

A
COMPREHENSIVE
GRAMMAR
OF THE
ENGLISH
LANGUAGE

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Lucia H. Lee), C. P. Mayg, J. Nevelstein, W. J. Penzky, G. Sasin, J. Taskiran, J. Thourson, G. Tolle, T. Wada, B. Wiles. The first three parts of this manual are among the most comprehensive in the world on American, British, and other varieties of English, and contain the most extensive in the world on the topic of style, which we assign such descriptive labels as "Good" and "Bad".

Finally, we take pleasure in acknowledging that Donald Reynolds has, by sending us beyond what he had meant to do this page. He has not merely provided the detailed index which we had had to do ourselves, but possible, in addition, in the course of one minute and forty seconds, to do his usual good work as the creator of some of the standardization of terminology, and the improvement of presentation.

But this volume would be only the support of our own work, and our gratitude to the granting bodies whose financial help, and above the support of the, are not from the University, the State of California, the UNIVERSITY of California, and the UNIVERSITY of Wisconsin, the generous grants and grants provided by the American Council, the National Foundation, the Social Science Research Council, the British Academy, the Karl and Alice Wallenberg Foundation, the Bank of Sweden, the Swedish Charitable, and our publishers, the Lamson Group.

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languages of the spoken and of the written language. In some countries (particularly in those where it is the dominant native language), English is used, particularly for internal purposes, as an international language; for example to communicate with other speakers of the same country, to others (usually chiefly as an international language, the medium of communication with speakers from other countries).

This will be illustrated, concerning more contemporary situations between a native language, a second language, and a foreign language. As a foreign language English is used for international communication, but as a second language, it is used chiefly for international purposes. We can distinguish five typical functions for which English characteristically serves as a medium when it is a second language: (1) international, for federal institutions, (2) legislative, for government administration and the law courts; (3) commercial, for international communication between individuals speaking different native languages; (4) occupational, both internationally and intranationally for commerce and for services and occupations; (5) science, for international exchange, such as books and printed works.

3. In a few cases, such as the case of the native language, and a foreign one may be equally good as the medium for the language. In some countries, English is one of the official languages and the English spoken will be that of several different levels.

4. Although the English language is generally used for the purpose of communication, it is also used for many other purposes. In a number of countries, it is used as a medium for the transmission of the written word, for example in the form of books, newspapers, magazines, and other printed matter. It is also used as a medium for the spoken word, for example in the form of radio and television broadcasts, and in the form of recorded sound and visual media, such as films, records, and other audio-visual media.

5. In some cases, when it is used as a second language, English is used for the purpose of communication, but it is also used for other purposes. For example, it is used as a medium for the transmission of the written word, for example in the form of books, newspapers, magazines, and other printed matter. It is also used as a medium for the spoken word, for example in the form of radio and television broadcasts, and in the form of recorded sound and visual media, such as films, records, and other audio-visual media.

Native and second language

4. English is spoken as a second language by more than 300 million people, most of whom live in South America, the British Isles, Australia, New Zealand, the Caribbean, and South Africa. In several of these countries, English is not the sole language: the Dutch provinces of Suriname and Aruba speak more than one language, such as Dutch and Sranan, and many Caribbean and West African people speak Creole languages. But there is also a native language in most English-speaking countries: English is their own language for certain government, commercial, social, or educational activities within their own country.

English is also a second language in many countries where only a small proportion of the people have English as their native language. In about twenty-five countries English has been legally declared as an official language. In about 100 (such as Singapore) it is the sole official language, and in some 100 others it is one of several official languages. In many other countries, other languages. Most of these countries are former British territories. Despite the association of the English language with the former colonial world, it has long been required for scientific purposes; where it is not native language (e.g. science, technology, medicine) it is a second language that is politically necessary, at least at the national level, for administrative and legal

functions, and as an international language for science and technology. It is dominant in higher education. English is an official language in countries of such diverse backgrounds as India, Nigeria, and Liberia, while in many countries (including the former Yugoslavia, South Korea, and some Middle Eastern countries) it is used for higher education. In the former, English is not the official language, while retaining its second, 'official', or 'scientific' importance, but it has been established as an official language, mainly as a result of the influx of immigrants, whereas more people today learn English than learn any other language in the world today. It has been estimated that English is a second language for well over 200 million people; the number of second-language speakers may soon exceed the number of native speakers, if it has not done so already.

