# Comparative analysis of the discursive markers mal, yíxià and uma vez:
# grammaticalization in German, Mandarin and Portuguese-German

[Análise comparativa dos marcadores discursivos *mal*, *yíxià* e *uma vez*: gramaticalização em alemão, mandarim e português-alemão]

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**Abstract**: This article presents a comparative analysis of the discursive markers *mal* in German and *yíxià* in Mandarin, as discussed by König and Li (2018), together with *uma vez* in Portuguese-German, as studied by Ruscheinsky (2014) with the aim of highlighting their similarity in the grammaticalization process. The process of grammaticalization transforms lexical items into grammatical ones or grammatical items are transformed into more grammatical ones. The process of linguistic change through linguistic contact is a process restricted to a region resulting from specific historical events. It is suggested that the form *uma vez* has been influenced by both processes, resulting in a grammaticalization induced by linguistic contact. Data were collected through notes in the fieldbook and interviews with bilingual Portuguese/German speakers from the west of Santa Catarina carried out in 2012 and 2013. The productions with *uma vez* were compared with the forms *mal* and *yíxià* presented in the bibliography. The results indicate that the Portuguese form is also similar to *mal* and *yíxià* in terms of semantic change and contextual expansion, but the process of grammaticalization of *uma vez* seems to be attributed to Portuguese-German linguistic contact. The contextual expansion from place to time and quality is similar in all three forms.
**Keywords**: Grammaticalization; language contact; multifunctionality; language change

**Resumo**: Este artigo apresenta uma análise comparativa dos marcadores discursivos *mal* no alemão e *yíxià* no mandarim, conforme abordado por König e Li (2018), juntamente com *uma vez* do português-alemão, como estudado por Ruscheinsky (2014), com o intuito de evidenciar sua semelhança no processo de gramaticalização. O processo de gramaticalização transforma itens lexicais em gramaticais ou itens gramaticais são transformados em mais gramaticais. Já o processo de mudança linguística por contato linguístico é um processo restrito a uma região resultante de eventos históricos específicos. Sugere-se que a forma *uma vez* foi influenciada por ambos os processos, resultando em uma gramaticalização induzida pelo contato linguístico. Os dados foram coletados por meio de anotações no caderno de campo e de entrevistas com falantes

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bilíngues português-alemão do oeste de Santa Catarina realizadas nos anos de 2012 e 2013. As produções com *uma vez* foram comparadas com as formas *mal* e *yíxià* apresentadas na bibliografia. Os resultados apontam que a forma *uma vez* do português também é similar a *mal* e *yíxià* na mudança semântica e na expansão contextual, mas o processo de gramaticalização de *uma vez* parece estar atribuído ao contato linguístico português-alemão. Já a expansão contextual de lugar para tempo e qualidade é semelhante nas três formas.

**Palavras-chave**: Gramaticalização; contato linguístico; multifuncionalidade; mudança linguística

# 1 Introduction

In German, *mal* is a shortened form of *einmal*, combining the numeral *ein* (in Portuguese, *um*) and the noun *Mal*, which once denoted a small space and then came to denote small units of time. In Mandarin[2], *yíxià* (in Portuguese, *uma vez*) is a combination of a numeral and a classifying phrase, used to denote the frequency of an event, usually of short duration. The noun *Mal*, in German, underwent a process of semantic change from "minimal frequency" to "minimal effort." The form *yíxià* is also used as a temporal adverb, indicating the short duration of an act and the softening of the tone of the statement.

Translated into Portuguese, *mal* means *once* and is a synonymous expression of "on a certain occasion, once." In Brazilian Portuguese, *uma vez* is used to mark time: "Uma vez eu tava falando sobre isso "[3] and quality, demonstrating moments that are repeated: "Tinha uma vez uma propaganda."[4] In addition to these uses, the expression *uma vez* is used in imperative sentences by Portuguese-German bilingual speakers, according to the study of Ruscheinsky (2014)[5], in sentences such as: "Olha uma vez aqui", "Você pode vir uma vez aqui?", and "Agora chega uma vez."[6] These meanings will be detailed later.

This article aims to review studies on the discourse marker *mal* in German and the form *yíxià* in Mandarin, according to König and Li (2018), and, finally, to investigate the

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[2] König e Li (2018) use the denomination *Mandarin Chinese*.
[3] Once I was talking about this.
[4] Once there was an advertisement.
[5] Ruscheinsky (2014) described the use of the variant *uma vez* in Portuguese spoken in Itapiranga and São João do Oeste, towns in western Santa Catarina, Brazil. Data were collected through field notes and interviews with bilingual Portuguese-German speakers, conducted in 2012 and 2013.
[6] Look here. Can you come here. Now it´s enough.

multifunctionality of *uma vez* in Portuguese as spoken by Portuguese-German bilinguals, according to Ruscheinsky (2014). The analysis is supported by a functionalist approach to grammaticalization, with an emphasis on semantic-pragmatic and categorical change of *mal* and *uma vez*, induced by language contact.

