Against the Usage-based Approach to Substratum Transfer: Singapore English *one**

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Kim, Chonghyuck. "Against the Usage-based Approach to Substratum Transfer: Singapore English *one*." *Studies in English Language & Literature* 47.4 (2021): 189-230. The pronominal *one* displays peculiar properties in Singapore English. Unlike *one* in Standard English which is mainly used as a pronominal, it has two additional productive functions; it is used to nominalize a phrase or emphasize (a part of) a sentence. In contact linguistics, these peculiar properties of Singapore English *one* are viewed as a consequence that results from a process known as substratum transfer, where the superstratum language, English, acquires non-English-like properties from the substratum languages spoken in the local environment, mainly Chinese languages in Singapore. In the literature, the standard assumption about substratum transfer, at least since Lefebvre (1998), is that it emerges through a merger of the lexicons of the superstratum and substratum languages, a lexicalist conception of substratum transfer which has its theoretical root in the generative grammar. Bao (2009) argues, however, that this standard generative conception of substratum transfer fails to account for Singapore English *one*, and proposes instead to adopt a usage-based approach to substratum transfer. Within this usage-based approach, substratum transfer has nothing to do with lexicons but with constructions. In a recent paper, Kim (2021) defends the lexicalist hypothesis by showing that all the major problems that Bao attributes to the lexicalist hypothesis are only apparent and not problematic. While Kim succeeds in defending the lexicalist hypothesis, he fails to show that it is superior to the usage-based approach. In this article, I compare Kim's analysis with Bao's point by point with the aim to show that Kim's lexicalist hypothesis is superior. I argue that even the usage patterns of *one*, which have been used to support the usage-based approach, in fact turn out be a strong support for the lexicalist approach. (Jeonbuk National University)

I. Introduction

Singapore English is a contact language spoken by Singaporeans for their everyday communications. As a contact variety of English which came into existence through intense interactions with many Chinese languages like Hokkien, Cantonese, and Teochow, it has a large amount of English words that behave like Chinese words. In contact linguistics, this phenomenon where English words behave like Chinese words is explained by what is known as substratum transfer. Most scholars standardly assume, at least since Lefebvre (1998), that substratum transfer involves a merger of the lexicons of the two languages — the superstratum, English, and the substratum, Chinese, languages.

This standard view of substratum transfer has its theoretical root in Chomskyan generative conception of grammar (Chomsky 1981, 1986, 1995). In generative grammar, syntax is viewed as a module of grammar that comprises a universal set of grammatical rules, or computational algorithms, which are common to all languages. A lexicon, on the other hand, is conceived of as a grammatical component that makes one language differ from another. While lexical items of all languages play the same role of providing primitive linguistic units for universal syntactic rules to operate on, they have their own language-specific individual properties which render the sentences they form different across languages. In this conception of grammar in which differences between languages are attributed to differences in their lexicons, substratum transfer can only take place at the lexical level; a syntactic rule cannot be transferred since all languages have the same set of rules, e.g., merge and move; nothing bigger than a lexical item, say a phrase, can be transferred either, as it is not a primitive linguistic entity that exists as an independent grammatical unit in a grammar but a derived entity that is constructed

in the process of computation.

In the last few decades, a new conception of grammar has emerged in the literature along with a group of theories often collectively called usage-based linguistics (e.g., Bybee 1995, 2001; Croft 2000; Langacker 2000, among others). In usage-based linguistics, grammar is conceived of as a large (structured) collection of constructions that a speaker forms and stores in memory using his general cognitive mechanism of pattern-finding and categorization as he encounters usage events of pieces of language. As such, linguistic units of various sizes that can be recognized as constructions — not just lexical items such as morphemes and words but also phrase-level and utterance-level entities — serve as primitive linguistic units, and frequency of use plays a key role in determining the organization of the constructions, which in turn determines the nature of the grammar. This conception of grammar contrasts with that of generative grammar where the acquisition of grammar consists of learning primitive lexical items and selection of (parametric) choices made available by Universal Grammar, with little influence from usage.

The new conception of grammar envisaged by usage-based linguistics offers a new perspective on substratum transfer. Since constructions (of various sizes) are primitive components of a grammar and their frequency of use plays a crucial role in shaping the grammar, substratum transfer is expected to occur at all levels of constructions — not just at the level of lexical items — and the frequency of use is expected to play a role in the transfer of constructions. In recent articles, Bao (2009, 2010) proposes such a theory of substratum transfer, a usage-based theory of substratum transfer. He brings into the picture a hitherto overlooked aspect of linguistic phenomena, i.e., usage patterns of linguistic constructions, and claims, based on the new observation, that the generative lexicalist approach to substratum transfer should be replaced with his usage-based theory of substratum transfer. Bao's claim is significant, as it entails, if correct, that the generative conception of grammar, which does not take into consideration the notion of constructions and their frequency of use, is mistaken and that our standard understanding of how a

linguistic neologism arises in a contact language is on the wrong track.

In this article, I discuss whether Bao's claim to replace the lexicalist approach to substratum transfer with the usage-based approach is a justifiable one. For the empirical basis of the discussion, *one*-construction, the construction in Singapore English that served as the very first and major empirical basis for Bao to develop his theory, is considered. In the discussion, I first compare Kim's (2021) analysis of *one*, a recent incarnation of the lexicalist approach, with Bao's analysis, and show that *one*-construction, which Bao takes to be a counterexample to the lexical approach and a motivation for his usage-based approach, is neither a counterexample to the lexicalist approach nor a support for his usage-based approach. Then, I move on to show that the lexicalist approach is even superior to the usage-based analysis of *one*, if we adopt the proposal in (1) regarding the mechanism of substratum transfer in Singapore English.

(1) The emergence of *one*-construction in Singapore English is triggered by the need to fill the grammatical void created by the loss of the copular verb *be* in the language.

This paper is organized as follows. In the next section, we consider Singapore English *one* in comparison with Chinese *de*, presenting the facts that any theory of substratum transfer has to account for. In section 3, we examine Bao's usage-based analysis of *one*. In section 4, I compare it with Kim's (2021) lexicalist analysis of *one* and show its superiority over the usage-based analysis. Section 5 concludes the paper.

II. *One* in Singapore English

The properties of Singapore English *one* and its Chinese correlate *de* have been well documented in Bao (2009). Let me summarize their properties, which will form

the basis for our discussion. Consider the examples in (2), taken from Kang (1999).

(2) a. I like the large car better than the small *one*.
   b. kick the ball *one* can swim.
      'The one who kicked the ball can swim.'
   c. John kick the ball yesterday *one*.
      'John was the one who kicked the ball yesterday.
                  ((b) from Kang 1999: 1, (a) and (c) from Kang 1999: 68, (19a))

One in Singapore English can serve as a pronominal replacing a noun, as in (2a), just like *one* in Standard English. But it can also serve additional functions which are rarely seen in Standard English. It can nominalize a predicate, as in (2b), where *one* turns the predicate *kick the ball* into the subject noun phrase, or it can occur at the end of a full sentence, as in (2c), to emphasize a part or the entire meaning of the sentence. Adopting Gupta's (1992a) terminology, I will refer to *one* in (2a) as pronominal *one*, *one* in (2b) nominalizer *one*, and *one* in (2c) emphatic *one*. Nominalizer *one* and emphatic *one* are hardly seen in Standard English. Some more examples of *one*, taken from Bao (2009: 340-341), are illustrated in (3), in which the uses of *one* are coded according to Bao's labels. Bao makes fine distinctions in each of the uses of *one*, because he is concerned with comparing the usage patterns of the frames in which *one* occurs. For our purposes, the examples in (3a-c) can be subsumed under pronominal *one*, the *one*s in (3d) under nominalizer *one*, and the *one*s in (3e) under emphatic *one*. In what follows, Bao's labels will sometimes be used, especially when we discuss his analysis.

