

Original Paper

Interlanguage, Simplified English and Two-Word Structures

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Abstract

English is widely used as a Second Language. Papua New Guinea (PNG) in the 1990s (during my residence) had a population of approximately 4 million people who used slightly more than 800 languages. Many PNG people, through exogamy, have both a mother and a father language; they use Tok Pisin (a major dialect of Neo-Melanesian Creole English) for everyday communication outside their neighbourhood group; and they use English officially and for schooling. They are expert multilinguals. India is a vast, multilingual country with 427 languages, with English used officially and for education, and it is geographically remote from PNG. Both peoples were found to simplify English in similar ways, as an aid to learning the language, specifically by these means:

- rule-generalization (disregarding exceptions)
- giving a regular semantic basis to the prepositions (*in, into, for, on* etc.), which have a basis in regularity with reference to location, direction and time, but are, overall, highly irregular in Standard English (SE)
- reducing the system of article determiners (*the, a, zero*) to the zero option
- exploiting the use of two-word verb+preposition and verb+noun combinations like play up, play down, and do banking, do repairs, make progress.

This congruence implies systematic processes and a universal basis, suggesting that other learners could profit from this approach, with the further implication that this type of English is a true interlanguage.

Keywords

interlanguage, simplified English, two-word structures

1. Introduction

1.1 Facts of Language

According to the *Ethnologue*, there are slightly more than 7,000 languages in the world. Language is an attribute of the human brain, but it is not part of us in the same way that body parts, for example, are part of us. There are not even two varieties of hand to compare with the range of differences seen in language. The study of individual languages over many decades has not yielded much beyond the realm of ethnography, explaining how humans live. There have been few insights into our understanding of mind or how humans think or know, or how, physically, language is acquired, stored and accessed. We assume that the brain's currency is thought, and language is a window on thinking.

We know that language relies heavily on memory, which is itself little understood. The human brain comprises some 100 billion neurones, but we do not understand how these neurones control language. The following writers have made significant contributions to our understanding of meaning and its range, but relating these insights to the 100 billion brain cells is impossible at present.

Levin (1993), explains the pervasive role of *analogy* (words or phrases with similar meaning are likely to involve the same grammar), so that English verbs like *say, claim, know, believe* all use the assertive complement, *he says, claims, knows, believes that X is a fact*, because, in abstract terms, they share that semantic feature.

Pinker (1999), on the fact that words which follow a pattern are managed by *rules*, while exceptions to rules are managed separately by the brain, as what he calls *words*. Pinker draws his evidence from the *regular* English verbs, like *brake* and their consistent variations *brakes, braking, braked* (and this type of verb is numerous, with several

thousand examples), which contrast with the 120 or so *irregular* verbs, like *break*, *cut* and *know* with the inconsistent variant forms:

breaks, breaking, broke, broken

cuts, cutting, cut

knows, knowing, knew, known.

We note that non-standard dialects may also simplify such irregularities, like this:

“The boy done good” (SE: “The boy did well”)

“I seen him” (SE: “I saw him”),

so that *do* has the alternative forms *does*, *doing*, *done*, and *see* has *sees*, *seeing*, *seen*, without the irregular forms *did* and *saw*.

Sperber and Wilson (1986), on the significance of *relevance* to meaning (a different meaning of *star*, for example, is brought to mind depending on whether the context is Astronomy or Hollywood). Commonly quoted from Sperber and Wilson is the following transcription of a conversation:

A. Would you drive a MerCEdes?

B. I wouldn't buy ANY expensive car,

where the context, paying for a prestige car, overrides the specific meaning of *drive*.

Historically, insights into how humans learn and control language have been made from studies of language impairment through trauma or surgery, from information about how languages change over time or through contact, and from studies of language acquisition. Creoles provide examples of new languages and are maximally simple and efficient, but actual languages remain complex because they are historically derived, loaded with the baggage of change-over-time. Humans have created new languages, and Esperanto and Neo, for example, were developed to be regular and easier to learn than natural languages and by this means to act as potential mediums of international communication.

A significant, recent (2001), constructed language is Toki Pona (see Lang, 2014), which is noted for its small vocabulary (123 words), simple structure and ease of acquisition (30 hours, suggested). It was developed for philosophical and artistic purposes, but it demonstrates how language could have developed, based on simplicity (only 14 distinct sounds) and a large amount of ambiguity or polysemy, with reliance on immediate context to specify actual meaning. It represents the simplest functioning language.

A language is a mental construct or concept, because no two people have or use exactly the same form of any language. The key to communicability, of course, is context, for language is intended to be used, and it is context which gives relevance and reality of meaning to spoken utterances or written sentences. It is because context is the final arbiter of meaning that language can tolerate so much vagueness and ambiguity. The development of science and improved access to knowledge stored in writing presupposes greater specificity, and English has responded by the development of unambiguous vocabulary and appropriate formal writing styles.

Fundamental to any language is the need to disambiguate participants in so-called transitive sentences, *we see them*, *they see us* (*I* and *we* are called *nominative* and function as subject of a verb, *me* and *us* are the same words in the *accusative* case and function as *object* of a verb). English has five predicate structures, with the Copula predication having three alternatives, as follows.

5 predications in English

Copula, qualifying (type 1):

the dog (subject) *was* (verb) *large* (complement, qualifier).

Copula, equative (type 1):

the dog (subject) *was* (verb) *a mastiff* (complement, noun).

Copula, adverbial (type 1):

the dog (subject) *is* (verb) *in the garden* (complement, adverb).

the lecture (subject) *is* (verb) *tomorrow* (complement, adverb).

Transitive (type 2): *the dog* (subject) *bit* (verb) *the man* (direct object).

Intransitive (type 3): *the dog* (subject) *slept* (verb).

Ditransitive (type 4): *the man* (subject) *gave* (verb) *the dog* (indirect object) *the*

bone (direct object), OR *the man* (subject) *gave* (verb) *the bone* (direct object) *to the dog* (indirect object).

Complex-transitive (type 5): *the man* (subject) *Painted* (verb) *the house* (direct-object) *blue* (object-complement).

Languages differ in vocabulary, obviously, but the structure of their essential expressions varies only in limited ways. The following is a comparison of English (which is called Nominative-Accusative type) and Hindi (which is Split-Ergative type), where the English translation of the Hindi maintains the Hindi verb-final word order. English and Hindi are genetically related members of the Indo-European language family.

<u>English</u>	<u>Hindi</u>
She (Nominative) is happy.	She (Nominative) happy is.
He (Nominative) is a dog.	He (Nominative) dog is.
He (Nominative) sees me (Accusative).	He (Ergative) me (Accusative) sees.
I (Nominative) see her (Accusative).	I (Ergative) her (Accusative) see.
I (Nominative) run.	I (Nominative) run.
She (Nominative) runs.	She (Nominative) runs.

English marks the subject of transitive and intransitive verbs with the same Nominative marker, whereas Hindi uses a different marker for each, and the transitive marker is called Ergative (“doing”). English uses pre-positions (*in, into, of, on, to*), which precede the noun or noun-phrase which they qualify, while Hindi expresses the same ideas with post-positions, which follow their noun or noun-phrase.

1.2 Making Language Specific

The primary semantic divisions of words are taken to be: *ideas, stuff* (mass) and *things* (units). Ideas are themselves readily divisible into: processes (actions, happenings: DO), situations (states: BE), and attributes (or qualities: HAVE). These notions correlate closely with three English verbs, which exist as independent verbs and are also used as auxiliaries: DO, BE and HAVE. Within Systems, we find as a significant sub-group, words for *fields of endeavour* (sports, hobbies). Among Attributes, we can distinguish significant subsets of words for *feelings*, for *afflictions* and for *colours*, and these reflect aspects of our culture, our way of life.

An important feature of vocabulary is polysemy, and this is itself a complex notion. It can be realised by words from different word-classes, e.g. homophones such as *present* (= current time) Qualifier, and *present* (= gift) Noun; or the same word in different semantic sub-groups, eg *assignment* as *uncountable abstract Process* (= assigning), and *assignment* as countable concrete Unit (= task assigned); *hospital* = Place (*is in hospital*), and *hospital* = Unit (*two hospitals*); or homophones with unrelatable semantic reference, eg *hide* = animal skin, *hide* = concealed observation post; *game* = system, *game* = hunted animals.

The following exemplify the situation commonly found in dictionaries.

cant₁ slant, inclination

cant₂ a. whining, affected speech, b. monotonous/mechanical recitation,
c. hypocritical, pious expression, d. argot, in-group vocabulary (underworld)
jargon (respectable).

Standard English (SE) encodes varying amounts of specificity by means of an expanded vocabulary, and this is in large part achieved through *hyponymy*, through the creation of *technical vocabulary*, and through *metaphor*. English is historically a Germanic language, related to Dutch and German, but through conquest has borrowed much from Norman French (which belongs to the *Italic* subgroup of the Indo-European language family), with the result that English has had access to two word-stocks (this *kind* of thing: Germanic, this *sort* of thing: Italic). The Indo-European language family has five major subgroups - Balto-Slavic, Germanic, Greek, Indo-Iranian, Italic. The English common marker for plural nouns (-s) is from French, and a high proportion of English vocabulary is of French or Italic origin. Traditional English (Germanic-type) plurals are retained as exceptions, like *foot/feet, goose/geese, tooth/teeth*. The commonest words (those heard most often) are from Old English (*a, in, on, of, the, with*, etc.) and the commonest suffixes, *-ness, -ing*.

Hyponymy is the expansion of vocabulary by specialization, as the hyponym *good* is subdivided into specialist fields:

pleasant, fine / moral, virtuous / competent, skilled / useful, adequate / reliable, untainted / kind, giving / authentic, real / well-behaved.

Cultural change and the need for increased precision in the workplace have triggered a linguistic response, because language is flexible. The word *billion* was hardly used fifty years ago but is commonplace today, the result of inflation over time.

The need for precision in science led to the development of the International Scientific Vocabulary (ISV), which is chiefly based on Latin and Ancient Greek roots and affixes (words like, *autochthonous, bipedal, taxonomy*, which are relatively unambiguous) and is a modern development. The need for syntax to argue logically and scientifically was met by the conscious adoption of Latin and Ancient Greek models, and these were enhanced by strategies of *syntactic compression*, which allowed more information to be squeezed into a single sentence by permitting a predication to be stated as a premise and then commented on or discussed. By these means, language has adapted to suit society's changing needs.

Metaphor means transferring the essence of meaning to a new context. Modern English comprises words for physical objects and substances (like *stone* and *milk*), but also has many words for ideas (like *truth* and *power*). The idea of "keeping animals" as in *animal-husbandry* can be transferred metaphorically to the idea of *keeping a diary*. English now has thousands of metaphorical expressions, and new metaphors can be created as the need arises by extension of a meaning to a new context.

English is also a literary and professional language, and this means that writers and professionals are actively creating new connotations and word-combinations, like, *weak signal propagation* in Aviation Communication; *propagation* was previously used in farming and botanical contexts, as in *plant-propagation*.

Traditionally, as spoken language, utterances are set in a context (which often is visible), and writing, in particular, radically changed the situation, in that the context became technical and not visibly obvious, and writing had to compensate and adapt. A striking feature of the meanings of non-technical words is their breadth of meaning and tendency to ambiguity. Human brains are comfortable using the same word with two meanings (*carry-out, ring, sea/see, waste/waist*, for example). Technical words, on the other hand, avoid ambiguity, and the formal styles they are commonly associated with traditionally require the more specific, single-word or Latinate equivalents of phrasal verbs (*eliminate* for *get rid of*, *perform* for *carry out*). The editors of the Collins Cobuild Phrasal Verbs Dictionary noted that phrasal verbs, probably because they are used more commonly than their non-phrasal synonyms, and possibly because they belong to a productive subsystem, may lack a synonym as a close meaning-equivalent among the Latinate group (compare *calm down* with *relax*, for example). The implication is that speech is more common and less conscious than writing and is subject to change on the basis of natural forces (without human contrivance).

Language began as an oral medium, perhaps 150,000 years ago, and much more recently, about 5,000 years ago, it developed a written medium, and literacy, once acquired and developed by use, becomes an essential component of our language repertoire. Literacy underlies much of modern culture and as such is continuously reinforced, making it virtually ineradicable. We think of learning language naturally in the oral mode, but we also learn or expand our language naturally by reading, at the stage when learning by reading has begun to overtake learning by hearing (and speaking).

In order to appreciate the level of influence exerted by literacy, in addition to a speaker's knowledge of language-in-context, consider the following passage which has been edited to show only the beginnings and ends of words spelled in the correct order.

Can yuo raed tihs? Olny 55 plepoe out of 100 can.

I cdnuolt blveiee taht I cluod aulacly uesdnatnrd waht I was rdanieg. The pweor of the human mnid is phaonmnel. Aoccdrnig to rscheearch at Cmabrigde Uinervtisy, it dseno't mtaetr in waht oerdr the ltteres in a wrod are, the only iproamtnt tihng is taht the frsit and lsat ltteer be in the rghit pclae. The rset can be a taotl mses and you can sitil raed

it whotuit a pboerlm. This is bcuseae the hmaun mind deos not raed ervey lteter by istlef, but the wrod as a wlohe, in its exentot.

Originally from: jacob.weinberg@gmail.com

Note that the “research” mentioned has not been traced.

The word stock of an oral language user is judged to be about 10,000 words, though compilations made over generations can increase this number. By comparison, a literate learner, through study, can develop a vocabulary of 30,000 word families, where word-family can imply a derivational and inflectional potential of three times 30,000 (*sing, sings, singing, sang, sung, singer, singers*). Literacy utilizes an extra sense - that of sight - in addition to hearing/speaking. Vocabulary assessments are available online from the University of Wellington, New Zealand, which is also a centre of vocabulary research: www.my.vocabularysize.com

We have identified another context in which natural processes of language modification provide insights into the ways in which language operates. English is widely used as a mother tongue, but even more widely used as a so-called Second-language (L2). We have identified a Second language English which is used by two disparate and geographically separated populations, and which expresses a range of forms of increasing complexity, from the simplest and most regular to the equivalent of the First-language (L1) speaker variety. The differences (from the L1 varieties), which have arisen naturally and unconsciously, explain some underlying and essential principles of how oral-learners understand English. They also demonstrate two principles of acquisition. In order to create a grammar to manage any new language, learners will proceed gradually by concentrating on the most common/prevalent words and structures. Learners will seek to associate meaning differences with particular grammatical structures and they will rely on literal meanings. They cannot simply “learn by copying or repeating,” although learning involves some of this, because each language has a syntax or set of preferred structures, which correlate with specific meanings. Consider the form of questions, *Did you say that? Where did they find the box?* Some learners, at a beginning stage, may form questions by prefixing the word *question* to a declarative sentence, like: Question, you did that? (= Did you do that?). Mastering an unfamiliar language happens in stages over several years and usually involves some form of simplification initially. I have heard of learners, for example, practising the number/gender/case affixes of German in the early stages by attaching the forms to English words. Gradually, learners replace the English words with their German equivalents.

