

**THE USE OF MALAYSIAN ENGLISH IN ROBERT RAYMER'S SHORT
STORIES**

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SHORT STORIES**

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**FACULTY OF LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS
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ABSTRACT

This study is an attempt to categorize and describe the use of Malaysian English by a native English speaker who has lived in Malaysia for over 20 years. This person is an expatriate who has been actively involved in contributing to Malaysian literature, particularly in the area of creative writing.

Two books written by Robert Raymer were used for the purpose of this study. A total of 16 short stories were analyzed using theoretical frameworks by Baskaran (2005). There was a total of 41 words and phrases that were used as data for the analysis according to the theoretical frameworks. This study will focus on the presence of words in these four categories and in the categories outlined by Baskaran (2005).

There are two main categories used in the framework presented by Baskaran (2005). These two categories are Local Language Referents and Standard English Lexicalization.

The sub-categories under Local Language Referents are Institutionalized Concepts, Emotional and Cultural Loading, Semantic Restriction, Cultural and Culinary Terms, Hyponymous Collocation and Campus or Student Coinages.

The sub-categories under Standard English Lexicalization are Polysemic Variation, Semantic Variation, Informalization, Formalization, Directional Reversal and College Colloquialism.

Robert Raymer's view is used to triangulate the data and hence answer the last research question.

ABSTRAK

Penyelidikan ini adalah bertujuan untuk menerangkan penggunaan ME iaitu ‘Malaysian English’ oleh Robert Raymer, seorang rakyat Amerika yang telah menetap di Malaysia selama lebih dari 20 tahun. Beliau aktif dalam bidang penulisan di Malaysia terutamanya dalam bidang penulisan kreatif.

Dua buah buku yang ditulis oleh Robert Raymer telah digunakan untuk tujuan penyelidikan ini. Sejumlah 16 cerita pendek telah dianalisa dengan menggunakan teori-teori hasil nukilan Baskaran (2005). Sebanyak 41 gabungan perkataan dan frasa telah digunakan dalam proses menganalisis data berdasarkan rangka-rangka teori tersebut.

Dua kategori utama yang dinyatakan oleh Baskaran (2005) adalah ‘Local Language Referents’ dan ‘Standard English Lexicalization’. Kategori yang pertama dibahagi pada ‘Instutionalized Concepts, Emotional and Cultural Loading, Semantic Restriction, Cultural and Culinary Terms, Hyponymous Collocation’ dan ‘Campus or Student Coinages’.

Kategori-kategori yang termasuk dalam ‘Standard English Lexicalization’ adalah ‘Polysemic Variation, Semantic Variation, Informalization, Formalization, Directional Reversal’ dan ‘College Colloquialism’. Pandangan Robert Raymer digunakan untuk memantapkan kajian data dan seterusnya menjawab soalan kajian yang ketiga.

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CHAPTER 1 – Introduction

1.0 The Nature of the Problem

This thesis focuses on the use of Malaysian English (ME) by Robert Raymer, an American writer who has been living in Malaysia for the last 20 years writing short stories set in the Malaysian setting. This study comes out of a personal meeting with Raymer in 2006 during a creative writing workshop. He was able to almost effortlessly weave a story with the Malaysian tapestry set as the background and the question then arose about his familiarity with Malaysian English and his ability to employ Malaysian English lexical items in his short stories.

Significantly, although there have been analyses on the usage of Malaysian English by various Malaysian creative writers such as K.S. Maniam, Usman Awang, Abdullah Hussain, Tash Aw, Shamini Flint and Preeta Samarasan, very few studies have been done on writings by Western expatriates living in Malaysia.

1.0.1 Expatriates in and on Malaysia

In 1905, G.A. Henty's *In the Hands of the Malays* (1905) was one of the earliest books on Malaysia and this was written by a person who had an obsession with piracy. Unfortunately, Henty has been reprimanded for his pro-imperialist stance and racist depictions of pretty much anyone not English despite having an impressive sale of 25 million books in his lifetime. On the other hand, the Italian writer Emilio Salgari wrote about Malay heroes who were pirates, who resisted the oppression of the European empire builders in his book, *The Tigers of*

Momprecem (1900). In a sequel of this book, the protagonist, Sandokan stands up against prominent figures like James Brooke, the first White Rajah of Sarawak.

Around the same time, another writer Joseph Conrad drew his inspiration from the region and wrote a story about a Dutch merchant who sets up a trading venture in Borneo that was rather disastrous. The book was called *Almayer's Folly: A Story of an Eastern River* (1895). Conrad also wrote *Lord Jim* (1900) and in this story, a young British seaman becomes a white raja, defending the orang asli from an evil tribal chief. It is noted that the writings of both Henty and Conrad were products of their time and place of origin.

In 1926, British expats like Jessie A. Davidson wrote novels about plantation life and colonial skullduggery as in *Dawn: A Romance of Malaya*. Davison was a granddaughter of Francis Light, founder of Penang. *The Soul of Malaya* (1930) by Henri Fauconnier that won the Goncourt Award, France's equivalent of the Booker Prize, focused on a similar theme: the exploits of two morally - dubious Frenchmen trying to make their fortune with a Klang Valley rubber plantation.

During the Japanese Occupation in Malaya in the 1940's, Agnes Newton Keith was living in Sandakan. It was then she wrote *Three Came Home* (1947) which depicted her traumatic experiences in an internment camp. Other post-war stories by Western expatriates were *A Clockwork Orange* (1962) and *Time for a Tiger* (1956) by Anthony Burgess who taught at the prestigious Malay College during the Emergency. By learning fluent Malay and embedding himself in the culture, Burgess aimed to become the Western authority on British Malaya, as Rudyard Kipling had been on India and George Orwell had been on Burma (Sykes, 2012).

In recent years, Western authors had put a new spin on the old themes The

American author C. S. Godshalk wrote *Kalimantaan: A Novel* (1998) while living and working on the peninsula. Amanda Sington-Williams revisited the Emergency in *The Eloquence of Desire* (2010), by using it as a backdrop to the emotional self-destruction of a British colonial family.

Raymer is notably one of the newest Western expatriates in this category. The background of his stories are set in modern-day Malaysia and although he had won many literary awards, no apparent studies have been done on Raymer's writings as yet. This study sets out to examine his use of Malaysian English and to explore why he chose to write in such a way. By doing so, his view on the current Malaysian way of life in relation to the aspects of Malaysian English can be identified.

1.1 Background

In this section, I briefly discuss the author and his works.

1.1.1 The author.

Robert Raymer has lived in Malaysia for over two decades. He lives with his family in Kuching, Sarawak. He has taught creative writing in Universiti Sains Malaysia (Penang) and currently he teaches the same subject in Universiti Malaysia Sarawak. He has penned down many of his life experiences into short stories that have been published in the Malaysian mainstream print media since the year 1991. His earliest stories were published in the *New Straits Times*, *Her World*, *Marie Claire* and *Femina*. Other articles have been published in the *Literary Review*, *London Magazine*, *Frank*, *Going Places*, *Silver Kris*, *Far East Traveller* and the *Reader's Digest*. To-date, he has published two books containing short stories. The first, *Lovers and Strangers-Revisited* was published

in 2005, and the second collection, *Tropical Affairs* was published in 2009. His first book was the winner of the 2009 ‘Popular The Star Reader’s Choice Award for Fiction’.

1.1.2 The book reviews.

His first book, *Lovers and Strangers – Revisited* has a collection of stories dating back to the year 1986. The magazine *Success* states that “Malaysia comes alive with the firecrackers of Chinese New Year, the tears of a Malay woman in a taxi, the chapattis and tea served in a cramped house, and a nervous *mat salleh* meeting his new Malay in-laws in a kampong”. As Raymer describes the issues of everyday life, the *Her World* magazine remarked that “Marriage and infidelity, betrayal and other permutations of the mating game permeate this collection His sense of place is tangible”. *The Star* (2005) described this book as pure reading pleasure.

His second book, *Tropical Affairs* is a “collection of creative non-fiction, and Raymer gives a lush, multi-layered rendition of the Malaysian way of life, coloured and influenced by his own experiences of living in Malaysia” (Raymer, 2009). Raymer’s readership is also wide as the publications in the mainstream media have a high number of readerships nationwide. Also, an exam question in the 2008 SPM English Literature paper was based on one of Raymer’s critically acclaimed short stories entitled ‘Neighbours’ and this has been included as one of the five short stories in this paper over the last four or five cycles until today. This story has also received numerous reviews on the MELTA (Malaysian English Language Teaching Association) web-based discussion board. These reviews included comments on the Malaysian tapestry and the setting upon which the story was built and the choice of characters that were used to portray the Malaysian culture where each ethnic group was made to stand out. Most of the comments stated that much care was taken into

making the story ‘sound very Malaysian’ and one of the reason would be owing to the lexical choices of language used (ME) to portray each character. (www.melta.org.my). ‘Neighbours’ is one of the short stories that will be analyzed in this study.

1.2 Significance of the study

Various studies on the use of Malaysian English (ME) have been carried out on the works of Malaysian writers such as on the works of K.S. Maniam and Karim Raslan by Govendan (2001). These writers are non-native speakers and they have extensively used ME in their writings. Raymer on the other hand is a native speaker and his writings reflect not only the Malaysian tapestry but also a wide range of the use of ME. This is seen as an important aspect as it will reveal the extent to which a non-Malaysian purposefully employs ME in creative writings. The other aspect of this study is to delve into Raymer’s way of writing and the choices he has made in using ME in his stories. His insight is important so as to understand where ME stands in the eyes of a native speaker who is an educationist and who has also stayed in this country and experienced the Malaysian way of life over a span of more than 20 years. This study can shed light on this area and this is important because it shows how the development of the English language here in Malaysia and its application with the influences of the mother tongue (L1) which can either be Bahasa Malaysia, an Indian or a Chinese dialect. This study will reveal to an extent how the three main local languages (Bahasa Malaysia, Tamil and Mandarin) have influenced the use of English in the everyday conversation of Malaysians.

Another aspect as to why this study is important is because Raymer, an American native writer has chosen Malaysia as the main background to his stories. He has chosen to use the ME variety in stories that reflect his experiences as an expatriate, a

writer, a teacher and a father. His experiences which have been embodied in his writings have attracted the attention of the local and international media and one of his books, 'Lovers and Strangers- Revisited' has been translated into French as *Trois autres Malaisie*. Malaysia's cultural tapestry is now being made available to the world through his writings and at the same time, the ME variety has now gained more exposure, especially because it has been used and explained by a native speaker. At the same time, there have been stories that have not been translated and published word-for-word in countries like India, France and Denmark. Therefore, the use of ME in Raymer's writing is worth studying as it provides the depth of the use of ME in the Malaysian setting for local and international audiences. For the local audience, his writings are used as a mirror reflection of the multiracial society whereas for the international audience, they are an eye-opener to the rich blend of the Malaysian culture and its unique variety of English.

1.3 Objective of the Study

The objectives of this study are twofold:

- To investigate the use of Malaysian English in the short stories of Robert Raymer
- To explore the significance of the use of Malaysian English in these short stories

1.4 Research Questions

In order to fulfill both objectives, this study employs the following research questions:

Research Question 1: What are the Local Language Referents used in *Lovers and Strangers-Revisited* and *Tropical Affairs*?

Research Question 2: What are the English Lexemes with Malaysian English usage (Standard English Lexicalization) used in *Lovers and Strangers-Revisited* and *Tropical Affairs*?

Research question 3: Why does the author use these items in his stories and what is the significance of this use?

1.5 Scope

This study on Malaysian English will be carried out on all the 16 short stories taken from Robert Raymer's books, *Lovers and Strangers-Revisited* and *Tropical Affairs*. These two books contain a collection of stories published from as early as 1991 in other print media as well as stories that have been published for the first time in these books.

This study will be carried out using the framework by Baskaran (2005).

Baskaran (2005:37) considers different approaches that could be used to consider the indigenization features of Malaysian English. The description of lexicon involves various parts of speech, like the nouns, verbs, adverbs and adjectives using a morphemic approach.

The meaning of lexemes can be used to categorize the indigenization of Malaysian English and this framework helps to examine the semantic relationships that would be considered when considering the Malaysian English context.

Research Question 1 will be studied under the sub-categories as follows:

Local Language Referents

- i) Institutionalised concepts
- ii) Emotional and cultural loading
- iii) Semantic restriction
- iv) Cultural and Culinary terms
- v) Hyponymous collocation
- vi) Campus / Student coinages

Research Question 2 will be studied using this framework outlined by Baskaran (2005).

The subcategories that will host English Lexemes with Malaysian English usage (Standard English Lexicalization) are:

- i) Polysemic variation
- ii) Semantic variation
- iii) Informalization
- iv) Formalization
- v) Directional reversal
- vi) College colloquialism

Research Question 3 will be investigated by informally interviewing Raymer via email and by referring to his online blog at TheBorneoExpatWriter@blogspot.com. It will focus on Raymer's insights and what prompted him to choose certain words or phrases that reflect ME. Raymer's views will be limited to aspects of ME which he thinks stood out and influenced his writing. This study will not focus on the other works of other Western expatriates in Malaysia and parallel comparisons will

not be made between their literary works and Raymer's as most of the backgrounds of other expatriate's literary works are set during the pre and post war and colonial eras in Malaya whereas the background of Raymer's stories are clearly set in modern-day Malaysia.

1.6 Overview of the Study

This dissertation consists of 5 chapters. Chapter 1 states the purpose of this study as well as its significance and the objectives and research questions. Chapter 2 discusses related literature on ME and the related theories used in this study. Chapter 3 discusses the methodology chosen for this study. Chapter 4 is the analysis of data and a discussion of the findings. Chapter 5 is the conclusion of this study whereby the findings for each Research Question will be summarized and at the same time there will also be a summary of the implications and effects of this study in the aspect of ME.

CHAPTER 2 - Literature Review

2.0 World Englishes and Varieties of English

The history of English and its global development has resulted in the emergence of World Englishes and its varieties. The historical aspects of the early development of the English language can be found in Appendix 1.

English is now spoken worldwide and Kachru (1985:12) describes the spread of English through the model of Three Concentric Circles that explains “the type of spread, the patterns of acquisition and the functional domains in which English is used across cultures and languages” (Kachru, 1985:12). These three circles are the Inner Circle, the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle. The Inner Circle represents countries that use English as the primary language that is also represented by the majority. These countries include the United Kingdom, the USA, Canada, New Zealand and Australia.

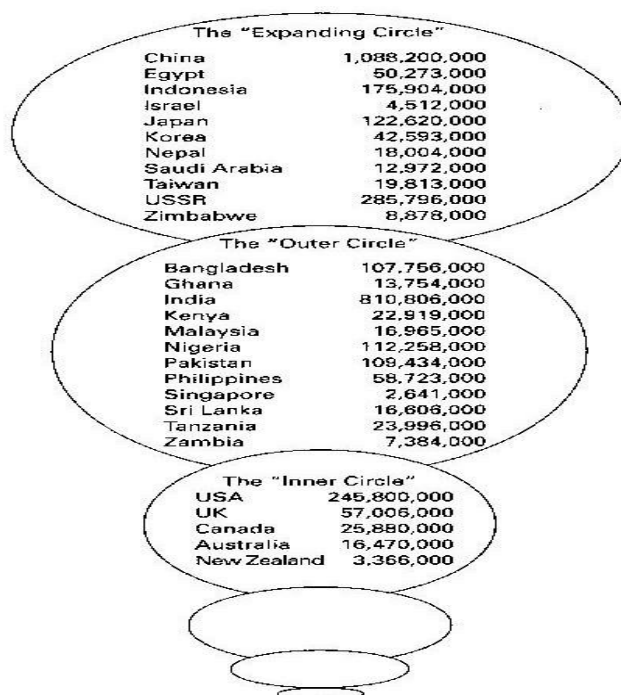


Figure 2.1 The Three Concentric Circles

Countries that have a history of colonization represent the Outer Circle. In these countries, English is used as a functional language, especially in the areas of education, administration and in social and literary contexts. Countries in the Outer Circle are Malaysia, Singapore, Kenya, India and others. Speakers in these countries are often bilingual or even multilingual.

Countries that use English as a foreign language are regarded as the Expanding Circle. These are countries such as Egypt, Indonesia, Saudi Arabia and others.

Crystal (1997:130) states: “Five hundred years ago, English was not an important language, but now it is an international language. English no longer belongs solely to England where it originated. The English people have lost possession over it some time ago.”

In countries where English is an L1 or first language, the speakers of these countries are called native speakers. Examples of such countries are the United States of America, United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Most former British colonies have been noted as using English as their L2. For example in countries like Malaysia, Singapore, India and Nigeria, English is officially used as an L2 or the second language. It plays a significantly important role in the administration of these countries. Asmah (1979:229) states:

In the framework of the Malaysian Constitution there is no official status given to English after 1967 in Peninsular Malaysia. However, the Constitution allows the Courts of Law to phase out their use of English at a much slower rate compared to the other sectors, such that until today, English is still used as an official language in the Law Courts. English is also considered as an official language in the Parliament for members who are still not proficient in Malay; in directives by the government to Malaysian representatives abroad and for keeping records of patients in the hospitals.

2.1 The Various Views on Standard English.

Trudgill and Hannah (1994:37) define Standard English as “the variety of the English language which is normally employed in writing and normally spoken by the “educated” speakers of the language. It is also, of course, the variety of the language that students of English as a Foreign or Second Language (ESL / EFL) are taught when receiving formal instruction. The term “Standard English refers to grammar and vocabulary but not pronunciation.”

Trudgill (1992:117) defines standardization as “consisting of the processes of language determination, codification and stabilization. Language determination "refers to decisions which have to be taken concerning the selection of particular languages or varieties of language for particular purposes in the society or nation in question". Codification is the process whereby a language variety "acquires a publicly recognized and fixed form". The results of codification "are usually enshrined in dictionaries and grammar books". Stabilization is a process whereby a formerly diffuse variety "undergoes focusing and takes on a more fixed and stable form”.

The *Dictionary of English Grammar* explains that ‘Standard English’ is not necessarily uniform around the world (Trask, 2000). A classic example would be the differences between the American and British versions of Standard English that is illustrated below:

*“Standard [American] English: I’ve just gotten a letter, write center,
color”*

“Standard [British] English: I’ve just got a letter, write centre, colour”

According to Trask, Standard English does not own superiority over any other variety of English. It is basically a single agreed standard form that is learned by

speakers everywhere that enhances effective communication and minimizes confusion and misunderstanding. It is, however, in no way more logical, grammatical or expressive as compared to the other varieties of English.

In Malaysia, Doshi and Chai (2006:37) describe Standard English as “the dialect spoken by those educated primarily in English and not as a dialect spoken by educated people.” Tay and Gupta (1983:175) quote Platt and Weber (1980) in redefining Standard English as a dialect used by those primarily educated in English and those who use it in various domains such as “family, friendship, transaction, employment and religion”. Doshi and Chai (2006:37) further define Standard English in terms of the user and uses of the English language. They state that just because someone is educated, he or she does not automatically qualify as a speaker of the Standard English variety. Crystal (1995:109) describes “Standard English as a minority variety which is prestigious and most widely understood. It is a variety that is defined by vocabulary, grammar and orthography”.

2.2 Malaysian English (ME)

In Malaysia, ME is spoken as a second language and can be categorized into three levels according to Platt and Weber (1980:18). The first category, the *acrolect*, is a near native variety and Malaysians generally do not use this category often. It is the variety used by newsreaders, professionals, academicians and journalists and by those who have learnt and used English as the main medium of communication.

The second variety, Mesolectal English is the most dominant form of ME which is often used by most Malaysians and it has borrowed words from the other Malaysian languages.

Baskaran (2005:18) says that the basilect-which most often signifies the uneducated style of speech communication can be considered the patois form of new Englishes. Baskaran also goes on to say that this variety of English is often termed as “broken English” or “half- past six English”.

Kuang (2006:349) says that ME is characterized by its own phonology, intonation, accent, and differences in vocabulary. She says that it owes its unique identity to the influences of other languages. She continues stating that British English is a variety of English that is used by the British government, the BBC news channel and it is extensively understood in the UK and this variety is used as a benchmark to differentiate other varieties of English like ME.

Kuang (2006:349) describes Malaysian English as one of the many varieties of spoken English found in Malaysia. Malaysian English speakers come in many levels.

Some can speak proficient English like those related to the acrolectal kind (native-speaker like), others speak the mesolectal type (middle class kind which consists of proper grammatical structures but varies in phonology) and finally, some speak the less favoured variety also known as basilectal, a variety that is made up of content words, is ungrammatical and may be heavily influenced by other locally spoken dialects and languages.

She (2006:349) explains that ME is also strongly influenced by American English and that this is a result of web-based media and documents produced within organizations.

According to Ee L.L. and Azirah (2012: 55), ME has been shaped by historical, cultural and political forces and the ME we know today consists of features from local dialects and languages. Due to Malaysia's richness in cultural diversity, Ee L.L. and Azirah (2012: 55) are convinced that, where verbal repertoire is concerned, an individual in Malaysia would have two or more varieties of the same language and any attempt to describe ME should take into consideration regional differences and cultural diversity.

2.2.1 The History of Malaysian English

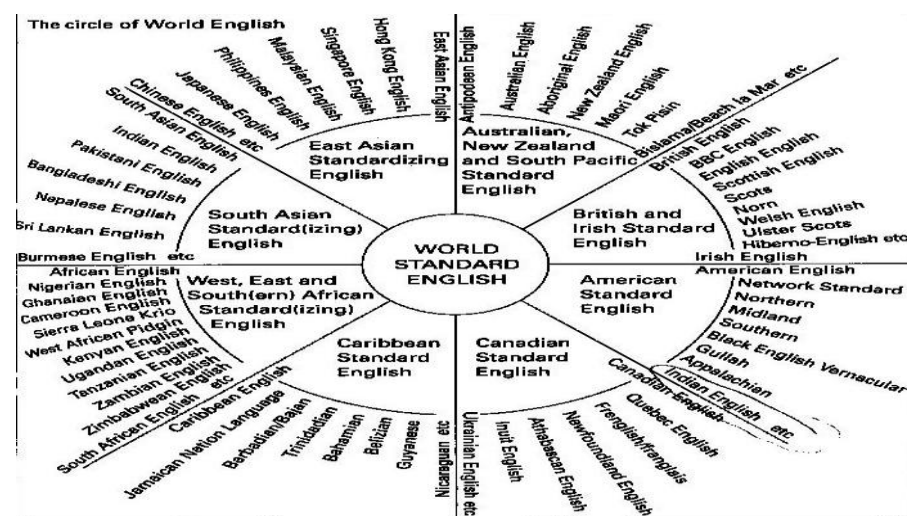


Figure 2.2: McArthur's view of World Englishes

McArthur (1998) describes that during the colonial times in Malaysia, the term *Anglo-Malay* had been used to describe an emerging variety among expatriates and the local elite. Words such as *kampong*, *durian*, *sarong* and *orang utan* had been accepted into general English. During the 19th century, while English - medium schools were being established, ethnic based (Malay, Chinese and Tamil) schools too were being set up. Members of these ethnic groups who chose to be educated in English- medium schools were increasingly using English in their occupation and their daily lives. By the year 1957, it was claimed that 6% of the population (400 000 people) were literate in the language.

