A COMPREHENSIVE GRAMMAR OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

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Preface

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Pronunciation table

Consonants				Vowels	
voiceless		voiced			
/p/	pea	/b/	bee	/i:/	sheep
/t/	too	/d/	day	/ɪ/	ship
/k/	cow	/g/	gay	/e/	bed
/f/	fan	/v/	van	/æ/	bad
/θ/	think	/ð/	then	/ɑ:/	car
/s/	see	/z/	zoo	/ɒ/	pot
/ʃ/	sh	/ʒ/	vision	/ɔ:/	caught
/tʃ/	cheap	/dʒ/	jump	/ʊ/	put
/h/	hot	/m/	sum	/u:/	boot
		/n/	sun	/ʌ/	cut
		/ŋ/	sung	/ɜ:/	bird
		/l/	lot	/ə/	about
		/r/	red	/eɪ/	say
		/j/	yes	/aɪ/	buy
		/w/	wet	/ɔɪ/	boy
				/aʊ/	now
				/əʊ/	low
				/ɪə/	near
				/eə/	fare
				/ʊə/	tourist

Syllabic consonants are marked with a vertical line, e.g. /n̩/.
/ˈ/ precedes the particular syllable. American pronunciation is different.
For transcription of Russian, Ukrainian, and other phonetic learning see App. II.

Abbreviations and symbols

A	adverbial
A_p	adjectival adverbial
A_{rel}	subject-related adverbial
AmE	American English
aux	auxiliary
BrE	British English
C	complement
C_o	object complement
C_s	subject complement
comp	comparative
∆	end position of adverbial
ed	-ed participle form
edf	semi-medial position of adverbial
f	initial position of adverbial
in	-ing participle form
imf	initial-medial position of adverbial
iMf	initial or medial position of adverbial
ing	-ing participle form
LOB	Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen corpus
M	medial position of adverbial
mMf	medial-medial position of adverbial
NP	noun phrase
O	object
O_d	direct object
O_i	indirect object
obligatory	obligatory
op	operator
opt	optional
pace	pace
pv	phrasal verb
pv p	phrasal prepositional verb
p	prepositional verb
R	regular verb (e.g. R-ed)
s	3rd person singular present tense form
S	subject
SEC	Survey of English Usage
SE	Standard English
SV	subject + verb
SVA	subject + verb + adverbial
SVC	subject + verb + complement
SVO	subject + verb + object
SVOA	subject + verb + object + adverbial
SVOC	subject + verb + object + complement
SVOd	subject + verb + object + verb (-ed)

T_1	primary time orientation (in Ch. 4)
T_2	secondary time orientation (in Ch. 4)
T_3	tertiary time orientation (in Ch. 4)
V	verb
Ved	past tense form of the verb (in Ch. 3)
Ven	-ed participle form of the verb (in Ch. 3)
*	unacceptable
?*	doubtfully acceptable, but not fully unacceptable
?	native speakers unsure about acceptability
(?), (*)	native speakers differ in their reactions
( )	optional constituent
[ ]	constituent (with examples): constituent boundaries; phonetic transcription
< >	stylistic (after examples), modifier constituent (7.50); focused unit (8.116)
{ }	free alternatives, e.g.: He came {to / from} {London / New York}
{ }	contingent alternatives, e.g.: {He / She} does {his / her} best
/	alternatives (in examples)
/ /	phonological transcription
~	systematic correspondence between structures
≁	no systematic correspondence between structures
≏	ellipsis marker, indicating grammatical omission
▲	indicates possible semantic implication (in Ch. 10)
≡	semantically equivalent
≢	semantically nonequivalent
| (tone unit marker)	Capitals in examples indicate nuclear syllables, accents indicate intonation, raised vertical arrows and long vertical lines and boundaries. For all conventions of prosodic notation see App II.

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Reflection and notes

The English language today

The importance of English

1.1 English is generally acknowledged to be the world's most important language. It is perhaps worth glancing briefly at the reasons for this ascendancy. There are, after all, thousands of different languages in the world, and each one is highly important to its own speakers, which is why they acquired it in the first place, or learned it from their mothers. But there are some objective standards of relative importance.

One criterion is the number of speakers of the language. A second is the extent to which a language is geographically dispersed. In how many countries is it used as a native language, or as a second or official language? A third is the extent to which the language is the source of purposes for which it is used. In particular, to what extent is it the medium for highly valued cultural manifestations such as literature, or literature? A fourth is the economic and political influence of the native speakers of the language.

1.2 [illegible] the first criterion is native speakers of the language, the number in descending order is roughly Mandarin Chinese, English, Hindi/Urdu, Spanish, Russian, Arabic, Bengali, Portuguese, Malay-Indonesian, Japanese, German, French. The second criterion, the geographical dispersal of the language, is more complicated, with four examples. Chinese, Arabic, and Arabic are languages used in more than one country, though only within fairly restricted areas of speakers. But the speech of English, even most of the world's most international language, is a complex phenomenon. In its native lands alone, 300 million people – more than a third of the world's population – speak it as their first language, some of them as the only language they know, some as a second language, some as one of the native languages, some as the dominant native language. By the third criterion, the great literature of the Chinese empire is lost to us, but we remember the languages of Dante, Goethe, Dostoyevsky, and Rimbaud. But in addition to being the language of Donald Duck and Coca-Cola, Shakespeare, Dylan Thomas is the primary medium for twentieth-century science and technology. The fourth criterion, unlike Japanese, Russian, and German, has caused it to be a language of powerful, productive, and influential writers. But English is the language of the United States, whose gross domestic product is 1300 times greater than that of its nearest competitor, Japan.

Students have been asked for the importance of English on the grounds of its quality or its coverage (the size of its vocabulary, its extreme lack of inflections, its alleged flexibility of idiomatic). The decision of an international language, or lingua franca, is never based on linguistic or aesthetic criteria, but always on political, economic, and demographic ones.

The use of English

1.3 English borrows words extensively from other languages. As a matter of fact, many of the words we use in English are borrowed from other languages, sometimes from the language in question, sometimes from another language, or another dialect, acquired when the speaker is a young child, learned in the home, or acquired later in life, in some of the cases, or through parents. Overlapping with this distinction is that between the use of English as a first language. The primary

language of the speaker, and as an *additional* language. In some countries (particularly of course where it is the dominant native language), English is used principally for internal purposes as an *intranational* language, for speakers to communicate with other speakers of the same country; in others it serves chiefly as an *international* language, the medium of communication with speakers from other countries.

One well-established categorization makes a three-way distinction between a *native language*, a *second language*, and a *foreign language*. As a foreign language English is used for international communication; but as a second language it is used chiefly for intranational purposes. We can distinguish five types of function for which English characteristically serves as a medium when it is a second language: (1) *instrumental*: for formal education; (2) *regulative*: for government administration and the law courts; (3) *communicative*: for interpersonal communication between individuals speaking different native languages; (4) *occupational*: both internationally and intranationally for commercial and for technological purposes; (5) *creative*: for nonstatistical writings, such as fiction and political works.

Note [a] A bilingual speaker may have more than one native language, and a bilingual child may be capable [illegible] language. In some countries, English is one of two or more [illegible].
[b] Although the term second language is normally [illegible] [illegible] United Kingdom and among [illegible] in the United States.
[c] Second-language varieties in Southeast Asia and in East and West Africa are making important contributions to English literature [illegible] English [illegible] English [illegible].

Native and second language

4 English is spoken as a native language by more than 300 million people, most of them living in North America, the British Isles, Australia, New Zealand, the Caribbean, and South Africa. In several of these countries, English is not the sole language: the Quebec province of Canada is French-speaking, many South Africans speak Afrikaans or Bantu languages, and many Irish and Welsh people speak Celtic languages. But those whose native language is not English will have English as their second language for certain governmental, commercial, social, or educational activities within their own country.

English is also a second language in many countries where only a small proportion of the people have English as their native language. In about twenty-five countries English has been legally designated as an official language, in about ten (such as Nigeria) it is the sole official language, and in some (Singapore is an example) it is an official language along with one or more other languages. Most of these countries are former British colonies. Despite the association of the English language with the former colonial rulers, it has been retained for pragmatic reasons; where no one native language is generally acceptable, English is a neutral language that is politically acceptable, at least at the national level, for administrative and legal

functions, and as an international language for science and technology it is desirable for higher education. English is an official language in countries of such divergent backgrounds as India, Nigeria, and Liberia, while in numerous other countries (for example, Thailand, South Korea, and some Middle Eastern countries) it is used for higher education. In Sri Lanka, English at one time lost its official status, while retaining its social, cultural, and economic importance, but it has been reinstated as an official language. In India, as a result of the increase in secondary education more people today learn English than at any time during the colonial period. It has been estimated that English is a second language for well over 300 million people; the number of second-language speakers may soon exceed the number of native speakers, if it has not done so already.

Note [illegible] India [illegible] the third largest publisher of books in English [illegible] English, although only [illegible] per cent [illegible] English [illegible] 15 million people.

