CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

Indigenized varieties of English (IVEs) such as 'Indian English', 'African English' and 'Philippine English' can be found wherever English is spoken by a community that is sufficiently large and stable as a community.. These IVEs are identifiable and definable through their distinctive features of grammar, lexis, pronunciation, discourse and style.

Thus IVE is a single term that refers to the great proliferation of Englishes in the world today. This chapter will look at;

a. Studies and views that compare and highlight certain issues that have been overlooked in Applied Linguistics and Second Language Acquisition Theory in Non-Native Englishes or IVEs.

b. Research done on lexical items in other nativized Englishes such as Indian English, Cameroonian English, African English and Philippine English. Many of these literatures propose that the nativized patterns of speech mark the participation of English in the local sociocultural and linguistic universe of speakers.

2.1 Studies on Indigenized Varieties of English

A growing body of literature has been devoted to the indigenized varieties of English, raising various types of linguistic and sociolinguistic issues. Bamgbose (1982), Ferguson (1978), Kachru, (1965, 1966, 1980) and Strevens (1987), among others argue for the need to study the form and function of the non-native varieties of English.

This quest for the meaning in deviation in these varieties (Kachru, 1982; 325-350) gives rise to a discussion on many aspects of nativization, i.e. intelligibility of non-native Englishes (Nelson, 1985: Smith, 1985), models of non-native varieties (Kachru 1982; Strevens, 1987) and non-native literatures (Sridhar 1982).

2.1.1 Uses and User

The uses and users of English internationally can be discussed in terms of three concentric circles. (Kachru, 1985 1992 d 1994). The *Inner Circle* is made up of English using countries where English is the dominant language namely, Britain, The United States, Australia and New Zealand. In these countries, although other languages may be spoken, there is no doubt that English is the dominant language of any public discourse (e.g. in media, government, education and creative writing).

The Outer Circle is made up of countries where English has a long history of institutionalized functions and status as a language with important roles in education, government, creative writing and popular culture, such as India, Nigeria, Malaysia,

Singapore, Pakistan and South Africa. India has the third largest English using population in the world after The United States and Britain (Kachru, 1990; pp 3-20). *The Expanding Circle* is made up of countries in which English has various roles and is widely studied but for more specific purposes than in the *Outer Circle*, including reading for scientific and technical purposes. Such countries currently include China, Indonesia, Japan, Iran, Korea and Nepal. However, it must be remembered that languages have life cycles and thus the status of a language is not necessarily permanent.

Thus, deciding who should be labeled an English user is not, so straightforward as might be imagined. Even using cautious estimates, there must be at least three non-native speakers of English for one native user. At the other end of the cautious scale, perhaps a third of the world knows and uses English (Crystal; 1997; 9).

2.1.2 The Native Speaker

The changing role of English in the world today forces a reappraisal of the idea of "nativeness', or what it means to be a "native" speaker of a language. As Mary Tay has pointed out, "the precise definition of 'native' varies and is not always clear" (Tay 1979: 106). She points out for example, that "first learnt" languages may be forgotten in adult life through disuse while "absolute priority of learning may not even be needed for a speaker to achieve "native fluency" in the language" (Tay 1979: 106). Her conclusion is that a "native speaker is one who learns the language in childhood and continues to use it as his dominant language and has reached a certain level of fluency in terms of grammatical well-formedness, speech act rules, functional elaboration and code diversity" (Tay 1979: 107).

Pride (1981) says that ` implicit in Tay's reference to 'native fluency' is the important distinction between the meanings of 'native competence' and 'native speaker', in that a bilingual or multilingual speaker may attain native or close to native competence in more than one language in certain limited respects, and yet not qualify, on these grounds, as a native speaker of each of these languages. Native competence is in other words, a changing quality, whereas, native speaker is an all or none label often dubious in its application.

The term native speaker is often used to refer to someone who has learned a language in its natural settings from childhood as his first language. This label, that used to be applied as a demarcation line between this and that 'type' of users has now been called into serious question. It cannot be denied that both attitudes towards English and the degree and types of input that learners receive may vary significantly from place to place.

Input here not only refers to English as it is taught in formal schooling but also as it is available in media and creative writing like short stories, novels and poems.

According to Kachru (1985) standard British and American users are generally tolerant of each other's English but are likely to be intolerant of the usage of South Asians. East Asians,, West Africans or East Africans.