The uses of these forms have undergone processes of grammaticalization, that is, processes in which grammar is created, both from lexical forms transformed into grammatical forms, and from grammatical forms transformed into more grammatical forms.

The five principles proposed by Hopper (1991) - layering, divergence, specialization, persistence, and decategorialization - allow for diagnoses of the emergence of grammatical forms and constructions, as well as of different degrees of grammaticalization of items in which this process can already be recognized. Layering refers to the new layers that are continually emerging, and can coexist and interact with the old layers. Divergence occurs when a lexical form undergoes grammaticalization into a clitic or affix. In this case, there is a coexistence between the source category (for example, verbs or nouns in their full function, subject to expansion of meaning and inflections) and items already in grammaticalized contexts, with a different grammatical function, such as a modal particle, preposition, or discourse marker. Specialization, however, occurs when a variety of formal choices narrows and a smaller number of selected forms assume more general grammatical meanings. The principle of persistence indicates when a new grammaticalized meaning develops, but it does not mean that the previous meaning, the source category, is lost. Decategorialization occurs when forms undergoing grammaticalization tend to lose or neutralize their morphological markers and syntactic characteristics peculiar to full categories, i.e., noun and verb, and assume attributes characteristic of secondary syntactic categories such as adjective, participle, preposition, etc.

Four parameters are also considered to help identify the stage of grammaticalization in which the analyzed data are found: extension, desemanticization, decategorialization, and erosion (HEINE AND NARROG 2015). Extension is the emergence of new grammatical meanings when linguistic expressions are extended to new contexts; desemanticization is the loss or generalization of meaning; decategorialization is the loss

of morphosyntactic properties characteristic of lexical forms or other less grammaticalized forms; and erosion is phonetic reduction, that is, a formal simplification.

Grammaticalization is a process based on universal strategies of conceptual transfer. Change induced by language contact, on the other hand, is a process restricted to a specific area resulting from specific historical events. According to Heine and Kuteva (2003), these two processes are not mutually exclusive and can together motivate grammatical change[7], that is, a grammaticalization process induced by contact between languages due to the influence of one language on another, called Contact-induced grammaticalization. To this end, they introduce the concepts of model languages (M), that is, the language that provides the model to be transferred, and replica languages (R), the language that uses the model, terms already used by Weinreich ([1953] 1979: 30-1).

The Portuguese language data used in this study, which demonstrates the change induced by language contact, comes from Ruscheinsky (2014), as it is a process restricted to a specific area and resulting from specific historical characteristics. Ruscheinsky (2014) described the use of the variant *uma vez* in the Portuguese spoken in Itapiranga and São João do Oeste, locations in western Santa Catarina, Brazil, with a strong presence of speakers of the German variety as an immigrant language. The municipalities were part of a colonization project called Porto Novo, organized by the philanthropic organization *Volksverein* (also called Sociedade União Popular) starting in 1926, which sold land plots exclusively to Germans (born or descended). German remains one of its current languages, and São João do Oeste holds the title of *Capital Catarinese da Língua Alemã*[8], and the Municipal Law number 1685/2016 established the co-official recognition of the German language in the region.

Ruscheinsky (2014) collected the data based on the methodology proposed by multidimensional and relational dialectology, according to Thun (1998). Sixteen interviews were conducted with bilingual German-Portuguese speakers from both locations, distributed according to age (old generation, GII, and young generation, GI – diagenerational dimension), gender (Masculine and Feminine – diasexual dimension), and sociocultural level (basic education (Cb) or higher education (Ca) – diastratic dimension). Each interview consisted of three parts: sentence translation, free

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[7] "They jointly conspire in triggering grammatical change" (HEINE AND KUTEVA 2003: 529).
[8] That means: Capital of the German Language in the state of Santa Catarina.

conversation, and text reading. The results indicate a greater disparity in the data on variant use in the diasexual dimension, with women using the variant more often than men and not making stigmatizing comments about its use. Ca uses the variant more frequently than Cb, which may attribute prestige to its use.

This article is structured in five sections: three sections present, each, the grammaticalization processes of *mal* in German, *yíxià* in Mandarin, and *uma vez* in Portuguese, respectively; the following section presents a comparative analysis of these three phenomena based on Hopper's (1991) principles; and, finally, we offer some considerations.

# 2 Grammaticalization of *mal* in German

The grammaticalization process of the form *mal* was investigated by König and Li (2018). The particle *mal* is the reduced form of *einmal*, that is, the combination of the numeral *ein* and the noun *Mal*. According to the authors, the meaning of the noun *Mal* in Old High German and Middle High German is very similar to its current meaning in Modern German, that is, it means a point or a landmark. However, this usage is currently only present in compound nouns such as *Mahnmal* (memorial) and *Wundmal* (wound). As König and Li (2018) point out, *Mal* denotes a small, salient unit.

There was a semantic shift from place to time, a widespread process across languages, as Haspelmath (1997) shows. Thus, combined with cardinal numbers, the temporal noun *Mal* has two uses: to denote frequency or a point in time, as in the examples given by Ruscheinsky (2014: 28) and König and Li (2018: 57), respectively:

1) a. *Er hat mich einmal besucht.* He visited me once.

   b. *Einmal habe ich fünfmal getroffen.* I once hit the target five times.

