



Faculteit Letteren & Wijsbegeerte

Sanne Logghe

*Language variation and change: a closer
look at varieties of English and the use of
regularized irregular verbs*

Masterproef voorgedragen tot het behalen van de graad van

Master in het Vertalen

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Promotor Prof. Dr. Bernard De Clerck

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List of abbreviations

AmE	American English
BanE	Bangladeshi English
BrE	British English
CanE	Canadian English
IndE	Indian English
IrE	Irish English
MalE	Malaysian English
PakE	Pakistani English
PhilE	Philippine English
SgE	Singaporean English

1 INTRODUCTION

In 2007, Lieberman et al. demonstrated that the number of irregular verbs has gradually declined over the past centuries. Indeed, they found that of the 177 irregulars that existed in Old English only 98 are still irregular today. A trend towards the regularisation of irregular verbs was also observed and examined by many researchers including Hundt (2009), Peters (2009), Levin (2009) and De Clerck & Vanopstal (forthcoming). However, these studies mainly focused on the regularisation of irregular verbs in American and British English and to some extent also New Zealand and Australian English (see for instance Peters 2009). No extensive research has been undertaken into the regularization of irregular verbs in other Postcolonial Englishes. This paper would therefore like to explore the state of this process in other varieties of English on the basis of a synchronic snapshot. The varieties chosen include two other Inner-Circle varieties, i.e. Canadian and Irish English and six Outer-Circle varieties including three South Asian varieties: Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi English and three Southeast Asian: Singaporean, Malaysian and Philippine English.

We will first discuss the general trend towards regularisation, as found by Lieberman et al. (2007). Secondly, the differences in the use of regularised verb forms between American and British English will be discussed. This discussion will provide a comparative starting-point for the varieties chosen. These varieties have in common that they have all been British colonies at one point in time, except for the Philippines, which is a former American colony. So, we may expect these varieties to show strong similarities with these two lead varieties. The aim of this study is therefore to examine to what extent British English and American English as it is spoken/written now still has an impact on these present-day varieties in view of ongoing language change and variation. In order to make more educated guesses about the current state of English and the strength of impact of British and American norms in these countries, we will first have a closer look at the history of English in the countries under discussion by way of their position in Schneider's Dynamic Model of the evolution of Postcolonial Englishes.

In order to examine the trend towards regularisation across the different varieties, a set of verbs were selected whose past forms are variably spelled with *-ed* and *-t*. Data will be drawn from the Corpus of Global Web-Based English (GloWbE). The study will then compare preferences for *-ed* and *-t* forms attested in the different varieties to those attested in American

and British English in order to map differences and similarities. In addition, this paper will also look into intravarietal variation and examine the impact of frequency and vowel change on the attested preferences.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Regularisation of irregular verbs

The English language currently contains about 180 irregular verbs, i.e. verbs whose past tense and past participles are not formed by adding the suffix *-ed* to the root, but their number used to be a lot higher. In 2007, Harvard mathematicians (Lieberman et al.) observed a general trend towards the regularisation of irregular verbs. In their study they generated a data set of verbs whose conjugations have been evolving for more than a millennium, whereupon they tracked inflectional changes to 177 Old-English irregular verbs that remain part of the language to this day. The results showed that of these 177 irregular verbs, 145 remained irregular in Middle English and 98 are still irregular today¹. Frequency of word usage appeared to be a key factor in this regularisation process. Indeed, their study demonstrated how the rate of regularisation depends on the frequency of word usage. They observed that the half-life of an irregular verb scales as the square root of its usage frequency, which means that a verb that is 100 times less frequent regularises 10 times as fast. They thus showed that less frequent irregular verbs regularise more quickly than more frequent irregulars, or put differently, high-frequency verbs are more resistant to regularisation than low-frequency verbs. This is supported by the fact that the ten most common verbs are all irregular (*be, have, do, go, say, can, will, see, take, get*) (Lieberman et al., 2007). This correlation of irregularity with high frequency is in line with the findings of cognitive linguists such as Bybee who insist on the crucial role of frequency of use in language change: “High-frequency sequences become more entrenched in their morphosyntactic structure and resist restructuring on the basis of productive patterns that might otherwise occur” (Bybee, 2006: 715). In this case this means that low-frequency irregular verbs are more likely to yield to the *-ed* rule while the high-frequency verbs maintain their irregularity. According to Bybee this tendency can be explained by the fact that frequency strengthens the memory representations of words or phrases, making them easier to access whole and thus less likely to be subject to analogical reformation (see also Bybee 1985, Hooper 1976). She dubs this effect of high token frequency on the strength of representation in memory the “Conserving Effect”. As such, high frequency forms with alternations resist analogical levelling: while English *weep / wept, creep / crept, and leap / leapt* have a tendency to regularise to *weeped, creeped, and leaped* respectively, the

¹ Instances of the opposite trend have also occurred, though admittedly to a much lesser extent and often only regionally (for example *sneak-snuck, dive-dove*).

high frequency verbs with the same pattern, *keep / kept*, *sleep / slept* show no such tendency (example taken from Bybee & Thompson 1997). Table 1 below, which is taken from Lieberman et al. (2007), clearly shows the link between frequency and the regularisation of irregular verbs. The table provides an overview of the 177 Old-English irregular verbs, which have been subdivided into six logarithmically spaced bins from 10^{-6} to 1 on the basis of their frequency of occurrence². The verbs that have regularised are indicated in bold. In this way it becomes immediately apparent that the fraction of verbs in bold increases as frequency decreases. Whereas none of the verbs in the two highest frequency bins have regularised with the passing of time, only one out of the twelve verbs in the lowest frequency bin has maintained its irregularity, which means that ninety-one percent of these verbs have regularised over the past 1,200 years.

Frequency	Verbs	Regularization (%)	Half-life (yr)
10^{-1} –1	be, have	0	38,800
10^{-2} – 10^{-1}	come, do, find, get, give, go, know, say, see, take, think	0	14,400
10^{-3} – 10^{-2}	begin, break, bring, buy, choose, draw, drink, drive, eat, fall, fight, forget, grow, hang, help , hold, leave, let, lie, lose, reach , rise, run, seek, set, shake, sit, sleep, speak, stand, teach, throw, understand, walk , win, work , write	10	5,400
10^{-4} – 10^{-3}	arise, bake , bear, beat, bind, bite, blow, bow , burn, burst, carve , chew , climb , cling, creep, dare , dig, drag , flee, float , flow , fly, fold , freeze, grind, leap, lend, lock , melt , reckon , ride, rush , shape , shine, shoot, shrink, sigh , sing, sink, slide, slip , smoke , spin, spring, starve , steal, step , stretch , strike, stroke , suck , swallow , swear, sweep, swim, swing, tear, wake, wash , weave, weep, weigh , wind, yell , yield	43	2,000
10^{-5} – 10^{-4}	bark , bellow , bid, blend , braid , brew , cleave , cringe , crow , dive, drip , fare , fret , glide , gnaw , grip , heave, knead , low , milk , mourn , mow , prescribe , redden , reek , row , scrape , seethe , shear, shed, shove , slay, slit, smite , sow, span , spurn , sting, stink, strew, stride, swell, tread , uproot , wade , warp , wax , wield , wring, writhe	72	700
10^{-6} – 10^{-5}	bide , chide , delve , flay , hew , rue , shrive , slink, snip , spew , sup , wreak	91	300

Table 1: frequency-dependent regularisation of irregular verbs

The 177 Old-English irregular verbs that were compiled for Lieberman et al.'s study, arranged according to frequency bin, and in alphabetical order within each bin. Also shown is the percentage of verbs in each bin that have regularised. The half-life is shown in years. Verbs that have regularised are indicated in bold.

² Frequency data for all verbs were obtained by using the CELEX corpus, which contains 17.9 million words from a wide variety of textual sources.

While it cannot be denied that there is a general trend towards the regularisation of irregular verbs there are, however, a number of things that Lieberman et al. did not take account of. First of all, their list of irregular verbs is not complete. The table only lists verbs that were found to be irregular in Old English and that are still part of the language today. Irregular verbs that were added in Middle English or Modern English such as *dream* and *spill* are not included (see De Clerck & Vanopstal, forthcoming). Secondly, the table draws a distinction between verbs that have regularised and verbs that did not, but no mention is made of those verbs that still allow for both conjugations in present-day English (such as *burnt/burned*, *leapt/leaped*, *dove/dived*). Although these verbs have not yet regularised to the full, it seems erroneous to list them as completely irregular, especially since they also present interesting examples of the battle between strong and weak forms and the ongoing trend towards regularisation. Thirdly, the regularisation process is represented as being constant, predictable and in a way inevitable: irregular verbs become regular “with the passing of time”. Moreover, the rate of regularisation seems to depend solely on frequency of word usage: infrequent verbs are the first to regularise. However, such a view may be too deterministic and seems to portray language as an independently developing organism. Other factors may have a catalysing or blocking effect on the regularisation of irregular verbs, see for instance Logghe (2013) on the impact of prescriptivism.

More attention should also be paid to differences across varieties of English. The process of verb regularisation has certainly not been taking place at the same rate everywhere in the English-speaking world (Peters, 2009: 14). Some varieties seem to be more advanced in the regularisation process than others. As Hundt (2009: 24) points out: “[c]urrent AmE is clearly leading world English in the regularization of irregular past tense and past participle forms like *burned*, *leaned* or *spelled*” (see section 2.2). In a similar way, Michel et al. (2011) state that the regularisation of *burnt*, *smelt*, *spelt*, and *spilt* originated in the United States. So it appears that the regularisation of English verb morphology is “conditioned by time and place, and that regional variation is a factor within any larger historical trend” (Peters, 2009: 15). In the next section we will have a closer look at the regional differences in the preference for strong or weak realizations of verbs that can have *-t* and *-ed* endings such as *smell* and *spell* in American English and British English. We will use this discussion to demonstrate the complexity of the matter and to provide a comparative starting-point for the Postcolonial Englishes we have chosen.

2.2 American vs. British English: variation between -t and -ed

One of the main differences between British and American grammar is that “AmE grammar exhibits a comparatively stronger pull in the direction of regular grammatical patterns” (Rohdenburg & Schlüter, 2009: 5-6). With respect to irregular verbs whose past forms are variably spelled with *-ed* and *-t*, this means that AmE displays a stronger preference for the regular *-ed* forms. This is confirmed by Tottie (2002) who states that although there is variation in both varieties, BrE prefers the *-t* forms and AmE prefers the regular *-d* forms. As such, statistically significant differences (at the 0.05 probability level or lower) in AmE and BrE use of irregular parts for the verbs *burn*, *dream*, *lean*, *leap*, *learn*, *smell*, *spell*, *spill* and *spoil* were found by Levin (2009) in his corpus of an American newspaper (New York Times) and a British newspaper (The Independent). Many dictionaries, for example the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, Cambridge Dictionaries Online, Oxford Dictionaries, also label some of the regular and irregular forms as ‘especially American English’ and ‘especially British English’ or ‘chiefly British’ respectively.

This stronger orientation towards regular forms might be a result of the influence of the American lexicographer and spelling reformer Noah Webster (1758-1843). After the US became independent there was a wave of nationalism and politicians and writers wanted the US to develop a distinct and “independent” language form (Schneider, 2011: 80). Webster, who was in strong support of creating a uniform American standard language, played an important part in this movement. According to Webster a uniform language would lead to more cultural and political cohesion. A standard language would not only unify the country, but it would also differentiate it from the former mother country (Kreidler, 1998: 102).

