

Mind the gap!
Bridge between World Englishes and Learner Englishes in the making

Samantha Laporte
Centre for English Corpus Linguistics
Université catholique de Louvain
Place Blaise Pascal 1, bte L3.03.33
1348 Louvain-la-Neuve
samantha.laporte@uclouvain.be

[DRAFT]

Abstract

A paradigm gap has long separated the fields of World Englishes and Learner Englishes: they have mainly been dealt with separately and very little consideration has been given to the features that they might share. Recently, however, Nesselhauf (2009) has highlighted that some features thought to be variety-specific are in fact shared by World and Learner varieties. This paper examines their use of the high-frequency verb make in samples of corpora of student writing of four World Englishes, four Learner Englishes and a control corpus of English as a Native Language (ENL). This case study shows that, quantitatively, the World and Learner varieties are mainly characterized by heterogeneity, while qualitatively, a number of similarities distinguish them from ENL.

1. Introduction

In just a few decades, the needs of our “global village” have brought about the rise of English as a global language. One of the many consequences of this phenomenon is that non-native speakers have come to outnumber native speakers. In the non-native context, a number of varieties of English have emerged and a distinction is to be drawn between World Englishes (i.e. institutionalized varieties such as Indian English or Singapore English) and Learner Englishes (foreign learner varieties encountered in e.g. Japan or France). Both types of varieties have benefited from a great deal of attention. Yet, they have mainly been treated separately, which has brought about what Sridhar & Sridhar (1986) have called a “paradigm gap”: the Second Language Acquisition (SLA) paradigm deals almost exclusively with Learner Englishes without accounting for the acquisition of World Englishes, whereas that of World Englishes pays very little attention to learner varieties. Recently, however, a growing interest in the link between the two types of varieties has laid the foundation towards bridging this gap (e.g. Nesselhauf 2009, Mukherjee & Hundt 2011), and it appears that there might in fact not be as wide a gap between World and Learner Englishes as previously thought.

The present paper sets out to explore this relationship a little further through the study of the high-frequency verb *make* in corpora of four varieties of World Englishes, namely Indian English, Kenyan English, Jamaican English, and Singapore English; and four varieties of Learner Englishes, that is, four learner populations with as L1 backgrounds Dutch, French, Japanese, and Russian. Section 2 discusses the paradigm gap: the reasons for the gap are explained, and the first rapprochement reviewed. After introducing the varieties studied in this paper in Section 3, Section 4 focuses on high-frequency verbs, and is followed by the description of data and methodology in Section 5 and the results of the study in Section 6, before some concluding remarks.

2. The paradigm gap

World and Learner Englishes differ from each other in several respects, including (1) context of use, (2) acquisitional setting and (3) normative attitude. World Englishes are varieties that have developed in former British or American colonies (e.g. India, Singapore, the Philippines), where English is very often recognized as an official or semi-official language, and is widely used in administration, education and the media, that is, in intranational settings (Andreasson 1994). Learner Englishes, on the other hand, are encountered in countries where English does not enjoy any privileged status but plays nonetheless a significant part in foreign language teaching (e.g. Belgium, Japan, Russia). This entails that speakers have limited contact with English and that English primarily serves international purposes. This difference in use goes hand in hand with two very different acquisitional settings. As a result of the pervasiveness of English in everyday life, World Englishes are acquired as a *second* language, that is, through a great deal of naturalistic input and little formal instruction. Conversely, Learner Englishes are acquired as a *foreign* language, i.e. they are mainly encountered in an artificial classroom setting and are essentially learned through language instruction.¹ The former are thus often qualified as English as a Second Language (ESL)² varieties, while the latter are widely labeled English as a Foreign Language (EFL) varieties. Finally, these two types of varieties also differ in terms of norm: while speakers of Learner Englishes refer to English as a Native Language (ENL) as their standard, most often British or American English, communities of World Englishes often take pride in the distinctive features of their varieties, which are tokens of their identity, and increasingly refer to their own norm. Learner Englishes are therefore labeled ‘norm-dependent’, and World Englishes ‘norm-developing’ (Kachru 1985). Table 1 summarizes the main differences.

Table 1. *Main differences between World Englishes and Learner Englishes*

	World Englishes	Learner Englishes
Use	Intranational	International
Acquisition	ESL	EFL
Norm	Norm-developing	Norm-dependent

The paradigm gap that exists between the two fields stems from two (somewhat paradoxical) inadequacies in the treatment of World Englishes and Learner Englishes. Firstly, when it comes to their description, they have largely been dealt with separately. The World Englishes literature has strongly stressed their difference from learner language, emphasizing that they do not share the same standards and that they are varieties in their own right. This has stood in the way of comparisons between World and Learner Englishes, which “have long been almost a taboo, since they are often considered counterproductive to the acceptance of emergent norms in second-language varieties of English” (Götz & Schilk 2011: 80).

Secondly, despite the above-mentioned differences and the impact these may have on acquisitional processes, the SLA paradigm implicitly encompasses World and Learner Englishes and “no systematic attention is paid to possible differences between Foreign Language and New Englishes” (Van Rooy 2011: 190). However, the field of SLA has mainly developed in relation to Learner Englishes, largely neglecting the acquisition of World

¹ It should be noted that this distinction in types of acquisition is one of degree as the amount of exposure and instruction is subject to considerable variation in both contexts.

² This use of the term ESL is to be distinguished from the mainstream SLA characterization of ESL as being the acquisition of English by “the transplanted learner” (Sridhar 1994: 801) in a native English-speaking context, such as that of Chinese immigrants in the USA for example.

Englishes (Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008: 159). Although World Englishes are not excluded from the SLA paradigm, a number of assumptions underlying SLA theory as well as SLA concepts do not readily apply to them. One of the major overlooked differences is that speakers of World Englishes do not target Standard English norms. As a result, deviations from such norms in World Englishes are not necessarily to be construed as ‘errors’, since accepted deviations constitute the essence of these varieties rather than something that needs to be eradicated (Brutt-Griffler 2002: 132). They therefore rather qualify as ‘innovations’ (Bolton 2006). The World Englishes literature also widely rejects the term ‘interlanguage’ (e.g. Sridhar & Sridhar 1986, Groves 2010), which, in Selinker’s (1969: 71) terms, refers to “a speaker’s attempt to produce a foreign norm, i.e. both his errors and non-errors”. Despite the use of terms such as ‘foreign norm’ and ‘errors’ that render the concept inapplicable to World Englishes, it is well worth reminding that the term ‘interlanguage’ was initially coined to highlight the fact that learner language is a structured language system independently from the mother tongue or target language. This comes very close to the claim that World Englishes are varieties in their own right.³

As Sridhar & Sridhar (1986: 4) rightly point out, “what is needed is a reevaluation of the applicability of SLA theories to the particular circumstances in which [World Englishes] are acquired”. Recognizing that Learner Englishes are as much independent language systems as World Englishes is a first step into that direction. Yet, it is only by bridging the descriptive divide through a systematic analysis and comparison of both types of varieties that the SLA paradigm can adequately be reevaluated. This enterprise has largely been facilitated by the recent appearance of corpora of World Englishes and Learner Englishes, and a few studies have already provided new insights into the relationship between the two. One case in point is Nesselhauf’s (2009) exploratory study of co-selection phenomena across World and Learner Englishes. She demonstrates, for example, that both types of varieties rely on new prepositional verbs such as *discuss about*, *request for* and *enter into* + [place], which likely arise through analogy with similar constructions that require a preposition such as *talk about*, *ask for/request* (noun) *for* and *go into*. However, her quantitative results also show that World Englishes seem to occupy an intermediate position between Learner Englishes and native English, although, in her data, they are often closer to Learner Englishes than to native English. In a similar vein, this study aims at shedding further light on the similarities and differences across World and Learner Englishes, and at showing how the two fields can “be combined to develop explanations of both sets of phenomena” (Ritchie 1986: 15).