> *...It is accepted as a matter of 'difference' when an American speaker uses 'different than' and a British Speaker says 'different from'. A Singaporean's use of 'teaching on' likewise differs from the native speakers' use of 'teaching of', but it would be rejected by most native speakers as an 'error'.*
> *(Kachru, 1985; 229)*

On the other hand, non-native users will look up to the usage of someone from Britain or North America without ever considering whether the variety is very much used or usable in their own contexts (Kachru, 1985). This attitudinal problem is worse in *The Outer Circle* countries where English is considered a colonial legacy whose use should be minimized or eliminated in favor of an indigenous variety. Often, English is settled on in an uneasy compromise, for it is no one's first language and thus confers no real or imagined advantage to one group over another (Kachru, 1985).

Kachru, (1985) says that countries in the *Outer Circle* have always looked to external reference points (i.e. British or American English) for their norms. In Malaysia for example, where English has been used for a long time as the language of industry and business, British English continues to be looked upon by many as the standard of good use (Platt, 1980). Such attitudinal problems contribute to the complexities, which exist in the English- speaking world.

2.1.3 Standards and Codification

It must be noted that English using countries like Britain, The United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand have never had any sort of codifier to set and maintain the standards and norms of use of the English language, like the French Academy, which was founded in 1635 with the express purpose "to labour with all possible care and diligence to give definite care to our language, and to render it pure, eloquent, and capable of treating the arts and Sciences" (Crystal, 1997: 4).

The codification of English has generally been a matter of conventions, through dictionaries, grammar textbooks, newspapers and other widely disseminated media. This codification has taken place exclusively in *Inner Circle* countries. This has made it necessary for the *Outer Circle* and *Expanding Circle* countries to look to these sources when in need of authority, and it has served as a deterrent to their setting up authorities of their own.

Outside the context of teaching, the norms of English are set by usage within speech communities. Strevens (1987) says that each community sets its own goals and targets, usually without conscious decision, since there is no Academy or other authority for English which determines the norm. At the same time, there exists an unspoken mechanism, operating through the global industry of English teaching, which has the effect of preserving the unity of English in spite of its great diversity.

For throughout the world, regardless of whether the norm is native speaker or non-native speaker variety, irrespective of whether English is a foreign language or a second language, two components of English are taught and learned without variation: these are its grammar and vocabulary (Strevens, 1987: 56). "There may be differences of pronunciation, but the grammar and vocabulary of English are taught and learned virtually without variation throughout the world" (Strevens 1987: 56).

There are relationships between use and the many facets of language all of which have been the topic of much discussion and all of which warrant further

investigation. Among them are the relationships of use and acceptance, standards, normative reference points on correct usage in education and society at large.

Observing the different attitudes towards possible norms of English around the world prompts the notion of pluralistic centers of reference for standards and norms whereby different speech communities set their own standards and norms. If there are two, the United States and Britain, then, why not more?

2.2 Studies on Lexical Items in Non-Native Contexts

When we talk about "new varieties of English", such as Indian English, Filipino English, Singapore English or Malaysian English, the frame of reference is, first of all, regional: but more is implied by the term than mere locality, since it refers also to the national identities of the speakers who speak these varieties (Tongue, 1974). The term corresponds to what Quirk (1974) calls "national variants". Which he explains, is used with a degree of generality that depends on the observer's standpoint and experience:

> *An Englishman will hear an American Southerner primarily as an American and only as a Southerner in addition if further subclassification is called for and if his experience of American English allows him to make it. To an American, the same speaker will be heard first as a Southerner and then (subject to similar conditions) as, say a Virginian, and then perhaps as a Piedmont Virginian.*
>
> *(Quirk, 1972: 15)*

Quirk explains that although there is variation within these national variants in speech according to education and social standing, each has a "national standard", which represents educated speech as opposed to uneducated speech. These national

standards are distinct from "Standard English", which is supranational (Quirk, 1972: 17).

There is a great deal of uniformity in the grammar of these national standards though less in pronunciation. However, these variations of pronunciation do not impede communication since, as Quirk, (1972: 19) pointed out, phonology is essentially gradient (i.e.) a matter of more or less); which is not true of grammar. Standard English can be spoken with any accent, and it is commonly heard with an accent from either a British or American branch of the English family (Strevens, 1977: 134). The new varieties of English are, therefore, the national variants whose standard variety integrates it with the supranational Standard English.

