CHAPTER 3
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The contents of chapter will be discussed under the following sub-headings:

3.1 Definitions
3.2 Aim of the Present Study
3.3 Sources of Data
3.4 Collection and Analysis of Data
3.5 Limitations of the Study
3.6 Rationale for Framework of Adapted Lexical Categories
3.7 Adapted Lexical Categories

3.1 Definitions

There are certain expressions that need to be defined in the context of this study. Firstly, the abbreviation ME will refer to Malaysian English. Secondly, the expression 'non-native usage' will be used to refer to the non-standard variety of English used by Malaysians from all walks of life. The majority of the ME users from whom the spoken data was collected, use English as a second language and speak a vernacular language as their first language or mothertongue. However, there were some who have adopted the non-native variety as their first language. For both groups, the usage of certain words or expressions did not conform semantically or structurally to Standard British English. For Malaysians who use English as a second language, this may be due to language transfer from their first language but other factors are also explored in this study. Hence for the scope of this study, 'native usage' refers to the standard usage by educated native British speakers of English (not by educated speakers from the other Inner Circle countries as the English spoken in countries such as Australia, USA and New Zealand may also be regarded as 'non-native varieties of English').
The data revealed that even educated Malaysians who have adopted English as their mother tongue, use the Malaysian variety in terms of their lexical choice. Hence despite having adopted English as their first language, they are in essence, 'non-native users' of English. Hence 'non-native features in the lexis of Malaysian English' in the context of this study refers to the usage of English lexis by Malaysians which distinctly differs from similar aspects of lexis reflected in British English dictionaries.

3.2 Aim of the Present Study

The aim of this study was to explore the usage of English lexis by Malaysian speakers and writers, namely lexis which does not resemble or conform to the norms of Standard British English. Any English word or expression used by Malaysians which were not found in two defining dictionaries used by the researcher namely Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary(2000) and BBC English Dictionary(1993) was defined as 'Malaysian English lexis'.

3.3 Sources of Data Collection

The data collected consisted of both written and spoken data. 'Written data' refers to Malaysian English lexis derived from the following printed sources:

1. Business news articles from 'The Sun' newspaper
2. Masters dissertations
3. Journal entries of in-service teachers
4. Undergraduate course projects
5. Undergraduate examination scripts
6. Leaflets/newsletters of the Sai Baba organization
7. Toastmasters' newsletters
8. E-mail messages by Toastmasters and colleagues

'Spoken data' consisted of Malaysian English words and expressions which were recorded manually during the following occasions:

9. English Oral Interaction tests for in-service teachers
10. Class discussions/presentations by undergraduates
11. Seminars, meetings and talks by the Sai Baba organization
12. Toastmasters' speeches at meetings and contests
13. Conference presentations
14. Radio and television advertisements in English
15. Academic staff meetings in English
16. Informal conversations at home and at work

The data was initially collected from the Business news section of the 'Sun' newspaper. The level of English used in these articles was the Acrolect or the standard variety of Malaysian English. Then the researcher proceeded to collect data from the other written sources highlighted earlier which contained both Acrolectal as well as the Mesolectal or colloquial sub-variety of Malaysian English, namely the writing of undergraduates. A great deal of data was collected from interactive journal entries and examination scripts of undergraduates who were experienced TESL teachers, and several Masters dissertations for which the researcher was assigned to be internal examiner. Some data was also derived from newsletters from NGOs such as the Toastmasters and the Sai Baba organizations. After collecting written data, spoken data was also collected systematically from various sources.

3.4 Collection and Analysis of Data

Unlike the methodology used by earlier researchers such as Baskaran(1987) and Yen(1991), the spoken data was not tape-recorded but was manually recorded. This method was preferred to recording on tape as transcription was found to be wasteful as most of the transcriptions were not needed as what could be defined as ME lexis was only used occasionally by the users. The manual recording was done incidentally without the knowledge of the ME users, during oral activities in class such as English Language Interaction
tests of in-service teachers as well as during formal activities such as academic staff meetings, seminars and conferences organized by the Faculty of Languages and Linguistics, and conferences organized by other institutions and organizations such as the Association of Modern Languages, regular club meetings by the Taman Indrahana Toastmasters Club and talks and seminars by various branches of the Sai Baba organization. Toastmasters’ meetings yielded a great deal of data as all the speakers were from the private sector where the mastery of Acrolectal English is an important prerequisite for achieving professionalism in one's career. The advantage of collecting data from this source was that the researcher could collect some of the current 'corporate' coinages used widely by the higher echelon of the private sector.

In all these functions, the researcher played the twin roles of surreptitious recorder and active participant. The sub-variety of language used at such functions was the 'educated sub-variety' of Malaysian English, which has been termed the 'Acrolect' by Platt and Weber (1980). The colloquial sub-variety or Mesolecct was also used in the interactive journals of undergraduates. This study does not explore the 'pidgin sub-variety' or Basilect (Platt and Weber, 1980) as the researcher considers its lexical content to be sub-standard and unacceptable.

In order to ascertain that the words and expressions were definitely non-native, the corpus of data was first checked with the use of two dictionaries - The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English (2000) and the BBC English Dictionary (1993). Whenever any word or expression was not found in these two dictionaries, it was checked with the findings of earlier
researchers of varieties of English.

A corpus of 781 English words and expressions was collected over the duration of four years, namely between January 1999 and December 2002. The data was initially recorded in alphabetical order except in the case of 'Ellipsis' which was recorded according to the alphabetical order of the first letter of the first word after the occurrence of Ellipsis in the sentence. After studying the common features of all the lexical categories used in earlier research, the researcher developed a framework of 13 lexical categories which constituted combinations and adaptations of earlier categories (see Table 3.1 on page 54) and categorized all the data under these headings using semantic, syntactic and morphological criteria. As the analysis progressed, the researcher began to perceive further semantic, syntactic and morphological patterns within each category. Hence the data under these categories was further sub-divided into either sub-categories or types. Wherever possible, the sub-categories and types have been presented quantitatively in terms of percentages and absolute figures, in order to be able to see patterns in the data. However, it must be emphasized here that this study is not a quantitative study but a descriptive one as the researcher has painstakingly described the non-native features of every non-native word or expression under each category by comparing its usage with that of the Standard British equivalents and by examining its context of use. Under three of the categories, namely 'Collocational Variation', 'Derivational Variation' and 'Ellipsis' the numbers of non-native lexis were too large for inclusion in the body of the thesis. Hence the descriptions of each example of non-native lexis under these three categories can be found in the
appendices.

3.5 Limitations of the Study

The data collected for this study was not studied in terms of frequency of occurrence, although it was observed that some items occurred in different variations. As such, some quarters may argue that some of it may be idiosyncratic usage of the English language. There may also be observations by language teachers that some of the data may simply be incorrect usage of the English language rather than the usage of a Malaysian variety of English. In addition, this study is limited to the more 'educated' sub-varieties of ME namely the acrolectal and mesolectal sub-varieties. The researcher did not intend to study the features of Basilectal ME which may be termed as 'Manglish' or 'Broken English'. However, this sub-variety of ME is simply inaccurate usage of English in the opinion of the researcher.

Another limitation of this study is that the ethnic substratum of each of the ME users of the data has not been traced. As much of the data was written data, it was not easy to identify the ethnic origin of the ME users most of the time. The researcher was more concerned about common trends in the ME lexis used by all the ethnic groups rather than in lexical features particular to certain ethnic groups. Only for two of the categories of ME lexis, were the cultural factor explored, namely 'Non-native Idioms' and ' Semantic transfer from Mother tongue', and these are discussed in Chapter 7 and Chapter 9 respectively. In these chapters, the researcher has given concrete examples of how language transfer can be a possible reason for the spontaneous creation of Malaysian English lexis.

Another area which was not explored was the use of non-English words in
Malaysian English, such as 'kampung' or 'leceh' as the present researcher felt that this aspect has already been dealt with in detail by earlier researchers such as Baskaran(1987) and Yen(1991). There was also no attempt to study code-mixing or code-switching in ME as these areas would encroach on the genre of discourse analysis rather than lexical analysis.

Another limitation was that there were some overlapping areas between certain lexico-semantic categories such as 'Local Idioms' and 'Semantic Transfer of Mother tongue'. In addition, there are grey areas in this study when the variant forms may also appear as language errors at the syntactic level rather than as non-native lexis. Hence there was occasional difficulty in determining when a certain feature is an error and when it is a non-native form.

