

Only in Indian English Only?

Focus Particles *also*, *only* and *itself* in Indian English and Their Use in
Singapore and Philippine English

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Tässä pro gradu -tutkielmassa käsitellään lauseenloppuisten fokuspartikkelien käyttöä Intian englannissa sekä tämän käytön levinneisyyttä Singaporen ja Filippiinien englanteihin. Tutkimuksen keskeisenä kysymyksenä on Intian englannin vaikutuksen leviäminen näihin kahteen varieteettiin, joiden on ennen katsottu omaksuneen vaikutteita vain entisiltä siirtomaavalloiltaan, Singapore Iso-Britannialta ja Filippiinit Yhdysvalloilta. Lisäksi tarkastellaan myös Iso-Britannian englantia, jota käytetään tässä tutkimuksessa vertailukohtana muille varieteeteille. Tutkimuksen kohteena ovat lauseen loppuun sijoitetut fokuspartikkelit *also*, *only* ja *itself*, sekä niiden frekvenssit neljässä varieteetissa. Partikkelien valinta perustuu aikaisempiin tutkimuksiin, joissa osoitetaan Intian englannin fokuspartikkelien käytön poikkeavan standardin englannin käyttötavoista. Tämä puolestaan johtuu hindin vaikutuksesta Intian englannin varieteettiin.

Kaikkien neljän varieteetin kohdalla käytetään The International Corpus of English -korpuksia, joiden yhtenäinen rakenne mahdollistaa tulosten yksityiskohtaisen vertailun. Vaikka tutkimuksessa tarkasteltiin myös partikkelien semanttisia ominaisuuksia, on pääpaino silti syntaktisella analyysillä, koska semantiikkaan pohjautuva analyysi koettiin ongelmalliseksi liiallisen tulkinnanvaraisuutensa vuoksi kyseisten lauserakenteiden kohdalla.

Tutkimuksessa käy ilmi, että Intian, Singaporen ja Filippiinien englannissa lauseenloppuisten fokuspartikkelien frekvenssi korreloi suoraan puhetilanteen ja kirjoitusmuodon epävirallisuuden kanssa, sillä korkeimmat frekvenssit löytyivät kaikkien kolmen varieteetin kohdalla yksityisistä dialogeista. Iso-Britannian englannin tulokset olivat päinvastaisia, sillä sen kohdalla korkeimmat frekvenssit lauseen loppuun sijoitetuille fokuspartikkeleille löytyivät puolestaan virallisista puhetilanteista ja kirjoitetusta kielestä. Tulosten koetaan osoittavan, että Iso-Britannian englannissa fokuspartikkeleille annetaan erilaisia merkityksiä kuin Intian, Singaporen ja Filippiinien englannissa.

Tulokset osoittavat että Intian englannin innovatiivinen tapa sijoittaa fokuspartikkeli lauseen loppuun on levinnyt myös Singaporen ja Filippiinien englanteihin. Intian englannin vaikutus näkyi voimakkaampana Singaporen varieteetissa ja tämä on selitettävissä maiden yhteisellä siirtomaahistorialla. Myös Filippiinien englanti on ottanut vaikutteita Intian varieteetista siitä huolimatta, että englannin kieli on saapunut näihin maihin eri tahoilta. Tutkielmassa ehdotetaan että Intian englannin kehittämän uuden fokuspartikkelien käyttötavan leviäminen Singaporen ja Filippiinien englanteihin voidaan selittää Intian kulttuurin voimakkaalla vaikutuksella Kaakkois-Aasiassa, joka näkyy uusien kielellisten innovaatioiden leviämisenä alueilla, joiden on perinteisesti ajateltu saaneen vaikutteita vain entisiltä siirtomaavalloiltaan.

Avainsanat: fokuspartikkelit, Intia, Singapore, Filippiinit, korpuslingvistiikka

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1. Introduction

The history of the English language has been a true success story. From a language used by a small population living on the outskirts of Europe, it has accomplished something that no other language has been able to do before; it has managed to unify the globe. Today, the number of English speakers is growing and the estimates range from a moderate 350 million to a more optimistic one billion, depending on the methods used (Crystal 2003, 107). When one considers that there are “only” approximately 350 million native speakers (Crystal 2003, 107), the time has come to ask whether the old native varieties should hold so much power over the language that has more non-native than native users. The largest populations using English after USA and Great Britain can now be found in Asia, where England's colonial presence, followed by the rise of Asian economic powers, has caused the language to flourish on this Eastern continent.

In many of these former colonies, English has sustained its status as an official language, which has led to the nativization of the variety. One of the most famous examples of this comes from India, “the jewel in the imperial crown” (Mesthrie 2003, 459), where English has developed into a dialect that is easily distinguished from other varieties spoken around the world. In fact, according to Kachru, several linguistic studies of IndE have shown that the language has been nativized and that it has now become “a suitable medium for expressing values of Indian culture and civilization” (1992, 343). Although Agnithori (1999, 193) has argued that “there is no syntactic feature that may be said to be uniquely associated with Indian English”, researches such as Bhatt (2000) and Lange (2007) have proven otherwise. Their studies on the use of focus markers in Indian English show that IndE has created an innovative use of focus particles such as *only* and *itself* which Lange (2007, 115) suggests “to be the first candidate for a nativized syntactic pattern in [IndE]”.

Singapore shares India's past as a former colony of Great Britain, whereas the Philippines were colonised by the United States. Therefore, these two Southeast Asian countries have arrived to the present situation where they both have English as one of their official languages through rather different paths. The official status of English was not achieved as easily as one might think, since both of these countries have a population that uses a large variety of different languages and dialects. Nevertheless, they have followed India's example and kept the language of their former colonisers as one of their official languages. Although the status of English has been questioned on many occasions in these countries, it has not vanished. One of the reasons for this is that it provides a medium of communication for these multilingual nations and helps to create more connections to the rest of the world, where the status of English is unquestionable today.

India, Singapore and the Philippines



Map 1. India, the Philippines, Singapore and their neighbouring countries
(One World – Nations Online Project, 2009)

India has had a significant impact on the development of the cultures in South-East Asia and it has retained this status to this day (Lamb 1975, 442). When this is considered alongside with the fact that India is the world's third largest nation using English after the UK and the USA (Bhatt 2000, 72), IndE could be expected to have influenced some of the other varieties in the Asian continent. In this thesis, I will study the innovative use of focus particles in IndE, concentrating on *also*, *only* and *itself*, with the aim to see if this usage has spread to other Asian varieties, namely Singapore English (SinE) and Philippine English (PhiE). In addition, I will compare these results with British English (BrE) in order to determine how much these three Eastern varieties have broken away from the "standard" language that was introduced to the area hundreds of years ago. My research questions, thus, are the following:

1. Is there a difference between BrE and IndE in the way they use focus particles?
2. If this proves to be the case, has this innovative use of focus particles in IndE spread to SinE or PhiE?
3. Is there a difference in the level of adoption of this innovative use of focus particles between these two dialect areas?
4. If this is the case, how could this difference be explained?

The data for this study was obtained from *The International Corpus of English* (ICE) for all four varieties in question. In the next chapter, I will briefly discuss the historical backgrounds of India, Singapore and the Philippines and how these have influenced the current language situations in the countries.

2. English in Asia

2.1. India

2.1.1. Aspects of the history of IndE

The Indian culture dates back at least 4600 years to the Indus valley, where early civilizations speaking Dravidian languages developed over the centuries (McNeill and McNeill 2003, 62). This situation changed around 1500 BC, when the area was taken over by Aryan tribes who migrated from Middle Asia (Library of Congress 2004, 2), introducing many new cultural traditions to the area. Some examples of these are the caste system, a new religion which developed into modern Hinduism, and the Sanskrit language, all of which have existed in the area ever since (Library of Congress 2004, 2).

Although Islamic influences had entered the continent already in the 8th century when the Arabs conquered the area of modern day Pakistan (Library of Congress 2004, 2), the era of the Muslim lords in India did not began until the 13th century. The centuries that followed were marked by the Turkish rulers, who were later removed from power as the Persian Muslims arrived in the 16th century and established the Mughal Empire (Kulke and Rothermund 1986, 197). During these centuries, Sanskrit was replaced by Persian as the language of administration (Gargesh 2006, 91) and India flourished financially, culturally and politically. In fact, at its peak, the Mughal Empire was larger than the area that the British ever succeeded to colonise.

In the 1750's, the Mughal Empire was declining while the British East India Company was building trading stations all over the India; the whole subcontinent was weak due to the rivaling small Hindu states that were emerging everywhere in India (McNeill and McNeill 2003, 240). Because of this, the British were able to defeat these new weak states easily one by one and soon the East India Company had the whole country under its control (Kulke and Rothermund 1986,

239). This enterprise was later on turned to the British government, which enabled them to exploit India's riches to a greater extent than what the trading company ever had. It was not until the 19th century that the Indian people began to present claims for independence, thus creating the first nationalist movement in India (Kulke and Rothermund 1986, 276-7). After decades of struggle, Mahatma Gandhi's anti-violence independence movement became so powerful that Britain finally "quit India" as Gandhi had asked and in 1947, India gained its independence.

2.1.2. Language situation in India

India's first contacts with the English language can be dated back to the 17th century and the establishment of the East India Company (Bhatt 2000, 71). Once the British had gained a sound footing in the country, they began introducing bilingualism systematically to the country, which was reasoned with the colonial spirit in the following manner:

[The Hindus] are ignorant and their errors have never been laid before them. The communication of our light and knowledge to them would prove the best remedy for their disorders. (Grant 1831-2, 60-1, Cited in Bhatt 2000, 71)

Despite such colonial arrogance, Hohenthal (2003) suggests that English did become popular among the masses in India, because "it opened paths to employment and influence" and soon it became the ruling language in education and administration. For a while during the 19th century, some Indians spoke what was known as "Babu English", the word *babu* referring to an Indian civil servant of lower rank. According to Hall, to this day, it has not become clear whether this was a true pidgin language, or mere "broken English" used by the locals when speaking to their colonial masters (1974, 9). Despite its common use at the time, the increasing levels of education of the English language soon led into the disappearance of Babu English.

When India's constitution came into force in 1950, English was declared as an associate official language and its use was meant to be phased out in a period of 15 years (Gargesh 2006, 94). During this time, Hindi was planned to take over as the unifying language of the country (Hohenthal 2003). India's legislators believed in the feasibility of this plan, because Hindi had the largest number of speakers in the country: according to the 1991 census, speakers of Hindi formed approximately 40% of the population (Central Institute of Indian Languages, www.ciil.org). However, things did not go according to plan, and one of the reasons why Hindi has not prevailed to this day is the fact that its use is very unevenly distributed across the country (Baldrige 2002, 1.5). Gargesh (2006, 94) adds that the inhabitants of the Western and Southern parts of India were worried that if Hindi became the only official language, it would provide its native speakers in the Northern states an unfair advantage over the Southern non-native speakers. After some protests in the South, the Indian government decided in 1967 that English would continue as an associate official language without any given time limit (Gargesh 2006, 94).

Today, the language situation is no less complex and English still serves as a medium that unifies millions of Indians. In fact, India has 22 official languages that are spoken in different parts of the country, with additional 844 different dialects being used (www.india.gov.in), although these estimates do tend to vary from source to source. Despite this, the grand majority of these languages can be roughly divided between the Indo-Aryan languages such as Sanskrit-based Hindi used in the North, and the Dravidian languages such as Tamil spoken in the South (Baldrige 2002, 1). In addition, some Indians could be argued to be true multilinguals, as they may speak one language at home while they are being taught three additional languages at school: the official language of their region, Hindi, and English. Gargesh (2006, 96) describes the Indian educational system as a pyramid, where local languages form the base, the regional official languages form the middle section, but where there is room for only one language at the top -English. This view is supported

by Hohenthal (2003), who claims that for the educated class, “English is virtually the first language” and for many of the people who do speak another language, it is usually English. Although there has been criticism towards the status of English as an official language from many sides in India, the success of the language continues. For the growing middle classes, English means better employment opportunities, whereas for the upper classes, it can also function as a “mark of elitism” (ICE-India Overview 2002, 1).

According to Gonzales, the vast majority of Indians today are second language (L2) speakers of English (2004, 11). However, Sharma (2005, 194) suggests that the situation is more complex, because indigenized non-native varieties of English, such as IndE, cannot be placed under models of individual L2 learning or native variation without problems. There are two reasons that can be given for this: firstly, in regions such as India, English has more hybrid qualities to it which is the result of its “functional status as a second language”; secondly, IndE also contains native-like patterns of indigenous use and transmission (Sharma 2005, 194). Despite the difficulties of providing the IndE variety with a label that would cover all its unique qualities neatly, one thing should not come as a surprise: since English and the various languages of India have co-existed more than 200 years, it is no wonder why some researchers, such as Bhatt, have argued that “English has become an Indian language” (2000, 72).

2.2. Singapore

2.2.1. Aspects of the History of SinE

The first written evidence of people living in the Singapore area dates back to the year 1365, when a contemporary Javanese scripture tells of a settlement in Singapore island called Temasek, which, during the final years of the 14th century, was renamed as Singapura, Lion city (Turnbull 1997, 2-3). In contrast to its current status in the world, the area was too far from the old trading routes to become an important place of trade, and therefore it remained as a secluded place for centuries (Turnbull 1977, 2, 4).

As an attempt to challenge the control of the Dutch in the seas of Southeast Asia, the British established a trading station in Singapore in the beginning of 19th century (Lim and Foley 2004, 2), from which it followed that the area's commercial importance began to increase. This again made Singapore more attractive to immigrants and soon the population began to grow exponentially, the biggest ethnic groups being the Chinese, the Indians and the Malays, which is a structure that has remained to this day (Turnbull 1977, 36-37; Wells 1982, 645). In addition, the 19th century also marked the era when English -medium education was introduced to the area (Lim and Foley 2004, 3).

In 1867, Britain decided to change the status of the Strait Settlement and therefore Singapore became a Crown colony alongside with other members of the Settlement such as Malaysia (Turnbull 1977, 75). This situation changed for a short period, when Singapore was occupied by the Japanese in 1942, but the area was returned to Britain after the end of the Second World War. However, Singaporeans were not happy with their colonial rulers anymore and they began to present claims for self-rule (Library of Congress 2006, 3). As a response, Britain declared Singapore as a separate Crown colony, which made it independent from the other areas of the old

Strait Settlement (Turnbull 1977, 186, 218) and allowed it to form its own civil administration. During the following years, Singapore was given more and more independence concerning its internal affairs and in 1958, Singapore's status was elevated from a colony to a state (Library of Congress 2006, 3). Despite this, Singapore still had strong ties with Malaysia and in 1963, it was declared as a part of the newly established independent state of Malaysia, a situation which did not last long.

