

**LEXICAL BORROWINGS IN THE USE OF  
SINGLISH BY BLOGGERS**

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BY BLOGGERS**

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## ABSTRACT

Singapore English is among the many new Englishes which have emerged across the world. It is divided into two forms; Standard Singapore English and Colloquial Singapore English also known as Singlish. The colloquial variety of this English is viewed as crippling the Standard English and has led to the initiation of the Speak Good English Movement by the Singapore government. Recently, linguists such as Wee (2014) have stated that Singlish should be allowed to be used as it reflects the true cultural identity of Singaporeans and this has led to the initiation of the Speak Good Singlish Movement. Singapore's bilingual education system where students learn English and a designated mother tongue simultaneously may have caused 'Singlish' (Rubdy, 2001).

However, regardless of its status, Singlish is vastly used among Singaporeans, especially on social media. This research seeks to investigate the types and indigenisation features of lexical borrowings found in the use of Singlish by Singaporean bloggers in written form. Blogging is becoming a trend of web communication and believed to be an ideal medium to analyse lexical borrowings because the written language in blogs is casual and very similar to spoken conversations. Blogging is also an asynchronous type of computer-mediated-communication which allows participants to interact according to their preferred time and place. This indicates that bloggers have made a conscious decision to use Singlish vocabulary in their blogs, which also reflects their true cultural identity.

The types of lexical borrowings found in this study will be analysed using Winford's (2003) model which is a simplified version of Haugen's (1950) groundbreaking work. Meanwhile, the indigenisation features will be analysed according to Baskaran's (2005) categorisations. Haugen's (1950) types distinguish lexical borrowings according to

phonemic and morphemic level of substitution and importation while Baskaran's (2005) indigenisation features distinguish lexical borrowings according to their semantic relationships.

This corpus-based study presents one possible way to analyse language contact phenomena via lexical level analysis and provides two different approaches to analysing lexical borrowings. The findings from this study are expected to present additional knowledge on colloquial language and contribute to the existing Singlish vocabulary.

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## ABSTRAK

Bahasa Inggeris Singapura adalah antara banyak bahasa Inggeris baru yang telah muncul di seluruh dunia. Ia terbahagi kepada dua jenis; Bahasa Inggeris Standard Singapura dan Bahasa Inggeris Kolakal Singapura yang juga dikenali sebagai Singlish. Singlish dilihat sebagai melumpuhkan bahasa Inggeris standard dan telah membawa kepada inisiasi 'Speak Good English Movement' oleh kerajaan Singapura. Baru-baru ini, ahli bahasa seperti Wee (2014) telah menyatakan bahawa Singlish harus dibenarkan untuk digunakan kerana ia mencerminkan identiti budaya Singapura dan ini pula telah membawa kepada inisiasi 'Speak Good Singlish Movement'. Sistem pendidikan dwi-bahasa Singapura di mana pelajar belajar Bahasa Inggeris dan bahasa ibunda yang ditetapkan secara bersamaan boleh menyebabkan 'Singlish' (Rubdy, 2001).

Walaubagaimanapun, tanpa mengira statusnya, Singlish luas digunakan di kalangan rakyat Singapura, terutama di media sosial. Penyelidikan ini bertujuan untuk menyiasat jenis dan ciri-ciri indigenization pinjaman leksikal yang terdapat dalam penggunaan Singlish oleh blogger Singapura dalam bentuk bertulis. Blogging menjadi trend komunikasi web dan dipercayai sebagai medium yang sesuai untuk menganalisis pinjaman leksikal kerana bahasa yang digunakan dalam blog adalah kasual dan sangat mirip dengan perbualan lisan.

Blogging juga merupakan saluran perhubungan melalui komputer (CMC) jenis 'asynchronous' yang membolehkan peserta berinteraksi mengikut masa dan tempat pilihan mereka. Ini menunjukkan bahawa blogger telah membuat keputusan sedar menggunakan perkataan Singlish dalam blog mereka, yang juga mencerminkan identiti kebudayaan mereka.

Jenis pinjaman leksikal yang ditemui dalam kajian ini akan dianalisis dengan menggunakan rangka kerja Winford (2003) yang merupakan versi mudah kerja Haugen (1950). Sementara itu, ciri indigenization akan dianalisis mengikut kategori-kategori Baskaran (2005). Haugen (1950) membezakan jenis peminjaman leksikal mengikut tahap penggantian dan import fonemik dan morfemik manakala ciri-ciri indigenization Baskaran (2005) membezakan peminjaman leksikal mengikut hubungan semantik mereka.

Kajian berasaskan korpus ini membentangkan satu cara yang untuk menganalisis fenomena hubungan bahasa melalui analisis tahap leksikal dan menyediakan dua pendekatan yang berbeza untuk menganalisis pinjaman leksikal. Penemuan-penemuan dari kajian ini diharapkan dapat memberikan pengetahuan tambahan mengenai bahasa kolokal dan menyumbang kepada perbendaharaan kata Singlish yang ada.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	iii
Abstrak.....	v
Acknowledgements.....	vii
Table of Contents.....	viii
List of Figures.....	xiii
List of Tables.....	xiv
List of Symbols and Abbreviations.....	xv
List of Appendices.....	xvi
<b>CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1</b>
1.0 Introduction	1
1.1 Background of the Study	1
1.2 History of English in Singapore	3
1.2.1 Variety and Status of Singapore English	4
1.2.2 Lexis of Singapore English	7
1.3 Statement of the Problem	8
1.4 Research Objectives and Questions	10
1.5 Significance of the Study	11
1.6 Scope and Limitation of the Study	12
1.7 Definition of Keywords	13

<b>CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW</b>	<b>14</b>
2.0 Introduction	14
2.1 World Englishes	14
2.1.1 Kachru's Three Concentric Circles	15
2.1.2 Schneider's Dynamic Model of New Englishes	19
2.2 Notion of Borrowing	24
2.2.1 Lexical Borrowing versus Code-Switching	27
2.2.2 Motivation for Borrowing	28
2.3 Winford's (2003) Types of Lexical Borrowing	30
2.4 Baskaran's (2005) Features of Lexical Borrowing	33
2.4.1 Local Language Referents	34
2.4.2 Standard English Lexicalization	36
2.5 Computer Mediated Communication	38
2.5.1 Blogging	40
2.6 Previous Studies on Lexical Borrowing	41
2.7 Summary	44

<b>CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY</b>	<b>45</b>
3.0 Introduction	45
3.1 Research Design	45
3.2 Data Collection	46
3.3 Data Analysis	48
3.4 Summary	50
<b>CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS</b>	<b>51</b>
4.0 Introduction	51
4.1 Findings on Types of Lexical Borrowings	62
4.1.1 Pure Loanwords	65
4.1.2 Loan Blends	67
4.1.3 Semantic Extensions	68
4.1.4 Loan Translations	69
4.2 Findings on Features of Lexical Borrowings	70
4.2.1 Local Language Referents (LLF)	70
4.2.1.1 Emotional and Cultural Loading	72
4.2.1.2 Cultural and Culinary Terms	74

4.2.1.3	Hyponymous Collocation	75
4.2.1.4	Campus or Student Coinages	76
4.2.2.	Standard English Lexicalisation (SEL)	77
4.2.2.1	Polysemic Variation	78
4.2.2.2	Informalisation	79
4.2.2.3	Directional Reversal	80
4.2.2.4	College Colloquialism	81
4.3	Single Word Lexemes	82
4.4	Particles	83
4.5	Interjections	85
4.6	Summary	85
<b>CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION</b>		<b>87</b>
5.0	Introduction	87
5.1	Summary of Findings	87
5.1.1	Research Question 1	87
5.1.2	Research Question 2	88
5.2	Limitation of the Study	90

5.3	Implications of the Study	91
5.4	Suggestions for Future Studies	92
5.5	Conclusion	93
	References.....	95
	Appendix.....	103

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## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1: The Three Concentric Circles adopted from Kachru (1992) .....	16
Figure 2.2: The Dynamic Model of New Englishes adopted from Schneider (2003).....	19
Figure 3.1: Screenshot of the lexical item 'kampong' as displayed on the AntConc software.....	49

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## LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1: Buang et al.'s (2017) suggested motivation for borrowing.....	29
Table 2.2: Winford's (2003) lexical contact phenomena (lexical borrowing).....	32
Table 2.3: Baskaran's (2005) categorisation of Local Language Referents .....	35
Table 2.4: Baskaran's (2005) categorisation of Standard English Lexicalisation.....	37
Table 3.1: Mayr and Weller's (2017) initial stage questions for data collection.....	46
Table 4.1: Lexical items found in blogs written by Singaporeans .....	52
Table 4.2: Lexical items distributed according to Winford's (2005) classification of types of lexical borrowings.....	62
Table 4.3: Lexical items distributed according to Baskaran's (2003) classification of indigenisation features - Local Language Referents.....	70
Table 4.4: Lexical items distributed according to Baskaran's (2005) classification of indigenisation features - Standard English Lexicalisation.....	77

## LIST OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

3C	:	Three Concentric Circles
CMC	:	Computer Mediated Communication
CS	:	Code Switching
CSE	:	Colloquial Singapore English
EC	:	Expanding Circle
ESL	:	English as Second Language
IC	:	Inner Circle
IDG	:	Indigenous People
LB	:	Lexical Borrowing
LLF	:	Local Language Referents
ME	:	Malaysian English
MEN	:	Malaysian English Newspaper (Corpus)
OC	:	Outer Circle
SE	:	Singapore English
SGEM	:	Speak Good English Movement
SGSM	:	Speak Good Singlish Movement
SEL	:	Standard English Lexicalisation
SSE	:	Standard Singapore English
STL	:	Settlers or Colonisers



## LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix A: Examples provided in Chapter 4 for the overall findings	103
Appendix B: Examples provided in Chapter for types of lexical borrowings	117
Appendix C: Examples provided in Chapter 4 for features of lexical borrowings	119
Appendix D: Examples provided in Chapter 4 for single word lexemes, particles and interjections	122

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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

### 1.0 Introduction

This chapter commences with a review of the development and status of Singapore English (SE). The first section will briefly discuss the history of English in Singapore and expand on the status, varieties and features of Singapore English.

The subsequent sections will present the statement of the problem, research objectives and research questions, significance of the study, scope and limitations, and definition of the terms used in the present study.

### 1.1 Background of the Study

English is known as a lingua franca and it is divided into varieties of new Englishes due to the increasing cultural and linguistic differences (Yuen, 2007). By acknowledging a certain language as a lingua franca it certainly carries a status and standard in the global level for the language to be recognised as such. Such standards are usually given or obtained when a certain importance is given to the language in every country (Crystal, 2003). In more than 70 countries and Singapore being one of them, English plays a vital role and has acquired a special status and standard which recognises English as a global language. According to Crystal (2008) the number of English speakers could have reached some two billion speakers and that English is no longer a possession of the native speakers in America and England. In the current era many countries have started using English for various functions and have given the language a significant importance. Though English has not been officially declared as a global language because of the existence of other languages, the role played by English in countries like Singapore makes it a global language besides the fact that English is spoken across the

globe and commonly used internationally. In addition, English is relatively more popular and frequently used compared to other languages globally like Mandarin, French, German, Russian and Arabic (Norizam, 2014). This might also be due to the influence brought in by the American culture through movies and music. Besides, it has been a language that has continuously expanded and spread across the globe thus resulting in it undergoing changes in terms of linguistic elements. And one of the many linguistic changes at the lexical level is due to the process of lexical borrowing.

Lexical borrowing is one of the phenomena that takes place when English comes into contact with local languages which eventually contributes to the development of a new variety of English. Generally, the most obvious feature which differentiates the colloquial and standard English is the lexis besides phonology, grammar and pronunciation. And one variety of New Englishes which is distinct as a result of lexical borrowing is SE. SE is said to be among the most or better studied variety as reviewed in the Three Concentric Circles (Kachru, 1992) and the Dynamics of New English (Schneider, 2003) among others. According to McArthur (2002) English plays a vital role in Asian countries like Singapore because it is the medium of instruction in schools and universities. He further noted that English has grown strongly in Singapore and is acknowledged as one of the official languages along with three other local languages (Malay, Mandarin and Tamil). These four languages are recognised as the official languages of Singapore to avoid any racial tension among the people of Singapore (Lim, 2010). Over the years this has resulted in two varieties of English, Standard Singapore English and Colloquial Singapore English which is also known as Singlish.

## 1.2 History of English in Singapore

Similar to most of the Asian countries, Singapore inherited English from the British. According to Deterding (2007), originally English was only used for official purposes such as within the law, in the court, in government offices and mostly by the high society people. Meanwhile, the rest of the Singaporeans spoke in Malay, Chinese languages or Tamil. English soon became a common language among the Singaporeans, being the language of diplomacy, technology, business and the day-to-day language for many people. Given its use for various purposes in the community “it is not surprising to find that the English transplanted in Singapore, over time formed its own distinctive roots and branches” (Ooi 2001: 169). Deterding (2007) recorded that some 40% Chinese, 44% Indian and 10% Malay children between the ages of five and 14 spoke English at home as of 2000.

During the initial days when English started gaining prominence in Singapore, the Chinese community was very unsatisfied with the government as they feared that the English language would replace the Mandarin language which had been taught in schools for a long time, an impact of the Speak Good Mandarin Campaign initiated in 1979. The Chinese community was unhappy when the limelight was on the English language. However, the Singapore government continued to encourage and promote the English language which eventually led to the initiation of the Speak Good English Movement in the year 2000. English was viewed as important by the government as a uniting bond among the multiracial community and as a common language among the races. Another motivation behind the promotion of the English language was the desire to be economically successful in the areas of trade, tourism, banking, business, research and education.

### 1.2.1 Variety and Status of Singapore English

Singapore English is a nativized variety of English (Leimgruber, 2011). It is divided into Standard Singapore English (SSE) which is used in formal situations and Colloquial Singapore English (CSE), also known as Singlish is used in informal casual situations. Gupta (1999) describes Singlish as diglossic, where English speakers in Singapore use two grammatical patterns of English which are SSE and Singlish. Diglossia is a phrase used to reflect the relation between SSE and Singlish as both varieties are established to be connected to one another, where SSE is usually used in high formality contexts and Singlish is generally used in other settings. Deterding (2007) believes that it is fairly ambiguous if these two varieties were to exist along a continuum, involving a clear switch between two ways of conversing. Meanwhile Alsagoff (2010) describes SE along a competency line, with the acrolectal and the basilectal variety at both ends and the mesolectal variety in the middle. The acrolect closely resembles the SSE which is associated with people possessing high status in education and socio-economy, while, the basilect is mostly identified with Singlish, also referred to as the 'uneducated variety of SE' and is associated with people who possess lower education level and socio-economic status (Alsagoff, 2010). Mesolect is a variety which is halfway between the acrolect and the basilect variety.

According to Rubdy (2001) the increasing use of Singlish in schools, social media and daily communication simply indicates its expanding significance as a representation of Singapore's cohesion and social identity. But this culture is working against the country's goal of becoming the knowledge centre of the region, which Singapore aims to achieve by producing an exceptionally capable service sector of highly competent speakers of Standard English. Rubdy (2001) also points out that in recent years in Singapore, there has been an increasing number of youngsters that have begun to accept

Singlish. Singlish is widely used because of its informal nature, which educationalists, journalists and politicians fear will eventually weaken the quality of their English (Jenkin, 2015).

Rubdy (2001) cited a report published by the Singapore Ministry of Education in The Sunday Times on 25 July 1999; titled “The Growing Status of Singlish as an icon of National Identity”, the report claimed that though majority of the students could use SSE, the practice of Singlish in schools has increased over the years and could weaken students' proficiency in English. The report also pointed out difficulties faced by students with limited English background and cautioned that the use of Singlish could cripple proper English learning. After this report was published, many Singaporeans shared their views on this issue and expressed their concerns regarding this matter. Rubdy (2001) further observed that the support extended by Singaporeans for Singlish which has become a symbol of solidarity, pride and identity, evidently portrays the gap between practice and precept.

On 20th April 2000, despite the affiliation displayed by Singaporeans towards Singlish, the Speak Good English Movement (SGEM) was launched as a move to create awareness among Singaporeans of the importance of using Standard English. This launch initiated a seven-day festival filled with over a hundred events including theatre, recitals, speech marathons, seminars and debates. One of the highlights was the launch of a book which gave tips on how to shift from Singlish to Standard English. Following the much opposed launch of SGEM, the Financial Times of London expressed on 6th July 2000 that in a nation made up of three main ethnic groups which came into being and gained independence in 1965, Singlish is a crucial uniting tool. Its roots are drawn from a few Chinese dialects, Tamil, Malay and English. Linguists have continued to analyse and write books about it. Many consider Singlish as the only cultural trademark

eccentrically Singaporean (Rubdy, 2001). As a tradition, the Singapore government relaunched SGEM annually, where the chairperson will address the public by reminding them of the motivation behind the initiation of the SGEM and introduce new efforts to uphold the spirit of the campaign. The SGEM was officially relaunched on 7th September 2010 with the slogan “Get It Right”.

