



MS/09

**SECOND LANGUAGE PHONOLOGY:  
INVESTIGATING TAMIL ENGLISH**

by

**Radhika Gopalakrishnan**

A thesis submitted to

**Jawaharlal Nehru University**

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

**Master of Philosophy**



**Centre for Linguistics  
School of Language, Literature and Culture Studies  
Jawaharlal Nehru University  
New Delhi-110067  
2008**



Centre for Linguistics  
School of Language, Literature & Culture Studies  
Jawaharlal Nehru University  
New Delhi-110067, India

i

Date: 28/7/2008

**CERTIFICATE**

Certified that the dissertation titled "Second Language Phonology: Investigating Tamil English" submitted by Radhika Gopalakrishnan to the Centre for Linguistics, School Of Language, Literature and Culture Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy**, is an original work and has not been submitted so far in part or in full, for any other degree or diploma of any other University or Institution.

This may be placed before the examiners for evaluation for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy.

(Prof. PKS Pandey)

**SUPERVISOR**  
Professor PKS Pandey  
Centre for Linguistics  
School of Language, Literature & Culture Studies  
Jawaharlal Nehru University  
New Delhi - 110 067

(Prof. A. Abbi)

**CHAIRPERSON**  
Prof. Anvita Abbi  
Chairperson  
Centre for Linguistics  
School of Language, Literature & Culture Studies  
Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi-110067

Date: 28/7/2008

DECLARATION BY THE CANDIDATE

This dissertation titled "**Second Language Phonology: Investigating Tamil English**", submitted by me for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy**, is an original work and has not been submitted so far in part or in full, for any other degree or diploma of any other University or Institution.

  
(Radhika Gopalakrishnan)  
Mphil Student  
CL/SLL&CS

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis has been completed in the very trying but happy circumstances. I would like to thank my guide, Prof PKS Pandey. The guidance and support he has provided me through the whole period has been the reason why I could complete my work fruitfully. I decided to get married right in the middle of my MPhil. Most people tried persuading me to have it put off till after the submission, but Prof. Pandey encouraged me to take this major step in my life, assuring me that once I was back we could sit down and finish the work in time.

I would like to thank my husband, Raghavan, for his constant support, before and after the marriage, and help in proof reading the document even though it was not his subject. He has been patient throughout in going through umpteen number of recordings, till I could decide on the right passage for the sample. He was not only my first informant, but he also helped me collect data.

My sister, my mother and my friends have been of great help by providing me guidance and easing out the pressure by suggesting ways in which I could go about with my research.

In the course of collecting my data, I accidentally happened to format the recorder before I could actually transfer them onto the computer. I am thankful to all my informants who were cooperative in every way and took out time out of their busy schedule to give me a second round of data.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Certificate	i
Declaration	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Table of Contents	iv
1.0 Introduction	1
1.1 Hypothesis and Justification	2
1.2 Second language Acquisition	3
1.3 Theories on Varieties of English	8
1.4 Second Language Varieties of English	16
1.5 Self-Organization	19
1.6 Methodology	23
1.6.1 Procedure	24
1.6.2 Reservations	25
2.0 Self Organization	26
2.1. A Brief Introduction To the theory of Self-Organization	28
2.1.1 Positive and Negative feedback	29
2.1.2 The Honey Bee Comb	30
2.2 Language and Self-Organization	33
2.2.1 Previous work on Self organization applied to Language	34
2.2.2 Self Organization in Language Learning	38
2.3 Two- Levels Of language and self organization	39
2.3.1 Language at the level of the individual	40
2.3.2 Language at the level of the Society.	41
2.4 Language Contact and Change	44
2.4.1 Threshold Point	47
3.0 Some Features of Tamil, English and General Indian English	50
3.1. Tamil Phonology	50
3.1.1 Consonants	51
3.1.2 Vowels	54
3.1.3 Supra segmental Features	56
3.2. English phonology	58
3.2.1 Consonants	59
3.2.2 Vowels	61
3.2.3 Supra Segmental Features	64
3.3 General Indian English (GIE)	65
3.3.1 Consonants	66
3.3.2 Vowels	71
3.3.3 Supra-segmental features	73
4.0 English As Spoken By Tamilians in India	75

4.1. Consonants	76
4.1.1 Distribution	78
4.2. Vowels	80
4.2.1 Distribution	80
4.3 Suprasegmental features	83
4.3.1 Word stress	86
4.4 Syllabic Structure	87
4.4.1. Consonant Clusters	87
4.5 Conclusion	90
Appendix I	94
Appendix II	95
Appendix III	97
Bibliography	98

## CHAPTER I- INTRODUCTION

English today, has become a language that is commonly used around the world. The vast British Empire created various contact situations that has led to the emergence of innumerable varieties of English today. However, these varieties of English exhibit unique features that have encouraged a lot of research into the nature of this contact phenomenon. Studies have tried to look at these varieties of English from various perspectives such as, second language acquisition.

The once colonies are now no longer under the influence of Native British English, but the language acquired is still transferred on to the second generation learners. However, the problems of structure formation in these varieties belong to the domain of language evolution/ change and not that of Second Language acquisition. These languages are no longer 'varieties' so to say but languages that have their own unique characteristics. They are languages that have changed from being mere second languages to natural languages that are influenced by the changing attitudes of their speakers, the sociolinguistic setting and not by the changes in native British English. In the proposed study, I take up the case of one such variety- Tamil English.

### **1.1 Hypothesis and Justification**

The main hypothesis on which the proposed study is based is the following:

#### Main Hypothesis

Second language variety like Tamil English has three distinct features:

- i. Features that are similar to the target language,
- ii. Features similar to the L1,
- iii. Novel features that can be attributed neither to L1 nor the target language.

On the basis of the above hypothesis, I propose the following corollary hypothesis:

#### Corollary Hypothesis

The novel features in second language varieties arise as natural phenomena.

I base my hypotheses on the following arguments:

- i. One reason for novel features in second language varieties is that their speakers assume them to be natural systems not identical with the target language.
- ii. Another reason for novel features in second language varieties is that the latter are used as elaborate codes, and thus naturally emerge with unique properties that characterize any natural system.

To understand the above-mentioned assumption it is necessary to look at Second language acquisition theories and how they fall short of explaining the unique features of English around the world. Further,



looking into the various theories proposed to account for the innumerable varieties of English would give us an idea about what the current situation is. A brief introduction into a relatively recent paradigm in science - **self-organization**, could give an insight into how varieties like Indian English behave. We would then try and link self-organization with the development of the features of Tamil English today.

## **1.2 Second Language Acquisition**

Second language acquisition (SLA) has been an area of research for quite some time now. ( Lado,1957; Lenneberg 1967; Corder, 1967; Krashen 1979; Flege 1980; Selinker 1983; ) How does one acquire a second language? What are the difficulties one encounters while learning a second language? Does the knowledge of one language help or impede the learning of a second language? Many researchers have delved into these questions in the past but it is only since the 1970's that these studies have been based on empirical findings.

Before the emergence of SLA as a field, researchers analyzed the learners of L1 and L2 to anticipate the areas of divergence and areas where the learner might find it difficult in learning L2. Consistent with the behaviorist view, it was believed that if the courses were designed such that the learner could overcome the conditioning of L1 he/ she would be able to minimize L2 errors. Work in L2 phonology dealt with pronunciation errors explained on the basis of phonemic substitutions

and non-target-like distributions of allophones (Hammerly, 1982; Lado, 1957; Stockwell & Bowen, 1965). It was claimed that error/ contrastive analysis was most effective in accounting for pronunciation errors; this can be better understood from what Lado has to say:

“We assume that the student who comes in contact with a foreign language will find some features of it quite easy and others extremely difficult. Those elements that are similar to his native language will be simple for him, and those elements that are different will be difficult. We have ample evidence that when learning a foreign language we tend to transfer our entire language system in the process.” (1957).

Lado’s work along with some of that of Stockwell and Bowen (1965) was based on anecdotal data. However there is enough empirical evidence to support that if not all, some of the pronunciation errors can be attributed to the L1 of the learner (Suter 1976). The competing influences of similarity and difference between native and target language sound systems (Flege, 1980; 1987; Wode, 1983a; Major and Kim, 1999) shows that L2 phonology is a highly abstract enterprise parallel to the phonologies of primary languages, rather than – as has often been assumed – a mere imitation of the target language’s pronunciations.

The learner’s error gave a lot of insight into the whole process of SLA. However, as the only explanation for the differences in the learner’s version of L2, it did not take the researchers very far. Many

learners could avoid making errors by simply leaving out the difficult constructions while others continued to make errors, which the error analysis (Corder 1973) failed to explain. The analysis also ignored the performance of the learner and the level of success he attained with L2. This led to research that took the learner's performance into consideration. However, what could not be explained was why the learners found it difficult to learn sounds that were similar to their L1 rather than those that were new to them. Surprisingly this was quite contrary to what Lado claimed. These unclarified errors continued to be generated even when the total immersion situation was created, supporting Chomsky's claim that language acquisition is not habit formation but rule formation. Learners play an active role in inferring L2 rules from L2 speech they are exposed to. Corder (1967) claimed that L2 acquisition was similar to L1 acquisition and that the innate capacity to learn a language in the case of L1 was substituted by something else in the case of L2. Errors were then analyzed to see if they reflected the underlying system. Selinker introduced the term *interlanguage* (1972) to show that learner systems were not governed by either the rules of L1 or L2. During the course of learning L2 the learner comes up with a working structure of his own, which is functional but not exactly like L2.

Hammerly (1982) found that the suppression of allophones in their native language context – or the production of native language allophones in new environments – is more difficult than acquiring novel target language phonemes. Phonetic similarity is also a key

concept in other important work on the role of perception in L2 phonology—specifically, studies of “equivalence classification” in the work of Flege (1986, 1987) in which he claims that when the learner finds sounds that do not occur in his language they learn it through the regular learning process. However, in sounds that are similar to sounds in their native language they substitute their native language sound for the TL sound and the learning stops there, rendering a slight change in pronunciation that stays. As a matter of fact they tend to perceive the TL sound as being the same as the L1 sounds.

The concepts of interlanguage led explicitly to the possibility that L2 patterns could emerge that were independent of both the L1 and L2. Along with this the concept of a *transplanted system* (Kachru 1983)/ *a lectal variety* (Pandey forthcoming) was proposed, that shares properties with other varieties or lects such as sociolects or dialects such as Black American English. In contrast to the concept of Interlanguage, a transplanted system is a self-replicating stable system (Mohanani and Mohanani, 1987). That is to say, in a non-native context the second-generation learners are exposed, not to the native version of the Target language (TL) but the Second Language variety of the TL, and end up speaking the variety they are exposed to. As Mohanani puts it, we can say that an interlanguage system becomes a transplanted system when it starts feeding itself. As the transplanted system feeds itself, it acquires characteristics that are unique; it is a process where self-replication is a tool for stabilization. Classification of varieties like Indian English as interlanguage as a result of fossilization of entire

competences of whole group of individuals was a result of Selinker's view, putting the SLA speakers in an always-subaltern state (Sridhar 1994). SLA theories deny the constructive contributions of transfer, in cognition and making the foreign tongue more familiar. Indian English is so widely used for communication that it has acquired its own lexical, grammatical and phonological system. There are a lot of variations within this range but they all share common language patterns making them mutually intelligible. There have been various ways in which, linguists and academicians around the world, have tried to study the impact of English on the other languages of the world. Varieties like Indian English, Black English etc emerged as a result of the stronghold of the British colonial empire on a large part of the world. English in the various colonies of the British became popular as it ensured a means of livelihood. Natives who could speak English made communicating with the locals easier for the British. In fact one can say that native like proficiency was not ever intended, English was just a communication tool. Long after the British Colonial Empire died, English continues to alter the linguistic behaviour of the people around the world. Daswani (1978) says that English atrophies the intellect of the native language, reducing the ability to think in the native language where the latter is being anglicized. However, one can say that there is a creation of knowledge because English is being localized and has now become a local language rather than a foreign second language.

### 1.3 Theories on Varieties of English

There have been many theories about characterising English language around the world. Is it just a single language with British English as the core? Or can we say that the 'one' English that once ruled the world has now disintegrated into smaller parts, each having its own unique characteristics and epicenters? Can we say that all these varieties can be brought under one single umbrella of International Standard English? Or say that it is each one to his own: Every one is free to use the version that they are most comfortable with. There have been many debates on this matter, some of which I have outlined below.

Many theorists believe that English is still **one language** with British English and American English at its core. They define English as "*the language of England, now widely used in many varieties throughout the world*" the other, with an American angle, "*the language of the people of England and the United States and many areas now or formerly under British control*". This theory gets its support from history. Historically English originated in England and with the gradual spread of the British Empire, English spread to America and other areas of the world. With this colonial expansion going on, America also emerged as a world super power speeding the spread of English. The colonial empire builders also saw English as a tool of expansion. They could acquire local labour and translators at a minimum cost, rather than importing workforce from England. The flip side to this being that people speaking the same language identify themselves as belonging to

one community, and this community is identified by the space they occupy. The fact that these people spoke English moved them away from their existing community. At the same time the English speaking community didn't accept them as their own, slowly leaving the locals searching for an identity.

English is also described as a language with many varieties and their own unique epicenters. The Englishes theory was introduced first by Braj Kachru (1990:4) in his *three circles model*. The 'inner circle' represents the traditional bases of English, and most, but not all, of the speakers are white: the United Kingdom, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, Ireland, Malta, anglophone Canada and South Africa, and some of Caribbean territories. The inner circle (UK, USA, etc.) is 'norm-providing'. That means that English language norms are developed in these countries - English is the first language there. Next comes the 'outer circle,' which includes countries where English is not an official language, but is important for historical reasons (e.g. the British Empire) and plays a part in the nation's institutions. This circle includes India, Nigeria, the Philippines, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Malaysia, Tanzania, Kenya, non-Anglophone South Africa and Canada, etc. The outer circle (mainly New Commonwealth countries) is 'norm-developing'. The outer circle (much of the rest of the world) is 'norm-dependent', because it relies on the standards set by native speakers in the inner circle. Finally, the 'expanding circle' encompasses those countries where English plays no historical or governmental role, but where it is nevertheless widely used as a foreign language or

lingua franca. This includes much of the rest of the world's population: China, Russia, Japan, most of Europe, Korea, Egypt, Indonesia, etc. The total in this expanding circle is the most difficult to estimate, especially because English may be employed for specific, limited purposes, usually business English. English has become the language of everyday use and now is fragmenting in to smaller varieties.

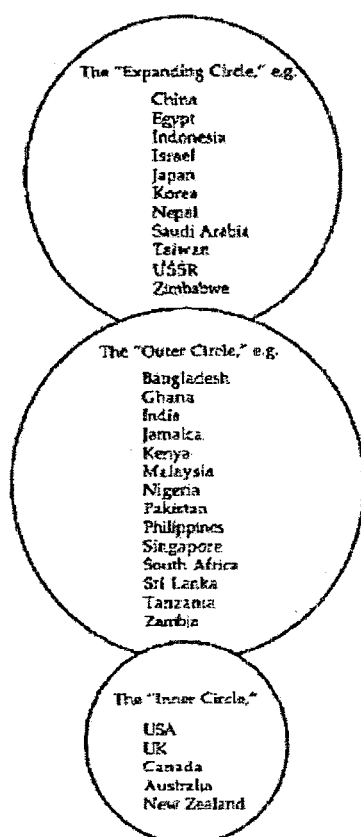


Fig 1.1 Three Concentric Circles. From: Kachru 1996 pg 137

The main critique of his theory is that he groups all languages in a circle under one umbrella even though there is linguistic diversity among the languages in the inner circle. He does not take into account the transition phase from EFL to ESL countries like Argentina etc.