Foreign language

5 By *foreign language* we mean a language used by persons for communication across frontiers or with others who are not from their country: listening to broadcasts, reading books or newspapers, engaging in commerce or travel. For example, no language is more widely studied or used as a foreign language than English. The desire to learn it is at the present time immense and apparently insatiable. American organizations such as the United States Information Agency (USIA) and the Voice of America have played a notable role in recent years, in close and amicable liaison with the British Council, which provides support for English teaching both in the Commonwealth and in other countries throughout the world. The BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation), like the USIA, has notable radio and television facilities devoted to this purpose. Other English-speaking countries such as Australia also assume heavy responsibilities for teaching English as a foreign language.

We shall look more closely in the next section at the kind and degree of diversity, but meanwhile the reasons for the demand are surely becoming clear. To put it bluntly, English is a top requirement of those seeking good jobs, and is often the language in which much of the business of good jobs is conducted. It is needed for access to at least half of the world's scientific literature, and the most important scientific journals are in English. It is thus intimately associated with technological and economic development and it is the principal language of international aid. The great manufacturing countries Germany and Japan use English as their principal advertising and sales medium; it is the language of automation and computer technology. Not only is it the universal language of international aviation, shipping, and sport, it is to a considerable degree the universal language of literacy and public communication. It is the major language of diplomacy, and is the most frequently used language both in the debates in the United Nations and in the general conduct of UN business.

1.6 In Sweden, [illegible] the number of English books in 1975 was [illegible] of books, 15 [illegible] were from English. The social complexities were [illegible] (1[illegible]).

(b) The periodic [illegible] of English has indeed begun to [illegible] the range of its functions and its power to accommodate and [illegible] new English [illegible] and [illegible] have their [illegible] in [illegible].

The demand for English

The teaching of English

1.6 The role of chief foreign language that French occupies for two centuries from about 1700 has been assumed by English, except of course in the English-speaking countries themselves, where French or (in the United States) Spanish is the foreign language most widely studied. Although government obligations international organizations to devote far more resources to translation and interpreter services than national governments would dictate, no such point would be offered to a candidate deficient in English. The general equivalent of our nineteenth-century Eton or Harrow school in France is perhaps the English-speaking international school. In French education, English and Russian [illegible] seem to be even more numerous in the Soviet Union and other East European countries than in everything to the West. There are also innumerable commercial institutions [illegible] English or all levels and to all ages. [illegible] English-speaking countries or English-speaking countries. Most language learning, of course, takes place in the ordinary courses of the national educational systems.

The extent to which English is started as the school level is shown in one analysis of the educational statistics for 112 countries where English is not a native language but a foreign language or a second language. The study estimates that over 46 million primary school students and over 21 million secondary school students were in English classes in the early 1970s. These figures represent over 12 per cent of the primary school population and over 25 per cent of the secondary school population for these countries. It is significant that English was the medium of instruction for 37 percent of the primary school students. Certainly 18 per cent of the secondary school students. Examples [illegible] would have been the number of students for all non-English-speaking countries had been included. (A notable exception from the study was the People's Republic of China.) Since the secondary school population is increasing at a rapid rate in the developing countries, we can expect that the number of English learners at the secondary level has increased very considerably since the early 1970s.

Outside the primary and secondary schools, there are large numbers of students in institutions of higher and further education who are learning English here mainly as a prerequisite to the medium of the literature and culture of English-speaking countries; for access to scientific and technological publications; to qualify as English teachers, translators, or interpreters; to improve their chances of employment in prestigious fields, international commerce, or bilingual programmes; for economic or military aid; or countries where it is a second language. English is commonly used as the medium for higher education, even for scientific and technological subjects, even when it is not so used in the primary or secondary levels.

Many students come from abroad for their higher and further education to English-speaking countries where English is of course the medium for their studies. In 1975, there were 250 246 foreign students enrolled at the post-secondary level of education in the United States, 56 615 in the United Kingdom, and 22 148 in Canada (where some will have studied in French-speaking institutions), apart from small numbers in other English-speaking countries. The country with the next highest figure after the United States was France, which had 113 043 foreign students in the same year.

Selected models of English

1.7 In countries where English is predominantly the native language, the form of written English taught in the schools is usually the prestige variety (p. 1.23), the variety associated with the educated users of the language in the country. However, it is now [illegible] that in the past the teachers attempt to make the local spoken variety conform with such educated spoken norms.

In countries where English is a second language, the models for both writing and speech have generally been the standard varieties of British and American English. The choice between them has depended on various factors: whether the country was formerly a British or a US colony; its proximity to Canada or the United States; which of the two had most influence on its economic, cultural, or scientific development; and various commercial or political attitudes. In some countries both American and British standard varieties are taught, sometimes in different institutions, sometimes in the same institution.

The direction has been changing in those countries where English is a second language, and is increasingly for international purposes in the absence of a commonly accepted national language. In countries such as India and Nigeria indigenous educated varieties are becoming more widespread and are acquiring social acceptability. In the meantime, teachers in these countries are uncertain, or very, about the manner in which their teaching should be geared: to the use of the exotic regional standard or to those of some external standard. Such uncertainties are not largely to the advantage of teachers in native English countries, who should expect to encounter students from their own usage (p. 1.12).

While English is a foreign language, we may expect the American and British standard varieties to continue to be the main models, competing increasingly with the educated varieties of new countries such as Australia, in regions where the influence of these countries

2 Countries where English is a foreign language, or a second language, independent principle [illegible] and the [illegible] and the [illegible] of the [illegible] speaker.

The international character of English

1.8 English is pre-eminently the most international of languages. Threats are some of the language may also [illegible] of England, or we may [illegible] that

the language with the United States, one of the world's superpowers. English connotes implications of political neutrality that are not enjoyed by other rising languages (Russian and French being also notable in this respect). At one and the same time, English serves the trade purposes of regional blocs such as the United States and sub-Saharan Africa, among different in size, population, climate, economy, and culture, and yet also serves as a common language for the United Kingdom, as well as the widely scattered Commonwealth partners, themselves as different from each other as they are from Britain herself.

But the cultural neutrality of English must not be overplayed. The literal or metaphorical use of such expressions as sour grapes throughout the English-speaking world reflects a common heritage in the legal system and allusions from quotations from Shakespeare, the Authorized (or King James) Version of the Bible, Gray's Elegy, Alice in Wonderland, or Nineteen Eighty-Four, be it pro-any – wittingly or not – tactily contrary to a shared culture. The Cowboy can have no British meaning of 'conferred Europe' in the United States and even in Australia and New Zealand. Another idiom, implies equally notions of the temperament and distinct culture of cricket, which the English-speaking world shares. When an Australian speaks of 'not getting to first base' [not achieving even initial success], the metaphor assumes an equally culture-specific – the game of baseball. And when an Englishman says that something is not wicket [not fair] he is also to a game that is by no means universal in the English-speaking countries.

The future of English

1.9 Predictions – even glorious – have been made about the future of English. It seems to be holding the lead for such predictions with no sign of the serious use of English.

A single international language has never been thought to be the need for international communication. Artificially-contrived languages have been adopted with relatively large numbers of adherents, although in practice, these languages have the obvious advantage that they put all learners on the same footing (all are necessarily speaking, learning, or giving an advantage to speakers of any particular language). During the last few decades English has come closest to being the single international language, having achieved a greater world spread than any other language in recorded history. Yet in recent years doubts have arisen whether it will ever reach the status of the single international language, or, indeed, whether it can be an international language well into the present level.

One reason for the doubts has been the fact that national varieties of English are rapidly growing further apart and will finally separate into mutually intelligible languages. There have also been expressed that intelligibility to the child's right to use an author (or set) language, socio-economic or ethnic within a national variety might lead to the abandonment of a national number dialect and hence to the further

disintegration of English. The diversity in number is greatest in countries where English is a second language and therefore has to be taught. Since in these countries standards are usually based by teachers who are themselves native speakers of English and who have usually acquired their language in varying degrees of adequacy, it is not surprising that the standards of achievement are variable and subject to change. Some experts remain about the extent the increase variability and the illegitimate control of the language is undermining. Some fear the disjunction of the emerging institutionalized varieties, which no longer form a native variety for standards of acceptability.

1.10 While fears for the disintegration of English cannot be dismissed summarily, powerful forces are operating to preserve the unity of the language. Despite considerable dialectal differences within a given national variety, the education systems have preserved the essential similarity of the written standards. The institutionalized language system generally ignores both the changes in pronunciation and the use of the pronoun pronunciation through space, despite its tremendous regularity, is a unifying force in world English. Many factors are contributing to making all forms of standard varieties flexible and comprehensible: travel, the influence of newspapers, magazines, and books on the written medium and of radio, television, and film on the spoken medium. Travelers and students can be made sensitive to, and tolerant of, linguistic variation, and national examination systems can be made flexible enough to take account of variation. Despite a growing tolerance of non-standard varieties in speech, demand for a certain degree of standardization remains.