On 11th September 2010, 10 years after the SGEM’s initiation, the Speak Good Singlish Movement (SGSM) emerged on Facebook, currently with more than 46 thousand followers (Wee, 2014). The aim of SGSM is to dispel SGEM’s claim that Singlish is ungrammatical and uses broken English by introducing the idea of linguistic *chutzpah*. According to Wee (2014: 85), the SGSM is a perfect reflection of linguistic *chutzpah* where speakers are able to “demonstrate confidence in their language choices while having the metalinguistic awareness and sophistication needed to articulate rationales for these choices”. The SGSM also addresses the interference claim, arguing that it contradicts the Singapore government’s bilingual policy. Wee (2014) has highlighted three claims which were made by the government in an interview with The Online Citizen in 2010.

Firstly, SGSM addresses the interference claim by citing the government’s bilingual educational policy. Under this policy, everyone in Singapore will have to learn English along with another designated ethnic language: Malay, Mandarin or Tamil. This policy faces its own share of issues (Pakir, 2000; Wee, 2007), but this simply shows a lack of internal stability. If the Singapore government is expecting its people to be bilingual, then it should either disregard the possible influence of each language on the other or it should have foreseen such a scenario and handle the matter with more confidence. In both cases, the favourable attitude towards English and ethnic languages is not equally shown towards standard English and Singlish and the reason is still unclear.

Secondly, SGSM raises the issue of the government's careless use of the term 'Singlish'. The fact that the government has failed to differentiate between ungrammatical from colloquial English simply proves that the SGEM initiators are not language experts (Wee, 2014). This situation only leads to qualities of Singlish being relinquished due to the government's eager efforts to improve Singapore's standards in English. Further, SGSM insists that any effort to eliminate Singlish will most likely be unsuccessful since it has a groundswell of support.

Thirdly, Wee (2014) has pointed out the ghettoisation claim against the use of Singlish by the government by amping up the 'popular stereotypes' as part of its efforts to demean Singlish. SGSM argues that Singlish is in fact used by successful people and professionals, who are very capable in shifting between Standard English and Singlish when needed.

However, the founders of SGSM have remained anonymous, perhaps to keep the attention on the movement instead of on a certain individual. While the founders remain anonymous, Wee (2014: 88) suggests that it is "reasonable to posit that they are well educated Singaporeans with strong interest and competence in language matters". He also adds that whether the founders or members of SGSM are from a linguistic background is immaterial because their educational background most probably involves some level of literature and language studies considering their criticism on the government for lacking such experts.

### **1.2.2 Lexis of Singapore English**

Features of a language can be analysed from four different perspectives: pronunciation, grammar, phonology and lexis. A crucial feature of basilectal SE is the quantity of



“substrate-derived” lexical items (Leimgruber, 2009). The Chinese languages have contributed substantial input, while the Malay language has significantly contributed to its initial status in the colonial era as a lingua franca. Meanwhile, the Indian languages have only managed to leave few traces. Examples are lexical items associated with religious holidays, practices and cultural artefacts such as the Hindu festivals, *Deepavali* and *Thaipusam*. On the contrary, Malay language lexical borrowings relate to everyday usage items, such as *makan* (food), *bodoh* (stupid), *nasi* (rice) etc. A similar situation holds for Chinese dialects with borrowings from Hokkien like *ang moh* (westerner), *shiok* (extremely good), *kiasu* (fear of losing) and from Cantonese such as *sap sap sui* (insignificant). According to Leimgruber (2009), another characteristic of Singlish lexicon is the use of English lexicon with semantic field differing from Standard British English. For instance, the usage of ‘send’ in “I’ll send you home (I’ll give you a lift home) and use of ‘on’ and ‘off’ as verbs in phrases like “on the light, please” or “off the fan”. In SE, the action of decorating or furnishing a brand new or newly acquired vacant flat is denoted by the verb to *renovate*. On the other hand, the British meaning of this verb (renovate) is *to upgrade*, as it refers to addition of lifts or additional rooms to existing flats under the government subsidies renovation plan (Leimgruber, 2009). Another type of SE lexicon is those derived from English words that have lost its value in Standard British English, for example, replacing spectacles with glasses. There are differences between SSE and Singlish when lexical items are concerned. While English words are used in both varieties, borrowed words like ‘makan’ are unlikely to be used in SSE conversation (Leimgruber, 2009).

### **1.3 Statement of the Problem**

Singapore is among the countries in Asia which have developed a new variety of English - Singlish. Debates and research have been conducted extensively for years on

Singlish. Some suggest Singlish is weakening the younger generation's English proficiency and it should be eradicated while some suggest Singlish reflects Singapore's true cultural identity and its use should be allowed. Neither motion has received a majority support to date, probably due to contrasting preferences and individual stands of linguists, politicians and Singaporeans on Singlish. The SGEM claims that Singlish is an ungrammatical and broken English, meanwhile SGSM argues that speakers should be given the leeway to speak in their preferred variety. In Malaysia, though it has its own colloquial variety; Manglish, the government has not taken drastic measures to eradicate it, simply because the local language (Malay) remains as the official language. However, it is a different scenario for Singlish in Singapore where English is one of the official languages and medium of instruction in schools.

Rubdy (2001) and Wee (2014) stressed that Singapore's bilingual educational policy where students are expected to learn English and a designated local language (Malay, Tamil and Mandarin) simultaneously is what caused the language contact-induced phenomena - lexical borrowings. The question of why "English with its vast lexical repertoire would borrow words from local vernaculars" (Malakar, 2003: 12) has begun to gain attention. More research in this area is necessary to contribute to existing theories related to how a language borrows from other languages. Though Singlish is a colloquial variety and is expected to be used in blogs, the use of local languages in blogs raises the question of the types and features of the items borrowed. Therefore, the types and features of Singlish lexical borrowings found in blogs will be investigated in this study as it has a vast potential to be explored and is expected to contribute to the existing knowledge on lexical borrowings.

Today's technology allows the means of writing to switch to digital from the traditional way to reach a much bigger group of readers across the globe. Gupta (2003: 1) has

found that “the use of Singlish on the web presents an image of Singapore and its English to Singaporeans and to the rest of the world”. According to Puschmann (2013) blog, blogging or weblog are basically a type of online communication, expression and publishing which has been popular since the late 1990s. The Princeton’s WordNet defines blog as “a shared online journal where people can post diary entries about their personal experiences and hobbies(...) postings on a blog are usually in chronological order”, and describes blogging as “reading, writing, or editing a shared on-line journal” (Puschmann 2013: 83). These blogs are usually updated regularly depending on the blogger’s preference. Hence, blogs as a medium of communication are explored in this study to analyse the lexical features of Singlish used.

#### **1.4 Research Objectives and Questions**

The objective of this study is to analyse lexical borrowings in the use of Singlish found in blogs written by Singaporeans with a focus on the types and indigenisation features of these lexical borrowings. In relation to the aim and objective of this study, two research questions have been formulated to guide the research:

**RQ 1:** What are the types of lexical borrowings that can be found in the use of Singlish in blogs written by Singaporeans?

**RQ 2:** What are the indigenisation features of these lexical borrowings?

## 1.5 Significance of the Study

This study focuses on Singlish lexical items found in blogs written by Singaporeans. Blogs enable bloggers to share their opinions and views without any restrictions including language restriction. The “use of Singlish on the web presents an image of Singapore and its English to Singaporeans and to the rest of the world” (Gupta, 2006: 19) and blogs display a sense of cultural value and norm which guides bloggers. Hence, Singlish lexical items found in blogs will exhibit the bloggers’ cultural identity and their comfortability in using Singlish in their writings. This study will contribute to the existing knowledge of world Englishes in general as well as of Singlish lexical borrowings with a focus on blogs. Through the linguistic perspective this study will be able to create an awareness that languages (English) will undergo changes in its process of spreading across the globe over time. The way English is spoken or written could be determined by the embedded culture in the speakers and purpose of use. The findings from this study are expected to contribute to the list of existing lexical items used in Singlish observed in previously conducted studies. There are some online and published dictionaries which have compiled these lexical items, for example the Coxford Singlish dictionary.

This study will identify the types of lexical borrowings used in blogs written by Singaporeans, as well as establish the features of the lexical items found. Gupta (2003) asserted that Singlish reflects Singapore and its culture to the world, yet Singlish still receives mixed reactions from Singaporeans. Despite that, Singlish is vastly used on the internet, especially on social media and blogs besides verbal conversations. People started making use of blogs as digital personal diaries or journals because it enables bloggers to share their opinions and views with a large audience with just a click. Since blogs give readers a glimpse into the cultural values and norms of bloggers, the

possibilities of finding borrowed lexical items in the use of Singlish in these blogs are fairly high. Hence, this study will further contribute to the existing knowledge of lexical borrowings in Singlish with an emphasis on blogs. Although Singlish is labeled as the colloquial variety of SE, sometimes as broken, ungrammatical or non-standard English, Singlish is never used in formal settings and this reflects its uniqueness. Findings from this study could be referred to explain the occurrence and justifications for the use of Singlish.

The data and findings of this study will add to the existing knowledge of lexical borrowing in the use of Singlish in the hope that Singlish would be acknowledged for its uniqueness in its own right, as a variety which reflects the cultural norm and identity of Singaporeans. This study may have significance as a useful reference for future studies in the areas of colloquial varieties of English. The next section will discuss the scope and limitations of this study.

### **1.6 Scope and Limitation of the Study**

The focus of this study revolved around the scope of lexis, disregarding, syntax and phonology, which limited this study from giving a comprehensive overview of Singlish. However, its relevance remains, as whenever a new English emerges its most obvious feature is the lexis. The data for this study consisted of only written data, specifically by Singaporeans, which was analysed qualitatively. The study also did not analyse the whole community of Singapore bloggers, which was also not possible due to time constraints. The data for this study was extracted within a specific period (2018-2019) to reflect the current status and level of acceptance of Singlish. Moreover, this study utilized a concordance software, Antconc 3.4.4w, which provided the frequency and

concordance lines of each item which facilitated in analysing the types and features of the lexical borrowings. The design of this study by nature had its own limitations. However, this study provided a detailed report of a specific area (lexical borrowing and Singlish) of a specific target group (bloggers).

### 1.7 Definition of Key Words

The following are keywords with respective definitions which will be used throughout this study.

- **Blog/Weblog:** Blog or weblog is a personal online space which provides a linkage with the online world; it creates an “excellent computer mediated communication context for individual expressions and collaborative interactions in the form of storytelling and dialogue” (Huffaker, 2005: 96).
- **Blogger:** An individual who has created and owns a blog account as well as produces content for the account.
- **Borrowing:** Borrowing is “an attempt by speakers of a language to reproduce patterns that were previously found in another language” (Haugen, 1950: 212).
- **Computer Mediated Communication (CMC):** Spitzberg (2006: 630) defines CMC as “any human symbolic text-based interaction conducted or facilitated through digitally-based technologies”.
- **Lexical item/lexis:** Lexical item or lexis simply means a group of words from a particular language (Jackson & Amvela, 2000).
- **Lexical borrowings:** According to Haspelmath (2008) lexical borrowing occurs when a recipient language borrows words from a donor language.
- **Singlish:** Singlish is a nativized variety of colloquial English used in Singapore.

## CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of World Englishes, the process of lexical borrowings, the frameworks used and past studies relating to the present study.

The first section will focus on the three concentric circles (Kachru, 1984; 1985) and the dynamics of new Englishes (Schneider, 2003) in relation to World Englishes and Singapore English.

The second section will explore various scholars' definition of "borrowing" and further compare lexical borrowing and code-switching. The next section will discuss the features of Computer Mediated Communication (CMC) and the justifications for using blogs as data in this study.

The last section will discuss the theoretical frameworks of Winford (2003) and Baskaran (2005) that were used to analyse the data of this study and further review past studies conducted in the area of lexical borrowings.

### 2.1 World Englishes

Originally from England, English has branched into many varieties from the British, Australian and American Englishes to varieties of World Englishes like Malaysian, Indian and Singaporean English. Over the last thirty to forty years, the phrase World Englishes has been widely used to refer to nativised types of English that formed across the globe. In the view of many sociolinguists, the forming of world Englishes is actually unavoidable (Endarto, 2016). English has been adopted as foreign or second language by many multilingual countries and simultaneously has formed new varieties which

have the tendency to share some similar characteristics and be affected by the speaker's native language. In this regard, taking the World Englishes view means including and describing these new varieties for instance English as a Foreign Language (EFL), English as a Native Language (ENL) and English as a Second Language (ESL). ESL speakers are from countries which were once colonised by the British, like Singapore.

According to Jenkins (2015) there are approximately 75 territories where English is spoken as a first language or as an official second language in the areas of education, government and law. Crystal (2012: 155) stated that “approximately one in three of the world’s population is now capable of communicating to a useful level in English”. Today, the English language has a unique position in the world, where it is regarded as the favoured and new way of communication for substantial size of people from different parts of the world which is well connected. International communication has become very convenient for thousands of people. It has become a world language, a new lingua franca (Barancicova & Zerzova, 2015).

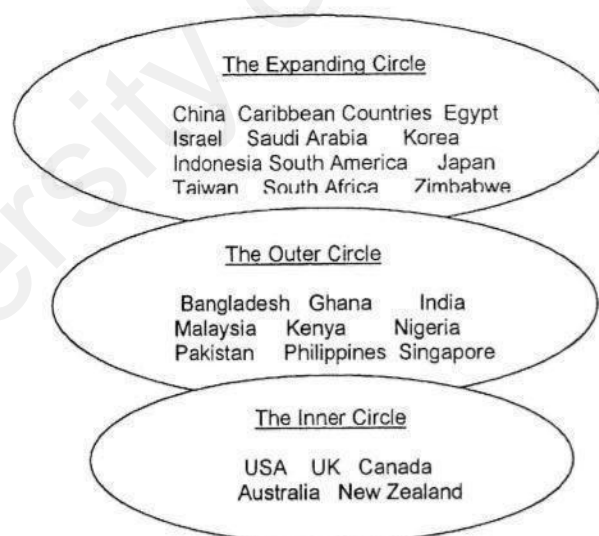
According to Low (2010), Kachru’s (1984; 1985) three concentric circles and Schneider’s (2003) dynamics of new Englishes models have identified the preliminary patterns of new varieties of English. Both significantly trail the growth of an English variety from the point it was ‘founded’ in the foundation stage (Schneider, 2003) until being broadened and nativised and eventually differentiated.

### **2.1.1 Kachru's Three Concentric Circles**

For more than 20 years, Kachru’s (1984; 1985) three concentric circles 3CM has been the most discussed model in this field. According to Lee and Jun (2016: 339), Kachru (1984; 1985) proposed the 3CM as a way of “conceptualizing this pluri-centricity”. In



this 3CM model, the expansion of English is classified and categorised into three concentric circles (Inner Circle, Outer Circle and Expanding Circle) which attempt to divide the world according to historical contexts as well as political. These circles represent “the type of spread, the patterns of acquisition and the functional domains in which English is used across cultures and languages” (Leimgruber, 2013: 14). His aim was to demonstrate the unique variation in the spread of English and to challenge the “traditional notions of codification, standardisation, models and methods” as well as the native speakers’ “prerogative to control its standardisation” (Kachru, 1985: 30). According to Pung (2009: 2) the 3CM also intends to provide the “typology of varieties” that has formed with the spread of the English language from the historic land of England to the rest of the world. The three English language varieties (circles) identified by Kachru (1984; 1985) have their own characteristics.



*Figure 2.1: The Three Concentric Circles adapted from Kachru (1992)*

Inner Circle (IC) refers to countries where English functions as native language or mother tongue. It consists of countries like Australia, New Zealand, Ireland, Canada and the United Kingdom where the English language is used as a first language. The

varieties of English used in these countries are regarded as 'norm-providing'. Known as the norm provider, this IC group of speakers has been dominating English language teaching until present time and is primarily from countries where the traditional monolingual native speakers of English are located. The Outer Circle (OC) comprises the earlier stages of the non-native spread, where English plays a prominent 'second language' role in a multilingual country and has been accepted as the official language in many of these countries. Most of the OC countries are former colonies of the USA or UK like India, Malaysia and Singapore. These varieties are labelled as 'norm-developing' due to the continuing tension between linguistic behaviour and linguistic norm. Such varieties can be both exonormative and endonormative (Joshi, 2013). The Expanding Circle (EC) refers to countries where English is taught as a foreign language. In these countries, English does not have an institutional or social role, as well as a history of colonisation by countries belonging to the IC. Speakers of EC learn English as foreign language because it serves as the most important method of international communication. Countries that are included in this circle are Poland, Greece, Japan, South Korea and China. The English used in EC is labelled as 'norm-dependent'.

