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Mapping unity and diversity in South Asian English lexicogrammar

Verb-complementational preferences across varieties

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It has been noted that the study of the interface between lexis and grammar in general and verb-complementational patterns and preferences in particular offers new insights into distinctive and so far largely neglected structures of varieties of English. Based on data from the International Corpus of English and large Web-derived newspaper corpora, we explore the verbs CONVEY, SUBMIT and SUPPLY, which are typically associated with the transfer-caused-motion construction, and their complementation patterns to discuss the unity and diversity found in Indian and Sri Lankan English as two prominent and institutionalized South Asian Englishes. Our findings suggest that the (degree of) homogeneity and heterogeneity across South Asian Englishes is a complex issue and a matter of the level of descriptive granularity.

Keywords: transfer-caused-motion (TCM) construction; Sri Lankan English; verb-complementation patterns (of TCM-related verbs); Web-derived newspaper corpus; transitivity trends

1. Introduction: Unity and diversity in and across South Asian Englishes

The label "South Asian English(es)" has been used by various scholars to refer to the localized forms of English used on the Indian subcontinent, going back to the colonial past of British India. At a merely geographical level, the core of what can be subsumed under "South Asian English(es)" can be found in India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka; other countries in the region, e.g. the Maldives, pose special cases for historical reasons and due to the present-day status and use of English and are more on the periphery of what is covered by "South Asian English(es)".

In research into World Englishes, geographically motivated category labels are usually used not only to refer to an otherwise unrelated group of varieties that happen to exist in neighbouring countries, but also because the varieties are believed to share essential characteristic features. For example, in an early attempt to systematize the unity and diversity across Englishes world-wide in a model with concentric circles representing geographically oriented families of Englishes, McArthur (1987) uses the term "South Asian Standard(izing) English" to refer to all variants of English that share similar colonial roots, that have emerged in South Asian countries after their independence, that are still in the process of standardization and norm-development and that are, thus, linguistically similar to each other. In a similar vein, Kachru (2005: 43) argues that there is a South Asian identity that manifests itself in the English language: he explicitly speaks of the "South Asianness of English [that] has to be characterized both in terms of its linguistic characteristics and in terms of its contextual and pragmatic functions".

It should not go unmentioned, however, that in Kachru's (passim) work the distinction between the meta-category of South Asian English(es) on the one hand and Indian English (IndE) as a distinct nation-based variety on the other is not very clear; in fact, at times he seems to consider the English language in India as a kind of core or lead variety for South Asian Englishes. There are, indeed, good reasons to assume that IndE plays a particularly important role in the family of South Asian Englishes, for example because it is by far the largest anglophone speech community with approximately 50 million regular speakers of acrolectal standard Indian English. Also, Kachru (2005: 57) notes that for a number of reasons, the use of English in creative fiction writing (and, thus, as a literary means of postcolonial identity construction) is particularly widespread and visible in India, which "has the largest, most vibrant, productive and articulate writers of English". Given also that the English language in India has an official status at the federal level and in various states and union territories and is an institutionalized means of communication in a wide range of contexts (e.g. as the language of the Supreme Court and as a medium of instruction at the leading institutions of higher education), it is no surprise that Leitner (1992) has referred to IndE as a potential "epicentre", i.e. as a model variety for South Asia (in a similar vein to Australian English, which Leitner (2004) and Peters (2009) consider to have developed into an epicentre for neighbouring countries in the Pacific region).

The shared past of the British Raj, the resulting South Asian identity and the potential epicentral role of IndE as a lead variety for South Asia may be considered reasons why the English language in South Asia can be viewed as relatively homogeneous. It is against this background that Baumgardner (1996), Kachru (2005) and others seem to prefer the singular label "South Asian English" to refer to the linguistic unity of the English language across the Indian subcontinent,

which also shows in a range of shared linguistic features and tendencies at virtually all linguistic levels (cf. Kachru 2005). While there certainly is a high degree of unity across South Asian Englishes, for example in phonetics and phonology (e.g. monophthongization of diphthongs as in *coat* and *fate*) and in syntax (e.g. the use of invariant question tags like *no?*), it is obvious that there are also historical and functional differences between South Asian Englishes contributing to the manifestation of linguistic variation across varieties of English on the subcontinent:

–   In some South Asian countries, the beginning of British influence and dominance set in later than in the heartland of British India. In Sri Lanka, for example, British colonization represented the third wave of colonization (following the Dutch and Portuguese periods); it is thus no surprise, for example, that lexical items taken over from the previous superstrates found their way into Sri Lankan English (SLE).
–   In each individual South Asian country, there is a unique constellation of local first languages, ranging from largely monolingual settings with basically only one local language and English as an additional language (e.g. in Bangladesh) to very complex multilingual settings with a great number of local languages with sizeable speech communities and English (e.g. in India). It is obvious that depending on the unique language settings, different South Asian languages have led to different transfer effects in the local variants of English, with interference effects being stronger in basilectal variants than in the acrolect (and stronger, in general, at the level of accent than, say, in grammar).
–   While in some South Asian countries there are hardly any native speakers of English at all (e.g. Pakistan), in other countries there are native English speech communities that exist alongside the (larger) communities of L2 speakers of English (e.g. Sri Lanka with its distinct Burgher community).
–   The English language has played very different roles in the national language policies of South Asian countries after their independence. While in India, for example, English has been a (co-)official language of the Union ever since 1947, in Sri Lanka the Sinhala-only policy implemented in the 1950s aimed at replacing English with Sinhala in all (official) communication situations. The role and status of English in the national language policies has had an effect on the process of variety formation in general and the emergence of local standards and norms in English in particular.
–   Depending on the degree of multilingualism and the national language policy in a given South Asian country, there is a more or less pressing need for a link language that can serve as a neutral communicative vehicle across linguistic and ethnic barriers. In India, English has always fulfilled this link language

function, and the re-introduction of English as an official language in the Sri Lankan Constitution in the 1980s was also motivated by establishing an interethnic link language. On the other hand, in countries like Pakistan and Bangladesh, there have never been national language policies with a focus on English as an intranational and interethnic lingua franca.

It is, therefore, no surprise that South Asian Englishes are also marked by linguistic diversity, resulting, inter alia, from differences between the individual linguistic ecologies in which English forms part of the local linguistic repertoire. For example, while in IndE the hybrid compounds *ticket wallah* and *lathi charge* (with items taken over from Hindi) are widespread, this is not the case in SLE. On the other hand, it is only in Sri Lankan English that the construction *take a (phone) call* can be used with the meaning of *make a (phone) call*, which stems from corresponding uses of the cognate verbs in Sinhala and Tamil (cf. Hoffmann, Hundt & Mukherjee 2011). At the level of national varieties of English, we thus find manifestations of both unity and diversity across South Asian Englishes.