The future of English as an international language has also been said to depend on the practicability of teaching the language, especially in a mass scale, to the level required for international intelligibility, given the enormous expenditures required for the purpose. It is possible that as developing countries become richer they will be able to increase the expenditure on the teaching of English and raise the levels of teacher and student proficiency. Actual English programmes have been devised to speed the process of language learning, thereby allowing a more realistic deployment of educational resources in the Teaching of English for Specific Purposes, the economic for business or scientific communication. Following earlier attempts (such as Basic English) that were largely lexical, a proposal has also recently been made for a reduced grammar, or simplified form of English (Nuclear English) that would include a subset of the features of natural English, for example, modal auxiliaries and passives, and would be easily learnable by non-native speakers to be able to use and be allowed to. The simplified form would be intelligible to speakers of any major national variety and could be exploited for specific purposes, for example for international maritime communication.

The foreign continuance of English as a second language is also questionable in some countries. The expense for mass education, the lack of adequate teachers, the necessity for the establishment of authentic literature, and native traditions. Objections to an official status for English and calls for its replacement by native languages are expressions of national pride and independence. Since a good command of English is usually perceived to be, also, a way to expect political revenue against a colonial

second language that brings benefits to those proficient in it. English is likely to be retained as an official language as long as no specific native language is politically acceptable to all, but we can expect that in at least some countries indigenous languages will become sufficiently developed to acquire the official status and eventually to displace English. In such cases English will gradually become recognized as a foreign language. However, irrespective of the degree of world influence exercised by the English-speaking countries themselves, English is likely to be retained generally as the medium for higher education as long as the major English-speaking countries retain their economic and political power.

Standards of English

1 Complaints by native speakers that English is deteriorating or being corrupted reflect in the main a conservative resistance to change. Some language changes result in the loss of distinctions, but if a distinction is needed the loss will be compensated for. For example, in some regional varieties the distinction between the singular and plural meanings of *you* has been restored by the use of such forms as *you all* or *you guys* for the plural meanings (cf 6.2 Note [a, b]). The introduction of specific new words or expressions (such as *prioritize* or *hopefully*) sometimes provokes violent indignation often conveyed in ethical terms. Usually the objections to the innovations lie in supposed inaccuracy or lack of justification in their typical uses. Some of the complaints relate to usages that are in dispute among speakers of the standard variety: for example, *graduated from* and *was graduated from* in American English, or *different from* and *different to* in British English. In yet other instances the forms are clearly recognized as unacceptable in the standard variety such as the multiple negative in *I didn't want no money from none of 'em* (cf 10.62), though they may be acceptable in some nonstandard varieties. Relatively few points are at issue. They do not justify generalizations about the state of the language as a whole.

Some native speakers claim that the use of the language is deteriorating. One charge is that people are said to be abusing the language, more so than in the past, with intent to control, mislead, or deceive, generally through euphemism or obscure language. Usually the accusation is directed principally against politicians, bureaucrats, and advertisers, but the abuse is said to have an adverse effect on the language as a whole. Certainly, the contemporary mass media facilitate the rapid and widespread dissemination of such language abuses. The other charge is that more and more people are said to be using the language less elegantly or less efficiently than in the recent past, a charge that is commonly directed against young people. The charges may or may not have some justification, but in any case it is impossible to substantiate. Nor do we have the possibility of making valid and reliable comparisons with earlier periods: for example, the phenomenal growth of the literate population and of the use of the written language.

2 [illegible]

Grammar and the study of language

Types of linguistic organization

Sounds and spellings

2 We claim that on the one hand there is a single English language (the grammar of which is the concern of this book), and that on the other hand there are recognizable varieties. Since these varieties can have features in any of the types of organization that the linguist distinguishes, this is the point at which we should outline the types, one of which is grammar. When people speak, they emit a stream of sounds. We hear the sounds not as indefinitely variable in acoustic quality (however much they may be so in actual physical fact). Rather, we hear them as each corresponding to one of the very small set of sound units (in English, /p/, /l/, /n/, /i/, /s/, /t/ ...) which can combine in certain ways and not in others. For example, in English we have *spin* but not *psin. (On the use of the asterisk and similar symbols, see 1.42.) We similarly observe patterns of stress and pitch. The rules for the organization of sound units (or phonemes) are studied in the branch of linguistics known as PHONOLOGY, while the physical properties of sounds and their manner of articulation are studied in PHONETICS.

The most recent method of linguistic communication is by writing; and for English as for many other languages an alphabetic writing system has been developed, the symbols related in the main to the individual sounds used in the language. Here again there is a closely structured organization which regards certain differences in shape as irrelevant and others (for example whether a vertical stroke rises, ascenders to the left or right of a circle, eg: *b* versus *d*) as significant. The study of ORTHOGRAPHY (or more indirectly, GRAPHOLOGY or GRAPHEMICS) thus parallels the study of phonology in several ways. Despite the notorious problems of English spelling, there are several principles: eg combinations of letters that English permits (*sh*, *gh*, *ck*, *wh*) and others that are disallowed (**gls*, **ae*) or are severely restricted in distribution (*ck*, *v*, *x*, *j* ... only exceptionally as in *Raj*, *quiz*).

Lexicology, grammar, semantics, pragmatics

3 Just as the small set of writable phonemes can be combined in sequences in writing any natural number of ... so the small set of sounds and letters can be combined to express in speech and writing (respectively) an indefinitely large number of words. These linguistic units enable people to refer to every object, action, and quality that members of a society wish to distinguish: in English, *door*, *soap*, *Independence*, *find*, *amplify*, *good*, *remarkable*, ... and in a more closely organized language ... the words listed in monolingual dictionaries. These units have a meaning and a structure ... in cases like *unwillingness*) which relate them not only to the words outside language but to other words within the language (*happy* to *happiness*, *unhappy*, etc; *good* to *bad*, *nice*, etc; *door* to *room*, *key*, etc). The study of words is the business of LEXICOLOGY, but the regularities in their formation are similar in kind to the regularities of grammar and are closely connected to them (cf App I.10). It is otherwise

that is our primary concern in this book. Words must be combined into larger units, and grammar encompasses the complex set of rules specifying such combination. Meaning relations in the language system are the business of SEMANTICS, the study of meaning, and semantics therefore has relevance equally within lexicology and within grammar. Finally, the meaning of linguistic expressions when viewed within particular types of situation is dealt with in PRAGMATICS, which is concerned with the communicative force of linguistic utterances. Two terms are employed for the interconnection of grammar and the uses of grammar: TEXT LINGUISTICS and DISCOURSE ANALYSIS. All types of organization (but notably lexicology and grammar) enter into the structure of TEXTS, which constitute spoken and written discourse (cf Chapter 19).

The meanings of 'grammar'

Syntax and inflections

1.4 The word 'grammar' has various meanings, and since grammar is the subject matter of this book we should explore the most common meanings of the word. We shall be using 'grammar' to include both SYNTAX and that aspect of MORPHOLOGY (the internal structure of words) that deals with inflections (or ACCIDENCE). The fact that the past tense of *buy* is *bought* (inflection) and the fact that the interrogative form of *He bought it* is *Did he buy it?* (syntax) are therefore both equally the province of grammar. There is nothing technical about our usage in this respect: it corresponds to one of the common uses of the word in the English-speaking world. A teacher may comment:

John uses good grammar but his spelling is awful.

The comment shows that spelling is excluded from grammar; and if John wrote *gaol* where the context demanded *jail*, the teacher would say that he had used the wrong word, not that he had made a mistake in grammar. But in the education systems of the English-speaking countries, it is possible also to use the term 'grammar' loosely so as to include both spelling and lexicology.

There is a further use of 'grammar' that derives from a period in which the teaching of Latin and Greek was widespread. Since the aspect of Latin grammar on which teaching has traditionally concentrated is the paradigms (or model sets) of inflections, it made sense for the learner to say:

Latin has a good deal of grammar, but English has hardly any.

This meaning of 'grammar' has continued to be used by lay native speakers. In effect, grammar is identified with inflections, so that nonspecialists may well speak of 'grammar and syntax', thereby excluding the latter from the former.

Note [illegible]

Rules and the native speaker

1.5 Nor have we completed the inventory of meanings. The same native speaker, turning his attention from Latin, may comment:

French has a well-defined grammar, but in English we're free to speak as we like.

To begin with, it is clear that the speaker cannot here be restricting 'grammar' to inflections: rather the converse; it would seem to be used as a virtual synonym of 'syntax'.

Secondly, the native speaker's comment probably owes a good deal to the fact that he does not feel the rules of his own language: rules that he has acquired unconsciously – in his early upbringing; and if ever he happens to be called on to explain one such rule to a foreigner he has very great difficulty. By contrast, the grammatical rules he learnt for a foreign language seem much more rigid, and they also seem clearer because they have been explicitly spelled out to him in the learning process.