McArthur (1998a) put forward a model of standard World English. The hub refers to the Standard World English, which is surrounded by a band of regional varieties, such as the standard and other forms of African English, American English, Canadian English,

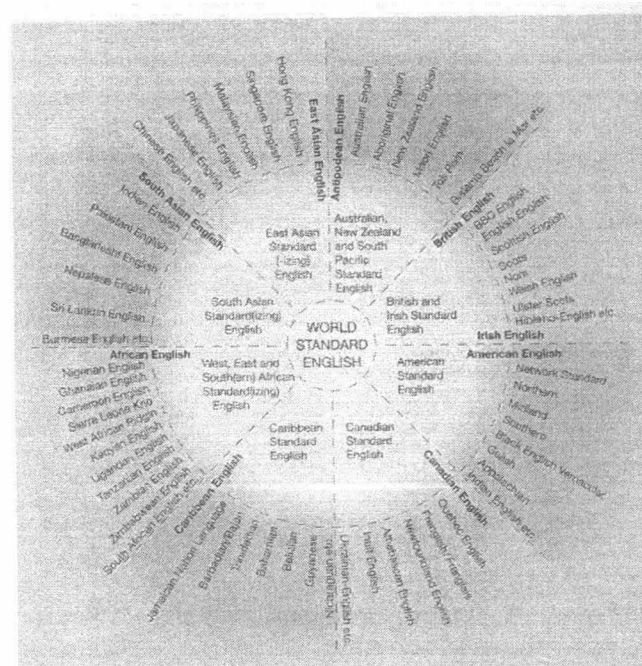


Fig. 1.2. Trudgill & Hannah World Englishes hub(1998). From Leightner (forthcoming)pg 4

off eight regions of the world, is a crowded fringe of sub-varieties such as Aboriginal English, Black English Vernacular, Gullah, Jamaican National Language, Krio, Singapore English and Ulster Scots (McArthur:1998a:95).The converging point of all world Englishes is the world standard English. The central position of the world standard English in relation to the eight regional varieties and multitudes of their sub-varieties conjures two possible dimensions. However, it is not clear on what grounds Mc Arthur defines varieties as sub varieties and standardizing forms.

Many view English as a lingua franca. This view mainly sees English spoken by non-natives in the absence of natives. Phillipson 1992, put forward a theory of 'linguistic imperialism' with respect to the spread of English around the world and how the language continues to maintain its dominance. He defines linguistic imperialism as "*the dominance asserted and retained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages*". One of the central themes of Phillipson's theory is the series of complex hegemonic processes that continue to sustain the pre-eminence of English in the world today. His book analyzes the British Council's use of rhetoric to promote English. These are:

1. English is best taught monolingually ("the monolingual fallacy")
2. The ideal teacher is a native speaker ("the natives speaker fallacy")
3. The earlier English is taught, the better the results ("the early start fallacy")
4. The more English is taught, the better the results ("the maximum exposure fallacy")
5. If other languages are used much, standards of English will drop ("the subtractive fallacy")

According to Phillipson those who promote English consider English to be a god's gift to mankind, symbolizing power, status and modernity. It is a language of the uplifted; it is a gateway to the world. Another very important theme in his work is what he calls "linguicism" (1997) the processes by which endangered languages become extinct or

lose their local eminence as a direct result of the rising and competing prominence of English in disparate global contexts. Furthermore, calling English a world language erroneously presupposes that English is globally appropriate.

There are millions of dollars spent very year to produce materials for English Language teaching, (ELT) English as a Foreign Language (EFL), English as a Second Language (ESL). Many theorists see this as the continuing imperialistic spread of English. Promotion of ELT, they believe is a move with heavy economic motives behind it. Gibbon (forthcoming) believes that *"The EFL banner is flown largely by an anglophile humanistic lobby, and is typically ... represented in institutionalized grammar school foreign language teaching and driven by traditions of European cultural, political, diplomatic and touristic interchange, mainly between the upper middle "chattering classes" (in current journalistic jargon) of neighbouring countries."* He feels that the EFL content is drastically different from what the learners experience in actual contact situations. What is happening is a mass production of a product that generates huge economic benefits but actually has very little value. But contrary to this, even after a full course of the prescribed ESL course, the speakers end up speaking the local variety they are exposed to. So even if we see the propagation of ESL and ELT varieties as an economic or imperialistic move, there is a definite spread of English but not British English. Communication happens when a speaker speaks and the hearer understands the meaning of all that is said: direct, implied etc. A language doesn't consist just of words

and sentences; the relationship between words and their meaning is enrobed in the cultural and sociolinguistic setting of a particular area. This is one feature that renders languages, even in monolingual settings to differ from place to place. A person learning English in India would not strive to achieve the communicative competence of that of a Native British or American English speaker but that of a speaker of Indian English.

Janina Brutt-Griffler in her book 'World English: A Study of Its Development' (2002) presents the various paradoxes of English in the world today. In particular she questions the idea of English as an example of linguistic imperialism. She says that it was not only the language of imperialism it was also the language of revolution. She gives detailed examples as to how the British actually never wanted English to become popular with the masses as they saw it as a threat to their empire. They restricted English only to the elite classes so that they could get cheap labour, they did not want it to percolate to the lower levels of society. She goes on to explain why English will maintain its unity and not fragment into unintelligible varieties. She claims that a '*world language speaking community*' has emerged. This community, because of globalization, international organizations, global politics, global economics share a culture formed by the new world ethno-cultural system and continuous interaction ensures comprehensibility of English. She says that world English is like a center of gravity around which the international varieties revolve. Also Brutt-Griffler argues that the speakers of English have attempted

to remain in control of the English teaching worldwide. However, Elizabeth J Earling (2002) argues that the process has been two sided. There have also been demands from the outside for native speakers to remain control from the outside. A major criticism of Brutt-Griffler's work comes from the fact that she feels that English has not encroached on the local languages, but there have been many cases such as in Sweden and Canada where numerous indigenous languages have lost the battle with English and now are struggling for survival.

Barbara Seidelhofer discusses English from the sociolinguistic point of view on English as an international language. She says that "*... the most crucial concern must be to understand how 'English' functions in relation to other languages. Sociolinguistic research indicates that if – and this is a vital condition – English is appropriated by its users in such a way as to serve its unique function as EIL, it does not constitute a threat to other languages but, precisely because of its delimited role and distinct status, leaves other languages intact.*" (2003). Seidelhofer questions the fact that, have the attitudes of people towards English changed keeping pace with the change in the function of the language itself? She also points out that the idea of a 'native' language is so deeply engrained in the minds of the people that it is difficult to make them look at English outside the perspective of a native or nativized language. The main rationale behind promoting EIL is usually that it is the most important language in international transactions: commerce etc, and also it brings with it the ability to interact with the international people. She feels that there is a need to define what exactly International English is, there is a need

for a broad corpus to assimilate the general features of International English. These features would then give us an idea as to how people with varied backgrounds and sociolinguistic settings actually communicate through EIL and how they modify their English to make this communication possible. English is not a lingua franca but a separate language that has stemmed from British English but has become a new language that people have accepted as their own due to the varying environment and cultural and geographical settings .

#### **1.4 Second Language Varieties of English**

At the peak of the expansion of the British Empire, in many areas English completely took over the local languages leaving them to die. However, the attitudes of people worldwide are changing. English is no longer replacing the existing languages, and people are not turning away from their own languages they instead become multilinguals where they are proficient speakers of their native language and English. People have now taken over the ownership of English and made it their own. We can no longer say that there is one epicenter around which the different varieties of English have developed; now there are various unique varieties that have their own epicenters. In day-to-day interactions between people, words acquire new meanings; people in groups invent their own code words and jargons. The original accent, stress and intonation do not matter anymore- accents go native and the influence of the local languages becomes heavy. The language becomes something that the people own, something that they can mould according to their needs.

Second language varieties of English in India or anywhere else in the world for that matter, develop in an environment that is very un-English. Growing up in such an environment the language tends to adapt to the specific geographic and sociolinguistic areas reflecting traits that are common to native languages of that area. At the same time, the language has to struggle to maintain its basic structure. The question that arises at this point is can we then call the varieties of English as contact languages? The various contact languages that have been studied by linguists show a common trait of one language governing the syntax that holds the pidgin and the other that forms the lexicon. But a close study of the varieties of English over the world reveals that this is not the case. English across the world maintains its basic structure with a few alterations that correspond to the mother tongue of the speakers. So then what exactly is English? Is it a sort of a mixed language? Whereas creoles are formed by communities lacking a common language, mixed languages are formed by communities fluent in both languages. Pidgins and Creoles develop in social contexts where few or no member of the group is bilingual or multilingual in each other's language. But mixed languages share the property of comprising subsystems that cannot all be traced back to a single source language, all of them being contact languages.

- a. Grammars and lexicon of other mixed languages are taken directly from each source language in large chunks, usually without any significant compromises or changes.

- b. Mixed Languages arise in contact situations, involving just two languages. There is widespread bilingualism so that there is no need for a new language to serve as a medium of communication between the groups in contact. It has no lexical or structural restrictions and every component is easily traceable to a single source language. (Thomason 2001)

Speakers learnt English to communicate with the foreign traders and then the British Empire officials. Slowly they taught this to their children. Mixed languages tend to inherit much more of the complexity (grammatical, phonological, etc.) of their parent languages, whereas creoles begin as simple languages and then develop in complexity more independently. It is sometimes explained as bilingual communities that no longer identify with the cultures of either of the languages they speak, and seek to develop their own language as an expression of their own cultural uniqueness. Speakers strike a balance between their native tongue and English, they have defined different domains of use for both the languages and both can peacefully coexist without usurping the place of the other. As observed by Weinreich (1953), contact takes place in the mind of the speaker. Here we can say that there is contact of English and the MT inside an individual where the individual tries to fill in the gaps that are in the language by structures that seem to appear unaccountable at first. James Milroy's (1997:311) is of the view that "linguistic change is speaker-based,"



communal languages are abstract extrapolations from idiolects. Moreover, it is dubious that real coordinate bilingualism exists, in which linguistic systems are kept separate. Thus, how much sense does it make to speak of language contact as a separate phenomenon from the contact of idiolects? Speakers are central to bringing idiolects, dialects, and languages in contact while communicating with each other

As Kachru (1996) has said, the impact of the spread of English is two faced: one in which it is expanding its use and influence over the native languages and the other wherein the nativization and acculturation of English itself is taking place as it comes into contact with genetically unrelated languages. The language is becoming localized and adapting to different sociolinguistic settings and acquiring new cultural identities resulting in a shift from the earlier sociocultural profile of the language coming.

### **1.5 Self-Organization**

In the background of a relatively recent paradigm of research in the areas of physics, cosmology, ecology etc., it would be interesting to consider language as a natural system having the property of 'self organization'(Lindbloom et. al 1984). Complex systems exhibit properties that are collective, which cannot be explained by just understanding the parts. Self-Organization is a process/ mechanism that helps explain the emergence of various spontaneous patterns. Self-

Organization in biological systems is very complex as the interactive components are living organisms. Biological systems are not only subject to physical rules/laws but also to those that are determined by the properties of components that are subject to natural selection. The rules specifying interaction among the specific components of the system are executed using only the local system information, without reference to the global pattern (Camazine et. al 2001). A system moves towards stability. The closer it reaches stability the more complex it becomes. There can be several stable states but the systems possible stable state depends on the initial conditions. Properties emerge as a result of interaction among the various parts. One needs to study not only the individual properties but also the nature of interaction to understand the nature of the product. The total outcome is always greater than the sum of its parts.

Under this notion we can try to show that languages, especially second language, though initially borrow from and rely heavily on one Target Language (TL), undergo a process of evolution and structure formation that is quite unique, so much so that their resemblance to the TL is just superficial. We can say that the birth and evolution of second language systems is very much similar to that of any natural language. Second language varieties have a life of their own during which they evolve from a mere variety to a system that has structures dependent on the data from the initial state but not wholly determined by it. The growth and stabilization of the language brings forward the distinction between the underlying and surface structures. Therefore languages

can then be said to be systems that strive towards increasing complexity of order for which there is a constant generation of principles and structures (Prigogine & Stengers 1984). As natural systems then, SL's are dependant on the initial data but not determined by it. The future course is determined by its quest for stability without jeopardizing the stability of the Mother Tongue. Language is a complex system and like any other complex system, it is constituted of many smaller, simpler parts. Language is an emergent phenomenon. Of the different agent's that interact, no individual has a complete view of the language nor can anyone control it. Language forms itself once the appropriate physiological psychological and social conditions are satisfied (Luc Steels 1996). As Kirby (1999a) says, *"the local, individual actions of many speakers, hearers and acquirers of language across time and space conspire to produce non- local, universal patterns of variation"*. Language evolves when ideolects come in contact and influence each other through mutual accommodation. Language change and acquisition can be seen as special cases of Self Organisation of order in the universe. The main aim is to view language as a natural system and not as a mechanical system. A mechanical system is entropic- the final state does not contain any information or order that its initial state does not contain; a natural system defies the laws of entropy and creates a novel order. There are two main properties of structure formation in Linguistic systems, firstly, it is a creative system - it can create structures that are not present in the initial state. Secondly, it is non-deterministic in that the creation of structures not deducible (uniquely predictable) from the initial condition and the input. "A

TH-16025



*grammar can be derived through inductive and deductive reasoning from the conjunct of the initial state and the data"* (Mohanani 1980). In the cultural transmission of a language, the environment doubles up as a seed.

While studying Second language varieties, it is but obvious that the L2 should have features of the target language as acquiring the target language as the final aim. The many sounds that are new to the learner's would be learnt through the regular process of language learning and easily be identified as being identical to the TL. Also L2 learners have a tendency to imitate the TL features as closely as possible. Features that resemble the native language are again accountable. As stated above in section 1.2, studies have revealed that a second language learner learns L2 in relation to L1. When it comes to sounds that are similar to L1, the learner perceives the sounds as being the same as that in L1 and therefore the second language learnt has native like qualities. We can then say that Tamil English (for example) is similar in structure and forms to Tamil not because it is an inter-language but because it is spoken by Tamil speakers and in areas where Tamil is the lingua franca. It is the novel structures that need to be accounted for. Where do these novel features come from? We are looking at people who use both their L1 and L2 productively. That is they do not consider L2 to be a part of L1 or L2 only as a facilitator in any sphere of life, say education. Both the languages are considered to be separate from each other and are used interchangeably in all the domains of language use. When this happens the language develops as

naturally as any of the native languages giving birth to new features which neither L1 nor L2 can account for.

## 1.6 Methodology

The study proposed here is an exploratory study, based on a limited dataset looked into greater detail to explore the hypothesis. The data was taken from Tamilians residing in Delhi for at least the past two years. The aim was to choose speakers who used both English and Tamil productively in their daily lives. The informants were divided into three groups (Appendix I): **Group A** – Informants had completed their high school education in Tamil from Tamil Nadu. **Group B** – Informants had completed their high school education in English from Tamil Nadu. **Group C** – Informants had completed their high school education in English from outside Tamil Nadu. A comparative account of the three groups was intended. However, during the study no significant differences were noted. This was surprising as it was expected that the native language influence in the case of **Group A** and **B** would be much more than that in **Group C**. As stated above, this is a sample study based on which a larger study can be planned, which would include a wider selection of data and a field study in Tamil Nadu.