The two meanings are very similar, and the examples are ambiguous, as *einmal* can indicate either frequency (only once) or a specific occasion. However, in both uses, the form can be reduced to *mal*, becoming a particle that cannot be used before infinitive verbs or be negated. This demonstrates the loss of grammatical morphemes, a very common characteristic in items that undergo the grammaticalization process.

König and Li (2018) use the term grammaticalization to refer to both the theory and the process, and attribute the explanation to the unidirectional and dynamic process. Similarly, Heine and Narrog (2015: 407) define grammaticalization "as the development from a lexical form into grammatical forms, and from grammatical to even more grammatical forms." König and Li (2018: 59) demonstrate the erosion (*einmal > mal*) and semantic change (minimum frequency > minimum effort) described in this way: "An expression denoting minimal frequency has incorporated the contextual implication that the service asked for requires minimum time and minimum effort."

However, it is important to emphasize that the grammaticalization of these lexical expressions occurs only in specific contexts, more specifically, in imperative statements. Thus, this description applies only to imperative and interrogative statements used for requests that require little effort from the interlocutor, as in statements 2a and 2b. Statements that denote a great deal of effort are not accepted, as in 2c:

2) a. *Könntest du endlich mal (= 'EINmal, ein einziges Mal') dein Zimmer aufräumen?* Could you tidy up your room?

b. *Könntest du mir mal € 10 leihen?* Could you lend me 10 euros?

c. * *Könntest du mir mal (kurz) ein Haus schenken?* Could you give me a house as a gift?

Imperative statements with the modal particle *mal* reduce the listener's commitment, as in 2a, or characterize the request as something small, as in 2b. Casual requests, already characterized by the speaker as non-urgent, have a coexisting politeness effect, which is why the form *mal* is often analyzed as a politeness marker.

The authors argue that this change is an example of grammaticalization, since there is erosion (from *einmal* to *mal*) and desemanticization (from minimal frequency to minimal effort), as well as the fact that this change occurs only in some contexts. They also point to the shift from an objective assessment of frequency to a subjective assessment of effort, since the meaning of frequency is no longer present in the utterance.

As König and Li (2018) point out, this change is extremely rare and has not been identified in other European languages, such as French or English. According to the authors, evidence from other languages is needed for this change to be considered a

relevant case. A parallel development can be found in Mandarin, which will be described below.

# 3 Grammaticalization of *yíxià* in Mandarin

This section discusses the historical development of the form 一下 *yíxià*, which dates back to Ancient Chinese. Originally, the form was a noun meaning 'the lowest location, the bottom,' as opposed to the form 上 *shàng* (the highest position, the top). The verb 下 *xià* was derived from this noun, meaning 'to move from the highest to the lowest point.' Utterances with these uses are presented by König and Li (2018: 66).

> 3) a. *Shān xià chū quán*. There is a stream at the foot of the mountain.
>
> b. *Yīn yáng biàn huà, yíshàng yíxià, hé ér chéng zhāng*.

The change from *yin* to *yang*, one moves upward, the other downward, thus the combination composes a part of the music.

Statement 3a has the form *xià* (noun) meaning the lowest part, while 3b presents the verb *yíxià* meaning 'to move downward,' as opposed to the verb *yíshàng* (to move upward). The expression *yíxià* also began to be used as a classifier, to indicate a rapid action from top to bottom. Between the years 400 and 600, the expression was also used to represent a quick action, even if not from top to bottom.

Between the years 960 and 1369, according to König and Li (2018), in the Song and Yuan Dynasties, some verbs began to be used with the expression *yíxià*, extending its context and frequency of use from a classifier to a temporal adverb with the meaning of 'short duration'. Statements 4a and 4b indicate this short duration:

> 4) a. *Wǒ yě xiǎng shāowēi xiūxī yíxià*. I want a rest.
>
> b. *Xiàng nà shítóu měng jī yíxià*. (He) hit the stone hard once.

Based on the dictionary Eight Hundred Words from Modern Chinese (LÜ SHUXIANG 1999: 565) and the grammar Practical Modern Chinese Grammar (LIU YUEHUA 2001: 135), König and Li (2018) analyze the lexeme 一下 *yíxià* as having two uses: a combination of "numeral + classifier," denoting the frequency of an action or

event, and a temporal adverb, showing the short duration of an action and a softened utterance tone.

5) a. *Tā qiāo le yíxià zhuō zi*. He knocked on the door once.

b. *Qǐng shuō yíxià nǐ de xìngqù*. Please tell us a little about your hobby.

The authors highlight that the absence of *yíxià* in the sentence makes it more direct, sounding like an order, as in 6a, contrasting with pair 6b, which has a more casual and polite tone.

6) a. *Nǐ guòlái*. Come.

b. *Nǐ guòlái yíxià*. Come here, please.

c. *Nǐ néng jiè yíxià10 yuán gěi wǒ ma*? Can you lend me $10, please?

d. \**Nǐ néng bāng wǒ mǎi yíxià fángzi ma*? Can you help me buy a house?

