

**LEXICAL RETENTION IN CONTACT
GRAMMATICALISATION: *ALREADY* IN SOUTHEAST
ASIAN ENGLISHES**

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Mufwene (2008: 178):

“There is no particular reason why we should expect grammaticization trajectories to be unilinear, limited to influence from only one language, when in reality language contact is a major and common factor in language evolution ...” .

Grammaticalisation in contact

- Ordinary contact-induced grammaticalisation (Heine & Kuteva 2003; 2005); e.g. *already* in Singlish and HK English (Matthews & Yip 2009)
- Replica grammaticalisation (Heine & Kuteva 2003; 2005); e.g. the Irish *after*-perfect (Heine & Kuteva 2003, 2005)
- Replication by recapitulation (Ziegeler 2014; 2017, Kuteva et al 2018);

Ordinary contact-induced grammaticalisation (Heine & Kuteva 2003: 533; 2005: 81):

- a. Speakers of language R notice that in language M there is a grammatical category Mx.
- b. They develop an equivalent category Rx, using material available in their own language (R).
- c. To this end, they draw on universal strategies of grammaticalisation, using construction Ry in order to develop Rx.
- d. They grammaticalise construction Ry to Rx.

Replica grammaticalisation:

- a. Speakers of language R notice that in language M there is a grammatical category Mx.
- b. They develop an equivalent category Rx, using material available in their own language (R).
- c. To this end, they replicate a grammaticalisation process they assume to have taken place in language M, using an analogical formula of the kind $[My > Mx] = [Ry > Rx]$.
- d. They grammaticalise category Ry to Rx.

(Heine and Kuteva 2003: 539, 2005: 92)

Ziegeler (2014; 2017): 3 cases of replication as recapitulation in Singlish (i) the modal *will* (ii) the progressive aspect (iii) the indefinite article

Will in post-colonial English – high frequency with habitual aspect:

(1) Everyday I **will** have rice then curry then uh ... when I go to sleep I **will** have a glass of milk ...

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In Old and Middle English, also very frequent in habituais and generics:

(2) *elpendes hyd **wile** drincan water*
'elephant's hide will absorb water'

Orosius 230.26.

Singapore and Malaysian English:

- Historically, geographically close, sharing common dialectal features of contact, and common substrates;
- SgE at Stage 4 of Schneider's (2003) 5-stage developmental hierarchy (endonormative stabilization);
- Mal.E at Schneider's Stage 3 (nativization), mainly for political and cultural reasons;
- Unlike Singapore, English in Malaysia has not been supported extensively in the education system since the 1970s (Lee 2015);
- As such, less frequent use of English in Malaysia – more conservative of the 2 dialects (less opportunity for change and evolution).

Already – perfective marker in Singapore English (also Malaysian English)

