Word Doubling in New Englishes

Manfred Sailer

Seminar für Englische Philologie
Universität Göttingen

ISLE 2011, Boston
21. 6. 2011

Outline

Introduction: Word doubling

- Doubling: uttering the same word twice in a row
- Competence doubling: Total reduplication
  - semantically or pragmatically meaningful
  - competence phenomenon

  (1)   Go outside walk-walk. [Singapore Engl, Wee (2008)]

- Performance doubling: repetition
  - Pause-filling doubling
  - not part of the message
  - depends on speech situation/ speaker
  - performance phenomenon

  (2)   Say aye what what has what has happen [ICE-SG, S2A-040]

Outline

1. Introduction

2. Doubling in British, Singapore, and Hong Kong English

3. Corpus study
   - Study 1: Raw data
   - Study 2: Reduplication vs.repetition

4. Conclusion

Total reduplication from a general-linguistic perspective

Stolz (2008) Grammatikalisierung ex nihilo. Totale Reduplikation — ein potentielles Universale und sein Verhältnis zur Grammatikalisierung. In T. Stolz (ed.), *Grammatikalisierung und grammatische Kategorie*, p. 83–109. Bochum: Brockmeyer.

- Typologically highly frequent (Graz reduplication database: 62 of 80 languages reduplication.uni-graz.at/redup/)
- Prominent in L1 acquisition, but irrelevant in L2 learning
- Prominent in creoles, but barely present in pidgins (Bakker and Parkvall, 2005)
- ⇒ Total reduplication is an indication of a high degree of nativeness of a grammatical system

Fluency

- Levelt (1989): high fluency in native language:
  - high speech rate: 2–3 words per second
  - low error rate: 1/1,000 words
  - short pauses, few repairs
- Schmidt (1992): fluency $\neq$ proficiency
  . . . we identify fluency with the processing of language in real time, rather than with language as the object of knowledge
- Lennon (1990): speech-pause relation; frequency of filled pauses and repetitions
- L1 spearkers: fewer/shorter pauses than L2 speakers
  L1 speakers: fewer filled pauses/repetitions than L2 speakers

Schneider's Dynamic Model

- Schneider (2003, 2007)
- 5 phases in dialect genesis:

    Phase 1: Foundation
    Phase 2: Exonormative stabilization
    Phase 3: Nativization
    Phase 4: Endonormative stabilization
    Phase 5: Differentiation

- Predictions:
    - Reduplication: grammatical innovation; only from phase 3/4 on.
    - Repetition: Up to phase 2/3: foreign language varieties in the indigenous strand

Doubling in New Englishes

- Data: British English (GB), Singapore English (SG), Hong Kong English (HK)
  Components of the International Corpus of English (ICE)
- Background:
  - research on total reduplication (Stolz, 2008)
  - research on second language fluency (Schmidt, 1992)
  - Dynamic Model (Schneider, 2003, 2007)
- Hypotheses:
  - GB: native variety with little reduplication
    SG: near-native variety with grammaticalized reduplication
    HK: second language variety with little reduplication
  - Reduplication: more in SG than in GB and HK
  - Repetition: more in HK than in SG and GB

Outline

Total reduplication in GB

- Quirk et al. (1985): doubling of intensifying adverbs

  (3)　　very very good

- Ghomeshi et al. (2004): Contrastive fokusreduplication

  (4)　　I'll make the tuna salad, and you make the SALAD-salad.

- Similar constructions:
  Quirk et al. (1985): coordinative structure (*X and X*)

  (5)　　she kept getting thinner and thinner

  Jackendoff (2008): N-P-N-construction

  (6)　　a. day by day　　b. picture after picture

Repetition in GB

- GB: first language variety
- Expect: Fewer marks of dysfluency than in foreign language varieties

Singapore

Schneider (2007): Phase 4

- Official languages: Englisch, Malay, Chinese (Mandarin), Tamil
- English-based bilingualism
- barely monolingual native speakers of English
- Excellent knowledge of English for Singaporeans born after 1970
- Many special patterns

Total reduplication in Malay, Mandarin (Wee, 2004), and Tamil (Wiltshire and Marantz, 2000)

Reduplication in SG

Several patterns of reduplication:

- Prenominal elements: intensification (Wee, 2004; Wong, 2004)

    (7)   Don't always eat sweet-sweet [= very sweet] things.

- Verbs: attenuation, continuity (Wee, 2004)

    (8)   Don't always stay in the house.
            Go outside walk-walk [= stroll].

- Nouns: affectionate marking (Wee, 2004)

    (9)   Where is your boy-boy [= boyfriend/son]?