In Malaysia, English was the dominant language of the European elite during the late 1950's, near the time British began to withdraw from this land. At the time of independence, it was the alternate official language alongside the Malay language. However, in 1963, the Malay Language, then renamed as Bahasa Malaysia was declared the sole official language in accordance with the National Language Act of 1967 with some exceptions in certain areas of business, medicine and banking.

The term Malaysian English is said to refer to a variety of English which foregrounds "the colloquialisms of those educated at the English-medium schools" (McArthur, 1998). McArthur further goes on to refer to the cartoons of K.H Boon ('Myself so thin don't eat, can die one, you know?') as an exemplification of such colloquialisms.

McArthur (1998) reports the expansion of English-medium education after independence where there was a reported 400,000 students in these schools. The Ministry of Education in Malaysia had declared that all English-medium schools would be changed into Malay medium schools by the 1970's. The decline in the English language proficiency became obvious by the early 1980s, when Bahasa Malaysia, the national language took over the language used in education and there was concern regarding this decline. The government then decided to retain English as a second language and thus this became a compulsory feature in primary and secondary schools. Out of the 20 percent of the present population that understand the English language, McArthur has stated that almost 25 percent of the 20 percent of the population of those living in the cities use the English language in their daily activities.

The reading media that covers newspapers, magazines and other dailies which have a high circulation rate as well as English used in tertiary education play major roles

in propagating the wide use of the language. The table below shows the list of English-medium newspapers, magazines and other media in Malaysia, highlighting its topic coverage and target audiences:

Table 2.1: English-medium newspapers, magazines and other media in Malaysia.

Name of Newspaper / Magazine	Topics / Target audiences
<u>Aliran</u>	News site of Malaysian reform movement offering quality news analysis.
<u>BBC Country Profile: Malaysia</u>	Features country overview, news, key facts and events, timelines, and leader profiles.
<u>Bernama</u>	Malaysian official news agency
<u>Business Times</u>	Major business and financial daily.
<u>Daily Express</u>	The largest circulation daily newspaper in Sabah.
<u>The Edge Daily</u>	Business newspaper providing real-time financial news.
<u>KLue</u>	Kuala Lumpur lifestyle magazine.
<u>Malay Mail</u>	Daily tabloid from Kuala Lumpur.
<u>Malaysiakini.com</u>	Daily news website featuring independent reporting, in-depth analysis and investigative journalism.
<u>New Sabah Times</u>	Local newspaper from North Borneo.
<u>New Straits Times</u>	Pro-government major national newspaper.
<u>NSTP e-Media</u>	News portal serving as gateway to many

	Malaysian newspapers and magazines, owned by UMNO or United Malay National Organization.
<u>Radio Television Malaysia (RTM)</u>	State-run broadcaster. Operates TV1 and TV2 networks.
<u>Rengah Sarawak</u>	Provides alternative news of what is happening in Sarawak, one of the two East Malaysian States in the northern part of the island of Borneo.
The <u>Star</u>	Major national daily, owned by the Chinese government party or MCA.
<u>sun2surf</u>	Web companion to <i>The Sun</i> and <i>Financial Daily</i> newspapers.
<u>Think Online</u>	Malaysian magazine targeted at youths and young adults.

Source: <http://www.world-newspapers.com/malaysia.html>

2.2.2 English in Malaysia

Malaysia is a melting pot of multi-ethnicity and it is also a multilingual country with a population of 28.25 million in 2010, as confirmed by the Department of Statistics website. The total population comprises 65.1% Bumiputera (Malays and indigenous groups), 26% of Chinese, 7.7% of Indians and 11.2% of others. This breakdown plays a very significant role in the making of the Malaysian identity. Khemlani-David (2006:218) states that English is the L1 of 1% of the Malaysian population. Zuraidah (2006:17) concludes that “the English language used in Malaysia needs to be viewed in its social and cultural context, and the management of the English language includes a consideration of the Malaysia identity, and of the social practices associated with the English language, in other words, what it is actually used for in everyday

life.” It has been recorded that prior to Malaysia’s independence in 1957, the medium of instruction especially in the education and administration sectors, was the English language. The era of post-independence witnessed the emergence of Bahasa Malaysia which commanded dominance over written and spoken communication but those educated in the English-medium schools continued to use English as their medium of instruction and communication. Vatikiotis (1991) quoted in Doshi and Chai (2006:34) states that:

Malaysians of every race perform linguistic acrobats in almost every conversation they hold. It is a mixed lexicon breed of pluralism where English is a common arena of interaction. English is an important second language and it is used not only internationally but also intranationally. English is not a foreign language but a dominant second language used for a variety of functions for social interactions within the society and not merely for outside interactions with native speakers of the language.

English in Malaysia has largely been influenced by the various languages present and it has since developed into different varieties in the area of social linguistics (Doshi and Chai, 2006:35). As it has been established earlier, English is a very important language in the Malaysian education system. In the National Education Policy, the English language is classified as a language that is second to the nation’s national language, Bahasa Malaysia. Doshi and Chai (2006:35) state that Malaysians who have undergone the national education system will have an overall proficiency in English which will enable them to communicate in the language.

The implementation of the national language policy has seen a shift in the medium of instruction slowly changing into Bahasa Malaysia. At that time, the need for nationalism and an identity that reflected Malaysia were very much in need and thus this was reflected in the changing of the medium of instruction in schools. This witnessed the emergence of national schools as a replacement for the former English-

medium schools. In the newly formed national schools, Bahasa Malaysia was taught as the first language and English was taught as a second language.

In January of 1983, English medium schools had been completely phased out and all these schools were replaced by national schools that taught their syllabus in Bahasa Malaysia. Nevertheless, English is still a very important part of the Malaysian education system. It is taught as a compulsory subject from the primary levels (Year 1 to 6) right up to secondary and upper secondary levels (Forms 1 to 5 and selected streams for Lower 6 and Upper 6 Forms). English is also a compulsory language at the university level in Malaysia. Doshi and Chai state that students have to enrol for the subject, though attaining a pass may not be mandatory at certain levels in some institutions (2006:36).

There are two main objectives concerning the implementation of the Malaysian Education policy on the teaching of English language in Malaysia (Report of the Cabinet Committee, 1985 and Vethamani, 2001:9)

- i) To enable a large portion of Malaysian students to have sufficient knowledge of the language to carry out basic communicative activities in English, and
- ii) To enable a smaller group of highly proficient students to achieve international intelligibility and to be able to use the English language for the purpose of higher education.

Currently in Malaysia, the role of English has been in a constant state of flux. After a great deal of discussion, public polls, forums and debates about the declining standards of English, the Cabinet had decided to shift the medium of instruction for Science subjects and Mathematics into English. This move was implemented in the year 2003 but more recently, the Cabinet again has decided to enforce the decision to

revert to Malay from the year 2010 onwards. However in 2012, the Cabinet again has decided to apply the 'soft landing' approach where students are allowed to choose their preferred medium of instruction in learning Mathematics and Science. The students are also allowed to choose the language in which they will answer their final (UPSR and PMR) Mathematics and Science examination papers.

Doshi and Chai (2006:51) describe the reality that "the functions of the English language in the lives of the users and the society in general will determine to a great extent the range and depth of the use of the language." Kachru (2001) quoted in Doshi and Chai (2006:51) go on to say that the "falling standards" in a particular language use are a result of differences in language use, admittedly from some improper learning, and also from the realities of language use in an ethno-pluricentric context. The "falling standards" are obvious in the area of education where the use of English is still not standardized across the curriculum, especially when it involves Mathematics and Science. This has caused a lot of confusion within the Malaysian education system for both students and teachers. However, it is imperative that teachers and students be aware of the sort of presence that English has in the world today.

Recently, Thirusanku and Md. Yunus (2012) have noted that "Malaysia has come out tops for English proficiency among Asian countries where English is not the mother tongue." Malaysia was also ranked ninth place out of 44 countries globally by Education First, a global education centre that conducted English proficiency tests on a global scale. This test was done from the year 2007 to 2009 on 2.3 million working adults and they were tested in four categories: listening, reading, vocabulary and grammar (Thirusanku and Md. Yunus, 2012).

2.2.3 Studies done on Malaysian English

English has played an important role even after the colonial period in Malaysia. It is used all the time among the people, even in informal circumstances. This widespread use of English in a non-native environment has resulted in the emergence of a new variety of English called Malaysian English. According to Le Page (1964:39), Malayan English—the fore-runner of Malaysian English -- emerged as early as 1964. He states that:

Although the history of English-medium education in Malaya is comparatively short, a distinctive Malayan English community is already emerging, whereby speakers from the three major communities – Malay, Chinese and Tamil – have a number of linguistic features in common.

Over time, researchers have maintained differing views about the emergence of Malaysian English. Richards (1979:26) describes Malaysian English as the “evolution of a distinct variety of English as a result of widespread use of English in new social cultural contexts” (1979:26). Platt and Weber (1980:18) claim that it is “the transference of linguistic concepts from the speech varieties of the main ethnic groups (e.g. Hokkien, Cantonese, Malay and Tamil) to the English that was acquired by school children at the English medium schools”. Platt and Weber also add that Malaysian English is a result of “inter language” meaning “the stages of progressive approximation towards the real language” (1980:20). It would seem that from these writers’ viewpoints, the emergence of Malaysian English is merely accidental, in other words, it is a result of new languages that have come into contact.

According to Wong there are three reasons for the evolution of Malaysian English. Firstly, it fulfills the communicative needs of the users and thus there is no need to improve on it. Secondly, due to its similarity to the native language of its speaker, it

has become a final and definitive system for colloquial use within the country (1981:1). Wong states that the third possibility is that as the teachers of English in Malaysia “were products of the local English-medium school themselves, [and therefore] their English could hardly serve as an adequate model for the high variety of language they attempted to teach” (1981:2).

It is apparent that the viewpoints of these researchers are mainly about the informal variety of Malaysian English. Malaysian English, like all other varieties of English, also has its own sub-varieties. Platt and Weber (1980:22) define these varieties as “a continuum ranging from the basilect to the highest variety”. Richard (1982) described the status of the ‘lects’ as follows:

The acrolect represents the idealized rhetorical norm for the community; the mesolect is the idealized communicative norm. The basilect may represent an actual communicative style, but it is scarcely recognized as a norm (Richard, 1982 in Kachru, 1983:161).

These variations in speech may be influenced by factors such as educational level, age, exposure to the English language, the setting, the interlocutor or the medium. A group of people who often use the acrolectal form may also use the mesolectal or the basilectal forms when necessary. Perhaps, this would occur when the interlocutors are those who do not understand the acrolectal form. In informal speech, Malaysians generally prefer to use the mesolect. The formal variety is used in print media, academic books and in the discourse of educated speakers of English.

On Malaysian English, Hamida (1985:25) states that, “Malaysian English should never be regarded as a sub branch of British English, neither should it ever be thought of as being inferior to the other prevailing varieties of English”. Malaysian English, like any other variety of English, differs from Standard English. There is a difference between the two that can be differentiated by the

settings, both formal and informal, in which it is used. According to Baskaran (1987:46), “the admirable ease with which an average educated Malaysian does this is proof enough that there is a variety called Malaysian English with its systematic phonology, syntactic and lexical features”.

In terms of phonology, lexis and syntax, the basic features of Malaysian English do not differ much from the native variety, British English. Then again, each linguistic context has been influenced and to a certain level changed by the native languages, in particular, the Malay, Chinese and Indian languages. The majority of the nativised or indigenized features especially the syntactic and lexical features can be seen in the informal spoken or colloquial variety. Llamzon (1983) agrees with this notion by comparing Malaysian English with “a seed that has grown to a tree which has an identity and life distinct from those of its parents” (in Soo, 1990; 199). Although Malaysian English is not very different from British English in areas such as lexis, phonology and even grammar, it has become a distinct variety due to the process of acculturation and nationalization. The experience of Tommy Koh, Singapore’s representative to the United Nations, shows an obvious distinction. He pointed out that “when one is abroad, in a bus or train or aeroplane and when one overhears someone speaking, one can immediately say this is someone from Malaysia or Singapore” (in Tongue, 1979:17).

2.2.4 Criteria for the Description of Malaysian English

According to Tay (1993: 112), the description of new varieties of English must meet the following minimal criteria:

- i. Intelligibility as perceived by other speakers of English;
- ii. Creativity arising from the languages in contact;

iii. Code-mixing and code-switching.

Tay's criteria were specifically applied to Singaporean English. However, as a descriptive framework, it may be applied to Malaysian English too. According to Tay, the difference between the phonology and syntax of British English and Singaporean English does not hamper intelligibility. However, discourse strategies, colloquial lexical items and styles do present some problems of intelligibility to the native speakers but not the Singaporean speakers. She further adds that researchers should be more concerned with the communicative competence of the local community rather than the native.

Descriptions of the new varieties should include the creative lexical innovations, which are meaningful in the socio-cultural context of the non-native context. Researchers who ignore such lexical innovation would be missing out on the creativity of the new varieties. Tay further adds that code mixing and code switching should not be neglected in the description of the new varieties. She also feels that a more interesting analysis would include how code-mixing is used as communicative strategy and as device for elucidation and interpretation and how it is used to establish rapport and so on (Tay, 1993: 116).

2.2.5 Studies on Lexical Variations

The pioneering work of Tongue (1974) started more research on the description of Malaysian English. Lexical variations were categorized into 4 parts of speech, namely nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. Platt & Weber (1980) described lexical variations based on two categories only, namely, borrowed words and English words used differently from British English.

Wong (1981), who studied lexical variations, stressed on the use of loanwords (e.g. *dhobi*, *jaga*), words which are originally English but used differently and in different contexts from native varieties (e.g. ‘heaty’, ‘cooling’, ‘auntie’, ‘uncle’) and different word usage (e.g. ‘alphabets’ instead of ‘letters’, ‘come’ instead of ‘go’, ‘follow’ instead of ‘accompany’). Lowenberg (1989) in his study, identified certain lexemes which were moved from native languages to English to fill the lexical gaps for which there are no pre-existing words in English. An example would be *Bumiputera*. He also studied the lexical shifts, that is, when a known English word is replaced with a word in the local language, e.g. *rakyat* instead of ‘the people’. He studied the pluralisation of loanwords in English, e.g. the usage of *neneks* instead of ‘*nenek-nenek*’ (grandmothers). He concludes that “the lexical transfer reflects the socio-cultural context of Malaysia to which English is being acculturated” (1986: 76).

2.2.6 Local Tags or Particles

The addition of local tags and particles is another element of ME. Kuang (2006:352) defines a tag or a particle as an additional word added to an utterance whether as a suffix or a prefix. However, this word does not carry any meaning on its own unless it is attached to an utterance. Kuang (2006) further explains that such tags or particles have been acquired from other local dialects of languages and they range from *lah*, *ah*, *hah*, *lo*, *ma* to *meh*.

The table below shows an example of a transcribed conversation containing local tags or particles, between a mother (M) and her child (LH). Both mother and child are Malaysians of Chinese descent (Kuang, 2006:353).

Table 2.2: Local tags or particles

Participants	Conversations
LH	Mommy, I love you! Mommy, can I write my name here, <i>ah</i> ?
M	Where? Under your photograph?
LH	Later... ya <i>lah</i> ! Here also can <i>ah</i> ?
M	Here, cannot <i>lah</i> !
LH	Can <i>ah</i> ?
M	Can <i>lah</i> , actually, can, no problem, but...
LH	<i>Hah</i> ?
M	Write small.
LH	Where is my pen?

2.2.7 Loanwords, compound blends and loan translations

Tan's (2009) research reveals the influences of the Malay language on Malaysian English. In her research, she has examined and identified 264 lexical features of Malay origin.

The table below shows the incorporation of loanwords, compound blends and loan translations into Malaysian English for example in the food category. More examples can be found in Appendix 2.

Table 2.3: Loanwords, compound blends and loan translations

Semantic fields	Loanwords (n=222)	Compound blends (n=34)	Loan translations (n=8)
Food (n=79)			
Food items	asam pedas ayam pongteh bubur lambuk/lambok gulai tempoyak kacang kerabu kerisik ketupat lontong mee goreng mee rebus nasi briyani nasi kerabu nasi lemak	beef rendang briyani rice chicken rendang naan bread pongteh chicken/ chicken pongteh	

	nasi ulam rendang rojak “spicy salad”* roti roti canai roti jala roti kaya sambal sambal belacan sambal ikan bilis sambal petai sambal tempoyak sambal udang petai soto ulam		
Sweets and Beverages	ais kacang bubur bubur cha cha bubur kacang bubur pulut hitam kaya kuih kuih bahu kuih bangkit kuih kapit putu beras putu kacang tapai tapai pulut tapai ubi teh tarik	ice kacang pandan jelly	
Fruit, vegetables, herbs and spices	bunga kantan ciku daun kesum daun mambu daun salam duku langsung kangkung kunyit langsap pandan petai rempah serai	pandan leaf wet rempah	
Dried, fermented or preserved foodstuffs	belacan budu cincalok ikan bilis- “dried anchovies” tempe		

	tempoyak		
Fish and poultry	bawal hitam bawal putih ikan kembung ikan tenggiri ikan terubok	kampung chicken	

Source : http://screcherche.univ-lyon3.fr/lexis/IMG/pdf/Lexis_3_Imm.pdf

Hajar and Su'ad (2008:5-6) researched on the cultural connotations and linguistic creativity in Malaysian English. They found that "English words or phrases in ME 'co-habit' with their neighbours to form interesting and indigenized connotation."

The examples below are taken from their research.

Table 2.4: Cultural connotations and linguistic creativity

Lexis	1. semantic shift - due to use/ meanings of equivalent local word	Terror (great) B/zr (confused) somore (on top of that) I already put in on the stove I haven't test drive (tried) (the lipstick) yet so I have no comments I feel great (am happy) for somebody Slowtalk- (persuade)
	2. Use of local words	kan cheong (suspense) syok
Structure	1. Linguistic structures	After I wait-wait (waited for some time) could u guys suggest me (give me some ideas) chicken-and-duck talk (translation of a local idiomatic phrase) I'm sorry if I'm a bit

		<p>interrupting here (sorry for interrupting)</p> <p>finally settle yourself in Kelarian (settle down)</p> <p>I tell you (let me tell you)</p> <p>See la how (we'll see how things go)</p>
New forms		<p>Example I control macho (tries to look good and wants to be in control)</p> <p>Example2 so the handsome one, she's so the clever; Henny is the hottness (handsome)</p> <p>Example 3 You want to go for mamak? Lets go mamaking (similar to structures like clubbing)</p> <p>Example 4 chicken-and-duck talk</p> <p>Example 5 O ya, that's kewl (Oh yes, that's cool)</p>

The new forms exhibit a much more robust form of creativity.

Example 1

The compound 'control macho' is a combination of a verb and an adjective. It is often used in a tongue-in-cheek fashion to refer to someone (usually a male) who tries to look good and who wants to be in control.

Example 2

The structure 'so'+ 'the' + 'adjective' is used to emphasize the meaning of the adjective.

Example 3

The word '*mamak*' originates from the Tamil word *mama* which means "maternal uncle". The form *mamak* is used by Malaysian speakers in general to refer to Indian Muslims (male) who are well-known in Malaysia especially for their *mamak* food. So the *mamak* stalls, restaurants and eating places are very popular among Malaysians. The way in which the word *mamak* (such as "go for *mamaking*") is used shows a new level of sophistication in the lexical innovation of Malaysian English.

Example 4

The speaker who used the phrase 'chicken-and-duck talk' literally translated a Malay idiom which means talk between two people that does not make sense. This example is an indication of the speakers' willingness to break the cultural boundaries of non-literal expressions.

2.3 Theories on non-native features of Malaysian English by Menon (2003)

Menon (2003) who has done studies on non-native features in the lexis of Malaysian English has explored 13 main categories of lexicon-semantic variation.

The **first category** is **Lexico-Semantic Reduplication** which is sub-divided into Juxtaposed Reduplication, Non- Juxtaposed Reduplication, Root-Sound Reduplication and Lexical Double Effects. The following examples are taken verbatim and the mistakes in spelling are already there.

Lexico-Semantic Reduplication refers to the repetitive use of a word within the same sentence such as 'long-long time ago' and 'different-different countries' (Anthony, 1997 cited in Menon, 2003:93). The words which are repeated often create a sense of intensity and they may be made up of nouns, verbs, adjectives or

adverbs (Menon, 2003). Platt and Weber cited in Menon (2003:94) say that in addition to creating a sense of intensity, the repetitions also create a sense of abundance.

The examples below which are taken from Platt, Weber and Ho (1984) who are cited in Menon (2003:51) show the Lexico-Semantic Reduplication in the Malaysian English variety.

- i) You watch TV until **late-late** – no wonder cannot get up!
- ii) Have you ever taken honeycomb honey- that type of honey, the **beehive beehive** type?

iii) My son's results terrible, man! All **FFF**- every subject also fail.

- Menon (2003) describes Non-Juxtaposed Reduplication as the repeated word is not juxtaposed with the first occurrence of the word but occurs later on.
- Root-Sound Reduplication happens when pairs of words occur in the same sentence, having the same root but different affixes. Menon goes on to explain that the effect of this is the repetition of certain sounds creating the 'echo' effect of poetic assonance or alliteration. Menon (2003:103) gives an example of this in the sentence below:

‘These factors have been **amply amplified** in the recent Club Officers’ Training.