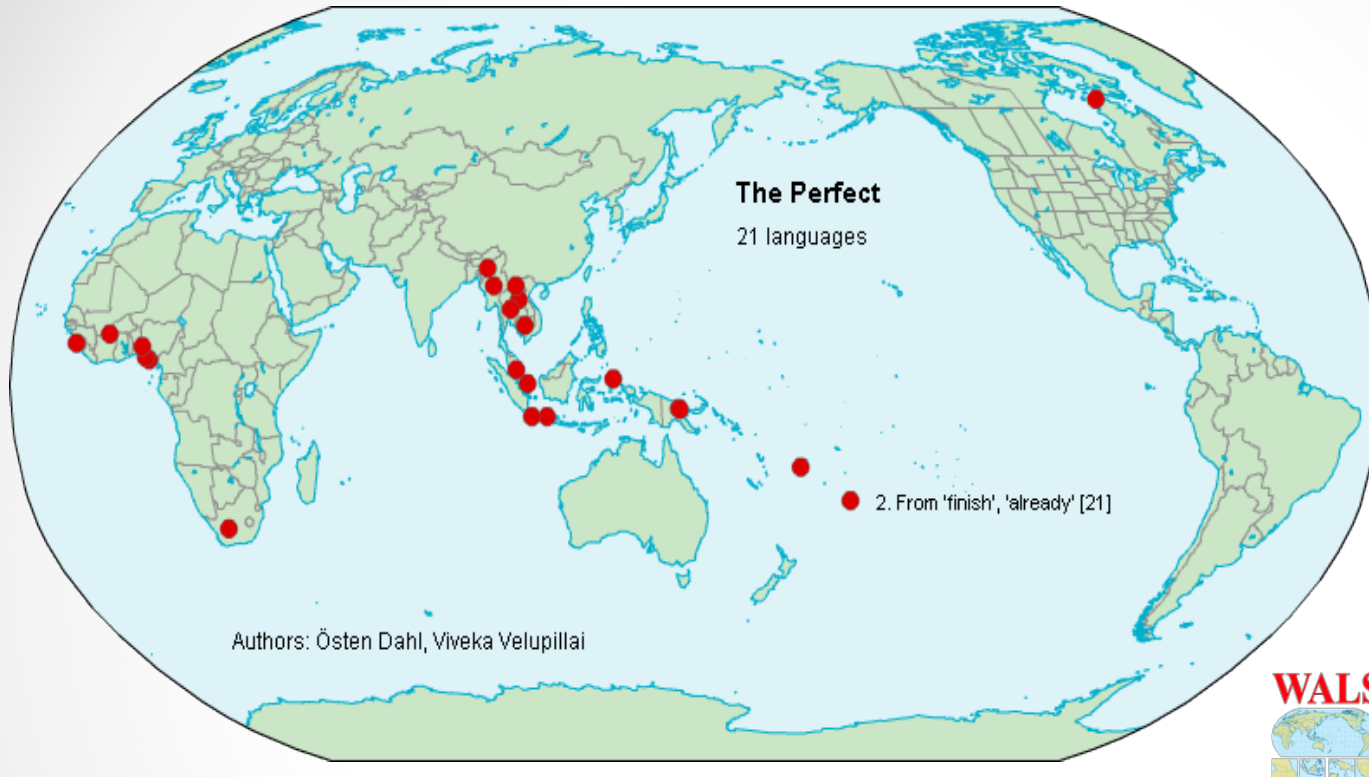
- A case of Total Systemic Transfer (Bao 2005; 2015):

("Substratum transfer involves an entire grammatical subsystem")

Moderated by the Lexifier Filter:

"Morphosyntactic exponence of the transferred system conforms to the (surface) structural requirements of the lexical-source language" (2005: 258)

Perfected from 'finish' or 'already'



<https://wals.info/feature/68A#2/25.5/148.5>

Östen Dahl, Viveka Velupillai. 2013. The Perfect.
In: Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (eds.)
The World Atlas of Language Structures Online.
Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology.
(Available online at <http://wals.info/chapter/68>, Accessed on 2019-01-21.)

Examples:

Completive aspect:

(3) I wash my hand **already** (Bao 2005: 239)

*I wash already my hand

(4) After you wax the car **already**, I pay you

Inchoative aspect:

(5) Last time John was a housing agent. Now he drive taxi for a living **already**

Inceptive:

(6) Miss Lin eat cake **already**

(Ambiguous)

Negation is possible also:
(Inchoative)

(7) You want some more or not or don't want **already**? (Bao & Hong, 2006: 198)

Bao & Hong – reflects the functions of *le* (Mandarin) or *liao* (Hokkien)

- distinguished syntactically from SSE by position (mainly final)

Siemund & Li (2017):

(8) They were **already** actually piling their arms **already**.

[CORD-TMK: Reel 2, *Singapore National Archives Oral History Interviews*]

However, not all functions of Mandarin *le* or Hokkien *liao* are transferred:

(9) *I accidentally cut his hand **already**

(Chen 2008)

- Ungrammatical in Singlish, but translatable with perfective *le/liao* in Mandarin.

Distributional constraints - evidence of persistence from earlier developmental stages of the English adverb?

Some details of the historical development of *already*:

Early stages – adjectival predicate (last examples provided end at the beginning of the 15th century):

(10) **Al redy** [c1405 *Hengwrt* and redy] was his answer.

