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A Phonological Study of the Variety of English Spoken by Oriya Speakers in Western Orissa

**A Doctoral Dissertation
by**

Arun Behera, Ph.D.

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A Doctoral Dissertation

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A PHONOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE VARIETY OF ENGLISH SPOKEN BY ORIYA SPEAKERS IN WESTERN ORISSA



**Thesis Submitted
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
HUMANITIES
(ENGLISH)**

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**SAMBALPUR UNIVERSITY
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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that Sri Arun Kumar Behera has prepared his dissertation entitled "A PHONOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE VARIETY OF ENGLISH SPOKEN BY ORIYA SPEAKERS IN WESTERN ORISSA" for the Ph.D. degree in Humanities of the Sambalpur University under our joint supervision.

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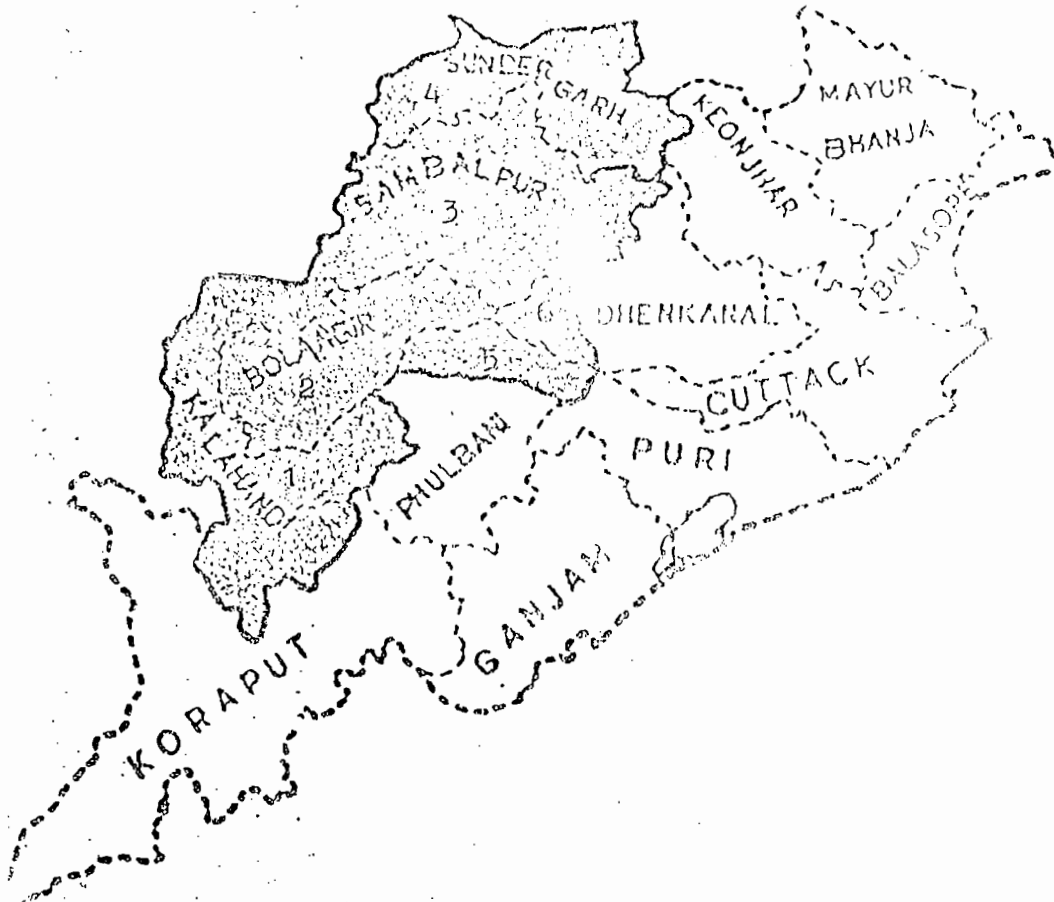
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M A P OF SAMBALPUR SPEAKING REGION



1. *Kalahandi District*
2. *Bolangir District*
3. *Sambalpur District*
4. *Sundergarh District*
5. *Boudh Sub-divn. of Phulbani District*
6. *Athamallick Sub-divn. of Dhenkanal*

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 (Arun K Behera) 1.12.93

ABSTRACT

This study presents a phonological description of the variety of English spoken by Oriya Speakers in Western Orissa consisting of the undivided districts of Kalahandi, Bolangir, Sambalpur and Sundargarh, and Boudh sub-division of Phulbani District and Athamallick sub-division of Dhenkanal District (see map). It attempts to examine the phonological and phonetic patterns of this variety of English. It also attempts to find out the similarities and dissimilarities between Sambalpuri English(SE) and Received Pronunciation(RP) in order to find out the nature, the extent and the causes of the former's deviation from the latter. Accordingly, it suggests some measures to remedy the deviations for the improvement of spoken English in Western Orissa.

The research reveals that there are 22 consonant and 17 vowel phonemes in SE. SE deviates from RP not only in its phonemic system but also in the phonetic qualities of the corresponding phonemes, their allophonic or phonetic variants, their distribution in words.

In the respect of word accent, the deviation is mainly because of the tendency among Sambalpuri speakers(of English) to put the accent on the first syllable in words which are accented elsewhere in RP.

As far as sentence stress and rhythm and intonation are concerned, the deviation is much greater. Accented and unaccented syllables do not occur at regular intervals of time as a result of which the characteristic rhythm is lost. The nucleus is generally located on the word occurring finally in ^a tone group. The use of the falling tone _{is} more common.

The study contains four parts consisting of seven chapters and appendices and Bibliography.

PART ONE : INTRODUCTORY

- Chapter : I Introduction
- Chapter : II Various Approaches to Phonological Analysis
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PART TWO : A PHONOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION OF SE

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The analysis of the recorded data leads ^{us} to the following findings :

- (i) There are 22 consonant and 17 vowel phonemes in SE.
- (ii) The pattern of word accentuation in SE is to put the accent on the first syllable.
- (iii) There is hardly any weakforms in SE.
- (iv) The most common pattern of intonation is the falling tone.
- (v) Anaptyxis or the intervention of vowel among consonants is a peculiar feature in SE.
- (vi) Another peculiar feature in SE is the transposition of consonants called metathesis.
- (vii) Elision of vowels and consonants is yet another feature in SE.
- (viii) There is no syllabicity in SE.

LIST OF PHONETIC SYMBOLS AND SIGNS

- [p] Voiceless bilabial plosive
[b] Voiced bilabial plosive
[t] Voiceless alveolar plosive
[k] Voiceless velar plosive
[g] Voiced velar plosive
[d] Voiced alveolar plosive
[c] Voiceless prepalatal plosive
[ɟ] Voiced prepalatal Plosive
[f] Voiceless labiodental fricative
[v] Voiced labiodental frictionless continuant
[t̪] Voiceless dental plosive
[d̪] Voiced dental plosive
[s] Voiceless alveolar fricative
[h] Voiceless glottal fricative
[m] Voiced bilabial nasal
[n] Voiced alveolar nasal
[ŋ] Voiced velar nasal
[ɳ] Voiced retroflex nasal
[l] Voiced alveolar lateral
[ɭ] Voiced post alveolar fricative
[ɮ] Voiced post-alveolar frictionless continuant
[ɽ] Voiced alveolar tap
[j] Voiced palatal semivowel
[i:] Front close unrounded vowel
[ɪ] Centralised front unrounded vowel just above the half-close position
[e] Front unrounded vowel between close and half-close positions
[ɛ] Front half-open unrounded vowel

- [u:] Back close unrounded vowel
- [u] Back unrounded vowel just above the half-close position
- [ʊ] Back rounded vowel just above the open position
- [ɔ] Central unrounded vowel below half-open position
- [ə] Central unrounded vowel
- [a] Front open unrounded vowel
- [ɔ] Back half-close rounded vowel
- [o:] Back rounded vowel
- [e:] Front unrounded vowel just above the half-close position
- [:] Full length
- [·] Half length
- [˙] Centralisation
- [-] Retracted segment
- [ɳ] Dental articulation
- [ˀ] Devoiced consonant
- [ɛ] More open quality
- [ˈ] Accent (capsize)
- [ˋ] Falling pitch
- [ˊ] Rising pitch

- [/ /] Phonemic transcription
- [[]] Phonetic transcription
- [/] Pause or end of a tone group
- [//] End of an utterance

- IPA International Phonetic Alphabet
- RP Received Pronunciation
- SE Sambalpuri English

Chapter : 1 Introduction

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Language is a means of communication. It has two forms: spoken and written. "Spoken Language is Primary," says Abercrombie (1956:21), "in two senses: (1) it appeared in the history of human race, before written language; (2) it is acquired, in the history of the individual, before reading and writing." The written form of language is an attempt to represent the spoken form in visual symbols. A language is said to have been mastered when one has acquired the skills in listening, speaking, reading and writing. There is no one-to-one correspondence between spoken form and written form. In English, for example, the same word read is pronounced in two ways: / ri:d / and / red /, or two words caught and court are pronounced the same way: /kɔ:t/.

English is one of the few international languages with an estimated 750 million users spread over the large part of the globe. Two important factors - its international acceptability, and the convenience of its being a lingua franca - have made it cut across political, geographical and ideological lines. The store of the language goes on increasing as it is "the sea which receives tributaries from every region under heaven" (McCrum 1986:11).

1.2 ENGLISH IN INDIA

English came to India through the East India Company, initially as a language of commerce and industry. And Lord Macaulay was instrumental in getting English education introduced in India with his celebrated and controversial Minute (1835) getting the seal of approval from Lord Bentinck. He was, of course, supported by Hindu leaders like Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Christian missionaries like William Carey, who advocated the western education through English. This, in effect, set in motion the process of producing educated English-knowing Linguals, "a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indians in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect" (Macaulay 1835:359). Macaulay's efforts were boosted further when the Governor-General declared that only those candidates who had been educated in English institutions would be accepted for government jobs. This declaration was important, for government employment meant for the mass of the people atleast a modicum of security in an uncertain environment. Thus, people's incentive to acquire skills in English grew more. And the British could not have done better to introduce their language in the country.

Even the leaders of the freedom movement could not do much. And the independence struggle became a

struggle against the British but with no animosity towards their language. It is ironical that the language of the British became a powerful instrument in the hands of the leaders against the British regime. It is not surprising, therefore, that many of the leaders then were good at English. Vivekananda, for example, spoke and wrote perfect English. Nehru's writings in prose stand out. Aurobindo's writings are outstanding. Tagore's own free rendering of the Gitanjali in English won him the Nobel Prize. Gandhiji is reported to have cultivated English carefully. And Raja Ram Mohan Roy could use English very effectively.

1.3 INDIAN ENGLISH

Before and during the independence struggle, it appeared that even if the British left India, English would but stay. And it did stay - no longer as a foreign or alien language to the Indian sensibility, but as a major Indian language. Two important phenomena must be noted here: (1) the great social value attached to the language made it more important; (2) after so many years' use of English, the language spoken and written by Indians exhibited its own characteristic features, which have come to constitute Standard Indian English. "Standard English," says Abercrombie (1965:10) , "is that kind of English, which is the official language of the entire English-speaking world,

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and is also the language of all educated English-speaking people." Bansal (1966:38) needs a mention here. He says "English as spoken by the educated people in India does not differ radically from the native English in grammar and vocabulary. It is in pronunciation that it is different from either British or American English."

India never had a common language intelligible to the masses. So under the British, English though restricted to the educated few remained a sort of lingua-franca. With the independence, therefore, the question of a common language arose. The Constituent Assembly could not arrive at a consensus and when the matter was put to vote, Hindi won by a single vote (i.e. the casting vote of the President). Thus, Hindi ^{in Devanagari script} (a major language of the 1,652 mother tongues listed in the 1971 census) was recognised as the national language, and the major regional languages as languages of the states concerned. And English was recognised as the ^{and judicial} authoritative, legislative language. English has thus been a living speech of the Indian intellectuals for the past several years. At present, in India there are about 35 million English-knowing people. All these people, however, do not speak English in the same manner. As Bansal (1966:42) says, "Every region has marked features of pronunciation in English, but in every region, there are people who have shaken off the gross features of

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regional accent and speak a more 'neutral' form of Indian English. It is also true that, in every region, there are good speakers of English and bad speakers of English, the terms 'good' and 'bad' referring to the degrees of approximation to native English or to the best types of Indian English and also to the varieties of clear, effective and intelligible speech." In any region, therefore, it is not unlikely to find some people speaking near-native English. Professor Lal in The Story of English (McCrum 1986:40) summarizes the situation thus: "There are more Indians speaking better English than ever before, and there are more Indians speaking worse than ever before." Indian English is of course a non-native variety of English.

1.4 POSITION OF ENGLISH IN INDIA

The language issue in India has often been an emotional one. The strong opposition from the South to the adoption of Hindi bears testimony to this fact. Given the mosaic of conflicting elite, there is no dearth of solutions at ideological levels. And thus came out the graduated three-language formula, which was a major cause of the decline in ^{the} standards of English in India. Secondly, some state governments cut down on the number of years given to the teaching of English. Thirdly, the students coming from the regional medium schools forced the teachers to use their regional medium. Fourthly, and most importantly

perhaps, many of the teachers are not well-trained in English. All these reasons have led to the deterioration of the standard of English. Yet, no major Indian language today has the same 'paying potential' as English has in every sphere of life: our transactions in academic, technological, commercial and administrative sectors as also in creative writing, mass-media, tourism and entertainment circles, and among the urbanites.