Singapore became independent in 1965, when it was expelled from Malaysia due to major conflicts over the rights of the Chinese citizens (Dixon 2005, 27). Now the country faced multiple new challenges, as it had to find a way to secure its economic prosperity and to create a feeling of national consciousness among the multi-ethnic population (Turnbull 1977, xiv). The Singaporeans did not have any common cultural legacy on which to build their identity on, and therefore it was decided that the nation's cohesion should be based on a "multi-racial, multi-lingual secular society" (Turnbull 1977, 300). Today, Singapore has become a major player in the global economy and its multiculturalism has definitely helped the country to achieve the position that it has today.

2.2.2. Language situation in Singapore

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the population of Singapore consists of three major ethnic groups: 77% Chinese, 14% Malay and 8% Indian (Singapore Department of Statistics 2002, cited in Dixon 2005). During the year following Singapore's independence, a new bilingual education policy was established. Earlier, the ethnic Chinese group had spoken approximately ten different dialects, the major ones being Minnan, Cantonese, Mandarin, Hakka, Mindong, Puxian, and Minbei (Library of Congress 2006, 7) and according to Dixon, many of these were mutually intelligible (2005, 26-7). The situation was less complex among other ethnicities, as the grand majority of

Malays spoke Malay whereas the Indian group spoke languages from both Dravidian and Indo-European families, Tamil having the largest number of speakers (Dixon 2005, 26-7). With the new policy, four official languages, that is, Mandarin Chinese, Malay, Tamil and English, were chosen so that all three groups would have one “official” mother language. However, in reality, people are assigned to these language groups according to their ethnicity and they might not even use their official mother language at home (Lim and Foley 2004, 5). A good example of this is the situation with ethnic Chinese, among whom practically no-one spoke Mandarin Chinese prior to Singapore’s independence and after which, according to Library of Congress, the government has actively promoted its use (2006, 7). One reason for this might be the fact that this would improve the country’s trading connections, as it is the language used by the grand majority of Chinese outside Singapore. For example, Dixon notes that English was chosen with the aim that it would provide the area with better trade connections (2005, 27) and thus there is no reason to assume that this ideology could not also be applied to the case of Mandarin Chinese. However, when it comes to the role of English in the area, an additional reason is given by Platt, who adds that English was also hoped to function as an “interethnic unifying force” (1982, 389).

Although Singapore has four official languages, in reality students usually study only English and one of the other three languages (Dixon 2005, 28). Platt et al. argue that English has become a native or almost native language for many (1984, 22), which is interesting, since in 1965, the year of independence, virtually no-one in Singapore used it as their home language (Dixon 2005, 28). The table below presents Singapore's different ethnic groups with their home languages over a 10 year time span (Singapore Department of Statistics 2000, cited in Dixon 2005, 30):

Ethnic group/ language	Overall (%) 1990	Overall (%) 2000
Chinese	100.0	100.0
English	19.3	23.9
Mandarin	30.1	45.1
Chinese dialects	50.3	30.7
Other	0.4	0.4
Malays	100.0	100.0
English	6.1	7.9
Malay	93.7	91.6
Other	0.1	0.5
Indians	100.0	100.0
English	32.3	35.6
Malay	14.5	11.6
Tamil	43.2	42.9
Other	10.0	9.9

Table 1. The ethnic groups and their home languages in Singapore

Over the ten year period, the number of people using English as their home language has increased in all three groups. According to Platt et al. (1982, 388-9), SinE did not go through a pidgin phase like many other varieties, but from the very beginning, its development was closely tied to the educational system, which has led to the situation where English speakers from different ethnic groups speak increasingly alike. In addition, Bailey notes that many institutions dealing with higher education have taken active measures to support the use of RP (1991, 12).

What is interesting concerning my study is the historical connection that Singapore and India share. According to Mesthrie, Britain often sent English teachers from India to their new colonies in Asia (2003, 459) and thus it is reasonable to assume that Singaporeans had also learned English from Indian teachers, possibly even adopting some of the unique characteristics of IndE. Ho and Platt (1992, 8) go even further by arguing that because of this historical legacy, many Indian languages have influenced the SinE variety, although the greatest influence on SinE has come from the Chinese. Despite of these numerous influences on the variety, English has now become a vital part of Singaporean life and identity. In fact, Richards suggests that English has spread so widely

that it is now used in all spheres of life and has thus become “a part of the process by which personal and national identity is expressed” (1982, 157).

2.2. The Philippines

2.2.1. Aspects of the History of PhiE

People from various places had been migrating to the archipelago of Philippines for thousands of years, forming small communities on these scattered islands. In the course of time, these Indo-Malay people were brought into closer contact with the world in three waves, first by Chinese merchants, then, in the 15th century, by Islam and finally by the Spanish (Library of Congress 2006, 2). Although it was first colonised by Spain in 1521, the first permanent settlements were not established before 1565 (Library of Congress 2006, 2) and during these years, the Spanish language was introduced to the area (Wells 1982, 647). The Spanish who worked closely with the Catholic Church, also introduced Christianity to the area (Dolan 2003, 38), although a smaller group of Muslims have survived to this day. The church had great influence over the area and the country's education, for example, was completely controlled by the Spanish friars. This had a major effect on the level of education, because the grand majority of friars opposed the idea of teaching the Filipinos any modern foreign languages, including Spanish (Dolan 2003, 43). These discriminatory attitudes towards the locals led to a series of revolts against the colonisers, which were all successively put down.

The United States declared war on Spain in 1898, mostly due to economic reasons (Dolan 2003, 48), and won later on that same year. When the treaty of Paris was signed, Spanish agreed to sell the Philippines to the US for 20 million dollars (Dolan 2003, 50). This only angered the Filipinos further, because they had hoped for independence but now instead had to watch as they

were being sold from one coloniser to another and the rebellions continued. In 1934, first steps towards independence were taken as the Commonwealth of Philippines was established. This was done with the intention of creating a stable and independent structure of governance, so that in the future, Filipinos could manage their country when they were given their independence. This plan came to a sudden end in 1942, when the Japanese took over the country during the Second World War. However, this did not last long and when the United States defeated Japan, the Philippines finally gained their independence in 1946.

2.2.2. Language situation in the Philippines

The Philippines has two official languages, English and the Tagalog-based Filipino. The real situation is more complex, however, as the population is said to speak 11 different languages and 87 dialects, most of which are mutually incomprehensible. Approximately 90 % of Filipinos speak eight of these languages, which are Tagalog, Cebuano, Hiligaynon, Bicolano, Ilocano, Waray-Waray, Pampangan and Pangasinan, and they all belong to the Malay-Polynesian language family (Dolan 2003, 82). When the Philippines was sold to the US, they sent American teachers to educate the locals (Gonzales, 2004, 8), which also marks the moment when English was systematically introduced to the area (Wells 1982, 647). According to Library of Congress (2006, 2) soldiers of the British East India Company had occupied Manila, the capital of the Philippines, during the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), but the use of English did not spread among the population then. In fact, Bailey (1991, 88) argues that the teaching of the language did not reach the entire population even with the arrival of Americans, but rather it merely converted the ruling elite so that they began to use English instead of Spanish, whereas the grand majority of Filipinos were little affected.

Despite the difficulties that the US language planning had to face during its early years, Bailey claims that after 1946, “English in the Philippines has emerged as a distinctive national variety with U.S. English traits” (1991, 88). As in the case of India, the role of English as an official language in the Philippines has been questioned several times. In 1974, the Philippine government initiated a policy that was expected to gradually replace English with Filipino in institutions such as schools, the government and even in business (Dolan 2003, 82). The aim was to introduce Filipino to the entire archipelago so that it would become the only national language in the country. However, this plan did not take root as expected due to the same reasons why Hindi did not replace English in India; some people became worried of the position of their own regional languages while others considered English as the best way to become more closely connected with the rest of the world (Dolan 2003, 83).

Although today the country’s two official languages are Filipino and English, the vast majority of people are L2 speakers of English (Gonzales 2004, 11). According to Wells, Standard Filipino English, which is a variety spoken by the educated Filipinos, has been described as “near native” and thus it should be distinguished from creolised forms of English or from the style which mixes English and Tagalog together (1982, 647). This suggests that in some parts of the population, a different type of English is used. However, Hall (1974, xiv) claims that although PhiE is clearly different from AmE and BrE, as it has adopted features from local languages, “there has nevertheless been no violent reduction or restructuring of English in the process”.

What is interesting concerning this study is the lack of clear connections between India and the Philippines after the Spanish colonisation. Thompson notes that the cultural contacts between these two countries have existed for centuries, for example, in the form of Indian merchants in the pre-colonial centuries (2003, 178). Furthermore, the influence of the Sanskrit language can be detected not only in the vocabularies of the languages spoken in the Philippines, but also in their

ancient writing systems (Scott 1994, 196, 129, 213). However, the English used in the Philippines does not appear to have any clear connections to the IndE variety, which might give reason to suspect that the IndE use of focus particles would not have spread to PhiE. This issue will be discussed further in chapter 7. after the analysis of material has been completed.

3. Focus particles

Focus particles have been studied by various researchers over the years and the different theories presented are no less in number. Nevalainen (1991, 5) has argued that the appropriate name for these words is not *focus particles*, but *focus adverb(ial)s*, because they are connected with other clause elements and therefore differ syntactically from other particles such as pragmatic particles or discourse markers. Despite this, I have decided to use the term *focus particles* as a generic term for the three words under examination. The reason for this can be found in the semantic analysis of the word *itself*. When it is used as a focus particle, or as an *intensifier* as König and Gast prefer to call it (2006, 223), one of its subcategories cannot be placed under the category *adverbials* due to reasons explained further in section 3.2. Having briefly explained the reasons behind the choice of terminology, I will now first discuss the category of *focus adverbs* and then move on to a more detailed description of *itself* and its functions.

3.1. Focus Adverbs

According to Leech and Svartvik, the most common location of the focus is at the end of a phrase, where the nucleus will be on the last “major-class word” of the tone unit (2002, 206). However, the position of focus adverbs, that is, the adverbs referring to the focused element in the clause, can vary greatly. According to Jacobson (cited in Nevalainen 1991, 39), the adverb can immediately precede or follow its center of focus, or it may be further away from it in anteposition or postponement. The following example shows all the possible locations of focus adverbs in a sentence:

(1) (Only) they (only) fed (only) the cats (only) (Nevalainen 1991, 39).

Despite all these different possibilities, there are a number of constraints which regulate the place a focus adverb can actually take. In this study, I will examine the adverbs preceding or following the complement or the object of a phrase and thus the section under observation in the previous example would be “(only) the cats (only)”. The majority of theories only discuss the semantic qualities of adverbs when they precede their focus, which seems to suggest that this is also their most common position. Lange agrees with this argument, but adds that *only*, for instance, can also follow its focus as the phrase “ladies only” shows (2007, 93). However, since this example is one of the few instances where focus particles are said to follow their referent in Standard English (StE), it is fair to assume that they do not occur often outside these kinds of phrases. The question of location concerning the collection of material is a vital one for this study and therefore it will be discussed in greater detail in the Methods section (3.2.). Having briefly discussed the question of location, I will now move on to describing the different categorisations of focus adverbs.

3.1.1. Additive Adverbs: *also*

Focus particles can be divided into *additive* and *restrictive* groups according to the semantic contributions that they make to the meaning of a sentence (König 1991). The *additive*, or, “inclusive”, as they are sometimes called, includes adverbs such as *too* and *also*. They are used to indicate that an item is added to another item, which can happen either on clausal (2), or phrasal (3) level (Biber et al. 1999, 556):

(2) Oh, my dad was a great guy, too. (conv) (Biber et al. 1999, 556)

(3) I can hear the hatred, but also the need. (fict) (Biber et al. 1999, 556)

When operating on a clausal level, as in example (2), these adverbs often point towards a specific part of the phrase's meaning, which it indicates to be “additional to something else” (Biber et al. 1999, 556). However, this can sometimes be hard to detect when the phrase is taken out of context. For example, it is difficult to say whether sentence (2) refers to “my dad was a great guy (like his brother)” or that “my dad was a great guy (in addition of being a great father)”. This problem of interpreting the referent correctly has been discussed by many researchers and therefore it will be examined further in chapter 4. and section 5.2. of this study.

In addition to this, the category of additive particles can be further divided into a sub-group of additive particles which are used to express “simple inclusion” (Lange 2007, 91; König 1991, 62). This group entails adverbs such as *also*, *too*, *as well*, *similarly* and *either*, when they do not appear to express any evaluation of the given information (Lange 2007, 91). As an example she presents the following:

(4) She is *also* an accomplished playwright and a dramatist.
(ICE-India:S1B-045#1:1)

Although this example certainly provides additive information about the woman in question, there is no indication that being a playwright is valued over being a dramatist or vice versa.

Another sub-group of additive particles are called the *scalar additive particles* to which *even*, for example, belongs to. According to König, these particles “always include an order for the set of values under consideration” (1991, 68) as the next example shows:

(5) *Even* we don't have a cabinet (ICE-SIN:S1A-047#66:1:B)

In this sentence, the particle *even* implies that the speakers consider themselves as more deserving of a cabinet, which indicates that the adverb can indeed be said to have a scalar meaning. Lange (2007, 92) seems to support this view by writing that in cases when *even* is a scalar additive

particle, it “marks its focus as the highest contextually relevant value and includes other alternatives ranking below that value”.

3.1.2. Restrictive Adverbs: *only*

Focus particles belonging to the second group are called *restrictive particles* and they include adverbs such as *only* and *especially*. They are similar to the additive particles, because they too draw attention to a specific part of the clause (Biber et al. 1999, 556). Sometimes they are also called *exclusive* particles due to their “semantic property of excluding other focus alternatives“ (Nevalainen 1991, 31) and indeed their function appears to be to focus on the importance of one element in the clause by “restricting the truth value of the proposition either primarily or exclusively to that part “ (Biber et al. 1999, 556). For the purposes of this study, the particle *only* is of great interest and its various meanings can be analysed further with the following examples:

- (6) *Only* they will know how much they have right (ICE-SIN:S1A-017#239:1:A)
- (7) She was *only* a shopkeeper’s daughter (Lange 2007, 93)

The first example contains an instance where *only* is used to create exclusivity whereas in the second example the particle could be argued to have a scalar meaning instead. What both of these sentences have in common is that the focus particle is in its most common location which is, according to Nevalainen (1991, 33), before its focus.