It goes without saying that the level of (national) varieties of English refers to a relatively high level of abstraction; at this level we operate with what Lyons (1981:24) has called "the fiction of homogeneity: the belief or assumption that all members of the same speech-community speak exactly the same language". As in all other speech communities there is, of course, considerable variation within each individual South Asian variety of English. Recent studies, including corpus-based analyses, have shed new light on the internal variation within South Asian Englishes, be it between acrolectal, mesolectal and basilectal forms (see e.g. Hosali 2004 on South Asian "Butler English"), between speech and writing (see e.g. Gries & Mukherjee 2010 on IndE), between individual registers (see e.g. Balasubramanian 2009 on IndE) or between different speaker types such as the minority of local L1 speakers of English and the majority of competent L2 speakers (see e.g. Rajapakse 2008 on the English of Sri Lanka's Burgher community). It is for this reason that scholars have introduced plural labels also for individual varieties of English, e.g. "Indian Variant(s) of English" (IVE; Nihalani et al. 2004) and "Sri Lankan Englishes" (Mendis & Rambukwella 2010). Notwithstanding the need for a detailed analysis of intravarietal variation, it remains important – and useful – to capture aspects of linguistic homogeneity and variation between (national) varieties of English in South Asia.

It should also be mentioned that unity and diversity across Englishes can also be described and modelled at even higher levels of abstraction, with South Asian English potentially functioning as a family of interrelated varieties being contrasted with other groups of varieties and/or subsumed into larger families of varieties. For example, South Asian English can be viewed as one particular

manifestation of what McArthur (2003), Kachru (2005) and Bolton (2008) have labelled "English as an Asian language", "Anglophone Asia" and "Asian Englishes", respectively. They thus view all variants of English in Asia as a linguistically noteworthy category, including all forms of English as a postcolonial link language in multilingual speech communities, as a pan-Asian communicative vehicle and a key to international communication.

In the present paper, we are interested in describing unity and diversity at the level of national varieties of English in South Asia, focusing on acrolectal variants of these varieties. More specifically, we compare IndE with SLE and relate our findings to British English (BrE), i.e. the shared historical input variety. India and Sri Lanka are particularly interesting because the present-day status and functions of English in the two countries are marked both by common features and by clear differences. For example, in both countries, English today is a co-official language and is used as an intranational means of communication. However, while in India there are hundreds of local languages and 17 languages officially recognized by the Constitution as regional languages (with Hindi only spoken by a third of the total population as their first language), in Sri Lanka the two major indigenous languages are Sinhala (the majority language) and Tamil (the minority language).

India and Sri Lanka also provide an interesting combination of South Asian varieties because the government of Sri Lanka has launched a large-scale initiative recently, called "Speak English our way", which is intended to teach "English as a life skill" to Sri Lankan pupils and students (see Meyler 2010). At an early stage already, the coordinator of this initiative, Sunimal Fernando, propagated Indian English as a model variety for the development of a teaching model for the English language classroom in Sri Lanka: "India has emerged as the country which now has the most successful methods for teaching job-oriented English – English without the social and cultural baggage." (*The Guardian Weekly – Learning English*, 23 May 2008). From a linguistic perspective, this view of Indian English cannot be upheld, of course – it is a variety which is used as a linguistic means of Indian identity construction and which has developed into a distinctly Indian medium of communication. This notwithstanding, the controversial debate that the English-as-a-life-skill programme has triggered in Sri Lanka reveals that there is a growing anticipation (and, for some, a niggling worry) that SLE norms might be influenced in future to a much larger extent by IndE (see Mukherjee forthcoming). Whether this is true or not, however, remains to be seen.

In the present study, we will restrict ourselves to a so far under-researched area of variation between the two South Asian varieties of English, namely complementational preferences of verbs. After briefly characterizing the relevance of the lexis-grammar interface in general and verb complementation in particular for the description of the structural nativization of varieties of English (Section 2), we

will introduce the group of verbs that we will focus on (i.e. *convey*, *submit*, *supply*) and that are habitually associated with the so-called transfer-caused-motion construction (see Section 3). Then we will describe the corpus data and our methodology (see Section 4). The results of the corpus analysis will be discussed in detail both from a quantitative and from a qualitative perspective (see Section 5). In the light of our findings we will readdress the complexity of the issue of unity and diversity in South Asian English(es) (see Section 6).

2.   Verb-complementational patterns as parameters of variation

In recent years, there has been a growing interest in a so far neglected area of "structural nativisation, understood as the emergence of locally characteristic linguistic patterns" (Schneider 2007: 5f.), namely the interface between lexis and grammar, both in research into New Englishes in general and into South Asian Englishes in particular. Referring, inter alia, to Olavarría de Ersson and Shaw's (2003) and Mukherjee and Hoffmann's (2006) corpus-based studies of quantitative differences between IndE and BrE at the level of verb complementation, Schneider notes:

> These are stable and noteworthy results, and it is worth pointing out that they operate way below the level of linguistic awareness: without quantitative methodology no observer would have expected such differences to exist.
> (Schneider 2007: 87)

It is thus no surprise that with the availability of large and representative corpora such as the International Corpus of English (ICE, see Section 4), new perspectives have emerged for the description of such quantitative differences at the lexis-grammar interface between New Englishes and their historical input varieties.

In the present paper, we will focus on the complementation patterns of a semantically defined group of verbs in IndE, SLE and BrE, namely verbs that are typically used in the transfer-caused-motion (TCM) construction (see Goldberg 1995). From a construction-grammar perspective, the TCM construction is closely related to the ditransitive construction, as they are considered to be semantically synonymous (cf. Goldberg 1995: 91), albeit pragmatically distinct. The dative alternation of ditransitive verbs represents, in essence, the alternation between the ditransitive construction (e.g. *give someone something*) and the TCM construction (e.g. *give something to someone*). Mukherjee and Schilk (2008) have introduced the label "TCM-related verb" for verbs that are typically used in the TCM construction, although they may also sporadically occur in the ditransitive construction. Focusing on the TCM-related verbs *convey*, *submit* and *supply* in IndE and BrE,

Mukherjee and Schilk (2008) have shown that there are identifiable differences between the two varieties at the level of verb-complementational preferences for this class of verbs. In the present paper, we will (1) look more closely at the distribution and usage of the verb-complementational patterns of the three aforementioned TCM-related verbs, (2) take into account SLE data as well and (3) combine the relevant components of ICE with data obtained from Web-derived newspaper corpora.

3. Verb complementation of TCM-related verbs in South Asian Englishes

3.1 The patterns of CONVEY, SUBMIT and SUPPLY[1]

We classify the verb-complementational patterns of the TCM-related verbs CONVEY, SUBMIT and SUPPLY along the lines of the descriptive framework introduced by Mukherjee (2005) for ditransitive verbs. In general, we distinguish between five basic patterns, as described and exemplified in (1) to (10).

(1) **I**   (S) SUPPLY $[O_i:NP]$ $[O_d:NP]$

(2) I use the vendors from my neighbours <u>who supply me fresh vegetables</u>
     (DN 2003-05-02)

(3) **II**   (S) CONVEY $[O_d:NP]$ $[O_i:PP_{to}]$

(4) <u>the authorities conveyed incorrect information to the Ministry</u>
     (DN 2003-02-13)

(5) **III**   (S) SUBMIT Θ_i $[O_d:NP]$.

