

Sentence-final adverbs in Singapore English and Hong Kong English

MIE HIRAMOTO*

ABSTRACT: Available corpus data show that adverbs with modifying meanings, *already*, *also*, and *only*, occur at the clause-final or sentence-final position more often in ‘Asian Englishes’ (Hong Kong English and Singapore English) than British English and Canadian English. This paper posits a link between the motivation of sentence-final adverbs in Asian English and substrate transfer due to linguistic (both grammatical and pragmatic) structures of influential non-English languages in the regions.

INTRODUCTION

This paper investigates innovative features seen in two non-standard English varieties that resulted from language contact and discusses them in depth as a typological characteristic that is particular to English spoken in Asia. Specifically, the use of the adverbs *already*, *also*, and *only* in sentence-final position, which is shared by Singapore English (SgE) and Hong Kong English (HKE), will be discussed. While Parviainen (2012) explains the tendency to place adverbs *also* and *only* sentence-finally in SgE and HKE as a diffused feature from Indian English (IndE), I attempt to explain the phenomenon as a result of substrate transfer from regional languages of Hong Kong and Singapore, as both SgE and HKE are heavily influenced by Chinese languages.

Concerning one of the Asian Englishes discussed in this paper, Luke and Richards (1982: 55) report on the obvious ‘non-native’ nature of English in Hong Kong, but did not recognize it as an independent variety of English at the time. Two decades later, however, Bolton (2000) suggests that the role and status of English in Hong Kong has caused HKE to shift to a ‘nativized’ type of English. As for English in Singapore, the 2010 Census reports that among literate Singapore residents aged 15 years and over, 80 per cent were literate in English. Parallel to the rise in the level of English literacy, the usage of English as a home language also became more prevalent, especially among younger age groups, according to this census report. Among residents aged 5–14 years, English was the home language for 52 per cent of the Chinese, 50 per cent of the Indians, and 26 per cent of the Malays—Singapore’s three main ethnic groups (Singapore Department of Statistics 2011). All in all, SgE has a more stabilized grammar and a much larger population of ‘native speakers’ than HKE. Whether the English used in contemporary Hong Kong is firmly established or not is still under debate (Bolton 2003: 197–225; Gisborne 2011). In this paper, I categorize both SgE and HKE with the more neutral term ‘(post-colonial) Asian Englishes.’

*Department of English Language & Literature, Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences, National University of Singapore, Blk AS5, 7 Arts Link, Singapore, 117570. E-mail: ellmh@nus.edu.sg

Based on a search of the International Corpus of English (ICE), a comparison of Asian Englishes versus British English (BE) and Canadian English (CE) was conducted. Although not a lexifier of either of the Asian varieties examined here, CE is included in the analysis as another 'standard' variety as CE is considered one of Kachru's (1992) 'Inner Circle Englishes' that serves as a comparison for Western versus Asian varieties. While there is no comparable spoken ICE data from the United States, such data are available for CE. From here, BE and CE will be collectively referred to as 'Standard English' for convenience' sake. The main goal of this study is to describe Asian Englishes' particular uses of the selected adverbs, *already*, *also*, and *only*, occurring at a clause- or sentence-final position¹ and to analyze this usage in terms of a substrate influence hypothesis. In the field of contact linguistics and global English, there is little doubt about SgE's status as a well-established 'new Englishes' variety, and it is well-documented sociohistorically and grammatically.² In the literature of world Englishes, SgE is one of the earlier varieties to be reported and is much more extensively studied (Platt & Weber 1980, Platt et al. 1983, Richards & Tay 1977). For this reason, although it would have been preferable to have a large body of both SgE and HKE examples to draw upon, the supporting literature and their attendant examples will mainly focus on SgE.

SgE is said to have developed as a lingua franca among speakers of Singapore's local languages including Hokkien, Cantonese, Malay, and so on (Leimgruber 2012; Lee et al. 2009; Lee 2014). One of the innovative features of SgE is the use of sentence-final particles (SFPs), which were adopted from these local languages; the functions of these particles have been studied by a number of scholars rather extensively (see Lim 2007 for a detailed summary of SgE SFPs, and also Hiramoto 2012). HKE is influenced mainly by Cantonese, which itself has a large number of SFPs (Kwok 1984: 8, Luke 1990: 1; Chan 2008), and also by other southern varieties of Chinese, as well as Mandarin to a lesser extent (Bacon-Shone & Bolton 2008; Lim & Gisborne 2011: 4). HKE also uses SFPs from Cantonese (Bolton 2003: 219). SFPs are usually used to express moods, attitudes, feelings, and emotions in the original languages, and they are used for the same purpose in SgE and HKE.³ As will be seen, adverbs containing modifying meanings occur at a clause-final or sentence-final position more often in Asian Englishes, especially in colloquial speech, than in the two types of 'Standard English' observed in this study—BE and CE. Moreover, BE and CE do not have comparable SFPs that carry modifying meanings sentence-finally. I will link the motivation of the development of sentence-final adverbs in Asian English to substrate transfer from linguistic structures, both grammatical and pragmatic, of the influential non-English languages in the regions.

