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Phonological patterns in the Englishes of Singapore and Hong Kong

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More or Less English:

Two Phonological Patterns in the Englishes of Singapore and Hong Kong

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ABSTRACT:

By taking a generative approach to the investigation of two phonological patterns (L-vocalization and tone assignment) in the Englishes spoken in Singapore and Hong Kong, this study brings theoretical (generative) linguistics to bear on the claim that Englishization and Nativization are indeed two faces of language contact. In the Englishes of these two places, elements of English and the local languages are inseparably interwoven, giving them the distinct characters of their phonologies. The bilingual and bicultural context makes it unviable for anyone to pursue a narrower acquisition of English that is devoid of local character. Extending from the phonological analysis, this paper explains that the asymmetrical perception of English being language of Singapore but less so of Hong Kong is due to their differences in degrees of Englishization and Nativization. This explanation avoids the difficulty of having to justify that English in one area is of a higher standard than the other. Other than bringing theoretical linguistics in line with the study of World Englishes, implications are that the curricular development of English for outer and expanding circles should focus on intelligibility and cultural richness rather than assimilation to inner circle standards.

BI-DIRECTIONALITY IN LANGUAGE CONTACT

When languages come in contact, as they have for so long, one of the most obvious of the many interesting things that happen is BORROWING. English, for example, has taken many words from other languages from as early as the story of English began (McCrum et al 1986, 2002, Baugh and Cable 1993). More recently, we have examples like 'mango', 'curry', 'guanxi' which have been borrowed into English. We also have Chinese names like 'Chan' which ends up sounding like [tʃʰɛn] rather than [tsʰan]. English also gives words to the cultures that it comes into contact with. In Hong Kong, one has examples like [si.tik] for 'stick' or [ba.si] for 'bus'. In Singapore, there are words like 'arrow' taking a verbal interpretation of 'delegating an unpleasant task' in addition to its nominal meaning of a weapon. Eventually, out of this happy exchange new modes of communication are formed, giving us new Englishes such as Indian English, Philippine English and Singapore English. The contact of English and local cultures has been insightfully described by B. Kachru (1979, 1986, 1994a) as involving two processes: ENGLISHIZATION and NATIVIZATION.

(1)   The Two Faces of Language Contact[1]

                          Language Contact

          Englishization   Nativization
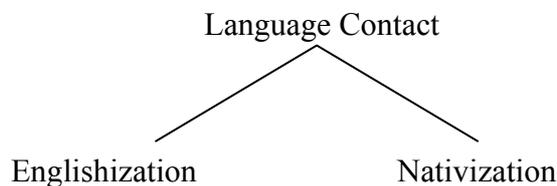
Roughly speaking, Englishization is the process in which English impacts upon a local culture and Nativization is the process in which English is indigenized by that local culture; both exemplified in the preceding paragraphs by the instances of

borrowing in either directions. It goes without saying that language contact involves a cultural dimension, which has been studied in such works as B. Kachru (1983, 1986, 1994a, b), Iwasaki (1994), Bolton (2003) among many others.

It has often been pointed out that separating the two processes of 'Englishization' and 'Nativization' is a difficult task, if not impossible. After all, as Kachru (1994a, b) has rightly pointed out, these are two faces of the same thing. Within this framework of World Englishes and with particular reference to two Asian communities (Y. Kachru and Nelson 2006 and references therein), this paper explores two phonological patterns from two varieties of English: Singapore (SgE) and Hong Kong (HKE). The two phonological patterns are listed in (2), examples and description will be given in a later section.

(2)   Central Phonological Patterns of this Study

      i.   L-vocalization

      ii.   Tone assignment

The common thing about Singapore and Hong Kong is the overwhelming Chinese majority, though they differ in the kind of Chinese languages involved.[2] Hence, the study is primarily on the contact between the English language and the Chinese language(s).[3]

The exploration presented here takes a generative approach to linguistics (Chomsky 1965, 1986; Chomsky and Halle 1968; McGilvray 2005), and shows that even from the perspective of language competence, SgE and HKE[4] have evolved out language contact as a hybrid that cannot be reduced to the Englishes within the inner circle (see B. Kachru 1985 for the circles of Englishes), or to the local languages that

English has come into contact with. By extension, all other new Englishes cannot be similarly reduced to any of the tributary languages. At least from the evidence of phonology, new Englishes are full grammatical systems (in the generative sense) of their own right. Thus, to the extent that this paper is successful in its enterprise, generative phonology can be brought to bear upon the study of new Englishes.

VARIATION IN NEW ENGLISHES

Before delving into the phonological data and their patterns, it is noteworthy that there is generally a lot of variation, which could arise from factors such as age, level of education, and socio-economic class (see Deterding 2007 for the case of Singapore, or Bolton 2002 for Hong Kong). For these reasons, it is often hard to get coherent and representative data.[5] One excellent, but possibly costly, solution is to obtain a corpus from a large number of speakers. While useful and informative in portraying the use of language in a given community, corpora do not provide negative data (that is, utterances that are unacceptable to the speakers) and do not lend themselves to experimentation. Further, if corpora data are aggregated over a number of individuals, there is no guarantee that one is still studying a coherent linguistic system, since different individuals would have very distinct mental grammars. Consequently, an approach that uses corpora exclusively is untenable for research into the mental grammars of speakers of new Englishes.[6] Alternatively, working with only a few individuals extensively would allow an in-depth study the mental grammar of that person, taking care of some of the blind spots of corpus-research. However, such an approach raises the question of representativeness.

To bring generative linguistics to bear on the study of World Englishes, this study takes the latter approach of working with a few individuals, specifically from

Singapore and Hong Kong, to discover patterns in their respective SgE or HKE phonologies. However, no individual is truly typical and thus truly representative since each individual would have a unique personal history. By happy coincidence, the data collected from these individuals largely converge according to their respective communities. Such convergence provides strong grounds for the existence of an abstract mental phonological system that these individuals within the same speech community share. Below, I provide some general information of my key informants, and the period of time I have worked with them (names withheld to protect identity).

(3)   Key Informants' Information

Subject	Variety of English	Gender, age	Period of participation
HF20	HKE	Female, 20	2007
HF23	HKE	Female, 23	2006-2007
HF29	HKE	Female, 29	2006-2007
HM34	HKE	Male, 34	2006
SM25	SgE	Male, 25	1998-1999
SF33	SgE	Female, 33	2005-2007
SM33	SgE	Male, 33	2005-2007
SF34	SgE	Female, 35	2006-2007
SM34	SgE	Male, 34	2006-2007

As can be seen in (3), informants selected from each community across biological genders and ranging from 20-34 years old. All of them received tertiary education. I have included the period of time I worked with the informants because it was interesting to note that despite the passage of time, the data has remained consistent. This is most clearly seen in the case of Singapore which data collection took place since 1998. In working with these informants, word items are presented to them to solicit pronunciation. Alternative pronunciations are then presented to them to ask for acceptability judgments in SgE or HKE depending on the variety of English

that the informant speaks. To prevent effects from fatigue, these informants are interviewed with lots of breaks between very short sessions, stretching over a long period of time (at least a few months). The rewards from this patience-demanding arrangement are that one gets good approximations of the mental grammars of each speaker, with positive data showing what is acceptable to that variety of English and negative data showing what is unacceptable as that variety. Some of these results will be presented in later sections.