Recordings based on a passage were taken from 18 speakers of Tamil residing in New Delhi. All the informants were fluent

speakers of Tamil and English aged between 20-30years and used the language productively in their daily life.

The respondents were ignorant of the nature of query and were given the passage for spontaneous reading. The passage selected for the purpose of recording is a small story of the Sun and the Wind (Appendix II). This was selected keeping in mind the fact that it was easy to understand, not very long and contained a mixture of direct and indirect speech, which brought out the various phonetic, phonological and supra-segmental features in the speech of the respondents.

Noting the behaviour of a compound in the informants speech, another set of data containing a list of fifteen sentences (Appendix III), was taken from five informants to validate the observation.

### **1.6.1 Procedure**

The speech samples taken, were first filtered for extra sound using Wave pad. Wave Pad is a sound editor program for Windows. This software lets you make and edit voice and other audio recordings. It contains various features like cut, copy and paste parts of recording and adds effects like echo, amplification and noise reduction. The sound samples were then phonetically transcribed. After the phonetic

transcription of the sounds the various prosodic functions such as pauses, stress and tone were marked and analyzed.

### 1.6.2 Reservations

One of the major problems was to find people, whenever I spoke to them they were forthcoming but right before the data collection the appointment got cancelled due to one reason or the other.

An effort was made to conduct the recordings in the quietest of environments. The respondents could not be called to the sound lab as the lab is situated at quite a distance from the main campus. For the purpose of recording a Sony recorder was used. Since most of the respondents were students of JNU this was difficult to create/find a sound proof location due to the frequent flying of planes. However clarity in recording was achieved by filtering the sounds using software.

For the purposes of recording, a Sony recorder was used. The quality of the recorder was excellent and the results achieved were as desired.

## CHAPTER II- SELF-ORGANIZATION

The study presented here, proposes a framework adopting the self-organization theory for the study of language evolution/ language change. The term self-organization has been used in different areas with different meanings, as in cybernetics (von Foerster, 1960; Ashby, 1962; Heylighen and Joslyn, 2001), thermodynamics (Nicolis and Prigogine, 1977), biology (Camazine et al., 2003; Feltz et al., 2006), mathematics (Lendaris, 1964), computer science (Heylighen and Gershenson, 2003; Mamei et al., 2006; Kohonen, 2000), complexity (Schweitzer, 1997), information theory (Shalizi, 2001), evolution of language (de Boer, 1999; Steels, 2003), synergetics (Haken, 1981), and others (Skar and Coveney, 2003). An important strand of work leading to the analysis of complex evolution is thermodynamics. Ilya Prigogine showed that physical and chemical systems far from thermodynamical equilibrium tend to self-organize by exporting entropy.

We often find that properties spontaneously emerge from the numerous local interactions among the individual components that cannot be initially accounted for. Most of the times by examining only the individual components or only the phenomenon as a whole, one cannot understand the process. What is happening in these systems is self organization. Self-organization is the spontaneous creation of a logical pattern out of the interactions between initially independent



components (Prigogine & Stengers 1984). The systems are made up of similar components or events that require continuous interactions at the lower level components to produce and maintain structure. It is the phenomenon by which order on a global scale can emerge spontaneously in a group of interacting entities (Nicolis and Prigogine, 1977); a process of evolution where the development of new, complex structures takes place primarily in and through the system itself. Patterns are emergent properties of the system and not properties imposed on the system. Evolution particular to the system, will ultimately lead to states of disorder and maximum symmetry. Once this state has been reached, the system will move short distances from this state for short periods of time. The interaction of a system with the outside world, it's embedding in non-equilibrium conditions, may become in this way the starting point for the formation of new dynamic state-dissipative structures.

### **2.1. A Brief Introduction To the theory of Self-Organization**

Self-organization is usually associated with more complex, non-linear phenomena, although the entities and their interactions may be quite simple. The relation between the microscopic and the macroscopic is a vicious circle and the theory of self organization is centered around it. A major problem lies with the eventual feedback: macroscopic structures emerge from microscopic structures and these macroscopic structures in turn bring about a change in the microscopic structure. The emerging macroscopic pattern will lead to modifications in the microscopic mechanisms. This collective order is organized to function

for its own maintenance, and thus, tends to resist fluctuations. To adapt to a changing environment, the system needs a sufficiently large variety of possible stable states to compete with. The microscopic mechanisms have in general several stable states, and this number tends to increase (bifurcate) as an increasing input pushes the system farther from its equilibrium. Given this variety, the most adequate configurations are selected according to their fitness, either by the environment, or indirectly by subsystems that have already adapted to the environment at an earlier stage. Thus, the system can adjust its internal configuration to external fluctuations, while minimizing the changes to its overall organization. In this sense, self-organization implies adaptation. This becomes even clearer if we choose a different boundary to distinguish system from environment. As noted by many researchers, if we consider a particular part of the original, self organized system as the new "system", and the remainder as its "environment", then the part will be necessarily adapted to the environment. (Helighen,pg 15).

### **2.1.1 Positive and Negative feedback**

Most self-organizing systems use positive feedback, though usually it is seen that in biological processes it is behaviourally coded in agents. Negative feedback is like the control of blood sugar levels in our body. Here a small disturbance applied to the system triggers an opposing response that counteracts the disturbance. Once the body level glucose goes up, there is an automatic release of insulin that not only digests the

sugar but also works for the conversion of fat deposits on the liver into glycogen.

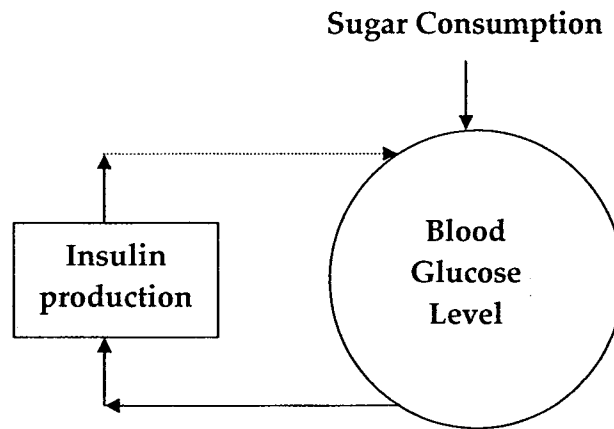


Fig 1.3 Example of negative feedback; Rise in glucose level in the body. Reproduced from Camazine et. al (2003)

Negative feedback mainly works to maintain status quo. Positive feedback promotes changes in a system. For example, the growth of Human population (Camazine et.al 2003). Each generation has reproduced more than the current population leading to more number of births in each successive generation. This results in cycle of increased population and number of births. Positive feedback, works thus that an initial change in the system is reinforced in the same direction as the initial deviation. The growth of human population will eventually be stabilized by negative feedback leading to lowering of birth rates etc.(Fig 1.4).

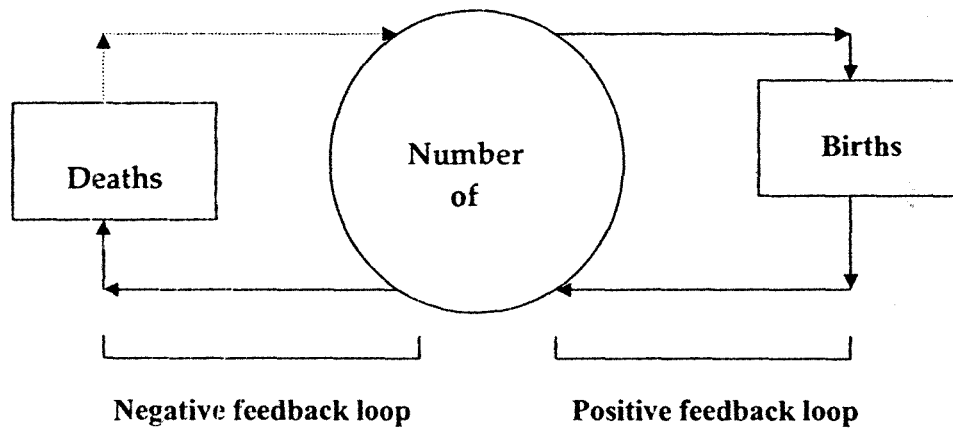
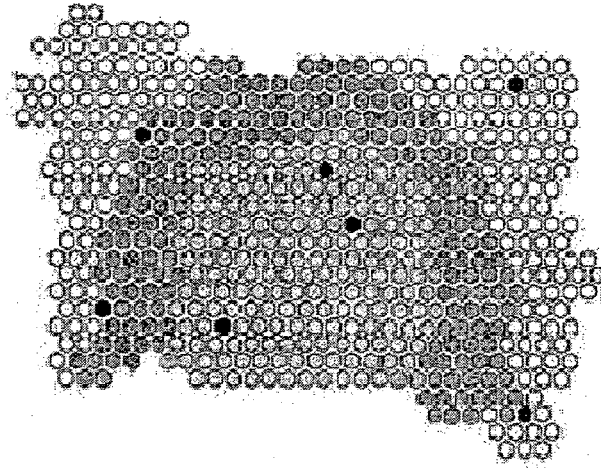


Fig. 1.4. A model of population growth. Reproduced from Camazine et. al (2003)

### 2.1.2. The Honey Bee Comb

As an explanation of the phenomenon of self organization , often, the example of a honey bee comb is given. (de Boer (2000); Camzine/et. al. 2001; Jin Yun Ke, 2004). In a honey-bee comb, three types of materials are stored: immature brood, honey and pollen. The arrangement of these materials forms a characteristic concentric pattern - a central brood area, a surrounding band of pollen, and a large peripheral region of honey. Such a pattern appears to be having several advantages. For example the compact brood area may help to ensure a precisely regulated incubation temperature for the brood, and facilitate efficient egg laying by the queen and the brood care by the nurse bees.



**Figure 1.5:** An illustration of the concentric pattern in a honeybee comb. The center of the figure presents an area of comb near the center of the colony. Symbols: lightly-stippled cell brood, darkly-stippled cell — pollen, unstippled cell honey, and dark cells empty. In the upper right of the figure is the queen and in the lower left is a forager returning from the field with a pollen load. Reproduced from Jinyun Ke 2004 (Reproduced from Camazine et al. (2001), p308 (©Bihl Ristiue 1998)).

Arranging the brood in the center may also provide a better protection against predators. The location of the pollen, in a band adjacent to the brood area, may allow efficient feeding of the nearby larvae. To explain how the adaptive structure emerges, there are several hypotheses. Some stating that behavior of bees may be genetically determined. They by instinct know how to organize the comb in a concentric way, i.e., the central portion of the comb is reserved for

brood and pollen, and honey is to be placed peripherally. Other theories suggest that there is a template. There may be a temperature gradient from the center of the comb to the periphery, and the bees simply follow the temperature template to organize the materials in the comb. Camazine (2001) took the study of the honey bee comb in the direction of self organization. He believed that the structure formed is too large to be completed in the life time of one single individual. The basic idea that he put forward is that in a comb every “...worker has only a local spatial and temporal perspective of the structure to which it contributes. Nonetheless, the overall construction proceeds in an orderly manner, as if some omniscient architects were carefully overseeing the guiding process” (Camazine et. al. 2001 pg 309). Camazine and his colleagues then developed two abstract models, a cellular automaton model and a differential equation model.

The studies of the honeybee comb present an elegant example of how the self-organization framework guides the research for explaining a complex global pattern. Instead of starting with assumptions that the individual agents have an innate knowledge of the global pattern, the investigation is directed toward looking for lower level constraints. In fact, some of those lower level conditions themselves can be further explained as emergent properties. For example, the condition, which says there is a preferential removal of honey and pollen near the brood, does not need to be assumed as the result of bees’ behaviors which are genetically programmed, but rather as an emergent feature from bees’ local actions. Nurse bees that are

responsible to feed the larvae are likely to search for food randomly with as little effort as possible. Assuming the nurse bees' move on the comb in a random manner centered in the brood area, it will be a natural outcome that the higher emptying rate of the cells will take place near the brood than in the peripheral area. (Jin Yun Ke 2004)

## **2.2 Language and Self-Organization**

Language is a complex adaptive structure that is constantly structured and restructured by its users (Luc Steels, 1999). Language use gives rise to several communicative challenges that the speaker needs to keep up with and constantly restructure his/her language to suit the change in the environment. Different people have different grammars owing to different histories of interaction with other members and different social and geographical settings. A language community is defined not by certain exclusive characteristics but by characteristics that are more typical than others. Language is composed of a series of similar but non-identical grammars. It is not just an arbitrary collection of grammars but has an internal system that makes it possible for speakers to identify themselves with the members of the same group. Grammars of a language are bound together into a social structure through a sense of social identity and other cohesive forces among the speakers of the group. Every individual speaks differently and has a different state of knowledge, which constantly evolves. Just as in biological species, there is a natural variation in verbal behaviour and internal knowledge of individuals. This variation may get amplified in the process of selection. Darwin introduced a population concept,

which emphasized the fact that every individual is unique and variation happens because every organism is unique. Collective properties shift because the individuals bearing those properties change over time. This change does not take place in a short span of time, for this change to reflect on the characteristics of the community it takes generations because not every individual is changing. In the selection process the variation in an individual may get amplified. However, language evolution takes place at the cultural level. The variation comes from performance deviance and learning histories.

### **2.2.1 Previous work on Self organization applied to Language**

Chen (1989, 1999a) uses self-organization to explain the structure of language systems and the principal of language change. The main aim of language change is to achieve stability and it is this structural instability of language that leads to language change. Language codes cultural information and forms the basis for the evolution of complexity in human culture. Languages also code information on their own structure and therefore they provide influences on their own survival (Brighton et. al, 2005). Language is transmitted by the mechanism of learning and language production - these in turn impose constraints on transmission. They also code information that determines the way they are processed by the cognitive system. For learning a language the environment plays a significant role. It must be supplying information for induction to take place. Many of the descriptions of language change are mere descriptions and not explanations of what language change is. They just tell us what was



before and what is after. We need to highlight the process of change: - What happened and more interestingly how did it happen? Change does not complete in the lifetime of a single idiolect. There are various social and individual factors that affect it and slowly the change happens.

de Boer (2000), worked on a computer simulated model using agents to study the emergence of vowel systems. The agents (small computer programs that operate autonomously) were equipped with a realistic articulatory synthesizer, a model of human perception and the ability to imitate and learn sounds they hear. The hypothesis that is investigated in this paper is that the structure of vowel systems is determined by self-organization in a population under constraints of perception and production. In his experiment it is shown that due to the interactions between the agents and due to self-organization, realistic vowel repertoires emerge. This happens under a large number of different parameter settings. As shown in Fig. 1.5, first, the initiator chooses a random vowel (in this case /a/) from its repertoire, produces it with its synthesizer, adding noise (it becomes [ɐ]). Secondly, the imitator analyzes this sound in terms of its vowels and synthesizes the recognized vowel (/ɒ/) also adding noise (it becomes [ɔ]). Then the initiator listens to the imitator's sound, analyzes it, and checks if the recognized vowel is the same as the original one (here, [ɔ] is analyzed as /a/, so the game is successful). If the [ɔ] had been perceived closer to /ɔ/, then the game would have been a failure. The vowel systems

shown are representative examples. In reality, agents' vowel systems can contain all possible vowels and may contain different numbers of vowels. (de Boer 2000)

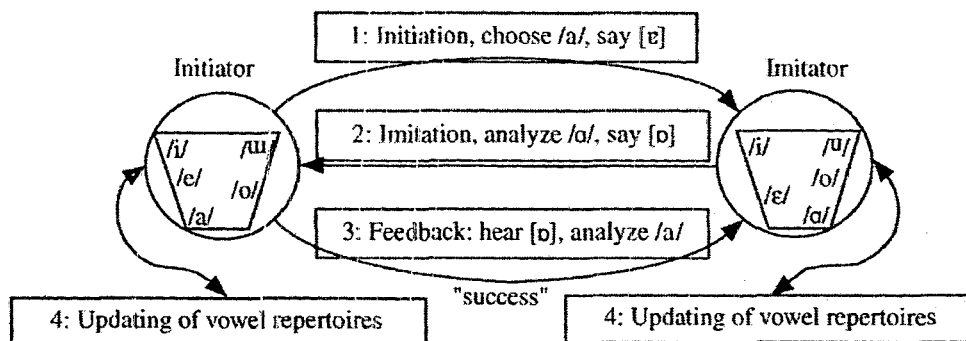


Fig 1.5. Example of the imitation game. Reproduced from de Boer (2000)

Self-organization in a population under constraints of perception and production causes systems of vowels that are acoustically dispersed to be favored over systems that are less dispersed (Fig. 1.7).