SENTENCE-FINAL ADVERBS AND SUBSTRATE INFLUENCE

The sentence-final adverbs investigated in this paper are *already*, *also*, and *only*. Concerning another well-established world Englishes variety, IndE, scholars have discussed focus marking systems of Indian languages, such as Hindi particles *hii* 'only' and *bhii* 'also,' in relation to IndE's use of *also* and *only* (Bhatt 2000; Lange 2007; Sharma 2003; Parviainen 2012). Due to the substrate influence of the focus markers in languages spoken in India, adverbs like *also* and *only* are used more widely and more freely, for example, sentence-finally, in IndE than in 'Standard English' (McArthur 2003: 322, Rogers 2003: 245; Lange 2007: 89). In IndE, sentence-final *only* and *also* are the result of the transfer of focus markers from languages spoken in India that add empathic meanings to

sentences, and Parviainen (2012: 232) refers to them as (sentence-final) particles. Noting that sentence-final *also* and *only* occur in HKE and SgE at higher rates than in Standard English, Parviainen (2012) argues that these features came into use in HKE and SgE as a result of contact with IndE due to the British colonial era presence of IndE speakers in these areas. According to Parviainen (2012: 227), a spoken variety of IndE became established in India since the early contacts between the British and the local Indian population; features of IndE then spread to other emerging varieties of English in other parts of the British empire, as the British often sent Indian English teachers to their other colonies (Platt et al. 1983; Hogue 2001; Rai 2008: 178). Taking a different viewpoint from that of Parviainen (2012), I suggest that sentence-final *also* and *only* as well as *already* in HKE and SgE are the results of substrate influences of indigenous languages spoken in the Hong Kong and Singapore areas.

In SgE, sentence-final *already* has been recognized as a salient feature. For example, in 2011, sentence-final *already* was one of the ‘ungrammatical’ features in a ‘How good is your English?’ contest sponsored by the government’s Standard English campaign (Speak Good English Movement [SGEM], 2011).⁴ The question asks the participant to select one of the following sentences: (a) *This one finish already*; (b) *I have finished already*; (c) *I have already finished*. The sole correct answer according to SGEM is (c), although in ‘Standard English’ both (b) and (c) may be considered grammatical. Academically, the sentence-final *already* drew the attention of researchers because of an evident substrate-motivated explanation. For example, based on her examination of children’s acquisition of SgE tense and aspect systems, Kwan-Terry (1989) argues that the function and use of the word *already* at the sentence-final position in SgE originates from Mandarin, specifically from *yi jing* ‘already’ and the aspectual marker *le*. Example (1) shows some uses of *already* in SgE.

- (1a) I (don’t) want to eat durian already.
 (1b) I cannot go inside already.
 (Kwan-Terry 1989: 40)

Kwan-Terry (1989) links the function of *already* in SgE to SFPs, and claims that this function does not exist in ‘Standard English.’ Bao (1995) expands on Kwan-Terry’s (1989) work on *already* and compares the functions and uses of SgE *already* and the Mandarin aspectual marker *le*, concluding that when used in the sentence-final position, both SgE *already* and Mandarin *le* denote a perfective (as opposed to inchoative) reading, as seen in Example (2) below.

- (2a) ta qu niuyue le
 he go New York LE
 ‘He went to New York.’ (perfective)
 *‘He now goes to New York.’ (inchoative)
 (2b) He go to New York already. (perfective/*inchoative)
 (Bao 1995: 185)

Although Bao’s (1995) analysis does not concern the pragmatic aspects of SgE *already* and Mandarin *le*, he raises the important question of whether there exist regular words in ‘Standard English’ that are used as particles in SgE.⁵ That is, in SgE, while the representative SFPs are derived directly from the constituent languages, regular words in ‘Standard English’ may also behave like SFPs in the Singaporean linguistic environment (Bao 1995:

Table 1. Percentage of *already* in medial position in the six major text categories of ICE-BE and ICE-SIN

Text categories	BE	SgE
Private dialogue	80	29
Public dialogue	88	83
Scripted monologue	93	81
Unscripted monologue	90	82
Printed writing	97	93
Non-printed writing	91	88

Adapted from Bao and Hong 2006: 107).

182). Gupta (1992: 36) recognizes the SgE-specific pragmatic function (beyond its default grammatical function) of *already*. She states that *already* is a completive marker by default; however, she also points out that its pragmatic particle-like function has been recognized by earlier scholars (Platt & Weber 1980). In summary, these studies suggest that *already* in SgE appears sentence-finally and behaves like an SFP. Moreover, this innovative use is transferred from Sinitic languages into SgE.

In this section, I have presented several scholars' findings concerning substrate transfers of sentence-final adverbs in IndE (*also* and *only*) and SgE (*already*). Researchers have connected the sentence-final adverbs in both varieties with SFPs, based on the adverbs' positions and pragmatic functions. I will come back to this point after further discussing sentence-final *also* and *only* in Asian Englishes.

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

The data for this study come from the International Corpus of English (ICE). Regarding this resource, Bao (2010a: 1729) states that '[t]he availability of computerized databases makes reliable usage-based studies possible and practical' (Greenbaum 1988; Greenbaum & Nelson 1996; Nelson et al. 2002; Nelson 2012).⁶ Much of the ICE corpora data (including ICE-Britain (ICE-UK), ICE-Canada (ICE-CAN), ICE-Hong Kong (ICE-HK), and ICE-Singapore (ICE-SIN)) were collected in the early 1990s. Bao has used these corpora for several comparative linguistic studies, for instance, between ICE-UK and ICE-SIN data (Bao 2010a, 2010b; Bao & Hong 2006). Other studies employing the ICE data, especially on English spoken in Asia, include Gisborne's (2011) work on ICE-HK for the analysis of the aspectual systems of HKE; Sharma's (2011) research on differences in the progressive marker *-ing* between IndE and SgE based on ICE-India and ICE-SIN; Ler's (2006) investigations of frequently used SFPs using ICE-SIN; and Parviainen's (2012) survey of usages of sentence-final *also* and *only*, comparing the occurrences in ICE data from India, SIN, HK, Philippines, and UK.