3. Varieties under study

3.1. World Englishes

The emergence of a new variety of English is a gradual process. Schneider (2003) proposes a model in terms of five phases which reflects the identity and linguistic changes that take place in the process:

- I. **Foundation:** the colonizers bring English to a new territory and the use of English between the settlers and the locals is very limited, mainly restricted to trading.
- II. **Exonormative stabilization:** the increased contact between settlers and locals leads to an expansion of the use of English. English starts to be marked by local features, although an exonormative attitude still applies.
- III. **Nativization:** the range of uses of English increases and nativization, i.e. changes in formal features at all linguistic levels, equates with the expression of a new identity.

³ I would like to thank an anonymous reviewer for raising this point.

IV. **Endonormative stabilization:** this phase usually follows political independence of the territory and corresponds to the almost unanimous acceptance of local norms. The variety becomes codified and is used to express local identity.

V. **Differentiation:** this last phase corresponds to internal diversification of the variety, that is, to the emergence of dialects and local variants.

The four varieties under scrutiny in this paper are Kenyan English, Indian English, Jamaican and Singapore English, which are all characterized by a British colonial past. They are however not each equally advanced in Schneider's model. Schneider (2007) places Kenyan English at the onset of nativization and argues Indian English to be very advanced in the nativization process and to display the first signs of the fourth stage, endonormative stabilization. However Mukherjee (2010: 220) is more assertive and reports Indian English as being an almost prototypical example of endonormative stabilization. Jamaican English is quite advanced in this stage (Schneider 2007), while Singapore English is more advanced in this penultimate stage still, and even displays the first signs of differentiation (*ibid.*). These four varieties thus represent a cline from less to more advanced, ranging from Kenyan English (KenE) to Singapore English (SinE) through Indian (IndE) and Jamaican English (JamE), as represented in Figure 1.⁴



Figure 1. *The cline of the varieties of World Englishes in Schneider's model*

3.2. Learner Englishes

The four Learner Englishes used for this study are of the following L1 backgrounds: Dutch, French, Japanese, and Russian. As these L1s are of different language families, transfer can usually be ruled out as a factor to explain similarities across all four varieties. However, the focus of teaching, the exposure to English, and the onset age of learning differ considerably from one region or country to another. This has an impact on the attained proficiency levels by the learners, which is reflected in the data included in the *International Corpus of Learner English* (ICLE, cf. below). The rating of a sample of 20 essays from each L1 background on the basis of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Granger et al. 2009: 11-12) suggests a proficiency cline in these particular sets of data from less to more proficient, from the Japanese (ICLE-JP) to the Dutch-speaking (ICLE-DU) component, through the Russian (ICLE-RU) and French-speaking (ICLE-FR) components.⁵ This cline is represented in Figure 2.



Figure 2. *The proficiency cline of the Learner Englishes*

⁴ Note that this cline represents the progress of the varieties along Schneider's proposed socio-historical path, and by no means implies that the more advanced varieties are more developed language systems than the less advanced varieties.

⁵ This cline is to be interpreted cautiously as the assessment is based on a limited sample of each corpus, and that each text was rated by one rater only (Granger et al. 2009: 11).

4. High-frequency verbs

This paper focuses on the use of high-frequency verbs, and more particularly the high-frequency verb *make*. Such verbs display several defining features that make them a particularly interesting object of study. Crucially, these verbs are highly polysemous. They usually have one “core meaning” that displays the verb’s “full semantic content” (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 290) and that is regarded as the most salient meaning (Viberg 1996) (e.g. ‘produce, create’ as the core meaning of *make*). Next to this basic meaning, high-frequency verbs have several other peripheral meanings. Nehls (1991) reports no less than 74 entries for *make* in the *Oxford English Dictionary*. Such polysemy can be attributed to the highly collocational and idiomatic nature of high-frequency verbs on the one hand, and their tendency to be used delexically on the other (Altenberg & Granger 2001). Howarth (1996, cited in Gilquin 2007) has shown that ‘high-frequency verb + noun’ combinations are on average collocational or idiomatic in 40% of cases, but this result rises to 95% in the case of *make*.

The delexicalized uses of high-frequency verbs mainly correspond to their use in *light verb constructions*, i.e. ‘verb + noun phrase’ combinations in which the verb hardly contributes to the meaning of the predication and the NP complement carries verbal meaning (Langer 2004), as for example *make a decision*, *have a look* or *give a smile*. In the most prototypical cases, such constructions have a non-light verbal counterpart from which the noun is derived (e.g. *smile* for *give a smile*). Such depletion of meaning of the verb often renders the choice of the verb largely arbitrary: there is little semantic motivation behind saying *take a walk* rather than *make a walk*, for example.

Additionally, such verbs have high-frequency equivalents in most languages. Although basic meanings are often crosslinguistically equivalent (Viberg 1996), this is not the case of all uses of the verbs, which makes them deceitful as their mutual translatability is consequently low. For instance, *make* and its Swedish counterpart *göra* have a mutual translatability of less than 30% (Altenberg 2001), whereas the figure for *take* and its French equivalent *prendre* barely reaches 15% (Gilquin 2008), which suggests that their uses are largely language-specific, which is again largely to be attributed to the arbitrariness of the verb.

Multiple studies have shown that high-frequency verbs are a major stumbling block for learners of English from a wide range of L1 backgrounds, even at an advanced level (e.g. Altenberg & Granger 2001, Nesselhauf 2005). Learners seem to have a superficial knowledge of these items, often limited to the core meaning of the verb. Depending on the use of the verb and the L1 background, they either overuse high-frequency verbs, clinging to them like “lexical teddy bears” (Hasselgren 1994: 237), or underuse them, relying on rarer and clumsier verbs (Sinclair 1991: 79). Additionally, all studies unanimously point towards misuse of high-frequency verbs, mainly because learners seem to “over-rely on their idea of core meaning of polysemous verbs and [...] [to be] derailed by treacherous translation equivalents in L1” (Lennon 1996: 35).

Far fewer studies have investigated the use of such verbs in World Englishes. However, recently, Mukherjee & Hoffmann (2006) have investigated the use of *give* in the ditransitive construction in Indian English, and Mukherjee (2010) examined light verb constructions with *have*, *take* and *give* in Indian English. Both studies report these verbs as being prone to innovative uses, which are tokens of the nativization of the variety.

On closer inspection of the formal features described in the Learner Englishes and World Englishes literature, it seems that behind the terms ‘misuse’ and ‘innovative uses’ of high-frequency verbs lie similar formal phenomena: from the results of the above-cited studies, it appears that both types of varieties display instances of a deviant verb or noun in light verb

constructions (e.g. *take a commitment* for *make a commitment*), a deviant use of determiners (e.g. *make impression* for *make an impression*), and the use of a light verb construction instead of a full verb (e.g. *give development* for *develop*). This is a first indication that there may be an overlap between World Englishes and Learner Englishes as regards high-frequency verbs and that such verbs are worth exploring further.

5. Data and Methodology

The data used for the above-mentioned varieties are samples from the *International Corpus of English* (ICE) (Greenbaum & Nelson 1996), which contains a wide range of spoken and written genres of native varieties (e.g. British English, Canadian English) and World Englishes; and from the *International Corpus of Learner English* (ICLE) (Granger et al. 2009), which exclusively contains learner data and is made up of student argumentative essays from 16 different L1 backgrounds. In order to ensure full comparability of the data, only the ‘student writing’ and ‘examination scripts’ of the ICE corpora were selected, which contain approximately 40,000 words per variety.⁶ This amounts to a total of a little over 170,000 words for all ICE samples combined (ICE-ESL), which are ICE-India (ICE-IND), ICE-Jamaica (ICE-JAM), ICE-Kenya (ICE-KEN), and ICE-Singapore (ICE-SIN). Samples of roughly the same size were constituted for the learner data (ICLE-EFL), made up of the following four ICLE-samples: ICLE-French (ICLE-FR), ICLE-Dutch (ICLE-DU), ICLE-Japan (ICLE-JP), and ICLE-Russia (ICLE-RU). Additionally, a corpus of British English (ENL) was used as control data, made up of the ‘student writing’ and ‘examination scripts’ sections of ICE-Great Britain (ICE-GB), as well as the British university student essays of the *Louvain Corpus of Native English Essays* (LOCNESS). Table 2 displays the breakdown and sizes of the samples used.