- Another sub-category is the Lexical Double Effects which refers to the use of pairs of words which involve repetition of sounds or other features. This sometimes involves the use of numerals one after another, often starting with the same syllable. Sometimes, this effect can occur when pairs of words are used with similar sounds or syllables.

Examples of this feature are cited in Menon (2003:108)

- i) **One-two** hairs will always escape my attention.

- ii) **Ten-twelve** years it will pass by.
- iii) I was there for **four – five** years.
- iv) We have just started our term about **two-three** months ago.
- v) Please **wonder and ponder** on this area
- vi) This is to enable students to **plan and practice** before the competition.
- vii) This precious moment is also **solely** for oneself **only**.
- viii) **Each and everyone**

The **second category** is **Lexico-Semantic Redundancy** which has three sub-categories, namely Redundant Synonyms, Redundant Superordinates and Redundant Expressions.

Menon (2003:124) explains that the first sub-category is a re-lexicalization of the same concept, namely the use of redundant synonyms juxtaposed with other semantically similar words within the same sentence. The following example is of one taken from a recorded spoken discourse by educated speakers who were speaking at the Acrolectal level. The word ‘again’ in the following sentence: ‘Do you want to repeat it **again**?’ is a Lexico-Semantic Redundancy.

Menon (2003:132) describes Redundant Superordinates as the juxtaposition of superordinate and subordinate words, where native English considers the more general superordinate word to be redundant. An example of a Redundant Superordinate is the expression: big-sized. In the native English point of view, this expression may be considered redundant due to the use of ‘sized’ after the word ‘big’. The non-native addition in this instance is the word ‘-sized’. It is possible that this word is added in the non-native variety to show emphasis. An example of this is in a news article cited in Menon (2003:133) ‘big-sized’ gunman. Perhaps ME speakers use ‘sized’ to intensify ‘big’. Menon also quotes another example of

Redundant Superordinates from a business news article, ‘MMM is a niche player in a small-sized vessel segment. In this example, Menon explains that ‘small-sized’ means ‘comparatively underdeveloped’ rather than its literal meaning which is ‘physically small’.

The **third category** is **Lexico-Semantic Substitution** which has two sub-categories, namely Similar Word Substitution and Similar Expression Substitution. Crewe (1977) cited in Menon (2003:148) describes this type of error as Similar Word Confusion. She describes it as a tendency to use a word which sounds similar but has a completely different meaning from the appropriate native one.

Similar Word Substitution refers to phonetic similarity that is usually so close that only one consonant or vowel is different from the native one (Crewe, 1977 cited in Menon, 2003:148). Examples of this sub-category are as follows:

- i) Penangnites (sic) are used to being **crammed** up in small houses. (cramped)
- ii) Please do not **cluster** up the space on the working table. (clutter)

Similar Expression Substitution is adapted from Crewe’s Similar Word Confusion. In this case, the native expressions have been substituted by the non-native ones. An example of this would be one used by the auctioneers when someone is the last bidder for the item: ‘Going one, going two’ with ‘going one-two’ (the Malaysian English version).

The **fourth category** is **Non-Native Idioms** which has two sub-categories, namely Fractured Idioms and Loan Translations.

Fractured Idioms are small changes to idioms and other fixed expressions in English resulting from unfamiliarity with the exact wording of the original idioms

(Crewe, 1977 cited in Menon, 2003:205). Crewe illustrates the following examples:

- i) **Lastly** but not least, I must express my sincere thanks to all who have participated in this cultural evening. (last)
- ii) We are all aware of this proverb, “Money is the root of **all evils**”. (all evil)

Menon (2003) notes that Malaysians have ‘adapted’ English idioms into Malaysian English and Menon gives one example of this which is to ‘Make a mole into a mountain’ (Make a mountain out of a molehill). This is a reversal of word order in the non-native version of the original proverb. It can be argued that these adaptations may be language fumbles but in this case, Menon has recorded this as an adaptation and it seems that this ME speaker has replaced the native idea of a molehill being regarded as a mountain.

Loan Translations of idioms from indigenous languages are not a common type. Platt and Weber (1980) cited in Menon (2003:258) also refer to loan translations of native idioms with the original meanings retained. An example that illustrates this is the Malaysian English idiom ‘shake legs’ which is directly translated from the Malay idiom ‘goyang kaki’.

Yen (1990) cited in Menon (2003:288) describes ‘unconventional collocations of English words’ as “translations of idiomatic expressions or cultural concepts from the vernacular languages”. People without prior knowledge of the social or cultural background would not be able to immediately understand such translations. Yen (1990) cited in Menon (2003: 59) provides some examples like ‘shake legs’ - *goyang kaki*, and locally coined idioms such as ‘gone case’ and ‘one kind’.

Menon (2003:253) identifies another type of unconventional collocation which is the local cultural equivalent of idiomatic expressions that are existent in the native English variety. An example to illustrate this point is the local expression 'rice bowl' which is equivalent to the native English expression 'bread and butter'.

There are seven categories of ME which have been analyzed into types in Menon's study. Those categories are Semantic Shift, Semantic Transfer from Mother tongue, Collocational Variation, Derivational Variation, Variation of Reciprocals, Local Compound Coinages and Ellipses.

- Semantic Shift refers to English words which have lost their original colonial British meanings and have acquired new non-native meanings (Menon, 2003:60). Killingley (1965) cited in Menon (2003:60) says that the word 'outstation' is of colonial origin. According to Killingley, British colonial officers were often 'stationed' in certain towns in colonial Malaya and whenever they went on duty or away from their official 'station' they were said to be 'outstation'. This term has semantically shifted over time and now this term means to travel out of state for holiday or business.

Other examples to illustrate Semantic Shift are words like 'estate' and 'theatre'. Anthonysamy (1997) cited in Menon (2003:60) notes that the English word 'estate' refers to a piece of property in the form of land or a large mansion. However, a semantic shift had occurred in the Malaysian English version as it means a rubber or oil palm plantation that were initially owned by British companies.

Anthonysamy goes on to explain that the word 'theatre' used in British English refers to a hall with a stage for live stage or drama performances. However, this same word has semantically shifted to mean cinema hall in Malaysian English.

Other examples of Semantic Shift are illustrated in the table below (Platt et. al., 1984 cited in Menon, 2003:61):

Table 2.5: Semantic shift

Word	Original meaning in native English	Semantic Shift in Malaysian English
Bungalow	British English: Single storey house Australian English: Wooden weekend shack or a small wooden house in the grounds of a larger residence.	Detached house with one or two storeys.
Change	Balance of remaining money at a transaction	Balance money
Compound	An enclosed area within army barracks	An enclosed area around a house or a group of buildings

- Richmond (1989) cited in Menon (2003) defines the semantic transfer from the mother tongue as a pragmatic consequence of the presence of many languages in a particular context. Such pragmatic consequences are illustrated in lexical borrowing, language borrowing, code-switching and 'lect-switching'. Examples of lexical borrowings are such as beef *rendang*, *congkak*, *bersanding* ceremony and *kenduri* (Tan, 2009: 14).

Soo (1987: 16) provides an example of code switching as below:

B: Fauziah, you must be more flexible, you know.
C: Apa?
B: Flexible, lebih lembut sikit.

When C expressed incomprehension at B's instruction, B repeated 'flexible'. Obviously, feeling the need to clarify further, he translated 'flexible' into Malay. It seems that B considered a switch as necessary for effective explanation.

- Anthonysamy (1997) cited in Menon (2003:72) defines Collocational Variation with the term ‘transfer from context’. This is 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. Other researchers like Heah (1989) and Baskaran (1987) use the terms ‘Semantic Specialization’ and ‘Semantic Restriction’ respectively for Collocational Variation. (Menon, 2003:61). Yen (1990) describes Semantic Restriction as “English Origin Words” (EOW) as a result of semantic change, whereby only one or two of the original Standard British meanings are fore-grounded while the others are either used or abandoned completely. Yen illustrates this point with this example: tuition. This word has two meanings in Standard English. The first meaning refers to ‘payment for instruction’ in an institution of higher learning or school and the second meaning refers to ‘reinforced teaching with a fee, usually with regard to school subjects’. It was found that the latter meaning is adopted into Malaysian English and the first meaning has been abandoned.
- Derivational Variation is the formation of new words which resemble words that already exist either in form or in meaning. This is described as lexico-semantic analogy or generalization. Yen (1990) illustrates this through the examples below:

Table: 2.6 Standard English Roots and its Malaysian Derivatives.

Standard English Root	Malaysian English Derivative
Wind (moving air)	Windy (food causing flatulence or bloated feeling)
Heat (high temperature)	Heaty food (food causing sweating and sore throat)
Ward	Warded
Jail	Jailed
House	Housed

Variation Reciprocals refer to the use of certain verbs in Standard English such as 'go / come', 'send / fetch', 'give / take' and 'lend / borrow'. These pairs depend on the place from which the action is viewed, which is not the same as the place where the speaker is at (Menon, 2003:77).

- Baskaran (2005:47) describes this as Directional Reversal where its feature reflects the absence of separate lexemes in the local languages that results in the inability to distinguish each set of reciprocal verbs.

Example: Word in Malay: pinjam

Words in English: lend / borrow

Sentence: 'Please borrow me your ruler' is used instead of 'Please lend me your ruler'.

- Local Compound Coinages are words describing concepts which are culturally or socially familiar to the locals but may not be familiar to foreigners (Menon, 2003:80). Adegjiba (1989) describes coinages or neologisms as new creations of English words with nativized meaning peculiar to the local socio-cultural environment. Anthony Samy (1997) illustrates this point with Malaysian English compound coinages such as 'eating stalls', 'coffee shop', 'new moon' and 'old road'.

- Ellipsis refers to the omission of certain lexical items which could occur in Standard English (Menon, 2003:84) and it is considered to be a minor category as it does not frequently occur in non-native Englishes. Anthony Samy (1997:84) shows an example in the following sentence with the omission of the word 'turned' before the word 'off': I just off the radio'.

- Semantic Extension and Register Mixing are categories that have not been sub-divided into types.

According to Yen (1990), Semantic Extension is a stage of lexical development which precedes Semantic Shift but Anthony (1997) describes it as belonging to the same category as Semantic shift. Examples of Semantic Extensions are illustrated in the table below:

Table 2: Examples of Semantic Extension

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

Source: Yen, Eileen Ee Lee. 1990. *Towards a Lexicon of Malaysian English*. Unpublished M.A. dissertation Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

- The term ‘Register Mixing’ has been adapted for the Semantic Extension feature of Malaysian English. Crewe (1977) uses the term ‘Formality Mixing’ instead (Menon, 2003:89). Crewe (1977) cited in Menon (2003:90) illustrates examples of Register Mixing in the sentences below.

Could you please **furnish** your phone number so that I can ring you up at home?
(provide)

- i) My youngest son is **undergoing** national service at the moment. (doing)
- ii) We regret very much that your **hubby** has passed away. (husband)
- iii) The embassy will be inviting you and your **missus** to attend the opening of the art exhibition. (wife)

All the above categories have been summarized into four main patterns of non-native lexis, namely, Substitution, Semantic Transfer, Language transfer and Language Creativity. The summary below will be used as headings for data analysis in Chapter 4 and the examples from the earlier literature will be used as reference points in the analysis. The summary is as follows:

Table 2.8: Register Mixing

Summary of Categories	Explanation
Substitution	The most common tendency of ME users are substitution, namely the use of non-native substitutes for native words. Example: used by auctioneers – Going one, going two substituted with going one-two in Malaysian English. (Menon, 2003)
Semantic Transfer	This is the use of English words or expressions to communicate typically Malaysian values, beliefs, activities and lifestyle habits. Examples of some semantic transfers are

	<p>-Local Compound Coinages Eg: (BrE) estate which means property, (ME) estate which means plantation.</p> <p>-Semantic Extension Eg (ME) Tupperware, (Std English) brand name of range of plastic products, (Local Meaning) any plastic container</p> <p>-Semantic Shift, Non-Native Idioms and Semantic Transfer from Mothertongue. (Menon,2003)</p>
Language Transfer	<p>Refers to the tendency to transfer certain linguistic patterns of Bahasa Malaysia or the vernacular languages into ME. Eg: Lexico-semantic Reduplication namely ‘Juxtaposed Reduplication’ which has the grammatical function of conveying plurality- ‘orang-orang’ in BM. During a Sai Baba seminar, “actually we can hear him in many many voices” (Menon, 2003)</p>
Language Creativity	<p>The ME users reveal a certain degree of morphological creativity. Eg: Standard English Root- wind (moving air), ME derivative – windy (food causing flatulence or bloated feeling). Other examples from Menon (2003) that show differences between Standard English and Malaysian English are: Ward-warded, Jail-jailed, and market-marketing.</p> <p>‘Yen (1990) who has also studied Malaysian English lexis has divided it into two main divisions, namely ‘Vernacular-origin words’ (VOW) and ‘English origin words’ (EOW). EOW was then subdivided into Semantic Change’, ‘Derivation of New Words from Existing English Words’ and ‘Unconventional Collocation of English words.’</p> <p>Then, the categories were organized under these divisions. Platt and Weber’s: Meaning Changes were organized into Semantic</p>

	Extension, Semantic Shift and Semantic Restriction. Menon has also used Platt and Weber's 'Locally Coined Words and Expression' and has termed loan translations of idiomatic and cultural expressions as Unconventional Collocations of English Words.' (2003)
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2.4 Lexical Features of Malaysian English

This conceptual framework is used for this study and is further mentioned in Chapters 3 and 4.

Baskaran (2005:37) considers different approaches that could be used to consider the indigenization features of Malaysian English. The description of lexicon involves various parts of speech, like the nouns, verbs, adverbs and adjectives using a morphemic approach. Baskaran goes on to say that the meaning of lexemes can be used to categorize the indigenization of Malaysian English. This would mean that this variety of English would be described in terms of cognates, word-formation process or idioms. Other features that could also be considered are semantic-relationships like collocation, synonymy, antonymy, hyponymy, polysemy and homonymy. The semantic relationships that would be considered when considering the Malaysian English context and the consequent surfacing of the Malaysian English lexicon are:

- a) Local language referents which refers to the use of local lexicon in Malaysian English speech and
- b) Standard English Lexicalization which refers to the English Lexemes with Malaysian English usage.

Baskaran (2005:38) identifies three major local ethnic groups that have great influence on the Malaysian English lexis. Baskaran goes on to say that there is filtering from each of these language groups, namely ethnic specific and culture

bound, but most times it is the characteristic of the Malaysian society that has the greatest influence. The use of the national language (Bahasa Malaysia) has been well-established as having a major role to play in Malaysian English.

2.4.1 Local Language Referents

The various characteristics that calls for the use of local terms are considered under a main category called 'Local Language Referents'. This involves the use of lexicon in Malaysian English lexis. This main category is broken down into:

i) Institutionalised concepts

Native words borrowed into ME, which have no equivalent in Standard English, including *Bumiputera*.

Baskaran (2005:38) defines words under this category as local words that have been borrowed into Malaysian English and those words do not have equivalents in Standard English. Baskaran goes on to explain that in the local context, the non-native concept is the institutionalized one, so that the English equivalent, even if it is paraphrased, does not exhaustively or effectively reflect its expressed meaning. Examples of words that come under this category are reflected in the table below.

Table 2.9: Institutionalized Concepts

Words	Explanation
<i>Bumiputera</i>	Literal meaning – Son of the soil. In Malaysia, this term is used to refer to those who are of Malay descent, Portuguese settler's descent and people belonging to the ethnic groups of Sabah and Sarawak.
<i>Gotong-royong</i>	Refers to the spirit of cooperation among the Malaysian people that comprise of various ethnic groups. Usually, a <i>gotong-royong</i> is held when there is a need for a joint

	effort, for example when the neighbors get together to clean the neighbourhood vicinity, or to have fund raising events for a charitable cause.
<i>Khalwat</i>	The closest definition of this word would be ‘close proximity’. This actually refers to the notion of fraternizing too intimately with a member of the opposite sex out of wedlock being a socially stigmatized one.
<i>Rukun-tetangga</i>	This word refers to a movement promoted by the government through the local town councils. This movement is formed by people who live in the same neighbourhood, who form small groups to help one another. Some of their activities include patrolling the residential area to prevent theft.

ii) Emotional and cultural loading

These are words that when translated to English are deprived of their culture-bound connection, for example *kampong* (village), *penghulu* (headman), *dusun* (orchard).

Baskaran (2005:39) explains that some borrowings in the Malaysian English variety are emotionally and culturally loaded. These words would lose their culture bound association in the event they are translated into English. There are no identical meanings for these words in the Native English context. If the English equivalent is used, there is a possibility that the indigenous setting and specific socio-linguistic tones might be lost. The use of local words gives the language a local identity and personality. Some examples shown in the table below are cited in Baskaran (2005:39):

Table 2.10: Emotional and Cultural Loading

Emotional and cultural bound words	English translation
Kampung	Village
Dusun	Orchard
Bomoh	Medicine-man
Penghulu	Village-chief
Pantang	Taboo
Pondok	Shelter-stands

Baskaran (2005) states that *kampung* refers to a village and in the Malaysian context it would mean a number of wooden houses with thatched or attap roofs and usually on stilts. It is not limited to a *kampung* on land but also to villages on water like those located along the coastlines or riversides. In contrast, the English concept of village depicts a country-style cottage in its natural setting.

An orchard is a place where fruit trees grow but a *dusun*, in the Malaysian context, would mean a heavily forested tropical fruit grove, with thick undergrowth. A *pondok* is where the fruit gatherers gather their fruits or even rest during the hot sunny afternoon (Baskaran, 2005:39).

A *bomoh* has the equivalent meaning to the African medicine-man who is a witch doctor and a faith healer who has the power to deal with various circumstances, including exorcism and the ability to predict the future.

In the English context, the headman of a village can be pictured as a mayor but a *penghulu* when translated would mean headman or a village chief. A *penghulu* is revered and he is often considered to be a father-figure of the villagers. A *penghulu* is notably very different from the English version of a village headman.

iii) Semantic restriction

These are local words with possible English translations but are used in a semantically restricted field (Baskaran, 2005:40). The examples of these words are shown in the table below are cited in Baskaran (2005:40-41):

Table 2.11: Semantic Restriction

Semantically restricted words	Possible English translation
<i>Dadah</i>	This word means drugs but it does not mean drugs general rather it is confined to drugs used illicitly, like cocaine, LSD, marijuana
<i>Haj</i>	This word means pilgrimage, but its use is restricted to the pilgrimage made by the Muslims to Mecca.
<i>Toddy</i>	This word means fermented coconut water, which is different from fresh coconut water which is taken as refreshment.
<i>Silat</i>	A Malay form of martial arts that is equivalent to other forms of martial arts around the world like Karate-Do, Jujitsu, and Judo.
<i>Padi</i>	This is originally a Malay word that has gained recognition to be part of the English lexicon. In Malaysian English it refers to unhusked rice, or rice grown in fields. However, in native English rice takes on three referents – (<i>padi</i>) [or paddy] unhusked rice (<i>beras</i>) uncooked husked rice and (<i>nasi</i>) cooked rice

iv) Cultural and Culinary terms

These are words that refer to specific Malaysian cultural and culinary items that are usually alien to the English Language, for example *Hari Raya*, *Thaipusam*, *baju kurung*, *selendang*, *angpow*, *kuali*.

The characteristics of local origin and ecology can be described as the native culinary and domestic referents. Some of these terms have appeared in current English dictionaries. Examples of such words are like *sarung* and *kampong*

(Malay). Some other examples of cultural and culinary terms that reflect Malaysian English are shown in the table below (Baskaran, 2005:41):

Table 2.12: Cultural and Culinary terms

Cultural and culinary terms	English meaning and translation
<i>Durian</i>	A thorny fruit with thorns and curd-like fleshy pulp inside.
<i>Satay</i>	Specially seasoned meat on a skewer, barbecued over charcoal fire.
<i>Angpow</i>	A red money packet usually presented during Chinese New Year or extended to any cash donation.
<i>Kuali</i>	The wok- a special kind of deep frying pan.
<i>Sambal</i>	Hot chili paste.
<i>Kacang</i>	Nuts
<i>Mee</i>	Noodles
<i>Meehoon</i>	Rice vermicelli
<i>Rambutan</i>	A hairy fruit
<i>Sari</i>	An traditional Indian costume worn by the female

v) Hyponymous collocation

These include local words that have been collocated with English super ordinate terms, for example ‘*angsana* tree’, ‘*bersanding* ceremony’, ‘*batik* cloth’.

This refers to the presence of local words collocated with the English superordinate term- hyponymous terms where the English equivalent is the superordinate and the local word is the subordinate referent (Baskaran, 2005:41).

Examples of such words provided by Baskaran (2005:41-42) are shown in the table:

Table 2.13: Hyponymous terms

Hyponymous terms	Meaning
<i>Meranti</i> wood	Meranti – a species of hard wood used for furniture
<i>Batik</i> cloth	Batik – a wax-printed designed cloth
<i>Syariah</i> court	A court for Muslims
<i>Nobat</i> drums	Royal drums
<i>Path da bhog</i> ceremony	Memorial service
<i>Bersanding</i> ceremony	Wedding / nuptial ceremony

vi) Campus / Student coinages

These are words transported from local languages, and are usually used by students, for example, *teruk*, *leceh*, *doongu*.

Due to the change in the medium of instruction from Bahasa Malaysia into English in the education sector, a number of new words have surfaced into Malaysian English. Some of these words have gone through a process of compounding, affixation and conversion. There has also been a notable presence of words that have undergone some inflectional processes like the process of pluralization as seen in the Standard British English. The following examples are words that have been used by students in Malaysia (Baskaran, 2005:42-43).