Bao and Hong (2006) present quantified ICE data of the adverbial token *already* and *also* in SgE and BE. Table 1 displays the percentages of occurrences of *already* in the sentence medial position (e.g. *he's already spent the money*) vs. either initial or final positions (e.g. *already, he's spent the money* / *he's spent the money already*) in Bao and Hong (2006: 107).

The obvious difference is concentrated in the private dialogue category; *also* showed similar distribution patterns as well. In BE, *already* and *also* appear in the medial position the most frequently while in SgE they predominantly occur sentence-finally (Bao and Hong

2006: 109). Because of this, I focused exclusively on the tokens in the private dialogue category. According to Biber et al. (1999: 802), the preferred position of *also* in (Standard) English is sentence-medial. In SgE, however, *also*, like *already*, appears largely in the sentence-final position.

- (3a) He also sells cars. / He sells cars too. / He sells cars as well. ('Standard English')
 (3b) He sells cars also. (SgE)
 (Bao & Hong 2006: 109)

In the current study, *already*, *also*, and *only* were chosen in order to follow up and expand on Bao and Hong's (2006) and Parviainen's (2012) reports.⁷ Assuming that there is some predictive potential for general findings across the Asian Englishes with Sinitic substrate influences, HKE was included in the analysis. Some representative examples of sentence-final adverbs in the data are shown in (4) and (5).

- (4a) know I cook already. (057#X53:1:Z)
 (4b) Because you are boy also. (056#642:1:A)
 (4c) Uh it takes me three hours to reach to read just a few pages only. (017#232:1:A)
 (ICE-HK, S1A: Private Dialogue File)
- (5a) That one died already. (002#260:1:B)
 (5b) Do you recommend any banks also? (064#200:1:A)
 (5c) Then how come now England only? (038#146:1:B)
 (ICE-SIN, S1A: Private Dialogue File)

During the quantification processes, certain types of expressions were excluded from the total. They include the one-word phrase *already*, the idiomatic expression *not only ~, but also ~*, and phrases where the target adverbs were not used as verb modifiers, for example, *already matured person* or *my only point is ~*. Additionally, tokens that were directly adjacent to inaudible (untranscribable) utterances were excluded.

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

Adverbs' positions in Asian Englishes and Standard English

The positional occurrence percentages consistently showed that the selected adverbs—*already*, *also*, and *only*—appear at the sentence-final position more often in Asian Englishes than in Standard English. Figure 1 presents the percentages of sentence-final adverbs. The figure makes it clear that the frequency of the adverbs in sentence-final position in the four varieties is in the following order: SgE, HKE, CE and BE.

Table 2 shows raw numbers of each token for both positions. Chi-square tests were conducted for each token as well as for the totals in order to test for statistical significance of the apparent preference for sentence-final adverb use in Asian Englishes. In Table 2, the numbers represent raw scores. Statistically significant differences indicated by Chi-square tests ($p < 0.05$) between the sentence-final and non-sentence-final positions are marked with an asterisk (*). Dark shades indicate Asian Englishes, and light shades, 'Standard English.'

The results reveal that for SgE, *already*, *also*, and *only* were statistically more frequent sentence-finally and more infrequent non-sentence-finally. For HKE, the pattern was the same for *only*. These statistical results, as well as general token counts, support the hypothesis that Asian Englishes have a higher rate of sentence-final occurrence of these

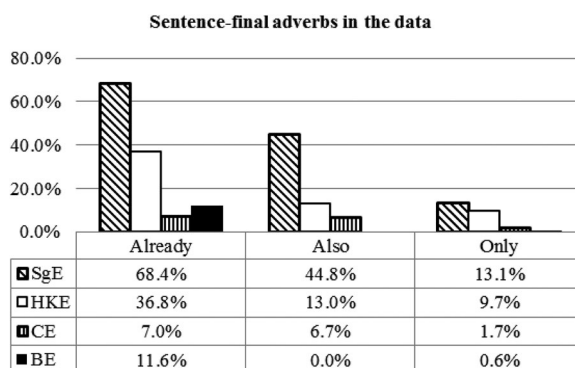


Figure 1. Percentages of sentence-final occurrences of the selected adverbs

Table 2. Total numbers of the adverbs in both non-sentence-final (non-SF) and sentence-final position (SF); shading for Asian Englishes and no shading for Standard English

Adverbs		SgE	HKE	CE	BE	Chi-square test scores
<i>Already</i>	non-SF	92 (*)	108	40	38	$\chi^2(3\text{dof}) = 108.255,$ $p < .01$
	SF	199	63 (*)	3 (*)	5 (*)	
<i>Also</i>	non-SF	192 (*)	534	90	96	$\chi^2(3\text{dof}) = 180.186,$ $p < .01$
	SF	156	80 (*)	6 (*)	0 (*)	
<i>Only</i>	non-SF	259 (*)	428 (*)	118	173	$\chi^2(3\text{dof}) = 24.295,$ $p < .01$
	SF	39	46	2 (*)	1 (*)	

three adverbs than of the adverbs in other positions. At the same time, the results for HKE did not show a significant tendency for *already* or *also* to appear more often in sentence-final position. Tokens of all three adverbs in 'Standard English' are statistically more frequent non-sentence-finally. Although the difference between 'Standard English' and HKE is not statistically significant, the difference between numbers for sentence-final and non-sentence-final tokens is categorically higher in HKE than in Standard English.