3.6 Rationale for Adapted Lexical Categories

The data collected for this study was categorized under 13 categories which have been adapted from research done by earlier researchers namely Adegjiba(1989) from Nigeria, Richmond from Gambia(1989), Baskaran(1987), Yen(1990) and Anthonysamy(1997) from Malaysia, Crewe(1977) and Platt and Weber(1980) from Singapore and Pandharipande(1987) and Dubey(1991) from India and expressions.

Table 3.1 on page 55 shows the framework of the adapted lexical categories used in this study. All the columns are divided into rows in each of which there are groups of categories which are related semantically. The first column consists of the names of the ten previous researchers whose lexical categories have been adapted while the names of the lexical categories of
each researcher is found in the second column next to the name of the researcher in the first column. The last column consists of the main categories which the present researcher has adapted from the earlier researchers' categories. Each of the categories is arranged next to the category or categories from which it was adapted.

Each of the researcher's lexical categories is an amalgamation of semantically similar lexical categories used by previous researchers. The first row shows that Platt and Weber's 'Locally Coined Words and Expressions' and Adegjiba's 'Neologisms or Coinages' have been adapted into the researcher's 'Local Compound Coinages'. The main difference between the researcher's category and the those by Platt and Weber and Adegjiba is that the researcher has focussed on the compounding process in further analyzing them into types, while the earlier researchers have not highlighted this aspect. The second category developed by the researcher is 'Collocational Variation' which has been adapted from a combination of Baskaran's 'Semantic Restriction' and Yen's 'Unconventional Collocation of English Words'. The researcher's category is more extensive and detailed than Baskaran's and Yen's categories as she has identified 9 types of Collocational Variation within a total of 162 examples (see Chapter 10 on 'Collocational Variation').
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Previous Researchers</th>
<th>Previous Categories</th>
<th>Adapted Main categories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Platt and Weber</td>
<td>Locally Coined Words And Expressions Neologisms/Coinages Semantic Restriction Unconventional Collocation of English Words</td>
<td>Local Compound Coinages Collocational Variation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adegbija Baskaran Yen</td>
<td>Abnormal Usage Local Usage Restricted Usage Semantic Shift</td>
<td>Semantic Shift</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crewe Dubey Anthonysamy</td>
<td>Meaning Changes Semantic Underdifferentiation Polysemic Variation</td>
<td>Semantic Extension</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Platt and Weber Anthonysamy Baskaran</td>
<td>Transfer of Meaning (a) From mothertongue (b) From context</td>
<td>Semantic Transfer from Mothertongue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthonysamy Adegbija</td>
<td>Derivational Endings Derivation of New Words from Existing English Words Analogy</td>
<td>Derivational Variation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crewe Yen Adegbija</td>
<td>Reciprocal Verbs Directional Reversal Groups of Verbs</td>
<td>Variation of Reciprocals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crewe Baskaran Platt and Weber</td>
<td>Ellipsis</td>
<td>Ellipsis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthonysamy</td>
<td>Repetition Lexico-semantic duplication/ redundancy</td>
<td>Lexico-semantic Reduplication/ Redundancy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crewe Baskaran</td>
<td>Similar word confusion Lexico-semantic Substitution</td>
<td>Register Mixing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crewe</td>
<td>Fractured Idioms Borrowed Idioms Unconventional collocation of English Words Common expressions, Idioms and Slang</td>
<td>Non-native Idioms</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The second row shows that four lexical categories have been amalgamated to form the researcher's 'Semantic Shift'. The first three are Crewe's 'Abnormal usage', 'Local Usage', and 'Restricted Usage', all of which are aspects of Semantic Shift presented in a prescriptive manner. Dubey's and Anthonysamy's 'Semantic Shift' highlight socio-cultural influences on the lexical usage and this aspect has also been highlighted by the present researcher. In the third row, it is clear that 'Semantic Extension' is an amalgamation of Platt and Weber's 'Meaning Changes', Anthonysamy's 'Semantic Underdifferentiation' and Baskaran's 'Polysemic Variation'.

The fourth row indicates that Adegjiba's and Anthonysamy's 'Transfer of Meaning from Mothertongue' and 'Transfer of Meaning from Context' have been amalgamated to form the Researcher's 'Semantic Transfer from Mothertongue' as the researcher's category also has cultural elements like those of the researchers mentioned. In the same way, the fifth row shows that the researcher's 'Derivational Variation' is an amalgamation of Crewe's 'Derivational Endings', Yen's 'Derivation of New Words from Existing English Words' and Adegjiba's 'Analogy'. The researcher's category is more detailed and extensive than those of the earlier researchers as she has identified 9 types of Derivational Variation within a total corpus of 70 examples of Derivational Variation compared to few examples identified by the earlier researchers (see Chapter 11 on 'Derivational Variation').

Variation of Reciprocals' in the sixth row is an amalgamation and adaptation of three categories, each from a different researcher: Crewe's 'Reciprocal Verbs', Baskaran's 'Directional Reversal' and Platt and Weber's 'Groups of Words'. 'Ellipsis' is a further elaboration of Anthonysamy's 'Ellipsis' as the present researcher will later indicate that there are 9 types of Ellipsis within a total of 73 examples of Ellipsis.
Platt and Weber’s ‘Repetition’ and Anthonysamy’s ‘Lexico-semantic Duplication’ have been adapted to form ‘Lexico-semantic Reduplication’. The researcher’s category is more detailed than those of Platt and Weber and Anthonysamy as she has further developed four sub-categories of Lexico-semantic Reduplication, namely ‘Juxtaposed Reduplication’, ‘Non-juxtaposed Reduplication’, ‘Root-Sound Reduplication’ and ‘Lexical Double Effects’, while Anthonysamy and Platt and Weber have merely given a few frequently occurring examples of their corresponding categories. In the same way, ‘Lexico-semantic Redundancy’ is a further refinement and development of Anthonysamy’s similar-sounding category as the researcher has developed three sub-categories of ‘Lexico-semantic Redundancy’, namely ‘Redundant Synonyms’, ‘Redundant Superordinates’ and ‘Redundant Expressions’. Crewe’s ‘Similar Word Confusion’, which takes a prescriptive view of the category has been refined and modified with a more descriptive approach, into ‘Lexico-semantic Substitution’. Crewe’s ‘Formality Mixing’ and Baskaran’s ‘Formalization’ as well as ‘Informalization’ have been adapted to form a similar category, namely ‘Register Mixing’. Finally, in the last row, it is clear that the researcher’s ‘Non-native Idioms’ has been adapted from four categories mentioned by earlier researchers: Crewe’s ‘Fractured Idioms’, Platt and Weber’s ‘Borrowed Idioms’, Yen’s ‘Unconventional Collocation of English Words’ and Tongue’s ‘Common Expressions and Slang’. The researcher has further refined and developed the earlier researchers’ categories by sub-dividing the data into three sub-categories, namely ‘Non-native Metaphors’, ‘Local Idioms’ and ‘Adapted Idioms’.

In each of the next thirteen chapters, the researcher will give a detailed analysis of each of the 13 lexical categories in this study.
This reflected by the chapter headings of the rest of this study, namely:

Chapter 4: Lexico-semantic Reduplication
Chapter 5: Lexico-semantic Redundancy
Chapter 6: Lexico-semantic Substitution
Chapter 7: Non-native Idioms
Chapter 8: Semantic Shift
Chapter 9: Semantic Transfer from Mothertongue
Chapter 10: Collocational Variation
Chapter 11: Derivational Variation
Chapter 12: Variation of Reciprocals
Chapter 13: Local Compound Coinages
Chapter 14: Ellipsis
Chapter 15: Semantic Extension
Chapter 16: Register Mixing

The researcher will now describe the features of the previous lexico-sematic categories which have been adapted for this study.