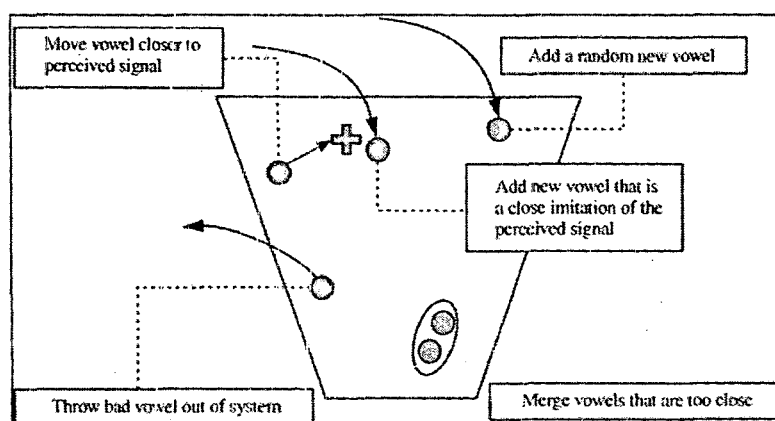


Fig 1.7. Changes an agent can make to its vowel system. Circles indicate vowels in the agent's repertoire (both articulatory and acoustic aspects) while the cross indicates the position (in acoustic space) of the signal the agent just perceived. Reproduced from de Boer (2000)

However, as the imitation success of agents is also determined by how well they conform to the population, different (sub-optimal) configurations can emerge and be maintained. Some configurations can be considered stronger attractors than others. The same universal tendencies as found in human vowel systems are found in the systems that emerge. This indicates that innate rules and constraints are not necessary to explain them. They are an emergent result of the way human perception and production work. Fewer innate cognitive structures make it easier to construct an evolutionary account of the origins of speech (and language). What the theory of self-organization actually tries to convey is that a system is capable of creating structures that the initial state never had. A system moves towards stability and in that process it creates structures and organizes itself in ways, which cannot be predicted by just looking at the properties of the initial state.

Jin Yun Ke (2004), in her Doctoral thesis takes an on-going sound change in Cantonese as a case study to scrutinize the heterogeneity in the self-organizing processes. The fieldwork data reveal a large degree of variation both in the population (VT-I) and in the set of words (VT-II). Another type of variation (VT-III) is highlighted, that is, a word may also show variation within one single speaker. But not all of the words subject to the change. It was found that speakers have many words in their repertoire that were in the variation state in varying degrees. These differences suggest that the learning style also plays an important role. She hypothesizes two types of lexical learning styles, i.e. probabilistic and categorical learning. The

this thesis employs computational modeling as a major tool for investigation, as modeling provides effective ways to test hypotheses beyond empirical studies, and suggests new questions. After a brief review of the modeling studies in the field, some models developed in this thesis for language origin and language change are reported.

### 2.2.2 Self Organization in Language Learning

Every person speaks differently from the other. There can be no two persons who speak exactly the same way. We can say that somewhere during the transfer from an older generation to a younger generation, certain aspects of language are lost and many others are gained. Therefore a difference between speakers of successive generations, is what initiates the change process. Many times while studying Second language varieties, features of the TL that are absent from the SL are noticed. What is left untouched are features of LI that are missing from the SL variety. Stable systems in nature tend to retain their equilibrium by resisting change (Prigogine and Stengers 1984). If every time a person learns a language, all the sounds and patterns are learnt, it would be very burdensome for the brain to accommodate all the structures. There is an effort to maximize the overlap between FL and SL reducing the storage burden on the learner. The problem that occurs at this point is the pressure exerted on the system to conform to the data. In effect language of an individual keeps getting exposed to an input rich environment, where at times there occur certain new linguistic experiences, which are seen in relation to already stored data

adding on to the already present networks and gradually changing them at times (Bybee 2002).

### 2.3 Two- Levels Of language and self organization

As stated above, self-organization explains collective behaviors and evolution and it cannot be understood by only examining the individual components. Language can be said to be constituted of such emergent properties rather than the manifestation of some innate blueprint in our language faculties. Language change is the result of the collective behaviors of idiolects, even as it affects the idiolects. The heterogeneity among idiolects is exposed to the greatest extent in on-going changes.

Language exists in two levels, one at the level of the individual and two at the level of the community. Ferdinand de Saussure gives one of the earliest explanations of the existence of language at different levels. He talks about '*la langue*' and '*la parole*', the social aspect and the individual aspect, respectively. Saussure (1983) believed that structure of language is a product of the symbiotic relationship of our language faculty and the rules of society. Language is a product of our language faculties because of our existence in a society, and also language is a set of rules that allow the people of a community to use their language faculty to communicate. Language exists collectively. Chomsky (1986) made a distinction between 'competence' and 'performance'; 'I language' and 'E-Language'. E language is the actual use of language and whereas I language is the linguistic knowledge. Performance,

Chomsky said was an imperfect reflection of the competence. Hurford (1987) and Kirby (1999a) proposed a modification of the I-/Elanguage distinction. Mufwene (2001) puts it in a more social context saying that an idiolect is an individual's personal use of language where as a communal language is the *extrapolation* of the I-languages where people can communicate successfully with each other.

### **2.3.1 Language at the Level of the Individual**

The process of learning in itself is a process of self-organization, which takes place during the language acquisition state. All individuals are born with an innate capacity to learn language along with an input rich environment. We must remember that every human being has a mind of his own and as a result tends to interpret the inputs received in his/her own way. Languages result from the interaction between the capacity for language and the linguistic environment. Since language carries information about its own construction, the structure of language changes in context of the changing environment. It has been shown that learning is a self-organizing process at different scales, from the lowest scale in the neural system (Pribram, 1981) to higher scales concerning behaviors (Pribram and King, 1996). This results in every individual's language being different but at the same time since the input environment is similar, the outcome shares generic properties that conform to the communal language. This constant interaction with the environment, which we must remember is constituted of other idiolects, keeps changing. This is how language self-organizes internally through language use.

### 2.3.2 Language at the Level of the Society

Social settings present different learning opportunities by virtue of shaping linguistic input in different ways. The communal language is not a homogeneous system, but rather exhibits an 'orderly heterogeneity' (Weinreich et al., 1968). Different people, as stated above, speak differently and no one idiolect can be said to represent the language of the community. Language of the community is the sum total of the features of all the idiolects. The fact that a group of speakers are said to belong to a particular speech community is not because their language is identical, it is because, as a group, they can be identified as having similar properties, which is a resultant of the interactions and linguistic exchange among its members. How does a language at the level of the society self organize? H Brighton et.al 2005, talk about how language is transferred across generations (Fig 1.7). The first agent has knowledge of language represented by a hypothesis  $h_1$ . This hypothesis itself represents a language  $L_{h_1}$ . Some subset of this mapping,  $L'_{h_1}$ , is externalized as linguistic performance for the next agent to learn from. The process of learning results in a hypothesis  $h_2$  (Brighton et.al 2005). The process is then repeated, generation after generation.

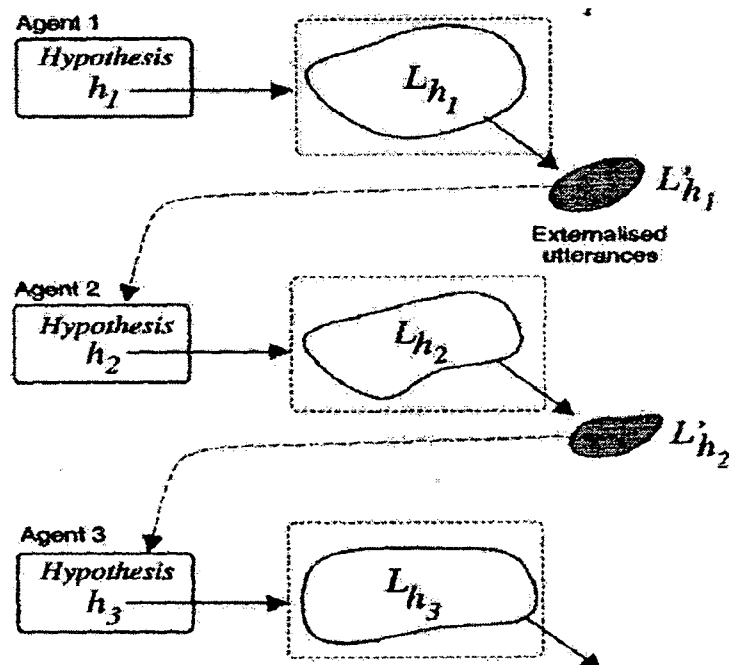


Fig. 1§ The iterated learning model. Reproduced from Brighton et.al 2005pg 185

This change in the language reproduced is because of a 'transmission bottleneck'<sup>1</sup> that influences a population's communication system. Since the learner is exposed to a limited data, then there would be certain signal pairs that he/she would not have observed. In such conditions when the learner is called upon to produce these sounds he may produce some other sound for the same meaning resulting in a change in the sound. A bottleneck on cultural transmission introduces pressure for language to be generic resulting

<sup>1</sup> "A transmission bottleneck reflects the fact that in nature languages cannot be transmitted in totality from one individual to another. Languages are capable of expressing a range of concepts...acquiring a language therefore entails the acquisition of a system for producing and understanding such infinite set of data from a finite set of data". Brighton et. al.2005



in instability and language adapts to this pressure over time. The initial generation when exposed to the new data, produces a random set of utterances and a highly compositional language evolves<sup>2</sup>. As can be seen from fig 1.8, the presence or absence of a transmission bottleneck has significant implications. At the initial stages, the compositionality is at the baseline levels. In a no bottleneck situation the compositionality remains at the baseline. However, during a bottleneck a highly compositional language evolves.

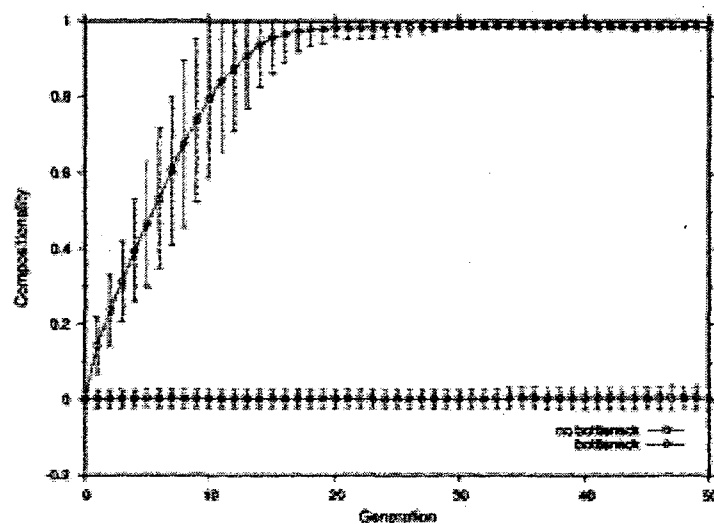


Fig.1.9. The impact of a transmission bottleneck on the structure of language. pg192

Languages are not stable when there is a bottleneck on transmission. This bottleneck exerts a pressure on the languages to be generalizable. Over time the language adapts to its environment/pressure becoming highly compositional, highly generalisable and highly stable. English as a language, in India, has

<sup>2</sup> A compositional language is one in which the meaning of a signal is a function of the meaning of its parts and the way in which they are combined

evolved adapting to the changing environment. The language once used to communicate has been adapted so successfully that it has become a part of the identity of the people who use it.

From the evolution point of view, self-organization plays a role in the synchronic and horizontal interaction in a population. The reported imitation and interaction models show that interaction between agents in a population can cause them to arrive at a coherent vocabulary. Cultural selection plays a role in speeding up and passing on the progress of interaction between agents through generations. Those vocabularies that have a higher fitness through self-organization will have a higher probability to be transmitted to the next generation. Such an external selection mechanism accumulates the benefits obtained by each agent and spreads them through the population, and therefore speeds up the emergence of a consistent communication system (Ke, Jinyun et. al. 2002).

#### **2.4. Language Contact and Change**

Many sociolinguistic studies have shown that language not only plays a vital role in enabling communication but it also helps in making distinction between groups such as those between men and women; high class –low class; nature of profession; etc.. Language always has been associated with status and is an important factor in identifying an individual's place in society. This creates a heterogeneous environment that is in constant flux, which in turn creates a ground for the

development of heterogeneous learning environments and therefore various idiolects. *"Languages spoken by bilinguals influence each other such that the consequent changes differ from the internal processes of change within monolingual speech communities."* ( Trudgill et. al p638-668) Talking about self-organization in language when we deal with a multilingual community we are not only talking about idiolects interacting with each other in a community. We are also talking about the interaction of idiolects within an individual who has the knowledge of more than one language. There are a number of idiolects in flux in a given linguistic community. What adds to the reason for instability is that the person's knowledge of more than one language causes an internal conflict where there is a constant tug of war for stability between the languages.

Many consider multilingualism as a boon -a normal human state of affairs; it is an asset; it should be treated as a resource, a teaching strategy and as a goal. There is a strong positive correlation between multilingualism and cognitive growth, divergent thinking, scholastic achievement and levels of social tolerance (Agnihotri 1995).

In a multilingual country like India, languages are almost in contact with other languages. Moreover, the boundary between languages is fuzzy, adding to which, this situation has extremely complex social and political ramifications. In such cases, it has been seen that such situations of multilingualism often lead to a creation of a new language so that it can serve as a symbol of new emergent groups. English during the British times was used as a means of attaining high

status for some, and for others securing livelihood. Later it developed into a language that united different linguistic groups to fight for a nation. Today, It has emerged as a symbol of the new age where it functions, not only as a tool for communication, but also as a symbol of power and status. What has emerged is not a shadow of the past, but a new voice of the people, by the people and for the people. It is a change that has marked the cultural and linguistic environment. It has evolved into a language that is in many ways unidentifiable from the initial source language. The language has been uprooted from its history and cultural background and planted into a culture that is drastically different, where a new link had to be created; complete with a new history and background. The language has now acquired a new appearance, which till recently had just been seen as a variation of the original. But over the years, with the process of change constantly in action, the appearance of English has changed so much that it now seems appropriate that it should have a new identity. What once belonged to a culture that was foreign has become a native and has evolved over the years by being transmitted from one generation to the other. The question that arises at this point is that how does this change take place?