English is now so widespread throughout the world that Crystal, in his book, *English as a Global Language* (1997), estimates that it is the first language of a total of 337 million people and a second language for an estimated 350 million people. He further believes that between 100 million and 1,000 million people have learned English as a foreign language (Crystal, 1997: 61).

It is evident from these figures that English plays various roles and functions in the various countries throughout the world – sometimes marginal, as when it is used for diplomatic purposes only, and sometimes quite central and important, as when it is the official or national language, the medium of instruction at all or some levels of education, and the language not only of public transactions but also of the domains of friendship, family and recreation.

The roles and functions that English plays in a speech community depend on its status as a first, second or foreign language. In multilingual societies it is not uncommon for individuals to acquire two or even three languages simultaneously as their first languages, and then add to this verbal repertoire one or two more second languages and perhaps one or two more foreign languages after that (Llamzon, 1981: 92).

It is a well-known fact that languages change when members of a speech community are separated in time and space and begin to develop new varieties (Llamzon, 1981). The development of these new varieties depends on the functions that language plays in the community, the symbolic role it has as an identity marker and its availability as an effective vehicle of socio-cultural expression. The essential features that can be found in the new varieties are grouped under four headings by Llamzon (1981), namely the ecological, historical, socio-linguistic and cultural features.

Ecological features refer to the linguistic environment in which the new varieties are found. New varieties like Indian English (Kachru, 1982), West African English (Bamgbose, 1983) and Malaysian English (Platt, 1980) are found in multilingual communities

In these communities there is no diglossia in the sense of Fishman (1983), where certain languages in the community's speech repertoire are used in specific domains; but polyglossia as Platt (1980, a, b) defines it, namely that code selection by the speaker is listener oriented. The speaker selects the appropriate code from his verbal repertoire because of his favorable attitude towards his interlocutor.

There is frequent code-switching, where the speaker switches from English to one of the languages in his verbal repertoire, as well as code-mixing, where certain lexical items of one of the non-English languages is inserted in English sentences because there are no equivalent items to be found in English (Kachru, 1982). Richards (1979: 14) goes further and describes a third linguistic behaviour, namely, "lexical shift" which calls for "a replacement of a known English word by a word from a local language when a speech event calls for a communicative style". His example in Singapore is, "let's go for *makan"*, instead of "let's have something to eat": in the Philippines "let's make *kwento"* instead of "let's chat"; and in Fiji, "He's *kasou*" instead of "He's drunk".

The second feature of the new varieties is the historical feature. This feature, which is common to the new varieties of English, refers to their comparatively brief historical development from the parent variety. Kachru (1982) talks of a period of two centuries for the development of Indian English. Strevens (1987) traces the genetic parents of the new varieties of English to only two of the old varieties, namely British and American English. This reflects the English varieties spoken by the old colonial masters.

The third feature of the new varieties is their sociolinguistic feature. This refers to their domains of use and functions in the societal network of communication in which they are employed (Platt, 1980). The most important domains of use are the home, friendship and recreation.

The fourth feature of the new varieties is their cultural feature. Llamzon (1981) says, "There is a growing body of literature, written in the new varieties of English, seeking not only to delineate their individual national identities, but also to give expression to the socio-cultural values of their societies." These works by novelists,

poets and playwrights demonstrates that the English language can be used as a vehicle for the transmission of the cultural heritage of the Third World countries. The following passage from the Indian English writer Raja Rao, expresses the feelings of writers in the new varieties of English when they use the language for literary purposes:

> *The telling has not been easy. One has to convey in a language that is not one's own the spirit that is one's own. One has to convey the various shades and omissions of a certain thought-movement that looks maltreated in an alien language. I use the word 'alien', yet English is not really an alien language to us. It is the language of our intellectual makeup – as Sanskrit and Persian were before – but not of our emotional makeup. We are instinctively bilingual, many of us writing in our own language and in English. We cannot write like the English, We should not. We cannot write only as Indians. We have grown to look at the large world as part of us. Our method of expression therefore has to be a dialect, which will someday prove to be as distinctive and colorful as the Irish and the American. Time alone will justify it.*
>
> *(Quoted by Kachru, 1982: 34)*

Bodies of literature have existed in West and East Africa and in South and in South and East Asia for almost a hundred years. A key observation in an examination of global English literature is that English is used by writers, who are multilingual and, who do not belong culturally to what may be termed the Judeo-Christian tradition. English, is used in a wide range of interactional contexts across entire cultures. An examination of these writings shows the concept of the bilingual's creativity. This creativity is clearly demonstrated in the works of writers such as Wole Soyinka of West Africa and Anita Desai and Raja Rao of India.