3.6.1 Lexico-semantic Reduplication

The first lexical category is 'Lexico-semantic Reduplication' which has been adapted from Anthonysamy's 'Lexico-semantic Duplication'(1997). Anthonysamy evidently adapted this category from Adegjiba(1987) who gave it the same name. She defined 'Lexico-semantic Duplication' as the repetitive use of a word within the same sentence such as 'long-long time ago' and 'different-different countries' (Anthonysamy, 1997). This is not a new category, as Platt and Weber(1980) have referred to the same feature as 'Repetition' and have described it as a common feature of all the New Englishes such as Indian English, Sri Lankan English and African English. It is particularly common in colloquial speech, and is sometimes attributed as a feature of language transfer from vernacular languages. While for local languages such as Malay repetition indicates plurality, for the New Englishes it often creates a sense of intensity. The words which are
repeated may be nouns, verbs, adjectives or adverbs

In Table 3.2 below the words in bold are examples of repetition which is a common feature in most of the New Englishes namely Indian English, Sri Lankan English, African English, Jamaican English, Singaporean English and Malaysian English.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>New Englishes</th>
<th>Examples of Repetition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indian English</td>
<td>Hot, hot coffee, long, long hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lankan English</td>
<td>To go crying, crying Small small pieces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African English</td>
<td>We have many many such words It's really really beyond description The old old ancestors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaican English</td>
<td>Beg-beg(repeated acts of begging) Mud-mud(a lot of mud) Preachy-preachy (preaching too much)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysian English</td>
<td>You watch TV until late-late – no wonder cannot get up! Have you ever taken honeycomb honey – that type of honey, the beehive beehive type? My son's results terrible, man! All FFF – every subject also fail.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singaporean English</td>
<td>I don't like this sort of dress – all frill, frill, gather, gather. I find find find – don't have!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Platt and Weber said that in addition to creating a sense of intensity, repetition such as ‘F F F’ and ‘beehive beehive’ also create a sense of abundance - large numbers of red marks all over the report card or numerous holes scattered over the honeycomb. Pandharipande(1987) says it also creates a sense of frequency as in the repetition ‘Find, find, find’ which creates the sense of repetitive attempts of the person looking for something in various places.

While Anthonysamy(1997) used Adegjiba’s term ‘Lexico-semantic Duplication’ for this feature, Pandharipande(1987) used the term ‘Reduplication’. She gives examples of the process of reduplication in Indian English such as ‘little little drops’ (of water), ‘big big trees’, and ‘red red sarees’. She explains this as a transfer of a similar feature in Indian languages such as Hindi, to Indian English. She says the grammatical function of reduplication is to intensify the meaning of the reduplicated word for example ‘little little drops’ mean ‘every little drop.’

Two other semantic functions mentioned by her are ‘frequency’ and ‘abundance’. An example of Indian English lexical items showing frequency would be ‘twenty twenty times’, while an example of Indian English lexical items showing abundance is ‘eating eating’ which means eating too much in the sentence ‘All I did was eating eating’. In order to give other non-native varieties of English, Pandharipande quoted examples from West African English such as ‘small small’ which means ‘slowly or bit by bit’, and ‘quick quick’ which just means ‘quickly’.

In this study, Anthonysamy’s and Pandharipande’s terms have been combined and called ‘Lexico-semantic Reduplication’. Due to the large
amount of data collected under this category, the present researcher has explored the concept further than the earlier researchers by refining this category into four sub-categories, namely 'Juxtaposed Reduplication', 'Non-juxtaposed Reduplication', 'Root-Sound Reduplication' and 'Lexical Double Effects'. In 'Juxtaposed Reduplication' the words which are reduplicated are juxtaposed or next to each other such as 'very very' in the following sentence: 'He was a very very young man.' Just as in the Indian example, the Malaysian use of reduplication seems to be to intensify the meaning as 'very very young' here means 'extremely young'.

In 'Non-juxtaposed Reduplication' the repeated word is not juxtaposed with the first occurrence of the word but occurs later on in the same sentence, as shown by the duplication of the word 'both' in the following sentence: 'Both Wembley and Ayer Malek are both penalized RM10,000 each for breaching Section 60(B) of the existing requirements.'

In the case of 'Root-Sound Reduplication' pairs of words occur in the same sentence, having the same root but different affixes. The effect of this is the repetition of certain sounds creating the 'echo' effect of poetic assonance or alliteration as shown in the sentence: 'These factors have been amply amplified in the recent Club Officers' Training.'

Another type of Lexico-semantic Reduplication which the present researcher has termed 'Lexical Double Effects' is the use of pairs of words which involve repetition of sounds or other features. This sometimes involves the use of numerals one after the other, often starting with the same syllable as shown in the following examples heard in informal conversations:

'One-two hairs will always escape my attention.'
"ten-twelve years it will pass by."
"I was there for four-five years."
"We have just started our term about two-three months ago."

The function of 'Lexical Double Effects' seems to be to indicate a rough estimate.

3.6.2 Lexico-semantic Redundancy

Anthonysamy(1997) used the term 'Lexico-semantic Redundancy' to refer to the relexicalization of the same concept such as 'raise up' and 'lower down' whereby the prepositions are synonymous with the verbs. Anthonysamy's original Lexico-semantic Redundancy has been further refined by the present researcher into three new sub-categories, based on semantic and structural criteria and these are:

3.6.2.1 Redundant Synonyms
3.6.2.2 Redundant Superordinates
3.6.2.3 Redundant Expressions

3.6.2.1 Redundant Synonyms

'Redundant Synonyms' are basically relexicalizations of the same concept, namely the use of synonyms juxtaposed with each other within the same sentence. An example of a Redundant Synonym that was recorded from spoken discourse by educated speakers who were speaking at the Acrolectal level is the word 'again' in the following sentence: 'Do you want to repeat again?' Due to the presence of 'repeat', the word 'again' is redundant in this example.
3.6.2.2 Redundant Superordinates

The second sub-category of Lexico-semantic Redundancy is the juxtaposition of superordinate and subordinate words, where the superordinate word may be considered redundant from the viewpoint of native English. An example of this in the current data is the compound adjective 'big-sized' which was used to describe a gunman in a news article: 'big-sized gunman'. This expression may be considered non-native as in native English it would be redundant to use the lexeme '-sized' after 'big'. In other words, the lexeme '-sized' is a non-native addition used perhaps for emphasis.

3.6.2.3 Redundant Expressions

This is a new sub-category of redundancy created by the researcher, where elements of native expressions are combined or embedded non-natively thus creating the effect of redundancy. The words in bold in the following sentence constitute an example of a redundant expression:

'Apparently all the whole world it is the flattest in the world.'

In the above sentence, the words in bold are clearly redundant, as when the speaker says 'it is the flattest in the world' he does not need to use the expression 'all the whole world' in the as the same idea is conveyed in the latter part of the sentence.

3.6.3 Similar Expression Substitution

This is adapted from Crewe's(1977) 'Similar Word Confusion', except that here non-native expressions have substituted the native ones. An example is the substitution of 'Going one, going two' with 'Going for one-two'. The
expression 'going one, going two' is a conventional usage by auctioneers when someone is the last bidder for an item, and a sale is about to be made. In the ME version, the expression has been substituted with a non-native creation which resembles the native version: 'going for one-two.'

3.6.4 Non-native Idioms

Earlier researchers had referred to two types of 'Non-native Idioms', namely: Fractured Idioms and Loan Translations.

3.6.4.1 Fractured Idioms

Crewe(1977) says that Singaporeans have a tendency to introduce small changes to idioms and other fixed expressions in English, possibly due to unfamiliarity with the exact wording of the original idioms. He used the term 'Fractured Idioms' to refer to this feature and gave the following examples to illustrate this feature:

a. Lastly but not least, I must express my sincere thanks to all who have participated in this cultural evening. (last)

b. We are all aware of the proverb, "Money is the root of all evils." (all evil)

Malaysians have the same tendency to 'adapt' English idioms in this way and some of the expressions collected in the researcher's data were of this type, for example 'Make a mole into a mountain' was an ME version of 'Make a mountain out of a molehill. The present researcher has used the term 'Adapted Idioms' to refer to this sub-category.
Other examples of changed forms of English Idioms in the New Englishes are shown in Table 3.3 below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>New English</th>
<th>Non-native Idiom</th>
<th>Native Version</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>Gift of the gap</td>
<td>gift of the gab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigerian</td>
<td>Eat one's cake and have it</td>
<td>Have one's cake and eat it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Guinea</td>
<td>To pass the time</td>
<td>to pass the hard times / to have a hard time</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


3.6.4.2 Loan Translations

Another type that was less common was loan translations of idioms from indigenous languages. Adegjiba(1989) mentions certain idiomatic expressions in Nigerian English which are loan translations from indigenous languages in Nigeria and they are shown in Table 3.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Idiomatic Expressions</th>
<th>Semantic Sense Intended</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>public dog</code></td>
<td>A woman who is a flirt or who is excessively promiscuous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father/ mother of the day</td>
<td>Important father-like or mother-like figure on a wedding occasion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;long throat&quot;</td>
<td>Greed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ladies of the</td>
<td>Important ladies working behind the scenes on a wedding occasion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wardrobe'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to be sick</td>
<td>to be mentally deranged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>upstairs'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to use a lady'</td>
<td>to use a woman to achieve some immoral ends; to take undue sexual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>advantage of a lady</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to smell pepper'</td>
<td>to face a tough time or to be given a rough deal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to let someone</td>
<td>Not to interrupt a person while he is speaking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>die before</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burying him'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'true son'</td>
<td>Used normally to refer to a person who arrives when something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>concerning him is being discussed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The examples in Table 3.5 below are probably coined idioms in the New Englishes.