Repetition in SG

- Advanced second language variety
- Expect: Fewer marker of dysfluency than in foreign language varieties
- Deterding (2007): repetition more frequent than reduplication

Hong Kong

Schneider (2007): Phase 2–3

- Official languages: English, Cantonese, Mandarin
- Population: primarily Cantonese speaking
- barely native speakers of English
- Knowldege of English: ca. 43% of the population in 2001
- Orientation towards British English; some special patterns
- Complaint tradition

Total reduplication in Cantonese (Matthews and Yip, 2002)

Doubling in HK

- Total reduplication:
  - Not documented in descriptions of the variety, such as Setter et al. (2010)
  - Ansaldo (2010): no systematic reduplication in HK.
- Repetition
  - If phase 2/3: learner/foreign language variety
  - Expect: more repetition than in native/ more native-like varieties
  - Setter et al. (2010): many cases of repetition in the data

Hypotheses

- H1: There is more reduplication in SG than in GB or HK.
- H2: There is more repetition in HK than in GB and SG.

Outline

International Corpus of English (ICE)

- ice-corpora.net/ice/
- Written and spoken English after 1989
- Parallel corpus components for various varieties: ICE-GB, ICE-SG, ICE-HK
- Each component: 1 mio words, 500 files à 2,000 words
  - 300 files: spoken English
  - 200 files: written English

Working with corpora

- Corpus-based (qualitative):
    - Manual retrieval of the data
    - Does a particular phenomenon occur in the corpus?
- Corpus-driven (quantitative)
    - Automatic retrieval of the data
    - How common is a phenomenon?
- No distinction between performance and competence data
- Can we disentangle reduplication from repetition?

Corpus-driven: Frequency of a pattern

- Distribution of doubling in a corpus
- Stefanowitsch (2007): Word doubling in English and German
  - Brown Corpus (1 mio words, written GB, 1960s)
  - Automatic extraction of all occurrences of the patterns:
    "X X" and "X and X"
  - Results: "X X" :   37 hits
             "X and X" :   102 hits

  - χ^2-test: difference between the patterns is significant
    $\chi^2 = 51,65$ $p < 0,001$

Corpus-driven: Productivity of a pattern

- Productivity:
    - Pattern occurs with many different words.
    - Pattern occurs with new words.
- Quantitative morphology: Baayen and Lieber (1991), Plag (1999).
- Number of ...
    - *Tokens*: How often does the pattern occur?
    - *Types*: different words that participate in the pattern?
    - *hapax legomena*: words that occur exactly once in the pattern.
- Probability of finding a new word with a given pattern:

    strict produktivity: $P = \dfrac{\text{\# hapax legomena}}{\text{\# Token}}$

- global productivity: P^*: 2-dimensional, relates P and the number of Types

Doubling data from the ICE segments

- Extract pattern "X X" from ICE-GB, ICE-SG, ICE-HK, using the script from Stefanowitsch (2007)
- Compute productivity
- Hypotheses:
  - H1: More reduplication in ICE-SG than in ICE-GB and ICE-HK
  - H2: More repetition in ICE-HK than in ICE-SG and ICE-GB
- Can productivity distinguish between reduplication and repetition?

Results

corpus	Word doubling (tokens)
GB	6.651
SG	6.094
HK	17.039

- about the same amount of doubling in GB and SG
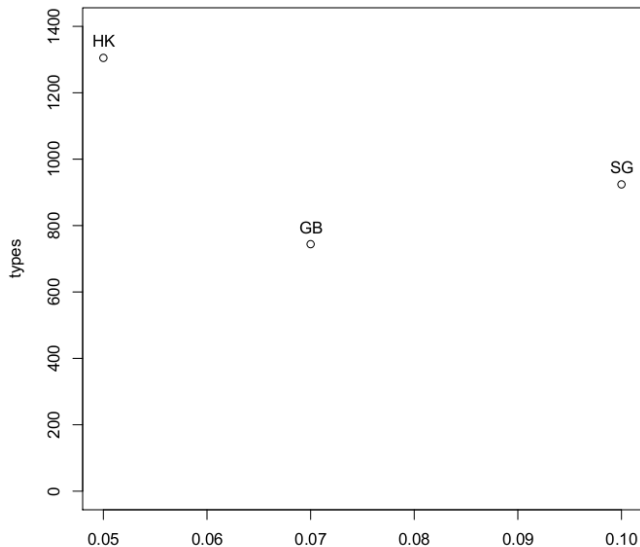- more than 2.5 times more doubling in HK than in GB or SG

Productivity

- Productivity: $P = $ hapax/tokens

	tokens	types	hapax	P
GB	6.651	744	452	0,07
SG	6.094	924	586	0,10
HK	17.039	1.305	834	0,05

  - Highest productivity for SG
  - Productivity for GB and HK similar

- Global productivity P^*: 2-dimensional measure: P and types

Global productivity

Global productivity of doubling

Productivity

- Global productivity reflects reduplication:
  Doubling more productive in SG than in GB and HK.
- While productivity for GB and HK similar, global productivity shows distinct patterns.
  Reflex of repetition?