Though spoken by hardly four per cent of the country's population and considered a colonial hang-over, at the societal level English still continues to be an important part of the communication matrix of urban India. This is because the English language is assimilative, without inhibitions and is a living language. Any tongue survives by constant and relentless renewal. "A living language," quotes McCrum (1986: Prel), "is like a man suffering incessantly from all haemorrhages, and what it needs above all else is constant transfusions of new blood from other tongues. The day the gates go up, that day it begins to die." English has not only survived but has acquired a significant place in the pluri-lingual Indian milieu for a number of reasons. One: because of historical reasons and political compulsions, English is the easiest foreign language for the Indians. Two: being the richest in vocabulary and intelligible world-wide, English is a better choice. Three: being the link language, library-

language, the official voice of the Air, of the Sea and of Christianity, English is the obvious choice. For these reasons English, which played a significant role during the freedom movement has become almost indispensable and plays an even greater role today in the life of modern India.

1.5 ENGLISH IN WESTERN ORISSA

English spoken in one part of India differs from that in another. Therefore, English spoken in western Orissa is bound to differ from the varieties spoken in other parts of Orissa. This is mainly because of the interference of Oriya (and Sambalpuri) with English. The pioneering efforts of S.N. Bohidar and A.K. Pujari have established Sambalpuri as a language much against Grierson, who did not even list it in his monumental Linguistic Survey of India (1968 (Rpt.) V.2, 369-70). Sambalpuri, which is used by a vast population has sustained its importance as a language of inter-provincial communication from very early times. Sambalpuri speech, in the absence of written documents, has been orally transmitted from one generation to another and in course of this process, several modifications in grammar, pronunciation and vocabulary have taken place. English teaching in western Orissa dates back to the early nineteenth century when

1.6 MODEL OF SPOKEN ENGLISH ADOPTED

There exist as many varieties of spoken English as there are speakers of it; no two people speaking it alike resulting in the creation of a number of varieties, such as RP , General Indian English, Oriya English, and so on. In such a situation it is difficult to decide which model or variety of spoken English to adopt. The most sensible thing to do, therefore, is to choose the variety of English used by the native speakers of South-East England, often referred to as the Received Pronunciation of England (RP). The justification for choosing RP as the model is two-fold: (1) it is comprehensible and acceptable world-wide; (2) a lot of materials are available for reference. It may be useful to measure how similar to or dissimilar from RP Sambalpuri English is so that suggestions could be made for its improvement.

Chapter : II Various Approaches to Phonological Analysis

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Phonology is a study of the selection and organization of speech sounds in a particular language. It tells us "how these sounds are used to convey meaning" (Hyman 1975:2). In other words, a phonological study of a language involves the description of the function as well as the form of the elements that operate in that language. It deals with the study of the properties of sound systems which the speaker must internalize in order to use his language for the purpose of communication.

2.2 APPROACHES TO PHONOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

There are several methods of phonological analysis. But we discuss below only four major ones each with its own assumptions and implications, and having a specific approach to the analysis.

2.2.1 Phonemic analysis

Most phonological analyses are based on the notion of the phoneme. An important aspect of phonemic analysis is the discovery of the phonemes - the minimal distinctive sound units of the language to be examined.

The phoneme theory is based on the principle that there are, in each language, a limited number of elemental types of speech sounds called phonemes peculiar to that language; that all sounds produced in the employment of the given language are referable to its set of phonemes; that only its own phonemes are at all significant in the given language" (Swadesh 1934:118).

Various linguists and phoneticians from Courtenay to the present day have viewed the concept of the phoneme in different ways. Some views on the different approaches to the phoneme in relation to sound are given below:

2.2.1.1 The Physical view

D.Jones (1967:10) defined the phoneme as "a family of sounds in a given language which are related in character and are used in such a way that no one member ever occurs in a word in the same phonetic context as any other member." This definition of the phoneme refers to the context of occurrence and phonetic similarity. The term phonetic similarity is, however, vague as it is impossible to specify the degree of dissimilarity that prevents two sounds from belonging to a single phoneme.

2.2.1.2 The Psychological or mentalist view

Taken by Courtenay and Sapir, this view defines phoneme as an abstract sound or a sound image, which the speaker aims at and the hearer gets the impression of as a mental reality. While Courtenay talked of phonemes as mental images, Sapir viewed them as ideal sounds. What is physically real are the various realizations of the abstract concept. Though Jones was particularly interested in the mentalist view, in practice, he found the physical view more convenient and suitable for the teaching of spoken languages and for inventing a writing system.

2.2.1.3 The Functional view

Linguists like Trubetzsky and Bloomfield reject the mentalist concept of the phoneme. For them, the phoneme can be described by reference to its function in the structure of language and not in terms of the sounds by which it is manifested. According to this view, a phoneme is a minimal sound that can function to distinguish meaning.

2.2.2 Prosodic analysis

Propounded by J.R.Firth, prosodic analysis is concerned with features that extend beyond a phonematic unit in a structure. Features like aspiration, nasalization, palatalization, labialization, retroflexion, and

so on often relate to sequences of more than one phonematic unit. Stress, rhythm and intonation are some other examples of prosodic features.

The phonemicist sets up an inventory of phonemes and assigns all the relevant phonic material to them. Stress, rhythm, pitch and length are treated as suprasegmentals. The prosodist, on the other hand, describes his data in terms of phonematic units (that is, consonant and vowel elements of a structure) and prosodies (that is, phonic material other than the segments).

According to Robins, phoneme theories have concentrated "minimal contrast in identical environment, emphasizing the paradigmatic aspect of phonological relationship" (in Makkai 1972:266). The aim of prosodic analysis in phonology is not that of transcriptions on unilinear description of languages. It takes into account not only paradigmatic relations and contrasts but also "the equally important syntagmatic relations and functions which are operative in speech" (ibid).

Thus, in prosodic analysis a structure is stated as a syntagmatic entity comprising phonematic units and one or more prosodies belonging to the structure as a whole.

The two main differences between the phonemic approach and the prosodic approach seem to be that the former is unidimensional and monosystemic whereas the latter, two-dimensional and polysystemic. Lyons (in Makkai 1972:275-6), however, admits that neither of these approaches is "completely satisfactory as a general theory of phonological structure." According to him, some languages are better described by one theory than the other.

2.2.3 Distinctive Features analysis

"Distinctive features are the minimal elements of which phonetic, lexical and phonological transcriptions are composed by combination and concatenation" (Chomsky and Halle 1968:64).

In the traditional system of phonetics, sound segments were treated as indivisible or atomic entities. However, in the formation of phonological rules, it was found that sound segments could be described as complexes of properties or features known as distinctive features. The theory of distinctive features was first presented by Jacobson, Fant and Halle in 1952 and was later revised and improved by Chomsky and Halle in 1968.

Phonemicists regarded the phoneme as the minimal distinctive and contrastive sound unit capable of bringing about a change in meaning. The distinctive features

approach claims that it is not the phoneme but certain distinctive phonetic features that bring about all the meaningful distinctions in a language. The main advantage of distinctive features is that they provide a convenient way of referring to classes or groups of sounds. Phonological rules apply to such classes of sounds which can be identified by referring to one or more of the features they share in common.

Distinctive features are binary - having one of the two values: plus or minus. The listener faces a two-choice situation when a message is conveyed to him, e.g. / p / is [- voice], / b / is [+ voice]. The advantage of this system is that one can show explicitly how members of pairs, such as voiced-voiceless, consonantal-non consonantal, nasal-oral are related to each other. It shows that pairings, such as voiceless-nasal are not compatible. These phonetic features are called distinctive features since "the proposed binary features were designed only to capture the phonological oppositions found in languages but not necessarily to capture the different phonetic realizations of these oppositions" (Hyman 1975:33).

The distinctive features theory, when applied to a given language enables us to see how similar or dissimilar various phonemes of the language are. Though the present-day linguists have gone beyond the phoneme, they have not rejected the notion of the phoneme.

2.2.4 Generative Phonology

The system of generative phonology has been developed and applied to English by Chomsky and Halle. It follows from Chomsky's theory of Generative Grammar as a system of rules consisting of the syntactic, semantic and phonological components. Generative phonology uses distinctive features—as Chakravarty (1989:43) puts—as "basic building blocks of sequences to discrete segment."

Generative Phonology is based on the concept of underlying Phonological representations and a set of rules which convert them into their phonetic realizations, the representation of pronunciation at the surface level. These representations correspond to the levels of systematic phonemics and systematic phonetics.

The systematic phonemic representation is far more abstract than the traditional phonemic representation called taxonomic or autonomous phonemic representation. Most generative phonologists argue that the phonemic level is not required as it is not abstract enough to serve the purpose and it is still too close to the phonetic ground. It has been observed that except in few cases, the systematic phonemic level is in no way different from the traditional phonemic one.

2.3

THE CHOICE OF A FRAMEWORK

The system of analysis adopted largely was phonemic, although some of the basic principles of prosodic analysis and generative phonology were made use of. The minimal contrastive sound segments were segmental phonemes. Some suprasegmental units of prosodic analysis, such as retroflexion, aspiration, velarization, etc. were analysed as belonging to segments rather than to higher units. Pitch, stress and length were analysed as properties of suprasegmental units.

The phonemic system was used in the present study mainly because it could perhaps be the most suitable one for the study of a non-native accent with pedagogic purpose in mind. Moreover, it would be difficult to accommodate in the formal statements in the framework of generative phonology all the inconsistencies which normally occur in a non-native speech.

Chapter : III Aim and Procedure

3.1 AIM

The aim of the present study was to examine the phonological and phonetic patterns of the variety of English spoken by Sambalpuri speakers (in Western Orissa). It also aimed at describing the nature and extent of its deviation from RP.

During the last twenty-five years or so, there has been a considerable amount of interest in the analysis and description of non-native varieties of English, more specifically at the Phonetic and Phonological levels, where their differences from native varieties appear to be particularly notable. A majority of the distinguishing features of these varieties have been attributed to the influence of L₁ of the speakers, resulting in the emergence of 'new Englishes', such as Indian English, Filipino English, African English.

Within each of the non-native varieties of English, further differentiation has been recognised leading to regional sub-varieties distinguished by certain characteristic Phonetic and Phonological peculiarities. Thus, for example, Indian English has come to be further divided into Oriya English, Bengali English, Dogri English, Raja-

English, and so on each with its own recognisable accent. Studies of these sub-varieties have been considered interesting not only on purely linguistic grounds, yielding as they do important insights into the second language acquisition process and related areas in bilingualism, but also because they seem to have considerable implications for the teaching of English as a second language

(ESL). Such a study would serve to throw light on various issues concerning the teaching and learning of English, such as the extent of L_1 interference in learning a second language, the question of choice of models for teaching the language, the attitude of teachers and learners towards these, and the nature and value of classroom inputs.

In this context, although several phonetic and phonological description of the regional varieties of Indian English have been attempted in recent years, viz. Oriya English (Nayak 1985; Patnaik 1983), Bengali English (Chakravarty 1989), Hindi English (Pandey 1980), Marathi English (Rubdy 1975), Rajasthani English (Dhamija 1976), etc. a detailed and systematic investigation into Sambal-puri English seems to have been singularly neglected so far. Of course, in this context, M.Sahu's "A Phonological Study of Sambal-puri" is noteworthy.

3.2 PROCEDURE

3.2.1 Introduction

The present study as stated in 3.1 , proposed to be a description of the phonological patterns of the variety of English spoken by Sambalpuri speakers. The study was based on the assumption that the English spoken by Sambalpuris was different phonetically and phonologically from that spoken by others in Coastal Orissa.

The following procedure was adopted for the study of the variety of English in question.

3.2.2 Choice of Materials

The test materials comprised two sets of wordlists having 141 words and 86 words respectively, one set of responses having 23 answers, and two lists of sentences having 83 sentences and 18 sentences respectively (see Appendix:I).

3.2.2.1 Wordlists

One of the two wordlists consisting of 141 words was prepared for the purpose of studying phonemes and checking how far the important phonological contrasts of Standard English were maintained by Sambalpuri speakers (of English). It was prepared in such a way that all the segmental phonemes occurred in various positions in these words, viz. initial, medial and final.

The second wordlist consisting of 86 words was prepared for the purpose of studying accentual patterns in Sambalpuri English. The list did not attempt to include all the accentual patterns found in RP, but most of the deviation in word accent could be found from the comparison of the patterns of Sambalpuri English with those of RP on the basis of this list.

Both the wordlists contained commonplace and simple words which were likely to occur in the day-to-day speech of an educated Sambalpuri speaker. Apart from providing clues to phonemes and accent, they also helped in discovering certain sound features, such as consonant-clustering, elision, syllabicity, etc.

3.2.2.2 Responses

Twenty-three responses most of which are phrases were recorded for analysis. These were responses by the speakers to certain questions shown against them in brackets (see Appendix I). Questions were framed in such a way that the speakers invariably answered in almost the same way. Of course, they were guided so as to bring about a uniformity in responses. These responses, it was thought, would give us clues to the sentence accent and rhythm in Sambalpuri English. In addition, they would give us clues to elision and assimilation.

3.2.2.3 Sentences

Of the two sets of sentences, the first set consisted of 83 sentences. These sentences were framed in such a manner that they included almost every type of weak form in RP. The main aim was to find out whether some rhythm worked in Sambalpuri English.

The second list of sentences consisting of 23 sentences was prepared mainly for studying intonational patterns. In preparing this list, it was ensured that most of the intonational patterns in RP occurred in these sentences. This list, however, did not include multi-tone-group sentences.

These Sentences too, like the Wordlists and the Responses, contained some commonplace sentences which educated Sambalpuri speakers were likely to use in their everyday life.

3.2.3 Choice of Speakers

Fourteen educated Sambalpuri speakers (see Abstract) were chosen for the purpose of analysing the variety of English spoken in Western Orissa. They belonged to different age-groups, educational levels, occupations, places (of birth and of stay), and so on (see Appendix II).

The reasons for the choice of speakers on the basis of these parameters were that they would give us a representative group and that these factors, it was felt, might affect or influence one's target language to some extent.

