EXPANDING THE DOMAINS OF ENGLISH INFLUENCE: THE ISSUE OF COLOUR NAMING IN SOME INDIGENOUS NIGERIAN LANGUAGES

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Abstract
This paper discusses the expanding domain of English in Nigeria, a country where English is its official language. Schmied (1991) explores the domains where English has impacted upon some African languages. One domain he did not include was that of colour naming. This paper investigates the impact of English on speakers of some indigenous Nigerian languages, with emphasis on Hausa, in relation to the languages’ colour terms. It finds that some English colour terms have been loaned into these languages. The terms commonly loaned are blue, and to a lesser extent yellow, gold and silver. The loaned terms have some of their phonemes adapted to follow the phonemic patterns of the indigenous languages. The most common phonemic adaptation that features in the languages is the split consonant feature. Examples of phoneme adaptations of English colour terms in some Nigerian languages include, ibulu for blue in Igala, butu in Hausa and ehbulu in Esan, while yellow is yalo in Hausa. This paper concludes that with the global influence of English in world, more domains would be impacted upon by the language.

Keywords: English Language, Domains, Nigeria

Introduction
Nigeria is a country with several ethnic groups and languages. Gordon (2005) lists 510 living languages in Nigeria. However, it is actually hard to give an exact number of languages in Nigeria because some linguists argue that some so called languages are no more than dialects of each other. Nevertheless, it is indeed a fact that Nigeria abounds in a multitude of languages. These languages have been classified according to the language families of Africa. Scholars estimate the number of African languages to be at least 2,000. Some experts, according to Omar (2006), place that number even higher. The American linguist, Joseph H. Greenberg, was the first
person to provide a complete classification of African languages. In his book, *The Languages of Africa* (1963), he mapped out the historical origin and development of African languages, and grouped them into four major groups: Niger-Congo, Afro-Asiatic, Nilo-Saharan, and Khoisan. In grouping African languages, Greenberg compared lists of basic words from a large number of languages, and similarities in the forms and roles of grammatical structures. The underlying assumption is that languages which belong to the same group, share certain basic vocabulary and grammatical features that indicate a common origin. This shared origin is referred to as the protolanguage or the ancestral language.

English language came into contact with African languages through colonisation. From the partition of Africa by major European powers in the early 19th century to the third quarter of the 20th century when most African nations became independent, English language ascended to become an official language in almost all the Anglophone countries. In Nigeria, for instance, the conquest of Sokoto in 1903 completed the conquest of what came to be known as Nigeria. This set the stage for the gradual Anglicization of its indigenous languages. Adamu and Dantata (2003:177) argue that ‘spoken Hausa has been influenced by the British rule and the incorporation of Hausa speaking peoples into the world capitalist economy’. This statement applies to other Nigerian languages as well.

This paper focuses on the influence of English on the colour vocabulary of speakers of some Nigerian languages, particularly the loaning of English colour terms and adapting them in these languages. The influence of English on African and Asian languages has been well documented, and the resultant language change regarding affected African languages has generated interest among linguists (see Pride, 1982 and Cheshire, 1991). This paper is the outcome of such interest. It investigates the influence of English on some Nigerian languages, with emphasis on Hausa. In other words, this paper investigates the field of colour where English vocabulary has influenced Nigerian languages, particularly Hausa.

Schmied (1991) explores areas where English has influenced African languages, and he lists them as technology, finance/business, education, administration, European customs and, in some cases, the army. Using languages such as Bemba, Luo, Hausa, Okpe, Shona, Swahili and Yoruba, he illustrates how English words are incorporated into these languages and now used as if they were part of these languages. Such words he observes have been changed somewhat in how they are pronounced but their etymology is obvious. For example, he gives the following as instances where English words are incorporated into various languages: in Bemba (spoken in Zambia), *change* is *chenji*, and *bread* is *buleti*; in Luo (spoken in Kenya) *school* is *sikul* and *guitar* is *gita*; in Mina (spoken in Togo and Ghana) *lorry*
is *lori*, *watch* is *wOchi*; in Nyanja (spoken in Zambia) *clock* is *koloko* and *company* is *Kampani*; and in Okpe (spoken in Nigeria) *ruler* is *irula* and *engine* is *ijini* (Schmied 1991: 141-142). In these examples, Schmied spells the English forms of the lexemes as they are spoken rather than written. This method is also adopted in this paper. Similarly, scholars such as Adamu and Dantata give instances in Hausa: *tank* is *tanki*, *wire* is *waya* and *table* is *teburi* (2003: 180).