Effect of repetition

- Token frequency of doubling: SG $=$ GB, SG $<$ HK, HK $>$ GB
- High number of doubling in HK reflects fluency difference due to higher processing load in foreign language.
- Expectation: Fluency
    - GB: native language
    - $\geq$ SG: second language
    - $>$ HK: foreign language
- Case studies:
    - filled pauses (*uhm*-doubling)
    - detailed sample analysis

Case study I: filled pauses

- Indicator of dysfluency: frequency of filled pauses: *uh(m)*
- Hypothesis: more filled pauses in HK than in GB and SG
  Equal number of fillled pauses in GB and SG
- Results:

corpus	*uh(m)*	
	N	%
GB	12,642	1.19
SG	12,068	1.09
HK	42,088	2.86

- Pause-filling by *uh(m)* supports the fluency hypotheses.

Case study II: Sample

- For each corpus: random sample of 300 hits from the doubling data
- Type of doubling: (GB)
  - (potential) reduplication/ "potentially intended doubling": I had a really really good supper last night
  - repetition: we used a a slightly different uh r rhythmic quality to it
  - unclear: Yes Yes I 'll tell Jane that you 've done
  - other (wrong annotation, names, . . .): Building Regulations 9 9
- Hypotheses:
  reduplication: most reduplication in SG
  repetition: most repetition in HK

Case study II: Results

- Hypotheses:
  reduplication: most reduplication in SG
  repetition: most repetition in HK
- Results: Type of doubling

corpus	reduplication		repetition		unclear	other
GB	12	(4.78%)	239	(95.22%)	28	21
SG	19	(8.15%)	214	(91.85%)	32	35
HK	7	(2.95%)	230	(97.05%)	39	24

- $\chi^2 = 6.5504, df = 2, p < 0.05$
- Most important cells: reduplication in SG and HK

Reduplication data in the GB sample

(10) a. which is quite quite a nice advantage
      b. I 've been applying quite quite regularly since I 've been really really sort of working . . .
      c. I had a really really good supper last night
      d. Very bad Very minor Very Very minor
      e. you 're already very very good at your job

(11) a. Have you ever ever seen anybody who was addicted to exercise?

(12) a. affecting our everyday everyday lives
      b. . . . any any any sort of questions of clarification about what you 've actually been presented with . . .

(13) I love the way they they refer to everything as all all our relations in including the stars

(14) It makes such a difference having you. Love Love Love Love and More Love

Reduplication data in the HK sample

(15) GB-like pattern:
   a. I'm very very very good at school
   b. Noel say that you are very very very busy
   c. the education system here makes children feel very very afraid of their studies
   d. Good good good barbecue pork

(16) Other function words:
   Actually, I learnt how to play guitar. Yeah, but only only the simple songs.

(17) V-doubling:
   a. but their mother uh dislike dislike uh secondary school talk [taught?] by Chinese
   b. I just like love love the atmosphere yah

Reduplication data in the SG sample

(18) a. That's why you have to be very very fast
      b. that museum is totally supported by a very very wealthy
          individual . . .

(19) a. No never never
      b. it has stopped manufacturing Ewok Village for a long long
          time

(20) a. she is living on her own now now that her auntie is not
          there anymore
      b. So they just go in they look look whatever looks
          interesting and then they just take it out

(21) a. Come come come come ask ask
      b. can you just split so they come over here
          Split split split split split
      c. That's all my report Uh wait wait wait

Summary: Corpus findings

- Overall most doubling in HK, equal doubling in GB and SG
- Productivity: most productive in SG
- Fluency:
  - Filled pauses: independent evidence for lowest fluency in HK; same rate in GB and SG.
  - Repetition: most repetition and least reduplication in HK
- Reduplication: SG reduplication strongest effect in the samples

Outline

Summary

- Doubling: competence and performance phenomenon
- Hypothesis:
    - New Englishes above phase 3: more reduplication than GB; equal repetition as GB.
    - New Englishes below phase 3: not more reduplication than GB; more repetition than GB.
- Corpus data doesn't descriminate between reduplication and repetition
- Productivity: identify grammaticalized pattern
- Repetition: correlates with filled pauses (*uhm*)

Conclusion

- GB
  - native variety
  - few reduplication patterns
    mild repetition ration
- Singapore:
  - non-native variety
  - English as a second language
  - but: variety of its own with natural grammar
  - productive total reduplication
    mild repetition ratio
- Hong Kong:
  - non-native variety
  - English as a foreign langauge.
  - high degree of repetition.
  - no independent reduplication patterns.