Table 2.14: Student coinages

Student coinages	Meaning / Translation
<i>Leceh</i>	Troublesome, inconvenient
<i>Teruk</i>	Terrible, troublesome
<i>Doongu</i>	Lazy, reluctant
<i>Dadah-ring</i>	Vice-ring
<i>Toddy-can</i>	Similar to beer-can
<i>Satay-house</i>	Similar to pizza house
<i>Ulu-fied</i>	Ulu- originally meaning the source of a river but under student coinages it bears the meaning associated to primitiveness
<i>Makan</i>	This is a verb meaning 'eat' but it has taken the form of a noun meaning 'food' or 'meal' in this sentence: Let's have our <i>makan</i> now.
<i>Kacang</i>	This is a noun meaning 'nuts' but it can also be an adjective meaning 'easy' as in this sentence:

	The test was <i>kacang</i> .
<u>Pluralization</u> <i>Bomohs</i> <i>Dhobis</i> <i>Penghulus</i> <i>Kampongs</i>	
<u>Tense inflections</u> <i>Jagaed</i> <i>Angkating</i>	<p>The literal meaning of jaga is : looked after, kept an eye on and ‘ed’ is added as an inflection. Example: I <i>jagaed</i> his books while he went to look for his sister.</p> <p>The literal meaning of angkat is carry but ‘ing’ is added as an inflection and this ‘<i>angkating</i>’ means to carry favour.</p>
<i>Kampung</i>	Literally means village but under student coinages it means ‘not in the know’ or ‘not modernized’ or ‘backward’.

2.4.2 Standard English Lexicalization

The English Lexemes with Malaysian English usage (Standard English Lexicalization) will be analyzed based on the following characteristics (Baskaran, 2005:44).

This framework is used for this study and is further mentioned in Chapters 3 and 4.

i) Polysemic variation

This refers to the Standard English lexemes that have their original meaning as well extended range of meanings that do not conform to Standard English. For example the word *cut* originally means slicing but in Malaysian English, its semantic extended range of meanings would include overtake (of vehicles as well as in running), beat (to beat a competitor by marks or points) and reduce (when referring to an amount of money).

Other examples of words with semantic extensions according to Baskaran (2005:44-45) are:

Table 2.15: Polysemic variation

Words	Semantic extensions
Open	As for blinds or curtains – to draw them As for lights and other electrical appliances As for shoes or socks – to remove them As for tap – to turn on As for clothes – to undress
Call	As in to invite As in to ask As in to order As in to re-employ or ‘call-back’ as a phrase
Aunty / uncle	This refers to any elderly person who is an acquaintance and Malaysians use these terms as a mark of respect. The person does not necessarily have a family relationship to be called using these terms.
Occupy	As in to live in As in to take up (time)
Bungalow	As in a single or double storey detached house
Shillings	Money that is in the form of coins / shillings
Chase (or usually as a phrasal verb-‘chase after’)	As in to court or woo someone romantically
Students	Primary students are referred to as pupils, secondary students are students and those in tertiary institutions are undergraduates
Outstation	Is used when referring to a person who is still in the country but not in the local vicinity.

ii) Semantic variation

This refers to words in Malaysian English that are used in a narrower sense and is confined to specific referents only. For example:

- Windy – is used to refer to foods that can cause flatulence, and hence these foods are *windy*.
- Heaty – is used to refer to foods that can cause heat in the body like spicy and oily curries and coffee.

- c) Cooling – is used to refer to foods that can cool the body like herbal teas and juices.

vii) Informalization

The colloquial substitution is used by the mesolectal Malaysian English speaker to substitute Standard English words. Examples of such words are:

- a) Kids – for children (in Standard English)
- b) Hubby – for husband
- c) Partner – for spouse
- d) Flick - for steal
- e) Spend – as in to give a treat
- f) Hold on – as in to hold the line (on the phone)
- g) Follow – as in to accompany
- h) See – as in to watch TV or movies
- i) Spoilt - as in out of order
- j) Sleep – as in to go to bed
- k) Link house – for terrace house

viii) Formalization

In contrast to informalization, Malaysian English speakers also use formal words in informal contexts. Some examples of formalization are shown in the table below (Baskaran, 2005:47):

Table 2.16: Formalization

Words used in Formalization	Context / Examples of sentences
Furnish	In informal letters, a friend chooses to <i>furnish</i> his friend with details of their recent holiday.
Witness	In the case of a friend asking if he / she had

	<i>witnessed</i> the accident rather than if he / she had <i>seen</i> it.
Shifting house	This phrase is commonly used to refer to someone when he / she is <i>shifting house</i> instead of <i>moving house</i> .
Exercising one's power or right	This is applied especially when <i>exercising one's duties</i> instead of <i>carrying out one's duties</i> .
Scrutinize	This word is used instead of the less formal – <i>examine</i> .
Residence	This word is used instead of the less formal- <i>house</i> .
Cured	This word is used instead of <i>healed</i> . For example: The wound has not <i>cured</i> yet.
Box	This word is used instead of <i>hit</i> . For example: John <i>boxed</i> Kiran on his face.

ix) Directional reversal.

Malaysian English speakers sometimes use certain lexemes in the reverse direction. This is commonly seen in converse pairs. The examples of such pairs are:

a) Go / come

Example: She will *go* over to your apartment today. (come)

Bring / take

Examples: I *take* my cat to the vet every month. (bring)

She *brings* her lunchbox to the office every day. (takes)

b) Fetch / take

Example: Mrs. Lai has to *fetch* her daughter to the tuition center.

(take)

c) Borrow / lend

Examples: Justin *borrowed* me his laptop. (lent)

Jessica likes to *lend* my make-up kit. (borrow)

x) **College colloquialism**

Certain Standard English lexemes have localized informally by Malaysian students.

This variety of Malaysian English is common among primary, secondary and tertiary level students. Examples of such words provided by Baskaran (2005:48-49) are:

Table 2.17: College colloquialism

College / student inspired lexemes in Malaysian English	Meaning
Mugger / book worm	A person who is studious and very hard working.
Snake temple specialist	The snake refers to a person who appears to be unconcerned about his studies. The snake temple refers to the library.
Frus	Frustrated
Fantas	Fantastic
Fantab	A blend of fantastic and fabulous - fantabulous
Sabo	Sabotage – to teasingly mock someone
Cheap-skate	Refers to a person who is willing to do anything, even to the extent of demeaning himself to achieve his goals.
Lost case	Refers to a person who is beyond redemption or a person who is 'below standard' with regard to education.

Worst type	This is an intimate term used when criticizing a close friend or colleague.
Tripod stand	A person who likes to carry favour or to be in the good books of someone else.
Lamp-post	A third person in a two-some situation (like a courting couple). The Standard English version of this would be <i>gooseberry</i> .

Words like ‘frus’, ‘fantas’ and ‘sabo’ are college colloquialisms that have gone through the process of being shortened.

2.5 Studies done on Western expatriate writers who have lived in Malaysia.

Expatriate writers have lived and written about Malaysia since the early 1900’s. There are similarities between them and Raymer, as just like him, they have written their stories based on the events surrounding the Malaya or Malaysia of their era. There have been various write-ups on the themes and background of those early literatures but none has focused on the lexis of Malaysian English used in them. As mentioned in 2.6, this study fills that gap of which other researchers have not done in studying the lexis of Malaysian English in stories written by western expatriates, in particular, on Robert Raymer.

2.5.1 Pre-colonial, emergency and post-war literature

In the past Western expatriates who have been living in Malaysia have written books that went with the current times. One of the earliest books, *In the Hands of the Malays* was written by G.A Henty in 1905 and the stories in it were focused on the issues of piracy at that time. Henty was eventually reprimanded for his pro-imperialist stance and racist depictions of those who were not English (Sykes, 2012).

The Tigers of Momprecem was written in 1900 by an Italian writer Emilio Salgari. This book was about Malay heroes who resisted the oppression of the European empire circa that era. He later wrote *Sandokan* which was about James Brooke, the First White Rajah of Sarawak (Italica, 2012). *Almayer's Folly: A Story of an Eastern River* (1895) and *Lord Jim* (1900) were written by Joseph Conrad. Both Henty and Conrad wrote about events of their time and place of origin (Sykes, 2012).

British expat Jessie A. Davidson who was the granddaughter of Francis Light, the founder of Penang, wrote *Dawn: A Romance of Malaya* in 1926. Goncourt Award winner Henri Fauconnier who wrote *The Soul of Malaya* in 1930 and Davidson both shared a similar theme in their stories which were based in a Klang Valley rubber plantation. One of the stories that were written during the Japanese Occupation in Malaya during the 1940's was *Three Came Home* by Agnes Newton Keith (1947). Post-war stories of Malaya include *A Clockwork Orange* (1962) and *Time for a Tiger* (1956) that were written by Anthony Burgess who taught at the prestigious Malay College at that time (Sykes, 2012). Circa late 1990's, the American writers started to come to light in Malaysian literature. C.S Godshalk wrote *Kalimantan: A Novel* (1998) and much later, Amanda Sington-Williams wrote *The Eloquence of Desire* (2010).

2.6 The importance of a study on Raymer's work.

Raymer draws similarities with the other Western writers who have lived in Malaysia. Just like Fauconnier, Raymer has won literary awards and his writings have themes that were based on his living experience in Malaysia over the last 20 years. This trait is consistent with writers like Henty, Salgari, Davidson and the other writers who have lived in Malaysia and have produced their writings based on their experiences living here.

Although there have been reviews of the other expatriate writers in the past, they were only thematic reviews and there have been no apparent study focusing on the Standard English Lexicalization and Local Language Referents that were present in those literary works. Therefore, a study on Raymer's works can fill in this gap in which both Standard English Lexicalization and Local Language Referents will be studied. This will give a deeper insight into the influences of an expat writer by studying his choice of use of the variety of Malaysian English in his literary works.

Raymer's work is a good example of creative writing. His expressions and incorporation of Malaysian English reflects his imagination coupled with the intention to capture his target audience- the Malaysian readers. His writings are under the short story genre and a short story is defined as a work of fiction that is usually written in prose, often in narrative format. This format tends to be more pointed and precise as compared to longer works of fiction such as novels. A combination of personal expression, creativity and artistic integrity define a writer's work.

Raymer is known to use real life experiences as the backdrop of his stories and the majority of his work fall under the narrative short story mode which is made up of interesting pieces of creative writing. Raymer's choice of Malaysian English reflects his personal experiences as an expatriate, lecturer at a Malaysian university, husband to a Malaysian wife and a father to sons who were born and raised in Malaysia. The Malay culture is more pronounced in Raymer's writings due to his exposure to the culture through marriage and family ties. The other Malaysian cultures reflected in his stories are based on his experiences in community living and basic exposure to the Malaysian social structure within which he has lived and worked in.

2.7 Summary

The first part of this chapter comprises of the history of world Englishes and the varieties of English. It is followed by the history of the emergence of Malaysian English and its current status in present-day Malaysia. The subsequent part of this chapter looks at the various studies done on Malaysian English and the description of Malaysian English. This is followed by the various theories on Malaysian English and includes the analytical framework that is explained and used further in Chapters 3 and 4. The next part of this chapter addresses the studies done on western expatriates who have lived in Malaysia and is concluded by discussing the importance of studying Raymer's work. The theoretical framework and methodology will be further discussed in Chapter 3. Every aspect of the data collection and analysis procedures will be addressed in this chapter.

CHAPTER 3 – Methodology

3.0 Introduction

As outlined in Chapter 1, this study which is explorative and descriptive in nature attempts to identify the Local Language Referents and English Lexemes in the Malaysian English used in *Lovers and Strangers-Revisited* and *Tropical Affairs* written by an English native speaker, Robert Raymer. It also aims to investigate Raymer's reasons for incorporating these items in his stories.

3.1 Research Questions

As stated in Chapter 1, the Research Questions for this study are:

Research Question 1: What are the Local Language Referents used in *Lovers and Strangers-Revisited* and *Tropical Affairs*?

Research Question 2: What are the English Lexemes with Malaysian English usage (Standard English Lexicalization) used in *Lovers and Strangers-Revisited* and *Tropical Affairs*?

Research question 3: Why does the author use these items in his stories and what is the significance of this use?

Each of these Research Questions are answered separately by employing Baskaran's theoretical framework that is outlined in Chapter 1 and further explained in Chapter 2. Research Question 3 was devised in order to triangulate the findings of Research Questions 1 and 2. The data for Research Question 3 is obtained through personal communication via e-mail with Robert Raymer and through his website which Raymer himself recommended. Discussions of Raymer's responses will be included in the data analysis of each individual data in Chapter 4.

3.2 Data

This study is based on two works of fiction by Robert Raymer, an American writer who has been based in Malaysia for more than 20 years now.

The first book, *Lovers and Strangers: Revisited* (2005), comprises a collection of short stories set in Malaysia. It covers a spectrum of the Malaysian culture, from the aspect of human relationships to faith in a humble village. One of his short stories from this collection, *Neighbours*, was included as one of the five short stories for the SPM English Literature paper for the past four cycles from the year 2007.

Raymer's second book, *Tropical Affairs* (2009) is also a collection of creative writing that reflects the multi-layered facet of Malaysian life. These two books were published in Malaysia and are written based on his own experiences here as an expatriate.

The short stories from these two books are as follows:

From *Lovers and Strangers- Revisited* (2005):

1. Smooth Stones
2. On Fridays
3. The Future Barrister
4. Sister's Room
5. Symmetry
6. Home for *Hari Raya*
7. Teh-O in KL
8. The Stare
9. *Mat Salleh*
10. Neighbours

From *Tropical Affairs* (2009):

1. Sir Monty, Private Eye
2. Campus Challenge
3. A Birthday Suit Tailor-made for Me
4. Last Tango at the Runnymede
5. Never Judge a Book by its Title
6. Balik Kampung – a Writer’s Hari Raya

3.2.1 Collection Procedure

The data collection process for the purpose of analysis involves the following steps; reading and re-reading all the stories in both the books to understand and identify the background of the stories. Then, each story is manually tagged for words and phrases that are in Malaysian English. After the tagging is completed, the words are manually listed into their categories using Baskaran’s theoretical framework. This method is used to code the data for Research Questions 1 and 2. As for Research Question 3, the data is obtained through e-mail communications with the author, Robert Raymer and more data is obtained through his website. The words that are tagged and listed are sent to Raymer for commenting and these comments are quoted in the analysis of data. Raymer’s website www.theborneoexpatwriter.com and his blog thestorybehindthestoryoflslr.blogspot.com provide thematic views on the stories in *Lovers and Strangers- Revisited* (2005). These are his personal views that are written in the first-person pronoun and it includes his experiences during the process of writing these stories. As such, the website and blog are invaluable in the discussion of why he chooses to use ME words and the significance of their usage

3.2.2 Analysis Procedure

This section discusses the analytical framework that is used for the current study. It first discusses the analytical framework that has been developed by a researcher for Malaysian English. It then justifies the choice of framework used for this study. Schneider, a professor of English Linguistics in Germany, in his foreword on Baskaran's *A Malaysian English Primer – Aspects of Malaysian English Features* (2005) mentioned that Malaysian English is undergoing nativization and is a prominent representative of the "New Englishes". He also points out that Baskaran focuses on the informal, mesolectal type of Malaysian English. Raymer's literary work revolves around his experience in modern-day Malaysia and therefore the use of Baskaran's theoretical framework in this study is suitable for the purpose of analysis. Baskaran's Malaysian English lexis classification is more relevant to the Asian context and is based upon Indian and other Malaysian dialects and therefore it is appropriate for carrying out the analysis of this particular study.

The method devised by Baskaran (2005) has been adopted for this study because from the researcher's point of view, it is very organized. It encompasses the semantic relationships of the following kinds and it is further discussed in Section 3.3:

- a. Local language referents which refers to the use of lexicon in Malaysian English speech and
- b. Standard English Lexicalization which refers to English Lexemes with Malaysian English usage.

There are various subdivisions within this major division which Baskaran claims "are representative enough, although they are not necessarily exhaustive" (1985:85).

3.3 Conceptual Framework

This has been discussed in Chapter 2 under the sub-heading 2.4.

3.3.1 Local Language Referents

This theoretical framework has been discussed in Chapter 2 and it will be used to answer Research Question 1.

Short stories containing the use of lexicon in Malaysian English speech (Local Language Referents) will be analyzed based on the following aspects (Baskaran, 2005):

a) Institutionalised concepts –

refers to local words that have been borrowed into the Malaysian English that do not have an equivalent in standard English. Examples are such as *khalwat* and *rukun tetangga*. When one reads about *khalwat* in Malaysia, it refers to a notion of being too close or intimate with a member of the opposite sex and this level of proximity is out of wedlock. This term also has a social stigma attached to it. The direct English equivalent (illicit proximity with the opposite sex) does not imply the same levels of stigmatism as it has in its original language. Therefore it does not express its meaning effectively. *Rukun tetangga* is a small group formed by people in the neighbourhood. The main mission of the *rukun tetangga* is to gather people to put in a joint effort in helping one another, for example, to patrol the residential area during the night to prevent petty thefts.

b) Emotional and cultural loading –

refers to words that are borrowed and when translated into Standard English, these words might lose their culture-bound association. There are no identical meanings of these words in Standard English. The socio-linguistic tones and indigenous

setting in which these words are used in might not be fully and effectively interpreted when translated into Standard English. Examples of such words are the Malay words *dusun* which means orchard and *pondok* which means small shelters.

c) Semantic restriction –

refers to words that can be translated into Standard English but is used in a semantically restricted field. Examples are such as *Silat* (a Malay art of self defense) and *beras* (uncooked husked rice). Other examples provided by Baskaran (2005:40) include lexemes like *haj* which means pilgrimage of specifically the Muslims to Mecca, *toddy* which means fermented coconut water which is different from fresh coconut water that is sold as refreshment.

d) Cultural and Culinary terms –

refers to local culinary and domestic referents that is similar to a characteristic of local origin and ecology. Baskaran (2005:41) provides examples of these terms such as *durian* which is a thorny fruit with curd-like fleshy pulp inside, *satay* which are pieces of seasoned barbequed meat and *angpow* which is a red packet of money that is given during the Chinese New Year. These words are similar to traditional costumes like the *sari* and *kebaya*.

e) Hyponymous collocation –

refers to terms where the English equivalent is the superordinate and the local term is the subordinate referent. Examples are such as ‘path da bohg’ (memorial service) and batik (waxed printing designed cloth), *meranti wood* where *meranti* is a type of hardwood that is used to make furniture, *orang asli* which means aboriginal people of Malaysia and *nobat drums* where *nobat* means royal drums.

f) Campus / Student coinages –

refers to words that are used by students in schools and campuses. These are words that have come into Malaysian English by being transported from Bahasa Malaysia due to the

change of the medium of instruction in Malaysia and this has caused a strong influence on ME (Baskaran, 2005:42) Examples are such as ‘the examination was *kacang* (the examination was easy), *doongu* (silly, dumb, stupid, foolish)

3.3.2 Standard English Lexicalization

This theoretical framework which has been discussed in Chapter 2 will be used to answer Research Question 2.

English Lexemes with Malaysian English usage (Standard English Lexicalization) will be analyzed based on the following characteristics (Baskaran, 2005:44)

i) Polysemic variation –

refers to words that are Standard English lexemes that have original meanings in English and they also have extended meanings that are not originally in Standard English. One good example of this is the verb ‘cut’ which bears the original meaning of ‘slicing’. In ME, it also bears the following meanings:

- Overtake as in ‘*I was not able to cut the bus because it was too fast*’.
- Beat as in ‘*Jessy cut me by only two points and he won this game*’.
- Reduce as in ‘*The vendor cut one ringgit for that breakage when he gave me back the change*’.

Other examples in this category are:

‘call’, which can mean invite, ask, order and re-employ.

‘occupy’ which can mean live (in a house), take up (time or space)

‘outstation’ which can mean out of town but still within the country

ii) Semantic variation –

refers to words in Malaysian English that are used in a narrower sense and are confined to specific referents. Examples are such as *one-kind* (weird or peculiar) as in the sentence: He is *one-kind*, he can stare at a person for minutes at a time without smiling! Baskaran (2005: 45) mentions that in the Malaysian context, Malays, Chinese and Indians generally have the idea of foods that can cause *windiness* in the body which causes flatulence, discomfort and gastric problems. Certain foods are *heaty* and some are *cooling*. An example of *windy* food is lentils whereas spicy, oily curries and coffee are considered as *heaty*. The *cooling* foods include fruits and vegetables, herbal teas and juices.

iii) Informalization -

These are also words that tend to be informal colloquial substitutions of Standard English words and are used by most mesolectal speakers. Some examples of such words are such as ‘flick’ (steal), ‘spoil’ (out of order) , ‘spend’ (give a treat), ‘partner’ (spouse), ‘fellow’ (person), ‘spoil’ (out of order), ‘hold on’ (hold the line, wait a minute), ‘follow’ (accompany) and ‘spend’ (give a treat). Other words in this category are:

Table 3.1 Words used in informalization

Words used in informalization	Meaning
Kids	Children
Hubby	Husband
See	As in to watch television or a movie
Sleep	As in to go to bed
Link house	Terrace house

iv) Formalization –

Baskaran (2005:47) also mentions that Malaysian English speakers tend to use formal words in informal contexts. It is not uncommon to hear phrases like ‘*Did you witness the accident last night?*’ (instead of see). Other examples are such as ‘rob’ (steal), ‘scrutinize’ (examine), ‘residence’ (house) and ‘box’ (hit). Other examples of words that fall into this category are:

Table 3.2: Words used in formalization

Words used in Formalization	Context / Examples of sentences
Furnish	In informal letters, a friend chooses to <i>furnish</i> his friend with details of their recent holiday.
Shifting house	This phrase is commonly used to refer to someone when he / she is <i>shifting house</i> instead of <i>moving house</i> .
Exercising one’s power or right	This is applied especially when <i>exercising one’s duties</i> instead of <i>carrying out one’s duties</i> .
Cured	This word is used instead of <i>healed</i> . For example: The wound has not <i>cured</i> yet.

v) Directional reversal –

refers to mostly verbs that are used in the reversed direction. This is a frequent phenomenon among Malaysian English speakers due to the interference of other spoken languages in Malaysia like Bahasa Malaysia.