(3)   frame   example
   a.   A-*one*   large *one*
   b.   N-*one*   silk *one*
   c.   P-*one*   my *one*

d.   XP-*one*   i.   PP-*one*

from Thailand *one*

'one from Thailand'

ii.   VP-*one*

showing in Cathay *one*

'one which is showing in Cathay'

iii. S-*one*

those wear black *one*

'the ones who wear black.'

e.   XP-*ONE*   i.   I always use microwave *one*.

'I ALWAYS use microwave!'

ii.   Wah like that *one*.

'Wow, LIKE that!'

iii. Very rough *one*, you know.

'Very ROUGH, you know.' (Bao 2009; 340-41, (1))

(A = adjective, N = noun, P = possessive, PP = prepositional phrase,

VP = verb phrase, S = sentence, *ONE* = emphatic *one*)

Given the unusual functions of *one* as a nominalizer and an emphatic marker, one might wonder how Singapore English came to have such properties. The answer lies in the fact that Singapore English was born through a long history of persistent and heavy contact between English and Chinese languages (Gupta 1992a, Ho & Platt 1993, Bao 2001, among others). Consider Chinese *de* in (4), which displays exactly the same patterns we observed in (3).

(4)   frame   example

a.   A-*de*   da   *de*

big   DE

'large one'

b.   N-*de*   si   *de*
                    silk   DE
                    'silk one'

c.   P-*de*   wo   *de*
                    I   DE
                    'mine/my one'

d.   XP-*de*   i.   PP-*de*
                        cong   Taiguo   lai   *de*
                        from   Thailand   come   DE
                        'that which is from Thailand'

               ii.   VP-*de*
                        zai   Cathay   fang   *de*
                        in   Cathay   show   DE
                        'that which is showing in Cathay'

               iii. naxie   chuan   hei   *de*
                        those   wear   black   DE
                        'those who wear black'

e.   XP-*DE*   i.   wo   zongshi   yong   weibolu   *de*
                        I   always   use   microwave   DE
                        'I ALWAYS use a microwave oven.

               ii.   Xian   na   yang   *de*
                        like   that   type   DE
                        'LIKE that!'

               iii. hen   chuzhao   *de*
                        very   rough   DE
                        'Very ROUGH.'   (Bao 2009: 342, (4))

    Given the parallel between (3) and (4), it seems intuitively valid to say that
Singapore English *one* acquired its nominalizing and emphatic functions from

Chinese *de*. Indeed, all the researchers who have worked on *one* in the literature agree that the new properties of *one* have been transferred from *de* (Gupta 1992a, Ho and Platt 1993, Alsagoff and Ho 1998, Bao 2009, Brown 1999, Lim 2004, Kim 2021 among others). While there are many researchers who commented on the transfer of the properties from Chinese *de* to Singapore English *one* at an informal level, only a couple of them proposed a formal mechanism through which the transfer takes place. This is because *one* is not entirely identical to *de*, and it is not a trivial matter to explain their differences, as well as their similarities.

The first difference between *de* and *one* is that while *de* allows a nominal to follow it except for emphatic *de*, none of the instances of *one* allows a nominal behind it. This contrast is illustrated in (5) and (6).

(5) a.   da   *de*   shu
          big   DE   book
          'big book'

     b.   si   *de*   shu
          silk   DE   book
          'silk book'

     c.   wo   *de*   shu
          I   DE   book
          'my book'

     d.   cong   Taiguo   lai   *de*   shu
          from   Thailand   come   DE   book
          'book from Thailand'

     e.   *wo   zhongshi   fan   ta   *de*   hihou
          I   always   bitch   she   DE   time
          'the time I always bitch her.'   (Bao 2009: 343, (5))

(6) a. *large *one* durian

    b. *silk *one* blouse

    c. *my *one* auntie

    d. *from Thailand *one* durian

    e. *I always use microwave oven *one* person.

               ((a-d) from Bao 2009: 343, (6); (e) is mine)

While a *one*-phrase, which consists of *one* and the preceding material, cannot modify the nominal that it precedes, it is not the case that it can never modify a noun. When it follows a nominal, as in (7), it can modify the nominal, functioning like a relative clause. This pattern where a modifying phrase follows a modified phrase is not available in Chinese.

(7) a. The man [sell ice-kachang *one*] gone home already.

      'The man who sells ice-kachang has gone home already.'

    b. *[sell ice-kachang *one*] the man gone home already.

    c. Nie   wode   mama   *de*   neige   nanhaizi hen   huaidan.

      pinch my   mother DE   that   child   very   naughty

      'That boy who pinched my mother is very naughty.'

               ((a) from Alsagoff and Ho 1998:131, (17b); (c) is their (5))

To the well-known differences between *one* and *de* in (5-8), Bao adds another one based on the usage patterns of *d*e and *one* in (8), which he collects from two Chinese novellas and the Private Dialogue subcorpora of the Singaporean and British components of the International Corpus of English. The table in (8), which displays counts of the *one*/*de*-frames, shows that the usage patterns of Singapore English *one* diverge markedly from those of Chinese *de*; *one* is used more or less in the same way in English and Singapore English except the use as an emphatic marker.

(8)   Frequencies of *de* and *one*, in percentage

	frame	Chinese	Singapore English	Standard English
a.	A-*one*/*de*	19.4	28.1	38.6
b.	N-*one*/*de*	23.0	6.7	5.6
c.	P-*one*/*de*	11.2	0.5	1.6
d.	XP-*one*/*de*	38.1	1.1	-
e.	XP-ONE/DE	6.6	13.3	-
f.	Others	1.7	50.4	54.2
	Total	100	100	100

To illustrate the difficulty that (8) presents for the idea that Singapore English *one* is from Chinese *de*, let us consider the XP-*one*/*de* frame (nominalizer *one*/*de*) in (8d). The frame is used frequently in Chinese, 38.1% of the time, but it is rarely used in Singapore English, about 1.1% of the time, close to the nil in English. If the Singapore English XP-*one* frame were simply transferred from the Chinese XP-*de*, we would expect it to be used about 38% of the time just like its Chinese counterpart. But this expectation does not hold. We can see similar discrepancies with respect to the *one*/*de* frames in (8b) and (8c). As for the productive use of emphatic *one* in (8e), it does not necessarily pose a challenge, for it is used very much like the Chinese emphatic *de* in terms of frequency, but its contrast in frequency of use to the other frames in (8b-d) constitutes a challenge to the idea that *one* is from *de*.

(9) summarizes the issues involved with Singapore English *one*.

(9) a. Structural Issue

Singapore English *one* and Chinese *de* behave exactly the same when they select a preceding material; they both can be used as pronominals, nominalizers, or emphatic markers. But they diverge markedly when it comes to the modification of a nominal; while *de* can be followed by a nominal it modifies, *one* can't. A *one*-phrase can modify a nominal only

　　when the nominal precedes it.

　b. Usage issue

　　Of the Chinese influenced grammatical *one* frames in Singapore English, only one (emphatic *one*) is productively used. Others such as XP-*one* (nominalizer *one*) areunproductive.

　　Bao claims that the standard lexicalist approach to substratum transfer cannot handle the issues in (9), the usage patterns of *one* and *de* in particular, and proposes to adopt a new approach called usage-based approach. Let us turn to examine his analysis of *one* and evaluate whether it is a justifiable move.

