

### Singapore English

In recent years the study of English and its global varieties has grown rapidly as a field of study. The English language in Singapore, famous for its vernacular known as 'Singlish', is of particular interest to linguists because it takes accent, dialect, and lexical features from a wide range of languages including Malay, Mandarin, Hokkien, and Tamil, as well as being influenced by the Englishes of Britain, Australia, and America. This book gives a comprehensive overview of English in Singapore by setting it within a historical context and drawing on recent developments in the field of indexicality, World Englishes, and corpus research. Through application of the indexicality framework, Jakob Leimgruber offers readers a new way of thinking about and analysing the unique syntactic, semantic, and phonological structure of Singapore English. This book is ideal for researchers and advanced students interested in Singapore and its languages.

JAKOB R. E. LEIMGRUBER is Lecturer in the English Department at the University of Freiburg, Germany.



#### STUDIES IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE

General editor Merja Kytö (Uppsala University)

Editorial Board

Bas Aarts (University College London), John Algeo (University of Georgia), Susan Fitzmaurice (University of Sheffield), Christian Mair (University of Freiburg), Charles F. Meyer (University of Massachusetts)

The aim of this series is to provide a framework for original studies of English, both present-day and past. All books are based securely on empirical research, and represent theoretical and descriptive contributions to our knowledge of national and international varieties of English, both written and spoken. The series covers a broad range of topics and approaches, including syntax, phonology, grammar, vocabulary, discourse, pragmatics and sociolinguistics, and is aimed at an international readership.

Already published in this series:

Geoffrey Leech, Marianne Hundt, Christian Mair and Nicholas Smith: Change in Contemporary English: A Grammatical Study

Jonathan Culpeper and Merja Kytö: Early Modern English Dialogues: Spoken Interaction as Writing

Daniel Schreier, Peter Trudgill, Edgar Schneider and Jeffrey Williams: *The Lesser-Known Varieties of English: An Introduction* 

Hilde Hasselgård: Adjunct Adverbials in English

Raymond Hickey: Eighteenth-Century English: Ideology and Change Charles Boberg: The English Language in Canada: Status, History and Comparative Analysis

Thomas Hoffmann: Preposition Placement in English: A Usage-Based Approach Claudia Claridge: Hyperbole in English: A Corpus-Based Study of Exaggeration Päivi Pahta and Andreas H. Jucker (eds.): Communicating Early English Manuscripts

Irma Taavitsainen and Päivi Pahta (eds.): Medical Writing in Early Modern English

Colette Moore: Quoting Speech in Early English

David Denison, Ricardo Bermúdez-Otero, Chris McCully and Emma Moore (eds.): *Analysing Older English* 

Jim Feist: Premodifiers in English: Their Structure and Significance

Steven Jones, M. Lynne Murphy, Carita Paradis and Caroline Willners:

Antonyms in English: Construals, Constructions and Canonicity

Christiane Meierkord: Interactions across Englishes: Linguistic Choices in Local and International Contact Situations



Haruko Momma: From Philology to English Studies: Language and Culture in the Nineteenth Century

Raymond Hickey (ed.): Standards of English: Codified Varieties around the World Benedikt Szmrecsanyi: Grammatical Variation in British English Dialects: A Study in Corpus-Based Dialectometry

Daniel Schreier and Marianne Hundt (eds.): English as a Contact Language
Bas Aarts, Joanne Close, Geoffrey Leech and Sean Wallis (eds.): The Verb
Phrase in English: Investigating Recent Language Change with Corpora
Martin Hilbert: Constructional Change in English: Developments in Allomorphy

Martin Hilpert: Constructional Change in English: Developments in Allomorphy, Word Formation, and Syntax

Jakob R. E. Leimgruber: Singapore English: Structure, Variation, and Usage

Earlier titles not listed are also available





# **Singapore English**

Structure, Variation, and Usage

JAKOB R. E. LEIMGRUBER

University of Freiburg





> CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Mexico City

Cambridge University Press
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107027305

© Jakob R. E. Leimgruber 2013

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2013

Printed and bound in the United Kingdom by the MPG Books Group

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Leimgruber, Jakob R. E. (Jakob Robert Eugen), 1980—
Singapore English: structure, variation, and usage / Jakob R. E.

