On the grammaticalization of stative verbs into continuative markers:

The case of Malay *asyik* ‘desire’ and Cantonese *gwaazyu* ‘keep thinking about’

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*Hong Kong Polytechnic University*
Introduction

- Expressions with locative elements are the lexical source for most if not all progressive forms
  - (Bybee & Dahl 1989; Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994)

- Not much has been done on the grammaticalization of psych verbs into imperfective markers except
  - English *like* and *love*
    - (De Smet & Cuyckens 2005)
  - Chinese *ài* ‘love to’ and *xǐ huan* ‘like to’
    - (Endo 2006; Endo & Tao 2009)
Classification of aspectual oppositions
(Comrie, 1976:25)

- Perfective
  - Habitual
- Imperfective
  - Continuous
    - Non-progressive
    - Progressive
Continuous aspect

- Comrie (1976)
  - A marked aspect
  - Defined negatively as “Imperfectivity that is not habituality” (p. 26)

- Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994)
  - Disagree with Comrie’s negative definition of continuous aspect
  - Only progressive but not continuous clearly exists

→ Controversy on this aspect notion “continuous”
Grammaticalization of stative verbs into imperfective aspect markers
(De Smet & Cuyckens 2005; Endo 2006; Endo & Tao 2009)

- Endo (2006); Endo & Tao (2009)
  - ai ‘love’ has developed into a habitual marker through auxiliation
    - 這個孩子愛唱歌。
      a. Zhe ge haizi [ai [changge]]
         Verb Object
         “This child loves to sing.”
      b. Zhe ge haizi [ai [changge]]
         Aux Verb
         “This child often sings.”

- Complex/serial VP structures favour the development of a habitual marker.
Grammaticalization of stative verbs into imperfective aspect markers
(De Smet & Cuyckens 2005; Endo 2006; Endo & Tao 2009)

- De Smet & Cuyckens (2005)
  - ‘like/love + to-infinitive’ in English as emerging auxiliary constructions
  - It has developed from expressing volition and/or enjoyment to habitual meaning
De Smet & Cuyckens (2005)

- **Volition / Enjoyment**
  
  “‘Will you be so good as to exchange places with me, Miss Markham?’ Said she; ‘for I don’t like to sit by Mrs. Graham.’ (1848, Brontë, *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall*)” (De Smet & Cuyckens 2005: 16)

- **Habitual**
  
  “You know, where does it stop? As I like to put it, if a criminal comes up with a shoulder launcher, are we then going to arm everybody with shoulder launchers? (CCB)” (De Smet & Cuyckens 2005: 12)

- ‘like/love + to-infinitive’ indicates iterativity, and can give rise to habitual meaning

- Pragmatic strengthening \(\rightarrow\) semantic changes \(\rightarrow\) grammaticalization
Objective of this study

- To trace the development of stative verbs, in particular psych verbs such as ‘love, desire, care’ into imperfective aspect markers, often denoting continuity and/or habituality.

- To also examine how and why some of these aspect markers also develop into negative attitudinal markers.
Data

- Malay
  - Diachronic data
    - *The Malay Concordance Project*

- Cantonese
  - Diachronic data
    - *Early Cantonese Colloquial Texts: A Database (1828-1924)*
    - *Early Cantonese Tagged Database (1872-1931)*
    - *A Linguistic Corpus of Mid-20th Century Hong Kong Cantonese (1952-1966)*
  - Synchronic data
    - Contemporary online source Google
Malay data
(1) ... api yang bernama *asyik* itu pun
flame REL be.called desire DEM INCH
bernyalalah di dalam dadanya.
PRF-burn-FOC LOC inside chest-3SG.GEN

‘… the flame that is called desire/love then began to burn in his heart’
1370s  STATIVE VERB ‘be absorbed in V-ing’

(2)  … pergi mendapatkan anak raja itu,
go PRF-get-APPL child king DEM
karena sangatlah asyik berahi
because INT.EMPH be.engrossed love
hatiku akan dia
heart-1SG.BEN toward 3SG

‘… went to get the princess, because my heart was deeply enamored toward her’
1550s ADJECTIVE~STATATIVE VERB

- AHmz 468:1 .. maka Amir Hamzah pun terlalu sukacita dan terlalu asyik pula, serasa tiada tertahan-tahan lagi hatinya. Maka oleh Tuan ..