The speakers' age ranged between 19 and 48; six in their 20s, four in their 30s and the rest in their 40s. The informants were drawn from either sex; four females, and the rest, males. Educational levels were also varied. These included diploma and degree, post-graduation and P.G. diploma, and research degrees. As far as occupation was concerned, it varied from teaching to banking, research to social service. Regarding place of birth, all the fourteen speakers belonged to Western Orissa; three each from Kalahandi and Sambalpur districts, two each from Bolangir and Sundergarh districts, and Boudh and Athmallik subdivisions. Of them, three speakers had lived outside Orissa for more than a year each. Eleven of them knew Hindi besides mother tongue and English. And of them again, seven came from urban area while the rest half, from rural area.

3.2.4 Recording

Seven of the speakers were recorded at Bhawanipatna and the other half, at Jyotivihar. A Philips AM-195 cassette recorder was used for the purpose. The recordings

were obtained in three Five Star cassettes : two of 60 minutes' duration each and the other, of 90 minutes' duration.

Before the actual recording started, each speaker was asked to read the material silently to him/her self ensuring thereby that the speaker did not fumble in the middle. Each recording was done in three parts: reading of wordlists, reading of sentences, and responding to the questions asked. Each speaker was asked to read the material aloud at a normal speed and in a natural way he/she would do in a real-life situation. Also, much care was taken to avoid any noise interference on the recording thus making it clear.

3.2.5 Transcription of Recordings

The recordings were listened to as many times as was necessary until the phonetic quality/quantity of an utterance was distinct and clear for transcription. An ACEN TAPE REPEATER, an AHUJA TAPE RECORDER and a SONODYNE HEAD PHONE (available at the Phonetics laboratory at CIEFL, Hyderabad) were used for this purpose. Suprasegmental features, such as stress, intonation, etc. were also marked.

For the transcription, the IPA chart was followed so that each sound corresponded unambiguously to one symbol.

Vowels were described in terms of the eight cardinals. Several other marks and diacritics were also used wherever required to show a precise quality / quantity of a particular sound.

3.2.6 Analysis

The transcribed materials were carefully analysed to find out every minute feature of an item. First of all emerged the vowel and consonant phonemes with their allophonic variants. Then emerged the accentual patterns in both words and phrases, and intonational patterns and rhythm in phrases and sentences. Also emerged in the process consonant-clustering, elision, assimilation, etc. When all or majority of the speakers exhibited a particular feature, that was accepted as the general pattern. Thus, for example, if 11 out of 14 speakers pronounced the RP consonant / v / as / v̥ /, then / v̥ / was said to be one of the consonant phonemes in Sambalpuri English. Similarly, if a speaker put the accent on the first syllable in 20 out of 30 (disyllabic) words then, it was concluded that that particular speaker put the accent on the first syllable (of disyllabic words). Frequency count was also taken and on the basis of the majority exhibiting a particular feature, general statements were made and conclusions arrived at.

3.2.7 Preparation of charts

Finally, charts were prepared giving all relevant information for each item under each speaker in order to arrive at the general pattern. All the charts (see Appendix IV) provide a convenient way of studying the data at a glance.

Chapter : IV Segmental Features of SE

4.1 SEGMENTAL FEATURES OF SAMBALPURI ENGLISH

A complete account of the consonant and vowel phonemes with their sub-phonemic variants and their distribution in words was prepared for each speaker after analysing fourteen representative samples of English spoken by Sambalpuri speakers (see Appendix IV). From this account, it was possible to arrive at a general pattern of consonant and vowel phonemes in Sambalpuri English. Accordingly, Sambalpuri English has 22 consonant phonemes and 17 vowel phonemes.

A detailed description of consonants and vowels in Sambalpuri English is given in sections 4.2.1 and 4.3.1. The description is supported throughout by examples from the data. However, examples of unknown variants, which are not included in the general patterns, are not given in this description. The Appendix (IV) contains most of the examples of such variants in the phonological description of consonants and vowels for each speaker.

4.2 CONSONANTS

There are 22 consonant phonemes in Sambalpuri English. They comprise 11 plosives /p b t d k ʈ g c ɟ h tʰ dʒ /, 28

3 nasals /m, n, ŋ/, 4 fricatives /f, s, h, ʃ /, 2 frictionless continuants /v, v̥h /, 1 lateral /l/, and 1 semi-vowel /j/. A detailed description of consonants is given below: The precise values of the phonetic symbols and diacritics used are indicated wherever necessary.

4.2.1 A Detailed Description of SE Consonants.

1) /p/, a voiceless bilabial plosive, is realized as [p] in all positions.

Examples: politics [ˈpəlɪtɪks] (S 10)
 European [ˈjʊrɒpiən] (S 10)
 up [ʌp] (S 13)

2) /b/, a voiced bilabial plosive, is realized as [b] in all positions.

Examples: bulk [bʊlk] (S 12)
 verbatim [ˈvɜːbətɪm] (S 6)
 herbs [hɜːbz] (S 7)

3) /t/, a voiceless alveolar plosive, is realized as [t] in all positions.

Examples: telephone [ˈtɛlɪfɒn] (S 2)
 pantaloons [ˈpantəluːnz] (S 6)
 cigarette [ˈsɪgəɹet] (S 1)

4) /d/, a voiced alveolar plosive, is realized as [d] in all positions.

Examples:	duplicate	[ˈdʌplɪkət]	(S 5)
	adopts	[ɛˈdʌps]	(S 8)
	suicide	[ˈsuɪsaɪd]	(S 2)

It is also realized as [d], a voiced retroflex plosive, in medial and final positions in some cases.

Examples:	student	[stʉˈdɛnt]	(S 8)
	media	[ˈmiɖiə]	(S 7)
	overwhelmed	[ˈovhəˌvɛlmd]	(S 4)
	guided	[ˈgɑɪdɛd]	(S 10)

5) /k/, a voiceless velar plosive, is realized as [k] in all positions.

Examples:	cotton	[kʌˈtʉn]	(S 7)
	economy	[ɪkəˈnɔmi]	(S 9)
	music	[ˈmjuʒhɪk]	(S 11)

6) /g/, a voiced velar plosive, is realized as [g] in all positions.

Examples:	goddess	[ˈgʌdɛs]	(S 7)
	cigarette	[ˈsɪgəɾɛt]	(S 12)
	jug	[ʒɛg]	(S 11)

7) /c/, a voiceless prepalatal plosive, is realized as [c] in all positions.

Examples: 'chair [ceəɹ] (S 7)
 lecturer [ˈlektʃəɹɹ] (S 5)
 hatch [hætʃ] (S 8)

8) /ʃh/, an aspirated prepalatal plosive, is realized as [ʃh] in all positions.

Examples: zinc [ʃhɪŋk] (S 7)
 vision [ˈvɪʃh ən] (S 4)
 Americanize [ˈæməˌɪkənəɪʃh] (S 5)

It is also realized as [z], a voiced alveolar fricative, in all positions in some cases.

Examples: zinc [zɪŋk] (S 6)
 gazette [ˈgæzət] (S 7)
 capsized [keɪpˈsaɪz] (S 7)

9) /f/, the voiceless labiodental fricative, is realized as [f] in all positions.

Examples: farce [fɑːs] (S 8)
 deficit [ˈdefɪsɪt] (S 5)
 if [ɪf] (S 8)

It is also realized as [ph], an aspirated bilabial plosive, in initial and medial positions.

Examples: fierce [phɪəs] (S 4)
 phonetician [phəˈnetɪʃən] (S 9)
 trifle [ˈtɹɪfl] (S 7)
 telephony [ˈtelɪfəni] (S 11)

10) /vʰ/, an aspirated labio-dental frictionless continuant, is realized as [vʰ] in initial and medial positions.

Examples: vision [ˈvʰɪʒən] (S 3)
 view [vʰju] (S 4)
 individual [ˈɪndɪvʰɪʃuəl] (S 2)
 university [ˌjuːnɪˈvɜːsɪti] (S 13)

11) /tʰ/, an aspirated dental plosive, is realized as [tʰ] in all positions.

Examples: thinks [tʰɪŋk] (S 4)
 Anthony [ənˈtʰɒni] (S 3)
 health [helʰtʰ] (S 3)

It is also realized as [t̚], a voiceless dental plosive in final position.

Examples: strength [st̚rɛŋt̚] (S 2)
 warmth [wɜːmt̚] (S 11)
 earth [aːt̚] (S 7)

12) /d̥/, a voiced dental plosive, is realized as [d̥] in all positions.

Examples: there [ðeːd̥] (S 9)
 rhythm [ˈrɪd̥ɪm] (S 13)
 writhed [rɪd̥] (S 1)

13) /s/, a voiceless alveolar fricative, is realized as [s] in all positions.

Examples:	cigarette	[sɪgəret]	(S 4)
	excel	['eksel]	(S 9)
	disgrace	[dɪsgreɪs]	(S 13)

14) /ʒ/, a voiced prepalatal plosive, is realized as [ʒ] in initial and medial positions.

Examples:	geometry	['ʒɪmɪtʃɪ]	(S 9)
	just	[ʒɛst]	(S 2)
	object	[əb'ʒekt]	(S 11)
	museum	[mju'ʒiəm]	(S 1)

15) /h/, a voiceless glottal fricative, is realized as [h] in initial and medial positions.

Examples:	howl	[haul]	(S 4)
	hatch	[hætʃ]	(S 6)
	behold	[bi'hold]	(S 4)
	behave	[bi'hev]	(S 8)

16) /m/, a voiced bilabial nasal, is realized as [m] in all positions.

Examples:	music	[mju'zɪk]	(S 8)
	comedian	[kə'meɪdiən]	(S 8)
	rhythm	[rɪ'ðəm]	(S 4)

17) /n/, a voiced alveolar nasal, is realized as [n] in all positions.

Examples:	news	[nju:z]	(S 2)
	telephonic	['telifənik]	(S 13)
	stone	[stəʊn]	(S 2)

It is also realized as [ŋ], a voiced retroflex nasal, in medial position.

Examples:	morning	['mɔ:ŋɪŋ]	(S 4)
	furniture	[fə'ni:ʃə]	(S 11)

18) /ŋ/, a voiced velar nasal, is realized as [ŋ] in medial position only.

Examples:	shrinks	[sɹɪŋk]	(S 8)
	thinks	[θɪŋks]	(S 8)

It is also realized as [ŋg] in medial and final positions.

Examples:	singer	[sɪŋ'gə]	(S 2)
	kangaroo	['kæŋgəʊ]	(S 2)
	lighting	['laɪtɪŋg]	(S 13)
	earring	['iəɹɪŋg]	(S 13)

19) /l/, a voiced alveolar lateral, is realized as [l] in all positions.

Examples:	liberate	[lɪbə'reɪt]	(S 13)
	telephone	['telɪfən]	(S 2)
	excel	['eksəl]	(S 11)

20) /j/, a voiced palatal semi-vowel, is realized as [j] in initial and medial positions.

Examples:	University	[ˈjuːnɪvərsɪti]	(S 8)
	European	[juːrɒpiən]	(S 8)
	music	[mjuːzɪk]	(S 2)
	conducive	[kənˈdʒʊsiv]	(S 8)

21) /v/, a voiced labiodental frictionless continuant, is realized as [v] in all positions.

Examples:	once	[vʌns]	(S 11)
	squash	[skvʌs]	(S 8)
	solve	[sɒlv]	(S 8)

22) /ɹ/, a voiced post-alveolar fricative, is realized as [ɹ] in all positions.

Examples:	reddish	[ˈrɛdɪʃ]	(S 8)
	direct	[ˈdɪrɪkɪt]	(S 6)
	singer	[sɪŋɪgə]	(S 4)

It is also realized as [ɹ], a voiced post-alveolar fricative in medial and final positions.

Examples:	strike	[stɹaɪk]	(S 7)
	caring	[ˈkɛɹɪŋ]	(S 5)
	poor	[puə]	(S 9)
	lecturer	[ˈlektʃə]	(S 5)

The third realization of /ɹ/ is [ɹ̥], a voiced alveolar tap, which is realized in initial and medial positions.

Examples:	radiant	[rɛ'diənt]	(S 7)
	rhythm	['rɪðm]	(S 5)
	European	['ju:roʊpiən]	(S 10)
	propriety	[prɒ'pɹiəti]	(S 10)

4.2.2 A list of Consonant Phonemes with their Sub-phonemic Variants

1. /p/ [p] unaspirated in all positions
2. /b/ [b] in all positions
3. /t/ [t] unaspirated in all positions
4. /d/ [d] in all positions
5. /k/ [k] unaspirated in all positions
6. /g/ [g] in all positions
7. /c/ [c] in all positions
8. /ʃh/ [ʃh] in all positions
9. /r/ [r] in all positions
[ph] in initial and medial positions
10. /vʰ/ [vʰ] in initial and medial positions
11. /tʰ/ [tʰ] in all positions
12. /d/ [d] in all positions
13. /s/ [s] in all positions
14. /ʒ/ [ʒ] in initial and medial positions
15. /h/ [h] in initial and medial positions
16. /m/ [m] in all positions
17. /n/ [n] in all positions
[ŋ] in medial position

18. /ŋ/ [ŋ] in medial position
 [ŋg] in medial and final positions
19. /l/ [l] in all positions
20. /j/ [j] in initial and medial positions
21. /v/ [v] in all positions
22. /ʒ/ [ʒ] in all positions
 [ʒ] in medial and final positions
 [ʒ] in initial and medial positions.

4.3 VOWELS

There are 17 vowel phonemes in Sambalpuri English. They comprise 11 monophthongs /i:, i, e, ε, u:, u, ɒ, ə, a, o, e:/, and 6 diphthongs /aɪ, ɔɛ, əo, εə, uə, iə / . There is considerable variation in the length and quality of the vowels, such as / ε, e:, əo / . A detailed description of the vowels is given below:

4.3.1 A Detailed Description of Sambalpuri English Vowels

1) /i:/, a front close unrounded vowel just above the half-close position, is realized as [i:] in both accented and unaccented positions.

Examples:	plea	[pli:]	(S 5)
	screen	[skɻi:n]	(S 5)
	dedicatee	[ˈdɛdɪkɛtɪ:]	(S 12)
	evening	[i:ˈvɦiniŋ]	(S 1)

2) /ɪ/, a centralized front unrounded vowel just above the half-close position, is realized as [ɪ] in both accented and unaccented positions.