Table 3.5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>New English</th>
<th>Non-native Idiom</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East African</td>
<td>To be on tarmac</td>
<td>to be in the process of finding a new job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigerian</td>
<td>To put sand in someone's</td>
<td>to threaten someone's livelihood; to interfere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gari</td>
<td>with someone's good fortune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singaporean</td>
<td>Not have the heart to</td>
<td>to have no real intention of buying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>buy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Platt and Weber(1980) also referred to loan translations of native idioms with the original meanings retained such as the Singapore/Malaysian English idiom 'shake legs' which is a direct translation of the Malay idiom.
'goyang kaki'.

Yen describes 'Unconventional collocations of English words' as 'translations of idiomatic expressions or cultural concepts from the vernacular languages'. These are not immediately understood by people without prior knowledge of the local social and cultural background.

As an example of this, she mentioned the same idiom used by Platt and Weber (1980), namely 'shake legs' which is a direct translation from the Malay idiom 'goyang kaki' meaning lazing around while others are working hard. She also mentioned locally coined idioms such as 'gone case' and 'one kind'.

Another type of unconventional collocation is the local cultural equivalent of idiomatic expressions already existent in the English language. An example is the expression 'rice-bowl' which is equivalent to the native speaker's 'bread and butter'. An example observed in the data is 'fingers are pointed at' which seems to be an idiomatic way of saying that accusations are directed at someone or something, when a problem occurs.

Loan translations have been sub-categorized as 'Non-native Metaphors' or 'Local Idioms' in this study.

### 3.6.5 Semantic Shift

While 'Local Coinages' are creatively coined English words expressing non-native concepts or experiences, 'Semantic Shift' refers to English words which have lost their original colonial or British meanings and have acquired new non-native meanings. For example Killingley (1965) says that the word
'outstation' is of colonial origin. According to her, British colonial officers were often 'stationed' in certain towns in colonial Malaya and whenever they went on duty or holiday away from their official 'station' they were said to be 'outstation'. Over time this has semantically shifted to mean travelling out of a state for holiday or business.

Other examples given by Anthonysamy (1997) are the words 'estate' and 'theatre'. In British English the word 'estate' refers to a piece of family property in the form of land or a large manor house. In Malaysian English this has semantically shifted to mean a rubber or oil palm plantation, initially owned by British companies, with employed workers. The other word 'theatre' is used in British English to refer to a hall with a stage for live stage or drama performances, while in Malaysian English this has semantically shifted to mean a cinema hall.

Four examples of Semantic Shift were given by Platt et al. The first is the different meanings attached to the word 'bungalow' in different countries. In Singapore, Malaysia, India or Nigeria a bungalow is a detached house with one or two storeys. In Britain it is a single-storey house. In Australian English it is used for a wooden weekend shack or a small wooden house in the grounds of a larger residence.

Another example of Semantic Shift is in the use of the non-native item 'balance' as meaning 'change' in West African, Singaporean, and Malaysian English as in the sentence: 'You did not give me any balance.'

A third example of this is in the Indian English usage of the word 'colony', which has come to mean 'a residential area or block of flats', instead of its
original meaning of a country which has been colonized by another country. Another example is the term 'compound' which was originally used for the enclosed area within army barracks but which has come to be used as 'an enclosed area around a house or a group of buildings'.

Crewe (1977) was one of the earliest linguists to describe Semantic Shift, though he referred to it as 'Local Usage', a category of language errors. This term refers to the words in Singapore English which have meanings which are different from their meanings in Standard British English. In the following sentences, the words 'follow' and 'send off' are of this type.

a. When you go up to Thailand next time, can I follow? (go with/accompany)
b. We are all going to the airport to send off a friend who is leaving for England. (see off)

All three categories - Restricted, Local and Abnormal Usage have been subsumed under 'Semantic Shift' in this study. While linguists in the 1970's such as Crewe regarded these as categories of language errors, linguists in the 1990's who were more aware of the emergence of New Englishes, regarded it as 'Semantic Shift'.

According to Adegbija (1989), 'Semantic Shift' may explain the Nigerian English usage of expressions which are no longer in current use in native English. Other examples are given by Richmond (1989) of 'Semantic Shift' in Gambian English as well. Perhaps the non-native use of such words and expressions is due to the fact that some of the English words or expressions used in the former colonies have been caught in a 'time capsule' situation, meaning that they were taught by an earlier generation of British teachers or missionaries who were teaching the words and
expression which were current at that time, but which have fallen out of use from mainstream English over the past fifty years.

In Table 3.6 on the next page are some Nigerian/Gambian English words which retain their older English meanings which are no longer current in usage. Some of the words are still used by the older generation of Malaysians, especially words such as 'compound', 'torchlight' and 'go up and down' Richmond (1989) says that all the above are examples of lexico-semantic variation in the English used in not only Gambia, but also the whole of West Africa.

In all the examples of Semantic Shift in Table 3.6 on the next page it appears that there is a polysemic link between the native meanings and the Nigerian English meanings. Adegjiba says that the native meaning or dictionary meaning differs from the Nigerian English sense. This could be due to the fact that the semantic sense has 'shifted' over the course of time within the native English language itself. Among the non-native lexical items, the item 'stay' is also commonly used in Malaysian English, with a meaning similar to its Nigerian counterpart.
Table 3.6

Old-fashioned Terms in Nigerian/Gambian English

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old-fashioned Terms Still in Use</th>
<th>Meaning Intended</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'chase'</td>
<td>To go after a woman with the intention of winning her love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'escort'</td>
<td>To see a guest off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'locate'</td>
<td>To assign to a work place after graduation from school or after completing a course</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'stay'</td>
<td>To live somewhere, permanently</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'travel'</td>
<td>To be away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'fiit'</td>
<td>To spray a room with insecticide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'dear'</td>
<td>Expensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'compound'</td>
<td>Front/back yard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'dash'</td>
<td>Tip or gift for doing something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'boss'</td>
<td>To push down, pack tight or to massage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nylon'</td>
<td>Plastic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'go up and down'</td>
<td>To commute/to go back and forth from one place to another</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to move with someone'</td>
<td>To be close friends with someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to be thick friends'</td>
<td>close friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'torchlight'</td>
<td>Flashlight, searchlight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to vex'</td>
<td>To bother someone, to make someone angry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to put someone down'</td>
<td>To drop off someone from a car</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'He didn't have my time'</td>
<td>He didn't have time for me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'pull with someone'</td>
<td>get along with someone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dubey (1991) in particular has an interesting explanation for the use of Semantic Shift in Indian English advertisements. He analyzed the lexical style of matrimonial advertisements in Indian English newspapers and he has given illustrations of Semantic Shift, as a communicative strategy to adapt the English language to the socio-cultural constraints of Indian society. He says that when the user of English tries to meet the requirements of Indian communication, he or she is faced with socio-cultural and linguistic constraints.

As examples of Semantic Shift in matrimonial advertisements Dubey gives the synonymous superordinate lexical items, `well-placed', `well-established' and `well-settled'. He says that these three collocations describe the strong economic status of the advertiser, thus highlighting his or her economic eligibility for marriage. These three Semantic Shifts have come about because economic status is considered a major decisive factor in arranged Indian marriages.

Dubey says there is a Semantic Shift in the usage of these terms as in British English `well-settled parents' or `well-placed match' would not make much sense. Perhaps they would not be appropriate in the context of marriage as, in a more liberal Western society, marriage is considered a sequel to emotional bondage and courting. Advertising one's economic eligibility or advertising to look for an economically eligible marriage partner would be considered morally inappropriate behaviour.