But another important point is revealed in this comment. The distinction refers to 'grammar' not as the observed patterns in the use of French but as a codification of rules compiled by the French (especially by the Académie Française) to show the French themselves how their language should be used. This is not grammar 'inherent' in a language (as are patterns that were, however much they differed in the types of pattern they referred to), but grammar as codified by grammarians: the *Academy Grammar*. There is no such Academy for the English language and so (our native speaker believes) the English speaker has more 'freedom' in his usage.

The codification of rules

1.6 The 'codification' sense of grammar is readily identified with the specific codification by a specific grammarian:

Jespersen wrote a good grammar, and so did Kruisinga.

And this sense naturally leads to the concrete use we find in:

Did you bring your grammars?

Naturally, too, the codification may refer to grammar in any of the senses already mentioned. The codification will also vary, however, according to the linguistic theory embraced by the author, his idea of the nature of grammar rather than the assessment of the grammar of a particular language:

Chomsky developed a transformational grammar that differed considerably from earlier grammars.

In the usage of many leading linguists, this last sense of grammar has returned to the catholicity that it had in the Greek tradition more than 2000 years ago, covering the whole field of language structure. Thus, in the framework of formal linguistics, some grammarians speak of 'the grammar' as embracing rules not only for syntax but for phonological, lexical, and semantic specification as well.

Note [illegible]

Our [illegible] grammar (as in [illegible]) [illegible] together with [illegible] phonological [illegible].

Prescriptive grammar

1.17 Finally we come to the use of 'grammar' in sentences such as:

It's bad grammar to end a sentence with a preposition.

Here the term refers to a way of speaking or writing that is to be either preferred or avoided. Such statements pertain to PRESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR: a set of regulations that are based on what is considered correct or incorrect in the standard varieties. Since we do not have an Academy of the English Language, there is no one set of regulations that could be considered 'authoritative'. Instead, prescriptions are made by self-appointed authorities who, reflecting varying judgments of acceptability and appropriateness, often disagree.

Prescriptive issues, in the restricted sense, primarily deal with disputed usage: a relatively small number of syntactic and lexical items that are controversial within the standard varieties. Their objections may persuade some to avoid certain usages, at least in their formal writing. Over the last two centuries prescriptive rules have accumulated into a general prescriptive tradition for formal writing that is embodied (with some variation) in school textbooks and student reference handbooks, and in usage guides for the general public.

As an unfortunate consequence of prescriptive grammar, some speakers have mistakenly extended particular prescriptive rules in an attempt to avoid solecisms. A classic instance of such hypercorrection is the use of *whom* as subject (cf 6.35 Note [a]). Others are the pseudo-subjunctive *were* as in *I wonder if he were here* and the use of the subjective pronoun *I* in the phrase *between you and I*.

Our primary concern in this book is to describe the grammar of English. But we occasionally refer to the prescriptive tradition not only because it may lead to hypercorrection but also because it may affect attitudes towards particular uses that may in turn influence the preferences of some native speakers at least in formal or more considered styles. It may lead some, for example, to replace their usual *was* by subjunctive *were* in *If I was strong enough, I would help you*, or to replace *who* by *whom* in *the teacher who I most admired*.

Grammar and other types of organization

1.18 Precisely where one draws the limits of grammatical description is inevitably arbitrary and the whole field of grammar is likely to remain an area of interesting controversy. While theoretical problems are not the concern of this book, our treatment cannot be neutral on the issues that enliven current discussion. For example, we would not wish to assert the total independence of grammar from phonology on the one hand and lexicology on the other as was implied in the deliberate oversimplification of 1.12f. Phonology is seen to have a bearing on grammar even in small points such as the association of [illegible] with demonstratives and adverbs such as *this, then, though*, etc (cf [illegible]). More important are the phonological conditions for the /s/ and /iz/

inflections in verbs and nouns (cf 3.5, 5.83). [illegible] for example, in the fact that some nouns and verbs differ only in the position of the stress (cf App I.56):

That is an insult.
They may insult me.

But most obviously the interdependence of phonology and grammar is shown in focus processes (cf the connection between intonation and linear presentation: 18.2ff, 19.7ff), and in the fact that by merely altering the prosody one can distinguish sentences like those quoted in App II.21.

The interrelations of grammar, lexicology, and semantics are manifested in the semantic restrictions (cf 10.[illegible]) that permit [1] and [2] but not [1a] and [2a]:

[illegible] repeated indecision.	[1]
*[illegible] repeated indecisions.	[1a]
[illegible] hated indecision.	[2]
*[illegible] hated indecision.	[2a]

The boundary between grammar and semantics is unclear, and [illegible] will draw the line arbitrarily. We shall not give guidance on such constraints in this book.

Similarly, the borderline between grammar and pragmatics (and even more so between semantics and pragmatics) is unclear. Although we shall have occasion to refer to the kinds of intended speech acts (such as request and invitation) that may be conveyed through certain sentence types (cf particularly Chapter 11), we shall not attempt a comprehensive account. But we shall attempt to give some indication of the meaning of the constructions we discuss.

Our general principle will be to regard [illegible] constructions [illegible] and hence beyond the scope of this book; constructions on which least generalization can be formulated. In applying this principle we will necessarily make arbitrary decisions along the gradient from greatest to least generalization.

Varieties of English

Types of variation

1.19 Having followed how we may speak of different types of linguistic organization such as phonology, lexicology, and grammar, we may now return to the point we had reached at the beginning of 1.12. What are the varieties of English whose different properties are realized through the several types of linguistic organization?

Formulating a theoretical basis on which the varieties of any language can be described, however, and [illegible] is one of the prime concerns of the

branch of language study called sociolinguistics. This discipline is far from having achieved complete success, and all attempts are to some degree oversimplifications.

We shall first consider the major types of variation. Any use of language necessarily involves variation within all five types, although for purposes of analysis we may abstract individual varieties (or subvarieties of variation within one type):

(a) region (1.19 f)
(b) social group (1.22 f)
(c) field of discourse (1.28)
(d) medium (1.29 f)
(e) attitude (1.31 f)

The first two types of variation relate primarily to the language user. People use a regional variety because they live in a region or have once lived in that region. Similarly, people use a social variety because of their affiliation with a social group. These varieties are relatively permanent for the language user. At the same time, we should be aware that many people can communicate in more than one regional or social variety and can therefore (consciously or unconsciously) switch varieties according to the situation. And of course people move to other regions or change their social affiliations, and may then adopt a new regional or social variety.

The last three types of variation relate to language use. People select the varieties according to the situation and the purpose of the communication. The field of discourse relates to the activity in which they are engaged; the medium may be spoken or written, generally depending on the proximity of the participants in the communication; and the attitude expressed through language is conditioned by the relationship of the participants in the particular situation. A common core or nucleus is present in all the varieties so that, however esoteric a variety may be, it has running through it a set of grammatical and other characteristics that are present in all the others. It is this fact that justifies the application of the name 'English' to all the varieties.

[illegible]

Regional variation

1 Varieties according to region have a well-established label both in popular and technical use: dialects. Geographical dispersion is in fact the classic basis for linguistic variation, and in the course of time, with poor communications and relative remoteness, such dispersion results in dialects becoming so distinct that we regard them as different languages. This latter stage was long ago reached with the Germanic dialects that are now Dutch, English, German, Swedish, etc, but it has not been reached (and may never be reached, given the modern ease and range of communication) with the dialects of English that have resulted from the regional separation of communities within the British Isles and since the seventeenth century in other parts of the world.

Regional variation seems to be realized predominantly in phonology. That is, we generally recognize a different dialect from a speaker's pronunciation before we notice that the vocabulary (or lexicon) is also distinctive. Grammatical variation tends to be less extensive and certainly less obtrusive. But all types of linguistic organization can readily enough be involved. A Lancashire man may be recognized as a Yorkshireman because he pronounces an /ʊ/ after vowels as in *are* or *hard*. [illegible] is an Australian [illegible] for beer – but it refers to a container [illegible] in Sydney than it does in Perth. Instead of *I am* a New Englander might say [illegible], a Pennsylvanian [illegible] and a Virginian [illegible]. If they were speaking the rural nonstandard dialect of their locality, and the same forms characterize certain dialects in the British Isles.

[illegible]

1 It is pointless to ask how many dialects of English there are: there are indefinitely many, depending on how detailed we wish to be in our observations. But they are of course more obviously numerous in long-settled Britain than in areas more recently settled by Europeans, such as North America or, still more recently, Australia and New Zealand. The degree of generality in our observations depends crucially upon our standpoint as well as upon our experience. An Englishman will hear an American Southerner primarily as an American, and only as a Southerner in addition if further subclassification is called for and if his experience of American English dialects enables him to make it. To an American the same speaker will be heard first as a Southerner and then (subject to similar conditions) as, say, a Virginian, and then perhaps as a Piedmont Virginian. One might suggest some broad dialectal divisions which are rather generally recognized. Within North America, most people would be able to distinguish Canadian, Northern, Midland, and Southern varieties of English. Within the British Isles Irish, Scots, Northern, Midland, Welsh, Southwestern, and London varieties would be recognized with similar generality. Some of these – the English of Ireland and Scotland for example – would be recognized as such by many Americans and Australians too, while in Britain many people could make subdivisions: Ulster and Southern might be distinguished within Irish English, for example, and Yorkshire picked out as an important subdivision of Northern speech. British people can also, of course, distinguish North Americans from all others though not usually Canadians from Americans, South Africans from Australians and New Zealanders (though mistakes are frequent), but not usually Australians from New Zealanders.