Table 2. Breakdown of the corpora

Corpus	Number of words
ICLE-EFL	162,252
ICLE-JP	40,555
ICLE-RU	41,171
ICLE-FR	40,306
ICLE-DU	40,220
ICE-ESL	170,738
ICE-KEN	39,930
ICE-IND	42,011
ICE-JAM	41,960
ICE-SIN	46,837
ENL	139,340
ICE-GB	43,645
LOCNESS	95,695

All word forms of the lemma *make* were extracted from the corpora with the help of WordSmith Tools 4 (Scott 2004). The concordances were further analyzed manually to first weed out all non-verb uses of *make* (e.g. adjectival uses as *man-made*), and then semantically and syntactically analyze each occurrence of *make*. Throughout the analyses, the World and Learner Englishes data are studied at two levels: first at a macro-level to investigate the

⁶ The topics of the essays in each ICLE subcorpus were relatively heterogeneous and did not seem to have any significant impact on the results, with the exception of a handful of topic-related expressions with *make* such as ‘make a career’ in essays about feminism (cf. Laporte 2011). In ICE, no such metadata is available and the influence of the topic could not be measured.

overall trend regarding ICLE-EFL, ICE-ESL, and ENL, meaning that all ICE-corpora on the one hand, and all ICLE-corpora on the other hand are treated as an aggregate. Next, at a micro-level, the results are broken down for ICLE-EFL and ICE-ESL to find out whether or not the trends are consistent across all World or Learner varieties. For all quantitative comparisons, chi-square tests were carried out with a X^2 calculator (Preacher 2001) to measure the significance of the results, and a threshold of $p < 0.05$ was used. All significant differences are indicated with an asterisk (*) in the tables and are in comparison with the native data.

It should be pointed out that, as the size of the different (sub)corpora testifies, this is but a small-scale study. Although the study of a high-frequency phenomenon partly makes up for this, results are to be interpreted carefully and any generalization remains tentative. However, using this modest set of data also has its advantages: (1) the data offer high comparability in terms of genre, and (2) it allows for a fully manual analysis of all occurrences.

6. Results

6.1. Overall results

The initial stage of the study is a purely quantitative analysis to determine the overall trend in the frequency of use of *make* in different corpora and subcorpora. Table 3 shows the absolute frequencies as well as the normalized frequencies (per 10,000 words) of *make*.

The overall relative frequencies of ICLE-EFL and ICE-ESL point towards a clear difference between the two types of varieties. Whereas ICLE-EFL displays a significant overuse of *make* in comparison to ENL ($p < 0.01$), ICE-ESL displays figures very similar to the native control. When contrasting ICLE-EFL and ICE-ESL, this also means that the frequency of *make* in ICLE-EFL is significantly higher than in ICE-ESL ($p < 0.001$). From this, it would appear that EFL learners tend to cling to *make* more than ESL speakers.

Table 3. *Overall absolute and relative frequencies (/10,000 words) of make*

Corpus	n	Rf
ICLE-EFL	427*	26.3
ICLE-JP	133*	32.8
ICLE-RU	113*	27.5
ICLE-DU	98	24.4
ICLE-FR	83	20.6
ICE-ESL	359	21
ICE-KEN	107	26.8
ICE-IND	91	21.7
ICE-JAM	92	21.9
ICE-SIN	69*	14.7
ENL	301	21.6

However, this interpretation should be nuanced for, on closer inspection of the subcorpora, a mixed picture emerges. Among the learner varieties, only ICLE-JP and ICLE-RU display overuse while ICLE-DU and ICLE-FR do not significantly differ from the native control.⁷ In addition, the degree of overuse varies considerably between ICLE-JP and ICLE-RU, being very marked in ICLE-JP ($p < 0.001$) and less so in ICLE-RU ($p < 0.05$). On the other hand, among the ICE-ESL subcorpora, only ICE-SIN statistically differs from ENL with a marked underuse of *make* ($p < 0.01$). However, while ICE-IND and ICE-JAM are on a

⁷ Note that the result for ICLE-FR goes against findings by Altenberg & Granger (2001) who, on the basis of larger corpora of student writing, find underuse of *make* by French-speaking learners.

clear par with ENL, ICE-KEN distinguishes itself somewhat with a frequency of *make* fairly over that of ICE-IND, ICE-JAM, and ENL (although not to a statistically significant degree, with $p < 0.06$). This breakdown of ICLE-EFL and ICE-ESL into the different individual varieties thus shows that generalizing overuse to all Learner Englishes and equal use to all World Englishes would be misleading, thereby highlighting the importance of carefully interpreting overall trends and the relevance of examining each variety individually as well.

Such varying trends across varieties should only come as half a surprise as the existing literature reports both under- and overuse of *make* and other high-frequency verbs, depending on the L1 background (Ringböm 1998). Transfer could well be an explanatory factor, as cross-linguistic influence is known to operate at different levels, including patterns of under- or overuse (Odlin 2003). Additionally, another trend is to be distinguished across the results of both types of varieties. In the Learner Englishes, the results appear to relate to the proficiency profiles of the ICLE subcorpora: it seems that the two less proficient populations, i.e. the Japanese and Russian populations, are also the ones that display significant overuse, whereas this is not the case of the French- and Dutch-speaking populations, which are more proficient. As to the World Englishes, they point towards a cline in the frequency of use of *make* from more frequent to less frequent that corresponds to the cline of the advancement of these varieties in Schneider's dynamic model. Kenyan English, being the least advanced variety and displaying the highest frequency of *make*, is situated at one end of the continuum, while Jamaican and Indian English are in the middle, and Singapore English, as the most advanced variety and displaying underuse, stands at the other end. This shows the necessity to disentangle L1 influence from proficiency or socio-historical advancement in order to measure the impact of each variable on the results. A glance at translation equivalents of *make* in the L1s of the learner populations may suggest that factors other than L1 influence could be at play: Dutch and Japanese each have an equivalent for both *make* and *do* (respectively *maken* and *doen* in Dutch, and *tsukuru* and *suru* in Japanese), whereas French and Russian collapse *make* and *do* into one prototypical equivalent (*faire* in French and *delat* in Russian). Yet, Dutch and Japanese pattern very differently in terms of frequency, which is also true of French and Russian. This would lend credence to the hypothesis that proficiency and socio-historical advancement may, at least in part, explain such differences. However, it does not suffice to merely look at translation equivalents across languages to rule out transfer, in particular with such polysemous items. There is, for example, no one-to-one correspondence between *make* and *do* and their respective counterparts in Dutch, and even less so in Japanese, while in French and Russian, other verbs or constructions are sometimes used to express certain uses of *make* or *do*. To establish cross-linguistic influence, a more thorough contrastive analysis would be required (cf. Granger 1996), which lies beyond the scope of this paper. In addition, such an analysis would be difficult to carry out for ESL populations as there is often more than one possible L1⁸, and that no metadata is available in ICE identifying the L1 backgrounds of the speakers.

6.2. Semantic categorization of *make*

This section takes up the semantic analysis of *make*. Largely based on the categorization drawn by Altenberg & Granger (2001), the data was classified according to the eight semantic categories displayed and exemplified in Table 4 (all examples are reproduced as such).⁹

⁸ See Gut (2007) on the interplay between L1 influence and norm-orientation in Singapore and Nigerian English.

⁹ Note that this classification is not purely semantic, for the category 'phrasal/prepositional uses' cannot be said to represent a particular meaning of *make*.