Kachru (1992) advocated the classification of English speakers into IC, OC and EC rather than the traditional EFL and ESL groups that involve dichotomy between non-native and native speakers (Rajadurai, 2005). The model however is not dynamic enough to represent the global reality of English use. The model implies that the linguistic state in each circle is uniform (Patil, 2006). However, Kachru (1992) himself admitted that the 3CM may bear some grey areas and may have been too simplified. For instance, according to Rajadurai (2005), some countries like Jamaica and South Africa are hard to categorise; further, the circles do not necessarily exclude one another and overlaps exist between the groupings. The 3CM labels the IC, OC and EC as 'norm-providing', 'norm-developing' and 'norm-dependent' respectively. However, according

to Crystal (1995) the 3CM is not able to portray the actual reality of world Englishes use simply because the reality is not always so precise. Crystal added that it is hard to differentiate if the OC looks to IC norms or it generates its own norms, and where EC is concerned, norms development is also possible. Crystal (1997: 22) observed that “the speed with which a global language scenario has arisen is truly remarkable.” The more English is developing into an international language, the more the division of its speakers into ‘native’ and ‘non-native’ is becoming inconsistent.” Sharing the same concern, Rajadurai (2005) suggested that, while acknowledging the fuzzy distinctions between circles, in principle, the inner circle could comprise all users who are proficient in English and able to instinctively code-switch between international and national or regional varieties to communicate in the most appropriate way.

Meanwhile, the second circle could consist of speakers who are proficient only in regional varieties, i.e. native and non-native speakers with restricted intranational proficiency, while the outer circle could be made up of learners of the language. Kachru’s 3CM model has its flaws in reflecting the actual reality of English and its use. The model is too simplified and the categorisation within the three circles is blurry. Because of the rapid growth of the language, the status of English has increased in EC becoming not only comprehended but widely used for different purposes. The grouping of the OC and EC has become difficult, hence the 3CM model should be improvised to a more dynamic one to represent the current and actual use of English. The modified model can be categorised perhaps, according to English proficiency in regional, sociolinguistics features and international varieties.

Singapore reflects what Kachru (1992) described as an OC member, where English is one of the official languages, the actual language used in the working world, and the teaching medium of all schools in Singapore. Still, with the diversity of ethnic groups

and their respective language, there is no one particular form of English that is utilised by Singaporeans (Bokhorst-Heng et al., 2007) and this has resulted in the situation of 'English-knowing bilingualism' (Kachru, 1992) by which English has become an increasingly prominent feature in Singapore's sociolinguistic landscape.

### 2.1.2 Schneider's Dynamic Model

Schneider's dynamic model (2003) takes sociolinguistics features and the importance of identity into account. Schneider (2003), affirmed that the evolution of new Englishes consists of five phases; *Foundation*, *Exonormative Stabilisation*, *Nativisation*, *Endonormative Stabilisation* and *Differentiation*.

STAGE	HISTORY AND POLITICS	IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION	SOCIOLINGUISTICS OF CONTACT/ USE/ATTITUDES	LINGUISTIC DEVELOPMENTS/ STRUCTURAL EFFECTS
1: Foundation	STL: colonial expansion: trade, military outposts, missionary activities, emigration/settlement IDG: occupation, loss/sharing of territory, trade	STL: part of original nation IDG: indigenous	STL: cross-dialectal contact, limited exposure to local languages IDG: minority bilingualism (acquisition of English)	STL: koineization; toponymic borrowing
2: Exonormative stabilization	stable colonial status	STL: outpost of original nation, 'English-plus-local' IDG: individually 'local-plus-English'	STL: acceptance of original norm; expanding contact IDG: spreading (elite) bilingualism	lexical borrowing (esp. fauna and flora, cultural terms); '-isms'
3: Nativization	weakening ties; often political independence but remaining cultural association	STL: permanent resident of English origin IDG: permanent resident of indigenous origin	widespread and regular contacts, accommodation IDG: common bilingualism, toward language shift STL: sociolinguistic cleavage between innovative speakers (approximating IDG) and conservative speakers (upholding external norm: 'complaint tradition')	heavy lexical borrowing; IDG: phonological innovations ('accent' possibly due to transfer); structural nativization (in word formation, phrases, prepositional usage, verb complementation), spreading from IDG to STL
4: Endonormative stabilization	postindependence, self-dependence (possibly after 'Event X')	(member of) new nation, territory-based, increasingly panethnic	acceptance of local norm, positive attitude to it (residual conservatism); literary creativity in new variety	stabilization of new variety, homogeneity, codification (dictionary writing)
5: Differentiation	stable young nation, internal sociopolitical differentiation	group-specific (as part of overarching new national identity)	network construction (increasingly dense group-internal interactions)	dialect birth: group-specific (ethnic, regional, social) varieties emerge (as L1 or L2)

TABLE 1. The evolutionary cycle of New Englishes: Parameters of the developmental stages.

Figure 2.2: The Dynamic Model of New Englishes adopted from Schneider (2003)

This model reflects the sociolinguistic phases of two groups of participants, the **indigenous** (IDG) and the **settlers** also known as the colonisers (STL). Compared to

Kachru's 3CM, Schneider proposed a unifying dynamic model to study the growing and developing varieties of English in any part of the world. In every stage, the sociolinguistic features, extralinguistic condition, structural changes of grammar, lexis and pronunciation and identity construction are taken into account in the framework (Nazeri, 2014). According to Schneider (2003), Malaysian English has progressed into the third phase (nativisation) of his model. Countries in this stage are either working towards or have obtained independence, however they maintain a psychological and cultural bond with the country they were once colonised by. With regard to identity construction, the gap between indigenous population and immigrant decreases. The procedure of linguistic assimilation and acculturation happens because of regular and widespread contact. An awareness of the deviance of language which results in a clash of opinions on the adequacy of a particular variety's use is also present which is labelled as the complaint tradition. The vocabulary displays the most conspicuous linguistic changes (Nazeri, 2014). In this stage, procedures like new verb complementation patterns, new word formation, and localised and set phrases occur. Some localised words might also be used with high frequency (Schneider, 2003). On the whole, these countries go through structural nativisation, where speakers also develop a noticeable accent. His classification of Malaysian English going through stage 3 is acceptable, as the language in the English local dailies has resulted in frequent complaints and debates of its falling standards. Studies by Chalaya (2007) and Malakar (2004) have provided evidence of the presence of lexical borrowing from substrate languages in data collected from Malaysian English dailies, which marks the variety of linguistics growth in stage 3. As Malaysia reaches the nativisation stage where a substantial set of variety-specific vocabulary exists, the application of a national language system has constricted the use of the English language. Schneider (2003) claimed that the pattern seems to have become 'fossilised', which means the growing pattern stops somewhere along the road.

On the contrary, Schneider (2003) stated that the growth of English in Singapore is mainly a result of a distinctive language policy, 'English-based bilingualism' (Tickoo, 1996), which is further advanced. Having achieved the characteristics of the fourth stage, and it seems likely to go through all five phases, given the linguistic dynamics that can be observed. The following will discuss the emergence of Singapore English (SE) in relation to Schneider's dynamic model.

### **Stage 1: Foundation**

The first phase began when Sir Raffles gained the authority to form British East India Company's trading outpost at what seemed like a jungle island with great potential in the year 1819 (Schneider, 2003).

### **Stage 2: Exonormative Stabilisation**

The second stage commenced as Singapore's strategic location attracted a huge influx of colonial agents, travelers, contract labourers and travelers who were predominantly of Indian and Chinese origin. Singapore witnessed a huge population growth by the late 19th century. Singapore was a hub to a small European ruling class and the increasing stratum Asian experts who were subjects of the British crown and embraced the English lifestyle elements which led to a cultural mix of Asia and Europe. This continued until the intervention of the Japanese occupation between 1942 -1945 during World War II. Consequently, the Singaporeans' identity construction underwent change, the tradition of the colonial rule was broken and "a resistance movement emphasized the island's Asian roots" (Schneider, 2003: 246) emerged. When the British returned to Singapore in 1945, they had to face the expected independence proposed by the newly established political party People's Action Party (PAP). After becoming self-governing in 1959

when the constitution came into force and a short coalition with Malaysia in 1963, Singapore gained independence in 1965.

### **Stage 3: Nativisation**

According to Schneider (2003), in the post-war period, politics and identity constructions initiated the third phase and the period between 1960s and 1970s gave way to the fourth phase, which was a transformation inspired by the economic success of Singapore's language policy and its newly independent state. Singapore's huge economic success and wealth after independence made it an highly industrialised country with a distinctive identity by combining Asian and European elements. PAP has been ruling Singapore ever since independence. Singapore has continuously guided its people towards ideals and common goals by imposing a combination of European lifestyle and business orientation with a focus on Asian fundamental values. According to Kirkpatrick (2007), the presence of English in Singapore has been continuously evolving and SE is associated with the expression "Asian-cum-Western" culture where it is simply a reflection of how Singaporeans consider themselves instead of being known for their ethnicity: Malay, Chinese or Indian. The reason for this phenomenon is Singapore's education policy, where English is taught as a first language and a designated official language (Malay, Mandarin, Tamil) as a second language (Rubdy, 2001). According to Schneider (2003), there are two important reasons for this decision, one is that the English language is seen as the only common ground among Singaporeans, especially the new generation who is educated under the new education policy, in a vastly multicultural and multilingual society. Secondly, the designated second languages taught in Singapore schools, which is not given as a choice (a situation that holds back the ethnic languages from growing into a lingua franca - though Mandarin was once highly encouraged by the Singapore government) "are the

standard varieties of these languages, frequently distinct from and thus not supported by the dialectal home varieties spoken by parents and grandparents” (Schneider, 2003: 264). Regardless of whether this educational situation was purposeful or not, this has successfully weakened the purpose of these ethnic languages and has indirectly strengthened the English language. This has led to an increased number of English speakers and its use as a mother tongue, especially at home. SE has emerged as an identity marker of the multicultural country, which merges both economic and world language outreach. Its unique linguistic features reflect Singapore’s value and location. Ooi (2001) stated that SE is effective on a whole ‘stylistic range’ as professionals in Singapore today claim that they are able to recognise their fellow countrymen who are abroad by their accent which they are proud of. Meanwhile, on the non-professional level, a colloquial version of Singapore English known as Singlish has emerged which is dominated by Chinese dialects and labelled as ‘creoloid’ by some linguists. Schneider (2003: 265) stressed that Singlish qualifies as a “dialect facilitating emotional expressiveness” and is regarded as an identity carrier.

#### **Stage 4: Endonormative Stabilization**

Singapore has now reached the fourth phase of the cycle. As initially stated, independence provided the drive to develop not only the economy, but also a unique, multicultural and territory based identity. According to Pakir (1993) and Ooi (2001), issues on selections of norm are still being discussed. Ooi (2001: x) believed that “exonormative standards continue to define the study of English in the classrooms”, while, Tay and Gupta (1983: 177) argued that an “exonormative standard for Singapore is clearly impractical for a number of reasons”. When it comes to a local linguistics norm, evaluated positively by many, it is an acceptable fact and formal recognition is



expected (Ooi, 2001). Pakir (2001) claimed that Singapore English is working its way into Kachru's IC.

### **Stage 5: Differentiation**

At this stage, the new variety of English fades off, and practically a matter of the past and acknowledged in recent history however largely completed. As Schneider (2003: 253) puts it, "politically and culturally, and hence also linguistically, a new nation has achieved not only independence, having freed herself from some external dominant source of power and orientation". Singapore English is thriving in literary writing. According to Schneider (2003: 266), Singapore's linguistic homogenisation is weaker compared to other countries "given the diversity of ethnic IDG-strand and also STL-strand situations" in Singapore's growth. However, Platt and Weber (1980: 46) noted the "increasing similarity of Singaporean English as spoken by those of different ethnic backgrounds." Meanwhile Lim (2001) acknowledged ethnic varieties in Singapore English which reflect the fifth stage. Certainly, the new English has established itself and its rationalisation is still in progress. The first dictionary, the Times-Chambers dictionary (1997) comprehensively documents Singapore English and presents its features (Schneider, 2003).

### **2.2 Notion of Borrowing**

Borrowing is a process where either a word or a linguistic feature is adopted from one language into another. Some linguists have labeled this process as *transfer* (Clyne, 2010), *copy* (Johanson, 2002), *adoption* (Winford, 2006) and others. Nevertheless, Haspelmath (2009) asserted that the term borrowing is 'uncontroversial' and borrowing is the most common and general term that is being used in the linguistics world.

Bloomfield's (1933) work was one of the pioneering studies aimed to classify borrowings and he distinguished them into dialect, cultural and intimate borrowing. Dialect borrowings are borrowings that take place among the same speech group of people. Meanwhile, cultural and intimate borrowings are defined as borrowings that take place among a group of people who share similar geographical and political obligations, and borrowings that take place when a geographical and political domain consists of bilingual or multilingual speakers, respectively. Haugen (1950) and Weinreich (1953) have attempted to further the study of borrowing. Haugen (1950: 212) interpreted borrowing as "the attempted reproduction in one language, of patterns previously found in another". He emphasised that borrowings from a foreign language evidently undergo changes during its merging with a host language, which he labeled as the process of importation and substitution. However, the weakness found in this explanation is that the structure remains fuzzy and it is uncertain to what degree features beyond lexical are incorporated.

Borrowing is a prominent term in linguistics. According to Aitchison (2001), the term borrowing is controversial because it clashes with the idea of 'taking something without permission', nothing goes missing in the loan language and nothing is given back to the model language. She cited Haugen (1950: 211) who stated that "The metaphor implied is certainly absurd, since the borrowing takes place without the lender's consent or even awareness, and the borrower is under no obligation to repay the loan. One might as well call it stealing, were it not that the owner is deprived of nothing and feels no urge to recover his goods". She pointed out that the appropriate terms to use are copy or adoption for the processes, rather than 'borrowing'.

Peperkamp (2001), as cited by Benjamins (2016: 59-60), defined borrowing in two ways, first as historical loanwords that is "words that have been used in a recipient

language for so long and commonly used by monolingual speakers who are not aware of the foreign elements or have never heard the foreign original forms of the words” and secondly as on-line adaptation “which includes on-going borrowings of foreign words. This kind of borrowing becomes historical loanwords after the foreign elements are fully adopted or assimilated in the language and are not changed further”. Thomason (2001: 68) stated that “borrowers do not have to be native speakers,” and that competent speakers of a language are up to par as native speakers in conversing, where borrowing is concerned. Ruikuo (2005) referred to those adopted structures or words from one language in another native or mother tongue as loanword or borrowing, however, Jacques (2010) viewed the term loanword as referring to a word loaned or taken from another language whereas the term borrowing refers to the entire borrowing process. Both the terms are usually interchangeable, as a result of cultural proximity between the communities of two languages where the sound and grammatical pattern of a particular word have been borrowed. The speaker of the recipient language might completely or partially adapt a non-native word into their native language structure, where they might also include certain semantic, morphological or phonological features of the word (Jacques, 2010).

Mondegar-Nicasio (2007: 2) proposed that “borrowing does not involve a language system; instead it is limited to lexical items to fill lexical gaps in the receiving languages and culture”. Haspelmath (2009) described borrowing of a lexical item as a word which previously in the language history joined its lexicon as an outcome of borrowing (copying or transfer). According to Holmes (2013: 50), “people may also borrow words from another language to express a concept or describe an object for which there is no obvious word available in the language they are using”.

### **2.2.1 Lexical Borrowing versus Code Switching**

Lexical borrowing (LB) is an expected occurrence in a multicultural environment where more than two languages are/were in contact over a span of time. Winford (2003: 11) used the term LB to denote changes caused by language contact in environments where speakers maintain their “native language from generation to generation” whilst borrowing words and structural elements from another language. A suitable example is the case of Singapore. Singaporean speakers are either bilingual or multilingual and most people use at least two languages in their daily routine, normally the English language and a mother tongue such as Malay, Mandarin or Tamil. According to Thomason (2001: 129), when language contact takes place, changes do not just occur based on “specific processes through which foreign material gets into a language”. She suggested that there are other possibilities by which these changes happen. Thomason explained that the other possible methods that lead to contact induced changes can be categorised into shift induced changes and borrowing. Code-switching (CS) is usually the one most linked with LB. CS usually occurs when speakers who are bilingual or multilingual naturally switch between languages in one sentence or a series of sentences in one conversation.

According to Appel and Muysken (2005), the most evident difference between LB and CS is that LB goes through morphological and phonological alterations in its reconstruction, while CS does not, however they highlighted that CS may experience minor phonological reconstructions. Moreover, unlike CS, borrowed items do not demand minimum knowledge or acquisition of the source language because borrowed words are vastly used by monolinguals and usually become permanent and conventionalised words of the loan language. They claimed that the influence of foreign features is the result of the borrowing occurrence unlike CS which requires knowledge

of the languages in contact and is temporal. According to Sebonde (2014), LB is fairly predictable as it has the position of belonging in the lexicon of the loan language, however, CS is not predictable because the features involved in CS are not necessarily recurring. Poplack (2004) asserted that CS is applied by speakers who are fluent in both languages involved and extends to utterance and syntax level, while LB happens only at the lexical level. Meanwhile Romaine (1995) concluded that LB is phonologically, syntactically and morphologically unified, accepted by the speakers and able to create a continuum with the model language while CS does not reflect these features.