Social variation

1 Within each of the dialects there is considerable variation in speech according to education, socioeconomic group, and ethnic group. Some differences correlate with age and sex. Much (if not most) of the variation does not

[illegible] distinctions, rather it is a matter of the frequency with which certain linguistic features occur in the group.

There is an important polarity between national and international spheres in which the former can be identified with the [illegible] and regional dialect, more simplistically with the latter moving away from regional usage to a dialect of English that transcends regional boundaries. As seen in an example given in a previous section, an outsider [illegible] might use exactly the same [illegible] as the native speaker, a Bangladeshi who talks [illegible], and a Virginian who talks [illegible]. These are forms that tend to be replaced by more [illegible] wording, and to meaning to a stranger a distinct speaker would tend to use 'Standard' forms. On the other hand, there is no simple equation of national and standard English. Just to elaborate, English, *I* [illegible] regional homogeneity, is the many features of standard [illegible]; a prominent example is the double negative as in *I don't know no [illegible]*, which has been [illegible] from all educated English by the prescriptive grammar [illegible] the past two hundred years but which continues to thrive as an [illegible] form in [illegible] English [illegible].

National English naturally tends to be given the additional prestige of government [illegible], the parliament, the political parties, the press, the law courts, and the pulpit – any institution which [illegible] to address itself to a public beyond the [illegible] community. It is codified in dictionaries, grammars, and guides to [illegible], and is taught in the school system at all levels. It is almost exclusively the language of printed matter. Because educated English is thus essential in modern social and political [illegible], it comes to be [illegible] in an [illegible] way, and we [illegible] remember that this does not mean [illegible] English that has been [illegible] standardized by [illegible] scholars, in which [illegible] are standardized, that form is [illegible] and [illegible]. In contrast with [illegible] English, some features especially associated with [illegible] (albeit then dialectal) are generally called [illegible].

[illegible]

Standard English

1 The degree of acceptance of a single standard of English throughout the world, across a multiplicity of political and social spheres, is a truly remarkable phenomenon: the more so since the count of the uniformity involved has increased in the present century. Uniformity is greatest in orthography, which is [illegible] the most important type of linguistic organization. Although printing houses in all English-speaking countries [illegible] a very minor [illegible] of individual decision (*gray* / *grey*, *judgment* / *judgement*), there is basically a single spelling and pronunciation across the English-speaking world, with minor subsystems. The use of the [illegible] between British pronunciation (*tune* [illegible]) and American (*tune* [illegible]) [illegible] other than the United States, with distinctive features only a small class of words (*either*, *neither*, *leisure*, *lieutenant*, etc.). The other is the American subsystem, *color*, *center*, *honor*, etc. Canadian spelling drops on both systems and is open to considerable variation. Libraries or [illegible] publications, such as academic journals and school textbooks, prefer British spelling, while popular publications, such as newspapers, prefer American spelling. Individuals may use both variants according to situation, but variation certainly. The difference between the American and British subsystems of pronunciation is not [illegible]. American practice is to put a pause after consonants inside closing quotation marks, which are usually double in American usage and single in British usage. [illegible] "A higher [illegible] point may cause Anglo-American [illegible] stumbling: the numerical form of date, for instance (see European practice [illegible] means 1 October 1987, but in American practice it means 10 January 1987 [illegible]).

In grammar and vocabulary, standard English possesses a number of unmistakable characteristics, between the well-[illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] have been suggested earlier, [illegible] usually in an increasing [illegible] the impact of closer world communication and the speed of [illegible] technical and commercial [illegible]. The uniformity is especially [illegible] in neutral informal styles of writing; English in subject matter of [illegible] [illegible] after [illegible] without [illegible] a feature which would identify the English as belonging to one of the national standards (cf. 1.3.5).

National standards of English

British and American English

1 What we are calling national standards should be seen as [illegible] from the [illegible] English which we have been discussing and which we could [illegible] [illegible] being [illegible], [illegible] which is common to all. Again, as with orthography, there are two national standards that are [illegible] prominent both in the number of [illegible] speakers and in the degree to which these distinctions are [illegible]: American English (AmE) and British English (BrE). Grammatical differences are few and the most [illegible] are known in many [illegible] of both national standards. The first [illegible] AmE has [illegible] *get* and BrE only [illegible] (cf. 5.10). For example, and that in BrE either a singular or a plural verb may be used with a singular collective noun:

The government {is / are} [illegible] in control of commercial concerns.

[illegible] in AmE a singular verb is required here. Some prefer familiar, but are unlikely to hamper communication. For example, AmE may use the single *get*, the [illegible] style in contexts where BrE normally requires the present perfective (cf. 4.21 Note), as in:

Sorry, not {I don't / Sorry, I don't} [illegible] on course work.

And BrE [illegible] [illegible] with [illegible] where AmE generally uses the present perfective (cf. 4.3.3):

I [illegible] that by {I [illegible] / [illegible]} the [illegible] with [illegible].

Lexical examples are the most numerous, but many of them are familiar to users of both standards: for example, railway (BrE), railroad (AmE); tin (BrE), can (AmE); petrol (BrE), gasoline (AmE). Some items may confuse most speakers of the other standard because they are unfamiliar, at least in the relevant meaning: *hire* (BrE), *rent* (AmE); *waiter* (BrE), *usher* (AmE); *drawing-pin* (BrE), *thumbtack* (AmE). *Public school* in AmE is a school maintained by public funds, but in BrE it applies to certain fee-paying schools. *Cabs* (unless further specified, as in *pool cabs*) is usually nonalcoholic in AmE, but (unless further specified as *small cabs*) it is alcoholic in BrE. *Subway* in *subway* is a school nectar and hyphenated in many cases in AmE, but excludes them in BrE. Floors are numbered from ground level in AmE, so that *first floor* is generally level with the ground. But in BrE it is above the *ground floor*. In some instances an item that is normal in one standard is used by the other in restricted contexts: the *shop* (AmE *store*) is used in AmE for a small and specialized store, e.g. *barber shop*, *shoe repair shop*, and sometimes for a high-class establishment intended to be perceived to be so considered, e.g. *clothing shop*; conversely, *shop* is used in AmE *(food)*. *Fowl* only occurs in AmE as a recent borrowing from BrE, in the combination *fish and chips*.

Some recent innovations in either standard spread rapidly to the other. Thus while radio sets have had *valves* in BrE but *tubes* in AmE, television sets have *tubes* in both, and *transistors* and computer *software* are likewise used in both standards. Mass communication neutralizes differences; the top music culture, in particular, uses a 'mid-Atlantic' dialect that levels differences even in pronunciation.

The United States and Britain have been separate political entities for two centuries; for generations, thousands of books have been appearing annually; there is a long tradition of publishing descriptions of both AmE and BrE. These are important factors in establishing and institutionalizing the two national standards, and in the relative absence of such conditions other national standards are both less distinct (being more open to the influence of either AmE or BrE) and less institutionalized.

One sociolinguistic phenomenon in the United States is of recent linguistic interest. In affirming the students' right to their own varieties of language, many American educationalists have declared that Standard American English is a myth, some asserting the independent status (for example) of Black English. At the same time they have acknowledged the existence of a written standard dialect, sometimes termed 'Edited American English'.

Scotland, Ireland, Canada

Scots, with ancient national and educational institutions, is perhaps nearest to the self-confident independence of BrE and AmE, though the differences in grammar and vocabulary are rather few. There is the preposition *outwith* ('except') and some other grammatical features, and such lexical items as *advocate* in the sense 'practising lawyer' or *bailie* ('municipal magistrate') and several others which, like the last, refer to Scottish affairs. Orthography is identical with BrE, though *burgh* corresponds closely to 'borough' in meaning and might almost be regarded as a spelling variant. On the other hand, the

'Lallans' Scots, which has some currency for literary purposes, has a highly independent set of lexical, grammatical, phonological, and orthographical conventions, all of which make it seem more like a separate language than a regional dialect.

Hiberno-English, or Irish English, may also be considered as a national standard, for though we lack descriptions of this long-standing variety of English, it is consciously and explicitly regarded as independent of BrE by educational and broadcasting services. The proximity of Great Britain, the constant movement of population, the pervasive influence of AmE, and like factors mean, however, that there is little room for the assertion and development of a separate grammar and vocabulary.