Table 4. *The semantic categories of make*

Semantic categories	Examples
Produce/create	- she has become good at making pastry. (LOCNESS) - Policemen make their own laws (ICLE-RU)
Causative	- The BBC made regular broadcasting possible. (ICLE-DU) - They make others feel guilty (ICE-GB)
Delexical	- the choices they will make will influence their future (ICLE-FR) - You don't need to make a promise to meet a person you want to (ICLE-JP)
Phrasal/ prepositional uses	- Africa is made up of diverse number of languages. (ICE-KEN) - The committee (...) made for far reaching recommendation (ICE-IND)
Earn	- Religious organizations have to engage in other area to make money. (ICE-JAM) - hundreds of thousands inhabitants of the lake area have fled in an attempt to make a living elsewhere. (ICLE-DU)
Linking verb	- Hoederer believes anarchists to make good murderers (LOCNESS) - two negatives make a positive (ICE-KEN)
Other conventional uses	- The further you get into it the more it begins to make sense. (ICLE-RU) - Britain must make the most of its circumstances (LOCNESS)
Unclassifiable deviations	- There are also quite a few erotic ones which are from making a pleasant watching. (ICLE-RU) - Press can make best to their efforts to provide us valuable information (ICLE-KEN)

Table 5 provides the results of the semantic classification. From the table, it appears that the most frequent semantic categories attested in all three groups are (1) causative, (2) delexical, and (3) 'produce/create' *make*.

Table 5. *Semantic distribution of make: relative frequencies (/10,000 words) and percentages*

Semantic categories	ICLE-EFL		ICE-ESL		ENL	
	Rf	%	Rf	%	Rf	%
Produce/create	2.3	8.7%	2.3	11%	1.8	8.3%
Causative	12	45%	9.9	47%	10.2	47%
Delexical	8	30%	6.4	31%	7.7	35%
Phrasal/prep.	1.2	4.4%	1	4.7%	1.1	5.3%
Earn	0.5	1.9%	0.1	0.3%	0	0%
Linking verb	0	0%	0.1	0.3%	0.1	0.7%
Other conv. uses	1.9*	7.1%	0.9	3.9%	0.6	2.9%
Unclass. deviations	0.5	2.1%	0.4	1.9%	0	0%
Total	26.3*	100%	21	100%	21.6	100%

These three categories account for approximately 85% of all occurrences and will therefore be the focus of the remainder of this section. In terms of **frequency**, the trends uncovered for the overall use of *make* are almost uniformly verified across the categories: while there are no significant differences between ICE-ESL and ENL, the top three uses appear to be more frequent in ICLE-EFL in comparison to ENL, although the p-values are slightly above the threshold of significance. This shows that the overall overuse of *make* in ICLE-EFL is not to be attributed to the overuse of one sense in particular, but rather that each sense is slightly more frequent.

On the other hand, the results across the three types of varieties bring out strikingly similar **distributional** trends, with differences of 5% at most, which suggests great

homogeneity across varieties. However, this distributional homogeneity is but an illusion. Although the overall results for ICE-ESL and ICLE-EFL are very similar to those of ENL, the breakdown across the learner and nativized varieties yields figures that bring out quite a different picture.

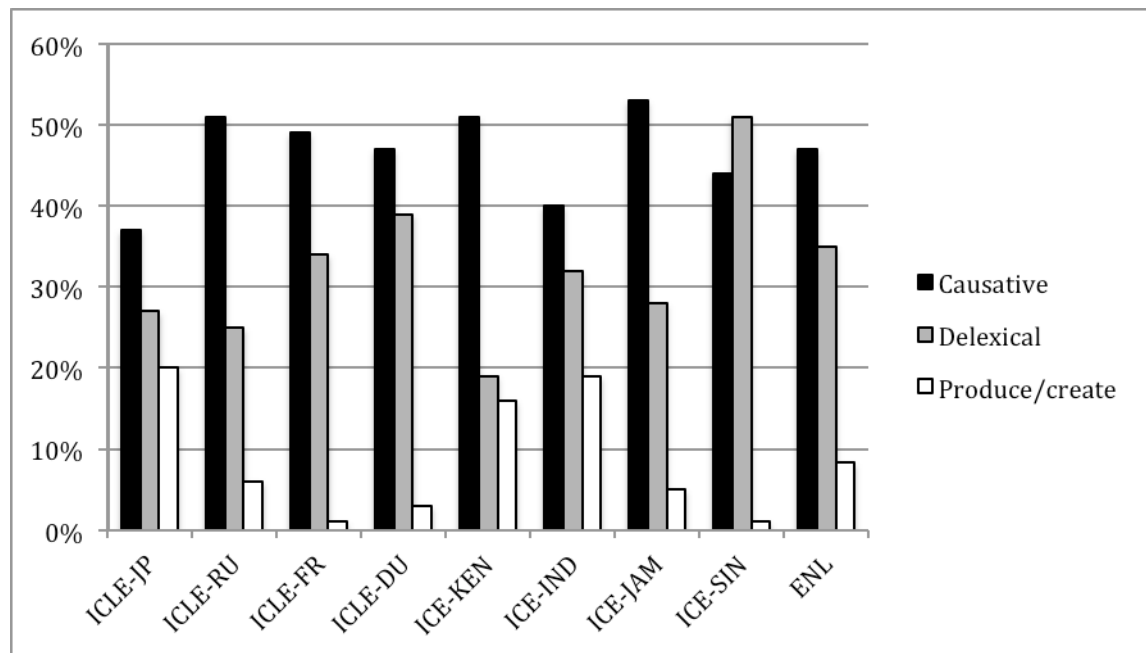


Figure 3. *Semantic distribution of make across the varieties*

As shown in Figure 3, the distribution of the three main semantic categories of *make* varies a great deal across varieties. ICE-SIN even displays a different rank order than ENL as delexical *make* ranks first, followed by causative *make*. Within the Learner Englishes, the most striking difference between the four varieties lies in their use of ‘produce/create’ *make*, which ranges from 1% in ICLE-FR to 20% in ICLE-JP ($p < 0.01$), while it accounts for 8% in ENL. Turning to the causative uses, ICLE-JP is 10% below the ENL figures whereas the other three are close to native use. As regards delexical *make*, it is mainly the Russian (25%) and Japanese (27%) populations that distinguish themselves from native speakers with figures approximately 10% below those of ENL (35%). Note that overall, the learner variety that is the closest to native use is ICLE-DU, which is also the most proficient population, while ICLE-JP differs the most from ENL and corresponds to the least proficient learners.

The semantic distribution of *make* across the World Englishes is equally heterogeneous. The causative sense accounts for 53% in ICE-JAM, but barely for 40% in ICE-IND, while it represents 47% in ENL. Similarly, the core meaning of *make* (‘produce/create’), which accounts for 8% of the occurrences in ENL, merely represents 1% in ICE-SIN, but reaches 19% in ICE-IND. Finally, the difference for delexical *make* is even greater, ranging from 19% in ICE-KEN to 51% in ICE-SIN, while it represents 35% in ENL.

All in all, this micro-analysis shows that the similar results noted for ICLE-EFL and ICE-ESL are in fact the result of different trends evening each other out, which confirms that generalizing across varieties may be misrepresentative. The following sections will be more qualitative in nature by first taking a closer look at the uses of causative and delexical *make*, followed by deviations.

6.3. Causative *make*

6.3.1. General overview

The complement of causative *make* can be of four different types, namely adjectival (AP), nominal (NP), verbal (VP) or prepositional (PP). Table 6 illustrates each pattern, while Table 7 shows the absolute and relative frequencies of each type of complement in the three main corpora.

Table 6. *The complements of causative make*

Complement	Example
AP	Money makes children <u>more selfish</u> towards other people (ICLE-RU)
VP	This news made me <u>feel very upset</u> (ICLE-JP)
NP	Some people think occasional use will not make them <u>addicts</u> . (ICE-IND)
PP	do his anarchistic desires make him <u>of no use</u> ? (LOCNESS)

Table 7. *Complements of causative make:
absolute and relative frequencies (/10,000 words)*

Complement	ICLE-EFL		ICE-ESL		ENL	
	n	Rf	n	Rf	n	Rf
AP	106	6.5	106	6.2	90	6.4
VP	74*	4.6	36	2.1	40	2.8
NP	14	0.9	27	1.6	13	0.9
PP	0	0	0	0	2	0.1
Total	194	12	169	9.9	145	10.4

The figures show that the dominant pattern among the causative structures is the adjectival complement, which is very uniformly represented in the three main corpora. One main trend is to be distinguished regarding the verbal structures, which are overused by the EFL population ($p < 0.02$) as compared to both the native and ICE-ESL corpora. Additionally, it is notable that prepositional complements occur in the ENL corpus, although not very frequently, but are not represented in the two non-native corpora. The following sections will deal with the two main complementation patterns in more detail, also analyzing their use across the different subvarieties.