In addition to the more careful study of informants as given in the above paragraph, an ethnographic approach by observing SgE and HKE speakers in their natural habitats is used to verify the data collected from the key informants. With family and friends in both Singapore and Hong Kong, an ethnographic approach to observing the phonological patterns is not too difficult for the author. Where possible, pronunciation of each word in isolation is extracted from unguarded speakers through a cloze sentence by repetition leaving out the word in question. For example, 'John went to the ____, did you say?' might extract an isolated pronunciation of words like 'university' or 'hospital'. By and large, the data collected from the key informants are in agreement with the general observations made from a larger and wider set of speakers.

I hasten to clarify that the convergence of data does not mean that variation does not exist. What I am saying is that with respect to the phonological data that is the concern of this paper, the patterns are widespread and characteristic of the variety of English they belong to.

Having made clear how the data for this study is obtained, the next section proceeds to discuss the first of the two phonological patterns central to this study: L-Vocalization.

THE PECULIARITIES OF 'L'

Consider the following sets of data from SgE and HKE respectively.

(4)   Morpho-phonological data from Singapore

a.	i.	'steal'	[stiu^{55}]	ii.	'stealing'	[stiu^{44}liŋ^{55}]
b.	i.	'kill'	[k^{h}iu^{55}]	ii.	'killing'	[k^{h}iu^{44}liŋ^{55}]
c.	i.	'hell'	[heu^{55}]	ii.	'hellish'	[heu^{44}liʃ^{55}]
e.	i.	'pile'	[p^{h}au^{55}]	ii.	'piling'	[p^{h}au^{44}liŋ^{55}]
f.	i.	'mile'	[mau^{55}]	ii.	'mileage'	[mau^{44}lɛtʃ^{55}]
g.	i.	'whole'	[ho:^{55}]	ii.	'wholly'	[ho:^{44}li:^{55}]
h.	i.	'call'	[k^{h}ɔ:^{55}]	ii.	'calling'	[k^{h}ɔ:^{44}liŋ^{55}]

(5)   Morpho-phonological data from Hong Kong

a.	i.	'steal'	[stiu^{53}]	ii.	'stealing'	[stiu^{55}liŋ^{21}]
b.	i.	'kill'	[k^{h}iu^{53}]	ii.	'killing'	[k^{h}iu^{55}liŋ^{21}]
c.	i.	'hell'	[heu^{53}]	ii.	'hellish'	[heu^{55}liʃ^{21}]
e.	i.	'pile'	[p^{h}aiu^{53}]	ii.	'piling'	[p^{h}ai^{55}liŋ^{21}]
f.	i.	'mile'	[maiu^{53}]	ii.	'mileage'	[mai^{55}lɛtʃ^{21}]
g.	i.	'whole'	[ho:^{53}]	ii.	'wholly'	[ho:^{55}li:^{21}]
h.	i.	'call'	[k^{h}ɔ:^{53}]	ii.	'calling'	[k^{h}ɔ:^{55}liŋ^{21}]

In (4) and (5), utterances are transcribed in IPA, using Chao's (1930) tone letters to indicate tonal contours on each syllable. In Chao's system, '1' denotes the lowest tone on a scale and '5' the highest. Hence, [55] is a high flat tone, [33] is a mid flat tone and [21] is a very low falling tone, [35] a high rising tone; etc.

In interpreting the data in (4) and (5), one should not begin by presupposing that these are attempts by the modern people of Singapore or Hong Kong at Standard English words[7] even though it is necessary for the author to gloss each of the items in English. Neither should one see these utterances as deviant from Standard English and attempt describe them in such terms. If one did so, then one would have committed

the comparative fallacy[8] and would run the risks of being anglo-centric and of missing out important regularities (see B. Kachru 1986:Chapter 6 for discussion and Mohanan 1992 for examples).

      With respect to 'L' the pattern (4) and (5) can be generalized as follows:

(6)   Laterals are disallowed in the coda.

Coda L in Singapore English

      We begin by first considering the SgE data in (4). The first question that comes to mind is with regards the underlying (phonological) representations (UR) of the stems, specifically, do these stems have a final /l/? Given that [l] is found in the suffixed versions, and given that the progressive suffix is /-iŋ/ (e.g. pee [pʰiː] ~ peeing [pʰiːiŋ], not *[piːliŋ], where the asterisk * indicates unacceptability), one must conclude that the UR for the SgE stems in (4) do contain a final /l/. If so, the derivation for the unsuffixed forms in (4) must be derived by the rule in (7), as presented in the derivation given in (8).

(7)   L-Deletion Rule

     /l/ → ∅ / [$_{coda}$___]

     (Underlying /l/ is deleted if it is parsed into the coda of a syllable)

(8)   Derivation with /u/ using 'steal'

	Input (UR)	/stiul/	/stiu/ + /iŋ/
Step 1	Syllabification	stiul	stiu . liŋ
Step 2	L-deletion	stiu	-
	Output (SR)	[stiu]	[stiu.liŋ]

However, (7) and the derivation in (8) miss a certain generalization. One could at least note that the final rounded vowels in the list of stems (4i) are firstly unattested in most standard varieties of English and secondly a parallel to those varieties of English where there is L-vocalization (such as Estuary English, Alterndorf 2003). In other words, most standard varieties of English would not pronounce 'steal' with a final /u/ but as a velarized lateral [ɫ]. In all likelihood, the surface [u] in cases such as (8) could come about as the vocalization of /l/.[9] Can this be extended to SgE? To begin, consider (9) where the analysis remains the same as (8) except for the absence of an underlying /u/.

(9)   Example of derivation without /u/

	Input (UR)	/stil/	/stil/ + /iŋ/
Step 1	Syllabification	stil	sti . liŋ
Step 2	L-deletion	sti	-
	Output (SR)	*[sti]	*[sti.liŋ]

Without a rule for vocalization, (9) produces an unacceptable SgE form of the word 'steal', a L-vocalization rule such as (10) is necessary.

(10)   L-vocalization Rule

/l/ → [u] / [coda___]

(Underlying /l/ is realized as [u] if it is parsed into the coda of a syllable)

With (10), the derivation of 'steal' would have to be revised as follows:

(11)   Revised derivation with /u/ using 'steal'   (cf. (9))

	Input (UR)	/stil/	/stil/ + /iŋ/
Step 1	Syllabification	stil	sti . liŋ
Step 2	L-vocalization	stiu	-
	Output (SR)	[stiu]	*[sti.liŋ]

The derivation in (11) is considerably more successful, and it no longer requires the L-deletion Rule in (7), but it continues to produce erroneous results for 'stealing', as can be seen from the * indicating unacceptability in *[sti.liŋ]. With repeated failures, one is tempted to accept that in the UR, there is a final rounded vowel for the stems in (4). Things take a turn, when more data is considered.

(12)   Gemination (tones omitted for clarity)

a.	i.	'stop'	[stɔp]	ii.	'stopping'	[stɔp.piŋ]
b.	i.	'spin'	[spin]	ii.	'spinning'	[spin.niŋ]
c.	i.	'jam'	[dʒɛm]	ii.	'jamming'	[dʒɛm.miŋ]
e.	i.	'hiss'	[his]	ii.	'hissing'	[his.siŋ]
f.	i.	'joke'	[dʒok]	ii.	'joking'	[dʒok.kiŋ]
g.	i.	'shit'	[ʃit]	ii.	'shitting'	[ʃit.tiŋ]
h.	i.	'bluff'	[blaf]	ii.	'bluffing'	[blaff.fiŋ]

The data in (12) shows an interesting pattern of gemination under affixation of vowel initial suffixes such as '-ing'. The geminates are also hetero-syllabic, i.e. each part of the geminate belongs to a different syllable, as indicated by the dot '.' in the (ii) examples. The pattern in (12) can be captured by the following rule:[10]

(13)   Gemination under suffixation

C → CC / _ # V   (# = morpheme boundary)

(A consonant C becomes a geminate CC when preceding a vowel-initial suffix.)