III. A usage-based approach to substratum transfer

3.1 Bao's (2009) analysis of *one*

　　Bao develops a usage-based theory of relexification within the general framework of exemplar theory (Johnson 1996, Bybee 2001). In his theory, a token/exemplar of a linguistic item is associated with its physical speech signals (pronunciation) and its frames (construction types), among others. For instance, a token (exemplar) of the English phrase *large one* and that of its Chinese counterpart are associated with their pronunciations and frames, as shown in (10). And as (different) tokens of the frame A-*one*/*de* are used frequently, the frame becomes a canonical and primitive grammatical unit.

(10)　　　a. [lɑ:d͡ʒ　wʌn]　　b. [dɑ　də]
　　　　　　　　|　　　　　　　　　　|
　　　　　　large one　　　　　*da de*
　　　　　　　　|　　　　　　　　　　|
　　　　　　　A-*one*　　　　　　A-*de*　　　　(Bao 2009: 357, (25))

In this view of grammar, it is not just a lexical item, say *one*, but the frame(s) in which it occurs that is a primitive component of the grammatical system. Since frames are visible grammatical components, it allows the possibility that the frames of *de*, not just the single lexical item, become the target of transfer. This is formalized in the definition of the usage-based relexification process in (11).

(11)   *substratum*   *superstratum*   *contact*

   a. $[\cdots]_i$ $[\cdots]_j$ $[\cdots]_j$

          | | |

   b. EXEMPLAR_i + EXEMPLAR_j $\rightarrow$ EXEMPLAR_k

          | | |

   c. F_i F_j F_k where $F_k = F_i \cup F_j$

   ($[\cdots]$ = pronunciation; F = the set of frames in which a given feature is used; i = substratum language, j = superstratum language, k = contact language; EXEMPLAR = the set of exemplars/tokens that exemplify all possible surface configurations or frames of a given feature).

                                                              (Bao 2009: 357, (26))

The exemplars of the English A-*one* frame, which is the most frequently used frame, are used in the same way the exemplars of the A-*de* frame are used in Chinese. This convergence in linguistic usage serves as a trigger for substratum transfer. The transfer occurs at two levels; the new word in the contact language inherits the pronunciation of the superstratum word, *one*, by (11a), and all the frames of *de* and *one* by (11c). Consequently, the product of the relexification process, *one* in Singapore English, is not a relabeled Chinese *de* because it does not inherit anything directly from the Chinese lexical item itself. It is rather the English *one* which has extended its frames to include those of Chinese *de*. (12) is an illustrative summary of the usage-based relexification process involved with Singapore English *one*.

(12) a. Chinese:

    {A-*de*, N-*de*, P-*de*, XP-*de*, XP-*DE*, ⋯*de* N}

  b. English:

    {A-*one*, N-*one*, P-*one*, *one*-XP, *one*}[1]

  c. Singapore English:

    {A-*one*, N-*one*, P-*one*, *one*-XP, XP-*one*, XP-*ONE*, ⋯*one* N, one}

                (adapted version of Bao's (2009: 360) (31))

The relexification in (12) captures why *one* is used as a nominalizer (XP-*one*) or as an emphatic marker (XP-*ONE*) in Singapore English. However, as one can easily observe, the relexification alone is not enough to account for all the facts relevant to Singapore English *one*. The ungrammaticality of the ⋯*one* N frame (*one* followed by a nominal) still remains mysterious. Also, it is unclear why there is a stark contrast in the usage patterns of the transferred frames, for instance, unproductive nominalizer *one* (XP-*one*) vs. productive emphatic *one* (XP-*ONE*).

To address these remaining issues, Bao adds a set of machineries to (11). The first machinery is the lexifier filter in (13), which assigns a special role to the grammar of Standard English.

(13) Lexifier Filter

    Morphosyntactic exponence of the transferred system conforms to the (surface) structural requirements of the lexical-source language.

                    (Bao 2005: 258, (45b))

The lexifier filter is a formal statement of the intuition that English, as a language providing mophosyntactic content to the relexifying material, constrains the substratum-derived grammatical features in Singapore English, by requiring them to

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[1] *One*-XP is a frame for a phrase like t*he one with the blue dress*. And *one* is a generic pronoun.

conform to the grammar of English. One important aspect of the constraint to note is that the force that it exerts on the grammar of Singapore English is not absolute. Unlike usual constraints that filter out violating constructions as ungrammatical, the filter is a violable constraint whose violation does not give rise to ungrammaticality. The function that a violable constraint plays, according to Bao, is that it shapes the emergent grammar of Singapore English by putting constant pressure on the emergent grammar to conform to that of English. One may understand the filter as a socio-political pressure that English imposes on the grammar of Singapore English. In Singapore, English enjoys a prestigious status accorded by the language policy of the government. Native speakers of Singapore English learn to speak (correct) English during their entire schooling period, and are constantly encouraged and often forced to use it in many social contexts. Bao's violable lexifier filter, which might sound counter-intuitive for those in monolingual society, is an intuitively plausible proposal for those in multilingual societies like Singapore. With this conception of the lexifier filter, Bao captures the low frequency in use of nominalizer *one* (XP-*one*) in Singapore English. In English, *one* does not select a clause-like phrase as its preceding material, and thus the lexifier filter keeps the use of *one* as a nominalizer to the minimum.

Bao's lexifier filter, however, has its limitations. While it can explain the low productivity of nominalizer *one*, it does not account for the ungrammaticality of the frame ⋯*one* N, because it predicts the frame to be grammatical, albeit unproductive. To account for the fact that *one* cannot be followed by a nominal, Bao proposes the second machinery in (14). The constraint in (14) is different from the lexifier filter in that it is not a constraint imposed by the superstratum language but a constraint that has grown language-internally to become part of the grammar of Singapore English through the process in (15). This constraint is inviolable, Bao proposes.

(14) *XP-*one* N   (Bao 2009: 343, (7))

(15) If a constraint C emerges in the grammar of a contact language due to influence from the superstratum language; then C is modeled on forms which are frequently used in the superstatum language.

(Bao 2009: 349, (11))

In English, the A-*one* frame, which is the most productive frame, ends with *on*e without any following material, in contrast to a frame like *one*-XP, e.g., t*he one with the blue dress*, where *one* is followed by an extra phrase. Influenced by the surface position of the *one* occurring in the most productive English frame, Singapore English has developed the constraint (14) on its own to rule out all the *one*-constructions followed by nominals.

Emphatic *one* presents another case that does not follow from the lexifier filter. Despite the fact that the use of *one* as an emphatic marker (XP-*ONE*) is ungrammatical in English, it is productively used in Singapore English, contrary to the prediction of the lexifier filter. Another machinery is required. To account for the productivity of emphatic *one*, Bao turns to the grammatical system of discourse particles, one of the robust grammatical systems of Singapore English. Singapore English has about 10 discourse particles, and they are productively used in conversation to express an attitude of the speaker toward a proposition. For instance, *wat* in (16a) is used to contradict the previous utterance, *lor* in (16b) to express obviousness, and *meh* in (16c) to express doubt (see Kwan-Terry 1978, Platt & Weber 1980, Tay 1982, Platt & Ho 1989, Gupta 1992b, Wee 2002, Lim 2004, and Kim & Wee 2009, among many others)

(16) a. John like Mary *wat*.

≈ You are wrong! John likes Mary.

b. John like Mary *lor*.

≈ You should have known that John likes Mary.

c. John like Mary *meh*?

≈ I don't believe that John likes Mary.