English varieties can be described on two parameters - that of formality (the difference between formal and informal), and the distinction between oral and written. Formality can range from the strict wording of a formal invitation, judicial order or the like to the free expression of a Post-it note to a friend. Most formal varieties are written, but they may be spoken. An academic/professional conference presentation or an address to a Press Conference will usually be rehearsed to some extent and not delivered off the cuff, and the language will choose words and sentence structures to suit the formality of the setting.

Halliday (1966) showed that English was undergoing a shift at the word and phrase level which was equivalent to compression at the syntactic level, by creating new compound words, joining two words to express a new concept. He cited evidence that noun was the dominant word-class, in terms of both frequency and productivity. Examples of modern compounds are the following: *woman-beating cocaine-trafficker, mean-spirited cost-cutting, working-from-home tax claim, multi-choice offset claim methods, Media Transfer Protocol*. As working lives have become more specialized, so has the language responded with word-compounding, and especially noun-compounding, as Halliday predicted.

1.3 Two-Word Expressions

There is a further development in the use of especially oral English which is relevant to our thesis that English word-meaning increasingly relies on two-word structures. The following is a standard expression, *the plane landed safely*. When a more complex expression with a modifier or a qualifier is used, then it is customary to employ an alternative syntax, as follows, *the plane made an emergency landing*, where what we will call a *general verb (make)* governs a two-word noun-phrase. Using the earlier verbal syntax, we would expect something like, *the plane landed in an emergency*. What we find commonly now is that the general verb + noun syntax is dominant, so that *the plane made a safe landing* becomes the norm. Further examples are as follows.

he suggested that we meet next Tuesday

he made the (positive) suggestion that we meet next Tuesday.

With (7), we are more inclined to accept as fact that he is unhappy.

(8) William Dampier named New Britain in 1700. In 1884, Germany annexed the island and developed the copra industry. In 1919, the League of Nations placed New Britain and other German territories under a mandate to Australia.

In (8), after the first mention of the date (1700), the fronted adverbials in Topic position (underlined) indicate the organisation of the information.

Word-order changes - examples.

Reversal of participants

Type 1 The boss / was / the electrician

(Copula) S V Cs

Reverse: The electrician / was / the boss

S V Cs

Type 1 Plenty of fish / were / at the wharf

(Locative) S V A

Reverse: At the wharf / were / plenty of fish

A V S

Type 2 Active: The dog / bit / the policeman / this morning

(Transitive) S V Od A

Passive: The policeman / was bitten / by the dog / this morning

(Reverse) S V A A

Type 3 Active: The man / gave / the dog / the bone

(Ditransitive) S V Oi Od

Passive: The bone / was given / to the dog / by the man

(Reverse) S V A A

Type 5 Active: The man / painted / the house / blue

(Complex-transitive): S V O Co

Passive: The house / was painted / blue / by the man

(Reverse) S V Co A

Reversal does not apply to Type 3 sentences.

Tough-movement is a process for fronting some objects, as seen in (11); (10) is a preliminary change.

(9) To comply with the NCDC regulations / is / difficult.

S V Cs

(10) It / is / difficult to comply with the NCDC regulations.

S V Cs

(10) is an example of extraposition, a type of Backing which is explained below.

(11) The NCDC regulations / are / difficult to comply with.

S V Cs

Emphatic fronting. When constituents are fronted with emphasis, the syntax marks this by reversing the order of subject and verb. A common example is the fronting of WH question words.

(12) What / did / they / take?

O S V

If we do not front the WH word, then we do not invert:

(13) They / took / what?

S V O

The inversion is a product of the fronting, not the question, as the following show.

(14) Never / have / I / experienced / such vigorous opposition

A+Emp S V O

(15) At no time / did / I / acknowledge / their demands

A+Emp S V O

Pseudo-cleft (applies to any constituent)

(32) The clan / wants / to lease land to developers.

S V O

(33) What the clan wants / is / TO LEASE LAND TO DEVELOPERS.

(34) What the clan wants to lease to developers /is/ LAND.

(35) Who the clan wants to lease land to / is / DEVELOPERS.

(36) What the clan wants to do with its land/ is/ LEASE IT TO DEVELOPERS.

Hyperbole

Some forms of spoken and written language, especially popular daily newspapers, are prone to exaggerate. This emphasis attaches not to the facts of a report, but to its expression. Thus, *slam* and *lay into* are commonly used to mean *criticise*. Two-word qualifiers (adjectives), like *rock-steady*, *cherry-red*, or modifier + verb compounds, like *unbelievably complicated*, *irrationally good-looking* also add emphasis.

2 Facts of English

2.1 Second-Language English

The analysis of Second-language English in India and Papua New Guinea reveals the same simplifications which enable learners to progress from simpler to more complex varieties, implying that this set of systems, which we call New English (NE), is a true interlanguage. The users are multilinguals, acquiring oral competence in several languages during early childhood, and often switching between three or four languages during each day as adults, if they spend their day in urban or mixed environments. The way these speakers develop competence, initially by simplifying the grammar and lexis, based not unexpectedly on frequency, shows how language is acquired as a second or subsequent language. Speakers simplify English by means of rule-generalizations, by applying literal meanings consistently to prepositions (that is, by regularizing the system's semantics), by simplifying the article determiners to the zero option, and by using two-word (and sometimes three-word) combinations, which commonly comprise a general verb (be, do, get, have, make, take) followed by a noun (*make an arrangement*, *have misgivings*, *make up a story*, *make up one's face*). Other strategies include analogical levelling, a form of rule-generalization. English has two structures which differ in form but which have the same semantic force: *they call this plant "tulsi (basil)"* and *this plant is known as "tulsi."* NE simplifies by using the second structure, with as, exclusively: *they call this plant as "tulsi,"* and *this plant is known as "tulsi."* It is Important to note that NE and SE are mutually intelligible and that NE represents a scale of variation, as NE users adopt features of SE and especially the exceptions to generalisations, such as learning that the plural form of *crisis* is *crises*. When we listen to someone speak, we want to understand their message, not check how grammatically they speak. Speech is *spontaneous* compared to the studied, *conscious* nature of writing.

2.1.1 Complement Sentences

The simplifications, as might be expected, include rule-generalizations so that, for example, the assertive/non-assertive distinction in Standard English (SE) Noun-Phrase Complement sentences is neutralized, with the result that NE in its most basic form uses only the non-assertive *to do* structure:

SE, assertive: *she announced that she will extend the moratorium.*

SE, non-assertive: *she told them to extend the moratorium.*

NE, assertive: *she announced to extend the moratorium.*

NE, non-assertive: *she told them to extend the moratorium.*

This implies that the L2 speakers do not recognize the meaning difference between *assertive* and *non-assertive*. It is arguable whether L1 speakers recognize the difference and rather learn that *that*-complements follow a specific set of verbs (like, *say*, *think*, *know*, *believe*, etc.).

Over time, speakers acquire the *-ing* non-finite complement structure, used initially with *for* to express purpose: *she planted maize for harvesting in the summer*. This is subsequently extended in range to include non-purpose uses: *he*

liked organizing the festivities. Lastly, the finite, assertive *that*-complement is brought into use: *he said that the preparations were complete.*

2.1.2 Prepositions

Standard English uses more than 200 prepositions (my data list includes 224 prepositions: 92 single-word prepositions (*in, of, on, from*, etc.) and 132 complex forms (like *because of, by virtue of, in regard to*), to form combinations with verbs and adjectives (*give in = submit, happy about* the new baby, *big on* programming), to express location in time and space (*at night, in front of the gate*), and to explain relationships (a person *with an opinion*, the back *of the bus*). The English prepositions lack consistent meanings beyond the literal, locational senses (*on the table, under the table, inside the box*, etc.), and this places a heavy burden on learners to remember which preposition to use in context. NE simplifies by applying consistent meanings to prepositions, based on the locational/temporal and literal meanings (including, for example, *for* = for a purpose, for a reason, for a benefit or loss).

We draw attention to the variations in the choice of preposition, which is often unpredictable in SE, but predictable (meaningful) in NE, e.g.,

NE: apprise X about, comment about, communicate about, disclose about,
elaborate about, express about, inform about, lament about,
lash out about, mention about, open up about, report about,
reveal about, state about.

SE: ask about X, divide X among, separate X from, forward X to, meddle with X.

Unfortunately for foreign learners, English prepositions are also used in combination with other words beyond their basic meanings. For example, we can say, literally, *the book is on the table*, and we can also say, *we rely on you*, where *rely on* does not reflect location, even metaphorically. We describe such a usage as idiomatic (the words do not bear a literal or a metaphorically related meaning). We also use prepositions to introduce complements (words connected to verbs), like *to, on, of, from* and *with* in these examples.

I gave John the book # I gave the book to John.

she sprayed the seats with disinfectant # she sprayed disinfectant on the seats.

he drained the water from the sink # he drained the sink of water.

In analyzing language, the brain will be sensitive to frequency of occurrence and will seek to isolate a pattern and its meaning (consistency of meaning and use). Over its long history, SE has developed uses for prepositions which break the traditional pattern-meaning relationship. Commonly, SE also introduces ambiguity into what begins as a literal combination of verb plus adverb. Thus, *run out* means “move from inside to outside by running.” It is then normal practice for a language to employ *run out* idiomatically (with an unrelated meaning, which creates ambiguity), in the case of English, to mean “deplete.” What we find as a result is that New English firstly discovers meanings and patterns (we call it *regularity* in grammar), and subsequently adds the anomalous forms (which we call *irregularity* or *exceptions* or *idioms* in grammar), but before acquiring SE oddities, NE will *regularize* them.

The data below show that SE is *irregular*, while NE seeks *regularity* by consistency of meaning (of the preposition). Where NE employs the single preposition *for*, SE uses nine different prepositions (and these do not include *for!*). The formula of presentation undelimits NE, e.g., NE *for* / SE *of*.

The data are drawn from a corpus of some 6,000 phrases and sentences, and about 500 words and shorter phrases, which were collected from browsing the English-medium Indian newspapers during August to November, 2020. NE and SE are mutually-intelligible and co-exist comfortably.

redesigning looks and marketing for / of its SUVs
approached High Court for / about alleged eviction by their son
compatible for / with Dell
arrested management officials from / of both factories
sell their produce with / at proper rates
landlord in / through whose property pipeline passes

court files were served to / on him yesterday
will be informed about / of timing
complain against / about this illegal fish sale
shipping corridor in / along the coast
is delaying decision to / of our longstanding demand
who was present for / at that meeting
at frightening frequency / with frightening frequency

FOR

for / of

dislike <u>for</u> / of X	fear <u>for</u> / of somebody
disregard	hope
habitat	a gate
offence	attraction
process	enabler
mainstay	forecaster
means	chief guest
convict (vb.	capacity
marketing	a notice
assure X <u>for</u> security	starved <u>for</u> customers
seating capacity	possibility <u>for</u> fatalities

for / to

an example	leave X
applicable	challenge
hindrance	dedicate
aspire	conducive
dangerous	invite
issue cards	ban entry
beneficial	consent
a boost	inspire X
lend a hand	liable
mandatory	open X
challenge	accessible
invitation	a pest

administer anesthesia for / to a patient
 brought their own food for / to the meeting
 proceed (for doing) / (to do)
 offer X (for doing) / (to do)
 ready (for doing) / (to do)
 services (for doing) / (to do)
 urge X (for doing) / (to do)

for / about

be concerned	contact X
intimation	do anything
question X	speak up
cautious	

for / with

charge X (<u>for</u> misconduct)	credit X
catch red handed	compatible

for / *at*

be present (*for* a meeting) guest (*for* a ceremony)

for / *from*

bar X *for* an exam / *from* an exam

for / *in*

raised the ceiling *for* sanction of new works

take on China *for* a war

for / *on*

for display

a ban *for* any airlines carrying more than five cases

have no mercy *for* poor farmers

for / *before, until, to*

18 months left *for* Assembly elections.

The following exemplify the consistency of the meaning of the preposition *on* in NE, in comparison to SE.

ON

Note that SE has two uses of *on*, and they actually sound different. Consider the difference between the following: *sip on* (a drink), *continue on* (doing it). The examples cited are like the first pattern, where *on* is always unaccented. In the second pattern (*continue on*, etc.), *on* is always accented in addition to the verb.

on / *about*

clear <i>on</i> X	a letter <i>on</i> X
complain	contact X (cf. also <i>for</i> / <i>about</i>)
to guide X	clue
discussion	discoveries
opinion	adamant
mislead	information
remark	question
rumours	positive
serious	vigilant
a video	approach High Court
speak	educate
films	story
say	positive

on / *of*

awareness	inform X <i>on</i> / of Y
patrol	idea
glance	ignorance
coverage	experience
explanation	data
work	scrutiny
details	assessment
biopic	

on / *for*

accountability <i>on</i> X	scheduled <i>on</i> X date (in the future)
charge <i>on</i> using	campaign <i>on</i> benefits
meeting was fixed <i>on</i>	(<i>for</i> 18 December)

on / to

remit X on Y blind on X
add X on Y leave it all on God
objection on X tax demand on Tata
injury on his legs agree on amendments
inflow of capital on industrial sector
reply to messages sent on their phones

on / with

encounter on X on a clean slate

on / in

confidence on X diet low on X
hang X on a tree stab X on his neck
invest on securities
on official capacity do X on my name
on basket, car, boat, canoe, newspaper, field, zone
(fire) controlled on time (*in* time)
on line of duty (*in* the line of duty)

on / at

on request of X on behest of X
pelt stones on X bought on auction
on a site, place, location, side

on / against

crimes on women
violence on X
accusation on X
take action on X
decisions on Government
commit rape on X

on / nil

avoid on X clarify on X
check on emphasize on
compromise on decide on
give up on ply on
stress on reject *on*
sip on reveal *on*

Idiom: on top priority (*as* a top priority)

Complement: reluctant on banning DG (*reluctant to ban DG*).

SE encodes a further complication with prepositions in that a verb may govern an object without requiring a linking preposition, while the equivalent noun derived from the verb (called a nominalization) requires a preposition. Consider the following examples, which exemplify SE.

<u>VERB</u>	<u>NOMINALIZATION</u>
X baptised Y	X's baptism of Y
X paid Y	X's payment to Y
X redeployed Y	X's redeployment of Y
X emphasized Y	X's emphasis on Y
X interfered with Y	X's interference with Y

X depended on Y	X's dependence on Y
X emerged from Y	X's emergence from Y
X avoided Y	X's avoidance of Y.

In situations where the SE verb uses no preposition while the nominalization does, NE will introduce regularity of patterning by using the preposition with both forms, as follows (NE forms).

<u>VERB</u>	<u>NOMINALIZATION</u>
X avoided <u>on</u> Y	avoidance <u>on</u> Y
X emphasized <u>on</u> Y	emphasis <u>on</u> Y
X objected <u>on</u> Y	objection <u>on</u> Y
X revealed <u>on</u> Y	revelation <u>on</u> Y.

Again, because NE uses prepositions with real meaning, the pattern is consistent, while in SE the patterning is only partial because of historical changes. The following examples highlight the literal-based logic of NE compared to SE.