Future directions

- Different corpora? blogs (Deterding, 2007)
- More recent development in Hong Kong
- More ICE components
- Integration of audio data
- Reduplication – repetition – pragmatic doubling?

...thank you, thank thank you

(www, Singapore)

Literatur

Ansaldo, Umberto (2010). Contact in Asian Varieties of English. In R. Hickey (Ed.), *The Handbook of Language Contact*, pp. 498–517. Wiley-Blackwell.

Baayen, Harald and Lieber, Rochelle (1991). Productivity and English Word-formation. A Corpus-based Study. *Linguistics 29*(5), 801–843.

Bakker, Peter and Parkvall, Mikael (2005). Reduplication in Pidgins and Creoles. In B. Hurch (Ed.), *Studies on Reduplication*, pp. 512–531. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Deterding, David (2007). *Singapore English*. Dialects of English. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Ghomeshi, Jila, Jackendoff, Ray, Rosen, Nicole, and Russell, Kevin (2004). Contrastive Focus Reduplication in English (the SALAD-salad Paper). *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory 22*(2), 307–357.

Jackendoff, Ray (2008). Construction After Construction and its Theoretical Challenges. *Language 84*(1), 8–28.

Lennon, Paul (1990). Investigating Fluency in EFL. A Quantitative Approach. *Language Learning 40*(3), 387–417.

Levelt, William J. M. (1989). *Speaking. From Intention to Articulation*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Matthews, Stephen and Yip, Virgina (2002). *Cantonese: A Comprehensive Grammar*. London: Routledge.

Plag, Ingo (1999). *Morphological Productivity. Structural Constraints in English Derivation*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Quirk, Randolph, Greenbaum, Sidney, Leech, Geoffrey, and Svartvik, Jan (1985). *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London: Longman.

Schmidt, Richard (1992). Psychological Mechanisms Underlying Second Language Fluency. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition 14*, 357–385.

Schneider, Edgar W. (2003). The Dynamics of New Englishes: From Identity Construction to Dialect Birth. *Language 79*(2), 233–281.

Schneider, Edgar W. (2007). *Postcolonial English. Varieties around the World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Setter, Jane Setter Jane, Wong, Cathy S. P. Wong, and Chan, Brian H.S. (2010). *Hong Kong English*. Dialects of English. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Stefanowitsch, Anatol (2007). Wortwiederholung im Englischen und Deutschen: eine korpuslinguistische Annäherung. In A. Ammann and A. Urdze (Eds.), *Wiederholung, Parallelismus, Reduplikation. Strategien der multiplen Strukturanwendung*, pp. 29–46. Bochum: Universitätsverlag Brockmeyer.

Stolz, Thomas (2008). Grammatikalisierung ex nihilo. Totale Reduplikation — ein potentielles Universale und sein Verhältnis zur Grammatikalisierung. In T. Stolz (Ed.), *Grammatikalisierung und grammatische Kategorie*, pp. 83–109. Bochum: Universitätsverlag Brockmeyer.

Temple, Liz (2000). Second Language Learner Speech Production. *Studia Linguistica 54*(2), 288–297.

Thun, Nils (1963). *Reduplicative Words in English. A Study of Formations of the Types Tick-tick, Hurly-burly and Shilly-shally*. Lund: Carl Bloms.

Wee, Lionel (2004). Reduplication and Discourse Particles. In L. Lim (Ed.), *Singapore English. A Grammatical Description*, pp. 105–126. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Wee, Lionel (2008). Singapore English: Morpholoy and Syntax. In R. Mesthrie (Ed.), *Varieties of English 4. Africa, South and Southeast Asia*, pp. 593–609. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Wiltshire, Caroline and Marantz, Alec (2000). Reduplication. In G. Booij, C. Lehmann, and J. Mugdan (Eds.), *Morphology: An International Handbook on Inflection and Word-Formation*, Volume 1, pp. 557–567. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Wong, Jock (2004). Reduplication of Nominal Modifiers in Singapore English: A Semantic and Cultural Interpretation. *World Englishes 23*(3), 339–354.