Examples are such as converse pairs like bring /send and go/come. The confusion between lend/borrow can be due to the absence of two separate lexemes in the local language. Lend and borrow are considered under one lexeme *pinjam* in Bahasa Malaysia. The confusion can be seen in these sentences: *He borrowed me his books*

and *She always lends my pencils* instead of ‘He lent me his books’ and ‘She always borrows my pencils’.

vi) College colloquialism –

refers to words that are popular among the student population who speak Malaysian English. These words are Standard English lexemes that have been localized by the student population and are used in an informal setting. Examples are such as *lamp-post* (a third party in a threesome) and *cow sense* (someone who is not aware of the current happenings in the campus). Some words have been abbreviated and used in context for specific situations. These words are like *frus* (frustrated), *fantab* (a blend of fantastic and fabulous) and *sabo* (sabotage – which means to teasingly deride someone). Other examples of words in this category are:

Table 3.3: College / student inspired lexemes in Malaysian English

College / student inspired lexemes in Malaysian English	Meaning
Mugger / book worm	A person who is studious and very hard working.
Snake temple specialist	The snake refers to a person who appears to be unconcerned about his studies. The snake temple refers to the library.
Fantas	Fantastic
Cheap-skate	Refers to a person who is ‘downright stingy’.
Lost case	Refers to a person who is beyond redemption or a person who is ‘below standard’ with regard to education.
Worst type	This is an intimate term used when criticizing a close friend or colleague.
Tripod stand	A person who likes to curry favour or to be in the good books of someone else.

3.3.3 Overlaps between categories

Although there are two major categories (Standard English Lexicalization and Local Language Referents), some data (individually or collaboratively) may fall under two overlapping categories. For example, the Malay word *Mamak*. This word is used to describe the lineage of the Indian Muslim community in Malaysia. This word may fall in the Emotional and Cultural Loading category if it stands on its own but when it is paired up with another word like *Mamak mee* which means noodles that are prepared and cooked in the Malaysian Indian Muslim style, it can fall under the Cultural and Culinary definitive.

3.3.4 The background of Robert Raymer

Research Question 3 refers to Raymer's opinions and feedback regarding the words that have been included in the data analysis for Research Questions 1 and 2. Therefore it is important that Raymer's background is known as this influence his use of ME as will be discussed in Research Questions 1 and 2.

Raymer is an American expatriate who came to Malaysia 20 years ago. He first lived in Penang and eventually moved to Kuching, Sarawak with his wife and children. He was named as one of the the "50 Expats You Should Know" by *Expatriate Lifestyle* in 2009. He is a free lance editor, writing consultant and has taught creative writing at two Malaysian universities. He edited *Silverfish New Writings 4*, has judged short story competitions and conducted numerous workshops on writing and creative writing.

His short stories and articles have been published over 500 times in *The Literary Review*, *Thema*, *Aim*, *London Magazine*, *Going Places*, *My Weekly*, *The Writer* and *Reader's Digest*. The first book used in this study, *Lovers and Strangers Revisited* (2005) is a collection of short stories set in Malaysia and is a winner of the 2009

(Popular-The Star Readers Choice Awards). It has been taught in several universities and private colleges and it has also been translated into French. The second book used in this study, *Tropical Affairs: Episodes from an Expat's Life in Malaysia* (2009) is a collection of creative nonfiction about living in Malaysia for over twenty years. His latest book is *Spirit of Malaysia* (2011).

When he is not lecturing, conducting workshops, writing his next short story or writing reviews, Raymer enjoys working on his blog at www.borneoexpatwriter.com, reading, playing tennis and travelling. Raymer is currently located in Kuching, Sarawak.

3.3.5 Triangulation

Robert Raymer's views and comments on the words and phrases that have been categorised as Malaysian English are brought alongside the analysis in this study. In other words, Research Question 3 is answered together with the first two questions. This triangulation of data allows for a more robust investigation into the use of these words. This triangulation was achieved by first establishing contact with Robert Raymer via e-mail. Then, Raymer provided his opinions on the words and phrases that he thinks is significantly Malaysian and can be categorized as such. Then, a list of words that have been compiled by the researcher for Research Questions 1 and 2 were given to Raymer and he gave his remarks and opinions on them.

3.4 Summary

In conclusion, this chapter outlines the sources of data, the framework used for the analysis, the data collection and data analysis procedures. The framework by Baskaran (2005) is presented and explained. The reasons why this framework is chosen is also

mentioned here. It is important to point out that Baskaran's framework is very well organized and its categories are clearly defined. This enables easy categorizing of data from *Lovers and Strangers- Revisited* and *Tropical Affairs*. Data that overlaps between the categories are listed in one category and further explained as being a part of the other too. This is to ensure that the lexeme is not exclusively explained under one category and excluded in the other.

The next chapter goes on to analyze the data using the methods and methodology discussed in this chapter.

CHAPTER 4 - Data Analysis

4.0 Introduction

This chapter contains the analysis of data collected from short stories in two books written by Robert Raymer that is *Lovers and Strangers-Revisited* (2005) and *Tropical Affairs* (2009). The analysis of data in this chapter is based on the theoretical framework (Baskaran, 2005) in Chapter 3. The data in this chapter are categorized and analyzed under two main groups as proposed by Baskaran (2005) in order to answer the first two research questions as outlined in Chapter 1. The theoretical framework used is based on the categories that are explained in Chapters 2 (see 2.4) and 3 (see 3.3.2). The data for the last research question is obtained through personal communications via e-mail, with the author himself, and the answers for Research Question 3 are discussed alongside Research Questions 1 and 2.

4.1.1 The Local Language Referents

The Local Language Referents (see 2.4.1) will be investigated by first categorizing them into four sub-categories and explained individually and Raymer's view will be used to triangulate the data.

i) Institutionalized concepts

This refers to local words that have been borrowed into Malaysian English and these words have no equivalent in Standard English (Baskaran, 2005).

Title of Book	<i>Lovers and Strangers – Revisited</i>
Title of Story and Page	Home for Hari Raya, pg 72
Word(s) / Phrase	Hari Raya
Sentence(s) in context	1. The title – <i>Home for Hari Raya</i> 2. <i>Ida, the youngest of three sisters, was the last to arrive home for <u>Hari Raya</u>.</i>

The Malay words *Hari* means day and *Raya* means celebration. The direct translation would be Day Celebration, which does not reflect any meaning in its institutionalization. *Hari Raya* marks the end of the Muslim fasting month (Ramadan) and the first day of *Syawal* on the Muslim calendar. The word *Aidilfitri* is usually added to *Hari Raya* to distinguish it from the other Muslim celebration *Aidiladha* which refers to the celebration of *Korban* or sacrifice. However, in this story, *Hari Raya* is understood as *Hari Raya Aidilfitri* because the storyline indicates people going back to their villages during this season, which is a norm before *Aidilfitri* rather than before *Aidiladha*. In this story, the writer does not explain the meaning of *Hari Raya* per se, but instead talks about the scenarios surrounding the celebration. As an expatriate, he experiences his surroundings and derives meaning from it.

As for the title, the writer chooses to use *Hari Raya* to immediately guide the readers to a thought that this was a specific occasion in a specific environment setting (usually the village) compared to any other special day or holiday. Raymer's choice to use this in his title shows that he is referring to a specific holiday in Malaysia although he could have named it 'Home for the Holidays' instead. If he had done that, the story would lose its institutionalized essence and readers could have been prompted to visualize a different scenario (from that of the village), as Malaysia is known to be diverse in many ways. Therefore, this shows that *Hari Raya* is an institutionalized concept and its Standard English equivalent simply is not able to bear its true meaning.

Title of Book	<i>Lovers and Strangers – Revisited</i>
Title of Story and Page	The Stare, pg 103.
Word(s) / Phrase	Madrasah
Sentence(s) in context	<i>He was allowed to keep one third of the proceeds, while returning the rest of the money to the <u>madrasah</u>, the village religious center.</i>

This is an Arabic word that carries the definition of ‘school’, which is any kind of school that conducts formal education. However, in Malaysia, *madrasah* specifically refers to religious school conducted following the Islamic syllabus. The more commonly used term would be ‘sekolah agama’ which can be directly translated into ‘religious school’ but here the writer chooses to use the Arabic version, which is the formal way of referring to the place. The *madrasah* is also a place where the rural Malay community tends to congregate and treats it as an informal community center. It is also noted that the writer continued with the phrase ‘the village religious center’ after *madrasah*. This is parallel to the situation in the story (set in a rural setting) where people often contribute in cash or kind for the use of the community. Raymer states that this was an attempt by him to further clarify the purpose of that place for the international audience because in his opinion, not all of them are aware of the terms used in Malaysia (Raymer, via e-mail, 31st October 2012). I agree with Raymer on this aspect and since he writes these stories for an international audience, it is necessary for him to explain these terms because it would help them better understand this lexical borrowing.

ii) Emotional and cultural loading

Words under this category are borrowings which have emotional and cultural influence. If these words are translated into English, they would lose their culture-bound association and the identical meanings in Standard English would usually not be present (Baskaran, 2005).

Title of Book	<i>Tropical Affairs</i>
Title of Story and Page	Sir Monty, Private Eye, pg 298

Word(s) / Phrase	Kampong
Sentence(s) in context	<i>Seems he used to creep up behind her <u>kampong</u> house and monitor the place, as monitor lizards tend to do.</i>

The Malay word *kampong* or rather in its present Bahasa Malaysia spelling *kampung* means village. However, its application in this story more significantly refers to a type of house that is indigenous to a typical village in Malaysia. These houses are made of mostly wooden planks with minimal use of concrete or stone. This Local Language Referent does not have a compatible English translation and its Standard English equivalent would be ‘village house’, which does not reflect its cultural bonding and association to its true description in context. Based on the writer’s blog (Raymer, 2012), he chooses to use this term to differentiate the types of houses that he could have lived in. Raymer further explained that he used this word to not confuse it with other types of houses in Malaysia. This choice shows that he understands the distinctions between a regular house that can be seen in the city and a house that is located in a village.

Title of Book	<i>Tropical Affairs</i>
Title of Story and Page	Never Judge A Book By Its Title, pg 163
Word(s) / Phrase	Salam
Sentence(s) in context	<i>As I walked out of the bookshop, she said <u>salam</u> to me.</i>

This Malay word is a verb which means ‘greet’ or to address someone politely at the point of meeting or arrival. The *salam* is commonly used among the Muslims within their communities in Malaysia and this greeting would bear the utterance of *Assalammualaikum* which means ‘peace be unto you’ in Arabic. Raymer explained that most of this story was taken from a blog that his student wrote (Raymer, via e-mail, 31st October 2012). He had done some minor editing but he left this word because he thought that it would be an appropriate description of what was taking place between

them, which was a cultural greeting between Muslims. The writer shows that he understands the context within which this utterance is used and the cultural aspects that are related to it. The word *salam* is also derived as polite in the light of its use among the Muslims and its use in this context is highly favoured amongst the Malay people.

The word *salam* could have been replaced with ‘greeted’ but it would have lost its emotional and culture – bound association and the actual scenario in the bookshop would have not been fully conceptualized. Thus this Local Language Referent clearly indicates its relevance in the cultural and emotional aspect in Malaysian English. Therefore in this aspect, I would stress that Raymer’s use of ‘salam’ word is contextually and culturally significant.

Title of Book	<i>Tropical Affairs</i>
Title of Story and Page	Balik Kampung: A Writer’s Hari Raya, pg 166
Word(s) / Phrase	baju kurungs
Sentence(s) in context	<i>Another family tradition is that all of the women show off their new, brightly coloured <u>baju kurungs</u>, those beautiful, timeless, for – all - occasions, two-piece Malay dresses.</i>

As the author has clearly described it, the *baju kurung* is a two-piece traditional Malay costume worn by women. There is no equivalent for this in Standard English and its direct translation would be:

Baju: clothes

Kurung: confine, shut in, imprison, immure.

Its direct translation neither reflects the object nor its actual meaning.

I have found that although *baju kurung* could be categorized as just a name for a type of clothing that has Malay origins in Malaysia, when translated into Standard English it not only loses its original meaning but also the reflection of its cultural

roots. Raymer could have chosen to write ‘traditional Malay outfits’ instead of *baju kurung* but it would have not been able to fully retain the cultural sense to its culture. He has also noted that the writer has made an attempt to pluralize the Local Language Referent by adding an ‘s’ at the end and this clearly shows that *baju kurung* cannot be replaced with its translation with its culture – bound meaning remaining intact. According to Raymer, he had chosen to use this word instead of ‘dress’ because it would be confusing to readers who are not familiar with Malaysia (Raymer, via e-mail, 31st October 2012). However, with Malaysians, this term would carry great significance because they understand the cultural value of the term.

Title of Book	<i>Lovers and Strangers - Revisited</i>
Title of Story and Page	Smooth Stones, pg 45
Word(s) / Phrase	baju melayu, serban
Sentence(s) in context	<i>An elderly man dressed in a new looking, white <u>baju melayu</u>, a freshly pressed sarong, and clean, white <u>serban</u> atop his head, stood at the doorstep.</i>

Baju Melayu is a traditional two-piece Malay costume worn by men. This cannot be replaced by the Standard English translation which is ‘Malay clothes’, as it does not illustrate its cultural association to its original meaning. I believe that if Raymer had used its Standard English translation, the meaning in context would be lost. The word *serban* was also used instead of its English equivalent, turban. Although Raymer had a choice of using that word, its cultural association with the *baju Melayu* would have significantly decreased because the *serban*, if it is worn by a Malay man, would be paired with a traditional Malay outfit such as the *baju Melayu* or *jubah* which is a long, one-piece ankle length outfit.

Raymer explains that he chose to use *serban* instead of ‘white cap’ to avoid confusion and he also emphasizes that this word is different from a *topi* (Raymer, via

e-mail, 31st October 2012). I would agree that Raymer's choice to use this word instead of its Standard English equivalent is culturally important because a 'white cap' would have lost its culture-bound association.

Title of Book	<i>Lovers and Strangers - Revisited</i>
Title of Story and Page	Smooth Stones, pg 45
Word(s) / Phrase	Bomohs
Sentence(s) in context	<i>The <u>bomohs</u> that Omar had brought had tried different remedies and cast different spells, none of which affected Yusof who steadily got worse.</i>

This is a Malay word that has several meanings- a traditional medicine man or a faith healer which are also its Standard English versions. Generally, a *bomoh* refers to a healer who practices folk medicine in terms of both spiritual healing as well as physical healing. In this story, the *bomoh* presents himself in both terms. The Standard English versions do not reflect the cultural connotation of *bomoh* in the traditional Malay culture. Raymer explains that he used this word because it is a common word in the Malaysian context. He further explains that a 'witch doctor' has other connotations that would confuse readers or give them the wrong impression (Raymer, via e-mail, 31st October 2012). By using this word, Raymer is able to explicitly relate to the culture and the belief system of the characters involved.

Title of Book	<i>Lovers and Strangers - Revisited</i>
Title of Story and Page	Smooth Stones, pg 49
Word(s) / Phrase	parang
Sentence(s) in context	<i>After cutting down the young coconuts, she used an old <u>parang</u> to cut off the top.</i>

This Malay word means 'cleaver', 'machete' or 'large heavy knife' in Standard English (New Oxford Dictionary) and its translated version does not reflect its meaning in the cultural sense of the native user. I believe that the word *parang* has a

close bond to the Malay culture because it is commonly used by the Malays living in kampongs to carry out their daily agricultural tasks. The *parang* has eventually made its way into the Malaysian culture because it has also been adopted into the Tamil language which is spoken by the Tamils in Malaysia. Raymer maintains that this is a common word in the Malaysian context and the word ‘machete’ would confuse the readers.

Title of Book	<i>Lovers and Strangers - Revisited</i>
Title of Story and Page	Sister's Room, pg 56
Word(s) / Phrase	Dhoti
Sentence(s) in context	<i>Uncle passes money to Appa in a closed fist. Appa tucks it into the folds of his <u>dhoti</u>. I pretend not to notice as I sit down.</i>

A *dhoti* is traditional Indian attire worn by only the men. It is a piece of cloth, usually white or cream in colour, made of cotton or silk and is tied from the waist down like a *sarong*. Although it has many similarities with the *sarong*, it is different with regard to pattern; the *dhoti* is plain and not checkered, and it is seamless at the edges unlike the *sarong*. The writer uses this word instead of ‘a piece of white cotton material, tied around the waist’ which has little illustration of the *dhoti*’s true cultural depiction. Raymer states that the use of this word is common in this context and he adds that it is a type of clothing worn by elderly Indians (Raymer, via e-mail, 31st October 2012). I would disagree that the *dhoti* is only worn by the elderly Indians but as the younger adults wear it on certain religious and social occasions especially weddings. Then again, perhaps in this context, Raymer meant that the older men are more traditionally bound compared to the younger ones. While Raymer’s use of the word *dhoti* may be correct, the general interpretation of its use is slightly narrow and

focuses on a specific generation. However, this does not detract from the effect of the word in the context of the story as Appa is probably a middle-aged man (as he has two daughters in their teens) and so it is appropriate that *dhoti* is used for this character.

Title of Book	<i>Lovers and Strangers - Revisited</i>
Title of Story and Page	Sister's Room, pg 58
Word(s) / Phrase	sari
Sentence(s) in context	<i>Amma just sits there and stares at the woman in the <u>sari</u>.</i>

A *sari* (or saree as it is commonly spelt in the Standard English equivalent) is a traditional Indian costume worn by only the women. It is two-piece attire made up of a tight fitting mid-length blouse and 6 meters of material that is artistically plaited and wrapped around the body, preserving the modesty of the woman wearing it. The material can be made up of a variety of choices but silk, cotton and chiffon remain as top favourites of Indian women. The writer chooses to use this word instead of 'a long piece of cloth, carefully wrapped around the body' which has very little association to the cultural aspect of what the sari is to the Indian community. It is observed that the Indian women in Malaysia would wear their sarees during cultural festivals and special occasions especially during Deepavali, Ponggal, weddings and any other occasion that warrants them to do so. It is Raymer's stand that this word refers to a type of clothing and is normally used to describe it (Raymer, via e-mail, 31st October 2012). However, I would like to add that just like the dhoti, the *sari* is not only known in Malaysia but also in India as it originates from there. The term *sari* is also known across the world as part of the Asian Indian heritage. But in this

case, Raymer's stories are set in Malaysia and therefore this can be considered as a lexical borrowing into Malaysian English.

Title of Book	<i>Lovers and Stranger - Revisited</i>
Title of Story and Page	The Watcher, pg 68
Word(s) / Phrase	Gong Xi Fa Cai
Sentence(s) in context	<i>The three children cried out, "Gong Xi Fa Cai! Gong Xi Fa Cai!"</i>

This phrase originates from the Chinese culture and it means 'Happy New Year'. The Chinese New Year marks the beginning of the new lunar calendar and during this celebration, the phrase *Gong Xi Fa Cai* is used to wish all those who celebrate this day. Raymer uses to this word instead of the Standard English equivalent of it. Raymer states that he used it because it is just a common Chinese New Year salutation which adds color to the story, and is more specific than merely calling out 'a greeting' (Raymer, via e-mail, 31st October 2012). It is my opinion that by using this word, Raymer preserves the strong cultural association to this event which is celebrated by the Chinese community in Malaysia.

Title of Book	<i>Lovers and Strangers - Revisited</i>
Title of Story and Page	The Watcher, pg 69
Word(s) / Phrase	Ang Pow
Sentence(s) in context	<i>Andrew lagged behind, pausing at the door, as his two brothers raced outside with their hands extended, calling "Ang pow! Ang pow!"</i>

During the celebration of Chinese New Year, it is a tradition that married persons give red packets containing a sum of money to those who are unmarried as a symbol of luck, celebration and prosperity. These red packets are called *Ang Pow* and the giving of *Ang*

Pow is part of the celebration of Chinese New Year, but they may be given during any auspicious occasion such as during weddings and births.

Its Standard English translation of ‘Red Packets’ would not reflect its cultural or emotional bonding to the Chinese culture or Chinese New Year and I agree with Raymer’s choice as it depicts the cultural practice during Chinese New Year. It is noted that this practice is not only common to the Malaysian Chinese as it is from its cultural roots in China. Nevertheless, it is accepted as part of the Malaysian culture and into Malaysian English as this practice is very much part of the Malaysian Chinese community.

Title of Book	<i>Lovers and Strangers - Revisited</i>
Title of Story and Page	The Stare, pg 103
Word(s) / Phrase	Topi
Sentence(s) in context	<i>He bound a cloth tightly across her chest and made her wear clothes that belonged to one of the kampong boys, including a <u>topi</u> to cover what was left of her hair.</i>

This is a Malay word that means ‘cap’ in Standard English. Although its translation is clear and direct, it does not reflect any make or style; rather it reflects what could have been worn by a typical *kampong* boy. This story takes place in a village, a place where developments have taken a back seat. I believe that in places like this, people live in simplicity and therefore the *topi* can be considered to look like a cap that does not look ‘sophisticated’, rather it might look like one that is typically worn by anyone in the village. However, Raymer explains that he chose this word because he defines it as a particular type of hat normally used by the Muslims (Raymer, via e-mail, 31st October 2012). He also emphasized that it was specific to them. There are only two types of ‘hats’ that are definite to the Muslim men- the *serban* and *kopiah*. I argue that a more specific word to describe that would have been *kopiah* or in is Standard English equivalent - skull cap. Since Raymer knows the definition of a *serban* as he has used

this word in his previous story, it is my belief that he would have used it if he wanted to but instead he used *topi* which does not reflect a particular hat worn by a Muslim. Either way, *topi* is used to describe what a person wears in Malaysia and it is therefore part of Malaysian English.

Title of Book	<i>Lovers and Strangers - Revisited</i>
Title of Story and Page	Mat Salleh, pg 109
Word(s) / Phrase	Mat Salleh
Sentence(s) in context	<i>Dancing around the car, the nieces and nephews called out, '<u>Mat Salleh! Mat Salleh!</u>'.</i>

This phrase was first heard during the colonial times because it was a name that belonged to a very famous and important person in Malaysia's history. But, there is no certainty as to when this term was popularized to refer to a certain people based on the colour of their skin. This term is still commonly used in Malaysia to refer to both men and women who are of Caucasian descent. Raymer explains that *Mat Salleh* is slang for white man and often used to rural settings. He also explains that in the cities, they would use the term '*orang puteh*' instead (Raymer, via e-mail, 31st October 2012). This phrase literally translates as 'white man'. *Mat Salleh* is a common term used by Malaysians but it is my position that the use of this term is generic and not specific to the people in rural areas as described by Raymer. Therefore, although I disagree with his explanation on the usage of this word, I still think it is an appropriate term of choice in Malaysian English that is only used by only fellow Malaysians all over the country.