König and Li (2018) also emphasize that its use is inappropriate in contexts that require high costs or extreme effort, such as helping to buy a house, expressed in 6d, as opposed to lending a small amount of money, expressed in 6c. By minimizing the duration of the requested service, the statement shows that the speaker does not intend to impose himself on the listener, merely requesting a little of their time and effort. Thus, *yíxià* does not denote a time interval, but is used as a principle of politeness.

Thus, the grammaticalization of the German discourse marker *mal* is compared with the Mandarin form *yíxià*. Both forms, in their development from "minimum frequency" to "minimum duration" and "minimum effort" and an "indicator of politeness", manifest some typical characteristics of grammaticalization, as pointed out by the authors. Both present similar semantic changes, contextual expansion, and erosion. It is important to emphasize again that these characteristics do not occur in European languages, which are geographically close to German, but rather in Mandarin, despite the geographical distance.

According to König and Li (2018), this demonstrates that these grammaticalization processes are based on cognitive and interactional principles, such as the principle of politeness, and can occur in other languages. In the next section, we will

demonstrate how these processes occur with the form *uma vez* in Portuguese as spoken by German-Portuguese bilinguals, using examples from Ruscheinsky (2014)[9].

# 4 Multifunctionality of *uma vez* in Portuguese

In this section, our goal is to describe the multifunctionalities of *uma vez*, in the same way as was done in the previous sections with the expressions *mal* in German and *yíxià* in Mandarin, which present semantic changes and contextual expansion. Utterances such as "Eu estava uma vez lá", "Eu tinha uma vez um fusca", "Ele vem aqui uma vez por dia", "Olha uma vez lá", "Eu li uma vez esse livro", "Chama ela uma vez", "Faz uma vez cinco vezes vinte e cinco para ver quanto dá"[10] were produced by bilingual Portuguese-German speakers and described in the study by Ruscheinsky (2014). We now move on to describe the morphosyntactic and semantic-pragmatic peculiarities of these uses.

*Uma vez* is the combination of the cardinal number *uma* (one) with the noun *vez* (time). Unlike *mal*, which no longer has the status of a noun in German, except in some compound nouns, *vez* maintains this morphological class in Portuguese. However, according to Castilho and Ramos (2003), among the basic cognitive properties[11], *vez* also presents the property of place, as does *mal* in German. Below are the three basic cognitive properties analyzed by Castilho and Ramos (2003), according to Portuguese dictionaries:

> /LUGAR/, perceptível em "*tirar a vez de alguém*", de que derivam (i) "*substituir/ocupar o lugar de outrem*", como em "*fez as vezes do cobrador, para ficar com o dinheiro*", "*começou logo a gritar, em vez de discutir calmamente*", (ii) lugar no eixo argumental, como em "*em vez de entrar, saiu*", "*uma vez que /de vez que você não me ouve, desisto*", "*uma vez que você me dê ouvidos,te atenderei*", deslizando já para /TEMPO/ e /QUALIDADE – condição/, nestas acepções (CASTILHO, RAMOS 2003: 20). [12]

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[9] These examples are accompanied by identification in parentheses, as a Field Notebook; or, when part of interviews, they are identified with the part of the interview in which they occurred, for example: Phrase Translation, Free Conversation, and Text Reading, along with the date of occurrence.

[10] In English, these sentences are similar to"I was there once", "I had a Beetle once", "He comes here once a day", "Look there once", "I read this book once", "Call her once", "Add up five times twenty-five to see how much it is".

[11] Ataliba Castilho (2003,in Castilho and Ramos(2003), conceives language as a multisystem that simultaneously exhibits the subsystems of Lexicon, Discourse, Semantics, and Grammar. The Lexicon is a "set of abstract, potential cognitive properties, prior to enunciation, on which we construct the inherent semantic features." (CASTILHO 2003: 17).

[12] /PLACE/, perceptible in "*take someone's turn*", from which derive (i) "replace/occupy someone else's place," as in "*he took the place of the collector, to keep the money*", "*he immediately began to shout, instead of arguing calmly*", (ii) place in the argumental axis, as in "*instead of entering, he left*", "*since you don't*

PLACE, as the first basic cognitive category, is present in the statement "to take someone's turn," that is, it can be replaced by "to take someone's place." The meaning of TIME is present in the construction "he immediately began to shout, instead of arguing calmly," as it indicates that there are alternatives for that time. QUALITY is expressed in the argument axis, with the speaker arguing about his decisions: "once you listen to me, I will answer you."[13] Castilho and Ramos (2003) indicate that the shift toward time and quality is already present in this property, in agreement with Givón (2001), who postulates that during the succession of functions, a structure always goes through a stage in which it can simultaneously perform two meanings.