Linguistic change is inadvertent, a consequence of 'imperfect replication' in the interactions of individual speakers as they adapt their communicative strategies to one another or to new needs. Such adaptations are similar to exaptations in biology. They can introduce generalizations or increase irregularities, just as they can introduce or

obliterate useful distinctions (Keller 1994, Croft 2000). Since linguistic change occurs even when no contact of languages is involved, it is evident that non-native speakers of a language are not the only ones that acquire it imperfectly. As stated earlier, idiolects of language are not identical. The mutual accommodations that speakers make to each other and their non-identical creative innovations set in motion constant competition-and-selection processes, which bring about changes of all kinds. Those changes that spread from some I-languages to become exclusive, dominant, minority, or latent patterns in the communal language are like those micro evolutionary processes that become significant at the macro evolutionary level when they justify positing speciation.

#### 2.4.1 Threshold Point

We can find out exactly where the change begins to take place but we also need to pin point the threshold after which no change takes place. After the critical period of grammar formation the system regains its dynamic equilibrium. *"In cases where instability is impossible, we have to ascertain the threshold, the distance from equilibrium at which fluctuations may lead to a new behaviour"* (Prigogine & Stengers 1984 Pg 141). The system is then capable of minimal internal reorganization to be in harmony with the changing environment. There comes a point when randomness leads to irreversibility. Any biological ecological or social evolution -one cannot take as given, either a definite set of interacting units or a definite set of transformations. The definitions of the system are liable to be modified by its evolution. However, after a

point of time when the system regains stability, it begins to adapt to the changing environment. There are no drastic changes that allow it to deviate too much from the initial state. *"In social cases, the problem of structural stability has a large number of applications. Such applications imply a drastic simplification of a situation defined simply in terms of competition between self replicating processes in an environment where only a limited amount of needed resources exist."* (ibid. Pg 192)

Whatever the changes that take place, each social factor has a carrying capacity beyond which the environment is saturated. Living societies continually introduce new ways of exploiting existing resources. Every logistically defined niche will be temporary and specific to species. Introduction of new technique breaks the equilibrium, which corresponds to the maximum reached by the growth curve with which innovation has to compete. We then invariably come back to the same question. How then does it all function in the case of language. Is there a carrying capacity for language? If so what is it and when does a language reach it? What is most important for a system here is to maintain equilibrium and stability. As discussed in section 1.1, there are two types of transfers that take place while learning a language- Negative transfer and positive transfer<sup>3</sup> (Mohan 1984). The nature of the transfer depends

---

<sup>3</sup> In Language learning, there are two types of transfers that take place: Negative and positive transfer. Negative transfer is a system's resistance to creating a novel structure in order to accommodate the

on the conflict resolution methods employed. The system employs tactics that lead it towards the position of equilibrium. A system cannot keep changing, once this equilibrium is reached the system is at rest until there are a new set of fluctuation which will move it from its stable state towards a more stable state.

---

target language data. Positive transfer is the persistence of the first language structure in the second language subsystem.

## **CHAPTER III - SOME FEATURES OF TAMIL, ENGLISH AND GENERAL INDIAN ENGLISH**

In the following sections I will present brief synopsis of the work done on Tamil, English and General Indian English phonology over the years. Following which would be an analysis of my findings of Tamil English.

### **3.1. Tamil Phonology**

Tamil is a language that is severely diglossic. The formal and literary Tamil used today still conforms to the standards set in the thirteenth century. This is mainly used for written media and some high register social functions. For all other purposes the colloquial Tamil is used but this too has many social variations and is largely regional. However, one version has been identified as the 'standard' Tamil (Schiffman 1998). This can be said to be the representative of the central Tamil Nadu non Brahmins, which, over the years has gained prominence and is now spoken widely in the state.



### 3.1.1 Consonants

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar
Nasal <sup>1</sup>	m			n	ɳ	ɳ	ɲ	
Plosive	p b		t d	ʈ		ʈ ɖ		k g
Affricate							tʃ dʒ	
Trill				r	ɽ			
Flap						ɾ		
Fricative		f		s		ʂ		
Approximant	w	ʋ				(ɻ)		j
Lateral				l		ɭ		

*From: Keane (2004) Illustrations of the IPA: Tamil; Pandey(forthcoming) Sounds and their patterns in Indian Languages*

In Tamil there is complementary distribution of different phonemic alternants. Keane (2004) gives a detailed description of the sounds of Tamil. She outlines a five-way place-of-articulation distinction amongst the obstruents: bilabial, dental, post alveolar, retroflex and velar.

- (1) In accordance to Caldwell's law, voiced plosives, in Tamil do not occur in the word initial position. However, Caldwell's law holds only for a subset of the modern lexicon and not many of the loan words follow these rules. Voiceless obstruents occur word initially. The voiced equivalent follows

a nasal and can also occur word-initially in loanwords. The Tamil script does not have distinct letters for voiced and unvoiced plosives, although both are present in the spoken language as allophones--i.e., they are in complementary distribution and the places they can occur do not intersect. For example, the unvoiced plosive 'p' occurs at the beginning of the words and the voiced plosive 'b' cannot. In the middle of words, unvoiced plosives commonly occur as a geminated pair like -pp- , while voiced plosives do not usually come in pairs. Only the voiced plosives occur after a vowel, or after a corresponding nasal.

- (2) At the post alveolar place of articulation, a voiceless affricate tends to be found in word initial position Tamil nasals occur contrastively in intervocalic position at three different places of articulation: bilabial, alveolar and retroflex. Word-initially there is a contrast between bilabial and alveolar nasals. The palatal nasal may also be found in this position but it is very rare in Standard Spoken Tamil, and hence its phonemic status is marginal. Corresponding geminates exist for the bilabial, alveolar and retroflex nasals (marginally for the palatal place of articulation) and, like other sonorant geminates in Tamil, are distinguished from their single counterparts by significantly greater durations (Balasubramanian 1982b).
- (3) There are two lateral approximants in Tamil, alveolar [l] and retroflex [ɭ], both of which can be geminated. Rhotic liquids,

in contrast, are the only category of sounds in Tamil that do not undergo gemination. The orthography distinguishes between two, and each is subject to certain distributional restrictions, but in intervocalic position they may mark a lexical contrast.

- (4) The rhotics /r ɾ r/ and /j/ and no other consonants can occur before geminates
- (5) A further liquid, orthographically, exists in many varieties of Tamil although production of the distinctive sound is sometimes restricted to formal speech. One possible substitute is [ʎ], to which it is acoustically very similar. Claims about its articulatory properties have been many and various, but two extensive recent studies, employing a range of experimental methods, have concluded that it is best described as a central retroflex approximant [ɻ] (McDonough & Johnson 1997 and Narayanan et al. 1999). The anterior tongue body is said to be curved up towards the central palatal region, with lateral contact between the sides of the mid-tongue and the palate.

### 3.1.2 Vowels

#### a. Short

	Front	Central	Back
Close	ɪ		u
Close Mid	e		o
Open		a	

#### b. Long

	Front	Central	Back
Close	ɪ:		u:
Close Mid	e:		o:
Open		a:	

#### c. Nasal

	Front	Central	Back
Close Mid	ẽ:    ĩ		õ:    õ
Open		ã:    ã	

*From: Pandey(forthcoming) based on other studies*

#### d. Diphthongs:      aɪ    aʊ

(6) Phonologically Tamil distinguishes five different vowel qualities, and for each there is a contrast in length. The vowels are called *uyir ezhuthu* (*uyir* - life, *ezhuthu* - letter). The long

(*nedil*) vowels are about twice as long as the short (*kuɹil*) vowels. The diphthongs are usually pronounced about one and a half times as long as the short vowels, though most grammatical texts place them with the long vowels.

- (7) Short Vowels /e, o/ occur only in the initial position and all long vowels except /a:/ rarely occur in the non initial position.
- (8) In non-initial syllables, /i/, /a/ and /u/ undergo reduction in both duration and quality.
- (9) Close back rounded vowels occur only in words with a back rounded vowel in the preceding syllable. In other cases close non front vowels are un-rounded. It may undergo a partial merger with /i/ in non-initial syllables to [ɯ] or even [ɤ].
- (10) A stressed syllable can be given a significantly longer duration than normal. Stress can be realized by the lengthening of a geminated consonant that closes the syllable. If the Vowel in the nucleus is short- the initial consonant is lengthened. (Asher 1985).
- (11) The nasal vowels occur word finally in polysyllabic words. They are all derived from the final nasal consonant that is elided.
- (12) /u/ is epenthesised in monosyllabic stems ending in consonants except /j/
- (13) Sequences of vowels of different qualities do no occur.
- (14) There are two diphthongs, /aɪ/ and /au/, the second of which is restricted to only a few lexical items. The phonetic

realization of /aɪ/ is again influenced by syllable position: in non-initial syllables its duration decreases, and its formant structure is also affected to the extent that it may be realized as [ɛ] or [[ɑ] depending on the dialect. Vowels in initial syllables are longer than their counterpart in non-initial syllables. (Keane 2003, cf 2006b) –the vowels are not louder though.

- (15) Vowel contrast in initial syllables is of a greater range than anywhere in the word.

### 3.1.3 Supra segmental Features

Balasubramanian (1972) established that the quantity distinctions in the Tamil vowel system were reflected phonetically by significant durational differences reporting ratios of short & long ranging from 1:1.6 to 1:2.4. Vowel duration in Tamil is affected by phonological length & structure of the syllable in which the vowel occurs and not the syllable position. Keane (2003) found that duration may be involved in word level prominence. There are definite evidence of Vowel reduction in the word initial position, vowels appeared to be of a more peripheral quality than their counterpart's in word medial positions. Balasubramanian (1981: 139) found evidence of various lengthening effects in the initial syllable of a word said with emphasis (spl.) of an initial vowel, of word initial Liquids & approximants, of a geminate consonant in the syllable coda and of the closure phase of voiceless plosives. Soundararaj(1987) regards the F0 peak as the correlate of the

prominence in Tamil words. Some have tried to highlight a quantity sensitive stress application system for Tamil, However how it would work is questionable. Mohanan's (1986) study for Tamil appears to be quite close to Tamil, where he says that vowel reduction in unstressed syllables is the physical manifestation of stress, involving both centralization of the vowel and reduction in duration. Stress is either placed on the first or the second syllable. If the first syllable is has a short vowel then stress is placed on the second syllable if the vowel is long. If both are short vowels then stress is placed on the first syllable. The first syllable is stressed if the vowel is long. This is assuming Tamil follows the same patterns as Malayalam.

The most important aspect that has come into notice is that there is no evidence that there are lexical distinctions based on stress in Tamil and native speakers have no clear intuitions about it placement. Intonation contour is a series of high and low tones, there is no consensus on whether the language has stress or not or where it occurs. Soundararaj (2000) argues that Tamil has 'pitch accent' and not 'stress accent' as syllables on which the peaks fall are not consistently marked by stress. Most descriptions favour either fixed initial stress or a quantity sensitive dynamic system. Ravisankar (1994) also refers to increases in pitch in relation to emphasis and contrasts well as loudness and duration. Keane's study (2003) showed that there is word level prominence in Tamil. It is probable that the main role of

prominence is that it marks word boundaries, giving prominence to initial syllables. (Keane 2007)

### 3.2. English phonology

Like all languages, spoken English has wide variation in its pronunciation both diachronically and synchronically from dialect to dialect. This variation is especially salient in English, because the language is spoken over such a wide territory, being the predominant language in Australia, Canada, the Commonwealth Caribbean, Ireland, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States in addition to being spoken as a first or second language by people in countries on every continent, and notably in South Africa and India. In general the regional dialects of English are mutually intelligible.

Although there are many dialects of English, the following are usually used as prestige or standard accents: Received Pronunciation for the United Kingdom, General American for the United States and General Australian for Australia. The features discussed below are those belonging to standard Received Pronunciation.



### 3.2.1 Consonants

	Bilab	Labio-dental	Dental	Alv.	Post-alv	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Nasal <sup>1</sup>	m			n			ŋ	
Plosive	p b			t d			k g	
Affricate					tʃ dʒ			
Fricative		f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ			h
Approximant						j	w	
Lateral				l				

Roach et.al. ed. Jones (2003) English Pronouncing Dictionary

In English, voiced and voiceless consonants both occur freely in a word.

- (16) Plosive sounds /p,t,k/ are typically accompanied by aspiration especially when it occurs word-initially in a stressed syllable. Thus 'pin' is distinguished from 'bin' largely due to the aspiration accompanying /p/. However, when preceded by /s/ syllable or word initially, /p,t,k/ lack aspiration. When /l/, /j/, /r/ or /w/ immediately follow /p,t,k/, they are devoiced or pronounced as fricatives. A glottal closure preceded /p,t,k/ when they are immediately followed another consonant especially if the syllable in which they occur is stressed, e.g. *Captain* [kæʔp.tɪn], *rightful* [raɪʔt.fl] (Peter Roach et al.ed. 2003).

- (17) Nasals and liquids may be syllabic in unstressed syllables. The voiced dental fricative /ð/ is more often a weak dental plosive; the sequence /nð/ is often realized as [n̩n̩].
- (18) Between voiced consonants the glottal voiceless fricative /h/ becomes voiced [ɦ].
- (19) Lateral alveolar approximant /l/ has two different allophones, the so called 'clear' (which has an i: like quality) occurs before vowels; and 'dark' (which has a u: like quality) occurs before consonants or before a pause. (Ibid.).
- (20) Voiceless consonants have shortening effect on sounds preceding them within a syllable. Thus in *right* /raɪt/ and *ride* /raɪd/, the diphthong in the first is shorter than that in the second.
- (21) Consonants /tʃ/, /dʒ/, /ʒ/ and /ʃ/ are accompanied by lip rounding.

### 3.2.2 Vowels

#### a. Short

	Front	Central	Back
Close	ɪ		ʊ
Close Mid	e	ə	
Open mid	æ	ʌ	ɒ
Open			

#### b. Long

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i:		u:
Close Mid		ɜ:	ɔ:
Open Mid			
Open			ɑ:

#### c. Diphthongs

eɪ aɪ ɔɪ əʊ

aʊ ɪə eə uə

Roach et.al. (2003)ed. Jones *English Pronouncing Dictionary*

The pronunciation of any language is constantly changing. There is a general reluctance to change symbols which brings about a change in the way symbols are interpreted. The following remarks apply chiefly to BBC pronunciation.

- (22) "Long" and "short" are relative to each other. Because of phonological process affecting vowel length, short vowels in

one context can be longer than long vowels in another context. The length of long vowels and diphthongs is, much reduced when they occur in syllables closed by consonants /p, t, k, tʃ, f, θ, s, ʃ/, thus /i:/ in 'beat' has only about half the length of /i:/ in 'bead' or 'bee'.

- (23) The vowel /æ/, classified as a short vowel, is nevertheless generally lengthened before /b, d, g, dʒ, m, n /. Thus /æ/ in 'bag' is considerably longer than /æ/ 'back'. The quality of this vowel is now more open than it used to be, and the symbol /a/ may one day be considered preferable.
- (24) In addition to such length distinctions, unstressed vowels are both shorter and more centralized than stressed ones. In unstressed syllables occurring before vowels and in final position, contrasts between long and short high vowels are neutralized and short [i] and [u] occur.
- (25) The vowel /ʌ/ used to be a back vowel, and was chosen for this reason. This is no longer a back vowel, but a central one.
- (26) Among younger speakers the /u:/ vowel has moved to a more front quality, with less lip rounding particularly when preceded by /j/ as in *use*
- (27) Before World War II, /ɔə/ appeared in words like *door* but this has largely disappeared, having merged with /ɔ:/; there are a number of words where /ʊə/ has merged with /ɔ:/ (Roca

& Johnson 1999:200) although the Oxford Dictionary still lists *poor* as being pronounced with the former diphthong.