Sinitic influences on SgE and HKE

In this section, reasons for Asian Englishes' higher occurrence rate of sentence-final adverbs will be discussed. First, the case of *already* will be examined with supporting evidence from the Sinitic substrates: Cantonese and Mandarin for both SgE and HKE, plus Hokkien for SgE. Mandarin only became the dominant Chinese variety in Singapore after the government's bilingual language policy was launched in 1966, followed by the Speak Mandarin Campaign in 1979. However, the important Sinitic substrates during the initial contact situation that gave rise to SgE were Hokkien and Cantonese. Therefore, scholars argue that inclusion of Mandarin among SgE's substrate languages is problematic (Gupta 1994; Siegel 2012). Mandarin is included as a substrate language here in part to follow up a study by Bao and Hong (2006) wherein Mandarin is posited as a substrate language of SgE. While this is admittedly an issue for the analysis in this study, Mandarin is merely treated as one of the Sinitic substrate languages rather than the main or sole source of the substrate, and while there are differences between Mandarin and SgE's Sinitic

substrates, they are grammatically similar enough to yield interesting results concerning general treatments of the adverbs.

A perfective aspect marker *le* meaning *already* in Mandarin was presented in (2a). Here, the same example is revisited in order to examine the link between the Sinitic languages and Asian Englishes in terms of substrate transfer, as suggested by Siegel (2003, 2008).

- (2a) ta qu niuyue le
 3SG go New York PFT
 ‘He went to New York (already).’
 (Bao 1995: 185, cited in Siegel 2012: 473)

The corresponding perfect marker in Singaporean/Malaysian Hokkien is *liau* (Platt & Weber 1980: 66) as shown in (5).

- (5) Gún tháuke tńg chhù liaú.
 our boss return home PFT (already).
 ‘Our boss has returned home.’
 (Platt & Weber 1980: 66, cited in Bao 1995: 183, Siegel 2012: 474)⁸

Bao (1995, 2012) and Platt and Weber (1980) claim that in SgE, the functions of *le* or *liau* have been transferred to the English adverb *already* as presented in (6).

- (6a) I only went there once or twice already.
 (6b) I work about four months already.
 (Platt & Weber 1980: 66, Bao 1995: 182, both cited in Siegel 2012: 474)

(7a) is a sentence with the preferred positioning of *already* in SgE and HKE based on input from ‘native speakers,’⁹ with translations into Singapore Cantonese (7b) and Hong Kong Cantonese (7c).

- (7a) Oh you bought them already. Thank you.
 (7b) O nei mai zo. M goi.
 Oh 2SG buy PFT Thank you.
 (7c) Lei maai jo la. M goi.
 2SG buy PFT SFP Thank you.

The Cantonese perfect marker, *zo* (7b) or *jo* (7c) marks perfective aspect, adding a meaning of ‘already,’ like Mandarin *le* and Hokkien *liau*, and showing a similar connection to SgE *already*. Matthews and Yip (2009: 376) indeed state that Cantonese *zo/jo* is equivalent to Mandarin *le* or Hokkien *liau*. Bao (2012: 480) mentions that Hokkien, Cantonese, and Mandarin are generally alike in their aspect marking systems. Based on its function and position, as shown in (7b) and (7c), the Cantonese perfect marker, *zo* or *jo*, could clearly be a source for the sentence-final placement of *already* in SgE and HKE.

Adverbs meaning *already* and the perfect markers can appear together in a sentence in the substrate languages but they have fixed positions; adverbs are preverbal and the perfect markers are sentence-final. This means that the adverbs cannot occur sentence-finally. The examples in (8) were provided by native speaker consultants and are presented in the following order: (a) SgE/HKE, (b) Mandarin (M), (c) Hokkien (H), (d) Singapore

Cantonese (SC), and (e) Hong Kong Cantonese (HKC).¹⁰ The sentences prefixed by asterisks have the adverbs in sentence-final position and are ungrammatical.

(8a)	SgE/HKE:	You bought (them) already.				
(8b)	M:	Ni	yi jing	mai	le.	(*Ni mai le yi jing.)
		2SG	already	buy	PFT	
(8c)	H:	Li	yi keng	buay	liao.	(*Li buay liao yi keng.)
		2SG	already	buy	PFT	
(8d)	SC:	Nei	ji ging	mai	zo.	(*Nei mai zo ji ging.)
		2SG	already	buy	PFT	
(8e)	HKC:	Lei	ji ging	maai	jo-la.	(*Lei maai jo la-ji ging.)
		2SG	already	buy	PFT-SFP	

Shifting the focus to the other tokens, *also* and *only*, we see that unlike *already*, there are no specific grammatical particles such as a perfect marker that correspond to these two adverbs. Similar to *already*, the adverbs meaning *also* and *only* do not appear in the sentence-final position in the Sinitic languages. The examples in (9) and (10) are presented in the same manner as those shown in (8).

(9a)	SgE/HKE:	I don't know also.				
(9b)	M:	Wo	ye	bu	zhi dao.	(*Wo bu zhi dao ye.)
		1SG	also	NEG	know	
(9c)	H:	Wah	ah si	mm	zai.	(*Wah mm zai ah si.)
		1SG	also	NEG	know	
(9d)	SC:	Ngo	dou	m	zi.	(*Ngo m zi dou.)
		1SG	also	NEG	know	
(9e)	HKC:	Ngo	dou	m	ji dou.	(*Ngo m ji dou dou.)
		1SG	also	NEG	know	
(10a)	SgE/HKE:	It's \$20 only.				
(10b)	M:	Zhe	zhi shi	\$20.		(*Zhe \$20 zhi shi.)
		3SG	only	\$20		
(10c)	H:	Cey	ji si	\$20.		(*Cey \$20 ji si.)
		3SG	only	\$20		
(10d)	SC:	Ligo	zi	\$20.		(*Ligo \$20 zi.)
		3SG-CL	only	\$20		
(10e)	HKC:	Keui	ji hai	\$20.		(*Keui \$20 ji hai.)
		3SG	only	\$20		

From (9) and (10), it is clear that the adverbs meaning *also* and *only* are not permissible sentence-finally in the substrate languages. In the case of *already*, it is the corresponding sentence-final perfect markers (e.g. *le* to *yi jing* 'already' in Mandarin) which may function as the source of sentence-final *already* in SgE and HKE. Comparably, the adverbs meaning *only* in the Sinitic substrates have corresponding SFPs, as shown in (10').