Webster was in favour of a more simple, regular and uniform spelling and as a consequence he was in favour of regularisation, as is illustrated in the following quote:

The tendency of unlettered men is to *uniformity* – to *analogy*; and so strong is this disposition, that the common people have actually converted some of our irregular verbs into regular ones. It is to unlettered people, that we owe the disuse of *holpen*, *bounden*, *sitten*, and the use of the regular participles *swelled*, *helped*, *worked*, in the place of the ancient ones. This popular tendency is not to be contemned and disregarded, as some of the learned affect to do, for it is governed by the natural, primary principles of all languages, to which we owe all their regularity and all their melody [...]. (Webster, 1822: 105)

The influence of his works³ can be measured by their huge popularity and the widespread use of his textbooks in schools across the country. His 'Elementary Spelling Book', which was first published in 1783 as 'The First Part of the Grammatical Institute of the English Language' had sold 62,000,000 copies by 1889 (Mencken, 2009: 229). His influence on spelling can still be noticed in words like *neighbor*, *center*, *traveled*, *defense* etc. As to the spelling of verbs whose past forms are variably spelled with *-ed* and *-t*, the exact impact of his prescriptive works remains unexamined. While Logghe (2013) found that he lists both strong and weak forms for some of these verbs, for example *dwelt* / *dwelled* and *spilt* / *spilt* in *A philosophical and Practical Grammar of the English language* (first published in 1807), she also found that other verbs such as *burn*, *learn*, *lean*, *spoil* were not mentioned in his list of irregular verbs. Whether their absence can be considered a sign of their being treated as regular verbs is still unclear.

So, whereas American English can be said to show a strong preference for the regular *-ed* forms, the *-t* forms still cling to life in British English (Michel et al., 2011). A possible explanation for this regional difference is provided by Hundt. She states that “[i]t may well be the case that the currently more conservative nature of British English with respect to this variable has to be attributed to an avoidance strategy treating the regular forms as a morphological Americanism” (Hundt, 2009: 25). She reached this conclusion after she had found that *-ed* forms outnumbered *-t* forms in British English in the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century before *-t* forms gained ground again in the second half of the twentieth century. However, the *-t* forms may be doomed in England too. According to Michel et al. (2011), each year, a population the size of Cambridge adopts *burned* instead of *burnt*, so it seems that British English might be catching up. De Clerck & Vanopstal (forthcoming) even argue that the dichotomy ‘American’ *-ed* and ‘British’ *-t* does not reflect linguistic reality. Indeed, they found that British English – just like American English – also shows a clear preference for the regular forms of *burn*, *dream*, *lean*, *learn* and *spill*, though not as pronounced. In contrast, they found that verbs like *dwelt*, *kneel*, *leap*, *light* – like British English – still show clear preferences for *-t* in American English as well, though again not as pronounced. What these authors seem to demonstrate is that the purported differences between American and British English regarding the use of regularised

³ Noah Webster’s most important works include *A Compendious Dictionary of the English Language* (1806), *An American Dictionary of the English Language* (1828; 2nd ed., 1841) and *The Elementary Spelling Book* (1829), first published as *The First Part of the Grammatical Institute of the English Language* in 1783.

verb forms is one of degree rather than kind. Some verbs show preferences for the strong forms across both varieties while other verbs show preferences for weak forms, again, across both varieties. There are differences, however, as to how strong these preferences are, both within and across varieties⁴.

Against this background of inter- and intravarietal differences in the preference for regular or irregular past forms, this paper aims to further investigate the proportions of *-t/-ed* forms in two other Inner-Circle varieties, i.e. Canadian and Irish English and six Outer-Circle varieties including three South Asian varieties: Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi English and three Southeast Asian: Singaporean, Malaysian and Philippine English. All of these varieties are former British colonies, except for the Philippines, which is a former American colony. The aim of this study is to examine to what extent these varieties are still influenced by British English and American English norms. To this purpose, this paper will compare the proportions attested in these varieties to those attested in British and American English, in order to see whether similar or diverging patterns can be discerned. The following research questions will be explored:

- Does the selection of verbs in the different varieties behave in the same way as British and/or American English?
- Do we attest the same preferences across the different varieties and, if so, the same proportions of preferences?
- And, can we attest the same kind of intravarietal variation in the verbs' preferences for *-ed* and *-t* forms across the different varieties?

In addition, attempts will be made to account for attested differences and similarities between varieties and within varieties. Surely, we may expect British English to have an influence on the varieties discussed as observed in Schneider (2011: 52) who noted the following:

As former British colonies, in practically all Postcolonial Englishes (except for the Philippines, obviously⁵) the input source and the model for language pedagogy used to be and still is British English, and all of these varieties have ultimately been derived from and still show strong similarities with this lead variety.

⁴ Some researchers have attempted to account for this internal variation. Quirk (1970) and Levin (2009) for instance, observed a tendency to distinguish between the *-t* and *-ed* variant preterits on an aspectual basis, while Hundt (2009) found a fairly close correspondence between the order in which the irregular forms of these verbs are first attested in the OED and the proportion of irregular forms: the older the irregular form, the more frequently it will be used.

⁵ The Philippines was an American colony from 1898 to 1946.

The question remains, however, to what extent British English ‘of yore’ and British English as it is spoken/written now still has an impact on these present-day varieties in view of ongoing language change and variation. In the next section we will first position the different varieties of English in Schneider’s Dynamic Model of the evolution of Postcolonial Englishes⁶. In addition, we will provide some more context about the sociocultural history of English in the different countries. This should enable us to make more educated guesses.

2.3 The position of the different varieties in Schneider’s Dynamic Model

Schneider (2007) claims that there is a single, coherent process which underlies the evolution of Postcolonial Englishes and which builds upon the constant relationships and communication needs of the colonizers, the colonized, and other parties. The model suggests that “in the long run characteristic processes of group identity formation and accommodation will decrease the social separation of these parties involved, and will cause the growth of new dialects as symbolic reflections of these social realignments and re-negotiations of social distance and proximity” (Schneider 2011: 33). So, basically he argues that emerging varieties of English in postcolonial contexts have typically followed this underlying, fundamentally uniform evolutionary process which consists of five developmental stages. Schneider (2011: 35) summarizes the specific processes characterizing each stage of his model as follows:

- 1) “Foundation”: English is brought to a new territory, which leads to incipient bilingualism, the borrowing of toponyms, and other minor processes.
- 2) “Exonormative stabilization”: during a stable colonial situation, the politically dominant “mother country” determines the norms of linguistic behaviour, and elite bilingualism spreads amongst some representatives of the indigenous population, with lexical borrowing continuing.
- 3) “Nativization” is the most vibrant and interesting of all the phases. With ties with the settlers’ country of origin weakening, and interethnic contacts increasing, bilingual speakers forge a new variety of English, shaped strongly by phonological and structural transfer – though conservative speakers resent such innovative usage.
- 4) “Endonormative stabilization” implies that, after independence and inspired by the need for nation-building, a new linguistic norm is increasingly recognized (commonly

⁶ According to Schneider (2011) this term unites all the varieties which have shared origins in (mostly) British colonization activities, including American or Australian English, the “New Englishes” (newly grown second-language varieties) and English-related creoles.

2.3.1 Canada

Large-scale English colonization of Canada started in the second half of the eighteenth century, when the British gained control over much of France's possessions in mainland North America with the Treaty of Paris in 1763⁷ (Schneider 2006: 66). In the years to follow, immigration from New England to the north was encouraged and soon these early British immigrants were followed by a numerically large group of Americans who remained loyal to the Crown in the American War of Independence (1775-1783) (Schneider 2007: 240). This strengthened the British orientation of Canada's early population, given that the Loyalists' identity was decidedly British-oriented. Due to their large numbers, their cultural significance and the fact that in many districts they were the first settled population, it is generally argued that the Loyalists are the ones who set the standards (and developed early, informal linguistic norms) to which later immigrant groups had to adjust (240).

In the early nineteenth century mainly people from the British Isles came to settle in Canada, encouraged by the British government (241). Nevertheless, a strong proportion of Canada's settlers, even more so in the western provinces, has come from the US (Schneider 2006: 66). Canadian English is therefore traditionally described as a mix of British and American features (66). While sounding predominantly American to an outsider, it has retained a few distinctly British traits, for example in some spelling conventions (Schneider 2011: 83). So, although Canadian English has very few distinctive features of its own, it is marked by its unique combination of linguistic components (Schneider 2007: 244).

In 1867, the self-governing Dominion of Canada was created, which ended the colonial phase in the strict sense, though it was not until 1982 that all remaining legislative ties with Britain were severed (243,247). Following World War I, Canada experienced a period of fierce nationalism and in 1931 full legislative equality (and ultimate independence) was bestowed upon the Dominion with the 1931 Statute of Westminster (245). Direct consequences of this growing national orientation, include an endonormative linguistic orientation, emphasizing a small set of uniquely Canadian features and the compilation of the *Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles* (Avis et al. 1967), which marked an important step toward an independent codification of Canadian English (245, 247). Canadian English is also said to show a remarkably high degree of linguistic homogeneity across the country, a characteristic which – together with codification and literary creativity⁸ – is

⁷ This accounts for the fact that the official languages of Canada are English and French.

⁸ Well-known modern Canadian authors include Robertson Davies, Timothy Findley, and Booker Prize winners

indicative of stage 4 (246).

Since ca. 1970, however, Canada has moved on into phase 5 in the Dynamic Model (247). According to Schneider (2007: 248) the sociolinguistic situation of present-day Canada is marked by “changes, realignments, and diversification”. Indeed, the fabled supraregional homogeneity of Canadian English is now starting to give way to incipiently discernible regionalisms (Schneider, 2003: 256) and as a consequence of the country’s self-projection as a multicultural nation – which attracts significant immigration groups from the Caribbean, Asia, and elsewhere – the growth of ethnic variation has been observed (Schneider 2011: 84).

2.3.2 Ireland

English spread slowly and gradually throughout the British Isles to Ireland from the thirteenth century onwards. The earliest recorded use of English in Ireland dates from 1250, however, English only began to spread significantly after Queen Mary and King James I instituted the so-called plantations, notably the Ulster plantation – the planned settlement of Scots in Ulster – in 1607. This introduced Scots English onto the island (Bolton 2006: 294-5; King 2006: 37). In 1659 a census showed that while Irish was still the majority spoken language in the country, English was coming up rapidly, especially in regions such as Ulster and Dublin (King 2006: 37). This process of language shift toward English has continued up to the present, with today only three percent of the population claiming to have a native-speaker ability in Irish (37). Nevertheless, both English and Irish have official status within the Republic of Ireland.

The English spoken in Ireland today displays a range of features which distinguish it from British English or the later overseas varieties of English (see Kallen 2012, Filppula 1999, and Hickey 1995 among others). According to Kallen (2012: 25) many of these features reflect “the interacting influences of settlement from England and Scotland, bringing with it elements from British dialects as well as elements now considered obsolete in British English, and transfer (via intergenerational bilingualism and language shift) of elements from the Irish language”. Lass (1990), on the other hand, downplays the role of Irish influence and claims that the distinctiveness of Irish English almost exclusively resides in its preservation of archaic forms of English (as cited in Filppula 1999: 14). Either way, Irish English – the oldest variety of English outside Britain – has certainly reached stage 5 in Schneider’s Dynamic Model, as evidenced by the large regional differences between dialects of Irish English (King 2006: 37).

2.3.3 India

English came gradually to India with the activities of the East India Company, which was founded in 1600 (Schneider 2011: 149). Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries English was thus brought to India by sailors and traders who set up trading posts along its shores, but also by missionaries who tried to proselytize the indigenous populations and established English-medium schools in several areas across the country (Schneider 2007: 162-3). However, during that period, the spread of English was still restricted and the early English input was “far from elitist” (163). The spread of English only gained momentum during the second half of the eighteenth century when the Company also started striving for political authority and later when the British Crown assumed joint responsibility with the Company in 1784 and direct-rule authority in 1858 (163-4). This growing political grasp was reflected by the rapid spread of English language teaching.