Bao claims that emphatic *one* has evolved and grammaticalized into a discourse particle, and since it has joined the productive grammatical system of Singapore English, it is no longer subject to the lexifier filter which would otherwise constrain its use.

The claim that emphatic *one* has grammaticalized into a discourse particle opens up the possibility of *one* in the other frames having developed into a member of one of the established grammatical systems of Singapore English. As we saw earlier in (7a), repeated here as (17), *one* can be used to modify a nominal when the nominal precedes the *one*-phrase. If we take *one* to be a relative pronoun in this case, as in the analysis of Alsagoff and Ho (1998), it is predicted to be as productively used as any other English relative pronouns, since it has joined an established category of English grammar and is no longer subject to the lexifier filter. But the fact of matter is that it is only occasionally used.

(17) The man [sell ice-kachang *one*] gone home already.

      'The man who sells ice-kachang has gone home already.'

While adopting Alsagoff and Ho's analysis of *one* in (7a (=17)) as a relative pronoun, Bao attributes its unproductivity to yet another source, i.e. the universal constraints in (18), drawn from the works on linguistic universals (Hawkins 1990; Dryer 1992; Croft 2003). The literature on linguistic universals notes that the word order of a language correlates with the positions of the relative pronoun, the modifying clause, and the relative head in the language. For instance, in SVO languages, the relative head precedes the relative clause, as shown in (18a), and within the relative clause, the relative pronoun (represented by Comp in (18b)) precedes the modifying clause.

(18) a.   SVO   →   [$_{NP}$ N S']

     b.   SVO   →   [$_{S'}$ Comp S]   (Bao 2009: 354, (21))

Singapore English does not conform to one of the universal patterns in (18); the relative *one* in (17) violates the universal pattern in (18b), as it follows the modifying clause. Due to the violation, the relative *one* is constrained to be used unproductively in Singapore English.

3.2 Assessment of Bao's (2009) analysis of *one*

It is understood to be a truism in the literature on contact linguistics that the three factors — the superstratum, the substratum, and language universals — interact with one another in an intricate manner to contribute to the emergence of a new grammatical phenomenon in the contact language. Most scholars, however, as Bao (2009: 338) notes, tend to focus on the effect of one factor in their studies of an emergent grammar. Bao's analysis of *one* is exceptional in this regard, and stimulating in that it is the first one to show how the three factors conspire to bring about a linguistic neologism in contact situation. Another, and more, important aspect of his analysis of *one* is that it employs a novel approach to substratum transfer, the usage-based relexification in (11). The implication of the new approach is extensive. If it is correct, it means that our standard understanding of substratum transfer is mistaken and that we have to adopt the usage-based theory of relexification as the mechanism in which a new grammatical phenomenon arises in contact situations.

Given the far-reaching consequences of Bao's analysis of *one*, it is worthwhile to ask whether it is necessary to understand the *one*-related facts in the way he interprets them. For ease of discussion, a summary of all the *one*-related facts and Bao's theoretical devices used to explain them is given in (19).

(19)   *Facts*   *Theoretical devices*
     a. Transfer of the Chinese *de* frames   Usage-based relexification
         to Singapore English   in (11)

b. Unproductivity of nominalizer *one*   Lexifier filter in (13)
    (XP-*one*)

c. Ungrammaticality of *one* followed by N   *XP-*one* N in (14)

d. Productivity of emphatic *one*.   Grammaticalization
    (XP-ONE)   (a discourse particle)

e. Unproductivity of relative *one*   Universal constraint in (18b)

   The most imminent question is whether the usage-based relexification theory is indeed necessary for the analysis of *one*, as Bao claims. A close examination of the summarized items in (19) suggests a clear answer. Note that the usage-based relexification theory in (11) is developed to explain the transfer of the Chinese *de*-frames to Singapore English, as shown in (19a). But, importantly, although it explains why Singapore English has nominalizer *one* and emphatic *one*, the theory is irrelevant to the explanation of the other facts of *one*. In particular, the usage-patterns of the *one* frames in (19b,e) are not explained by the usage-based relexification theory but by the constraints which have nothing to do with exemplar theory. The same can be observed with respect to the facts in (19c,d); the ungrammaticality of *one* followed by N and the productivity of emphatic *one* have no relevance to the usage-based theory of relexification. Since the usage-based relexification theory is needed solely for the transfer of Chinese *de* to Singapore English without providing any insight on the usage patterns of *de* and *one*, there appears to be no reason whatsoever to adopt the usage-based approach to substratum transfer. Any lexicalist hypothesis could have been easily combined with Bao's explanatory devices in (19b-e) to account for the full range of *one*-related facts. In other words, Bao's usage-based theory of relexification does not, in fact, account for any usage patterns of *one*, contrary to what the name of the theory suggests. Thus, it can be easily replaced with a lexicalist hypothesis.

   There are also a few questions that arise concerning the explanations listed in (19c-e). First, consider the constraint *XP-*one* N in (19c (=(14)), which has arisen

through the process in (15). (15) states that Singapore English came to possess the constraint by pure coincidence, because it could have been equally possible that it ended up with no such constraint. A constraint that is a product of coincidence does not explain much. To attain an analysis with more explanatory power, it needs to be replaced with a non-stipulative constraint. Next, consider the universal constraints in (18), one of which is used to explain the unproductivity of relative *one*, as shown in (19e). The universal patterns in (18) hold for the majority of the languages, though not for all. It seems, at first glance, plausible to use the universal patterns to explain the unproductivity of relative *one* in Singapore English. However, if we take into account the fact that Chinese itself is a language that violates the universal patterns, together with the fact that it is the substratum language for Singapore English, it becomes unclear why Singapore English relative *one* cannot be used as productively as Chinese relative *de*. Finally, consider the claim that emphatic *one* is a discourse particle, a theoretical claim employed to explain the productive use of *one* as an emphatic marker. Although the analysis of emphatic *one* as a discourse particle is certainly conceivable, it is somewhat counter-intuitive because it claims that emphatic *one* is different from the other *one*s. This claim, since it goes against the intuition that all *one*s are the same, needs to be justified. Unfortunately, the claim has not been justified.

In the following sections, I introduce Kim's (2021) lexicalist hypothesis of Singapore English *one* that obviates the need for the usage-based relexification, and show that if we combine his analysis with the idea that copula deletion plays a role in substratum transfer, we can answer all the questions raised at the end of this section.

IV. A lexicalist approach to substratum transfer

4.1 Kim's (2021) analysis of *one*

In the standard lexicalist hypothesis, substratum transfer takes place between two lexical items, where the lexical item in the superstratum language (English) absorbs all the properties of the corresponding lexical item in the substratum language (Chinese). Constructions (frames) which are bigger than lexical items cannot be transferred because only the items in the lexicon can be targets for transfer. This means that Singapore English *one* must have inherited the properties of its corresponding Chinese lexical item. Many scholars in the literature have expressed the intuition that it has absorbed the properties of Chinese *de*, but this intuition has not formally materialized because it fails to account for the differences between *one* and *de*, though it can explain their similarities. In a recent paper, however, Kim (2021) offers a lexicalist hypothesis which accounts for the differences between *one* and *de* as well as their similarities.

Following Kitagawa and Ross (1982), he posits that there is a zero pronoun $Ø_N$ in Chinese *de*-constructions that end with *de*. So, for him, all the Chinese examples in (4) actually have a zero ponominal, as illustrated in (20).