I am burden for my family (I am a burden *on* my family)
 not to use objectionable words against rival candidates (not to use objectionable words *about* rival candidates)
 Disciplinary Enquiry against officers (Inquiry *into* the officers)
 to bring many more laurels for India (to bring many more laurels *to* India)
 police traced him at Vasai hospital (police traced him *to* Vasai hospital)
 information was leaked in social media (information was leaked *on* social media)
 was wrong on Law to pass this order (was wrong *in* Law to pass this order)
 talk about news from ground (talk about the news *on* the ground)
 filed complaint for trespassing into his property (filed a complaint for trespassing *on* his property)
 evidence on its effectiveness (evidence *of* its effectiveness)
 fake prescription of psychotropic drugs (fake prescription *for* psychotropic drugs)
 in protest for inefficiency displayed by the police (in protest *at* the inefficiency displayed by the police)
 not convinced with assurances (not convinced *by* assurances)
 will spend Rs.200 crore for this project (will spend Rs.200 crore *on* this project)
 there is no alternative for cultivable land (there is no alternative *to* cultivable land)
 has been present for every inspection (has been present *at* every inspection).

A difference can occur where SE connects the preposition to a preceding word, while NE connects it to a following word. Thus, in SE (*traced him to a hospital*), *to* relates to *trace*, while in NE (*traced him at hospital*), *at* modifies *hospital*.

Note also the following, where SE uses the preposition to link *relevant* and *past*, while NE treats in (*the*) *past* as a phrase:

NE they are relevant in past
 SE they are relevant *to* the past

and similarly:

NE remittances received in these companies
 SE remittances received *by* these companies.

The essential functions of prepositions in English are to indicate location and direction (in space and time) and to express relationships, and different cultures may express these concepts in different ways. Compare the following, for example.

NE <u>on</u> a car, canoe	SE <i>in</i> a car, canoe
<u>in</u> a list, register	<i>on</i> a list, register
<u>on</u> site, side, end	<i>at</i> a site, side, end

<i>since</i> years	<i>for</i> years
<i>for</i> future	<i>in</i> the future
<i>throughout</i> duration	<i>for</i> the duration
<i>post</i> death	<i>after</i> death
<i>in</i> night	<i>at</i> night / <i>during</i> the night
<i>under</i> process	<i>in</i> process
<i>under</i> limelight	<i>in</i> the limelight
get <i>under</i> my nerves	get <i>on</i> my nerves
<i>sans</i> permission	<i>without</i> permission.

2.1.3 Possession

SE makes a difference in the “possessor + possessed” construction between two forms, *the woman’s bag* and *the front of the house*. The traditional explanation is that animates or closely associated possessors use the apostrophe form, while inanimates use the expression with *of*. NE neutralizes the difference by using the *of* expression exclusively, as follows.

- all major issues of Goa* (all Goa’s major issues)
- who opposed to extension of service of Naik* (who opposed Naik’s extension of service)
- on social media platform of CM’s office* (on the CM’s office social media platform)
- India is foremost strategic ally of France* (is France’s foremost strategic ally)
- to carry forward political legacy of his father* (his father’s legacy)
- vehicle went out of control of the driver* (the vehicle went out of the driver’s control)
- divert attention from real issues of the youth* (from the youths’ real issues)
- a pigeon injured with the string of a kite* (injured by a kite’s string)
- the narration of Laura* (Laura’s narration).

2.1.4 Article Determiners

The semantic distinction *definite/indefinite* is not recognised universally or obligatorily marked in languages (as *negative* is obligatorily marked, for example), and a language can mark such distinctions optionally or where there is a need to disambiguate (like optionally reduplicating nouns to mark plurality in Bahasa Indonesia and Bahasa Melayu). Learners can simplify their target language by omitting such marking without impairing comprehension, by relying on context to disambiguate. In the terse style of the old-style telegrams, articles were omitted as a matter of course without loss of intelligibility. A language is flexible enough that a speaker/writer can make a mistake and use the wrong word, and the listener/reader will correct the mistake in their mind, e.g. mistakenly saying a *coagulated* cable instead of a *coaxial* cable, because the context will help to specify the intended meaning.

SE Article Determiners belong to a larger substitution class, as follows; see also Lyons, 1999, whose survey points to *definieness* being an areal feature of languages, suggesting that after the marking of definiteness arose, it was copied by neighbouring groups, presumably for its utility value.

DETERMINER

DEFINITE REFERENCE (count, mass and uncount nouns)

		Referring:		Interrogative:	
		proximate	remote	general	general
Demonstrative:	singular	<i>this</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>which</i>
	plural	<i>these</i>	<i>those</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>which</i>
Possessive:		<i>my, his, her, its, our, your, their</i>			<i>whose</i>

INDEFINITE REFERENCE (singular count nouns only)

a(n) any some each every no.

The distinctions drawn by the articles in English (*a*, *the* and *zero-article*) are viewed as a Hierarchy of Relevance, which presupposes the following semantically-based classes of word:

Uncountable noun (Ideas like: *collapse, peace, flexitime, midday*)

Mass noun (Stuff (*chalk, rain, tofu*))

Countable noun (Units: *eagle, mouse, suitcase*

or Instances of Ideas: *an emotion, a memory, an argument*

or Types or Measures: *a glass, a cream, a flour*).

At the lowest level of the Hierarchy, only Countable nouns in the singular carry a mark, *a*, *an*. All other forms, including plural countables and mass nouns, carry no mark (*schools, mice, rain*). These nouns are *non-specific* (e.g. *any schools, any mice* or *any rain*) and are the lowest ranked on the Hierarchy because they are *concepts* or generalities and the least definite, real or relevant to us.

The second step in the Hierarchy is to make any of the types of word *specific* or *relevant to us*. We make all word types (uncount, mass, singular and plural) definite by adding the preclitic article *the* (*the collapse, the chalk, the glass, the glasses*, etc). Note that uncount *ideas*, by the addition of *the*, become instantiated and real, e.g. *the memory of last year's Office Party*.

The third step in the Hierarchy is to recognize the definiteness of titles, because names and titles do not require an article (they use the so-called *zero* article). Historically, England has been a monarchy, and part of its tradition was to have its own hierarchies designated by titles (*Sir, Lord, Duke, Prince, Princess*, etc., and in the uniformed services, *General, Colonel, Inspector*, etc.). These titles are already specific enough and render articles redundant.

In the modern era, large corporations, official agencies and the like, have received the recognition of *Capital Lettered Names* or *Acronym Names* to make them distinctive in print (Honda, Gillette, Boeing, UNESCO, WHO). Like proper-names, none of these takes any article, except to denote an example or variety (like, a Boeing or a Honda, but not normally *a UNESCO or *a WHO, because these names have no product).

Note that *the* may be used when speaking certain names (like, *the World Health Organization* or *the United States of America / the USA*). We can also use the articles with names, if there is a need to distinguish two people with the same name, as in, *the John I know lives in Wales*.

The fourth step in the Hierarchy is to recognize those words which are closest to us, the things we call *possessions*, like *my hand, your phone, our car, their cat, your sister*. Individuals decide what is included in this set, which has an affinity to the class of *inalienables* in some other languages, like the words for body parts and family members.

NE Determiners. NE simplifies by employing the zero-article across the board. NE respects capital letters, but simplifies by eliminating the possibility of using *the* with any word beginning with a capital letter, *UN*, but never *the UN, USA*, but never *the USA*. The use of Possessive determiners for *possessions* is also recognized in NE, but the non-specific/specific distinction is mostly replaced by the use of no marker, or else *the* is used in obvious environments, as in cases where a noun is post-qualified: *the bird in (the) cage, the tunnel in Himachal*. Omission of an article does not interfere with communication or comprehension. The following are examples of article use in NE.

Names, Titles

Gandhis have to come out of their bubble (the Gandhis)

news reports on Herald (in the Herald (newspaper))

received in US bank accounts of X (in X's US bank accounts)

issued in wake of Supreme Court judgement (in the wake of the Supreme Court judgement)

Malabar tree nymph (butterfly) won the vote (the Malabar)

was in ICU on ventilator (was in the ICU on a ventilator)

five women born in Congo (in the Congo).

Zero article

this is nonsensical averment (a nonsensical)
facilitated procurement of drugs (the procurement)
he first came into limelight (into the limelight)
bring women on equal footing with men (on an equal footing)
to assess what should be age of marriage (be the age)
at best of times, Indian roads are chaotic (at the best of times)
is crucial for connecting station near Aizawl (connecting the station)
will not shy away from walking extra mile in Goa (the extra mile)
divert attention from real issues of the youth (from the real issues)
to answer questions in offline mode (in the offline mode)
aviation industry has been hit hard (the aviation industry)
no safe plan for coming in office (coming to the office)
help to drive innovation avenue across the State (drive the innovation avenue).

Other examples include words and phrases referring to numbers and quantities.

more than one and half dozen (and a half)
since last three days (since the last)
in order to beat coronavirus down, there are few things we have to do
(are a few things)
total 45.98% students (a total of 45.98%)

And similarly with expressions of location.

at centre of road (at the centre of the road)
and 5 MP front camera in middle (in the middle).

2.1.5 Two-word structures

A significant feature of NE is its preference for, even reliance on, two-word structures, and analysis of oral and less formal varieties of SE shows a predominance of two-word combinations in modern usage. Modern English has come to express meaning firstly in compound nouns (*activewear*) and nominalizations (*direction-finding*), compound verbs (*to paddle-board*), and compound qualifiers (*hand-crafted*, *lamentably small*), and secondly in combinations of verb + noun (*make a recommendation*) and verb + adverb or preposition (*take in the idea* (= understand the idea), the so-called phrasal verbs. NE exploits these structures as a means of simplifying SE.

Among phrasal verbs, the commonest adverbs are *up*, *down*, *out*, *on*, *off*, and the first three are used to form the so-called SE *telic* aspect (meaning *do to completion*). Thus, we find the following pairs in SE.

<u>Non-telic</u>	<u>Telic</u>
wrap	wrap up
fasten	fasten up
drink	drink up
write	write up
fold	fold up
cover	cover up
tear (paper)	tear up
cut	cut up
cut (tree)	cut down (tree)
track	track down
wear	wear out
bleed	bleed out
dry	dry out.

In respect of Levin's *semantic determination*, consider the following subset of SE telic forms in SE.

cut up *carve up* *chop up* *dice up* *divide up* *mince up* *slice up*

and the NE non-telic set:

*advertise for agree for assure for call for demand for justify for
order for plead for prescribe for propose for recommend for
request for search for seek for urge for.*

Note that *up* in SE is ambiguous and has other meanings - literal, metaphorical and idiomatic, as follows.

Literal: he pulled the rope *up* (higher)

Metaphor: she traded her car *up* (bought a more expensive car)

Idiom: their (lottery) numbers *came up* (were successful).

The telic / non-telic distinction is subtle enough that most speakers of English are unaware of it. The reason for this is probably the confusion created by ambiguities. Thus, *wrap up* literally means to enclose as a parcel or packet *telicly*, but *wrap up* is also used *idiomatically* and *non-telicly* to mean to end or finish something, like an event. In the European and North American winters, people learn to *wrap up well* (= wear warm clothes).

NE, in its basic form, does not acknowledge the telic opposition, and we find that the phrasal and non-phrasal forms are used interchangeably.

<i>chart</i> new courses	<i>chart out</i> new courses
watch numbers <i>rise</i>	watch numbers <i>rise up</i>
<i>draw</i> action plan	<i>draw up</i> action plan
<i>pick</i> books	<i>pick up</i> books
<i>are crying</i> for attention	<i>are crying out</i> for attention
claims <i>are still pouring</i>	<i>are still pouring in</i>
<i>search</i> culprits	<i>search for</i> culprits
<i>handed</i> three floors	<i>handed over</i> three floors
officials <i>handed over</i> summons to her mother / officials <i>handed</i> a summons to her mother	
digital video recorder was <i>stolen away</i> / digital video recorder was <i>stolen</i>	
is about self-reliance or <i>cutting down</i> imports / is about self-reliance or <i>cutting</i> imports	
urged them not to <i>object</i> the project / urged them not to <i>object to</i> the project	
rock carvings <i>tampered</i> by miscreants / rock carvings <i>tampered with</i> by miscreants.	

NE also adds an adverb to verbs which do not add one in SE, by analogy of meaning (recall Levin's *semantic determination*).

NE <i>waive off</i> charges	SE <i>waive</i> charges
<i>whittle</i> funds <i>down</i>	<i>whittle</i> funds
supplies, <i>dwindle down</i>	supplies, <i>dwindle</i>
<i>give in</i> details	<i>give</i> details
<i>clear off</i> doubts	<i>clear</i> doubts
<i>move on</i> to Bengal	<i>move</i> to Bengal (= relocate)
<i>venture out</i> to Delhi	<i>venture</i> to Delhi
will <i>lease out</i> these premises	will <i>lease</i> these premises
<i>breathe in</i> fresh, clean air	<i>breathe</i> fresh, clean air
<i>settled down</i> in Delhi	<i>settled</i> in Delhi
<i>settle out</i> dispute	<i>settle</i> dispute
unsafe to <i>move around</i> freely	unsafe to <i>move</i> freely
block their entrance and <i>trap</i> them <i>in</i> (block their entrance and <i>trap</i> them)	
before he <i>reaches into</i> any forest (before he <i>reaches</i> any forest)	
unless these norms are <i>eased up</i> (unless these norms are <i>eased</i>).	

NE gives priority to the literal meanings of adverbs used in phrasal combinations. Consider these examples with *down*.

<i>get down</i> (SE alight, get off)	<i>beat down</i> (SE flatten)
<i>shoot down</i> (SE ditto)	<i>come down</i> (SE ditto, literal)
<i>cut down tree</i> (ditto)	<i>chop down tree</i> (ditto)
<i>trample down</i> (ditto)	<i>swoop down</i> (ditto)
<i>close down</i> (ditto)	<i>burn down</i> (ditto)
<i>prices, die down</i> (fall)	<i>pen down words</i> (pen words).

But also, metaphorically,
hand down sentence (pronounce).

Compare these NE examples of *out*.

<i>put out</i> (to pasture)	<i>help out</i> (SE help)
<i>leave out</i> (outside)	<i>map out</i> (SE map)
<i>send out</i> (SE send away)	<i>spread out</i> (SE spread)
<i>shift out</i> (SE relocate)	<i>lease out</i> (SE lease)
<i>bring out</i> (SE reveal)	<i>sell out</i> (SE sell)
<i>fly out</i> (SE fly away)	<i>give out</i> (SE give)
<i>go out</i> (outside)	<i>start out</i> (SE start)
<i>strain out</i> waste	<i>cry out</i> (SE cry)
<i>drain out</i> water	<i>voice out</i> (SE voice)
<i>weed out</i> impurities	<i>read out</i> (SE read)
<i>pull out</i> (SE rescue)	<i>list out</i> (SE list).

The left column exemplifies literal uses of *out*, while the right column exemplifies *out* being used redundantly, because NE often “regularizes” single-word verbs by making them 2-word structures. The latter may exist in SE as *telic aspect* structures. The verb *carry out* is probably the most common of the phrasal verbs with *out* and it is ambiguous - with a literal meaning and also an idiomatic meaning, in the sense of *perform*, and NE users regularly conflate these different-in-SE forms.

