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GRAMMATICAL AND CULTURE-RELATED INNOVATIONS IN NIGERIAN ENGLISH USAGE

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Abstract

This chapter accesses the degree of national and international intelligibility as well as methods of creation of grammatical and culture-related innovations which reflect the Nigerian flavour in Nigerian English usage. Data were obtained through questionnaires, journals, books and the internet. The Generative Lexicon Theory was used as the theoretical framework to address issues of compositionality and creative use of words as denoted on the basic lexical categories of the language. The aim was to define the boundary between variants and errors in grammatical and culture-related innovations in Nigerian English usage. These variant forms are expressed through grammatical shifts, borrowing, compounding, proverbs, and code-switching. The chapter provides answers to questions of acceptability and the common core features of these innovations. It concludes that these created words reflect Nigerian cultural norms which qualify them as variants of metropolitan forms of English language and recommends that curriculum planners structure language courses to include Nigerian English usages.

1. Introduction

Grammatical and culture–related innovations are the changes in the grammatical categories of words in language, (cf Udom 2007) that also interpret cultural artifacts of a new environment. These variant forms of new words are capable of becoming acceptable language usage in education and in the social sphere, (cf Kachru, 1985).

Educated Nigerians corroborate the view that grammatical and culture-related creativity in Nigerian English are new forms of metropolitan usage of the English language that are adaptable as Nigerian English usage, (cf Bamgbose, 1991, Igboanusi 2002) .There has been a reasonable scholarly work on Nigeria English. A few of these linguistic scholars (Eka 1985, Bamgbose 1982, Udofot 1993, Banjo 1971) have often made references to the status and method of creativity as problem areas that need urgent research attention. This chapter provides details of the study. There have also been a few arguments about innovations in Nigerian English usage .Kachru (1985) describes innovations as the result of nativization of English in Nigeria following the long interaction of English with indigenous languages in Nigeria as a former British colony. This description is upheld by Bamgbose (1995) who says:

> ... the nativization of English in Nigeria is not limited to the usual features of transfer of phonology, lexical, syntactic and semantic patterns of Nigeria languages into English; it also includes the creative development of English and the evolution of a distinctively Nigerian English usage. Nativization of Nigerian English therefore reflects peculiarities of Nigerian situation and culture (p. 11).

Grammatical and culture-related innovations in Nigerian English therefore focus on developing a variety that is generally acceptable and intelligible to Nigerians as is true of American English in the United States, and Standard British English in Britain.

However, innovations of any form of language have been disputed by the proponents of linguistic purism. They maintain that innovations encourage deviant forms and corrupt English language rather than propagate growth and flavour. Thomas (1991,p.12) on language planning asserts that language devoid of deviations from grammatical shifts, borrowing and code –switching from other languages maintains proficiency and standard of usage. Pickard (1990, p.2) rejects the notion of condemning creativity in language and goes further to say that creativity involves transformation of knowledge that can lead to an extension of experience and realization of new dimensions. The source argues that creativity is a means through which language must pass to full development. The notion that innovations in the lexemes of a

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language present new words (whether cultural or technological) to members of a social system has made grammatical and culture – related innovations in Nigerian English usage pragmatic and dynamic in nature, and capable of being adopted by educated speakers for educational and social situations in Nigeria.

What then are the criteria for NE acceptability within and outside Nigeria? This study aims at determining the exact nature of these innovative linguistic forms as well as identifying the features of Nigerian English that make them variant forms of other world Englishes. An attempt is also made to isolate factors that can impede the acceptance of these new words even when they have been identified as culture- related innovations.

The basic assumption of the study is that innovations describe all creation in a continuum of Nigerian English through functional linguistic items via grammatical shifts, proverbs, code-switching, and compounding. It is also assumed that these new forms of words are culture–related and are often mutated to reflect their new environment. Moreover, that there are common core features which unite the variety with other world Englishes.

2. Theoretical Framework

The Generative Lexicon Theory (Pustejovsky 1995) is one of the theoretical frameworks suited for analyzing innovations in language. We adopt this framework because it offers insights on how these new words are created and the factors responsible for the formation. Within The Generative Lexicon Theory , it is argued that the lexicon of a given natural language cannot simply be characterized as a list of items with only syntactic and minimal semantic information but that words assume new senses in novel contexts, besides, generating a huge set of word senses that can be used creatively. This means that this theory is suited for the analysis of our data under selected linguistic functional items, to provide a comprehensive understanding of how lexical items are accessed and retrieved and how these new words are presented as innovations within a mental framework of educated speakers of Nigerian English.