(20) a.   A-*de*   *da*   *de* $Ø_N$
                                 big   DE
                                 'large one'

      b.   N-*de*   *si*   *de* $Ø_N$
                                 silk   DE
                                 'silk one'

      c.   P-*de*   *wo*   *de* $Ø_N$
                                 I   DE
                                 'mine/my one'

d. XP-*de*   i.   PP-*de* Ø_N

PP-*de* $\emptyset_N$

cong   Taiguo   lai   *de* $\emptyset_N$

from   Thailand   come   DE

'that which is from Thailand'

ii.   VP-*de* $\emptyset_N$

zai   Cathay   fang   *de* $\emptyset_N$

in   Cathay   show   DE

'that which is showing in Cathay'

iii.   naxie   chuan   hei   *de* $\emptyset_N$

those   wear   black   DE

'those who wear black'

e. XP-*DE*   i.   wo   zongshi   yong   weibolu   *de* $\emptyset_N$

I   always   use   microwave   DE

'I ALWAYS use a microwave oven.'

ii.   Xian   na   yang   *de* $\emptyset_N$

like   that   type   DE

'LIKE that!'

iii.   hen   chuzhao   *de* $\emptyset_N$

very   rough   DE

'Very ROUGH.'

With the postulation of $\emptyset_N$ following the final-*de*, he proposes that Singapore English *one* relexifies the zero pronominal $\emptyset_N$, not the lexical item *de* itself, as illustrated in (21). In other words, the target of relexification is the zero pronominal $\emptyset_N$ that follows *de*.

(21) Kim's (2021) lexicalist hypothesis of *one*

Chinese $\emptyset_N$ English *one*   Singapore English *one*

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{pron: } /\emptyset/_{\text{SUB}} \\ \text{syn\&sem: } [\cdots]_{\text{SUB}} \end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix} \text{pron: } /\text{w}\Lambda\text{n}/_{\text{SUPER}} \\ \text{syn\&sems: } [\cdots]_{\text{SUPER}} \end{bmatrix} = \begin{bmatrix} \text{pron: } /\text{w}\Lambda\text{n}/_{\text{SUPER}} \\ \text{syn\&sem: } [\cdots]_{\text{SUB}\cup\text{SUPER}} \end{bmatrix}$$

(Kim 2021: 197, (16))

The syntactic and semantic properties of Singapore English *one* are derived by the union operation in (21), SUB∪SUPER, which essentially has the function of amalgamating the grammatical properties of both English *one* and Chinese $\emptyset_N$. As a result, Singapore English *one*, which is pronounced the same as the superstratum English *one*, comes to possess all the grammatical properties that English *one* and Chinese $\emptyset_N$ have. Given that Singapore English *one* possesses all the grammatical properties of Chinese $\emptyset_N$ and English *one*, it must possess their selectional properties. Apparently, Chinese zero pronominal $\emptyset_N$ selects as its attributive element *de* which in turn selects all sorts of phrases, i.e. A, P, N or XP, and English *one* selects A, P, or N as its attributive elements. Thus, Singapore English *one* has the lexical entry in (22c), which says that it is not only able to select A, P, or N, as its attributive elements but also Chinese *de* which links all kinds of phrases to *one*. One thing to note here is that while *de* can be selected by Singapore English *one*, it cannot be manifested on the surface because it is not an English word. Hence, it is realized as a null form, represented by ~~de~~ in (22).

(22) a. Chinese $\emptyset_N$ b. English *one*   c. Singapore English one

$$\begin{bmatrix} \cdots de \ \underline{\quad} \end{bmatrix} \quad \cup \begin{bmatrix} \text{A} \ \underline{\quad} \\ \text{P} \ \underline{\quad} \\ \text{N} \ \underline{\quad} \end{bmatrix} = \begin{bmatrix} \text{A} \ \underline{\quad} \\ \text{P} \ \underline{\quad} \\ \text{N} \ \underline{\quad} \\ \cdots \sim\!de \ \underline{\quad} \end{bmatrix}$$

(Kim 2021: 199, (17))

To illustrate further with schematic examples, Chinese *de*-constructions in (23a) are realized as in (23b) in Singapore English. As (23) vividly shows, the lexicalist analysis of *one* in (21, 22) captures the unusual uses of *one*, i.e. nominalizer *one* or emphatic *one*, as well as the usage-based approach does.

(23)   a. Chinese   b. Singapore English

                      N   N

    (A/P/N/XP)   *de* Ø$_N$ (A/P/N/XP)   ~~de~~ *one*

                                                           (Kim 2021: 200, (20))
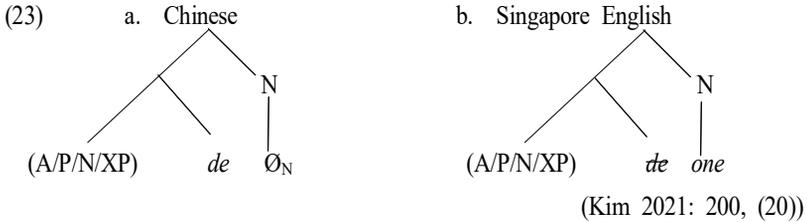
Singapore English *one* can serve as a nominalizer or an emphatic marker just like Chinese *de*, because it selects Chinese *de* in a null form. With this lexicalist analysis of *one* in place, Bao's usage-based theory of relexification is no longer required.

4.2 Advantages of the new lexicalist analysis of *one*

In the previous subsection, I have shown that the lexicalist analysis of *one* in (21) renders the usage-based analysis unnecessary. In this subsection, I go one step further to present some arguments that the lexicalist analysis is superior to the usage-based analysis.

The first argument for the lexicalist analysis is its ability to provide a principled explanation for the ungrammaticality of the example where *one* is followed by an overt nominal, as in (24a). In the usage-based analysis, the constraint in (14), repeated here as (24b), is invoked to explain (24a). This constraint, however, as we noted earlier, is a stipulation which raises the question of why Singapore English must have such a constraint.

(24) a. *a big *one* durian

    b. *XP-*one* N

In Kim's lexicalist analysis, (24a) is ruled out on a principled ground; it is ruled out for the same reason *big apple durian* is ruled out. The phrase *big one* (N) *durian* (N) violates the basic phrase structure requirement that a noun phrase has a single head noun.

Another argument for the lexicalist analysis is that we can avoid all the problems that arise from analyzing *one* as a relative pronoun in a sentence like (25a). Indeed, Alsagoff and Ho (1998) argue that *one* in (25a) is a relative pronoun. If we analyze *one* as a relative pronoun, however, we have to either assume a stipulative constraint, like Bao's in (24b), or stipulate, like Alsagoff and Ho (1998), that Singapore English inherits the order between the relative clause and its head from English. The former stipulation faces the problem we noted above and the latter faces the problem of explaining why Singapore English chooses a particular word order between relative clause, relative pronoun, and its head, among many options.

(24) a. [The man sell ice-kachang *one*] gone home already.

      'The man who sells ice-kachang has gone home already.'

    b. *[Sell ice-kachang *one* the man] gone home already.

None of these problems arises in Kim's analysis. In his analysis, *one* in (24a) is not a relative pronoun but the familiar English pronoun *one*, which requires an antecedent in an appositive structure, as in (25a). Just like the pronoun *one* follows its antecedent, as in (25b,c), it must follow the antecedent in (24). This general property of *one* requiring an antecedent explains why Singapore English *one*-phrase must follow the nominal it modifies. In this explanation, no stipulation is made.