However, although *mal* and *vez* belong to the same morphological category, it is clear that the meaning of place is not the initial one presented by *mal*, that is, a landmark or a small point that is perceptible in relation to the larger space in which it is inserted. From the usage examples cited by Castilho and Ramos (2003), the meaning of place indicated by *vez* also implies the choice of someone else. The following statements also indicate this possibility: someone else to clean up and work, or not:

7) a. *Agora é a tua vez de arrumar a bagunça uma vez* - Now it's your turn to clean up the mess at once. (Field notebook, 12/25/12)

b. *E se a classe trabalhadora para uma vez de trabalhar, vamos ver o que vai dar.* - And if the working class stops working once, we'll see what happens. (Field Notebook, 05/06/13).

The statements above also allow for the perception of time, that is, in 7a the use of *agora* indicates two occasions to tidy up, and in 7b two options: now work; then, don't work.

Castilho and Ramos (2003) define the property of time as follows:

/TEMPO/, que deriva metaforicamente de /LUGAR /, de que decorrem (i) "momento de um evento, próximo ou remoto", como em "era uma vez uma princesa", "na vez dele, fique quieto!", "chegou sua vez", "desta vez ele não me escapa", "esta fruta ainda está de

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*listen to me, I give up*", "*once you listen to me, I will answer you*", sliding into /TIME/ and /QUALITY – condition/, in these meanings (CASTILHO, RAMOS 2003: 20).

[13] Translated to English: "to take someone's turn", "to take someone's place", "he immediately began to shout, instead of arguing calmly", "once you listen to me, I will answer you."

vez" [isto é, antes de madura], (ii) "alternância de momentos", como em "falava de vez em quando / de quando em vez / por vezes" (CASTILHO, RAMOS 2003: 20).[14]

The transition of the space > time cline occurs when it derives from place, or someone's turn, as in "fez as vezes do cobrador" to time, as in "na vez dele, fique quieto".[15] The expression *uma vez* presents this property of time, that is, the moment of an event, in statements such as:

8) a. *Tu já falou isso uma vez.* - You already said that once. (Field Notebook, 12/3/2012).

   b. *Eu estava lá só uma vez.* - I was there only once (Sentence Translation, 2/13/2014).

The statements show the moment of the single event, not exactly, but in the remote tense, an aspect evidenced by the use of the verb in the past tense.

The quality property, however, does not demonstrate the moment of a single event, but rather moments that repeat themselves, as highlighted by Castilho and Ramos (2003: 20):

> /QUALIDADE/, conceito abstrato que deriva metaforicamente de /TEMPO/, na indicação de "momentos que se repetem", de que decorre o Aspecto Iterativo, como em "o trem-de-ferro às vezes chega no horário", "muitas vezes reclamei contra isso", "por vezes acho que não tenho a razão".[16]

By indicating moments that repeat themselves, deriving from time, *vez* acquires the iterative aspect. This is noticeable when compared to items in which the notion of quality appears. Thus, in the occurrence "o trem-de-ferro às vezes chega no horário", the

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[14] Translation: "/TIME/, which derives metaphorically from /PLACE/, from which arise (i) "moment of an event, near or distant," as in "once upon a time there was a princess," "in his turn, be quiet!", "your turn has come," "this time he won't escape me," "this fruit is still ripe" [that is, before it's ripe], (ii) "alternation of moments," as in "he spoke from time to time / from time to time / sometimes" (CASTILHO, RAMOS 2003: 20).

[15] "he did the collector's turn", "in his turn, be quiet."

[16] /QUALITY/, an abstract concept that derives metaphorically from /TIME/, in the indication of "moments that repeat themselves," from which the Iterative Aspect arises, as in "the railway train sometimes arrives on time," "I often complained about this," "sometimes I think I'm not right."

notion of quality becomes evident when we replace it with "o trem-de-ferro sempre chega no horário".[17]

The following statements with the form *uma vez* exhibit this property. Despite the use of the numeral *um* and the singular form (*vez*), the quality indicating "repeating moments" is clear, as the process occurred/occurs frequently:

9) a. *Mas uma vez vocês vinham nas segundas-feiras.* - But once upon a time you came on Mondays (Field Notebook 10/16/12).

b. *Ele vem uma vez por dia aqui.* He comes here once a day (Sentence Translation, 02/13/2014).

The notion of quality becomes clear when we replace the form *uma vez* with an opposing quality item, such as *sempre* (always): "But always you came on Mondays." The iterative aspect, which indicates repetition, gives the notion of quality.

In summary, the process of semantization of the form *vez* originates from the Latin *uicis* (meaning 'in place of') and passed into Portuguese with the meaning 'in the place of', according to Ernout-Meillet (1967 apud CASTILHO, RAMOS 2003). The same authors mention Cunha (1982 apud CASTILHO, RAMOS 2003, s.v. *vez*), who highlights another unfolding of the basic meaning of place: it indicates an event in its unity or repetition, an opportunity, an occasion. With these occurrences, it is possible to capture the various meanings developed by metaphor in the process of semantization of *vez*: "of the representation of SPACE (Locative: "at a certain moment", "in place of") > TIME ("occasion") > QUALITY (= Iterative Aspect / "repetition", Conjunction / "condition").