It is the goal of this theory to define an account of the creative use of language by rule-governed or rule-bending principles which is of course how the status of innovations are examined in order to distinguish potential words from well-formed ones. We simply

describe grammatical and culture-related innovations using generative lexicon model to arrive at the reason for the acceptability of variants of NE as standard for educated Nigerians.

3.   Research Procedure

The subjects were one hundred educated speakers of Nigerian English of varied linguistic and socio-economic backgrounds selected by a stratified random sampling technique from five ethnic groups in Nigeria. To ensure that the subjects were educated speakers of English as a second language, we concentrated on subjects drawn from the Universities of Uyo and Calabar whose educational backgrounds range from undergraduates though Bachelors, Masters, and Ph.D Degree holders with the following ethno-linguistic backgrounds: Hausa 19, Igbo 20, Yoruba 22, Ibibio 23 and Annang 16. The source of data was the questionnaire which concentrated on a survey of strategies for the formation of grammatical innovations.

Another source of data was a set of spontaneous speeches and sentences from description of pictures which were recorded on tape. Forty minutes were allotted for the exercise which was enough for most respondents. Each of the respondents was given a set of questions to choose from. Their discussions from either of these questions were recorded on tape. All responses were coded, scored, tallied and tabulated using simple percentages. Thus while the scope was limited, data collected form the respondents were sufficient for the study.

4.   Discussion of Functional Items

The chapter examines the various methods of creation in Nigerian English to ascertain their validity. Grammatical and culture–related innovations were analyzed using such functional items as grammatical shifts, borrowing, proverbs, code-switching, compounding and reduplication.

4.1   Grammatical Shifts

This refers to changes in the grammatical status of the relevant word in language. These changes often change the meaning of the word, besides the word class. These are shown in the following examples;

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4.2 Coalescence

Grammatical innovations expressed in Nigerian English often coalesce into a one – word verb and object in the process of word building. Examples: have-a-bath (bathing) tell lie (lies) been–to (aboard) bend –down (peasant shopping spot) bed –sheet (sheet) black – in- complexion, (dark skinned) bitter –cola, (a kind of kola with bitter taste) back-market, (illegal deals) carry-over,(repeat course) cope–up–with, (to cope) double-mind (doubtful) half-bag, (a unit of measurement) joint-army, (enlisted) kick-against, (oppose) never– do-well, (idiots, dunce) sure –banker, (certainly)take -time, (be warned).

4.3 Prepositions in NE:

Prepositional items in NE usage in phrasal verbs are common. The prepositions in italics below do not appear in SBE, but they do in NE. (i) He ordered *for* more beer.(ii) They discussed **about** the problem. (iii) She stressed **on** the need to be educated. (iv)The laboratory comprises *of* many sections.(v)The lawyer demanded *for* his release.

4.4 Stative Verb

In NE, stative verbs system can be used freely in the progressive but this differs with what obtains in SBE. Examples:

Nigerian English	Standard British English
I am hearing what you are saying.	I hear what you are saying
I am *smelling* fried rice burning..	I can smell fried rice burning
Supposing, I do not have money	Suppose I do not have money,
Who will pay my school fees	who will pay my fees?
I am *tasting* the soup	I taste /tasted the soup
I am *seeing* John approach the stadium	I see/can see John approach the stadium

These examples are in contrast with SBE where 'I can see, smell, hear; she composes; and suppose are preferred.