(25) a. [NP [NP the man]ᵢ [NP sell ice-kachang d̶e̶ oneᵢ]]

    b. *The blue one_i is bigger than the red book_i.

    c. The blue book_i is bigger than the red one_i.   (Kim 2021: 202, (23))

Regarding the relative clause structure in (25a), we can remove yet another problematic stipulation employed in the usage-based analysis. Recall that to account for the unproductivity of the relative clause structure in (25a), Bao resorts to the universal constraint in (18b) with the assumption that *one* in (25a) is a relative pronoun. The problem of using the universal constraint, as we noted earlier, is that it does not account for why Chinese relative *de* is productively used in the first place, in violation of the constraint. Again, this problem does not arise in our lexicalist analysis of *one*. The *one*-phrase in (25a) has the same structure as XP-*one* (nominalizer *one*) in our analysis. We can therefore explain its unproductivity in the same way we explain the unproductivity of XP-*one*; for instance, we can say that its use is constrained by the lexifier filter, just like any other *one*-phrase that does not comply with English grammar, i.e., XP-*one*.

As a summary of our discussion in this subsection, a comparison of the two analyses of *one* is provided in (26).

(26)	*Facts*	*Usage-based analysis*	*Lexicalist analysis*
a.	Transfer of *de* to Singapore English	Usage-based relexification in (11)	Relexification of $\emptyset_N$ with *one* in (21)
b.	Unproductivity of nominalizer *one*	Lexifier filter in (13)	Lexifier filter in (13)
c.	Ungrammaticality of one followed by N	*XP-*one* N in (14)	No stipulation
d.	Unproductivity of relative *one*	Universal constraint in (18b)	Lexifier filter in (13)
e.	Productivity of emphatic *one*	Grammaticalization (discourse particle)	??

(26) shows two things. First, there is no need to adopt the usage-based relexification theory to explain the transfer of *de*. Second, if we adopt the lexicalist relexification theory, we can explain the facts in (26c,d) naturally without resorting to the problematic constraints used to explain them in the usage-based theory.

The comparison in (26) is not complete, though; the part indicated by ?? is missing. We now turn to discuss emphatic *one* to complete the comparison, which will in turn lead us to discuss the plausibility of using the lexifier filter to explain the unproductivity of nominalizer *one*.

4.3 The productivity of emphatic *one*

4.3.1 The productivity of emphatic *one* within the lexicalist approach
One occurring at sentence final position, as in (27a), is an innovative linguistic feature that is not allowed in the grammar of Standard English, and thus its use is predicted to be constrained by the lexifier filter.

(27) a. You must go *one*.
  ≈ You are the one who must go.
  b. You must go *lor*.
  ≈ It is obvious that you must go.

To explain the unexpected productivity of emphatic *one*, Bao resorts to the claim that emphatic *one* has grammaticalized to join the category of discourse particles and thus it can be used at sentence final position just like any other discourse particles, like *lor* in (27b), and as productively as them. Put differently, *one* is normally a pronominal, but in the case of emphatic *one*, it has lost its original grammatical category to become a discourse particle.

Bao's analysis of emphatic *one* can be accommodated within our lexicalist approach. Consider the emphatic *one* in (27a), which is analyzed as (28a) in our

approach. If we say that the *one* in (28a) has evolved to become a discourse particle, acquiring the structure in (28b) where the null ~~*de*~~ is lost, it would be expected to be used as productively as other discourse particles, like *lor* in (27b).

(28) a. You must go ~~*de*~~ *one*.
    b. You must go *one*.   (*one* as a discourse particle)

This fact that there is a readily available option to accomodate Bao's analysis of emphatic *one* within the lexicalist approach shows that its unexpected productivity does not constitute an argument for the usage-based approach. In fact, as we noted earlier at the end of section 3, the question of whether we can explain the productivity of emphatic *one* (or any other *one*s) is independent from the question of which approach is superior.

Since the productivity of emphatic *one* does not have a bearing on the issue of choosing one approach over the other, evaluating Bao's analysis of emphatic *one* has no direct relevance to the general aim of this paper — defending the lexicalist analysis of *one* and additionally showing its superiority. Nonetheless, in what follows, I will discuss this issue at some length, partly because it is worthwhile to discuss, and partly because the discussion leads us to look for a new element involved in the transfer of *de* to Singapore English.

4.3.2 Problems for the analysis of emphatic *one* as a discourse particle

At first glance, emphatic *one* appears to be similar to discourse particles, as they all can appear at sentence final position, as was shown in (27). There are, however, a few reasons to think that the analysis of *one* as a discourse particle may not be on the right track. First, as noted by Kang (1999), emphatic *one* can co-occur with a discourse particle, as in (29a), in contrast to discourse particles which cannot be doubled, as in (29b).

(29) a. You must go *one lor*.

b. *You must go *lor wat*.

Second, discourse particles — in particular, assertive particles — occur frequently with discourse markers such as *yeah* or *no*, as in (31a), but this is not possible with emphatic *one*, which can be considered an assertive particle, as in (30b).

(30) a. Yeah *lor*.

b. *Yeah *one*.

Finally, while discourse particles can never be part of an embedded clause, emphatic *one* can. As (31a,b) show, the scope of *lor* is exclusively the matrix clause, but the scope of *one* is ambiguous, as shown in (31c,d).

(31) a. [John think (that) Tom should go home] *lor*.

≈ It is obvious that John thinks Tom should go home.

b. *John think [(that) Tom should go home *lor*].

≈ John thinks that it is obvious that Tom should go home.

c. [John think [(that) Tom should go home]] *one*.

≈ JOHN thinks that Tom should go home.

d. John think [(that) Tom should go home *one*].

≈ John thinks that TOM should go home.

All these facts suggest that emphatic *one* is not a discourse particle and that our original analysis of emphatic *one* in (32) is more appropriate.

(32) Mary bake the cake ~~de~~ *one*.

≈ Mary did bake the cake.

In our analysis, emphatic *one* is a pronominal which selects ~~de~~ which in turn selects a clause. Being a pronominal, it can co-occur with a discourse particle, as in (29a); it can occur in an embedded clause, as in (31d); but it cannot combine with a discourse marker like *yeah*, as in (30b), because *yeah* is not a category that can be selected by ~~de~~.

The emphatic construal of *one* does not appear to derive from the fact that it is a discourse particle. Rather, the emphatic meaning seems to derive from the construction itself that it is a part of, roughly in much the same way that *it-that* construction in English is used to emphasize or focus a part of sentence, as in (33).

(33) a. It is John that likes Mary.
　　 b. It is Mary that John likes.
　　 c. It is (the case) that John likes Mary.

I conclude that emphatic *one* is not a discourse particle. Given this conclusion, we can no longer use the idea of emphatic *one* as a discourse particle to explain its productivity; we need to look for a new explanation for why it is productively used in Singapore English despite being subject to the lexifier filter. I now turn to suggest an answer.

4.3.3 Emphatic *one* and copula deletion

Singapore English has many Chinese-derived linguistic features — aspectual system, *got*-construction, optional *wh*-movement, *pro*-drop, topic-comment structure, and *one*-construction, just to name a few (Platt & Weber 1980, Tay 1982, Gupta 1992, Ho & Platt 1993, Brown 1999, Bao 2001; 2005; 2009; 2010, Lim 2004, among others). Chinese languages, the languages of the major population (about 70%) of Singapore, have been constantly and actively present in Singapore throughout its entire history (Ho and Platt 1993, Bao 2001). It is therefore not surprising to find that there are abundant Chinese-derived linguistic features in

Singapore English. However, although it is true that there exist many Chinese-derived linguistic features, it is not the case that all the characteristic Chinese features have come into Singapore English. Chinese classifier system, the so-called *ba*-construction, and the long-distance anaphor *ziji*, among others, do not find their place in Singapore English. One can easily imagine a situation where the Chinese general classifier *ge* becomes an integral part of Singapore English in the form of *piece*. But this has not taken place. Singapore English speakers say (34a), not (34b), while they say (34c) when they speak in Chinese.