3.2. *Itself*

This section discusses the different meanings and functions that *itself* can have. According to *The Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (Biber et al. 1999), reflexive pronouns can be used in four different ways: they can be markers of co-reference with the subject, they can alternate with personal pronouns, they can function as empty reflexives, or, alternatively, as markers of emphatic identity (1999, 342-4). Here, the last category, emphatic identity, is of greatest interest concerning this study. The term *emphatic*, however, has been deemed problematic by such scholars as König and Gast (2006, 255), who prefer to use the term *intensifier*, because they consider this to be more descriptive of the functions of the words belonging to this category. The following sentences demonstrate the difference between the ways the pronoun *x-self* can be used as a reflexive pronoun (8, 9, 10) and as an intensifier (11):

- (8) The seat belts automatically adjust themselves to your shoulder height.
(ICE-GB:S2A-055 #012:1:A)
- (9) Oh what about yourself? (ICE-SIN:S1B-076#38:1:A)
- (10) How many days in a year can a member avail himself of the sickness benefit?
(ICE-PHI:W2D-004#110:1)
- (11) The history of plant kingdom is as old as the origin of life itself.
(ICE-IND:W2B-024#28:1)

In example (8), the subject (the seat belts) and object (themselves) of the sentence are co-referent. In the following sentence (9), *yourself* could be replaced with the word *you*, thus exemplifying the way reflexive pronouns can sometimes alternate with personal pronouns. The third sentence (10) shows how a reflexive pronoun can be void of meaning: due to the choice of the verb (*avail*), the use of the pronoun is mandatory and thus the reflexive pronoun *himself* could be argued to be empty of meaning. All three example sentences illustrate the way the pronoun *x-self* can be used as a reflexive pronoun. However, in example (11) the word *itself* carries a different meaning, as its

function is to focus the hearer's attention to the word *life*, to intensify it.

König and Gast present three different groups into which the intensifying reflexive pronouns can be divided to¹ (2006, 225). The categories in question are the *adnominal* and the *adverbial* use, which can be further divided into two categories, *inclusive adverbial* use and *exclusive adverbial* use (König and Gast 2006, 224). Here it is worth noting that this division between the *adnominal* and the *adverbial* intensifier is also one of the reasons why the term *focus adverbials* could not be used in this study when referring to the words *also*, *only* and *itself* (discussed in chapter 3.).

The first category presented here is the *adnominal* use of the pronoun *x-self*, which is exemplified in the following sentence:

- (12) Usually, the first person to sense its presence is the patient herself.
(ICE-IND:W2C-020#64:1)

In fact both (11) and (12) are sentences where the pronoun *x-self* has been used in this way. The sentence above shows how the intensifier *herself* marks the focus NP as the most important one out of possible others. Lange (2007, 96) discusses the syntactic features of the adnominal *x-self* and argues that the pronoun must immediately follow its focus, the focus particle must be a NP and the focus particle must always agree with its focus in both gender and number. However, the focus does not necessarily need to be the subject (Lange 2007, 96). In addition, other scholars have presented some semantic characteristics that help to identify *adnominal* intensifiers. According to Siemund (2000, 132), they impose a “binary structure on a previously unordered set” and this intensifier type always selects the central, often paramount, referent and contrasts it with other characters of minor significance. When the function of *herself* in (12) is examined, it can be seen that the particle indeed agrees with all the terms discussed above and thus it can be argued to exemplify the *adnominal* use

¹ König and Gast also present a fourth group, the attributive use, which is not discussed here because *itself* cannot be placed in this category and thus it is of no relevance concerning this study. According to König and Gast this group is “often associated with a specific attributive (possessive) intensifier [for example, *own*] that is formally differentiated from the form [*x-self*] found in the other uses” (2006, 225).

of the word.

The second category is the *adverbial-exclusive* use of the *x-self*, which, according to König and Gast, carries the meaning of “on one's own” or “alone” (2006, 224).

(13) I think probably the consultants have to do it themselves.
(ICE-SIN:S1A-097#51:1:A)

Since the meaning of the sentence (13) above can be paraphrased as “the consultants have to do it on their own”, it does fit into the group of *exclusive* adverbials. Here again, Lange provides some useful details which help to identify all the cases where *x-self* has been used in the *adverbial-exclusive* way. According to her, the adverbials belonging to this group must have an agentive, animate subject as their focus with which they agree in gender and number (2007, 96). In addition, the focus particle must be a part of the VP and they often follow the verb (Lange 2007, 96).

The last category, the *adverbial-inclusive*, is the rarest of the three and in this use the pronoun *x-self* could be said to carry the meaning “too” (König and Gast 2006, 224-5).

(14) Paolo was a bit athletic himself, although as far as Vincent was concerned,
he was more of a basketball freak. (ICE-PHI:W2F-020#7:1)

Here the sentence above could be paraphrased as “Paolo was a bit athletic too” and thus it fits the description of the *adverbial-inclusive* use. Lange (2007, 96) presents the following syntactic characteristics, which help to identify the instances belonging to this group; the focus of the *inclusive-adverbial* must be the subject, it must agree with the subject in both gender and number, it is part of the VP and it often follows the predicate. Since the syntactical aspects of the two intensifying adverbials are the same, the means to distinguish between the two is hidden in their meanings. Siemund (2000, 194) suggests that the answer can be found by considering “whether the situation in the context of which they occur is repeatable or...transferable”, the former being

necessary for all *inclusive adverbials* and the latter for all *exclusive adverbials*. To this he adds, that when speaking on a general level, *exclusive adverbials* could be argued to prefer the use of *telik* verbs (when the action has been completed), whereas inclusive adverbial use is more common among *atelic* verbs (when the action is incomplete) (Siemund 2000, 194).

3.3. Focus Particles in Hindi

After having described the meaning and use of focus particles in StE, it is time to examine their role in IndE. However, before discussing the research done on this area, the origins of the unique IndE traits should be cleared. That is why I will now briefly describe the use of focus particles in Hindi, which should explain why *only*, *also* and *itself* are used the way they are in IndE.

According to Koul, the main particles in Hindi which are used to denote contrast or emphasis are *hii*, *bhii* (also sometimes referred to as *hī* and *b^{hī}*), *to*, *tak*, *bhar* and *maatra* (1990, 22) of which the first two are of greatest interest concerning this study. These words have been called by many names such as “particles” (Koul 1990), “emphatic elements” (Verma 1971), “emphasis markers” (Kachru 2006, 108), “emphatic enclitics” (McGregor 1995, 30) and “discourse markers” (Sharma 2003), but here I shall use the term focus particles in order to keep my discussion coherent with the previous chapters. Sharma (2003a, 60-2) explains that *hii* is often used to mark exclusive focus, similar to *only*, whereas *bhii* is used to mark inclusive focus, similar to *also*. As for the way these are linked to their center of focus, Sharma presents the following examples:

- (15) rād^{hā} =nē=hī bacchō=kō kahānī sunāyī
 Radha=ERG=EXCL FOC children=ACC story -F.NOM hear-caus-PERF.F.SG
 “It was (only) Radha who told the children a story” (Sharma 2003a, 61)
- (16) rād^{hā} =nē=b^{hī} bacchō=kō kahānī sunāyī
 Radha=ERG=INC FOC children=ACC story-F.NOM hear-caus-PERF.F.SG
 “Radha (also) told the children a story” (Sharma 2003a, 62)

From (15) and (16) it can be seen that the Hindi *hii* and *bhii* are placed after their referent, although in the translated version of (15), the focus particle *only* is placed before its referent, which is its most common location in English. It is worth noting that the word *also* in translation (16), without the original sentence in Hindi above it, could also be interpreted as referring to something after it. For example, the sentence could mean that “Radha (first put the children to bed, and then she) also told them a story”. However, this reading of the sentence becomes impossible when the original Hindi sentence is examined. In both (15) and (16), the focus particles *hii* and *bhii* follow the name Radha, which signals that it is the center of focus for both particles. As proof of this, Sharma presents three examples that highlight the different ways in which *hii* and *only* are connected to their referents:

- (17) *māyā= nē hī anū kō KITĀB dī
 Maya Anu book give
 “Maya only gave Anu A BOOK” (Sharma 2003a, 64)
- (18) *māyā= nē hī ANŪ=KŌ kitāb dī
 Maya Anu book give
 “Maya only gave ANU a book” (Sharma 2003a, 64)
- (19) MĀYĀ=NĒ hī anū kō kitāb dī
 Maya Anu book give
 “Only Maya gave Anu a book.” (Sharma 2003a, 64)

From the examples above the difference between the scope of *hii* and *only* become apparent. In examples (17) and (18), when trying to keep the word order of the translated version as close to the original Hindi sentence as possible, the possibility of a false reading is great. As was mentioned in 3.1., the most common location for a focus particle in English is before its referent and thus the interpretations of the referent of *only* in (17) and (18) seem only natural. However, when the original Hindi sentence is taken into consideration, these readings turn out to be incorrect. In order to highlight that the focus of *only* is indeed *Maya*, Sharma has placed it before its referent in (19), which is its usual location in English and thus creates a translation that carries the same meaning

with the original Hindi sentence. The issue of location is not completely unquestioned though. Koul (1990, 22-3), McGregor (1995, 30) and Sharma (2003, 64) all argue that focus particles can only refer to constituents which are on their left side. In contrast, Kachru claims that focus particles can highlight items that are either preceding or following them and provides few examples of cases where the focus particle actually precedes its referent (2006, 254). However, since all the other papers written on Hindi focus particles that I used for this research discuss only cases where focus particles follow their referent, it is reasonable to assume that this must be how they are most commonly used and understood by speakers of Hindi.

In addition to the exclusive meaning that the word *hii* has, it can, according to Verma (1971, 91), also take on an emphatic meaning:

- (20) laRkee hii aa rahee hãĩ
Only the boys are coming. (exclusive) (Verma 1971, 91)
- (21) laRkee hii aa rahee hãĩ
It's the boys who are coming. (emphatic) (Verma 1971, 91)
- (22) mãĩ hii jaaũũga
I myself will go. (Verma 1971, 91)

In examples (20) and (21), the two possible meanings of the same particle are revealed through their differing translations. As another example of the emphatic reading, Verma presents the example (22) where the non-exclusive nature of *hii* is made even more apparent as it is translated as *myself*. In addition, she argues that the particle *bhii* can function as an inclusive or emphatic particle in both negative and positive constructions, whereas *hii* is most often understood in its emphatic sense in negative constructions (1971, 92-3). The question whether or not this emphatic versus inclusive/exclusive meaning has diffused into IndE will be discussed in more detail in chapter 4. In the majority of cases, the Hindi focus particles *hii* and *bhii* can be translated as *only* and *also*. However, in examples (22) above and (23) below the particle *hii* is given a slightly different meaning:

- (23) *bacce ne tasviir kyaa dekhii, tasviir (hii) phaaR Daalii*
 Instead of seeing it, the child has torn off the picture (itself) (Koul 1990, 33)

The two previous examples in (22) and (23) show how the particle's use as an emphasizer transforms the meaning of the word so that it is translated as a reflexive pronoun. Therefore it could be assumed that if the Hindi way of using focus particles has filtered into IndE and from there to SinE and PhiE, it should be visible in the increased occurrences of *itself*.

So far I have only discussed how this tendency is translated from Hindi to StE. A good example of how this Hindi way of using focus particles has filtered into IndE is presented by an Indian interviewee in the following manner:

- (24) So he told, like, Bhai, mai yahii pe rehna chahta huun [brother I here-foc in live want-prog aux]. I want to live over here only. [RT] (Sharma 2003b, 55)

The first sentence is in Hindi where the focus particle *hii* is connected to its referent *ya* (here), thus marking it as its center of focus. What makes this example especially interesting is the fact that as the interviewee continues to repeat the same in English, he places *only* right after its referent *here*, following the Hindi word order, and thus the focus particle is placed at the end of the sentence.

This gives rise to an interesting question. With all the languages spoken in India, how is it possible that this particular tendency in Hindi has spread to IndE, which is a variety whose users also speak many other languages? This question is answered by Koul, according to whom speakers of other Indian languages use these particles commonly (1990, 36), although the highest frequencies seem to be found among speakers of Dravidian languages (Sharma 2003a, 55).

4. Previous Studies

Focus particles in StE have been studied by many researchers and the general belief is that the focus particle usually precedes its focus (König 1991, Nevalainen 1991) as was stated in chapter 3. The exceptions to this rule are the studies that focus on IndE, as for example, Sridhar, who while discussing typical features of IndE, mentions the use of limiters or qualifiers as clitics (25) or the use of reflexives to create emphasis (26) (cited in Kachru 1994, 520):

(25) [They were] built up to live like that *only*. (Sridhar, cited in Kachru 1994, 520)

(26) Each of her word...was respected as though it was God's orders *itself*.
(Sridhar, cited in Kachru 1994, 520)

In addition, Nihalani et al. (1979, 105) mention that in IndE, *itself* is used “for the purpose of emphasising the word or phrase ... which precedes it [and that it] is characteristic of the [IndE] variety of English”. However, the research done on IndE way of using focus particles does not rest on such brief and rather superficial observations. Both Bhatt (2000) and Lange (2007) have conducted a more detailed study on the issue and have shown that IndE has indeed developed a tendency of placing the focus marker after its referent. This again can be argued to be a unique feature in Indian English, as was mentioned in the opening chapter. In the following section, I will briefly discuss and describe these two studies in more detail.

Bhatt (2000) conducted a study titled “Optimal Expressions in Indian English”, for which he collected three kinds of data: a corpus that contained 7 hours of material from 9 interviewees, published sources and introspective judgments. He then proceeded to conduct a qualitative analysis of the results, concentrating on the various features that are considered to be typical in spoken IndE. One of the sections in this study discusses the use of focus in IndE, using the adverb *only* as a case study. He argues that the most common location for focused constituents is on the right edge of the

clause (2000, 77), such as the following:

(27) Raj *only* gave a *book to Sita*. (Bhatt 2000, 77)

(28) Raj *only* gave a book *to Sita*. (Bhatt 2000, 77)

In these cases, the focus can be on NP and PP as in (27) or on PP as in (28), which is similar to the analysis presented in, for example, Nevalainen (1991). However, Bhatt (2000, 77) then presents example (29), a *presentationally focused constituent*, in which, according to him, “the contrastive focus reading (see 3.1.2.) is unavailable”:

(29) (a) These women wear everyday *expensive clothes only*. [presentational]
(Bhatt 2000, 77)

(a) *These women wear everyday *expensive clothes only*. (not jewelry)
(Bhatt 2000, 77) [contrastive]

According to Bhatt, the sentences in (29) show that the contrastive reading is not available and thus the only interpretation possible is the presentational focus (2000, 77). He then argues that this is a widespread tendency that can be detected in all varieties of Indian Vernacular English and suggests the following: “The ... presentational-focus configuration is an innovation in [Indian Vernacular English] representing the presupposition-assertion structure of an utterance” (Bhatt 2000, 78). The purpose of this, according to Bhatt, is to draw the hearer's attention to a specific part of the speaker's utterance (2000, 78), which is a function that has already been shown to exist in Hindi in section 3.3.