4.5 Reduplication

Reduplication is a common phenomenon in NE usage. The tendency to repeat certain grammatical items is perhaps for emphasis. However, copying often results in redundancy as in the following examples. half half; one one; small small; before before; slowly slowly; well well. These are examplified in the following examples:

(i)   I need *half half bag* of rice and beans.NE
        (I need a half bag each of rice and beans. (BE)
(ii)   These clothes are sold at *one one* naira each NE
        (These clothes are sold at one naira each(BE)
(iii)   Do you have *small small* beans?
        (Do you have small species of beans(BE)
(iv)   Please drive *slowly slowly* the road is too slippery because of
        the rain.
        Please drive *slowly* the road is too slippery because of rain.
        (BE)
(v)   Guests are expected to dress *well well* for the party.NE
        Guests are expected to dress *well* for the party.NE

4.6   Collocation

        Collocations are predictable occurrences of two or more words
that commonly occur together (cf. Udom 2007).Collocations are not
replaceable in part or in whole without loss of meaning. Some
examples are as follows:
(i)   Suspend the topic (stop what one is saying)
(ii)   Sustained an injury (be wounded)
(iii)   Tight friend (close friend)
(iv)   Transport money (money for transport fare)
(v)   Very essential (most important)
(vi)   Burnt to ashes (burnt down completely)
(vii)   Shed tears (cry)
(viii) Church service (church on Sunday)
(ix)   Dubious character (bad character)
(x)   Choke up (be occupied)
(xi)   Eat to one's satisfaction (have one's filled)

Illustrations:
(i)   Let little Edidiong *eat to his satisfaction*
(ii)   The building was *burnt to ashes.*
(iii)   Udom needed *transport money* to travel to Ibeno.
(iv)   A *church service* was held in honour of late Akpan Isemin,
        last week.

4.7   Compounding:

        Researches in linguistics have claimed that there is no dividing
line between compounding and derivatives, but, Bauer (1983) gives

a working definition of compound as a phrasal unit that contains at least two lexemes which are in a dependency relation to each other. However, Bennett (1993) offers a disputed claim that compounding is phrasal in nature. He opines that "a compound functions grammatically as a single word and differs in various ways from a syntactic construct e.g different order of constituents, generic interpretation, and greater restrictions on internal modifications (p.8)".

All the same, one point seems explicit about a compound-that it is the combination of two words which function as a lexeme. This chapter combines these definitions in the analysis of Nigerian English compounds. It is worthy of note that NE compounds are composed of determining and determined parts. The determinant (modifier) usually precedes the determinatum (head) with exception to the rule in syntactic compounds such as man-o-war and four-one-nine.

The relationship between the modifier and the head is crucial to the understanding of the compound as a whole. But Bennett (1993), argues that compounds are so difficult to analyze because they are never wholly compositional. For instance, noun-noun compounds can be treated compositionally in that they can be broken down into separate lexemes where each lexeme contributes to the meaning of the compound and is interpreted individually, but the link between the two parts is never explicit in compounds. It is this relation which causes the most problem in the understanding of endocentric and exocentric compound types which we try to explain in this chapter.

An endocentric compound is the type where the whole compound is a hyponym of the head element (Udofot 1999, Udom 2007), where the head is the syntactically obligatory lexical category modified by the first word naming a type or class . Examples are *transport* **money,** *husband* **snatcher,** *rainy* **season,** *ritual* **killing,** *bamboo* **bed** *and idol* **worshipper** to name but a few. The heads of the compounds are emboldened while the modifier is italicized. On the contrary, an exocentric compound is that where the whole is not a hyponym of the head. It has a head and a non head where it has zero determinatum as the determinatum lies outside the compound. The interpretation of exocentric compounds is risky because of its opaque nature. Examples include *African time,* (the

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tendency to be late) *essential commodities* (scarce goods), and *environmental sanitation* (clean up exercise)

However, the interpretation of endocentric compounds provides less problem because most of the compound elements chosen are generally accepted as having relations based on the semantic features that are analyzable as the head and non head as in the following illustrations:

(a) A substantive is determined by the stem form of another substantive (eg Government House).

(b) Two substantives may form a group of notionally coordinated members with either as an additive(e.g Home People- members of the family, Townsman – kinsmen).

(c) Compounds may fall under the semantic denominator (e.g Town man, common man, army man) where man is the common denominator.

(d) A compound may be an adjective plus a substantive(eg illegal structures, ritual killing).

(e) A verbal item may determine a substantive(eg working class)

Accordingly, exocentric compounds may be analyzed based on denoting an agent which performs what is indicated by the predicate/object nexus of the formal basis, example: *Town crier* and also when their formations denote that which is characterized by what is expressed in the compound, example: *four-one-nine.* However, Levi (1978) has corroborated the apparent ease of the interpretation of endocentric compounds with syntactic approach which draws a distinction between the way in with verbal and non verbal compounds are derived. The characteristics of the syntactic approach provides valid arguments for analyzing predicate nominalization and predicate deletion processes by which compounds are derived.