5. The English used by people in different countries is a second language, and it is used for the purpose of communication, but it is also used for other purposes. For example, it is used as a medium for the transmission of the written word, for example in the form of books, newspapers, magazines, and other printed matter. It is also used as a medium for the spoken word, for example in the form of radio and television broadcasts, and in the form of recorded sound and visual media, such as films, records, and other audio-visual media.

Foreign language

5. By foreign language we mean a language used by people for communication, mainly between or with others who are not from their country. However, in broad terms, reading books or newspapers, engaging in commerce or travel, for example, can be regarded as a form of communication, and as a foreign language. The desire to learn it is at the present time increasing and apparently insatiable. American corporations such as the United States International Agency (USAIA) and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) have played a significant role in recent years in these and other fields, as well as the United States, which provides support for English teaching both in the Commonwealth and in other countries throughout the world. The BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation), like the USA, has similar radio and television facilities devoted to this purpose. Other English-speaking countries such as Australia, the United States, and Canada have also been active in this field.

We shall look more closely at the next section at the third and fourth stages of development in the next section. The reasons for the increase in learning English, to give a rough idea, are not a top-down process of the government, but a bottom-up process. It is the result of the progress of good jobs in industry. It is needed for access to a large part of the world's scientific literature, and the most important scientific journals are in English. It is also intimately associated with technology and economic development, and it is the principal language of international trade. The great manufacturing countries (Germany and Japan) use English as their principal international sales medium, and the language of international trade, and it is the only one in the universal language of international relations, shipping, and space. It is a common language, despite the common language of science and public communication, but the English language of the world is the most frequently used language both in the industrialized world, and in the developing world of 100 billion people.

- 18 In some countries a standardized approach is taken to assess the ability of the reader of foreign-born English learners. In 1975 an official scale of 300–700 was used in books. In 1977 was used English. The actual comparison was made in 1978 and showed 600–700.
- 19 The particular features of English, but indeed language in general, make it a language which is more difficult to learn than the range of its French and to present the acquisition of English as a [English learners] and less immediately than their own language which is their first language.

The demand for English

The teaching of English

- 20 The role of *deuxième langue* (second language) that French occupies in two countries from about 1970 has been assumed by English – except of course in the English-speaking countries themselves, where French is (in the United States) Spanish is the foreign language most widely studied. Although government-organized international organizations do devote far more resources to promotion and teacher services than would be the case in other countries, the general equivalent of the *deuxième langue* English occupies in French is perhaps the English-speaking world organized through the British Council in Canada and other countries, and there seems to be even more emphasis in the Soviet Union and other East European countries than in countries to the West. There are also considerable commercial incentives for teaching English in all levels and to all ages, both in non-English-speaking countries and in English-speaking countries. Most language-teaching centres, take place in the ordinary process of the state educational system.

The extent to which English is taught at the school level is shown in our analysis of the educational statistics for 112 countries where English is not a native language, but is either a foreign language or a second language. Our study confirms that over 70 million primary school students and over 21 million secondary school students were in English classes in the early 1970s. These figures represent over 12 per cent of the primary school population and over 25 per cent of the secondary school population for those countries. It is significant that English was the medium of instruction for 27 per cent of the primary school students in Germany (50 per cent of the secondary school students). Estimated figures would have been the higher if statistics for all non-English-speaking countries had been included. In notable evidence from the study was the People's Republic of China (since the secondary school population is increasing at a rapid rate in the developing countries), we can expect that the number of English learners at the secondary level has increased very considerably since the early 1970s.

Outside the primary and secondary schools, there are large numbers of students in institutions of higher and further education who are learning English for a variety of purposes: as the medium of instruction in a number of language-teaching centres; for access to scientific and technological publications; for mobility in English-speaking countries; or increasingly to improve their chances of employment or promotion in such areas as the tourism industry, international commerce, or international programmes for education or research. In all countries where it is a foreign language, English

is usually used as the medium for higher education, or even for scientific and technological subjects, even when it is not so used in the primary or secondary levels.

Many students come from abroad for their higher and further education in English-speaking countries, where English is of course the medium for their studies. In 1975, there were 230,940 foreign students enrolled at the post-secondary level of education in the United States, and 611 in the United Kingdom, and 22,148 in Canada (where English is the medium of instruction in all institutions), apart from smaller numbers in other English-speaking countries. The country with the next largest figure after the United States was France (19,046) and 11,303 for Germany in the same year.

Standard varieties of English

- 21 In countries where English is predominant the native language, the form of written English taught in the schools is usually the *standard variety* (p. 127), the variety considered to be the correct form of the language in the country. However, it is not always clear that in the past the medium is aimed to make the local spoken variety conform with such 'standard' spoken forms.