The following example from Mukherjee's *Jasmine*) as quoted by Kachru (1983) illustrates this point:

"The next morning I packed my brothers' tiffin carriers more indulgently than usual – extra dal, extra chapatis... - and slipped in my most important question:

"The friend who came over, not the sadarji, does he speak English?" I couldn't marry a man who couldn't speak English. To want English was to want more than you had been given at birth." . (Quoted by Kachru, 1983: 68)

This passage contains not only variety specific lexical items such as *tiffin carrier, dal, chapatis* and *sadarji* but also culturally defined family interaction (the narrator packs her brothers' lunches for them) and incidentally for our topic, a direct reference to the importance of English in the *Outer Circle*: to want English was to want more than you had been given at birth.

D' Souza (1991) categorized Indian writers as minimizers , nativizers, and synthesizers (D'Souza 1991: 308) in terms of their degree of ' Indianess'. She cites this example from Mulk Raj Anand (D'Souza 1991: 309).

"... Basheshwar!" the Pathan iterated, grinding his words softly, then hard.
"... Basheshwar Singh, the son of a dog! ... The seed of a donkey!"
"You remember him then Khan?" Dhannu asked thinking that the Pathan was abusing Basheshwar affectionately, as is the custom among intimate friends in Hindustan. (Quoted by D' Souza 309)

Inner Circle English users will note that the forms of abuse are quite different from the formulaic expressions in British or American contexts. In terms of use, we may say that it is not uncommon for 'intimate friends to abuse one another affectionately' in *Inner Circle* contexts, the extent, coupled with the more literal sounding forms of the examples in the passage marks it as not *Inner circle* in its choice of lexical items.

Although the preceding examples seem straightforward, it is easy to find examples of English text that are not readily intelligible or comprehensible to a receiver. This Indian matrimonial advertisement (Kachru, 1982 b:.311) from the English-language daily *The Hindu* (Madras, India), contains within its English matrix, terms which would be transparently obvious to Indian readers of the newspaper but which would be probably opaque to *Inner circle* readers;

> *Non koundanya well qualified prospective bridegroom... for graduate lyangar girl... Mirugaservsham. No dosham. Average complexion, Reply with horoscope.*

The code-mixed items (e.g. *Mirugaservsham*, 'birth star', and *dosham*, 'a flaw in one's horoscope'), are not italicized or otherwise specially marked; in the original, they are an integral part of the text for the intended readership who will recognize their uses, meanings and importance. Creativity is, in short, part and parcel of the new varieties, as it is of the old. Native English lexical items are altered in scope of reference and range of usage.

In the African writer Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* (1958), African people and settings are evoked by the lexical items used. Nelson (1985) cites the following examples from *Things Fall Apart*.

(i) ...the drums and the flutes sang and the spectators held their breaths. Amalinze was a wily craftsman, but Okonkwo was as slippery as a fish in water. (p. 7)

(ii) ...during this time Okonkwo's fame had grown like a bushfire in the harmattan (p. 7)

(iii) "I have kola." He announced when he sat down..."Thank you. He who brings kola brings life. But I think you ought to break it," replied Okoye...

(iv) As he broke the kola, Unoka prayed to tjeir ancestors for life and health...He could hear in his mind's ear the blood stirring and intricate rhythms of the ekwe and the udu and the ogene...(p. 10)

In example (i) there are references to indigenous musical instruments (drums and flutes), and the use of "native simile" in comparing the wrestler to "a fish in water" (Nelson, 1985). In example (ii), another simile, involving an unfamiliar lexical item, the harmattan has been used. (Nelson, 1985) explains that harmattan refers to" a dry, dusty wind that blows from the interior of Africa." Example (iii) is a traditional Nigerian greeting ritual (Nelson, 1985). This is repeated a number of times in the novel and makes the setting uniquely Nigerian. In example (iv), the English idiom "in the mind's eye" is extended to "in the mind's ear". This example also refers to traditional musical instruments, like the ekewe, the udu and the ogene.