Bhatt also introduces the concept of *presentationally focused subject NP*:

(30) *Her mother only* is doing this to her. (Response to: What did her mother do?)
(Bhatt 2000, 78)

(31) *She only* told us to write [pro-drop] like this. (Response to: Why didn't you ask your teacher to show you how to write an essay?) (Bhatt 2000, 78)

Sentences such as (30) and (31) violate the rule of the right-edge focus construction in IndE, and example (30) also goes against the location of focused adverbs in StE. This view is supported by Nevalainen (1991, 40), who states that *also* and *only* occur freely in the preverbal midposition, which can be either before the finite verb or after the first auxiliary or *be*. In contrast to this, in sentence (30), *only* is located before both the verbs and thus it can easily be seen why it is an example of the IndE way of using focus particles and thus refers to *her mother*. In contrast, the interpretation of the example (31) is slightly more problematic. Although Bhatt has used italics to indicate that *only* refers to the word *she*, the focus particle could also be interpreted as referring to the rest of the sentence, when it would mean that the reason why the student got a bad mark from her essay is because “The teacher gave them only one advice, which was a bad one”. The problem of interpretation does not disappear even when the question preceding this sentence is given and thus the question of *presentationally focused subjects* remains slightly vague in the ways it can be identified.

Bearing all of the above in mind, the conclusions that can be drawn from Bhatt's research could be summarised in the following way: when *only* is placed after its focus which too is at the end position, the particle should be interpreted as a *presentational focus marker*. This *presentational focus* can also be signed to a subject at the beginning of the sentence, but Bhatt (2000) does not elaborate on this more. That is, he does not say whether this interpretation should be applied to all the cases where *only* is located between the subject and the verb, or only to some of them.

Another significant study on this topic is Lange's paper “Focus marking in Indian English” (2007), in which she uses the Kolhapur Corpus and ICE-India² to study if there has been any noticeable change in the way speakers of IndE use focus markers during the decades that separate these two corpora. Similar to Bhatt (2000), she too analyses the syntactic and semantic aspects of

² The Kolhapur corpus contains only written texts whereas the ICE-India enables a comparison between both spoken and written English.

only, but in addition, she does a similar analysis on the intensifier *itself*. Lange divides her results on *only* into two categories, *only* as a *restrictive* particle and *only* as a *presentational* marker and the similarity to Bhatt's categories *contrastive* and *presentational* can be seen easily. According to Lange, the *presentational only*, a unique feature in IndE, appears almost solely in spoken language, where it was detected 114 times out of a total of 1364 instances of *only* (2007, 107). Lange's arguments resemble Bhatt's to some extent, since she too states that in some cases, the particle *only* “entirely lacks exclusive meaning and is merely used to mark the focus as somehow prominent in the current discourse situation” (2007, 108) as the next example shows:

- (32) And how is it that you came to be a professor *only* – a lecturer in English –?
Where do you finish your exam – uh your education –? In Kolhapur itself?
(ICE-IND:S1A-075#294ff, cited in Lange 2007, 93)

In cases like the above, the particle *only* could be said to have more of a scalar meaning instead of describing the person as “nothing but a professor”. In addition to this, Lange suggests that the preferred position here would be before the focus and not after it, which she argues to exemplify the tendency in IndE to use *only* as a *presentational* marker (2007, 93).

In addition to her analysis of *only*, Lange does a similar analysis of the word *itself*. She first differentiates between the way *itself* is used as a reflexive and intensifying marker in StE and the way it is used *innovatively*, which is similar to the way *only* is used as a *presentational focus marker* in IndE (2007, 112). According to Lange's results, *only* is used more commonly in spoken language (0.166 cases per 1000 words), whereas the innovative use of *itself* can be detected in both spoken (0.074 per 1000 words) and written sections (0.035 per 1000 words), the former category containing higher frequencies for the innovative use (Lange 2007, 100, 107). The results from the Kolhapur and ICE-India corpora indicate that the tendency to use *itself* innovatively has increased in IndE during the decades separating the two corpora.

In Lange's study (2007), the cases of *presentationally* focused *only* and *innovatively* used *itself* are further divided into six categories according to the context in which these focus particles appear. These six categories are: "only in locative expressions", "only in temporal expressions", "negative context", in the phrase "like that *only*" and "other". According to Lange (2007, 101, 107) the category "other" contains the highest frequencies of the IndE way of using focus particles and it is followed by "locative expressions", "temporal expressions", "negative context" and "like that *only*". A similar analysis was not conducted on the cases of *only* in the written sections of Kolhapur and ICE-India. The reason for this, given by Lange (2007, 107), is that since the written section of ICE-India contains only a single example of the *presentationally* focused *only*, a deeper semantic analysis of this particle in the Kolhapur corpus is not necessary³.

³ Although Lange does not elaborate on her reasons more, I believe that since her results on *itself* indicate that the IndE use of focus particles is becoming more common every year, the lack of *presentationally* focused *only* in ICE-India gives her reason to assume that this use would not be found from Kolhapur either.

5. Data and Methodology

5.1. The International Corpus of English (ICE)

The ongoing project of *The International Corpus of English* (ICE) began in 1988, when Sidney Greenbaum presented his idea of a corpus that would consist of spoken and written English in countries which had English either as their first language or as an official second language (1991, 4). The aim of this project was to facilitate the work of researchers doing comparative studies of the English language around the world (Greenbaum 1996, 3). This idea was eagerly taken on by other linguists all over the globe and today researchers from USA, New Zealand, India, Jamaica and Hong Kong, to name but a few, have joined the project (ICE-GB, manual,1).

With only a few exceptions, all the ICE corpora consist of one million words of spoken and written English. They all have an identical structure (see Table 2.), which facilitates the comparison between different varieties. The numbers in brackets show the number of approximately 2000-word texts units in each category so that, for example, the spoken part consists of 300 and the written part of 200 text units:

Spoken (300) (S)	Dialogue (180) (S1)	Private (100) (S1A)	Direct Conversations (90) Distanced Conversations (10)
		Public (80) (S1B)	Class lessons (20) Broadcast discussions (10) Broadcast interviews (10) Parliamentary debates (10) Legal cross-examinations (10) Business transactions (10)
	Monologue (120) (S2)	Unscripted (70) (S2A)	Spontaneous commentaries (20) Unscripted speeches (30) Demonstrations (10) Legal presentations (10)
		Scripted (50) (S2B)	Broadcast news (20) Broadcast talks (20) Speeches (not broadcast) (10)
Written texts (200) (W)	Non-Printed (50) (W1)	Non-professional writing (20) (W1A)	Student untimed essays (10) Student examination essays (10)
		Correspondence (30) (W1B)	Social letters (15) Business letters (15)
	Printed (150) (W2)	Academic (40) (W2A)	Humanities (10) Social sciences (10) Natural Sciences (10) Technology (10)
		Popular (40) (W2B)	Humanities (10) Social sciences (10) Natural Sciences (10) Technology (10)
		Reportage (20) (W2C)	Press news reports (20)
		Instructional (20) (W2D)	Administrative writing (10) Skills, hobbies (10)
	Persuasive (10) (W2E)	Press editorials (10)	
	Creative (20) (W2F)	Novels, stories (10)	

Table 2. Categories in the ICE corpora (Crystal 2003, 451)

5.1.1. The ICE corpus of British English (ICE-GB)

The ICE-GB was first released in 1998 (www.ucl.ac.uk) and it was the first of many ICE corpora that have been published since. It was compiled at the Survey of English Usage in University College, London where the current director of the research team is Bas Aarts (ICE-GB, manual, 2). The material for the corpus was collected during the years 1990-3 and it contains 637 682 words of spoken and 423 581 words of written language and thus the total word count for the corpus is 1 061 263. The ICE-GB also has its own search program, the ICECUP, which enables the researcher to do

simple or more elaborate searches from the data. For this research, I used the updated version ICECUP 3.1.

5.1.2. The ICE corpus of Indian English (ICE-India)

The ICE-India was compiled by Professor S.V. Shastri at Shivaji University in Kolhapur, India, and by Professor Dr Gerhard Leitner at Freie Universität Berlin, Germany (ICE-INDIA manual, 2002). The corpus was released in 2002 and its structure follows the general outline presented in Table 2. According to ICE-India Overview, the speakers in this corpus come from all major Indian languages except for some marginal language groups (2002, 2) and thus it could be expected to cover most of the different language backgrounds that are present in India. The exact word counts were obtained by using MonoConc Pro 2.2, which gave the following figures: 683 674 words for the spoken section, 448 946 words for the written section and therefore leaving the ICE-India corpus with a total number of 1 132 620 words.

5.1.3. The ICE corpora of Singapore English (ICE-SIN)

The ICE-Sin was released in 2002 and its structure follows the pattern discussed in section 5.1. The corpus was compiled by a team in the National University of Singapore, consisting of Professor Paroo Nihilani, Dr. Ni Yibin, Dr. Anne Pakir and Dr. Vincent Ooi. During the study, two folders in the written section of the corpus were discovered to have the same content and had to be discarded, thus making the corpus 1 099 683 words long. The spoken section contains 661 602 words and the written section contains 435 081 words. These figures were obtained by using MonoConc Pro 2.2.

5.1.4. The ICE corpus of Philippine English (ICE-PHI)

The ICE-PHI corpus was compiled by Dr. Ma. Lourdes S. Bautista, Ms. Jenifer Loy Lising and Dr. Danilo T. Dayag from De La Salle University in Manila, Philippines. The corpus was released in 2004 and for the most part, its structure follows the standards presented in table 2. The word counts were determined, again, by using MonoConc Pro 2.2., and the word counts for spoken and written parts are 679 192 for the former and 458 319 for the latter, thus giving the total word count of 1 137 511 for the entire corpus.

5.2 Methodology

5.2.1. Methods for collecting material for *also* and *only*

Although the previous studies (discussed in chapter 4.) provide important background information for my research and for the methods that should be used, they also have their problems. The first one involves the vagueness of the terms *presentational*, *contrastive* and *restrictive*, which are used rather differently by different scholars. Bhatt (2000) suggests that if the adverb *only* is at the end position of a phrase in spoken IndE, it should be interpreted as a *presentational* focus marker. However, Lange does not agree with this completely, as she appears to have interpreted some instances of end-positioned particles as *restrictive* in her study (2007, 107). This claim is based on the observation that in Lange's study, the spoken part of ICE-India is said to contain 114 cases of *only* as a *presentational focus marker*, which includes the times where the particle refers to an item at the beginning of a sentence. However, during the collection of material for my study, the spoken part of ICE-India was noticed to contain 169 cases of clause-final *only*, which means that Lange could not have counted all of these cases as examples of *presentationally* focused *only*. As there

seem to be some problems in defining the semantic qualities of these particles, I have decided to place the main focus of this study on syntactic features, that is, whether *also* or *only* precede or follow the object or the complement of the sentence.

The second problem with the two previous studies is that Bhatt does not explain how the instances of *presentationally* focused subjects can be differentiated from the cases where *only* is in a similar position but actually refers to a complement at the end of a sentence, as it usually does. A good example of this is the sentence in (31) reproduced below for use of reference:

(31) *She only* told us to write [pro-drop] like this. (Response to: Why didn't you ask your teacher to show you how to write an essay?) (Bhatt 2000, 78)

In (31) there does not appear to be any clear reason why the focus particle should be interpreted as referring to the subject and not to the rest of the sentence. In my opinion, this is a method that relies too much on interpretation, because, if a sentence can be given two different meanings, the speakers of PhiE and SinE cannot be assumed to interpret it in a similar way that speakers of IndE do.

This also applies to the cases where the subject is preceded by an adverb, and a focus particle is placed between these two words as in the following example:

(33) Yeah – yesterday **only** I came here
(ICE-India:S1A-075#128:1:A, cited in Lange 2007, 107)

Interestingly, there does not seem to be any clear reason why *only* in the example above could not be seen as referring to *I* instead of *yesterday*, since many scholars have stated that the usual position of *only* as a restrictive particle is before its focus (Nevalainen 1991; Lange 2007, 93). Lange explains that such nuances can be interpreted from the context (2007, 108), and when the sentence is read with the rhythm and stress pattern of IndE, her argument can be understood easily.

Nevertheless, the problem of interpreting different varieties mentioned in the previous paragraph

remains and therefore all focus particles which precede the subject of a sentence have been left out.

Since Lange's (2007) methods differ from the ones used in this study, I have decided to do a new analysis of the instances of *also* and *only* in ICE-India, which should make the comparison between the four varieties easier. Because, *also* and *only* are rare at the end of a phrase in StE and common in IndE, my hypothesis is that the influence of IndE on SinE and PhiE may be detected in the elevated numbers of cases where *also* and *only* are at the end position of a phrase. As this study mainly relies on syntactic analysis, I will briefly discuss the clause patterns found in StE, before continuing with the description of how the material for this study was collected.

5.2.1.1. Clause patterns

According to Carter and McCarthy (2006, 491-2), the clause elements are S (subject), V (verb), A (adverbial), O (object), which can be further divided into Od (direct object) and Oi (indirect object), and C (complement), which can also be further divided into Cs (subject complement) and Co (object complement). Although grammarians around the world vary significantly in their ways of naming and analysing these elements, I will now describe the general outline of clause patterns in the English language. The number of basic clause patterns in English varies from six (Leech and Svartvik 2002, 403) to eight (Leech et al. 1982, 85) and therefore the following list is by no means a comprehensive one. Instead my aim is to present the structures that will help to clarify the way clause-final focus particles are related to these patterns and thus the focus is on the elements following the verb. Bearing all this in mind, the most relevant common clause patterns concerning this study are:

- (34) **SV** -Only admin officers can attend only. (ICE-SIN:S1A-088#164:1:D)
- (35) **SVCs** -He was a school teacher also. (ICE-IND:S1A-078#163:1:A)

- (36) **SVOd** -The high cost should not be shifted to consumers only.
(ICE-SIN:S1B-060#62:1:C>)
- (37) **SVOiOd** -Oh I'll give you the small ones. (ICE-PHI:S1A-028#197:1:A)
- (38) **SVOdCo** -I find him quite appealing. (ICE-GB:S1A-053 #027:1:A)
- (39) **SVA** -I'll finish in junior college only (ICE-IND:S1A-051#51:1:C)
- (40) **SVOA** -But he's got a hand in everything also. (ICE-SIN:s1a-002#163:1:B)

It must be pointed out that the structure of spoken language is never as systematic and clear as presented in the examples above. Although many of the cases were not even complete sentences, they were included in the calculations if it was clear that the subject and/or verb had been omitted and that the focus particle clearly preceded or followed the object or complement of the phrase. Interestingly, the IndE use of focus particles does not appear to be common in more elaborate sentence structures. In fact, while collecting material for this study, I did not find a single instance of a clause-final *also* or *only* that would have occurred in the two more complex sentence types presented in (37) and (38). This suggests that the IndE use of focus particles is more common in the more casual, everyday speech situations.