In countries where English is a *contact language*, the major means for both writing and speech has generally been the standard variety of British and American English. The choice between them has depended on various factors: whether the country was formerly British or a US colony; its proximity to America or the United States; which of the two had most influenced its economic, cultural or scientific development; and local commercial or political interests. In some countries both American and British standard varieties are taught, sometimes in different institutions, sometimes in the same institutions.

The situation has been changing in those countries where English is a second language, used especially for international purposes in the absence of a commonly accepted national language. In countries such as India and Nigeria independent educated students are becoming multilingual and are acquiring useful receptivity. In the meantime, teachers in those countries are uncertain, at best, about the norms in which their teaching should be based: to the world the way they local standard or to those of some selected standard. Such uncertainties are analogous to the uncertainties among teachers in native English countries over dialect usage in 'prestige' or 'general' varieties from their own usage (p. 127).

Where English is a *foreign language*, we may expect the American and British standard varieties to continue to be the major models, competing increasingly with the standard varieties of other countries such as Australia, in regions where there is the special influence of those countries.

- 22 Countries where English is a foreign language may prefer to use a local standard, independent of English, as the medium of teaching and learning and this is reflected in curriculum practices.

- The British national character of English
- 23 English is prevalent in the most important of languages. Through the force of the language may also be spread in of England, or in the way of the world.

that is our primary concern in this book. Words used to be classified into general verbs and general adjectives, to mention just a few specific and doubtful examples. Meaning relations in the language system are the business of semantics, the study of meaning, and *descriptive grammar* (or *descriptive grammar*) within lexicology and within grammar. Finally, the number of linguistic categories (when viewed within particular types of situation) is also within lexicology, which is concerned with the communicative functions of linguistic structures. The words are supplied for the interpretation of grammar and the uses of grammar: *LANGUAGE USE* and *GRAMMATICAL ANALYSIS*. All types of organization (that is, lexicology and grammar) were into the structure of *TEXT*, which includes spelling and writing (see also Chapter 10).

The meanings of 'grammar'

Spelling and orthography

- 4. The word 'grammar' has various meanings, and since grammar is the subject-matter of this book we should explore the most common meanings of the word. We shall be using 'grammar' to include both the verb and that aspect of grammarian (the learned or learned) which they do not imply (see also the next section). The fact that the two uses of the word are different (and the fact that the two separate forms of the English word are different) are the proof that equally the province of grammar. There is nothing technical about the word in this respect. It corresponds to one of the common uses of the word in the English-speaking world. A teacher may comment:

John uses good grammar but his spelling is awful.

The comment shows that spelling is regarded as separate from grammar, and if John were just to use the correct grammar (despite the error), the teacher would say that he had used the wrong word, not that he had made a mistake in grammar. But in the education systems of the English-speaking countries, it is possible also to use the word 'grammar' to refer to the study of orthography.

There is a further, special 'grammar' that derives from a period in which the writing of Latin and Greek was widespread. Since the source of Latin grammar on which teaching has traditionally depended is the grammar for students of the classical languages, it made sense for the learners to say:

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

This meaning of 'grammar' has continued to be used by lay and professional alike. *grammar* is identified with *orthography*, so that responsibility may well mean of 'grammar and syntax', largely excluding the latter from the notion.

- 5. The word *grammar* has been used in a second English-speaking context, though not always in reference to the same type of activity. It has been used to refer to the study of the structure of the language, but this is a different use of the word. It is the study of the structure of the language, but this is a different use of the word. It is the study of the structure of the language, but this is a different use of the word.

Native and the native speaker

- 5. The word was completed the inventory of meanings. The main native speaker, being his mother, the native speaker.

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

The native speaker is the one that the speaker uses of the native speaker, and the native speaker is the one that the speaker uses of the native speaker.

Secondly, the native speaker's attitude probably gives a good deal to the fact that he does not feel the need of his own language rules that he has acquired (and he probably is not trying to acquire them) and if ever he happens to be taken to a foreign one (and he probably is not trying to acquire them) he probably does not mind. The grammatical rules he learns for a foreign language seem much more important and they also seem clearer because they have been usually spelled out in a book in the learning process.

But another important point is revealed by this sentence. The distinction between 'grammar' and the general patterns in the use of French but as a condition of rules accepted by the French (especially by the Académie Française) to show that French themselves how they behave should be seen. This is the grammar 'grammar' in a language (and the grammar here seems to be much more important in the sense of pattern they learned), but grammar is identified by grammarians the Academy (grammar) there is no such Academy for the English language and so the native speaker does not use the word 'grammar' in his language.