4.8   Predicate Nominalization

This is a process by which the verbal compound (head) is derived. The head is a derived noun from an underlying predicate, and thus its non head is the argument form of the proposition (ie the compound as a whole can be derived from an underlying

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proposition). Examples include *resource control, traditional marriage, power failure, family planning, traditional rulers, okada rider, danfo driver, census trainer.*

4.8   Predicate Deletion

In predicate deletion, the predicate that links the two parts of the compound cannot be found in the head noun (i.e the predicate is not present but is nevertheless inherent in the meaning of the compound, it has been deleted.) These compounds are however, derived from an underlying proposition. These deleted predicates are recoverable in the semantic relations underlying these complex nominal of types such as cause, here, from, be, for, about or in. For example, *colonial mentality* has the predicate "be" inherent in the compound. Other examples are *area boy, chieftaincy title, groundnut cake, invitation card, home people and mechanic village.*

Generally, the head and non head elements of endocentric compounds have linguistic classes to which they belong. Many compounds in this category can be in either an adjective plus noun class or a noun plus noun class. Many others belong to various forms of linguistic formations.

- Idol + worshipper = idol worshipper (noun+noun)
- Raffia +bag= raffia bag (noun+noun)
- Ritual +killer= ritual killer (adj + noun)
- Petty+ trader= petty trader (adj+noun)
- Talking+drum = talking drum (gerund + noun)
- Hunting +riffle = hunting riffle(gerund + noun)
- environmental +sanitation= environmental sanitation(adj+N)
- examination + malpractice= examination malpractice (N+N)

Exocentric compounds in Nigerian English do not have elements that function as the semantic heads which are modified by the non head elements (Udofot 1999). Thus it is not possible to work out their meanings from their constituent parts. Katamba (1993, p.321) describes exocentric compounds as being opaque. This perhaps explains why exocentric compounds are not as productive as the endocentric compounds in the innovative creation of new words in Nigerian English. Examples of exocentric compounds include:

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(i)   top+notcher=top notcher (adj+noun) first rate person
(ii) african+time=African time(adj+noun) the tendency to be late
(iii) army+man=army man (adj+noun) a soldier
(iv) federal+ character=federal character(adj+noun) federalism

4.9   Culture-related Innovations

Language is the medium through with the culture of a people is interpreted and disseminated (Udom, 2007). Culture is the way of behaviour of a given society which is reflected through dressing, religious expressions, myth, music, dance and other forms of societal norms(cf.Jowitt,2002, Essien 1995). English is highly influenced by the culture of the environment in contact. It is these new forms of words associated with cultural norms of the Nigerian people that constitute the continuum of Nigerian English. The functional aspects through with these variants can be achieved are through code-switching/code-mixing, borrowing and proverbs.

4.10 Borrowing

Borrowing is a word adopted by speakers of one language from a another language. It is a feature of a situation in which speakers of different languages interact (Udom, 2007). When the borrowing is a lexical unit, it is called a loanword. Adopting a loan word is the process whereby speakers adopt words from another language into their native language (Jowitt 1991).

Nigerian speakers of English tend to adopt fresh coinages to translate their thinking, especially when there are no equivalents. Borrowing is a consequence of cultural contact between two language communities. Borrowing of words can go in both directions between the two languages in contact, but often there is an asymmetry, such that more words go from one side to the other. Generally, some speakers of the borrowing language know the source language too, or at least enough of it to utilize the relevant words. It is important that speakers of the source language know the loanwords. This way, the new words become conventionalized which means that the loan words progressively permeate a larger speech community. With conventionalization, a newly borrowed word gradually adopts the sounds and other characteristics of the borrowing language. The following examples illustrate this fact:

(i) Akara-(small deep-fried cakes made of bean flour) origin Yoruba.
(ii) Edikang Ikong-Soup prepared with water leaves and pumpkin leaves(origin -Efik)
(iii) Danfo - a long bus (origin Yoruba)
(iv) pepper soup - a delicacy with goat meat (Ibibio)
(v) juju - talisman, charm, idol (Yoruba)
(vi) kaftan - long gown worn by men (Hausa)
(vii) magun - a spell on a woman suspected to be promiscuous)
(viii) Ndigbo- Igbo people
(ix) Qkada -motor-cycle used in conveying passengers
(x) Tokunbo -fairly used goods (Yoruba)

4.11 Code-Switching/Code Mixing

Switching and mixing of codes are sociolinguistic phenomena. These phenomena are the ability of bilinguals to alternate codes (languages) in a discourse. In Nigeria, one of the effects of interaction of English with indigenous languages is the alternation of codes, (culture-related simultaneously or interchangeably in an utterance is referred to as code switching,(cf Udom,2007). Code switching involves the use of two or more language codes from one sentence to another. The mode of switch may be language or variety in outlook. Code switching is a deliberate act during communication. Its motivation is usually clear to the people involved in the discourse. Examples:

(i) *O kpari.* Let's go the result has been announced.(That's all. Let's go the result will stand as announced.)(Yoruba and English)
(ii) *Igbo kwenu!* You may now go the party is over.(Igbo people, I greet you. You may go the party is over.)(Igbo and English)
(iii) *Allah zei sia deni.* I will send the infidel away from Kano.(God will be with me. I will send the infidels away from Kano)(Hausa and English).

We noted that code switching emphasizes movement from one language to another, an intersentential phenomenon specific to bilinguals. While code mixing is an intrasentential trend where two or more language codes are used within a sentence. Code mixing emphasizes hybridization and involves the embedding

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of various linguistic units such as affixes, words, phrases and clauses in the speech of bilinguals,(cf Akindele and Adegbite 1999:37).

Examples:
(i) In the name of *Allah*, I will fight *Jihad* if these infidels are not sent away from the North.
(ii) I shall fight against *Boko Haram* in Bauchi if I am elected the Governor.
(iii) This morning *Kaduna Mafians* in black *kaftan* expressed displeasure over the killing of *kanuri*.
(iv) *Akwa Ibom ado Ok.* Meaning, Akwa Ibom state is conducive for a healthy living.
(v) Owelle of Onitsha called on *Amadioha* to protect their crops (Igbo community).

We observed that whenever sociolinguistic codes are applied in an utterance, one important feature worthy of note is that the replaced new words which are culture-related must be in the same grammatical category as the items omitted. Language dominance plays an important role in switching or mixing of codes. However, interactions of codes are for several reasons some of which are the following:

- To exclude others from conversation
- To make group identity
- To quote someone and
- To serve the linguistic need of providing lexical, phrasal or clausal sentential fillers in utterances.

4.12 Idiomatic Expressions

Idiomatic expressions are collocations which have become connotative because of long usage (cf Ekpenyong,2000). It is notable that idiomatic meanings are not decipherable from the literal meaning of the constituent words. They can take different parts of speech in sentences, besides that they preserve words and expressions which have passed out of use. Examples:

(i) *take in* (become pregnant);
(ii) *long legs* (the act of obtaining unmerited favour through influence);
(iii) *bottom power* (sexual gratification),

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(iv) low profile(cheap, inferior),

(v) *To have a bad mouth* (to use foul language against the other)
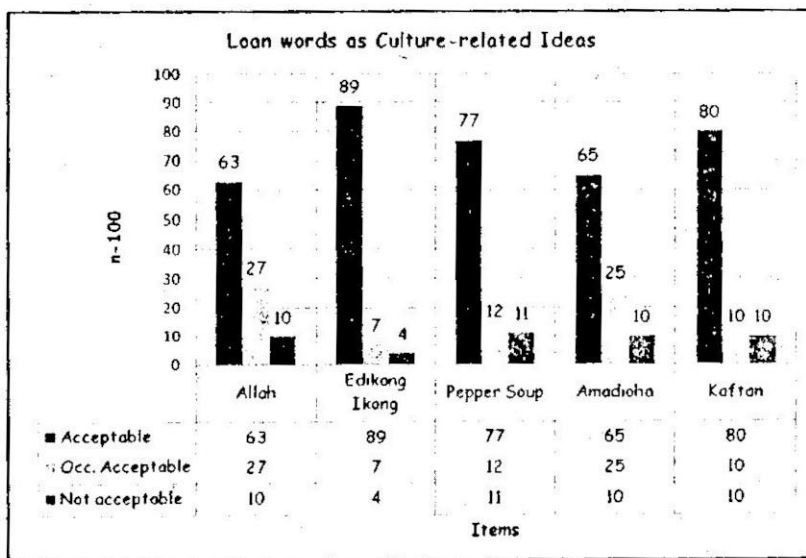
(vi) Not on seat (not in the office)

4.13 Proverbs:

Proverbs represent generally accepted precepts or maxims. In Nigerian English many proverbs are used by educated speakers to express their thoughts. Examples:
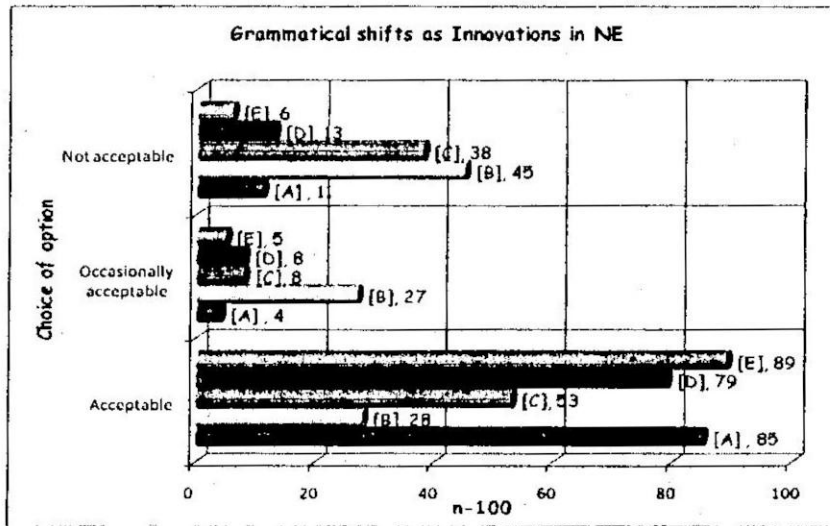
(i) Cut your coat according to your size;

(ii) There is no smoke without fire;

(iii) To dine with the devil,

(iv) make haste while the sun shines.

5. Presentation of Data

Figure 1

Loan words as Culture-related Ideas

Items	Allah	Edikong Ikong	Pepper Soup	Amadioha	Kaftan
Acceptable	63	89	77	65	80
Occ. Acceptable	27	7	12	25	10
Not acceptable	10	4	11	10	10

Figure 2

Grammatical shifts as Innovations in NE

Choice of option / n-100

Not acceptable: [E] 6, [D] 13, [C] 38, [B] 45, [A] 1

Occasionally acceptable: [E] 5, [D] 8, [C] 8, [B] 27, [A] 4
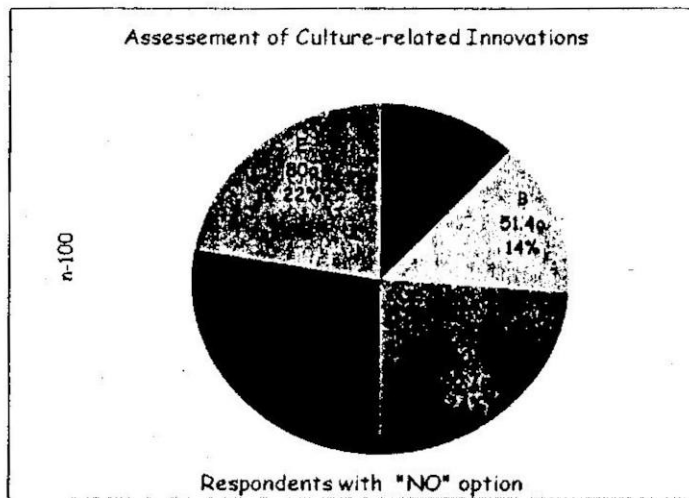
Acceptable: [E] 89, [D] 79, [C] 53, [B] 28, [A] 85

