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The morphosyntax of Hong Kong and Indian Englishes: A corpus-based analysis¹

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Abstract

The present analysis places the focus on the morphosyntax of Hong Kong and Indian Englishes, their use of irregular verbs, comparison of adjectives, and s-genitives, and so revisiting the findings of previous studies in light of the contribution of the frequencies for the two new Englishes in question. Hong Kong and Indian Englishes generally follow the British pattern of irregularity, but it is Indian English that is more loyal to its colonial heritage as Hong Kong English has a tendency to demonstrate some ambivalence and indefiniteness in its patterns of verb morphology. As with all the other Englishes investigated in the studies of Hundt (1998) and Borlongan (2011b), Hong Kong and Indian Englishes also inflect for the comparison of adjectives. Periphrastic comparison though is more frequent – but not significantly frequent to put up a new pattern - in Hong Kong and Indian Englishes. The two Englishes also generate much higher frequencies of double comparatives as compared with Philippine and New Zealand Englishes. Hong Kong and Indian Englishes surface as the most conservative in the use of s-genitives. They are even more conservative than Philippine English, which has always been described as a considerably conservative variety of English.

Keywords: Asian Englishes, morphosyntax, irregular verbs, comparison of adjectives, s-genitives

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1. Introduction

The morphosyntax of new Englishes has been the object of analysis of two studies done previously, that of Hundt (1998) and Borlongan (2011b). Hundt focused on New Zealand English with references to American, Australian, and British Englishes. She found that, compared to Australian, British, and New Zealand Englishes, the most advanced in terms of morphosyntactic changes is American English, most especially in its regularization of irregular verb morphology. However, she found the variation to be in terms of time and genre, not in terms of country in the comparison of adjectives. All the Englishes that she analyzed increasingly favor the use of the s-genitives over the of-periphrastic construction.

Borlongan (2011b) replicated the work of Hundt (1998) in an attempt to account for some of the formal properties of Philippine English in morphosyntactic terms. Philippine English has basically adopted the regularization patterns of the irregular verb morphology of its parent American English, even with specific lexical items like *prove*. And like New Zealand English which Hundt (1998) described as "'more British' than BrE [British English]" (p. 49), Philippine English is more American than American English, too. Philippine English follows the general pattern across Englishes – there is considerable preference for the inflectional comparison over periphrastic comparison of monosyllabic adjectives. Corpus findings appear to put Philippine English among the Englishes that use the s-genitives the most; much higher percentages for the use of s-genitives in Philippine English than those appearing higher in Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, and Svartvik's (1985) gender scale have been demonstrated in the analysis of ICE-PH. Borlongan concludes his paper with an analogy:

PhilE [Philippine English] does follow AmE [American English], undeniably a child of its parent. But like a typical child of any parent, it has a life of its own, too. One sees traits inherited from the parent ('nature') but, likewise, it manifests traits resulting from developmental and contextual dynamics ('nurture'). (p. 196)

The aim of the present analysis is to explain the morphosyntax of Hong Kong and Indian Englishes. More specifically, the analysis will investigate the use of irregular verbs, the comparison of adjectives, and the s-genitives in the two Englishes, and so revisiting the findings of the previous studies in light of the contribution of the frequencies for the two new Englishes in question. The selection of these three morphological variables was motivated by the feasibility of these variables as focal words or the easy identification of focal words for the variables. The selection of these variables was also affected by previous studies (Borlongan, 2011b; Hundt, 1998); the variables have been previously looked at by earlier studies, which then allows for comparison of the findings of the present study with the previous ones.

2. Method

This analysis, a corpus-based one, uses the Hong Kong and Indian components of the International Corpus of English (ICE-HK and ICE-IND, respectively). As with all the other components of the International Corpus of English (ICE), they follow the common International Corpus of English design as outlined by Nelson (1996). The corpus is composed of about one million words distributed almost evenly across 500 texts with specified categories; therefore, there are approximately 2000 words per text, and some are from mixed sources to be able to reach the 2000 minimum number of words. The samples were gathered from adults who received formal education using English as the language of instruction up to the postsecondary level and aged 18 or more who can speak or write in English. The texts are divided into spoken and written texts – the major text categories. The corpus is composed of private and public dialogues, unscripted and scripted monologues, and nonprinted and printed written materials.