Leimgruber, University of Freiburg.
pages cm. — (Studies in English language)
Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-107-02730-5 (hardback)

1. English language — Singapore. 2. English language — Variation — Singapore.

3. English language — Social aspects — Singapore. 4. Language and culture —

Singapore. 5. Singapore – Languages. I. Title.
PE3502.85L46 2013
427'.95957 – dc23 2012049291

ISBN 978-1-107-02730-5 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



For Marie, Lukas, and David





### **Contents**

|   | List   | of figures                                  | page xi |
|---|--|---|---------|
|   | List   | of tables                                   | xii     |
|   | Ack  | nowledgements                               | xiii    |
|   | List   | of abbreviations, glosses, and symbols      | XV      |
| I | Introduction: Singapore and its Englishes          |   | I       |
|   | I.I  | Historical and present-day background       | I       |
|   |  | 1.1.1 Historical background                 | I       |
|   |  | 1.1.2 Linguistic diversity                  | 6       |
|   |  | 1.1.3 The place of English                  | 8       |
|   | 1.2  | The Englishes of Singapore and their models | 13      |
|   |  | 1.2.1 Genesis                               | 15      |
|   |  | 1.2.2 Variation                             | 16      |
|   | 1.3  | Data and methods                            | 21      |
|   | 1.4  | Conclusion                                  | 25      |
| 2 | Variation in Singapore English: old and new models |   | 26      |
|   | 2.I  | Early models and diglossia                  | 26      |
|   |  | 2.1.1 The continuum hypothesis              | 26      |
|   |  | 2.1.2 Polyglossia                           | 35      |
|   |  | 2.1.3 Diglossia                             | 38      |
|   | 2.2 Contemporary models and indexicality           |   | 46      |
|   |  | 2.2.1 Cultural orientation model            | 46      |
|   |  | 2.2.2 Indexicality                          | 52      |
|   | 2.3  | Conclusion                                  | 62      |
| 3 | Description: phonology and lexicon                 |   | 64      |
|   | 3.1  | Phonology                                   | 64      |
|   | _  | 3.1.1 Vowels                                | 64      |
|   |  | 3.1.2 Consonants                            | 65      |
|   | 3.2  |   | 67      |
|   |  | 3.2.1 Etymology                             | 67      |
|   |  | 3.2.2 Borrowing and code-switching          | 68      |
|   | 3.3  | Conclusion                                  | 70      |
|   |  |   | ix      |



### x Contents

| 4 | Description: grammar                          |          |
|---|---|----------|
|   | 4.1 Syntax and morphology                     | 71<br>71 |
|   | 4.1.1 The verb                                | 71       |
|   | 4.I.2 <i>got</i>                              | 77       |
|   | 4.1.3 Aspect marking                          | 80       |
|   | 4.2 Semantics and pragmatics                  | 82       |
|   | 4.2.1 Discourse particles                     | 82       |
|   | 4.2.2 Lexical semantics                       | 96       |
|   | 4.3 Conclusion                                | 99       |
| 5 | Indexicality: a model for Singapore?          | 100      |
|   | 5.1 Indexicality as an analytic tool          | 100      |
|   | 5.2 Eckert's indexical field                  | 103      |
|   | 5.3 Indexicality in Singapore                 | 108      |
|   | 5.4 Conclusions                               | 112      |
| 6 | Conclusion: the variety as a structural unit  |          |
|   | 6.1 Codes, varieties, and code-switching      | I I 4    |
|   | 6.2 English in Singapore and Southeast Asia   | 117      |
|   | 6.2.1 Language policies and Singapore English | 117      |
|   | 6.2.2 English in Southeast Asia               | 119      |
|   | 6.3 'Varieties' of English                    | 123      |
|   | 6.4 Conclusion                                | 126      |
|   | Appendix A: Chinese romanisation              | 127      |
|   | A.1 Mandarin: Pīnyīn                          | 127      |
|   | A.2 Cantonese: Jyut6ping3                     | 128      |
|   | A.3 Hokkien: Peh-ōe-jī                        | 129      |
|   | Appendix B: Informants                        |          |
|   | Appendix C: Chinese languages                 | 133      |
|   | References                                    | 134      |
|   | Author index                                  | 146      |
|   | Subject index                                 |          |