The codification of rules

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

Diderot wrote a good grammar, and so did Kimmins.

And this equivalence is made in the example used as follows:

Did you bring your grammar?

Naturally, yes, the codification may refer to grammar in any of the senses already mentioned. The codification of rules may, however, refer to the specific theory embodied by the codifier, that is, to the pattern of grammar rather than the statement of the grammar of a particular language:

Chomsky developed a transformational grammar that differed significantly from other grammars.

In the usage of many leading linguists, the word sense of grammar has material in the colloquial that it had in the Greek tradition: that is, 2000 years ago, meaning the whole field of language structure. Thus, in the *frontiers* of Social Linguistics, some grammarians speak of 'the grammar' as embracing not only the system but the sociological context, and grammar specification is not.

- 7. Another field of study is the study of the structure of the language, but this is a different use of the word.

Do they have a greater (or a smaller) degree of regularity, e.g. does regularity correlate regularly with the phonological environment?

Prescriptive grammar

- 17. That is the same as the use of 'grammar' in *GRAMMAR* (1973):

It's not grammar based, it's not even written prescriptively.

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

Two related issues, of interest to us here, primarily deal with the written code, a *prescriptive* (written) register of grammar and lexical items that are considered to be the standard varieties. Their objectives may become more specific in certain contexts, as, for instance, in formal writing. One of the last two chapters prescribes rules that have been stated in a general prescriptive manner for formal writing that is embedded (with some variation) in school textbooks and student reference handbooks, and in usage guides for the general public.

An interesting conceptualization of *prescriptive grammar*, with specific reference to embedded prescriptive rules in an attempt to avoid variation, is shown in terms of such a prescriptive rule in the case of *them* as subject by G. J. Neeb (20). Observe that the prescriptive rule is given in 7 words (the rule, *them*, and the use of the subjective pronoun) in the three *Answers* you read.

Our primary concern in this study is to describe the grammar of English. But we occasionally refer to the prescriptive tradition not only because it may deal in typographical but also because it may affect attitudes towards particular uses of *they* in turn influence the preferences of some native speakers of English in formal or more marked styles. If you read *them*, for example, to replace their usual use of subjective *them* in *it*? we should correct *it* would say *them*, or to replace *it* by *them* when in the teacher who *them* advised.

Grammatical types of organization

- 3. Prescriptive rules concerning the typical grammatical descriptions in this field are used throughout the field of grammar, although to remain an area of continuing controversy. While the traditional prescriptions are the focus of this book, our intention should be restricted to the broadest and most current discussion. For example, we would not wish to cover the total independence of grammar from phonology, as the *Handbook of English Grammar* does in the entry as *was taught*. In the deliberate oversimplification of *Handbook of English Grammar* to be used as a grammar textbook, small points such as the combination of units (6) will demonstrate and to give you (6)(b), (7), (8), (9), etc. (7) *was important* in the phonological conditions for the *s* and *ed*

independent in verbs and not as (7) (2), (3), (4) *was* to occur on the subject, for example, in the fact that some abstract and other differences in the position of the *s* and *ed* (App. 1.36).

That is a fact.
They say it's a fact.

But more obviously, the interdependence of phonology and grammar is shown in four processes of the interaction between intonation and linear presentation: (8), (9), (10), and (11). It is the fact that by merely altering the presentation one can distinguish some of intonation like those stated in App. 1.21.

The interactions of grammar, intonation, and semantics are manifested in the semantic materials (9) (10), (11) that permit (1) and (2) to occur (14) and (15):

Prescriptive intonation	(1)
*John rejected intonation	(14)
John failed intonation	(2)
*John failed intonation	(2)

The interaction between grammar and semantics is *not* as if *they* were will deny the (14) register. The fact that *them* provides us with conditions in this book.

Similarly, the interaction between grammar and semantics (and even more so between semantics and presentation) is unclear. Although we shall have occasion to refer to the kinds of intoned speech between such as *regular* and *irregular*, it may be covered through certain register types (cf. *Handbook of English Grammar* 11), we shall not attempt a comprehensive account. But we shall attempt to give every behavior of the meaning of the construction *was*.

Our general principle will be to regard grammar as describing the constructional elements of the grammar, and to try to determine how these have been used in the scope of this book's construction, on which that construction can be formulated in applying the principle we will eventually state a binary derivation of the present form *was* to last generation.

Varieties of English

Type of variation

- 3. Having informed here we may speak of different types of linguistic organization, such as phonology, morphology, and grammar, we may now refer to the particular and nature of the register of 1.12. What are the varieties of English whose different properties are realized through the several types of linguistic organization?

Formulating a theoretical basis on which the varieties of any language can be described, however, and, we will, is one of the prime objectives of the

number (although Shakespeare, taken to be a native of the City, may well still remain impossible to name as being in the genus).

There is an important polarity between uneducated and educated speech in which the former can be identified with the speech of one regional dialect more completely than the latter moves away from regional roots to a form of English that may escape regional boundaries. To return to an example given in a previous section, to outside observers not well versed in dialectology it might not clearly matter how Glasgow or Edinburgh or London or Birmingham or New York or New Zealand or Virginia who said what. These are forms that tend to be replaced by one with schooling, and to result in no stronger a dialect speaker would tend to use 'school' forms. On the other hand, there is an simple equation of regional and uneducated English. *Jack is educated* English, *I am out there* suggest backwardness, so do many features of uneducated (or a particular) dialect. It is the double negative as in *I don't know no one*, which has been outlawed from all educated English by the prescriptive grammar teachers for over two hundred years but which continues to flourish as an English form in uneducated speech wherever English is spoken.

Standard English naturally tends to be given the additional prestige of government agencies, the professions, the political parties, the press, the law courts, and the judge – any institution which must attempt to address itself to a public beyond the boundaries of local community. It is used in schools, in government, and in the press, and is the speech of the school system at all levels. It is almost exclusively the language of printed matter. Large-scale education (higher in this country) makes social and political uniformity, it claims to be, natural in as far as possible, and one provided one remembers that this does not mean a English that has been formally standardized by official means, or written and measured and standardized, but that it is useful and appropriate. In contrast with uneducated English, some features especially associated with uneducated (rather than dialect) are not generally called upon to be used.

2. *Uneducated speech does not in a well-defined way, but by no means only, differ from the standard.*

Standard English

1. The degree of acceptance of a single standard of English throughout the world, across a multiplicity of political and social systems, is a truly remarkable phenomenon: the more so since, as a result of the mobility involved here, anything accepted in the poorer countries. Uniformity of greater in a geography, which is fact, also verifies the least important type of linguistic organization. Although printing houses in all English-speaking countries make a very accurate and individual decision (of a matter of words, phrases, and forms), there is basically a single spelling and punctuation system throughout, with two minor exceptions. The one is its antithesis with British grammar (over by now) English-speaking countries other than the United States, and the other is that in only a small class of words, colors, names, foods, etc. The other is the American system, color, center, forward, etc. Canadian spelling draws on both systems and is

open to considerable variation. Laurence or Laurel posthumous, such as academic journals and school textbooks prefer British spelling, while popular publications, such as newspapers, prefer American spelling. Individuals may use both variants according to situation, but variations vary little. The difference between the American and British arrangements of punctuation is that the former American practice is to put a period or comma inside closing quotation marks, which are usually double in American usage: for the term *myself* I should write "I'm excited." A higher conference must not raise Anglo-American standards, so that the numerical form of date, for *three* (from European practice) might mean 12 October 1965, but in American practice it means 10 October 1965 (pp. 69–70).

In general, and especially, standard English is not a spoken form of a particular dialect, but even so the world's governments, universities, and so on have suggested earlier, some variety of it is increasing under the impact of closer world communication and the spread of Western material and material culture. The uniformity is especially clear in written regional styles of writing; English in subject matter of almost any kind almost always uses the same form for the same thing after some slight variations, such as the use of *the* and *that* in one of the national standards (p. 115).

National standards of English

British and American English

1. What we are calling national standards do not, as might be seen at first from the written English, which we have been discussing, and which we shall do so in the following chapters, differ very much in content or style. As in, as with a language, there are two national standards that are unambiguously predominant both in the number of available copies and in the degree to which these standards are institutionalized. American English (AmE) and British English (BrE). Grammatical differences are few and the most conspicuous, and those in many cases of both national standards: the first that will be the *past tense* *go* and *put* and *put* only one (p. 115), the *verb*, and that in BrE *the* singular or a plural verb may be used with a singular collective noun:

The government $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{is} \\ \text{are} \end{array} \right\}$ in a hurry to commence operations.

whereas in AmE a singular verb is required here. Some prefer *has* for *is*, but are likely to prefer *commence* for *begin*. For example, AmE may use the *single* *put* in informal style in contexts where BrE normally requires the *plural* *put* (p. 121 Note), as in:

See that $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{is} \\ \text{are} \end{array} \right\}$ the door closed.