(c1395) CHAUCER *Wife of Bath's Tale* (Harl. 7334) (1885) l. 1025

OED Online: already

Adverbialization (and univerbation) were already in progress by the 14th century, and ambiguous examples appear:

(11) That it be ferm with led and pich." / Anon was mad a cofre sich, / **Al redy** broght unto his hond;

‘That it be firm with lead and tar. Soon such a coffer was made, already brought/brought all ready to his hand’

1325-1408, John Gower's *Confessio Amantis*. (CMEPV online)

OED: Sense of ‘earlier than expected’ developed around this time.

Adjectival predicate use has not disappeared entirely:

(12) Pete and I were **all ready** to raid those camera shops.

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- A case of ‘split’ or divergence (Hopper 1991) but not within grammaticalization (adverbs are questionable – Brinton & Traugott 2005: 132)
- Hopper’s (1991) 5 Principles of Grammaticalization – evidence of grammaticalization, though not necessarily applying uniquely to grammaticalization.

Back to Singlish, and Malaysian Colloquial English ...

- Distributional preferences in present-day usage may reflect diachronic retention or persistence;
- Brief, anonymous, spontaneous surveys distributed via social networks in Singapore and Kuala Lumpur - 3 sentence examples using *already*;
- Informants asked to evaluate the sentences on acceptability in Singlish or MCE (*not* Standard English);
- Majority of data obtained in less than one week (Singapore), longer time required in KL to find older speakers;
- Two age-groups – Under 50, and 50 +. No other questions asked apart from place of upbringing since childhood.

Sentences used (all completive uses):

- i. Aiyah! I hurt my hand already!
- ii. Aiyoh! I lost my wallet already!
- iii. Wah lao! My computer crash already! (Singapore)
Aiyeh! My computer crash already! (Malaysia)

Substrate model Ls do use the perfective aspect marker:

(13) (*Kuala Lumpur*) *Cantonese*:

- a. *Ngo* *soeng-hoi* *ngo-ge* *sau* **zo**.
 1sg hurt-COMP 1st-POSS hand already
- b. *Ngo* *m-gin-zo* *ngo-ge* *ngan-baau*
 1sg NEG-lost-already 1st-POSS wallet
- c. *Ngo-ge* *din-nou* *m-hang* **zo**.
 1sg-POSS computer NEG-move already

(14) *Mandarin*:

- a. *Ai yo, wo de shou soushang le.*
 Aiyoh, 1sg POSS hand hurt PERF
- b. *Ai yo, wo de qianbao bujian le/liao.*
 Aiyoh, 1sg POSS wallet lost PERF
- c. *Huai diao le/liao wo de dian nao.*
 break-COMPL PERF, 1sg POSS computer

(15) *Malay*

- a. *Tangan aku (su)dah sakit.*
 hand 1sg PERF hurt
- b. *Dompot saya (su)dah hilang.*
 wallet 1sg PERF lose
- c. *Komputer saya (su)dah rusak.*
 computer 1sg PERF break

(Olssen 2013: *dah* rather than *sudah* is preferred in (b))

Table 1. Summary results of Singlish survey (N = 44): average results of all 3 sentences for both groups in %.

	Good Singlish	Either possible but not good or bad Singlish
Under 50 group	69.8	30.1
50+ group	39.1	60.7

Table 2. Summary results of MCE survey (N = 101): average results of all 3 sentences for both groups in %.

	Good MCE	Either possible but not good or bad MCE
Under 50 group	26.9	73.1
50+ group	21.7	77.7

Fig. 1. Results summary for the Singaporean group aged under 50.

Under 50 Group (Singlish)