(14)   Example of Gemination Derivation with 'hiss' in (13)[11]

	Input (UR)	/his/	/his/ + /iŋ/
Step 1	Gemination	-	his+siŋ
Step 2	Syllabification	his	his.siŋ
	Output (SR)	[his]	[his.siŋ]

Given the gemination facts, it is likely that if there were /l/ in the URs of the forms in (4), it would have interacted with (13), producing hetero-syllabic /l/-geminates. In other words, one can insist on assuming no underlying /u/ for the data in (4) if the derivation is as seen in (15).

(15)   Derivation with /u/ using 'steal'   (cf. (8) and (9))

|	Input (UR)	/stil/	/stil/ + /iŋ/
Step 1	Gemination	-	stil+liŋ
Step 2	Syllabification	stil	stil liŋ
Step 3	L-vocalization	stiu	stiu liŋ
	Output (SR)	[stiu]	[stiu.liŋ]

The account in (15) is superior to the account in (8) because it has greater generality and simplicity. The Gemination Rule is independently motivated by data concerning consonants in general. Both the accounts in (8) and (15) require Syllabification, so on this count both accounts are on par. In (8), the L-deletion Rule is needed together with a more complex UR of 'steal' as /stiul/, but in (15), a simpler UR /stil/ would suffice with the L-vocalization Rule. The L-vocalization Rule allows us to see the relationship between a large number of Englishes (Estuary, Australian, etc) which the L-Deletion Rule does not. In fact, (15) would predict that if English came into contact with another language that forbids a coda lateral, the /l/ would vocalize rather than delete. This prediction appears to be largely true as can be seen

from the fact that hardly any of the world's Englishes has 'steal' and 'kill' pronounced as anything like /sti/ and /ki/ respectively.

One can then draw, as an interim conclusion that in SgE, the URs for those lateral-final words are similar to Standard English: they have the /l/ ending and no vowel /u/ preceding the lateral. Trivial as this may seem, it is in fact an important observation. For one, it lends strength to the label 'Englishization', because we have now been able to establish that despite surface pronunciation differences, the URs are essentially identical.

The situation is actually slightly more complicated that presented here. Consider the examples [pʰau]~[pʰau.liŋ] 'pile~piling' and [mau]~[mau.lɛtʃ] 'mile~mileage' in (4e, f). What would the SgE URs be in these cases? For Standard English, they are /pail/~/pai.liŋ/ and /mail/~/mai.lɛtʃ/ respectively. The crucial thing to note in these cases is that the stems end with VVC, which is forbidden by the rime template typical of most Chinese languages. The rime template is given as (16), below.

(16)   Chinese rime template

    Rime
    /   \
  X   X   , where X is any variable phone.
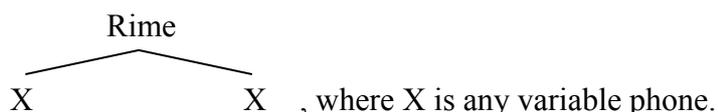
The Chinese rime template in (16) allows a maximum of two elements (the minimal satisfaction of bi-moraicity of a syllable). In these cases, SgE has failed to borrow the English source in its entirety, reducing /pail/ to /pal/ and /mail/ to /mal/.[12] Once that concession is made, the rest would simply follow from the derivation in (15).

Finally, consider 'whole'~'wholly' and 'call'~'calling'. In these cases, the English sources are /həul/ and /kɔl/, where the SgE counterparts are [ho:] and [kʰɔ:].

The explanation for 'call' is straightforward. If one assumes the UR of 'call' to be /kɔl/ in SgE, identical to the English source, then the lengthening can be explained by L-vocalization, this time to [ɔ] rather than [u]. This is in fact unsurprising since [u] and [ɔ] are both rounded, and ease of articulation would demand the assimilation of the vocalized /l/ to the preceding /ɔ/. 'Whole' is slightly more interesting, but tangential to the central patterns of concern because it is really the result of the diphthong /əu/ being borrowed into SgE as /o/, again due to the rime template in (16). Since /ə/ is less sonorous than /u/, it is the one that is elided. /u/ is lowered to /o/ (probably due in part to assimilation in Place of Articulation to the schwa) effectively maintaining the distinction between /əʊ/ and /u/ so that 'boat' and 'boot' are contrastive in SgE as it were in Standard English.

Coda L in Hong Kong English

As may be seen in (5), HKE exhibits a pattern similar to SgE, though unlikely as a consequence of mutual influence. Any communication between the Chinese communities of both cities would have been likely to be in Chinese (Cantonese) rather than English. (In fact, Welsh's (1997) history of Hong Kong has no mention of Singapore that directly relates to Hong Kong.) Unlike SgE, HKE does not seem to be as tightly constrained by the template in (16) as SgE, an observation easily made from the HKE pronunciations of 'pile' as [pʰaiu] and 'mile' as [maiu]. Otherwise, one can see the same patterns of L-vocalization.

Given the strong parallel HKE has with SgE, the L-vocalization data in (5) can be summarized as follows:

(17)   a.   L-Vocalization (see rule in (11))
                /smail/ → [smaiu]

/kil/ → [kʰiu]

b. Coda /l/ assimilates to the preceding round vowel (cf. SgE case of 'call', 'pull' in preceding subsection)
/kɔl/ → [kʰɔ:]
/pul/ → [pʰu:]

c. When followed by a vowel initial suffix, morpheme final /l/ geminates if the preceding vowel is short, otherwise, there is no gemination.
/kil + iŋ/ → [kʰiu.liŋ] (not *[kʰi.liŋ])
/smail+iŋ/ → [smai.liŋ] (not *[smaiu.liŋ])

d. Gemination precedes L-vocalization.
/kil + iŋ/ → kil.liŋ → [kʰiu.liŋ] (not *[kʰiu.uiŋ])

As mentioned earlier, HKE differs from SgE only in the laxer application of the rime template to cases like 'smile'. However, this is not to say that the rime template has no effect in HKE, which it does as can be seen from the split in gemination requirements. In HKE, gemination is used as a strategy for keeping all the syllables bimoraic, where that requirement has been met, no gemination occurs (17c). (For a more detailed and technical treatment, see Wee 2007a).

Interim summary

In this section, we have seen the peculiarities of L in two varieties of English: SgE and HKE. In many aspects they are similar, differing only in that SgE has the rime template applying to the URs; but in HKE, that applies after suffixation. This phonological pattern does not come from the Standard English source that has given the SgE and HKE words. Rather, it came about because of the rime-template imposed by the Chinese language(s) that forbids /l/ codas and that requires two phones to minimally meet bimoraicity. Given a situation like this, it is hard to say if English has become Nativized, or if the local population has become Englishized. With this

interim remark, the next section moves on to discuss the presence of tones in HKE and SgE.