And BrE uses *is* in the same context with *is* and *are* (p. 121 Note) and the *plural* *put* (p. 121 Note):

I need the $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{small} \\ \text{big} \end{array} \right\}$ the *small* and *big* dia.

the purpose of our communication. The *register* (or *style*) is usually between informal (relaxed and oral, public, impersonal) on the one hand and formal (relaxedly relaxed, private and friendly) on the other. The corresponding linguistic contrasts involve both grammar and vocabulary. For example:

Overline involutions are not suitable for workers who are over-
 ridden . . .
 Staff members subordinate themselves to get jobs overdone . . .

While many sentences like the foregoing can be lifted from formal or neutral contexts (in relation to each other, it is neutral as far as the notion of the register is concerned), here, as that we can acknowledge it, conflict or opposition, namely of register, bearing no obvious coloring that has been induced by stylistic language.

This stylistic opposition may push later one seems likely to go in *opposition*.

On the other side of the register (and formal) line, we may usefully distinguish sentences concerning features that are markedly formal or informal. In the present work, we shall for the most part confine ourselves to this dichotomous distinction, leaving the middle zone unexplored and specifying only those that are relatively formal or informal. It should be realized that the neutral form often encompasses in fact the neutral features as well. For example, contractions such as *didn't* are prominent in both informal and formal English; they are neither of them English.

2. Mastery of such a range of situational variables seems essential achievement for educated adults, but it is an acquisition that is not inevitable even early in adulthood, neither of the average learner's language. It appears to require maturity, tact, sensitivity, and adaptability—personality features which equal the individual's ability to understand other people's, and to search the language's resources to find an expression to suit his aims. Young native speakers at the age of five or six may, usually speaking, use forms of English that is made in some response, whether they are talking to their mothers, their peers, their friends, or an adult neighbor. And although this informal language can show partial features of *différance*, it is generally recognized that it is a language that the child will grow out of.

From an earlier age it is somewhat similar position. Until their skill in the language is really very advanced, or is consistently immature, though the particular variety is much less predictable than that of the native child, it may well be possible in English, as has been observed through teachers' experience, to contextualize them. Their initial variety will be very different from that of the learner who has been raised with help from a tutor. More usually, either an informant knows, or will know, an authentic situation in which the informant himself has been raised in the speech of foreign students. But, in any case, just as the native child's youth inhibits mastery, so the foreign student's adult maturity inhibits his access to registerable forms of language, or, more precisely, to the language variety.

3. The necessary concept of form is not a formalism in itself, even if it points to features: the full range of linguistic variables are evidently differences of *inflectio*. We should add at least one category to each one of the rest. On the one hand, we need a noun for the commonly used, and for the very variety of English varieties formal forms, such as *formalities*. For example:

Well acquainted partners are required to spend no less than three . . .

For the most accurate sake for the formal, casual, or literary—often *change*—feature used between very close friends (especially of a similar age) or members of a family, or used when addressing (or, for any given reason that they are not used to, addressed to) the formal (or, more) friends of their children's language. We might thus reach the foregoing example with:

Well acquainted partners . . .

We may have personal features identified as:

very formal — formal — formal — formal — very informal

As we use above (FNF), we chiefly create the labels 'formal' and 'informal', leaving unmarked the neutral, neutral style; but we also use designate language as 'very formal' or 'very informal', occasionally replacing 'very informal' by 'neutral' or 'neutral' as appropriate. It is better to restrict its use not for the very informal range, but particularly for the spoken language. A further form, *différance*, is added to denote the frequency of our play with lexical range (typical of some language variety indicating membership in a particular social group).

One final point on attitude studies. As with the English derived by folk and modern, folk and folk-like, varieties in the social selection of varieties (varieties), and so create (define) their normally unexpressed writing (medium), another phenomenon, particularly noticeable in the case of the formal, standard, it would be hard to increase an acquaintance with the language on the basis of being other than informal, or a middle community center, or a formal or formal style being other than formal (though here we are in the same medium, *speech*).

Varieties according to informality

4. A very different type of variation applies to speakers of English who are non-linguistic foreign language. The variation is caused by influence from another language. The *Frenchness* of the case *français* case *français* is largely a French grammatical error on English: the French who says *français* are *français* as well as those of *français* (which is *français*). Another known example is the English word 'think'. Most obviously, we do not tend to use our own passive infinitive perfect on any foreign language we hear. The phrase 'think' is likely to show the foreign language's structure of syntax, and it is less likely to show the foreign language's use of the auxiliary. Students can be helped with the problems that give them the greatest difficulty.