- AHmz 611:15 ... petikan kecapi itu, di dalam hatinya terlalulah asyik, kerana belum pernah mendengar bunyi yang demikian itu. Maka ....
1750s  STATIVE VERB ‘be engrossed in …’

(3)  yang baik suara pun bernyanyilah dan NMLZ good voice INCH PRF-sing-EMPH and segala yang asyik berahi itu all REL be.engrossed love DEM pun bangkitlah menari berpasuk-pasukan. INCH rise.up.FOC dance in.groups

‘the ones with beautiful voices then sang and all that were engrossed in love then arose and danced in groups’
‘Then all those that were busy being in love arose and danced; it was truly a beautiful sight.’
1840s ‘be absorbed in doing X; be delighted to do X’


- Abd.H 51:7 .. oleh orang Melaka akan hal itu, maka masing2 pun `asyiklah hendak belajar. Maka itu pun diperbuatlah oleh orang tua2 ....
‘be absorbed in, only care about X’
(with speaker’s negative evaluation)

(5) Akan tetapi baginda itu tiada hirau TOP however ruler DEM NEG care akan kerajaannya, asyik about governance-3SG.GEN busy (< absorbed in)
dengan permainan sahaja with leisure only

‘However the king did not care about governing his country; he only cared for the pleasures of life’
‘the countries quarreled among themselves, each busy with protecting its own territory’
(7) Maka sedang ia asyik mendengar, and while 3SG PROG.CONT PRF-listen maka dirasakannya then PASS.feel.APPL-3SG.GEN hujung kakinya. tip foot-3SG.GEN

‘And while he was listening, he then felt the tip of his foot.’
Pak Belalang and his three children kept on sleeping day and night in his home, deep in sorrow.
(9) habislah sekalian rakyat seisi negeri
finish-EMPH all citizens whole country
itu menjadi asyik leka dengan
DEM PRF-become HAB absorbed.in with
berjudi juga setiap masa
gambling also every moment

‘And thus all the citizens in the whole country
became absorbed in gambling all the time’
2000s PROGRESSIVE CONTINUATIVE ~ HABITUAL

(9) Dia asyik main saja.
3SG PROG.CONT/HAB play only

‘S/he just kept (on) playing.’
## Diachronic development of *asyik*
*(based on data from the MCP corpus)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PART OF SPEECH</th>
<th>14th c..</th>
<th>15th c.</th>
<th>16th c.</th>
<th>17th c.</th>
<th>18th c.</th>
<th>19th c.</th>
<th>20th c.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Noun 'desire'</strong></td>
<td>1370s</td>
<td>1550s</td>
<td>1600s</td>
<td>1700s</td>
<td>1810s</td>
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<td></td>
<td>PN 1</td>
<td>PN 15</td>
<td>PN 5</td>
<td>PN 14</td>
<td>PN 3</td>
<td>PN 1</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Noun 'love'</strong></td>
<td>1600s</td>
<td>1640s</td>
<td>1650s</td>
<td>1700s</td>
<td>1860s</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Stative verb</strong> (with sangatlah/terlalu) 'be engrossed in; be delighted/fascinated with'</td>
<td>1370s</td>
<td>1380s</td>
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<td>1810s</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Stative verb</strong> (asyik birahi + melihat) (maka asyiklah hati X) 'be fascinated or infatuated'</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Adverb</strong> asyik-asyik 'frequently'</td>
<td></td>
<td>1650s</td>
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<td><strong>Verb 'be engrossed'</strong></td>
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<td>1750s</td>
<td>1890s</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Verb</strong> asyiklah 'keep thinking about something'</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Continuative</strong></td>
<td>1860s</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Continuative + Negative Attitude</strong></td>
<td>1860s</td>
<td>1890s</td>
<td>1890s</td>
<td>1900s</td>
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</table>
Diachronic development of *asyik*
(data from the MCP corpus)

