p. 569). Furthermore, industries manufactured ingredients for gunpowder used by Europeans for war purposes, while local craftsmen and weavers worked with middlemen "who must have exploited them greatly" and under nobles "who forced them to sell goods at low prices and exacted from the forbidden *abwābs*" (ibid., p. 567). The Dutch controlled most of the spice trade routes as "the carriers of trade between India and the Far East, thus reviving a very old connection" (ibid., p. 625). Moreover, their desire to monopolize the commerce made them a threat to the English, their conflict ending with "conferences held in London and at the Hague, (which) led to an amicable settlement between the Dutch and the English" (ibid., p. 627). However, the "massacre of ten Englishmen and nine Japanese men ... marked the climax of Dutch hatred," (ibid., p. 627) reigniting the rivalry that continued until the middle of the following century.

In the eighteenth century, the Maratha nation became a dominant power and had numerous conflicts with the British, starting from the First Anglo-Maratha War (1775-1782) to

the Last Anglo-Maratha War (1817-1819). The eighteenth century also brought changes to the treatment of nobles, who "became eager only for self-aggrandisement and personal ascendancy, to achieve which they plunged the land into bitter civil wars, disastrous conspiracies, and hopeless confusion and anarchy" (Majumdar, 1946, p. 523). Their behavior, combined with the "incapacity and lack of resolution on the part of the later rulers of the country," exposed the country to invaders from Persia, leaving it vulnerable to further attacks and leading to the "dismemberment of the tottering Mughal Empire" (ibid., p. 529). The dissolution of the empire came with the 1858 Government of India Act, which led to the establishment of the Government of India that had to "abide by the decision of the British Cabinet, even when it was regarded by them as injurious to the interests of India," a decision which reinforced its rule in India (ibid., p. 862). Following the establishment of British rule in South Asia, several varieties of English developed under the blanket-term South Asian English (SAE). Under the influence of globalization and the need for legitimization of native-speaker varieties, linguists such as Braj Kachru (1976) and Rama Kant Agnihotri (1985) worked on introducing these new varieties to the English language. Furthermore, their works focused on the use of English as an international language, its sociolinguistic and historical context that gave birth to new varieties, including descriptive and prescriptive concerns that gave rise to new types of English. Among these three types (norm-providing, norm-developing and norm-dependent), this paper will focus on Indian English, one of the norm-developing varieties of the Outer Circle, the users of which “do not have identical attitudes about an endocentric (locally defined) norm, (...) which has a well-established linguistic and cultural identity” (Rausch, 2000, p. 5).

2.2. *Indian English*

According to the current US Census Bureau and latest UN estimates, Southern Asia holds about 24,89% of the world’s population. Indian English refers to the English “spoken in all the Southern Asian area, i.e. that part of Asia which includes India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka” (Collins et al., 2019, p. 169). The emergence of Indian English reflected the rising conflict between speakers of English, Hindi, and regional variants, leading to the development of a “three-language formula,” introducing English “as the chief alternative to the local state language (typically Hindi in the north and a regional language in the south)“ (Crystal, 2003, p. 101). According to Enokizono (2000), English is not an official language in India; however, it bears a significant role as a language of administrative efficiency, technological progress and international communication (ibid., p. 30). Moreover, most South Asian speakers use English

as part of everyday communication, switching between their native language and English "not only at a passage/sentence level (code-switching) but also at a phrase/word level (code mixing)" (ibid., p. 32). In the next part of the paper, we will focus on these aspects of Indian English through a description of its morphosyntactic features.

3. Morphosyntactic features

This part of the paper will focus on significant morphosyntactic features of IndE, namely article use, subject-verb agreement, tense and aspect, and inversion in direct and embedded wh-questions.