Castilho and Ramos (2003) rely on Heine, Claudi, and Hünnemeyer (1991), who highlight that the SPACE>TIME>QUALITY scale demonstrates many of the metaphorical abstractions that occur when basic structures develop into grammatical structures. This process occurred with the three forms in this study: the form *vez* derived from the Latin *uicis*, with the meaning of place. The form 一下 *yíxià* dates back to Ancient Chinese, and originally, the form was a noun meaning "the lower location, the bottom". The German form *mal* had its earliest meaning, that is, the meaning of a point or

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[17] "the railway train sometimes arrives on time", "the train always arrives on time."

landmark, maintained in Modern German, but only in compound words, as previously presented based on König and Li (2018).

Furthermore, from time, which denotes only one occasion, and from quality, which indicates repetition, the iterative aspect of an action, it is possible to indicate the development of *uma vez* for imperative uses, in which the interlocutor requests actions that are part of the everyday and that do not require much effort on the part of the listener. To this end, we use examples from Ruscheinsky (2014), whose study was conducted with Portuguese-German speakers living in the towns of Itapiranga and São João do Oeste, colonized exclusively by descendants of Germans (and Germans) and with a strong presence of the German variety[18], such as:

10) a. *Experimenta uma vez.* - Try it once (Field notebook, 08/27/12).

b. *Experimenta.* - Try it.

c. *Procura ela uma vez no Face, tu não reconhece ela mais.* - Look her up once on Facebook, you won't recognize her anymore. (Free conversation, 04-03-14).

d. *Dá uma olhada nisso.* - Take a look at this.

e. *Traz uma vez água.* - Bring me water once (Sentence translation, 02/13/14).

f. *Traz água.* Bring water.

With the form *uma vez*, the statements reduce the listener's commitment to complying with the request, which has a suggestive aspect. Similarly, when compared to their counterparts without the form *uma vez* (10b, d, and f), the statements fail to present the effect of politeness. Thus, *uma vez* can affect the illocutionary force of the statement.

Another possible analysis of the expression *uma vez* is as an indicator of the speaker's lack of commitment to what is said, to the truth of the declarative statement. Let's look at the following occurrences:

11) a. *Quero estudar uma vez de novo.* - I want to study once again (Field notebook, 10/1/12).

b. *Também tenho que começar uma vez a xingar.* - I also have to start swearing once (Field notebook, 12/27/12).

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[18] Ruscheinsky (2014) and Wolschick (2016) present very detail descriptions of this language contact in these places.

The statements present an action or desire that the speaker indicates to himself, but the use of verbs like *querer* (want) and *começar* (start) show a lack of commitment to what is said. Since the speaker is the possible author of the actions in the statement, the use of once attenuates the illocutionary force of the statement, reducing the speaker's commitment to carrying out the action.

It is possible to describe the uses of *uma vez* in the Portuguese spoken by Portuguese-German bilinguals as follows: we identify uses of the noun *vez* based on the cognitive basis of "PLACE," also passing through "TEMPO" used with the numeral *uma* and, as well as "QUALITY," when presenting the iterative aspect, arriving at *uma vez* in statements with illocutionary force, as a marker of politeness or low commitment on the part of both speaker and listener. Thus, we can see the similarity between the expressions *mal* (German), *yíxià* (Mandarin), and *uma vez* (Portuguese) spoken by Portuguese-German bilinguals, although *uma vez* (Portuguese) does not exhibit an erosional process like the previous two terms.

However, statements like examples 10 and 11 are characteristic of the speech of bilinguals of German and Portuguese varieties. Intense language contact between these varieties may have encouraged speakers to develop some linguistic features to equate concepts across languages.

Heine and Kuteva (2003) analyze several cases of change induced by language contact. According to the authors, grammaticalization, as a universal strategy for concept transfer, is a process that leads from the lexical to the grammatical level and from the grammatical to more grammatical forms. On the other hand, change induced by language contact is a regionally restricted process, resulting from specific historical events.

For the authors, there are two types of contact-induced grammaticalization: ordinary grammaticalization and replica grammaticalization. The former refers to the process when there is no grammaticalized model in the model language and grammaticalization occurs in the replica language, based on universal grammaticalization strategies. Replica grammaticalization is one in which a grammaticalization model is transferred to the replica language, using materials available in the native language.

As an example of replica grammaticalization, Heine and Kuteva (2003) cite a Silesian Polish dialect (Wasserpolnish), whose speakers, due to contact with German (the

model language), expanded the use of the third-person plural pronoun to the second-person singular in formal contexts. Weinreich ([1953] 1979: 40) cites the example: *Dokąd idą?* as similar to *Wohin gehen Sie?*[19] This extension also occurred in the model language, German, whose pronoun *Sie* is used for the third-person plural and its use was expanded to the second-person singular used in formal reference, as in *Wohin gehen Sie?* Polish speakers were probably unaware of the previous meanings that motivated grammaticalization in the model language, but they had access to sociolinguistic, pragmatic, and grammatical information that was sufficient to motivate grammaticalization by replication.