### **2.2.2 Motivation for Borrowing**

Borrowing of lexical is bound to occur when two or more languages come into contact. Certain lexical items from Chinese languages are borrowed into Singlish discourse because they “convey specific undertones that are difficult to replicate using existing English words” (Tan, 2009: 467). For instance in Singlish, the word *kiasu* has replaced the expression of ‘fear of losing out’ because there is no word in English which is equivalent to this meaning. According to Tan (2009: 466), a vital motivation for lexical borrowing is allied to the use of “Chinese borrowings to emphasise that the person denoted is of Chinese background”, such as *tauke/towkay*, *mui tsai* and *amah chieh*. For example, when a colloquial English speaker uses the word *tauke/towkay*, he/she is referring to a Chinese shop owner or a businessman, never an Indian, Malay or foreign businessman. According to Ross (1991), as cited in Tan (2009: 466), there are two categories of borrowings driven by “different social motivation”. First native speakers of the “recipient language adopt features from the source language because the latter is perceived to be more prestigious” and the second which “occurs during the process of

language shift, and non-native speakers of the recipient language incorporate words from their native language as markers of their separate identity”.

Meanwhile according to Buang et al. (2017), Singlish has many lexical borrowings because the majority of Singaporeans are either bilingual or multilingual, and most of these lexical borrowings originated from either Hokkien (e.g., cheem, chin chai, kaypo) or Malay (e.g., rojak, makan, kena). Buang et al. (2017) listed five possible factors which may lead to borrowing.

Motivation	Definition
Euphemistic	Words which are used as a replacement so that the speaker may avoid using offensive ones such as <i>pondan (faggot)</i> . Hence, speakers feel it is worthwhile to borrow such words and adopt them into the Singlish vocabulary.
Idiomatic	At times, idioms from another language may be incorporated to convey a particular concept or idea. For example, the Malay phrase <i>potong jalan (overtake)</i> in. Singlish “ <i>Why you potong jalan my gal?</i> ” would mean “Why did you steal my girlfriend from me?” (Buang et al., 2017:146).
Metonymical	When used in the Singlish context, some words go through a process where these words gain a “new sense by virtue of association” (Buang et al., 2017:146). For instance, <i>goondu</i> in Tamil means fat however in Singlish it means someone who acts foolish.
Social Solidarity and Accommodation Theory	When speakers converse in Singlish, borrowing penetrates the conversation and, this can be considered a process intended to reduce social distance and to accommodate each other. Speakers balance two or more languages in a kind of linguistic cocktail as they adapt to each other in conversation (Hudson, 1996). This balancing happens when Singlish speakers attempt to accommodate each other and build up solidarity among them.

Communal Interaction	This happens when speakers of different languages and dialects are put together in a situation where chances are created for prolonged conversations. In such an environment, the languages involved may be less effective, hence the community creates a lingua franca with mixed features for easy interaction. For example, “the Malay word, <i>bodoh</i> (meaning stupid or silly) in English is widely understood by all races in Singapore” (Buang et al., 2017:147).
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Table 2.1: Buang et al.'s (2017) suggested motivation for borrowing.

### 2.3 Winford's (2003) Types of Lexical Borrowing

Winford (2003: 11) uses the term lexical borrowing to describe contact-induced changes, which occur in situations where the speaker maintains the use of his “native language” but borrows certain lexical items and linguistic patterns from another language. When borrowing occurs, two or more languages are usually involved and linguists have labeled these languages using different terms. Haugen (1950), for example, uses the term *loan* and *model* to distinguish the languages involved in the borrowing process. Therefore, in the following discussion, **model** language will be used to refer to English and **loan** language(s) will be used to refer to the local languages spoken in Singapore (Malay, Chinese and Indian languages).

Winford (2003) proposed two sets of language contact-induced classifications, *lexical borrowings* and *creations*. There are three categories for creations but they differ from lexical borrowings as “they are innovations based on patterns in the target language which have no real counterpart in the source language” (Petzell, 2005: 88). Therefore, the classification on creations will not be discussed in this section as this study is focused on lexical borrowings. This study adopted Winford's (2003) lexical borrowing categorisation based on Haugen's (1950) “groundbreaking work on lexical borrowing” (Tan, 2009: 12) as the framework to analyse the types of lexical borrowings from the

local languages into Singlish. The key concept in Haugen's definition of borrowing is "attempted reproduction" (Haugen, 1950: 212) in a *maintained language* of patterns and structures from another language with which the former is in contact. Winford (2003) stated that Haugen (1950) proposed his types of lexical borrowing based on the level of morphemic *importation* and *substitution*. This distinction between importation and substitution applies not only to a given loan as a whole but to its constituent patterns as well, since different parts of the pattern may be treated differently. A morpheme is the smallest meaningful linguistic unit (Napps, 1989). It can be either a stem or an affix attached to a word; for example, both *boy* and the suffix *-s* in *boys* are morphemes. Napps (1989) stated that two words are considered to be morphemically related if they share a stem. It is not necessary that words share meaning in order to be considered morphemic relatives, for example *terrify* and *terrific*, and it is not enough that words share a physical relationship, for example *cars* and *card*.

Importation occurs when the borrowed pattern resembles the "model so that a native speaker would accept it as his own" (Haugen, 1950: 212). This means the speaker has **imported** the word into his language. However, if the speaker has inadequately reproduced the model, he has only **substituted** it with similar pattern from his own language. The distinction between these two mechanisms "applies not only to a given loan as a whole but to its constituent patterns as well, since different parts of the pattern may be treated differently" (Haugen, 1950: 212). His classification consists of three main categories which are **loanwords**, **loanblends** and **loanshifts**. These three categories can be further broken down into eight sub-categories: blended stems, derivational blends, compound blends, loan homonyms, loan synonyms, semantic displacements, semantic confusions and loan translation. However, Winford's (2003) adaptation of Haugen's (1950) work proposed a simpler version of the model. Winford (2003: 11) uses the term lexical borrowing to describe the contact-induced changes that



occur in situations where the speech community preserves the use of “its native language from generation to generation” but borrows some lexical and structural features from an external language. According to Tan (2009: 456), this definition is precise enough, “covering various forms of interlingual influence ranging from those that emerge from situations of minimal contact”, where the loan language speakers have superficial knowledge of the model language, to those that evolve out of very intense contact conditions, such as in the case of bilingual and multilingual speech communities.

Winford’s (2003) simplified model consists of two main categories loanwords and loanshifts. These two categories can be broken down into four sub-categories; **pure loanwords, loan blends, semantic extensions and loan translations**. According to Winford (2003), pure loanwords, which involve total morphemic importation without substitution, may consist of compounds or single words which go through some semantic changes. Loan blends, which involve morphemic importation as well as substitution, display a combination of morphemes from the model and the loan language. Meanwhile, loanshifts which are also labeled as ‘loan meanings’ in Winford (2003: 133) involve total morphemic substitution without importation. The produced patterns of loanshifts can be categorised under semantic extensions or loan translations. The former is produced with a range of extended meanings while the latter is produced with a shift in meaning from the model language due to influence by the loan language. The table below presents the definitions and examples for each category from Winford’s (2003) adaptation of Haugen’s (1950) model.

Types of Lexical Borrowing	Definition	Examples from Winford (2003)
<b>Loanwords</b>		
Pure Loanwords	Lexemes which are produced with	French <i>rendezvous</i> in English

	total morphemic importation.	
Loan Blends	Lexemes in which one unit is imported and one unit is replaced with a model language (English) equivalent. Involves both morphemic substitution as well as importation.	Pennsylvania German. <i>Bassig</i> (E. <i>boss</i> + G. <i>-ig</i> )
<b>Loanshifts</b>		
Semantic Extensions	Lexemes which have a range of meanings additional to its model language (English) meaning. Involves morphemic substitution.	American Portuguese <i>frio</i> 'cold infection' (on model of Eng. <i>cold</i> ).
Loan Translations	Lexemes which are translated from its original language to the model language (English) and retains its original context. Involves total morphemic substitution with meaning shift.	Germ. <i>Wolkenkratzer</i> (cf. Eng. <i>skyscraper</i> )

Table 2.2: Winford's (2003) lexical contact phenomena (lexical borrowing)

#### 2.4 Baskaran's (2005) Indigenisation Features of Lexical Borrowing

While Winford's (2003) types of lexical borrowing are based on the presence of **morphemic** substitution and importation, Baskaran's (2005) indigenisation features of lexical borrowing are based on the form or **meaning** of the lexical item. Baskaran (2005: 37) stated that the indigenisation features "that are salient" in a colloquial variety of English can be regarded via various approaches. Among the various approaches, one is to attempt "a categorisation of the indigenisation features in terms of the form or meaning of the lexemes". According to her, these lexemes can be described in the light of "cognates, word-formation processes, idioms or as features showing semantic

relationships like collocation, synonymy, antonymy, hyponymy, polysemy and homonymy” (Baskaran, 2005: 37). When analysing English in the Singapore context, the semantic relationships of the following kinds can be considered; **Local Language Referents and Standard English Lexicalisation.**

#### **2.4.1 Local Language Referents (LLF)**

LLF is divided into six sub-groups which consist of **institutionalised concepts, emotional and cultural loading, semantic restriction, cultural/culinary terms, hyponymous collocation and campus/student coinages.** According to Baskaran (2005) institutionalised concepts are lexical items which have been ‘institutionalised’ because they do not possess equivalents in Standard English. These words fail to successfully convey the meaning of the local term when they are either translated or paraphrased. In the context of ME, Baskaran (2005) explained that words grouped under ‘emotional and cultural loading’ like *rukun-tetangga* or *gotong-royong* lose ‘their culture-bound association’ when translated or paraphrased and are usually not available in the Standard English context. Meanwhile, words like *kampung* (village) convey a more localised (Malaysianised) characteristic. Semantic restrictions are words with a possible translation in English but applied in a ‘semantically restricted’ area, for instance *dadah* (drugs). Words like *sambal* (chili paste) and *ang pow* (red packet) are examples of cultural and culinary terms which refer to a certain local origin and ecology. Hyponymous collocations are “the presence of local words collocated with the English superordinate term” (Baskaran 2005: 41), for example, *orang asli people* (aboriginal people). Baskaran (2005) claimed that campus/student coinages, the last category of LLF, have only penetrated ME because of adaptation from the Malay language which is the medium of instruction in schools. Consequently, this has encouraged the use of local

words amongst university and school students, for example, *lepak* (hang-out). The table below presents a summary of Baskaran's (2005) LLF.

<b>LOCAL LANGUAGE REFERENTS</b>		
<b>Indigenisation Features of Lexical Borrowing</b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Examples from Baskaran (2005)</b>
Institutionalised Concepts	A local lexical item which does not have an equivalent in English and has been institutionalised.	<i>bumiputera</i> <i>gotong-royong</i> <i>khalwat</i> <i>rukun-tetangga</i>
Emotional and Cultural Loading	Local lexical items which are emotionally as well as culturally influenced. Though these words can be translated into English, they "lose their culture-bound association" (Baskaran, 2005:39).	<i>kampung</i> <i>dusun</i> <i>bomoh</i> <i>penghulu</i> <i>pantang</i>
Semantic Restriction	A local lexical item which has possible translation in English but is applied in a semantically restricted field.	<i>dadah</i> <i>haj</i> <i>toddy</i> <i>silat</i> <i>padi</i>
Cultural and Culinary Terms	Local lexical items which comprise local domestic and culinary terms and are characteristic of native ecology and origin.	<i>sate</i> <i>kuali</i> <i>mee</i> <i>kacang</i> <i>sambal</i>

Hyponymous Collocation	Lexical items which comprise “local words collocated with the English superordinate term” (Baskaran, 2005:41)	<i>meranti wood</i> <i>orang asli people</i> <i>batik cloth</i> <i>nobat drum</i> <i>bersanding ceremony</i>
Campus or Student Coinages	Local lexical items that have been coined by students and have a specific meaning in the school and campus environment.	<i>leceh</i> <i>teruk</i> <i>doongu</i> <i>police-pondok</i> <i>dadah-ing</i>

Table 2.3: Baskaran's (2005) categorisation of Local Language Referents

#### 2.4.2 Standard English Lexicalisation (SEL)

SEL refers to English words which possess a local meaning or usage. Baskaran (2005) noted that local speakers have the tendency to use Standard English words in a certain manner, just like speakers of other English varieties. SEL is divided into six different indigenisation features; **polysemic variation**, **semantic restriction**, **informalisation**, **formalisation**, **directional reversal** and **college colloquialism**. These features of lexical borrowing are identified on the basis of semantic significance, the processes of register shift, semantic shift and semantic widening. Words which fall under the category of polysemic variation are English words that maintain the original sense and at the same time have an expanded semantic definition which does not exist in standard English. For example, the word *cut* carries the definition of slicing but ,in the context of ME it also means “to reduce money/points’ or ‘overtake a vehicle” (Baskaran, 2005: 44). In the context of ME, words under the category of semantic restriction are confined to a certain meaning only, for example words like ‘cooling’ are used to describe food

and beverages. The informalisation category describes the use of colloquial words in the standard English context, for example the usage of ‘kids’ instead of ‘children’ in newspaper headlines (Baskaran, 2005). Formalisation happens when standard words are applied in informal situations by ME speakers, for example, using ‘shifting’ instead of moving. Baskaran (2005: 47) proposed that this condition could be a “matter of collocational confusion”. Directional reversal describes the use of verbs in reverse, for example ‘borrow’ and ‘lend’. Instead of ‘can you lend me?’, ME speakers have the habit of saying ‘can you borrow me?’. The last group of SEL is college colloquialism which describes the localised words used within a student community. For instance, the usage of shortened words like ‘sabo’ for sabotage and ‘frus’ for frustrated (Baskaran, 2005). The table below presents a summary of Baskaran’s (2005) SEL.

<b>STANDARD ENGLISH LEXICALISATION</b>		
<b>Indigenisation Features of Lexical Borrowing</b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Examples from Baskaran (2005)</b>
Polysemic Variation	An English lexical item that maintains its original meaning yet at the same time has an extended meaning.	<i>open</i> <i>call</i> <i>aunty/uncle</i> <i>occupy</i> <i>bungalow</i>
Semantic Restriction	English lexical items which are “used in a narrower sense, confined to specific referents only” (Baskaran, 2005:45)	<i>windy</i> <i>heaty</i> <i>cooling</i> <i>tuck-shop</i> <i>one kind</i>
Informalisation	Colloquial English lexical items	<i>partner</i>

	used in a formal context	<i>flick</i> <i>line</i> <i>follow</i> <i>stay</i>
Formalisation	Formal English lexical items used in a colloquial context.	<i>furnish</i> <i>witness</i> <i>scrutinize</i> <i>study</i> <i>residence</i>
Directional Reversal	English lexical items which are used in reverse order	<i>go/come</i> <i>bring/send</i> <i>fetch/take</i> <i>borrow/lend</i> <i>send/take</i>
College Colloquialism	English lexical items used among students in schools, colleges or universities.	<i>frus</i> <i>sabo</i> <i>cheap-skate</i> <i>worst type</i> <i>lamp-post</i>

Table 2.4: Baskaran's (2005) categorisation of Standard English Lexicalisation

## 2.5 Computer Mediated Communication

Hiltz and Turoff (1978) came up with the term Computer Mediated Communication (CMC) in their study on computer conferencing, confining the term to electronic communications. Naidu and Jarvela (2006) described CMC as a general term that includes all types of communications between groups and individuals by networked

electronic devices. This type of communication can be either synchronous or asynchronous. In the synchronous type, users are logged-in and react to each other's messages at the same duration of time while in the asynchronous type, the users are logged-in at different times. Naidu and Jarvela (2006) further explained that the synchronous mode can be compared to a phone conversation but the difference is synchronous CMC is based on text while phone conversation is based on voice. Meanwhile, for the asynchronous mode users who wish to communicate with other users can do so at their preferred place and time which does not require face to face interaction. This serves as an advantage for those in both academic and administrative affairs. Employees and employers can take advantage of this facility to conduct conferences, while students and instructors can use this for learning and teaching purposes. CMC users are also able to publish their views and opinions on ongoing and contemporary issues in their own preferred time as these posts are all saved in the network for repeated viewing.

CMC also has its own attributes, particularly in the aspects of linguistics. Murray (2000: 400) claimed that CMC can be characterised based on its four linguistic features. This thread smoothens the flow and improves the organisation of a communication and contributes to a more understandable way of communicating. Firstly, "CMC is found to possess language similar to both spoken and written language" which makes it unique. Secondly, there is the presence of simplified register where it consists of the use of abbreviations, acceptance of typographical and spelling errors, simplified syntax and formulaic phrases (Murray, 2000). Thirdly, the structure of CMC conversations conforms to the standard rules of 'speech communities' which include greetings, openings and turn-taking. This is because the technology allows identification of both sender and recipient so users can easily identify participants and address them according to the name which appears on the device's screen. The last feature is topic thread



cohesion, which refers to tools created to help users keep a particular topic going like in emails and blogs.

CMC may be devoid of restrictions such as language filtration, for example when articles or letters go through the editorial desk before they are published in newspapers. Hence, blogs which were used as data for this study are a type of CMC which has greater likelihood of displaying high level Singlish usage.