Using WordSmith Tools 5.0, the following focal words were searched in the entirety of ICE-HK and ICE-IND, meaning both spoken and written texts found in the corpora:

- For irregular verbs: burned, burnt, dreamed, dreamt, learned, learnt, smelled, smelt, spelled, spelt, spilled, spilt, spoiled, spoilt, proved, proven, gotten
- For comparison of adjectives: *er, *est, more, most
- For the s-genetives: 's

Words that are not necessary to the analysis were sorted out before doing the actual analysis. The data were compared with Hundt's (1998) and Borlongan's (2011b) findings on other Englishes.

3. Results

3.1 Irregular verbs

Hundt (1998) points out that American English is, by far, the most advanced in the regularization process in the morphology of irregular verbs across Englishes. She cites Peters (1994) in saying that American English had reached the putative endpoint in the regularization of irregular verb morphology in as early as 1961. Australian and New Zealand Englishes are following the patterns of their parent variety, British English. However, British English is nearly catching up with American English in regularizing the morphology of irregular verbs.

Table 1 shows the frequency of the past forms and -ed participles of *burn, dream,* and *learn* from the corpora of Hong Kong, Indian, Philippine, American, British, and New Zealand Englishes. The Philippine component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-

PH) represents Philippine English while newspaper texts from the *Miami Herald* represent American English, *Guardian* for British English, and *Dominion* and the *Evening Post* (DOM/ EVP) for New Zealand English – all figures and percentages for Philippine English are from Borlongan (2011b), and American, British, and New Zealand Englishes are from Hundt (1998).

Verb form	ІСЕ-НК		ICE-IND		ICE-PH		Mia Her		Guar	rdian	DOM/EVP		
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	
burned	1	100	0	0	5	100	475	95	155	56	128	55	
burnt	0	0	2	100	0	0	26	5	122	44	105	45	
dreamed	0	0	0	0	4	100	159	95	79	69	41	80	
dreamt	1	100	3	100	0	0	8	5	35	31	10	20	
learned	1	25	2	100	70	100	3.104 [sic]	100	978	78	257	75	
learnt	3	75	0	0	0	0	0	0	281	22	87	25	

Table 1Regular and irregular past tense forms of burn, dream, and learn

Based on the frequencies in Table 1, ICE-HK and ICE-IND are "somehow erratic" in their alternation of the regular and irregular past tense forms of *burn*, *dream*, and *learn*. For Hong Kong English, *dream*'s and *learn*'s past tense forms are irregular, but *burn*'s is regular. For Indian English, the past tense forms of *burn* and *dream* are irregular but regular for *learn*. Nevertheless, the general patterns of Hong Kong and Indian English verb morphology still favor the purported British irregular than the American regular.

Class 1A irregular verbs like *burn* and *learn* being used more frequently as *-ed* participle forms than as past forms, Hundt (1998) echoes what Quirk et al. (1985) wrote. However, according to Hundt, the frequencies in her data only show a significant difference in the use of *burnt* as a past participle but not for *learnt*. Thus, she says, "The tendency is thus probably not typical of the whole of Quirk et al.'s (1985) class 1A of irregular verbs but a lexical phenomenon associated with selected verbs from the group" (p. 30). Table 2 shows the frequency of the uses of *burnt* and *learnt* across datasets of different Englishes.

Verb form		ICE- HK			ICE- IND		ICE-PH		ami rald	Guar	dian	DOM/ EVP	
	Function	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
burnt	past	1	13	1	3	0	0	5	19	15	12	26	25
	<i>-ed</i> participle	7	87	36	97	4	100	21	81	107	88	79	75
	past	12	29	29	37	0	0	-	-	42	42	42	48
learnt	<i>-ed</i> articiple	29	71	49	63	2	100	-	-	58	58	45	5