On the other hand, in a more conservative society, namely Indian society, arranged marriages are the norm and these are arranged mainly by pragmatic considerations of sound economic condition of the bridegroom.
and bride, and of their parents as well. While matching of religion, caste
and horoscopes are also considered important, emotional bonding is
considered optional, compared to the above matters.
Yet another example of Semantic Shift mentioned by Dubey is the use of
the term 'decent' which in the Indian context, means 'rich'. A typical
collocation is 'decent marriage' which in the Indian context, suggests that a
huge dowry should be offered before the marriage, to the bridegroom or his
parents. The term 'decent' has taken on an entirely different meaning
compared to its British English meaning of 'morally principled'. A 'decent
marriage' in the BE context, could mean a proper legalized marriage
whereas in the Indian context it would imply the giving of a huge dowry! This
is a classical example of Semantic Shift as a result of socio-cultural norms
in a non-native context. Dubey says that from the perspective of social
values in modern Indian society, certain neutral English terms have
acquired negative or positive connotations in Indian English. This is
another type of Semantic Shift.
In Indian society, an expression which reflects a social value which is
highly revered is 'stable-charactered'. In the Indian context this refers to a life
partner being loyal to the marriage all his/her life, and being deeply devoted
to his/her life partner despite his/her socialization with the other sex. This is
an example of Semantic Shift as in BE the term 'stable-charactered' would
mean one who is emotionally well-balanced.

Other examples of Semantic Shift are 'broad-minded', and 'home-loving'
which convey the meaning of 'modern yet adhering to traditional values'.

Among the traditional values that are considered important are the qualities that would enable the wife to make herself a successful housewife. Thus the items 'well-trained in household affairs', 'home-loving' and 'homely' acquire specific positive connotations in Indian English. Though Dubey does not mention it, it is clear that 'homely' is an example of Semantic Shift as it has the negative sense of 'appearing unattractive or plain' in BE.

Another social value which is highly valued in a prospective bride is her ability to fit into an Indian joint family. The qualities that reflect this value are expressed in the English expressions 'sweet-natured' and 'sweet-tempered'. This is because the joint family system still exists in parts of India, whereby a bride has to live with her in-laws after marriage, and to be 'sweet-tempered' to adjust to their temperaments. Since this does not appear to be a very attractive prospect for many modern brides, another feature of eligibility for future husbands is in the word 'alone' in matrimonial advertisements. This is another example of Semantic Shift. In the Indian English context, it implies that the person does not have any family liabilities to bear, or is no longer a member of a joint family, thus reassuring the prospective bride that she does not need to suffer at the hands of her in-laws! In a native context the word 'alone' would probably mean 'one who is staying alone in a room' or 'one who is not allowing oneself to be controlled' (Longman, 1982).

There is also Semantic Shift in the use of lexical items which convey the notion of an ideal beauty in Indian society. In British English, 'fair' is used to refer to a light-haired person, and in archaic English it merely means
`beautiful'. However, in Indian English 'fair' means 'lighter in complexion than most Indians', who are usually dark complexioned. A typical Indian coinage for complexion is 'wheatish' which refers to complexion which is 'golden, near to the colour of yellowish variety of wheat'. Another lexical item is 'slim' which in British English means 'thin' but in Indian English means 'slimmer than the average middle-class Indian woman' who is generally plump.

Dubey deduced that the lexis of IE has become nativized to reflect a realistic picture of socio-cultural and aesthetic notions underlying modern Indian society. There is evidence of Semantic Shift in the notions of 'respectability', Indian beauty, and the economics of the Indian arranged marriage, reflected in the Indian English used in matrimonial newspaper advertisements. Thus Dubey has given clear evidence that one important reason for Semantic Shift in Indian English, is the differences in socio-cultural notions between the non-native and native speech communities. This supports the arguments by linguists such as Kachru(1985) that an important factor at play in the use of non-native English among the post-colonial speech communities is the socio-cultural factor.

3.6.6 Semantic Transfer from Mothertongue

Lexical transfer can be the pragmatic consequence of the presence of many languages in a particular context. Examples of such pragmatic consequences are lexical borrowing, language borrowing, code-switching and 'lect-switching' (Richards, 1979). Adegbija says that when different linguistic systems co-exist in the individual and in the society as a whole,
there is often a struggle for predominance and one language can be dominant. This is the position of English in Nigeria. Since it is the predominant language in 'practically every activity in the country, its predominance brings it daily into contact with practically every Nigerian language (Adegbija, 1989). This language contact situation has resulted in new lexical items or lexico-semantic collocations in Nigerian English. Examples of these are direct borrowings and loan translations or calques (Heath, 1989).

An example of lexico-semantic transfer caused by the pragmatic aspects of the dynamics of a multilingual context would be 'hear a smell' which in native English means 'to perceive an odour. Adegbija has attributed 'Transfer of Meaning from Mothertongue' to the socio-cultural differences in the lifestyles of the Nigerian people and the English people. He says lexico-semantic transfer may involve transfer of meaning, transfer of culture, transfer of context or transfer of Nigerian pidgin features. For example, the semantic field of marriage has given rise to the transfer of cultural meaning to many new words and expressions specific to the marriage customs in Nigeria, as shown in Table 3.7 on the next page:

Table 3.7

Non-native Expressions/Words about Marriage Customs in Nigeria

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lexico-semantic collocation</th>
<th>Semantic Sense intended</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'bride price'</td>
<td>The items paid to a bride's family by the groom's family before a marriage can be contracted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'senior wife'</td>
<td>The first wife in a polygamous marriage</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline
\textbf{`an introduction'} & A formal presentation of the bridegroom and his relations to the bride and her relations. \\
\textbf{`writing in'} & Describes the exchange of letters of intention to marry between the families of the Prospective bride and groom. \\
\textbf{`traditional /customary wedding'} & Any wedding contracted mainly according to native customs \\
\hline
\end{tabular}


Lexico-semantic collocations quoted in Adegjiba(1989) that were created in order to express Nigerian cultural habits or customs in English are shown in Table 3.8 below:

\textbf{Table 3.8}

\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline
\textbf{Lexico-semantic collocations} & \textbf{Semantic Sense intended} \\
\hline
`social wake-keeping' & Staying awake for some time during or throughout the night in honour of a Dead person. \\
`chewing stick' & A slim slender stick used in cleaning or brushing the teeth. \\
`bush meat' & An edible animal caught from the bush \\
`black soap' & A kind of local black soap, made from ashes, palm oil and some other ingredients \\
`pounded yam' & Yam pounded and mashed with a pestle and a mortar \\
`wrapper' & A piece of cloth tied around the waist or body. \\
`head tie' & A scarf for covering the head, usually used by women \\
`pineapple' & A kind of hairdo patterned after the pineapple \\
Yellow-fever & Traffic wardens in Nigeria – who normally wear a yellowish attire \\
`bean cake' & A kind of cake made from beans \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
Adegbija says the above expressions are rooted in Nigerian culture and experience. They reflect a Nigerian lifestyle that is only familiar to the users of the expressions. All of them can also be considered coinages in Nigerian English that make sense only within Nigeria, or the other African nations. Due to the close contact between pidgin English and the English language in Nigeria, the transference of lexical items from pidgin into English and vice versa is very common.

Examples of lexical items in Nigerian pidgin which are a result of transfer are shown in Table 3.9 below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-native Lexical Items</th>
<th>Semantic Sense Intended</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mammy water'</td>
<td>Mermaid-like water spirit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'dash'</td>
<td>Give a tip or gift</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'mammy wagon'</td>
<td>Lorry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'kiakia bus'</td>
<td>Volkswagen bus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table 3.10 below are loan translations of idiomatic expressions from Yoruba or Ogori, two of the tribal languages:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Loan Translations of Idiomatic Expressions from Yoruba/Ogori</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Examples of loan translations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'The market is not moving'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'There is no market'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In loan translations the form and meaning of the native word is employed as a model for a translation equivalent in the English language.
Bamiro (1991) in his study on lexico-semantic features in Nigerian English uses the term 'translation equivalents' to refer to a similar category.

According to Anthonysamy, 'Transfer of Meaning' or 'Semantic Transfer' refers to the complete reassignment of the meaning of a word or expression. Examples given by Anthonysamy using the word 'time' are 'night time', 'last time' and 'two days' time'. Anthonysamy has taken this categorization from the Nigerian researcher, Adegbija (1989) who has defined 'transfer of meaning' as any type of variation in which 'a meaning foreign to English but present in the mother tongue is directly translated into English.' The present researcher has adapted this category under 'Semantic Transfer from Mothertongue' and 'Non-native Idioms'.