3.1. *Article use*

Considerable studies on new Englishes and outer language varieties (Kachru 1982, Sharma 2005, Shastri 1992) have brought up the use of definite and indefinite articles as a standard feature of IndE, linking it to semantic and syntactic properties of standard varieties. Sharma (2005) defined an article system of English varieties "within which definiteness and specificity are the two core dimensions of semantic reference" (ibid., p. 5). According to Allerton (1978), the role of the definite article in instructing the location of "the referent of that NP within a pragmatically defined set of objects that are part of the shared speaker-hearer knowledge," the notion which Halliday refers to "as the extent to which an item is assumed to be known to the addressee (hearer) and can thus be referred to anaphorically" (ibid., p. 1). Furthermore, a typical feature of Indian English is the omission of a definite article where American English (AmE) or British English (BrE) would use the article *the*: "I asked Expense Department about a 45 lakh project of Solar Fencing ... I asked ∅ question to the relevant panchayat" (JP, 2016). Sharma (2005) names optional definite marking of plurals as another feature of IndE as part of a study focusing on grammatical divergence between English varieties. The research provides an overview of IndE grammar and the pragmatic constraints on its article system, concluding that "rather than acting as opposing forces, language transfer and universals may enter into complementary partnerships" (ibid., p.21). Indefinite articles are null "in contexts where standard native varieties would require the article *a* with nonspecific reference, that is, in which the real world referent is not specified by the speaker" (ibid., p.201). Whitworth (1907) names six cases of article use in Indian English: the use of the definite article when not required, no

article where standard English uses the definite article, the use of the indefinite article when none is required, no article when the indefinite is required, the definite article instead of the indefinite and vice-versa.

This paper, unless otherwise specified, provides examples from *The Times of India,* an Indian-English newspaper and the third largest newspaper in India:

> (1a) definite article for indefinite: "*I just want to talk about this clipping which was shown, uh, and actually the story begins like this. Uh, a man climbs to the top of* ***the tree***" (Seale, 2007, p. 22).

> (1b) indefinite article for definite: *But the man giving* ***a*** *master class was Robert Rock, who is bogey free through 36 holes and at 13-under comprising 64-63 is leading the field by two shots over Tyrell Hatton (65-64) and Jens Danthop (64-65)* (PTI, 2018).

3.2. *Subject-Verb Agreement*

Preminger (2014) defines agreement (concord) as the "morpho-phonologically overt co-variance between verbs, or verb-like elements (such as tense/aspect/mood markers), and one or more core arguments in the clause (usually nominals)" (ibid., p.6). According to Bhatt and Walkow (2013), subject-verb agreement serves a differentiating function in which "agreement with objects is sensitive to linear proximity, while agreement with subjects is not" (ibid., p.951). Lack of subject-verb agreement in IndE is apparent in the treatment of tense markers (third person present tense marking), agreement-marking, including copula drops and the use of simple tenses where standard varieties would use the present perfect. Indian English does not feature agreement markers for all clause arguments, permitting the occurrence of null pronominals of the subject and null possessives: "…*that* ***fellow*** *hat will be with those guys*" (Bhatt & Walkow, 2013, p. 15). According to Seale (2007), lack of subject-verb agreement appears "when the subject is singular and the verb is conjugated for the plural and when the subject is plural and the verb is conjugated for the singular" (ibid., p. 13). Additionally, South Asian varieties of English feature an overt subject-verb agreement system that accounts for contrasting inflections that include gender and honorifics, unlike standard English verbs that "inflect to show contrasts for number, person and tense only" (Basnet, 2017, p. 8). Examples include:

(2a) plural conjugation for singular subject: "*That after the abduction Aman Agarwal was taken to Barielly while on his way the **accuseds** had also injected some intoxicated substance into his body forget unconscious and later when he get the consciousness he was strangulated to death and his dead body was dumped at Pilibhit by the **accuseds"*** (Abbas, 2018).

(2b) singular conjugation for plural subject: "*This is the aim of the UDF government and it will be implememented before **we goes***" (Rajiv, 2014).

3.3. *Tense and Aspect*

This section will explore the role of tense and aspect, focusing on the perfect tense and the progressive form. In Indian English, the perfect tense does not share the same function as it does in standard varieties of English. In standard varieties, the past perfect denotes a time earlier than another past time. It may represent "the past of the simple past, a time earlier than that indicated by the simple past ... (it) may also represent the past of the present perfect" (Greenbaum & Quirk, 1990, p. 53). Example:

(3) *Five women, from different localities of Manglaur, were booked on Friday by city police after it was found out that they **had gone** to Delhi's Nizamuddin Markaz, the Tablighi Jamaat headquarters, along with their husbands this year* (Susheel, 2020).