Title of Book	<i>Lovers and Strangers Revisited</i>
Title of Story and Page	Mat Salleh, pg 118
Word(s) / Phrase	kenduri
Sentence(s) in context	<i>The kitchen is too small for a <u>kenduri</u>. We have to cook twenty-five pounds of rice, twenty-five pounds of beef, fifteen chickens...</i>

This is a Malay word that means ‘feast’ in Standard English equivalent. The traditional *kenduri* consists of an abundance of food which is never catered; rather it is prepared and cooked by the neighbours of the host. This creates the ultimate festive mood not only for the host, but for the entire neighbourhood and can connote a sense of community spirit. The choice of using the word by the writer reflects his ability to understand that a *kenduri* has cultural connotations that are not necessarily encompassed in its Standard English translation. I believe that if the writer had used the word ‘feast’, it might not have illustrated the connections to the traditions of the Malay culture in Malaysia. The term feast would have focused on the semantic meaning only upon the variety and the quantity of food available, but the term *kenduri* has richer cultural connotations of close-knit community spirit. Raymer explains that he chooses to use this word because when it is used in context, it makes it clear to the reader about what the word means (Raymer, via e-mail, 31st October 2012). It is my position that Raymer has not only used this word in context, but also introduced the concept of a *kenduri* in Malaysia from the setting in the story where everyone in the *kampung* works together to make it happen. It should be noted that *kenduri* is also used in Indonesia and it also reflects a feast but due to the multitude of dialects in that country, it is my stand that it cannot be categorized as purely an Indonesian word. Therefore, Raymer’s choice of using *kenduri* to reflect the Malaysian feast (of the Malay culture) is appropriate and it clearly reflects the cultural association to all Malaysians in general.

Title of Book	<i>Lovers and Strangers - Revisited</i>
Title of Story and Page	Mat Salleh, pg 119
Word(s) / Phrase	sampin
Sentence(s) in context	<i>A red sampin, an embroidered sarong, was fastened around my waist while several people looked on and offered advice.</i>

As the author has stated, the *sampin* is an embroidered version of the sarong. It is the third part that complements the traditional *baju Melayu* worn by men. Here, it is an explanatory translation into its Standard English version. I believe that the writer felt the need to illustrate the physical aspects of the *sampin* rather than to just mention it and this reflects the writer's point of view, as in he was writing as an expatriate, or a person who had not fully understood the Malay and the Malaysian culture at that point of time. Raymer explains that he used that word because it is a specific word that describes a clothing article that is unfamiliar to many outside of Malaysia (Raymer, via e-mail, 31st October 2012).

Title of Book	<i>Lovers and Strangers Revisited</i>
Title of Story and Page	Mat Salleh, pg 119
Word(s) / Phrase	kebaya
Sentence(s) in context	<i>When I stepped out of the room, I found Yati dressed in a red <u>kebaya</u> and matching sarong, adorned with several gold necklaces, bracelets and earrings that had been lent to her.</i>

The *kebaya* is a traditional Malay costume worn by women. The simpler version of the *kebaya*, without the outstanding accessories, is worn on normal or casual days. It can also be worn for special or formal occasions such as weddings. There is not Standard English equivalent to this word. However, the writer could have explained the way the *kebaya* looked, but it would not have reflected its cultural connotations directly as it might have been intended. It is my opinion that Raymer's choice of not

explaining the *kebaya* could also be due to his lack of knowledge on the different types of existing *kebayas*, although he chose to explain the *sampin* in the previous example. Again, Raymer has specified that this is a clothing article that is specific to the Malay culture in Malaysia (Raymer, via e-mail, 31st October 2012) and it is my position that its use in this context is appropriate.

Title of Book	<i>Lovers and Strangers - Revisited</i>
Title of Story and Page	Neighbours, pg 41
Word(s) / Phrase	Ha!
Sentence(s) in context	<p><i>"Danny is a good boy with a good job."</i></p> <p><i>"Good boy, <u>ha!</u>" Mrs Koh said. "Ever since he became a big shot at the bank he certainly acts like one- living in town and wasting money paying extra rent. What for? A good boy would stay at home and help his father pay the bills..."</i></p>

It is my opinion that this expression at the end of the sentence is largely influenced by the Chinese culture. In the situation presented above, it clearly shows a sense of disapproval of the previous statement made. This utterance is common among the Chinese and it is commonly incorporated into daily conversations. Raymer explains that he uses this word because he wants to show Mrs Koh (the character) mocking another character in the story. In Raymer's blog (www.borneoexpatwriter.blogspot.com), he explains that the character of Mrs Koh was invented more than 20 years ago and was loosely based on one of his neighbours that, in his opinion, had become a stereotype for the busybody gossip in Malaysia. Therefore the use of this word in context is appropriate as it based on Raymer's experience living in Malaysia.

Title of Book	<i>Tropical Affairs</i>
Title of Story and Page	Balik Kampung: A Writer's Hari Raya, pg 166
Word(s) / Phrase	Balik kampong
Sentence(s) in context	Balik Kampung: A Writer's Hari Raya

Balik kampung was in the title of Raymer's story. Its Standard English equivalent would be 'go back hometown' which has completely lost its cultural association in the Malaysian context. The term expresses the culture of Malaysians when they take a trip back to their hometowns especially during the holidays. In Raymer's story, the title talks about a trip back to the hometown during the *Hari Raya* season. I believe that it is common for a Malaysian to ask, "When are you going to *balik kampung*?" which sounds more culturally relevant rather than its Standard English equivalent. Raymer also shares my view on this but he brings it a step further by saying that it is a common description of what Malays do when they return home (Raymer, via e-mail, 31st October 2012). I would not completely disagree with Raymer as the term does originate from the Malay culture of returning home during the *Hari Raya* festive season. Therefore it can be considered as part of the Malaysian English as its Standard English translation would lose its culture bound association.

iii) Cultural and Culinary terms

Words under this category refer to culinary and domestic referents (Baskaran, 2005).

Title of Book	<i>Tropical Affairs</i>
Title of Story and Page	Last Tango at the Runnymede, pg 16
Word(s) / Phrase	char kuey teow, ikan kerapu bakar, Penang laksa, beef kurma and satay.
Sentence(s) in context	<i>Hawker stalls had been set up around the perimeter of the ballroom where the guests sampled <u>char kuey teow</u>, <u>ikan kerapu bakar</u>, <u>Penang laksa</u>, <u>beef kurma</u> and <u>satay</u>.</i>

char kuey teow

This culinary term originates from a Chinese dialect which means stir-fried or *-char*, and *kuey teow* – flat rice noodles. This culinary item that might be indigenous to the Chinese has been accepted as one of the favourite dishes amongst Malaysians. The writer chooses to use this term rather than the Standard English translation because it is understood by all Malaysians. If the writer had used its translation, ‘fried rice noodles’, it would have not been understood as being one of the most favourite Malaysian dishes.

Penang laksa

The *laksa* is a traditional Malay dish that consists of large rice noodles which is served in a bowl of broth made from local savoury ingredients. The Penang *laksa* originates from the Penang Island up-north, hence its name. Although this dish is named after a state in Malaysia, it can be found in any local food center in this country

beef kurma

This is a traditional Malay dish where the beef is prepared in a curry called the *kurma*. This dish is mainly the favourite of those who can eat beef (like most Malays) and it is less popular among those who do not eat beef due to religious restrictions.

satay

This is a traditional Malay dish. Bite-sized chicken fillets, beef slices or small pieces of lamb are skewered and grilled over charcoal flame. It is then eaten with peanut sauce, fresh onions, cucumber and rice dumplings (*ketupat*) served on the side. This traditional dish is very famous among all Malaysians of various races.

Raymer sums it up by saying that he wanted to give a sampling of the types of food that are common in Malaysia. He feels that is better to be specific rather than to say ‘various types of food’ (Raymer, via e-mail, 31st October 2012).

Title of Book	<i>Tropical Affairs</i>
Title of Story and Page	Balik Kampung: A Writer’s Hari Raya, pg 170
Word(s) / Phrase	lemang, daging rending, kuih,
Sentence(s) in context	<i>No sooner are we back, we’re off again making the rounds indulging ourselves with <u>lemang</u>, <u>daging rendang</u> or special layered cakes or a host of other mouth-watering cookies or <u>kuih</u>, and washing it all down with rose-flavoured syrup or tea...</i>

lemang

This is a traditional Malay dish where glutinous rice is cooked in a bamboo stick over charcoal fire.

daging rendang

This is a Malay traditional dish where beef is prepared in a mix of herbs and spices.

kuih

This is a common term for local delicacies or biscuits like jam tarts, which are also referred to as *kuih raya*. These delicacies are made from locally found products and they also usually refer to snacks inspired by the Malay culture and traditions. All three dishes are commonly prepared during celebrations such as *Hari Raya*.

It is my opinion that by not substituting these words, Raymer was able to maintain the cultural aspect in Malaysian culinary. This is seen as important because it represents a large part of tradition where food is concerned and Raymer was able to preserve and present it well. Just like the examples previously given, Raymer feels that it is better for him to give a sampling of the food rather than generalizing (Raymer, via e-mail, 31st October 2012).

Title of Book	<i>Lovers and Strangers - Revisited</i>
Title of Story and Page	Teh-O in KL, pg 83
Word(s) / Phrase	Teh-O
Sentence(s) in context	<i>They ordered teh-o –tea without milk.</i>

Teh-o is the Malaysian way of saying ‘tea without milk’. In this story, his character emphasizes that as a tourist, he often forgets that when he orders tea, it usually comes with a generous amount of condensed milk, unless he specifically tells them to not put it in. Hence, he needed to remember the term *teh-o* to get his tea without milk. This shows that the term *teh-o* is an integral part of Malaysian culture and it has been accepted as part of Malaysian English. Raymer specifies that it is a type of drink that is found in local coffee shops and hawker stalls (Raymer, via e-mail, 31st October 2012). It is my opinion that it this term is only used in Malaysia so therefore it is very much a part of this variety.

iv) **Hyponymous collocation**

This refers to terms where the English equivalent is the superordinate and the local term is the subordinate referent.

Title of Book	<i>Lovers and Strangers – Revisited</i>
Title of Story and Page	Symmetry, pg 63
Word(s) / Phrase	Batik
Sentence(s) in context	<i>The child pulls up her <u>batik</u> sarong and sinks into a squat before setting the plate down next to the cup and saucer.</i>

Batik is a traditional Malay design that is usually seen on cloth that is made into clothing articles such as the *sarong*, *baju kurung* and many other traditional costumes. Its English superordinate is wax painting design cloth. It is traditionally hand-painted with cloth dye and the process of *mencanting* (to draw with wax) or to block-print using hot wax is used to define its designs. This is usually done in hot, small and medium sized factories in the village. The art of *batik* draws its inspiration from nature with its richness in flora and fauna. Raymer explains that he wanted to describe the type of sarong that was used by the child in the story. He also states that this type of sarong is common in Malaysia (Raymer, via e-mail, 31st October 2012). One may argue that the *batik sarong* may not be under Hyponymous Collocation because of the presence of the word *sarong* which is already accepted as part of Standard English alongside a word like *kampong* but it should be noted here that Raymer specifies the type of sarong that was worn by his character and wishes to differentiate it from the other types of sarongs found in Malaysia. Therefore *batik* should be viewed on its own and as a part of Hyponymous Collocations.

v) Campus or Student coinages

Title of Book	<i>Tropical Affairs</i>
Title of Story and Page	Campus Challenge, pg 61
Word(s) / Phrase	Teacher
Sentence(s) in context	<i>Teacher Robert is what he calls me when he's in a teasing mood. Teacher, plus the teacher's first name is what they call their kindergarten teachers.</i>

In Malaysia, young children are taught to call their teachers by using the title 'teacher' before their first name. In Standard English, a teacher or any adult would be referred using their titles, for example, Mr + name, Mrs + name, Miss + name

or Madam + name. Raymer states that using ‘teacher + name’ is something that Malaysians are familiar with and foreigners might be amused by (Raymer, via e-mail, 31st October 2012). Some may say that Malaysian students just say ‘teacher’ instead of ‘teacher + name’ but in my experience as a teacher in an urban school, the students prefer to say ‘teacher + name’ as its part of their habit and this is only used to refer to teachers who teach English. The only time ‘teacher’ is used without a name is when there is only one English teacher in that school or institution. This proves my opinion that this title is commonly used in Malaysia and not by native speakers like Raymer and therefore it is clearly part of Malaysian English.

Title of Book	<i>Tropical Affairs</i>
Title of Story and Page	Never Judge A Book By Its Title, pg 161
Word(s) / Phrase	Hit me hard on my brain
Sentence(s) in context	<i>Her influence really <u>hit me hard on my brain</u>.</i>

In this story, the author depicts a scene in a bookshop where a conversation between a college student and a culturally conservative bookshop sales person takes place. The college student describes an extreme emotion like ‘hitting on one’s head’ as being hit ‘really hard on my brain’. Its meaning should not be taken literally, rather it bears the meaning of ‘knocking some sense’ into someone. Raymer explains that he had taken this phrase from his Malaysian student’s blog and he feels that it is a ‘colourful’ use of language by a Malaysian (Raymer, via e-mail, 31st October 2012). Therefore this metaphorical phrase is a way of expressing oneself in Malaysian English.

Title of Book	<i>Tropical Affairs</i>
Title of Story and Page	Never Judge A Book By Its Title, pg 161
Word(s) / Phrase	Blur
Sentence(s) in context	<i>I looked back at her with a blur, curved smile on my face.</i>

This word is used to describe an ‘undecided’ emotion or indecisiveness in thought that is linked to a person looking seemingly lost. In this story, the person is looking ‘blur’ while trying to smile at the same time as a result of a confusing counter-action by the opposite character. This phrase was lifted directly from his student’s blog and Raymer decided to not edit it as he feels that this word is commonly used by college students to express their emotions when they are at a complete loss for words or thoughts and hence resulting in an action that clearly shows the state of the person who is ‘blur’. He feels that it is a ‘colourful’ language used by a Malaysian (Raymer, via e-mail, 31st October 2012) and therefore this goes to show that this expression is unfamiliar to the native speaker.

Title of Book	<i>Tropical Affairs</i>
Title of Story and Page	Never Judge A Book By Its Title, pg 161
Word(s) / Phrase	So deadly interested
Sentence(s) in context	<i>And then she got a little bit excited, and we started a short conversation as she seemed to be <u>so deadly interested</u> about this book.</i>

The word ‘deadly’ means dangerously or hazardous that may result in fatality. In this instance, this word is used to accentuate the adjective ‘so deadly interested’, to mean ‘extremely interested’ and not ‘deadly’ as when it is interpreted literally. College students fit in ‘deadly’ into phrases where they wish to add an extreme degree of intensity to a word. This word may also fall under the category of Polysemic Variation because I think

that this word is a Standard English Lexeme but it has an extended meaning that is not originally in English. Again, just like the two previous words, Raymer states that it is a colourful expression by Malaysians (Raymer, via e-mail, 31st October 2012). This goes to show that this phrase is common to Malaysians and I also agree with that opinion.

4.1.1 Conclusion to Local Language Referents

A total of 32 data was examined under this category. The highest frequency was found under Emotional and Cultural Loading whereby 18 words were examined. The second highest frequency was under the Cultural and Culinary terms. Seven words were found under this category. There were four words recorded under Campus and Students Coinages. Two words were found under Institutionalized Concepts and one word was found under Hyponymous Collocations. It must be noted that repetitions of the same word or phrase were not counted in this study. The conclusion that could be drawn here is that Raymer's experience with Malaysian English had most probably revolved around the cultural and emotional areas of life and based on the number of words used under this category.

Below is a summary of the words under Local Language Referents:

Institutionalized Concepts	Emotional and Cultural Loading	Cultural and Culinary terms	Hyponymous Collocation	Campus/ Student Coinages	Semantic Restriction
Hari Raya	Kampong	Char kuey teow	Batik	Teacher	Nil
Madrasah	Salam	Penang laksa		Hit me hard on my brain	
	Baju kurung	Beef kurma		Blur	
	Baju Melayu	Satay		So deadly interested	

	Serban	Lemang			
	Bomohs	Daging rending			
	Parang	Kuih			
	Dhoti	Teh-o			
	Sari				
	Gong Xi Fa Cai				
	Ang Pow				
	Topi				
	Mat Salleh				
	Kenduri				
	Sampin				
	Kebaya				
	Ha!				
	Balik kampong				
2	18	7	1	4	0

4.2 StandardEnglish Lexicalization (The English Lexemes with Malaysian English usage)

Standard English Lexicalization (see 2.4.2) will be investigated by discussing the data individually and Raymer's view will be used as triangulation.

i) Polysemic variation

Polysemic variation are words that are Standard English lexemes that have the original English meaning as well as the extended semantic range of meanings that are not originally in Standard English.

Title of Book	<i>Lovers and Strangers - Revisited</i>
Title of Story and Page	On Fridays, pg 23
Word(s) / Phrase	Shot
Sentence(s) in context	<i>My afternoon teaching is <u>shot</u>.</i>

The word ‘shot’ is usually associated with shooting (using a weapon) or to make sudden movements, or could refer to a photograph shot. But, in this sentence ‘shot’ would mean disturbed or ruined. In my opinion, Raymer uses the extended semantic meaning of the word ‘shot’ to describe the situation where his afternoon teaching is ruined or interrupted for an indefinite amount of time. Raymer states that in this context, the sentence is a part of a character’s thought saying that the afternoon is ruined since he is unable to concentrate because of this girl (Raymer, via e-mail, 31st October 2012). This is definitely a word under Polysemic variation as its semantic meaning extends further than its original meaning.

Title of Book	<i>Lovers and Strangers - Revisited</i>
Title of Story and Page	The Future Barrister, pg 27
Word(s) / Phrase	Bungalow
Sentence(s) in context	<i>The pub was originally a colonial <u>bungalow</u> that had been abandoned for years; in naming it after its address, the owners immediately established its whereabouts.</i>

In Standard English, a bungalow would mean a small house, cabin or a lodge (New Oxford Dictionary). However, this word in Malaysian English means a big house that has a large compound surrounding it. It is noted that this word also has its roots in the Gujarati language, *bajalo* which means a one storey house with a wide verandah. Raymer mentions that he chose to use this word because it is a description of a particular type of house found in Malaysia (Raymer, via e-mail, 31st October 2012). I do not necessarily agree to that notion because the word ‘bungalow’ is widely used in English speaking countries all around the world. The only aspect that makes it different from one country to another is the way it is understood by the locals. Here in Malaysia, when ‘bungalow’ is mentioned, it is automatically assumed as landed property that is expensive (compared to the

link / terrace houses and semi-detached houses) and belonging to the upper class society.

However, in reality, a bungalow may also be a small house that is not connected to any other house, and it might be located in an area that is not up-market due to its geographical location or topology. In this context, Raymer clearly states that it is the definition of the Malaysian bungalow and therefore it is my opinion that this word can be considered as part of Polysemic variation.

Title of Book	<i>Lovers and Strangers - Revisited</i>
Title of Story and Page	Sister's Room, pg 53
Word(s) / Phrase	Uncle
Sentence(s) in context	<i>When Amma tells <u>Uncle</u> that the sundry shop clerk wants to marry Sister, <u>Uncle's</u> right eye twitches and his nostrils flare.</i>

The Indian cultural background of the story provides a different point of view in determining the actual form of relationships. 'Uncle' in this story does not bear the same meaning as it has in a normal paternal or maternal 'uncle' relationship, rather this term is used to refer to any man who is older than a child and this child would refer to that man as 'uncle' regardless of his relationship to the child's parents. I believe that this is another trait of Malaysians as anyone (whose name is known or not known to the person) calls an older man or lady 'uncle' or 'aunty' as a mark of respect for his or her age. Raymer is of the opinion that this term in a common and polite usage of the word 'uncle' to describe older men who are old enough to be your Uncle but are not actual relatives, like a neighbour or a friend.

Nevertheless, it is my stand that this word is generally used by all Malaysians in this context and this makes it different from all the other English speaking countries. For example in India, an unknown person to the speaker would be politely referred to as

sir (for male) and madam (for female) instead of Uncle and Aunty. Therefore this word is very clearly a Polysemic variation under the Malaysian English variety.

Title of Book	<i>Lovers and Strangers - Revisited</i>
Title of Story and Page	The Future Barrister, pg 28
Word(s) / Phrase	Here, here
Sentence(s) in context	<i>"Here, here," Gable said, and brushed the boy's hand aside.</i>

In Standard English, this word could refer to a location in time or place which means 'at this point' or 'at this juncture' but in this context, this word is duplicated and its meaning is extended to 'hold on' or 'wait'. In this story, my opinion is that Raymer was able to use this word to create an expression under Polysemic Variation where its meaning is semantically extended and it does not refer to a location in place or time. Raymer describes it as a man who is being impatient with a child (Raymer, via e-mail, 31st October 2012. It is noted that this may not be mutually exclusive to Malaysian English as Raymer does not mention that it is common to only Malaysians, and it might be used in other English Speaking countries as well but it is accepted as part of Malaysian English as it is a Polysemic Variation.

Title of Book	<i>Lovers and Strangers - Revisited</i>
Title of Story and Page	The Future Barrister, pg 27
Word(s) / Phrase	Now, now
Sentence(s) in context	<i>"<u>Now, now</u>," he said to the ladies. "As you can see, I do have company – even if he's an American."</i>

In Standard English, this word would refer to a point it time as in 'now'. Raymer has duplicated the word and its use in this context does not refer to a place in time,

rather its meaning has been extended to ‘have patience’. In Raymer’s point of view, he has depicted this character is full of himself and can be very patronizing, as if he is talking to a child.

Title of Book	<i>Lovers and Strangers - Revisited</i>
Title of Story and Page	Mat Salleh, pg 110
Word(s) / Phrase	Bolster
Sentence(s) in context	<i>“Wow,” I said, and gazed at the bed that was lavishly decorated with a deep red, crushed velvet bedspread, embellished with gold trim. Four matching pillows were arranged diagonally at the corners with two hand-held fans placed in the center, resting on a <u>bolster</u>, a long, cylindrical pillow; a pink lace-like mosquito net was draped down from the top and pulled to the side like curtains.</i>

According to the New Oxford Dictionary (p. 81) bolster is a verb that means to support or encourage or to make something stronger. Here in this story, Raymer uses the word ‘bolster’ and continues to describe it as a ‘long, cylindrical pillow’ which has no relationship with its meaning in Standard English. Raymer states that this is the first time he had heard a ‘bolster’ being described as such and this was something that amused him. He also mentioned that his French translators questioned the use of this word to describe a certain pillow (Raymer, via e-mail, 31st October 2012). The Online Oxford Dictionary (www.oxforddictionaries.com) says that bolster (noun) is a long, thick pillow that is placed under other pillows for support and it is derived from the Old English of Germanic origin. The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (<http://www.ldoceonline.com>) says that, as a noun, this word means ‘a long, firm pillow, shaped like a tube’. These facts are in contrast with Raymer’s opinion. However, based on his understanding, this word is considered a Malaysian English word because he and his translators have never

heard this word used this way but in Standard English, this word does not have an extended semantic meaning and does not fall under the Polysemic category.

ii) Formalization

Formalization happens when a Malaysian English speaker has the tendency to use more formal words in an informal context.