The English in Ghana is similar to Nigerian English in that there are also features of all the lexico-semantic variation described by Adegbija (1989) such as Lexical Transfer, Analogy, Semantic Shift or Extension and Coinages. Examples of Lexical Transfer which is a result of Loan Translations or Calques are shown in Table 3.11 on the next page:

**Table 3.11**

**Loan Translations or Calques in Nigerian English**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Loan Translations</th>
<th>Meaning Intended</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clean one's mouth</td>
<td>Brush one's teeth and rinse the mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To ease someone up</td>
<td>To make someone feel better</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To mix someone</td>
<td>To cause trouble between persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life is full of nonsense</td>
<td>Life is funny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How is your body?</td>
<td>How are you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How is the morning/evening?</td>
<td>How are things going?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.6.7 Collocational Variation

Anthonysamy (1997) used the term `transfer from context' to describe a word which habitually occurs in the company of certain words or associates in native usage but contracts new relations with other referents in Malaysian English. Examples given by Anthonysamy are `pass your licence', and `down there'. Heah (1989) used the term `semantic specialization' and Baskaran (1987) used the term `Semantic Restriction', to refer to `English words which have acquired specific cultural meanings which are different from their original meanings.'

According to Adegbija (1989), an example of Semantic Restriction in Nigerian English is the word `machine' to refer to `motor cycle'. `Machine' in the native sense has the general meaning of `mechanical device' while in Nigerian English it has a restricted sense of `motor cycle'. Other examples given by him are shown in Table 3.12 below:

**Table 3.12**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic Restriction</th>
<th>Semantic Sense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Civilized</td>
<td>Knowledge of Western grace and manners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bluff</td>
<td>To try to impress someone, usually in terms of personal property</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escort</td>
<td>to see a guest off</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An example of Semantic Restriction in Singapore English is in the use of `Christian' to refer to only Protestants (Platt and Weber, 1980). In addition, in Indian and African English, the use of the word `Boy' to refer to male servants or porters in hotels is an example of Semantic Restriction, and is a
remnant of the colonial usage of English.

Yen (1990) describes 'Semantic Restriction' as 'English Origin Words (EOW) as a Result of Semantic Change', in which only one or two of the original Standard British meanings are fore-grounded while the others are either used or abandoned completely. The example given is the word 'tuition' which has at least two meanings in Standard English. The first one is 'payment for instruction' usually associated with an institution of higher learning or school. The second meaning is 'reinforcement teaching for a fee, usually with regards to school subjects'. In Malaysian English, the first meaning of 'tuition' has been abandoned while the second meaning has been retained.

This study has incorporated Semantic Restriction under two other categories, namely 'Local Compound Coinages' and 'Collocational Variation'. 'Collocational Variation' refers to words which have been used in a non-native way in that in native contexts they would not collocate with the words in the immediate context. They may even be considered syntactically or contextually inappropriate by a native user of English. These words are usually more common synonyms or substitutes for less commonly used native words which the non-native speakers may not be familiar with. They may not be exact synonyms of the intended native words, but they are semantically close equivalents.

Sometimes, the non-native collocates may be semantically close in meaning to the original native word but may not collocate with the rest of the sentence as is the case of 'Abnormal Usage' (Crewe, 1977). 'Abnormal
Usage’ refers to words which are used inaccurately in terms of their denotative senses.

In the following sentences, native English words such as ‘scrutinized’ and ‘degrade’ are used in Singapore English, in contexts where they may be considered inappropriate by native speakers:

a. Please return the poems to me after you have scrutinized them. (examined/studied)

b. Whether one’s health will improve or degrade is never determined by chance. (decline/deteriorate)

An example of Collocational Variation in the data which resembles Crewe’s ‘Abnormal Usage’ is the use of the expression ‘attending a telephone call’.

The expression ‘attending to something’ is used in native English to mean to ‘deal with something’. However, when ‘attending’ is used as attending a telephone call’ it has merely substituted the native expression ‘answering a telephone call’. The original native sense of ‘to deal with something’ has been retained, but we also know that it is non-native because it does not fit into the syntactic structure of the sentence: in native English, ‘attend’ is always used with a ‘to’ after it; in the non-native version above, ‘to’ has been omitted.

3.6.8 Derivational Variation

Adegjiba used the term ‘Analogy’ to describe this process. Lexico-semantic analogy or generalization describes the formation of new words which resemble already existing words either in form or in meaning. Word formation processes in English such as suffixation and prefixation have led to many examples of analogy in Nigerian English. In Nigerian English, there
is a tendency for the addition of 'ism' to proper names of people to indicate their beliefs such as:

**Examples of Analogy**

Azikiwe (a person's name) - Zikism
Awo (a person's name) - Awoism

Similar examples in Nigerian English, such as 'arrangee', 'invitee', 'counsellee', and 'decampee', are based on analogy with native English words such as 'addressee' and 'examinee'. Items like 'broadcasted', 'roasted', etc in Nigerian English follow regular past tense formation patterns in English. These examples of analogy can also be seen in the current data: 'I quitted the job' and 'He wetted the bed.'

Elements of work done by three researchers have been integrated to develop 'Derivational Variation'. They are: Adegjiba (1989), Crewe (1977) and Yen (1990). This consists of elements of Adegjiba's 'Analogy', Crewe's 'Derivational Endings' and Yen's 'Derivation of new words from existing English words'.

Yen (1990) describes the creative coining of new words with new meanings using existing roots, by adding prefixes and suffixes to these roots. She gives examples which are similar to Platt and Weber's 'Locally coined words and expressions', Baskaran's 'Semantic Restriction' and Anthonysamy's 'Neologisms' or 'Coinages' in this respect. Examples given by Yen are shown in Table 3.13 on the next page:
Table 3.13

Malaysian English Derivatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard English root</th>
<th>Malaysian English derivative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wind (moving air)</td>
<td>Windy (food causing flatulence or bloated feeling)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heat (high temperature)</td>
<td>Heathy (food causing sweating and sore throat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward</td>
<td>Warded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jail</td>
<td>Jailed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House</td>
<td>Housed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>Schooling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market</td>
<td>Marketing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garden</td>
<td>Gardening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shop</td>
<td>Shopping</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Crewe differentiates between 'Unacceptable Conversion' and 'Derivational Endings'. He says that in 'Unacceptable Conversion' the speaker changes the word class such as using a noun instead of a verb while in 'Derivational Endings' the user changes the prefix or suffix attached to the root. This seems to result in a confusion of meaning even though the word class is correct. In the following sentences the words in bold illustrate this while the Standard English equivalents are provided:

a. I have not completed a satisfied piece of work yet (satisfactory).

b. The manager gave a heavy longwinding speech which was difficult for the ordinary workers to follow. (longwinded)

The present study has adapted this concept and has categorized this form of non-native lexis under 'Redundant Affixation', and 'Derivational Variation', both categories under the main sub-heading 'Grammatical Categories'.

3.6.9 Variation of Reciprocals

Crewe(1977) says in Standard British English the use of certain verbs
such as 'go/bring', 'send/fetch', give/take' and 'lend/borrow', depends on the place from which the action is viewed, which is not the same as the place the speaker is at. In native English, 'go', 'send' and 'take' should be away from the place, 'bring' should be towards the place and 'fetch' should be away and back to the place. However, in Singapore English, 'go' and 'take' can both be towards the place, 'bring' and 'fetch' are both away from the place, and 'send' away but accompanied by the addressee. In other words, 'go' is often used for 'come', 'send' for 'take', 'bring' for 'take', 'fetch' for 'take' and 'take' for 'bring'.

Leo (1995) illustrates the Singaporean tendency towards four such non-native usage of verbs. A house party has just ended and it is getting late. The guests put their heads together to sort out transportation arrangements since not all of them drive. The following conversation shows the examples:

'Judy and Josie will follow Kenneth since the three of you live in Jurong.'
'Who wants to follow Johnson? Why don't you, Ali?'
'Sim please give Ranjit a lift to Hougang on your way to Yishun.'
'Amy, you go in Herbie's car.'
'Peter, you take Rosie and Molly.'
'Angelica, did you say your mother was going to fetch you?'
'Good. Can you also bring Linda along, since both of you live in BukitTimah?'
'Who wants to ride with Benny? You, Kim and Tim.'
'Steven will drop Shirley along the way.'
'I will send Veronica home.'