(10'a)	SgE/HKE:	It's only \$20 only.				
(10'b)	M:	Zhe	zhi shi	\$20	er yi.	
		3SG	only	\$20	only	
(10'c)	H:	Cey	ji si	\$20	nia.	
		3SG	only	\$20	only	
(10'd)	SC:	Ligo	zi	\$20	or yi.	
		3SG-CL	only	\$20	only	
(10'e)	HKC:	Keui	ji hai	\$20	zaa.	
		3SG	only	\$20	only	

The relationship between the adverbs meaning *only* and the corresponding SFPs presented above (M: *er yi* for *zhi shi*; H: *nia* for *ji si*; C: *or yi* for *zi* and *zaa* for *ji hai*) is similar to that of the adverbs meaning *already* and the perfect markers. This suggests that the SFPs in (10') may be a source of transfer for the sentence-final *only* in SgE and HKE.

Additionally, the sentence-final adverbs in HKE may be connected to syntactic dislocation in colloquial Cantonese. Although the Cantonese adverbs do not occur sentence-finally by default, as seen in (8–10), colloquial Cantonese often uses dislocation, where a phrase in a sentence structure changes its position from its default location (Matthews & Yip 1994). Phrases such as an agent, an argument, or an adjunct of the clause can occur outside the clause boundaries, either to its left or to its right. Dislocation can take place when afterthoughts occur after completing a sentence, for example, (*He*) *returned home, Dr. Wong*. There is a slight pause between a dislocated phrase and a preceding clause. Based on information I gathered from native Hong Kong Cantonese speaker linguists¹¹ and native Singapore Cantonese speakers, dislocation seems more prominent in Hong Kong Cantonese than Singapore Cantonese. With syntactic dislocation, adverbs like *ji ging* 'already,' *kei sat* 'actually,' *ji hai* 'only,' *sing yat* 'always,' *hou faan* 'soon,' and *ging seung* 'often' can occur sentence-finally. However, dislocation does not apply to *dou* 'also.' This means that *dou* 'also,' unlike *ji hai* 'only,' does not happen sentence-finally in colloquial Cantonese.

(11a)	Ngo	dou	m	ji dou.		
	1SG	also	NEG	know		
		'I also don't know.'				
(11b)	*Ngo	m	ji dou,	dou.		
	1SG	NEG	know	also		
		'I don't know also.'				
(11c)	Keui	ji hai	oi lei sai	lei	deui	geuk.
	3SG	only	for wash	your	CL	feet
		'It's only for washing your feet.'				
(11d)	Keui	oi	lei sai	lei	deui	geuk, ji hai.
	3SG	for	wash	your	CL	feet only
		'It's only for washing your feet.'				

While (11b) shows that in colloquial Cantonese the word equivalent to *also* is not able to occur sentence-finally, the fact that all four of the English sentences in (11) are acceptable in HKE leads us to consider a possible tendency in adverbs' positions in HKE. Thus, the following scenario for substrate transfer from colloquial Cantonese to HKE may be suggested. First, syntactic dislocations open a slot for a number of adverbs to

occur sentence-finally. In direct translations of the colloquial Cantonese into HKE, these adverbs are given an option of taking sentence-final positions from dislocation. Then, in HKE, sentence-final positions become available for adverbs in general, including *also*. By taking sentence-final positions, adverbs in HKE may be expressing speakers' emphasis or casualness in colloquial speech, as dislocation and SFPs are both often used to mark these pragmatic meanings.

Pragmatically, SFPs increase naturalness in colloquial speech without causing a drastic change in grammatical meanings of utterances. They are used highly frequently to mark different pragmatic meanings including 'indicating tentativeness in questions and requests,' 'softening force of statements or confirmations,' 'checking validity of an assumption,' and so forth (Lim 2007: 460). For example, (12) shows (a) a sentence found in ICE-HK and (b) its possible translation in Cantonese. In (12a), the speaker is explaining a course in which she's enrolled at her university. It is a language class, and she also is learning about communication in the class.

- (12a) [. . .] you also learn about communication also. (ICE-HK, S1A-029#205:1:A)
 (12b) Nei dou hok dou kau tung ah.
 2SG also learn about communication SFP

According to the 'native speaker' informants, *ah* is like a default SFP in Cantonese and it generally adds colloquialness to the sentence. Likewise, Asian Englishes have a tendency to end sentences with SFPs to convey pragmatic meanings. In summary, I suggest that the existence of SFPs in the substrate languages and Asian Englishes is what triggered the Asian English move of attaching SFP-like linguistic elements such as adverbs at sentence-final positions. English adverbs often work as adjuncts to sentence meanings and have a relatively flexible word order compared to other lexical items such as nouns or verbs, characteristics which may also have contributed to make them available for this new function. Thus, sentence-final adverbs became an innovative feature in Asian Englishes.