2.1.6 Analogical levelling, the case of *As*

A further example of this application of analogy is the use of *as* after verbs of *naming* and the like. SE uses *as* with relatively few verbs, like *act* and *treat*, but not with verbs like *name*, *promote*, *impersonate*, as follows.

SE she acted as chairman
 he treated the man as an equal
 she named him the winner
 he was promoted captain
 she impersonated the manager.

NE, on the other hand, employs *as* in a large number of cases where the function and meaning are similar (analogous) to the first set, as follows.

he had previously impersonated as Council officer
she named him as winner
he was declared as persona non grata
recently declared as Covid deaths
calling this act as proud moment.

Through analogical levelling, the list of verbs requiring *as* in NE is extensive (note that the following list is not exhaustive). This implies, drawing on Pinker’s conclusions, that *as* is a pattern/rule, with a meaning-form relationship, so as predicted by Levin, all analogous (with similar meaning) NE words will be followed by *as*.

announce appoint brand call conceptualize consider declare
 dedicate deem denote designate dub elect elevate employ
 find identify impersonate inaugurate label name play pose
 promote recognize register remain set term treat.

Note also these expressions.

deny X as false rule X as suicide will die as Indian
look at X as Y suspect it as fraud set X as deadline
charge X as spreading false news
comment (about X) as ...
employed as water bottle seller and would earn 8% commission
made safety and cleanliness as its unique selling proposition
have their goal as stopping coal transportation
be certified as Blue Flag beach
hailing Sanskrit as best language for computer programming
will be upgraded as mail or express trains
changed Vagator beach name as Sunburn Beach
which had its NATO reporting name as "careless"
has been attributed as natural remedy (has been described as a natural remedy).

2.1.7 Focus

SE can highlight words by using an accompanying focus word, as in the following where the focus word is italicized.

I like the presentation *especially*.
 I *especially* like the presentation.
 I *certainly* like it.
 I, *for one*, like it.
 I *myself* like it.

NE, in India, commonly uses the last form with *-self*.

we will move ahead from Chandigarh *itself*.
 will keep the patient here *itself*.
 find jobs here *itself*.
 put their skills to use in Goa *itself*.
 from early June *itself*.
 participated in the election process there *itself*.
 sources said that he *himself* would be part of the celebration.

2.2 Evidence from types of English

2.2.1 Papua New Guinea English

In Papua New Guinea (PNG), I was shown that there is a difference between learning a language *naturally*, by listening and speaking, and learning a language *deliberately*, as in a language-learning group, formally and usually by both oral and literate means (see Krashen, 1987, 1988). PNG people could acquire spoken fluency naturally in a new language within two years. I analyzed PNG English and was intrigued by my findings. English, because of its long literate tradition, is loaded with unnecessary complexity. If I was asked to suggest simplifications, then PNG English already incorporates them.

Take the example of gender and tag questions. Learners acquiring English by listening and speaking will encounter the range of tag questions like,

it has arrived, hasn't it? we don't like that one, do we?
she will be coming, won't she? I couldn't have done that, could I?
he's happy, isn't he? they should pay, shouldn't they?

where the tag encodes three grammatical facets: the opposite polarity to the premise, a copy of the first (or only, if single) modal or auxiliary verb from the premise, and the same gender as the premise. PNG English simplifies all the possible combinations of the three facets to a single form, *isn't it?* The tag only needs to be a tag, essentially, so a single form is the least that is required to satisfy the meaning. The additional, native-speaker complexity of variation in gender, modal and alternating polarity is superfluous and serves no purpose for meaning in the modern context. English in fact also has single-word alternatives, like *right?*, or short phrases, *do you agree?*

Grammatical gender is now very restricted in English, and cultural shifts show it increasingly to be an embarrassment. The first recent change forced by culture was the introduction of Ms, because the opposition of Mrs/Miss (married/unmarried female) had become outmoded and was awkward, especially in professional life and the workplace. The male/female distinction was bequeathed by the earliest Indo-Europeans. It existed in Ancient Greek, Latin and Sanskrit, and exists today, though with restrictions, in modern languages. There are, moreover, still many gender-different words (man/woman, boy/girl, father/mother, boar/sow, ram/ewe etc.) and male/female specific suffixes, like *-é/-ée*, *-en/-enne*, *-er/-ess*, *-eur/-euse*, *-oir/-oire*, *-ix*, which represent a strong historical French influence.

The three ancient Indo-European languages for which we have records (Greek, Latin, Sanskrit) employed elaborate concord systems based on gender and case (differences of grammatical function: nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, ablative), only vestiges of which are found in English among the pronouns. Thus, English has *I, me, mine* (nominative, accusative, genitive cases respectively), and the nominative pronoun is used with the generalized verb form *shall, will, have, can, would* etc., *thou, thee, thine* (now only found in old, written texts, along with the nominative concord verb form, *shalt, wilt, hast, canst, wouldst* etc.), *he, him, his* (masculine gender, with the nominative again used with *shall, will, has* (historically *hath*), *can, would* etc.), *she, her, hers* (feminine gender, used with *shall, will, has* (*hath*), *can, would* etc.), *it, it, its* (neuter gender, used with *shall, will, has* (*hath*), *can, would* etc.), *we, us, our* (used with *shall, will, have, can, would* etc.), *you, you, yours* (used with *shall, will, have, can, would* etc.), *they, them, theirs* (used with *shall, will, have, can, would* etc.). We are easily persuaded that *thou, thee, thine* fell out of use because these forms are more complex and were replaced by the simpler, plural *you* series. Historical change in language is often driven by the preference for simplicity, and hence the naturalness of the single tag question form in PNG English.

The modern Indo-European languages retain only remnants of the historical elaborate concord systems, and the languages on the geographical periphery (Russian, Hindi, Bangla) retain the most. There is a Russian linguistic joke which quips that a “poor” (= less well-educated) older person could starve to death if they are unable to remember the dative plural of the word for bread. The significance of this is that the more obscure or less commonly used concord or grammatical forms are reinforced by reading and by literate-based learning, and that non-literates will tend to lose them. Similarly, *thou, thee, thine* in English are retained in older printed forms of the Bible and mostly restricted to these contexts. England is home to very many spoken dialects, and sixty or so years ago, *thou, thee, thine* were the norm in certain areas, and this may still be the case, especially among older speakers. Another obvious historical shift in English is the expression of compounded numerals, where certain spoken dialects still retain the pattern *four and twenty, five and twenty*, etc., while Standard English has adopted the simpler pattern *twenty-four, twenty-five*, etc.

The Bugis of Sulawesi in Indonesia famously distinguish five genders (masculine, feminine, neuter, and two transgenders), while gender in modern English has become more restricted and often now uses *their* in place of *his/her* where possible, even to the point of conflicting with grammatical nicety. *Chair* or *chairperson* is preferred to *chairman*, and *fisher* to *fisherman*, and the like. The male/female gender distinction, therefore, certainly serves no useful purpose in tag questions, and PNG English not only recognizes that, but eradicates it. Without the restraining influence of writing, meaning trumps grammar.

That SE, and especially formal, written English, preserves old-fashioned vocabulary has been obvious enough that the Plain English Movement has been active in encouraging writers to avoid “gobbledygook, jargon and legalese.” Professional groups like lawyers have long responded to criticism of legalese by suggesting that technical terms and expressions are required for precision, while the proponents of clear expression have shown that this is not necessarily true. In the *Times of India* of 07 January, 2022, Arghya Sengupta writes on page 10 that India continues to draft laws and their amendments in legalese when Britain, which bequeathed this convention to India, has ceased to follow its tenets but rather now drafts laws in plain English. Plain English is not the same as the Simplified or Regularized English which we describe, but draws attention to an aspect of it, namely the continued use of outdated expressions like *hereunder* and Latin words like *suo motu* in specialized contexts.

The semantic opposition *assertive/non-assertive* in English is marked several ways, and it is not a simple correlation of a single grammatical form with a single meaning or reference. In English, the *assertive/non-assertive* opposition

underlies the difference between the finite, sentential complements (assertion: *he said that she had done it*, versus non-assertion: *he wanted her to do it*). A different semantic force underlies the so-called *telic* aspect (non-telic: *he wrapped the parcel*, versus telic: *he wrapped the parcel up*, meaning *he did it completely / he completed doing it*). These meanings relate to Aikhenvald's (2004) evidentials, being akin to notions of factuality, which have fundamental relevance in oral (non-literate) societies, as linguistic reinforcement of the credibility or truth-value of information. English now mostly uses the range of adverbs to mark the assertive/non-assertive opposition (*certainly, definitely, obviously* versus *maybe, possibly, reportedly* etc.), and has elaborate forms of *citation* in formal writing.

2.2.2 Indian English

When I analyzed the English used in India, both conversationally and in English-medium newspapers, I discovered that it was the same, structurally and to a large degree lexically, as PNG English. India is home to 427 languages (according to the *Ethnologue*), the fourth largest number for any country (Indonesia has 742 and Nigeria 516 languages). I have witnessed Indian village children (with Konkani as mother-tongue) aged 3 to 6 learn oral Hindi and oral English *naturally* from cartoons on TV. Cartoons use simplified, short expressions and make their meaning obvious with clownish antics and exaggerated responses and reactions, and by using repetition.

New English conveys meaning by emphasizing four different two-word structures, all of which are used in SE, as in the following NE examples.

- a. two cases have shown up during the lockdown (phrasal verb)
- b. and do employment-generation of the youth (general verb *do* + specific noun, which is here a two-word compound)
- c. bread-making activities (specific noun + classifier noun)
- d. do not appreciate and realize the plight of others (repetition).

2.2.3 Standard English

In order to understand a word's meaning in Standard English, we regularly (though not necessarily) need at least two words - the word in question together with either the word following or the word preceding, a two-word combination. For me, this completes the circle to explain why NE, which I consider to be *the actual interlanguage* discussed in the abstract in language-learning theory, is to an increasing extent based on two-word structures. The Indian and PNG varieties of English developed unconsciously by assimilating the principle that many English word meanings require two words for specification.

The following are examples of the principles underlying this promotion of two-word structures. English has the following word-family:

invade invades invading invaded
invader invaders
invasion invasions
invasive invasively.

The meaning of each word is obvious to those who know English, as is the semantic relationship of the set. Closer inspection, however, reveals that the final pair differ from the rest in usage, and that it requires a second word to make this difference specific, as follows.

The army invaded their territory.

*The species invaded their territory.

This is an invasive species.

*This is an invasive army.

Invoking the semantic parameter of *literal-to-metaphorical*, we can collocate *invasive* with *army*, as in: *an invasive army of locusts*. Now, *army* is used metaphorically, with its scope restricted to the notions of *organized* and *powerful* because of the limiting force of *locusts*. We see that the original word-family, therefore, comprises two subsets, with *invasive* and *invasively* having non-literal or metaphorical meaning only.

Similar correlations of *literal* and *metaphorical* meaning are the following.

Literal

browse vegetation

Metaphorical

browse books, browse the Internet

grapple with a wrestler	grapple with a problem
a gushing fountain	a gushing testimonial
open a box	open negotiations
shred paper	shred reputations
smoulder (of fire)	smoulder (of repressed anger)
tarnish a metal	tarnish a reputation
wean a baby of milk	wean farmers of subsidies
wrestle with an opponent	wrestle with a new language / a decision.

A further example is seen in the word *overturn*, which is used literally to mean upset, causing spillage, as in *he carelessly overturned the bucket and spilled the water*. The same word can be used metaphorically, as in *the Parliament overturned the legislation*, meaning repealed or nullified. The two meanings are easily distinguished when the second word is provided, *overturn a bucket* versus *overturn a law*.

The related noun *turnover* is used literally to mean a food item, a single piece of pastry with a fruit filling, where the pastry is turned over the filling to enclose it, as in *an apple turnover*. Metaphorically, *turnover* means the volume of money transacted by a business, as in *the company had an annual turnover in excess of two million dollars*. Again the two meanings are easily distinguished with two-word listings, *apple turnover* versus *annual turnover*. This eases the problem of *definition*, which is often cumbersome. It also underlines the two-word prevalence (or, as we suggest, preference).

A further method of simplifying a language is to use a limited number of what we call *general* verbs, like *be, come, do, get, give, go, have, keep, make, put, take, throw, turn*, and combine them with multiple nouns. Thus, instead of learning many nouns *and* many verbs, the process can be simplified. In fact, one of the differences between technical or professional writing and everyday speech in English is precisely this modification, so we find expressions like *get ahead, get going, get it ready, get a move on* and many more, or *make an appointment, make a difference, make an amendment, make a change*, etc, which are common in speech but restricted or repressed in formal and technical writing.

2.2.4 Dictionary Meaning

Listing in groups of synonyms and, if appropriate, antonyms, can be an aid to reading, and through reading, as a means of extending vocabulary naturally. The *actual* meaning will be specified by the context of reading. This is based on the belief that we do not (or most people do not) remember definitions, but we instead spread meaning over a range of neurone-clusters, a vague notion about which I cannot at present be more specific, because meaning is not unitary. The entry for the word *put* as a transitive verb in the American Heritage Dictionary, for example, lists 15 meanings, and *strong* is listed with 21 meanings, depending on the word it qualifies (*strong drink, strong character, strong woman, strong diplomatic ties*, etc.).

2.2.5 Idioms

The question of the representation of meaning (for the dictionary-maker) is whether metaphors are separate entries or not. Idioms are definitely separate entries where the meaning is not intuitively obvious from knowledge of the literal meaning. Generally, tradition has favoured separate entries for metaphors, except in cases like with the verb *welling*, where liquids and emotions share a joint entry. Metaphors can be treated as single entries along with literal meanings in a dictionary aimed at higher-literates, provided learners are made aware of the range of relationships. Metaphors, therefore, can be intuitively decoded with practice, through learning and awareness.

That different speakers of the same language have different grammars and especially different dictionaries, is demonstrated by the following example. It may, on reflection, be self-evident that a person's language evolves (or grows and develops) over a lifetime. Thus, one may recognize the following as ambiguities, so that they require separate dictionary entries.

draw: *he drew a paper from the file, he drew breath*

draw: *he drew a map of the garden.*

buckle: *the beam buckled under the weight*

buckle: *he buckled up* (= he fastened his seat-belt).

The standard dictionaries, however, consider the first pair to be varieties of a single meaning, thus requiring just one, comprehensive dictionary entry. In this case, *draw* (with a pencil) exemplifies one instance of the general, comprehensive meaning, *to change position by moving or pulling*. The American Heritage Dictionary (AHD) thus employs a single entry for *draw*, with 22 transitive uses (or senses) and 11 intransitive senses, depending on the word(s) in the immediate context.

Similarly, *buckle* is a single entry with two transitive and four intransitive senses. The published dictionaries are, therefore, comprehensive repositories of a language, and individuals encode personal varieties of these, which sometimes vary considerably from the ideal.