Canadian English is in a similar position in relation to AmE. Close economic, social, and intellectual links along a 4000-mile frontier have naturally caused the larger community to have an enormous influence on the smaller, not least in language. Though in many respects (zed instead of zee, for example, as the name of the letter z), Canadian English follows British rather than United States practice, and has a modest area of independent lexical use, e.g. *pogey* ['welfare payment'], *riding* ['parliamentary constituency'], *muskeg* ['kind of bog']; in many other respects it has approximated to AmE, and in the absence of strong institutionalizing forces it would continue in this direction. However, counteracting this tendency in language as in other matters is the tendency for Canadians to resist the influence of their powerful neighbour in their assertion of an independent national identity.

South Africa, Australia, New Zealand

South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand are in a very different position, remote from the direct day-to-day impact of either BrE or AmE. While in orthography and grammar the South African English in educated use is virtually identical with BrE, rather considerable differences in vocabulary have developed, largely under the influence of the other official language of the country, Afrikaans; for example, *veld* ['open country'], *kopje* or *koppie* ['hillock'], *dorp* ['village']. Because of the remoteness from Britain or America, few of these words have spread: an exception is *trek* ['journey'].

New Zealand English is more like BrE than any other non-European variety, though it has adopted quite a number of words from the indigenous Maoris (for example *whare* ['hut']) and of course *fauna* and other names, for fauna and flora and over the past half century has come under the powerful influence of Australia and to a considerable extent of the United States.

Australian English is undoubtedly the dominant form of English in the Antipodes and by reason of Australia's increased wealth, population, and influence in world affairs, this national standard (though still by no means fully institutionalized) is exerting an influence in the northern hemisphere, particularly in Britain. Much of what is distinctive in Australian English is confined to familiar use. This is especially so of grammatical features like adverbial *but* or the use of the feminine pronoun *she* anaphorically for an inanimate noun (*she* ... *apples*) and also impersonally and nonreferentially for 'things in general'.

B: [I'm still not dark. I'll fetch an [illegible] for [illegible] afternoon, however.]

A: Are you feeling better?

B: Too late [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] everything will be fine.]

Here there are many lexical items that are to be regarded as fully standard: for merely the general terms are [illegible] (*gaunt*, *wold*), for special uses (*illegible*, *ice* of [illegible] *wold* (for example *gaunt*) as a general word for 'field', *cook* ('ill'), *clean* ('ready, fit'), *bother* ('[illegible] fall to its bottom'), *sander* ('[illegible] cloth') and spatial Australian words (for example *bowyang* ('[illegible]'), *paddy* ('[illegible]')).

Pronunciation and standard English

7 The [illegible] (1955) does not relate the regional or national varieties of English to the status of standard. Beside the educated Cockney in the Dominions, for example, there is nothing in population that is the language of government and other agencies whereas a mainstream dialect that can be referred to as Caribbean English. We have no discussion for managing standard in countries where English is a spoken second language (p. 140). Examples of the variants are noticeable primarily in the first column in which even the word itself is established. BrE and AmE, CIDE [illegible] each other in vocabulary, grammar and orthography. We have [illegible] careful, however, are [illegible] pronunciation. In this connection, Pronunciation is a type of [illegible] for several reasons. In the first place, it is the type of linguistic organization which distinguishes one national standard from another most immediately and completely and which links in a [illegible] way the national standard to the regional varieties. Secondly, it is an important [illegible] to be noticed. It is the least institutionalized aspect of standard English, in the sense that, unlike our grammatical [illegible] conform to the appropriate national standard, it [illegible] pronunciation follows [illegible] our individual regional patterns. This is doubly true because pronunciation is essentially spoken, a matter of 'sounds' rather than the discrete [illegible] of spelling, grammar, and lexicon. Thirdly, some of pronunciation are subject less to situational and cultural constraints than is found in [illegible]. In effect, [illegible] regional accents are less acceptable than those for [illegible] (p. 140).

But [illegible], as we saw, to the generalization that regional pronunciations are [illegible]. In the [illegible] of pronunciation [illegible] the term of 'standard' [illegible] the accent associated with the older public schools and universities of England, 'Received Pronunciation' or 'RP'. Because Cockney has traditionally been transmitted through a private education rather than [illegible] it has been the locality in which Cockney appears to be spoken. It is marginal, and this, together with the [illegible] prestige, [illegible] the social importance of its speakers, has [illegible] — but has been one of the [illegible] and [illegible] of the language. But RP [illegible] the [illegible] authority it had in the first half of the twentieth century. It is now only one among several accents commonly used on the BBC and [illegible] the place along with others which carry the [illegible] of regional origin — at least, on Australian or South

American or Caribbean origin. Thus the rule that a specific type of pronunciation is relatively uninformed seems to [illegible] the notion of using the [illegible] (p. 140) [illegible] RP. Nevertheless, RP remains the standard for describing the British variety of English [illegible] language, as can be easily seen from dictionaries and textbooks intended for foreigners [illegible] British English.

RP also shares a distinction with, e.g., [illegible] American pronunciation known as 'network English'. BBC announcers are strictly all RP speakers, just as newscasters on the national radio and television networks in the United States all speak with the 'network English' pronunciation.

In this book we do not attempt to represent the range of variation in pronunciation associated with different national standards. Words, however, record the major differences (using the system of symbols listed on page viii) between RP and network English.

8 [illegible]

Varieties according to field of discourse

9 The field of discourse is the type of activity engaged in through language. A speaker of English has a repertoire of varieties according to field and switches to the appropriate one as occasion requires. The number of varieties that speakers command depends upon their perception, memory, and interests.

Typically the words in these varieties differ from Core terms in the particular set of lexical items habitually used for handling the field in question. Thus, in connection with repairing a motor car, *bolt*, *nut*, *washer*, *tread*, *tyre*, *fingerprint*, *balance*, *adjust*, *tighten*, *strip*, *grease*, *spanner*, and the like. But there are grammatical correlates to field variety as well. To take an example, the imperative in cooking recipes: *Place the liquid into a bowl*, etc. *You should or You ought can do still less. The wok cools* ... On the contrary, of direct objects that is common in instructional language in general: *Bake at 350°*, *Give the Am and the only Have [illegible] sugar over others*. More complex grammatical correlates are to be found in the language of technical and scientific description: the passive is common, and clauses are often 'nominalized' (p. 1216): [illegible] as in:

> *Your car [illegible] this fault if you have a [illegible]* ...

or rather:

> *Overheating of the [illegible] is avoided by mounting a [illegible]* ...

More [illegible] grammatical differences are found in the language of legal documents:

> *Provided that such payment is effected, shall be a condition precedent to the exercise of the option herein specified* ...

and in newspaper headlines:

Developer in Plan for Modern Hotel

The type of language required by choice of field is broadly independent from the varieties (dialect, national standard) already discussed. Some obvious contingent constraints are however emerging: the use of a specific variety of one class frequently presupposes the use of a specific variety of another. The use of a well-formed legal sentence, for example, presupposes an educated variety of English.

We shall have occasion in this book to refer to variations in grammar according to the field of discourse with self-explanatory labels. Literature is of course a long established field, but LITERARY English extends to other fields (for example in nontechnical essays on humanistic topics and biographies). Some fields have certain characteristics in common; for example, LEGAL and RELIGIOUS English have numerous forms peculiar to their respective fields, but both may include usages that are otherwise ARCHAIC, though there is a trend away from such archaisms in these fields. Poetry too has traditionally used archaic features. Indeed, poetry may deviate from the norms of the language in other respects, particularly in word order. Literary English is sometimes distinguished as poetic by language features that are unusual in prose.

As with dialects (cf 1.21), there are indefinitely many fields depending on how detailed we wish our discussion to be. SCIENTIFIC (or SCHOLARLY) language covers a wide range of subject matter (psychology, literary criticism, history, physics, medicine), each of which could be regarded as a separate field, though we shall need to distinguish only one kind of SCIENTIFIC discourse. Applications of technology are varieties of [illegible] writing, itself included within [illegible] language. Instructional language may range from cooking recipes to instructions for playing games. When technical language is used unnecessarily (or at all appearances) unnecessarily, it is often pejoratively referred to as JARGON.

Jargon may include distinctive language from other discourse fields, for example administrative (in particular) [illegible] writing. Journalism in its widest sense includes reporting on radio and television, each of which may be distinguished from newspaper reporting. Some features of newspapers call for special consideration, in particular headlines: the language of newspaper headlines.

We have by no means exhausted the fields that have developed their own linguistic expressions. Among others we referred to, we may mention advertising and business.

Note Varieties according to field of discourse are sometimes called registers, though this term is applied in different ways.

Varieties according to medium

The only variations according to medium that we need to consider are those conditioned by speaking and writing respectively. Since speech is the primary or natural medium for linguistic communication, it is reasonable to focus on the differences imposed on language when it has to be expressed in a graphic

(and normally visual) medium instead. Most of these differences arise from two sources. One is situational: the use of a written medium normally presumes the absence of the person(s) to whom the piece of language is addressed. This imposes the necessity of a far greater explicitness: the careful and precise completeness of a sentence, rather than the casual expression supported by gesture and interrupted when speakers are assured by word or look that their hearers have understood. As a corollary, since the written sentence can be read and reread slowly and critically (whereas the spoken sentence is evanescent), writers tend to elaborate utterances by writing more concisely as well as more correctly and elegantly than they may choose to speak.