- (28) In the closing diphthongs, the glide is often so small as to be undetectable so that *day* and *dare* can be narrowly transcribed as /d̥e/ and /dɛ:/ respectively. (Roach 2004)
- (29) RP also possesses the triphthongs /aɪə/ as in *ire* and /aʊə/ as in *hour*. Triphthongs create some problems. These three-vowel sequences are generally held to be composed of one of the diphthongs /eɪ, aɪ, ɔɪ, ʏʊ, aʊ/ plus a schwa (e.g. *layer* /lɛɪə/ *fire* /fɪɪə/). In British English many of these triphthongs are pronounced with such slight movement in vowel quality that it is difficult for foreign learners to recognize them; for example, the name *Ireland*, which is generally transcribed /aɪə.lənd/ frequently has an initial syllable which sounds virtually indistinguishable from /ɑ/. It seems reasonable in this case to treat these sounds as being monosyllabic (e.g. the word *fire* is a single syllable), but in other words and names transcribed with the same symbols it seems necessary to insert a syllable division. This is usually done (i) when there is a morpheme boundary (e.g. *buyer* /baɪ. ə) and (ii) when the word is felt to be foreign (this includes many Biblical names originating from Hebrew, e.g. *Messiah*).

- (30) Another problem with triphthongs is that before /ɪ/ at the beginning of a following syllable, the distinction between /aɪə/ and /aɪ/ seems to be neutralized. (Roach et al. eds 2003)
- (31) Like all accents, RP has changed over time. For example, sound recordings and films from the first half of the 20th century demonstrate that it was standard to pronounce the /æ/ sound, as in *land*, with a vowel close to [ɛ], so that *land* would sound similar to *lend*.

### 3.2.3 Supra Segmental Features

English is a *stress-timed* language. That is, stressed syllables appear at a roughly steady tempo, and non-stressed syllables are shortened to accommodate this. Stress is phonemic in English. For example, the words *desert* and *dessert* are distinguished by stress, as are the noun *a record* and the verb *to record*. Stressed syllables in English are louder than non-stressed syllables, as well as being longer and having a higher pitch. They also tend to have a fuller realization than unstressed syllables.

Examples of stress in English words, using boldface to represent stressed syllables, are *holiday*, *alone*, *admiration*, *confidential*, *degree*, and *weaker*. Ordinarily, grammatical words (auxiliary verbs, prepositions, pronouns, and the like) do not receive stress, whereas

lexical words (nouns, verbs, adjectives, *etc.*) must have at least one stressed syllable.

**Prosodic stress** is extra stress given to words when they appear in certain positions in an utterance, or when they receive special emphasis. It normally appears on the final stressed syllable in an intonation unit. So, for example, when the word *admiration* is said in isolation, or at the end of a sentence, the syllable *ra* is pronounced with greater force than the syllable *ad*. (This is traditionally transcribed as /'ædmi'reɪʃən/.) This is the origin of the primary stress-secondary stress distinction. However, the difference disappears when the word is not pronounced with this final intonation. Prosodic stress can shift for various pragmatic functions, such as focus or contrast.

### 3.3 General Indian English (GIE)

There have been studies conducted on various Indian 'Englishes' (IE). There are many characteristics that distinguish IE from Native English (NE) and bind all the IE's together in one string.

### 3.3.1 Consonants

	bilab	Labi o- dent al	Dent al	Alve olar	Post- alveol ar	Retrofl ex	Palat al	Vel ar	Glott al
Plosive	p b	t d				t̪ d̪		k g	
Nasal	m			n				ŋ	
Affricate					tʃ dʒ				
Fricative		f		s z	ʃ (ʒ)				h
Tap/flap				r					
Approxim ant	(w)	ʋ					j		
Lateral				l					

From : Bansal 1989 S Ramsaran ed. ;

- (32) For example in RP, word-initial and syllable initial /p/ /t/ /k/ have aspirated and unaspirated allophones, but in native Indian languages (except Tamil), the distinction between aspirated and unaspirated plosives is phonemic. Generally, Indian English speakers use the unaspirated voiceless plosives /p/, /t/, and /k/ although they may deal with the allophones as separate phonemes, which is not as apparent to native speakers.
- (33) Similarly, a common feature of General Indian English is the use of retroflex plosives Plosive [t̪] and [d̪] instead of the corresponding alveolar plosives of English [t] and [d].
- (34) In Indian languages there are two entirely distinct sets of coronal plosives: one dental and the other retroflex. Unlike



most other native Indian languages, Hindi does not have true retroflex plosives (Tiwari, [1955] 2001). The so-called retroflexes in Hindi are actually articulated as apical post-alveolar plosives, sometimes even with a tendency to come down to the alveolar region. However, languages such as Tamil have true retroflex plosives. Mostly in south India, some speakers allophonically further change the voiced retroflex plosive to voiced retroflex flap, and the nasal /ɳ/ to a nasalised retroflex flap.

- (35) The influence of Sanskrit has been so great that many of the Dravidian languages like Malayalam, Telegu and Kannada draw heavily from the language. What sets Tamil apart from the rest of the Indian languages is the fact that it is the only Indian language that is least affected by Sanskrit. It is perhaps the great literary history, which instills great pride in the people for their language that the influence of Sanskrit was minimal.
- (36) Many native languages of India (including Hindi) lack the voiced postalveolar fricative (/ʒ/). Typically, /z/ or /dʒ/ is substituted, e.g. *treasure* /trɛ.zə : r/, and in the south Indian variants, with /ʃ/ as in *shore*, e.g. *treasure* /trɛ.ʃər/.
- (37) All major native languages of India lack the dental fricatives (/θ/ and /ð/; spelled with *th*). Usually, the aspirated voiceless dental plosive [tʰ] is substituted for /θ/ and the unaspirated voiced dental plosive [d], or possibly the

aspirated version [d<sup>h</sup>]. is substituted for /ð/. For example, "thin" would be realized as [t<sup>h</sup>ɪn] instead of /θɪn/.

- (38) Sometimes, Indian speakers interchange /s/ and /z/, especially when plurals are being formed. Whereas in international varieties of English, [s] is used for pluralization of a word ending in a voiceless consonant, [z] for that ending in a voiced consonant or vowel, and [ɪz] for that ending in a sibilant.
- (39) Inability to pronounce certain (especially word-initial) consonant clusters by people of rural backgrounds. This is usually dealt with by epenthesis. e.g., *school* /is.ku : l/.
- (40) Again, in dialects like Bhojpuri, all instances of /ʃ/ are spoken like [s], a phenomenon which is also apparent in their English. Exactly the opposite is seen for many Bengalis.
- (41) In case of the postalveolar affricates /tʃ/ /dʒ/, the native languages like Hindi have corresponding affricates articulated from the palatal region, rather than postalveolar, and they have more of a stop component than fricative; this is reflected in their English.
- (42) While retaining /ŋ/ in the final position, Indian speakers usually include the [g] after it. Hence /rɪŋ.ɪŋ/ → /rɪŋ.gɪŋ/ (*ringing*).
- (43) Syllabic /l/, /m/ and /n/ are usually replaced by the VC clusters [əl], [əm] and [ən] (as in *button* /but.tən/), or if a high vowel precedes, by [ɪl] (as in *little* /lit.tɪl/). Syllable nuclei in

words with the spelling *er* (a schwa in RP and an r-colored schwa in GA) are also replaced VC clusters. e.g., *meter*, /mi : tə(r)/ → /mi : tər/.

- (44) Indian English uses clear [l] in all instances like Irish English whereas the Native English users, use clear [l] in syllable-initial positions and dark [l] (velarized-L) in coda and syllabic positions.

The IE's are segregated and bound on the basis of certain characteristics that can be attributed to their particular sociolinguistic surrounding and linguistic area. For example the English spoken and learnt in the southern part of India have characteristics that clearly differentiate them from the English spoken in North India.

- (45) Kannadiga English has the property of Non-rhoticity, but unlike North India, the linking r (but not the intrusive r) is existent. Trilled [r], and are rolled when following hard /t/ and /d/. The "th" sound ([θ]), as it is in the rest of South India, is a plain dental [t], so that the sentence thus becomes "I tink so unlike in the North where it becomes [tʰ]. There is a slight difference between /v/ and /w/. /p/, /t/, and /k/ are sometimes aspirated, slightly heavier than the British/American accents.

- (46) Telugu, or Andhraite English resembles Kannadiga English entirely, but with only two differences. Consonants in Telugu English are never aspirated in any environment. The retroflex lateral [ɭ] is used in English words where Telugu grammar would deem it necessary.

- (47) Tamil English, along with the features of Kannadiga English, has a few other distinct features. Use of the retroflex lateral [ɭ] in most words that end with an /l/ (/avei.lə.bl/); Extensive syllable timing; Rolled [r]; Internal hypercorrection of dental [t] used for 'th' sound (instead of [θ]) to dental [d] in the middle/end of sentences. '*Apathy*' thus becomes 'apɑɖi'
- (48) Malayalee English possesses all those qualities of Tamil English. It also has extensive use of the retroflex lateral [ɭ], not limited to usage in Tamil; replacing a number of instances of short /a/ with short /e/ so that "Shut up" can easily be said "ʃet əp" Nonexistence of [v]; instead, a double-w type sound ([wβ]) is employed - "lovely" is therefore /lawβə.li/.
- (49) Most Indian languages have a very phonetic pronunciation with respect to their script, and unlike English, the spelling of a word is a highly reliable guide to its modern pronunciation.

### 3.3.2 Vowels

#### a. Short

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u
Close Mid	ɛ	ə	
Open mid	æ		ɒ
Open			

#### b. Long

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i:		u:
Close Mid	e:		
Open Mid			ɔ:
Open		a:	

S Ramsaran ed. 1989

#### c. Diphthongs

au ai ɔɪ

uə iə eə

Among the distinctive features of vowel-sounds of Indian English speakers are:

- (50) Many Indian languages (exception: Western Hindi and Punjabi) do not natively possess a separate phoneme /æ/ (as in

'trap'). Many speakers thus do not differentiate between the vowel sounds /e/ (as in 'dress') and /æ/ (as in 'trap'), except in cases where a minimal pair such as 'bed'/'bad' exists in the vocabulary of the speaker. Thus such a speaker might pronounce 'tax' like the first syllable of 'Texas'. Marathi, Bengali and Sinhalese, which do differentiate between /e/ and /æ/ are notable exceptions; thus, these languages are not prone to this merger.

- (51) In many parts, the short [ɛ] becomes lengthened and higher to long [e:] making 'pen' sound like 'pain'.
- (52) /a:/ as in *charge* is fronted and centralised than the RP /ɑ:/
- (53) Have monophthongs /e:/ and /o:/ instead of diphthongs /eɪ/ and /əʊ/
- (54) When a long vowel is followed by "r" speakers of Indian English usually have a monophthong instead of the diphthong used in almost all other accents. Thus 'period' is pronounced [pɪrɪəd] instead of [pɪərɪəd]. The vowels /e/ and /o/ as in *face* and *goat* are also realized as monophthongs, not diphthongs, as in standard British or American English.
- (55) Indian English often uses strong vowels where other accents would have unstressed syllables or words. Thus 'cottage' may be pronounced [kɒtədʒ] rather than [kɒtədʒ]. A word such as 'was' in the phrase 'I was going' will be

pronounced [ʊəz] or [ʊas] in Indian English: in most other accents it would receive the unstressed realization [wəz].

- (56) Many Indian English speakers often pronounce 'the' as /ðɪ:/, irrespective of whether the definite article comes before a vowel or a consonant, or whether it is stressed or not. In native varieties of English, 'the' is pronounced as [ðə] when it is unstressed and lies before a consonant, and as [ði:] when it is before a vowel or when stressed even before a consonant.

- (57) The patterns of vowels in GIE are not consistent and they are different from those in RP. The diphthongs are not long and the pattern of reduction of length before voiceless consonants does not operate.

### 3.3.3 Supra-segmental features

Any of the native varieties of English is a stress-timed language, and word stress is an important feature of Received Pronunciation. Indian native languages are actually syllable-timed languages, like Latin and French. Indian-English speakers usually speak with a syllabic rhythm. Further, in some Indian languages, stress is associated with a low pitch, whereas in most English dialects, stressed syllables are generally pronounced with a higher pitch. Thus, when Indian speakers speak, they appear to put the stress accents at the wrong syllables, or accentuate all the syllables of a long English word thus lending the Indian English a sing-song accent.

(58) Eg. The stress is placed wrongly on the first syllable rather than the second. *'illegal 'event. 'hotel* In the following , speakers divide their sentences into intonation groups wrongly.

(58) a. I 'don't 'think`so [ NE: I 'don't`think so]

(59) b. Its`four o' clock [ NE: It's 'four o' `clock]

In various varieties of English in India tone has been reported to function very differently. Tone groups in Rajasthani English did not always correspond to complete units of either meaning or grammatical structure (Dhamija 1976). In telegu English (Babu 1974) Tonic nucleus was given on the first content word in noun phrases. Thus, indian speakes seem to devide their sentences into intonation groups that are different than those in NE . (Bansal 1989).



## CHAPTER IV- ENGLISH AS SPOKEN BY TAMILIANS IN INDIA

Tamil English (TE) is one of the many varieties of English that have emerged as a result of the British expansion. As discussed above, with the British rule in India and the national movement in progress, English had become a part of the lives of the people. English had become the language of revolution and independence. It was a language that brought together the different linguistic groups to fight as one for a nation of their own. Sprouting from the colonial times, English developed varieties all over the world, each with its distinct characteristics. In India too, English continued to function as a language that linked the people in the group of multilingual states that had come together to form a country. In such a diverse setting, none of the communities wanted any other language except theirs to take the dominant role and thus no other language managed to function as well as English. Over the years of continued use, the language has acquired traits that are regional and mark the language as belonging to a particular area.

Outlined below are the characteristics of TE that distinguish it from General Indian English and lend it a colour of its own.

## 4. Segments

### 4.1. Consonants<sup>4</sup>

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar
Nasal <sup>1</sup>	m			n	ɳ	ɳ	ɲ	ŋ
Plosive	p b		t d	t		t̠ d̠		k g
Affricate							tʃ dʒ	
Trill				r	ɽ			
Flap				ɾ				
Fricative		f v		z (s)				
Approximant	w	ʋ						j
Lateral				l		ɭ		

The following are the points concerning the consonant phoneme inventory of TE. (Features marked \* are features that are new to the language, Features marked + are those belonging to Tamil and features with no marking are the target language features)

(1) a.\*Tamil has unaspirated plosives and unlike other Indian languages does not have aspirated phonemes such as /p<sup>h</sup>/ . As a result most words with initial plosive sounds are produced without aspiration. Eg. *continued* /kəntɪnjud/ instead of /k<sup>h</sup>əntɪnjud/, /t<sub>op</sub>/ for /t<sup>h</sup><sub>op</sub>/; /pin/ for /p<sup>h</sup>in/

b.\*Tamil does not have dental fricatives /θ/. Accounts of Asher (1985) and Christdas(1988), suggest that Tamil has the dental voiceless fricative /ð/ only in word medial positions. The speakers replace word

<sup>4</sup>Note: The phonological chart for TE was unavailable. The chart presented here is based on the chart for GIE. However, in this chart features that were found to be new in TE have been added and those absent have been deleted.