Gabriel Okara's *The Voice* (1964) is another example of Nigerian creative writing in English. (Nelson (1985) cites this example of how the English saying "out of sight, out of mind", has been transcreated in the novel *The Voice*, as follows: "Our highest son...has been telling me an English saying...(which) is that when I do not see you will not be in my inside." (Okara, 1964: 47.)

The global spread of English provides a language teacher with an abundance of data for relating second language issues to pedagogical concerns. This can be done

through several ways, namely through the study of variation, the pragmatics of variation, varieties and culture, varieties and creativity. These assumptions reflect at least three most powerful sets of pedagogical tools; which are curriculum, testing and resource materials. For achieving positive goals however, it is most important to create teacher awareness of the status and functions of English in the world today and in the future.

2.3 Acculturization

The term nativization has been described variously as 'acculturization' (Stanislaw, 1982), 'indigenization' (Richards, 1979) or ' hybridization' of a language in a non - native socio cultural context.

In the context of English, nativization refers to the changes which English has undergone as a result of its contact with various languages in diverse cultural and geographical settings such as India, Nigeria, Kenya, West Africa and South Asia. The changes, which English has undergone, are described variously as adjustments, borrowings and transfer.

These borrowings or transfer can be categorized as follows:

a) Loan words

Loan words are words that are borrowed from the local languages into English. These could be direct loan words or loan translation words. Such borrowing of words is universal and takes place whenever two or more languages are in contact.

Adegjiba (1989: 171) terms this categorization as transfer and Bobda (1994: 245) calls this innovative borrowing.

Gonzalez's (1981: 156) study on Philippine English shows these are the most obvious items of lexical variation. They reflect particular elements and objects of the culture. Loan words in Philippine English are from Tagalog and other Philippine languages (for example, *'barrios* ` from the Spanish *'barrio')*

Loan translations are words from Tagalog borrowed into English. They are direct translations from Tagalog. Following are two examples from Gonzalez (1981):
Tagalog: *Buksan mo ang radyo*, which is translated into Philippine English as "Open the radio" instead of "Turn on the radio". In Tagalog, to turn off, one uses *Isara mo ang ilaw*, which is literally translated into Philippine English as "Close the light" instead of "turn off the light".

Cameroon English lexical items have an impressive number of loans from the major languages used in the Cameroon (Example, Pidgin English and indigenous languages). Bobda's (1994) observation shows that French mostly lends terms designating administrative titles, procedures, documents, institutions as well as terms pertaining to the school register. This could be because the French were once the administrators. Pidgin English and the indigenous languages lend terms to indicate social and cultural activities as well as food – stuff.

These are illustrated below.

Cameroon Eng.	Loan/Donor lang.	Meaning
Mandat	French	money order
Rappel	French	Arrears
Soya	Pidgin English	Roasted meat
Fon	Local languages	Traditional ruler

(Bobda, 1994: 251)

b) Semantic shift

One of the most striking types of lexical innovation in Cameroon English involves cases in which an English word acquires a meaning altogether different from its meaning in British English. The word '*blackmail*' (noun, verb) is an example. It has almost completely lost its original meaning and is used mostly to mean '*slander*' (noun, verb) '*defame*', '*defamation*'. Another unique example is the word '*trouble-shooter*' which means '*trouble-maker*'. It comes to mean the opposite of what it means in British English. In British English, a *trouble-shooter*' is someone who solves problems! (Bobda 1994:253)

Gonzalez (1981: 157) terms this innovation as extension of reference. Words used in American English have different meanings in Philippine English.

Example:

Bold – which the CIDE defines as "without fear" is used in Philippine English for movies with semi-nude scenes

Stick – which the CIDE defines as "a thin branch, broken, cut or fallen from a bush or tree" is used for cigarettes

Abortion – which the CIDE defines as "helping or causing the expulsion of the foetus from the womb during the first 28 weeks of pregnancy" is used in Philippine English for accidental miscarriage

Semantic shift in African English differs from the semantic shift in Cameroon and Philippine English. It involves, as Sey (1973:96) puts it, "the redefination of the characteristic patterns of words within the semantic field so that its central context become marginal and vice-versa". Below are some examples from Bobda (1994).