(6) <u>some students from those schools have</u> already <u>submitted the forms.</u>
     (ToI 37540)

(7) **IV**   (S) SUPPLY Θ_i Θ_d.

(8) Do we have <u>adequate sources</u> to <u>supply</u> (DM 2005-01-07)

(9) **V**   (S) SUBMIT $[O_i]$ Θ_d.

(10) <u>I submit to the customary kiss on both cheeks</u> (BNC AA8)

From these five basic patterns, various related patterns, such as passive constructions, participle constructions, constructions featuring relative clauses,

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1.   In the following sections, the abstract lemma of a verb will be given in capital letters. The word forms of the lemma will be given in lower case and italics.

etc. can be derived.[2] In our data, we opted for a simplified coding system of these related patterns: the passive patterns that can be derived from the pattern types I, II, III and IV are given the labels IP, IIP, IIIP and IVP, respectively; all other structurally related derivative patterns are merged under the labels Ider, IIder, IIIder, IVder and Vder, respectively.

3.2 TCM-related verbs: Previous studies of verb-complementational variation

In Mukherjee and Hoffmann's (2006) study, different verb-complementational trends and preferences for the ditransitive verbs GIVE and SEND are described on the basis of corpus data. They also list a number of so-called new ditransitives in IndE, i.e. verbs which are not admissible in the ditransitive construction in BrE, but are – at least sporadically – used ditransitively in Present-day IndE. With regard to the TCM-related verbs in the present study, they show that CONVEY and SUBMIT are attested marginally in the type-I pattern in IndE, while SUPPLY is used relatively often in the ditransitive construction in IndE. They conclude that "verb complementation in general and ditransitive verb complementation in particular represent core areas in which different varieties of English are marked by diverging preferences and structural options" (Mukherjee & Hoffmann 2006: 167). Because of the close semantic and cognitive relation between ditransitive verbs and TCM-related verbs it can be safely assumed that TCM-related verbs also display different verb-complementational preferences across varieties.

TCM-related verbs in IndE and BrE are at the centre of Mukherjee and Schilk's (2008) analysis, based on a large Web-derived newspaper corpus consisting of material collected from the online archives of the *Times of India* (c. 110 million words) and the periodical part of the British National Corpus (c. 30 million words); from these corpora random samples of 500 concordance lines (generated by *WordSmith Tools*) for each verb in each variety were analysed. They find, inter alia, that the type-II pattern is used more frequently in IndE than in BrE with the three TCM-related verbs CONVEY, SUBMIT and SUPPLY. With regard to the (monotransitive) type-III pattern, however, no such overall trend can be observed: CONVEY is used more frequently with this pattern in BrE, while SUBMIT is more frequently attested with it in IndE, and for SUPPLY there are no identifiable distributional differences. In line with Hopper and Thompson (1980), who view transitivity as a continuum from low to high, the degree of transitivity of

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2. For a comprehensive overview of the complementation patterns of ditransitive verbs, see Mukherjee (2005).

the above verbs is discussed. On the basis of the number of profiled arguments in the complementation patterns of the three TCM-related verbs, the IndE data display a tendency to syntactically realize more arguments, and, thus, a higher degree of transitivity, than the BrE data. This is mirrored in the fact that, for each verb, the scores for patterns in which all three arguments (i.e. the subject, the direct object and the indirect object) are profiled are higher in the IndE data, while the respective scores for one profiled element are higher in the BrE data.

From these observations the conclusion can be drawn that the degree of transitivity might vary between different varieties of English not only at the level of individual verbs but also at the level of semantically defined verb classes such as TCM-related verbs. As pointed out by Mukherjee and Schilk (2008), this conclusion, however, has to be taken with a measure of caution as the amount of the coded data was limited and as a number of aspects relevant to (the degree of) transitivity (see Hopper & Thompson 1980) were not taken into account. This notwithstanding, TCM-related verbs certainly represent a group of verbs that are relevant to the description of structural nativization of New Englishes at the lexis-grammar interface.

4. Corpus data

In the present study, we investigate the complementation patterns of the TCM-related verbs CONVEY, SUBMIT and SUPPLY in IndE, SLE and BrE. While IndE and SLE provide interesting cases of South Asian varieties of English (see Section 1), BrE represents the historical input variety for all South Asian Englishes and, thus, remains a relevant reference point for any description of the process of variety formation in South Asia. The corpus material used is listed in Table 1.

Table 1. The corpus data

Variety	Corpus	Words
Indian English	ICE-INDw [200]	400,000
	Times of India (ToI) Corpus	1,521,388
	The Statesman (ST) Corpus	1,511,753
Sri Lankan English	ICE-SLw [200]	400,000
	Daily Mirror (DM) Corpus	1,518,726
	Daily News (DN) Corpus	1,528,917
British English	ICE-GBw [200]	400,000
	BNC news	8,992,587

As can be seen in Table 1, we used the complete written (w) parts of the Indian, Sri Lankan and British components of ICE, each including 200 texts with 2,000 words each (thus amounting to approximately 400,000 words each). These ICEw components are comparable in that they display exactly the same corpus design (see Section 4.1). There are two main reasons why we also included larger newspaper corpora in our analysis: (1) the ICEw corpora are comparatively limited in size, especially with regard to quantitative descriptions of verb-complementational profiles of verbs that are not very frequent in language use, and (2) it has been pointed out elsewhere (e.g. Schilk 2011) that newspaper language provides a strong normative influence on language users in postcolonial settings in which English is a widespread second language. The Indian and Sri Lankan newspaper corpora listed in Table 1 were compiled at the University of Giessen while the British newspaper data were obtained from the British National Corpus (BNC, see Section 4.2).[3]

4.1   The International Corpus of English (ICE)

The International Corpus of English (ICE) was launched at the end of the 1980s (see Greenbaum 1996) by Sidney Greenbaum. The project aims at collecting sample text corpora representing varieties of English as a Native Language (ENL) as well as English as a Second Language (ESL). The various national ICE components represent an unprecedented database which "will undoubtedly provide valuable information on the use of English in many countries, in most of which there have never been systematic studies, and it will provide the basis for international comparisons" (Greenbaum 1991: 91). Currently, 23 teams are involved in the ICE project, each collecting components featuring one million words, of which 60% are speech and 40% writing. The sample texts are taken from the same genres; all texts are from the 1990s (or later). Some components have already been completed (e.g. ICE-GB, ICE-HK), while others are still being compiled (e.g. ICE-USA, ICE-GHA).

The ICE components relevant to the present study are ICE-India (ICE-IND), ICE-Sri Lanka (ICE-SL) and ICE-Great Britain (ICE-GB). As ICE-SL is still in the process of being compiled, with the written part already completed

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3.   The Indian and Sri Lankan newspaper corpora form part of the South Asian Varieties of English (SAVE) Corpus which has been compiled in the context of the research project *Verb Complementation in South Asian Englishes: A Study of Ditransitive Verbs in Web-Derived Corpora* funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG MU 1683/3–1, 2008–2011).