### **2.5.1 Blogging**

According to Schmidt (2007) in the last few years, blogs have emerged as a new genre of CMC. Blogs are a type of online communication, expression and publishing that has received exceptional recognition since its introduction during the early 2000s. Puschmann (2013: 83) reported that both the terms blogging and blogs were added to the English Oxford Dictionary in 2003 and that the WordNet Princeton describes blog as “a shared online journal where people can post diary entries about their personal experiences and hobbies, postings on a blog are usually in chronological order”, and blogging as “reading, writing, or editing a shared on-line journal”. Schmidt (2007) added that blogs are utilised to publish and share vast range of topics and also videos, audio clips and photos. Some unique attributes of blogs are that they are often updated where new photos, text or videos are uploaded on a constant basis and arranged in reverse order. “Readers often have the option to comment on any individual posting, which is identified by a unique URL” (Schmidt, 2007:1). Though some level of sharing and openness is normally associated with blogging, blogs with restricted access are available in organisational and corporate platforms where bloggers prefer to keep their blog private. According to Puschmann (2013), terms like bloggy and blogospher have

emerged in the last decade, to refer to its features and wholeness. Blogging has become a global occurrence regardless of language, context and communities and blogs have similar features with personal letters and diaries which are “genres that are author-centric in terms of mode and sequential in terms of text organization” (Puschmann, 2013: 85). Crystal (2006: 15-16) stated that blogging language is regarded as ‘unmediated’ where “the language of blogs displays the process of writing in its naked, unedited form”. Hence, blogs were chosen as data for this study because they constitute a public journal where the use of Singlish is more likely to occur.

## **2.6 Past Studies on Lexical Borrowing**

Many studies have been carried out on lexical borrowings between two or more languages. Lexical borrowings have been analysed in relation to multiple aspects like type, feature, motivation and purpose among others. The following studies demonstrate the many approaches to analysing lexical borrowings.

Malakar (2003) conducted a lexical level study to analyse the lexical borrowings found in English newspapers in Malaysia. Malakar's (2003) aim was to identify the types of lexical borrowings from local languages corresponding with four news sections which were the education, sports, entertainment and local news. She found that the local news genre contained a large amount of lexical borrowings compared to the other three genres, probably because this particular genre is associated with communication, arts and social concepts of the Eastern-way of lifestyle. Malakar (2003) concluded that a high level of contact between the foreign and local language allows a wide range of borrowing.

Tan (2009) conducted two corpus-based research on lexical borrowings in Malaysian English (ME) with one study looking into Chinese and the other into Malay lexical borrowings. She used the Malaysian English Newspaper Corpus (MEN Corpus) for both studies and studied an extensive set of borrowed features. The study which looked at Chinese lexical items examined the rationale behind the incorporation of Chinese language borrowings in the use of ME. The findings suggested that the upholding of traditional Chinese practices and culture by a multilingual community that continues to use colloquial English has produced the uplift for this form of 'contact phenomenon'. A large portion of the lexical borrowings in her data consisted of compound blends, loanwords and loan translations. Meanwhile, the study which looked at Malay lexical borrowings examined the linguistic processes behind the borrowing of Malay features. Loanwords, compound blends and loan translations were identified and analysed which reveal that a large number of Malay borrowings are made 'English-like' through phonological and morphosyntactic processes.

Thirusanku and Yunus (2013) conducted a qualitative study to investigate the use of ME lexicon in the spoken and written discourse of English as a second language (ESL) teachers in Malaysian secondary schools. The study aimed to classify the types of lexical borrowings from Chinese, Malay and Indian languages and identify why and to what extent these lexical borrowings were used. They found that the majority of lexical borrowings used by ESL teachers belong to the Malay language due to its status as the official language. Borrowings from Chinese and Indian languages "show that the English language is still in contact with other languages to express new ideas and concepts and mostly to retain the culture and tradition of Malaysians regardless of ethnicity" (Thirusanku & Yunus, 2013: 185).

Endarto's (2018) objective of study was to investigate the use of Indonesian lexicon in The Jakarta Post, an English language daily. He said that the need for Indonesians to express themselves and their culture in ESL has resulted in the adaptation of local lexicon into English which made way for the emergence of a new English variety - Indonesian English. With the expanding acceptance of English medium mass media in Indonesia, "there has been another need for using the language to express ideas not only to English speakers of other nationalities but more importantly among Indonesians themselves" (Endarto, 2018: 50). With regard to lexis, when English is utilised to interpret Indonesian contexts, it also tends to adapt specific words and lexical structure which may be particular to the Indonesian language.

Ong's (2012) objective of study was to identify the new meanings and usage derived from the borrowed items in blogs written by young multilingual Malaysian ESL learners who were based in Adelaide, Newcastle and Malaysia. Ong (2012: 1) chose 40 blog entries and applied a "descriptive-interpretive approach based on a triangulation of quantitative and qualitative methods" to analyse her data. Two instruments were used in order to triangulate the data, an interview and a questionnaire both via electronic mail. Ong (2012: 1) used Baskaran's (2005) framework to analyse her data, where out of 15 words, 12 words conformed to the framework while the other three words not "identified by Baskaran's framework had been confirmed in this study as well as by other researchers". Ong (2012) concluded that the Internet may be one possible platform for the unveiling of Malaysian cultural norms and the recognition of ME. New creative ways of writing and communication have developed in the present day though the early English speakers in Malaysia left a footprint. The brave and versatile approach taken by young Malaysians to use and coin localised language forms in blogging could "benefit Malaysian students as it is authentic and real language used on a daily basis" (Ong,

2012:10). She utilised the WordSmith Tools software to measure the occurrence rate of each word.

## **2.7 Summary**

This chapter has explored models on world Englishes, specifically Kachru's (1984, 1985, 1992) and Schneider's (2003) models, the concerns in relation to the notion of borrowing, CMC and blogging. Scholarly works relating to lexical borrowing were reviewed and the frameworks of Winford (2003) and Baskaran (2005) were also discussed. The next chapter will look into the methodology used in this present study.

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## CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

### 3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of procedures and methods applied in order to achieve the objectives of this research. The first section of this chapter will discuss the research design of this study.

The second section will detail the process of data collection composed of blog entries written and authored by Singaporeans, including the ethical considerations applied in the process.

The last section will describe the analysis of the data and instruments used to facilitate the process, which was the AntConc 3.4.4w concordance software.

### 3.1 Research Design

This research adopted a corpus based approach to present and explain the results with regard to lexical borrowing. According to Hunston and Francis (2000: 15), as cited in Tan (2009), the corpus-based approach is “a way of investigating language by observing large amounts of naturally-occurring, electronically-stored discourse, using software which selects, sorts, matches, counts and calculates”. This study utilised this method to identify and analyse borrowed lexical items from the Malay, Chinese and Indian languages.

### 3.2 Data Collection

Mayr and Weller (2017) stated that the primary stage of constructing a study involving social media is normally done by developing questions and deciding on the most suitable data that will provide the answer to the question. They proposed a set of questions which will help in deciding the most suitable type of social media (data) for the research. Accordingly, the table below presents the initial questions suggested by the scholars and answers related to this study:

No	Questions	Answers
1	Which social media platforms would be the most relevant for my research question? Single or multiple?	Single-platform, which are blogs. Unlike other social media platforms (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram etc), weblogs do not have a specific name for their domains.
2	What are my main criteria for selecting data from this platform?	Bloggers make a clear choice to publish their content and are aware that it would be viewed by a large audience and everyone in the world would have access to their content. This serves as an important reason why blogs are the most suitable data for this study because bloggers make a conscious decision to write using a particular language, which in this case is Singlish. This reflects the true cultural identity of the bloggers.
3	How much data do I need? Big or small?	The size of the data is subjective. The data collected is considered large enough to fulfil the objectives of the present study.
4	What is (unproportionally) excluded if I collect data this way?	Bloggers' own motives for using borrowed items which can only be elicited through interviews.

*Table 3.1: Mayr and Weller's (2017: 8) initial stage questions for data collection*

The next stage of data collection is to assign criteria to the data which will be collected. There are a few methods to collect data for a study. According to Mayr and Weller (2017) it is important to first establish the time frame for the data collection. The decided time frame has the potential to influence the findings as time is a crucial aspect that needs to be observed in data collection. This time frame will need to be “considered in combination with the basic strategies that can underlie data collection setups” (Mayr and Weller 2017: 112). The data extracted for this study were published between 2018 and 2019 (a span of almost 2 years). The time specification also reflected the bloggers’ recent habits and choices in writing. The blogger’s demographic detail was another important aspect. Background information of the bloggers was obtained from the ‘about the blogger/writer’ section on their weblog pages. This information was necessary to ensure and uphold the authenticity of the writers as Singaporeans.

200 personal blog entries from 30 different weblogs were chosen and examined in order to have a comprehensive and holistic view, and to ensure a range of lexical borrowings in the data. These 30 weblogs were identified based on the recommended lists of Singapore bloggers who have large number of followers. These bloggers are known for their travel, food, and other lifestyle content. After identifying the bloggers, an average of six to seven entries were selected from each blogger to form the data. As this study is focused on lexical borrowings in Singlish, informal content such as lifestyle and entertainment was selected for analysis. Formal content such as writings on politics or the economy which does not usually use colloquial English was not included in this data.

The entries were manually analysed to identify the borrowed lexical items before analysing them using the concordance software AntConc 3.4.4w to determine the frequency and examine the concordance line for each word. The AntConc software was invented by Laurence Anthony from Waseda University in Tokyo, Japan. According to



Anthony (2006: 7), the AntConc software “hosts a comprehensive set of tools including a powerful concordancer, word and keyword frequency generators”, which were used in this study. This software is free and specifically designed for students.

Before analysing for lexical borrowing, these blog entries were first read to obtain a gross understanding and first impression of the content written by Singaporeans. Based on the reading, all the borrowed items were identified and the concordance software was utilised to calculate the frequency of occurrence for each borrowed word. Words which appeared less than three times were not included to be further analysed. Therefore the reviewed blog entries were sourced from a minimum of three bloggers in line with one of the criteria recommended by Yuen (2007, as cited in Ong 2012: 5), who explained that “this selection criterion displayed the consistency of the selected lexical item and the word is not idiosyncratic in use”.

### **3.3 Data Analysis**

The foremost step of this analysis was to manually and digitally go through the 200 blog entries and generate a list of borrowed items. These borrowed items were further analysed to determine their types and the indigenisation features associated with the borrowings in line with the aim of this study. The types of borrowed items were categorised according to Winford’s (2003) framework and the indigenisation features were analysed according to Baskaran’s (2005) framework. The AntConc software was used to analyse how each borrowed item was used by the bloggers. It also provided a complete list for the frequency of the word in context. The screenshot below illustrates how the AntConc software displays the frequency of the borrowed lexical item *‘kampong’*.

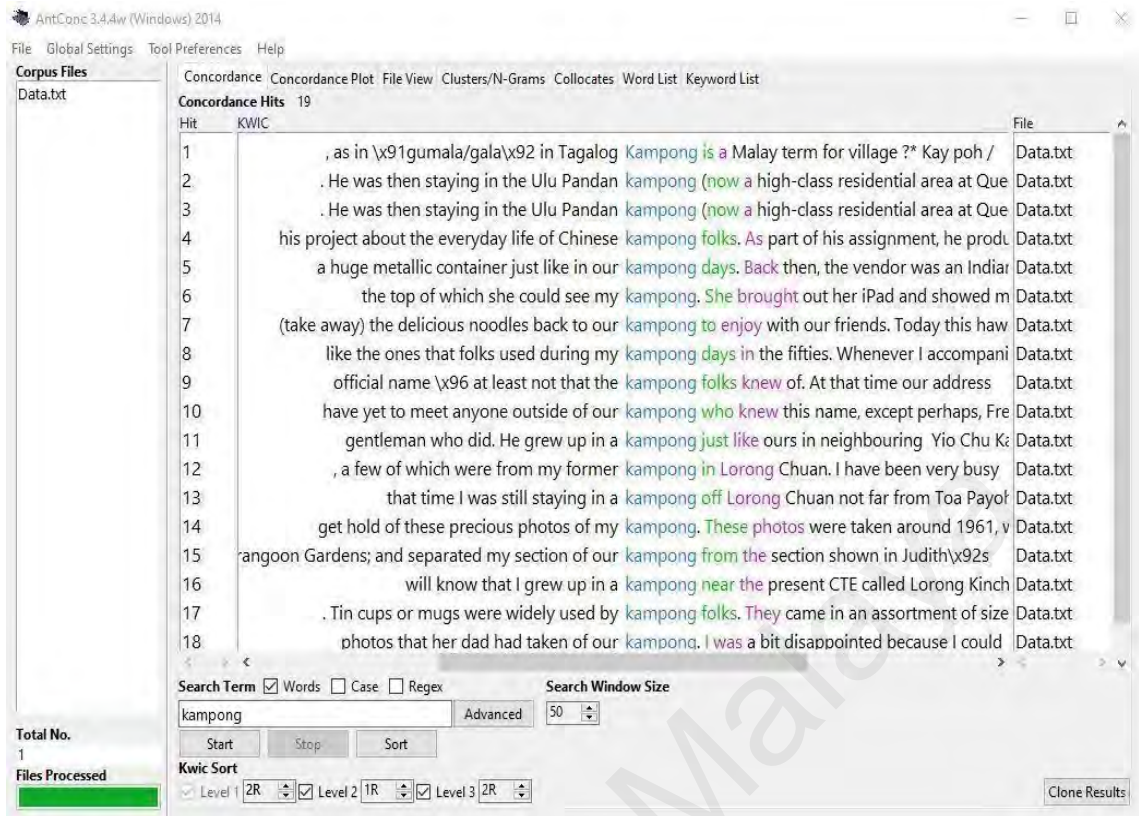


Figure 3.1: Screenshot of the lexical item 'kampong' as displayed on the AntConc software

From the screenshot above, the frequency of the word *kampong* and how it was utilised in a sentence could be observed which gave a glimpse of how each borrowed item was used by the bloggers.

The coding for this data is quite straightforward, since there were no variables considered during the data collection process. It is a combination of the first letter of the borrowed lexical item and the row number in which the example appears. For example, if the lexical item 'kampong' from row 13 is being discussed the code would be 'K13'. For a sampling of the original context, refer to the appendix.

### **3.4 Summary**

Blogs were viewed as the most suitable source of data for this study to analyse borrowed words used by Singaporean bloggers who had made a conscious decision to use these words which reflected their cultural identity. Suitable frameworks were identified to analyse the borrowed items found in the data.

University of Malaya

## CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS

### 4.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the results of a corpus based analysis of lexical borrowings found in blogs written by Singaporeans. The first section will present a list of all the borrowed lexical items identified in the data each borrowed item, its Singlish definition and examples. In the second and third section, discussion relating to research question one and two will be presented. The lexical items will be classified according to their respective (types and features) categories and the words with the highest number of occurrences will be further analysed to examine their characteristics and how they have been used in the blogs.

The types were categorised according to its phonemic and morphemic level of importation and substitution by Haugen (1950) and simplified by Winford (2003). Meanwhile, the indigenisation features in terms of the form and meaning were categorised according to Baskaran (2005). The analysis of the data covered lexical borrowings, particles, interjections and single word lexemes. Although it is debatable whether particles and interjections constitute lexical borrowing, the fact that these elements originated from the local languages suggests that they may be considered an extension of lexical borrowings, hence, worth looking into. Meanwhile, single word lexemes were included in the analysis on the basis of findings by Ong (2012). A brief discussion will be presented on these three elements in the following sections.

A total of 109 borrowed lexical items were identified from the data. The table below displays the findings with their Singlish definitions cited from various Singlish dictionaries and examples of how these lexical items were used in the data. The source

of the definitions is listed below except for names of areas and some food items which are not originally from Singapore.