Malay influence on SgE

SgE has a non-Sinitic substrate language, Malay, and a possible influence from Malay on the occurrences of sentence-final adverbs will be discussed in this section. As with the Sinitic substrate languages, the word *already* in Malay, *sudah*, behaves differently from the other adverbs; it takes place at the pre-verbal position canonically.

- (13a) Boss kami sudah pulang ke rumahnya.
 boss 3PL already return LOC home-3SG-GEN
 'Our boss has returned home already.'
 (13b) Kau sudah beli tiketnya. Terima kasih.
 2SG already buy ticket-the thank you
 'You bought the tickets already. Thank you.'

Matthews and Yip (2009) comment that Malay *sudah* 'already' may be considered as an adverb tending to grammaticalize into a perfect aspect marker. Further, they claim that Malay *sudah* serves as an additional model for *already* in SgE (2009: 391). Interestingly,

Soh (2011) reports that a reduced form of *sudah* in colloquial Malay, *dah*, can appear at the sentence-final position (at least in some regions outside Johor Bahru or Singapore).

- (14) Aku sampai kat KLCC dah.
 1SG arrive LOC KLCC DAH
 'I have already arrived at Kuala Lumpur City Center.'

Soh (2012) introduces a preliminary analysis based on her research on sentence-final *dah*, labeling it a marker of 'change,' for example, speakers use sentence-final *dah* to mark an assertion proposed in speech, or to establish common ground among interlocutors. In short, the sentence-final *dah* indexes pragmatic meanings beyond its aspect-marking function.

Both Matthews and Yip's (2009) and Soh's (2011, 2012) reports regarding contemporary colloquial Malay *sudah* lead us to understand that it possesses more than just the adverbial meaning of 'already.' Malay *sudah* also functions as a perfect aspect marker; in a shorter form, *dah*, it appears and behaves quite like an SFP. However, it must be noted that *dah* is also possible at the non-sentence-final position, in contrast to most SFPs.

Now, examples of *also* and *only* will be included in the discussion. While the Sinitic languages do not have a sentence-final expression to mark the meaning *also*, there is one in Malay. The word equivalent to English *also* is *juga* and it can take place both sentence-medially and finally, thus, both (15a) and (15b) are acceptable.

- (9') I don't know also.
- (15a) Saya juga tak tahu.
 1SG also NEG know
- (15b) Saya tak tahu juga.
 1SG NEG know also

The Malay words equivalent to English *only* in (16) have fixed positions. *Sahja* and *hanya/cuman* mean 'only'; *sahja* must occur sentence-finally while *hanya/cuman* cannot appear in a sentence-final position.

- (10'') It's \$20 only.
- (16a) *Ia sahja \$20.
 3SG only \$20
- (16b) Ia \$20 sahja.
 3SG \$20 only
- (16c) Ia hanya/cuman \$20.
 3SG only \$20
- (16d) *Ia \$20 hanya/cuman.
 3SG \$20 only

All three expressions shown in (16) are used with equal frequency in colloquial Malay according to consultants, and a substrate transfer of sentence-final *only* from the sentence-final 'only' equivalent word, *sahja*, is possible. To summarize, in Malay the adverbs meaning *also* and *already* are positionally flexible, as *juga* 'also' and *sudah/dah* 'already' can occur both sentence-finally and non-sentence-finally. As for *also*, Malay has expressions

Table 3. Summary of range of lexifier and substrates of Asian Englishes

Asian Englishes	English lexifier BE	Representative substrate(s)			
		Austronesian Malay	Sinitic		
			Mandarin	Hokkien	Cantonese
Singapore	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Hong Kong	✓		✓		✓

Note: Adapted from Lim and Gisborne (2011: 4).

that appear sentence-medially (*hanya/cuman*) and sentence-finally (*sahja*). The sentence-final *sahja* could function as a source of a sentence-final *also* in SgE via direct translation. All in all, combined with the Sinitic substrate influences, the sentence-final positions of Malay adverbs meaning *already*, *only*, and *also* could be strengthening influences on the tendency to use sentence-final adverbs in SgE that do not exist for HKE.

In the previous section on the Sinitic substrate languages, the potential for SFPs to trigger the use of sentence-final adverbs was mentioned. Colloquial Malay also has some SFPs that are used to convey pragmatic meanings, although these are not as extensive as in Cantonese or Hokkien. Nonetheless, if my suggestion that SFPs from substrate languages create an available slot for sentence-final adverbs is correct, then Malay may also contribute to this process for SgE. Table 3 lists the major substrate influences on the Asian Englishes. The overall results of the findings will be discussed further in the next section.¹²

DISCUSSION

Based on the analysis in the previous section, SgE and HKE sentence-final *already* can be explained by the substrate transfers of (a) the Sinitic languages' sentence-final aspect markers in both SgE and HKE, and (b) the positionally flexible Malay adverb corresponding to English 'already,' *sudah*, in SgE. As for sentence-final *only*, substrate transfers are possible from (1) the Sinitic languages' SFPs corresponding to adjectives meaning *only* in both SgE and HKE, and (2) a Malay sentence-final adverb corresponding to English 'only,' *sahja*, in SgE. Unlike *already* and *only*, there are no sentence-final elements corresponding to *also* in the Sinitic substrate languages of Asian Englishes. In SgE, sentence-final *also* may be influenced by the positionally flexible Malay *juga* 'only,' which can occur sentence-medially or sentence-finally, and sometimes both.