- Noun ‘desire’ from 14th c. > extends to ‘love’ (even in spiritual literature) from 17th c.
- Noun use (from 14th c. – 1370s)
- Adjective use (from 14th c. – 1380s)
- Verb ‘be engrossed in’ (from 16th c. – 1550s)
- Adverb of frequency ‘often’ (from 17th c. – 1650s)
- Verb ‘to be fascinated/infatuated’ (from 19th c. – 1810s)
- Verb ‘keep thinking about something’ (from 19th c. – 1840s)
- Continuative (from 19th c. – 1860s)
- Continuative with negative attitude (from 19th c. – 1860s)
Diachronic development of asyik
(data from the MCP corpus)

- Noun ‘desire’ from 14\textsuperscript{th} c. > extends to ‘love’ (even in spiritual literature) from 17\textsuperscript{th} c.

  - Noun use (from 1370s)
  - Adjective use (from 1380s)
  - Verb ‘be engrossed in’ (from 1550s)
  - Adverb of frequency ‘often’ (from 1650s)
  - Verb ‘to be fascinated/infatuated’ (from 1810s)
  - Verb ‘keep thinking about something’ (from 1840s)
  - Continuative (from 1860s)
  - Continuative with negative attitude (from 1860s)
From lexical noun/verb > continuative/habitual aspect > negative attitudinal

- Ratio of continuative (neutral) to continuative (+negative attitude/evaluation) is 1:7
- stative verb *asyik* > continuative marker *asyik* > habitual marker *asyik*
Cantonese data
Two major functions of *gwaazyu* in Cantonese:
‘to miss’, ‘to just keep V-ing’

- **During tea-break of a conference…**
- **A:** ngo⁵ gin³ lei⁵ tau⁴ sin¹ *gwaazyu*⁶ jing² soeng² wo³!
  **B:** ngo⁵ *gwaazyu*⁶ lei⁵ do¹ di¹! mou⁵ gin³ gom³ loi⁶!
  **C:** lei⁵ zan¹ hai⁶ sik¹ gong² je⁵ aa³!
- **A:** 我見你頭先掛住影相喎！
  我掛住你多啲！冇見咁耐！
  **C:** 你真係識講嘢呀！
- **A:** I noticed that you just *gwaazyu (kept)* taking photographs
  (but not paying attention to the presentations)!
  **B:** I *gwaazyu (miss)* you much more (than *gwaazyu* take pictures)! Haven’t seen you for so long! [as a way to shift topic]
  **C:** You are such a sweet talker!
Grammaticalization pathway of gwaazyu

To hang; to rivet (1828)

To hang on one’s heart/ to hold in one’s mind
To keep thinking of somebody or something
(1st order ontological entity)
(1856)

To keep thinking of some situation/event
(2nd order ontological entity)
(1927)

To (only) keep thinking of doing something
(1927)

To (only) keep thinking of doing something + persistence
(mid-20c, contemporary)

[Progressive Continuative]

To always only keep thinking of doing something
(contemporary)

To always (only) keep doing something
(mid-20c, contemporary)

[Habitual]
Grammaticalization pathway of gwaazyu

Physical Domain

To hang; to rivet
(1828)

Mental Domain

To hang on one’s heart / to hold in one’s mind
To keep thinking of somebody or something
(1st order ontological entity)
(1856)

To keep thinking of some situation/event
(2nd order ontological entity)
(1927)

To (only) keep thinking of doing something
(1927)

To (only) keep thinking of somebody too much/
To miss
(mid-20c)

Evaluative Domain

To (only) keep doing something + persistence
(mid-20c, contemporary)
[Progressive Continuative]