IndE uses the perfect tense in cases where Standard English uses different tense forms, which leads to an apparent "overuse" of the past perfect as the "vacillation between the past perfect and other tenses carries a communicative load by foregrounding or backgrounding text passages in their relation to one another" (Sedlatschek, 1984, p. 259). However, IndE also features the use of simple tenses instead of past perfect forms as a significant aspect of everyday speech among its speakers (in written and verbal communication): "A large number of students tended to use the simple past instead of the past perfect" (Agnihotri 1988, as cited by Sedlatschek, 1984, p. 259).

Couper-Kuhlen (2002) comments on the use of the progressive form among speakers of IndE, attributing its "overuse" to three possible factors: transfer and similar processes of simplification and/or overgeneralization, language teaching methods, and the influence of non-standard varieties of English under British rule. The research finds that the influence of British English is the most reasonable explanation since "it is supported by historical facts and does

not pose the methodological problems of second language acquisition studies" (ibid., p. 65). Example:

> (4) stative verb with progressive aspect: *Really sometimes **I am not knowing** if he is joking or serious! And really I am not knowing how to live without onion!* (Acharya, 2019)

It is important to note, however, that the use of tenses (progressive, perfect) is a developing feature of IndE and, thus, more susceptible to "overuse," a feature that has become less frequent throughout the years: "Contemporary IndE does certainly not generally 'underuse' definite or indefinite articles nor 'overuse' the past perfect . . the impact of L1 interference affects IndE differently across different text categories and registers" (Sedlatschek, 1984, p. 313).

3.4. *Inversion in direct and embedded wh-questions*

According to Verma (1980), IndE reduces restrictions on embedded sentences and tries to "neutralize the distinction between embedded and non-embedded interrogatives" (Saghal & Agnihotri, 1985, p. 122). In contrast, standard varieties of English reserve the interrogative transformation for non-embedded questions, the difference apparent in the example provided by Saghal and Agnihotri (1985): "*I asked Hari **where does he work***," where the tense variation and inversion violate standardized syntactical and grammatical rules. Saghal and Agnihotri (1985) portray similar "deviant constructions" and emphasize their usage among educated and non-educated speakers of IndE, mentioning that most speakers are aware of the deviances and do not accept them as "good English" (ibid., p. 123). Their usage persists because of their socio-linguistic and cultural significance: "a person's vernacular dialect is closely connected to his or her initial sense of self and belonging in life" (Gee, 2004, p. 17). In Standard English, the formation of wh-questions occurs with an initial wh-form (i.e. who, whom, what, which, where, when, why and how) "followed by the operator and the subject in all cases except when the wh-element is subject" (Sedlatschek, 1984, p. 289). Contrasting this characteristic of Standard English, IndE and similar varieties feature inversion in direct and embedded wh-questions:

> (5a) inversion in direct wh-questions: ***What you would** like to eat?* (Kachru, 1982, p.21)
>
> (5b) inversion in embedded questions: ***What this is** made from?* (Trudgill and Hannah, 2017, p. 137)

Bhatt (2000, as cited by Sedlatschek, 1984, p. 291) points to the importance of inversion and word order as significant features of a specific Indian English variety, arguing that "both embedded inversion and non-inverted direct questions are stable characteristic features of what he calls 'vernacular IndE.'" In contrast, Hilbert (2008) emphasizes the restrictive and predictable nature of inversion in IndE, focusing on *be* forms and staple phrases: "Inversion in embedded interrogatives is not a case of overgeneralization of the main clause word order to embedded clauses, but rather again of the availability of fixed chunks" (ibid., p. 276).

In conclusion, numerous factors which include, but are not limited to the historical context, political and ecological environment, sociolinguistic development, multilingualism, and extra-linguistic factors (assimilation, interaction) have had an effect on IndE's morphosyntax, reframing it through systematic adjustment to (extra-) linguistic changes. Both IndE and its speakers are consistently developing new forms of expression, a feature that is also typical of IndE's phonetics and phonology.