Table 2Past vs. past participle of burnt and learnt

That *burnt* and *learnt*, together with other class 1A irregular verbs, are more frequently used as *-ed* participle forms than past forms (Quirk et al., 1985) is confirmed by the corpora of American, British, New Zealand, and Philippine Englishes. The same is the pattern in the Hong Kong and Indian English corpora, but not as overwhelming as the Philippine English corpus that did not show any frequency at all of *-ed* participle use for the two verbs in question. These are some of the occurrences of burnt and learnt as *-ed* participle in the Hong Kong English corpus:

- (1) The brown grass was *burnt* and became dark ash. <W2F-006#39:1>
- (2) So we find this nice place and we lied down and have some sun you know that's why nose's a little *burnt*. < S1A-041#248:1:A>
- (3) Although I have *learnt* French for two years, the standard is really low. <W1B-003#76:3>
- (4) I have *learnt* Mandarin, uhm just uhm the the elementary course. <S1A-020#59:1:A>

And in the Indian English corpus:

- (5) In dry seasons, some of the garbage is *burnt* on roadside instead of being collected. <W2A-031#72:1>
- (6) Article two uh collectively is *burnt* uh <indig> saree </indig> with uh polythene bag, and a wrapper. <S2A-070#37:1:A>

- I have *learnt* that you have shifted to Kolhapur to pursue the Research Project. <W1B-003#111:1>
- (8) For the first criterion about which he talks is that, in India English is *learnt*, from the school stage of education. <S2A-047#59:1:A>

Table 3 displays a more varied set of verbs in both their regular and irregular past forms across corpora of different Englishes. The table further shows Hong Kong and Indian Englishes' adherence to their parent's preference for irregularity.

Verb form	ІСЕ-НК	ICE-IND	ICE-PH	FLOB	ACE	WCNZE
burned	0	0	5	16	15	13
burnt	1	1	0	11	26	28
dreamed	0	0	4	5	17	9
dreamt	1	3	0	5	9	4
leaned	1	2	6	25	25	26
leant	3	0	0	13	10	4
leaped	1	1	0	3	4	0
leapt	1	1	1	7	8	6
learned	19	5	70	81	64	69
learnt	12	29	0	22	31	37
smelled	1	0	2	6	4	7
smelt	0	1	0	4	6	5
spelled	0	0	3	4	3	0
spelt	2	0	0	2	7	3
spilled	3	5	0	5	9	3
spilt	1	0	0	2	3	2
spoiled	0	1	1	4	1	0

Table 3Regular and irregular past tense forms of selected verbs

Verb form	ІСЕ-НК	ICE-IND	ICE-PH	FLOB	ACE	WCNZE
spoilt	0	0	0	2	9	9
-ed	25 (54%)	14 (30%)	91 (99%)	149 (69%)	142 (57%)	127(56%)
- <i>t</i>	21 (46%)	35 (70%)	1 (1%)	68 (31%)	109 (43%)	98 (44%)
Total	46	50	92	217	251	225

Table 3 continued..

The regular *-ed* participle form of *prove* is *proved*, and the irregular *-ed* participle form is *proven*. What makes *prove* unique is that, in American English, alleged to be the most advanced in the regularization process, the irregular *-ed* participle (*proven*) is preferred over the regular form *proved*. Table 4 shows the frequencies of participial *proved* and *proven* across different Englishes.

Table 4Participial proved and proven

Verb form	ІСЕ-НК		ICE-IND		ІСЕ-РН		Miami Herald		Guar	dian	DOM/EVP		
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	
proved	21	48	42	86	2	6	149	35	437	80	200	64	
proven	22	52	7	14	32	94	275	65	111	20	111	36	

The frequencies for Hong Kong and Indian Englishes make another interesting case for *prove*, most especially when compared with the frequencies of the Englishes in Borlongan's (2011b) and Hundt's (1998): Hong Kong English does not have yet a stable pattern of usage for *prove*; the frequencies for the Hong Kong English corpora for *proved* and *proven* only has a difference of one occurrence in favor of *proven* of American English. Hong Kong English is, in fact, closer to the New Zealand English pattern usage, although New Zealand English has a substantially more transparent preference for *proved*. As for Indian English, the pattern is very much typical of the British pattern, again. These are some of the occurrences of *proved* and *proven* in the Hong Kong English corpora:

(9) Only when the government has *proved* itself to be <unc> one-word </unc> and the economy has strengthen can it more really convince the public to support a consumption tax until then the Liberal Party joins other against the consumption tax whose time is not now </I> <S2B-038#176:3:A>

- (10) The "divide and rule " tactic has *proved* a tool of immense value to the Government. < W2B-011#78:2>
- (11) These pollutants have been *proven* to cause attacks of asthma progressive deterioration in lung functions nose allergies and even cancers.<S2B030#22:1:A>
- (12) Doctors should be encouraged to implement primary and secondary preventive measures that have been *proven* to be effective, while community health workers should actively promote diabetes education to diagnosed patients as well as to the general public. <W2A-026#172:1>

And in the Indian English corpora:

- (13) So Daswani says that <,> it has not yet been *proved* that <,> face structure rules of British English <,> and Indian English are the same <,,> are the same <,> and that the difference is only in thearea of uh <,> transformational <,> and phonological rules <,,> < S2A-047#98:1:A>
- (14) The experience of the socialist countries has *proved* to us that the health standards of a country, even when it has limited resources, can be dramatically raised by simple public health measures and social reforms. < W 2B-033#41:1>
- (15) And $\langle w \rangle$ I'll $\langle w \rangle$ be happy if $\langle w \rangle$ I'm $\langle w \rangle$ proven wrong $\langle w \rangle$. \langle S1B-059#106:1:B>
- (16) <mention> Slow sand filtration </mention> has proven to be an effective process in the removal of various microorganisms, if operated correctly. <W2A-036#28:1>

3.2 Comparison of adjectives

The possibilities for comparison of adjectives are as follow (Quirk et al., 1985): The inflectional comparison includes monosyllabic adjectives and adjectives ending in -y/-ly, but disyllabic adjectives may either take periphrastic or inflectional comparison, but more commonly periphrastic. These patternings for monosyllabic adjective comparison have been substantiated by corpus data in Hundt's (1998) investigation on American English of 1960s and 1990s, British English of the 1960s and 1990s, Australian English of 1960s and 1990s, New Zealand English of 1960s and 1990s, and Borlongan's (2011b) on Philippine English.

Table 5 displays the frequency of inflectional and periphrastic comparison of monosyllabic adjectives across corpora of different Englishes, now including Hong Kong and Indian Englishes.

Table 5
Inflectional and periphrastic comparison of monosyllabic adjectives

Comparison	ІСЕ-НК		ICE-IND		ІСЕ-РН		Brown		Frown		LOB		FLOB		ACE		WCNZE	
Туре	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	F	%	f	%	f	%
nflectional	3732	99.33	2387	99.25	2039	99.61	345	100	369	99.73	337	99.70	286	99.65	338	99.70	308	99.68
Periphrastic	29	0.77	18	0.75	8	0.39	0	0	1	0.27	1	0.30	1	0.35	1	0.30	1	0.32

As Borlongan (2011b) described Philippine English, Hong Kong and Indian Englishes also follow other Englishes' general preference for inflection in the comparison of adjectives. However, the two Englishes in question show the lowest frequencies in comparison with the other Englishes. The sentences below exemplify periphrastic comparisons in the Englishes in addendum. For Hong Kong English:

- (17) And <,> so it's it's more wide. < S1A-065#X620:1:Z>
- (18) It's much *more safe* \leq than being alone \leq S1A-079#527:2:A>
- (19) Maybe there isn't a responsibility from a family that one could be *more free*. <W1B-015#165:9>
- (20) The Government countered that the large number of demonstrations since reunification proves civil liberties are even more alive than before, ignoing the obvious point that more people demonstrate because more people are discontent, not because they are *more free* to express discontent.