**Theoretical framework**

This study is conducted within the sociolinguistic theory of language contact. Hudson (2001) discusses several issues regarding what happens when speakers of different languages relate with one another. Such issues include code-switching, code-mixing, diglossia and linguistic borrowing. Hudson (2001:52) explains that when a person can speak more than one language, there is the tendency to use one language in a particular situation and another for a different situation (code-switching). But when speakers in a conversation are both fluent in the same languages, they can use these languages to converse without any change in the speech situation Hudson (2001:53). As such there is “a kind of linguistic cocktail – a few words of one language, then a few words of the other, then back to the first for a few more words and so on” (Hudson, 2001:53). Furthermore, languages also mix with one another when speakers ‘loan’ certain words from one language into another. According to Hudson (2001:57), “it is common for items to be assimilated in some degree to the items already in the borrowing variety [language], with foreign sounds being replaced by native sounds and so on”. Hudson (2001:57) exemplifies this with the word *restaurant* which lost its uvular *r* when it was borrowed from French into English. Following such statements about what happens when words are loaned into another language, this paper investigates the loan of English colour words into some indigenous Nigerian languages.

There are different systems of colour in indigenous Nigerian languages and though they differ, their users use them to describe colour attributes of objects. Following Berlin and Kay (1969) model of colour terminology, there are 11 basic colour terms\footnote{A large body of research into colour naming around the world has centred on Basic Colour Terms (BCTs), a concept introduced by Berlin & Kay (1969). Goddard (1998: 113-114) points that in some ways, the term ‘abstract colour terms’ might be more appropriate because the major criteria are that a Basic Colour Term is (a) useful in a wide range of contexts (b) broad or general in meaning in the sense that it is not considered as a ‘kind of’ any other colour and (c) it is salient, which is a psychological criterion, i.e. the word must be one which people think of quickly and readily.} which obtain world over; which are presumed to have six stages of development. The presumed six
stages of development are shown in the diagram below. The guiding idea behind the diagram is that if a language has a word for a category to the right of an arrow, then it has all the terms to the left of the arrow. However, there is no particular ordering for the members of Stages III and VI.

Berlin & Kay’s (1969) Implicational Hierarchy:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage I</th>
<th>Stage II</th>
<th>Stage III</th>
<th>Stage IV</th>
<th>Stage V</th>
<th>Stage VI</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>black</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>yellow or</td>
<td>blue</td>
<td>brown</td>
<td>grey</td>
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<tr>
<td>white</td>
<td>green</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pink</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>orange</td>
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<td>purple</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Regarding the sequence of colour development, it is now accepted that any or all of Berlin & Kay’s (1969) Stage V and VI groups – brown, pink, orange, purple and grey – may occur much earlier (see Goddard 1998; L-Thongkum 2007). Also, new findings indicate languages with many basic colour terms, or in the process of evolving new ones (see Forbes 1979, 1986; Zimmer 1982; Morgan 1993; Boynton 1997; Steinvall 2002). Predictably, indigenous Nigerian languages have different systems of colour. Some have three colour terms while others have more.

Methods

The data for the study was generated from an open-ended questionnaire distributed to Nigerians from diverse ethnic and language backgrounds. The questionnaire collected data on the use of colour terms in the indigenous languages of the respondents using availability sampling. However, these questionnaires did not target speakers of any language in particular thus, a varied response was obtained from speakers of different languages. In other words, the languages presented here have not been specifically chosen for analysis; rather, they are the responses from the questionnaire that were eventually returned. This forms the delimitation of the study.