4. Phonetic and Phonological Features

Indian English features retroflex sounds (the tip of the tongue is against the back of the alveolar ridge, i.e. the tip of the tongue is on the roof of the mouth): "In Hindi and other Indian languages there is a retroflex setting so that many articulations are made with the tip of the tongue curled back against the alveolar ridge" (Collins et al., 2019, p. 61). Numerous consonants are retroflex, such as /t d s z l n/ (*better, hard, pretty*), whereas the consonant /r/ is often realized as alveolar trill [ɾ] or a strong alveolar tap [ɾ] in initial and medial position (*reason, rest*). Additionally, consonants like /p t k/ may appear as voiceless unaspirated stops (*spit, stick, skin*) in initial and medial position. Collins et al. (2019) point out th-stopping "whereby the dental fricatives /θ̪ ð̪/ are replaced by /t d/" (ibid., p. 195) as a significant feature of their speaker's speech, a Hindi speaker with a strong background in English. Furthermore, they mention that the consonants /v/ and /w/ (why, we) are not "consistently distinguished" (ibid., p.195) and are sometimes replaced by a labiodental approximant.

IndE tends to be rhotic with strong initial and medial /r/ (although less so in most educated speakers), and favors voiced /b d g/, a feature also found in Standard English (in medial position). According to Trudgill and Hannah (2017), IndE tends to have a "reduced vowel system" (ibid., p.134) in relation to RP, with /ɑː/ and /ɔː/ corresponding to IndE /ɑː/. Furthermore, diphtongs such as /ei/ and /ou/ are usually monophtongs /eː/ and /ɔː/ in IndE

varieties. Southern Indian English speakers tend to precede word-initial front vowel by /j/ and back vowels with /w/ (ibid., p. 134). Bergs and Brinton (2017, p. 2086) name phonetic features of Northern IndE which include: “inventory substitutions, phonemic differences, phonotactic differences, addition or loss of allophonic rules, and prosodic differences.” Most Indian English speakers do not have the same educational or economic background and, thus, their speech does not share the same phonological features, making generalizations harder to achieve: “Most types of Indian English use the vowels of the local Indian language and these will sound quite unlike those of native English ... some Indian words are said differently in English from the way they are pronounced in India itself (e.g. *Gandhi*)” (Bergs & Brinton, 2017, p. 195).

According to Grolman et al. (2021), IndE speakers do not differentiate between /ɒ/ and /ɔ:/ (*cot, caught*) and often replace /ɒ/ and /ɔ:/ with /a/ (ibid., p. 107). Furthermore, the authors mention sound deafening as a significant feature that separates IndE from BrE and American English (AmE): “In Indian English, the plural index is introduced by /s/ or /ɛs/, almost always deafening the final sound” (ibid., p. 106). This distribution of vowel and consonant systems has a great effect on IndE pronunciation and, in turn, its prosodic features, which we describe more closely in the following segment.

4.1. *Prosodic Features*

Prosody is the “phonological structure of a language and is concerned with aspects such as metrical structure, prominence relations and levels of phrasing” (Maxwell, 2014, p. 3). For speakers of standard English, one of the most difficult aspects of Indian English are its “rules of stress ... based on quantity and position, where the number and size of the syllables in a word are more important than morphological category or structure,” (ibid., p. 31) resulting in stress patterns different from standard English varieties. IndE features stress patterns that are “phonologically predictable” (Pandey, 2015, p. 309) or a part of restructuring “involving a long vowel being short or vice versa” (ibid., p. 309). Stress patterns which are the same among speakers of IndE and native English varieties usually feature a "change in the phonemic status," e. g. In multi-syllabic words with more than one stress, there is not a fixed primary stress and "either the first or second stress may be primary" (ibid., p. 309). In contrast, compound words have a fixed stress form, where the first part of the compound receives primary stress: “compound stress is also on the first item rather than the second in all cases, e.g. *‘three-,wheeler, ‘type ,writer, ‘waste ,paper ,basket*” (Pingali, 2009, p. 31). According to Bansal and