■ Acceptances ■ Rejections

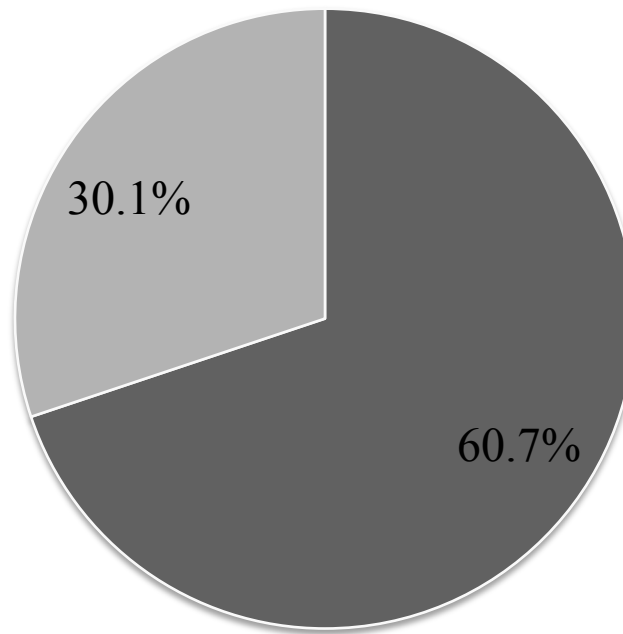


Fig. 2: Results summary for the Singaporean group aged 50+

50+ Group (Singlish)

■ Acceptances ■ Rejections

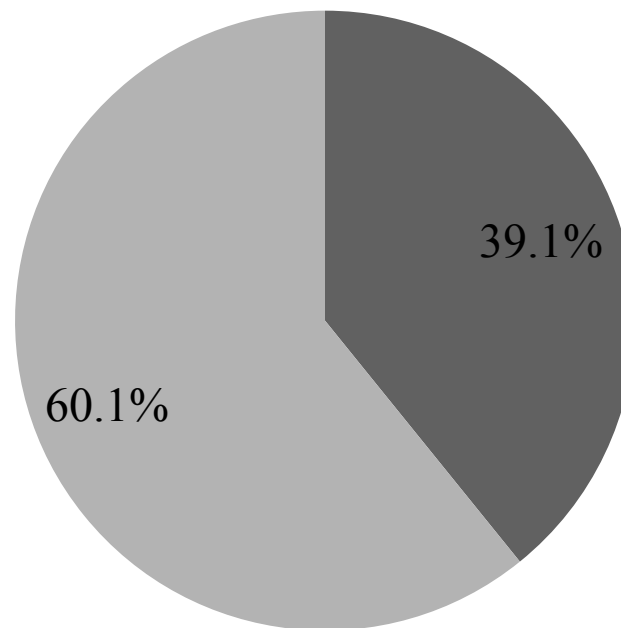


Fig. 3: Results summary for the Malaysian group aged under 50

Under 50 Group (MCE)

■ Acceptances ■ Rejections

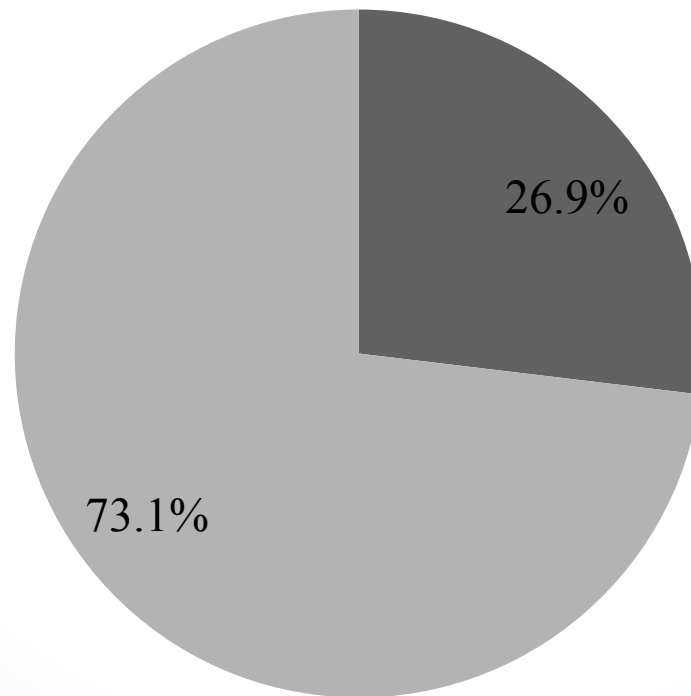
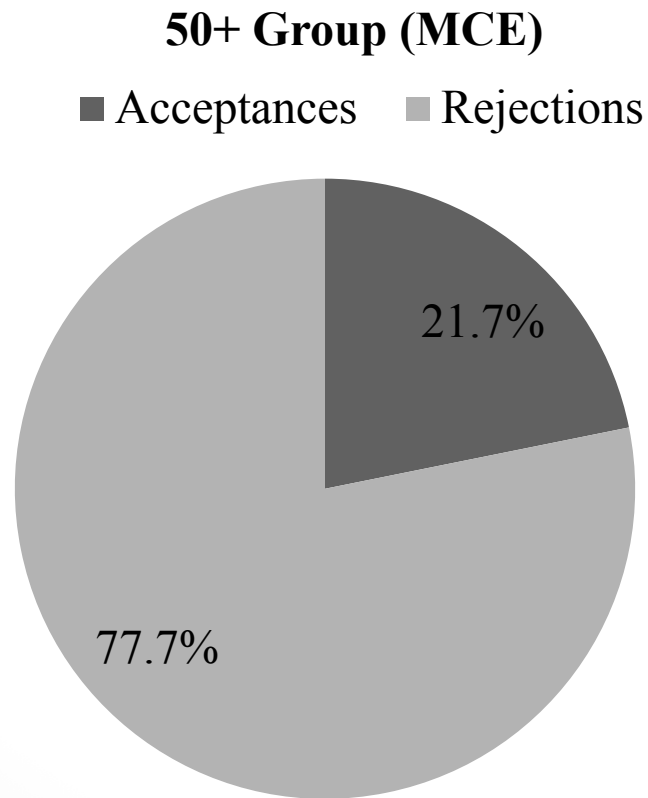