Note also cases like the qualifier *thought-provoking*, where there is no corresponding verb + noun combination *to provoke thoughts*, or *ever-changing*, where there is no corresponding verb *to ever-change*. Potential ambiguity is often resolved by structural or grammatical difference, so that *steel*, a Mass noun, can hardly be confused with the verb *steeling* (*he steeled himself to do it*), or *tick*, transitive and *tick*, intransitive: *she ticked the right boxes / the clock ticked monotonously*. Writing can also emphasize difference, like *I brought him aboard* / *I brought him a board*.

Obvious examples of ambiguity are demonstrated among the *phrasal verbs* (exemplified further below). Many times, English uses the same two- or three-word combination both with a literal meaning and with a different, idiomatic meaning. Thus, *let on* is used literally in sentences like, *the conductor let them on the bus* (= allow to board). The same combination is used idiomatically in, *she let on that the meeting would be postponed* (= reveal). The literal and idiomatic uses are easily distinguished by semantic context and also by the grammar, because idiomatic *let on* governs (is followed by) a finite, noun-phrase complement introduced by *that*.

More similar in syntax, but far apart in meaning, are the two forms *carry out*. The literal meaning is *to transfer by carrying* (*she carried the parcel out to the car*). Idiomatically, the same combination means *perform a task and abide by* (as in: *he carried out the instructions to the letter*). Again, this tendency to ambiguity must reflect how the brain stores and accesses language, and is similar to the contrast drawn by Pinker (1999) between what he calls *words* and *rules*. In computer-speak, a word may be said to open a folder in the brain in which multiple files can be stored. Memory-experts tell us that new information can be recalled more reliably when it is attached to a network which is already established in the memory. So, the stops on a journey, for example, are more easily recalled when each is attached mentally to one member of a cycle of body parts, such as a cycle of foot, lower-leg, thigh, etc. The principle is that when we recall the body part, we will more easily recall its attachments as well.

Words used in actual conversation benefit from having immediacy of reference and relevance (and the interlocutors are available to probe and question, if necessary). In such circumstances, the exact meaning is not required. A glance at English idioms reveals many which are quaint or even anachronistic, like *bite off more than one can chew*, *flog a dead horse*, *it rings a bell* or *wipe the slate clean*. These forms are useful because their meaning is nonspecific and because they describe their literal meaning obviously or graphically. They are akin to formalized structures, like cartoons, in that they make their general meaning obvious. English now also employs words and phrases which no longer have literal interpretations, like *be in the offing*, *set sail*, *make headway*, *take the wind out of his sails*, which relate to the era of sailing ships.

2.2.6 Two-Word Preferences in Modern English

Linguists say that language is always changing, but imperceptibly. The changes which Halliday noticed arose in response to changes in the structure of society. Language is a highly flexible medium, because meaning and structure are both flexible forms. This flexibility is in turn related to *imprecision*, the ability to vary as required according to context. Creative writing exploits this flexibility by innovating, by forming new collocations (*she tipped him a firm gaze as she sidled by*) and new derivations (*acted out the exercise routine religiously every morning*). Halliday's own often-quoted example of the new compounding of his time was *railway booking-office clerk*, which can be compared to current forms like the following.

bird-diversity-conservation blame-game body-dysmorphic-disorder bomb-removal-activities book-deal
 brain-engagement brain-imaging-study brand-image bucket-list business-investment-climate business-trip-expense
 bus-surfing cancel-culture cancer-cure-crusade can-do spirit carbon-accounting cardiac-arrest cardio-workout
 career-arc career-trajectory care-package case-positivity-rate cash-in-hand-payments cat-and-mouse-strategy
 cause for despair cerebral-jousting chain-collision champagne-socialist charm-offensive child-abuse Child Services
 child-support citizen-assembly civil-liberties civil-unrest claw-back-mechanism client-confidentiality-obligations
 click-and-collect climate-activist climate-politics cocaine-trafficking-sting-operation cognitive-restraints
 cold-chain-transport-device commercial-traffic-spaces compliance-burden compliance-control
 Comprehensive-Strategic-Partnership (CSP) concrete-evidence concrete-structures condom-sex conspiracy-theory
 constituency-surgery consumer-demand consumer-durables consumer-pyramid-household-survey (CPHS)
 controls-notification-process coral-reef-restoration-technology-development corporate-social-responsibility
 counter-culture counter-narcotics-efforts courtesy-title Covid gloom Covid-19-reformed-work-world
 creature-comforts crime-sting critical-race-theory (CRT) crop-substitution-projects crunch-talks crypto-hotspot
 cultural-appropriation culture-shock damage-control-exercise data-blindness.

English, of course, has had compound nouns for centuries, but they are more numerous now. Pre-qualifying nouns when compounded in English are constrained to be singular in form, as in the following.

<i>making gloves</i>	nominalizes as <i>glove-making</i>
telling stories	story-telling
parade of cats	cat-parade
food for dogs	dog-food
consultants in hospitals	hospital-consultants.

One feature of some new compounds is to break this convention:

drinks event, credentials forgery, emissions-reduction,
 go-to civil-rights lawyer, weapons-grade plutonium,
 weapons system, welfare mutual-obligations system.

Traditionally, the above forms might have been distinguished in writing as possessives by the use of the apostrophe, as *weapons' system*, as also seen in forms like *a week's time* or *women's refuge*. My observation is that this orthographic nicety no longer obtains, except among higher-level literates.

In hospitals, we used to find *registrars, consultants, nurses, patients* and so on, whereas now we have *Pediatric Registrars, Consultant-Physicians, Nursing Teams with Team Leaders, Personal Care Assistants (PCAs), Social Welfare Teams, Mental-health Caregivers* and Hospital Administrators who refer to Patients as *Revenue Streams*. The modern expressions are more specific and they are all compounds.

Few contexts dictate new ways of naming and referring. It is not simply a case of *out with the old and in with the new*, rather, it is a fresh way of envisaging the world, and this takes a new form: 2-word structures where the second element is a general word akin to the *classifier nouns* found to a limited extent in most languages, but used systematically in languages like Thai, Burmese, and Chinese dialects. SE examples are as follows.

burrowing networks, flight networks, patronage network
 gateway service provision, railway safety provisions
 grievance redressal mechanism, authentication mechanism
 mouse activity, insider-trading activity, bomb-removal activities
 non-crime hate incident, post-immersion incidents
 baiting issues, signature issues, anger issues, prestige issues,
 co-occurrence issues, kidney-related issues, road issues
 employment opportunities, vaccine-supply opportunities
 extremist material, relief materials
 heartwarming Woolworths act, incredible check-out act,
 post-game photo act, white-collar high-wire act

airline industry, foreign-student accommodation industry
airline industry expectations, shareholder profit expectations
brand exposure, infection exposure, risk exposure
back-office functions, supply-process functions
minority share position, trade-balance position
drinks event, flowering events, salmon mortality event, life events,
ambulance no-show events, bullfighting events
disease burden, cost of living burden
scooter crime wave, antisocial-behaviour wave
negative-image attitudes, young-voter attitudes
mouse plague, domestic violence plague

core hurdles, processing hurdles
retail complex, low-cost housing complex, cinema complex
gunshot, screen shot, snapshot, screen grab
Covid-care facilities, quarantine facility, mental-health facility
workplace toxicity, food-additive toxicity
vaccines rally, stock-market rally
student placement, product placement
value system, disc-operating system, weapons system
union approach, zero-tolerance approach
household-name company, road-construction company
foot work, spade work, programming work

bar-code, postal code, QR code, zip code
scrap-yard, shipyard, schoolyard
beachside, dockside, kerbside, harbour-side, poolside, suppylside
comfort zone, pollution-free zone, relaxation zone
black hole, blow hole, pinhole, plug hole
recruitment process, manufacturing process, planning process
computer centre, Covid-care centre, distribution centre
recruitment drive, energy-efficiency drive
marketing plan, survival strategy, eviction tactics
employment policy, vaccination policy, immigration policy

stakeholder engagement, public-sector employee engagement
industry innovations, family-court mediation innovations
policy guidelines, immigration-processing guidelines
safety procedures, same-day surgery procedures
design services, retail services, banking sector services
project management, stakeholder management, yield management
supply-chain operations, finance operations, credit and payment
operations, research-based operations
medal targets, rollout target, sales targets
name-brand jobs, finance-sector jobs, paint job

the spy trade, the wholesale trade, the flesh trade
renewables tsunami, narcotics tsunami, patients tsunami
vaccine rollout, vehicle rollout, income-tax refund rollout
brand awareness, series-uptake awareness
in-person church services, recruitment services
word-of-mouth traffic, walk-in interviews, passing trade
seat-sharing arrangement, airline code-sharing arrangements
bobbing syndrome, acquired immune-deficiency syndrome,

nodding syndrome, sudden infant-death syndrome,
and further examples with classifying words like, *narrative, procedure, process, device, scheme, unit*, and more.

2.2.7 Further examples of compounding

Two-part, patterned uncount nouns. These are selected examples only, as this is an open ended process.

appointment-scheduling asset-stripping blame-shifting body-building coach-
building coral-bleaching data-crunching double-jabbing drive-by-shooting face-
timing fare-gouging fat-shaming flag-waving flight-testing horse-trading muscle-
build-ing one-upping paddle-boarding price-gouging problem-solving railroading
ribbon-cutting vaccine-plugging wing-clipping
back-formation back-translation circumlocution co-education crop substitution
habitat-restoration hazard-reduction property-valuation hypercorrection non-
inclusion over-extension performance-evaluation radio-detection self-deprecation
spontaneous-coronary-artery-dissection (SCAD) wage-stagnation
fore-limb-abnormality brain-laterality robot-functionality
species-dissimilarity habitat-sustainability
liberation-theology room-occupancy upper-atmosphere-telemetry
employee-confidence student-attendance style-correspondence
childhood-disillusionment vocation-adjustment
neighbourhood-vandalism differently-abled-person-tourism
brain-surgery credentials forgery garden-topiary
air-conditioner-amperage clutch-slippage
infant-dyslexia adult-insomnia
city-centre-infrastructure supermarket-expenditure
problem-analysis kidney-dialysis syllable-epenthesis
machine-hydraulics plant-hydroponics
evidence-dismissal gender-reversal visa-application-disapproval
competition-horsemanship intern-mentorship
school-child-misbehaviour student-rancour roof-top-solar.

Many more examples of compounding are found in English, but space limitations preclude their inclusion here.

2.2.8 General Verbs

A significant feature of the Standard English vocabulary is the large number of two-word or three-word structures which employ a small number of what are referred to as general verbs. We list 29 verbs here, with the 15 commonest in boldface (*be, break, bring, come, do, draw, fall, feel, get, give, go, have, hit, hold, keep, let, look, lose, make, play, pull, put, run, see, set, show, take, throw, turn*), which are used in phrases like *take responsibility, keep an appointment*.

The verbs which occur in the most combinations are listed below. The number following the verb indicates the number of lines of examples in the entry, and underlining marks synonyms or partial-synonyms of higher-order verbs, like *receive*, which is a synonym of *get*. Words enclosed in parentheses indicate that these words are not selected to be the *lemma* or primary representative of their word family (see Bauer & Nation, 1993). Lemma-status is assigned according to the hierarchy of preference: Mass-noun Uncount-noun Qualifier Modifier (Adverb, Preposition, Conjunction) Count-noun.

The data base from which these statistics are drawn, is a personal file of over 100,000 English words and phrases which have been classified according to their Category (Noun, Verb, Qualifier, Modifier), and then either according to their **morphology**, words like:

airworthy airyfairly almighty (angry) antsy (arty) artsy(-fartsy) awry backwoodsy
(baggy) (balmy) bandy barmy batty bawdy beady beastly (beefy) (beery) (beefy)
(bendy) (billowy) biscuity (bitey) bitty (*blackly* ironic) bleary (blingy) blokey
bloodthirsty (bloody) blotchy blowsy (bluesy) (blurry) -
which are Patterned Adjectives ending with the suffix -y,

or classified according to their **semantics**, like:

activewear aftershave airspace airtime A4 animal-feed antivenom astroturf
(atmosphere) babygear babywear backfill backup badland barware bathroomware
beancurd bedrock beetroot bergamot beta-amyloid biochar -

which are Unpatterned Compound Mass nouns. Based on these classifications, English has more than 180 subclasses of words (consider the patterns of suffixes listed in the Appendix).

The largest sets of General Verbs are:

1. BE (643) GET (195) HAVE (413) MAKE (248) TAKE (186)
2. COME (74) DO (101) GIVE (133) GO (127) HOLD (51) KEEP (85) PUT (116)
3. BREAK (28) BRING (38) FALL (29) FEEL (27) PLAY (28) PULL (28) RECEIVE (22) RUN (37) SEE (25) SET (30) SHOW (32) THROW (24) TURN (33) (total: 25 verbs)
4. CALL (14) CARRY OUT (= perform) (17) CAUSE (17) CUT (15) DRAW (18) FACE (18) FIND (16) HIT (22) LAY (15) LEAVE (17) LET (21) LIVE (13) LOOK (24) LOSE (22) OPEN (14) PAY (18) PROVIDE (20) PUSH (14) RAISE (14) SEND (13) SPEAK (14) STAND (18) STAY (15) STEP (13) WORK (22) (list = 25 verbs)
5. (10-12) BLOW BUILD CATCH DISPLAY DROP EXPRESS GAIN GRANT GROW ISSUE LEAD MAINTAIN MEET MOVE OFFER PICK PLACE STICK STRIKE SUFFER THINK UNDERTAKE USE (list = 23 verbs)
6. (8-9) ACT CARRY CLOSE CREATE DELIVER DRIVE EXPERIENCE FOLLOW KICK KNOW REMAIN SEEK SERVE SHOOT START TALK WALK WEAR (list = 18 verbs)
7. (6-7) ACCEPT ADD ALLOW BEAR BEAT BECOME BEGIN CAST CHANGE COMPLETE CONDUCT EAT ENTER ENTERTAIN ESTABLISH EXHIBIT FIGHT FORM HEAD IMPOSE JUMP KNOCK MOUNT NEED PASS REACH READ RECOGNIZE SAVE SELL SHAKE SINK SOUND SPARK SPILL SPREAD STOP TELL WIN (list = 39 verbs)
8. (5) ANNOUNCE ANSWER APPLY ARRANGE ASK BACK BECOME BUY COUNT CRACK CROSS DEVELOP DEAL ENJOY EXPOSE FILL GROW HANG LEND RIDE ROLL SAY SHUT SIT SLAM SPEND SWEEP UNDERGO WASH WIND (list = 30 verbs; grand-total = 160 verbs).

2.2.9 Phrasal Verbs

Standard English, and particularly spoken English, can access more than 3,000 two-word, and sometimes three-word, phrasal verbs, where the verb is followed and modified by up to 47 different particles, which may be prepositions (*put X behind Y*) or adverbs (*fall out*). Again, *general verbs* can be distinguished - 38 verbs which occur in multiple combinations and form a productive system in modern English.

The 47 particles (prepositions and adverbs) are listed alphabetically as follows.

aback about above across after against ahead along among apart around as aside at away back before behind below beneath between beyond by down for forth forward from in into of off on onto out over overboard past round through to together towards under up upon with without.