In the twentieth century and also after independence in 1947, English continued to play an important role – it was even the language of the independence movement – and Indian English progressed into the process of nativization. This may seem surprising since post-independence India initially wanted to get rid of the former colonial language (165). However, the plan to replace English by Hindi, which was to be developed into a national language, did not work out and led in 1967 to the acceptance of English as a co-official language for an indeterminate period of time. Indeed, tension between different language groups and resistance from the Dravidian-speaking South against Hindi dominance left English in a very special position, namely that of an interethnically neutral link language. However, unlike many other Postcolonial Englishes, Indian English does not function as an identity-carrier and it does not signal a pan-Indian identity, mainly because of the strong position of Hindi and the small fraction of English speakers (166-7).

Nevertheless, the shape of English is a strongly localized one, in part because the teachers and linguistic models of learners of English have usually been other Indians and not native speakers (167). Indian English also shows strong signs of structural nativization on all levels of language organization – phonetic, lexical, morphosyntactic, lexicosyntactic etc. Language mixing is also going strong in India: Hinglish, a mix of English and Hindi, is spreading vigorously across the country (169-71). Now, whereas Indian English has clearly reached phase 3 in the Dynamic Model, Schneider (2007) is still hesitant about whether it has moved into phase 4. While an endonormative attitude is definitely gaining ground, it is by no means generally accepted and British English is still the target model in educational

institutions. In addition, stabilization, homogenization and codification are lagging far behind. Literary creativity, on the other hand, indicates the strong acceptance of Indian English as the language of the educated (171-2).

So while today, Indian English is one of the world's main varieties in terms of speaker numbers (though locally a minority really speaks it), its use is still largely confined to utilitarian functions and certain domains and strata of society and as long as that is the case, the language is not likely to change its character and status anytime soon (Schneider 2007: 161, 173).

2.3.4 Pakistan

Pakistan became an independent country on August 14, 1947. Before this date, the country had been part of British India, so there is considerable overlap between the history and development of English in India and Pakistan. According to Rahman (2014: 9), the “pattern of the use of English is basically similar in both countries”.

In Pakistan, the influence of English is “all-pervasive” (Baumgardner 2006: 245). It has always been the official language since Pakistan's independence – at present together with Urdu, which is also the national language – and while there has been a wish to replace English by Urdu in all domains, this has not happened so far. As a consequence, English is used in the central government of Pakistan, in most provincial governments, and in institutions of higher education. In addition, it is the medium of instruction in several elitist schools, some private schools and in all convents and public schools (Rahman 2014: 9). English is clearly in high demand by Pakistani students, their parents and employers, given that it is the marker of elitist social status and gives access to better-paid jobs (10).

Like Indian English, Pakistani English has definitely reached the stage of nativization. While it is true that standard Pakistani English shares most phonological features and virtually all syntactic features with standard Indian English, it also has some distinctive features of its own, most notably in the lexico-semantic dimension (83-4). Nevertheless, the model which is used in educational institutions today – British Standard English with RP as the model of pronunciation – is still totally exonormative (84). In Pakistan, there is also literary writing in English, but the tradition is not as strong as in India, partly because large areas of Pakistan came under British rule much later than parts of India. Pakistani writers are therefore less concerned with the creation of a genuinely indigenous English than Indian writers (9-10).

2.3.5 Bangladesh

Upon independence in 1947, British India was partitioned into the two independent states of India and Pakistan. The latter was split geographically into the larger West Pakistan and the smaller East Pakistan. In 1971, after a nine-month war of independence, East Pakistan became the independent nation of Bangladesh. During British rule of India, English was the primary medium of administration, judicial work, media communication and parliamentary affairs (Imam 2005: 473). During the period that Bangladesh was part of Pakistan, English had been retained as an official language and Urdu had been installed as the national language, despite the fact that 98 percent of the population in East Pakistan spoke Bengali. As a consequence, this language policy was met with fierce resistance and sparked off widespread student demonstrations in East Pakistan. Therefore, when Bangladesh became independent in 1971, both Urdu and English were officially removed from their public roles (Banu et al. 2001: 124) and Bengali was declared as the only official and national language of the new nation.

The government went to great lengths to replace English by Bengali in all spheres of life, for example, all English-medium schools were abolished in 1972 (129) and the Bengali Language Introduction Act of 1987 clearly stated that Bengali was to be used in all spheres and at all levels for government purposes (126). Nevertheless, in spite of these national policy directions, English has continued to be in constant use, especially in a number of public and private roles (124). In fact, the abolition of English-medium schools in Bangladesh led to the rapid establishment of English-medium schools in the private sector and the proliferation of coaching centres. In addition, this ban together with the de-emphasis on the overall teaching of English in government schools and poor teaching have resulted in a serious decline in the standard of English (130-1), so that today a renewed stress on English education is deemed necessary by people at all levels of society (134).

Not much has been written on Bangladeshi English as a distinctive variety yet, but we can assume that Bangladeshi English has moved into the third phase of nativization, given that laments on falling standards of English are voiced in English-language newspapers (Banu et al. 2001: 134), which is a characteristic typical of phase 3. Nevertheless, its development seems to have been halted by national language policy. For the time being, Bangladesh seems to have succeeded in firmly establishing Bengali as the official and national language and in reducing the role of English to that of the most important foreign language. What is clear is that at present the linguistic orientation of Bangladeshi English is still dominantly exonormative. For instance, in private English-medium schools, all courses are taught in

English by means of books that are produced in the UK (Imam 2005: 477). However, Banu et al. (2001: 145) confidently expect that “English will continue to encroach both on Bengali and on Banglish; that Bengali will continue to encroach on Banglish too; and that at the centre of this intersection Banglish will flourish and evolve”.

2.3.6 Malaysia

In Malaysia, the foundation phase dates back to the establishment of the colony of Penang in 1786, which served as a safe harbour for the East India Company (Schneider 2007: 144). In 1889, the “Straits Settlement”, which was formed in 1826 and comprised the core British possessions of Penang, Melaka and Singapore, gained the status of a crown colony. Before, throughout much of the nineteenth century, the colony had been governed from India, which accounts for “quite some impact of Indian English (which had been established earlier) in the early shaping of its variety through the immigration and employment of many Indians, for instance as teachers in English-medium schools” (144). Indeed, the stable colonial status of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries created an ever-increasing demand for English, so as of the nineteenth century English-medium mission schools and other schools were set up. However, these schools were only accessible to the local elite who were trained to serve the interests of the British (146). That is also why “English prior to Independence in 1957 had an exclusionist-cum-divisive function. It emphasized the division between the races as well as between classes in a single racial group” (Asmah 1996: 515, as cited in Schneider 2007: 146).

After independence, English was retained as a co-official language in addition to Malay, but only for a period of ten years, after which Malay was to become the country’s national and sole official language. The implementation of this national language policy was quite successful and resulted in the fact that “Bahasa Malaysia is deeply and widely entrenched in the nation now without serious challenges” (148). Nevertheless, it seems that in the twenty-first century the usefulness of English has been recognized again, as evidenced in the reintroduction of English as the medium of instruction in technical subjects in 2003. Moreover, English is still widely used in a broad range of domains, even in everyday informal communication, especially in urban environments and it also holds a very strong position in interethnic communication (149).

According to Schneider (2007: 148-152) Malaysian English has proceeded substantially into phase 3: nativization, however, its dynamic development along the cycle appears to have been halted by national language policy and become fossilized. Malaysian English has undergone structural nativization on all levels of language organization, some

features of which it shares with other varieties, especially Singaporean English. The linguistic orientation is still exonormative but no longer exclusively so and there seem to be early indications of codification. In addition, the practice of code-shifting and code-mixing – another typical feature of phase 3 – is also spreading vigorously in the country as an unmarked communicative device.

2.3.7 Singapore

In Singapore, the foundation phase dates back to 1819, when Sir Stamford Raffles founded Singapore as a trading outpost for the British East India Company (Schneider 2007: 153). In 1824, Singapore came under the complete control of the British and in 1826, the island was grouped together with Penang and Melaka to form the Straits Settlements, which were administered from British India until 1867. Since Singapore had been established as a free port and considering its strategically ideal location, Singapore flourished as a maritime trading center and attracted “new residents from various Asian origins who still make up the state’s multiethnic population set up today: a Chinese majority, and substantial Indian (mostly Tamil-speaking) and indigenous Malay minorities” (Schneider 2011: 157). This situation remained stable until the Japanese occupation during World War II. However, when the British regained control in 1945, they were faced with a desire for independence, which was ultimately achieved in 1965 after a period of self-government in 1959 and a brief period of unification with Malaysia (1963-1965) (Schneider 2003: 263-4).

According to Schneider (2003: 264) “phase 3 can be assumed to have started in the postwar period and to have given way to phase 4 during the 1960s and 1970s, a transition caused by the economic success of the newly independent state and by its language policy”. As a result of enormous economic growth and prosperity in the decades after independence, Singapore turned into a highly modern and industrialized nation with a unique and novel identity characterized by a western orientation in business and lifestyle combined with an emphasis on fundamentally Asian values. Singaporean English has come to be the symbolic expression of this bicultural identity (265). One of the factors that contributed to the exceptional status that English currently enjoys in Singapore is its ethnic neutrality. However, the position of English was especially strengthened by the nation’s strictly imposed educational policy which aimed at an “English-knowing” bilingualism. Indeed, all students are educated in English as a first language and in one of the other three official languages (Mandarin, Tamil and Malay) as a second language (264). English thus soon became the one language shared by everybody. Nowadays, English in Singapore is not only the predominant

language in the public domain, but it has also been turning into a native language of many young speakers (Schneider 2011: 159).

Singaporean English has gone through a vibrant process of structural nativization and is marked by features on all levels of language organisation, which are increasingly noted, analysed and also accepted (Schneider 2007: 158). By now, Singapore has clearly reached phase 4 in the Dynamic Model. While exonormative standards are still upheld in schools, the formal recognition of a local linguistic norm is called for and envisaged. Literary writing in Singaporean English is thriving and linguistic homogenization has also been observed. This new variety of English has definitely stabilized and codification is under way (160-1). In fact, in Singapore it is not the use of English as such that is under discussion in the local context but the kind of English that should be used: a standard form of Singaporean English, spoken by educated society leaders in formal situations or Singlish, a strongly dialectal contact variety, which is used in informal situations and which is immensely popular with the people but which is strongly opposed to by the government, see for instance their “Speak Good English Movement” (Schneider 2011: 159-60).

2.3.8 Philippines

Unlike all of the other varieties discussed, Philippine English is not a product of British but of American colonial expansion, and its history is considerably younger (Schneider 2003: 262). The Philippines, formerly a Spanish colony, were transferred to the United States in 1898 as a result of the Spanish-American War. Judging their own culture and language superior to the indigenous ones, the Americans decided to anglicize and culturally “develop” the country (Schneider 2011: 155). English was declared the official language and was introduced as the main and only language of instruction in public schools in September 1901. The American teachers who were sent to the Philippines by the U.S. government to impose this rule – the so-called Thomasites – were extremely successful: the English language spread enormously rapidly and widely, supposedly because of its role as “a socioeconomic equalizer” (Gonzalez 1997: 28, as cited in Schneider 2007: 140). Speaker percentages rose from 4 percent in 1903, to 36.96 percent in 1948, and to 64.5 percent in 1980 (Gonzalez 2004: 9).

In 1935, the Philippines were granted limited sovereignty under a Commonwealth status and in 1937, the new government designated Tagalog (officially renamed Filipino in the 1973 Constitution) as the national language of the country. However, since the implementation of this national language policy proved somewhat difficult, room was left for

the further development of English in local contexts (Schneider 2007: 140-1). During World War II, the Commonwealth of the Philippines was occupied by the Empire of Japan from 1942 to 1945, when Japan surrendered. In 1946, the Philippines finally gained independence from the United States.