Title of Book	<i>Lovers and Strangers - Revisited</i>
Title of Story and Page	On Fridays, pg 20
Word(s) / Phrase	oscillates
Sentence(s) in context	<i>The fan makes a humming noise as it <u>oscillates</u> back and forth.</i>

The more common terms that could replace this word are ‘turns’ or ‘moves’. Malaysians who are in the basilectal category would not use this word to term to explain the movement of a fan, therefore in this case, Raymer’s choice to use this word in an informal context is questionable. Raymer explains that this word is simply a descriptive word aptly describing the motion of the fan rotating back and forth (Raymer, via e-mail, 31st October 2012). However, it is my stand that this word is a very formal word that is used in an informal situation.

Title of Book	<i>Lovers and Strangers - Revisited</i>
Title of Story and Page	The Future Barrister, pg 26
Word(s) / Phrase	barrister
Sentence(s) in context	<i>Only one term to go, then I will be a <u>barrister</u>! Can you believe it? Me, a barrister!</i>

In English Law, a barrister is a person who has the right to speak and argue in higher courts of law. This word is used instead of the commonly known term – lawyer.

Raymer explains that in the US they would call them ‘lawyers’ but in Malaysia and the US, ‘barrister’. In an example that is unrelated to this study, he mentions he often used UK words commonly used in Malaysia where appropriate, like ‘lorry’ for ‘truck’ in his novels, and he accredits this to living here in Malaysia for so long (Raymer, via e-mail, 31st October 2012). I argue that most Malaysians understand the term ‘lawyer’ better compared to its formal term ‘barrister’ because lawyer is generally used here instead of barrister. Therefore I disagree with the notion that the formal ‘barrister’ is more recognized by most Malaysians but at the same time, this term is not completely disregarded by the community. It is only used in formal circumstances and Raymer’s choice of using it in an informal circumstance clearly indicates that it is part of formalization under the Malaysian English variety.

Title of Book	<i>Tropical Affairs</i>
Title of Story and Page	A Birthday Suit Tailor-made for Me, pg 251
Word(s) / Phrase	Standard
Sentence(s) in context	<p>“<i>Something that will always be in fashion</i>”, I said. “<i>Something <u>standard</u>.</i>” “Ah,” they said in unison, recognizing the word ‘standard’. They assured me that the suit would be standard.</p>

In this story, the character, who is Caucasian, goes to a Malaysian Chinese tailor to get a suit made for him. He tries explaining that he wants something ‘conservative’ but that term is not understood by the tailor as that word is not usually used by the tailor to describe a suit. Eventually, the writer resorts to using the word ‘standard’ to explain himself however it is the Malaysian English way of describing something ‘that has class’. I believe that this can arguably be the closest to ‘conservative’ as it does not refer to anything fancy or over the top, rather it can mean something that is very presentable and looks classy. However, in Raymer’s opinion, it is just a

common word used in Malaysia used in that situation, a simplified version, understandable by those with limited English vocabulary. He mentions that there is also the issue over American English verses the Queen's English, which is more commonly used in Malaysia (Raymer, via e-mail, 31st October 2012). Nevertheless, it is my position that Malaysians are more inclined to use and understand this word rather than 'conservative' and this would make it a part of the Malaysian English variety.

iii) Informalization

Title of Book	<i>Tropical Affairs</i>
Title of Story and Page	Never Judge a Book by its Title, pg 161
Word(s) / Phrase	talked
Sentence(s) in context	<i>Actually, I've never <u>talked</u> to her before because she looked a bit serious most of the time.</i>

It is my position that the word 'talked' could be best replaced with 'spoken'. This informality is a reflection of the Malaysian way of using certain words in an informal way and this could be due to the influence from Bahasa Malaysia. In that language, the sentence above would sound like this – *saya belum pernah bercakap dengannya kerana rupanya garang sedikit kebanyakan masa*. The word 'bercakap' is loosely translated into talk and its past tense 'talked' is used instead of 'spoken'.

Raymer explains that this was taken from his student's blog, who is Malaysian, and he feels that it is a colourful language that is used by a Malaysian. He clarifies that he would have used the word 'spoken' instead and this clearly shows that this word is an informal usage and is part of Malaysian English (Raymer, via e-mail, 31st October 2012).

Title of Book	<i>Tropical Affairs</i>
Title of Story and Page	Never Judge a Book by its Title, pg 162
Word(s) / Phrase	Yeah, right!
Sentence(s) in context	<i>Yeah, right! Anyway, the title does not reflect the cover of the book.</i>

I believe that this is an informal way of saying ‘yes’. Instead of the formal way of saying ‘yes’, the writer shows the expression of a college student excitedly agreeing to a statement made by another person. But on the other hand, depending on the tone of the voice, ‘yeah, right’ can also mean disagreement with a statement, for example ‘yeah, right! This is so easy,’ which means ‘you must be kidding if you say it is easy’. Raymer explains that this was again taken from his Malaysian student’s blog and he chose to leave it unedited because he felt that it was a colourful use of the English language by a Malaysian (Raymer, via e-mail, 31st October 2012).

Title of Book	<i>Lovers and Strangers - Revisited</i>
Title of Story and Page	Neighbours, pg 41
Word(s) / Phrase	What for?
Sentence(s) in context	<i>“Good boy, ha!” Mrs Koh said. “Ever since he became a big shot at the bank he certainly acts like one- living in town and wasting money paying extra rent. <u>What for?</u> A good boy would stay at home and help his father pay the bills...”</i>

‘What for?’ is a direct translation of the Malay language expression *Untuk apa?* In Standard English it should have been read as ‘For what?’ or ‘Why would he do something like that?’ It must also be noted that this expression, although being a translation from the Malay language, was uttered by a Chinese character in the story. I believe that this shows the acculturation of the Malaysian society and hence resulting in the birth of a typical Malaysian English variety such as this. Raymer mentions that he thinks this is just another

colourful use of the English Language by a Malaysian (Raymer, via e-mail, 31st October 2012).

iv) Semantic Variation

Title of Book	<i>Tropical Affairs</i>
Title of Story and Page	Never Judge a Book by its Title, pg 162
Word(s) / Phrase	to buy
Sentence(s) in context	<i>I answered the same thing too to some customers who felt uncomfortable <u>to buy</u> this book because of the title.</i>

In this story, this sentence was uttered by a college student of Malay ethnicity in a conversation with a middle-aged storekeeper. The translation of ‘to buy’ into Bahasa Malaysia would be ‘untuk beli’ and this corresponds to the translation of the whole sentence into Bahasa Malaysia, making it grammatically correct in that language.

I believe that the Standard English version or the more appropriate word to replace these words would be ‘buying’. Raymer explains that this is an accurate use of the infinite ‘to buy’ (Raymer, via e-mail, 31st October 2012). This expression might not have an absolute restricted reference but it is my opinion that its variation in meaning due to its translation would be sufficient to categorize it under semantic variation.

Title of Book	<i>Tropical Affairs</i>
Title of Story and Page	Never Judge a Book by its Title, pg 162
Word(s) / Phrase	my sleepy eyes
Sentence(s) in context	<i>I looked at her with <u>my sleepy eyes</u> and said, ‘Why, it’s just a book’.</i>

Raymer explains that this was taken from this Malaysian student’s blog in which he had left it in. He has no further comments on this phrase (Raymer, via e-mail, 31st October 2012). It is my stand that the meaning of ‘sleepy eyes’ in this context should

not be taken literally. In context, it does not mean that the character in the story was sleepy or pretending to be sleepy and neither does it mean that she was sad or trying to show that she was saying it in sadness. Rather, it was an attempt to mimic the facial expression of a person when he or she is forced 'humble' his or her opinion on a matter. It expresses fallacy in opinion and is often understood as sadness too.

4.2.1 Conclusion to Standard English Lexicalization

A total of 14 words were studied under this category out of which 5 words were found under Polysemic Variation, two words under Informalization, 2 words under Semantic Variation and a total of 3 words under Formalization. There were no words recorded under College Colloquialism because words under this category were studied under the previous category, Campus and Student coinages.

It is noted that Raymer considered most of these words as 'colourful' usage of the English Language. It is an interesting point of view as this proves that the Malaysian English variety is considered this way from the viewpoint of an expat writer who has resided in Malaysia for more than 20 years.

The table below is a summary of words under Standard English Lexicalization.

	Polysemic Variation	Formalization	Informalization	Semantic Variation	College Colloquial -ism
1	Shot	oscillates	talked	To buy	
2	Bungalow	Barrister	Yeah,right!	my sleepy eyes	
3	Uncle	Standard	What for?		
4	Here, here				
5	Now,now				
6	Bolster				
Total	6	3	3	2	

4.3 A summary of Malaysian English words / terms / phrases used in *Lovers and Strangers Revisited* (2005) and in *Tropical Affairs* (2009).

Frameworks:

Table 4.1 The Local Language Referents (Baskaran, 2005)

Institutionalized Concepts (Frequency)	Emotional and Cultural Loading (Frequency)	Cultural and Culinary terms (Frequency)	Hyponymous Collocation (Frequency)	Campus/ Student Coinages (Frequency)	Semantic Restriction
Hari Raya (17)	Kampong (1)	Char kuey teow (1)	Batik (1)	Teacher (2)	Nil
madrasah (2)	Salam (2)	Penang laksas (1)		Hit me hard on my brain(1)	
	Baju kurung (5)	Beef kurma (1)		Blur (1)	
	Baju Melayu (2)	Satay (1)		So deadly interested (1)	
	Serban (1)	Lemang (1)			
	Bomoh (3)	Daging rendag (1)			
	Parang (2)	Kuih (3)			
	Dhoti (1)	Teh-O (3)			
	sari (3)				
	Gong Xi Fa Cai (2)				
	Ang Pow (2)				
	Topi (1)				
	Mat Salleh (8)				

	Kenduri (1)				
	Sampin (1)				
	Kebaya (1)				
	Ha! (2)				
	Balik kampong (2)				

*The frequency of appearance of each of these words is shown in brackets.

Categories	Frequency of Appearance in Data
1. Institutionalized concepts	19
2. Emotional and cultural loading	40
3. Semantic restriction	0
4. Cultural and Culinary terms	12
5. Hyponymous collocation	1
6. Campus / Student coinages	5

Table 4.2 Standard English Lexicalization (Baskaran, 2005)

Polysemic Variation (Frequency)	Formali- zation (Frequency)	Informali- zation (Frequency)	Semantic Variation (Frequency)	College Colloquialism	Directional Reversal
shot (1)	Artists (1)	Talked (1)	To buy (1)	-Duplicated in campus/ student coinages	
Bungalow (2)	oscillates (2)	Yeah,right! (1)	my sleepy		

			eyes (1)		
Uncle (33)	Barrister (8)	What for? (1)			
Here, here (1)	Standard (4)				
Now,now (1)					

*The frequency of appearance of each of these words is shown in brackets

Categories 4.4	Frequency of appearance in Data.
1. Polysemic variation 4.5	38
2.Semantic variation 4.6	2
3.Informalization 4.7	3
4.Formalization 4.8	15
5.Direction reversal. 4.9	0
6.College colloquialism	-Duplicated in campus/student coinages.

4.4 Summary of the triangulation in the analysis.

4.4.1 A brief background of Raymer's life experiences in Malaysia in connection to his short stories

Raymer has lived in Malaysia for more than 20 years and he has been writing his short stories for about the same amount of time. His uses of ME in his short stories are a reflection of his experiences in Malaysia, both in the Peninsular and Sarawak where he now resides with his family. His experiences revolve around family and work and this is made obvious in stories like 'Home for Hari Raya' and 'Never Judge a Book by its Title'.

His early days in Malaysia were embodied in ‘A Two-Ringggit Problem’ and the infamous ‘Neighbours’ marks his amusement with the culture of the urban Malaysian neighbourhood, which in his opinion, is quite ‘typical’. His *kampong* experiences were personified in ‘Balik Kampung – A Writer’s Hari Raya’ and ‘Mat Salleh’ where he made his fascination with the sub-urban Malay culture and *kampong* life very obvious. Therefore his use of ME revolves around experiences such as these.

At the same time, has attempted to apply his knowledge of the sub-urban Malay culture through his creative writings such as in ‘Smooth Stones’ and ‘Symmetry’. In Raymer’s blog, ‘The Story Behind the Story’ revealed that he had used his former mother-in-law’s kitchen as the setting of ‘Symmetry’. He had used the same setting in several other stories like ‘Smooth Stones’, ‘Home for Hari Raya’ and ‘Mat Salleh’.

4.4.2 Raymer’s opinion on his choice of ME in his short stories

Raymer has revealed that he has used certain words in his stories that do not necessarily have the same meaning in Standard English. These words seem to have semantically extended meanings. He classifies these words under the ME variety.

An example of this would be the word ‘bolster’ in his short story, ‘Mat Salleh’. In Raymer’s e-mail to me he explained that he was questioned by a French translator on the use of this word. Raymer himself had never heard of this word until he came to Malaysia. He had also purposely explained the term ‘madrasah’ in ‘The Stare’ and *mat salleh* in The Future Barrister for the benefit of international readers, instead of adding a bunch of footnotes at the end.

‘Neighbours’ was written based on first-hand experience. Raymer was fascinated by the comments the neighbours made and all the speculations about the family and why the character in his story had taken his own life. Raymer, in his blog explained that he wrote

the story in a neutral tone with the viewpoint of an observer, to avoid racial biasness and this became very crucial twenty years later as it was taught in SPM literature in schools throughout Malaysia. He wanted readers around the world to learn about Malaysia, where different races mix and socialize freely. Therefore his use of ME in this story was imminent and it clearly reflected musings of a Malaysian multiracial neighbourhood, or in Raymer's words, "mini Malaysia".

4.5 Conclusion

Robert Raymer's literary works have been greatly influenced by the Malaysian way of life. In this study, words of the Malaysian English variety were identified both *Lovers and Strangers – Revisited* (2005) and *Tropical Affairs* (2009). Raymer was able to use words that reflected the Malaysian culture in various aspects and they are applied in areas such as institutionalized concepts, emotional and cultural loading, cultural and culinary terms and campus or student coinages. As an experiential writer, Raymer has chosen to use words that best connect to his personal experience, therefore making emotional and cultural loading the top of the list with 40 citations. Words under Polysemic Variation have 38 citations. Raymer has vicariously blended in Malaysian English in a very creative way through his writings and this trait is seen consistently throughout his work where the Malaysian tapestry was used as the background of the stories. It should be noted that the tabulation of results in this dissertation were only frequencies of the appearance of ME words used in his stories and it does not amount to an in-depth quantitative analysis

CHAPTER 5 – Conclusion

5.0 Introduction

This study on the use of Malaysian English in the creative writings by Robert Raymer was done based on two published text containing short stories. Most of these stories are laden with Malaysian English. Raymer incorporates this variety of English into his short stories after years of working and living as an expatriate in Malaysia. His stories are based on his personal experiences, with a touch of creative fiction. His best-selling story – Neighbours, bagged numerous awards for its compelling storyline and exceptional portrayal of diversity in a typical urban Malaysian society. This story also made its way to the MELTA (Malaysian English Language Teachers Association) forums where critics have had heated discussions on its cultural validity which was very much based on the Malaysian way of life. Other stories from this collection also portray the Malaysian flavour that is tactfully infused to create a distinct point of view that reflects the use of Malaysian English. AsianCha (2010) reports that Raymer was named as one of the "50 Expats You Should Know" in Malaysia by Expatriate Lifestyle, and his short stories have appeared in *The Literary Review*, *Thema*, *Descant*, *London Magazine*, *Going Places*, and *Silverfish. Lovers and Strangers - Revisited* which was published by MPH in 2008 has a collection of short stories set in Malaysia. It won the 2009 Popular-The Star Readers Choice Awards. Raymer also has a blog series on the collection, 'The Story Behind the Story', starting with the first story "On Fridays". Raymer's insights from his blog will be discussed later in this chapter. Raymer's second book, *Tropical Affairs* (2009) is a collection of creative non-fiction about his experiences of living in Malaysia for over twenty years. It was nominated for the 2010 Popular – The Star Reader's Choice Award for non-fiction.

The objectives of this study were to investigate the Local Language Referents and the Standard English Lexicalization used in Raymer's short stories. The research questions are as follows:

Research Question 1: What are the Local Language Referents used in *Lovers and Strangers-Revisited* and *Tropical Affairs*?

Research Question 2: What are the English Lexemes with Malaysian English usage (Standard English Lexicalization) used in *Lovers and Strangers-Revisited* and *Tropical Affairs*?

Research Question 3: Why does the author use these items in his stories and what is the significance of this use?

Research Questions 1 and 2 were investigated by categorizing the data under the categories that were discussed in Chapter 2 (see 2.4.1 and 2.4.2) and Research Question 3 was devised to triangulate the findings of Research Questions 1 and 2.

5.1 Findings based on the theoretical frameworks

Two theoretical frameworks have been used to analyse data. The first framework by Baskaran (2005) outlined six main categories under Local Language Referents. Emotional and Cultural Loading appears to have the highest frequency from the data collected. This frequency reflects the author's inclination towards the cultural aspects of the Malaysian society. The author is also known to write from experience; hence as an expatriate, cultural loading plays a dominant part in his observation of this society. The words that fall under this category are *kebaya*, *sampin*, *kenduri*, *Mat Salleh*, *topi*, *Gong Xi Fa Cai*, *sari*, *dhotti*, *parang*, *bomoh*, *serban*, *baju Melayu*, *kampong*, *salam*, *baju kurung*, *Ang Pow*, *Ha!*, and *balik kampong*.

Another observation on Raymer's writings would be linked to food, which is a huge part of the Malaysian way of life. Hence, the words that fall under the Cultural and

Culinary category represent as the second highest frequency in the data. The words that fall under this category are *char kuey teow*, *penang laksa*, *beef kurma*, *satay*, *lemang*, *daging rendang*, *kuih* and *teh-o*.

Institutionalized Concepts have also captured the author's attention as he lists two instances under this category, namely *Hari Raya* and *madrasah*. *Hari Raya* could also be categorized under Emotional and Cultural Loading because it is a celebration that is deeply rooted in the Malay culture and within the Muslim community at large.

Campus and Student Coinages have been noted as well and this is based on Raymer's experience as a lecturer at a local university. This category overlaps with another category which is Standard English Lexicalization. The words under this category are *teacher*, *hit me hard on my brain*, *blur* and *so deadly interested*.

Under the last category, Hyponymous Collocation, there is only one recorded data, which is *batik*. In the story *Symmetry*, the word *batik* is paired up with the word *sarong*. This could not be in the category of Hyponymous Collocation but *batik* in this context explains the kind of pattern that is drawn or printed on the textile, which happens to be a sarong. Raymer's choice of this word clearly shows that he was referring to this particular type of material artwork and not other kinds of prints that can be found on sarongs.

The second theoretical framework outlined by Baskaran (2005) shows six categories, out of which five have recorded data. The first would be Polysemic Variation and the examples of words under this category are *shot*, *bungalow*, *uncle*, *here here* and *now now*. The second would be Formalization and words falling under this category are *artists*, *oscillates*, *barrister* and *standard*. The third would be Informalization and words that fall under this category are *talked* and *yeah right*. The fourth would be Semantic Variation and the words

that fall under this category are *to buy* and *my sleepy eyes*. The fifth would be College Colloquialism but words in this category had already been mentioned under Local Language Referents therefore I find it unnecessary to repeat them under this category.

The reason for this would be that Raymer's work revolved around his observation as an expatriate and these were the two categories that had captured his attention.

5.2 Cultural background comparison to other writers who use Malaysian English.

Studies on Malaysian English literature have been mainly focused on Malaysian writers such as Karim Raslan, K.S. Maniam and Kee Thuan Chye. All three writers are Malaysian born and they have been exposed to various levels of Malaysian English. Ancestry plays an important role in works such as these. K.S. Maniam is Malaysian born with an Indian ancestry, Karim Raslan is a descendent of the Malay community and Kee Thuan Chye is of the Chinese lineage. They have been immensely influenced by their socio-economic backgrounds in their respective eras and this is clearly reflected in their literary works. The Malaysian English used in their works do not only reflect the mesolectal and basilectal varieties but also an extensive use of most of the sub-categories outlined by Baskaran (2005).

Being a renowned prolific writer, K.S. Maniam has earned numerous accreditations to his name. He has produced a collection of short stories such as *Haunting the Tiger: Contemporary Stories from Malaysia*. He also has written several plays such as *The Sandpit* or *The Cord*. He published his first novel in 1981 entitled *The Return*.

Simandan (2010) states that his literary works are littered with Tamil words and this gives the text a special and unique flavour. This is coupled with a few lines of incorrect English used to characterize the language of immigrants, especially children's

dialogues, that evokes an image of what the community of that era was like (Simandan, 2010). Raymer, in his blog, 'The Story Behind the Story' talks about a story called 'Sister's Room'. In this story, Raymer used a child's tone to reflect the voice and capture the child's innocence. Both of these stories are a reflection of the basilectal Malaysian English in the society of the colonial times. Simandan (2010) also pointed out that most of his novels were written from the point of view of the narrator and the world was seen through the eyes of a single person, bearing the singular pronoun 'I'. This is very similar to most of Robert Raymer's short stories as he writes them in an autobiographical form. Raymer, in his blog, says that when he uses 'I', he wants the readers to closely identify with the narrator and he wants them to see themselves in this, or a similar situation. Raymer's intention of using 'I' is also to make the story more personal and to make the readers think about what he or she would do. The difference between K.S. Maniam and Robert Raymer is that the creative language representing the Malaysian Indian society for the former is Tamil whereas the latter relied purely on his observations as a third person in the Malaysian society.

Although Karim Raslan is of mixed parentage (his mother was Welsh), his identity remains a descendent of the elite Malay community. Loh (2009) in an interview with Karim Raslan writes, that his stories are mainly about learning to be Malaysian through the hearing and re-telling of the stories of other Malaysians. Hence, his scope remained at the mesolectal and basilectal levels although he comes from the upper strata of society.

Kee Thuan Chye was born in Penang into a Chinese family. Just like Raymer, he has worn many hats and has made his name in Malaysia as a journalist, poet, dramatist and actor. He was one of the recipients of the The Annexe Freedom of Expression Awards in 2008 following the successful launch of his book, *March 8: The Day Malaysia Woke Up*. He was a civil rights advocate in Malaysia and most of his literary works that

expressed his advocacy to the civil rights movements revolved around plays. As a writer, Kee Thuan Chye was able to address the current political issues in Malaysia and as an Associate Editor of a local daily, *The Star*, he created and ran an English column 'Mind Our English' from 2001 until his retirement in 2009. Rajoo (2001) in her study on Kee Thuan Chye's literary works described it as being less oppressive compared to K.S. Maniam's writings and she attributed this to Kee's background of belonging to a more affluent class in society. Umavathy (2003) in her study had concluded that Malaysian writers who use Malaysian English in their literary works have attributed their writing style to the Malaysian culture which is diverse in many areas. These writers often incorporate the Malaysian variety of English with references to culinary, emotions and cultural practices.

Robert Raymer, however, comes from a totally different background. Being a native speaker, his observances with regard to Malaysian English were highly tuned to what was seen as completely different from what he had been exposed to in America where American English is a native language. Raymer's literary works with the use of Malaysian English had only begun upon his exposure to the country's cultures and traditions and he often writes only as a foreign observer. The volume of data collected is a representation the author's experience in Malaysia as an expatriate who eventually married a Malaysian and has a family settled in this country. This is completely different from Karim Raslan, K.S. Maniam and Kee Thuan Chye as all three have written based on their experiences as being part of the acrolectal, mesolectal and basilectal society of Malaysia.

5.3 Comparison of findings to other literary works

The other literary works that have mentioned in this study were written by Malaysians from different strata of society and cultural backgrounds. These factors highly influence

their outlook and language used in their writings. Their concept of Malaysian English is highly influenced by the cultural setting of the society. For example, K.S. Maniam's writings showcase literary works that are highly influenced by the Indian society in Malaysia and many Malaysian English connotations are strongly linked to the Tamil culture in Malaysia.

The same kind of influence applies to Karim Raslan's writings, except that he brings in a more 'polished' version of Malaysian English due to his background and exposure to the upper-strata of the Malaysian society.

In 2001, Mohammad A. Quayum and Peter C Wick published a collection of essays in *Malaysian Literature in English: A Critical Reader*. This collection of thirty-four essays over the span of 30 years includes essays that were written by prominent Malaysian writers such as Kee Thuan Chye, K.S. Maniam, Lee Kok Liang, Ee Tiang Hong, Wong Phui Nam, Shirley Lim and Llyod Fernando. The main issues that are addressed in these essays revolve around nationhood addressing national ideologies through fiction, poetry and drama (Ng, 2004: 81). Ng continues to state that "all of these writers have struggled to negotiate their ethnicity and their position as subjects of a nation in their writings" and "their writings transcend political and social inhibitions which govern national literature" (2004: 82).

This clearly differs from Robert Raymer's writings. He looks at the Malaysian society first, as an outsider. Then he gradually moves into the area of being 'adopted' into the society through marriage and the time he had spent in this country. Therefore his writings highlight words and phrases that are commonly used by Malaysians. These words are worth mentioning and not taken for granted as they help him define the many facets of the Malaysian society. A good example of this would be his use of a range of words under the cultural and culinary aspect. His fascination with the Malaysian society compels him to take the time to explain what he has experienced, word-for-word,

instead of generalizing, like what Malaysians would do because it is expected that a Malaysian would understand the concept of what is spoken of.

An example of this would be Raymer's description of the *bersanding* ceremony that he had to go through when he first married a Malay lady. He carefully describes the ambiance, clothes and accessories and even the emotions that run through the entire family at that time. The intricate details of the event are explained in a way that a foreigner to the Malaysian society would understand and picture the event even though there has been no prior personal experience of the Malaysian culture.

Another of Raymer's fascination relates to the Malaysian gastronomical experiences. Again, he emphasizes on the various kinds of food that can be savoured in a *kampong*, explaining the varieties one by one, instead of generalizing it as 'typical kampong food'.

Although Raymer writes from the viewpoint of an outsider, his striking description of a typical Malaysian neighbourhood in 'Neighbours' is interesting. He carefully slices each character, from different Malaysian ethnicities and captures the light of a typical Malaysian society through the conversations that take place between the neighbours. The use of Malaysian English in his story is aptly accurate, coinciding with each character. The examples of such words are categorized under Language Transfer, which refers to the transfer of words from another language into English and in this case, most of the words are transferred from the Malay language.

5.4 The influence of Robert Raymer's work on the development of Malaysian English

Most of Raymer's contribution lies in the aspect of creative writing, where he distinctively brings the characters to life. The best example of this is illustrated

in his award-winning short story 'Neighbours' where he dissects each character according to its own cultural background. In this story, his descriptions of the society's culture and way of thinking using Malaysian English was so astounding and extremely accurate that it sparked- off online forums in the MELTA (Malaysian English Language Teaching Association) website. This story was awarded The Star Reader's Choice Awards in 2009. This clearly showed that his observations of the Malaysian society were the basis of his creative literature and he wrote what he had experienced. Although Malaysians are very well-versed with the nature of their society, the details that he helps to surface in his stories do not hide the Malaysian nature of society, which in Raymer's opinion, is less confrontational.

The simple fact the 'Neighbours' was chosen to be one of the short stories for the 2008 SPM (Sijil Pelajaran Malaysia) Literature examination paper proves that his writings are important enough to be studied by literature students for a very important examination in Malaysia.

His contribution towards the incorporation of Malaysian English in his creative writings had landed him a title of '50 Expats You Should Know' by *Expatriate Lifestyle*. Numerous books, short stories, publications and awards to his name highlight the magnitude of his following and readership in this country.

Raymer's contribution extends internationally as well. In his blog, he talked about a reader who was unfamiliar with Malaysia. The reader questioned about why a character in the story 'On Fridays' in *Lovers and Strangers- Revisited* (2005), who was an expatriate, was not allowed to touch a Muslim woman's hand in a Muslim country. In this story, Raymer had raised concerns about being arrested for "outraging her modesty" and this was something those people

outside of Malaysia who are not familiar with Muslim countries would not know.

Raymer's literary works that were written based on the Malaysian culture and society were not only published 78 times here in Malaysia, but also in eleven countries, taught in numerous Malaysian universities, private colleges, in SPM literature and even in a high school in Canada. His first book, *Lovers and Strangers – Revisited* has also been translated into French as *Trois autres Malaisi* (The Story Behind the Story, 2009). Raymer has not only been able to introduce Malaysian English on the international level also made Malaysian English a topic of discussion in institutions of higher learning. He has made Malaysian English a variety that is questioned and debated about in international waters. In his e-mails to me, Raymer mentioned that the French translator once questioned him on the use of the word 'bolster' and Raymer explained that he had never heard of a 'bolster' as a 'noun' until he came to Malaysia. This is a good example of how Malaysian English is being analyzed and understood in foreign land.

Thus, it is inevitable that Raymer's contributions towards the development of Malaysian English are vast and extensive. His immersion into the culture and society has made it possible for this native English speaker to use and adopt Malaysian English into his creative writings that have now become scholarly. Raymer's contributions have not only sparked interest among the international readers, but also among Malaysians who are intrigued by the descriptions of the Malaysian way of life.

5.5 The importance of this study on Raymer's literary works.

As explained in Chapter 1, many expatriates have written about Malaysia throughout the years, and these literatures captured the era of Malaysia at the time of writing. There were studies done on these literatures but they focused on the thematic experiences of these literatures and not on the language used, particularly the use of ME.

This study on Raymer's literary works focuses on the use of ME in his stories. This has never been done before and it is the first in University Malaya. Therefore this study may pave the path to more studies that might be done on Raymer's writings as he continues to write about his experiences in Malaysia in future publications. It may also be used as a comparison to other studies that might be done in the future on other expatriates who have stayed and written about Malaysia.

A future possible research that could be done is on the development of ME in Raymer's literary works as he continues to publish new stories. A study could be done to compare his new works to his older ones in order to establish the growth or change of ME from his point of view.

Another possible research in the future is to compare the Malaysian English used by other expatriates in their literature to Raymer's use of ME. This can be done to investigate the different usages and the different points of view as to why they would choose to use certain words in ME in their literature. This triangulation could show the different interpretations of ME words as it would be based on the interpretation of different expatriate writers.

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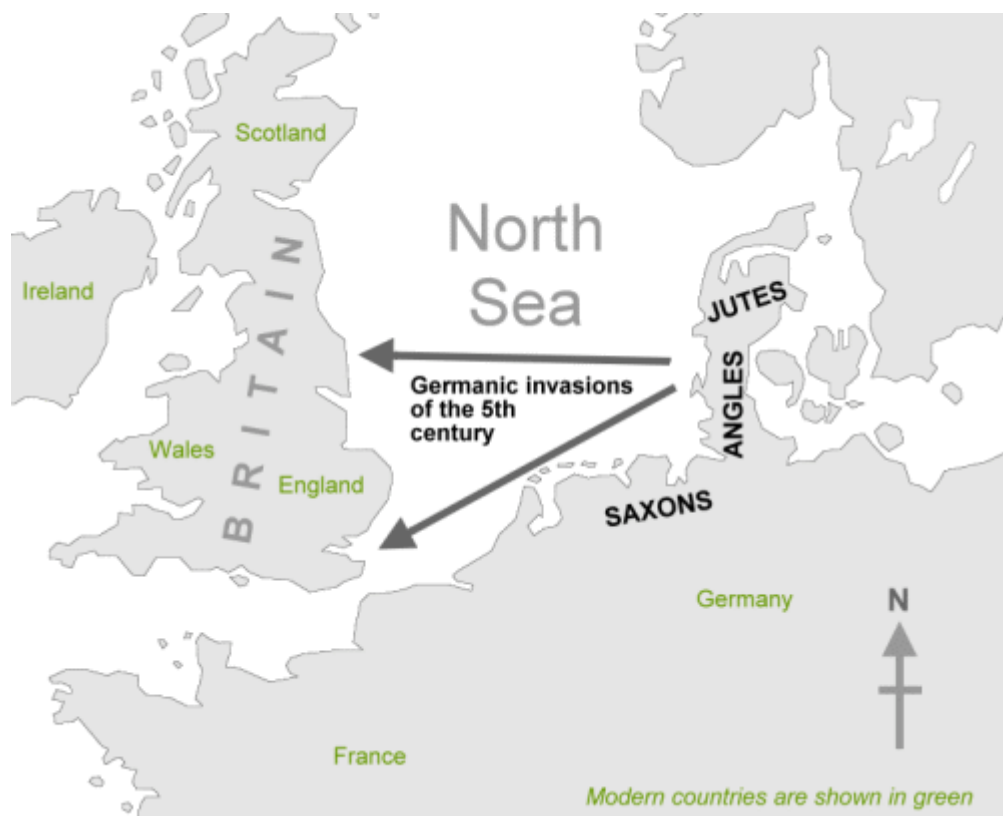
What is English. (2010). Retrieved from <http://www.englishclub.com/english-language-history.htm>.

Appendices

Appendix 1

History of the English Language

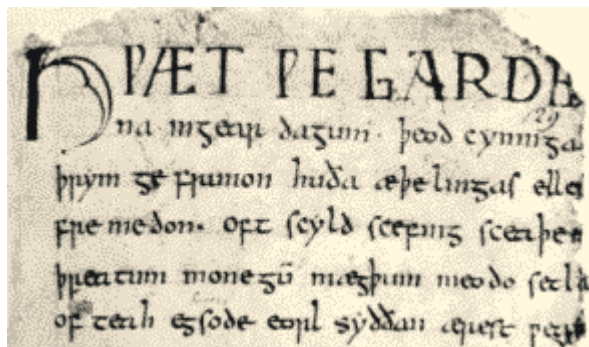
The history of the English language really started with the arrival of three Germanic tribes who invaded Britain during the 5th century AD. These tribes, the Angles, the Saxons and the Jutes, crossed the North Sea from what today is Denmark and northern Germany. At that time the inhabitants of Britain spoke a Celtic language. But most of the Celtic speakers were pushed west and north by the invaders - mainly into what is now Wales, Scotland and Ireland. The Angles came from Englalund and their language was called Englisc - from which the words England and English are derived (www.English Club.com,2010).



Source: <http://www.englishclub.com/english-language-history.htm>

Old English (450-1100 AD)

The invading Germanic tribes spoke similar languages, which in Britain developed into what we now call Old English. Old English did not sound or look like English today. Native English speakers now would have great difficulty understanding Old English. Nevertheless, about half of the most commonly used words in Modern English have Old English roots. The words *be*, *strong* and *water*, for example, derive from Old English. Old English was spoken until around 1100 (English Club.com, 2010).



Part of *Beowulf*, a poem written in Old English.

Source: <http://www.englishclub.com/english-language-history.htm>

Middle English (1100-1500)

In 1066 William the Conqueror, the Duke of Normandy (part of modern France), invaded and conquered England. The new conquerors (called the Normans) brought with them a kind of French, which became the language of the Royal Court, and the ruling and business classes. For a period there was a kind of linguistic class division, where the lower classes spoke English and the upper classes spoke French. In the 14th century English became dominant in Britain again, but with many French words added. This language is called Middle English. It was the language of the great poet Chaucer (c1340-1400), but it would still be difficult for native English speakers to understand today (English Club.com, 2010).

And whan I sawgh he wolde never fine
To reden on this cursed book al night,
Al sodeinly three leves have I plight
Out of his book right as he redde, and eke
I with my fist so took him on the cheeke
That in oure fir he fil bakward adown.
And up he sterte as dooth a wood leon
And with his fist he smoot me on the heed
That in the floor I lay as I were deed.
And whan he swagh how stille that I lay,
He was agast, and wolde have fled his way,
Till atte laste out of my swough I braide:
"O hastou slain me, false thief?" I saide,
"And for my land thus hastou mordred me?
Er I be deed yit wol I kisse thee."

An example of Middle English by

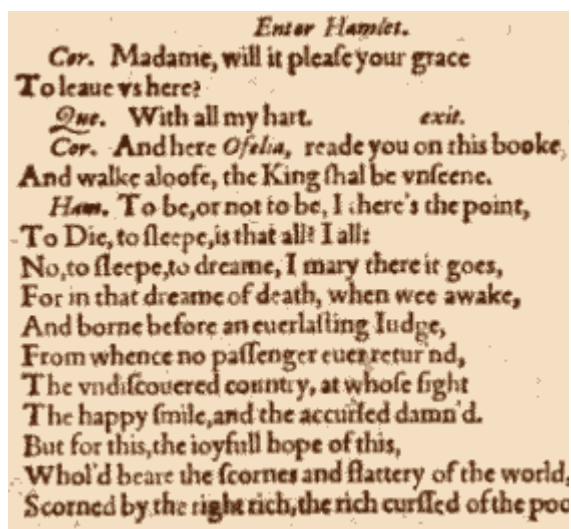
Chaucer.

Source: <http://www.englishclub.com/english-language-history.htm>

Modern English

Early Modern English (1500-1800)

Towards the end of Middle English, a sudden and distinct change in pronunciation (the Great Vowel Shift) started, with vowels being pronounced shorter and shorter. From the 16th century the British had contact with many peoples from around the world. This, and the Renaissance of Classical learning, meant that many new words and phrases entered the language. The invention of printing also meant that there was now a common language in print. Books became cheaper and more people learned to read. Printing also brought standardization to English. Spelling and grammar became fixed, and the dialect of London, where most publishing houses were, became the standard. In 1604 the first English dictionary was published.



Hamlet's famous "To be, or not to be" lines,

written in Early Modern English by

Shakespeare.

Source: <http://www.englishclub.com/english-language-history.htm>

Late Modern English (1800-Present)

The main difference between Early Modern English and Late Modern English is vocabulary. Late Modern English has many more words, arising from two principal factors: firstly, the Industrial Revolution and technology created a need for new words; secondly, the British Empire at its height covered one quarter of the earth's surface, and the English language adopted foreign words from many countries.

A brief chronology of English		
BC 55	Roman invasion of Britain by Julius Caesar.	Local inhabitants speak Celtish
BC 43	Roman invasion and occupation. Beginning of Roman rule of Britain.	
436	Roman withdrawal from Britain complete.	

449	Settlement of Britain by Germanic invaders begins	
450-480	Earliest known Old English inscriptions.	Old English
1066	William the Conqueror, Duke of Normandy, invades and conquers England.	
c1150	Earliest surviving manuscripts in Middle English.	Middle English
1348	English replaces Latin as the language of instruction in most schools.	
1362	English replaces French as the language of law. English is used in Parliament for the first time.	
c1388	Chaucer starts writing <i>The Canterbury Tales</i> .	
c1400	The Great Vowel Shift begins.	
1476	William Caxton establishes the first English printing press.	Early Modern English
1564	Shakespeare is born.	
1604	<i>Table Alphabeticall</i> , the first English dictionary, is published.	
1607	The first permanent English settlement in the New World (Jamestown) is established.	
1616	Shakespeare dies.	
1623	Shakespeare's First Folio is published	
1702	The first daily English-language newspaper, <i>The Daily Courant</i> , is published in London.	
1755	Samuel Johnson publishes his English dictionary.	

1776	Thomas Jefferson writes the American Declaration of Independence.	
1782	Britain abandons its American colonies.	
1828	Webster publishes his American English dictionary.	Late Modern English
1922	The British Broadcasting Corporation is founded.	
1928	The <i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> is published.	

Source: <http://www.englishclub.com/english-language-history.htm>

Appendix 2

Loanwords, compound blends and loan translations

Social and recreational activities (n=37)			
Games and sports	congkak gasing gasing pangkah gasing uri sepak takraw silat silat olahraga wau wau bulan		
Music, song and dance	dikir barat gamelan joget keroncong/kroncong ronggeng zapin		
Weddings	bunga manggar bunga telur pelamin	bersanding ceremony	
Feasting	kenduri makan makan kecil	thanksgiving kenduri	
Musical instruments	kompng rebab rebana rebana ubi		
Theatre	wayang wayang kulit wayang peranakan		
Poetry	pantun sajak syair		
Performers	dalang	kompang troupe	
Others		batik art batik painting	
Islam (n=29)			
Practices and events	(ber)buka puasa Hari Raya/Hari	Isyak prayer Subuh prayer terawih prayer	Friday prayer

	Raya Puasa/Hari Raya Aidilfitri umrah		
Officials	imam kadi ulama/ulamak ustaz ustazah wali		
Islamic principles	halal non-halal haram khalwat syariah zina		
Places	(sekolah) pondok “Islamic school” madrasah surau	pondok school	
Utterances	Alhamdulillah/ alhamdulillah/ Alhamdulillah Insyaallah/Ins yaAllah/ Insya- Allah/insyalla h		God willing
Calendar	Ramadan/Ra madhan Syawal		
Titles	Hajah/Hajjah Haji		
People and titles (n=25)			
Formal and informal categories	Baba bumiput(e)r a Muslim bumiput(e)r a non- bumiput(e)r a non-Muslim		

	bumiput(e)r a mamak nyonya orang asli orang putih Orang Ulu peranakan peranakan Arab rakyat		
Persons	Datin “person with title” Datuk “person with title” Datukship ikan bilis “small fry” makcik “middle- aged Malay lady” Mat Salleh pakcik “middle- aged Malay man”	batik painter	
Conferred titles	Datin “title” Datin Seri Datuk “title” Datuk Seri Puan Sri Tan Sri		
Terms of respect	Makcik “title” Pakcik “title”		
Toponyms and derivatives (n= 19)			
Name of states and derivatives	Johor/Joho re Johorean Kedah Kedahan Kelantan Kelantanese Malacca/M elaka		

	Malaccan Neg(e)ri Sembilan Pahang Pahangite Penang/Pul au Pinang Penangite Perak Perlis Sabah Sabahan Sarawak Sarawakian Selangor Selangoria n Terenggan u		
Cities and towns	Ipoh Kota Kinabalu Kuala Lumpur/KL KL-ites Kuantan Kuching Muar		
Government, administration and the monarchy (n=18)			
Bodies	(Lembaga) Tabung Haji Dewan Negara Dewan Rakyat	Orang Asli Affairs Department/Depart ment of Orang Asli Affairs Tabung Haji Board	Islamic Affairs Council/ Islamic Council/ Islamic Religious Council Islamic Affairs Departm ent Islamic Religious Departm ent Malaysia n Islamic Economi c Develop ment Foundati

			on
Positions	Datuk Bandar Menteri Besar Raja Raja Permaisuri Agong Sultan wakil rakyat Yang di- Pertua Neg(e)ri Yang di- Pertuan Agong Yang di- Pertuan Besar		
Clothing (n=15)			
Attire	(baju) kebaya baju Kedah baju kurung baju Melayu batik sarong sarong/sarung		
Accessories	ibu kerongsang kerongsang selendang songkok tudung		
Textiles	(kain) songket batik	batik cloth saree cloth	
Folk religion (n=10)			
Evil spirits	hantu jembalang orang minyak pontianak		
Spiritual treatments	air jampi jampi kemenyan		
Spiritual healers	bomoh dukun pawang		
Miscellaneous (n=32)			
Spaces	Kampung pasar malam pasar tani	kampung house Malay	night market

	pondok “hut” pondok polis ulu	kampung mamak stall nasi lemak stall	
Behavioural terms	Gatal jaguh kampung muhibbah tidak apa	Malaysia boleh spirit Merdeka spirit tidak apa attitude	
Tools and objects in the house	Parang rotan “cane”	pandan mat mengkuang mat	
Law	rotan “cane used to carry out caning sentence,” “judicially- sanctioned caning”		outrage ... modesty outraging the modesty (of)
Others	adat balik kampung dadah gotong-royong Jawi rojak “hodgepodge” rotan “climbing plant		rice bowl