To always only keep thinking of doing something
(contemporary)

Negative Attitudinal

To always (only) keep doing something
(mid-20c, contemporary)
[Habitual]
LEXICAL VERB ‘to hang; to rivet’ + ASPECT

- 1828: Cantonese Love-songs 粵謳：分別淚（二）
- 點得疎林將就呀。為我掛住斜陽。

\[\text{dim}^2 \text{ dak}^1 \text{ sho}^1 \text{ lam}^4 \text{ zoeng}^1 \text{ zau}^6 \text{ haa}^5.\]

how POT sparse forest just.as.it.is PRT

\[\text{wai}^6 \text{ ngo}^5 \text{ gwaa}^3 \text{ zhyu}^6 \text{ ce}^4 \text{ joeng}^4.\]

for.the.sake.of 1SG GWAAAZYU setting.sun

Lit. ‘How might the sparse forest just remain as it is (i.e. freeze the present moment), (and thus) to rivet the setting sun for me?’

‘Would that, in kindness to me, the sparse forest might with its branches arrest, just to, the slanting sunbeams!’

(transl. Cecil Clementi)
Contemporary example retrieved from Google

幾張古色古香嘅字畫

coeng⁴ soeng⁵ min⁶ gwaa³ zyu⁶

several CL with.antique.flavours ADN calligraphy.work

‘Several quaint ancient calligraphy works are being hung on the wall.’

Cf. Mandarin guàzhe 掛着
LEXICAL STATIVE VERB
‘to keep thinking of’ + somebody

- 1856: A Tonic Dictionary of the Chinese Language in the Canton Dialect
- 掛住佢 gwaa³zhyu⁶ kyu⁵ GWAAAZYU 3SG
  ‘to keep thinking of him/her’

- Cf. Mandarin xiăngniàn 想念
Contemporary example retrieved from Google

我最掛住既心太軟

ngo⁵ zeoi³ gwaa3zyu⁶ ge³ sam¹taai³jyun⁵
1SG most GWAAZYU ADN chocolate.pudding
Lit. ‘Chocolate pudding, which I keep thinking about’
‘Chocolate pudding — my favourite’
LEXICAL STATIVE VERB ‘to keep thinking of’ + stative VP

- 1927: *Beginning Cantonese*
- 我凈係掛住唔夠*錢使唄。*
  
  \[
  \text{ngo}^5 \text{ zing}^6 \text{hai}^6 \text{ gwaa}^3 \text{zyu}^6 \\
  1SG \text{ only} \text{ GWAAZYU} \\
  m^4 \text{ gau}^3 \text{ cin}^{4>2} \text{ sai}^2 \text{ be}^3 .
  \]
  NEG enough money spend SFP

  ‘I only keep thinking of not having sufficient money to spend!’

- in the sense of care/worry $\Rightarrow$ negative assessment
LEXICAL STATIVE VERB ‘to keep thinking of’ + action VP

- 1927: Beginning Cantonese
- 地皮*友淨係掛住揾*錢。
  \( Dei^6 pei^4 jau^{5>2} \; zing^6 hai^6 \; gwaa^3 zyu^6 \; wan^2 cin^{4>2} \).
  – local.gangster only GWAAAZYU make.money
  ‘The local gangsters only keep thinking of making money.’
How are these two meanings related to each other?

‘to hang’

‘to keep thinking of’
‘to hold (in one’s mind)’ ~ ‘to keep thinking of’

- 1954: Wrong Wedding (film) 錯燒龍鳳蠋

我時時將你啲件事，都掛住喺心唻！

Lit. ‘to hang on one’s heart’
LEXICAL VERB ‘to miss’ + NP

- ‘to miss’: ‘to keep thinking of’ to an extreme end such that regret at the absence of sb/sth comes out
- 1966: *Spring time in the Jade Hall* (film) 春色滿璇宮
- 咩唔捨得返喺啲！我時時都掛住你喺嘛！
  me¹ m⁴ se²dak¹ faan¹lai⁴ zek¹ !
  what NEG be.willing come.back SFP
  ngo⁵ si⁴si⁴ dou¹ gwaa³zyu⁶ lei⁵ ga¹ma³ !
  1SG every.hour also GWAAAZYU 2SG SFP