Examples: vision ['vɪʒən] (S 2)
 cigarette ['sɪgəret] (S 5)
 syntax [sɪn'tæks] (S 11)
 telephone ['telɪfo:n] (S 5)

3) /e/, a front unrounded vowel between close and half-close positions, is realized as [e] in both accented and unaccented positions.

Examples: empty [emptɪ] (S 4)
 deficit [defɪsɪt] (S 13)
 lecturer [lek'tʃɜːr] (S 6)
 deficient [defɪ'sɪɪnt] (S 4)

4) /ɛ/, a front half-open unrounded vowel, is realized as [ɛ] in both accented and unaccented positions.

Examples: Allen [ˈɛlen] (S 12)
 adopts [ˈɛdɒps] (S 7)
 absolute [ɛb'sɒljut] (S 5)
 capsizes [kæp'saɪz] (S 14)

5) /u:/, a back close unrounded vowel, is realized as [u:] in both accented and unaccented positions.

Examples:	news	[nju:ʒh]	(S 12)
	stool	[st̥u:l]	(S 3)
	balloon	['belu:n]	(S 14)
	manhood	['menhu:d]	(S 3)

6) /u/, a back unrounded vowel just above the half-close position, is realized as [u] in both accented and unaccented positions.

Examples:	conducive	[kən d̥ju'siv]	(S 7)
	music	['mjuʒhik]	(S 7)
	university	[juni'vhe sit̥i]	(S 3)
	absolute	[eb s̥əl'ju:t̥]	(S 9)

7) /ɔ/, a back rounded vowel just above the open position, is realized as [ɔ] in both accented and unaccented positions.

Examples:	boxes	['bɔkses]	(S 7)
	object	['ɔbjekt̥]	(S 3)
	politically	[pɔl't̥ikali]	(S 3)
	original	[ɔɹi'ʒhinəl]	(S 10)

It is also realized as [ɔ̄], a central unrounded vowel below half-open, in accented position only.

Examples:	morning	['mɔ̄ŋɪŋ]	(S 10)
	gorilla	['gɔ̄ɹila]	(S 7)

8) /ə/, a central unrounded vowel, is realized as [ə] in both accented and unaccented positions.

Examples:	cotton	['kəʃən]	(S 13)
	absolute	[əb'səljət]	(S 13)
	struggle	['strʌgl]	(S 13)
	liberate	['libəreɪt]	(S 14)

9) /a/, a front open unrounded vowel, is realized as [a] in both accented and unaccented positions.

Examples:	Botany	[bo'tʌni]	(S 14)
	dental	[den'tʌl]	(S 13)
	camera	['kæmə.rə]	(S 13)
	article	[ɑ:rtɪkəl]	(S 14)

10) /o/, a back half-close rounded vowel, is realized as [o] in both accented and unaccented positions.

Examples:	economy	[i'kɒnəmi]	(S 4)
	propriety	['prɒpɪəti]	(S 3)
	botanical	[bə'tʌnikəl]	(S 4)
	telephony	['telɪfəni]	(S 4)

It is also realized as [o:], a back rounded vowel, is realized in accented position.

Examples:	closure	['klo:ʒhə]	(S 4)
	stone	[stə:ɒn]	(S 7)

11) /e:/, a front unrounded vowel just above the half-close position, is realized as [e:] in both accented and unaccented positions.

Examples:	plate	[ple:t]	(S 14)
	preface	[pɹi'fe:s]	(S 3)
	duplicate	[dʌ'plike:t]	(S 3)
	liberate	['libɹe:t]	(S 4)

12) /ai/, a glide from front open unrounded vowel to a centralized front unrounded vowel just above the half-close position, is realized as [ai] in both accented and unaccented positions.

Examples:	suicide	[sui'said]	(S 14)
	direct	['daɪrɛkt]	(S 14)
	capsize	['keɪpsaɪz]	(S 4)
	propriety	['prɒpɹaɪti]	(S 3)

It is also realized as [æɪ] in accented position only.

Examples:	Biology	['biɒlədʒi]	(S 13)
	classy	['klasi'fæɪ]	(S 10)

13) /ɔɪ/, a glide from back rounded vowel just above the open position to a front half-open unrounded vowel, is realized as [ɔɪ] in accented position.

Examples:	coin	[kɔɪn]	(S 10)
	boy	[bɔɪ]	(S 10)

14) /uə/, a glide from the front half-open unrounded vowel to central unrounded vowel, is realized as [uə] in both accented and unaccented positions.

Examples:	poor	[puəɹ]	(S 12)
	mooring	['muəɹɪŋ]	(S 4)
	individual	['ɪndɪvɪʒuəl]	(S 12)
	incongruous	[ɪn'kɒŋɡruəs]	(S 5)

15) /äo/, a glide from the front open unrounded vowel to the back half-close rounded vowel, is realized as [äo] in accented position only.

Examples:	cow	[käu]	(S 6)
	how	[häo]	(S 4)

It is also realized as [au] in accented position only.

Examples:	howl	[haul]	(S 6)
	ounce	[auns]	(S 6)

16) /iə/, a glide from the centralized front unrounded vowel just above the half-close position to the central unrounded vowel, is realized as [iə] in both accented and unaccented positions.

Examples:	earring	['iəɹɪŋ]	(S 3)
	radiant	[re'diənt]	(S 12)
	deficient	['defɪsɪənt]	(S 13)
	engineer	[ɪn'ʒɪniəɹ]	(S 13)

17) /eə/, a glide from front half-open unrounded vowel to central unrounded vowel, is realized as [eə] in accented position only.

Examples: caring	['keəɹɪŋ]	(S 3)
hare	[hæəɹ]	(S 9)

4.3.2 A List of Vowel Phonemes with their Subphonemic Variant₅

1./i:/[i:]	in both accented and unaccented positions
2./ɪ/[ɪ]	in both accented and unaccented positions
3./e/[e]	in both accented and unaccented positions
4./ɛ/[ɛ]	in both accented and unaccented positions
5./u:/[u:]	in both accented and unaccented positions
6./ʊ/[ʊ]	in both accented and unaccented positions
7./ɒ/[ɒ]	in both accented and unaccented positions
[ɔ]	in accented position only
8./ə/[ə]	in both accented and unaccented positions
9./ɑ/[ɑ]	in both accented and unaccented positions
10./o/[ɔ]	in both accented and unaccented positions
[o:]	in accented position only
11./eɪ/[e:]	in both accented and unaccented positions
12./aɪ/[aɪ]	in both accented and unaccented positions
[äɛ]	in accented position only
13./ɔɛ/[ɔɛ]	in accented position only
14./uə/[uə]	in accented and unaccented positions
15./äʊ/[äʊ]	in accented position only
[au]	in accented position only
16./ɪə/[ɪə]	in both accented and unaccented positions
17./ɛə/[ɛə]	in accented position only.

4.4 SYLLABIC CONSONANTS

Though a vowel is the nucleus of a syllable, some consonants ^{also} which function like vowels can occupy the positions of the vowels. In the word cotton, for example, the second syllable /-tn/ is an independent one without an intervening vowel. In such a case, the /n/ is said to form the nucleus and is called a syllabic consonant. In English, many consonants occupy the positions of vowels.

Examples: rhythm, bottle, sudden.

In Sambalpuri English, however, as can be seen from the chart below, there is no syllabic consonant. In other words, a vowel intervenes a syllable:

<u>Item</u>	<u>Word</u>	<u>Majority Pattern</u>
/-tn/	cotton	/'kəʔən/
/-zn/	vision	/'vɪʒən/
/-ɝm/	rhythm	/'rɪdɪm/
/-fl/	trifle	/'tɹɪ'fɪl/
/-pl(z)/	apples	/'ɛpuls/

It is clearly seen from the chart above that a vowel sound intervenes the consonants, for example, /ə/ in cotton and vision, /i/ in rhythm and trifle, and /u/ in apple. This insertion/intervention of a vowel sound in the consonants is called anaptyxis. It is peculiar to Sambalpuri English.

4.5 CONSONANT CLUSTERS IN SAMBALPURI ENGLISH

Consonant-cluster means a sequence of two or more consonants at the beginning or ^{at the} end of a syllable. For example, the sequence /pl-/ in the word plate is a consonant-cluster because both the consonants forming the sequence belong to the same syllable. Similarly, the sequence /-lks/ in the word silks forms a consonant cluster because all the three consonants once again belong to the same syllable. But the consonant /ŋ/ and /k/ in the word uncle (/ ʌŋkl /) do not form a consonant-cluster because /ŋ / arrests the first syllable and /k/ releases the second.

Sambalpuri speakers can produce the initial two-clusters. But some initial three-clusters and final two-clusters, three-clusters and four-clusters pose difficulty for the Sambalpuri (English) speakers. The chart below gives a list of consonant-clusters which are difficult for the Sambalpuri (English) speakers:

Production of Consonant Clusters in Sambalpuri English

S.No.	Clusters	Word	Majority Pattern
<u>Initial Two-clusters</u>			
i) 1.	/dj-/	duplicate	[<u>dʌplɪkət</u> / 100%
2.	/θj-/	Thucydides	[<u>ˈθʊsɪdɪdɪs</u> / 100%
3.	/ʃr-/	shrinks	[<u>ʃrɪŋk</u> / 100%
<u>Initial Three-clusters</u>			
ii) 1.	/spj-/	spurious	[<u>ˈspʊrɪəs</u> / 100%
2.	/stj-/	student	[<u>ˈstʊdnt</u> / 100%

iii) Final Two-clusters

<u>S.No.</u>	<u>Clusters</u>	<u>Word</u>	<u>Majority Pattern</u>
1.	/-nz/	nuns	[nəns]
2.	/-lz/	gules	[guls]
3.	/-bz/	herbs	[həɜbs]
4.	/-dz/	woods	[uds]
5.	/-θs/	myths	[mɪt̥]
6.	/-vz/	leaves	[livh]
7.	/-ʒd/	writhed	[ɹɪd]
8.	/-θt/	breathed	[bræt̥]

iv) Final Three-clusters

1.	/-skt/	asked	[aksd]
2.	/-ndz/	stands	[st̥ɛns]
3.	/-pts/	adopts	[ɛdɔps]
4.	/-lvz/	wolves	[ulvhs]
5.	/-sks/	tasks	[taks]
6.	/-mfs/	nymph's	[nɪms]
7.	/-sts/	roasts	[ɹo:st̥]
8.	/-pst/	lapsed	[ləps]
9.	/-lkt/	milked	[mɪlk]
10.	/-sps/	grasps	[græsp]
11.	/-ntʃt/	clinched	[kɪlɪnc]

v) Final Four-clusters

1.	/-lfθs/	twelfths	[tvel̥t̥]
2.	/-ksθs/	sixths	[sɪks]
3.	/-mpst/	glimpsed	[glɪms]

The chart above shows that final clusters are difficult for the Sambalpuri (English) speakers. The plural marker (/ -es/) *does* not seem to affect the pronunciation. Whether the plural marker follows a voiceless consonant or a voiced consonant, the word is pronounced with /s/ at the end.

Examples:	woods	[ʊds]	(S 7)
	nuns	[nɒns]	(S 7)
	coughs	[kɒfs]	(S 5)
	tents	[tɛnts]	(S 10)

The chart also shows that in final three and four clusters, the tendency of Sambalpuri speakers is that they drop consonant(s). This feature is called elision of consonant.

Examples:	adopts	[ˈɛdɒps]	(S 1)
	sixths	[sɪkst]	(S 12)

Another tendency of Sambalpuri speakers is that they interchange certain consonants. This interchange or transposition of consonants is called metathesis which is peculiar to Sambalpuri English.

Examples:	tasks	[taks]	(S 3)
	asked	[akst]	(S 7)

4.6 SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

A syllable is a unit of sound, next in hierarchy to the individual speech sounds. It consists of one or more speech

sounds. A syllable is made up of two elements: vowels and consonants of which, vowel is a compulsory element whereas consonant is optional, marginal. In English, for example, there can be words with just one element as in eye /ai/ or a number of elements as in splashed /splʌʃt /. Since vowel is the central element in a syllable, it is called the nucleus.

Sambalpuri (English) speakers can produce many of the syllable patterns. Some with the consonant elements at the end pose difficulty for the Sambalpuri (English) speakers. The following chart gives a picture of the syllable patterns in Sambalpuri English. The patterns difficult (worse spoken) for Sambalpuri (English) speakers are asterisked:

<u>S.No.</u>	<u>Item</u>	<u>Word</u>	<u>Majority Pattern</u>
1.	V	eye	[äɛ]
2.	VC	own	[o:n]
3.	CV	boy	[bɔɪ]
4.	CVC	jug	[ʒəg]
5.	CCV	draw	[drɔ]
6.	CCVC	stone	[stɔ:n]
7.	CVCC	bulk	[bɜlk]
8.	CCCV	spray	[sprɛ:]
9.	CCCVC	screen	[skri:n]
10.	*CVCCC	midst	[mɪdɪs]

<u>S.No.</u>	<u>Item</u>	<u>Word</u>	<u>Majority Pattern</u>
11.	CCVCC	French	[fɾɛnc]
12.	CCCVCC	strange	[stɾɛnʒh]
13.	*CCVCCC	clinched	[klinç]
14.	*CCVCCCC	glimpsed	[glɪms]
15.	*VCC	ask	[aks]

The chart above shows that the syllable pattern with three or more consonants at the end pose difficulty for the Sambal-puri (English) speakers. As has been stated earlier (in section 4.5), certain consonant sounds get elided in words with three or more consonants occurring at the end, and transposition of consonants takes place in certain words with /-sk/ or /-skt/ occurring at the end.