The second source of difference is that many of the devices we use to transmit language by speech (stress, rhythm, intonation, tempo, for example) are impossible to represent with the relatively limited repertoire of conventional orthography. They are difficult enough to represent even with a special prosodic notation (cf App I.1). As a consequence writers often have to reformulate their sentences to convey fully and successfully what they want to express within the orthographic system. Thus instead of the spoken sentence with a particular intonation nucleus on John (cf App II.x), one might have to rephrase the sentence in writing to convey the intended focus:

John didn't do it.
It was not in fact John that did it.

The advantages are not all on one side, however; the written medium has the valuable compensation of paragraphs, italics, quotation marks, etc, which have no clear analogue in speech.

As with varieties according to field, we are here dealing with two varieties that are in principle at the disposal of any user of English as occasion may demand, irrespective of the variety of English they use as a result of region and education. But again there are contingent constraints: we do not expect speakers with little formal education to compose in written English with the facility that educated speakers acquire. This, indeed, is what a great deal of education is about.

There are contingent constraints of another kind. Some field varieties of English (legal varieties especially) are difficult to compose except in writing and difficult to understand except by reading. Other varieties are comparatively restricted to speech, such as commentary on football, and [illegible] will be phrased very differently from a newspaper report of the same game.

Varieties according to attitude

Varieties according to attitude constitute, like field and medium varieties, a range of English any section of which is in principle available at will to any individual speaker of English, irrespective of the regional variety or national standard he may habitually use. This present class of varieties is often called 'stylistic', but 'style' like 'register' is a term which is used with several different meanings. We are here concerned with the choice of linguistic form that proceeds from our attitude to the hearer (or reader), to the topic, and to

the purpose of our communication. We may give a lecture in a style between informal (relatively well, said, polite, impersonal) on the one hand and informal (relatively relaxed, casual, friendly) on the other. The contemporaries linguistic contrasts involve both grammar and vocabulary. For example:

> Overtime emoluments are not available to employees who are [illegible]
>
> Staff members who don't [illegible] don't get paid overtime. . . .

While many sentences like the foregoing can be rated 'more formal' or 'more informal' in relation to each other, it is mental as a whole, the medium of the expression [illegible] that we can talk meaningfully of a formal or informal variety of English, leaving on obvious meaning that has been indicated by examples like the following:

> This students work is very much better and seems likely to go on improving.

On each side of the spectrum (and overall) English, we may usually distinguish sentences containing features that are markedly formal or informal. In the present work, we shall for the most part confine ourselves to this clear-cut distinction, leaving the middle zone undivided and specifying only spaces that are relatively formal or informal. It should be realized that the neutral term often covers items in both of the main varieties as well. For example, contractions such as *don't* are acceptable in both informal and formal English; they are excluded from formal English.

2 Mastery of such a range of attitudinal variation seems a central educational aim for educated adults, but it is an acquisition that is not inevitable even early for children native to the language in question. It appears to require maturity, tact, sensitivity, and adaptability—personality features which [illegible] the individual's [illegible] and [illegible] and to match the language's resources to that an expression is over its alternate. Young native speakers at the age of five or six may [illegible] speaking one form of English that is made to serve all purposes, whether they are talking to their mother, their pals, their friends, or an adult neighbour. And although this informal language can cross parents' twinges of embarrassment, it is generally recognized that it is inappropriate that the child will grow out of.

Foreign learners are in a somewhat similar position. Until their skill in the language is really very advanced, it is unrealistic to expect them, through the painstaking mastery in much less predictable than that of the native child, of [illegible] in English has been achieved, the right [illegible] specialising in attitudinal learning. Their informal variety will be very different from that of the native, who has some reaction, even lacking some form. More usually, either an informal language is [illegible] or an archaic [illegible] formal discourse to the speech of foreign students. But, in any case, just as the native child's youth inhibits [illegible], so the foreign student's content [illegible] that cause the unpredictable errors [illegible] inappropriateness in the language variety.

3 [illegible] the full range of linguistic variation that are [illegible] differences of attitude. We should add at least an category [illegible] the rest. On the one hand, we need to account for the [illegible] variety of English [illegible] Here are examples:

> Distinguished guests are requested to proceed to the [illegible] dais.

But we must take account also for the informal [illegible], in family, [illegible] between very close friends (especially of a similar age) or members of a family, or used when [illegible] for any great reason that they [illegible] talk about [illegible] choices of their children' language. We might this match the foregoing example with:

> Keep your eyes on me!

We now have a pentad. Taken in distribution:

> very formal = formal = neutral = informal = very informal

Across and above (1.3.1), we chiefly overlay the labels 'formal' and 'informal', leaving aside the 'neutral' [illegible]; but we sometimes designate language as 'very formal' or 'very informal', conventionally replacing 'very informal' by 'vulgar' or 'colloquial' as appropriate. The term [illegible] is also used for the very informal range, but particularly for the spoken language. A similar [illegible] is needed to denote the frequently used or popular lexical range (great of [illegible]), figurative, usually indicating membership of a particular social group.

One final point on attitude variation. As with the English dialects (Celtic and Anglian), there are [illegible] in the actual selection of grammatical [illegible], and [illegible] (formal) [illegible] writing (informal), [illegible] preferences [illegible] in this case [illegible] formal. Similarly, it would be hard to [illegible] on commercial [illegible] on the one hand, [illegible] informal, or a radio [illegible] [illegible] than [illegible] here are in the same medium (speech).

Variations according to interlocutor

4 A very different type of variation applies to speakers of English [illegible] language or foreign language. The variation is caused by interference from another language. The [illegible] case [illegible] in [illegible] a French grammatical [illegible] on English; the Russian who [illegible] [illegible] Russian [illegible] English [illegible]. Obviously, we always tend to assume our native psychological patterns on any foreign language we learn. The problem [illegible] the language [illegible] of [illegible] students can be helped with the problems that give them the greatest difficulty.

At the opposite extremes are interlocutors [illegible] that are so well learned in a community and of such long standing that they may be [illegible] and [illegible] to be [illegible] and [illegible] to be regarded as

[illegible]

A: Isn't she in bed?
B: Yes, she isn't.

[illegible]

Creoles and pidgins

[illegible]

[illegible]

Relationships among variety types

6 Varieties across each type of variation may be viewed as principally independent from each other. Users of English may select manipulative features of any regional variety in their use of a national standard; within their social world, they can discourse in English that is appropriate to their particular occupation or activities; they can handle literary texts in English appropriate to other genres or writing; in other media, they can adjust their discourse to suit the type according to the register, formality, or intimacy they seek to their audience or readers. And all of this would apply equally if they were proficient in English as a foreign or second language, and their use of English is affected by influences from their native tongue.

At the same time, the variation is not a large-scale interdependent. We have given examples of several contingent correlations (for example, in LSE), and you may see other patterns of interdependence in the different variation systems as a whole.

Regional varieties have been especially sensitive to the sociolinguistic variables: a person educated in Ohio will talk in standard AmE, not BrE. Similarly, for speakers of an indigenous variety, someone learning English in Europe or India is likely to approach a standard with BrE pronunciation; in Southeast Asia, the Philippines, with an AmE pronunciation.

7 There are variables relating to styles of discourse. Certain styles are strongly (formal and elaborating, for example) associated with specific registers, usually. Here, the difference between regional or national varieties of English is not such a distinction is fully developed. In other fields (medicine, mathematics, physics, psychology) we expect to find little use of distinctive English or of regionally distinctive English. On the other hand, we expect AmE in predominantly in the country of football and little in the country of cricket.

Since writing is an educated art, we actually expect the educated English of one or other national standard as the medium. Indeed, what we associate by way of a normal educated English in writing, we realize mainly by how remarkably varied is standard English in various genres and varieties. The same occurs there are subjects (for example, teaching a Scottish texts) that can scarcely be handled in exchange and others (for example, legal opinions) that are scarcely handled in speech.

Artificial varieties can appeal that of examples in our recent chapter variation: it is possible to be formal or informal on blackboards or notices to AmE or BrE, for example. Our informal or casual language across or 'authority gap' or 'solidarity gap' (for instance, talking to an inferior in a specific difficulties, and assistance in a factor (for example) it would be considered disastrous. And very formal language when the subject is courtship or football would seem comic.

8 Finally, the attitude and variation. All the evidence of trends and pidgins have a special interdependence between the form of the language and the attitudes. Indeed, pidgins tend to be restricted in a few personal matters, [illegible] (Chapter 14.5).