- ‘It is not the case that I am not willing to come back!
  I *miss* you all the time!’
LEXICAL VERB ‘to miss’ + NP (cont’d)

- Contemporary example retrieved from Google
- 快些返屋企，阿媽阿哥好掛住你! 📞

faai³-se¹ faan¹ uk¹kei², aa³maa¹ aa³go¹ hou² gwaa³zyu⁶ nei⁵
quick-DIM return home mom brother very GWAAAZYU 2SG
‘Come home quickly! Mom and brother miss you very much!’
Progressive Continuative – To just keep doing

- 1960: *Old Time Buddy* (film) 難兄難弟
- 你米掛住食至得嘍。
  
  lei⁵ mai⁵ gwaa³ zyu⁶ sik⁶ zi³ dak¹ gaa².
  2SG do.not GWAAZUY eat only.then okay SFP

- ‘Don’t just keep eating (without listening to others).’
Progressive Continuative – To just keep doing (cont’d)

- 1952 Wise guy (film) 蠶蟲師爺
- with the adverb zinghai ‘only’

米淨係掛住拍拖至得嘅！

\[
\text{mai}^5 \quad \text{zing}^6 \text{hai}^6 \quad \text{gwaa}^3 \text{zyu}^6 \quad \text{paak}^3 \text{to}^1 \\
\text{do.not} \quad \text{only} \quad \text{GWAAZHYU} \quad \text{dating} \\
\text{zi}^3 \quad \text{dak}^1 \quad \text{gaa}^3 \\
\text{only.then} \quad \text{okay} \quad \text{SFP}
\]

‘Don’t just keep dating!

- (You also need to take care of other things)!’
Progressive Continuative – To just keep doing (cont’d)

- Contemporary example retrieved from Google
- with the adverb zinghai ‘only’

黎耀祥謝天華提醒陳山聰咪淨係掛住拍拖

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{Lai}^4 & \text{Jiu}^6 & \text{Coeng}^4 & \text{Ze}^6 & \text{Tin}^1 & \text{Waa}^4 \\
\text{PN} & \text{PN} & \text{remind} & \text{PN} \\
\text{mai}^5 & \text{zing}^6 & \text{hai}^6 & \text{gwaa}^3 & \text{zyu}^6 & \text{paak}^3 & \text{to}^1 \\
\text{NEG} & \text{only} & \text{GWAAAZYU} & \text{dating} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Lai Yiu-tseung and Tse Tin-wa reminded Chan Shan-tsung not to just keep dating (but to also take care of other things).’
Progressive Continuative – To just keep doing (cont’d)

- **without the adverb zinghai ‘only’**
- **with following consequence**

阿媽掛住打牌2歳女水桶內浸死

Mother kept playing mahjong;

2-year-old daughter drowned in bucket’

(newspaper headline)
Progressive Continuative – To just keep doing (cont’d)

- *without the adverb zinghai ‘only’*

葛珮帆南韓考察掛住睇袋

- Got³Pui³Faan⁴ Naam⁴Hon⁴ haau²caat³ gwaa³zyu⁶ tai²doi²
- PN South.Korea do.expedition GWAAAZYU see bag

‘Elizabeth Quat travelled to South Korea on a (shopping) expedition; kept shopping for handbags’

- (newspaper headline)
Habitual use — To just keep doing

- 1956: *A Peaceful Family Will Prosper* (film) 家和萬事興
- 你唔好成日掛住賭字花得嘅！

\[
\text{lei}^5 \quad m^4\text{hou}^2 \quad \text{seng}^4\text{jat}^6 \quad \text{gwaa}^3\text{zyu}^6 \quad \text{dou}^2 \quad \text{zi}^6\text{faa}^1
\]