(34) a. one, two, three
     b. *one piece, two piece, three piece
     c. yi ge, liang ge, san ge

This partial transfer of Chinese grammar to Singapore English entails that substratum transfer does not arise simply from the strong and persistent presence of the Chinese languages in Singapore linguistic ecology, and that there are some principled reasons that trigger the selective transfer of the substratum features. If the pressure from the Chinese languages were the sole driving force for substratum transfer, Chinese grammatical features such as *ge*, *ziji*, and so on would have come into Singapore English. Needless to say, it is necessary to uncover what these triggers are to understand Singapore English. To the best of my knowledge, no attempt has been made to uncover the reason why a certain Chinese feature transfers to Singapore English. All of the work on Singapore English seems to assume that the pressure from Chinese is the primary force for substratum transfer, though this view has not been expressed explicitly. In what follows, I will make a proposal in which the transfer of Chinese *de* is not treated as a phenomenon that arose accidently from substrate pressure but as one that arose in a principled manner triggered by some other force, namely, copula deletion. With the proposal, I will explain the productivity of emphatic *one*.[2]

In Singapore English, the copular verb BE may be omitted, as in (35). This phenomenon of copula deletion is one of the characteristic linguistic features that distinguish Singapore English from the standard varieties of English (Ho and Platt 1993; Gupta 1994; Leimgruber 2011).

(35) a. That boat Ø very short *one*.

b. My uncle Ø staying there.

c. What Ø your dialect? Panjabi?

d. The place Ø called Sungei Buloh.   (Leimgruber 2011: 51, (9))

While speakers accept and use sentences like the ones in (35), copula deletion does not appear to be a robust phenomenon in present-day Singapore English. In a thorough study of copula deletion, Ho and Platt (1993) show that the copula occurs overtly 86.3% of the time in their corpus. Leimgruber (2011) reports a similar figure; copula deletion does not exceed 6% in his corpus. The overall rate of copula deletion appears to be too trivial to deserve any serious theoretical consideration.

Interestingly, however, Ho and Platt make another observation, that is, that the rate of copula deletion correlates with the level of education that the speakers have received — how long they have received the formal education in Standard English. (36), Ho and Platt's report in their table 6.2., shows the correlation between the speakers' education level and the occurrence of BE in the context where BE is required to occur before an adjective. As can be seen, the speakers who have primary school education drop BE frequently, more than 40% of the time. This suggests that

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² Actually, Kim (2012) proposes that the transfer of many Chinese grammatical features to Singapore English is triggered by copula deletion. But his proposal, as he notes, is an extension of the idea put forth in the original manuscript of this article *In defense of the lexicalist approach to substratum transfer: Mapping Chinese de to Singapore English one*. Since this article is a (modified) published version of the manuscript where the idea of copula deletion as a trigger for substratum transfer was first introduced, I will maintain the tone used in the manuscript concerning copula deletion. That is, this article is the source from which the idea of copula deletion as a trigger for substratum transfer originates.

the realization of BE is only a loose part of the grammar of Singapore English, at least for some speakers i.e., the speakers with lower education in English.

(36) BE realization in the context of ___ Adj according to educational levels

Group I	(Tertiary graduates)	94.2
Group II	(6 years secondary education)	91.6
Group III	(4 years secondary education)	85.1
Group IV	(1-3 years of secondary education)	68.9
Group V	(Primary school only)	59.4
Overall		81.8

Due to the lack of written documents, it is difficult to know the exact extent to which copula deletion occurred in the early Singapore English (henceforth, Proto-Singapore English), a lingua franca used by the local people in 19th century and early 20th century in Singapore (see Bao 2001: 275ff. for a thorough and insightful discussion on the formation of Singapore English.). However, given that the degree of exposure to Standard English correlates with the rate of appearance of BE, we can arrive at an informed conclusion based on the extent to which the speakers of Proto-Singapore English were exposed to Standard English.

In the early days of Singapore English, its speakers had almost no access to formal education in English because mass education in English began in Singapore after independence in 1965. They were hardly exposed to Standard English outside the educational context either, unlike present-day Singaporeans who are formally educated in Standard English and constantly exposed to it via various media such as televisions, computers, radios, and so on. From this lack of exposure to Standard English, we can conclude that copula deletion was much more pervasive in Proto-Singapore English than it is in present-day Singapore English used by the speakers with primary school education. If we translate this conclusion in the form of hypothesis, we can arrive at (37), a formal statement of the idea that BE was not

an integral part of the grammar of Proto-Singapore English.

(37) Hypothesis about BE in Proto-Singapore English
      BE undergoes deletion in Proto-Singapore English

The loss of BE is bound to have consequences, for all of the functions that are carried out by BE will be lost as well. The speakers of a BE-less English are forced to create some new linguistic means to perform the functions of BE, in order to express what they want to express. There are two paths they can take in such a situation. They can create a new (English) word or broaden the meaning of some existing lexical item to cover the functions of BE. Or, they can simply borrow a word from another language which can perform the functions of BE. The choice would be determined by the linguistic situation that the speakers are in. In a situation where there is a substratum language readily available to the majority of speakers, the second path would be more economical and hence a better choice. In the absence of a common substratum language, they would have no choice but to take the other path. Singapore belongs to the former situation. As the demographic chart in (38) shows (Bao 2001: 281), the majority of population in Singapore has been Chinese speakers throughout its history.

(38) Distribution of Singapore's Population by Ethnic Groups

Year	Population	Chinese	Malay	Indian	Others
1840	35,389	50.0%	37.3%	9.5%	3.1%
1860	81,734	61.2%	19.8%	15.9%	3.1%
1891	181,602	67.1%	19.7%	8.8%	4.3%
1911	303,321	72.4%	13.8%	9.2%	4.7%
1931	557,745	75.1%	11.7%	9.1%	4.2%
1957	1,445,929	75.4%	13.6%	8.6%	2.4%
1980	2,413,943	76.9%	14.6%	6.4%	2.1%

Thus, the speakers of Proto-Singapore English could easily borrow a lexical item, or items, from the Chinese languages to perform the functions of BE. This is, indeed, what I suggest happened to Proto-Singapore English. In particular, I propose that the loss of BE is responsible for the appearance of emphatic *one*. The specifics of the proposal are as follows.

One of the areas in which the copula is instrumental in English is that of emphasis or focus. BE is required if one wants to emphasize the truth of an entire sentence, as in (39a), or to highlight a part of a sentence using cleft or pseudo-cleft constructions as in (39); an adverb is highlighted in (39b), a PP in (39c), a VP in (39d), and a clause in (39e).

(39) a. John **IS** happy.

　　 b. It **was** THEN that I became a young revolutionary.

　　 c. It **is** AGAINST PARDONING THESE that many protest.

　　 d. What that does **is** TEND TO ROB ERVIN AND THE GRAND JURY WITH YET A THIRD INVESTIGATING GROUP.

　　 e. What you are saying **is** THAT THE PRESIDENT WAS INVOLVED.

(b-e from Prince (1978:885, (6-9))

With the loss of BE, Proto-Singapore English is unable to emphasize a sentence or some part of it in the manner Standard English does in (39), and thus it needs to find an alternative means to carry out its function.

Emphatic *de* in Chinese, the major substratum language in Singapore, can perform all the functions that the English copular constructions can perform. It can be used to emphasize the meaning of a sentence, as in (40a), or a part of the sentence, as in (40b-d).