Another example is the grammaticalization process in the Portuguese language spoken by Germans who have lived in São Paulo for more than five years (one respondent has lived in Brazil for more than 50 years). This process was studied by Rezagli (2009) and the research demonstrated that "the structure [of the preposition] *para+infinitive* was used in semantic contexts that cast doubt on its finality, being ambiguous or presenting semantic bleaching" (REZAGLI 2009: 5)[20]. The example "Schultz mandou contruir uma ampliação para a igreja, o coro"[21] presents ambiguity, as it can be rewritten as follows: "Schultz ordered the construction of a choir, to expand the church", with the meaning of purpose, or "Schultz ordered the construction of an extension, a choir, for the church", that is, "to contribute to the church", in which case there is a new structure: *para+understood verb*. The example "(…)você precisa saber para querer(…)" suggests the "idea of condition, thus indicating a semantic fading" (REZAGLI 2009: 114).

Considering the nearly century-long linguistic contact between the varieties of German and Portuguese in the municipalities of São João do Oeste and Itapiranga, Santa Catarina, and the multifunctionality of the forms *mal* and *uma vez*, our hypothesis is that a case of replica grammaticalization induced by linguistic contact occurred. The form *mal*, which underwent the grammaticalization process in German, as already described by König and Li (2018), was transferred from the model language (German) to the replica

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[19] Translation: "Where are you going"
[20] In the original: "A estrutura *para+infinivo* foi utilizada em contextos semânticos que põem em dúvida seu valor de finalidade, sendo ambíguos ou apresentando desbotamento semântico." (REZAGLI 2009: 5)
[21] Translation: "Schultz ordered the construction of an extension to the church, the choir"

language (Portuguese), whose speakers began to use the form *uma vez* also in the imperative, with a meaning of politeness or minimal effort on the part of the interlocutor.

From a noun indicating place, *mal* becomes a noun indicating minimum frequency or a moment, or a modal particle indicating minimum effort or minimum commitment. However, bilingual German and Portuguese speakers realize that the form *mal* is multifunctional and replicate this characteristic in Portuguese, using the form *uma vez* both to express minimum frequency (12a) or a moment (12b) and to express requests that require minimal effort, indicating politeness (12c), or to express minimal commitment (12d), as in the statements below.

12) a) *Ele passa aqui uma vez por dia.* - He comes here once a day. (Sentence translation, 02-03-14).

b) *Minha mãe falou assim uma vez.* - My mother said that once. (Sentence translation, 27-11-2013).

c) *Escuta uma vez o cachorro.* - Listen to the dog once (Sentence translation, 27-11-2013).

d) *Vou tirar a sujeira uma vez um pouco.* - I'll clean the dirt once in a while. (Field notebook, 22-06-13).

The minimum frequency indicates the iterative aspect of the action and is minimal due to the use of the numeral *uma* and the singular noun. In 12b, the form *uma vez* indicates a moment in the past, not specifying when or its duration. In 12c, in an imperative utterance in which little effort is required to fulfill the request, the use of *uma vez* expresses politeness, as the speaker demonstrates that his/her request does not require much effort from the listener. The speaker's lack of commitment to performing the action in 12d is made clear by the use of *uma vez*, a marker that expresses minimal effort and hesitation in relation to what is being said.

Innovative uses of *uma vez* in the speech of German and Portuguese bilinguals are found in imperative utterances, in which the form denoting minimal frequency incorporates the contextual implication that the requested service requires minimal time and effort, thus imparting politeness to the utterance. This is evident in the analysis of pairs with or without the form *uma vez*:

13) a) *Você pode vir uma vez aqui?* - Can you come here once? (Sentence translation, 02/13/2014)

b) *Você pode vir aqui?* - Can you come here?

c) *Escuta uma vez o cachorro.* - Listen to the dog once. (Sentence translation, 11/27/2013).

d) *Escuta o cachorro.* - Listen to the dog.

In this way, it is possible to identify the parameters of grammaticalization of the form *uma vez*. According to Heine and Narrog (2015), the parameters of extension, desemanticization, decategorialization, and erosion serve as tools for identifying and describing examples of grammaticalization. Extension occurs when the semantic component leads from an existing meaning to another meaning that is evoked or supported by a new context. The form *uma vez* initially had a semantic property of place, moving to time and quality. This new context, of time and quality, along with the numeral *uma*, leads to other contexts, that is, those of minimal frequency and minimal effort.

As an immediate consequence of extension, desemanticization is a metaphorical process in which a concept from one domain is transferred to another. The form *uma vez* moved from the domain of quantification (12a) to that of modalization (12c). Due to this change, the form loses morphological and semantic properties that characterized it in its previous use and that are no longer relevant to its new use, which is described by the parameter of decategorization. The form *uma vez*, in its new use, cannot be combined with other numerals (such as *duas* or *três*) and always appears in the singular. The semantic property of place persists in the form *vez*, as in "E se a classe trabalhadora para uma vez de trabalhar, vamos ver o que vai dar" (Field Notebook, 05/06/13)[22], but a shift toward the meaning of time is already noticeable. Erosion, that is, the loss of phonetic properties, occurs with the loss of the ability to pluralize, losing the final syllable of *vezes*. Thus, the grammaticalization of *uma vez* may be following the steps of *mal* and *yíxià* up to a certain point in the process, and when used in imperative contexts, its use is explained by linguistic contact. The following section presents contrasts and similarities in the grammaticalization processes of the three forms mentioned in this study.