Perhaps surprisingly, in the post-war years and after independence the use of English continued to spread vigorously, however, its quality was reported to be deteriorating, which is a sign indicative of phase 3. Since independence, Filipino has been promoted, but a bilingual education policy allowed English to continue to be used as a medium of instruction for certain subjects, especially the sciences (Schneider 2003: 262). According to Schneider (2003: 262) “both this policy and the fact that English is deeply rooted and widely used in society, especially but not exclusively in urban domains and formal and public contexts, explain its continuing strong role in the country and the fact that it has proceeded well into the stage of nativization”. Nowadays, speaker percentages are still impressive: a survey conducted in 1994 showed that about 75 percent of the population is able to read or understand English and more than half are able to speak or write it (Gonzalez 2004: 9). However, as in the case of Malaysia and Bangladesh, the development of Philippine English along the cycle appears to have been halted by national language policy. The current situation is quite stable: Filipino has clearly been established as a national language and although English is strong in certain functional domains, it shows no signs of proceeding any further (Schneider 2003: 263). Furthermore, attitudes toward English are a bit ambivalent at the moment, because its use is associated with the political elite. Interestingly “mix-mix” or “Taglish”, a mixed code of English and Tagalog elements, seems to be doing well as a language of regular informal communication (Schneider 2007: 142).

2.4 Hypotheses

Since all of the countries, except for the Philippines, are former British colonies, we may assume that the varieties of English in these countries have been strongly influenced by British norms. Taking into account the varieties’ position in the dynamic model, we may formulate more specific hypotheses. According to Schneider, the linguistic orientation of the varieties in phase 3, i.e. Indian English, Pakistani English, Bangladeshi English, Malaysian English and Philippine English, is still dominantly exonormative. We may therefore expect these varieties to display similar *-ed/-t* proportions to those attested in British English and

American English for Philippine English⁹. On the other hand, we might expect the varieties that are more advanced along the cycle to exhibit more variety-specific features and thus to show more diverging proportions.

⁹ Though at this point it is still unclear whether these varieties adhere to rules and norms that are in use in Britain (or the United States) today or whether they still follow the same rules and norms that were established during the colonial period.

3 METHODOLOGY

In order to study *-ed/-t* preferences across the ten varieties of English, eleven verbs whose past forms allow both the regular *-ed* and the irregular *-t* forms were selected from the list of irregular verbs that is included in the fifth edition of the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*: *burn, dream, dwell, kneel, lean, leap, learn, smell, spell, spill* and *spoil*.¹⁰ The study is based on data from the Corpus of Global Web-Based English (GloWbE), which is most suitable for our purpose, given that it contains sufficient quantitative data for each of the varieties discussed.

3.1 GloWbE Corpus

The Corpus of Global Web-Based English (GloWbE), created by Mark Davies of Brigham Young University, is composed of 1.9 billion words from 1.8 million web pages in 20 different English-speaking countries¹¹. The corpus contains both general web pages and blogs which were collected in December 2012. Since the same sampling methods were used for the different language varieties, the corpus allows to easily compare varieties. Table 2 below shows the composition of the corpus, including the number of words contained in the corpus for each text type in each of the varieties under discussion. As we can see, the data for every country are very rich, with numbers ranging from almost 40 million words for Bangladeshi English to nearly 400 million words for British and American English. These data should thus provide us with a fairly accurate picture of present-day web-based English in the different countries and enable us to test our hypotheses.

¹⁰ *Light* and *speed* were two other potential candidates but they were excluded because of possible differences in the use of their past forms.

¹¹ United States, Canada, Great Britain, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, India, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Singapore, Malaysia, Philippines, Hong Kong, South Africa, Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya, Tanzania and Jamaica

Country	General (may also include blogs)	(Only) Blogs	Total
United States	253,536,242	133,061,093	386,809,355
Canada	90,846,732	43,814,827	134,765,381
Great Britain	255,672,390	131,671,002	387,615,074
Ireland	80,530,794	20,410,027	101,029,231
India	68,032,551	28,310,511	96,430,888
Pakistan	38,005,985	13,332,245	51,367,152
Bangladesh	28,700,158	10,922,869	39,658,255
Singapore	29,229,186	13,711,412	42,974,705
Malaysia	29,026,896	13,357,745	42,420,168
Philippines	29,758,446	13,457,087	43,250,093

Table 2: *GloWbE data for the varieties discussed*¹²

3.2 Data selection

In order to compare the preference for *-ed/-t* past tense forms for the eleven verbs in the ten varieties of English, we first gathered the absolute frequencies of the *-ed* and *-t* forms for each of the eleven verbs in each variety. These could easily be extracted from the corpus by inserting PoS tags in the queries. For example, by entering *burnt.[v*]* in the search engine only verbal uses of *burnt* are taken into account, thus excluding adjectival uses from the count. The data were then put into tables for comparison. An overview of the data can be found in Appendix 1.

¹² Unfortunately, the corpus does not allow to search in general pages or blogs only. In this way, it was not possible to investigate the impact of text type on the preferences for *-t/-ed*. Indeed, one might expect there to be a difference between the language used in webpages, especially official ones, and the language used in blogs.

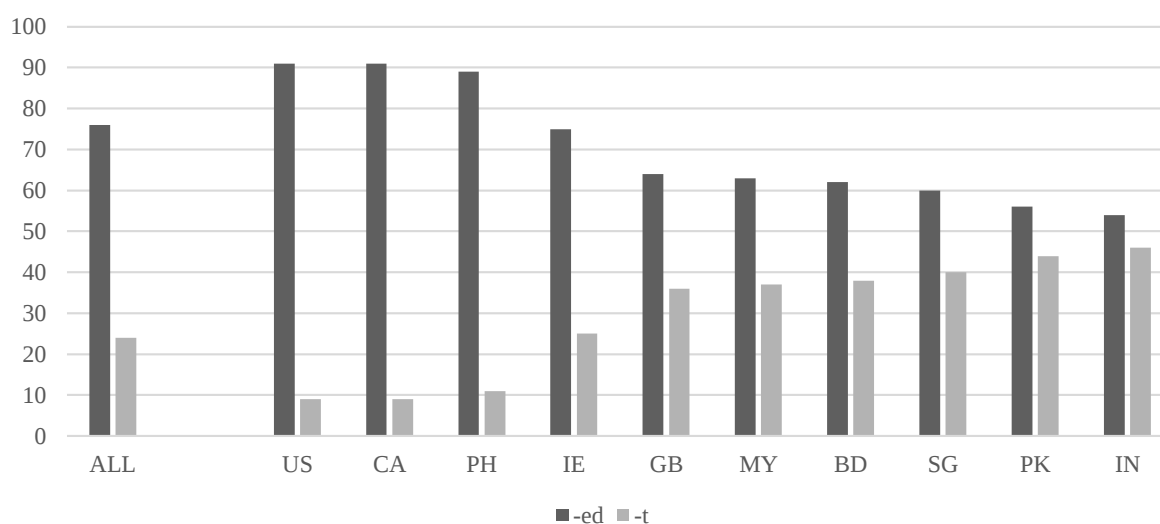
4 DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

4.1 General overview

We will first have a look at the general preference of each of the varieties discussed. Do they generally prefer the regular *-ed* form or the irregular *-t* form in verbs where you have the choice? Moreover, we will determine their position with respect to American and British English, which will serve as reference varieties. To this purpose, the number of *-ed* and *-t* forms of the eleven verbs were added up in each variety. In addition, the total number of *-ed* and *-t* forms in each variety were added up to serve as an average. Proportional uses were calculated to help draw comparisons. Total raw frequencies and proportions are presented and illustrated in Table 3 and Graph 1 below.

<i>ed</i>										
ALL	AmE	CanE	PhilE	IrE	BrE	MalE	BanE	SgE	PakE	IndE
151227	58771	19904	7192	10689	32658	3773	3233	3904	3792	7311
% 76	91	91	89	75	64	63	62	60	56	54
<i>t</i>										
46495	5466	2082	889	3591	18461	2225	1957	2604	3030	6190
% 24	9	9	11	25	36	37	38	40	44	46

Table 3: Overall distribution of *-ed/-t* forms in the different varieties



Graph 1: Overall distribution of *-ed/-t* forms in the different varieties

The figures above already point out a number of trends. First of all, the total number of *-ed* and *-t* forms (ALL) points out a general preference for the *-ed* endings. Indeed, the *-ed* endings are used on average three times as frequent. If we have a look at the ten varieties individually, we notice that all varieties prefer the regular forms, though there is variation in the degree of preference. While some varieties strongly prefer the regular form (American English, Canadian English, Philippine English), others show a more moderate preference (British English, Malaysian English), and still others tend to use the irregular form quite often (Pakistani English, Indian English). Nevertheless, attested differences between *-ed/-t* proportions within each variety proved to be extremely statistically significant ($p < 0.0001$). It is noteworthy that the Inner-Circle varieties in general display the highest number of *-ed* endings.

Secondly, the data seem to confirm that American English, with 91% *-ed* endings, is leading world English in the regularisation of the irregular past tense and past participle forms of these verbs. American English is closely followed by Canadian English. Although there is no difference in percentages, the difference in absolute frequencies proved to be extremely statistically significant (Yates' χ^2 : 18.800; $df = 1$; $p < 0.0001$). These findings are in line with the statement by Brinton and Arnovick (2005: 404) that “[a]part from a few minor differences, little distinguishes CanE from its American counterpart grammatically” (as cited in Waters 2011: 3). The figures also indicate that regularisation is well under way in British English as well. If the trend is indeed towards more regularity, Indian English appears to be the most conservative variety of all.

Thirdly, at first glance, the proportions seem to support the hypothesis that the linguistic orientation of the varieties in phase 3 – Indian English, Pakistani English, Bangladeshi English, Malaysian English and Philippine English – is still dominantly exonormative: Indian English, Pakistani English, Bangladeshi English and Malaysian English indeed display similar¹³ or even higher *-t* proportions compared to British English and the *-t/-ed* proportions of Philippine English also approximate those attested in American English. Interestingly, the proportions of the South and Southeast Asian varieties, with the exception of the Philippines, all lie fairly closely to one another, so much so that the difference between Malaysian English and Bangladeshi English is considered to be not statistically significant (Yates' χ^2 : 0.419; $df =$

¹³ The difference between British English and Malaysian English is not statistically significant (Yates' χ^2 : 2.198; $df = 1$; 0.1382).

1; $p = 0.5176$) and the difference between Pakistani English and Indian English not quite statistically significant (Yates' χ^2 : 3.699; $df = 1$; $p = 0.0544$). The varieties in phase 5 – Canadian English and Irish English – show more diverging proportions compared to British English and use much more *-ed* endings (91% and 75 % against 64% respectively). Singaporean English, though in phase 4, ranks alongside the other South and Southeast Asian varieties with 60% *-ed* endings against 40% *-t* endings. In the next section, we will have a look at internal variation within the selected set of verbs in order to see whether the same kind (and the same degree) of preferences can be attested for the different verbs across the varieties.