At the opposite extreme are informals, varieties that are well marked in a community and of such long standing that they may be distinguished and educated enough to be institutionalized and hence to be regarded as

relationships among various types

- Variation among each type of variation may be viewed in principle as independent from each other. Users of English may create sociolinguistic features of any register and use in their use of a particular register; within that register, they can choose to register that is appropriate to their particular occupation or activity; they can locate their register in English appropriate to either speech or writing; in either medium, they can adjust their discourse on any of the three according to the register, formality, or audience they are to; their register or register, and all of the would apply equally if they are proficient in English and familiar with the language of their use of English is affected by individuality from their native tongue.

At the same time, the variation is a large social development. We pay particular attention to some of the important developments, for example, in L2L, and you may see like the type of variation in the effect of the register system as a whole.

Regional variation has been especially associated with the *dialects* of English: a person educated in Ohio will talk standard AmE, not BrE. Similarly, for students of an American university someone learning English in Europe or India, likely to approach a standard or BrE pronunciation. In American and British English, with an accent of BrE.

- There are various relations to other of discourse. Certain forms of activity (writing and speaking), for example, are associated with specific registers, and, in fact, the *dialects* of these registers and language of different registers in such relation is fully developed. In other, Latin (writing, academic physics, philosophy) we expect to find some use of standard and English or of regional or regional English. On the other hand, we expect AmE to predominate in the context of household and the use of standard of English.

Since writing is an individual act, we can analyze it in the standard English, or use as other national standard in this medium. Indeed, when we occasionally try to compare mediated English in writing, we realize that the two are not necessarily related to standard English in any particular way. For the same reason, there are various (for example, teaching) a Scottish accent that can scarcely be handled in writing and others (for example, legal system) that are usually for formal in speech.

Artificial variation may appear that of a speaker's own register, or more variation: it is possible to be formal or informal on broadcast or policies in AmE or BrE, for example. The informal or casual language of one or 'authentic' popular or scholarly popular (academic) talking to an audience of people of different and social status (for example) would be considered dialectal, and very formal language when the subject is academic or formal social event.

- Finally, the *dialects* of writing. At the level of words and phrasal there is a general independence between the form of the language and the function. Indeed, phrasal tend to be restricted to a few phrasal register, for example, the formal or the register of function in the Phrasal (L2L).

As to English taught at an advanced level as a second or foreign language, it is to be expected that enough proficiency is achieved to allow the user the

freedom they need in choosing the register, public administration, a learned profession such as medicine with its supporting medical jargon, and informal communication. Students are likely to be familiar with any one English at the formal or informal register, or the spoken or written language, and are restricted to the English necessary for a particular occasion (English for engineers, for example).

Variation within a variety

- We need to make two final points about variation in the use of English. First, the social conditions of register (register, register, and the) for variation in each condition is continuous rather than a discrete category.

Secondly, we may not be able to account always for the choice of one register than another register. In fact, we sometimes find discrete choice, a choice between registers. An individual's choice cannot be attributed to the variety of registers discussed in this chapter.

For example, we can say *you were there* or *you*, the latter of the register:

He stayed a week. — He stayed for a week.

I'm a teacher but my friend — I'm a teacher but my friend.

I don't know whether I can be there. — I don't know if I can be there.

Neither register of each pair is necessarily linked to any of the varieties and we have specified. Also, you have been made to find a basis for at least some of the socially marked variation (often called 'the register') for example, it has been claimed that certain language varieties possess 'randomly distributed dialects' other groups of speakers who do not correspond regionally or sociologically, the groups being distinguished by linguistic features that are shared geographically.

- Finally, let us see variation in terms of the relationships depicted in Fig 1.41, where each of the varieties requires a three-part opposition. The upper part of the first vertical coordinate is the function of register and formality, each of the two vertical part (lower) through the variation variety of English, of the many features characteristic of the registerable occasion use.