6.3.2. Adjectival causative structures

The even distribution of causative *make* with AP complements is confirmed in the majority of the Learner varieties as reflected in Table 8, the only exception being the French-speaking population that appears to rely rather less on this type of complement, although not to a statistically significant degree. This is in line with findings by Altenberg & Granger (2001) who note an underuse of this structure on the part of French-speaking learners, which they attribute to the fact that in French, this structure is typically not realized with the prototypical counterpart of *make*, i.e. *faire*, but rather with the verb *rendre*, and by the fact that a synthetic verb is often preferred in French. However, of the other three L1 backgrounds, only Dutch has an equivalent structure ‘*maken* + AP’, while this is not the case of Russian or Japanese. Yet, on the basis of these data, these populations do not seem to diverge from native use, at least not quantitatively.¹⁰

¹⁰ The raw figures being relatively low, larger corpus studies would be needed to confirm these trends, particularly since the L1s differ markedly in their grammatical expression of causation, which would predict different patterns.

Table 8. *AP complements of causative make across the four Learner Englishes: absolute and relative frequencies (/10,000 words)*

	n	Rf
ICLE-JP	29	7.2
ICLE-RU	27	6.4
ICLE-FR	21	5
ICLE-DU	28	7
ICLE-EFL	105	6.5
ENL	90	6.4

Table 9. *AP complements of causative make across the four World Englishes: absolute and relative frequencies (/10,000 words)*

	n	Rf
ICE-KEN	28	7
ICE-IND	19	4.5
ICE-JAM	38	9.1
ICE-SIN	20	4.3
ICE-ESL	106	6.2
ENL	90	6.4

As Table 9 shows, the World Englishes appear to differ somewhat from each other and from ENL: only ICE-KEN displays figures close to those of ENL, whereas the Indian and Singapore populations use AP complements less than native speakers and the Jamaican variety seems to rely more on adjectival complementation. Although the p-values in comparison with ENL are each time slightly above the threshold of significance, there is a significant difference between ICE-IND and ICE-SIN on the one hand, and ICE-JAM on the other hand ($p < 0.03$), which again indicates heterogeneity across subvarieties.¹¹

6.3.3. Verbal causative structures

The verbal structures of causative *make* can be further subdivided according to the type of verbal complement into four different categories, namely ‘bare infinitive’, ‘to infinitive’, ‘past participle’, and ‘*be made* + to infinitive’, which are illustrated in Table 10. Note that the ‘to infinitive’ complement is not a feature of Standard English and is included here because it is attested in the non-native data.

Table 10. *VP complements of causative make*

Verbal complement	Example
bare infinitive	it is intended to make us <u>dream</u> (ICLE-FR)
to infinitive	Humour adds flavour to a work of an art therefore, making readers to <u>laugh</u> (ICE-KEN)
past participle	children will also be aided by a genetic program within them which makes them <u>predisposed</u> to acquiring language (ICE-SIN)
<i>be made</i> + to inf.	She is made to feel <u>guilty</u> that she were even Alive (ICE-GB)

The results given in Table 11 show that the dominant structure is the ‘bare infinitive’ complement in all three groups. This structure is clearly overused in ICLE-EFL ($p < 0.01$), and thereby accounts for the overall overuse of VP complements of causative *make* noted

¹¹ Such differences could be attributed to different means of expressing adjectival causation in the L1s. However, as the L1 backgrounds are unknown in ICE, it is impossible to verify such a hypothesis.

above. On the other hand, ICE-ESL displays an underuse of the ‘bare infinitive’ complement ($p < 0.01$), but an overuse of the ‘to infinitive’ complement, which shows that ESL speakers, if they do not prefer ‘to infinitive’ over ‘bare infinitive’, at least heavily rely on this structure ($p < 0.03$), whereas native speakers would use a ‘bare infinitive’ instead. A few occurrences of the ‘to infinitive’ complement also appear in ICLE-EFL, although to a much lesser extent. Additional examples are displayed in (1) and (2).

- (1) Efforts, will, decision are all needed to be invoked to **make** the inborn capacity or moral sensibility to flourish (ICE-SIN)
- (2) it will **make** other countries to consider this issue. (ICLE-JP)

Table 11. *VP complements of causative make:
absolute and relative frequencies (/10,000 words)*

Complement	ICLE-EFL		ICE-ESL		ENL	
	n	Rf	n	Rf	n	Rf
bare inf.	67*	41	17*	10	30	21.5
past part.	3	1.8	4	2.3	3	2.1
to inf.	3	1.8	12*	7	0	0
<i>be made</i> + to inf.	1*	0.6	3	1.8	7	5
Total	74*	45.6	36	21.1	40	28.7

Notably, ‘*be made* + to infinitive’ is nearly absent both from ICLE-EFL and ICE-ESL, whereas, even though not particularly frequent in ENL, it does account for 7 hits out of 40 (18%). Although such a high percentage in ENL may be due to low raw figures, the very low number of ‘*be made* + to infinitive’ in ICLE-EFL and ICE-ESL seems to indicate that non-native speakers are on the whole unfamiliar with this structure.

Looking more closely at the verbal complementation patterns within the individual varieties, the breakdown into the learner varieties in Table 12 reveals that the overuse of the verbal complementation of causative *make* is mainly to be ascribed to the Russian population. On the other hand, Table 13 reveals that the parallel between ICE-ESL and ENL is in fact, as was the case for the distribution of the main semantic categories, the result of different trends evening each other out: underuse is clearly attested in ICE-IND, ICE-JAM, and ICE-SIN ($p < 0.05$), whereas ICE-KEN displays the exact opposite trend by overusing this complementation pattern ($p < 0.01$).

Table 12. *VP complements of causative make across the four Learner Englishes:
absolute and relative frequencies (/10,000 words)*

Complement	ICLE-JP		ICLE-RU		ICLE-FR		ICLE-DU		ENL	
	n	Rf	n	Rf	n	Rf	n	Rf	n	Rf
bare inf.	16*	4	27*	6.6	16*	4	8	2	30	2.2
past part.	0	0	1	0.2	0	0	2	0.5	3	0.2
to inf.	3	0.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>be made</i> + to inf.	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.3	7	0.5
Total	19	4.7	28*	6.8	16	4	11	2.8	40	2.8

Table 13. *VP complements of causative make across the four World Englishes: absolute and relative frequencies (/10,000 words)*

Complement	ICE-KEN		ICE-IND		ICE-JAM		ICE-SIN		ENL	
	n	Rf	n	Rf	n	Rf	n	Rf	n	Rf
bare inf.	10	2.5	2*	0.5	2*	0.5	3	0.7	30	2.2
past part.	1	0.3	1	0.2	1	0.2	1	0.2	3	0.2
to inf.	10	2.5	1	0.2	0	0	1	0.2	0	0
<i>be made</i> + to inf.	1	0.3	0	0	2	0.5	0	0	7	0.5
Total	22*	5.6	4*	0.9	5*	1.2	5*	1.1	40	2.8

Turning to the ‘bare infinitive’ complement, among the Learner Englishes, overuse is attested in three of the four populations ($p < 0.05$). ICLE-DU constitutes, once more, the only exception by displaying a similar frequency of use to ENL. On the other hand, the Russian population very markedly overuses ($p < 10E-6$) this complementation pattern. This could be explained by transfer as Russian has an equivalent structure (*zastavit* + NP-accusative + VP) with the verb *zastavit*, which, although not the prototypical counterpart of *make*, roughly corresponds to *make* in periphrastic causative structures. Among the World Englishes, underuse is only attested in ICE-IND and ICE-JAM ($p < 0.05$).