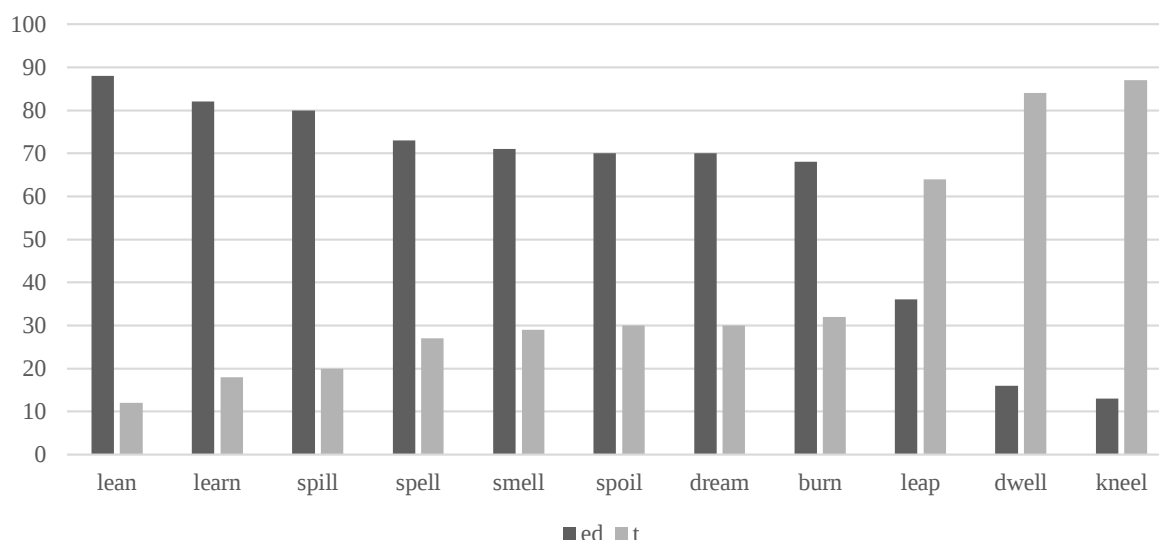
4.2 Internal variation

We have now seen that all varieties generally prefer the regular forms. However, as pointed out in section 2.2 this does not apply to all verbs. Indeed, some verbs continue to show clear preferences for strong forms in both British English and American English. In this section we will examine whether the same kind of intravarietal variation in the verbs' preferences for *-ed* and *-t* forms can be attested across the different varieties and how strong these preferences are. First, we will have a look at the varieties' overall preference for *-ed/-t* forms for the eleven selected verbs as presented in Table 4 and Graph 2 below.

	<i>lean</i>	<i>learn</i>	<i>spill</i>	<i>spell</i>	<i>smell</i>	<i>spoil</i>	<i>dream</i>	<i>burn</i>	<i>leap</i>	<i>dwell</i>	<i>kneel</i>
<i>ed</i>	4591	103846	3244	5165	2826	4800	7669	17428	1194	270	194
%	88	82	80	73	71	70	70	68	36	16	13
<i>t</i>	655	23470	798	1894	1166	2089	3255	8272	2139	1471	1286
%	12	18	20	27	29	30	30	32	64	84	87

Table 4: Attested *-ed/-t* proportions across 11 verbs¹⁴

¹⁴ A chi-square test indicated statistically significant differences between regular forms and irregular forms at the 0.0001 level for *burn*, *dwell*, *dream*, *kneel*, *lean*, *leap*, *learn*, *smell*, *spell* and *spoil* and at the 0.0026 level for *spill* in terms of absolute frequencies.



Graph 2: Attested -ed/-t proportions across 11 verbs

The overall picture clearly shows that most verbs prefer *-ed* but the graph above also illustrates that there is variation in the verbs' preferences for *-ed* and *-t* forms. Eight out of the eleven verbs prefer *-ed*, while three prefer *-t*, though to differing degrees. *Lean*, *learn*, *spill*, *spell*, *smell*, *spoil*, *dream* and *burn* prefer *-ed* forms, *lean* showing the strongest preference (88%), *burn* the weakest (68%). *Leap*, *dwell* and *kneel* prefer *-t* forms. Note that two out of these verbs, *dwell* and *kneel*, show remarkably high *-t* proportions (84% and 87% respectively).

In the next paragraphs we will have a closer look at the verbs' behaviour in each variety individually to see whether similar preferences can be observed across the different varieties. The following table presents an overview of the preferences of each verb in Canadian, American, Philippine, Irish, Malaysian, Pakistani, Singaporean, Bangladeshi, British, and Indian English. The upper part of the table lists the verbs on the basis of their preference for regular forms. At the top of the table, we thus find the verbs with the strongest preference for *-ed* forms, at the bottom those with the weakest preference. A distinction has been made between verbs that show a very strong (>75%), strong (55-75%) and balanced preference (45-55%), see the legend to Table 5. In the lower part of the table the verbs that prefer *-t* are listed according to their strength of preference in order to be able to make the same distinction in the preference for *-t* forms. The verbs with a preference lower than 45% were excluded in this part of the table. The bottom of the table summarizes the total number of very strong (VS), strong (S) and balanced (B) preferences for either *-ed* or *-t* in each variety. The varieties have

been arranged according to their number of very strong and strong preferences and will be discussed in that order.

ed ↗	CanE	%	AmE	%	PhilE	%	IrE	%	MalE	%	PakE	%	SgE	%	BanE	%	BrE	%	IndE	%
	spoil	96	lean	97	learn	95	learn	82	lean	94	lean	81	lean	93	lean	92	lean	75	lean	91
	learn	96	learn	96	spill	93	lean	80	spill	75	spoil	75	spill	81	spill	84	learn	68	spill	81
	lean	96	spoil	94	spell	92	spill	74	learn	67	spill	73	smell	80	spoil	73	dream	67	spoil	59
	spill	92	spell	93	spoil	90	burn	71	spell	65	spell	67	dream	64	spell	68	spill	67	learn	56
	spell	88	spill	90	lean	88	spoil	69	dream	63	smell*	59	learn	60	learn	66	burn	62	smell*	52
	burn	78	smell	88	smell	81	dream	65	smell	60	learn	58	spell*	56	smell*	58	smell	53	spell*	52
	dream	78	dream	83	burn	78	smell	64	burn*	50	dream*	50	burn*	51	leap*	51	spell*	52	dream*	48
	smell	78	burn	82	leap	74	spell	61	spoil*	46	burn	45	spoil*	49	dream*	50	spoil*	51	leap*	45
	leap	39	leap*	48	dream	69	leap	41	leap	34	leap	35	leap	36	burn*	49	leap	21	burn	43
	dwell	17	kneel	14	kneel	16	kneel	9	dwell	23	dwell	20	dwell*	36	kneel*	30	dwell	17	kneel	22
	kneel	7	dwell	14	dwell	10	dwell	8	kneel	11	kneel	8	kneel	26	dwell	18	kneel	11	dwell	21
t ↗	CanE	%	AmE	%	PhilE	%	IrE	%	MalE	%	PakE	%	SgE	%	BanE	%	BrE	%	IndE	%
	kneel	93	dwell	86	dwell	90	dwell	92	kneel	89	kneel	92	kneel	74	dwell	82	kneel	89	dwell	79
	dwell	83	kneel	86	kneel	84	kneel	91	dwell	77	dwell	80	dwell*	64	kneel*	70	dwell	83	kneel	78
	leap	61	leap*	52			leap	59	leap	66	leap	65	leap	64	burn*	51	leap	79	burn	57
									spoil*	54	burn	55	spoil*	51	dream*	50	spoil*	49	leap*	55
									burn*	50	dream*	50	burn*	49	leap*	49	spell*	48	dream*	52
																	smell	47	spell*	48
																			smell*	48
totals	CanE		AmE		PhilE		IrE		MalE		PakE		SgE		BanE		BrE		IndE	
VS	10		10		9		4		4		4		3		3		4		4	
S	1		0		2		7		5		5		6		5		4		3	
B	0		1		0		0		2		2		2		3		3		4	

 : 75-100%
  : 55-75%
  : 45-55%

Table 5: Preferences across varieties for each verb;

* no statistically significant difference between -t/-ed proportion (see Appendix 2 for an overview of statistical tests)¹⁵

A number of interesting trends can be observed in this table. First of all, the totals regarding very strong, strong and balanced preferences differ substantially across the varieties. Canadian English turns out to be the most outspoken in preferences with ten verbs displaying a preference of more than 75% for either *-ed* or *-t* (eight for *-ed*, three for *-t*). *Leap* seems to be the only exception in this variety with a more moderate preference of 61% for *-t*. Canadian English is closely followed by American English which is equal to Canadian English in terms of very strong preferences but is different in that *leap* shows a balanced instead of a strong preference for *-t*. As hypothesized, Philippine English, like American English, appears to be very outspoken in its preferences as well, with nine verbs showing a very strong preference and two verbs a strong preference. These varieties not only have in common that they have far

¹⁵ In some cases, this may be due to a low frequency of occurrence in the corpus. For instance, in Singaporean English, *dwelt* occurs fourteen times while *dwelled* occurs only eight times. Whereas in percentage terms (64% against 36%), this difference would seem to be significant, it is not, due to these low figures.

more outspoken preferences than the other varieties but they also seem to have largely the same preferences: a clear preference for the regular form of *lean*, *learn*, *spoil*, *spill*, *spell*, *smell*, *burn* and *dream* and for the irregular form of *dwell* and *kneel*. Only *leap* behaves differently in all three varieties. Whereas Canadian English and American English respectively show a strong and a balanced, though not statically significant preference for the *-t* ending, Philippine English shows a strong preference for the *-ed* ending.

In Irish English, another Inner-Circle variety, we get more moderate, but still clear preferences: four very strong preferences, of which two for *-ed* and two for *-t*, and seven strong preferences. Again, we get roughly the same preferences though to a lesser degree. *Dwell* and *kneel* strongly prefer *-t*, while the preference for *leapt* is much more moderate. The other verbs prefer *-ed*. However, compared to Canadian, American and Philippine English, these preferences are not as outspoken.

In Malaysian, Pakistani and Singaporean English, the preferences for *-ed/-t* are still less outspoken. These varieties each count two verbs with a balanced preference whose difference between *-t/-ed* proportion is, moreover, considered to be not statistically significant. There are thus only nine clear preferences for either *-t* or *-ed*. Apart from the balanced preferences, Malaysian and Pakistani English each show two very strong preferences for *-ed*, two very strong preferences for *-t* (again *kneel* and *dwell*), one strong preference for *-t* (*leap*) and another four strong preferences for *-ed*. Singaporean English, on the other hand, shows next to the balanced preferences three very strong preferences for *-ed*, three strong preferences for *-ed* and three strong preferences for *-t* (*kneel*, *dwell* and *leap*). Bangladeshi English is similar to Singaporean English in terms of very strong, strong and balanced preferences, with the difference that Bangladeshi English has one more balanced preference and one less strong preference. Singaporean and Bangladeshi English also have in common that *kneel* only shows a strong preference for *-t* in contrast to the other varieties which display a very strong preference. In Singaporean English, the preference for *dwelt* is also much weaker compared to the other varieties. Overall, these varieties still prefer *-ed* for the majority of the verbs.

Compared to American English, there are much fewer strong preferences in British English: only four verbs (instead of ten) show a very strong preference for either *-ed* or *-t*, four show a strong preference and three verbs fall under the category of balanced preference. Moreover, of the verbs that show a very strong preference, there is only one verb with a very strong preference for *-ed* (*lean*), compared to eight verbs in American English. *Kneel*, *dwell* and *leap* all strongly prefer *-t*. However, a closer look at the preferences shows us that *knelt*,

dwelt and *leapt* are also the preferred forms in American English and that apart from these strong preferences for *-t*, the other verbs in British English also favour *-ed* to varying extents: from a very slight preference for *smell*, *spell* and *spoil* to a more substantial preference for *learn*, *dream*, *spill* and *burn* to a strong preference for *lean*. So it appears that the difference between American and British English regarding the use of regularised verb forms is indeed one of degree rather than kind.

Indian English turns out to be the least outspoken in preferences with four verbs displaying a balanced preference (45-55%) for either *-ed* or *-t* and only four verbs displaying a clear preference. *Dwell* and *kneel* show clear preferences for *-t* as in most varieties, while *lean* and *spill* show clear preferences for *-ed*, as is also the case in Malaysian, Singaporean and Bangladeshi English. Indian English further displays two strong preferences for *-ed* (*learn* and *spoil*) and one strong preference for *-t* (*burn*). Note that Indian English is the only variety that shows a rather strong preference of 57% for *burnt*.