(see Mukherjee, Schilk & Bernaisch 2010), only the written parts of ICE-IND, ICE-SL and ICE-GB have been used (see Table 1).[4]

4.2   Web-derived newspaper corpora

Being fully aware of the limitations of one-million-word corpora for a wide range of research questions, Greenbaum and Nelson (1996:6) make four suggestions as to how to complement ICE data with additional material: (1) an expanded corpus with more material from each text category, (2) a specialized corpus based on more material from one text category only, (3) a non-standard corpus with a less restrictive approach as regards speaker selection, and (4) a monitor corpus founded on continuous input of new material. In the present study, we opted for (2) in that we complemented the ICE data for each variety with genre-specific data from acrolectal standard newspaper language.

For each South Asian variety, two newspaper corpora containing approximately 1.5 million words each (see Table 1) were compiled along the lines of a slightly adapted version of Hoffmann's (2007) webpage-to-megacorpus method. There are various problems that need to be solved when applying this method to online newspaper archives, for example the vast number of news agency reports. For our Indian and Sri Lankan newspaper corpora, we generated a list of 250 news agency names (and abbreviations) in order to automatically delete texts marked with any of the names (or abbreviations) from the corpus.

With the help of the webpage-to-megacorpus method, a three-million-word offline newspaper corpus of SLE (SAVE-SL) was created from the online archives of the print versions of the *Daily Mirror* (DM) and the *Daily News* (DN). The IndE newspaper corpus (SAVE-India) includes three million words from the online archives of *The Statesman* (ST) and *The Times of India* (ToI) (see Bernaisch et al. 2011). The daily newspapers taken from the periodicals section of the BNC (BNC news) provide comparable data for Present-day BrE.

While the newspaper corpora are a very useful database, one needs to be aware of certain limitations. The most significant restriction is the genre-specificity of the data. Although a newspaper may be seen as a relatively diverse collection of various text types (e.g. editorials, comments, obituaries) covering a rich array of topics, the language as it is used in this narrowly defined context can hardly be regarded as representing a certain variety of English with regard to all written genres, let alone spoken language. Furthermore, there is a complex process of editing and re-editing the text on its way from the original manuscript

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4.   For a detailed description of the ICE corpus design and the design of the written component in particular, see Nelson (1996).

to the final article (just as in other written texts to be published). In spite of these restrictions, Web-derived offline newspaper corpora are no doubt valuable in that they provide very large collections of text representing the acrolectal standard variant.

Schilk (2011) also argues in favour of employing newspaper corpora for corpus-linguistic analyses since the authors (and editors) of these newspapers can be considered very proficient users of the English language – whatever can be found in a published article is presumably not considered a learner mistake. This benefit of newspaper corpora might be regarded as the other side of the coin of the editing process. Note also that in many postcolonial Englishes, language use is much more strongly oriented towards written norms than it is in ENL contexts (see Hundt 2006: 223), which also turns newspaper corpora into particularly attractive corpus-linguistic resources for the description of South Asian Englishes. In this context, Schilk (2011) puts forward that, in the absence of variety-specific dictionaries and grammars, newspapers also serve as starting points for the standardization process in ESL contexts as in India. A corpus environment consisting of a well-defined small corpus of a range of genres and a genre-specific large corpus of newspaper language thus seems to provide an adequate and easily accessible database for the description of South Asian Englishes.

5.   Analysis and results

In the following, the use of the TCM-related verbs CONVEY, SUBMIT and SUPPLY will be analysed from a quantitative and qualitative point of view. The first part of this section gives an introduction to the prototypical semantics of the verbs and their frequencies in the different varieties (see Section 5.1). Afterwards, quantitative differences with regard to the preferred complementation patterns and qualitative differences with regard to variety-specific usage patterns of the verbs under scrutiny will be described (see Sections 5.2–5.4).

5.1   Verbs under scrutiny: CONVEY, SUBMIT and SUPPLY

The three selected verbs have been chosen because they are typically used in the TCM construction and each of them encodes a transfer process; but in contrast to other verbs of transfer, such as GIVE, they are usually not used in the semantically synonymous ditransitive construction. Although all three verbs can be viewed as typical members of the semantically defined class of TCM-related verbs, there are clear differences in the meaning and use of each of them, which we will briefly discuss.

To begin with, CONVEY is relatively infrequent in all three varieties while SUBMIT and SUPPLY are used fairly frequently. The overall frequencies of all verbs in the corpus data are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. CONVEY, SUBMIT and SUPPLY in Sri Lankan, Indian and British English

Verb (lemma)	ICE-SLw		ICE-INDw		ICE-GBw	
	total	pmw	total	pmw	total	pmw
CONVEY	21	43.5	40	91.1	9	20.7
SUBMIT	53	109.8	49	111.6	15	34.5
SUPPLY	36	74.6	32	72.6	48	110.4
Verb (lemma)	SAVE-SL		SAVE-India		BNC news	
	total	pmw	total	pmw	total	pmw
CONVEY	110	35.4	92	29.9	82	9.1
SUBMIT	478	153.9	514	166.9	256	28.5
SUPPLY	214	68.9	197	64.0	506	56.4

Especially in the case of SUBMIT, not only significant variety-based differences between BrE and the South Asian varieties, but also genre-specific differences seem to play a role in the South Asian varieties. While in BrE the frequencies of SUBMIT in ICE and BNC news are comparable, in the South Asian corpora the verb is used significantly more frequently in the newspaper corpora than in the ICE components. It thus seems plausible to assume that SUBMIT may display genre-specific usage patterns in South Asian English newspaper language.

When it comes to the description of verb complementation as a part of the lexis-grammar interface, it is useful to distinguish between several levels of granularity. On a very high level of abstraction, it is possible to analyse sentences with regard to their level of transitivity (see Hopper & Thompson 1980). If transitivity of verbs is seen as a cline rather than a static feature, higher levels of ditransitivity may be assumed if more arguments in a sentence are explicitly profiled, whereas lower levels of transitivity are assumed when fewer argument elements of a sentence are made explicit. In their operationalization of transitivity differences between IndE and BrE, Mukherjee and Schilk (2008) restrict themselves to the most essential of the ten parameters that Hopper and Thompson (1980) posit for the description of transitivity, namely "the number of participants [which] is central to the traditional notion of Transitivity" (Thompson & Hopper 2001: 32). In order to capture differences on the overall level of transitivity according to the number of profiled arguments, we opted for the coding schema used by Mukherjee and Schilk (2008): they coded each sentence that they analysed according to its complementation

pattern and subsumed all complementation patterns with the same number of pro-filed arguments into three categories (including all patterns in which one, two and three arguments are made explicit, respectively). Table 3 shows which pattern types include which and how many profiled arguments according to this logic. Note in this context that all passive patterns (IP, IIP, IIIP, VP) are treated here as including one profiled argument less than the active pattern from which it is derived as in the vast majority of all cases the *by*-agent is not made explicit in a passive sentence.