Harrison (1998, p.78), both items may sometimes be accented, but with the tonic accent on the second item, e.g. '*after*`*noon*, '*long*-`*lived*. Wiltshire and Moon (2003) define IndE as a "pitch-accented language" indicating fall in pitch on the stressed syllable without change in amplitude or duration. According to Maxwell (2014), the syllable-timed speech patterns resemble native speaker varieties in "prosodic structure, boundary tones inventory, accentual and focal prominence levels, presence of rising accent/s and a wide range of nuclear tunes" (ibid., p.3). Moreover, IndE features a "hybrid" system of intonation which differs from standard varieties because of its duration, amplitude, and marking strategies (deaccenting). The following examples show the difference in word-stress between Hindi English and native English varieties (Pandey, 2015, p. 7):

Verb		
eˈmerge	*suˈrrender*	**ˈdiminish*
Adjective		
seˈcure	**siˈnister*	**ˈterrific*
Noun		
aˈlarmuˈtensil		*ˈbenefit*

Sirsa and Redford (2013) researched the relationship between IndE speakers' sound systems and their native language, under the assumption that "IndE phonology may not be stable across speakers in India" (ibid., p. 14). Their findings conclude that IndE has a phonological system different from that of the speakers' native language, but remains an English language variety whose "strong social and regional pressures could drive the evolution of IE into multiple varieties that would keep language-affiliated identities alive" (Sirsa & Redford, 2013, p. 16). Some authors, however, mention that there exists a possibility for a stable phonological system among educated speakers through early exposition to the language: "young children can regularize highly variable input to create a grammatically structured language within a single generation" (ibid., p. 15). Pandey (2015) analyzed the characteristics of IndE pronunciation through a "segmental system" which focuses on consonants, vowels, their phonemes and allophones. Additionally, the author describes the relationship between IndE pronunciation and its prosodic features, mentioning that "studies of the prosody of IndE tend to be narrowly focused on individual varieties" (ibid., pp. 307-308).

IndE speakers' speech pattern relies on rhythm and intonation as primary sources of speech perception and intelligibility: "Un-English stress and rhythm remained a major factor in

unclearness of the monologs, sentences, and words" (Masica, 1969, p. 732). Wiltshire and Harnsberger (2006) pointed to the use of pitch accents (falling, high, rising) and their role in understanding verbal communication among speakers of different varieties of English: "IE utterances appeared to have several contours assigned to words prior to the boundary of the intonation phrase, corresponding possibly to pitch accents" (ibid., p. 102). Furthermore, the authors conclude that the use of multiple pitch accents is a characteristic feature of IndE and "may impair intelligibility in cross-dialectal conversations" (ibid., p. 103). Pandey (2015) showed the differences between IndE and standard English intonation, concluding that "while IndE intonation differs from native English intonation and in that sense has a unity and its own identity, there is internal variation among its varieties" (ibid., p. 311). According to Maxwell and Payne (2018, p. 4), IndE "bears greater resemblance to the intonation of well-documented Englishes (i.e., British or American varieties) than to the intonational phonologies of South Asian languages," excluding features typical of IndE, such as rising pitch accents and tonal alignment.

To conclude, IndE varieties share a similar phonological system that changes according to local, regional, sociolinguistic, economic, and political differences among speakers. Moreover, their phonetic and phonological features have also been used as a point of differentiation between speakers of IndE and standard varieties of English, making them a significant part of verbal discourse. Therefore, the following part will focus on closely defining other aspects of spoken and written discourse through a description of IndE lexicosyntactic features.

5. Lexicosyntactic Features

5.1. *Verb Complementation*

Quirk (1972) classified verbs as single-word verbs and multi-word verbs, which he divided into phrasal verbs, prepositional verbs, and phrasal-prepositional verbs. An understanding of verb usage in IndE requires an examination of verb complementation and its semantic and syntactic criteria. Therefore, this segment will focus on four Verbs of Change of Possession (provide, furnish, supply, entrust; Nihalani et al., 2004) as an example of monotransitive and ditransitive complementation and verb of *pelt* class (Errson & Shaw, 2003) as a point of lexicosyntactic variance among language varieties.