ENGLISH WITH A TONAL SYSTEM

The distribution of stress in Standard English words is contrastive, and sometimes requires specification. For example, 'baNAna' and 'CAnada' both trisyllabic, would have their stresses located in very different places, indicated by the uppercase letters. Otherwise, location of primary stress is generally predictable once we know the lexical category. (This is in fact, rather complicated, but an excellent discussion can be found in Kager 1989, Pater 1995, Lahiri and Fikkert 1999 and references therein.) For the present, it would suffice for us to note that 'REfuse' and 'reFUSE'; 'PROgress' and 'proGRESS'; 'MInute' and 'miNUTE', etc are quite different words.[13] This section discusses such correlates of stress in HKE and SgE, but with a tonal twist.

Tone assignment in HKE

In Standard English, stress can be phonetically manifested as a variation in pitch, an extension in length or a magnification in amplitude (loudness). In other words, either of these parameters would suffice to indicate any accentuation in the relevant syllable, and thus the stress does not have a definite manifestation. One cannot claim that all stressed syllables are longer, louder or higher, but one can claim that if a syllable is longer, louder or higher, then it is stressed. This subtlety in logic is important if one is not to become misled. In HKE, the situation is decisively simpler. In any well-formed HKE phonological word, at least one syllable would carry a high or high falling tone, since high flat [55] and high falling tones [53] are non-contrastive

in HK Cantonese.[14] The fact that there is at least one such tone is peculiar, since this is a property that HKE shares with Standard English which requires there to be at least one stressed syllable in a well-formed phonological word.[15]

(18)   Tones in HKE words

i.	'cat'	$[k^h \varepsilon t^{53/55}]$		v.	'origin'	$[\mathfrak{o}^{55}.ri^{11}.t\int in^{11}]$
ii.	'intend'	$[in^{11}.t^h \varepsilon n^{53/55}]$		vi.	'original'	$[\mathfrak{o}^{11}.ri^{55}.t\int i^{11}.n\mathfrak{o}^{11}]$
iii.	'manage'	$[m\varepsilon^{55}.neit\int^{11}]$		vii.	'dictionary'	$[tik^{55}.\int n^{11}.n\mathfrak{o}^{11}.ri^{11}]$
iv.	'managing'	$[m\varepsilon^{55}.nei^{11}.t\int i\eta^{11}]$		viii.	'originally'	$[\mathfrak{o}^{11}.ri^{55}.t\int^{i11}.n\mathfrak{o}.^{11}li^{11}]$

In the examples above, three tonal values are observed: [55], [53] and [11]. [55] and [53] are in partial complementary distribution, the latter occurring only in the final syllable, where the [55] version is also acceptable. Hence, [55] and [53] are not contrastive, an unsurprising fact since Cantonese does not distinguish these two tones anyway. What is interesting here is the almost perfect correspondence of the [55] (or [53]) tone with the location of primary stress in Standard English, quite ostensibly, a tonal manifestation of the loci stress in the Standard English source (but only partially, as Hung (2005) points out that HKE stress assignment has some systematic differences with that of Standard English. In particular, HKE stress is not sensitive to lexical category, hence no distinction between the verbal and nominal form of 'progress'). This simple state of affairs would have made the study of tones in HKE a shallow matter if not for an interesting twist in some proper names.

Some proper names in HKE exhibit an interesting tonal alternation in the final syllable, shown in (19i-vi).[16]

(19)   Alternation of final tones in HKE proper names

                              In utterances   In isolation

i.	'Terry'	$[t^h\varepsilon^{55}.ri^{11}]$	$[t^h\varepsilon^{55}.ri^{35}]$
ii.	'Winnie'	$[win^{55}.ni^{11}]$	$[win^{55}.ni^{35}]$
iii.	'Honey'	$[h\Lambda n^{55}.ni^{11}]$	$[h\Lambda n^{55}.ni^{35}]$
iv.	'Chowder'	$[t\int au^{55}.ta^{11}]$	$[t\int au^{55}.ta^{35}]$
v.	'Warner'	$[wan^{55}.na^{11}]$	$[wan^{55}.na^{35}]$
vi.	'Sugar'	$[su^{55}.ka^{11}]$	$[su^{55}.ka^{35}]$

When embedded in a phrase or sentence, the names in (19) would have tonal assignment patterns similar to (18), with a high tone on the syllables corresponding roughly to the loci of primary stress in Standard English while all other syllables receive a low tone [11]. But when uttered in isolation, one gets the patterns in (19). In (19vi) for example, if transliterating 'sugar' as the thing added to coffee, it would be $[su^{55}.ka^{11}]$ not $[su^{55}.ka^{35}]$ which would clearly be the name 'Sugar', likewise for the case of (19iii) 'honey' which would be $[h\Lambda n^{55},ni^{11}]$ unless used as a term of affection. This [35] final pattern can be stated as:

(20)   Embodiment of the Ghost High Tone

Syllable $_{proper\ noun}$]
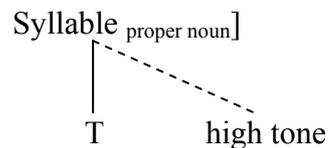
T   high tone

Associate the floating High tone at the right-edge of the proper noun to the preceding syllable

The rule in (20) assumes that the right edge of a proper noun is marked by a floating 'ghost' high tone which associates itself with the final syllable of that proper noun.[17] With a rule such as (20), one can easily account for the facts in (19), through the simple ordering of high-tone-to-stress syllable correspondence before (20). Consider and example such as 'sugar', which would produce $[su^{55}.ka^{11}]$ by virtue of

the [su] carrying primary stress. At this point, the application of (20) to [ka^{11}] would produce a sequence of low-high tone, which is in effect a rising tone.

If however, one had a monosyllabic name such as 'Bill', (20) predicts that the rule would apply vacuously since 'Bill' would carry a high tone in the first place. Further, it would predict that a polysyllabic name with primary stress in the final syllable would behave exactly like monosyllabic names. This prediction is also borne out in names like 'Suzanne' which in isolation is [su^{11}.sɛn^{55}].

(21)   Cases where (20) applies vacuously

		In utterance	In isolation
i.	'John'	[tsɔŋ^{55}]	[tsɔŋ^{55}]
ii.	'Bill'	[piu^{55}]	[piu^{55}]
iii.	'Suzanne'	[su^{11}.sɛn^{55}]	[su^{11}.sɛn^{55}]

One now has more or less a comprehensive account of the tonal patterns of HKE words. To those unfamiliar with Cantonese, the presence of (20) would be baffling since it is unattested in Standard English. In Cantonese, low tone syllables do acquire a rising tone when it is takes a specific and definite reference or when it is a diminutive form. Hence 'table' /t^{h}oi^{11}/ is [t^{h}oi^{35}] if referring to a specific table. The family name of the author /wɔŋ^{11}/ becomes [wɔŋ^{35}] when my friends address me. Thus, (20) is inherited into HKE from Cantonese.

Tone assignment in SgE

The case of SgE is slightly more peculiar than that of HKE. For one, few linguists, if any, have mentioned this in their studies. It is quite mysterious that the presence of tone in SgE should have escaped attention for so long, but one might speculate that this is because most studies have concerned themselves with corpora

and natural utterances where words are rarely observed in isolation. In any case, it turns out that there are three level tones in SgE: high, mid and low. The distribution of tones is predictable as may be seen from the regularity of tone assignments in (22).