Table 3. Profiled arguments in the complementation patterns I to V and derivative patterns (Mukherjee & Schilk 2008: 176)

Number of arguments	S profiled?	O_d profiled?	O_i profiled?	Pattern type
1	Yes	No	No	IV
1	No	Yes	No	IIIP
1	No	No	Yes	VP
2	Yes	Yes	No	III
2	Yes	No	Yes	V
2	No	Yes	Yes	IP, IIP
3	Yes	Yes	Yes	I, II

The comparison of varieties of English at the level of transitivity trends, i.e. with regard to overall preferences for more or fewer profiled arguments, refers to a very abstract level of descriptive granularity. In the present study, we will also look at individual complementation patterns of CONVEY, SUBMIT and SUPPLY and describe at a more concrete level of description how the profiled arguments are filled with lexical items, also in order to capture variety-specific usage patterns for the three TCM-related verbs. For IndE and BrE, Schilk (2011) has shown that there are very often significant correlations between the preference of a verb for a specific complementation pattern and the choice of particular lexical items (in the sense of collocational routines) in the pattern.

In the following sections, each of the three TCM-related verbs CONVEY, SUB-MIT and SUPPLY will be analysed in three steps: (1) quantitative differences between the three varieties at the level of verb-complementational differences, (2) overarch-ing transitivity differences between the three varieties, and (3) qualitative (and semantic) differences with regard to potential variety-specific usage patterns.

5.2   CONVEY in the ICE and SAVE corpora

CONVEY is the least frequent of the three TCM-related verbs under scrutiny. A detailed quantitative analysis is not feasible for the ICE data and our analysis will

thus be limited to the much larger newspaper dataset. The SAVE/BNC news dataset provides some interesting insights into the usage of CONVEY in the three varieties. Table 4 shows the distribution of the complementation patterns of CONVEY in the newspaper corpora.

Table 4. CONVEY in BNC news and SAVE corpora

Pattern	BNC news	BNC news pmw	SAVE-SL	SAVE-SL pmw	SAVE-India	SAVE-India pmw
I	n.a.	0.00	1	0.32	n.a.	0.00
Ider	n.a.	0.00	n.a.	0.00	1	0.32
II	10	1.11	28	9.02	15	4.87
IIder	4	0.45	8	2.58	10	3.25
IIP	2	0.22	16	5.15	7	2.27
IIPder	1	0.11	4	1.29	1	0.32
III	52	5.80	36	11.59	45	14.61
IIIder	9	1.00	6	1.93	7	2.27
IIIP	1	0.11	8	2.58	4	1.30
IIIPder	3	0.33	3	0.97	2	0.65
IV	n.a.	0.00	n.a.	0.00	n.a.	0.00
V	n.a.	0.00	n.a.	0.00	n.a.	0.00
sum	82	9.14	110	35.42	92	29.88

Table 4 reveals that, at first sight, there is a tendency to use the type-II pattern, its derivative and passive patterns more frequently in SAVE-SL and – to a lesser extent – in SAVE-India compared to the British data. In the BNC, on the other hand, the type-III pattern is used more frequently than in SAVE-SL and about as frequently as in SAVE-India. However, it needs to be noted that the expected frequencies are very low in many cells so that significant differences between the three varieties are difficult to pinpoint.

When focusing on overall transitivity trends according to the number of profiled elements, there are neither statistically significant differences between BrE and IndE nor between IndE and SLE. At this level, significant differences are only attested between BrE and SLE. Table 5 shows that in SAVE-SL significantly more elements tend to be profiled than in the BNC news corpus. This reflects the higher frequency of use of the type-II pattern, since in the type-II pattern all three elements are profiled, while in the type-III pattern (which is more frequently used in BrE) only two elements of the argument structure of CONVEY are made explicit.

Table 5. Number of profiled elements for CONVEY in BNC news and SAVE-SL

Profiled arguments	BNC news	BNC news exp.	χ^2	SAVE- SL	SAVE- SL exp.	χ^2
1	4	6.41	0.90	11	8.59	0.67
2	64	53.81	1.93	62	72.19	1.44
3	14	21.78	2.78	37	29.22	2.07
sum	82	82.00	5.61	110	110.00	4.18
total χ^2/p			9.79/p < .05			

It has to be borne in mind, however, that at the level of overall transitivity trends, the profiling and non-profiling of any single argument is treated in very much the same way in the coding system, e.g. the non-profiling of the agent (as frequently done in passive patterns in which the *by*-agent is optional) and the non-profiling of the recipient (as in the type-III pattern). Thus, if we examine pattern distribution from this macroscopic perspective, not much can be said about which differences between which complementation patterns are primarily responsible for the different transitivity trends and which variety-specific usages of the verbs lead to verb-complementational differences across varieties in the first place.

If specific usage patterns are scrutinized, a clear difference in the case of CONVEY between BrE, on the one hand, and the two South Asian varieties, on the other, can be shown for the lexical items that encode the direct object in the underlying transfer process, i.e. the *conveyed* "entities". In the British corpora (ICE-GB and BNC news) CONVEY is most frequently used in combination with direct objects that refer to feelings or mental states; see examples (11) and (12).

(11)   The author also **conveys** <u>the strong feeling</u> of nationalism, so much so that Jaruzelski, although Moscow-trained, tried to remain faithful to the Polish people […]. (ICE-GB W2B-005#39:1)

(12)   The colliding conversations are neatly synchronised but the main problem is that each part needs to **convey** <u>a sense of tough experience</u> with some firm characterisation which the self-conscious and rather tense cast couldn't find in this patchy production. (BNC K57)

While in the South Asian corpora, this meaning-group is also frequently attested for the direct object of CONVEY, the vast majority of the lexical elements in the direct-object position represent a wide range of verbal messages (including the expression of emotions, gratitude, etc.). Consider examples (13) to (16):

(13)   Naya Daur, Naya Zamana, Deshpremi, Leader, Inquilab or Main Azaad Hoon, they have all **conveyed a message**. (ToI 37330)

(14)   "It is particularly sad for all of us in the BJP that she met with a untimely death while on a campaign journey for the party," the prime minister said in a message **conveying his heartfelt condolences** to the bereaved members of the families of the deceased. (ToI 38094)

(15)   "I hope he **conveyed** to the press **my suggestions** on improving the prison conditions." (ST 2004-12-20).

(16)   Since we leave tomorrow morning I write to **convey my sincere thanks** to you for all that you did to us during our sojourn at Diyatalawa. (ICE-SL W2C-002#89:2)

The South Asian corpus data thus show that the verb CONVEY is used frequently in combination with lexical items encoding verbal messages in the direct-object position – this is not the case in BrE. Together with the fact that in BrE the direct object of complementation patterns of CONVEY usually refers to feelings or states of mind, these observations may also explain why the type-II pattern is preferred in South Asian varieties and the type-III pattern is more frequent in BrE: the more concrete nature of verbal messages (as compared to feelings or states of mind) requires the explicit mention of a recipient (→ type II), while this is not the case for feelings or states of mind, as for example in *convey an atmosphere* (→ type III).