5.2.1.2. Collection of material

The corpus searches were done with the AntConc 3.2.1. program which can be downloaded for free from the Internet. The program allows the user to search for individual words throughout different sections of the corpora, and it also provides a link to the text unit where the found words belong to, thus providing additional information for the semantic analysis of the word. This opportunity, however, was not needed to a great extent, since this study is mainly focused on the syntactic qualities of the words, as was discussed in the previous section.

The collection of data was conducted in several stages. First, the relevant instances of *also* and *only* were selected manually. With the term relevant, I refer to the sentences where the focus

particles *also* and *only* were either before or after the complements, usually following O, C or A, which were often either NPs or PPs. During the second phase, the material was narrowed down further and all the instances where *only* functioned as an adjective such as *my only child* were discarded. Also sentences containing the phrase *not only...but also* were left out, as the particles could be argued to be a part of a construction where their position was fixed before their focus and therefore no free variation existed.⁴ After this, the remaining instances consisted solely of phrases where *also* and *only* could have been freely placed either before or after their focus, usually a NP or a PP. From this group, the actual cases of clause-final *also* and *only* were selected, so that the absolute and relative frequencies (per 1 million words) could be calculated and the comparison between BrE, IndE, SinE and PhiE was possible.

Although the previous studies conducted on this issue are more focused on the semantic analysis of the material, I have decided to rely on syntactic evidence for several reasons. As Verma (1971, 91) shows, even in Hindi the focus particles *hii* (*only*) and *bhii* (*also*) can be given both an emphatic or exclusive/inclusive meaning depending on the context. Therefore there is no reason why all clause-final focus particles found from IndE, let alone from PhiE or SinE, should be interpreted as being emphatic either. When these problems are combined with the problems discovered from the earlier studies, leaving out semantic analysis and focusing on syntactic qualities was judged to be the best method for analysing *also* and *only* for this study.

⁴ The search provided several hundreds of “not *only*...but *also*” constructions, but only a handful of examples were found from all four corpora where this construction had been broken. Because the number of cases where this construction had been broken was extremely low in relation to the cases where it had not been broken, I decided to exclude them from the analysis.

5.2.2. Methods for collecting material for *itself*

The process of collecting material for the section on *itself* differed to a great extent to that of previously discussed *also* and *only*. According to Leech and Svartvik, the emphatic (intensifying) reflexive pronoun can occur in two places; it can either follow its focus, or it can be postponed to the end of the sentence (2002, 352). Since *itself* is often placed at the end of a sentence even in StE, it was not possible to subject this particle to a similar syntactic analysis as *also* and *only*. Therefore, all the cases of *itself* were subjected to a semantic analysis, where they were grouped under the following four categories: *adnominal* intensifiers, *adverbial-inclusive* intensifiers, *adverbial-exclusive* intensifiers⁵ or as examples of the unique IndE use of the intensifier.

The aim of this study was to produce a more coherent and detailed analysis of the use of IndE clause-final focus particles than the one found in the earlier studies by Bhatt (2000) and Lange (2007). In addition, I wished to facilitate the comparison between the four varieties by subjecting all four ICE corpora to the same analysis. The previous studies (Bhatt 2000, Lange 2007) focus more on the semantic qualities of the word *only*, which creates some problems; both authors appear to disagree on the issue whether or not all clause-final focus particles detected in IndE should be interpreted as presentational focus markers. I sought to solve this problem by focusing on the syntactic qualities of the focus particles. In addition, the earlier studies (Bhatt 2000, Lange 2007) have also analysed focus particles which refer to items at the beginning of a sentence, where determining the referent of the particle can be difficult, if not impossible. This problem becomes even more evident in the present study, because all the speakers in all four varieties cannot be assumed to give similar meanings to sentence structures which can be interpreted in multiple ways. In order to eliminate these problems, I decided to focus solely on the cases where focus particles

⁵ See section 3.2.

also and *only* are in a clause-final position, which disposes of the problem of interpreting the referent correctly. This in turn eases the comparison between different varieties, because syntactic analysis does not depend on interpretation as much as a purely semantic one. In addition, the earlier studies concentrate solely on the use of *only* (Bhatt 2000, Lange 2007) and *itself* (Lange 2007) in IndE, whereas this study strives to view the phenomenon of focus particle use in a wider context, in the spheres of linguistic interaction between different varieties.

6. Corpus Findings

6.1. *Also*

6.1.1. Frequency of *Also*

In this section, I will discuss the frequency of clause-final *also* in ICE-GB, ICE-India, ICE-SIN and ICE-PHI. The figures obtained for this section are of special interest, because many scholars have stated that speakers of IndE tend to use the word *also* in the same way as they use *only*, but no systematic statistical research has been done on this question until now. Table 3. below presents the frequencies of clause-final *also* in the four corpora under examination (normalised per 1 million words):

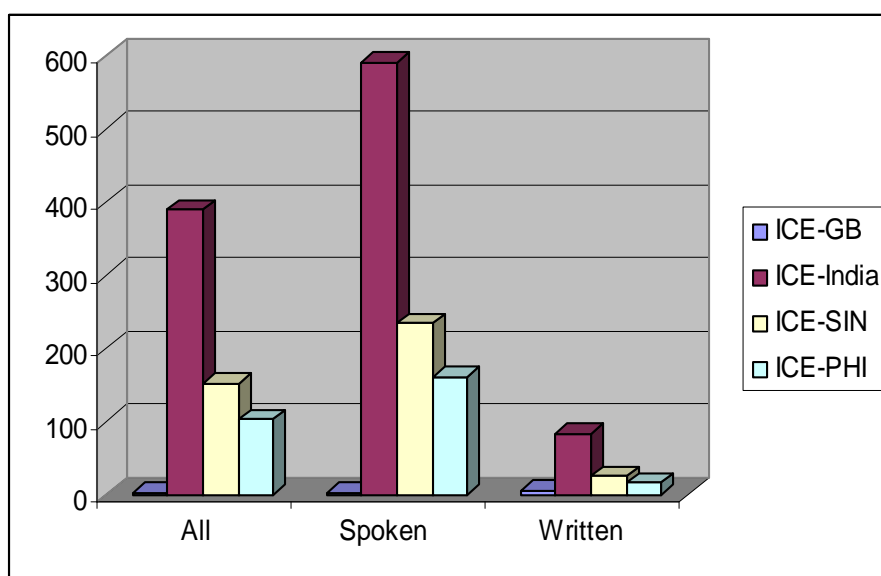


Figure 1. Frequency of *also* per 1 million words

<i>Also</i>	ICE-GB	ICE-India	ICE-SIN	ICE-PHI
Spoken	1,7 (1)	591,0 (404)	234,3 (155)	160,5 (109)
Written	4,7 (2)	82,4 (37)	25,3 (11)	15,3 (7)
All	2,8 (3)	389,4 (441)	151,4 (166)	102,0 (116)

Table 3. Frequency of *also* per 1 million, absolute figures in parentheses

Figure 1. reveals a striking difference between the four varieties. The entire ICE-GB contains only three instances (2,8 per million words) of clause-final *also* whereas ICE-India shows a staggering frequency of 389,4 for the entire corpus. The results clearly support the hypothesis of this study, as IndE does contain the highest frequencies for this use, and it is followed by SinE, PhiE and BrE in descending order (389,4 / 151,4 / 102,0 / 2,8). On the basis of these figures, it could be argued that SinE indeed has adopted the IndE way of using focus particles, whereas the lower frequencies of clause-final *also* in PhiE tell of a similar, but weaker trend in the use of the word. The spread of the IndE use to SinE and PhiE is represented well in (41), (42) and (43), whereas (44) from ICE-GB shows the way the particle is used in a clause-final position in StE:

- (41) But at present there is no time and no energy *also*. (ICE-IND:S1A-030#113:1:B)
(42) So next time you must study until uh university *also*. (ICE-SIN:S1A-006#188:1:B)
(43) The other leg is just following so when you come down it's just bending *also*.
(ICE-PHI:S2A-053#15:1:A)
(44) That being what the rest of the work force have done *also*.
(ICE-GB:S2A-067 #124:1:A)

Here it must be noted that all three Asian corpora contained three types of cases, that is, cases where focus particles had been used in the ways often associated with StE, in the IndE way and in ways where this distinction was impossible to make. However, with the examples above, I aim to demonstrate that the IndE way of using focus particles has indeed also spread to SinE and PhiE, since it is impossible to interpret (41), (42) and (43) as examples of focus particle use met in StE.

When looking at the results from ICE-India, another issue becomes clear: the written section has a noticeably lower result than the spoken one (82,4 / 591,0). This supports the arguments presented by Lange (2007) and Bhatt (2000), who claimed that the presentational use of focus particles appears mostly in spoken language. The following examples are from the written sections of the Asian corpora:

(45) So they started to develop social forestry also. (ICE-IND: W1A-001#105:8)

(46) Similarly, when his social actions drive up business costs, which are then passed on to consumers through higher prices, he is spending their money also.
(ICE-SIN:W2A-017#40:1)

(47) Ask them to make arrangements for Eurail also. (ICE-PHI:W1B-005#137:2)

What can be gathered from the sentences in (45), (46) and (47) is that in the Asian varieties, the word *also* is used as an additive particle. For example, (45) could be rephrased as “They also started to develop social forestry” which would indicate that the cases where *also* is placed in a sentence-final position are due to the influence of the focus particle use met in spoken IndE. It is noteworthy that although all three Asian varieties show higher frequencies in the spoken section, in ICE-GB the trend is the opposite, as its written section has a higher frequency when compared to the results of the spoken section (4,7 / 1,7). Because focus particles used restrictively/additively in clause-final position are rare in StE, it is reasonable to assume that the high numbers found from both SinE and PhiE bear witness to the IndE influence on these two varieties.

One explanation for the high frequencies in SinE could be that ethnic Indians living in Singapore have retained their way of speaking IndE while living in Singapore and thus causing ICE-SIN to present increased figures on this innovative use. However, as it was mentioned in 2.3.2., ethnic Indians form only eight percent of Singapore's population - if they were the sole users of this tendency, the frequency of clause-final *also* in ICE-SIN should be significantly lower than what it is now; the frequency of *also* in ICE-SIN is over one third of ICE-India's (151,4 / 389,4) and in the

spoken sections of the corpora, the frequency of *also* in ICE-SIN is almost half of ICE-India's (234,3 / 591,0)⁶. Therefore it could be argued that the IndE way of using *also* is not limited to ethnic Indians living in Singapore, but that this clause-final use of *also* is now used among all ethnic groups of the country and is now a permanent feature of SinE.

The relatively high figures for clause-final *also* obtained from ICE-PHI are interesting because of the lack of historical connections between IndE and PhiE and the fact that there is no ethnic Indian minority in the Philippines as in Singapore. This strengthens the idea the clause-final focus particle use is not tied to any specific ethnicity or nationality. Instead of entering the PhiE variety directly, as, for example, in the form of ethnic minorities, the IndE use of focus particle *also* could have filtered into the PhiE variety through other Southeast Asian varieties, which is also how Indian influences have been argued to enter the Philippine islands in the past (Lamb 1975, 442).

6.1.2. Proportion of *also*

The figures discussed in this section are based on the results that were obtained from the second phase of the collection of the material. By this, I refer to the group of sentences which were left after I had deleted all the instances where the particle *also* did not refer to the complement of the sentence, as in (48), or when it was part of a fixed construction⁷ as in (49). The term *relevant* (below in Figure 2. and Table 4.) refers to the cases which were left after all the sentence types described above had been removed from the data; after this, my data consisted solely of sentences where the speaker could have placed the word *also* freely either before or after its referent as example (50)

⁶ Since the ICE-SIN Overview does not mention whether or not the ethnic backgrounds of the speakers were taken into consideration while collecting the material, this idea cannot be considered as definite. However, as ethnic Indians do comprise less than 10% of the population, it is highly unlikely that they would have accidentally been given a 39% representation in the corpus material.

⁷ For further explanation, see 5.2.1.2.

shows:

- (48) Earlier *also* she was very confident. (ICE-IND:S1A-070#282:1:A)
 (49) Business operates within a set of norms and constraints which are *not only* economic *but also* technological, political and social. (ICE-SIN:W2A-017#54:1)
 (50) How about you did you visit your nephews and nieces *also*?
 (ICE-PHI: S1A-001#178:1:A)

Sentence (50) illustrates the situation well, as the particle *also* could have been also placed before its referents as in “Did you *also* visit your nephews and nieces?”. Table 4. presents the number of sentences where this free variation existed in relation to the cases where clause-final position was used, and both Table 4. and Figure 2. show the percentages that the cases of clause-final *also* have within the spoken and written sections in different corpora.