(17a) (She) also says she wants to close up also . . . (ICE-SgE, S1A-023#107:1:B)

(17b) Dia juga kata yang dia mau tutup juga [. . .]
3SG also says COMP 3SG want close also

(17a) is an example from ICE-SIN, in which the speaker is talking about her friend who plans to become a vendor at a flea market, reporting that she wants to close her stall during slow hours. (17b) is a possible translation of (17a) in colloquial Malay that shows a neat mapping with the ICE-SIN data above.

Table 4. Summary of the major substrate influence elements on *already*, *only*, and *also* (*Sentence-final *also* possible as a result of generalization of dislocation in HKE)

Available substrate features		Singapore English			Hong Kong English		
		<i>already</i>	<i>only</i>	<i>also</i>	<i>already</i>	<i>only</i>	<i>also</i>
Sinitic sources	Aspect marker/particle	✓	✓		✓	✓	
	Syntactic dislocation				✓	✓	(✓)*
	SFPs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Malay sources	Sentence-final adverbs	✓	✓	✓			
	SFPs	✓	✓	✓			

Table 5. Breakdown of the overall Frequency Indexes; shading for Asian Englishes and no shading for Standard English

	<i>Already</i>		<i>Also</i>		<i>Only</i>	
	non-SF	SF	non-SF	SF	non-SF	SF
SgE	0.46	1.00	0.96	0.78	1.30	0.20
HKE	0.54	0.32	2.67	0.40	2.14	0.23
CE	0.20	0.02	0.45	0.03	0.59	0.01
BE	0.19	0.03	0.48	0.00	0.87	0.01

While HKE does not have the Malay influence, syntactic dislocation from Hong Kong Cantonese provides an additional explanation for the sentence-final adverbs in HKE. Dislocated adverbs in Hong Kong Cantonese add emphatic or pragmatic meanings to the sentence. This function is similar to that of SFPs, and Cantonese is a language well known for expressing speakers' attitudes with sentence-final expressions like SFPs, as expressed by Luke (1990: 11): 'It is no exaggeration to say that they constitute one of the hallmarks of natural conversation in Cantonese.' Hence, I emphasize that the sentence-final position becomes a slot for hosting SFP-like elements, such as adjuncts like adverbs, in Asian Englishes—both SgE and HKE in this case. I present a summary of the discussion thus far on the possible substrate influences on SgE and HKE *already*, *only*, and *also* in Table 4.

Although SgE and HKE both showed higher rates of sentence-final *already*, *also*, and *only* than Standard English in the data, HKE shows lower rates compared to SgE. As discussed, and shown in Table 3, the occurrences of *already*, *also*, and *only* were statistically more frequent sentence-finally than non-sentence-finally for SgE. For HKE, *only* was similarly statistically more frequent in the sentence-final position. At the same time, HKE did not show statistically significant differences between sentence-final and non-sentence-final occurrences of *already* and *also*. Here, in order to account for the differences between SgE and HKE, I will discuss the findings following Bao and Hong's (2006) methods of utilizing frequency indexes—a numerical expression of frequency; for example, eight instances out of 10 total samples has a frequency index of 80 per cent. Thus, comparisons are based on frequency counts (frequency indexes) where the numbers of sentence-final and sentence-non-final tokens are added together and then this total is divided by the number of files in the corpus (one hundred). Table 5 presents the frequency indexes of all three of the sentence-final tokens.

As can be seen in the table, the tendency toward the use of sentence-final adverbs is consistently higher for the Asian Englishes and consistently higher for SgE than for HKE, and this is similar to the numbers shown in Table 2. The overall results indicate that SgE demonstrates the strongest tendency for using sentence-final adverbs among the four English varieties selected for this study. At the same time, 'Standard English' exhibits the opposite tendency, where many fewer adverbs appear sentence-finally and more appear non-sentence-finally. Despite the fact that HKE shows similarities with Standard English in terms of the use of sentence-final *already* and *also*, at least from the statistical readings presented in Table 2, there are large differences between them in terms of the actual numbers given in Tables 2 and 5. HKE is closer to SgE, with the second highest sentence-final adverb numbers and a large gap between HKE and Standard English, indicating a preference in HKE for placing the adverbs sentence-finally, which is not the case for Standard English.

CONCLUSION

In her investigation of sentence-final *also* and *only* in IndE, Parviainen (2012) noticed that these adverbs also occur sentence-finally at higher rates in HKE and SgE compared to Standard English. She concludes that sentence-final *also* and *only* were first features of IndE, which then diffused into HKE and SgE as a result of contact between immigrant IndE-speakers and the local speakers in Hong Kong and Singapore. In this paper, I suggested that sentence-final adverbs including *also* and *only* in HKE and SgE, rather than being the result of diffusion from IndE, are the result of the substrate influence of indigenous languages spoken in the areas. I hope to have explained the sources of the substrate transfers by exploring the relevant grammatical and pragmatic features in the substrate languages and the English varieties.

Schneider's (2003) work on new dialect formation processes and new Englishes may be useful for considering the processes by which sentence-final adverbs became part of Asian Englishes. A new dialect's formation involves selection and stabilization developments, and from a contact linguistics viewpoint, the major languages involved in each contact environment contribute to the feature pool that such developments may draw on (see Mufwene 2001). In the case of new Englishes, where there are unstable elements of grammar, the feature pool narrows down over time, and as speakers more consistently use certain features, a distinctive English of their own region begins to develop. Schneider (2003: 246) proposes that in the developing process of stabilization of new Englishes, the identity of the local English speaking community expands to include 'English-plus' elements. As per the linguistic evolution model, HKE is not as established as other new English varieties, while SgE has a well-stabilized grammar and a much larger population of native speakers than does HKE. The high rate of occurrences of the sentence-final adverbs examined in this study, especially *already*, can be considered an 'English-plus' element in Asian Englishes that was motivated by features of the varieties of languages spoken locally in the areas where the Englishes came to be spoken. I suggest that *only* and *also* are more established sentence-final adverbs in SgE than in HKE because SgE has a more stabilized grammatical tendency of having adverbs sentence-finally, compared to the possibly less stabilized grammar of HKE.