5.3   SUBMIT in ICE and SAVE corpora

Table 6 gives the numbers for the occurrence of the verb SUBMIT in the ICE data.

Table 6. Submit in ICE

Pattern	ICE-GBw	ICE-SLw	ICE-INDw
I	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
II	1	6	8
IIder	1	n.a.	1
IIP	2	1	4
IIPder	n.a.	6	2
III	5	19	18
IIIder	n.a.	n.a.	1
IIIP	1	11	3
IIIPder	2	6	8
IV	n.a.	4	3
V	3	n.a.	1
sum	15	53	49

Against the background of the much higher frequency of SUBMIT in ICE-SL and ICE-IND compared to ICE-GB, the emergence of distinctly South Asian usage patterns of the verb seems plausible. The overall quantitative difference between British English and the South Asian Englishes, which is in line with the results for CONVEY, is corroborated by the figures obtained from the much larger newspaper corpora; consider Table 7.

Table 7. SUBMIT in BNC news and SAVE corpora

Pattern	BNC news	BNC news pmw	SAVE-SL	SAVE-SL pmw	SAVE-India	SAVE-India pmw
I	n.a.	0.00	2	0.64	n.a.	0.00
II	35	3.90	63	20.29	143	46.44
IIder	6	0.67	21	6.76	7	2.27
IIP	27	3.01	34	10.95	23	7.47
IIPder	9	1.00	29	9.34	24	7.79
III	73	8.14	135	43.47	150	48.71
IIIder	32	3.57	100	32.20	75	24.36
IIIP	26	2.90	35	11.27	28	9.09
IIIPder	31	3.46	53	17.07	56	18.19
IV	5	0.56	1	0.32	2	0.65
V	12	1.34	5	1.61	6	1.95
sum	256	28.53	478	153.91	514	166.93

On the basis of the newspaper corpora, we compared the overall transitivity trends across the three varieties by grouping all instances of SUBMIT into categories defined by the number of profiled arguments. The results are given in Table 8, taking into account all intervarietal comparisons.

Table 8. Number of profiled arguments for SUBMIT

Profiled arguments	BNC news	SAVE-SL	BNC news exp.	χ^2	SAVE-SL exp.	χ^2
1	62	89	52.66	1.65	98.34	0.89
2	153	303	159.04	0.23	296.96	0.12
3	41	86	44.29	0.25	82.71	0.13
sum	256	478	256.00	2.13	478.00	1.14
total χ^2/p		3.27/p > .05				

(Continued)

Table 8. (Continued)

Profiled arguments	BNC news	SAVE-India	BNC news exp.	χ^2	SAVE-India exp.	χ^2
1	62	86	49.21	3.33	98.79	1.66
2	153	278	143.29	0.66	287.71	0.33
3	41	150	63.50	7.97	127.50	3.97
sum	256	514	256.00	11.96	514.00	5.96
total χ^2/p		17.92/p < .05				
Profiled arguments	SAVE-SL	SAVE-India	SAVE-SL exp.	χ^2	SAVE-India exp.	χ^2
1	89	86	84.32	0.26	90.68	0.24
2	303	278	279.96	1.90	301.04	1.76
3	86	150	113.72	6.76	122.28	6.28
sum	478	514	478.00	8.91	514.00	8.29
total χ^2/p		17.2/p < .05				

As shown in Table 8, there is no significant difference between BrE and SLE. However, there are significant differences between BNC news and SAVE-India as well as between SAVE-India and SAVE-SL. The differences between the British and the Indian data are due to the fact that SUBMIT is generally used with more profiled arguments in SAVE-India compared to BNC news. While in SAVE-India there are 150 instances of sentences with three profiled arguments, in the British corpus only 41 such instances are attested. For the group of complementation patterns with one profiled argument, the reverse is true, i.e. these patterns are much more prominent in BrE than in IndE in relative terms. These observations are in line with the tentative hypothesis of Mukherjee and Schilk (2008) that in IndE more arguments seem to be profiled with SUBMIT than in BrE.[5]

As shown in Table 8, in IndE there is also a tendency towards profiling more arguments than in SLE, especially when it comes to the three-argument patterns.

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5.   At first glance, this seems not surprising as there is an overlap between the datasets used by Mukherjee and Schilk (2008) and in the present study. However, this overlap is only partial: firstly, SAVE-India in the present study includes two newspapers while in Mukherjee and Schilk (2008) only data from one newspaper were used; secondly, BNC news in the present study only includes the newspaper part of the BNC periodical section that was used in Mukherjee and Schilk (2008).

In contrast to the comparison of BrE and IndE, however, there is no marked difference between IndE and SLE with regard to the preference for one-argument patterns; rather, IndE and SLE differ with regard to their preference for patterns with two profiled arguments.

In order to gain a more detailed picture of the verb-complementational differences between the three varieties, it is useful to compare the various pattern types. In Table 9, the distributional differences between the varieties according to pattern type are shown.

Table 9. Pattern distribution of SUBMIT in newspaper corpora

Pattern	BNC news	SAVE-SL	BNC news exp.	χ^2	SAVE-SL exp.	χ^2
II + IIder	41	84	43.22	0.11	81.78	0.06
IIP + IIPder	36	63	34.23	0.09	64.77	0.05
III	73	135	71.91	0.02	136.09	0.01
IIIder	32	100	45.64	4.07	86.36	2.15
IIIP	26	35	21.09	1.14	39.91	0.60
IIIPder	31	53	29.04	0.13	54.96	0.07
V	**12**	**5**	**5.88**	**6.38**	**11.12**	**3.37**
sum	251	475	251.00	11.95	475.00	6.31
total χ^2/p		18.26/p < .05				

Pattern	BNC news	SAVE-India	BNC news exp.	χ^2	SAVE-India exp.	χ^2
II + IIder	**41**	**150**	**62.83**	**7.59**	**128.17**	**3.72**
IIP + IIPder	36	47	27.30	2.77	55.70	1.36
III	73	150	73.36	0.00	149.64	0.00
IIIder	32	75	35.20	0.29	71.80	0.14
IIIP	**26**	**28**	**17.76**	**3.82**	**36.24**	**1.87**
IIIPder	31	56	28.62	0.20	58.38	0.10
V	**12**	**6**	**5.92**	**6.24**	**12.08**	**3.06**
sum	251	512	251.00	20.90	512.00	10.25
total χ^2/p		31.15/p < .05				

Pattern	SAVE-SL	SAVE-India	SAVE-SL exp.	χ^2	SAVE-India exp.	χ^2
II + IIder	**84**	**150**	**112.61**	**7.27**	**121.39**	**6.75**
IIP + IIPder	63	47	52.94	1.91	57.06	1.77
III	135	150	137.16	0.03	147.84	0.03

(Continued)

Table 9. (Continued)