Illustrations of Items in sentences
[A] He oreded _for_ more beer
[B] I am _smelling_ fried rice burning
[C] Jenet is _black in complexion_
[D] Mercy had _taken in_ since April this year
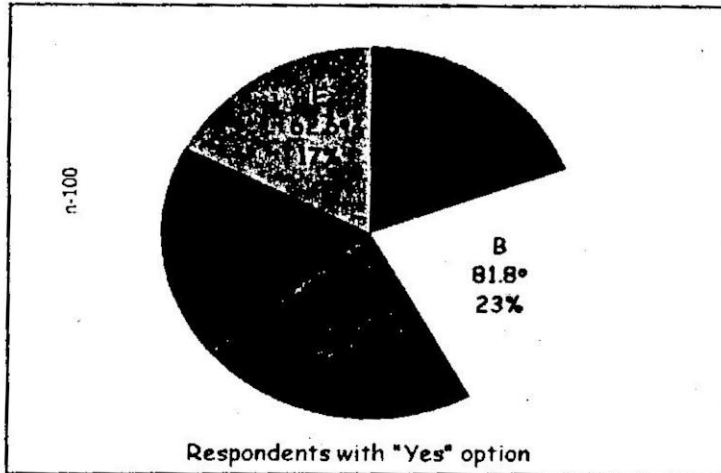[E] Dollars exchange rate in the _black market_ is preferable.

Figure 3

Assessement of Culture-related Innovations

n-100

B 51.4% 14%

Respondents with "NO" option

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Figure 4

Respondents with "Yes" option

Keys

A Akwa Ibom ado Ok
B Makes haste while the sun shines
C There is no smoke without fire
D Bottom power
E long legs

5.   Data Analysis and Discussion:

The study has shown that newly coined lexemes carry the authorship and finger-prints of educated speakers of Nigerian English. It is revealed that certain words borrowed from Nigeria languages are known to feature regularly in English speech of Nigerian speakers. In Figure 1, more than 85% of the respondents are in favour of the opinion that *Edikang Ikong* is acceptable usage that reflect Nigerian culinary norms. The loan word *Edikang Ikong* is a variant nominal form that is used to fill the gap that appears

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as a result of the failure of the English language to capture all aspects of Nigerian culture. It is observed that about 75% of the respondents are of the view that *kaftan*, a loan word from the Hausa language (a long gown worn by men); *Amadioha*, a surname and deity, a loan word from the Igbo tribe; pepper soup, a delicacy common among the Ibibio and Annang tribe, are all borrowed to fill in the gap in English used in the Nigerian situation. Other loan words: Allah, 63%, long legs, 17%,(62.6°) bottom power, 19%(67.4°) were highly ranked as widely used by Nigerian speakers of English.

Figure 2 discusses idiomatic expressions and proverbs as methods of innovations in Nigerian English. The items *Black market* with 89% of the respondents indicating acceptability and *take in* with 79% of the respondents showing acceptability are indications that idiomatic expression with Nigerian flavour are commonly used in NE. We noted that proverbs such as: *There is no smoke without fire* and *make haste while the sun shines* are highly acceptable in the context of NE usage.
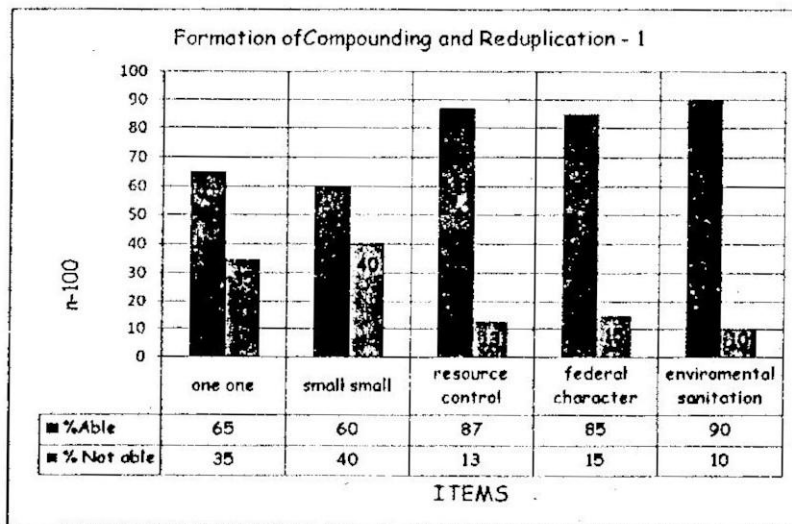
In Figures 5&6, 67% of the respondents are shown to form the item *petty trader* correctly, while 89% form the compound *village head* correctly. Thus, the compounds *examination malpractice, cash madam, and national cake* among others are innovative usages in the Nigerian situation. Compound items contribute greatly to the richness of the grammatical innovations in NE. With regard to innovation, there are so many factors that can trigger off the formation of innovations. Technological development is one of them. For instance, when Akwa Ibom State government needed to control oil production the phrase *resource control* was coined. This has a higher score in our tallied data with 87%. The quest for power, may bring about political jargons, as illustrated in the slogan commonly used in Akwa Ibom State and displayed in posters and billboards everywhere: *Akwa Ibom Ado Ok.* Respondents ranked the item in Figure 4, with 19%.(69.3%). This is code mixing, a phenomenon in language innovations.