## **Figures**

| I.I  | Location of Singapore within Asia                        | page 2 |
|------|--|--------|
| 1.2  | Map of Singapore   | 5      |
| 1.3  | Kachru's concentric circles                              | 13     |
| 1.4  | Post-creole continuum according to Platt (1975)          | 17     |
| 1.5  | 'Expanding triangles of English expression' (Pakir 1991) | 19     |
| 1.6  | Modified triangles (Poedjosoedarmo 1995)                 | 20     |
| 1.7  | Post-secondary enrolment in 2005                         | 22     |
| 2.I  | Post-creole continuum according to Platt (1975)          | 31     |
| 2.2  | Indexical field of $/t/$ release (Eckert 2008)           | 55     |
| 4. I | Occurrences of (-ed) and (3sG) in ii.M.gr                | 73     |
| 4.2  | H and L variants of auxiliaries and inversion            | 74     |
| 4.3  | Verbal variables' H and L proportions                    | 76     |
| 4.4  | Three variables in ii.M.gr                               | 77     |
| 4.5  | Lexifier filter  | 81     |
| 4.6  | Discourse particles and discourse markers                | 83     |
| 4.7  | Gupta's scale of assertiveness                           | 85     |
| 5. I | Indexical field of SgE                                   | 106    |
| 5.2  | Indexing process with an example                         | 107    |
| 6. ı | Home language shift, 1980–2010                           | 120    |
| 6.2  | Dialect continuum  | 125    |
| C.1  | Phylogenetic tree of Sino-Tibetan                        | 133    |



### **Tables**

| I.I    | Language most frequently spoken at home                            | page 7 |
|--------|--|--------|
| 2. I   | Idiolectal distribution of Jamaican English features               | 29     |
| 2.2    | Speakers from Table 2.1 rearranged by variants used                | 29     |
| 2.3    | Speaker ranking from Table 2.2 with features rearranged by variant | s      |
|        | used   | 30     |
| 2.4    | Combining diglossia and multilingualism                            | 35     |
| 2.5    | 'A model for polyglossia with multilingualism' (Platt 1977)        | 36     |
| 2.6    | Verbal repertoire of an English-educated Chinese of Singapore      |        |
|        | (Platt 1977)   | 37     |
| 2.7    | Use of diglossic varieties for selected situations (adapted from   |        |
|        | Ferguson 1959)   | 41     |
| 2.8    | Features of diglossic SSE and CSE (adapted from Gupta 1994: 10-1   | 3) 42  |
| 2.9    | Ferguson (1959) applied to SgE                                     | 44     |
| 2.10   | Features of the cultural orientation model (Alsagoff 2007)         | 50     |
| 2. I I | Selected variables and the stances they index                      | 59     |
| 3. I   | CSE vowel system   | 65     |
| 3.2    | CSE consonant inventory  | 66     |
| 4. I   | Aspect in Chinese, CSE, and English according to Bao (2005)        | 80     |
| 4.2    | Terminological definitions   | 84     |
| 4.3    | Definitions of CSE particles                                       | 92     |
| 4.4    | A selection of SgE initialisms                                     | 97     |
| 5. I   | Features of the cultural orientation model (Alsagoff 2007)         | 105    |
| 5.2    | Overview of existing variationist models for SgE                   | 109    |
| 6. ı   | Population figures of ASEAN members states                         | 123    |
| В. 1   | Number of recordings of each type, by school and ethnic group      | 130    |
| B.2    | Informants and their demographic and socio-economic background     | 131    |

xii



### Acknowledgements

This book builds on a D.Phil. thesis (Leimgruber 2009b) submitted to the Faculty of English Language and Literature at the University of Oxford in 2009, with corrections, updates, and expansion. Both the thesis and this book would have been impossible without the help of many people, to whom I would like to express my heartfelt thanks.