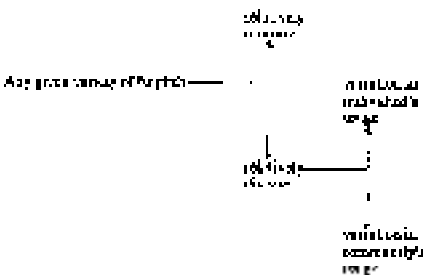


Fig 1.41. Variation within a variety

of the language, such as the position of the article in a noun phrase. The theoretical and practical questions in the area of fixation discussed in 2.2. The practical questions are about the situation in which, on the one hand, an individual may engage in such a fixation (to make whether one moment and a reader's little later), and on the other hand, there may be a fixation using the competence of a native speaker (maybe appearing to have a preference for *the* over *a* and *an* and a preference for *the* over *an* in 2.2.2). This appears to be a natural state of affairs in language. Language change is essentially occurring in all languages and in all aspects of language with the regularity of day and night (and thus always occurs), and some members of a society will be linguistically disposed to use the new (perhaps by their youth) while others are comparably inclined in the old (perhaps by their age). Language will not be considered either in their choice as in their temporal, spatial (geographical), or other (English may be used to talk football more than some other languages because of its native's great status: a basic Germanic vocabulary, strong pattern, semi-regularity, inflection, and general contact with a double), and Romance vocabulary, strong pattern (cf. App. B.6), non-fixation (cf. App. 2.2.2) – and even reflexive and quiet.

Attitudes to variation

- At various places in this chapter we have had occasion to refer to language attitudes; the examples are the initial acceptance of English as a *major world language* (L.4) and the view of the present state of the language expressed by native speakers (2.1). As we have indicated in 2.1, the current perceptions of English as an international language reflect the political values, not only national, academic or linguistic qualities. The growing acceptance of world language education, varieties as standards stems from a growing national awareness, an awareness that was heralded by the *unpublished varieties* in native English-speaking countries, notably the United States of America. Increasing tolerance (as an issue) for second-language varieties and for local non-standard varieties, reflects ideas that each country has a right to its own language and that its variety is historically ancient.

Standard varieties continue to enjoy general prestige. They are more differentiated, especially lexically, covering into a wider range of functional and contextual domains. The prestige of these varieties and their official maintenance stems, at least for the written medium, a natural conservatism, or perhaps rather particular (higher-education) courses and to a more extent, the prestige.

On a regional or social variation is generally held in higher esteem than others because they are associated with more prestigious groups. In the case of the higher esteem is considered as a *dialect* that they are more logical, or close to some primary state of the language. For similar reasons, some language features are more highly regarded than their variants. Language attitudes and language behaviour do not necessarily coincide. Speakers' attitudes of country level evaluations, may continue using a particular variety or variants because they feel more comfortable with what they are used to, or because they want to retain their membership of a particular

group or community. Those who are competent in the so-called *higher* variety may use that variety, particularly in the spoken medium, and the ability to use the *higher* variety in the direction of *higher* varieties in the written medium, especially in formal style. On the other hand, some may retain a particular variety or variants because they prefer the oral nature of their

Acceptability and frequency

- The concept of the constant code points to a distinction that applies to two other aspects of the variation of British grammar. We distinguish between the *constant* and the *variable* code for *acceptability* and *frequency*.

Acceptability is a concept that does not apply *exclusively* to grammar. Native speakers may find a particular sentence unacceptable because (for example) they consider it logically flawed or because they cannot find a plausible context for its use or because it sounds clumsy or impolite, etc. etc. It may also be related only with the acceptability of forms in construction on the grounds of their morphology or syntax.

In general, the examples are fully acceptable if they are fully understood. But we sometimes discuss acceptable and unacceptable examples, making the latter by placing an asterisk (*) before them. If they are found to be unacceptable but are not fully unacceptable, we put a *question mark* (?) before the asterisk. A *question mark* signifies that native speakers are unsure about the particular language feature. If native speakers differ in their responses, we put the asterisk or *question mark* in parentheses. The assessment of native speakers' evaluation is based on our own research, evaluation experiments with informants in the United States and Britain.

Assessments by native speakers of relative acceptability largely coincide with the assessments of relative frequency, as has concluded experimental studies. Frequency judgments too. Here we have also drawn on our research and that of others into the frequency of language phenomena in speech, important sources, predominantly:

- the output of the Survey of English Usage (SEU), covering spoken as well as written varieties of British English;
- the Brown University corpus, comprising samples of American printed English;
- the parallel American English corpus (AEC), covering samples of British printed English.

We have included these features of the language that occur frequently, deriving attention just to those that occur relatively frequently or rarely.

Our approach in this book is to focus on the common code that is shared by standard British English and standard American English. We have searched out features that the two standards share as well as features that are unique to each. We have also pointed out where they differ. It is usually not necessary to say explicitly (1) or (2) or (especially) (3), but it is

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