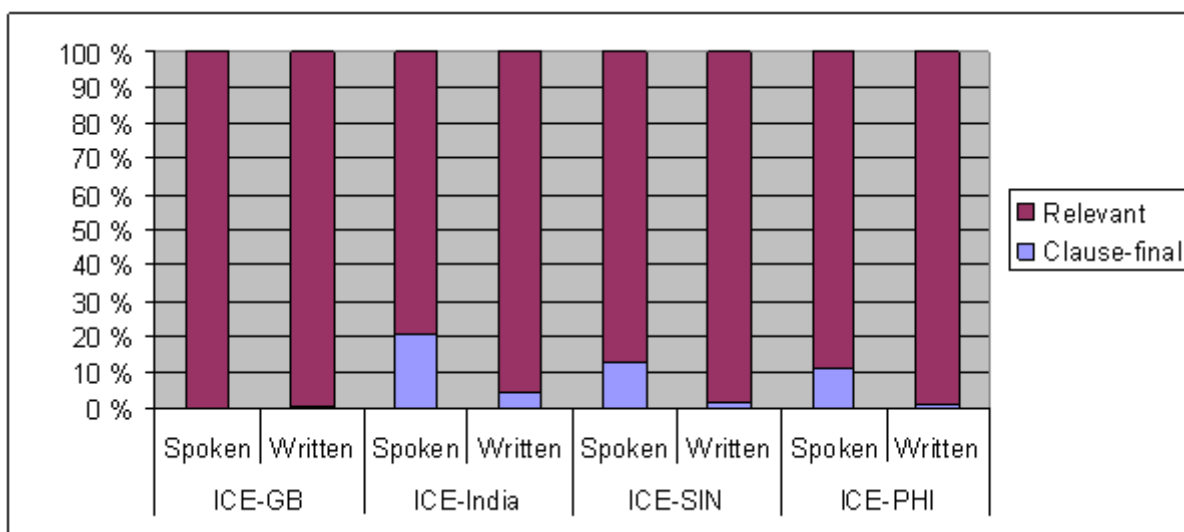


Figure 2. Percentages of clause-final *also* in the group of relevant cases

<i>Also</i>	ICE-GB		ICE-India		ICE-PHI		ICE-SIN	
	Clause-final/ relevant	%	Clause-final/ relevant	%	Clause-final/ relevant	%	Clause-final/ relevant	%
Spoken	1/471	0,2	404/1956	20,7	109/1007	10,8	155/1205	12,9
Written	2/581	0,3	37/860	4,3	7/792	0,9	11/858	1,3

Table 4. Percentages of clause-final *also* in the relevant cases (in absolute figures)

From above it can be seen how not only does the word *also* appear more often in general in IndE, but that the frequency of clause-final focus particles is also significantly higher than in BrE. In 20% of the cases where Indians use *also* when speaking, they are placing it at the end of the clause. Therefore the high figures obtained from ICE-India cannot solely be explained with the notion that the word *also* is used more often in general. The frequencies for this tendency descend in the same order that was seen in the previous chapter, IndE giving the highest numbers, followed by SinE, PhiE and, finally, BrE (20,7 / 12,9 / 10,8 / 0,2). The same applies to the written sections of the corpora, as the order of the dialects remains the same, only in smaller figures (4,3 / 1,3 / 0,9 / 0,3). The only exception, again, is ICE-GB which had higher frequencies for the written part, but, as was mentioned before, the difference is created by a mere one extra hit.

6.1.3. Distribution of *also*

In this section, the figures that were presented for clause-final *also* in 6.1.1. have been broken down into smaller subsections, which are identical in all ICE corpora (discussed earlier in 5.1.). By calculating the frequency of clause-final *also* for each category separately, I was able to differentiate between the registers that favour the IndE use of *also* from those that did not. This is something that has not been done in earlier studies and therefore the results discussed in this section are of great interest.

Frequency of <i>also</i> / 1 mio words (absolute)	ICE-GB		ICE-India		ICE-Sin		ICE-Phi	
	freq/mio (absolute)	%	freq/mio (absolute)	%	freq/mio (absolute)	%	freq/mio (absolute)	%
SPOKEN								
<u>(S1) Dialogue</u>								
Private	0,0 (0)	0,0	381,8 (261)	56,7	196,5 (130)	75,7	113,4 (77)	64,5
Public	0,0 (0)	0,0	96,5 (66)	14,3	22,7 (15)	8,7	22,1 (15)	12,6
<u>(S2) Monologue</u>								
Unscripted	1,7 (1)	26,6	71,7 (49)	10,6	13,6 (9)	5,2	23,6 (16)	13,4
Scripted	0,0 (0)	0,0	41,0 (28)	6,1	1,5 (1)	0,6	1,5 (1)	0,9
Total (spoken)	1,7 (1)	26,6	591,0 (404)	87,8	234,3 (155)	90,3	160,5 (109)	91,3
WRITTEN								
<u>(W1) Non-Printed</u>								
Non-professional writing	2,4 (1)	37,5	37,9 (17)	5,6	9,2 (4)	3,5	2,2 (1)	1,3
Correspondence	2,4 (1)	37,5	8,9 (4)	1,3	4,6 (2)	1,8	10,9 (5)	6,2
<u>(W2) Printed</u>								
Academic	0,0 (0)	0,0	13,4 (6)	2,0	4,6 (2)	1,8	0,0 (0)	0,0
Non-academic writing	0,0 (0)	0,0	11,1 (5)	1,6	4,6 (2)	1,8	2,2 (1)	1,3
Reportage	0,0 (0)	0,0	2,2 (1)	0,3	2,3 (1)	0,9	0,0 (0)	0,0
Instructional	0,0 (0)	0,0	4,5 (2)	0,6	0,0 (0)	0,0	0,0 (0)	0,0
Persuasive	0,0 (0)	0,0	2,2 (1)	0,3	0,0 (0)	0,0	0,0 (0)	0,0
Creative	0,0 (0)	0,0	2,2 (1)	0,3	0,0 (0)	0,0	0,0 (0)	0,0
Total (written)	4,7 (2)	73,4	82,4 (37)	12,2	25,3 (11)	9,7	15,3 (7)	8,7
Total (all)	2,8 (3)	100,0	389,4 (441)	100,0	151,4 (166)	100,0	102,0 (116)	100,0

Table 5. Frequency of *also* in each text category per 1 million words, absolute figures in parentheses and percentages in the right hand column.

Table 5. above reveals an interesting pattern for ICE-India, ICE-SIN and ICE-PHI: in all three varieties located in the Asian continent, the number of hits for clause-final *also* correlates negatively with the formality of the situation where the speech act takes place. Thus the highest frequencies can be found from ‘Private dialogues’ and the lowest from ‘Scripted monologues’, although ICE-PHI abbreviates from this in the categories ‘Public dialogues’ and ‘Unscripted monologues’. However, as this difference is created by one mere extra hit, it is reasonable to assume that PhiE follows the trend set by IndE quite closely. The only dialect where this correlation does not appear is BrE, but since the whole spoken section of the corpus contained only one instance of the clause-final *also*, not much can be said about it except for the note that it occurs in a more formal speech situation.

The results for the written sections of the corpora are rather different, as they are scattered more evenly across categories. All four corpora have relatively high proportions in the categories of ‘Non-professional writing’ and ‘Correspondence’, PhiE containing surprisingly high frequencies for the latter. The observation that these categories appear to favour the clause-final *also* could, again, be explained with the notion of formality. Since these two example groups are less formal in nature and are relatively close to spoken language, it is fair to expect that also their syntax resembles that of spoken language to some extent. Another interesting notion is the fact that IndE, SinE, and also PhiE, although to a lesser extent, have noticeably higher frequencies in the categories ‘Academic’ and ‘Non-academic’ writing. As mentioned earlier in this paper, the sentence-final focus particle is not commonly used in StE and the low numbers from ICE-GB support this view. This issue of frequencies found from the two categories mentioned above will be discussed further after the same analysis has been conducted on *only* in section 6.2.3.

6.2. *Only*

6.2.1. Frequency of *only*

In this section, I will discuss the frequency of clause-final *only* in ICE-GB, ICE-India, ICE-SIN and ICE-PHI. Although previous studies have shown that IndE has developed a new use for the particle *only*, no systematic research enabling the comparison between different varieties has been done on this topic until now. Figure 3. and Table 6. below present the frequencies of clause-final *only*, normalised per 1 million words, in the four corpora examined in this study:

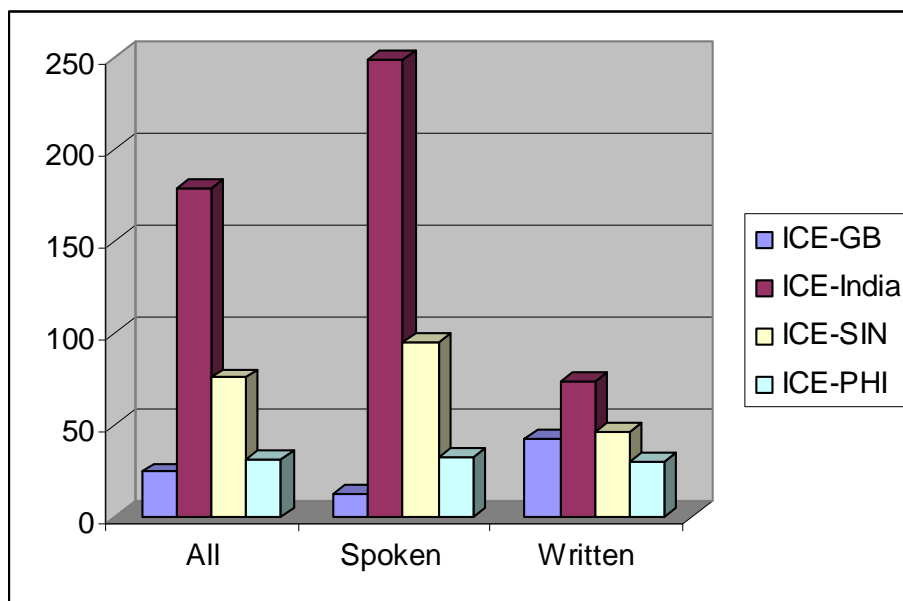


Figure 3. Frequency of *only* per 1 million words

<i>Only</i>	ICE-GB	ICE-India	ICE-SIN	ICE-PHI
Spoken	12,5 (8)	247,2 (169)	95,2 (63)	32,4 (22)
Written	42,5 (18)	73,5 (33)	46,0 (20)	30,5 (14)
All	24,5 (26)	178,3 (202)	75,7 (83)	31,6 (36)

Table 6. Frequency of *only* per 1 million, absolute figures in parentheses

Again, the lowest overall frequencies for the use of clause-final *only* are found in BrE, as expected. However, what is noteworthy about the ICE-GB results is that its written section contained noticeably more hits for the clause-final *only* than its spoken section; the frequencies for the former were three times higher than for the latter (42,5 / 12,5). This trend was already visible in the case of *also*, but in a less clear manner. In fact, the use of *only* in written BrE exceeds that of written PhiE, although the overall frequency of *only* in ICE-GB is still lower to that of ICE-PHI. This aberration from the general trend found in the other varieties is highly interesting, since it gives reason to suspect that in BrE, the way of placing *only* at the end of a clause belongs to the literary (51), or more official spoken genre (52) with possible difference in meaning too when compared with the

Asian varieties:

- (51) Enrollment in this category is suitable for students who wish to follow a full-time course of undergraduate study at the School for one year *only*.
(ICE-GB: W2D-007#072:1)
- (52) Concessionary fees apply to Camden residents *only*. (ICE-GB:S2B-044#121:2:A)
- (53) Extensive literature is available on these techniques and on certain occasions when no other methods are available, one has to depend on these methods only.
(ICE-IND:W2A-038#96:1)
- (54) It's all on the letter only. (ICE-SIN:S1A-015#X254:1:A)

As can be seen from sentences (51) and (52), clause-final *only* is used as a restrictive focus particle in both written and spoken BrE, whereas both the restrictive and the IndE use of the particle can be found from the Asian varieties in (53) and (54).

When looking at the results from the other corpora, it becomes clear that the order established already with *also* is the same: the overall frequencies of IndE are followed by SinE, PhiE and BrE, again, in descending order (178,3 / 75,7 / 31,6 / 24,5). Therefore it could be argued that the results do indeed support the view that the IndE use of focus particles has spread to SinE and PhiE, although the trend appears to be weaker in the case of the latter variety. Another issue is also worth noting: although the frequencies for the spoken parts in ICE-India, ICE-PHI and ICE-SIN are relatively low when compared to their results with *also*, the figures for the written parts have not decreased in the same proportion. In fact, SinE, BrE and PhiE seem to have higher frequencies for clause-final *only* in their respective written sections.

- (55) The University's Medical Services Scheme on the other hand is confined to Singapore *only*. (ICE-SIN:W2D-002#156:7)
- (56) If there is a strong opposition people will not depend upon the ruling party *only*.
(ICE-IND:W1A-005#111:3)
- (57) However, some human activities produce a lot of questions when entrusted to computers because they are said to be for humans *only*. (ICE-PHI:W1A-010#54:1)

Both Bhatt (2000) and Lange (2007) have argued that the tendency of placing emphatic focus particles at the end of a clause appears only in spoken language. This assumption seems to be

supported by examples (55), (56) and (57) from SinE, IndE and PhiE, since they represent the traditional use of the clause-final focus particle *only*. One explanation for the relatively high frequencies for clause-final *only* in the written sections, when compared with the results for *also*, is that since the particle *only* is often placed after its focus in StE, this option is chosen more often by speakers who use it in the same position when speaking, although with a possible difference in meaning.

Although a number of scholars have suggested that the clause-final *only* is one of the most (if not the most) salient characteristics of IndE, the comparison between the results on *also* and *only* definitely challenges this idea (389,4 / 178,3). The difference between the frequencies of these two particles gives rise to the question whether the “Indian *only*”, a term which is often used when referring to the unique traits of IndE, should be changed to the “Indian *also*”.

The question of the influence that the ethnic Indian minority in Singapore might have on the results from ICE-SIN was already discussed in section 6.1.1. However there is another issue that must be addressed when dealing with Singapore's results: the possibility that the other Singaporean languages have a similar influence on SinE. This question is at least partly answered by Wee (2004, 1068) who points out that when speaking English, Singaporeans have a collection of eight particles of local origin, which they use in clause-final position and where they perform various discourse-pragmatic functions. He mentions that *lah* is the most common one, but the particles that are most relevant for this study are *lor* and *ma*, as they both are used to indicate “obviousness” in slightly different ways (Wee 2004, 1068-9). These could be argued to resemble the IndE use of the clause-final *only* to some extent, since all three words are used to create weight and focus on the word under discussion. The material from ICE-SIN contained a few instances of these particles such as the following:

(58) Three of us *only lor* (ICE-SIN:S1A-054#94:1:B)

Although *only* is not at the end position of the entire phrase, I have still calculated such cases as instances of the IndE use, because the focus particle *only* is the last English word in the clause. Such instances as the one above show that SinE speakers have not translated the particles in their mother language into English like the Indians have. Instead, they have chosen to use both, particles from IndE and particles from Singaporean local languages and sometimes they are used even side by side as in (58).