Special thanks go to my D.Phil. supervisors Suzanne Romaine and Deborah Cameron and to my college advisor Lynda Mugglestone for their guidance, and to two anonymous reviewers who suggested helpful modifications to the original book proposal. I benefited from the help of and discussions with John Coleman, Ben Rampton, Elinor Keane, Greg Kochanski, Francis Marriott, Bao Zhiming, Peter Tan, Norhaida Aman, and Lubna Alsagoff. Thanks also to my examiners Anthea Fraser Gupta and David Cram, whose feedback on the thesis were of immense value, and to Pamela Macdonald, Eddie Williams, Robert and Caroline Rehder, as well as both my parents, who proofread all or parts of the thesis or this book.

The fieldwork in Singapore was made possible thanks to the Singapore Ministry of Education, which granted me access to their Junior Colleges. In addition, I would like to reiterate my gratitude to Samuel Wee, Emily J. L. Low, Eden Liew, Connie Lim, Virginia Cheng, Mark Lo, Chua Mui Ling Dorothy, Meena M. Kaur, and Wan Wai Sum for their invaluable cooperation in allowing their institutions to take part in the fieldwork, recruiting my informants, organising the interview venues, and providing an exciting insight into the Singapore education system. I extend my thanks to the thirty-six informants who took part in this study, and who willingly sacrificed their time for my benefit. Without them, this book would not have been possible.

A word of thanks also goes to my fellow postgraduate students in the Oxford linguistics department for the stimulating discussions and exchanges in the course of those three years in Oxford. Thank you also to Chandraselven Bavani and Lavanya Sankaran for help with Tamil, and to Suriel Mofu for help with Malay transcriptions. Further thanks go to Helen Barton and her team at Cambridge University Press, for their help with seeing this book through to its current shape.

xiii



#### xiv Acknowledgements

Financial support was given throughout my studies by the Pembroke Dean of Graduates Fund, which covered significant proportions of travel expenses. The first half of the fieldwork in 2006 was made possible by the Maxwell & Meyerstein Special Research Committee Grant, awarded by the English Faculty. In my third year I also benefited from the Pembroke College Browning Senior Scholarship. My thanks go to all these awarding bodies.

Finally, and most importantly, my gratitude goes to my parents, for making my time at Oxford possible and for always believing in me. I also thank Marie, my wife, who patiently supported me during often trying times, and to Lukas, our son, for his patience while this book was being finalised. Marie's family also deserves mention here, not least for their wonderful hospitality in the course of my numerous trips to Singapore.



### Abbreviations, glosses, and symbols

#### Abbreviations

| C | consonant or Chinese |  |
|---|----------------------|--|
|   |                      |  |

CSE Colloquial Singapore English

dia dialogue interview

f female

gr group recording
H high (diglossia)
i junior college
ii polytechnic
iii vocational school

I Indian

ind individual interview

ISE International Singapore English ITE Institute of Technical Education

JC Junior College L low (diglossia)

LSE Local Singapore English

m male M Malay

MOE Ministry of Education rm radio-microphone recording RP Received Pronunciation SgE Singapore English

SSE Standard Singapore English StBE Standard British English

StdE Standard English

V vowel

#### Glosses

- i first person
- 2 second person
- 3 third person

xv



### xvi Abbreviations, glosses, and symbols

CLF classifier
PL plural
Q question particle
SG singular

### Symbols

ungrammatical
 questionable grammaticality
 indecipherable passage
 \*\*\*)
 tentative transcription