Examples: midst [mɪd̥s] (S 10)
 asked [aks̥d̥] (S 9)

To sum up, Sambalpur English has 39 phonemes : 22 consonants and 17 vowels. The break-up of the consonants may be made on the basis of three points: being voiced or voiceless, ^{the} manner of articulation and ^{the} place of articulation. Of the Sambalpur English consonants, 8 are voiceless and 14 are voiced. In respect of the manner of articulation, 11 of the 22 Sambalpur English consonants are plosives, 3 nasals, 4 fricatives, 2 frictionless continuants, 1 lateral and 1 semi-vowel. As far as the place of articulation is

concerned, Sambalpuri English consonants may be categorized thus: 3 are bilabial, 5 alveolar, 3 velar, 3 prepalatal, 3 labiodental, 2 dental, 1 glottal, 1 palatal and 1 post-alveolar.

Of the Sambalpuri English vowels, 11 are monophthongs and 6 diphthongs. Of the monophthongs again, 3 are long and the rest short. The vowels again may be rounded or unrounded. In case of the diphthongs, 1 glide towards /i/, 1 towards /ε/, and so on. Sambalpuri English does not have syllabic consonants. And the result is that a vowel intervenes the consonants (e.g. cotton /kətən/), which is called anaptyxis. As regards consonant-cluster, Sambalpuri (English) speakers find it difficult in producing the final three and four clusters. Instead, they have elision of consonant(s) (e.g. sixths /siks/), and metathesis (e.g. tasks /taks/). In the matter of syllable pattern, Sambalpuri English can have a structure of $C_{0-3} V C_{0-2}$ (e.g. strange / stɹɛŋɟh /).

Chapter : V. Suprasegmental Features of SE

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Sambalpuri English does not exhibit any definable patterns in terms of suprasegmental features mainly because word accent, sentence stress and rhythm, and intonation are largely independent of one another in the speech of Sambalpuri speakers (of English). However, a statement can be made about certain general tendencies which are peculiar to Sambalpuri English.

5.2 WORD ACCENT

Although the difference between accented and unaccented syllables is not as marked as in RP, yet one can perceive certain syllables as more prominent than their neighbouring syllables. This prominence is due to stress as well as pitch movement. Stress is sometimes equally divided over two or more syllables in polysyllabic words. In such cases, that is, when difference in stress between accented and unaccented syllables is marginal, the movement of the pitch on a particular syllable decides the accent. Sometimes, length also

plays a part in determining prominence. The syllables containing diphthongs and long realizations of vowels are generally accented.

There is a marked tendency among Sambalpuri speakers (of English) to place the accent on the first syllable. Given below is a chart showing the syllables which are accented most frequently in the words under study:

A. Chart showing the Accent on syllables

<u>Speakers' Accent on the syllable</u>					
Speakers	First	Second	Third	Fourth	T o t a l
1	41	35	10	-	86
2	53	22	10	1	86
3	58	22	6	-	86
4	50	29	7	-	86
5	60	21	5	-	86
6	54	23	9	-	86
7	58	19	9	-	86
8	58	25	3	-	86
9	46	32	8	-	86
10	40	34	12	-	86
11	52	23	11	-	86
12	60	16	10	-	86
13	58	22	5	1	86
14	53	30	3	-	86
Total	741	353	108	2	1204

It is clear from the chart above that the words that receive the accent on the first syllable far outnumber those that receive the accent elsewhere. Out of 1204 occurrences of both disyllabic and polysyllabic words taken for the study of word accent, 741 are accented on the first syllable, 353 on the second, 108 on the third and only 2 on the fourth syllable. Thus, we can say that Sambalpuri speakers tend to place the accent on the first syllable of a word. It is interesting to note here that out of the 33 disyllabic words, 28 receive the accent on the first syllable as against 23 in RP. Similarly, out of the 53 polysyllabic words, 33 receive the accent on the first syllable as against 18 in RP (see Chapter VI (F)).

Word accent in Sambalpuri English has a few patterns, which ~~have been~~ discussed below. Taking into account the majority patterns in the data, general patterns have been worked out. The patterns have been rated on the basis of the different grades of stability. It is necessary at this point to say how the grades of stability have been worked out.

Two variables m and n were considered crucial in determining the degree of stability of accentual pattern of a word. Suppose, for a given word,

(i) the percentage of speakers using the majority of the commonest pattern is m , and

(ii) the percentage of speakers using the second commonest pattern is m' , then,

the gap between (i) and (ii) is $m - m' = n$

The values of m and n were worked out for the accentual pattern of such words and these are shown in the last column of chart \checkmark ^{(Appendix IV).} The higher the values of m and n on the accentual pattern of word, the more stable the majority pattern will be. Thus the class of words whose accentual pattern has $m = 100$ and $n = 100$ can be said to be have an absolutely stable accentual pattern. Now, it was found convenient to split all words into five classes according to the grades of stability of their accentual patterns. The five classes can be designated as:

- (i) A 'absolutely stable',
- (ii) B 'highly stable',
- (iii) C 'fairly stable',
- (iv) D 'not so stable', and
- (v) E 'most unstable'.

The chart (vi) in Appendix IV shows that 29 words are most unstable. Yet, a statement could be made on the accent on the basis of the remaining 57 words of which, 6 are absolutely stable, 16 are highly stable, 19 are fairly stable, and 16 are not so stable. Given

below are examples of words which are most stable. In the case of these words, most Sambalpuri speakers are likely to use the same accentual pattern.

Examples (of words having the absolutely stable pattern):

- 'carrier
- 'battery
- 'telephone
- 'boxes
- 'fellowship
- 'gladden

These words have an absolutely stable pattern with $m=100, n=100$.

There are another 16 words which seem to be highly stable with the variables m and n being more than 80% and 70% respectively. Given below are the words ^{under} such category:

- | | |
|------------|-------------|
| 'media | 'gorilla |
| 'exit | 'biology |
| 'balloon | 'geometry |
| 'deficit | 'loophole |
| 'camera | 'low fall |
| ex'ception | 'dedicatee |
| 'reddish | 'wreckage |
| 'pettiness | 'object (v) |

The words given above show that such words exhibit a highly stable pattern of accentuation.

Also, there are 19 words in the data which exhibit a fairly stable pattern of accentuation. They are listed below:

'closure	affection
a'cross	con'ducive
'capsize	'cigarette
'gazette	uni'versity
mu'seum	'telephony
'enrol	'lighting
'Arabic	'manhood
'bigamy	'awesome
'beautiful	'guided
'goddess	

The examples stated above show that, a statement could be made on the pattern of accentuation in the case of Sambalpuri speakers (of English) as they are highly stable.

But there are some words in the data which are not so stable. In the case of these words, therefore, no prediction could be made. Given below are the words of not so stable pattern:

'impact	'essential
pre'face	'propriety
'insult	in'congruous
'excel	fan'tastic
'botany	'pantaloon
'deficient	'phonetician
in'spector	bot'anical
'telephonic	'weaver

In the case of the above examples, there seems to be no stable pattern of accentuation.

There are still 29 words in the data which are most unstable in respect of accentuation. They are given below:

'comfort	'grotesque
radiant	abs'olute
'dental	art'icle
syntax	'applicant
'disgrace	lect'urer
in'stitute	'liberate
'verbatim	'comedian
'European	Eng'ineer
'kangaroo	'original
'competitive	'democracy
e'conomy	'advertisement

in'dividual	'secularism
A'mericanize	e'lectricity
'assistant	poli'tically
classi'fy	

The above examples indicate that it is difficult to make a generalization as they are most unstable.

5.3 SENTENCE ACCENT AND RHYTHM

Rhythm gives a different flavour to language in general and English in particular because English is said to have a stress-timed rhythm, i.e. its accented syllables occur at regular intervals of time. The regularity of occurrence of the accented syllables is made possible by the use of weak pronunciation of certain words. There are a number of words in English which have two or more qualitative or quantitative patterns depending upon whether they are accented or not. When these words are accented or when they are pronounced in isolation, their strong forms are used; on the other hand, when they are unaccented, their weak forms are used. The weak forms exhibit reduction of the length in sounds, weakening of the vowels in them, and also the elision of vowels and consonants.

In Sambalpuri English, however, there are a few words which have weak forms. All the rest have strong forms only in the majority of speakers. The chart below gives a list of words with both strong forms and weak forms by Sambalpuri speakers (of English):

B. Chart showing the weak forms and strong forms in SE

Sl.No.	Item	Majority pattern
1	the	weak forms
2	were	"
3	does	"
4	do	"
5	must	"
6	for	"
7	some	"
8	a	strong form
9	an	"
10	is	"
11	am	"
12	are	"
13	has	"
14	had	"
15	have	"
16	will	"

Sl.No.	Item	Majority pattern
17	would	strong form
18	shall	"
19	should	"
20	can	"
21	than	"
22	that	"
23	and	"
24	there	"
25	as	"
26	at	"
27	to	"

The above chart indicates that the first seven items in the data, such as the, were, does, do, must, for and some have only weak forms and the rest, such as a, an, etc. have only strong forms. The is invariably used as /ði/ not withstanding its place of occurrence, i.e. whether a vowel follows or a consonant follows, it is pronounced as /ði/. Similarly, are, were, for and there take an /r/ at the end whether or not followed by a vowel. To is another word which is said as /tu/ whether a vowel follows or a consonant follows it. An, am, has, have, had, shall, can, that, than, and,

as and at are another set of words in which, the Sambalpuri speakers replace the /ɛ/ by /ɛ/. Thus, the words with /ɛ/ are taken to have strong forms. From the data above, it is observed that only seven out of 27 words have weak forms and the rest have strong forms. Given below are some examples of strong forms:

He will come /hi vil'kəm / (s8).

Come and sit down /'kəm end'sit dʒaun / (s7)

I want some tea /ai'want səm ti:/ (s6)

That's a bad one /dʒets e'bed,ʒən / (s9)

The chart also indicates that, the few words which have weak forms have only one realization each. Given below are some examples of this sort:

She must eat well /si'məst it'weɪ / (s1)

The man had gone home /di'men hed'gən,hə:m / (s8)

How could he do it /həʊ kəd hi dʒu it / (s4)

He said that he was coming /hi seɪd dʒet'hi wəz'kʌmɪŋg / (s13)

Another interesting point that emerged from the chart above is that the phoneme /ɛ/ is pronounced irrespective of its place of occurrence. Some of the examples are given below:

They are honest /dʒe æt'ɒnest / (s1)

They are going /dʒe æt'gɔɪŋg / (s1)

Come for coffee /'kəm fɔt'kɔfi / (s2)

Would you come for a walk /wəd ju'kəm fɔt e'wɔk / (s3)

The pronunciation of the definite article the as [ði] irrespective of its place of occurrence is yet another interesting feature found from the data. Given below are some of the examples:

The apples are rotten / ði'epulz æz 'æptən / (s3)

The milk has gone sour / ði'milk hæz 'gɔn'saʊəz / (s3)

Close the door / 'klo:z ðə 'do:z / (s12)

Come and face the music / 'kʌmænd'fe:s ði'mju:zɪk / (s9)

The word to is also pronounced /tu/ invariably whether it comes before a vowel or a consonant. Given below are some examples:

We shall need to run / wɪʃəl'ni:d tu'ɾən / (s11)

Try to ask him over / tɾi'æz tu'æks hɪm'ovəhəz / (s11)

5.4 SENTENCE STRESS AND INTONATION

It was not possible to find out any systematic patterns of sentence accent in SE. Content words are left unaccented even when the context demands the accent. Given below are some of the examples:

she must eat well / si'mʌst i'ti'weɪl / (s1)

There are two books on the table / ðeəz æz tu'buks ɒn ði'teɪbəl / (s14)

You must try your best / ju mʌst tɾi'æz jɔ'best / (s1)

How could he do it / həʊ kʌd hi'du:ɪt / (s7)

Form words, such as can, that, some, etc. some times receive the accent. Given below are some of the examples:

I want some tea. /'ai v ant 'sɔm t̩/ (s10)

This is better than that /'d̩is iʒ 'bet̩ə ð̩ ð̩n ð̩t̩/ (s6)

They can wait. / ð̩'e k̩ən 'weɪ t̩/ (s4)

Come with me. /'k̩ɔm 'wiθ 'mi:/ (s8)

The weak forms of these and similar such words are generally not used even when they are not accented. As a result, accented and unaccented syllables do not occur at regular intervals of time. Given below are some examples:

He would be happy. / h̩l̩ 'w̩d̩ bi 'h̩p̩i / (s1)

All would agree / ɔl̩ 'w̩d̩ 'eɪ ɹ̩i / (s1)

Why did he come back / w̩ ð̩ 'di ð̩ h̩ 'k̩ɔm, b̩k̩ / (s5)

But why not to-day ? / b̩t̩ 'w̩ ð̩ 'nɔt̩ t̩ ð̩e: / (s4)

It is clear from the above examples that Sambalpuri English does not have any definite rhythm. However, there are a few examples of sentences in which some kind of rhythm is maintained. Given below are some examples:

The man had gone home / ð̩i 'm̩n h̩d̩ 'gɔn̩ 'hɔ:m / (s1)

Come and sit down / 'k̩ɔm ɛnd̩ 'sɪt̩ ð̩aʊn / (s6)

The boy will win and the girl will lose /*ɬi'boɛ veil'vein/*
ɛn ɬi'gɔɛi veil'iu:ɬh // (s7)
 Good evening. /*gɔɛd'iuhiɛniŋg/ (s8)*

The general tendency that is distinguishable in ^{the} respect of intonation is used by Sambalpuri speakers may be described under the following heads:

- (i) Division into tonegroups,
- (ii) location of the nucleus, and
- (iii) the tones used.