As regards the ‘to infinitive’ complement, three out of the four World Englishes display instances of this pattern, i.e. ICE-KEN, ICE-IND, and ICE-SIN, although ICE-KEN stands out with a much higher frequency, as well as an equal frequency with the ‘bare infinitive’ pattern. The limited size of the corpora does not, however, make it possible to estimate to what degree the Indian and Singapore populations use one pattern or the other. In the learner corpora, all the occurrences of ‘to infinitive’ concentrate in ICLE-JP. Still, even in ICLE-JP, this use is largely outnumbered by ‘bare infinitive’ complements and the use of ‘to infinitive’ merely seems to be a token of the lower proficiency level of Japanese learners. This points towards a difference between World and Learner Englishes: it seems that, the Jamaican population aside, ESL speakers have a tendency to make use of both complementation patterns, whereas learners appear to conform to the British norm, with a few exceptions at a lower level of proficiency. In this case, the results thus seem to reflect the difference between an exonormative attitude of EFL populations and a more endonormative attitude of ESL populations.

6.4. Delexical *make*

The distribution of the semantic categories in the three main corpora in Table 5 (cf. Section 6.2) showed no significant differences between the three types of varieties in terms of frequency. Tables 14 and 15 confirm this trend across the subcorpora of ICLE-EFL and ICE-ESL as no variety displays significant variation in comparison to ENL or between themselves.

Table 14. *Delexical make across the four Learner Englishes: absolute and relative frequencies (/10,000 words)*

ICLE-JP		ICLE-RU		ICLE-FR		ICLE-DU		ENL	
n	Rf	n	Rf	n	Rf	n	Rf	n	Rf
36	8.9	28	6.8	28	7	38	9.5	107	7.7

Table 15. *Delexical make across the four World Englishes: absolute and relative frequencies (/10,000 words)*

ICE-KEN		ICE-IND		ICE-JAM		ICE-SIN		ENL	
n	Rf	n	Rf	n	Rf	n	Rf	n	Rf
20	5	29	6.9	26	6.2	35	7.5	107	7.7

Yet, these quantitatively similar results do not equate with qualitatively comparable use across all types of varieties. Not only does delexical *make* display a number of deviant uses among the non-native varieties (cf. Section 6.5.2 below), an analysis of the collocates of delexical *make* seems to reveal further differences as well, as for example in the use of “speech collocates”, that is, collocations expressing verbal communication, such as *make a claim/point/statement*. Previous studies (Altenberg & Granger 2001, Hugon 2008) have shown that *make* is frequently used by native speakers in such collocations, but that these are largely underused by learners. The same analysis was thus carried out, but across the ESL and EFL populations in comparison to ENL. Table 16 displays the number of types and tokens of speech collocates in the three main corpora as well of the proportion of all such uses.

Table 16. *Speech collocates across ICLE-EFL, ICE-ESL, and ENL*

	ICLE-EFL	ICE-ESL	ENL
Types	4	8	7
Tokens	6*	13	15
%	5%	12%	14%

The yielded results show that speech collocates represent 14% of the collocations instantiated in native writing. The figure for Learner Englishes is however much below that of ENL ($p < 0.04$), with speech collocates covering only 5% of all collocations, while ICE-ESL and ENL speakers display similar figures. This is in line with earlier findings that learners tend to underuse such collocations, but might also indicate that in this respect, ESL populations tend to diverge from EFL speakers and show a behavior closer to that of native speakers. However, the raw figures being quite low, these results, even if in some cases statistically significant, remain highly tentative and should be regarded as an indicative trend that would need to be confirmed on the basis of larger-scale studies.

6.5. Deviations

6.5.1. Overall figures

In order to analyze the data for deviations¹², all doubtful concordances were submitted to and judged by a native speaker of British English. Table 17 shows the number of deviations identified in ICLE-EFL and ICE-ESL, as well as the proportion they represent. Deviations account for approximately 13% of the uses of *make* in the two corpora, which suggests that the two groups produce a relatively similar number of deviations, despite different acquisitional settings and referring to different norms.

Table 17. *Number and proportion of deviations in ICLE-EFL and ICE-ESL*

ICLE-EFL		ICE-ESL	
n	%	n	%
57	13.1%	54	13.6%

¹² The term ‘deviation’ rather than ‘error’ will be preferred as the latter is a negatively loaded term and implies that standard varieties of English are the ultimate norm, which runs counter to the view that World Englishes are norm-developing.

Yet, turning to the breakdown of the number of deviations in the subcorpora (Tables 18 and 19), it appears that some populations are much more prone to produce deviations than others, as in both groups the rate of deviations ranges from approximately 6% to 20%.

Table 18. *Number and proportion of deviations in the Learner Englishes*

ICLE-JP		ICLE-RU		ICLE-FR		ICLE-DU	
n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
29	22%	9	8%	13	16%	6	6%

Table 19. *Number and proportion of deviations in the World Englishes*

ICE-KEN		ICE-IND		ICE-JAM		ICE-SIN	
n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
20	19%	19	21%	6	7%	9	13%

Among the learner corpora, ICLE-JP accounts for over half of the deviating instances. On the other hand, ICLE-DU, which is so far the closest to ENL, displays the lowest rate of deviations. Although transfer could perhaps explain some of these differences across varieties, here again, the number of deviations in the corpora of the subvarieties tends to reflect the cline of proficiency. Similarly, in the World Englishes, the two populations with the lowest number of deviations are the most advanced populations in Schneider's dynamic model, i.e. the Jamaican and Singaporean populations, whereas the Indian and Kenyan populations display a much larger number of deviations.

6.5.2. Deviations across semantic categories

Table 20 displays the breakdown of the deviations across ICLE-EFL and ICE-ESL according to the semantic categories of *make*. The results seem to point towards different pockets of idiosyncrasies across the two types of varieties. The two groups of speakers show a different rank order in terms of deviations: ESL populations appear to deviate more from native norms in the use of causative *make*, whereas EFL populations seem to produce more infelicitous uses in the delexical category of *make*. The high rate of deviations in the causative category in ESL is mainly due to the use of 'to infinitive' complementation where native speakers would use the bare infinitive (cf. Section 6.3.3).

Table 20. *Distribution of deviations according to the semantic categories of make in ICLE-EFL and ICE-ESL*

Semantic categories	ICLE-EFL		ICE-ESL	
	n	%	n	%
Causative	13	23%	20	37%
Delexical	24	42%	19	35%
Produce/create	5	9%	6	11%
Phrasal/prep. verb	3	5.3%	1	1.9%
Earn	2	3.5%	0	0%
Linking verb	0	0%	0	0%
Other conventional uses	1	1.8%	2	3.7%
Unclassifiable deviations	9	16%	6	11%
Total	57	100%	54	100%

Despite these quantitative differences, a qualitative analysis reveals several types of deviations, three of them being particularly recurrent across all populations, namely (1) the use of a deviant verb, i.e. the use of *make* instead of another verb, (2) the use of a deviant

noun as the complement of *make*, and (3) the use of an analytic construction with *make* instead of a synthetic verb. Each occurs across several semantic categories as shown and exemplified in Table 21.

Table 21. *Main recurrent deviations*

1. Deviant verb	
Causative <i>make</i>	they _i will make sure that they _i gain the necessary skills to make them _i successful. (ICE-JAM) (→ become successful)
Delexical <i>make</i>	such an invention makes great harm to the safety of the children in the steets (ICLE-RU) (→ does great harm)
‘Produce/create’ <i>make</i>	The mosquito makes an angle with the substratum at rest. (ICE-IND) (→ forms an angle)
2. Deviant noun	
Delexical <i>make</i>	when we use a computer and make a miss, we are inclined to put the blame on the computer. (ICLE-JP) (→ make a mistake)
Other conventional uses	it will make meaning despite the silence (ICE-KEN) (→ make sense)
3. Analytic for synthetic construction	
Causative <i>make</i> + AP complement	planting even a single tree (...) makes the environment full of fragrance (ICE-IND) (→ fills the environment with fragrance)
Delexical <i>make</i>	Why do they go to university? To make a gamble? (ICLE-JP) (→ To gamble)