No	Lexical item	Definition	Example
1	Ah	Exclamation used to indicate admiration, affirmation or exhortation.  - singlishdictionary.com	"I warn you, <b>ah</b> , don't play cheat or I tell teacher..." (A13)
2	Ah Beng	A man perceived to be loutish and uncouth, and who follows fashion trends but is often viewed as lacking taste.  -singlishdictionary.com	" <b>Ah Beng</b> is like that meh?" (A4)
3	Aiyo(h)/ Aiya(h)	An exclamation used at the beginning of a sentence.  - singlishdictionary.com	" <b>Aiyo!</b> I just cut my finger!" (A2)  " <b>Aiyah</b> , he's like that one, lah." (A2)
4	Alamak	A mild exclamation.  -singlishdictionary.com	" <b>Alamak!</b> Tickets for the concert are all sold out!" (A14)
5	Ang Moh	White people/Caucasian.  -singlishdictionary.com	"So when my husband started calling me an <b>ang moh</b> chick as a joke.." (A7)
6	Ang Pow/ Hongbao	Small red (traditionally) packets with money in it.  -singlishdictionary.com	"I collected almost \$600 <b>ang pow</b> last year." (A1)
7	Already	English expression for the particle 'liao'.  -timeout.com	"Eh, recess <b>already</b> you still want to do homework!" (A8)
8	Also	English expression for 'pun'.  -quora.com	"But if you want to give me \$10, <b>also</b> can lah" (A38)
9	Ayam Penyet	Indonesian smashed /flattened chicken.	"I have not had a decent <b>ayam penyet</b> in

			Singapore.” (A4)
10	Atas	Upper/high class taste or lifestyle. -singlishdictionary.com	“You only like going to <i>atas</i> places like P S Cafe” (A7)
11	Babi Guling	Indonesian suckling pig.	“I honestly didn’t think much about <i>Babi Guling</i> ,” (B1)
12	Bak Chor Mee	Chinese minced meat noodles. -singlishdictionary.com	“The best <i>bak chor mee</i> is probably the one my amah used to make.” (B3)
13	Bak Kut Teh	Chinese pork rib broth. -singlishdictionary.com	“The salted vegetable that came with the <i>bak kut teh</i> was not up to my expectation.” (B2)
14	Balik	Malay for going or returning home. -singlishdictionary.com	“Why don’t you just <i>balik</i> ?” (B3)
15	Blur (like) Sotong	Someone as blur as how a sotong’s (squid) ink blurs its predators. -singlishdictionary.com	“Lol I so <i>blur like sotong</i> , never seen it before.” (B3)
16	Bojio	When one is not included in a plan. -locomole.com	“ <i>Bojio!</i> I was free yesterday, I could have joined.” (B4)
17	Briyani	An Indian ghee rice dish usually served with meat, gravy and yogurt. -singlishdictionary.com	“There are many types of <i>briyani</i> .” (B1)
18	Bring	To take someone or something to a place. -guidesify.com	“No ma, I can only <i>bring</i> you on Monday.” (B5)
19	Buay Tahan	Cannot tolerate/cope. -singlishdictionary.com	“So bloody hot! I <i>buay tahan</i> .” (B3)

20	Bukit Panjang	Name of an area.	“ <b>Bukit Panjang</b> is so far from the Changi Airport.” (B3)
21	Call	To invite someone. -thehoneycombers.com	“My mother forced me to <b>call</b> my friends to the party.”(C3)
22	Carry	To praise or butter someone up. Also English for ‘angkat’. -singlishdictionary.com	“He likes it when he’s staffs <b>carry</b> him.” (B2)
23	Cendol	Local iced sweet dessert. -guidesify.com	“It’s between <b>cendol</b> or abc.” (C4)
24	Cheem/Chim	Deep or intellectual. -singlishdictionary.com	“Wah lao, damn <b>cheem</b> , man!” (C2)
25	Chio	Physically attractive. -singlishdictionary.com	“Far East Plaza got a lot of <b>chio</b> bu.” (C4)
26	Chop(e)	Refers to the action of stamping on something.  To hurry up or to reserve something. -singlishdictionary.com	“Check out all the <b>chops</b> on my passport! (C1)  “Don’t worry, I can <b>chop chop</b> make fried rice for you. (C7)  "Thank god you <b>chope</b> a place for us, loka the crowd!” (C1)
27	Die-die	Definitely or certainly. -singlishdictionary.com	"I promise <b>die die</b> will pay you back tomorrow." (D3)
28	Dosa/thosai	Indian rice flour based pancake.	“They call it the instant <b>dosa</b> .” (D2)
29	Eh	An exclamation used to get the attention of the person addressed. -singlishdictionary.com	“ <b>Eh</b> , you got homework, hurry up go and do!” (E14)
30	Follow	To accompany or go with	“Can your please <b>follow</b> me after class?” (F2)

		someone. -guidesify.com	
31	Fried Kangkong	Fried water spinach/water morning glory. -guidesify.com	“Not everyone likes <i>fried kangkong</i> ” (K1)
32	Frus	Abbreviation of frustrated. -singlish.net	"So damn <i>frus</i> ah this girl!" (F2)
33	Go	To move from one place to another. -guidesify.com	“Can I <i>go</i> your house later after school?” (G32)
34	Gostan	To go astern or reverse while driving. -singlishdictionary.com	“You can <i>gostan</i> your car some more” (G1)
35	Got	Denoting availability of something. -coursehero.com	"I where <i>got</i> like McDonalds?" (G10)
36	Hawker	Someone who sells food or drinks in one designated stall in a food court. -singlishdictionary.com	“..Nasi lemak at a <i>hawker</i> stall is about \$4” (H8)
37	Hor	An exclamation used in the middle or end of sentences for emphasis. -singlishdictionary.com	“Don’t play play <i>hor</i> .” (H1)
38	Hubby	Slang for husband. -singlish.net	“My <i>hubby</i> very often travels for work.” (H3)
39	Jalan	A road or to walk. -singlishdictionary.com	“Turn right at the end of the <i>jalan</i> and go straight till you see the shop..” (J8)
40	Jalan Besar	Name of an area.	“We stayed near <i>Jalan Besar</i> for a couple of years before moving to...” (J1)



41	Jalan-jalan	To stroll or walk about. -singlishdictionary.com	"We usually go <b><i>jalan-jalan</i></b> at ECP with the kids." (J1)
42	Kampong (kampung)	Malay for rural villages. -singlishdictionary.com	"I was born in a <b><i>kampung</i></b> somewhere in Novena" (K18)
43	Kampung chicken	Chicken reared in the village. -singlishdictionary.com	"Only certain markets have <b><i>kampung chicken.</i></b> " (C4)
44	Kampong days	A period of time spent/lived in the village. -singlishdictionary.com	"...a huge metallic container just like in our <b><i>kampong days.</i></b> " (K2)
45	Kampong folks	People from or who live in the village. -singlishdictionary.com	"Tin cups or mugs were widely used by <b><i>kampong folks.</i></b> " (K3)
46	Kampong Fried Rice	Village style fried rice usually cooked with anchovies.	"I am quite fond of their <b><i>Kampung fried rice</i></b> which was a chef recommendation." (K2)
47	Kancheong	One feeling nervous or anxious. -singlishdictionary.com	"Are Singaporean parents and kids too <b><i>kancheong?</i></b> " (K6)
48	Kari Ayam	Chicken curry.	"The famous toasted bread and <b><i>kari ayam.</i></b> " (K3)
49	Kaypo(h)	Someone who is a busybody. -singlishdictionary.com	"She damn <b><i>kaypoh</i></b> lah.." (K3)
50	Kayu	Someone who is stupid. -singlishdictionary.com	"They usually say referee <b><i>kayu</i></b> when the referee makes a mistake in a..."(K7)
51	Kebun Baru	Name of a community club. Or the name of an area.	"To get to <b><i>Kebun Baru</i></b> , you can get off at Ang Moh Kio."
52	Kiasu	One's fear of missing out. -singlishdictionary.com	"I saw your <b><i>kiasu</i></b> post on your site through your tweet...?" (K11)

53	Kopi	Malay for coffee. -singlishdictionary.com	“We can go for <i>kopi</i> and kaya toast before starting the tour.”
54	Koyak	Broken or spoilt. -singlishdictionary.com	"...will need a new one, this one <i>koyak</i> already.” (K3)
55	La(h)	Particle suffixed to the emphatic word in a sentence. -singlishdictionary.com	“This fish is so undercooked, cannot make it <i>lah!</i> .” (L29)
56	Le(h)	An exclamation used at the end of sentences for emphasis. -singlishdictionary.com	“Lend me your car <i>leh?</i> ” (L5)
57	Leceh	Malay for troublesome. -singlishdictionary.com	“So <i>leceh</i> la, pick up you and then have to...” (L5)
58	Lepak	To spend time aimlessly. -singlishdictionary.com	“Eh, we not <i>lepak</i> too long, my lecturer is quite strict.” (L8)
59	Lor	A particle used at the end of sentences or at pauses to express affirmation. -singlishdictionary.com	"Just do it like that <i>lor.</i> ” (L6)
60	Lorong Chuan	Name of an area.	“I was still staying in a kampong off <i>Lorong Chuan</i> not far from Toa Payoh.” (L1)
61	Mah Fan	Mandarin for troublesome. -urbandictionary.com	"Why you always come and <i>mah fan</i> me one?" (M3)
62	Makan	Malay for eat. -singlishdictionary.com	“My first time going to K Box to <i>makan</i> ” (M7)
63	Makan Place(s)	Place where one eats. -singlishdictionary.com	“A list of <i>makan places</i> that we aim to visit as soon..” (M3)
64	Mala	Chinese spicy condiments.	“I prefer the <i>mala</i> chips to the <i>mala</i> fish skin.”

			(M1)
65	Mamak	A restaurant traditionally operated by Indian Muslims. -singlishdictionary.com	“The <b>mamak</b> near my place has some decent chicken soup.” (M2)
66	Mangkuk	Describing someone as brainless. -singlishdictionary.com	“My bf such a <b>mangkuk</b> .” (M3)
67	Masala	A mixture of ground spices used in Indian cooking. -mysmu.edu	“You can get all the <b>masala</b> powder you need at Little India.” (M3)
68	Masjid	Malay for mosque. -singaporeguidebook.com	“One of the biggest <b>masjid</b> is in Arab St.” (M1)
69	Mee Rebus	Noodles in thick spicy gravy. -singlishdictionary.com	The gravy for <b>mee rebus</b> is made of potatoes. (M2)
70	Murukku	Indian savoury snack. -singlishdictionary.com	“..every Deepavali she used to give us <b>murukku</b> and laddus.” (M3)
71	Nasi Lemak	Malaysian coconut rice dish served with egg, chili paste, cucumbers and anchovies. -singlishdictionary.com	“But that \$12.80 <b>Nasi Lemak</b> does come with a good portion, in...” (N6)
72	Nasi Padang	Indonesian rice dish served with varieties of gravies and side dishes. -singlishdictionary.com	“The ang mohs don’t really like <b>nasi padang</b> , they say it’s too spicy.” (N4)
73	One	A person having the characteristics indicated. -singlishdictionary.com	“Why you so stupid <b>one</b> .” (O62)
74	Open	To switch or turn on something. -mysmu.edu	“How do I <b>open</b> the fan?” (O4)

75	Padang	Malay for field. -mysmu.edu	“We checked out the <i>padang</i> as well.”(P9)
76	Paiseh	One's embarrassment in a situation. -singlishdictionary.com	“Don't <i>paiseh</i> lah, come eat together”(P3)
77	Pasir Panjang	Name of an area.	“I wasn't sure where <i>Pasir Panjang</i> was.” (P3)
78	Penang Laksa	Tangy fish based soup with noodles originated from Penang. -singlishdictionary.com	“I must say that it is the best <i>Penang Laksa</i> that we have tried so far!” (P4)
79	Putu Mayam	Indian idiyappam, a rice flour based string hoppers. -singlishdictionary.com	“And then there is the <i>putu mayam</i> .” (P1)
80	Putu Piring	Steamed rice flour cakes with palm sugar filling usually served with shredded coconut. -singlishdictionary.com	“The <i>putu piring</i> gets a little hard when it's...” (P3)
81	Roti Prata	Indian flatbread. -singlishdictionary.com	“For the buffet breakfast theres <i>roti prata</i> and the tall tall roti.” (R5)
82	Rojak	A mix of people or something. Or a local mix fruit and vegetable salad served with peanut sauce. -singlishdictionary.com	“The <i>rojak</i> is priced at \$3 to \$8 with the selection of...” (R6)
83	Sabo	Abbreviation for sabotage. -singlishdictionary.com	“You won't believe who tried to <i>sabo</i> us! .” (S3)
84	Saman	Malay for summon. -rememberingsingapore.org	"We both kena <i>saman</i> .” (S4)
85	Sambal	Chili paste cooked in oil. -singlishdictionary.com	“...where the vegetable is stir-fried with a <i>sambal</i> paste.” (S2)

86	Satay/Sate	Small pieces of meat grilled on a skewer served with peanut gravy.  -singlishdictionary.com	“Conclusion <i>Satay</i> holds a very special place in Singapore food...” (S1)
87	Send	To give someone a ride or drop someone or something off.  -angmohdan.com	“I will <i>send</i> the boxes by today, can?”(S2)
88	Shiok	Express one’s great satisfaction.  -singlishdictionary.com	“Today weather damn <i>shiok</i> .” (S3)
89	Sian	One experiencing boredom or a lack of enthusiasm.  -singlishdictionary.com	“My job is damn <i>sian</i> , man.” (S2)
90	Sial	Malay slang for very or to the max. Or calling someone an idiot.  -sgag.sg	"Damn <i>sial</i> lah that woman.." (S1)
91	Song	Hokkien for satisfaction or pleasure.  -quaro.com	“My grandmother was so <i>song</i> after that.” (S1)
92	Stay/Staying	To live (in a place).  -quaro.com	“I have to <i>stay</i> with my elderly parents.” (S3)
93	Tandoori	Food cooked in a tandoor (clay oven).	“Any naan goes well with <i>tandoori</i> chicken.” (T4)
94	Tapau/Dabao	To take away food.  -singlishdictionary.com	“We often <i>ta-pau</i> the delicious noodles back to...” (T3)
95	Tau Pok	Fried beancurd  -singlishdictionary.com	“I just had <i>tau pok</i> for lunch today” (T3)
96	Talk Cock	When one is talking nonsense or random stuff.  -singlishdictionary.com	“Eh you guys can really <i>talk cock</i> ah?” (T4)

97	Take	To pick up someone or something. -singlishdictionary.com	"I think I will <b>take</b> mom to the hospital today..." (T12)
98	Teh Tarik	Pulled milk tea. -singlishdictionary.com	"Their coffee and <b>teh tarik</b> are very popular too." (T1)
99	Teh Halia	Ginger milk tea. -singlishdictionary.com	" <b>Teh halia</b> or otherwise known hot ginger tea..." (T3)
100	Tekan	One being abused or scolded. -singlishdictionary.com	"We had quite a hard core <b>tekan</b> sessions during our NS days." (T1)
101	Tofu/Tauhu	Bean curd. -singlishdictionary.com	"I bet the <b>tofu</b> was cooked in lard, with that savory lardy.." (T4)
102	Ulu	A place which is not easy to be found. Or people of the interior. -singlishdictionary.com	"My dad said it was a very <b>ulu</b> place." (U2)
103	Vomit Blood	Undergoing extreme difficulty or stress. -singlishdictionary.com	"I can't do this anymore, I'm going to <b>vomit blood</b> ." (V1)
104	Wah lan/lau	Hokkien expression for 'oh my goodness' or 'wow'. -singlishdictionary.com	" <b>Wah lau!</b> I didn't see that coming." (W1)
105	Warung	Small local Malay cafe. -definitions.net	"I don't think there are many <b>warung</b> in Singapore." (W1)
106	Yaya Papaya	One who is arrogant or a show-off. -singlishdictionary.com	"You know her lah, very <b>yaya papaya</b> ." (Y4)
107	Yong Tau Foo	Chinese food consisting of meat and vegetables sometimes served dry or with soup. -singlishdictionary.com	"We used to eat a lot of <b>yong tau foo</b> when we were in college." (Y3)

108	Your Head	An exclamation response to someone's remark that you do not agree with. -singlishdictionary.com	" <i>Your head</i> la I took your money!" (Y4)
109	Youtiao	Fried Chinese doughnut stick. -singlishdictionary.com	"I regret not ordering extra tau pok and <i>youtiao</i> to soak up that delish gravy." (Y4)

Table 4.1: Lexical items found in blogs written by Singaporeans.

#### 4.1 Findings on Types of Lexical Borrowings

Based on Winford's (2003) framework, the majority of the lexical items belonged to pure loans followed by semantic extensions, loan blends and loan translations. The table below lists the identified lexical borrowings according to their categories and those with the highest number of occurrences are discussed below according to their phonemic and morphemic level of importation and substitution. Four lexical items, frus, gostan, hubby and sabo however did not fit under Winford's (2003) categories because they were neither loanwords nor loanshifts but shortened versions of their original forms and maintained their meaning as that in standard English. The identified lexical borrowings comprise of 67 pure loanwords, nine loan blends, 14 semantic extensions and two loan translations.