(i) Division into Tone Groups

There is a general tendency among Sambalpuri speakers (of English) to divide long sentences into tone-groups in such a way that even single and short phrases form tone-groups by themselves. These tone groups quite often do not correspond to complete units either of meaning or of grammatical structure. The frequent pauses, thus, produce the effect of a halting rhythm. For example,

I will not oppose him if you like /*'ai veil'not / v'poɬ him /*
'iphju'laik // (s11)

Pass me the salt, please /*'pas mi / ɬi'sɔit / ɬi:ɬh // (s2)*

Come as soon as you can /*kaɛm'ɛɬ sun'ɛɬ ju'ken // (s4)*

But why not to-day /*'bɔɛ vāɛ/nɔɛ t'ude' // (s5)*

Let's go there right now /*lets'go d'ɛɔɛ / ɬait / nāo // (s9).*

(ii) Location of the nucleus

The nucleus is generally located on the word occurring at the end in a tone group, no matter whether it is a content word or a form word. Some of the examples are given below:

He said that he was coming / hi'seɪ, d̪eɪ / hi ʋəʒh kəmiŋg // (s5)

What has he been doing / wət / hɛz hi biŋ d̪uiŋg // (s4)

This watch will do / d̪is'wətʃ wɪl d̪u: / (s1)

I will not oppose him / aɪ wɪl'noʊp ɒ'pəʒ 'hɪm / (s2)

However, there are some instances in which the nucleus is placed much before the final word. Given below are some examples:

Come and face the music / ,kəm ɛn ,feɪs d̪i mjuzɪk / (s4)

Are you leaving for Delhi to-day / aɪ ju ,li:vɪŋg fəɪ
'dɛli tu:de: / (s7)

Close the door / kləʊz d̪i ,dɔ:ɹ / (s8)

He has gone to take a test / hi hɛz ɡɒn tu:tæk e ,tɛst / (s9)

It is also found that in tag-questions, it is generally the verb rather than the last word that carries the tonic stress. Given below are some examples:

He can't help it, can he? / hi'kɛnt ,help ɪt / kən'hi // (s2)

They didn't go, did they? / ðe'dɪdnət ,go / dɪd'ðe: //

You are John, aren't you? /'ju aɪ 'ʒən /, aɪn't 'ju //
 The man will not come, will he? /ði 'mæn 'weɪl nɒt kʌm /
 'weɪl 'hi //.

Some speakers occasionally place the nucleus on the first word of the tone group in exclamations, commands, requests, etc. Given below are some examples:

Pass me the salt, please /'pas mi ði ,sɔlt ,pli:ʒn / (s14)

Close the door /klo:ʒn ði ,dɔ:ɪ / (s8)

Add them /ɛd ,ðɛm / (s2)

Don't be silly /dɒnt bi ,sɪli / (s5)

(iii) The tones used

The tones most commonly used by the Sambalpuri (English) speakers are :

- (i) the falling tone, and
- (ii) the rising tone.

The falling tone is used to indicate the completion of a tone-group or a sentence. Given below are some examples:

The rose has withered / ði 'rɔ:ʒn hæʒ 'weɪdɔɪd / (s3)

Come and face the music / kʌm en 'phe:s ði 'mjuzɪk / (s5)

Pass me the salt, please / 'pas mi ði 'sɔlt / 'pli:ʒn // (s6)

The milk has gone sour / ði 'mɪlk hæʒ 'gɒn 'so:ɪ / (s11)

I will not oppose him, if you like /'ai wil nət ə'pəʊz hɪm/
'ɪpə ju 'laɪk // (s14)

The boy will win and the girl will lose / ði 'bɔɪ wil 'wi:n /
ən ði 'gɜ:lz il 'lʊ:z // (s12).

The rising tone, on the other hand, is used to indicate both finality and incompleteness; it marks non-terminal tone-groups as well as terminal tone groups or the sentences. Some of the examples are given below:

Rob peter /'rɒb pi:tə / (s11)

Good evening /'gʊd i'veni:ŋ / (s3)

He is not going /'hi ɪz 'nɒt goɪŋ / (s5)

If you don't behave /ɪf ju 'dɒnt bi'heɪv / (s1)

If you don't come in time /ɪf ju 'dɒnt 'kʌm ɪn'taɪm / (s3)

He's good /'hi:z gʊd / (s7).

The rising-tone is also used to indicate questions: wh-type, yes-no type or tag. Some of the examples are given below:

Why did he come back? /'waɪ dɪd hi 'kʌm bæk / (s1)

Where does she live? /weə dʌʒʃʃ si 'li:v / (s2)

What do I get? /wɒt 'dʌ ɪ get / (s4)

Are you leaving for Delhi to-day? /ɑ: ju 'li:vɪŋ fɔ: ði 'de:li tu:de: / (s5)

Have you done the work? /hæv ju 'dʌn ði wɜ:k / (s6)

Has her brother returned? /hæz hɜ: 'brʌðə rɪ'tɜ:n / (s12)

To sum up, Sambalpuri English exhibits certain peculiar characteristics in the respect of suprasegmental features. The placement of accent on the first syllable of both disyllabic and polysyllabic words is very common with SE speakers. As regards weak forms, SE speakers use only a few of them. They also seem to have an irregular pattern in intonation. However, they seem to have a preference for the falling-tone. And the other tones, such as rising-falling, falling-rising and level tones are hardly used.

Chapter : VI A Comparison of SE and RP

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, we shall see how Sambalpuri English is similar to or dissimilar from RP. From the analysis of the data, it is clear that SE differs from RP not only in its phonemic system and accentual patterns, but also in sentence accent and rhythm and intonation. SE differs from RP in the phonemic system a detailed description of which has been given below. The consonants and vowels in SE have been compared with those in RP at four levels: the phonemic system, the phonetic quality, the allophonic and other variants, and the distribution of the phonemes.

6.2 CONSONANTS

6.2.1 Comparison of the Phonemic system

Sambalpuri English has 22 consonant phonemes against 24 in RP. The following chart gives a comparison of the consonants in two varieties on the bases of the number of phonemes, the place of articulation, the manner of articulation, and whether they are voiced or voiceless:

C.	Consonants In Sambalpuri English	Consonants in RP
1. Number of Phonemes	/p, b, t, d, k, g, c, ʃh, f, ʒh, tʰ, dʰ, s, ʃ, h, m, n, ŋ, l, j, ɹ, ʁ/	/p, b, t, d, k, g, tʃ, dʒ, f, v, θ, ð, s, z, ʃ, ʒ, h, m, n, ŋ, l, r, j, w/
2. i) Voiced	/b, d, g, ʃh, ʒh, dʰ, ʃ, m, n, ŋ, l, j, ʁ, ɹ/	/b, d, g, dʒ, v, ð, z, ʒ, m, n, ŋ, l, r, j, w/
ii) Voiceless	/p, t, k, c, f, tʰ, s, h/	/p, t, k, tʃ, f, θ, s, ʃ, h/
3. Place of articulation		
i) Bilabial	/p, b, m/	/p, b, m, w/
ii) Alveolar	/t, d, n, l, s/	/t, d, n, s, z, l/
iii) Post-alveolar	/ɹ/	/r/
iv) Palato-alveolar		/tʃ, dʒ, ʃ, ʒ/
v) Pre-palatal	/c, ʃh, ʃ/	
vi) Palatal	/j/	/j/
vii) Dental	/tʰ, dʰ/	/θ, ð/
viii) Labio-dental	/f, ʒh, ʁ/	/f, v/
ix) Glottal	/h/	/h/
x) Velar	/k, g, ŋ/	/k, g, ŋ/
4. Manner of articulation		
i) Plosive	/p, b, t, d, k, g, c, ʃh, tʰ, dʰ/	/p, b, t, d, k, g/
ii) Nasal	/m, n, ŋ/	/m, n, ŋ/
iii) Fricative	/f, s, h, ɹ/	/f, v, θ, ð, s, z, ʃ, ʒ, h/
iv) Affricate	/	/tʃ, dʒ/
v) Lateral	/l/	/l/

Consonants in Sambalpuri English	Consonants in RP
vi) Approximants	/w, j, r/
vii) Frictionless continuant	/ʁ, ʁh/
viii) Semi-vowel	/j/

The above chart shows that consonants in SE differs from those in RP in a number of ways : the palato-alveolar sounds in RP are replaced by the pre-palatals in SE ; the affricates in RP are replaced by the plosives in SE, and the approximants in RP are replaced by a frictionless continuant, a semi-vowel and a fricative.

6.2.2 Differences in the Phonetic quality of the Phonemes

- (i) Corresponding to the RP phoneme /r/, which is a ^{post-alveolar} approximant, the phoneme in SE /ʁ/ is a ^{post-alveolar} fricative as in the words caring [kɛɔʁiŋɔ], radiant [ʁɛdiənt] and poor [pʊəʁ].
- (ii) Corresponding to the RP phonemes /θ, ð/, which are dental fricative, the SE phonemes /t̪, d̪/ are dental-plosives as in the words think [t̪iŋk] and earth [əʔt̪h], and that [d̪æt], rhythm [ʁiðəm] and writhed [ʁið].

- (iii) Corresponding to the RP phonemes /tʃ, dʒ/, which are palato-alveolar affricates, the SE /c, ʒh/ are pre-palatal plosives as in chair [ˈtʃʰaɪ̯r], question [ˈkʰwɛsci̯n] and hatch [ˈhɛc], and zinc [ˈʒhɪŋk], vision [ˈvʰiʒhɪʒn] and news [ˈnʲuʒh].
- (iv) Corresponding to the RP consonant /w/, which is a bilabial approximant, the SE /ɹ/ is a labio-dental frictionless continuant as in the words once [ˈɹʊns], twelfths [ˈtʰwɛlftʰs] and solve [ˈsɔɹv].
- (v) Corresponding to the RP approximant /j/, the SE /j/ is a semi-vowel as in the case of the following words: University [ˈjuɹniˈvɛhɔ̯sɪti] and music [ˈmʲɪʒhɪk]. However, /j/ in both cases is palatal.
- (vi) Corresponding to the RP labio-dental fricative /v/, the SE /ɹh/ is a labio-dental frictionless continuant as in vision [ˈvʰiʒhɪʒn] and overwhelmed [ˈɔ̯vɛhɔ̯vɛɹɪmd].
- (vii) Corresponding to the RP phoneme /z/, which is an alveolar-fricative, the SE /ʒ/ is a pre-palatal plosive as in jug [ˈʒʊg] and capsize [ˈkɛpsaɪʒ].

6.2.3 Differences in Allophonic and other variants

- (i) In RP, /ptk/ are aspirated when they occur initially in accented syllables. In SE, on the contrary,

they are generally unaspirated in all positions.

Examples: Politics [ˈpɒlɪtɪks] and impact [ˈɪmpækt]
Botany [bɒˈtəni] and dental [ˈdentəl]
economy [ˈiːkɒnəmi] and duplicate [ˈdʌplɪkeɪt].

- (ii) Corresponding to the RP phonemes /b, d, g/, which have partially devoiced allophonic variants, the SE phonemes /b, d, g/ do not have any allophonic variants.
- (iii) The RP phoneme /f/ does not have any allophonic variant. As opposed to this, the SE /f/ has one variant [ph] as in telephony [ˈtelɪfəni].
- (iv) As opposed to three allophonic variants of /m/, the SE nasal sound /n/ has only one variant [ŋ] as in morning [ˈmɔːnɪŋ].
- (v) The consonant /ŋ/ in SE has an allophonic variant [ŋg] as in earing /kɛərɪŋg/ which is the orthographic pronunciation of two sounds /ŋ/ and /g/ together. The RP /ŋ/, on the other hand, has no allophonic variant as in earing /iə rɪŋ/.
- (vi) Corresponding to the RP /ɪ/, which has five realizations, /ɪ/ in SE has none.

6.2.4 Differences in the distribution of the Phonemes

- (i) The RP consonant /v/ occurs in all positions but the corresponding consonant in SE /vʰ/ occurs only in initial and medial positions.

Examples: university [ˈɪnˈvʰəhətʰsɪtɪ] and
verbatim [ˈvʰəhətʰbətɪm].

- (ii) Corresponding to the RP sound /w/, which occurs only in initial and medial positions, the SE /v/ occurs in all positions.

Examples: once [vʰəns], twelfths [tʰvʰeɪtʰs] and
solve [sʰəɪv].

- (iii) The RP /r/ occurs in initial and medial positions and in the final position only when followed by a vowel sound. The SE /ɾ/, on the other hand, occurs in all positions irrespective of its occurrences.

Examples: roasts [ɾʰoːst], direct [ˈdɪəlɾekt] and
singer [ˈsɪŋgəɾ].

- (iv) The RP has /z/ in inflexional suffixes after voiced sound. In SE, on the other hand, /z/ is generally replaced by /s/.

Examples: gules [gʉls] and woods [ʉds].

- (v) The RP has /t/ in inflexional suffixes after voiceless consonants except /t/. In SE, on the contrary, it is generally replaced by /d/.