And for Indian English:

- (21) It is true that we sometimes cook in a little *more fat* than necessary <,>. < S2A-051#5:1:A>
- (22) The nodules and roots contained *more free* phenols during rainy season and lesser in the winter. <W2A-029#5:1>

- (23) There have been many wonderful discoveries by scientists <,> to make our lives <,> more comfortable <,> *more safe* and more interesting <,,>. <S2B-045#2:1:A>
- (24) Subhro knew he couldn't be any *more late*. <W2F-006#362:1>

Double comparatives occurred only once in Hundt's (1998) New Zealand English data and six times in Borlongan's (2011b) Philippine English corpus. Hong Kong and Indian English corpora produce more frequencies, 11 and 10, respectively. The following are examples from Hong Kong:

- (25) <{1> <[1> Everything </[1> is is <,> not only in Cantonese so it makes for foreigners it makes it even far <{2> <[2> uh more </[2> easier </X> <S1A-011#X1044:1:Z>
- (26) Because if the input output characteristic can be represented by a straight line then it would make the subsequent signal processing system much *more* <,> *simpler* <,> <S1B-005#50:1:A>

Here now are the examples for Indian English:

- (27) Okay but uh <,> collenchyma cells are made up of <,> uh additional substance called pectine which gives it more strength or which makes it *more tougher* than the normal other cells <,> <S1B-015#131:1:A>
- (28) But sometimes I think <,>uh I certainly wish I just could relax at home and you know <,,> the chores that I do <,> now I mean <,> if were to do just those chores and I would feel certainly much *more happier* <,> <S1A-079#33:1:B>

Moreover, unlike Philippine and New Zealand English corpora, Hong Kong and Indian English corpora have instances of double comparatives in the superlative degree, one in Hong Kong English corpus and one in the Indian English corpus; the first example is from Hong Kong, and the second is from India.

- (29) And again to your left hand side <,> which is the Kwai Chung Container Ports the Kwai Chung Container Ports is the world busiest the *most busiest* container port in the world <,> <ICE-HK:S2A-024#82:1:A>
- (30) And these buggers wants their own personal jobs to be done <,> which are *most silliest* in nature <,,> <ICE-IND:S1A-045#63:1:B>

3.3 The s-Genitives

The s-genitives have changed over time. The inflected, synthetic genitive was historically used by all nouns in English. The analytic alternative came a little later and, as a consequence, the use of the s-genitives had some semantic restrictions; that is, those noun classes appearing higher in what Quirk et al. (1985) call the "gender scale" (i.e., personal names, personal nouns, and collective nouns) should be the preferred collocates of s-genetives. But the recent revival of the s-genitives has weakened these restrictions. Table 6 shows the frequencies of s-genetives across different corpora.

	ICE	ICE-HK		ICE-IND		ICE-PH		Brown		own	LO	ЭB	FL	OB	A	CE	WC	NZE
Noun Class	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
personal names	1008	26	961	36	983	34	466	37	687	38	443	38	692	40	433	31	364	27
personal nouns	839	22	669	25	692	24	238	19	281	16	259	22	245	14	257	18	259	19
collective nouns	1111	29	631	24	507	17	191	15	280	16	175	15	311	18	233	17	289	21
(higher) animals	20	1	11	0	25	1	6	0.5	1	0.05	5	0.4	9	0.5	6	0.4	12	1
geographical nouns	410	11	179	7	377	13	207	16	313	17	159	14	286	16	295	21	238	18
temporal nouns	224	6	102	4	134	5	83	16.5	85	5	80	7	120	7	87	6	110	8
other nouns	214	6	90	3	192	7	74	6	145	8	38	3	79	4.5	78	6	76	6
Total	3826	100	2643	100	2910	100	1265	100	1792	100.05	1159	99.4	1742	100	1389	99.4	1348	100

Table 6 S-Genitives in different corpora

Borlongan (2011b) has recently claimed that Philippine English is the most conservative in the use of the s-genitives. But with the addition of the frequencies for Indian and Hong Kong Englishes, Indian English becomes the most conservative of all the Englishes in adhering to the semantic restrictions earlier mentioned. Then Hong Kong English follows. With the findings of the present analysis at hand, the ordering for the total percentage for the three most frequently occurring noun classes with the s-genitives is: Indian English (85%) > Hong Kong English (77%) > Philippine English and British English of the 1960s (75%) > British English of the 1990s (72%) > American English of the 1960s (71%) > American English of the 1990s (70%) > New Zealand English (67%) > Australian English (66%).