6.2.2. Proportion of *only*

The figures discussed in this section are based on the data I had after the second phase of the collection of the material. By this, I refer to the group of sentences that were left after I had deleted all the instances where the particle *only* did not refer to the object or complement of the sentence, where it had been used as an adjective (59), or when it was part of a fixed construction⁸ (60). The term *relevant* (below in Figure 4. and Table 7.) refers to the cases that were left after I had removed all instances of the sentence types described above from it. After this, my data consisted solely of sentences where the word *only* could have been placed freely either before (60), after (61) or even on both sides of its referent (62) as the following examples show:

(59) His *only* human contact was a jailer. (ICE-PHI:S2B-027#3:1:A)

(60) Now there is *only* lost ground and lost revenue to be recovered.
(ICE-GB:W2E-003#091:3)

(61) We will have master trainers from there *only*. (ICE-India:S1B-071#66:1:B)

(62) Five minutes is *only* about sixty percent of the time *only*.
(ICE-SIN:S1A-020#90:1:B)

⁸ For further explanation, see 5.2.1.2.

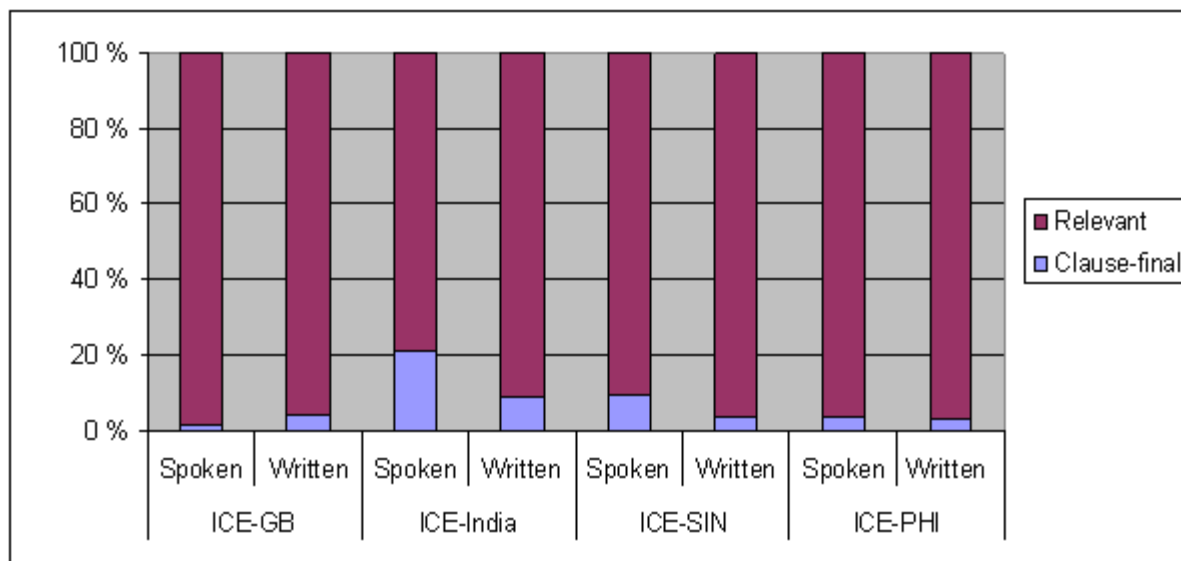


Figure 4. Percentages of clause-final *only* in the group of relevant cases

<i>Only</i>	ICE-GB		ICE-India		ICE-PHI		ICE-SIN	
	Clause-final/ relevant	%	Clause-final/ relevant	%	Clause-final/ relevant	%	Clause-final/ relevant	%
Spoken	8/ 422	1,9	169/ 787	21,5	22/ 617	3,6	63/ 656	9,6
Written	18/476	3,8	33/ 364	9,1	14/ 469	3	20/ 516	3,9

Table 7. Percentages of clause-final *only* in the relevant cases (in absolute figures)

What is interesting about these results is that the order of varieties and genres (spoken / written) stays exactly the same with the order that was seen in the previous chapters. All, except for the ICE-India written section, appear to have slightly higher percentages of use, which means that when *only* is used, it is placed in a clause-final position more frequently than *also*. The possible reasons for this will be discussed further in the following section. Similar to the figures presented in 6.1.2. for *also*, the choice of placing *only* at the end position is clearly more frequently made in spoken IndE and SinE. Although Lange (2007) concluded that the written part of ICE-India contained only one instance of the presentational focus marker *only*, the tendency of placing it at the end is still approximately 5 percentage points more common than in BrE, PhiE or SinE.

6.2.3. Distribution of *only*

In this section, the figures that were presented for clause-final *only* in 6.2.1. have been recalculated according to the different subsections that can be found in all four ICE corpora. Therefore, Table 8. enables me to compare between different subcategories and to see which text genres and speech situations favour the use of the clause-final focus particle *only*.

Frequency of <i>only</i> / 1 mio words (absolute)	ICE-GB		ICE-India		ICE-Sin		ICE-Phi	
	freq/mio (absolute)	%	freq/mio (absolute)	%	freq/mio (absolute)	%	freq/mio (absolute)	%
SPOKEN								
(S1) Dialogue								
Private	0,0 (0)	0,0	179,9 (123)	56,1	72,6 (48)	51,4	19,1 (13)	30,4
Public	1,6 (1)	2,3	36,6 (25)	11,4	13,6 (9)	9,6	7,4 (5)	11,8
(S2) Monologue								
Unscripted	3,1 (2)	5,6	23,4 (16)	7,3	7,6 (5)	5,4	4,4 (3)	7,0
Scripted	7,8 (5)	14,2	7,3 (5)	2,3	1,5 (1)	1,1	1,5 (1)	2,4
Total (spoken)	12,5 (8)	22,7	247,2 (169)	77,1	95,2 (63)	67,4	32,4 (22)	51,5
WRITTEN								
(W1) Non-Printed								
Non-professional writing	4,7 (2)	8,5	13,4 (6)	4,1	4,6 (2)	3,3	4,4 (2)	7,0
Correspondence	4,7 (2)	8,5	15,6 (7)	4,9	6,9 (3)	4,9	6,5 (3)	10,3
(W2) Printed								
Academic	9,4 (4)	17,1	15,6 (7)	4,9	6,9 (3)	4,9	2,2 (1)	3,5
Non-academic writing	2,4 (1)	4,4	6,7 (3)	2,1	6,9 (3)	4,9	2,2 (1)	3,5
Reportage	2,4 (1)	4,4	2,2 (1)	0,7	4,6 (2)	3,3	2,2 (1)	3,5
Instructional	14,2 (6)	25,8	15,6(7)	4,9	16,1 (7)	11,4	10,9 (5)	17,3
Persuasive	2,4 (1)	4,4	0,0 (0)	0,0	0,0 (0)	0,0	0,0 (0)	0,0
Creative	2,4 (1)	4,4	4,5 (2)	1,4	0,0 (0)	0,0	2,2 (1)	3,5
Total (written)	42,5 (18)	77,3	73,5 (33)	22,9	46,0 (20)	32,6	30,5 (14)	48,5
Total (all)	24,5 (26)	100,0	178,3 (202)	100,0	75,7 (83)	100,0	31,6 (36)	100,0

Table 8. Frequency of *only* in each text category per 1 million words, absolute figures in parentheses and percentages in the right hand column.

As mentioned in 6.2.1., the spoken part of ICE-GB contained lower frequencies than its written part. However, it is worth noting that the section ‘Scripted monologues’ contains 7,8 instances of

clause-final *only* per million words, which is almost 15% of all the cases that can be found in ICE-GB. In fact, in ICE-GB, there appears to be a positive correlation between the formality of the speech situation and the frequency of the clause-final *only*. Since this is the exact opposite from what was detected in the other three corpora, it could be argued that they carry different meanings and that the tendency of placing *only* at the end of a phrase is connected to more formal and literary genre in BrE, where it is used as a restrictive particle. The next highest numbers are to be found from the category of ‘Academic writing’, which only strengthens the idea that in BrE, clause-final *only* belongs to formal register, where the rules of argumentation and deduction are more closely followed. In addition to these two, the trait is most prominent in instructional writing, as could be expected, and ICE-GB indeed contains many instances of this use.

The trend of using *only* in IndE appears to be almost the reverse of BrE, since the results from ICE-India show that more than 50% of the cases where *only* is used in a clause-final position occur in ‘Private dialogues’ (179,9 / 0 in ICE-GB), followed by ‘Public dialogues’ (ICE-India 36,3 / 1.6 ICE-GB). The category ‘Scripted speeches’ contains the lowest frequencies in the spoken part of the ICE-India, which is a highly interesting finding when compared to the results from ICE-GB (7,3 / 7,8), because the frequency of clause-final *only* in BrE actually exceeds that of IndE. The likely explanation is that although the use of *only* is quite frequent in formal BrE, its use is avoided in similar contexts in IndE, because it has been stigmatized as “bad English” and therefore it is not used so frequently in formal contexts such as public speeches.

The written part of ICE-India contained only approximately 20% of all the cases of clause-final *only*, although it still had higher frequencies per million words when compared with the results in the written part of ICE-GB (73,5 / 42,5). The distribution between different categories is more evenly spread although there is a small increase in the use of *only* in ‘Instructional writing’ as could be expected. The following is an example from a cook book:

(63) Add banana and cook for a minute only. (ICE-IND:W2D-016#136:1)

Three other categories that rise to the same level are ‘Correspondence’, ‘Academic writing’, and ‘Non-professional writing’, although with slightly lower frequencies. One of the possibilities is that the section ‘Academic writing’ has high frequencies due to the same reasons that were discussed in the case of ICE-GB; using *only* in a clause-final position is part of the academic use of language that involves precise exclusion, inclusion and argumentation. The reason for the high frequency in the categories of ‘Correspondence’ (15,6) and ‘Non-professional writing’ (13,4) could, again, be explained with the conversational and private nature of the genre, which resembles the face-to-face conversation to some extent. Another interesting notion can be found from the category of ‘Creative writing’, with its low frequency (4,5) in ICE-India. Together with ‘Correspondence’, ‘Creative writing’ is often said to resemble spoken language more than other literary genres. However, in the case of IndE, this does not seem to be the case. The reason for this could be found from the fact mentioned by Hohenthal (2003), who argues that the English variety used by educated Indians is close to StE. Since most of the Indian writers of prose are likely to belong to the more educated class, it is reasonable to assume that their use of English, which is close to StE, is also reflected in their writing.

The case of PhiE is rather curious, since the overall frequency of clause-final *only* is not much higher than what can be found from BrE (31,6/ 24,5). However, when the distribution of these cases is looked at more closely, it can be seen that they follow the example presented by IndE quite well. In fact, in the spoken part of ICE-PHI, the levels of frequency per million words descend in the exact same order with ICE-India, so that the highest frequencies can be found from the section ‘Private dialogues’ and the smallest numbers in ‘Scripted monologues’. The distribution is slightly different in the written part of the ICE-PHI, since the highest frequencies can be found under the

section ‘Non-printed writing’, which includes ‘Non-professional writing’ and ‘Correspondence’. In these text types, the relatively high frequencies of clause-final *only* could be explained with the same idea already mentioned in the case of IndE: these categories resemble spoken language and therefore give higher figures for the clause-final *only*. In addition, the category of ‘Instructional writing’ in PhiE shows relatively high frequencies, which could be expected as the other three varieties also showed higher frequencies in this category.

The spoken part of ICE-SIN contains the second largest frequencies of clause final *only*. It is worth noting that the results from ICE-SIN, similar to ICE-PHI, decrease in the same order with ICE-India. Thus the overall frequency for the spoken section is 95,2, with ‘Private dialogues’ comprising over 50% of all the instances found in the corpus and ‘Scripted monologues’ having only one instance of the clause-final *only*. The figures from the written part of ICE-SIN decrease in the same order with the figures from ICE-India. Since the results for SinE deviate from the order set by IndE only slightly, they strengthen the idea that the IndE way of using focus particles is indeed prominently represented in SinE.

6.3. *Itself*

6.3.1. Frequency of *itself*

In this section, I will examine the frequency of *itself* across the four ICE corpora. The data presented below was obtained by doing a semantic analysis on all the cases of *itself*. The analysis was done according to the categories provided by Lange (2007) and König and Gast (2006)⁹, in which all the instances of *itself* were analysed as being either *adnominal* intensifiers, *adverbial-inclusive* intensifiers, *adverbial-exclusive* intensifier or as examples of the *innovative* IndE way of

⁹ See 3.2.

using intensifiers.

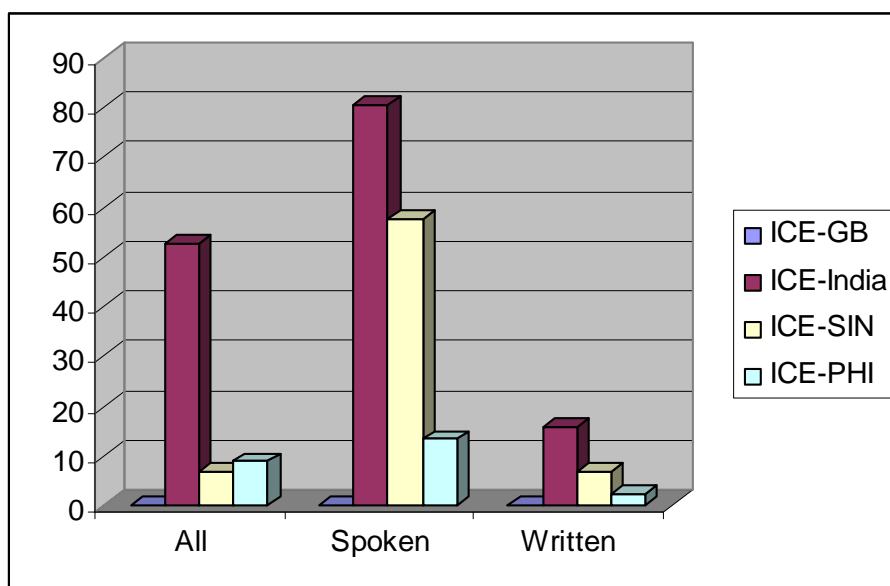


Figure 5. Frequency of *itself* per 1 million words

<i>Itself</i>	ICE-GB	ICE-India	ICE-SIN	ICE-PHI
Spoken	0 (0)	80,4 (55)	57,4 (38)	13,3 (9)
Written	0 (0)	15,6 (7)	6,9 (3)	2,2 (1)
All	0 (0)	52,7 (62)	36,4 (40)	8,8 (10)

Table. 9 Frequency of *itself* per 1 million, absolute figures in parentheses

As Figure 5. and Table 9. indicate, the *innovative* use of *itself* clearly follows the pattern established already with the two other focus particles. What is noteworthy though is the fact that the ICE-GB did not contain a single instance of this use in either sections of the corpus. The possible reasons for this will be discussed further in section 6.3.3.