Example:

i) Even watering the agricultural survey officer's garden was more dignified than what I had to do – *carrying blocks* for the markets that were being built. (*carrying blocks* refers to 'carrying on the head rectangular blocks of concrete for building.)

ii) The most important point however is that already we are seven and a half million and quite a number of these cannot get jobs to do so we should cut down on *'bringing forth'*. (*bringing forth* refers to having babies.)

c) Semantic extensions (adding meanings)

This is an intra-English innovation where the elements involved in the process are taken from the English language itself and other meanings are those of other words in the language It involves adding meaning or meanings to a standard English word. In Cameroon English, the word *'balance'* which the CIDE defines as "the amount of money you have in a bank account or the amount of something you have left after you have used up the rest", also means *change*. The word *'ground'* which the CIDE defines as "the surface of the earth, the floor of a room or a piece of land especially used for a particular purpose" also means *earth* in Cameroon English. Many cases of extension in Cameroon English are due to the confusion between or wrong selection from words that are semantically related such as *'ground/earth,' 'reach/arrive', stay/live'* and *'temporal/temporary'*.(Bobda 1994: 251-252)

Bokamba (1983: 88) has quoted examples of this innovation from Sey (1973:95) found in the English used in Ghana.

Example:

a) i) He sent me some *'amount'*

ii) People have been running (away) with my huge *'amounts'*.

b) i) I had no ticket, but I got in by *'arrangement'*.

ii) By *'arrangement'* you can go to heaven.

According to Sey (1973:95-98) the italicised words in these examples maintain the Standard English meaning and at the same time acquire additional ones. The word *'amount'* means money with which it is used interchangeably. The word *'arrangement'* refers to special arrangement, preferential treatment or mutual arrangement.

d) Coinages

The process of coinages is the manifestation of the vitality of the language and creativity of its second language users. Gonzalez (1981: 158) describes it as "formulated on the basis of existing rules of English morphology and word formation and hence exploit the potentialities of the language in answer to certain needs in a society which adopted the language for its uses. They mirror the Philippine reality. (example *'comfort room'-CR* which means washroom/toilet.). Other innovations are clearly based on realia in the Philippine culture not found elsewhere".

Example *Jeepney* – originally an army jeep converted into a small bus.

Bananacue – a special type of banana on a stick cooked like barbecue meat.

Adegjiba (1987:174) terms this innovation process as coinages. This innovation also exhibits the rich derivational morphology that is so characteristic of the African languages. New lexical items can be derived via prefixation, suffixation,

combination of both or by reduplication and compounding. Nominalization via prefixation and suffixation is illustrated by the following sentences (Sey 1973: 80).

Example

i) Both U and E had pre knowledge of one another's *wheretos'* and *'whereabouts'*.

ii) Be you assured that members are *'impossibles'*, *impregnables'* of the country.

All of these, despite their oddity are derived analogically according to existing English rules, although they do not occur in Standard English. In addition to affixational derivations, one commonly finds cases of compounding like *'bone to flesh dance'* (a close dance between a man and a woman), *'push baby'* (maid servant) and *'European appointment'* (high level white collar position).

e) New collocations

Another innovation, which exists both in Philippine English and Cameroon English is the formation of new collocations (Gonzalez 1981: 159) or compounds (Bobda 1994: 257). These are combinations of existing words into new collocations with meaning unpredictable from individual words. It is different from loan translation and uses elements of English generally without the influence of other languages. The following examples are from Gonzalez (1981)

Example:

Philippine English	**Meaning**
Captain ball	team captain (basketball)
Irregular Student	a student who falls behind in Philippine colleges
Cameroon English	**Meaning**
Chicken parlour	business house where chicken, fish and drinks, are sold.
Death celebration	funeral
Gate fee	admission fee

(Bobda 1994: 257)

g) Idiomatic mergers

These are a combination of verb and preposition into a new phrase.