The 38 general verbs are as follows.

break bring call cast come cut do fall get give go hang hold keep kick knock lay lie live look make move pass play pull push put run send set sit stand stay stick take talk throw turn.

For exemplification, we list the two-word and three-word combinations used with the verb *put*, a total of 35 different forms and 83 different meanings:

put X about (3 meanings) put X above Y put X across (2 meanings) put X around (2 meanings) put X aside (3 meanings) be put at put X away (5 meanings) put X back (7 meanings) put X back into Y put X back on put X before Y (3 meanings) put X behind Y/oneself (2 meanings) put X by put X down (16 meanings) put X down as Y put X down to Y put X forth put X forward (4 meanings) put X in (18 meanings) put in for X put X into Y (13 meanings) put X off (7 meanings) put X on (23 meanings) put X on to Y (3 meanings) put X out (22 meanings) put X out of Y put X over Y (3 meanings) put X past Y put X through Y (9 meanings) put X to Y (4 meanings) put X together (6 meanings) put X towards Y put X up (12 meanings) put X upon Y (4 meanings) put X up to Y put up with X.

Phrasal combinations (of verb with preposition or adverb) are a productive subsystem of English words, and the following SE examples have been copied from actual text.

hoped to get a matching tattoo with her sister is serving out a 30-year prison term aisles blocked off in supermarkets fed up of the attorney's questions urged for calm laying waste to Florida's wildlife slapped back at a media troll after being grassed on by a Covid busybody when they stepped down from the Royal Family and not resort back to a credit card while decorations go up to celebrate the holiday season awarded the man with compensation a live-export ship which docked into Darwin.

Samples of the commonest General Verbs (BE GET HAVE MAKE TAKE) and their associated Phrasal Verbs in SE.

BE (643)

BE equative

a, the burning question, being X transgenders competing, being a bad joke being a bad lot being a bad move being a battle to the death not being a bed of roses being a blessing in disguise being a boon, a bonus, a benefit, an advantage, a friend to X being a born listener, talker, loser being about time X person, being a brick being a burden (to X) being a-can-of-worms being a cascade-effect being a castle in the sky being a Catch 22 situation being a close-run thing the police force, being a complete joke being a (bit of a) concern being a creature of habit being a crying shame being a cut above the rest being a dark horse being a defining image of X/the coming of Spring being a defining moment, a standout moment, a defining photo that, being a different story X a situation, being a disgrace being a doddle, a piece of cake being a doormat being a drag on X being a drop in the bucket, in the ocean being a duel to the death being a (serious) embarrassment (to X) being a far cry from X/his luxurious lifestyle being a feather in one's/X's cap being a part (of X), a nuisance, a curse (to X) being a hit with X being a hot potato being a job after Y's own heart

Phrasal verbs are not traditionally listed with BE (like *be in/out, be up, be with it*).

GET (195)

getting a break getting/taking a breather getting, receiving advice getting a foot in X place, in the door getting a grip (on X/oneself) getting ahead of oneself getting a job getting a jolt, shock getting along well getting a move on getting, receiving an allocation getting a new look getting a pasting (not) getting a regular water supply getting, gaining a reputation, a name, fame, notoriety getting a rise out of X person getting around a barrier, regulations getting, receiving a salary increase, a rise getting a shot getting a shot (at X) getting, receiving a shot in the arm getting a surprise getting a taste of X/what her life is like getting (X's) attention getting a vaccination getting away with X behaviour, it (= avoid penalty, criticism) getting a word in edgeways getting back on one's feet getting back out there getting back to normal, on track, into focus getting behind X/the players (not) getting beyond X/the first chapter getting bored with X getting by (and hopefully moving on) getting/having cold feet (about/over X) getting confirmation of X/the escape getting cosy (with X) getting coy with X getting dolled up (for X) getting down to brass tacks getting down to X/a task getting even with a person(s) getting going getting greedy a mission, a task, getting hairy getting hands on (with X) getting help, assistance, support from X getting high getting hitched getting hold of X/an idea getting home (quickly, by X time).

GET - PHRASAL VERBS

get about (= be mobile, roam)

get above X/oneself (= assume airs of superiority)

get across X/idea, meaning (= transmit, explain)

get after X person(s) (= pursue X)

get ahead (= succeed)

get along (= cope, manage)

get along (= depart)

get along with X person(s) (= have a friendly relationship with X)

get around (= be mobile, roam)

get (a)round X/a problem, obstacle (= avoid, bypass X)

get (a)round to X (= do X after a delay)

get at X/item (= access X)

get at X/secret, idea (= access, discover X)

get at X (= criticise, treat X unkindly)

be got at (= be suborned, undermined)

get away (= depart, go on holiday, escape)

get away from X/person(s), habit (= change, avoid X)

get away with X/behaviour, action (= avoid responsibility for X)

get back (= retire, return to position) **get X/person(s), object(s) back** (= return X to position) **get back X/one's breath** (= pause)

get X person(s) back, **get back at X person(s)** (= retaliate)

get back into, to X/activity (= resume X) **get back to X person** (= resume contact, resume connection with X)

get behind (with X/activity) (= lag, be behind schedule)

get behind X person(s) (= support X)

get beyond X/activity (= advance as a development of X)

get by (= manage to survive)

get by X/obstacle (= cope with, pass X)

get down (= move to a lower position) **get down from X/chair, ladder** (= step off X) **get X/person, item down** (= lower X) **get X/food down** (= swallow) **get down X/dictation, speech** (= write X) **X/concern, get Y down** (= X, make Y unhappy) **get down to X/activity** (= begin X seriously)

X person(s), transport, **get in** (= arrive)

get in X place (= enter) **get X/item, goods in** (= bring X inside) **get X/crops in** (= harvest and store X) **get**

X/supplies in (= buy and bring X home, to base) **get X person in** (= bring expert, tradesperson to one's premises)

political party, candidate, **get in** (= be elected) **get in X/sport, activity** (= make time for X) **get X/a word in** (=

succeed in speaking in a group discussion) **get in on X/activity** (= take part in X)

get into X/place (= enter X) **get into X/activity, habit** (= begin, be involved in, be interested in X) **get into**

X/organization, school (= join X) **get into X/clothes** (= put on X, fit into X) **X/something, get into Y person** (= X, cause Y to behave unusually)

get in with X person(s) (= become friendly with X)

get off (X/table, bed, bus, ship) (= dismount, remove oneself from X) **get off (from X/work, a responsibility)** (= be

free (of X)) **get X/person(s), item(s) off** (to Y place) (= send/take X (to Y)) **get off X/land, premises** (= leave X) **get**

off X/telephone (= cease using X) **get X/a stain, mark off** (Y/one's skin, a surface) (= remove X (from Y)) **get off**

(X/person) (= cease touching X) **get time off** (= have leisure-time) **get off** (with less/no penalty) (= be subject to

less/no penalty) **get X off** (with less/no penalty) (= arrange that X is subject to less/no penalty) **get off X/the subject,**

theme, topic (= communicate irrelevantly)

get off to X/bed, sleep (= go to bed, begin to sleep)

get off on X/a matter (= be excited by X)

get off with X person (= begin romantic association with X)

get on X/bicycle, bus, horse, wall (= mount, board X) **get on X/the telephone to Y** (= telephone Y) **get X/clothing**

on (= dress oneself in X) **get on X/committee, radio programme, TV programme** (= participate in X)

get on (= succeed in one's career)

X/person(s), **get on** (= X, be aging)

X/time, **get on** (= X, be passing, with a deadline approaching)
get on at X person(s) (= criticise X)
get on for X amount (= almost reach X amount)
get on to X/theme, topic (= begin communicating on X) **get on to X** person(s) (= communicate with X)
get onto X/information, person(s) (= discover X)
get on with X/activity (= begin, continue, make progress doing X)
get on with X person(s) (= have a friendly relationship with X)
get out (of X place) (= leave (X)) **get X out** (of Y place) (= assist X to leave) **get X out of Y**/situation, trouble (= assist X out of Y) **get out** (and about) (= roam) **get X/item(s), dirt, stain out** (of Y/container, place) (= remove X)
get out X/item (= make X available, publish X) **get out X/words** (= manage to utter X) X/news, word, **get out** (= X become known)
get out of X/organization, responsibility (= avoid X) **get (X/batsman, player) out** (= end X's innings)
get X/item, information out of Y person(s) (= obtain X from Y)
get out of X/habit, doing Y (= cease X)
get over X/illness, shock, bad experience (= recover from X) **get over X/problem** (= manage X) **not get over X/problem, surprise** (= not believe, not accept X)
get X/idea, suggestion over/across (= transmit the meaning, relevance of X)
get over (to X place) (= reach X)
get X/matter over (and done) with (= complete X)
get round X/persons() (= persuade, flatter X)
get round X/a (race-)course (= complete, finish X)
get through X/a task (= complete X) **get through X/an** unpleasant experience (= survive, endure X) X/idea, **get through** (to Y) (= Y understand X) **get through** (by telephone) to X (= contact X (by telephone)) **get through** (to X place) (= reach (X)) **get through X/examination, stage** (= pass, achieve X)
get through X/money, resources (= use X completely)
X/law, **get through** (= be approved)
get to X place (= reach X)
X matter, **get to Y** (= affect Y)
get together (= meet) **get X/things, matters, money together** (= assemble, gather X) **get oneself together** (= control one's feelings)
get up (= rise from lower to higher position, get out of bed) **get X up** (= move X from lower to higher position, get X out of bed)
get up to X place (= travel, visit X)
get up X/an event, a meeting (= organise X)
get (oneself) up (in a uniform, a garb) (= dress up (in X))
get up to X/activity, behaviour (= do X)
get with X/it (= become aware of X/recent events)

HAVE (413)

HAVE possess (an item, an object, a behaviour, a feeling, a mood, a time, a talk, a conversation, a thought process, a duty/responsibility)

having, getting, receiving a bad call having a (serious) affect on X/education having a, no backbone having a bad attitude (towards X) having a bad moment having a bad name having a basis in fact having a/no/significant bearing on X/an election, a story, an idea having a belief, view, opinion having ability, potential, talent having a bit on the side having a blonde moment having, going into a bolthole, a (place of) refuge, a place of sanctuary, a safe place having a brush with death, with controversy having a busman's holiday having a blackout having a blow-up having a bounty on one's head having a brush with death having a busman's holiday (not) having a care in the world, the universe having a/the/no chance, a/the/no opportunity having a change of heart having a close relationship (not) having a clue, any idea (about X) having a (clear, guilty) conscience (about, over X) having a crew-cut having a crush on X having a delusion(s) having, hold a discussion(s) (with X) (about/over Y)/having/hosting/arranging/mounting/scheduling a course, a discussion (with X) (on Y), a meeting, a seance, a gathering, a parliament, a talkfest, a convocation, a lecture, a seminar, a tutorial having a duty, an obligation, a responsibility having, expressing, showing, displaying, exhibiting X/a mood, a feeling, a sinking feeling, a sense of (dis)respect, allegiance, friendship, conviction, devotion, compassion, mercy, anger, enmity, resentment,

belligerence, hatred, disregard, arrogance, decorum, good manners, (in)tolerance, amazement, wonder, indignation, a rictal grimace of X emotion having a duty, an obligation, a responsibility.

HAVE X attribute/ accent acclaim acumen age animus aplomb appeal appetite area aspect atmosphere bad-taste bathos beat benefit bias biorisk bite blemish bounce bravado bravura breed brio build bulk cachet caliber camber carte blanche caste cess character charisma charm cheer class climate clout cold-comfort colour conceit `content context contrast copyright cost cover craft credit cruise-control cuisine culture-shock custom dash dazzle debt décor decorum degree desire discipline disguise disinterest disrepute disrespect distrust drag dress drift drive éclat ego élan enterprise error esteem excise expertise eyesight faith fame face face-value fame fate fatigue fault fear feel felicide fight finesse firepower flair flutter force force-majeure foresight forethought form format fortune freehold free-speech free-will gender genius get-up-and-go give glare glitter glitz gloss grace grade gravitas greed grip guile guilt gusto *habeas corpus* habit habitat hauteur heart heat hindsight (horse/man/motor-)power hue hygiene ill-health ill-repute impact impetus import impulse indiscipline input insight Instacringe instinct intellect intellisense intent (interest) intrinsic-value ire karma know-how knowledge kudos largesse leeway libido life lifestyle lift loft longsight low-self-esteem luck lustre machismo (magic) manner mass merit mettle mien might mind misfortune mistrust mode momentum mood morale mufti mystique mythos needle nerve nous octavo office oomph opprobrium order origin overhang pace pallor panache par parallax parvovirus pathos pedigree perfect-pitch phase physique pitch pizzazz place pluck plumb poise pomp power prestige price principle promise prowess pull punch purchase purpose purview race range rank reach realpolitik reason regard renown repute resolve resource respect respite result rhythm ride right right-of-way rigor-mortis (flight-)risk rooftop-solar room routine sang-froid savoir-faire savvy scale scatter schmalz schtick scope self self-doubt self-control self-discipline self-doubt self-esteem self-interest self-respect self-restraint self-will self-worth sense sex-appeal shade shape shelf-life shine shortsight size skill slack sleight-of-hand slip slope sloth smell space span sparkle speech speed spirit splay spleen spread spring spunk stamina (high/low) status staying-power stigma stimulus stretch style superstrength (swagger) sway sweep system tact taint talent tare taste technique temper tempo tenor tense thirst thrust tilt timbre tint title tone topspin torque touch transgender trust turnover type umph unwisdom value verve vim virtue voice voice-control volume will willpower wisdom wit worth yield zeal Zeitgeist zest zing

HAVE X feeling/ abandon alarm anger angst anguish awe bad-blood bliss bonhomie burnout marriage/pandemic/parent-burnout camaraderie chagrin comfort concern contempt déjà vu delight desire despair discomfort discontent disdain disgust dislike dismay disquiet distaste distress doubt dread duress ennui esprit-de-corps fatigue fear fright glee gloom goodwill grief guilt hate hatred heartache heartbreak hope horror hunger hurt ill-will ire joie-de-vivre joy love lust malaise mirth misgiving mistrust nausea odium opprobrium outrage pain panic peace-of-mind pique pride rage rapport regret relief relish remorse reserve resolve revenge shame shock shtick sorrow spite spleen strain stress (surprise) tedium terror thrill toothache top-dollar torment tristesse triumph trust unease uninterest unrequited-love wanderlust woe wonder wrath

HAVE, SUFFER FROM X affliction/ acne ADHD ague AIDS angina anthrax antiphospholipid syndrome (APS) ascites ASD (autism-spectrum disorder) asthma backache bad-breath battle-fatigue bellyache bends beriberi blight blue-flu borderline-personality-disorder brain-fog BSE bungalow-leg cabin-fever cancer canker carcinoma caries chicken-pox chikungunya cholera ciguatera colic congenital-heart-defect (CHD) crabs cradle-cap cramp croup cystocele delirium dengue(-fever) diabetes (diarrhoea) disease distemper (dropsy) DTs dyspnea earache Ebola eczema edema emphysema encephalocele enterocele fatty-liver-disease fever (flu) frostbite gangrene glaucoma goitre gooseflesh gout gripe hemorrhoids hayfever headache heart-attack heartburn heatstroke hendra-(virus) hepatoma herpes HIV/AIDS hives housemaid's-knee HPV-human papilloma virus Hughes-syndrome hydrocele hydrocephalus ICU-delirium impetigo influenza jaundice jetlag jitters kaposi's-sarcoma knock-knee kwashiorkor legionella lockjaw long-Covid lumbago lupus lymphangioma lymphoma lyssavirus mange measles melanose-melasma mesothelioma migraine monkeypox motion-sickness multiple-system atrophy (MSA) mumps murrain muscular-atrophy-disease (MAD) naevus neuroblastoma Nipah-virus nystagmus omphalocele paratyphoid pellagra piles plague (pleurisy) polio polycystic-kidney-disease (PKD) polycystic-ovary-syndrome (PCOS) prickly-heat prolactinoma purpura rabies rectocele rickets rinderpest rosacea roseola RSV (respiratory-syncytial-virus) rubella rubeola salmonella sarcoma sars scabies sciatica scrofula shingles SIDS smallpox spina bifida sprue stage-fright stertor stomach-ache strain strangles stroke strophulus sunburn sunstroke tetanus the-blues thrush tinnitus toothache trachoma trauma trenchfoot typhoid typhus urethrocele

urinary-tract-infection (UTI) venereal disease (VD) vertigo whiplash whooping-cough worms X-syndrome
writer's-block yaws.