In the three Asian varieties, the overall frequencies are significantly lower when compared to the frequencies of *also* and *only*, which could be expected. The frequency in ICE-SIN is also surprisingly high in relation to ICE-India (37,4 / 52,7), whereas ICE-PHI is left far behind with a

low count of 8,8 words per one million words. These figures clearly indicate that IndE has influenced the Singaporean variety and that traces of this feature can also be detected in PhiE, although on a smaller scale. Again, the tendency appears to be such that the *innovative* use of the focus particle *itself* is more common in spoken than written language

(64) You could have gone in the morning itself (ICE-IND:S1A-070#206:1:B)

(65) They are all complementary products and are not meant to replace one another itself. (ICE-SIN:S2A-027#21:1:A)

(66) Yeah and remember the movie itself where uhm they were showing the evidence of how the Titanic sank (ICE-PHI:S1A-074#153:1:B)

As can be seen from the examples above, the way *itself* is used in IndE (64), SinE (65) and PhiE (66) does not quite fit the semantic categories of *adnominal*, *adverbial-exclusive* or *adverbial-inclusive* intensifiers and thus illustrate well the different functions *itself* has acquired in IndE.

6.3.2. Proportion of *itself*

Figure 6. and Table 10. present the proportion of cases where the *innovative itself* was used, in relation to all the sentences that contained the word *itself* in the four corpora:

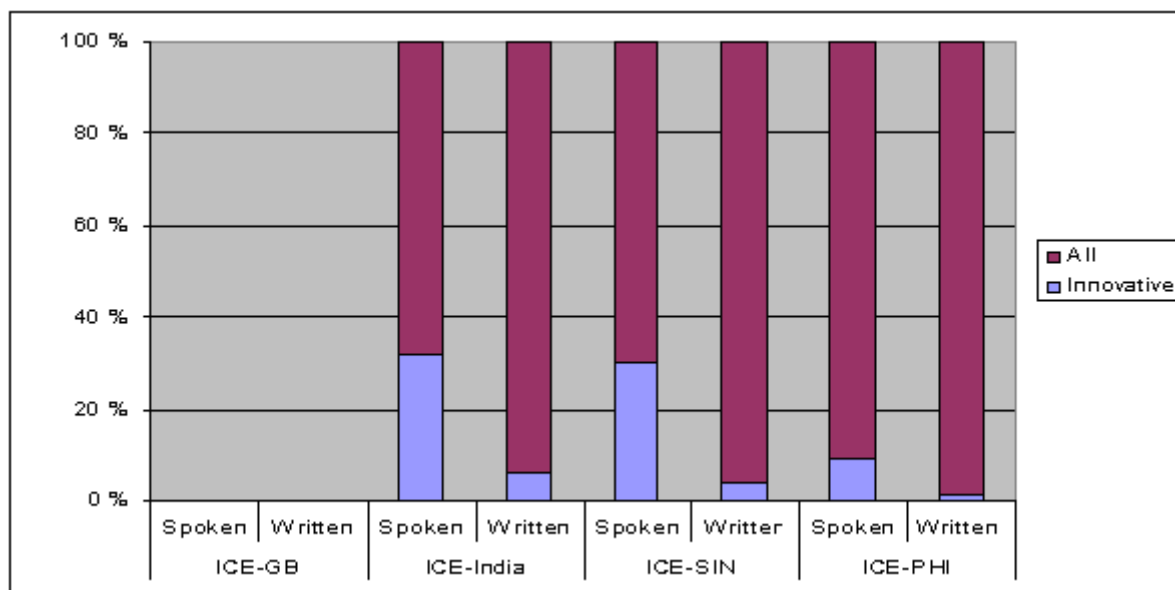


Figure 6. Percentages *itself* in the group of relevant cases

<i>Itself</i>	ICE-GB		ICE-India		ICE-SIN		ICE-PHI	
	Clause-final/ all	%	Clause-final/ all	%	Clause-final/ all	%	Clause-final/ all	%
Spoken	0/110	0,0	55/173	20,7	38/127	12,9	9/97	10,8
Written	0/92	0,0	7/115	4,3	3/80	1,3	1/90	0,9

Table 10. Percentages of *itself* in the relevant cases (in absolute figures)

With the two earlier focus particles examined, the highest percentages were approximately 20, but here, in the case of *itself*, a noticeable increase can be detected. The speakers of IndE and SinE use this word innovatively approximately 30% of the time, whereas the speakers of PhiE use it less than 10% of the time. The numbers decrease even further when examining the written sections.

In the case of particles *also* and *only*, percentages from different varieties decrease evenly, whereas in the case of *itself*, a clear gap can be seen between the speakers of IndE and SinE on one side and speakers of PhiE on the other. One possible explanation for this could be the fact that since *itself* is used more rarely, its innovative use has not spread as widely as the use of the two other focus particles: since *also* and *only* are used more freely and commonly in IndE and SinE, thus the

use of these particles has spread more widely, reaching even PhiE.

6.3.3. Distribution of *itself*

In this section, the figures that were presented for clause-final *only* in 6.3.1. have been recalculated according to the subsections that can be found in all four ICE corpora. This enabled the comparison between different subcategories across different varieties, which has not been done before. Table 11. presents the normalised frequencies of all the cases where *itself* is used in the IndE way:

Frequency of <i>itself</i> / 1 mio words (absolute)	ICE-GB		ICE-India		ICE-Phi		ICE-Sin	
	freq/mio (absolute)	%	freq/mio (absolute)	%	freq/mio (absolute)	%	freq/mio (absolute)	%
<u>SPOKEN</u>								
<u>(S1) Dialogue</u>								
Private	0 (0)	0,0	45,3 (31)	47,2	10,3 (7)	66,5	24,2 (16)	37,8
Public	0 (0)	0,0	21,9 (15)	22,3	0 (0)	0,0	4,5 (3)	7,0
<u>(S2) Monologue</u>								
Unscripted	0 (0)	0,0	11,7 (8)	12,2	1,5 (1)	9,7	25,7 (17)	40,0
Scripted	0 (0)	0,0	1,5 (1)	1,6	1,5 (1)	9,7	3,0 (2)	4,7
Total (spoken)	0 (0)	0,0	80,4 (55)	83,8	13,3 (9)	89,7	57,4 (38)	89,5
<u>WRITTEN</u>								
<u>(W1) Non-Printed</u>								
Non-professional writing	0 (0)	0,0	0 (0)	0,0	0 (0)	0,0	0 (0)	0,0
Correspondence	0 (0)	0,0	6,7 (3)	7,0	2,2 (1)	14,2	4,5 (2)	7,0
<u>(W2) Printed</u>								
Academic	0 (0)	0,0	2,2 (1)	2,3	0 (0)	0,0	0 (0)	0,0
Non-academic writing	0 (0)	0,0	0 (0)	0,0	0 (0)	0,0	0 (0)	0,0
Reportage	0 (0)	0,0	2,2 (1)	2,3	0 (0)	0,0	0 (0)	0,0
Instructional	0 (0)	0,0	4,5 (2)	4,7	0 (0)	0,0	0 (0)	0,0
Persuasive	0 (0)	0,0	0 (0)	0,0	0 (0)	0,0	2,3 (1)	3,6
Creative	0 (0)	0,0	0 (0)	0,0	0 (0)	0,0	0 (0)	0,0
Total (written)	0 (0)	0,0	15,6 (7)	16,3	2,2 (1)	14,2	6,9 (3)	10,1
Total (all)	0 (0)	0,0	52,7 (62)	100,0	8,8 (10)	100,0	36,4 (40)	100,0

Table 11. Frequency of *itself* in each text category per 1 million words, absolute figures in parentheses and percentages in the right hand column.

The ICE-India column looks familiar, since the descending order of frequency from less-formal to formal remains exactly the same. However, the two other Asian varieties, PhiE and SinE show a different trend: both have noticeably lower frequencies in ‘Public dialogues’, but it is difficult to give any explanation for this. The spoken sections of ICE-India, ICE-PHI and ICE-SIN all contain nearly 90% of all the innovative uses of *itself*, (83,8% / 89,7% / 89.5%) and these figures resemble the results on *also* (87,8% / 91,3% / 90,3%).

The results of the analysis of the written components of the three corpora are less conclusive. Although the order of the varieties preferring the IndE use remains the same, the hits are unevenly distributed. The only common factor that the three corpora have is the category ‘Correspondence’, which produced instances of the IndE use of *itself* in all three varieties. This again strengthens the idea that as correspondence is one of the forms of writing that is closest to spoken language, the use of innovative *itself* is closely connected to the genre of spoken language.

The case of BrE and its zero result is also interesting. In this study, *itself* is the only focus particle for which the selection of material was made on the base of semantics. Therefore it is possible that if the clause-final focus particles *also* and *only* were subjected to a similar semantic analysis, the hits from ICE-GB would drop even lower and the contrast between these varieties would become even more noticeable than the results in this study show.

7. Discussion

One of the greatest challenges in my study was to enable the comparison between four varieties where the same constructions might be interpreted in different ways. Since the earlier studies on this topic focus solely on IndE, they could rely on the knowledge of IndE stress patterns when analysing the data semantically. This, however, was not deemed to be a valid method in this study and as a solution to this problem, I decided to concentrate my statistical analysis of *also* and *only* on syntax. Since the discussion on the use of clause-final focus particles in StE is practically nonexistent, I decided to focus solely on the cases where these particles were in a clause-final position so that the difference between BrE and IndE could be revealed. My aim was that by concentrating on these frequencies, the diffusion of the IndE use of focus particles into PhiE and SinE would become visible through the elevated numbers of clause-final focus particles. This method also provided me with a more reliable way of comparing the results from the different varieties with each other. The semantic analysis of *itself* was easier due to smaller amount of data and a clearer set of semantic qualities on which the analysis could rely on. Although Lange (2007) had already conducted a similar analysis on *only* and *itself* in IndE, this study took on a wider scope and examined the use of three focus particles in four different varieties of English.

The results proved to be extremely informative and show that there is a clear correlation between the cultural proximity and the level of adoption of the IndE way of using focus particles in other Asian varieties of English. The results from ICE-India, ICE-SIN and ICE-PHI showed that the clause-final focus particles were most frequent in spoken language and that their frequency decreased as the formality of the speech situation increased. All three particles and all three Asian varieties studied here were surprisingly uniform in this matter and it is clear that this trend has been created in IndE, from where it has spread to SinE and PhiE. Since this type of detailed analysis

based on different text types has not been done before, the results proved to be of great interest. This study is the first one to provide systematic information that strengthens the arguments made by earlier studies such as Lange (2007) and Bhatt (2000), who claim that the IndE trait of using focus particles is viewed as “bad English” even by its users. One additional factor contributing to this dramatic decrease could be the level of education of the speakers. Looking at Tables 9., 10. and 11., where the frequencies are broken down to smaller categories, the clearest drop in frequencies can be detected between ‘Private’ and ‘Public’ dialogues. The reason for this may lie with the fact that people who are more educated, and thus whose English is closer to StE, often end up in situations where they are required to speak publicly. Good examples of these are the categories of, for example, ‘Parliamentary debates’ or ‘Broadcast interviews’ (see section 5.1., Table 2.).

The only exception in this study was BrE, for which the results were the complete opposite to the Asian varieties. The explanation for this might be that in BrE, focus particles in clause-final position, especially in the case of *only*, belong to more formal language, where their use is constrained by a different set of grammatical rules. Although earlier studies had proven that this unique way of using focus particles is common in spoken IndE, the results of this study show that the trend has also spread to other varieties of Asian English. In addition, the results indicate that the focus particle *also* is in fact used more commonly in a clause-final position than *only*, which is surprising considering the amount of attention given to *only* in the literature on IndE. Although Lange (2007, 89) mentions that *also* is used in similar manner to *only*, my study represents the first systematic survey on this question.

8. Conclusions

In this study, my aim was to discover if there is a difference in the way BrE and IndE use focus particles *also*, *only* and *itself* and whether the IndE tendency of placing these particles in a clause-final position has spread to SinE and PhiE. The results indicate that this syntactic pattern is not common in BrE, whereas it has clearly spread to SinE. A likely explanation for this is the historical connection that India and Singapore have had for centuries. Also PhiE showed tendencies of adopting the IndE way of using focus particles, but in lower frequencies. Because Singapore and its culture have always been heavily influenced by India and since they were both colonised by Great Britain, it is no wonder that SinE has adopted this linguistic innovation from IndE so thoroughly. The case of the Philippines is more problematic, since the country has not had any clear connections with India since it was colonised by Spain. Therefore, the spread of this IndE use of focus particles to PhiE attests that India's role as a major cultural force in Southeast Asia has survived the test of time. In pre-colonial times, Indian culture, religion and the Sanskrit language filtered through Southeast Asian kingdoms, all the way to the islands of present-day Philippines, where India's influence has been detected, for example, in the writing systems and vocabularies of the local languages. The results of this study show that India's role as a cultural force has not faded, but instead, it continues to spread new ideas and linguistics innovations to Southeast Asia.

Interesting topics for further research could be, for example, to investigate whether this IndE use of focus particles has spread to other neighbouring countries such as Pakistan, which shares a long common history with India, but whose relations have been strained for decades. In addition, it would be interesting to see if Indian minorities have influenced the use of focus particles in other varieties of English. For example, South Africa shares India's past as a British colony and it has a substantial ethnic Indian minority. Therefore it could be interesting to see to which extent this IndE

use of focus particles has spread to the South African variety of English. Another topic for further research could be to examine the semantic qualities of these clause-final focus particles that have been studied here. However, I do recognise that this would require the researcher to absorb him/herself to the unique traits of all IndE, SinE and PhiE more comprehensively than what was possible within the scope of this study.

The extremely low frequencies for all three particles in ICE-GB suggest that the usage examined in this study has indeed developed in India and that it is spreading across Southeast Asia. This, again, gives rise to the question whether the older varieties of BrE and AmE should be used as the standard against which new grammatical innovations are evaluated, which is something that users of different varieties have done up to this day. After all, it appears that popular new linguistic innovations are emerging around the word and focus particles such as *itself*, *also* and *only* are not, in fact, used anymore in Indian English only.

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Appendix

Appendix 1. Number of words in each corpora (using MonoConc Pro 2.2):

	Total	Spoken	Written
ICE-GB	1 061 263	637 682	423 581
ICE-India	1 132 620	683 674	448 946
ICE-PHI	1 137 511	679 192	458 319
ICE-SIN	1 096 683	661 602	435 081