(22)   Tones in SgE words

i.   'cat' $[k^h\varepsilon t^{55}]$ v.   'origin' $[\mathfrak{o}^{11}.ri^{33}.d\mathfrak{z}in^{55}]$
ii.   'intend' $[in^{11}.t^h\varepsilon n^{55}]$ vi.   'original' $[\mathfrak{o}^{11}.ri^{33}.d\mathfrak{z}i^{33}.n\mathfrak{o}^{55}]$
iii. 'manage' $[m\varepsilon^{33}.neid\mathfrak{z}^{55}]$ vii. 'dictionary' $[dik^{33}.\mathfrak{f}n^{33}.n\mathfrak{o}^{33}.ri^{55}]$
iv.   'managing' $[m\varepsilon^{33}.nei^{33}.d\mathfrak{z}in^{55}]$ viii. 'originally' $[\mathfrak{o}^{11}.ri^{33}.d\mathfrak{z}i^{33}.n\mathfrak{o}^{33}.li^{55}]$

As may be seen in (22), when there is only one syllable, that syllable will carry a high flat tone [55]. Disyllabic forms optionally begin with a low tone [11] or a mid-tone [33], but in polysyllabic strings, all non-edge syllables are pronounced with a mid-flat tone [33]. Like disyllabic strings, the initial syllable has the option of a low flat tone [11]. One may further observe that the assignment of the [55] tone occurs after suffixation of both derivational ('-al' and '-ity') and inflectional ('–ing') morphemes. The pattern in (22) could be generated by the following procedure:

(23)   Tone Assignment in SgE[18]

input		'cat' $[k^h\varepsilon t]$	'origin' $[\mathfrak{o}.ri.d\mathfrak{z}in]$	'manage' + '-ing' $[m\varepsilon.neid\mathfrak{z}] +[in]$
Step 1	Morpheme Concatenation	$[k^h\varepsilon t]$	$[\mathfrak{o}.ri.d\mathfrak{z}in]$	$[m\varepsilon.nei.d\mathfrak{z}in]$
Step 2	Assign [33] to all syllables	$[k^h\varepsilon t^{33}]$	$[\mathfrak{o}^{33}.ri^{33}.d\mathfrak{z}in^{33}]$	$[m\varepsilon^{33}.nei^{33}.d\mathfrak{z}in^{33}]$
Step 3	Assign [11] to initial syllable in specific cases	n/a	$[\mathfrak{o}^{11}.ri^{33}.d\mathfrak{z}in^{33}]$	n/a
Step 4	Assign [55] to final syllable	$[k^h\varepsilon t^{55}]$	$[\mathfrak{o}^{11}.ri^{33}.d\mathfrak{z}in^{55}]$	$[m\varepsilon^{33}.nei^{33}.d\mathfrak{z}in^{55}]$
output		$[k^h\varepsilon t^{55}]$	$[\mathfrak{o}^{11}.ri^{33}.d\mathfrak{z}in^{55}]$	$[m\varepsilon^{33}.nei^{33}.d\mathfrak{z}in^{55}]$

Except for the tone of the initial syllable which requires some amount of specification, tone assignment in SgE is highly predictable.[19] In a sense, this tone assignment procedure is very much like stress/accent assignment found in a number of languages, including Standard English, Indonesian and other varieties of Malay (Cohn 1989, Cohn and McCarthy 1994, Dellikan 2005). However, unlike English or Malay where stress is assigned to the final trochee (e.g. caliFORnia and singaPUra), SgE assigns a high flat tone to the final syllable.

Given (23), one might expect high tones to be assigned only to '-ry' in 'strawberry' and '-board' in 'blackboard', since these are the word final syllables. No other syllable would carry the high tone. This prediction is not borne out.

(24)   Compounding

    i.   'strawberry' $[str\mathfrak{o}^{55}.b\varepsilon^{33}.ri^{55}]$
    ii.   'blackboard' $[bl\varepsilon k^{55}.b\mathfrak{o}d^{55}]$
    iii.   'blackbird' $[bl\varepsilon k^{55}.b\mathfrak{o}d^{55}]$
    iv.   'teapot' $[ti^{55}.p^h\mathfrak{o}t^{55}]$
    v.   'everything' $[\varepsilon^{33}.vri^{55}.ti\eta^{55}]$
    vi.   'everybody' $[\varepsilon^{33}.vri^{55}.b\mathfrak{o}^{33}.di^{55}]$

In (24), we see that the high tone does occur word-initially and -internally, except that the words here are compounds, i.e. they are words made up of smaller words, e.g. 'black' + 'bird' → 'blackbird'. The procedure in (23) only needs minimal modification to accommodate this fact. Quite simply, step 1 is constrained to affixation.

(24) is especially interesting when compared with Standard English. In Standard English, stress assignment happens after compounding, hence 'black bird'

and 'blackbird' would sound different: [ˈblæk ˈbɜːd] in the former and [ˈblækbɜːd] in the latter.

The source of the SgE tonal system is opaque though researchers have variously credited it to the combination of English, Chinese, Malay or any of the many languages that came to Singapore with immigration since as early as the 18th century (Lim 1996, Lim and Tan 2001, Ng 2004).

Interim summary

The discussion of tones in HKE and SgE underlines the construction of new Englishes when of English and local languages contact. When one looks at the tonal systems of HKE and SgE, it is easy to see inheritance from both English and the local languages, with English supplying more or less a certain metrical system with polysyllabic strings while the local Chinese languages supply tones and a system of their assignment. The matter of tone assignment is most opaque since tones are generally specified as part of the underlying representation of Chinese morphemes, with perhaps the exception of the ghost high tone at the edge of the Cantonese proper nouns. Perhaps it would not be unreasonable at all to consider HKE and SgE as languages in their own right, echoing what McCrum et al's (1986) sentiment to describe "varieties" of English rather than "dialects".

While the study has concentrated on phonology, it is not the only area where one can find similar pieces of evidence for the indivisibility of Englishization and Nativization. Bao and Wee (1998, 1999) and Alsagoff and Ho (1998) present cases in the syntax of SgE. Goh (2002) and Wee (2007b) present cases and arguments for similar developments in the SgE lexicon. Mohanan and Mohanan (2003) and Bao (2007) describe the interaction between Malayalam and English to give the

phonological properties of Malayalee English. Though these works (and also many others that I haven't cited) do not directly relate their study to the indivisibility of Englishization and Nativization, the evidence they provide clearly support such a position.

ENGLISHNESS OF NEW ENGLISHES

With phonologies so different from that of Standard English, one might conceivably query if SgE and HKE may still be rightly called English, at least in the domain of phonology. To see this point clearly, any of the above items in (4) and (5) could have occurred in a sentence that contains hardly any items of English source, like (25a).

(25)   Two examples of an utterance in Singapore

    a.   wo zhe ge yue   de   mileage hai mei-you   claim.

        I   this-CL moon GEN mileage still NEG-EXIST claim.

        'I haven't made claims for this month's mileage.'

    b.   I this month mileage haven't claim.

        'I haven't made claims for this month's mileage.'