Leo then explains that in native usage, if Judy and Josie were to 'follow' Kenneth, they would be literally trailing him, and not riding in his car, as meant in the non-native sense. Secondly, in native English, Angelica's mother would take her back and not 'fetch' her as 'fetch' would be away and back to the place where the action is viewed. Thirdly, in native English, if Angelica's mother 'brings' Linda, then it would be towards the venue of the
party rather than away from it. In addition, in a native sense, when you 'send' someone, you don't go along him or her. For example, you 'send' someone to collect your laundry, perhaps because you are not free to do it yourself.

Crewe (1977) gives the following examples of such verbs (in bold) which are used in Singaporean English:

a. I'll go over to your office and have a talk with you. (come)
b. My mother takes me here by car while she goes to work every day. (brings)

Platt and Weber (1980) say that this non-native tendency may be due to the fact that some of the background languages of the new Englishes make no distinction between certain concepts such as 'borrow' and 'lend'. This is definitely true for the Malay language, in which 'pinjam' is used for both 'borrow' and 'lend'. A similar feature in Nigerian English is shown in the following example: 'Borrow (lend) me your pen.'

In the same way, in native usage, immobile objects such as 'telephone' or sewing machine cannot be 'borrowed', but 'used'. In non-native usage, immovable objects can be 'borrowed' as shown in the following non-native usage of 'borrow' in Hawaiian English and Singaporean English:

(a) Hawaiian: 'May I borrow your telephone?'
(b) Singaporean: 'Can I borrow your sewing machine?'

Other verbs used non-natively in the New Englishes are shown in Table 3.14:
Table 3.14
Non-native Verbs in the New Englishes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lexical Item</th>
<th>New English</th>
<th>Examples of Usage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>East African</td>
<td>'Open the light.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>'Close the radio.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take</td>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>'Take come here.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bringing(taking)</td>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>'I'm bringing these files home.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take(get them)</td>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>OK, I take them for you.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Send(take away)</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>'Children were not to send books outside the classroom.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Follow</td>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>'I follow him to work.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


This category is also described by Baskaran as 'Directional Reversal' (Baskaran, 1987). Baskaran attributes this feature to the absence of separate lexemes in the local languages, hence the inability to distinguish between each set of reciprocal verbs. Just as Platt and Weber (1980) has done, she mentions that the reciprocal verbs 'borrow' and 'lend' are often used for inappropriate items such as in the following sentences:

"He came to borrow my phone as his was out of order."
"They lent her some bread."

Basically, it is a reversal of the directional concepts in native English. This could be due to the influence of the background languages which leads to an inability to differentiate between sets of verbs. This class of lexico-semantic
variation has been adapted under the heading 'Variation of Reciprocals.'

3.6.10 Local Compound Coinages

Basically local coinages are English words describing concepts which are culturally or socially familiar to the locals but which may not be familiar to foreigners. Coinages have also been described by Adegjiba (1989) as new creations of English words with nativized meaning peculiar to the local socio-cultural environment. He explains 'coinages' or 'neologisms' as the 'creation or invention of lexical items with nativized meanings'. He explains that this form of variation is to incorporate into the English used in Nigeria, 'new experiences, feelings, thought patterns, modes of life, culture and customs'.

Hence this class of non-native lexical items is also due to socio-cultural differences between the Nigerians and the English. Adegjiba has sub-divided Coinages or Neologisms into 3 main sub-categories: the existing lexical stock in English, the existing lexical stock in the mother tongue and a hybrid of the lexical stock of indigenous languages and English. Adegjiba's examples of Coinages in Nigerian English are shown in Table 3.15.
### Table 3.15

**Coinages or Neologisms in Nigerian English**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coinages in Nigerian English</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Bottom box'</td>
<td>Attire intended for special occasions, rarely used and so kept at the bottom of one's box.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'been-to'</td>
<td>a person who has traveled abroad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'dash'</td>
<td>Tip or payment for service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'go-slow':</td>
<td>a traffic jam; also metaphorically used in reference to an unexpected delay in carrying out a particular function</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>half-current:</td>
<td>'when the electric current is not full because of low voltage and the lights are not very bright</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drop':</td>
<td>to alight from a vehicle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private practice'</td>
<td>any extra or additional means of getting income beside one's regular employment; occasionally also used in reference to extra-marital affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'portable':</td>
<td>Slender, small body (usually used for ladies)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'pass out':</td>
<td>to graduate from a school or college</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to use medicine'</td>
<td>to use black magic to achieve an end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'face-to-face'</td>
<td>a set of flats or apartments built directly opposite or facing each other</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Anthony Samy (1997) has adapted Adegjiba's terms 'Coinages' or 'Neologisms' to refer to this non-native category. Just as Adegjiba has said about such coinages expressing socio-cultural experiences in the Nigerian setting, she has said that the process of creating English words with nativized meanings seems to have an important role in conveying the socio-cultural experiences in the Malaysian context.

Using the categorization used by Adegjiba (1989), Anthony Samy has further sub-divided 'Coinages' into: the existing lexical stock in English which produced new meanings; the existing lexical stock in mother tongue and a
hybrid of lexical stock of native language and English idiomatic coinages. Since this study does not include loanwords from the local languages, only the first sub-category has been adapted for analysis of the current data, namely 'The Existing Lexical Stock in English which produced new meaning'.

In this study, the term 'Local Compound Coinages' has been used for the same category. This is because all the data under 'Coinages' are also compounds. In fact, all the examples given by Anthonymsamy are also compound coinages, namely 'eating stalls', 'coffee shop', 'new moon', and 'old road'. Each of these coinages expresses a feature of the Malaysian experience. Some also have specific cultural connotations of their own. This category is similar to Platt et al.'s 'Locally coined Words and Expressions' and Yen's 'Unconventional Collocations of Words'.

Platt and Weber (1980) use the term 'Locally coined words and expressions' to refer to coinages, which they describe as 'native English words which have acquired new meanings based on non-native concepts.' Platt et al. describe these as native English words which have acquired new meanings to express non-native concepts.

An example of a locally coined expression is 'hawker centre'. A 'hawker' is used for a trader who runs a stall, selling food or other goods. It does not have the British meaning of a door-to-door pedlar. A 'hawker centre' is an area set aside for hawker stalls, usually selling food. Other locally coined words in Singaporean English are 'stingko' meaning 'smelly' and 'cracko' meaning 'a crazy fellow'.

Other examples of coinages given by Platt et al. as well as Baskaran are
words based on certain Chinese beliefs such as 'windy' which is attributed to food that causes flatulence and stomach discomfort, 'heaty' which is attributed to food which makes us feel hot and sweaty, and 'cooling' which is attributed to food that cools us down and counteracts the after-effects of 'heaty' food.

Yen(1991) includes this category under 'Unconventional collocations of existing English words' and gives as examples the local idioms 'gone case' and 'one kind'. She also mentioned the coinage of Malaysian compound words that refer to local things and places such as 'shophouse' and 'night market'.

Pandharipande(1987) mentions the tendency of Indian English users towards 'compound word formation' such as 'India-watchers', 'rumour hungry' film magazines, 'fact-finding' committee, and 'zero-industry' district.

In a similar way, the concept of Coinages or Neologisms has been adapted under 'Local Compound Coinages'. Since all the coinages in the data consisted of compounds the present researcher has focused only on compound coinages.

3.6.11 Ellipsis

Ellipsis refers to the omission of certain lexical items which would not occur in Standard English. An example of this given by Anthonysamy(1997) is in the omission of 'turned' before 'off' in the following sentence: "I just on the radio." While Anthonysamy and other earlier researchers seemed to consider this category as a minor one perhaps due to its relatively infrequent occurrence in non-native Englishes,
the present researcher found a relatively large amount of data on Ellipsis, and would like to consider this an important category.

3.6.12 Semantic Extension

While Yen(1991) views Semantic Extension as a stage of lexical development which precedes Semantic Shift, Anthonysamy(1997) views it as belonging to the same category as Semantic Shift. Anthonysamy states that the meaning of a word or group of words in the new environment is extended, restricted or shifted.