HAVE X colour/ aquamarine azure auburn bay beige bisque bistre black blond blue brindle (bronze) bronze-olive
brunette carmine celadon cerise cherry(-red) crimson cyan dun ecru emerald exautic-green forest-green fawn
gingery-brown gray/grey green hazel (indigo) infrared lilac lovat magenta maroon/marone mauve (ochre) off-white
olive(-green) orange pink puce purple red roan rose ruby russet scarlet (sepia) (sorrel) tan taupe tawny teal
technicolour turquoise ultramarine ultraviolet umber vermilion violet white yellow.

HAVE X taste/ kokumi peppermint umami.

HAVE - PHRASAL VERBS

have X/grudge, loss against Y he has nothing personal against the company, product

have X in they had workmen in

have X clothing, device on she had nothing on underneath it, they had the radio on

have X person(s) on (= deceive X)

have X information on Y the police have nothing on him, according to their records

have X out (= have X removed) he had his wisdom teeth out

have X matter out with Y person(s) (= discuss a disagreement) he wanted to telephone and have it out with her
right away.

MAKE (248)

create, make X happen, fabricate, construct

making a (minor, significant) alteration(s) making a baby making a bank transfer, a payment(s) making a bee-line
for X making a (desperate) bid for freedom, a bid to oust X making a booking, a reservation making a break, a dash,
a false start, a good, bad, winning start, a run for it making a breakthrough making, getting, receiving, taking a
(phone-)call making a (jingoistic) call(s) for (change) making, undergoing a change, a transformation making,
levying, instituting a charge(s) (for X) making a choice, a selection making, repeating, denying a claim(s) making,
establishing a classification(s) making, forming, cementing a coalition, a pact, a group, an alliance, an association, a
relationship making a collection making a comeback, a return/first/second (appearance), one's debut making a
(crass) comment, a finding, an observation, a determination, a judgement, a ruling, a law making a commitment, a
promise making a comparison, an inference, an association making a complaint, a criticism, an objection, a
reproach, an interruption making a concession(s) making, imposing a condition(s), a curfew, a restriction(s), a
requirement(s), a sanction(s), a suppression order(s), a control(s) on X/the media, Netflix making a connection
making, doing a conversion(s) making a correction(s) making a dash for X/it making a date to celebrate, to do
making/taking a decision making a delivery/making delivery (of X) making, giving a demonstration, a show, an
exhibition, a display (of X) making a dent in X/drug infrastructure making a detour.

MAKE - PHRASAL VERBS

make after X (= chase X)

make away with X (= steal and take away) **make away with X person(s)** (= kill X)

make for X place (= move towards X)

make for X situation (= be conducive to X, result in X)

make X into Y made the nightie into a house-coat, they made him into what he is today

make of X (= have, form an opinion about X) the police don't know what to make of their story

make off (= leave, depart)

make off with X (= steal X and take it away)

make out (= cope, manage a situation, hear something clearly) he is making out well at the camp, she cannot make
out what we are saying

make out a (false) case (= suggest, imply a reason, a rationale) she is making out that we don't care

make out X/a cheque, a document (= write out X)

(two people) **make out (with X)** (= play sex (with X))

make X over to Y (= transfer X to Y)

make up (= comprise) almost half of the Parliament is made up of lawyers, lawyers make up half of the Parliament

make up X/a story, an excuse (= fabricate, invent)
make up one's mind (= decide)
make up an amount, a shortfall (= add as required) they made up the time before take-off
make up X (= prepare) make up X/ready-to-cook meals, make up a bed, make up one's face
make up (with X) (= settle differences (with X))
make up for X/hurt, damage (= compensate for X)
make up to X person(s) (= be friendly with X for some advantage).

TAKE (186)

take possession, control of X, receiving, gathering X
taking, receiving, giving, getting a bribe, a blessing(s), advice, a salary increase, a raise taking, making, getting, receiving a (phone-)call taking a collection taking a delivery/taking delivery (of X) taking, suffering a direct hit taking a (financial) haircut taking a hostage(s), a prisoner(s) taking a light from a/the match taking, receiving, issuing, making a refund(s), a (credit) voucher(s) taking away the opportunity to do taking, accepting, receiving cheques, donations, funds (from anybody and everybody) taking (the) credit (for X) taking in, accepting X/patients from other States taking, accepting money from X taking exception (to X/remark, treatment, behaviour), offence (at X), umbrage (at X) taking over a building, a shrine taking permission, consent, approval taking, having refreshment(s) taking refuge in X place/with Y person(s) taking, assuming, accepting responsibility (for X) taking, returning telephone calls taking the air taking the bait taking, feeling the heat taking the hint taking the law into one's own hands taking X alive taking X/things, an event(s), a decision hard/lightly/to heart, lying down, in poor/good spirit, lightly/seriously, well/badly etc. taking X/tolls in good part taking X in one's stride.

TAKE - PHRASAL VERBS

take aback/be taken aback (= be surprised)
take after X (= resemble X)
take against X (= dislike X)
take along X (= be accompanied by X)
take apart X (= separate into parts, dismantle, analyse)
take X around (Y place) the manager took us round the factory (= show)
take X aside
take away X (= remove) versus put back X (= replace) a takeaway (meal) (US = takeout) took the children away to her parents' house, the suspects were taken away in an unmarked van, her husband's job took him away for periods, taking away the justification for X, the light-hearted comment did not take away any part of the obvious threat, taking one's breath away, taking away something, lessons from an experience, taking four away from seven leaves three
take X/husband away from Y/wife nothing can take away from his technological achievements (= devalue)
take back (X) (= return to its place) take them back with you (to your home, place), take back something borrowed, took it back to the shop for a refund, after they reconciled, she took him back, he regretted saying that and wants to take it back (= retract it), he took the audience back to his childhood, those comments took him back to his childhood
take down (X) (literally = accompany X to a lower level), antonym: take up (X), take down X object (= bring X from a higher level), he took down the mirror from the wall, they took down the tent, the display, and packed it in the van (= dismantle X), while she was talking, we took down these notes, she disliked him enough to take him down in public (= belittle)
take in we took him in to meet my father, took their drinks into the meeting, she took the child in her arms, he was homeless, so we took him in (= house X), they had the teaching capacity and space to take in 25 more freshers, the police took them in for questioning, we did not realise until too late that we had been taken in (= be deceived), he was speaking so quickly that we couldn't take it all in (= comprehend), the new policy takes in two groups who were previously excluded (= include, embrace), during these weekends away, he would regularly take in a film or two, her pension has been cut, so she is taking in washing, they will take their car in for servicing on Thursday, sharks take in water through their mouths, he had a sharp intake of breath, the pants are too large, so I will take in the waist, the business takes in about \$1800 each day
take X into Y place took him to the nearest pharmacy, they took him into the local hospital ER, he doesn't want to take all that dust into his lungs, these thoughts used to take him into dangerous imaginary spaces, the politicians

want these services to be taken into public ownership, the new policies will take the organization into the next century

take off (X) took it off the shelf, took the water off the boil, had to take those buttons off the children, she took off her hat and the necklace, the plane will take off at 2 pm, the new cafe is bound to take off, given its location, he decided to leave them alone and take himself off after the accident, she was taken off to hospital straight away, now they will take her off the list, she will take time off while the baby is young, they will take \$500 off if we pay before June, he's always trying to take me off, mimicking my mannerisms, the doctor has taken my mother off sleeping-pills, that train service has been taken off for the winter (= be suspended)

take on X they want to take on more work, his voice took on a note of urgency (= assume), the factory took him on full-time, we took on the competition and succeeded, yachts can take on fresh water and supplies here, he took it (up)on himself to deal with the officials, he asked her not to take on in that way whenever something upset her

take out X she took out her comb and a small mirror, if you prefer it, we can take out this wall and enlarge the room, she took him out to dinner, the mafia decided to take him out (= kill him) we have taken out a comprehensive insurance policy, he wants to take cash out from the bank (= withdraw), you can take out up to three books from the Library (= borrow), he decided to take time out from campaigning, for his mother's birthday

take X out of Y the new job is physically taxing and takes a lot out of her, the new social group takes her out of herself and makes her feel more contented

take X out on Y he was angry and took his feelings out on those around him, which he later regretted

take over (X) the Opposition threaten to take over the government and lower taxes (= control the government), buying out is another word for taking over financially, the protesters have taken over the city centre, so traffic is stopped (= occupy), she has taken over the apartment from her sister, she has taken over the duties of the previous temp., she took a lot of time over the alterations, she took drinks over to the new-arrivals, he let the idea take him over so that it consumed him, reading-to-learn eventually takes over from (= replaces) learning-to-read

take X through Y he took the orchestra through the first two movements

take to X I didn't take to the new menu at first, because I worried about the prices, my son has taken against/to his new teacher, she took to wearing cut-off jeans to school every day, he took to his bed in a huff

take up X we took him up two levels, then we took him down to the car park on the lower-ground, the bed will take up too much space, how much time will that arrangement take up? (= occupy), he's going to take up fishing as a hobby (= go in for fishing), she took up his point with interesting examples (= pick up a point, pursue a point), she took up the opportunity without hesitation, while X declined it, she has taken up (= adopt) this new uncompromising stance, she will take up where this morning's group left off (= pick up), the protesters took up the cry from the stage (= continue), if you take up that position, the protesters may surround you (= adopt, move to), the old rails were taken up and sent for recycling, you can always take that skirt up if it's too long, or let it down, if it's too short, the agent took up the young actress and helped her, some plants take up (= absorb) moisture, after the meeting, they took up a collection for the homeless shelter

take X up on Y he took her up on the offer of couch-surfing, she took him up on his claims about the new heater

take up with X she took up with him because they were both lonely and losing confidence, he's completely taken up with his new job and doesn't have enough time for his friends.

2.2.10 NE Phrasal Verbs

The following is a list of some NE phrasal-verbs in the corpus, with their formal SE equivalents (in parentheses).

give nod to (approve) jump out at (startle)
scale up (rise) open up on (mention)
fill up land (build on) carry forward a legacy (advance)
run away from (avoid) shell out (pay)
tear into X (criticise X) slap with list (confront with)
tap into demands (respond to) ask for (seek)
stick out (persevere) mutt, come up (be built)
move ahead (travel) voice out (speak)
hive off (separate) urge for (request)
work out (calculate) stick to demands (maintain)
have issue with (object to) push for (support)
hit out at (criticise) roll back (reverse, undo)
show up (be detected) shoot up (increase sharply)

crop up (occur) pick up (begin)
 push around (manhandle) reach out to (contact)
 look into that situation (solve a problem)
 find out (discover) stick to (stand one's ground)
 sort out (resolve) work out to (amount to)
 give out details (publish) call in (summon)
 call out (blame) dig out (investigate)
 strip X off (reduce X) flee back (return quickly)
 open back (re-open) hold out note of caution (sound)
 demand for (request) rush out of (flee)
 stay out in sea (remain at sea) hole up (stay)
 back out of (withdraw from) stay away from (beware)
 pile up (accumulate) be removed from job (lose a job)
 turn up at meeting (attend) reach out to (negotiate with)
 throw up (suggest) rope in (hire)
 round up (gather, collect) walk out of jail (be released)
 shunt out (transfer) firm up (finalize)
 people's sentiments, be taken care of (be respected)
 call out X (criticise X) set up (establish)
 run out (deplete) roll out (develop)
 wash out (erode) call for (summon)
 hand over to (send to) hand over (donate, give, assign)
 call for (request) rule out (dismiss)
 turn down (reject) propose for (suggest)
 fish out (remove) close out (complete)
 shoot up (increase) fill up (record)
 build up (develop) water down (reduce)
 stay back (remain) collapse (malfunction)
 play down (minimize) shut down (close)
 haul up (summon) roll out challenge (launch)
 end up (become) scale down (reduce)
 attend to X (resolve X) raze down (demolish)
 lash out at (criticise) brush up its act (improve services)
 work out (succeed) tie up with (partner with, ally with)
 call for (recommend) set off (initiate)
 shoot down (refute) look into (check)
 ooze out (gradual loss) lay off (leave undisturbed)
 gang up (collaborate) emerge from (be emitted by)
 ask for X from Y (ask Y for X) call-on (visit informally)
 come out of (leave) iron out (finalize)
 reach out to X (suggest to X) brush away speculation (dismiss)
stash seed up safely at home (store)
 who had *switched over* from Congress to BJP (switched)
 football *dished out* at matches (the football used at matches)
 when 10,000 objections *stare at* you in your face (when 10,000
 objections *stare* you in the face). (Count:112)

Compare these examples in context:

farmers cannot be forced to *step back* (retreat)
 cannot be *sent back* insulted (dismissed)
 and *step down* as President (resign)
 the issue can be *sorted out* (resolved)
 do not *go in public* and talk (do not speak publicly), cf. *go public*
handed him over a memorandum demanding online exams (handed him

a memorandum)

if Government is incapable of tackling illegalities, then *shutting down* this industry is not the solution (if the Gov't cannot control people's behaviour, penalising tourism will not help)

totally failed in making proper strategy in *taking care of* people's health and employment during this pandemic (failed to safeguard people's health and employment during this pandemic).

NE words often have less restricted meanings than their SE equivalents (as exemplified above), and this breadth of meaning is the theme of another set of 2-word verbs in NE, which are explained in the following section.