The following are samples of the occurrences of the three most frequently occurring noun classes with the s-genitive from ICE-HK:

- (31) In the light of her evidence that she was quite unaware of *Mr Hau's* other criminal activities. < S2A-067#16:1:A> [personal name]
- (32) *Mr Liu's* associates said while he remained a Shanghai official until the CASS appointment, the Jiang protege had for the past two years spent more time in Beijing than in Shanghai .
- (33) In applying for such alteration/addition to the name of a child, the parent must attend in person to make a declaration and produce the *child's* birth certificate. < W2D-002#28:1> [personal noun]
- (34) When I saw my *granny's* cordial smile, my heart was deeply warmed. <W2F-008#141:2> [personal noun]
- (35) That's despite a whole morning of discussion by the Sino British joint liaison *group*'s airport committee <S2B-002#7:1:B>[collective noun]
- (36) With a massive overhang of empty flats on private housing estates, the *Government's* decision to sell only about 5,000 Home Ownership Scheme units over the next 12 months should help stabilise the market.

And ICE-IND:

- (37) Because <,,> the great demon killer <,,> Krishana <,,> is <w> *Arjuna's* charioteer <,,>. <S2B-031#159:1:A> [personal name]
- (38) Bode was so impressed with <w> *Titius's* </w> formula that he publicized it, without, however, giving any credit to its originator, and the rule came to be known as <w> Bode's </w> formula of planetary distances.
- (39) And over <w> Jacob's </w> and <w> Bob's </w> <,> to a most of the time <,> what you will <,> what modern people will dismiss as phonological analysis <,> so that Roman <w> Jacob's </w> and <O> one word</O> pushed in <w> it's </w> nothing <,>. < \$1A-081#78:1:A> [personal name]
- (40) <w> Vigilant's </w> study also validated <w> Cann's </w> finding that African lineages were the oldest. < W2B-038#108:1> [personal noun]

- (41) The Indian <w> society's </w> hierarchical structure <,,> its caste system <,,> inequitus economic system <,> and its antilabour intellectual culture <,> are formidable barriers <,,> to its development as free society <,> <ICE-IND: S2A-031#55:1:A> [collective noun]
- (42) It is essentially a <w> people's </w> art whose themes reflect folk life and beliefs. <ICE-IND:W2B-007#63:1> [collective noun]

4. Discussion

Using ICE-HK and ICE-IND as dataset, the present analysis annexed Hong Kong and Indian Englishes after Hundt's (1998) and Borlongan's (2011b) investigation of the use of irregular verbs, comparison of adjectives, and s-genitives in New Zealand and Philippine Englishes, respectively. It was found that Hong Kong and Indian Englishes generally follow the British pattern of irregularity, but it is Indian English that is more loyal to its colonial heritage as Hong Kong English has a tendency to demonstrate some ambivalence and indefiniteness in its patterns of verb morphology. As with all the other Englishes investigated in the studies of Borlongan (2011b) and Hundt (1998), Hong Kong and Indian Englishes also inflect for the comparison of adjectives. Periphrastic comparison though is more frequent – but not significantly frequent to put up a new pattern – in Hong Kong and Indian Englishes. The two Englishes also generate much higher frequencies of double comparatives as compared with Philippine and New Zealand Englishes. Hong Kong and Indian Englishes surface as the most conservative in the use of s-genitives. They are even more conservative than Philippine English, which has always been described as a considerably conservative English.

An important question that any quantitative corpus analysis of any English should be able to answer is: What do these frequencies tell of the spread vis-à-vis the development of Englishes? Schneider (2003, 2007) locates the two Englishes in question, including Philippine English, at the nativization stage in his dynamic model of the evolution of postcolonial Englishes, but Borlongan (2011b) argues for the relocation and advancement of Philippine English to the next stage, which is endonormative stabilization. Hong Kong and Indian Englishes demonstrate both conformity and unconventionality in terms of the morphosyntactic variables investigated, which is characteristic of structural nativization, according to Schneider. However, such conformity and unconventionality are more observable in Hong Kong than India, probably because Hong Kong is sometimes seen as slowing down in its evolutionary process and even relegating English to a foreign language status in the special Chinese administrative territory. Also, the two Englishes show less stability in their choices, supporting Borlongan's (2011a, 2011b) for a more advanced development for Philippine English compared with the two Englishes under investigation.

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