Regarding the deviant verb choice and the use of an analytic construction for a synthetic verb, Liu & Shaw (2001) report similar deviations in the use of *make* by Chinese learners. They relate such deviations to a universal interlanguage feature, viz. a tendency towards underlexicalization (Fowler 1996: 216). This means that the lack of a lexical item, in this case of an accurate verb, results in it being substituted by another simplex or complex item, in this case the “simplex” verb *make* or a “complex” circumlocution with *make*. This notion is also in line with the idea of high-frequency verbs working as “lexical teddy bears” (Hasselgren 1994: 237) serving to fill a lexical gap and appearing as a relatively safe bet to learners. The fact that such deviations occur across World Englishes as well suggests that this “interlanguage feature” would in fact apply also to ESL.¹³

In addition to the three main types of deviations mentioned above, one particular deviation is worth mentioning in the ‘phrasal/prepositional uses’ category, even though it is not recurrent:

- (3) Person has to **make up the choice** whenther to join Private Sector or Public Sector. (ICE-IND)

This use appears as a blend between the idiom *make up one’s mind* and the light verb construction *make a choice*, two expressions that roughly bear the same semantic content, i.e. ‘to choose’, but differ in form. The underlying process can be identified as a case of “nativised semantico-structural analogy” (Mukherjee & Hoffmann 2006), with the semantics and the form of two initial constructions sanctioning the new construction *make up a choice*. Although only appearing once in the data, a query on the Internet yields a number of additional examples, mainly found on blogs or forums, all apparently produced by non-native speakers, and of different origins. A few examples are reproduced in (4) and (5).

¹³ As pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, such a strategy, although maybe resorted to more often in a second or foreign language, may in fact be considered a universal strategy in language processing, also operating in one’s mother tongue.

- (4) Er... difficult to **make up a choice** there, especially if you don't intend to reproduce her...¹⁴
(produced by a French person)
- (5) The bottom line is that as men we really no rights to tell a woman what to do with her body, period and we can never understand what is like to carry one inside of or **make up the choice** to give it away.¹⁵ (produced by an Asian person)

Further investigation through larger corpora would be required in order to find out how widespread the phenomenon is, but such data is in line with earlier findings regarding the particle *up* (Gilquin 2011), and seems to confirm that prepositional uses are very prone to innovation, and this across a wide range of non-native populations, be they ESL or EFL.

7. Conclusion

This article set out to explore the relationship between World Englishes and Learner Englishes by analyzing the use of the high-frequency verb *make*. Despite quantitatively different trends, there are significant qualitative similarities across both types of varieties, which further blurs the distinction between the concepts of EFL and ESL.

The quantitative results have shown that apparent similarities between the two groups of varieties, be it in terms of overall frequencies or semantic categories, were negated by the heterogeneity among the subcorpora. This is in line with quantitative differences found across Learner Englishes for high-frequency verbs (e.g. Ringböm 1998) and World Englishes for particle verbs and morphological creativity, for example (e.g. Schneider 2004, Biermeier 2009). Such findings hence corroborate Gilquin & Granger's (2011: 68) warning against "the danger of treating several learner populations as an aggregate", an observation that can clearly be extended to World Englishes as well. However, relatively consistently across the different analyses, the results for the Learner Englishes appeared to reflect the proficiency cline of the data, with the most proficient population, i.e. ICLE-DU, being the closest to native use. For the World Englishes, the results often seemed to echo the advancement of the varieties in Schneider's model with the more advanced varieties being closer to native use. Interestingly, this differs from results obtained by Mukherjee & Gries (2009) (on the basis of larger corpora, though) for the ditransitive construction, which show that the more advanced the variety, the more dissimilar from ENL. Rather than being contradictory, this might indicate that the evolution of World Englishes does not necessarily have the same impact on all linguistic features, although further investigations on larger amounts of data would be needed to support this suggestion. Furthermore, these cross-varietal differences could also in part be influenced by L1 transfer, which, without a thorough contrastive analysis, cannot easily be teased out from proficiency and/or socio-historical advancement. Such an analysis would however require corpora documenting information on the mother tongue background as well as the proficiency of the speakers, for which the ICE corpora, and to the best of my knowledge most World Englishes corpora, are particularly uninformative. This highlights the acute need for corpora including such metadata, for until such corpora become available, patterns of linguistic behavior can be hypothesized, but nothing more confident can be asserted.¹⁶

Qualitatively, contrary to the quantitative results, this paper has revealed parallels across both types of varieties, which confirms the relevance of considering the relation between World and Learner Englishes. The similarities uncovered in the deviations from Standard English suggest that what has been previously noted for Learner Englishes or World

¹⁴ http://www.aeroscale.co.uk/modules.php?op=modload&name=SquawkBox&file=index&req=viewtopic&topic_id=130092&page=20 (last accessed on 23 May 2011).

¹⁵ <http://community2.metalreview.com/forums/t/5781.aspx?PageIndex=10> (last accessed on 23 May 2011)

¹⁶ I would like to thank an anonymous reviewer for raising this point.

Englishes independently may in fact well hold true for both, such as the notion of underlexicalization and that of semantico-structural analogy. This not only shows how both fields can contribute to each other, but would also imply that similar developmental and cognitive processes are perhaps at play across both EFL and ESL acquisition. In any case, this is further evidence that, despite differences in terms of norm, use, and acquisitional setting, the distinction between EFL and ESL seems to be one of degree.

These findings also raise the question of the status of deviations. In this paper, the term ‘deviation’ rather than ‘error’ or ‘innovation’ was deliberately used for its more neutral connotation. However, there is no denying that World and Learner Englishes have different standards to live up to: in World Englishes, the endonormative status of the varieties allows for creativity and deviations are consequently most often labeled ‘innovations’ (Gilquin & Granger 2011: 72). On the other hand, Learner Englishes should approach native standards as much as possible and deviations are therefore considered ‘errors’ (*ibid.*). It is often argued in the World Englishes literature that the difference lies in learners’ deviations being “individual phenomena, accounting for individual variation” (Groves 2010: 115), whereas they are widespread and societal in World Englishes (*ibid.*). However, in light of the results and the qualitative similarities demonstrated here, this does not seem to be an entirely valid argument, for some deviations appear not only within individual varieties, but also across a number of varieties, be they learner or nativized. This also shows that the difference between ‘error’ and ‘innovation’ is not solely determined on linguistic grounds and that understanding the linguistic, rather than the sociological, differences between the two paradigms is essential to enhance our knowledge of SLA.

Methodologically speaking, two caveats to this study are to be pointed out. Firstly, the necessity for comparable data between the two types of varieties had as a restriction that the study solely relied on one genre, namely student writing. Secondly, as a consequence of this constraint, the corpora used were fairly small-sized, making it often only possible to make tentative statements rather than more confident assertions, especially when the figures were too low to obtain statistically significant results.

Notwithstanding, this study has brought the fields of World Englishes and Learner Englishes one step closer to each other, adding to the few studies in that direction. So far only a glimpse at a much larger picture has been possible, however, and further research will be needed in order to establish the extent of the common ground shared by the different varieties of English as well as to accurately explain the parallels. As non-native speakers outnumber native speakers, the answers to such questions bear high stakes, for, a “language [being] a tool shaped by its speakers” (Weber 1989: 4), the future shape of English may well lie in non-native speakers’ more than in native speakers’ hands.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Gaëtanelle Gilquin and two anonymous reviewers for their insightful comments on earlier versions of this paper.

References

- Altenberg, Bengt. 2001. Contrasting delexical English *make* and Swedish *göra*. In *A Wealth of English. Studies in Honour of Göran Kjellmer*, Karin Aijmer (ed.). Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 195-219.
- Altenberg, Bengt and Sylviane Granger. 2001. The grammatical and lexical patterning of MAKE in native and non-native student writing. *Applied Linguistics* 22 (2): 173-194.
- Andreasson, Anne-Marie. 1994. Norms as a pedagogical paradigm. *World Englishes* 13 (3): 395-409.