5.1.1. *Verbs of Change of Possession: provide, furnish, supply, entrust*

De Errson and Shaw (2003) researched verb complementation patterns in IndE, focusing on Verbs of Change of Possession (provide, furnish, supply, present, entrust) and discovering that for the first four verbs there existed "a higher proportion of constructions with *with* in the British sample and a higher proportion with *to* in the Indian one" (ibid., p. 151). Furthermore, their research provides examples for meaningful similarities and differences between verb construction in IndE and Standard English, showing that "a very frequent pattern in both IndE and BrE for *provide, furnish, supply, and present* is the monotransitive pattern V NPo" (ibid., p. 151):

> (7) *Quarantined at home after he tested positive for coronavirus, he* ***continues to provide*** *medical advice and treatment to patients, using telemedicine* (TNN, 2020).

According to the researchers, the "V NPo" pattern rarely occurs for the verb *entrust* and there exist "several occurences of complementation patterns with clausal elements," where they take the form of either "*entrust* NP to-inf clause" or "*entrust* NP with -ing clause" (Errson & Shaw, 2003, p. 153):

> (8a) *entrust* NP to-inf clause: *Civic body* ***entrust*** *contractor* ***to*** *resume working women's hostel construction work* (Chitharanjan, 2019).
>
> (8b) *entrust* NP with -ing clause: *Australian PM Morrison* ***entrusted*** *New Delhi* ***with*** *producing billions of doses of Covid-19 vaccine developed by Johnson & Johnson, funded by Japan, and distributed via Australian supply networks* (Chanda, 2021)

5.1.2. Verbs of Throwing: pelt

Levin (1993) divides verbs of throwing into two categories: Throw Verbs (verbs like bash, chuck, fire, kick, hit, shove, slam, slap etc.) and *Pelt* Verbs (buffet, bombard, pelt, shower, stone). In describing the properties of Throw Verbs (dative alternation, with/against alternation, conative alternation, causative alternations, middle alternation, zero-related nominal), he mentions that they refer to "the entity that is set in motion and that moves unaccompanied by the agent of the action" (ibid., p. 147). *Pelt* verbs share similar properties and "involve ballistic motion, but they describe the motion of a set of physical objects" (ibid., p. 148). Furthermore, although they are related, *throw* verbs and *pelt* verbs differ in their behavior: "the moving objects are expressed in a *with* phrase, and the direct object of these verbs is the 'goal' that the moving objects are set in motion toward" (ibid,, p. 148). The provided examples feature conventions that standard varieties of English would consider grammatically incorrect:

> (9a) Directional Phrase: *The accused over the rage allegedly kicked the woman conductor after demanding the ticket back. He also* ***pelted stones over*** *the bus after getting down which injured a woman passenger* (TNN, 2014).
>
> (9b) Dative Alternation: *The mob also* ***pelted stones to*** *the policemen who resorted to lathicharge to disperse them. Owners of shops in the market downed the shutters* (PTI, 2019).

According to Errson and Shaw (2003), complementation patterns for *pelt* differ greatly across IndE and BrE corpora; whereas "in the British sample the pattern with *with* predominates ... In the Indian sample less than a fifth of cases have *with*" (ibid., p. 154). In contrast, patterns for *pelt* that include the NPo *stones* make up a substantial majority of occurences: "*Pelt* seems to predict or collocate with *stones* as reliably as *rancid* collocates with *butter*" (ibid, p. 154).

5.2. *Particle Verbs*

Particle verbs are "highly idiomaticized and frequently semantically opaque; in many cases they are quasi-synonymic with single verbs, typically less commonly used and Latin-derived ones" (Schneider, 2004, p.230). Schneider (2004) divides them into phrasal verbs, prepositional verbs, and phrasal-prepositional verbs. Phrasal-prepositional verbs consist of a verb, a particle and a preposition (e.g. *look up* to), while the other two types consist of two elements, a verb and a particle (phrasal verbs), and a verb and a preposition (prepositional verbs). According to Schneider (2004), phrasal verbs are "verb-particle combinations which are frequently semantically not transparent at all and strongly idiomatic" (ibid., p.230). Sedlatschek (1984) emphasizes that particle verbs are not frequent features of IndE, non-standard forms of particle verbs even less so: "variability in particle usage is rather a marginal in the usage range under investigation, and it would be misleading to speak of it as a defining characteristic feature of educated IndE at large" (ibid., p. 150).