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[22] Translation: "And if the working class stops working once, we'll see what will happen."

# 5 Grammaticalization of *Mal*, *yíxià* and *uma vez*: Contrasts and Similarities

The three forms underwent grammaticalization processes, that is, as defined by Hopper and Traugott (1993), they began to perform grammatical functions in certain linguistic contexts, and continue to develop new grammatical functions when grammaticalized. Next, we present a comparative analysis of these processes, using as parameters three of the five principles of grammaticalization proposed by Hopper (1991:22): layering, divergence, and decategorialization.

According to the principle of layering, new layers are continually emerging, where old layers are not necessarily discarded and can continue to coexist and interact with new layers. This principle demonstrates that grammaticalization enables linguistic variation, that is, the alternation between forms can lead to one of them becoming predominant over another, as we saw in German, where the noun *mal* has now been supplanted by the compound noun and is now used as a numeral, adverb, modal particle, and discourse marker. Likewise, the form *yíxià* in Mandarin, originally used as a noun, has become a verb, numeral, and classifier. In Portuguese, the form *uma vez* is a combination of a numeral and a noun and is used as a discourse marker in bilingual speakers' statements. Its use as a politeness marker will likely continue to be a variable used by bilinguals, and may also be used by monolinguals in this speech community.

The principle of divergence is when a lexical form undergoes grammaticalization, and the original lexical form can remain as an autonomous element. The form *mal* continues to be used as a temporal noun indicating frequency, all the different forms of *yíxià* continue to be used, and *uma vez* also denotes the singularity of an event. Although it is not possible to affirm that cliticization has occurred, there is a coexistence between the source category (minimum-frequency expression) and the new function attributed by the principle of politeness in imperative statements.

Thus, the principle of persistence is perceptible when traces of the original lexical meaning tend to remain in the new grammaticalized form, which can lead to polysemy. The form *mal* carries the polysemy of frequency and time, according to König and Li

(2018), as in the example "Kannst du mir mal etwas Geld leihen?"[23]. The source meaning of minimum frequency remains in current usage, but constitutes the expression of minimum effort. According to the authors, the form *yíxià*, as in "Qǐng shuō yíxià nǐ de xìngqù"[24], maintains the meaning of brevity, however, it is now attributed to the act of speaking. The presence of the form *uma vez* in statements such as "Fecha uma vez a porta" and "Olha uma vez lá"[25] "Close the door once" and "Look there once" maintains the meaning of brevity but gives the appearance of little effort required in the request.

Decategorialization illustrates forms that are undergoing grammaticalization and tend to lose or neutralize their morphological markers and peculiar syntactic characteristics of the full categories, that is, noun and verb, and taking on attributes characteristic of secondary syntactic categories such as adjective, participle, preposition, etc. In German, the form *mal* no longer has the noun mark (spelled with a capital letter), and in Mandarin, the verb *xià* became *yíxià*. In Portuguese, however, the noun *vez* was not lost. However, the form is used only in the singular and preceded by the numeral *uma* in imperative sentences. Thus, *vez* loses its pluralization characteristic and the ability to be preceded by prepositions (as in *na vez dele*), possessive pronouns (*sua vez*), and demonstrative pronouns (*desta vez*)[26].

Therefore, some similarities and differences can be seen in the grammaticalization process of *mal*, *yíxià*, and *uma vez*. These grammaticalization processes are either based on cognitive and interactional principles or induced by language contact. Below, we present some considerations regarding the above discussions.

# 6 Final considerations

Comparing the three forms from different languages shows that there may be similarities or differences in grammaticalization processes. The German *mal* and Mandarin *yíxià* forms exhibit similarities in semantic change, contextual expansion, and erosion. The fact that German and Mandarin are geographically unrelated languages demonstrates that

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[23] Translation: "Could you lend me some money?"
[24] Translation: "Please, tell me about your hobby."
[25] Translation: "Close the door once" and "Look there once"
[26] Translation: "In his turn, your turn, this time."

these changes are based on cognitive and interactional principles, which suggests that they may occur in other languages.

The Portuguese form *uma vez* is also similar to *mal* and *yíxià* in semantic change and contextual expansion. However, the grammaticalization process of *uma vez* appears to be attributed to Portuguese-German language contact, since utterances with *uma vez* that indicate politeness in the request are exclusive to bilingual speakers. On the other hand, the grammaticalization processes of the three forms that occurred in the contextual expansion of place to time and quality are similar.

Thus, these changes can be based on cognitive and interactional principles or motivated by language contact, as examples of grammaticalization induced by contact between the two languages. As Heine and Kuteva (2003) postulate, despite the common practice of classifying examples of linguistic change as a result of language-internal or historically defined factors, or due to universal cognitive and communicative factors, these alternatives are by no means mutually exclusive.

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