- Biermeier, Thomas. 2009. Word-formation in New Englishes. Properties and trends. In *World Englishes – Problems, Properties and Prospects. Selected Papers from the 13th IAWC Conference*, Thomas Hoffmann and Lucia Siebers (eds.). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 331-349.
- Bolton, Kingsley. 2006. Varieties of World Englishes. In *The Handbook of World Englishes*, Braj B. Kachru, Yamuna Kachru and Cecil Nelson (eds.). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 289-321.
- Brutt-Griffler, Janina. 2002. *World English: A Study of its Development*. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters Press.
- Fowler, Roger. 1996. *Linguistic Criticism* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gilquin, Gaëtanelle. 2007. To err is not all. What corpus and elicitation can reveal about the use of collocations by learners. *Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik* 55 (3): 273-291.
- Gilquin, Gaëtanelle. 2008. Combining contrastive and interlanguage analysis to apprehend transfer: Detection, explanation, evaluation. In *Linking up Contrastive and Learner Corpus Research*, Gaëtanelle Gilquin, Szilvia Papp and María Belén Díez-Bedmar (eds.). Amsterdam/Atlanta: Rodopi, 3-33.
- Gilquin, Gaëtanelle. 2011. Corpus linguistics to bridge the gap between World Englishes and Learner Englishes. *Comunicación Social en el siglo XXI* Vol. II: 638-642.
- Gilquin, Gaëtanelle and Sylviane Granger. 2011. From EFL to ESL: Evidence from the International Corpus of Learner English. In *Exploring Second-Language Varieties of English and Learner Englishes: Bridging a Paradigm Gap*, Joybrato Mukherjee and Marianne Hundt (eds.). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 55-78.
- Götz, Sandra and Marco Schilk. 2011. Formulaic sequences in spoken English: Focus on British English, Indian English and Learner English of advanced German learners. In *Exploring Second-Language Varieties of English and Learner Englishes: Bridging a Paradigm Gap*, Joybrato Mukherjee and Marianne Hundt (eds.). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 79-100.
- Granger, Sylviane. 1996. From CA to CIA and back: An integrated approach to computerized bilingual and learner corpora. In *Languages in Contrast. Text-based Cross-linguistic Studies*, Karin Aijmer, Bengt Altenberg and Mats Johansson (eds.). Lund: Lund University Press, 37-51.
- Granger, Sylviane, Estelle Dagneaux, Fanny Meunier and Magali Paquot (eds.). 2009. *The International Corpus of Learner English. Version 2. Handbook and CD-ROM*. Louvain-la-Neuve: Presses universitaires de Louvain.
- Greenbaum, Sidney and Gerald Nelson. 1996. The International Corpus of English (ICE) Project. *World Englishes* 15 (1): 3-15.
- Groves, Julie. 2010. Error or feature? The issue of interlanguage deviations in non-native varieties of English. *HKBU Papers in Applied Language Studies* 14: 108-129.
- Gut, Ulrike. 2007. First language influence and final consonant clusters in the new Englishes of Singapore and Nigeria. *World Englishes* 26 (3): 346-359.
- Hasselgren, Angela. 1994. Lexical teddy bears and advanced learners: A study into the ways Norwegian students cope with English vocabulary. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 4 (2): 237-258.
- Huddleston, Rodney and Geoffrey K. Pullum. 2002. *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hugon, Claire. 2008. High-frequency verbs: Starting block or stumbling block for advanced L2 communication? Insights from native and learner corpora. In *Taal aan den lijve. Het gebruik van corpora in taalkundig onderzoek en taalonderwijs*, Gudrun Rawoens (ed.). Gent: Academia Press, 69-98.

- Kachru, Braj B. 1985. Standards, codification and sociolinguistic realism: The English language in the outer circle. In *English in the World: Teaching and Learning the Language and Literatures*, Randolph Quirk and Henry G. Widdowson (eds.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 11-30.
- Langer, Stefan. 2004. A linguistic test battery for support verb constructions. *Linguisticae Investigationes* 27 (2): 171-184.
- Laporte, Samantha. 2011. *Mind the Gap! Bridge between World Englishes and Learner Englishes in the Making*. Université catholique de Louvain, unpublished MA dissertation.
- Lennon, Paul. 1996. Getting “easy” verbs wrong at the advanced level. *IRAL* 34 (1): 23-36.
- Liu, Eric T. K. and Philip M. Shaw. 2001. Investigating learner vocabulary: A possible approach to looking at EFL/ESL learners’ qualitative knowledge of the word. *IRAL* 39 (3): 171-194.
- Mesthrie, Rajend and Rakesh M. Bhatt. 2008. *World Englishes: The Study of New Linguistic Varieties*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mukherjee, Joybrato. 2010. Corpus-based insights into verb-complementational innovations in Indian English. In *Grammar between Norm and Variation*, Alexandra N. Lenz and Albrecht Plewnia (eds.). Frankfurt a.m.: Peter Lang, 219-241.
- Mukherjee, Joybrato and Stefan Th. Gries. 2009. Collostructional nativisation in New Englishes: Verb-construction associations in the International Corpus of English. *English World-Wide* 30 (1): 27-51.
- Mukherjee, Joybrato and Sebastian Hoffmann. 2006. Describing verb-complementational profiles of new Englishes: A pilot study of Indian English. *English World-Wide* 27 (2): 147-173.
- Mukherjee, Joybrato and Marianne Hundt. 2011. *Exploring Second-language Varieties of English and Learner Englishes: Bridging a Paradigm Gap*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Nehls, Dietrich. 1991. English DO/MAKE compared with German TUN/MACHEN and Dutch DOEN/MAKEN. A synchronic-diachronic approach. *IRAL* 29 (4): 303-316.
- Nesselhauf, Nadja. 2005. *Collocations in a Learner Corpus*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Nesselhauf, Nadja. 2009. Co-selection phenomena across new Englishes: Parallels (and differences) to foreign learner varieties. *English World-Wide* 30 (1): 1-26.
- Odlin, Terence. 2003. Cross-linguistic influence. In *Handbook of Second Language Acquisition*, Catherine J. Doughty and Michael H. Long (eds.). Oxford: Blackwell, 436-486.
- Preacher, Kristopher J. 2001. Calculation for the chi-square test: An interactive calculation tool for chi-square tests of goodness of fit and independence [Computer software]. Available from <http://quantpsy.org>. Last accessed on 9 March 2011.
- Ringböm, Hakan. 1998. High-frequency verbs in the ICLE corpus. In *Explorations in Corpus Linguistics*, Antoinette Renouf (ed.). Amsterdam/Atlanta: Rodopi, 191-200.
- Ritchie, William C. 1986. Second language acquisition research and the study of non-native varieties of English: Some issues in common. *World Englishes* 5 (1): 15-30.
- Schneider, Edgar W. 2003. The dynamics of New Englishes: From identity construction to dialect birth. *Language* 79 (2): 233-281.
- Schneider, Edgar W. 2004. How to trace structural nativization: Particle verbs in world Englishes. *World Englishes* 23 (2): 227-249.
- Schneider, Edgar W. 2007. *Post-colonial English: Varieties around the World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Scott, Mike. 2004. *WordSmith Tools* version 4. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Selinker, Larry. 1969. Language Transfer. *General Linguistics* 9: 67-92.
- Sinclair, John. 1991. *Corpus, Concordance, Collocation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Sridhar, Kamal K. and Shikaripur N. Sridhar. 1986. Bridging the paradigm gap: Second language acquisition theory and indigenized varieties of English. *World Englishes* 5 (1): 3-14.
- Sridhar, Shikaripur N. 1994. A reality check for SLA theories. *TESOL Quarterly* 28 (4): 800-805.
- Van Rooy, Bertus. 2011. A principled distinction between error and conventionalised innovation in African Englishes. In *Exploring Second-Language Varieties of English and Learner Englishes: Bridging a Paradigm Gap*, Joybrato Mukherjee and Marianne Hundt (eds.). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 189-207.
- Viberg, Åke. 1996. Cross-linguistic lexicology. The case of English *go* and Swedish *gå*. In *Languages in Contrast. Papers from a Symposium on Text-based Cross-linguistic Studies* (Lund Studies in English 88), Karin Aijmer, Bengt Altenberg and Mats Johansson (eds.). Lund: Lund University Press, 151-182.
- Weber, David J. 1989. *A Grammar of Huallaga (Huánuco) Quechua*. Berkeley: University of California Press.