For now, we have mainly focused on the number of very strong, strong and balanced preferences for *-ed* or *-t* across the varieties. However, the table also tells us something about the individual verbs' behaviour across the varieties. There seems to be some similarity in the order in which the verbs are listed in each variety. Indeed, *lean* has the highest *-ed* proportion in seven out of the ten varieties and also *learn* and *spill* tend to rank among the verbs with the highest *-ed* proportions in many varieties, while *dwelt* and *kneel* invariably display the highest *-t* proportions. In addition, seven varieties list *leapt* after *dwelt* and *kneel* as the verb with the third highest *-t* proportion. However, there seems to be some disagreement about *leapt* across the different varieties. Canadian, Irish, Malaysian, Pakistani and Singaporean English show a strong preference for *leapt* whereas only Philippine English shows a strong preference for *leaped*. British English, on the other hand, is the only variety with a very strong preference for the *-t* ending. American and Indian English display a balanced (though not statistically significant) preference for *-ed* and Bangladeshi English for *-t*. Nevertheless, these consistencies between varieties might indicate that there are some factors that have an impact on the proportions to which *-t/-ed* forms are preferred. In section 4.3 we will examine whether frequency or vowel change are among these factors.

Moreover, Table 5 also illustrates some differences between varieties. Overall, we might conclude that the majority of the varieties more or less clearly prefer the regular form for all verbs except for *dwelt*, *kneel* and *leapt*, but that the degree to which the preference for -

ed/-t is expressed differs. Only *spoil* is still slightly in favour of *-t* in Malaysian and Singaporean English, *burn* in Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Indian English and *dream* in Indian English. Canadian, American and Philippine English appear to be most advanced in the regularisation process, while Malaysian, Pakistani, Singaporean, Bangladeshi, British and Indian English are lagging behind. This might alternatively be taken as a sign that Malaysian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Indian (Phase 3) and even Singaporean English (Phase 4) are still mainly influenced by British English, showing milder preferences for *-ed* and still stronger preferences for *-t*. Philippine English (Phase 3), on the other hand, which had American English as its target during the American colonial period displays much stronger preferences for *-ed*, especially compared to the other South and Southeast Asian varieties which had British English as their target. Now, in order to test our hypothesis that the varieties in phase 3, in particular Indian English, Pakistani English, Bangladeshi English and Malaysian English on the one hand, and Philippine English on the other hand display similar proportions to British and American English respectively and that the varieties that are more advanced along the cycle show more diverging proportions, Table 6 below was drawn up. It provides an overview of overlap between the different varieties on the one hand, and British and American English on the other hand, based on statistical significance of the attested differences in degrees of preference. In those cases where no statistically significant difference was found, the verbs were considered to be behaving in the same way, i.e. showing the same degree of preference for either *-ed* or *-t* (see Appendix 3 for an overview of the statistical tests). If the hypothesis were correct, we would expect to find more verbs that behave alike in Indian English, Pakistani English, Bangladeshi, Malaysian and British English, and in Philippine and American English. Singaporean English, which has reached phase 4 in the Dynamic Model, would then have fewer verbs in common with British and American English in comparison with the above-mentioned varieties, and Irish and Canadian English still fewer, since these varieties are expected to show more variety-specific features.

Phase 3	Indian and British English	Indian and American English
	dwell	kneel
	smell	leap
	spell	
	Pakistani and British English	Pakistani and American English
	dwell	dwell
	kneel	kneel
	lean	
	smell	
	Bangladeshi and British English	Bangladeshi and American English
Phase 4	dwell	dwell
	smell	leap
	Malaysian and British English	Malaysian and American English
	dream	dwell
	dwell	kneel
	kneel	lean
	learn	
	smell	
	spoil	
	Philippine and British English	Philippine and American English
Phase 5	dream	dwell
	dwell	kneel
	kneel	spell
		spill
	Singaporean and British English	Singaporean and American English
	dream	
	spell	
	spoil	
	Canadian and British English	Canadian and American English
	dwell	dwell
Phase 5	kneel	lean
		learn
		spill
	Irish and British English	Irish and American English
	dream	
	kneel	

Table 6: Shared degrees of preference across varieties

At first sight, the table above seems to support our hypothesis. Indian, Pakistani and Malaysian English indeed have more verbs in common with British than with American English. The difference is especially striking in the case of Malaysian English, which has six verbs behaving the same way as in British English compared to three in American English. Only Bangladeshi English has a same number of verbs in common with both varieties. Nevertheless, these varieties have on average more verbs showing the same degree of preference as British English for either *-ed* or *-t* than the other four remaining varieties. Philippine English, on the other hand, shows more similarities with American than with British English.

The results for Singaporean and Irish English also seem to be in support of the hypothesis. The total number of similarities with British and American English (three and two respectively) is remarkably lower than the varieties in phase 3, with the exception of Bangladeshi English, which means that these varieties display more variety-specific features. However, Canadian English appears to be an exception to the hypothesis, with two verbs behaving like British English and still four like American English. This may be due to its geographical proximity to the US. Nevertheless, this total of six similarities is still lower than the average total of 6.2 for the varieties in phase 3. In sum, the hypothesis seems to be only partly confirmed.

Finally, several further remarks can be made about the table above. First of all, *burn* is the only verb that does not appear in this overview, which means that this verb differs in all varieties in terms of degree of preference from both American and British English. Of all the verbs, *dwell* and *kneel* behave most alike in all varieties, which is perhaps not surprising since all varieties show a clear preference for the irregular forms of these verbs. *Dwell* behaves in the same way as in British English in six varieties and like American English in five varieties. Five varieties show similar proportions to British English for *kneel* and four varieties show similar proportions to American English. Lastly, it can be concluded that most varieties show some overlap with both British and American English.

4.3 Accounting for the variation between -ed and -t forms

In this section, we will briefly examine two factors that may possibly account for some of the variation that has been observed within and across the varieties. Following Lieberman et al.'s study (2007), we will first explore the impact of frequency on the proportions to which -t/-ed forms are preferred. Secondly, we will have a look at the extent to which differences between the regular and the irregular form has an influence on the retention of -t forms. We will start from the assumption that regularised verb forms which show significant changes from their irregular counterparts will tend to have lower frequencies as these differences are more salient for language users which may slow down the process of entrenchment.

4.3.1 Frequency

As shown in Section 2.1, Lieberman et al. (2007) observed a significant correlation between frequency of word usage and the rate of regularisation. High-frequency verbs were shown to be more resistant to regularisation than low-frequency verbs. In this section, we will therefore examine whether frequency also has an impact on the preferences of verbs whose preterites and past participles allow for both *-t* suffixes and *-ed* suffixes. Do high-frequency irregular verbs with variable past forms show a stronger preference for *-t* suffixes than low-frequency verbs, and vice versa? However, some caution should be taken here since the frequencies of the different verbs are regarded in relation to one another without using Lieberman et al.'s methodology to estimate the relative frequency of these verbs in the language as a whole. Table 7 below compares the verbs listed according to their frequency of occurrence (high to low) to the verbs listed according to their preference for *-t* endings (high to low) in each variety. If frequency indeed has an impact on the strength of preference for *-t* forms, we would expect verbs with the highest frequency to show the highest preference for *-t* forms and verbs with the lowest frequency to show the highest preference for *-ed* forms. The order of the verbs in both columns would thus have to correspond.

AmE		BrE		CanE		IrE		IndE	
freq ↘	prop -t ↘	freq ↘	prop -t ↘	freq ↘	prop -t ↘	freq ↘	prop -t ↘	freq ↘	prop -t ↘
learn	dwelt	learn	kneel	learn	kneel	learn	dwelt	learn	dwelt
burn	kneel	burn	dwelt	burn	dwelt	burn	kneel	burn	kneel
dream	leap	dream	leap	dream	leap	dream	leap	dream	burn
spell	burn	spoil	spoil	spell	smell	spell	spell	spoil	leap
lean	dream	spell	spell	spoil	dream	spoil	smell	spell	dream
spoil	smell	lean	smell	smell	burn	spill	dream	spill	spell
smell	spill	leap	burn	lean	spell	lean	spoil	lean	smell
spill	spell	spill	spill	spill	spill	smell	burn	smell	learn
leap	spoil	smell	dream	leap	lean	leap	spill	leap	spoil
dwelt	learn	kneel	learn	dwelt	learn	kneel	lean	dwelt	spill
kneel	lean	dwelt	lean	kneel	spoil	dwelt	learn	kneel	lean
PakE		BanE		SgE		MalE		PhilE	
freq ↘	prop -t ↘	freq ↘	prop -t ↘	freq ↘	prop -t ↘	freq ↘	prop -t ↘	freq ↘	prop -t ↘
learn	kneel	learn	dwelt	learn	kneel	learn	kneel	learn	dwelt
burn	dwelt	burn	kneel	burn	dwelt	burn	dwelt	burn	kneel
dream	leap	dream	burn	spoil	leap	spoil	leap	dream	dream
spoil	burn	spell	dream	dream	spoil	dream	spoil	spell	leap
spell	dream	spoil	leap	smell	burn	spell	burn	lean	burn
spill	learn	spill	smell	spell	spell	smell	smell	spoil	smell
smell	smell	smell	learn	lean	learn	spill	dream	smell	lean
lean	spell	lean	spell	spill	dream	leap	spell	spill	spoil
dwelt	spill	leap	spoil	leap	smell	lean	learn	leap	spell
leap	spoil	dwelt	spill	kneel	spill	dwelt	spill	kneel	spill
kneel	lean	kneel	lean	dwelt	lean	kneel	lean	dwelt	learn

Table 7: order of frequency (high to low) compared to order of -t preference (high to low) – American, British, Canadian, Irish, Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Singaporean, Malaysian and Philippine English

The table clearly shows that there is no correspondence between the frequency of the verbs and the preference for -t forms in none of the varieties. The table even reveals some opposite tendencies: *learn*, for instance, which has the highest frequency of all verbs in all varieties, tends to have a rather weak preference for the -t endings. Moreover, *dwelt* and *kneel*, which rank lowest in frequency in all varieties but Pakistani English, invariably display the highest -t preferences. We may thus conclude that there is no clear correlation between frequency and the proportion of preferences for the verbs under investigation.

4.3.2 Saliency of change

When changing from irregular to regular forms, some of the verbs under discussion only differ in that they end in a voiced *-ed* instead of a voiceless *-t*. This is the case for *learn*, *burn*, *spill*, *spell*, *smell*, *spoil* and *dwell*. Other verbs undergo a more noticeable change, for instance, they have a digraph lengthened, such as is the case for *leap*, *dream* and *lean*, or they even experience an additional change in orthography like *knelt/kneeled*. Intuitively, we might expect that verbs in the former case will meet with less resistance in the regularisation process (and thus display more regularised uses) than verbs whose changes are more dramatic. Verbs in the latter case would then be more reluctant to change and consequently show higher *-t* proportions. Table 8 gives an overview of the verbs that have vowel change and the verbs that do not, together with their preference for *-t* or *-ed* (high to low). The verbs in bold indicate a preference of more than fifty percent. Since roughly the same kind of preferences could be attested across the ten varieties, we will only look at the sum of all varieties taken together.

No vowel change	ed $\searrow$	Vowel change	t $\searrow$
learn		kneel	
spill		leap	
spell		dream	
smell		lean	
spoil			
burn			
dwell			

Table 8: Vowel change and *-t/-ed* preference - all varieties

The table indicates that a large majority of the verbs that do not display vowel change have a preference for *-ed* (i.e. *learn*, *spill*, *spell*, *smell*, *spoil* and *burn*). Half of the verbs that do display vowel change show a preference for *-t* (i.e. *kneel* and *leap*). Note that the strongest correlation between *-t* retention and vowel change is observed for *kneel*, whose past form differs both in terms of pronunciation and orthography. *Dwell*, *dream* and *lean* are exceptions. *Dwell*, which does not have vowel change, strongly prefers *-t* whereas *dream* and *lean* do have vowel change but prefer *-ed*. Overall, it seems that the presence or absence of vowel change has an effect on attested proportions: verbs whose irregular and regular form show fewer differences in spelling and pronunciation indeed show stronger preferences for the *-ed* endings. However, the exceptions also suggest that other factors are at play. We will briefly address some of these in the next section as possible avenues for further research.

5 CONCLUSIONS

The synchronic study of the regularisation of irregular verbs that have *-ed* or *-t* endings in British, American, Canadian, Irish, Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Singaporean, Malaysian and Philippine English has revealed a number of differences and similarities between the varieties. First, we examined the overall preference for *-ed/-t* of each of the varieties discussed in order to determine their position with respect to American and British English. The data pointed out that American English is most advanced in the regularization of the verbs under discussion. British English, on the other hand, is lagging somewhat behind, but also shows a clear preference for the regular forms. As far as the other varieties are concerned, Philippine and especially Canadian English show strong similarities to American English. Malaysian, Bangladeshi, Singaporean, Pakistani and Indian English are more similar to British English, with the difference that they still tend to use the irregular forms slightly more often. Irish English can be positioned somewhere between British and American English.

Secondly, we had a closer look at the individual verbs' behaviour across all varieties. The data revealed both intra- and intervaretal variation. Indeed, the results showed that in spite of the general trend towards regularisation, some verbs continue to show very strong preferences for the *-t* forms. However, the same variation seemed to manifest itself across all varieties: roughly the same verbs show the same kind of preference across the different varieties. There were differences, though, as to the degree to which these preferences were expressed, both for *-t* and *-ed* forms. While most varieties showed some overlap with both British and American English, it is clear that Indian, Pakistani, Malaysian and Singaporean English are still mainly influenced by British English, and Philippine English as well as Canadian English by American English. Irish English appeared to show the most variety-specific features.

In line with previous research (Lieberman et al. 2007), this paper further explored frequency as one of the factors which may account for internal differences. However, the results of the corpus study provided no support for the influence of frequency on regularity: high-frequency verbs did not necessarily show higher *-t* proportions and vice versa. On the contrary, the study even revealed some opposite tendencies. By contrast, salience of change appeared to have an influence on the retention of *-t* forms in that verbs whose irregular and regular form display fewer differences in spelling and pronunciation show stronger preferences for the *-ed* endings. However, exceptions to this trend also suggest the presence of other factors.

We see various avenues for further research. First of all, this study was only based on a synchronic snapshot. In order to thoroughly examine the regularization process of irregular verbs in the different varieties, diachronic data is needed. Secondly, more research needs to be carried out into the factors that may have an impact on the actual preferences. In this paper, frequency and salience of change have been examined. However, there are many more possible factors such as analogy with other verbs of the same pattern, the life span of these irregular verbs, the level of formality of the context the verbs occur in or the potential semantic specialisation of both forms. Indeed, it may well be the case that some verbs have developed or are developing specialised meanings. In this way, the context would determine the form that is used, as in the case of *hanged/hung* for instance. Finally, more attention could also be paid to the impact of prescriptivism on the evolutionary trend towards verb regularization.

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APPENDIX 1: OVERVIEW OF ATTESTED FREQUENCIES FOR THE *-ED* AND *-T*
FORM OF ALL ELEVEN VERBS AND THEIR PROPORTIONAL USE (IN BOLD)

<i>burnt</i>										
ALL	AmE	CanE	BrE	IrE	IndE	PakE	BanE	SgE	MalE	PhilE
8272	1436	532	2483	598	1162	778	450	297	361	175
32	18	22	38	29	57	55	51	49	50.5	22
<i>burned</i>										
17428	6747	1926	4044	1469	884	634	434	314	354	622
68	82	78	62	71	43	45	49	51	49.5	78
<i>dwelt</i>										
ALL	AmE	CanE	BrE	IrE	IndE	PakE	BanE	SgE	MalE	PhilE
1471	533	167	276	150	115	72	31	14	33	80
84	86	83.5	83	92	79	80	82	64	77	90
<i>dwelled</i>										
270	86	33	55	13	31	18	7	8	10	9
16	14	16.5	17	8	21	20	18	36	23	10
<i>dreamt</i>										
ALL	AmE	CanE	BrE	IrE	IndE	PakE	BanE	SgE	MalE	PhilE
3255	543	228	1077	305	405	159	166	119	110	143
30	17	22	33	35	52	50	50	36	37	31
<i>dreamed</i>										
7669	2695	819	2176	560	379	156	168	209	185	322
70	83	78	67	65	48	50	50	64	63	69
<i>knelt</i>										
ALL	AmE	CanE	BrE	IrE	IndE	PakE	BanE	SgE	MalE	PhilE
1286	366	124	357	170	60	49	16	42	16	86
87	86	93	89	91	78	92	70	74	89	84
<i>kneeled</i>										
194	62	10	44	17	17	4	7	15	2	16
13	14	7	11	9	22	8	30	26	11	16
<i>leant</i>										
ALL	AmE	CanE	BrE	IrE	IndE	PakE	BanE	SgE	MalE	PhilE
655	66	20	424	57	18	19	7	11	5	28
12	3	4	25	20	9	19	8	7	6	12
<i>leaned</i>										
4591	1861	435	1274	230	185	82	77	157	85	205
88	97	96	75	80	91	81	92	93	94	88

leapt

ALL	AmE	CanE	BrE	IrE	IndE	PakE	BanE	SgE	MalE	PhilE
2139	435	184	1054	143	91	45	39	56	61	31
64	52	61	79	59	55	65	49	64	66	26

leaped

1194	409	117	276	100	74	24	41	32	31	90
36	48	39	21	41	45	35	51	36	34	74

learnt

ALL	AmE	CanE	BrE	IrE	IndE	PakE	BanE	SgE	MalE	PhilE
23470	1548	570	9895	1601	3769	1689	1116	1739	1277	266
18	4	4	32	18	44	42	34	40	33	5

learned

103846	40839	14585	21301	7193	4895	2364	2174	2636	2600	5259
82	96	96	68	82	56	58	66	60	67	95

smelt

ALL	AmE	CanE	BrE	IrE	IndE	PakE	BanE	SgE	MalE	PhilE
1166	150	115	530	91	80	43	36	36	57	28
29	12	22	47	36	48	41	42	20	40	19

smelled

2826	1107	400	609	162	87	63	50	143	84	121
71	88	78	53	64	52	59	58	80	60	81

spelt

ALL	AmE	CanE	BrE	IrE	IndE	PakE	BanE	SgE	MalE	PhilE
1894	169	86	857	242	230	68	46	76	96	24
27	7	12	48	39	48	33	32	44	35	8

spelled

5165	2234	604	932	373	248	136	99	95	182	262
73	93	88	52	61	52	67	68	56	65	92

spilt

ALL	AmE	CanE	BrE	IrE	IndE	PakE	BanE	SgE	MalE	PhilE
798	121	34	386	82	47	47	16	28	28	9
20	10	8	33	26	19	27	16	19	25	7

spilled

3244	1102	405	770	230	206	130	84	118	83	116
80	90	92	67	74	81	73	84	81	75	93

spoilt

ALL	AmE	CanE	BrE	IrE	IndE	PakE	BanE	SgE	MalE	PhilE
2089	99	22	1122	152	213	61	34	186	181	19
30	6	4	49	31	41	25	27	51	54	10

spoiled

4800	1629	570	1177	342	305	181	92	177	157	170
70	94	96	51	69	59	75	73	49	46	90

ed

ALL	AmE	CanE	BrE	IrE	IndE	PakE	BanE	SgE	MalE	PhilE
151227	58771	19904	32658	10689	7311	3792	3233	3904	3773	7192
76	91	91	64	75	54	56	62	60	63	89

t

46495	5466	2082	18461	3591	6190	3030	1957	2604	2225	889
24	9	9	36	25	46	44	38	40	37	11

total

197722	64237	21986	51119	14280	13501	6822	5190	6508	5998	8081
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APPENDIX 2: OVERVIEW STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES (OBSERVED VS EXPECTED FREQUENCIES; GREY= NOT (QUITE) STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT)

ALL <i>burn</i>			<i>chi-square p-value</i>			AmE			CanE			BrE		
<i>burnt</i>	8272	12850	<0.0001			1436	4091,5	<0.0001	532	1229	<0.0001	2483	3263,5	<0.0001
<i>burned</i>	17428	12850	<0.0001			6747	4091,5	<0.0001	1926	1229	<0.0001	4044	3263,5	<0.0001
<i>dwelt</i>														
<i>dwelt</i>	1471	870,5	<0.0001			533	309,5	<0.0001	167	100	<0.0001	276	165,5	<0.0001
<i>dwelled</i>	270	870,5	<0.0001			86	309,5	<0.0001	33	100	<0.0001	55	165,5	<0.0001
<i>dream</i>														
<i>dreamt</i>	3255	5462	<0.0001			543	1619	<0.0001	228	523,5	<0.0001	1077	1626,5	<0.0001
<i>dreamt</i>	7669	5462	<0.0001			2695	1619	<0.0001	819	523,5	<0.0001	2176	1626,5	<0.0001
<i>kneel</i>														
<i>knelt</i>	1286	740	<0.0001			366	214	<0.0001	124	67	<0.0001	357	200,5	<0.0001
<i>kneeled</i>	194	740	<0.0001			62	214	<0.0001	10	67	<0.0001	44	200,5	<0.0001
<i>lean</i>														
<i>leant</i>	655	2623	<0.0001			66	963,5	<0.0001	20	227,5	<0.0001	424	849	<0.0001
<i>leaned</i>	4591	2623	<0.0001			1861	963,5	<0.0001	435	227,5	<0.0001	1274	849	<0.0001
<i>leap</i>														
<i>leapt</i>	2139	1666,5	<0.0001			435	422	0.3708	184	150,5	0.0001	1054	665	<0.0001
<i>leaped</i>	1194	1666,5	<0.0001			409	422	0.3708	117	150,5	0.0001	276	665	<0.0001
<i>learn</i>														
<i>learnt</i>	23470	63658	<0.0001			1548	21193,5	<0.0001	570	7577,5	<0.0001	9895	15598	<0.0001
<i>learned</i>	103846	63658	<0.0001			40839	21193,5	<0.0001	14585	7577,5	<0.0001	21301	15598	<0.0001
<i>smell</i>														
<i>smelt</i>	1166	1996	<0.0001			150	628,5	<0.0001	115	257,5	<0.0001	530	569,5	0.0192
<i>smelled</i>	2826	1996	<0.0001			1107	628,5	<0.0001	400	257,5	<0.0001	609	569,5	0.0192
<i>spell</i>														
<i>spelt</i>	1894	3529,5	<0.0001			169	1201,5	<0.0001	86	345	<0.0001	857	894,5	0.0762
<i>spelled</i>	5165	3529,5	<0.0001			2234	1201,5	<0.0001	604	345	<0.0001	932	894,5	0.0762
<i>spill</i>														
<i>spilt</i>	798	2021	0.0026			121	611,5	<0.0001	34	219,5	<0.0001	386	578	<0.0001
<i>spilled</i>	3244	2021	0.0026			1102	611,5	<0.0001	405	219,5	<0.0001	770	578	<0.0001
<i>spoil</i>														
<i>spoilt</i>	2089	3444,5	<0.0001			99	864	<0.0001	22	296	<0.0001	1122	1149,5	0.2513
<i>spoiled</i>	4800	3444,5	<0.0001			1629	864	<0.0001	570	296	<0.0001	1177	1149,5	0.2513
<i>ed/t</i>														
<i>ed</i>	151227	98861	<0.0001			58771	32118,5	<0.0001	19904	10993	<0.0001	32658	25559,5	<0.0001
<i>t</i>	46495	98861	<0.0001			5466	32118,5	<0.0001	2082	10993	<0.0001	18461	25559,5	<0.0001