Examples: blocked [blɔkd] and asked [ɔksd]

6.3 VOWELS

6.3.1 Comparison of the Phonemic system

Sambalpuri English has 17 vowel phonemes as against 20 in RP. The chart below gives a detailed picture of the vowels in the two systems on the bases of the number of phonemes, whether they are pure vowels or diphthongs, whether they are long or short, the position of the tongue, ^{and} whether they are rounded or unrounded:

D.	Vowels in SE	Vowels in RP
1. Number of phonemes	/i:, i, e, ε, u:, a, ə, ɔ, o, v, e:/ /ɔi, əo, iə, uə, εə, vε/	/i:, i, e, ε, u:, a, ə, ɔ, ʌ, eɪ, ə:, ɔ:, aɪ, ɔi, aʊ, əu, iə, uə, εə/
2.		
i) monophthongs	/i:, i, e, ε, u:, a, ə, ɔ, o, v, e:/	/i:, i, e, ε, u:, a, ə, ɔ, ʌ, ə:, ɔ:/
ii) diphthongs	/ɔi, əo, iə, uə, εə, vε/	/aɪ, ɔi, aʊ, əu, iə, uə, εə, eɪ/
3.		
i) long	/i:, a:, e:, ɔi, əo, iə, uə, εə, vε/	/i:, a:, a:, ə:, ɔ:, aɪ, ɔi, aʊ, əu, iə, uə, εə, eɪ/
ii) short	/i, e, ε, u, ə, ɔ, o, v/	/i, e, ε, u, ə, ɔ, ʌ/

4.			
i) Front	/i:, i, e, ε, e:/	/i:, i, e, æ/	
ii) Back	/u:, u, o, ɔ, a/	/u:, u, ɔ:, ɔ, a:/	
iii) Central	/ə/	/ʌ, ə, ɜ:/	
5.			
i) Rounded	/ɒ, ɔ, u:, ʊ/	/ɒ, ɔ:, u:, ʊ/	
ii) Unrounded	/i:, i, e, ε, ə, a, e:/	/i:, i, e, æ, a:, ʌ, ə, ɜ:/	

6.3.2 Differences in the Phonetic quality of the Phonemes

- (i) Corresponding to the RP diphthong /eɪ/, the SE has a pure vowel /e:/ as in play [ˈpleɪ].
- (ii) Corresponding to the RP diphthong /əʊ/, the SE has a pure vowel /o/ as in botanical [ˈbɒtənɪkəl].
- (iii) Corresponding to the RP phonemes /ə, ʌ, ɜ:/, the SE has only one /ə/ as in liberate [ˈlɪbəreɪt], cotton [ˈkɒtən] and earth [ɜ:θ].
- (iv) Corresponding to the RP vowel /æ/, the SE has /ɛ/, which is front half-open unrounded vowel. Example: Allen [ˈɛlen].
- (v) Corresponding to the RP vowel /ɑ:/, the SE has /ɒ/, which is a front-open unrounded vowel. Example: dental [ˈdɛntəl].

(vi) Corresponding to the RP vowels /ɔ:,ɒ/, SE has only one vowel /ɔ/.

Example: boxes [ˈbɔksɛs].

(vii) Corresponding to the RP diphthong /ɔi/, the SE has /ɔɛ/. Example: coin [ˈkɔɛn].

(viii) Corresponding to the RP diphthong /aʊ/, the SE has /äʊ/.

Example: cow [ˈkääʊ].

6.3.3 Differences in the Distribution of the Phonemes

The RP vowel phoneme /ə/ occurs only in unaccented syllables as in about [əˈbaʊt]. The corresponding phoneme in SE /ɔ/ occurs both in accented and unaccented positions.

Examples: absolute [əbˈsɔlɔjʊt] and liberate [ˈlɪbɔɛɛ:t].

6.4 WORD ACCENT

In the matter of word accent, as we have seen, Sambalpuri speakers (of English) generally put the accent on the first syllable of a word. This tendency of accentuation is in accordance with the system of word-accent in RP and several other 'native' accents of English. But the difference between Sambalpuri English and RP is

that, the Sambalpuri speakers (of English) put the accent on the first syllable in a large number of words, which normally receive the accent elsewhere in RP.

There are 580 errors in all. Of ~~these~~, 290 are due to the placement of accent on the second syllable alone, and 170 on the first, 106 on the third and only 14 on the fourth syllable. Their number in each speaker's speech is given in the chart below:

E. Errors in word-accent

Speaker No.	Errors in word accent	Errors due to placement of accent on the syllable			
		First	Second	Third	Fourth
1	37	15	15	6	1
2	44	13	23	7	1
3	46	12	24	9	1
4	43	14	21	7	1
5	44	12	22	9	1
6	40	9	23	7	1
7	36	8	20	7	1
8	37	7	20	9	1
9	31	13	14	3	1
10	42	17	17	7	1
11	47	13	23	10	1
12	46	12	26	7	1
13	43	10	23	9	1
14	44	15	19	9	1
	580	170	290	106	14

The errors include 170 instances of words wrongly accented on the first syllable, 290 words wrongly accented on the second syllable, 106 words wrongly accented on the third syllable and only 14 words wrongly accented on the fourth syllable.

The general tendency is to put the accent on the first syllable in words which normally receive the accent elsewhere in RP. The tendency is more frequently noticeable in polysyllabic words than in disyllabic words.

Examples:

Sl.No.	R P	SE	No.of speakers
1	Cigárette	'Cigarette	10
2	Górilla	'Gorilla	13
3	Geómetry	'Geometry	12
4	Telephóny	'Telephony	10
5	Dedicátee	'Dedicatee	12

Given below is a chart showing comparison in the respect of word accent of Sambalpuri English with RP:

f. Placement of accent in disyllabic words in SE & RP

	Total No. of words	R P accent on syllable				SE accent on syllable			
		1st	2nd	3rd	4th	1st	2nd	3rd	4th
Disyllabic words	33	23	10	-	-	28	5	-	-
Polysyllabic words	53	18	24	10	1	33	17	3	-
	86	41	34	10	1	61	22	3	-

The chart above shows that, of the total 33 disyllabic words, 28 receive the accent on the first syllable and the rest on the second in SE as against 23 on the first and 10 on the second syllable in RP. And, of the 53 polysyllabic words, 33 words receive the accent on the first syllable and the rest elsewhere in SE as against 18 on the first syllable and the rest elsewhere in RP.

6.5 SENTENCE ACCENT AND RHYTHM

There are a number of words in RP which have two or more qualitative and quantitative patterns depending upon whether they are accented or not. When these words are accented or when they are pronounced in isolation, the strong forms of these words are used; when they are unaccented, the weak forms of these words are used.

In Sambalpuri English, on the other hand, these words generally have only strong forms irrespective of whether they are accented or not. Some of the examples are given below:

Sl. No.	Item	Form used in S E	Form(s) used in R P Strong	Weak
1.	a	/e /	/ei /	/ə /
2.	had	/hɛd /	/hæd /	/həd /əd /ɪ /
3.	and	/ɛnd /	/ænd /	/ənd /nd /ən /n /
4.	to	/tu /	/tu: /	/tu /tə /
5.	can	/kɛn /	/kæn /	/kən /kɪ /

The chart above shows that in SE only one realization each ^{of} strong forms are used in all the words whether they are used in accented position or unaccented position. In RP, on the other hand, both strong forms and weak forms are used and for weak forms again, more than one realizations are used.

6.6 INTONATION

As opposed to the four kinds of tones, viz. the falling, the rising, the falling-rising and the

rising-falling tones used in RP, the SE has only two, namely the falling tone and the rising tone.

To sum up what has been said in this chapter, Sambalpuri English is different from RP not only in its phonemic system but also in the respect of accentuation, rhythm and intonation. SE has 22 consonant phonemes and 17 vowel phonemes against 24 and 20 in RP. In the matter of word accent, the general tendency among Sambalpuri speakers (of English) is to put the accent on the first syllable in a large number of words which normally receive the accent elsewhere in RP. In the matter of weak forms, Sambalpuri speakers (of English) generally exhibit a pattern of using strong forms only irrespective of whether they occur in accented syllable or not. In RP, on the other hand, many words have both strong forms and weak forms. In the matter of intonation too, Sambalpuri English does not exhibit any identifiable pattern. However, in many cases, the speakers tend to use the falling tones. In RP, on the contrary, four kinds of intonation are used.

Chapter : VI Conclusion

Sambalpuri English has 22 consonant phonemes and 17 vowel phonemes. It deviates from RP not only in its phonemic system but also in the phonetic qualities of the corresponding phonemes, their allophonic or phonetic variants, and their distribution in words. It also deviates from RP in the respect of word accent, sentence stress and rhythm and intonation. A number of factors are responsible for the deviation. But before going into the causes of deviations, it will not be out of place to talk briefly about the findings.

7.1 FINDINGS

Sambalpuri English has 22 consonant phonemes and 17 vowel phonemes; /p b t d k g c ʃ k f w æ tʃ d s ʒ h m n ɔ ɪ ɹ j v/ and /i i u a e e n a ə e ə a j u e d o i ə a ə ə/ as against 24 and 20 in RP.

/tʃ/ is realised as /c/ and /dʒ/ as /ʒ/ in SE.

Similarly, /v/ is realised as /ɹk/ in SE.

In SE, /θ/ is realised as /tʃ/ and /ð/ as /dʒ/.

/z/ is realised as /ʒ/ in SE.

/r/ is realised as /ɹ/ in SE.

/w/ is realised as /k/ in SE.

In SE, both /s/ and /ʃ/ have only one realisation, i.e. /s/. Similarly, /dʒ/, /z/ and /ʒ/ are realised in SE either as /ʒ/ or as /ʒh/.

As regards word accentuation in SE, many words are accented on the first syllable which are accented elsewhere in RP.

With the lack of weak forms, rhythm in SE is not rhythmic. The major tone used in SE is the falling-tone.

Some of the important findings are :

The use of the plural marker or a possessive marker (/s/ or /-es/) does not affect the pronunciation of a word in SE. Therefore, a word ending in /-s/ or /-es/ is pronounced with an /-s/ sound at the end irrespective of its occurrence. Thus, for example, the words cats, dogs and horses are also pronounced as /kɛts/, /dɒgz/ and /hɔɪsɪz/ respectively.

The use of the past-tense marker (/d/ or /-ed/) also does not affect the pronunciation of a word in SE. Therefore, a word ending in /-d/ or /-ed/ is pronounced with a sound at the end irrespective of its occurrence. Thus, for example, the words robbed, packed are pronounced as /rɒbd/ and /pɛkd/ respectively.

In SE, there is elision of consonants. For example, sixths [ˈsɪkst̩].

Metathesis is another feature of SE, e.g. tasks [ˈtɑks].

Anaptyxis is a peculiar feature of SE, e.g. cotton [ˈkɒtən].

SE has the syllable structure of the type C₀₋₃ V C₀₋₂, e.g. strange [ˈstreɪŋ].

7.2 CAUSES OF DEVIATION

A number of factors are responsible for the deviation. Some of the major ones have been listed below:

7.2.1 L₁ Interference

Mother tongue interference is supposed to be a major cause of deviation. Since the Sambalpuri speakers learn English after they have learnt their mother tongue, there is bound to be an interference of the first language on English. A few examples of this kind are given below:

The Sambalpuri speakers do not generally make any distinction between /s/ and // / , though in the Oriya orthographic system, there exist three sounds ^(ଶ, ଶ, ଷ). Instead they use /s/ for these sounds.

Similarly, though there are two sounds in Oriya ^(ଢ, ଢ) and three sounds in English /dʒ, ʒ, ʒ / , the Sambalpuri speakers

(of English) hardly make any distinction. They interchange these sounds with /ʃ/ or /ʒ/.

In the respect of word accent also, the Sambalpuri speakers (of English) tend to place the accent on the first syllable in many disyllabic and polysyllabic words, which is due to the same tendency in the mother tongue. Sambalpuri speakers (of English) seem to have a preference for the falling tone. And this is due to the tendency among them while using mother tongue.

7.2.2 Lack of exposure to standard English

The kind and the quantity of exposure to Standard English in the western part of Orissa as also in the whole of Orissa is not satisfactory. This is primarily due to the State Government's abrupt decision to use Oriya instead of English in all official transactions. With this kind of a situation, the only means of exposure to English is the classroom. There is no scope for using English outside the classroom.

Oriya being the medium of instruction at the school level, English remains only as a subject. And only one period/class, devoted to English teaching also in most cases does not really deal with English as the teachers are not well-equipped in English and the learners force their teachers to use mother tongue.

As we go up, the picture is almost ^{the} same at the college level too excepting of course the fact that English is the medium of instruction there.

All these result in the deterioration of the standard of English.

7.2.3 Training in 'bad' English

With the teachers not well-trained or not at all trained in English, the situation becomes worse when they come to teach English. The learners really do not get anything. If at all they get something, that is 'bad' English, the term 'bad' referring to wrong or incorrect.

The learners' lack of exposure to standard English makes English difficult for them. And both these factors are further added by lack of motivation.

7.2.4 State's effort to replace English

As has been stated earlier (in section 7.2.2), the Government of Orissa declared in 1985 that Oriya should be used for all official purposes. This declaration resulted in the deterioration of the standard of English in the sense that the people had to abandon whatever English they could use.

7.3 SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT

Some suggestions have been made to remedy the difficulties with the Sambalpuri speakers. They are listed below:

7.3.1 Proper Training to teachers

Teachers of English, both at school level and college and university level, should be given training in English, especially Spoken English. The advanced and specialised centres, such as ELTIS, IITS, CIEFL should take steps in organising the training camps, symposia, workshops and orientation course programmes for the teachers of English so that they could be properly trained.

Once trained, the teachers must be provided with certain equipments and gadgets, such as audio and video tapes, TVs. Also, there should be language laboratories wherever possible.

7.3.2 Prescribing a course in Spoken English

Only training the teachers may not help much. So, a Course or a part thereof in Phonetics and Spoken English should be introduced at the undergraduate level.

At this stage, of course, the course component should include the basics and fundamentals of phonetics and spoken English, such as the phonemes, word accent, rhythm and intonation. At the higher levels, a detailed and exhaustive study should be prescribed.

This would help the people not only learn and use spoken English themselves, but also in imparting their lessons making use of spoken English in future.

7.3.3 Teaching the correct pronunciation of 'difficult' sounds

The sounds which the Sambalpuri speakers find difficult to produce should be taught. From the analysis of the data, it was found that the sounds /ʃ, dʒ, ʒ, ʒ, v, e, ð, r, j, w, ð:, ʌ, a:, x, ɔ:, ei, oi, au, əu / posed difficulty for the Sambalpuri speakers (of English). The sounds should be produced thus :

- (1) /ʃ / The soft palate is to be raised so as to shut off the nasal passage of air. The tip and blade of the tongue are to be brought very near the teeth-ridge and at the same time, the front of the tongue is to be raised in the direction of the hard palate. The ~~leaving~~ air should escape through the narrow gap between the tip and blade of the tongue and the teeth-ridge, and between the front of the tongue and the

hard palate with audible friction. The vocal cords should be wide apart.