Fig. 4: Results summary for the Malaysian group aged 50 +



Singaporean survey comments:

- a. *Why the already?*
- b. *“Lah” is often used in place of already.*
- c. *To make the statements more singlish, instead of using already, can use “liao”. It has the same meaning.*
- d. ***Already is not used for accidents. It’s to indicate that something has been done, completed, finished. E.g. Aiya, I send already lah. Note we tend to pronounce it as awready.***

And in the Malaysian survey:

- e. *Already strange because external to the person.*
- f. *Don’t need already.*
- g. *Like the already before the verb.*
- h. *Shorter better. Without already ok.*
- i. *We usually use it for sentences like “I have done that already, or “We eat already”.*
- j. *Those who speak Hokkien would end their sentences with “liao” instead of already.*
- k. *Good but not gramamtical [sic.]*

Preliminary analysis:

- Rejection was not categorical, but showed higher rates for both older speakers of Singlish and all Malaysian speakers;
- Tagliamonte et al (2014) and Schwenter (1994): increasing levels of grammaticalisation amongst younger generations;

The present study of lexical persistence in contact reflects:

- Slower rates of grammaticalization in the replica L than in the L1 model;
- b) (Bao's 2005) systemic transfer is not 'total', if modelled only on L1 substrates;
- c) distributional constraints reflect lexifier meanings of the adverb, inhibiting grammaticalization as an aspect marker in the replica L.

How to explain lexical retention/persistence in contact?

Earlier stages of development may continue to co-exist with later stages in the replica L:

(16) The stupid shipment is three weeks ago now they send. You think by the time the fellow will still be on the ball you know what I mean you know this type usually when the starting uh whoa everybody **all ready** to go off fired up you know. Three weeks down the road *alamak* these guys all forgotten **already** man. So then *wa bo chap* ... you know uuh don't care don't care you know. Then you know when you don't care huh. The law of uh what's that Thermodynamics ...

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Also in MCE:

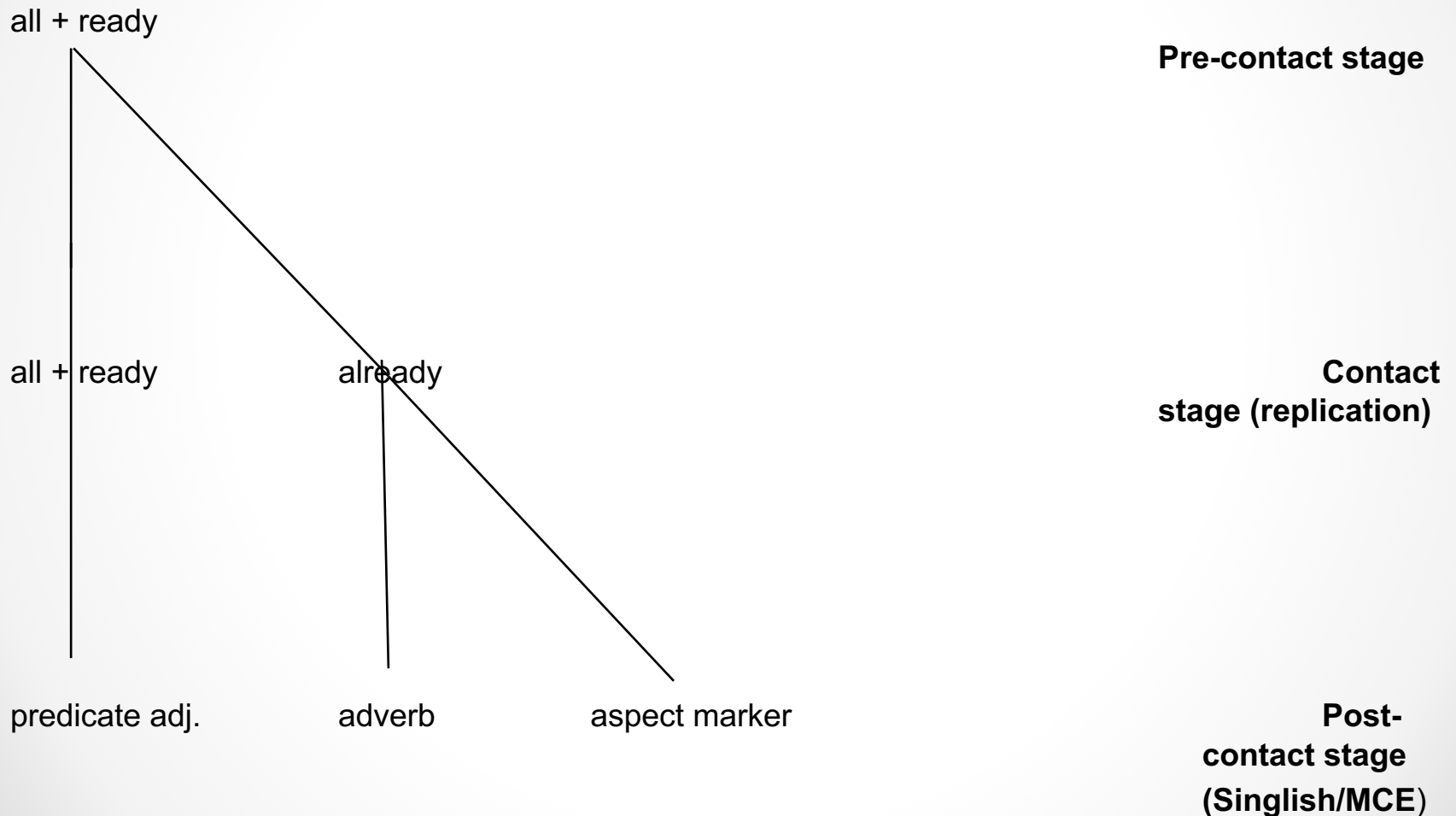
(17) hmmm..he say hq no stock. scold him also no use lo.
accessories **all ready liao** but car not yet ready

<https://forum.lowyat.net/topic/4222823/+1400>

Borrowing - necessary to cover perfective functions not yet grammaticalised by *already*.

Principle of Proof by Anachrony (Hagège 1993)

Fig. 1. Transfer of *all ready/already* as a split (divergence) across contact, and subsequent grammaticalisation as an aspect marker in Singlish and MCE



Conclusions:

Symmetry/asymmetry in contact grammaticalisation: is contact transfer one-sided (substrate functions always replicated using lexifier forms (e.g. Lefebvre's 2009 relexification/relabelling)?

Replication of substrate *functions* more important to ordinary c-i grammaticalization; however, transfer of *form* in contact involves a more significant role for the lexifier;

Since the lexifier supplies the lexicon form for transfer, any given lexical item in contact or otherwise should grammaticalize the same way.

Grammaticalization in contact – a complex, asymmetrical interaction of substrate and lexifier forces competing for dominance.

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