IrE				IndE			PakE			BanE		
<i>burnt</i>	598	1033,5	<0.0001	1162	1023	<0.0001	778	706	0.0001	450	442	0.5905
<i>burned</i>	1469	1033,5	<0.0001	884	1023	<0.0001	634	706	0.0001	434	442	0.5905
<i>dwelt</i>	150	81,5	<0.0001	115	73	<0.0001	72	45	<0.0001	31	19	<0.0001
<i>dwelled</i>	13	81,5	<0.0001	31	73	<0.0001	18	45	<0.0001	7	19	<0.0001
<i>dreamt</i>	305	432,5	<0.0001	405	392	0.3531	159	157,5	0.8658	166	167	0.9129
<i>dreamt</i>	560	432,5	<0.0001	379	392	0.3531	156	157,5	0.8658	168	167	0.9129
<i>kneelt</i>	170	93,5	<0.0001	60	38,5	<0.0001	49	26,5	<0.0001	16	11,5	0.0606
<i>kneeled</i>	17	93,5	<0.0001	17	38,5	<0.0001	4	26,5	<0.0001	7	11,5	0.0606
<i>leant</i>	57	143,5	<0.0001	18	101,5	<0.0001	19	50,5	<0.0001	7	42	<0.0001
<i>leaned</i>	230	143,5	<0.0001	185	101,5	<0.0001	82	50,5	<0.0001	77	42	<0.0001
<i>leapt</i>	143	121,5	0.0058	91	82,5	0.1857	45	34,5	0.0115	39	40	0.8231
<i>leaped</i>	100	121,5	0.0058	74	82,5	0.1857	24	34,5	0.0115	41	40	0.8231
<i>learnt</i>	1601	4397	<0.0001	3769	4332	<0.0001	1689	2026,5	<0.0001	1116	1645	<0.0001
<i>learned</i>	7193	4397	<0.0001	4895	4332	<0.0001	2364	2026,5	<0.0001	2174	1645	<0.0001
<i>smelt</i>	91	126,5	<0.0001	80	83,5	0.5880	43	53	0.0521	36	43	0.1311
<i>smelled</i>	162	126,5	<0.0001	87	83,5	0.5880	63	53	0.0521	50	43	0.1311
<i>spelt</i>	242	307,5	<0.0001	230	239	0.4103	68	102	<0.0001	46	72,5	<0.0001
<i>spelled</i>	373	307,5	<0.0001	248	239	0.4103	136	102	<0.0001	99	72,5	<0.0001
<i>spilt</i>	82	156	<0.0001	47	126,5	<0.0001	47	88,5	<0.0001	16	50	<0.0001
<i>spilled</i>	230	156	<0.0001	206	126,5	<0.0001	130	88,5	<0.0001	84	50	<0.0001
<i>spoilt</i>	152	247	<0.0001	213	259	<0.0001	61	121	<0.0001	34	63	<0.0001
<i>spoiled</i>	342	247	<0.0001	305	259	<0.0001	181	121	<0.0001	92	63	<0.0001
<i>ed</i>	10689	7140	<0.0001	7311	6750,5	<0.0001	3792	3411	<0.0001	3233	2595	<0.0001
<i>t</i>	3591	7140	<0.0001	6190	6750,5	<0.0001	3030	3411	<0.0001	1957	2595	<0.0001

SgE				Male			Phile		
<i>burnt</i>	297	305,5	0.4916	361	357,5	0.7935	175	398,5	0.0001
<i>burned</i>	314	305,5	0.4916	354	357,5	0.7935	622	398,5	0.0001
<i>dwelt</i>	14	11	0.2008	33	21,5	0.0005	80	44,5	<0.0001
<i>dwelled</i>	8	11	0.2008	10	21,5	0.0005	9	44,5	<0.0001
<i>dreamt</i>	119	164	<0.0001	110	147,5	<0.0001	143	232,5	<0.0001
<i>dreamt</i>	209	164	<0.0001	185	147,5	<0.0001	322	232,5	<0.0001
<i>knelt</i>	42	28,5	0.0003	16	9	0.0010	86	51	<0.0001
<i>kneeled</i>	15	28,5	0.0003	2	9	0.0010	16	51	<0.0001
<i>leant</i>	11	84	<0.0001	5	45	<0.0001	28	116,5	<0.0001
<i>leaned</i>	157	84	<0.0001	85	45	<0.0001	205	116,5	<0.0001
<i>leapt</i>	56	44	0.0105	61	46	0.0018	31	60,5	<0.0001
<i>leaped</i>	32	44	0.0105	31	46	0.0018	90	60,5	<0.0001
<i>learnt</i>	1739	2187,5	<0.0001	1277	1938,5	<0.0001	266	2762,5	<0.0001
<i>learned</i>	2636	2187,5	<0.0001	2600	1938,5	<0.0001	5259	2762,5	<0.0001
<i>smelt</i>	36	89,5	<0.0001	57	70,5	0.0230	28	74,5	<0.0001
<i>smelled</i>	143	89,5	<0.0001	84	70,5	0.0230	121	74,5	<0.0001
<i>spelt</i>	76	85,5	0.1462	96	139	<0.0001	24	143	<0.0001
<i>spelled</i>	95	85,5	0.1462	182	139	<0.0001	262	143	<0.0001
<i>spilt</i>	28	73	<0.0001	28	55,5	<0.0001	9	62,5	<0.0001
<i>spilled</i>	118	73	<0.0001	83	55,5	<0.0001	116	62,5	<0.0001
<i>spoilt</i>	186	181,5	0.6367	181	169	0.1917	19	94,5	<0.0001
<i>spoiled</i>	177	181,5	0.6367	157	169	0.1917	170	94,5	<0.0001
<i>ed</i>	3904	3254	<0.0001	3773	2999	<0.0001	7192	4040,5	<0.0001
<i>t</i>	2604	3254	<0.0001	2225	2999	<0.0001	889	4040,5	<0.0001

APPENDIX 3: OVERVIEW STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES IN DEGREES OF PREFERENCE BETWEEN THE VARIETIES AND BRITISH AND AMERICAN ENGLISH (NS= NOT SIGNIFICANT; NQSS= NOT QUITE STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT)

1. Burn	
o BrE vs CanE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs CanE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs IrE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs IrE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs IndE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs IndE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs PakE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs PakE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs BanE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs BanE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs SgE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs SgE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs MalE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs MalE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs PhilE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs PhilE: p= 0.0027
2. Dream	
o BrE vs CanE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs CanE: p= 0.0003
o BrE vs IrE: p= 0.2402; NS	o AmE vs IrE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs IndE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs IndE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs PakE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs PakE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs BanE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs BanE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs SgE: p= 0.2439; NS	o AmE vs SgE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs MalE: p= 0.1562; NS	o AmE vs MalE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs PhilE: p= 0.3419; NS	o AmE vs PhilE: p<0.0001
3. Dwell	
o BrE vs CanE: p= 1.0000; NS	o AmE vs CanE: p= 0.3580; NS
o BrE vs IrE: p= 0.0083	o AmE vs IrE: p= 0.0468
o BrE vs IndE: p= 0.2455; NS	o AmE vs IndE: p= 0.0301
o BrE vs PakE: p= 0.4368; NS	o AmE vs PakE: p= 0.1498; NS
o BrE vs BanE: p= 0.8187; NS	o AmE vs BanE: p= 0.4695; NS
o BrE vs SgE: p= 0.0377	o AmE vs SgE: p= 0.0087
o BrE vs MalE: p= 0.2868; NS	o AmE vs MalE: p= 0.1135; NS
o BrE vs PhilE: p= 0.1387; NS	o AmE vs PhilE: p= 0.4064; NS
4. Kneel	
o BrE vs CanE: p= 0.3199; NS	o AmE vs CanE: p= 0.0376
o BrE vs IrE: p= 0.5623; NS	o AmE vs IrE: p= 0.0679; NQSS
o BrE vs IndE: p= 0.0139	o AmE vs IndE: p= 0.1233; NS
o BrE vs PakE: p= 0.6342; NS	o AmE vs PakE: p= 0.2063; NS
o BrE vs BanE: p= 0.0129	o AmE vs BanE: p= 0.0660; NQSS
o BrE vs SgE: p= 0.0027	o AmE vs SgE: p= 0.0321
o BrE vs MalE: p= 1.0000; NS	o AmE vs MalE: p= 1.0000; NS
o BrE vs PhilE: p= 0.2297; NS	o AmE vs PhilE: p= 0.7567; NS
5. Lean	
o BrE vs CanE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs CanE: p= 0.3279; NS
o BrE vs IrE: p= 0.0629; NQSS	o AmE vs IrE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs IndE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs IndE: p= 0.0008
o BrE vs PakE: p= 0.1909; NS	o AmE vs PakE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs BanE: p= 0.0002	o AmE vs BanE: p= 0.0300
o BrE vs SgE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs SgE: p= 0.0513; NQSS
o BrE vs MalE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs MalE: p= 0.2443; NS
o BrE vs PhilE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs PhilE: p<0.0001

6. Leap	
o BrE vs CanE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs CanE: p= 0.0046
o BrE vs IrE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs IrE: p= 0.0488
o BrE vs IndE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs IndE: p= 0.4433; NS
o BrE vs PakE: p= 0.0097	o AmE vs PakE: p= 0.0328
o BrE vs BanE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs BanE: p= 0.6418; NS
o BrE vs SgE: p= 0.0012	o AmE vs SgE: p= 0.0331
o BrE vs MalE: p= 0.0056	o AmE vs MalE: p= 0.0081
o BrE vs PhilE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs PhilE: p<0.0001
7. Learn	
o BrE vs CanE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs CanE: p= 0.5573; NS
o BrE vs IrE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs IrE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs IndE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs IndE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs PakE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs PakE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs BanE: p= 0.0105	o AmE vs BanE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs SgE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs SgE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs MalE: p= 0.1290; NS	o AmE vs MalE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs PhilE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs PhilE: p<0.0001
8. Smell	
o BrE vs CanE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs CanE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs IrE: p= 0.0026	o AmE vs IrE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs IndE: p= 0.7406; NS	o AmE vs IndE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs PakE: p= 0.2629; NS	o AmE vs PakE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs BanE: p= 0.4335; NS	o AmE vs BanE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs SgE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs SgE: p= 0.0040
o BrE vs MalE: p= 0.1797; NS	o AmE vs MalE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs PhilE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs PhilE: p= 0.0258
9. Spell	
o BrE vs CanE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs CanE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs IrE: p= 0.0003	o AmE vs IrE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs IndE: p= 0.9589; NS	o AmE vs IndE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs PakE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs PakE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs BanE: p= 0.0002	o AmE vs BanE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs SgE: p= 0.4231; NS	o AmE vs SgE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs MalE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs MalE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs PhilE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs PhilE: p= 0.3962; NS
10. Spill	
o BrE vs CanE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs CanE: p= 0.2134; NS
o BrE vs IrE: p= 0.0167	o AmE vs IrE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs IndE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs IndE: p= 0.0002
o BrE vs PakE: p= 0.0710; NQSS	o AmE vs PakE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs BanE: p= 0.0002	o AmE vs BanE: p= 0.0605; NQSS
o BrE vs SgE: p= 0.0004	o AmE vs SgE: p= 0.0017
o BrE vs MalE: p= 0.0900; NQSS	o AmE vs MalE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs PhilE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs PhilE: p= 0.4258; NS
11. Spoil	
o BrE vs CanE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs CanE: p= 0.0680; NQSS
o BrE vs IrE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs IrE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs IndE: p= 0.0015	o AmE vs IndE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs PakE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs PakE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs BanE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs BanE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs SgE: p= 0.3972; NS	o AmE vs SgE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs MalE: p= 0.1156; NS	o AmE vs MalE: p<0.0001
o BrE vs PhilE: p<0.0001	o AmE vs PhilE: p= 0.0250