- (2) /ʒ/ This sound too should be articulated exactly alike /ʃ/ except that during the articulation of /ʒ/ , the vocal cords should vibrate producing voice.
- (3) /dʒ/ The soft-palate should be raised so as to shut off the nasal passage of air. The tip and blade of the tongue should make a firm contact with the alveolar ridge, thereby blocking the oral passage of air. At the same time the front of the tongue should be raised in the direction of the hard palate in readiness for the fricative release. The tip and blade of the tongue should be removed slowly from the teeth-ridge so that the air escapes with friction between the tip and blade of the tongue and the teeth ridge, and also between the front of the tongue and the hard palate. The vocal cords should be close enough to vibrate during the articulation.
- (4) /z/ The soft palate should be raised so as to shut off the nasal passage of air. The tip and blade of the tongue should be brought near the teeth-ridge in such a way that the space between them is very narrow. The lung air should escape through that narrow gap with

audible friction. The vocal cords should be close enough to produce vibration.

- (5) /v/ The soft palate should be raised, thereby shutting off the nasal passage of air. The lower lip should be brought very near the upper front teeth in such a way that there is a very narrow gap between them. The lung air should escape through this narrow gap with audible friction. The vocal cords should vibrate producing voice.
- (6) /θ/ The soft palate ~~should~~ be raised, thereby shutting off the nasal passage of air. The tip of the tongue should make a light contact with the upper front teeth. The lung air should escape through the narrow gap between the tip of the tongue and the upper front teeth with audible friction. The vocal cords should be wide apart.
- (7) /ð/ It should be articulated exactly like /θ/ except that during the articulation of /ð/, the vocal cords should vibrate producing voice.
- (8) /r/ The soft palate should be raised so as to shut off the nasal passage of air. The tip of the tongue should be brought near the rear part of the teeth-ridge in such a way that there is sufficient gap between the two for the air to escape freely without

any friction. The vocal cords should vibrate, producing voice.

(9) /j/ The front of the tongue should take up a position necessary for the articulation of a vowel between front close and front half-close depending upon the closeness or openness of the vowel that follows it. The soft palate should be raised so as to shut off the nasal passage of air. The vocal cords should vibrate, producing voice.

(10) /w/ The back of the tongue should take up a position necessary for the articulation of a vowel between back close and back half-close depending upon the closeness or openness of the vowel that follows it. The soft palate should be raised so as to shut off the nasal passage of air. The vocal cords should vibrate, producing voice. The tongue should move immediately to the position of the sound that follows it. And the lips should be rounded.

(11) /ɔ:/ The centre of the tongue should be raised in the direction of that part of the roof of the mouth, that is, between the hard palate and the soft palate to a height between half-close and half-open. The lips should be spread.

- (12) /ʌ/ The centre of the tongue should be raised in the direction of that part of the roof of the mouth that is between the hard palate and the soft palate to a height just above the open position. The jaws should be wide apart and the lips neutrally open.
- (13) /ɑ:/ A part of the tongue that is between the centre and the back (nearer the back than the centre) should be in the fully open position. The jaws should be wide and the lips neutrally open.
- (14) /ɔ:/ The back of the tongue should be raised in the direction of the soft palate between the half-open and half-close positions. The lips should be rounded.
- (15) /ɛ/ The front of the tongue should be raised in the direction of the hard palate just below the half-open position. The lips should be neutrally open.
- (16) /eɪ/ The front of the tongue should start from a point just below the half-close position and move in the direction of RP /i/. The lips should be spread.
- (17) /ɔɪ/ The glide should begin at a point between back open and half-open (nearer half-open than open)

and move in the direction of RP /i/. The jaws should be slightly wide in the beginning and narrow towards the end. The lips should be rounded at the beginning and closely spread towards the end.

(18) /əu/ The glide should begin at a back open unrounded position and move in the direction of RP /u/. The lips should be neutral in the beginning and rounded towards the end.

(19) /əʊ/ The glide should begin at a central position between half-close and half-open and move in the direction of RP /u/. The lips should be neutral in the beginning and rounded during the articulation of the second element.

7.3.4 Teaching the correct distribution of sounds

The distribution of certain sounds especially /s, z, t, d/ should be taught for the improvement of spoken English in Western Orissa. These sounds are used *randomly*, not withstanding the existing rules in RP that the suffix /-s/ or /-es/ is produced as /s/ if the root word ends in a voiceless consonant other than /s, ʃ, tʃ/, or that the suffix /-s/ or /-es/ is pronounced as /z/ if the root-word ends in a voiced sound other than /z, ʒ, dʒ/, or that

the suffix /-s/ or /-es/ is pronounced as /-ɪz/ if the root word ends in /s,ʃ, z, ʒ, tʃ, dʒ/. So, these rules involving the plural or the possessive marker or the III person singular marker should be taught for the correct distribution of sounds in words.

Similarly, the rules involving the past tense marker should be taught. The rules say :

- (i) If the present tense ends in a voiceless consonant other than /t/, the past tense marker /-d/ or /-ed/ is pronounced /t/;
- (ii) If the present tense ends in voiced sounds (including vowels) other than /d/, the past tense marker is pronounced /d/; and
- (iii) If the present tense ends in /t/ or /d/, the past tense marker is pronounced /ɪd/.

7.3.5 Teaching the correct patterns of word accent, sentence stress and intonation

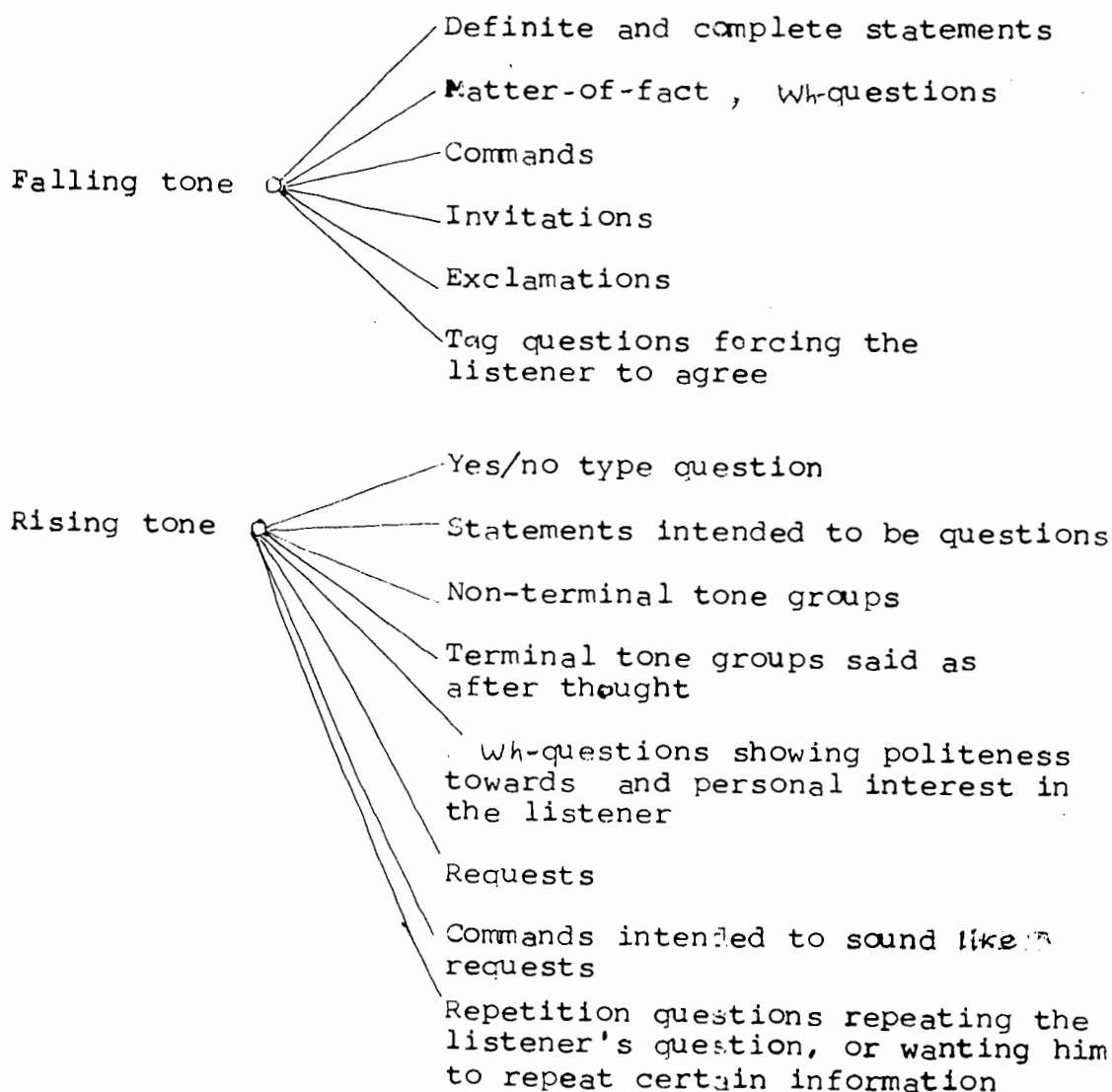
Since the Sambalpuri speakers put mainly the accent on the first syllable of a word, not withstanding the rules, they must be made to learn the rules of accentuation.

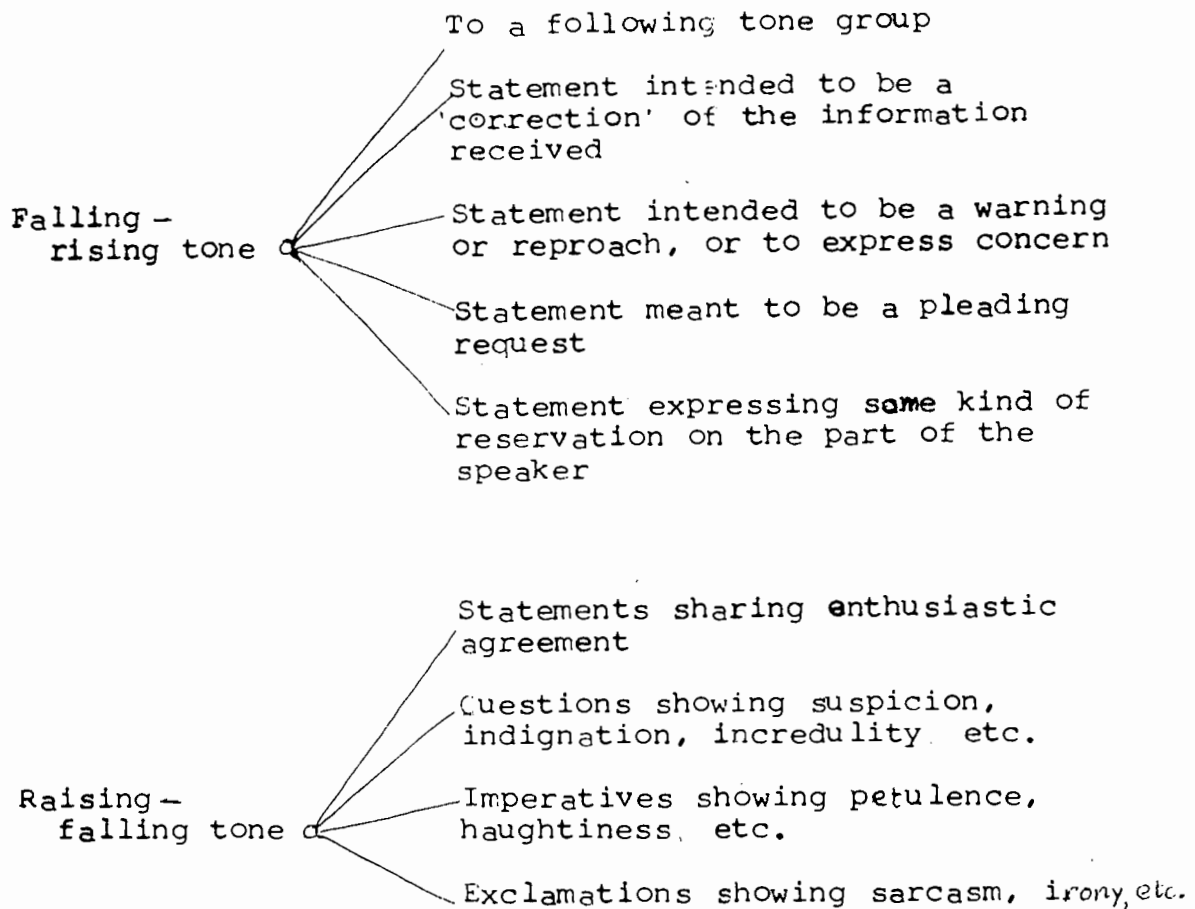
- (i) In most compound words in English, the primary accent falls on one of the two elements, the most common type being the first element. Examples: 'air-raid 'life boat.
- (ii) Words with weak prefixes always take the accent on the root. Examples: aboard , become.
- (iii) The inflexional suffixes -ed, -es, and -ing do not affect the accent. Examples; relate related, disease diseases, 'happen 'happening .
- (iv) The derivational suffixes -age, -ance, -en, -er, -ess, -ful, -hood, -ice, -ish , -ive, -less, -ly, -ment, -ness, -or, -ship, -ter, -ure, -zen do not normally affect the accent.
Examples: 'carry 'carriage, appear appearance etc.
- (v) Words ending in -ion take the primary accent on the penultimate syllable. Examples: application, 'nation.
- (vi) Words ending in -ic, -ical, -ically, -ious, -ial, -ially take the primary accent on the syllable preceding the suffix. Examples; apologetic, biological , etc.

(vii) Words ending in -ity take the accent on the antepenultimate syllable or the third syllable from the end. Examples: ability, futility, etc.

The lack of weak forms affect the rhythm in Sambalpuri English. So the weak forms should be taught.

As regards intonation, too, some rules should be taught. Given below are the tones that are used in different situations:





7.4 FURTHER SCOPE

This project leaves scope for further research in the field. Since intonation has not been dealt with in detail, this could be one of the fields of research. Similarly, word accent in Sambalpuri English is another topic that could be attempted. And an overall study of Sambalpuri English aiming at finding out the phonology of Sambalpuri English could be an interesting field in further research.

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