Other noticeable factors that could make innovations spread is the compatibility of the created items. The speakers of variant forms say NE, are often comfortable with words that are compatible with the social system especially where they have government support. Expressions such as *National cake, environmental sanitation, and federal character* have gained government support,
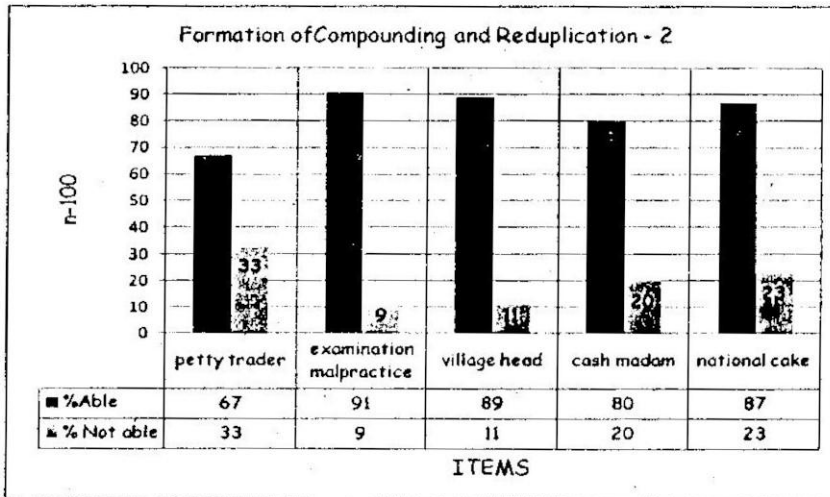
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and are compatible with the Nigerian socio-economic system. Thus Nigerian speakers of NE are conversant with these words, so they prefer them to be part of the social system. Respondents scored above 85% as found in Figure 5. Grammatical shifts are other factors that can lead to formations of innovative usages in NE. Certain words such as "for" do not collocate with "order" in SBE but it is frequently used in NE as in Figure 3 with a percentage of 85. But a word like black in complexion, (a NE usage could not be replaced with dark in complexion, thus respondents scored below average with 28% acceptability. Other items were highly regarded as standard for NE usage).

The author is of the opinion that financial cost may hinder international acceptability because non availability of fund to print materials, signs, and labels of all kinds carrying the information regarding these innovations might hinder the spread.

Figure 5

Formation of Compounding and Reduplication - 1

	one one	small small	resource control	federal character	enviromental sanitation
■ %Able	65	60	87	85	90
■ % Not able	35	40	13	15	10

ITEMS

n-100

Figure 6

Formation of Compounding and Reduplication - 2

ITEMS	petty trader	examination malpractice	village head	cash madam	national cake
■ %Able	67	91	89	80	87
▨ % Not able	33	9	11	20	23

6. Conclusion

Grammatical and culture-related innovations are extremely difficult to study for a few reasons. First, innovations involve uses of language that are often very difficult to capture either through experimentation or through observation. Second, innovations exist on a continuum of conventionality. For instance, the formation of compounds and disambiguation of reduplications have posed a challenge for the analysis and understanding of grammar-related innovations. We observe that the argument relations between a head and its modifier are not readily available in exocentric compounds as they are in endocentric ones. The respondents were only able to form endocentric noun-noun compounds. In spite of these shortcomings, we recommend a wider publicity of these innovations through television, radio broadcasts and newspapers. These will go a long way in spreading these innovated forms.

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