Most instances of non-standard written and verbal expressions do not have a significant effect on intrapersonal communication, erroneous combinations instead reflecting "the insecurity on the part of individual users concerning the conventions of English" (Sedlatschek, 1984, p.153). For speakers of IndE and similar non-standard varieties, the main source of difficulty in particle verb usage comes from "differentiating semantically between lexical verbs on the one hand and related particle verbs on the other" (ibid., p. 153). Therefore, this part of the paper will focus on the difference between the use of particle verbs between speakers of IndE and those of standard English varieties.

Schneider (2004) shows that speakers of IndE use less particle verbs in everyday communication than speakers of standard varieties of English, pointing out their "reversed signaling function," where particle verbs take on a formal appearance. Additionally, the author mentions stable lexical items which IndE speakers prefer, namely *build up, find out,* and *cut back.* Errson and Shaw (2003) emphasize the difference between simple and complex prepositional verbs: "Whereas simple prepositional verbs carry a prepositional object as their complement, complex prepositional verbs customarily carry as their complement a direct object followed by a prepositional object" (ibid., p. 139). Examples that differ from standard varieties of English include:

> (10a) *billow up* replacing *soar up*: "*In Bengaluru, the size of a dust particle is nearly 10 micrometres, and quantifying this is impossible. But every time a vehicle passes by, dust clouds* ***billow up*** *causing air pollution*" (Mandyam, 2021).

(10b) verb-particle combination: *"The way we **dress up**, the way we greet and most importantly, the evils we observe in society are reflected in our shayaris, just like it does for any other artiste"* (Goradia, 2017).

IndE also features "unrecorded" particle verbs that do not have a synonymous relationship with lexical items frequently occurring in standard English, uncovering "potential differences between the codified standard and contemporary IndE in form and/or function" (Sedlatschek, 1984, p.150). Examples include:

(11a) *Thousands of people had arrived at the Kurisupally junction where the stage was arranged for Mani's speech. As he had hinted in the morning that he will **speak his mind out** in Pala, the people were anxiously waiting to hear him speak* (Nair, 2015).

(11b) *In times like these it is really difficult to **find out time** to be in love and relationship and nurture them* (Iyer, 2016).

It is important to note that, although this segment focuses on the formation of particle verbs in IndE, conflation between expressions with similar meanings is a recurrent, but not stable feature of non-standard varieties: "IndE maintains the semantic difference between find and find out far more often than it does not, at least in educated writing" (Sedlatschek, 1984, p. 154).

To conclude, although they do not occur frequently, particle verbs have a strong influence on IndE users' written and spoken discourse through their variability and dialectal diversification: "quantitative differences between IndE and other varieties, especially the prestige varieties, are noticeable across text types and modes" (Sedlatschek, 1984, p. 161). Additionally, the use of particle verbs heavily depends on context and can vary according to the speaker's socio-economic or educational condition: "learners of English are likely to be less familiar with the conventions governing the use of multi-item verbs and phrases" (ibid., p. 162). Therefore, particle verbs should be treated as another aspect of a language variety that is in constant development, and not a way to further standardize the language.

6. Conclusion

To conclude, Indian English is a non-standard language variety with a rich morphological, phonetic, phonological, and lexicoyntactic structure. In India, IndE shares a similar administrative role as Hindi and other native languages, making it a *lingua franca* with its own influence on the Constitution of India. Furthermore, young people frequently use Indian English in combination with native languages (e.g. *hinglish*), giving the language variety contemporary significance, thus explaining its sustainability. Although English is still a relevant language in India, some authors (Betageri, 2017) believe that Indian English still has a subordinate role compared to standard varieties of English, arguing that there exists a need for its detachment from standard varieties. Moreover, authors (Kachru, 1982, Sedlatschek, 1984) acknowledge the influence standard varieties have on the development of Indian English, but emphasize the necessary break-away with stale notions of "overusing" and "underusing" terms, including treating Standard English as the end goal ("target"). Consequently, authors like Betageri (2017) point out the significance of allowing IndE speakers free and creative expression so as to "humanize and democratize the language which is being primarily used by the institutions of state and corporations as a language of power to ensure the subordination and obedience of people" (ibid., p. 117).

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