Pattern	SAVE-SL	SAVE-India	SAVE-SL exp.	χ^2	SAVE-India exp.	χ^2
IIIder	**100**	**75**	**84.22**	**2.96**	**90.78**	**2.74**
IIIP	35	28	30.32	0.72	32.68	0.67
IIIPder	53	56	52.46	0.01	56.54	0.01
V	5	6	5.29	0.02	5.71	0.02
sum	475	512	475.00	12.92	512.00	11.98
total χ^2/p			24.9/p < .05			

The upper panel in Table 9 shows the differences in the distribution of complementation patterns between BrE and SLE, which is significant at p < .05. The strongest influence on this cumulative chi-square value comes from the different use of the type-V pattern. While this pattern is quite frequent in our British English data, this does not hold for the SLE data. Examples (17) to (19) show typical uses of the type-V pattern in BrE:

(17)   As the Eastern European economies **submitted** <u>to the attractions of the market system</u> all the excesses of the eighties somehow look slighter. (BNC aas)

(18)   From the age of 16, when he left Alleynes School in a fit of pique after refusing to **submit** <u>to a prefect's caning</u>, he resolutely bucked the system. (BNC ahu)

(19)   That is a lie for a start, I think, as I **submit** <u>to the customary kiss</u> on both cheeks. After an absence of so many years, this kissing among men seems an odd thing, but one ought to be thankful for small mercies: at least it is only two kisses and not three, as is the Russian custom. (BNC aa8)

As can be seen in examples (17) to (19), the use of the type-V pattern may be viewed as entailing an implicit direct object in the form of a "hidden" entity (which in German, for example, would be made explicit by means of a reflexive pronoun). While this use is also attested in the Sri Lankan data, in BrE this pattern seems to be more productive. If we compare examples (17) and (18) with example (19) we can see how this pattern is used to convey a negative connotation to the procedure somebody submits (himself or herself) to. Even in (19), in which the speaker submits to the process of kissing, the context renders a negative connotation. It seems that SLE speakers do not make full use of this range of negative contextualizations of submitting oneself to an act or a process.

In IndE, the type-II pattern and its derivatives are used more frequently than in BrE. This "overuse" in IndE stems from the widespread use of SUBMIT when

statements are made in official and/or formal settings. These statements can be in spoken or in written form and represent variety-specific usage patterns that cannot be found in BrE, where submitted entities tend to be in written form; consider examples (20) to (22):

(20)   The state government would soon **submit** <u>a detailed memorandum</u> *to the Centre* on the drought situation. (ToI 38019)

(21)   The Special Investigation Team (SIT) probing the kidney scam racket has decided to **submit** *to the government* <u>its suggestions on effectively curbing the illegal sale of kidneys</u>. (ToI 37671)

(22)   Last year it received a clear 84 per cent majority and then the Campaign was then asked to **submit** <u>a draft statement</u> *to the policy review*. (BNC A30).

The same context of use can also be found in IndE with the type-III derivative pattern that is used significantly more frequently compared with SLE; consider examples (23) and (24).

(23)   I humbly **submit** <u>that my services have never been so unique</u> as to make me worthy of such an honour. (ToI 37559)

(24)   Public Prosecutor Kazi Safiulla, and Ms Rita Datta, appearing for the state, **submitted** <u>that the petitioners had participated in the commission of the heinous crime</u>. (ST 20040206)

The use of SUBMIT as exemplified in (20) to (24) ties in with the general observation that Indian English displays some features of hyper-formal (or "bookish", see Kachru 1983: 39) usage.

In summary, SUBMIT is a TCM-related verb for which variation in usage can be shown across all three varieties of English. While the differences between BrE and SLE are relatively marginal, IndE seems to stand out with variety-specific usage patterns of SUBMIT that are not conventionalized in the other two varieties.

5.4   SUPPLY in ICE and SAVE corpora

Table 10 shows the distribution of the different complementation patterns of the verb SUPPLY in the written ICE corpora.

Table 10. Supply in ICE

Pattern	ICE-GBw	ICE-SLw	ICE-INDw
Ider	5	4	n.a.
IPder	2	1	2
II	7	6	6

(Continued)

Table 10. (Continued)

Pattern	ICE-GBw	ICE-SLw	ICE-INDw
IIder	1	1	1
IIP	n.a.	n.a.	1
IIPder	1	1	1
III	15	10	14
IIIder	1	n.a.	n.a.
IIIP	7	6	2
IIIPder	4	6	1
V	5	1	4
Sum	48	36	32

Table 10 shows that the frequency and distribution of the patterns of SUPPLY are relatively homogeneous across the three varieties. This is also the case when looking at the preferences for patterns with one, two and three profiled arguments: no significant differences can be found at the level of transitivity trends between the ICE components.

In the newspaper corpora, the overall pattern frequencies are also very homogeneous, as Table 11 shows.

Table 11. SUPPLY in BNC news and SAVE corpora

Pattern	BNC news	BNC news pmw	SAVE-SL	SAVE-SL pmw	SAVE-India	SAVE-India pmw
I	n.a.	0.00	2	0.64	n.a.	0.00
Ider	48	5.35	9	2.90	11	3.57
IP	1	0.11	n.a.	0.00	5	1.62
IPder	11	1.23	6	1.93	8	2.60
II	64	7.13	42	13.52	46	14.94
IIder	35	3.90	3	0.97	4	1.30
IIP	5	0.56	8	2.58	12	3.90
IIPder	6	0.67	12	3.86	13	4.22
III	190	21.18	77	24.79	53	17.21
IIIder	5	0.56	n.a.	0.00	2	0.65
IIIP	18	2.01	15	4.83	14	4.55

(Continued)

Table 11. (Continued)

Pattern	BNC news	BNC news pmw	SAVE-SL	SAVE-SL pmw	SAVE-India	SAVE-India pmw
IIIPder	61	6.80	24	7.73	26	8.44
IV	21	2.34	1	0.32	n.a.	0.00
V	35	3.90	15	4.83	3	0.97
sum	500	55.73	214	68.90	197	63.98

In the newspaper corpora, too, no significant differences can be observed between the three varieties with regard to (dis-)preferences for one-argument, two-argument or three-argument patterns. For SUPPLY, therefore, the assumption of Mukherjee and Schilk (2008) that there is a higher degree of transitivity of TCM-related verbs in Indian English cannot be corroborated. By focusing on pattern distribution, however, it can be shown that there is a certain degree of variation in the use of SUPPLY in the three varieties, especially when it comes to the use of the type-IV and type-V patterns as well as passive patterns. Table 12 provides the results of the comparison of the frequencies and distributions of the patterns of SUPPLY in the three newspaper corpora.