Eg. *Ribbons* /riβʌnz(s)/, *trees* /tri:z(s)/

d. \*Gemination in Tamil does not occur unless preceded by the rhotics /r, ɾ, ɽ/ or /j/. Gemination in the speakers utterance occurs in the word *winner* /vɪnnəɾ/. This is probably because in Indian languages the pronunciation is closely linked to the spelling and there fore gemination occurs because of the double consonants in the spelling. However, no other words in the sample passage with double letters seem to have been geminated except *winner*. It is usually that when a velar lateral approximant precedes, that gemination occurs in Tamil, it seems here that the speakers have extended this rule to a labio-dental lateral approximant as well.

#### 4.1.2 Distribution

(2) a. In the word medial position /n/ always occurs when preceded by a vowel /e/ /ə/ or /ɪ/ or the glide /j/. /ŋ/ occurs word medially only between a short vowel /g/ eg *Once*/wəns/, *wind*/wind/, *continued*/kəntɪnjuːd/, *think* /t<sup>h</sup>ɪnk/, *button* /bʌtʌn/

b. /p/ occurs freely in all positions, /b/ occurs word initially and word medially only. Eg. *Proclaim*/prəkleɪm/; *powerful*/paʊəfʊl/; *prospect* /prɒspek(t)/; *reply*/riplai/ ; *stop*/stɒp/; *breeze*/briz(s)/ ; *but* / bət/ ; *before*/bɪfo/; *goblin*/gɒblɪn/

c.\*The speakers seem to alternate between /w/ and /v/. They tend to use /w/ before /ɑ/ and /v/ before /ɒ/ eg *Vayu* /vɒju /wɑju/. It is also noted that /v/ occurs word medially and /w/ word initially.

d.\* /t<sup>h</sup> t d / have different phonetic qualities than the ones belonging to NE as they are often used in place of /θ t d/ /t<sup>h</sup>ɪk/ *thick*; /strent<sup>h</sup>/ *strength*; /stɹɒŋgəs/ *strongest*, /kɒt/coat, /dʌun/ *down*; /dɪshartəd/ *disheartened*

e. Out of /ṭ/, /t/ and /ṭ/, /ṭ/ occurs word initially, /t/ occurs freely in all positions and /ṭ/ occurs word finally. /dæṭ/ *that*, /stɹɒŋgəsṭ/ *strongest*, /ṭɪk/ *Thick*; /tu/ *to*; /ṭæṭ/ *That*; /dɪsharṭənḍ/ *dishartened*

f. \* /r/ does not occur before consonants and word finally. Eg /brɪz/ for *breeze*

## 4.2. Vowels

### a. Short

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u
Close Mid	æ	ə	o
Open- mid		ʌ	
Open		a	ɒ

### b. Long

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i:		u:
Close Mid	e:		o:
Open			ɔ:

### c. Diphthongs

e eɪ au oə

eə əʊ ɪə oɪ

## 4.2. 2 Distribution

(3)+Vowels in TE are a mixture of the inventory of both tamil

and English. But unlike English and like Tamil the language does not have extra short vowels /ɪ u/ instead has /i u/ and its long counterparts /i:/ and /u:/

eg. 'Seeing him' /si:ŋ him/; mild breeze/maild bri:z/

(4)\*TE has the diphthongs present in Tamil and also those present in English with the exception of /ɔɪ/ and /ʊə/. But it has an additional /oə/ and /oe/. The latter/boed/ *Bowed* is unique in the sense that it goes against the rule in Tamil which says that vowels of different qualities cannot come together.

(5)\*Long Vowels in non-initial syllables in words are always shortened for eg: *between* /bitwin/; *Strongest*/strɔŋgəs(t)/; *power* /pəvər/, /pər/; *Moment* /momən(t)/; Even though Tamil has long vowels and there is no restriction per se as to the occurrence of these vowels, in TE many of the long vowels have been shortened.

(6). /ɒ/ occurs word medially and word finally, but it appears to be more central rather than completely back as in the case of RP. Eg /ʊɒju/; /stɒp/

(7). /ə/ is optionally deleted in the non-initial syllables when flanked by single consonants. Eg *finally*/fainli/; *shivering*/ʃivriŋ/

- (8) The diphthong /eə/ is optionally realized as /e/ in TE, with the second vowel position /ə/ dropped Eg *wearing*/vɛ(ə)rɪŋ/
- (9) Owing to spelling pronunciation, the diphthong /eə/ can appear in place of /iə/, as in *really* /re(ə)li/. The second vowel here too, can be dropped, so that the diphthong is optionally realised as the monophthong /e/

When one acquires a second language it is a process wherein a stable monolingual system is adapted into a stable bilingual system. What is generally expected is that since the system is already stable the second language system would retain some of the properties of the initials system and result in lack of conformity with the target language. However, Tamil speakers use English with ease and have no problems in communication. The fact that the informants were able to club words together and merge the such as.

(10) /aɪ(ə)mdəstrɒŋgəs(t)/ for 'I am the strongest';

(11) /ətɔtɔvərɪmɔmənt(t)/ for 'At that very moment'

(12)/prɒklɛmju: tʊbɪdə/ for 'Proclaim you to be the';

(13) /dʊ:ju:sɪdætɪmæn/ for 'do you see that man'



(14) /prɒklemjʊtʊbɪdə/ for 'proclaim you to be the'

(15) /aɪkənpruʊtʊdʒæt/ for 'I can prove to you that' and

(16) /sɪmslaɪkəreɪli/ for 'seems like a really'

This is proof of the fact that they are efficient users of the language. Speakers who are not comfortable with the language often tend to produce halting speech. India is home to languages belonging to five different language families, and though the English spoken around here can be generally called as Indian English. It is seen that speakers of GIE generally produce a word based speech. It seems here that the speakers of TE, have adopted a different strategy to deal with this TL altogether. Instead of a word based utterance string words together with emphasis. So the utterance ideally appears to be a string giving the whole utterance a rhythmic appearance. Instead of stressing on just the first word of their utterance, the speakers of TE seem to club words together with emphasis on the whole.

#### 4.3. Suprasegmental features

In Tamil prosodic features are musical characteristics of speech sounds. They are rhythmical by being repeated at equal intervals of time. Every pitch is overlaid with rhythm. Tamil intonation is an integral part of the system formed by pitch patterns, rhythm and

other features (Ravisankar 1994). Stress does not distinguish minimal pairs and more often than not stress rest on the initial syllable (Keane 2007). Balasubramanian (1980) noticed that there was a significant pitch rise on the first syllable and a fall over subsequent syllables in the most important, item in a statement. The tone often drags the last syllable of a statement whether it is stressed or not.

In English, the most important part is the stressed syllable in a word, which is always the carrier of the intonation. In TE, the speakers speak in a sing song intonation that is not characteristic of either Tamil or English. The pitch variation and tone in Tamil give a melodious touch to the speech, but can be seen in TE is a pattern which is even more melodious. What is happening here is a mix of the intonation patterns of Tamil and English. Like Tamil the speakers apply tone on the initial syllable and drag the last syllable of the statement with the tone. They are also applying tone on the stressed words in the statement giving the whole statement a sing song appearance.

Speakers of TE merge words forming compounds where the stress is on the adjective.

(17) Eg. *Thick coat* has become /ṭɪkkoṭ/, with the stress on /ṭɪk/ and not on /koṭ/.

This is a common feature of Tamil where the stress is on the adjective. Very similar to the case of *blackboard* in English where the stress is on black. Taking a note of this further research into this phenomenon was undertaken. Five speakers of TE were given a list of 15 sentences that contained compounds such as *thick coat* (Appendix III). In all of the 15 sentences, the speakers laid special emphasis on the adjective and uttered the words together as a compound.

(18) Eg.

a. <i>Green boots</i>	grinbuʈs
b. <i>living room</i>	livingrum
c. <i>pink elephant</i>	pinkelifənt
d. <i>red ribbons</i>	redribəns
e. <i>green paper</i>	grinpepə
g. <i>blue berry</i>	blubəri
h. <i>parking lot</i>	parkinʎlɔʈ
i. <i>brown cow</i>	braunkau
j. <i>house boat</i>	hausboʈ
k. <i>red wine</i>	redwain
l. <i>question paper</i>	kweʃnpepə

### 4.3.1 Word stress

There has been a lot of debate as to the nature of stress in Tamil and where it rests. Many, ( Balasubramanian1972, Asher 1985, Keane 2006) are of the opinion that stress in Tamil is always on the initial syllable and is not as strong as is visible in Native English. Hayes (1995:31) terms a 'morphological' stress system for Tamil. He proposes a distinction between rhythmic and morphological stress, where stress depend upon the morphological structure of the words. Christdas (1988) proposes a series of diagnostic tests. She suggests that because stress is placed on the initial syllable, phonological processes such as vowel reduction, nasal assimilation, nasal deletion and glide deletion do not affect the initial syllable. Many acoustic studies by Balasubramanian (1972, 1988,) Keane(2004, 2006), have revealed that initial syllables appear to be longer in duration than non initial syllables. Characteristics such as these suggest that initial syllable prominence is most probable in Tamil. Moreover, there is a tendency in the language that the tone is attached to the last syllable which makes it seem longer. What is seen in TE is that stress is usually placed on the initial syllable.

The following are some examples of stress patterns in TE.

(19)

'Wearing	'began	'fetigued
'between	'getting	'really
'dishartened	'continued	'thickcoat

'clutching      'mildli      'sweating  
 'Shivering      'removed      'promised  
 'vayu            'suryan

#### 4.4.Syllabic Structure

The canonical syllable structure that emerges in TE is (C)(C)V(C)(C), where V is a long or a short vowel. However, there are certain syllable based phenomena that occur based on the stress placement. In Tamil, the vowel in the unstressed syllables is shorter than those in stressed syllables. In this example the vowel in the unstressed syllable was long but since the stress was on the first syllable the vowel was reduced.

(20)Eg.

	NE	TE
. <i>Between</i>	bit.wi:n	'bit.win

##### 4.4.1. Consonant Clusters

Word initially: s+C, C+ r/w/l/j are permitted with exceptions as in NE.

Eg strongest / stɾɔŋgəst/; sweating / suetɪŋ/, slowly / sloli /,,  
 propose /prɔpos /, prospect / prɔspekt /,

Word medially clusters occur freely but they are divided between syllables ; proclaim / prɔklem /; strongest / stɾɔŋgəst /  
 continued / kəntɪnjud/; impatient / impeɪənt /      disgust  
 /disgəst/

Consonant clusters in the word final positions are not permitted in Tamil, but they do appear in loanwords which suggests that the speakers have no problem in producing these clusters but the language does not provide for them (Asher1985;). Christdas (1988) however, outlines three types of syllable structures:

- a. CV          V
- b. CVC        VC
- c. CVCC      VCC (pg. 211)

She notes that final consonants are restricted to geminates and nasal/ stops. In word medial positions it is found that the linked sequences are restricted to the class of oral stops and the preceding consonant is either /j/ or a rhotic [above Chapter 3, section 1.1 (4)].

In TE, it is seen that word initial clusters occur freely. However, with word final consonant clusters an interesting feature was noted. In many cases the speakers dropped the final consonant

(21)eg

<i>prospect</i>	prɔspek(t)
<i>moment</i>	momen(t)
<i>first</i>	fəs(t)
<i>most</i>	mos(t)
<i>strongest</i>	strɔŋgəs(t)
<i>humbled</i>	həmbɪ(d)

*proclaimed*    *proklem(d)*

*fatigued*      *fetig(d)*

However it was seen that the speakers were not consistent in dropping the last consonant. In one reading, there were words where they dropped the consonant and in others they maintained the cluster. This phenomenon was seen only for word final /t/ and /d/.

In compound words a similar process takes place. In cases where the ending consonant of one word and the initial consonant of the other word were the same, The final consonant of the first word gets deleted.

(22) Eg.

a. *ghost stories* / g<sup>h</sup>ostɔris/, here the word final /t/ of *ghost* gets deleted.

b. *pink kite* /piŋkai:t/: here the word final /k/ gets deleted and /n/ is velarised;

Another feature that has been observed is that in word final /pd/ clusters /p/ becomes voiced between two voiced segments.

(23) Eg

a. *car shaped* -      /karsɛbd/

b. *tight lipped* -      /tɔitlibd/

c. *clapped-* /clæbd/

d. *stereotyped* /steriotybd/

In /kd/ sequences, again it was seen that between two voiced segments, a voiceless segment was getting voiced. Eg *Walked* /wɔŋgəd/, Interestingly, in the presence of a voiceless segment /k/ was getting deleted. Eg. *Asked* /ɑsd/. However, this did not happen with words like *waited* it remains /weiʔəd/ and did not become /weidəd/.

#### 4.5 Conclusion

The above discussion on the features of TE gives us further insights as to what the varieties like TE actually are. Deviations in varieties of English are not because it cannot be controlled, but a natural consequence of the environment in which it is used (Agnihotri 1991). Growing up in such an environment the language tends to adapt to the specific geographical and sociolinguistic areas reflecting traits that are common to the native languages of that area. At the same time the language has to struggle to maintain the basic structure of L2 so as not to lose its resemblance to the target language. It is probably in this struggle to maintain the basic characteristics and adapt to the environment that new structures emerge helping the language to attain stability. As a natural system, a language strives towards stability at



every step and this road towards stability brings about changes. Can we then call these varieties second languages?

The language in reference to which these varieties have developed no longer exists. That is, we have to keep in mind the fact that English that the Indians began to learn was the eighteenth century Queen's English that is no longer in use. Study by Mohanan and Mohanan (1987) on Malayalam English reveal that Malayalee speakers of English replace the diphthongs /ei/ and /ou/ with /ee/ and /oo/ respectively. The Malayalam inventory does not have the diphthong /ou/ which explains the easier option chosen /oo/. However, it does contain the diphthong /ei/ and Malayalees have no problem in pronouncing [deiwam] but pronounce /deivid/ as /deewid/. Mohanan and Mohanan explain that this is not because of the difficulty in producing [ei] but the persistent structure of the inventory of Malayalam. But it must be noted that the native English then never had the diphthongs /ei/ and /ou/ in its inventory (Pandey 1987; Dobson 1968). Thus a comparison to what we call today's native English would certainly be different from the structures that were acquired. These languages are still used in reference to the language that once fed them, so we can say that somewhere along the line these languages have strayed away from the Target language and developed a structure that is unique.

In this process of language learning, there occurs both negative and positive transfer where the former is the systems reluctance to change and the latter is the first language system structures persistence (Mohanani 1984). But what is most important here is that in cases of positive transfer which leads to structures that are new not because the structures of English are difficult for the Tamil learner but because the transfer has to appeal to the inertia of equilibrium (Mohanani 1984). This calls for an innovation that not only keeps in mind not only the equilibrium but also the underlying structure of Tamil and the target structures.