I conclude this paper with a reconsideration of an observation made by Wong (2004) on SFPs in Asian Englishes, which also relates to the sentence-final adverbs. Wong (2004)

notes that the use of SFPs in SgE is a linguistic behavior that is culturally acceptable in the SgE speech community. He observes that SFPs 'may even be considered a cultural priority in everyday informal situations' (Wong 2004: 786). SFPs are also important sociolinguistic components of the substrate languages of SgE and HKE. This kind of culturally specific socio-cognitive linguistic practice exists everywhere, indeed. Based on his study of intercultural communication between Koreans and Americans, Sohn (1983: 94) mentions that 'communicative patterns differ from society to society due to underlying differences in cognitive culture.' Once English is adopted by a new speech community, more culturally specific elements are added over time, and the new variety of English becomes more stable; simultaneously, the identity formed by speakers of the new variety of English may become more distinctive. In this investigation of the higher rates of occurrences of sentence-final adverbs in Asian Englishes compared to 'Standard English,' I highlight that sentence-final adverbs are motivated by their substrate languages' frequent usages of SFPs, among other influences. Asian Englishes' substrate languages have a readily available slot for elements conveying 'extra' or 'modifying' meanings to sentences with SFPs, and *already*, *only*, and *also* as grammatical modifiers are placed in this slot.

While Parviainen's (2012) explanation proposes that sentence-final *also* and *only* are diffusional features from IndE to SgE and HKE, I claim that substrate transfer from the regional languages can also account for the sentence-final adverbs in SgE and HKE. Whatever the motivations may be, the sentence-final adverbs' higher rates of occurrence in Asian Englishes, mapping the local sociolinguistic norms, can be considered an example of a new regional feature in these new English varieties. At the same time, it should also be noted that this paper does not present evidence as to the absence of IndE influence. However, building on existing studies that propose that Tamil had less influence in the structural formation of SgE (Bao & Wee 1999), I propose the alternative explanation that the use of sentence-final adverbs in SgE stems mainly from Sinitic substrate influences. This alternative analysis was simultaneously applied to the same characteristics of HKE, and the data presented does indeed suggest that Sinitic substrate effects are responsible for the sentence-final adverbs in Asian Englishes. Nonetheless these are not necessarily exclusive and it could even be the case that both Sinitic (and Malay in the case of SgE) substrates as well as IndE contributed to the presence of the category. Based on the findings in this paper and the recognized formation processes of new Englishes, so long as HKE continues to become more stabilized, I hypothesize that we can expect an increase in the occurrences of HKE sentence-final adverbs, as this feature seems to be a salient typological characteristic of Asian Englishes.

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NOTES

1. Throughout this paper, I use 'sentence-final' as an umbrella term to cover both clause-final and sentence-final positions. Thus, the term 'sentence-final adverbs' also includes clause-final adverbs.
2. Lim and Gisborne (2011:7) state that SgE 'is considered as having already attained endonormative stabilization, while IndE [Indian English] and HKE are still only in the phase of nativization; this allows us a look at potential differences in emerging patterns.'
3. Compared to southern varieties of Chinese languages, Beijing Mandarin is said to have relatively few SFPs (Li & Thompson 1981: 239).
4. The Speak Good English Movement is a Singapore government campaign to 'encourage Singaporeans to speak grammatically correct English that is universally understood,' which began in 2000. The campaign often points out the non-standardness of colloquial SgE features and suggests alternative standard forms through public media.
5. For a different discussion of aspect marking systems of SgE concerning Mandarin *le*, see a recent work by Sharma (2011:55).
6. To facilitate comparison, the selected ICE data for this study were limited to private dialogue (100 texts, 200,000 words), which includes spontaneous and casual dialogue from 90 transcriptions of direct conversation and ten transcriptions of phone conversation.
7. After moving to Singapore in 2008, I noticed that *also* is commonly used in the sentence-final position in both face-to-face and electronic conversations (often colloquially spelled *aso*).
8. As I preserve the orthography in Siegel's (2012) original publication, the orthographic representations in the examples based on the existing literature and from my fieldwork (consultations) are inconsistent in romanization and in indicating tones. For the romanizations of my data, I kept the original orthographies provided by the consultants who are linguists.
9. For data concerning the substrate languages, I consulted bilingual speakers of SgE/Singapore Cantonese, HKE/Hong Kong Cantonese, Mandarin/SgE, and Singapore Hokkien/SgE for the Sinitic group. For Malay, in the same manner, I consulted bilingual Malay/SgE speakers. Consultants from all groups include at least two linguists. The non-linguist consultants are my neighbors and friends, colleagues, and students' family members or friends. Data sources of this type will be labeled as 'native speaker' consultants hereafter in this paper.
10. In the default structure for such sentences in Cantonese, the adverbs do not occur sentence-finally. Colloquial Cantonese, however, has syntactic dislocation, where a phrase in a sentence changes its position from its default location. This occurs more often in Hong Kong Cantonese than Singapore Cantonese. I thank Andrew Wong for pointing this out to me.
11. I thank Derek Chen and Andrew Wong for their kind assistance in providing me with the data.
12. Table 3 is purposely simplified in order to highlight the more general influences on Asian English formation.

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