Example:

Philippine English	**American English**
Goes down the bus	gets off the bus
In the island	on the island

Gonzalez (1981:160) notes that these lexical features in Philippine English are acceptable since one finds the same phenomena in varieties of English in other countries where English is the first language or mother tongue.

h) Collocation extension

The term collocation extension refers to the phenomenon whereby a word which habitually occurs in the company of some words or associates with

some referents in British English contracts new relations with other words associated with some referents in Cameroon English. For example, *'to win'* in British English, means you *'win a battle a match or a prize'*. In Cameroon English, you also *'win a candidate'*, which means you beat a candidate and you *win a team'*, which means you defeat a team. (Bobda 1994: 253).

i) Derivation

The derivation processes, which were observed in Cameroon English involve prefixation, suffixation, conversion and back derivation. Below is an example of the process involving prefixation.

Example:

> *'parastal'*, which is used in Cameroon English as a noun (eg. *a parastal)* and as an adjective, (eg.*a parastal enterprise)*, from Bobda's observation (1994:254) is an interesting case of derivation where *'para'* is prefixed to an un-English word base *'statal'* which can be segmented as *'statetal.* The word *'parastatal'* is used to refer to semi public corporations like the Railway Corporation, Cameroon Airlines and Electricity Corporation

j) Reduplication

Reduplication in Cameroon English consists of repeating a word consecutively. Three kinds of words generally undergo this kind of process: numerals, intensifiers and qualifiers. In Nigerian English this process refers to the duplication of lexical items belonging to the same semantic field or the use of superfluous modifiers for emphasis.

Example:

Your team played *'very very'* well.

There are *'many many'* Cameroonians who can no longer make ends meet.

k) Semantic transfer

Another mode of deriving new words in African English involves semantic transfer, which is the complete reassignment of the meaning of the word.

Example:

"You'll *'see red'!* said the angry carpenter to the frightened boy.

To my surprise I found him (the driver) resting on the *'steer'* and fall asleep.

The expression to *'see red'* is a threat to harm or punish a person while *'steer'* means steering wheel. (Bokemba 1983:89)

2.4 Lexico-Semantic Variation

Deviation or Variation can be divided into two major categories, i.e. intentional and unintentional. Variation can result in the nativized varieties of English with or without conscious effort on the part of the user. Intentional

variation refers to the conscious use of variation by the user to perform a particular function. Such variation can be seen in the creative writing in the nativized Englishes where a writer uses variation as an appropriate extralinguistic effect. For example, Indian English, is used by creative writers such as Raja Rao and Nassim Ezekiel, to create appropriate Indian sociolinguistic contexts (Sridhar, 1982). In such cases, writers are fully aware of the meaning potential of the nativized patterns in Indian English. This meaning potential is exploited by creative writers.

e.g. We are meeting today
to wish her bon voyage.
You are all knowing friends,
What sweetness is in Miss Pushpa.
I don't mean only external sweetness
but internal sweetness.
Miss Pushpa is smiling and smiling
Even for no reason
But simply because she is feeling.
(Nissim Ezekiel, Ten Twentieth Century Indian Poets, p 37)

The use of grammatical patterns such as *you are all knowing, because she is feeling*, deviant collocations such as *external sweetness vs internal sweetness* mark the variant nativized patterns in Indian English. More importantly, however, poets have used these patterns to create an Indian atmosphere of a goodbye party. The image the goodbye party in India is sharply carved by these variant patterns. Intentional variation can occur in newspaper registers as well.

In contrast to this, unintentional variation refers to the variation over which the user does not have any control and the user is not conscious of it. Such a

process occurs in the ordinary speech of nativized varieties of English i.e. Chinese English, Indian English, Malaysian English etc. this variation is caused by an unintentional transfer of indigenous patterns into English. When such patterns are commonly shared by a particular speech community, they are labeled as contextualized or institutionalized where they serve as markers of a particular variety of English, i.e. Indian English, Malaysian English etc. This variation is systematic, regular and productive in these varieties. Such institutionalized varieties have an explanation both at the formal level (transfer) and at the functional level (identity marker). (Kachru, 1982).

In the process of nativization the logic of the indigenous language is transferred to English, and there is variation within the nativized varieties of English, which might be related to the degree of bilingualism. Variation can be divided into two categories, intentional and unintentional; and this is relevant for the theory and methodology of language teaching in the context of error analysis. A better understanding of the process of nativization will help the teacher of English as a second language to separate mistakes from variations on the one hand and to understand the rationale behind such variations on the other.