As stated in Chapter 2, Section 1.2, a language continues to innovate in order to attain stability. When a new language is learnt, it is entering a system that already has a stable system in place. In order to make room for itself in the system the language needs to adopt strategies that will stabilize it the earliest. We have to remember that in these cases the aim is not to adopt the second language fully but to use it side by side with the native tongue. That is to say that the aim is to use the second language system as productively as the first language. Competing with stable systems in place, we have evidence to show that the language behaves like a natural system moulds itself to its surrounding environments to attain stability. Though there is evidence of a heavy mother tongue influence, we also see certain processes that take place as a result of the strategies adopted by the speaker to adjust the language to his/her existing system. If, for such a

small data set, evidence for self organization can be found then with a wider range of data we can expect much richer results.

## APPENDIX I

The details of the informants are as given below in the table;

Name	Medium of High School Education	Place
------	---------------------------------	-------

### Group A

1. Mahalingam	Tamil	Karur
2. Prakash	Tamil	Karpaddy
3. Karmegham	Tamil	Dundigal
4. Jagannathan	Tamil	Karur
5. Yashoda	Tamil	Guduchittipalam
6. Karthik	Tamil	Karur
7. Ramya	Tamil	Thirupur

### Group B

8. Deepa	English	Pondicherry
9. Chitra	English	Chennai
10. Arun	English	Coimbatore
11. Vinod	English	Kunoor
12. Karthik	English	Chennai
13. Priya	English	Coimbatore

### Group C

14. Rajeshwari	English	Gumyan, jharkhand
15. Raghavan	English	Patiala`
16. Subhashini	English	Mumbai
17. Selvi	English	Mumbai
18. Manasi	English	Shillong

## APPENDIX II

Once upon time there was a big fight between the Sun, Suryan, and the Wind, Vayu, as to which one of them is stronger. Vayu said, "I am the strongest"; Suryan replied, "No I am the strongest". At that very moment, they saw a man wearing a thick coat. Seeing him Vayu said to Suryan, "Shall we make a bet? I can prove to you that I am stronger than you; if I fail I will bow down and proclaim you to be the most powerful of all".

To this Suryan replied, "It seems like a really interesting prospect, but how do you propose to do it?"

"Do you see that man down there wearing a coat?" asked Vayu. But before Suryan could reply Vayu continued to say,

"The one who can make that man take off his coat will be the winner. What do you think?"

"And you think you can do that! Ha ha ha this is really funny but anyway I am game

Be my guest and start first" said Suryan.

Thus the challenge began.

Eager to prove himself, Vayu started off with a mild breeze. The man down below put on the buttons of his coat. Vayu got a little nervous and intensified the Wind but this only made the man clutch his coat closer to his body. Vayu was getting a little impatient, he

continued to blow with all his strength but it only resulted in the man clutching his coat closer and shivering. The fatigued, disheartened Vayu gave up and asked Suryan to try his luck.

Suryan shone mildly at first, this made the man stop shivering. He slowly intensified his blaze, the man slowly started sweating. Finally, to Vayu's disgust, Suryan's intense blaze was too much for the man and he removed his coat and walked along his way.

The humbled Vayu, bowed down to Suryan's power and as promised proclaimed him to be the most powerful of all.

### APPENDIX III

1. The car shaped balloon floated over the tree tops.
2. Mrs. Smith papered her living room walls with green paper.
3. The pink kite got stuck on the trees.
4. Seema finds ghost stories funny.
5. The thief was tight lipped when asked about the hidden jewellery.
6. She looked at the blue berry pies longingly.
7. Sunny wore his green boots to school on Monday.
8. The puzzled student kept staring at the question paper.
9. Girls hated wearing red ribbons with the uniform.
10. Ajay walked the blue eyed girl to the bus stop
11. Have you heard the story of the pink elephant?
12. Suraj waited for the black car all night.
13. The brown cow gave birth to a calf.
14. Fatima lived on a house boat with her mother.
15. Charlie asked Jenny if she would like red wine for dinner.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Agnihotri, RK; Khanna, AL; (1994) *Second Language Acquisition- Socio-cultural And Linguistic Aspects Of English In India*.
- Agnihotri, RK (1995) Multilingualism as a classroom resource. In  
Heugh, K., Siegruhn, A and Pluddemann, P (eds) pg 3-7
- Agnihotri, RK(1991); Sound patterns of Indian english: a sociolinguistic perspective; in Gupta RS; Kapoor, K eds. *English in India: Issues and Problems*.
- Asher, RE (1985); *Tamil; Croom Helm Descriptive Grammars*; Routedledge
- Bansal, R.K.; (1989) *The Pronunciation of English in India*; S. Ramasaran (Ed.), CIEFL.
- Bansal, R.K. (1969). *The Intelligibility of Indian English*. Monograph 4.  
Hyderabad: Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages.
- Bhatt, Rakesh M; (2001) World Englishes; *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 30., pp. 527-550.
- Brighton, Henry; Smith, Kenny; Kirby Simon; (2005); Language As An Evolutionary System; *Physics of life reviews* 2 (2005) 177-226
- Bohn; Ocke-Schwen and Jang, Sunyoung (1997) Review of Flege; James Emil ; Effects of experience on non-native speakers production and perception of English vowels; *Journal of Phonetics* (1997) 25, 437-470
- Boer, Bart de;(2001) Self-organization in vowel systems; *Journal of Phonetics* (2000) 27, 000-000
- Brut-Griffler, Janina (2002); *World English: A study of its*



Development; *Multilingual matters*

- Buck, Vincent(2002); *One World, One Language?*;  
<http://www.aiic.net/ViewPage.cfm/page732.htm>; April- may 2002
- Bybee, J. L. (2002). Word frequency and context of use in the lexical diffusion of phonetically conditioned sound change. *Language Variation and Change*, 14:261– 290.
- Camzine, S; Deneubourg, Jean-Louise; Nigel R Franks; Guy Theraulaz; Eric Bonabeau; (2003); *Self Organization in Biological Systems*; Princeton Press)
- Chomsky, N. (1986). *Knowledge of Language: Its Nature, Origin and Use*. Praeger, New York.
- Christdas, P (1988); *The Phonology and Morphology of Tamil*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cornell.
- Crystal, David (2003), *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language* (2 ed.), Cambridge University Press
- Corder, S.P. (1967) "The significance of learners' errors", *IRAL, International Review of Applied Linguistics* 5,4: 161-170; i
- Corder, S.P. (1981) *Error analysis and interlanguage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 5-13; in RICHARDS, J.C. (Ed.) (1974) *Error Analysis. Perspectives on Second Language Acquisition*. London: Longman . pp. 19-30; trad. de M.Marcos in LICERAS, J.M. (Comp.) (1992) *La adquisición de las lenguas extranjeras. Hacia un modelo de análisis de la interlengua*. Madrid: Visor. pp.31-40.
- Corder, S.P. (1971) "Idiosyncratic dialects and error analysis", *IRAL, International Review of Applied Linguistics* 9, 2: 147-159; in

- CORDER, S.P. (1981) *Error analysis and interlanguage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 14-25;
- Das ,Shyamal;(2001) *Some Aspects Of The Prosodic Phonology Of Tripura Bangla And Tripura Bangla English*; School of Language Sciences, CIEFL, Hyderabad;
- de Boer, Bart (2000); Self-organization in vowel systems; *Journal of Phonetics* (2000) 27, 000}000; Available online at <http://www.idealibrary.com> on
- Eckman, Fred R.; (2003) Some principles of second language phonology; *Second Language Research* 19,3; pp. 169-208
- Flege, J.E. (1980) "Phonetic Approximation in Second Language Acquisition", *Language Learning* 30, 1: 117-134.
- Flege, J.E. (1987) "A critical period for learning to pronounce foreign languages ?", *Applied Linguistics* 8, 2: 162-167.
- Flege, J.E. (2002) "Interaction between the native and second-language phonetic systems", in BURMEISTER, P.- PISKE, T.- ROHDE, A. (Eds.) *An Integrated View of Language Development. Papers in Honor of Henning Wode*. Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier.
- Foulkes, Paul; Docherty, Gerard; (2005) The social life of phonetics and phonology; *Journal Of Phonetics* 34(2006)409-438
- Heylighen, F; (); The science of self organization and adaptivity;
- Hurford, J. R. (1987). *Language and Number: The Emergence of a Cognitive System*. Basil Blackwell, Oxford.
- Jun ,Sun-Ah and Mira Oh; *Acquisition of Second Language Intonation*;
- Kachru, B.B.(1983). *The Indianization of English*. Oxford: Oxford

- University Press. Kachru, B.B -(1992) *The Other Tongue: English across Cultures*.
- Kachru, B.B -(Summer, 1996) World Englishes: Agony and Ecstasy; *Journal of Aesthetic Education*, Vol. 30, No. 2, Special Issue: Distinguished Humanities Lectures II., pp. 135-155.
- Kachru ,B. B.; Kachru, Yamuna; Nelson, C. L. eds (2006)*The Handbook World Englishes*, Blackwell Publishing Ltd
- Kalashnik, Olga and Fletcher ,Janet(2007) ;*An Acoustic Study Of Vowel Contrasts In North Indian English*; ICPhSXVI Saarbrücken, 6-10 August 2007
- Ke, Jinyun; Minett, James; Au, Ching-Pong; William S-Y Wang; (2002) *Self Organization and selection in the Emergence of vocabulary; Complexity*
- Ke, Jinyun;(2004) *Self Organization, Language Evolution And Language Change*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, City University Hong Kong;
- Keane, Elinor (2004) Illustrations of the IPA: Tamil; *Journal of the International Phonetic Association*.
- Keane, Elinor (2006)Prominence in tamil; *Journal of the International Phonetic Association*
- Keane, Elinor (2006)Word- level prominence in Tamil; *Journal of the International Phonetic Association*
- Keane, Elinor (2007)Investigating the intonational phonology of Tamil; *ICPhS 2007 Satellite Workshop*
- Keane, Elinor (2007), Distribution and Alignment Of F0 Contours In Tamil; *ICPhS XVI Saarbrücken, 6-10 August 2007*
- Kirby, S. (1999a). *Function, Selection and Innateness: The Emergence of*

*Language Universals. Oxford University Press, New York.*

- Kirby, S. (1999b). Syntax out of learning: The cultural evolution of structured communication in a population of induction algorithms. In Floreano, D., Nicoud, J.-D., and Mondada, F., eds, *Advances in Artificial Life - Lecture Notes in Computer Science 1674. Springer.*
- Krashen, S.D., Long, MA, and Scarcella, R.C. 1979: Age, rate, and eventual attainment in second language acquisition. *TESOL Quarterly* 13: 573-582. Krashen, S.D., R.C. Scarcella and M.A. Long (eds.) 1982: *Child-adult differences in second language acquisition.* Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Lenneberg, E. H. 1967: *Biological foundations of language.* New York: John Wiley.
- Leitner, Gerhard; (Forthcoming); *English as a World Language.*
- Long, Michael H.:(1990) The Least a Second Language Acquisition Theory Needs to Explain; *TESOL Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 4. , pp. 649-666.
- Mohanan, K P; (1987); *Order and Self Organization in Linguistic and Non linguistic systems;* Unpublished, Stanford university.
- Mohanan, KP& Mohanan, T (1987) *The lexical phonology of Malayali English; Structure formation in transplanted second language systems.*
- Mufwene, S. S. (2001). *The Ecology of Language Evolution.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge; New York.
- Muggleton,S. (1997) The Synthetic modeling of Language origins . In-

*Evolution of Communication Journal* 1(1). John Benjamins  
Amsterdam

Neufeld, Gerald G.; (Sep., 1980) On the Adult's Ability to Acquire  
Phonology; *TESOL Quarterly*, Vol. 14, No. 3., pp. 285-298.

Oudeyer, Pierre-Yves; (2005) ; The self-Organization of  
combinatoriality and Phonotactics in Vocalization Systems;  
available on

<http://www.isrl.uiuc.edu/~amag/langev/author/pyoudeyer.html>

Oudeyer, Pierre-Yves (2005) How Phonological Structures can be  
Culturally Selected for Learnability. Available on  
<http://www.isrl.uiuc.edu/~amag/langev/author/pyoudeyer.html>

Oudeyer, Pierre-Yves (2005). The self-organization of speech sounds.  
*Journal of Theoretical Biology* 233 (3), 435–449.

Pandey, P.K ; *Second Language Varieties have a life of their own.*

Pandey, P.K. 1981. On a description of the phonology of Indian  
English. *CIEFL Bulletin* XVII: 11-19.

Pandey, P.K (Forthcoming); *Sounds and Their Patterns in Indian Languages*

Peribhaskararao, P; (2002) English in Contemporary India; *ABD* Vol. 33  
No. 2

Pribram, K. H. (1981). *Languages of the Brain: Experimental Paradoxes and  
Principles in Neuropsychology*. Brandon House, New York.

Pribram, K. H. and King, J. (1996). *Learning as Self-organization*. L.  
Erlbaum Associates, Mahwah, N.J.

Prigogine, I; I Stengers (1984) *Order out of Chaos*; Bantam Books.

Ravisankar, G; (1994) *Intonational Patterns of Tamil English*, Pondicherry  
Institute of Linguistics and Culture

- Rischel; J (1998) review of Ladefoged; Peter and Maddieson, Ian (1996); *The Sounds of the World's Languages*; *Journal of Phonetics* (1998) 26, 411-421; Article ID: jp980083
- Roach; Peter; (1982), On the distinction between 'stress-timed' and 'syllable-timed' languages; ed. D. Crystal, *Linguistic Controversies* (pp. 73-79);
- Roach, Peter; Hartman, J; Setter, J ed.s; Jones, Daniel (2003) *Cambridge English pronouncing Dictionary* (Low price edition)
- Roach, Peter; (2004) "British English: Received Pronunciation", *Journal of the International Phonetic Association*.
- Sankoff, Gillian; (2001) *Linguistic outcomes of Language Contact*; In Trudgill, Peter; Chambers, J & Schilling-Estes, N, eds *Handbook of Sociolinguistics* Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 2001, pp 638-668
- Selinker, L. (1983) "Language Transfer", in GASS, S.- SELINKER, L. (Eds.) *Language Transfer in Language Learning*. Rowley, M.A." Newbury House. pp. 33-53
- Schumann, John H.; (Jun., 1974) The Implications of Interlanguage, Pidginization and Creolization for the Study of Adult Second Language Acquisition; *TESOL Quarterly*, Vol. 8, No. 2., pp. 145-152
- Sridhar; S. N.; (1994) A Reality Check for SLA Theories; *TESOL Quarterly*, Vol. 28, No. , pp. 800-805.
- Steels, L (1999) The puzzle of Language evolution; In: *Kognitionswissenschaft*, Vol 8 No. 4
- Steels, L (1996) The spontaneous Self Organization of an adaptive

language; In: Muggleton, S. (ed.) *Machine Intelligence*, 15, Oxford university press, Oxford

Trudgill, P. & Hannah, J. (1994). *International English: A Guide to the*

*Varieties of Standard English*. (Ed. 3) London: Edward Arnold.

Thomason, S g (2001) *Language Contact* Edinburgh university Press

Weinreich, U., Labov, W., and Herzog, M. I. (1968). Empirical

foundations for a theory of language change. In Lehmann, W. P. and Malkiel, Y., editors, *Directions for Historical Linguistics*, pages 95–195. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Winford , Donald; (2007) Some Issues In The Study Of Language

Contact; *Journal of Language Contact – THEMA 1 (2007)*

Wiltshire, Caroline R. and James D. Harnsberger. (2006). The influence

of Gujarati and Tamil L1s on Indian English: A preliminary study. *World Englishes* 25: 91-104.

[www.jstor.org](http://www.jstor.org)

[www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

[www.wikipeida.com](http://www.wikipeida.com)