(40) a. ta   lai   zhao   wo   *de*.

      he   come   look.for   me   DE

      'It is the case that he came to see me.'

    b. TA   lai   zhao   wo   *de*.

      'It is the case that HE came to see me (not someone else).'

    c. ta   lai   ZHAO   wo   *de*.

      'It is the case that he came to SEE me (not to do something else).'

    d. ta   lai   zhao   WO   *de*.

      'It is the case that he came to see ME (and not someone else).'

<div align="right">(Cheng 2008:243, (16))</div>

As the perfect candidate to fill in the gap created by the loss of BE, Chinese emphatic *de* transfers to Proto-Singapore in the form of *one*, through the relexification process in (21), where *one* absorbs the properties of the zero pronominal $Ø_N$ following *de*. As a result of the transfer, *one* in Singapore English is used in sentence final position in the same way emphatic *de* is used, as Lim (1999) and Lim (2000) note.

(41) John bring that book to the school *one*.

    I.   'John is the one who brought that book to the school.'

    ii.   'Brining that book to the school was what John did.'

    iii.   'That book was what John brought to the school.'

    iv.   'The school was where John brought the book to.'

    v.   'To the school was where John brought the book.'

<div align="right">Lim (1999: 62, (6b))</div>

As a summary, the whole process of the transfer of *de* to Singapore English is depicted in (42).

(42) *Proto-Singapore English*

    Loss of BE

      ↓

    Loss of the English emphatic copular constructions

      ↓

    Need to make up for the loss of the English emphatic copular constructions

      ↓

    Transference of emphatic *de* in the form of *one*

In this analysis, the transfer of emphatic *de* is not accidental but driven by the need to borrow it on the part of Singapore English. As such, emphatic *one* must have become an integral part of the grammar of Proto-Singapore English. As a grammatical construction that has become an integral part of Proto-Singapore English grammar, it must have been used productively in the early days of Singapore, and it is not surprising to find that it is still used productively in present-day Singapore English.

In the next subsection, I show that the proposals in (37) and (42) provide a natural explanation for why emphatic *one* is used productively, in contrast to other *one*-constructions, in Singapore English. To the extent that the explanation is successful, it will be a support for the proposals. Another support for linking the loss of BE to the transfer of emphatic *de* comes from the way emphatic *de* is used. When *de* is used as an emphatic marker in Chinese, it can always co-occur with the copula *shi* 'be' with no change in emphatic force, as Bao (2009: footnote 4) notes. An example is given in (43). In fact, the co-occurrence of emphatic *de* with the copula *shi* is so common that emphatic *de* is generally known as *shi⋯de* construction in Chinese literature (e.g. Li and Thompson 1981).

(43) a. ta   (*shi*)   zuotian   lai   *de*.

     he   BE   yesterday   come   DE

     'He came to see me yesterday.'

The emphatic *de* construction is, therefore, similar to the English copular construction in two respects. They are functionally equivalent, as was shown in (39) and (40), and they both involve a copula, though the copula may sometimes be realized implicitly in Chinese. In the analysis I propose here, the transfer of emphatic *de* to Singapore English in the form of *one* is not a coincidence but a consequence that follows from the need to fill the loss of the English copular construction with an equivalent Chinese construction.

4.4 Revisiting the productivity of the *one*-constructions

As we have shown, the proposal that the transfer of emphatic *de* to Singapore English is driven by the need to fill in the gap created by the loss of BE removes two problems that the usage-based analysis of *one* faces; (i) it provides a principled explanation for the otherwise accidental substratum transfer; and (ii) it explains the productivity of emphatic *one* without facing the problems that arise from analyzing it as a discourse particle. In this subsection, we note one more problematic area of the usage-based approach, and show that there is a readily available solution within the analysis proposed here.

In the usage-based analysis, all the cases of *one* that do not conform to English grammar are predicted to be unproductive in Singapore English, as they are subject to the lexifier filter that constrains their use. Emphatic *one* constitutes a challenge to the analysis, however, because it is productively used despite being subject to the lexifier filter. As a solution to the challenge, the usage-based analysis proposes to interpret the challenge as a superficial one, by making the claim that emphatic *one* has grammaticalized into a discourse particle, which is not subject to the lexifier filter. As we have seen above in section 4.3.2, however, this solution is untenable. And as a consequence, the productivity of emphatic *one*, in particular, its contrast to the unproductivity of nominalizer *one*, proves to be a genuine challenge to the usage-based analysis.

Within the lexicalist approach I have proposed here, the productivity of emphatic *one* and its contrast to that of nominalizer *one* (XP-*one*) can be straightforwardly understood, drawing on a contrast in the way they came to Singapore English. As we have seen above, the transfer of emphatic *de* to Proto-Singapore English is motivated by the speakers' communicative need to have alternative means to carry out the emphatic functions of the English copular constructions. In contrast to emphatic *one*, no such communicative need is involved in the transfer of nominalizer *de* (nominalizer *one*); nominalizer *de* has nothing to do with copula deletion, and thus no need arises on the part of Singapore English speakers to borrow it. Its transfer is simply epiphenomenal, one that takes place alongside the transfer of emphatic *de*. When Singapore English borrows emphatic *de*, it does so by inheriting all the properties of the zero pronominal $\emptyset_N$ following *de* ($\cdots$ ~~*de*~~ $\emptyset_N$). And, in so doing, it borrows not just the needed emphatic *one* but also the unneeded nominalizer *one*. The difference in the nature of transfer between emphatic *one* and nominalizer *one* is shown in (44).

(44)   *Nature of transfer*

    XP-*de* (nominalizer *de*)   epiphenomenal transfer

    XP-*DE* (emphatic *de*)   targeted transfer

The contrast in (44) provides a natural means to account for the contrast in productivity between emphatic *one* and nominalizer *one* in Singapore English. Since Emphatic *one* is a construction emerged in Singapore English by the need to carry out the functions of the English copular constructions, it has become an integral part of Singapore English grammar and is used productively. Nominalizer *one*, on the other hand, came to Singapore by tagging along with the emphatic *one*. As such, it has only become a loose part of Singapore English, and is not much used in conversation. To put differently, Singapore English speakers use emphatic *one* productively because they borrowed it to use, but they rarely use nominalizer *one*

because they didn't borrow it to use.

Finally, notice that the explanation we have just provided for the productivity of the *one*-constructions makes the lexifier filter unnecessary in our theory, as the productivity of a given *one*-construction can be predicted solely on the basis of whether its transfer is needed. This is a welcome result, for we can explain the same range of phenomena with less machinery.

V. Conclusion

With the discussions in sections 4.3 and 4.4 in place, we can now complete the partial comparison between the usage-based and lexicalist analyses in (26) as follows:

(45) | *Facts* | *Usage-based analysis* | *Lexicalist analysis* |
|---|---|---|
| a. Transfer of *de* to Singapore English | Usage-based relexification in (11) | Relexification of $\emptyset_N$ with *one* in (21) |
| b. Unproductivity of nominalizer *one* | Lexifier filter in (13) | Epiphenomenal transfer |
| c. Ungrammaticality of *one* followed by N | *XP-*one* N in (14) | No stipulation |
| d. Unproductivity of relative *one* | Universal constraint in (18b) | Epiphenomenal transfer |
| e. Productivity of emphatic *one* | Grammaticalization (discourse particle) | Targeted Transfer (triggered by the loss of BE) |

It seems clear from the comparison that *one* does not serve as a motivation to replace the lexicalist approach to substratum transfer with the usage-based approach.

In fact, it serves the opposite purpose; the lexicalist approach is superior to the usage-based approach.

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