In (25a), I have constructed an example that is certainly acceptable in Singapore where there are only two items of English source ('mileage' and 'claim') and the rest are of Mandarin source. In all likelihood, this could be a case of borrowing into Chinese, in which case, it is hard to say if the pronunciation of 'mileage' here is still an attempt at some of Standard English pronunciation. In (25b), all items are of English origin, except for the syntax. Interestingly, in both (25a, b)

examples, 'mileage' would be pronounced as [mau44lɛtʃ55], transcribed in (4fii). The stability of pronunciation across both language matrixes makes it clear that this is not something reducible to code-switching or code-mixing. A similar case can be constructed for Hong Kong.

In contrast to (25a), the pronunciations of (4), (5) and the sentence in (25b) appear to be distinctly English and not Chinese. The challenge here is that there is a huge grey area between what is English and what is not since language contact is an exchange in both directions. Despite this difficulty, it is still reasonable for anyone sufficiently proficient in the constituent languages (in this case English and Chinese) to say that (4), (5) and (25b) would be English-like, but not (25a). The morphology in (4) and (5) evidently has an English source, and the pronunciations listed are clearly closer to English than to Chinese. One may also say the same for (25b) that contains the "n't" contraction not found in Chinese.

Thus, without making any presuppositions of the language in (4) and (5), one can still ascertain on the basis of morphology and of pronunciation that the data is more similar to English than to any other language. At the very least, any individual acquainted with English and Chinese would share the judgment that the speakers are producing some kind of English, hence to describe any community that is adopting such a speech pattern as speaking English would be justified in that sense.

Nonetheless, in the cases presented, evidence for the bidirectional interaction of English and Chinese is not hard to find. Firstly, it is noticeable that all the (i) examples in (4) and (5) correspond to English words that have a lateral /l/ ending. While in most standard varieties of English that /l/ would be pronounced (mostly as the velarized [ɫ]), there are no coda laterals in (4) and (5). This restriction on lateral

codas is also found in Chinese, and it would be reasonable for one to make the link that in these cases, Chinese is contributing the phonological constraint on coda /l/s.

Secondly, in the (ii) examples of (4) and (5), one would notice that the syllables preceding /l/ are consistently heavy (i.e. bimoraic) and have maximally two segments in the rime (i.e. the rime is either V: (long vowel), VV (diphthong), or VC (vowel-consonant sequence), and nothing else). There is no such constraint in most standard varieties of English, but it is a prevalent constraint in Chinese languages (recall the Chinese rime template in (16)).

A third piece of evidence comes from the systematic occurrence of tone in such data as (4) and (5). In the Singapore case, the final syllables systematically carry a high tone, while non-final syllables carry a mid tone. Tonal patterns in the Hong Kong utterances are more interesting, but nonetheless systematic. Monosyllables carry a high falling tone while disyllabic items typically begin with a high tone and end with a low tone.

There is thus no room for doubt, even in the very small set of data studied here and only from the domain of phonology, that there are strong Chinese flavors in the mix. What we see in (4) and (5) has an "English face" with lots of less conspicuous Chinese characteristics. Thus though the languages are to be named Singapore English (SgE) in (4) and Hong Kong English (HKE) in (5), one should remain mindful of the relevance of the substrate language.

Despite the strong Chinese character, the words in (4), (5) and the sentence in (25b) are certainly intelligible to most English speakers, even if with some difficulty. The sentence (25a) would be entirely opaque to all English speakers who do not have any access to Mandarin. Intelligibility certainly gives us strong grounds for the Englishness of the new Englishes.

Evidence of intelligibility, though obvious and intuitive, should be taken with some caution. After all, a number of European languages are also intelligible to monolingual English ears (due in part to large amounts of borrowing into English). Conversely, the very broad accents of some varieties of English (such as Doric of Northeast Scotland, Kirkpatrick 2006) can be totally opaque to the ears of English-speaking persons.

The mixed-characteristics of SgE and HKE suggest that SgE and HKE are interlanguages evolving along a continuum between the native language(s) and the target language, English. This is probably true in some sense, since evidently, each generation of English speakers in Singapore and Hong Kong appear to be different. For example, while interdental fricatives [θ] and [ð] have typically been described as systematically 'replaced' by [f] and [d] in Hong Kong (implying the non-existence of interdentals, Luke and Richards 1982), [θ] has been reported to occur systematically for some speakers at the turn of the millennium (Hung 2000), and more recently both [ð] is added to the speech of younger Hong Kongers, though somewhat unsystematically (Lam 2008).

Even if it is tenable to see SgE and HKE as interlanguages, it is uncertain if the target language is any particular variety of Standard English. In cases like Singapore and Hong Kong, the British standard is still taught in schools due to their colonial pasts, but youths today are assimilating to American culture and technology rather than to those in England.[20] Rather, the target language for all speakers and learners of English must be one that is as diverse as the cultures that have come to see English (in all its forms and varieties) as a medium for global communication.

Placing SgE and HKE on the 'interlanguage' continuum brings to the foreground a somewhat unexpected twist in the phonological investigations of this

paper. If one looks closely at the accounts of the two sets of phonological phenomena in the above sections, it should not elude the reader to notice that at least with respect to phonology, SgE appears to be more distinct from Standard English than HKE. In the study of L for example, one cannot fail to notice that the UR forms of SgE words and the UR forms of the HKE words are different:

(26)   Comparison of UR forms in SgE and HKE

	SgE	HKE	Standard English
'pile'	/pal/	/pail/	/pail/
'mile'	/mal/	/mail/	/mail/

For the two examples in (26), the UR forms in SgE are distinct from the Standard (British or American) English forms, but the HKE forms appear to be identical. Moving on to the matter of tone, the contrast is even more pronounced. SgE has a tone assignment system that masks any possible inheritance of rhythm and meter from the Standard English source. In contrast, HKE assigns a high tone to the syllable that roughly corresponds to the stressed syllable in Standard English, clearly indicated by the boldface in (27).

(27)   Comparison of Tone Assignment in SgE and HKE[21]

	SgE	HKE	Standard English
'managing'	[mɛ^{33}.nei^{33}.**dʒiŋ^{55}**]	[**mɛ^{55}**.nei^{11}.tʃiŋ^{11}]	[**mɛ**.nei.dʒiŋ]
'dictionary'	[dik^{33}.ʃn^{33}.nə^{33}.**ri^{55}**]	[**tik^{55}**.ʃn^{11}.nə^{11}.ri^{11}]	[**dik**.ʃn.nə.ri]

If SgE is more distinct from standard varieties of English than HKE is, then one would expect SgE to be less English than HKE. Yet, for some reason, most people would consider English a language of Singapore but less so for Hong Kong, even though in both places, English is an official language. In fact, Bolton (2003) speaks of the Cantonese monolingual myth in Hong Kong, explaining that many people think of Hong Kong as a place where only Cantonese is used.[22] The reasons for this asymmetrical perception between Hong Kong and Singapore may be varied, but it can certainly not be attributed to any differences in the status of English; in the generality of use of English; availability of education; Chinese ethnic majority; or multi-racialism. In these respects, both cities are on par.

However, the perception that Singapore is more Englishized than Hong Kong is not illusory. Any visitor to both cities can easily observe the relative ease in communicating in English in Singapore, the relative frequency of hearing English utterances in Singapore, and the greater availability and demand of English publications in Singapore. One has arrived at a conundrum: How is it that English is perceived to be a language of Singapore but less so of Hong Kong when SgE is more distinct from standard varieties of English than HKE?