2SG don’t whole.day GWAAAZYU bet Tse.fa
dak\(^1\) gaa\(^2\) !
okay SFP

‘Don’t *keep* betting on Tse fa all day!’
Habitual use – To just keep doing (cont’d)

- **sengjat** ‘everyday, all the time, always’ or **jatjat** ‘everyday, always’ is **obligatory** in order to give rise to the habitual meaning

- from **Yahoo! News**

  祖母湊孫女 成日掛住玩
  zou² mou⁵ cau³ syun¹ neoi⁵ seng⁴ jat⁶ gwaa³ zyu⁶ waan⁴
grandmother take.care.of granddaughter whole.day GWAAZYU play

  ‘Grandmother assigned to take care of the granddaughter, but **keeps** playing with her *all day*’

  (newspaper headline)
Habitual use — To just keep doing (cont’d)

學生哥好溫功課咪日日掛住拍拖
date
dating

‘Students, (you) ought to study. Don’t keep dating all the time!’

Original Song
## Diachronic data (1952-1966)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>function</th>
<th># token</th>
<th>percentage</th>
<th>sengjat ‘always’</th>
<th>zinghai ‘only’</th>
<th>speaker stance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to hold in one’s mind</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>NEG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to keep thinking of sb</td>
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<td>10%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 NEG</td>
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<tr>
<td>To keep thinking of ~ to miss sb</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 NEG</td>
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<tr>
<td>to miss sb</td>
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<td>39%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9 NEG</td>
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<tr>
<td>To (only) keep thinking of doing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>neutral</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Progressive Continuative**
- 3 | 10% | - | - | all NEG |

**Progressive Continutative ~ Habitual**
- 2 | 6% | - | 2 | all NEG |

**Habitual usage**
- 7 | 23% | 7 | - | all NEG |

| Σ | 31 | 100% | 12 | 2 |
## Synchronic data

The first 300 sentences appearing in Google dated 12th April 2013

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>No. of tokens</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>sengjat/ jatjat ‘always’</th>
<th>zinghai ‘only’</th>
<th>Speaker stance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To hang</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Positive:2; Neutral:6; Negative:4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To hang ~ To miss</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Positive:5; Neutral:5; Negative:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To keep thinking about</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Positive: 17; Neutral: 5; Negative: 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To miss ~ To keep thinking about</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Neutral:1; Negative:2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To miss</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Positive:4; Neutral:26; Negative:92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To always keep thinking of doing sth</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mirative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To (only) keep doing [progressive continuative]</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Negative: 94; Neutral: 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To always (only) keep doing [habitual]</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>All negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σ</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Our findings show how stative verbs such as Malay *asyik* ‘desire, be infatuated, be engrossed in’ and Cantonese *gwaazyu* ‘keep thinking/doing X (excessively), miss’ can extend their affective meaning and signal continuative and habitual aspects, often with negative emotional colorings which are incompatible with the original semantics of these psych verbs.
Conclusion (contd.)

- We also see how temporal notions involving continuity can be extended from the psychological domain into the temporal one.
  - Psych verb > Aspect marker

- We also see how internal mental states are further grammaticalized to express a speaker’s attitudinal stance.
  - Psych verb > Negative attitude marker
Combination of input from both the aspectual and speaker’s attitudinal domains yields a continuative / habitual reading laced with the speaker’s negative evaluation.

- Psych verb > Aspect marker
- Psych verb > Negative attitude marker

- Psych verb > CONTINUATIVE ~ HABITUAL (with speaker’s negative attitude)
The negative attitude reading emerges from a situation in which an activity persists beyond an expected (and acceptable) period of time, or beyond an expected (and acceptable) cultural norm.

In this study we hope to have shown how a lexical construction within the propositional domain goes on to acquire additional readings that perform textual (grammatical aspect) meaning as well as interpersonal (speaker stance) meaning as well.
Acknowledgments

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References:


