

LEXICAL INNOVATION IN NIGERIAN ENGLISH USAGE AMONG SELECTED SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS IN UYO METROPOLIS

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ABSTRACT

This study examines lexical innovation in Nigerian English usage. The study is hinged on the theory of generative lexicon propounded by Pusejovsky (1995) which argues that language cannot simply be characterised as a list of items with only syntactic and minimal semantic information, but that words assume new senses in new contexts that can be used creatively. Data for analysis are got from secondary school students in Uyo metropolis of varied linguistic and socio-economic backgrounds selected by a random sampling technique and are grouped under coinages, semantic extension and shift, euphemism, clipping, idiom and slang. Data were collected through oral interviews. Ten students from each school were interviewed from June to November 2024 and their responses recorded through writing. The reason for the choice of secondary school students is that they creatively use expressions to converse when they want to exclude adults or other people from their conversation. The study adopts a qualitative context analysis; a process designed to condense raw data into categories or themes based on valid inference and interpretation. It reveals the preponderance of lexical innovation in Nigerian English as used by its speakers to address concepts, situations and events. The study concludes that innovations observed in Nigerian English show that it is an authentic communication tool which undergo changes in a bid to serve the need of the users.

Keywords: Lexical-innovation, Generative Lexicon, Nigerian English, Pusejovsky, Context Analysis

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Introduction

The documentation of the various features of world Englishes has continued to attract the attention of the linguists. Like other varieties of non-native Englishes, West African English (WAE) has received considerable attention. Researches into the creative linguistic features of Nigerian (NE), which is a part of WAE, have established the variety (NE) as one cited within the Braj Kachru's outer circle of Englishes (Braj Kachru, 1992) which is most often described in the literature by the term 'New Englishes'.

Hybridised innovations constitute systematic divergences in the vocabularies of educated Nigerians in their day-to-day use of English. This further attests to the fact that English in Nigeria has taken a new shape and, therefore, its unique ways of usage must continually be described up to the point where a self-contained linguistic system of NE is visible. It is only at this point of visibility that standard NE might become apparent and can be recognised as a valid model for teaching and learning in classroom. Beyond British English and American English, there are a number of standard Englishes, for there are several English speaking countries in each of which there is a Standard English peculiar to that country.

The Nigerian variety of English, like other non-native Englishes, serves the communicative and communal needs of its users, thereby allowing users to express themselves in creative ways that reflect their own unique socio-cultural norms. This social reality is attested to by David Crystal in his observation that "English in Nigeria is fostering an internal standard of educated usage which has a status and dynamic of its own" (Crystal 2003, p. 359).

West African countries, including Nigeria, were colonised by Britain and France. It is that interaction of West African countries with their colonial masters that gave rise to West African English. The use of the term West African English does not imply that all these countries speak exactly the same way; rather they show very similar features and exhibit a predominantly hegemonic variety identifiable with it. Language is indisputably dynamic even within a socio-cultural environment.

English Language in Nigeria, in particular, and West Africa, at large, has undergone several changes that can be traced to what Eric Anchimbe (2006, p.26) calls “local taste of the people and the contact of English with native African languages”. Users of English in Nigeria from all walks of life and different educational levels and backgrounds endeavour to communicate through different varieties determined by formal and informal situations and occasions.

Innovation explains how language is used to break away from the norm as well as from what is recognised as correct. It is an intelligent ability to represent tasks or concepts in a relevant way. It refers to renewing, changing or creating more effective processes, products or ways of doing things. Innovation and improvement differ. While innovation is the notion of doing something different, improvement refers to doing the same thing better. The creation of certain terms to reflect certain concepts, processes or situations by Nigerians accounts for innovation in Nigerian English usage.

Sandra McKay and Nancy Hernberger (1996) observe that the varieties of English and norms for the use emerge in response to the communication needs of the users. Hence, this study examines

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lexical innovations in Nigerian English usage using data from SS3 students in secondary schools. These innovations are not exclusively the students' but are observed in their Nigerian English usage.

Conceptual Framework

Lexical Innovation

Lexical innovation refers to the ability to create meaning from words as different from what it used to be known for. It is also the ability to create new words which have not existed before through certain linguistic manipulations. Lexical innovation concerns textuality with much emphasis on context as new coinages are basically understood based on given contexts. It is a process of manipulating words towards a particular purpose. Lexical innovations are classified under the following: coinages, acronyms, clippings, derivational morphemes and inflectional morphemes Bamiro (1994).

The Concept of Nigerian English

Nigerian English emerged as a result of the contact between native speakers and users of the English language in Nigeria. English is a second language which is learned and used with the various indigenous languages in Nigeria. David Jowit (1991, p. ix) notes that "English is an everyday means of communication for large number of Nigerians of differing degrees of education". According to him, Nigerian English is something real and identifiable. This is corroborated by Osunbade as cited by Davidson Bemigho and Mukaila Ademola Olateju (2006, p. 150), who asserts that "Nigerian English is . . . that variety of English that has developed in the Nigerian non-native English situation and it has distinguishing features manifested at the phonological, lexico-semantic, grammatical and discourse levels". He further observes that the

English language emerged by the process of the acculturation of British English to the Nigerian socio-cultural environment after having been introduced by the Britons, and that, as a result of acculturation, the English language transforms the socio-cultural norms of Nigerians and is used to encode the experiences of the Nigerian people.

Akin Odebunmi (2006, p.107) observes that “the socio-cultural differences that exist between the English people and Nigerians allow new lexical items to develop”. When some Nigerians speak English, native speakers of English have no difficulty of identifying the speakers as Nigerian because of the reflection of some structural characteristics of Nigerian languages.

Bamgbose (1995, pp. 20-21) comments on the characteristics of standard Nigerian English and the way it has been nativised thus:

such nativisation consists of three aspects: linguistic, pragmatic and creative... it is the aspect of linguistic nativisation of Nigerian language vowels and consonants for English ones and replacement of stress by tone, pluralisation of some non-count nouns, introduction of culture-specific vocabulary items, back formation, semantic shift, different verb-preposition combination and some Nigerian L1 induced syntactic structures.

Pragmatic nativisation involves modifying the rules of language use in native situations under pressure from the cultural practices of the Nigerian environment. Creative nativisation manifests in either coining expressions to reflect the Nigerian experience or world view or translating an authentic Nigerian native idiom into English in such a way so as to reflect the mood of the situation or character. Pragmatic and creative features are most often considered as innovations and are tolerable than linguistic features, for socio-cultural reasons.

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Michael Adekunle (1979, p. 35) distinguishes between random and non-random errors in NE. According to him, random errors are idiosyncratic and unpredictable while non-random errors are systematic and common among speakers. The implication of this distinction for standard NE is that errors that occur with high frequency among educated speakers at any linguistic level are potential forms of innovations that could later be accepted as a norm in the codification of the variety, while random errors would be unacceptable.

Codification and elaboration of innovations are in current contention among scholars. Bamgbose (1984, p.4) claims “codification and acceptability are the most important but he considers acceptability the “ultimate test of admission of an innovation”. The supporting criterion for acceptability is intelligibility which, in turn, is based on appropriateness and grammaticality.

Banjo (1971) classifies English language usage in Nigeria into four varieties.

- Variety I is spoken by people with elementary school education and semi-literate people. It features a high rate of negative transfers from the phonological system of the mother tongue and is unacceptable even nationally.
- Variety II is associated with the post-primary school leavers who exhibit minimum transfer from their mother tongue’s sound system but do not, however, make vital phonemic distinctions. This brand of English is largely intelligible and acceptable nationally.
- Variety III is associated with university education. It makes vital phonemic distinctions and is accepted and understood nationally and internationally.
- Variety IV is identical with standard British English and though internationally acceptable, it is ridiculed in Nigeria because it sounds affected and may not be understood by the average Nigerian.

Variety III, the variety of the educated elite, has been supported by many scholars in Nigeria (Adeniran 1979, Odumah 1984, Bamgbose 1995 and Banjo 1995). Although some scholars have observed the lack of competence and performance among educated Nigerians, there is ample evidence to show that a combination of education, exposure to considerable data and considerable experience of usage correlate with competence in English (Udofot 2007, Jowitt 2008).

This study focuses on creative and pragmatic nativisation which result in coinages, semantic extension and shift, euphemism, slang etc. It does not include linguistic

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nativisation which involves stress-tone replacement, pluralisation of some non-count nouns and different verb-preposition combinations.

Previous Studies

Atahiru Jega (2020) carried out a pragmatic analysis of lexical creativity in the use of Nigerian English. Data were got from focused discussions among Higher National Diploma students of Federal Polytechnic, Kebbi. The study revealed that Nigerian English contained some lexical items through some morphological processes like borrowings, compounding and acronyms in a bid to make themselves understood as not break the socio-cultural norms that rule the Nigerian linguistic context. Thus, their speeches most often can best be understood from the perspective of pragmatics. Eyamba Bokamba (1991) uses coinages, semantic extension, semantic restriction, semantic transfer and semantic shift in discussing lexical innovation in African English. He indicates that lexical items in African English may be created in four principal ways: semantic extension, semantic shift, semantic transfer and coinage. Bokamba conceptualises lexical innovation in African English in terms of semantic deviation.

Edmund Bamiro (1994) identifies ten categories of lexico-semantic variation in Nigerian English as follows: loan shifts, semantic under differentiation, lexico-semantic duplication and redundancy, ellipsis, conversion, clipping, acronyms, translation equivalence, analogical creation and coinages.

Macaulay Mowarin (2010) studied some lexico-semantic processes in Nigerian English. He observes that some of the lexical processes such as polysemy, calquing, syntactic

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paraphrase/circumlocution, compounding and reduplication are influenced mainly by substrate languages and concludes that the lexicon of standard variety of Nigerian English can never be as broad as that of its lexifier language.

The present study, using the notions of predicate-argument structure, primitive decomposition and conceptual organisation of generative lexicon, investigates innovations in the usage of Nigerian English by secondary school students, paying attention to its lexical and semantic properties.

Methodology

Fifty SS3 students from five public and private secondary schools were selected. These schools were Secondary School, Etoi; Bright Future College, Aka Community School, Heritage College and Uyo High School. The fifty subjects were educated speakers of NE of varied linguistic and socio-economic backgrounds selected by a stratified random sampling technique. The study adopts qualitative context analysis. Ten students from each school were interviewed from June to November, 2023, and their words documented through writing. The students were asked by the researcher to mention new words they commonly use to describe concepts, situations, and events when they want to exclude “outsiders” from their discussion. The students gave the words and what they meant in the context of usage. The data got were analysed based on the concepts of primitive decomposition and conceptual organisation of Pusejovsky’s generative lexicon. While the scope was limited, data collected were sufficient for the study.

Theoretical Framework

Generative lexicon (Pusejovsky, 1995) is a model used for the systematic description of innovations in languages. This model is well suited for analysing innovations in Nigerian English

because its goal accounts for the representations of lexical semantics and polysemy, which are creative and conventional. The Generative Lexicon presents an exciting theory of lexical semantics that addresses the problem of the “multiplicity of word meaning”; that is; how we are able to give an infinite number of senses to words with finite means. In contrast to the static view of word meaning where each word is characterised by a predetermined number of word senses that imposes a bottleneck on the performance capability of any natural language processing system, Pustejovsky proposes that the lexicon becomes an active and central component in the linguistic description. The essence of this is that the lexicon functions generatively, first by providing a rich and expressive vocabulary for characterising lexical information, then, by developing a framework for manipulating fine-grained distinction in word descriptions and finally, by formalising a set of mechanisms for specialised composition of aspects of such descriptions of words, as they occur in context, extended and novel senses are generated.

The first major work outlining the framework is James Pustejovsky’s 1991 article entitled “The Generative Lexicon”. Subsequent important developments are presented in Pustejovsky and Boguraev (1993), Bouillon (1997) and Busa (1996). Central to the philosophical perspective of Generative Lexicon are two major lines of inquiry: first, how is it that we are able to deploy a finite number of words in our language in an unbounded number of contexts? Second, is lexical information and the representations used in composing meanings separable from our common-sense knowledge?

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Generative Lexicon takes to account the established notions of predicate-argument structure, primitive decomposition and conceptual organisation. These can be seen determining the space of possible interpretations that a word may have. That is, rather than committing to an enumeration of a pre-determined number of different words senses, a lexical entry for a word now encodes a range of representative aspects of lexical meaning. The static definition of a word provides its literal meaning; it is only through the suitable composition of appropriately highlighted projections of words that we generate new meanings in context. This system argues that the lexicon of a given natural language cannot simply be characterised as a list of items with only syntactic and minimal semantic information but that words assume new senses in novel contexts that can be used creatively.

Data Presentation

Lexical Innovation in Nigerian English

Innovation is a phenomenon which explains how language is used to break away from the norm as well as from what is foreseeably recognised as correct. It is an intelligent ability to associate tasks, concepts, ideas, knowledge and experiences in a relevant way. This, in most cases, is demonstrable in the manipulation of morphological rules which sometimes results in the creative or deviant use of word formation devices such as affixation, conversion, compounding and coinage (Robert, 2017). Data gathered, after a careful examination and interpretation, are grouped into different classes below.

Coinage

Coinage is a lexical derivational process of inventing new words from an existing one in English, the mother tongue or a combination of the two languages. Words in this category are coined based

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on the context of learning and performance in examination, fashion trend and sense, socialisation and general appearance of a person.

S/N	Lexical	Explanation
1	<i>Brew</i>	A combination of alcohol beverages
2	<i>Squash the Subject</i>	To pass successfully any examination
3	<i>Bang the Subject</i>	To fail an examination in school
4	<i>No joules</i>	No inspiration / joy to study or do anything
5	<i>Bursting brain</i>	Intriguing and interesting
6	<i>Chill</i>	Calm and composed
7	<i>Fashy</i>	To forget about something
8	<i>Baff up</i>	Well dressed
9	<i>Gobe</i>	To get into trouble
10	<i>Effizy</i>	To show off / to be arrogant and proud
11	<i>Ajebutter</i>	Someone born with a silver spoon
12	<i>Kolo</i>	To lose one's mind
13	<i>Whine</i>	An exaggerated praise of someone by another
14	<i>Banta</i>	Trouble or tussle
15	<i>Cruise</i>	Temporary fun
16	<i>Sapa</i>	Hunger as a result of poverty
17	<i>Shege</i>	Hard / tough time
18	<i>Japa</i>	To travel abroad or relocate to another country

Table 1: Coinages

Semantic Extension

This involves extending the meaning of an existing lexical items. In the process, existing words in English acquire additional meaning in Nigerian English usage. Here, only the meaning changes but the word retains its form.

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S/N	Lexical	Explanation
1	<i>Maps</i>	A task or an operation to perform
2	<i>Obtain</i>	To get something from someone forcefully
3	<i>Babe</i>	A young woman
4	<i>Backyard</i>	Buttocks
5	<i>Bullion van</i>	A person in charge of finance in an organisation
6	<i>Crash</i>	To sleep after the day's tasks
7	<i>Hammer</i>	To make it in life / get rich
8	<i>Jack</i>	Extensive reading
9	<i>Lap</i>	To take someone's thing without permission or to visit someone
10	<i>Man on you</i>	To follow or observe someone closely
11	<i>Ajebutter</i>	Someone born with a silver spoon
12	<i>Kolo</i>	To lose one's mind
13	<i>Whine</i>	An exaggerated praise of someone by another

Table 2: Semantic Extension

Euphemism

Euphemism entails the use of neutral or pleasant words or phrases to express harsh, embarrassing, unpleasant situation or concepts such as death, disease, body parts, body fluid, sex, etc.

S/N	Lexical	Explanation
1	<i>Indomie / chips</i>	Extraneous material brought into an examination hall
2	<i>To change it for somebody</i>	To be angry and or quarrel with someone
3	<i>Dundee United</i>	Playful but offensive way of calling someone a fool
4	<i>Oil change</i>	After ovulation, the unfertilized egg(s) is/or are released as blood

Table 3: Euphemism

Chipping

A morphological process which involves cutting off some syllables of a word. Clipped words still retain the original meaning of the full word.

S/N	Lexical	Explanation
1	<i>Ment</i>	Mentally ill
2	<i>Form</i>	To put on a proud air to impress

Table 4: Clipping**Idioms**

A fixed group of words whose meaning cannot be derived from the literal meaning of the individual words.

1	<i>Cut soap for me</i>	To show someone the way
2	<i>Fall someone's hand</i>	Disappoint someone; to let someone down
3	<i>Clear road</i>	Fore-runner
4	<i>To show someone shege</i>	Try to frustrate someone

Table 5: Idioms**Semantic Shift**

A lexico-semantic process in which a word does not just acquire additional meaning but loses its original meaning.

1	<i>Yoruba Demon</i>	Handsome, rich and influential person
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Table 6: Semantic Shift**Slang**

Slang expressions are used informally. They are often invented by a particular group in the society to exclude people outside the group from their communication. It is observed that students are already inventing slang expressions from the register of Information and Communication Technology.

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S/N	Lexical	Explanation
1	<i>Recycle bin</i>	One who goes for what others rejected
2	<i>Browsing</i>	To caress someone or to have sex
3	<i>CD ROM</i>	Womb
4	<i>Click</i>	To mount pressure on someone to yield to relationship or sexual overtures
5	<i>Delete</i>	Kill or to die
6	<i>Error</i>	Ugly guy or lady
7	<i>Lap top</i>	Used to describe a slim lady with a flat buttocks
8	<i>Yan</i>	To talk to someone about something/to tell someone something
9	<i>Amebo</i>	To gossip someone
10.	<i>Maga</i>	One who is tricked into giving out his/her money
11.	<i>Yab</i>	To make fun of someone; to tease someone
12.	<i>Kpekus</i>	Female sexual organ

Table 7: Slang

Discussion

Data have been classified according to different lexico-semantic processes employed in their derivations. This selection attempts to identify the functions of the innovative forms and account for the socio-cultural variables that influence the pattern of usage.

Table1: Coinage

Coined words in NE are invented from existing words or ideas from English, Nigerian languages or a combination of both. Sometimes, coinage involves the transfer of meaning from Nigerian environment into English. Coined expressions such as “*cruise, japa, sapa, kolo, whine, banta*” which mean “a temporary enjoyment, immigration, hunger occasioned by poverty, mentally

retarded, exaggerated praise and conflict”, respectively, have gained wider spread because of social media. Let us consider the above lexical items used in the following expressions: (A). The dress she wore at the show **burst my brain**. (B). I thought he was going to marry me. I didn’t know he was just **catching cruise** with me. (C). Your laziness will result in **sapa**.

The foregoing expressions can be situated in the entertainment domain. Students from secondary schools use them because of their frequent use of the social media. They go further to invent words like “*bang, squash, joules*”, among others, to address academic situations like “failure in examination, success in examination and lack of motivation to study”, respectively. As in: (A). Despite my intensive **jacking**, I still **banged** physics. (B). I **squashed** English Language but **banged** mathematics.

Table 2: Semantic Extension and Shift

Semantic extension entails a process in which an existing word in English acquires additional meaning in its NE usage, while in semantic shift, the word acquires a new meaning. These two morphological processes are directly influenced by the socio-cultural context of English as a second language in Nigeria and they also mark changes in language use. “*Maps, obtain, backyard, bullion van, crash*” have additional meanings. The word “lap”, which is used to denote “round” in races, is extended to denote “to run away from the scene” and further extended to mean “stealing” and “to visit someone at one’s place”. An example is: I will *lap* your unit tomorrow.

“Obtain”, which means “to get something”, is extended to mean “to rob someone” in NE usage. Example: He was *obtained* last night. “Backyard” which means “a space behind a house” is extended to mean “a woman’s buttocks”. As in: She has a big *backyard*. “*Bullion van*”, a vehicle

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banks use in conveying money has an extended meaning of “someone who is in charge of finances in an organisation”. “*Crash*” which means “to collide, fall and scatter”, is extended to mean “to rest after the day’s work”. The word “*demon*” which has negative connotation has acquired positive denotation; a synonym of “wealth and affluence “. NE users have adopted these processes (semantic extension and shift) to develop new meaning to achieve communication. Improper learning or inadequate exposure often results in over-generalisation of the meaning of words.

Table 3: Euphemism

Euphemism is a term which is used to denote serious or unpleasant things in a mild or pleasant way. In many societies, euphemism is employed to express words related to sex, body parts and body fluids, as well as lowly rated jobs. Lexical items pertaining to the above are regarded as taboo words. This study reveals that the communication context, as well as the participants, determines the use of euphemism. Examples: “*Indomie/chips*” is a euphemised term for extraneous material that aids examination malpractice. “*Dundee United*”, a name of a football club in Scotland, is a playful but offensive way of calling someone a fool. Similarly, “*oil change*”, an expression commonly used by mechanics, is a euphemised way of referring to menstrual flow. These terms are used to describe these concepts to lessen the negative effect they might have originally had. Consider the following expressions:

- (A) What aided Margaret in the examination was ***indomie chips***.
- (B) I tricked Jerry the ***dundee*** into sending me a huge sum of money.
- (C) Nancy is worried as she hasn’t ***changed her oil*** for the month.

Table 4: Idiom

Idioms are fixed group of words whose meaning cannot be inferred from separate meaning of the words. It is a way of using language that comes natural to speakers of the language. In the case of NE, the users create idioms through the process of transfer. The idiomatic innovations are more of transfer of speech mannerisms and idioms from the mother tongue. Examples: “*Cut soap for me*”

is an idiomatic expression that means “show me the way”. “*To clear road*” is an expression that means “forerunner”. “*To show someone shege*” is an idiomatic expression that denotes the tendency of the speaker to frustrate the listener or someone else. “*To fall someone’s hand*” is an expression that denotes “disappointment”. As in: (A). Datty really **fall my hand** last Saturday. (B). Our Technical Drawing teacher has **shown us shege** this term.

The use of idioms in NE show the acculturation and development of English as a second language. Some of these idioms may not gain international intelligibility but they are generally understood among a greater percentage of NE users.

Table 5: Slang

Slang expressions involve informal use of language by a particular group of people. Slang words come handy to both literate and non-literate users of English in Nigeria. “It is a language that takes off its coat, spits on its hands and goes to work” (Aitchison, 1991). This can be seen in the way students and even some people who do not have adequate facility in English invent and use slang. For example, “*recycle bin, browsing, CD ROM*” used for “someone who goes for what others rejected, to caress someone and womb”, respectively, exemplify a functional creative use of language. Sometimes, these usages become popular in the society.

Slang expressions do not just mark innovation in language use, they sometimes influence language change. Redmond (2005) observes that slang is one of the vehicles through which language changes and becomes renewed. Slang is marked as one of the productive processes of vocabulary development and language change in NE. The invention of slang expression with ICT terms does not just reflect innovation but also adds refreshing touch to NE. “*Yan, amebo, maga, yab, kpekus, delete, click*” are slangs invented to mean “talk to someone, gossip, vulnerable person, to make

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fun of someone, female sexual organ, to kill or to die, to mount pressure till someone yields to relationship or sexual overture, respectively.

Consider these statements:

1. He was busy *browsing* another man's wife when his own was at a point of death in the hospital.
2. The *maga* has paid.
3. The strong-headed man should be *deleted* as soon as possible.
4. Mercy was *yabbed* to tears by her friends.

The above discussion reveals that NE has vocabularies which undergo variations and changes in a bid to serve the need of the users. This is in sharp contrast to the notion of linguistic purism which holds that innovations encourage deviant forms and corrupt English language rather than propagate growth. Udom (2007, p.28) rejects the notion of purism on innovation and asserts that “innovation in language provides the means of expressing many of the definite thoughts used to react appropriately where there is an indefinite range of new situations”. He notes further that innovations have helped educated speakers of Nigerian English to develop fresh expressions to reflect their cultural background. This study upholds Udom (2007)'s position as it shows that innovation and creative usages characterise NE.

Conclusion

This study has revealed lexical innovations in the usage of Nigerian English by secondary school students. The spread of innovation depends on communicability of these linguistic innovations which can only be achieved if the lexical items are standardised. One way of standardisation is the printing of dictionaries by language planners to inform the public. The study reveals that the complexity of these innovations impede acceptance especially where lexical cohesion has not been scientifically determined. The study asserts that the innovations, though not universally accepted,

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are understood by many Nigerian English users. Today, English language in Nigeria has been able to “roll along” with the culture, thus becoming domesticated and nativised. The study concludes that the innovations in NE vocabularies and usage show that this variety of English (NE), is an authentic vibrant communicative tool, which undergo variations and changes in the bid to serve the needs of the users. Further researches should be carried out to substantiate or dispel the claims.

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APPENDIX 1

Excerpt of Interview at Secondary
School Efori, Uyo
July 17, 2024

Lexical Items	Explanation
Clear Road	To disperse a crowd
Show one shege	To be harsh with someone
Lap	Steal
Kolo	Mentally retarded
Annebo	Gossip
Fall someone's hand	Disappoint someone
Brew	based on action
Brew	Combination of alcoholic beverages.
Bang a subject	To fail
Squash a subject	To pass
Map	Task / operation
Oil change	Menstruation
Babe	Young girl / lady
Kpekus	Female sexual organ

APPENDIX 2

Excerpt of Interview at Aka
Community School
July 8, 2024

Lexical Items	Explanation
Dumdee United	Foolish person
Hype	Exaggerated praise
Maga	Cutlible person
Egizy	Wearing a proud air / arrogance
Ajebutter	Wealthy person
Baff up	Well dressed
Jan	To tell someone something
Shenke	To eat food
Bullion Van	One who holds/keeps Money.
Chill	Calm down
Fashy	Forget about something.

Uman, U.

APPENDIX 3

Excerpt of Interview at Bright Future College, Uyo
24th June, 2024

Lexical Items	Explanation
Indomie chip	Extraneous material brought into examination hall
Joules	Inspiration to study
Cruise	Catching a temporary fun
Shege	Tough time
Japa	To travel abroad
Jacking	Extensive reading in preparation for examination
Sapa	Hunger
Yab	To make fun of somebody
Hammer	To make it in life
Banta	Causing trouble
Crash	To rest after the day's task