In addition, Heah(1989) and Anthonysamy(1997) used the term 'Semantic Underdifferentiation' to refer to common adjectives which are used in multiple contexts which may not be considered appropriate in native English. In each of the sentences below, the word 'big' is non-native, as it is a substitution for the word in brackets which may be considered more appropriate by native speakers:

a. That used to be a complaint.(common)
b. Just because the big guns are here he is saying... (important people)
c. She gave me a big slap. (tight)
d. Hari Raya Aidil Fitri and Chinese New Year are two feasts. (important)
e. ....so I think it is a big thing for the country. (important achievement)

In the data, Yen's categorization has been adapted, whereby Semantic Shift and Semantic Extension have been differentiated into two separate categories. Yen explained that semantic change is manifested through several linguistic processes which result in the extension, narrowing or redefinition of meanings for existing English words. Semantic Extension entails the assignment of additional 'local' meanings to the range of meanings already existing in Standard British words. These 'local'
meanings are only comprehensible among the in-group of language users, which in this case are English-speaking Malaysians.

In Table 3.16 below, Yen gives examples of Semantic Extension

**Table 3.16**

**Examples of Semantic Extension**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Malaysian English Word</strong></th>
<th><strong>Standard English Meaning</strong></th>
<th><strong>Local Meaning</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Member</td>
<td>Part of</td>
<td>Friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tupperware</td>
<td>Brand name of range of plastic products</td>
<td>Any plastic container</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shilling</td>
<td>British coin</td>
<td>Loose change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slang</td>
<td>Colloquial words</td>
<td>Accent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Squat</td>
<td>Sit on the floor</td>
<td>Find temporary accommodation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Call</td>
<td>Ask to come</td>
<td>Invite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Action</td>
<td>Physical acts</td>
<td>Putting on airs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tackle</td>
<td>Handle</td>
<td>Court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cartoon</td>
<td>Animated show</td>
<td>Comical person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Yen has also further subdivided her words under semantic extension according to different perspectives. The first near-equivalents in the vernaculars or local languages. Examples of these are in bold in the following sentences provided by Yen:

"If you have no transport to go home after the dinner you can always follow us." (get a lift from - from "ikut")

"I shall spend all of you if I get the promotion." (give a treat to- from "belanja")

Yen explains that over a long period of extensive use, semantic extension can result in semantic shift. This means that the local meanings of the word become stable or institutionalized and completely replace the Standard
British meanings. Examples of these are the reciprocal verbs `fetch' and `send'.

In both Semantic Shift and Semantic Extension, the existing words in English are given a new meaning and connotation in a new lexical view. Heath (1989) views the processes as `semantic widening', `semantic restriction' and `semantic specialization'.

Platt seems to have implied Semantic Shift, Semantic Restriction and Semantic Extension under the heading `Meaning Changes'. One of the versions of `Meaning Changes' is when the word loses its old meaning and takes on an entirely new meaning, and this has been explained by later researchers as `Semantic Shift'. Platt comments that this is rare as traces of the old meaning always remain. It could also be comparable to Crewe's category `Local Usage' whereby words acquire meanings which are different from their original meaning in Standard British English.

The second version of `Meaning Changes' is when the meaning of a word is restricted so that only part of the original meaning is implied whenever it is used. This is similar to Baskaran's `Semantic Restriction'. Platt et.al. explains that this is also rare as usually words take on additional meanings which they did not have before. Examples of lexical items in Singaporean/ Malaysian English that reflect the second version or Semantic Extension are:

`drop' - get out of a car eg. `You can drop me here.'
`stay' - living permanently eg. `I stay with my parents.'

Other examples of Semantic Extension from Nigerian English are:

`bush' - unpolished or rural(living in the bush) eg. `He's a proper bushman.'
‘stranger’ – guest eg. ‘Take some water to the stranger

Other examples of Semantic Extension are shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic Extension</th>
<th>Semantic Sense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bangle</td>
<td>bangle, bracelet or any type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jewellery worn on the hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pot</td>
<td>any container for liquids</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Ghanaian English, the archaic biblical term ‘bring forth’ is used for delivery of a baby. This non-native lexical item is a Semantic Extension of the biblical concept of progeny - a remnant of the influence of missionaries who were probably the first teachers of English in Ghana.

Another example from Ghanaian English is ‘donation’ which has been restricted to the sense of ‘gifts of money given to relations of a deceased person to help them meet the high cost of funerals.’

The third version of Meaning Changes is when a word could keep its original meaning and add new meanings. This is similar to Baskaran’s ‘Polysemic Variation’ whereby standard English words are used with their original native meaning as well as an extended semantic range of meaning not originally found in native English. These are native English words and expressions that have retained their original native meaning and acquired some extended non-native meanings as well.

Platt and Weber seem to be referring to the use of Semantic Extension when they mentioned the non-native use of ‘hear’ in Singaporean English:

‘I can’t speak Cantonese - I can hear lahl!’
‘I like to hear Chinese classical music – very nice.’

In the first sentence, ‘hear’ would have been replaced with ‘understand’ in
native English. In the second sentence, 'hear' is used non-natively while 'listen to' would be the native equivalent. Other examples from Singapore English as well as Malaysian English (Baskaran, 1987) are the additional meanings of the word 'cut'. The original meaning is 'slicing', but it has also acquired the sense of 'overtake' (a vehicle or a fellow runner in a race), 'beat'(to defeat an opponent or rival by points or marks) and 'reduce' (to give or take a lesser amount of something).

As has been observed, this category overlaps with Platt's category 'Meaning Changes'. Heah(1989) views this feature as 'semantic extension' while Anthonysamy (1997) has further refined this concept into two categories which are similar namely 'semantic extension' and 'semantic underdifferentiation'.

Adegjiba(1989) gives the usage of kinship terms in Nigerian English as examples of Semantic Extension in Nigerian English. Though superficially and structurally the kinship terms like 'wife', 'husband', 'brother', 'uncle', 'aunt' and 'mother' appear the same in both Nigerian and English contexts, in actual use the Nigerian English versions convey meaning which is extended beyond their conventional native English notions.

In Nigeria no matter how distant a blood relation is, he or she is still considered a member of one's family. This way of thinking has influenced the Nigerian meanings of English kinship terms as seen below:

wife: (a) a woman to whom a man is married
(b) a woman married to a man in a particular family; culturally she is a wife to both the males and the females in the family. Thus it would not be strange to hear a woman say: "Meet Bola, she is our wife."

brother: (a) a male relative with the same parents
(b) a male relative belonging to one's extended family
(c) a male relative belonging to one's town
(d) any male from the same ethnic group

Semantic Extension (d) of 'brother' could be the reason why African Americans call other African Americans 'brothers'. Since most of the predecessors of the present generation of African Americans were slaves brought from West Africa, the speech patterns of West Africans must have been absorbed into the African American dialect, one of the dialects of American English. Another example of a kinship term that has undergone Semantic Extension is 'uncle':

uncle: (a) the brother of one's father or mother
      (b) the husband of one's aunt
      (c) a man whose brother or sister has a child
      (d) any familiar elder too old to be called 'brother or deserving greater respect than one would normally confer on a brother.

'Aunt' or 'Aunty' has similar senses.

3.6.13 Register Mixing

The term 'Register Mixing' has been adapted for this feature of Malaysian English. It is similar to what Crewe (1977) termed 'Formality Mixing', which he described as a feature of Singapore English. He described this as a tendency to mix the levels of formal and informal speech through the choice of words considered inappropriate in Standard British English. This means that formal lexis may be used for informal utterances and informal lexis may be used for formal utterances.

Crewe illustrated 'Formality Mixing' by giving pairs of sentences. In sentences (a) and (b) on the next page, the words in bold are too formal for the particular utterances compared to the rest while in sentences (c) and (d), they are too informal for the context of use:
a. Could you please furnish your phone number so that I can ring you up at home? (give)

b. My youngest son is undergoing national service at the moment. (doing)

c. We regret very much that your hubby has passed away. (husband)

d. The embassy will be inviting you and your missus attend the opening of the art exhibition. (wife)

Baskaran(1987) has two categories which involve the same concept as 'Register Mixing': Informalization and formalization. These categories are similar to Crewe's 'formality mixing' whereby Malaysian speakers, like their Singaporean counterparts have a tendency to mix registers namely use formal words in informal contexts and vice versa. Examples given by Baskaran of informal words used in formal contexts are: 'hubby' for 'husband' (used in newspaper headlines), 'follow' for 'accompany' and 'stay' for 'have accommodation'. Examples of formal words used in informal contexts are 'residence' for 'house', 'attached to' for 'working in' and 'witness' for 'see an accident'.

In conclusion, it must be emphasized that while all the main categories have been adapted from those used by earlier researchers, all the sub-categories and types are entirely new creations by the present researcher. In the next chapter, the researcher will describe and analyze the data under 'Lexico-semantic Reduplication'.