Table 12. Pattern distribution of SUPPLY in newspaper corpora

Pattern	BNC news	SAVE-SL	BNC news exp.	χ^2	SAVE-SL exp.	χ^2
Ider + IP + IPder	60	15	52.67	1.02	22.33	2.41
II + IIder	99	45	101.12	0.04	42.88	0.11
IIP + IIPder	**11**	**20**	**21.77**	**5.33**	**9.23**	**12.57**
III + IIIder	195	77	191.01	0.08	80.99	0.20
IIIP + IIIPder	79	39	82.87	0.18	35.13	0.43
IV	**21**	**1**	**15.45**	**1.99**	**6.55**	**4.70**
V	35	15	35.11	0.00	14.89	0.00
Sum	500	212	500.00	8.65	212.00	20.40
total χ^2/p		29.5/p < .05				

Pattern	BNC news	SAVE-India	BNC news exp.	χ^2	SAVE-India exp.	χ^2
Ider + IP + IPder	60	24	60.26	0.00	23.74	0.00
II + IIder	99	50	106.89	0.58	42.11	1.48
IIP + IIPder	**11**	**25**	**25.82**	**8.51**	**10.18**	**21.60**

(Continued)

Table 12. (Continued)

Pattern	BNC news	SAVE-India	BNC news exp.	χ^2	SAVE-India exp.	χ^2
III + IIIder	195	55	179.34	1.37	70.66	3.47
IIIP + IIIPder	79	40	85.37	0.47	33.63	1.20
IV	**21**	**0**	**15.06**	**2.34**	**5.94**	**5.94**
V	**35**	**3**	**27.26**	**2.20**	**10.74**	**5.58**
Sum	500	197	500.00	15.47	197.00	39.27
total χ^2/p		54.74/p < .05				

Pattern	SAVE-SL	SAVE-India	SAVE-SL exp.	χ^2	SAVE-India exp.	χ^2
Ider + IP + IPder	15	24	20.22	1.35	18.78	1.45
II + IIder	45	50	49.24	0.37	45.76	0.39
IIP + IIPder	20	25	23.33	0.47	21.67	0.51
III + IIIder	77	55	68.42	1.08	63.58	1.16
IIIP + IIIPder	39	40	40.95	0.09	38.05	0.10
V	**15**	**3**	**9.33**	**3.45**	**8.67**	**3.71**
Sum	211	197	211.48	6.80	196.52	7.32
total χ^2/p		14.12/p < .05				

A comparison of BrE with SLE shows that there are marked differences in the use of the type-IIP pattern (and its derivatives) as well as in the use of the peripheral type-IV pattern. However, there seem to be no genuinely new and variety-specific usage patterns in SLE. Thus, it can be assumed that although passivization of this verb in the type-II pattern is more frequent in SLE, this is not based on new contexts of usage. The frequent use of the type-IV pattern in BrE, in contrast, has to do with a specific semi-preconstructed phrase that cannot be found in the Sri Lankan corpus data. In the British corpus the phrase *with intent to supply* is quite frequently used in legal contexts, especially in news concerning the possession and distribution of drugs of any kind. Example (25) provides two cases in point.

(25) Mr Copeland also jailed him for three months for possessing Ecstasy, three months for possessing amphetamines, six months for having Ecstasy with **intent to supply** and three months for having amphetamines with **intent to supply**. (BNC K35)

The use of the verb SUPPLY in example (25) is probably due to the specifics of British law, which states that the punishment for the possession of drugs is more severe if the owner intends to also distribute the drugs. Since the corresponding legal situation and/or the linguistic routine to capture this state of affairs is

different in Sri Lanka, it will not come as a surprise that the type-IV pattern of SUPPLY is less frequent in SLE.

BrE and IndE display similar differences in the complementation of SUPPLY. Here, too, the higher frequency of the type-II passive pattern is not due to semantic differences but may rather be rooted in the distinctly South Asian style of news reporting.

The main difference between SLE and IndE is in the use of the type-V pattern. This pattern (in which the direct object is not made explicit) is relatively frequent in the Sri Lankan newspaper corpus (15 instances) while it is only attested three times in the Indian newspaper corpus. An examination of the corpus data shows that the type-V pattern is very often used in SLE whenever SUPPLY collocates with the lexical item *market* in indirect-object position, as shown in example (26).

> (26) The session would enable Sri Lanka to position the country as an attractive hub in South Asia for business and investment and promote the Indo-Lanka Free Trade Agreement (ILFTA) as a conduit to **supply** <u>the vast Indian market of one billion people</u>. (DN 2003-11-25)

In general, the differences between the three varieties regarding the complementation and use of the verb SUPPLY are not as marked as they are for CONVEY and SUBMIT. This notwithstanding, our corpus data have shed light on some variety-specific preferences and patterns for SUPPLY.

6. Discussion and conclusion

The present study has focused on unity and diversity in the use of three TCM-related verbs in BrE, SLE and IndE. This semantically defined verb class, represented in the present study by CONVEY, SUBMIT and SUPPLY, does not allow for as much variation in pattern selection as other verb classes such as ditransitive verbs, which are much more variable in their complementation across varieties of English (see Mukherjee & Gries 2009). However, the analysis of our corpus data – the written components of ICE and large Web-derived newspaper corpora (and the BNC news section) – has helped specify interesting differences between the three varieties and variety-specific usage patterns. Some of the differences are visible at the abstract level of overarching transitivity trends, which we captured by comparing the (dis-)preferences for one-argument, two-argument and three-argument complementation patterns. Other differences manifest themselves at the level of individual complementation patterns, and in many cases these differences can be explained if we look at actual linguistic realizations of the patterns and the lexical items used in them. What the present study shows is that intervarietal

differences at the level of verb complementation can be described at different levels of granularity, ranging from the rather abstract level of transitivity trends to the concrete realization of individual complementation patterns.

The present study has also revealed that individual members of the class of TCM-related verbs display different degrees of variation across the three varieties. With CONVEY, the major difference in usage is between South Asian Englishes, on the one hand, and BrE, i.e. the historical input variety, on the other. For example, while in BrE CONVEY is mainly used with collocates that denote feelings or specific states of mind, Sri Lankan and Indian speakers tend to use this verb when they encode the transmission of a verbal message. This explains, inter alia, the higher frequency of the type-II pattern in the South Asian varieties, as the recipient of a verbal message more often than not needs to be made explicit. In the case of SUBMIT, there is no such verb-complementational unity of the two South Asian Englishes, and IndE displays a range of variety-specific trends: for example, IndE speakers use SUBMIT much more frequently than BrE and SLE speakers, and they frequently use SUBMIT for official spoken and written statements in formal contexts – this usage correlates with the higher frequency of the type-II and type-III patterns. SUPPLY shows the lowest degree of intervarietal variation, with only few variety-specific usage patterns that can be identified.

Our observations suggest that the label "South Asian English", as coined by Baumgardner (1996) and Kachru (2005), should be used with a measure of caution. While in some cases the verb-complementational profile of a verb is relatively stable across IndE and SLE, in other cases it is the two South Asian varieties that are markedly different from each other, with one of the two clustering together with BrE. In the light of our findings, we would thus emphasize the need to distinguish clearly between individual varieties of English in South Asia and to avoid a monolithic view of the English language on the Indian subcontinent. Many of the differences between South Asian Englishes are gradual in nature and a matter of different trends and preferences; they can, thus, only be identified if large amounts of data are analysed. It is for this reason that new corpora of South Asian Englishes as represented by the corpus environment of the present study will provide new insights into the unity and diversity of the English language in South Asia.

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