Loanwords		Loanshifts	
Pure loanwords	Loan blends	Semantic extensions	Loan translations
ah beng	blur (like) sotong	bring	carry
ang moh	fried kangkong	call	one

ang pow	kampung chicken	chope	satay
ayam penyet	kampong days	die-die	vomit blood
atas	kampong folks	follow	
babi guling	kampong fried rice	hawker	
bak chor mee	makan place	open	
bak kut teh	penang laksa	send	
balik	roti prata	stay	
biryani		take	
bojio		talk cock	
buay tahan		yaya papaya	
bukit panjang		your head	
cendol			
cheem/chim			
chio			
dosa/thosai			
jalan			
jalan besar			
jalan-jalan			
kancheong			
kampong			
kari ayam			
kaypo			
kayu			
kebun baru			
kiasu			



kopi			
koyak			
leceh			
lepak			
lorong chuan			
mah fan			
makan			
mala			
mamak			
mangkuk			
masala			
masjid			
mee rebus			
murukku			
nasi lemak			
nasi padang			
padang			
paiseh			
pasir panjang			
putu mayam			
putu piring			
rojak			
saman			
sambal			
sate			

shiok			
sian			
sial			
song			
tandoori			
tapau/dabao			
tau pok			
teh tarik			
teh halia			
tekan			
tofu			
ulu			
warung			
yong tau foo			
youtiao			

Table 4.2: Lexical items distributed according to Winford's (2003) classification of types of lexical borrowings

#### 4.1.1 Pure Loanwords

In this present study, pure loanwords category possess the highest number of borrowed lexical items. These lexemes were produced with total morphemic importation, for example lexemes such as *nasi lemak* and *kiasu*. These lexemes were imported from their original language into English for the use of Singlish. Pure loanwords usually do not have an equivalent English word. Some of the examples of the lexical borrowing *kiasu* used in blogs are listed below;

1. Tutoring is very popular in Singapore because of *kiasu* parents... (K2)

2. Why you so *kiasu* one? (K4)

3. She is so *kiasu*, she stayed overnight to work! (K8)

Kiasu which means fear of losing out, is borrowed from the Hokkien language because there is no equivalent word in standard English. Kiasu, “is one of the Singaporean words that is often famously related to Singlish” (Norizam, 2014: 116). According to Tan (2009: 467) in Singlish, *kiasuism* or *kiasu* conveys an “undertone of contempt”. She further stated that “*Kiasuism* is viewed with a mixture of disdain and admiration, the kiasu person is selfish but he is also more likely to do well in life because he is quick to seize opportunities as they arise.” Another example of pure loanwords which involves total morphemic importation in the borrowing process is *nasi lemak*, which can be translated as rice (nasi) fat (lemak). Bloggers have used the borrowed item ‘nasi lemak’ in their blogs as below;

1. Near where I stay, there is a *nasi lemak* stall. (N1)

2. After all, you can probably get *Nasi Lemak* at a hawker stall for about \$4. (N5)

3. But that \$12.80 *Nasi Lemak* does come with a good portion, (N6)

Nasi lemak is a local Malay cuisine. A standard ‘nasi lemak’ is usually cooked in coconut milk and served with eggs, cucumbers, anchovies and sambal (chili paste). This word does not have an equivalent in standard English hence the original term has been maintained. Words like ‘fragrant rice’ or ‘coconut rice’ can be found replacing ‘nasi lemak’ in food menus sometimes - which is not accurate.

#### 4.1.2 Loan Blends

Lexemes from loan blends category display a combination of morphemes from the model and loan language. Among the loan blends found in this present study are *blur sotong* and *makan places*. These lexemes were produced with both morphemic substitution as well as importation. *Blur sotong* or *blur like sotong* is an expression used to describe someone who seems clueless as to what is happening around him/her. The examples listed below give an idea on how this loan blend was used by bloggers;

1. My family can be very *blur sotong* at times. (B1)
2. I guess we know who is the *blur sotong*. (B3)
3. After I explained like 10 times, he still *blur like sotong*, (B2)

The metaphor of a *sotong*, squid in English, is supposed to be comparative to the squid's ink that blurs its predators. This lexical item clearly reflects a type of loan blend as one Malay word (*sotong*) is “transliterated and imported while the other is replaced with an English equivalent” (Tan, 2009: 462). Another example of a loan blend is *makan places* which means eating place or a place where one has his meal. Examples below demonstrate how the lexical borrowing ‘*makan places*’ have been used in blogging.

1. There are so many famous **makan places** in Singapore that I have not explored. (M1)
2. A list of **makan places** that we aim to visit as soon as we land. (M4)
3. This includes **makan places** that have been kind enough to invite us, (M5)

The term ‘*makan places*’ is probably a translation for ‘*tempat makan*’ from Malay. This loan blend shows that the lexeme ‘*makan*’ has been imported from the Malay language and ‘*tempat*’ has been replaced with an equivalent in English (*place*). This clearly

displays both morphemic substitution and morphemic importation in the borrowing process.

#### 4.1.3 Semantic Extensions

Lexemes which fall under this category are produced with a range of extended meanings. Among the semantic extensions found in the present study are *call* and *die die*. In English, 'call' means to address something or someone with the given name. However in Singlish it means to invite someone. This semantic extension reflects the morphemic substitution since the range of meaning to the lexeme 'call' is not restricted to the standard English meaning. Examples of how bloggers have used this lexeme is listed below;

1. We didn't **call** a lot of people for the wedding. (C1)
2. My mother forced me to **call** my friends for the party. (C3)
3. Oh I haven't **call** Irene to go to my parent's anniversary..(C10)

Another example of semantic extensions which involves morphemic substitution is *die die*. In standard English 'die die' would refer to chanting of someone or something to stop living. In Singlish, 'die die' is used when referring to someone who is trying their best to achieve something without giving up. Some of the examples of 'die die' used in blogs are listed below;

1. You have no idea how he was **die die** trying for her. (D1)
2. I **die die** have to make it work. (D2)

3. I promise **die die** will pay you back tomorrow. (D5)

#### 4.1.4 Loan Translations

Loan translations describe lexemes which were translated from its original language to English and retain its original context. This process involves total morphemic substitution. Among the loan translations found in this present study are *satay* and *one*. ‘Satay’ which is translated from the Malay word *sate*, is a local dish of small pieces of meat grilled on a skewer served with peanut gravy. Examples below show how bloggers have used ‘satay’ in their blogs.

1. Lau Pa Sat food court has the most number of **satay** stalls.(S12)
2. Indonesia is home to various kinds of **sate (satay)** ranging from chicken, beef, lamb to seafood. (S20)
3. I probably have tasted better **satay**. (S21)

This lexical item is unique as instead of maintaining the original form (*sate*), the word is translated (*satay*) and recognised as an English word. This process involves total morphemic substitution, where the Malay form translated and replaced with an English equivalent. Another example of a loan translation is *one*. One in Standard English refers to the number 1. However, in the use of Singlish ‘one’ is used in a different context. For example;

1. Why you always come and mah fan me **one**? (O60)
2. How come you borrow my shirt now got hole **one**? (O68)

### 3. That guy steady **one!** (O71)

‘One’ is a translation from Hokkien ‘peh-ōe-jī’, which means a person having the characteristics indicated. This process involves total morphemic substitution, where the Hokkien form is replaced with an English equivalent.

## **4.2 Findings on Features of Lexical Borrowings**

The features of lexical borrowings are divided according to Baskaran’s (2005) two main classifications; Local Language Referents (LLF) and Standard English Lexicalisation (SEL). These two categories can be further broken down into six sub-categories each. LLF categories are designed to analyse the local language lexemes which are borrowed into English (in the use of colloquial variety of English) and SEL categories are designed to analyse the standard English lexemes which contain local usage. The following sub-chapters will discuss the findings from both categories respectively.

### **4.2.1 Local Language Referents (LLF)**

The six sub-categories under LLF are institutionalised concept, emotional and cultural loading, semantic restriction, cultural and culinary terms, hyponymous collocation and campus or student coinages. The table below displays the distribution of the findings according to their lexical features - which comprises 39 emotional and cultural loading, 28 cultural and culinary terms, eight hyponymous collocation and three campus or student coinages.

Local Language Referents					
Institutionalised Concept	Emotional and Cultural Loading	Semantic Restriction	Cultural and Culinary Terms	Hyponymous Collocation	Campus or Student Coinage
	ah beng		ayam penyet	blur sotong	leceh
	ang moh		babi	fried kangkong	lepak
	ang pow		guling	kampung chicken	mah fan
	atas		bak chor mee	kampong days	
	balik		bak kut teh	kampong folks	
	bojio		biryani	kampong fried rice	
	buay tahan		cendol	makan place	
	bukit panjang		dosa/ thosai	penang laksa	
	cheem/		kari ayam		
	chim		kopi		
	chio		mala		
	gostan		masala		
	jalan		mee rebus		
	jalan besar		murukku		
	jalan-jalan		nasi lemak		
	kancheong		nasi padang		
	kampong		putu mayam		
	kaypo		putu piring		
	kayu		roti prata		
	kebun baru				
	kiasu				



	koyak		rojak		
	lorong chuan		sambal		
	makan		sate		
	mamak		tandoori		
	mangkuk		tau pok		
	masjid		teh tarik		
	padang		teh halia		
	paiseh		tofu		
	pasir panjang		yong tau foo		
	rojak		youtiao		
	saman				
	shiok				
	sian				
	sial				
	song				
	tapau/				
	dabao				
	tekan				
	ulu				
	warung				

*Table 4.3: Lexical items distributed according to Baskaran's (2005) classifications of indigenisation features - Local Language Referents*

#### **4.2.1.1 Emotional and Cultural Loading**

The emotional and cultural loading category classifies lexemes which are emotionally and culturally loaded. Though these lexemes can be translated into English, the local

term is maintained to uphold their “culture-bound association” (Baskaran 2005: 39). Some of such lexemes which were identified in this present study are *kampong* and *makan*. Among the lexemes with the highest number of occurrences is *kampong* (or *kampung*). ‘Kampong’ means village in Malay. The examples below display how ‘kampong’ is used to describe a place, type of people and a particular period.

1. My parents still talk about their **kampong** days. (K1)
2. I was still staying in a **kampong** off Lorong Chuan not far from Toa Payoh. (K4)
3. Tin cups or mugs were widely used by **kampong** folks. (K18)

In Singlish, ‘kampong’ is used to describe a village or sometimes their home because most baby boomers grew up in the village before moving to the city and some still have a home in the village where their parents or grandparents live. ‘Kampong’ serves as a cultural metaphor to describe home or a place where one grew up or spent most of his/her childhood. Another example that displays the features of emotional and cultural loading is *makan*, which means to eat in Standard English. Similar to ‘kampong’, ‘makan’ has an equivalent in standard English but, “the local nuances might be dispersed if the English equivalent is used” (Ong 2012: 6). Furthermore, according to Baskaran (2005, cited in Ong 2012: 6) these are emotionally and culturally loaded words used to “reinforce the local feelings”. The examples below display how bloggers have used the lexical borrowing ‘makan’ to reinforce their local feelings via blogging.

1. After all the walking , it’s time for **makan**. (M6)
2. My first time going to K Box to **makan**. (M7)
3. ..especially if everyone each feels like wanna **makan** something different. (M21)

Another example of a hyponymous collocation is ‘kampung chicken’. The term ‘kampung chicken’ is used to describe a type of chicken - those reared in the village. The use of the lexeme ‘kampung’ clearly displays the presence of a local (Malay) lexemes and which is collocated with an English lexeme. The examples below display how the lexical borrowing ‘kampung chicken’ is used in blogs

1. We only cook **kampung chicken** at home. (K1)
2. I think **kampung chicken** is a healthier choice. (K3)
3. Only certain markets have **kampung chicken**. (K4)

#### 4.2.1.2 Cultural and Culinary Terms

Lexemes under this category are those with features related to local culinary and domestic terms. As Baskaran (2005: 41) puts it, “specifically akin to a characteristic of local origin and ecology.” Among the lexical borrowings found under this category are *rojak* and *sambal*. The lexical borrowing ‘rojak’ usually describes a traditional Malay fruit and vegetable salad mixed in peanut sauce. However, in certain circumstances ‘rojak’ could also mean a mix of something - or a mix of people. Examples from the data display two different ways how ‘rojak’ has been used in blogging.

1. This sort of multi-cultural event ah if you don’t plan properly will come out all **rojak**. (R2)
2. I have asked you where is the best **Rojak** in Singapore? (R3)
3. What stood out with Brothers **Rojak** is their sauce. (R9)

Another lexeme which reflects the feature of cultural and culinary terms is *sambal*, which means chilli paste. According to Baskaran (2005: 41), words like ‘sambal’ are “slowly being transported out of the country to at least the south Asian region - sambal (sambol) in Sri Lanka”. Examples below display how ‘sambal’ is used by bloggers.

1. In Singapore, it is usually presented as **sambal** kangkong at Zi Char stalls...(S1)
2. Best part of ayam penyet is the authentic Indonesian **sambal**. (S3)
3. ..but they do serve watery **sambal** chili here like what they do in Malaysia. (S4)

#### 4.2.1.3 Hyponymous Collocation

The uniqueness of this lexical feature is that it displays the presence of local lexemes collocated with English lexemes. Among the lexical borrowings which possess this lexical feature found in this present study are *fried kangkong* and *kampung chicken*. ‘Fried kangkong’ is basically a dish of fried water spinach. Examples below show how bloggers have used this hyponymous collocation in their writing.

1. Not everyone likes **fried kangkong**. (F1)
2. **Fried kangkong** is usually cooked with shrimp paste..(F2)
3. I kinda liked the stir **fried kangkong**. (F4)

Another example of a hyponymous collocation is ‘kampung chicken’. The term ‘kampung chicken’ is used to describe a type of chicken - those reared in the village. The use of the lexeme ‘kampung’ clearly displays the presence of a local (Malay)

lexemes and which is collocated with an English lexeme. The examples below display how the lexical borrowing 'kampung chicken' is used in blogs

1. We only cook **kampung chicken** at home. (K1)
2. I think **kampung chicken** is a healthier choice. (K3)
3. Only certain markets have **kampung chicken**. (K4)

#### 4.2.1.4 Campus or Student Coinages

This lexical feature describes lexemes that have recently come into colloquial English currency that were coined specifically by students. For example in Singapore, learning a local language is compulsory and is taught along with Standard English. Due to the strong influence of these local languages, students in school use local referents and it eventually becomes a habit continuing into college or university. Among the lexical borrowings that were found under this category are *lepak* and *leceh*. 'Lepak' means to hang out in Malay. The examples below display how the bloggers have used this coinage is used in blogs;

1. This is where we usually **lepak** after class. (L1)
2. Nowadays there are not many nice places to **lepak**. (L2)
3. So we decided to just **lepak** in the house since I was home alone. (L7)

Another example is 'leceh'. In Baskaran (2005), she has listed 'leceh' under campus or student coinages which means troublesome in Malay. According to Baskaran (2005: 42) "the word leceh could also be considered a homonym of letih meaning tired". Another

lexeme found under this category is *mah fan* which also means troublesome in Mandarin. Examples below displays how these coinage is used by bloggers;

1. ...but reading on can be a bit **leceh**. (L2)
2. Damn **leceh** la, drive all the way there...(L3)
3. You get saman for everything in Singapore, damn **leceh**. (L7)

#### 4.2.2 Standard English Lexicalisation (SEL)

The six sub-categories under SEL are polysemic variation, semantic restriction, informalisation, formalisation, directional reversal and college colloquialism. The table below displays the distribution of the findings according to their lexical features - which comprises nine polysemic variation, five informalisation, four directional reversal and two college colloquialism.

Standard English Lexicalisation					
Polysemic Variation	Semantic Restriction	Informalisation	Formalisation	Directional reversal	College colloquialism
chop(e)		call		go	frus
die-die		follow		bring	sabo
hawker		hubby		take	
one		sleep		send	
open		stay			
talk cock					
vomit blood					
yaya					

papaya					
your head					

Table 4:4 Lexical items distributed according to Baskaran's (2005) classification of indigenisation features - Standard English Lexicalisation

#### 4.2.2.1 Polysemic Variation

According to Baskaran (2005: 44), lexemes classified under this feature are “standard English lexemes that have the original meaning as well as extended semantic range of meanings not originally in standard English.” Among the English lexemes with local usage found in this present study are *chop(e)* and *open*. Chop means to cut something into pieces in standard English. However, when a Singlish speaker says “to chop a document in Singlish, it does not mean that the person is asking to chop or cut the document, instead he or she just means to say ‘to stamp’ the document” (Norizam, 2014: 118). Deriving from the Malay word ‘cap’, this lexeme also means to *speed* or *hurry up* (chop chop), or *to reserve something* (chop). Examples below display the standard English and extended meanings of ‘chop(e)’ demonstrated by bloggers.

1. **Chop** to put a stamp or seal on. (C13)
2. Aunty, tapau one carrot cake please, **chop chop** can? (C8)
3. Thank god you **chope** a place for us, look at the crowd! (C1)

Another example of a polysemic variation is *open*, which is also listed in Baskaran (2005). Open means to allow access, not closed or not blocked. However, in the use of Singlish ‘open’ is used as a replacement for *draw* (curtains), *switch on* (lights/fan), *remove* (shoes/socks), *turn on* (tap), *undress or take off* (clothes) or *unfasten* (zip/buttons). Ong (2012: 7) claims that the use of ‘open’ in colloquial English could be

“due to the influence from the blogger's mother tongue which is Mandarin and the tendency to adopt features from the first language is high among ESL users.” Examples below display the various meanings of the lexeme ‘open’ which were used by bloggers.

1. She'll come to my room and **open** the curtain every single morning.(O1)
2. Can you please **open** the light before going in? (O3)
3. How to **open** the light? (O5)

#### 4.2.2.2 Informalisation

The informalisation feature describes informal lexemes (colloquial) substitutions of Standard English lexemes. Under this lexical feature *follow* and *stay* were identified. Follow means to go or come after a person. In Singlish, the word ‘follow’ is used to depict copying or coming along with someone. Baskaran (2005) has listed ‘follow’ under this category while Hughes and Heah (2006), as cited by Nazeri (2014), considered it as unacceptable in Standard English. The examples below display how bloggers have used this informal lexeme in their writing.

1. Can you please **follow** me after class? (F2)
2. Eh later I **follow** you go Fairprice. (F4)
3. Today after school **follow** me go downtown, can or not? (F6)

In standard English *stay* means to remain in a place or a specified state or position. In Singlish, ‘stay’ is used to describe someone’s permanent place of residence, instead of the standard usage of *live*. According to Preshous (2001) , as cited by Nazeri (2014: 73),



the tendency to use ‘stay’ instead of ‘live’ in Singlish is “similar to the Scottish English usage of stay”. Baskaran has listed ‘stay’ under this category. The examples below show how this lexical item is used in blogs.