This conundrum is easy to solve when one recalls the idea that Englishization and Nativization are two sides of the same coin. By this analogy, if there is more of Nativization, there is also more of Englishization. The comparisons in (26) and (27) indicate that SgE has a somewhat stronger identity of its own. Seen along this parameter, Singapore is clearly more "advanced" in the development of her own variety of English than Hong Kong. Singapore has a greater degree of Nativization. This explanation would predict that there should be a greater degree of Englishization in Singapore, and that prediction is borne out. The average SgE speaker simply has a

larger English vocabulary than the average HKE speaker. I presented a list of moderately difficult words[23] such as those listed in (28) below to twenty-seven Hong Kongers and thirty Singaporeans who are either undergraduates or have recently graduated from the university. The survey was put online in http://freeonlinesurveys.com/ from which data was collected and compiled.

(28)   A simple test list of words

i.	arduous	xiv.	mishap
ii.	brevity	xv.	notorious
iii.	crooked	xvi.	omnipotent
iv.	chisel	xvii.	placebo
v.	damsel	xviii.	quay
vi.	effluent	xix.	ramp
vii.	flamboyant	xx.	serpent
viii.	grisly	xxi.	tremor
ix.	hog	xxii.	ulterior
x.	insolent	xxiii.	vindicate
xi.	jagged	xxiv.	waddle
xii.	kiln	xxv.	yonder
xiii.	languish	xxvi.	zephyr

The Hong Kong informants have considerably greater difficulty with the list than the Singaporeans. The best scores from Hong Kong came from English majors, and even they claimed familiarity with only ten of the list. No one in the Hong Kong sample scored above 10. The median score was 3 and the mean was 4.3. If a score of 13 was taken as a passing mark, then all scores from Hong Kong would be quite below par. From the Singaporean group the best score was 26, the median 20 and the mean 18.6. Three in the Singaporean sample scored below the half-way mark of 13. The clear disparity in the results of Hong Kong scores and Singapore scores makes it unnecessary for large-scale statistical research.[24]   It is thus not surprising that investigators of HKE are often reduced to studying only the most highly educated

Hong Kongers (Such a move is actually made in Hung 2000 and continues to at least as recently as Hung 2007).

This small test would complete the explanation to why English is perceived as a language of Singapore more than it is of Hong Kong. By attributing the asymmetry to differences in degree of Englishization and Nativization, this explanation avoids the difficulty of measuring English proficiencies in different communities by matching them to the standard (American or British) varieties.

IMPLICATIONS

The preceding sections have shown that the phonologies of SgE and HKE clearly have elements that cannot be derived from the simplistic combination of the English and the local languages. They argue that if Englishization is the right conception, then that conception must include Nativization. This point is hardly novel and it is certainly not unique to English. For example, Mandarin is indigenized in Taiwan, Malaysia and Singapore, where in all three places, the Mandarin is distinctly different from the Beijing standard. The same is true for French in Quebec, Haiti, Cameroon and other francophone areas; Spanish in Central and South America.

There are three sets of implications that follow from this study. Firstly, in the area of linguistics, this study shows how a theoretical (generative) approach to linguistics can contribute to the study of new Englishes. Secondly, the results of this study would have implications on the curricular design for English language teaching in communities at the outer, or even expanding, circle of English. Finally, there may be cultural implications.

Relevance of Generative Linguistics

The phonological data presented here is collected using the methods used in generative linguistics. Unlike typical corpora where naturally occurring data is collected studied and analyzed, the data here is collected through experimenting with the linguistic intuitions of the speakers, therefore reflecting their mental grammars (linguistic competences). It is on this cognitive basis that the systematicity of the patterns is significant. The study of the phonological facts presented in the preceding section shows that from this perspective, new Englishes are not partial or incomplete grammars. They do in fact have psychological realities. Recognizing that new Englishes are not sub-Englishes is not new. What is perhaps interesting here is that in addition to sociolinguistic realities and philosophical justification, a cognitive approach would converge on the same conclusion.

Curriculum Planning

If it is true that the phonological patterns reflect a deeper mental organization of language, then it follows that the teaching of English must take into consideration the factors that contribute to the construction of such a mental grammar. It is fairly uncontroversial that the acquisition of a grammar is dependent on linguistic exposure. Thus, SgE and HKE as acquired by the children in these communities are certainly the products of the bilingual and bicultural environments they belong. Put this way, any language curriculum that aims at getting learners of English in the communities at the outer circle (such as Singapore and Hong Kong) to assimilate to the English of the inner circle (UK, US, Canada, Australia, New Zealand) is going to be ineffective. The linguistic and contextual inputs are just different.

In any case, as many scholars have pointed out, there are a lot more speakers of English who are non-native (if the term may be applied to India and Singapore

where English is learnt at the same time as local languages for many children these days) than those who are native (see Crystal 1997: Chapter 2 for statistics). This brings to mind the experiments by Smith and Rafiqzad (1983) which results show that a native English accent such as that from the US is far from being the most intelligible. Though they had not investigated the intelligibility of the RP accent, it should still be clear that if global communication is what is desired of an education in English, then phonologically, the native varieties may not the best targets. One of the strongest arguments for English in the curriculum in both Hong Kong and Singapore is its communicative function. English is the key that opens doors to science, technology, the arts and numerous economic activities that are widely published and accessible only through English. The question is really, 'what kind of English?' For the purposes of verbal communication, global intelligibility would probably be the best choice. In other words, places like Hong Kong and Singapore could, and should, develop a curriculum that aims at intelligibility while preserving their cultural and local overtones (see Y Kachru and Nelson (2006) for how World Englishes may be taught in an Asian Context). Given the cognitive and socio-economic realities of language, this is certainly a more viable path to take than one that aims for RP or Standard American.

Culture

Every locality has its own life and culture that demands its own communication system. Where life has existed before English, there will be inheritance from other languages. This is why SgE and HKE are the way they are. Simplistic calls, such as those found in unqualified slogans like "Speak Proper English" or "Speak Good English", to assimilate to any of the Standard Varieties of

English is undoubtedly going to lead to cultural loss. When a government demands its people to speak a foreign language without allowing it to be nativized, then the people are condemned to becoming shadows of foreign cultures.

Where English has found a new following in such places like Hong Kong or Singapore, English has also found a new life, picking up new words and new expressions. For example, the expression 'long time no see' came from the American Indians, and the words that English has borrowed from other languages ranges from 'aardvark' to 'Zen'. McCrum et al (1986) provide examples like 'eve-teaser' from India, a distinctly English sounding term, but created in South Asia. The Oxford English dictionary even includes an entry of 'lah', a highly colloquial Singaporean English interjection (Simpson and Weiner 2000). In Hong Kong, Hung (2007) suggests a potential contribution 'play computer', an expression used by many Hong Kong speakers to mean "to entertain oneself through the use of computers either to play games, to surf the internet, to chat or even to configure hardware". Thus this expression cannot be adequately captured by other more "grammatical" or "idiomatic" forms like "play with the computer" or "play computer games". Martha Cheung (p.c.) reports of another equally striking example from one of her students "On the one hand, …...; on the other hand, ……; on the third hand, … Thus, on many hands, …." These expressions are rich, vivid and colorful, and to dismiss them because they are not part of some fossilized grammar handbook is to deny English its own life and to deny a culture (not necessarily English) its own expression.

The call to recognize the validity of varieties such as HKE and SgE is not to say that one should be totally insulated from dominant varieties of English such as Standard British, American or Australian. In that sense, the Singaporean government is wise in urging its people to learn how to communicate with the rest of the world.