As to English taught at an advanced level as a secondary foreign language, it is to be expected that through greater fluency in addition to other the users the

necessarily they need to be taught (e.g. to employ attitudinal variations, a formal register such as medicine, with its supporting material, prepared, and informal conversation). Students are likely to be familiar with of any size (Might English at the formal or informal level only, or the spoken or written language only, or are restricted to the English necessary for a particular occupation (Pilot's for example, for example).

Variation within a variety

9 We need to make one final point about variation in the case of English. Here, the variation variables (dialect, register, attitude, for example) each constitute a continuum rather than a discrete category.

Scarcely, we may not be able to discern always for the claims of one [illegible] from another linguistic form. We sometimes find obvious cases, a choose between variants, the transitional forms cannot be [illegible] to the variety. Examples discussed in this chapter.

For example, we can say [illegible] are in the [illegible]

He stayed a week. — He stayed for a week.
[illegible] — I [illegible] yesterday but [illegible] stayed.
[illegible] — I can be there. — I [illegible] I can be there.

Neither member of each pair is strongly illustrated by any of our varieties and we have specified. [illegible] have made to find a basis for at least some of the secondary standard variables (often called 'Text standard'). For example, it has been claimed that certain language variables (normal 'randomly distributed dialects') [illegible] groups of speakers who do not [illegible] regionally or sociolinguistically, the groups being characterized by linguistic features structured quantitatively.

10 Bailey has [illegible] variation in terms of the relationships depicted in Fig. 1.4b, where [illegible] the variable represents a [illegible] opposition. The upper pair of the first vertical contrasts is the features of [illegible] and formality, such as the [illegible] in the education variety of English, or the [illegible] characteristic of the [illegible]

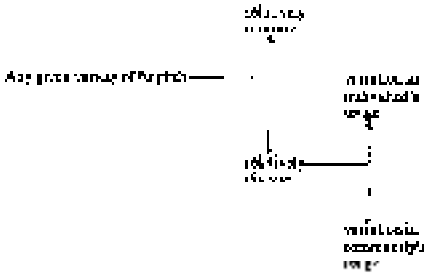

Fig. 1.4b. Variation within a variety

of the language, such as the position of the article in a noun phrase. The emergence of this first variation is rooted in the area of fluctuation illustrated in (1.5). The second variation (represented in which, in the one hand, the incorporation may indicate an area of fluctuation (a wider variation one component, a wider fluctuation later), and on the other hand, there may be fluctuation within the component as variations may be appearing to have a predecessor (in the diagram, the red and shorter a predecessor for the oldest date in red). This appears to be a natural state of affairs in language. Language change is essentially a matter of language and language change with the result that older and newer variants always concur; and some members of a society will be linguistically disposed to use the new (perhaps by their youth) while others are comparably inclined in the old, because for their part, they will not be conscious either in their choice or in their temperamental disposition. Perhaps English may be more fluctuation more than some other languages because of its patently mixed nature: a basic Germanic substrate, stress patterns, semi-grammatical inflection, and syntax overlaid with a classical and Romance vocabulary, stress patterns (p. 1.1), word formation (p. 1.2), and even orthography and syntax.

Attitudes to variation

1 At various places in this chapter we have had occasion to refer to language attitudes; for example, the official acceptance of English as a majority second language (1.4) and the views on the present state of the language expressed by native speakers (1.11). As we saw, historical (p. 1.1), the current predominance of English as an international language reflects its political status, not some assumed aesthetic or linguistic qualities. The growing acceptance of standard language educated varieties as standards derives from comparatively recent attitudes, in summary, that each variety has a right to its own language and that no variety is inherently superior.

Standard varieties continue to enjoy several prestige. They are more difficult to acquire, especially because, entering into a wider circle of functional 'functional' domains. The prestige of these varieties and their official maintenance mean, at least for the written varieties, a marked conservatism, arguing against particular (regional-sociolinguistic) changes and (to a lesser extent) lexical variation.

Our attitudes to social variation are generally based in sight, sound, touch, either because they are associated with the speaking or writing of people, for the higher-ranking or considered to be that they are intelligible or closer to some prestige state of the language. For similar reasons, some language features are more highly regarded than other variants. Language attitudes and language behaviour do not necessarily go hand in hand. People may, because of conflicting linguistic evaluations, may continue using a regional variation or variants because they feel more comfortable with what they are used to, or because they want to retain their regional identity of a particular

speech community. Those who are competent in the standard may adjust their variety in certain situations, particularly in the spoken medium, and are likely to converge their language in the direction of standard variants in the written medium, especially in formal style. On the other hand, some may retain distinguished features or variants because they are characteristic of others.

Acceptability and frequency

2 The metaphor of the continuum points to a distinction that applies to two other aspects of linguistic variation of English grammar. We distinguish between the central and the marginal status for acceptability and frequency.

Acceptability is a concept that does not apply exclusively to grammar. Native speakers may find a particular sentence unacceptable because the context they consider it inappropriate or because they cannot find a plausible context for its use or because it sounds clumsy or implausible. However, we are concerned only with the acceptability of forms in constructions with the grammar of their morphology or syntax.

In general, our examples are fully acceptable if they are left unqualified. But we sometimes mark as acceptable and unacceptable examples, modifying the latter by placing an asterisk (*) before them. If they are dubious or unacceptability but are not fully unacceptable, we put a query (?) before the material. A query alone signifies that native speakers are unsure about the particular language feature. If native speakers differ in their responses, we put the asterisk or query in parentheses. The assessment of native speaker evaluations reflect in part our own research, elicitation experiments with informants in the United States and Britain.

Assessments by native speakers of relative acceptability largely correlate with the relative results of relative frequency, we have conducted experiments in order to supply supplement this. But we have also drawn on our research and that of others from the frequencies of language performance in several important sources, eminently:

(a) the corpus of the Survey of English Usage (SEU), covering spoken as well as written varieties of British English
(b) the Brown University corpus, comprising samples of American printed English
(c) the parallel International Corpus of English (ICE), comprising samples of British, printed English

We have supplied these frequencies if the language that is more frequently, drawing attention just to those features that are extremely frequently or infrequently.

Our approach in this book is to focus on the common core that is shared by standard British English and standard American English. We have searched out features that the two standards vary or have in common, marking as (BrE) or (AmE) or (BrE) or (AmE) the features they differ. Usually we find it necessary to say (especially BrE) or (especially AmE), for this is

[illegible]

2.1.6 [illegible]

Bibliographical notes

[illegible]

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This chapter and its relation to later chapters

The plan of this grammar

2.1 Grammar is a complex system, the parts of which cannot be properly explored in a way that is not dependent on the way other parts of a grammar are actually defined, and there is no simple linear path to follow in explaining the parts in terms of another. The method of presentation adopted in this book will be to order the description of English grammar so that features which are simpler (in the sense that their explanation presupposes less) come before those which are more complex (in the sense that their explanation presupposes more).

Our notion of simplicity can be considered as a kind of calculation based on two ways: a simple item dealt with earlier in a simpler way can be taken up later for more extended treatment. These are the ideas: (a) Chapter 2; (b) Chapters 3 to 11; (c) Chapters 12 to 19.

The present chapter, which constitutes the first cycle, presents a surprisal outline of English grammar and of its major concepts and categories, with particular reference to the single sentence.

The second cycle, Chapters 3 to 11, is concerned with the basic constituents which make up the simple sentence. Thus Chapters 3 and 4 present the grammar and semantics of the verb phrase, and Chapters 5 and 6 the basic constituents of the noun phrase, in particular determiners, nouns and pronouns. Chapter 7 deals with adjectives and adverbs, Chapter 8 with attributes, and Chapter 9 with prepositions and prepositional phrases. In the light of these detailed studies, Chapters 10 and 11 then reassess the complexities of the nominal group.

The third cycle deals with topics which involve more complex sentence structures. Chapters 12 and 13 move beyond the simple sentence, dealing with subordination, ellipsis, and coordination: these constructs which may be carried out on simple sentences in order to build up structures of greater or less complexity. Chapters 14 and 15 focus on the clause, the basic unit of complexity – the whole line of two clauses in sentence. Thereby, making a more general study of the complex sentence. Chapter 16 follows on Chapters 3 and 4 in dealing further with the verb phrase, in particular with the verb, classification, verbs, verb forms, verbs relating to phrasal and prepositional verbs, and tense and aspectual constructions. Finally, Chapter 17 resumes the topic of Chapters 5 and 6, exploring the full complexity of the noun phrase in terms of constructions formally examined in earlier chapters. Chapter 18 then involves the knowledge of the whole grammar as described in preceding chapters, but only now with a view to presenting the various ways in which individual parts of a sentence can be arranged for focus, emphasis, and thematic prominence. Finally, Chapter 19 examines the ways in which stylistic grammar relates to the Grammar and texts, including their contrasting extended discourse in spoken and written.

The three Appendices summarise aspects of English which, though strictly peripheral to grammar, nevertheless impinge on it at many points, necessitating frequent reference to the body of the book in the topics concerned. They are word-formation (Appendix I); metre, rhythm, and versification (Appendix II); and punctuation (Appendix III).

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