1. Why don’t you go and **stay** with your brother? (S6)
2. Near where I **stay**, there is a nasi lemak stall. (S7)
3. I should move out and **stay** on my own and not burden my parents. (S8)

#### 4.2.2.3 Directional Reversal

Singlish speakers have the tendency to use certain words, verbs mostly, in reverse order. According to Baskaran (2005), this is a frequent phenomenon with converse pair like go/come, bring/send, fetch/take and borrow/lend. She further explains that pure converse pairs, such as lend/borrow, “tend to be confused one for the other” (Baskaran 2005: 47). For example, the bi-directional verb *bring* is often used in the opposite manner in Singlish. This is probably due to the “absence of two separate lexemes in the local language for such a meaning” (Baskaran 2005: 47-48). She stated that the verb ‘bring’ indicates action towards a place. The examples below show how the lexical item ‘bring’ is used in blogs.

1. I have to **bring** my parents for a wedding. (B3)
2. No ma, I can only **bring** you on Monday. (B5)
3. Everyday I have to **bring** my son to the daycare...(B6)

Another example from this present study listed in Baskaran (2005) is the verb *go*. 'Go' in standard English means to travel or move from one place to another. In Singlish, this bi-directional verb is used similar to the usage of 'come'. According to Baskaran (2005: 48), the verb 'go' refers to "action away from the place." Some of the examples from this present study are listed below.

1. When you **go** to my house, I will take you there. (G8)
2. So tomorrow David and I **go** your house. (G25)
3. Oh I haven't call Irene to **go** to my parent's anniversary party. (G27)

#### 4.2.2.4 College Colloquialism

According to the Singapore Ministry of Education (1999: 5), as cited by Harada (2000: 76), "many students seem to feel more comfortable conversing with each other in Singlish." The student population being one of the main speakers of Singlish, there is a definite possibility that "certain standard English lexemes have been localised for informal use especially among students in schools, at colleges and universities (Baskaran 2005: 48)." The words under this category, usually related to examinations, studies and youngsters, are "earlier abbreviated or idiomatised and used in context - specific situation" (Baskaran 2005: 48). For instance, *frus* which is an abbreviation for frustrated which means feeling or expressing distress and annoyance. This word is listed under Baskaran (2005). Some of the examples from this present study are listed below.

1. So damn **frus** ah this girl! (F2)
2. ...why you make me so **frus**?! (F3)

3. Oh my god fatso is so **frus!** (F5)

Another example of a college colloquialism is *sabo* which is an abbreviation for sabotage, “meaning to teasingly deride someone” (Baskaran 2005: 49). The examples below display how this college colloquialism is used in blogs.

1. I feel like Simon is trying to **sabo** our project. (S2)

2. You won’t believe who tried to **sabo** us! (S3)

3. I cannot allow this relationship to **sabo** my life. (S4)

#### 4.3 Single Word Lexemes

There are three lexical items; *already*, *got* and *also* which do not fit into any of the categories of Baskaran's (2005) framework. These lexical items convey a different meaning besides their standard English meaning. Apart from the speaker’s mother tongue, the fact that Singaporeans learn two official languages simultaneously contributes to the colloquial form. For example, the lexeme ‘already’ is “found to appear in high frequencies among the Malaysian and Singaporean bloggers” (Norizam 2014: 102). The placement of ‘already’ at the end position explains its function as the “completive aspect maker” (Ong 2012: 8) similar to the function of particle '*liao*' in Mandarin. Some examples from this present study are listed below.

1. I cannot tahan **already!** (A7)

2. I ate **already**. (A16)

3. ...this one koyak **already**. (A26)

Meanwhile, the lexeme 'also' is believed to be highly influenced by the Malay language. Speakers have the tendency to "translate and apply the simpler form of 'pun' (also in Malay) in their writing" (Ong 2012: 8). Some examples from this present study are listed below.

1. This one you want to pay by installment, **also** can. (A37)
2. But if you want to give me \$10, **also** can lah. (A38)
3. Such a simple thing **also** cannot do. (A41)

On the other hand, the lexeme 'got' is believed to not have been borrowed from the speakers' mother tongue; "it is commonly used to substitute auxiliary 'have'" (Ong 2012: 8). Besides, the meaning of 'got' seems to vary from Standard English based on the distinctive word order of Singlish which can be seen in the present study. Some examples from this present study are listed below.

1. Far East Plaza **got** a lot of chio bu. (G11)
2. Still **got** space behind. (G13)
3. **Got** milk or not. (G14)

#### **4.4 Particles**

Ling & Deterding (2003: 58) stated that particles in Singapore English have been "extensively described" in past studies. Among the recent ones as cited in Ling & Deterding (2003) are Gupta (1992), Wong (1994), Wee (1998), Low & Brown (2003: 100–103). These researchers have studied particles placed after certain lexeme groups

such as verbs and nouns, “possible substratum influences that could account for their existence” (Ling & Deterding, 2003: 58) and their discourse and pragmatic functions. The particles phenomenon has usually been linked with Singlish (Gupta, 1992) and the first “reference to the use of lah as a marker to establish solidarity and support” (Ling & Deterding 2003: 58) was provided by Richards & Tay (1977). Particles do not have any particular meaning in Singlish. However, this type of lexical item is commonly used by Singlish speakers in certain situations or contexts. Commonly, the attachment of particles in Singlish is to “syntactically complete sentences” (Norizam 2014: 106). Particles in Singlish are not something that is learned by rules or grammar such as Standard English, but they are a part of Singaporean cultures which have been long embedded in both conversation and writing.

According to Besemeres and Wierzbicka (2003: 13), as cited in Hashim et al. (2016: 235), among the particles that are used by Singlish speakers, especially in casual situations, ‘lah’ is regarded to be “the most salient”. ‘Lah’ is probably the most used particle in Singlish which probably originated from Chinese languages or Malay (Wong, 2004). Although, the particle ‘lah’ does not have a specific definition, it is used widely for varied functions. It is generally used to ‘cushion’ or to emphasise a message, also sometimes to add a sense of casualness in their writing. The other particles identified in this present study include *ah*, *eh*, *hor*, *meh*, *lah*, *le* and *lor*. The examples below display the use of the particle ‘lah’ in blogs.

1. Damn sial **lah** that woman.. (L22)
2. Aiyah, sorry **lah**. (L25)
- 3....all you need is to practice **lah**. (L31)

## 4.5 Interjections

Wong (2014), as cited in (Hashim et al., 2016: 240), lists interjections under the same class as tags and particles - “attitudinal words”. He classifies interjections to be specifically vital features of speech which “express their speakers’ attitudes, emotions and expectations towards people and things occurring in their daily lives” (Wong, 2014: 281). For instance, *aiya(h)* is a type of interjection in Singlish that is usually used to express panic, displeasure or shock. According to Wong (2014) ‘aiya(h)’ and ‘aiyo(h)’ are both ‘negatively charged’ and commonly used by Singlish speakers. These interjections are believed to have originated from Chinese languages and usually display the speakers’ displeasure towards a situation, incident or person. Wong (2014) further explained that a Singlish speaker could be in the presence of more annoyance when he/she uses *aiya(h)* instead of *aiyo(h)*. The other interjections identified in this present study include *aiya(h)*, *aiyo(h)*, *alamak* and *wah lau*. The examples below display the use of the interjections *aiya(h)* and *aiyo(h)* in blogs.

1. **Aiyah**, he’s like that one lah. (A2)
2. **Aiyah**, ask him to do this for what? (A4)
3. **Aiyo!** Mommy so paiseh lah! (A4)

## 4.6 Summary

The data as expected indicated that Singaporean bloggers use a wide range of Singlish discourse in their blogs. Out of 107 lexical items found in this study, ninety-three were lexical borrowings, seven particles, four interjections and three single word lexemes. With the use of the AntConc concordance software, eighteen lexical borrowing were

identified with the highest number of occurrence and further analysed according to Winford's (2003) classification of types and Baskaran's (2005) indigenisation features.

Pure loanwords recorded the highest number of occurrence for types of lexical borrowings while emotional and cultural loading recorded the highest number for lexical features. This study also noted an interesting finding which are the single word lexemes. The insights gained from the present study will contribute to the knowledge and understanding on how Singlish discourse has been used by bloggers in their writing.

University of Malaysia

## CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

### 5.0 Introduction

This final chapter will provide an overall summary and conclusion of the study. The objective of this research was to study the types and indigenisation features of lexical borrowings found in blogs written by Singaporeans. The data for this study was collected from 30 different Singaporean weblogs from 2018 - 2019. The data were analysed according to Winford' (2003) and Baskaran's (2005) frameworks.

### 5.1 Research Questions

Two research questions were formulated to guide this research to achieve its objective. Both the research questions will be discussed in the following sections.

#### 5.1.1 Research Question 1

*What are the types of lexical borrowing that can be found in the use of Singlish by Singaporean bloggers in written form?*

The types of lexical borrowings found in the present study were analysed according to Winford's (2003) simplified version of Haugen's (1950) groundbreaking works. There are two main categories *loanwords* and *loanshifts* which further divides into four groups, pure loanwords, loan blends, semantic extensions and loan translations, according to morphemic and phonemic level of importation and substitution. Pure loanwords (loanwords) formed the largest type of lexical items (65 items). This finding is consistent with Winford's (2003) (Haugen, 1950) work that loanwords are those which



are most easily borrowed. Some of the borrowed items which occurred frequently in this present study are *kampong*, *makan* and *kiasu*.

Semantic extensions had 14 items identified in this present study. Singlish is a colloquial variety of English which consists of discourse from other local languages spoken in Singapore, hence, the linguistic condition of Singlish and the semantic extensions of standard English words (in the context of Singlish) are constantly evolving. Among the words which were found in this present study are *chop(e)*, *die-die* and *follow*.

Meanwhile, 10 items were identified under loan blends. These words consist of a collocation of loan and model languages. Usually, one word is transliterated and imported while the other word is replaced with an English equivalent. Some of the words found under this category are *blur (like) sotong*, *Penang laksa* and *fried kangkong*.

Lastly, loan translations are the type that contains the least number of borrowed items (two items; *one and satay*). This is probably because of the high number of occurrence of pure loanwords. In other words, speakers seem to prefer borrowing words from the model language and adapt into the loan language rather than translating a model language pattern into the loan language. This probably serves an impactful purpose and conveys the speakers' thoughts much more accurately.

### **5.1.2 Research Question 2**

*What are the indigenisation features of these lexical borrowings?*

This present study identified 91 lexical borrowings which were categorised under Baskaran's (2005) frameworks; *local language referents* and *Standard English lexicalisation*. These two categories are further divided into 12 sub-categories which are classified according to the semantic relationships of the borrowed items.

As expected, the lexical borrowings which have the most number of occurrences belong to emotional and cultural loadings (38 items). Followed by cultural and culinary terms (27 items), hyponymous collocation (nine items) and campus or student coinages (3 items)

Most of the borrowed items originate from either Malay or Chinese languages. This is most probably due to the strong influence of the speakers' first language at home and the fact that Singaporeans learn English and a designated local language simultaneously in school. According to Wee (1998: 177) "when a variety of new English comes about, it usually develops in a situation where it is influenced by other (already existing and developed) varieties of English and indigenous or background language". In the case of Singlish, its development is highly influenced by American and British English and other local languages (Malay, Chinese languages and Tamil). Hence, Singlish speakers adapt language and linguistic transfer from these local languages and use them in "variance to the forms in standard English" (Ong 2012: 9)

Under the Standard English lexicalisation, the category which consists of the number of occurrences is polysemic variation (nine items). Followed by informalisation (four items), directional reversal (four items) and College colloquialism (two items).

The findings under the category of Standard English lexicalisation have confirmed that these English words have localised features. These lexemes have different roles in different contexts but Singlish speakers "bear in mind the accepted usage in standard

English” (Ong 2012: 9) such as *call* and *follow*. As blogging is a trend very closely associated with the younger generation, there is a tendency for bloggers to use words like *frus* and *sabo*, coined under the usage of college colloquialism. It also appears that certain Singlish speakers make idiosyncratic decisions in choosing words in certain circumstances, for instance *open the curtain* instead of *draw the curtain*. Another frequent confusion is the “converse pairs” (Ong 2012: 9) such as *go/come*.

## 5.2 Limitations of the Study

This present study focused on analysing the types and features of lexical borrowings found in blogs written by Singaporeans. The types were categorised according to morphemic and phonemic level of substitution and importation, while the features were categorised according to the meaning or semantic relationship of the borrowed items. However, a few similarities and overlapping criteria were identified between types and features of lexical borrowing during the data analysis. Winford’s (2003) type category semantic extension and Baskaran’s (2005) feature category polysemic variation share the same definition - extended range of meanings of a lexeme apart from its Standard English meaning. For example, both categories have listed the lexeme *chop(e)* and shared similar justifications, however, this is not the case for the rest of the types and features. For example, under pure loanwords (type) borrowed items which possess features of emotional and cultural loading (e.g., *kampung*), cultural and culinary terms (e.g., *nasi lemak*), hyponymous collocation (e.g., *fried kangkong*) and campus or student coinages (e.g., *leceh*) were identified. Though some lexical type and lexical feature have overlapped, the majority of the lexical borrowings were successfully labeled and classified under their respective categories with valid justifications.

During the data collection procedure, no variables were considered and this has narrowed down the possibility of achieving broader results. Among the variables that could have been considered during the data collection process are age, gender, race and status of residence. For example, a comparison study between a younger and older Singlish speaker could provide an alternative perspective on the extent of usage of Singlish. Such studies could also display the level of acceptance and status of Singlish. In the future, such details should be given more attention when conducting a study in order to produce more constructive results.

### **5.3 Implications of the Study**

The analysis of the present study shows that Singaporean bloggers are using borrowed items from Malay, Chinese and Indian languages (Singlish discourse) in their writings. This could imply that the Standard English does not have the equivalents and borrowings from the local languages have been used to replace the English words.

Furthermore, the findings may also imply that the borrowed items are used when describing a local term which will lose its intended cultural impact. For example, when reviewing the local dish *nasi lemak* and is replaced with 'fat rice' or 'fragrant rice' it does not leave the intended impact by the bloggers and does not connect the writer's cultural identity to his/her writing. In other words, the lexical borrowings ensure that the cultural and linguistic identities are preserved.

The data reveal that some of the lexical borrowings possess a range of new and different meanings additional to the original Standard English meaning. These words are among the uniqueness of Singlish and believed to contribute to enrichment and enhancement of the culture and language.

The findings also indicate that most number of pure loanwords found fall under the emotional and cultural load, followed by cultural and culinary terms categories. This simply reflects the bloggers' experience, cultural beliefs and the Singapore way of life which allows them to connect and relate with the borrowed items they use.

#### **5.4 Suggestions for Future Studies**

While the present study sheds some knowledge to the idea of types and indigenisation features of lexical borrowings in Singlish, future studies can be done for a much detailed study and to establish the status of Singlish. Future studies can be conducted as follows:

1. The collection of a much bigger data from a larger population of Singlish speakers could provide a better image of the unique occurrence and changes in Singlish lexis.
2. Including age variable in future studies could narrow down and study a specific population's stand and acceptance in regards to Singlish. A comparison study between the older generation and younger generation could also depict the difference in preference choice of speech in Singapore.
3. More studies using social media platforms (e.g., facebook, twitter, instagram) could shed light on the level of usage of Singlish. Since some of the new social media apps are well equipped with creative tools, such as poll tools, where it allows users to conduct surveys on any topic and see results almost immediately.
4. Since this present study focused on lexical types and features, there are other linguistic aspects where Singlish can be further studied, such as phonology, grammar and pronunciation.

5. Motivation, purposes or functions of lexical borrowings also need more attention and exploration.
6. Singapore has a huge population of foreign workers, expats and international students. Data extracted from these groups of people could shed some light on their level of acceptance towards Singlish.
7. An interesting variable that can be applied during data collection for future Singlish studies is gender and race. In Singapore every male citizen and second-generation permanent resident is mandatorily required to serve at the Singapore National Service for two years and the drill commands during this national service training are in Malay and not in English. This simply establishes that the (Malay language) proficiency of a non-Malay man and woman in Singapore varies to a certain extent.

## **5.5 Conclusion**

To conclude, this dissertation which identified and studied the types and indigenisation features of Singlish lexical borrowings has imparted a substantial knowledge on colloquial variety of English, particularly Singlish. The findings of this present study mainly belong to pure loanwords and emotional and cultural loadings. This reflects the cultural identity upheld by the bloggers though their readers are made up of various races and nationalities. Therefore, colloquial varieties of English should not be underrated or eradicated merely because it may have the possibility to damage or affect one's English proficiency.

The use of social media (blogs) has proved that Singlish is being used for various purposes by Singaporean bloggers. These bloggers who were born and bred in

Singapore, some educated overseas, have yet chosen Singlish to communicate and express their views and thoughts when writing to the world because the use of Singlish simply reflects their true cultural identity. The confidence level Singaporeans have towards Singlish and the continued practice and support for their identity simply means that lexical borrowings will most certainly persevere and gain constructive and evident changes in Singapore English.

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