Similar moves are being made in China today, though Hong Kong appears to be somewhat unstable in this regard with her mother-tongue education policy (Hong Kong Department of Education 1997; People's Daily Online 2001; Ethnic Minority Concern Group 2006; Kam 2007). And if there is an impact that this paper hopes to achieve, then it is to urge caution in balancing language policies for global communication with space for natural development of a local culture.

CONCLUSION

This paper began with the observation that when languages come into contact, interaction happens both ways. With particular reference to English, the two processes are Englishization and Nativization, two faces of the same thing. Within this framework, two phonological patterns in HKE and SgE are studied from a generative perspective. The perspective taken here is generative in the sense that the data collected is based on probing the speakers' mental grammars and the analysis given is largely how those patterns may be generated by abstract rules and their ordering. The analyses add new evidence to the claim that new Englishes are not sub-Englishes, and should be treated without apology to native varieties. An interesting outcome of the study here is that it also offers a possible explanation to intuitive judgments about whether one community is more Englishized that another. In this case, English is more likely to be considered a language of Singapore than of Hong Kong; and the explanation is that firstly, English is more Nativized in Singapore and secondly, Singapore is also more Englishized.

NOTES

[1] This has since attracted quite a following: Zhou and Feng (1987), Li (1998), Bolton (2003), numerous articles in Kachru et al (2006), Tam (to appear) among others.

[2] It cannot be disputed that other ethnic groups would also have contributed to shaping the Englishes of these two places, but the Chinese element in these two cases are quite overwhelming.

[3] I refrain from calling Cantonese, Hokkien, Chaozhou etc as "dialects" of Chinese, but preferring a more neutral term "language" on the grounds of their mutual unintelligibility. Readers of a more historical persuasion may prefer the term "dialect", but this is not a relevant moot point here.

[4] Whether or not HKE is a variety is a matter of some controversy. However, as Hung (2000, 2007) points out, there is no denying that there is an accent that is easily identifiable as coming from a Hong Konger. Thus for phonological studies, that systematicity in sound patterns is itself worthy of investigation.

[5] With roots as a contact language, and also since English is so highly esteemed in Singapore, there exist a number of varieties which have been described as "educated", "colloquial", "high", "low", "acrolect", "mesolect" or "basilect" (see Platt 1975; Tay 1979; Platt and Weber 1980; Platt et al 1984; Gupta 1991; Pakir 1991; and Ho & Platt 1993; cited in Bao & Wee 1998:fn.1. Also see Bao and Hong 2006, Deterding et al 2005 and Deterding 2007 for an updated discussion.). Similar properties apply to HKE (Hung 2000 and Bolton 2002, 2003).

[6] This of course is not to say that corpus research is useless. Quite the contrary, corpus research is useful and important in many ways. The point made here is that its powers are limited for an investigation into the mental linguistic system of a speaker of any language.

[7] Though one might say so in a L2 acquisition or foreign language learning context. In modern Singapore, this would not be the case.

[8] Not to be confused with the comparative method which is a justified strategy, see Mohanan (1992).

[9] Tan (2005) and Deterding (2007) suggest deletion and vocalization as two distinct strategies for the manifestation of /l/. It should be come apparent in the subsequent paragraph that this distinction is unnecessary.

[10] The actual rule is a lot more complicated because gemination does not happens to consonants that are part of a complex coda or are preceded by a complex nucleus, see Wee (2007a) for details of a similar phenomenon in HKE. This matter does not affect the point to be made here.

[11] The actual ordering of "Syllabification" and "Gemination" is trivial here, and similar results can be obtained with the reverse order. The ordering presented here is a matter of convenience, though within the framework of Lexical Phonology (Mohanan 1986) this would be done in cycles of Syllabification-Gemination-Syllabification" within a particular stratum, in this case, Stratum 2. If done within an Optimality Theoretic framework (Prince and Smolensky 1993/2004), both rules would take effect simultaneously, but in the form of requirements that each syllable must have an onset and a bi-moraic rime.

[12] This is due to a universal constraint that preserves phones at the edges of a morpheme, so that any necessary deletion, such as that triggered by the rime template would apply to the phones inside the morpheme (known as edge alignment, McCarthy 2002), in this case, either /a/ or /i/ but not /l/. Between /a/ and /i/, the latter is elided because /i/ is less sonorous, hence less perceptible.

[13] In all these cases, the placement of stress also affects vowel quality, Lahiri and Fikkert (1999), among many others.

[14] In the inventory of tones in HK Cantonese, the high flat tone [55] and the high falling tone [53] are not contrastive, and can be used in free variation. Hence, the word for 'poem' can be pronounced as [si55] or [si53], though most younger Hong Kongers prefer the former. These two tones, though phonetically distinct, are in effect phonologically identical.

[15] This qualification is necessary since the notion 'word' is defined slightly different across the different parameters of phonology, syntax and semantics. Thus 'gluck' is not an English word because it is semantically undefined, but is certainly phonologically possible, whereas 'sbut' is not even phonologically acceptable. Another example would be functional words like 'the' which is unstressed in noun phrases, but stressed when pronounced in isolation, making its wordhood status dubious.

[16] Disyllabic names ending with [-ən] as in "Jason" or "Susan", and a handful of others such as "Peter", Michael, etc, mysteriously, do not follow this pattern. Trisyllabic names are for most speakers unacceptable with a [35] final tone, though quad-syllabic names are highly iffy. Despite this state of affairs, the patterns in (19) are robust enough for anyone familiar with HKE to identify them as such utterances.

[17] Such processes are widely attested and have been studied, most notably within autosegmental phonology, Leben (1973), and in phonetics, Truckenbodt (2004).

[18] This is not the only way to derive the tones. One can reverse steps 2, 3, 4 to become 4, 3, 2 by modifying step 2 to read "assign mid tone to remaining syllables.

[19] Generally, initial syllables that get low tones coincide with those cases where the Standard English counterparts begin with an unstressed syllable, "professor", "refer",

enrich", etc. An interesting pair for comparison would be "Susan" [su33.zən55] and "Suzanne" [su11.zɛn55], where the tone in the initial syllable varies due to the different correspondence of stress.

[20] Ladegaard and Sachdev (2006) note that in Europe, youths may be more attracted to American culture but prefer to speak English with a British accent.

[21] The reader might notice that plosives are not voiced in HKE. The voicing distinction in Standard English is preserved in HKE by a distinction in aspiration. Since voicing and aspiration are really a difference in the range of VOT values, it is more important to note the fact that HKE and Standard English therefore does not differ from each other in phonological systems, but rather only in terms of phonetic detail, a position this author shares with Hung (2000).

[22] This is of course not true. Hong Kong recognizes Cantonese, Putonghua and English as official languages. Immigrants from all over the world also bring their languages here. However, the fact that such a monolingual myth exists does require explanation.

[23] Most words were selected from a GRE word list such as Barron's, and a few others from common sources such as newspapers and popular writing.

[24] Another way of verifying this is to take a corpus of student English writing in Singapore and Hong Kong. The author has not done this systematically, but having taught in both the National University of Singapore and now at the Hong Kong Baptist University, my general impression is that the vocabulary is richer among Singaporean students than among Hong Kong students. General impressions are of course not convincing evidence, but if the observation is accurate, it would indicate that Singapore is more Englishized, a project worthy of further research.

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