2.2.11 Other NE 2-Word Verbs

We listed above the semantically *general* English verbs, *do, have, be, get, come, go, bring, take, put, carry, hold, throw, pull, push, make, call*. They can each be used in combination with many different nouns and qualifiers, potentially economizing on words. Languages sometimes modify the same root or stem in order to derive a similar-looking noun, verb and qualifier (like, *econom-y, econom-ize, econom-ic, econom-ist*). When children begin to write in Primary school in an English-speaking context, teachers may ask them to record their time before reaching school, and the result will often be like the following.

I *got* up at seven o'clock and *got* washed and *got* dressed, and I *got* my breakfast at half-past seven. I *got* my bag ready and *got* to the bus stop for the eight o'clock bus and I *got* to school at half-past eight.

This example demonstrates the scope of *general* verbs and the primacy of the oral mode, but also provides the teacher with the opportunity to introduce the concept of formality and word-choice in the written mode. After an explanation, the children can edit their own writing by trying to find more formal substitutes for each use of *get*. From the age of six or seven, in the school setting, English children learn that there is a hierarchy of words, that some words are better than others, and they will apply this knowledge later in the acquisition of formal writing styles. NE is new and certainly not old in the sense of having prejudices. Whereas phrasal verbs in Standard English evolved over hundreds of years, NE innocently abstracts the main meaning-based patterns from SE and applies them without native-speaker sensitivity to all the verbs fitting its pattern. This is a natural attraction to simplicity, but at the same time, to economy. The following phrases from our corpus exemplify ten such *general* verbs used in combination in NE.

be after X (pursue, prosecute X)
become *being* routine (become routine)
be in mental trauma (suffer mental trauma)
be on top of issue (control an issue)
be on X topic (treat, explain X topic)
be on X to do Y (X must do Y)
results, *be out* (be issued)
be out on work (*be away* working)
be underway (take place, occur)
be up against soccer legends (oppose)
be up for review (will be reviewed)

be at centre of decision (make a decision)
that Government *is for* the youth (support)
be over (complete, end)
be with party for long (remain with a party for a long time)
is very much *with* us (support)

bring down (lower) *bring forth* (reveal)
bring in (result in) *bring in confidence* (instil)
prospects of *bringing in* agriculture reforms (introduce)

those *bringing in* supplies (bringing supplies)
will *bring it in written form* (confirm in writing)
bring on (cause) *bring on record* (place)
bring out (fetch, reveal) *bring up* (rear)
bring out sunken barge (raise)
change *brought distress* to farmers (the change *upset* farmers)
bring food to plate (put food on our plates)
the factory was *brought under* Agriculture Department (the Agriculture Dept.
assumed control of the factory)

carry away (remove)
carry forward policy (promote)
carry in (bring in)
carry on about X (rant about X)
carry on business (transact)
carry on doing (continue)
failed to *carry on* with planned industry (proceed)
carry out demonstration (hold)
carry out hot coals (remove)
carry out road works (undertake)
carry out manufacturing (engage in)
carry out surveillance (mount)
carry up mortar (raise)

come across (discover, meet, face)
intended to *come across* as an alternative currency (serve)
come ahead to save Goa (participate)
anyone can *come* and give provocative speeches (use the opportunity)
come back (return)
come clean with her feelings (explain)
come down (reduce)
come down heavily on (reprimand)
come forward (act)
come forward and volunteer (volunteer)
every time obstruction *comes in* its way (block)
come in the way (interfere)
come in contact with X (ditto)
come out (act in public)
come out (be published, of election results)
come out against (oppose)
come out strongly against police action (criticize)
come out clear on (explain)
come out from (exit)
come out in support (support)
come (out) on the streets (demonstrate, parade)
come out with new policy (reveal)
come out with reply (reply)
come to a standstill
no favourable action has *come to forefront* (no action has been taken)
come to light (discover)
come under scheme (be eligible)
come under submergence (flood)
come up (occur)
come up (be built, be established)

the proposal has not *come up before panel* (be assessed formally)
first time *susegad* has *come up* on political platform (mention)
come up to (reach)
come up with a decision (make, embrace)

do agriculture in 8 acres of land of his uncle (farm 8 acres of his uncles' land)
do arrest (make)
do away with Section 79A (repeal)
do bloodshed (slaughter by bleeding)
do borrowing (borrow)
do bungling and manipulation (bungle and manipulate)
cross-verification will be *done* by signatures (will be cross-verified by signatures)
do development (develop)
power to *do* development works (the power to provide the infrastructure)
by time discussions *were done* (ended)
do due diligence (act with due diligence)
doing political *dodagiri* on people (practise nepotism)
do efforts (make)
do encore (perform)
do error, payment, investigation, effort, arrest, arrangements (make)
do farming (farm)
do injustice to X (treat X unjustly)
do inquiry (hold)
do inspections (inspect)
do insurance (arrange, buy)
do law (enact)
marriage *was done* without conversion (be married)
do part (play)
do reforms (reform)
do rethink (rethink)
do serious rethink (have)
do schooling (school / go to school)
do screening of all travellers (screen all travellers)
do suicide (commit)
do toddy-tapping
do welfare (provide, manage)
working *done* by the committee (the committee's work)

get (hire)
get (receive)
get their act together (organise)
get acquainted (meet)
get activated (be activated)
get aggressive with police (become aggressive)
get alternative (find)
get back home (return home)
does not want people to *get* economically better (improve)
get constructed (construct)
is investing with purpose of *getting* deduction (obtain)
get destroyed (be destroyed)
ecosystem, *get destroyed* (degrade)
get detected (be detected)
get diminished (diminish)
get examination done (finish)

get down (alight)
get dragged on (drag on, delay)
get friendly with (befriend)
get full (be filled)
get hooked (become addicted)
get impression (believe)
get inaugurated (be inaugurated)
get the woman identified (identify)
get infected (become infected)
get into act (interfere)
get into action (swing into action)
get into extravagant display (make an extravagant display)
get into illegal trade (trade illegally)
get into opportunism (seek opportunities)
get into opportunities (find opportunities)
get marauded (suffer attack)
difficult for State to *get on track* (normalize)
get out of Housing Society (leave a H S)
get over (end)
get her statement recorded (record)
get registered (be registered)
get rid of (treat, process)
get satisfied about (approve)
get stalled (stall)
get pension started for these seafarers (start)
get stuck (be stranded)
get tested, flooded, uprooted (be tested, flooded, uprooted)
get time extended (extend the time)
get traction (be supported)
get trapped into net (be trapped in a net)
get under control (control)
get underway (begin)
get wasted (waste)

go abroad (travel abroad)
go across (visit)
go after: Opposition *went after* him (criticize)
go after (seek)
go ahead (occur)
go ahead to do (proceed)
go ahead with constructing, *with* probe (continue)
go all out to educate farmers (strive)
go around on traffic circles (wander, roam)
go as per (follow, obey rules)
go beyond their powers (exceed)
go down in history (record)
go for (prefer, choose, seek, obtain, decide on, take the bait)
with two weeks to *go for* Budget (remaining until the Budget)
be careful when *going for* it - Bitcoin (invest in)
go for lowering of VAT (promote)
go for pilgrimage (make)
go for second phase (begin, enter)
go in for lockdown (choose, impose)
go in proper direction (work efficiently)

go inside (enter)
go into details (examine, review)
go into disarray (be disorganized)
go into hands of (fall into the hands of)
go into huddle (confer)
go into the international market (enter)
go into X (involve oneself in X)
sacrifice will not be allowed to *go* in vain (pass)
go off (explode)
go on (happen, occur)
camp that has been *going on* for several years (take place, continue)
go on (continue)
meeting *went on* till 3 pm (continue)
M. had *gone on* to state ... (also)
go on hunger strike (begin)
go on lookout for (search for)
go soft on X (treat X leniently)
go out (leave)
go out, of rhetoric (circulate)
are expected to *go out* and accept standards laid out by them (are expected to accept standards prescribed by others)
go over road bumps (traverse, pass)
go past (pass)
hope that coming days will *go similar* (be similar)
though plan never *went through* (be implemented)
go through financial scam (experience)
go through loss (suffer)
go through preparations (make)
go through process (experience, be affected by)
go through sleepless nights (endure)
elections will *go to* second round (proceed)
go with Government (support)
will *go with* people's decision (accept)

have no confidence about X (mistrust X)
have good quality education, fever (experience)
have meeting (meet)
have risk of X (X pose a risk)
have survey (conduct)

put across recommendations (make, submit, suggest)
put back on track (re-set)
put bar on the use of crackers (ban crackers)
put end to (end)
put for cultivation (cultivate)
put forward document (lodge, submit)
put in effort, work (work, make an effort)
put names in list (include names on a list)
put split in other parties (split the other parties)
put things in place (reform, change)
put in proposal (lodge, submit)
put in smart meters (instal)
put into inconvenience (inconvenience)
put him into limelight (give him public attention)

put off passing of Bills (postpone)
put on hold a decision (delay a decision)
put capping on X (cap X)
alleged that voice-clip had been *put out* as part of a conspiracy (had been released as part of a conspiracy)
put out (advertise, issue, suggest)
put out chairs (set chairs)
put stop to all constructions (cease all constructions)
put resources to better use (use the resources better)
put X to rest
put X to shame
put under hardship (inflict)
put under moratorium (postpone)
put up appearance (appear, make an appearance)
put up bank statement on Facebook (posted)
put up candidate (nominate a candidate)
put up fight (attempt)
put up relative (lodge)
put up notice (post)
put up signages (place signs)
put up 300 mobile toilets at Sardhu (instal)
decided to *put up* water pipeline (instal)
put up wires (string)
put up with hoodwinking (endure, suffer)

take admission (be admitted)
take ahead (promote)
take back (retrieve, resettle)
take back complaint (withdraw)
take call on X (decide X)
take consent (receive)
take flight (fly)
take in exam centres (admit to)
take into possession (secure, receive)
his telephone numbers have been *taken off* by CB (remove, cancel)
take on board (win confidence of)
take on task (shoulder)
take out from (remove)
take out march (organise, participate)
take over case (assume) *take around* (transport)
take place (occur)
take precautions (ditto)
take steps to do (strive)
youth of Goa have *taken* good steps towards saving...
(Goa's youth are helping to save...)
take to social media (use)
take up case (examine, judge)
take up matter (consider)
take up tender (accept)
take up work (commence, find)

3 Discussion

Weinreich (1963) studied language acquisition among young Swiss bi- and trilinguals, and aspects of his work were developed after his untimely death by sociolinguists (e.g. Labov, 1991) and applied linguists (e.g. Selinker, 1972, Tarone, 2014, and see also Corder, 1971). The applied linguistic research stemmed from the principle that learners acquire language *systematically*, on the basis that language is pattern- (or rule-) based. Language teachers are, naturally, keen to understand the process of language acquisition. The term *interlanguage* was coined to represent the systematic grammars which learners form in acquiring a new language (also called *steps in learning* by language teachers).

Much detailed research based on learners' speech recordings has led to debate on details, like the context and purpose of language use, because the data revealed inconsistency and variation among the subjects. This in turn led to notions of *interference* in the acquisition process, as might be expected where learners have already created their mother-tongue and are further complicated by their teachers' attempts at generalizing the new language's structures. Unlike my neighbours' children in Talpan village, they are learning in a conscious and deliberate fashion. In contrast, the simplest English interlanguage will overgeneralize rules by omitting exceptions (cf. Pinker's *rules* versus *words*), will impose semantic regularity based on literal meanings, and will fashion a workable vocabulary by relying on 2-word combinations of *general verb* plus *noun*, which will include the names for things and ideas (like, *do development, do education*). Our research shows that the study of unconscious language acquisition is more likely to yield insights of value than the study of conscious language learning.

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Appendix The semantic basis of English prefixes and suffixes

Prefixation

LOCATION/	ab-, ad-, ante-, circum-, de-, endo-, exo-, extra-,
DIRECTION	in-, infra-, inter-, intra-, ob-, per-, se-, sub-, super-, supra-, trans- down-, up-, over-, under-, out- ana-, apo-, cata-, dia-, epi-, hyper-, hypo-, meta-, para-, peri-
DEGREE/SIZE	holo-, hyper-, omni-, pan-, ultra-, super-, sub- all-, out-, over-, under- macro-, micro-, mega-, mini-, maxi-
TIME/ORDER	ante-, arch-, ex-, pre-, re-

NUMBER	fore-, meso-/med-, post-, vice- ana-, neo-, paleo-, pali(n)-, proto- uni-, bi-, tri-, quadri-, quart-, octo-, non- penta-, quin(t)-, hex-, sex-, hept-, sept- mono-, di-, du-, myria-, oligo-, poly- ambi-, centi-, deci-, hect-, kilo-, milli- multi-, semi-, demi-, hemi-
QUALITY	bene-, eu-, mal-, mis-, dys-, caco-, ill- brady-, brachy-, ortho-, pachy-, platy- pseudo-, tachy-, brevi-, pleni-
ATTITUDE/ MANNER	allo-, anti-, co(n)-, contra-, counter-, equi- pro-, se-, soli-, self- auto-, hetero-, homo-, idio-, iso-, para-, syn-
NEGATIVE	un-, in-, non-, a(n)-, dis-, de-
CAUSATIVE (verbal)	be-, en-
QUALIFIER/ MODIFIER	a-

Suffixation

PERSON/JOB/AGENT/NATIONALITY/GROUP (noun)

Diminutive: -ette, -let, -ling, -ule, -icle, -ie/y

Feminine: -ess, -ix

Neutral: -er, -or, -ist

IDEA (noun)

-a, -(at)ion, -i/ety, -ary/ery, -y, -ness, -ing, -(n)ce, -ment,
-ism, -age, -ude, -hood, -ice, -th, -dom, -i, -ic, -al, -ia,
-ish, -ure, -our, -sis, -ics, -ship, -itis, -an, -ese

MASS (noun)

-a, -ade/ide, -age, -al/el, -ate/ite, -en, -ane/ine/ene/one,
-ant/ent, -er, -ary/ery, -i, -ia, -ic, -ice, -in, -ing, -(at)ion,
-(i)sh -(C)le, -ment, -o, -ol, -on, -ose, -our, -th, -um, -ure,
-us, -y

UNIT (noun)

-a, -ade, -age, -al/el, -an, -and/end, -ane/ine/ene/one,
-ant/ent-ary/ery/ory/ury, -ate/ite, -(at)ion, -dom, -e/é(e),
-ee, -eer, -en, -er/or/ir, -ess, -et, -ette, eur, -ful, -hood, -ic,
-ice, -ie, -ile/u/e, -in, -ing, -ism, -ist, (i)ty, -ive, -ix, -(C)le,
-let, -ling, -ment, -nce, -ness, -o, -oid, -oir, -om, -on, -oon,
-our, -que, -re, -ship, -sis, -th, -um, -ure, -us, -y

CAUSATIVE (verbal)

-ify, -ise, -ate, -en

QUALIFIER

-ed/en/t, -id, -ing

-(ic)al, -ic, -(i)an, -ar, -ive, -ous

-able/-ible, -escent, -ful, -less, -ose, -most

-ish, -esque, -like, -ly, -oid

-ane/ine/une, -ant/ent, -ary/ory, -ate/ite, -ile/u/e

-er, -est

MODIFIER/ADVERB

-ly

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