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If a language has six colours, then the sixth one is something that encompasses blue. And if a language has more than six, the subsequent ones it will have are also ones found in English colour system such as grey, purple etc. Therefore, there are colour regions that are in some ways more primary, and so a language would not have terms for three shades of blue without a distinction between red and yellow. Furthermore, the colour terms in the implicational hierarchy form eight basic colour term systems as follows: Two colour system: WHITE, BLACK; Three colour system: WHITE, BLACK, RED; Four colour system: WHITE, BLACK, RED, GREEN; Four colour system: WHITE, BLACK, RED, YELLOW; Five colour system: WHITE, BLACK, RED, GREEN, YELLOW; Six colour system: WHITE, BLACK, RED, GREEN, YELLOW, BLUE; Seven colour system: WHITE, BLACK, RED, GREEN, YELLOW, BLUE, BROWN; Eight, nine, ten or eleven colour system: WHITE, BLACK, RED, GREEN, YELLOW, BLUE, BROWN, PURPLE, +/-PINK, +/-ORANGE, +/- GREY

315
Four research assistants distributed 136 questionnaires to different parts of Nigeria, namely, Kogi, Anambra, Kwara, Kano, Katsina, Zamfara, Kaduna, Borno, Bauchi, Yobe, Ondo, Lagos and Edo States. The 136 questionnaires were distributed to whosoever was available and willing to collect irrespective of his/her ethnic/linguistic background. However, only 80 were returned, and of these only those that had English colour terms in their list are included in this study. The respondents’ languages are Hausa (21), Yoruba (12), Igbo (6), Jukun (1), Bachama (1), Igala (5), Igbara Koto (4), Igbara Okene (4), Oworo (1), Tiv (5), Afemai (1), Ibre (1), Tangale (2), Nupe (4), Kuteb (1), Pabir (2), Kabba (1), Yagba (1), Khana (1), Esan (2), Bassa-Nge (2) and Fulfulde (2). Table 1 shows a list of the colour terms in these languages. It should be noted that the languages in the table are arranged according to alphabetical order. In addition to the questionnaire, a semi-structured interview was conducted with dyers in Kano city to obtain more information. Finally, overheard speech and conversation in local drama and adverts also provided some data for the research.

Results
Below is table of terms as given by some respondents:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language Description</th>
<th>Colour terms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bassa-Nge spoken in Kogi State</td>
<td>Boku (white), Jiko/jeko (black), Jzuru (red), Nzelu (blue), Colo bitti ((colour of the sky) blue), colo Igo/ Nuwo igo (green: colour of grass), colo miliki (creamy white/ milk colour), colo kim/ Nuwo Ankono (brown: sand colour), colo tutumpe/ Nuwotutumpere (grey: colour of ash), colo nimi arji/ Nuwo argi (egg yolk colour/yellow), goa (gold)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esan spoken in Edo State</td>
<td>Ujohwen (white), Uwehimen (black), Jahwen (red), Ebehen (green), Ebeh naiholorereweede (brown), Ebhulu (blue), colo Nusi anume (orange), Ekolobi (purple)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hausa spoken as a first language in large areas of Sokoto, Kaduna, Katsina, Kano, Bauchi, Jigawa, Zamfara, Kebbi, and Gombe states</td>
<td>Fari (white), Baki (black), Ja (red), bulu (blue), tsanwa (green), ruwan goro (orange: colour of moist kolanut stains), ruwan toka (grey: colour of ash), dorawa (yellow), ruwan hoda (pink), makuba (maroon/brown), ruwan kasa (brown: colour of sand), ruwan jini (maroon: colour of blood), bulu (dark blue)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Igala spoken in Kogi State and parts of Anambra and Edo states</td>
<td>Efufu (white), Edudu (black), Ekkputa/ Epke (red), Odowo/Ibulu/Odusa (blue), Omi alemu/Otukpa/Eyo (yellow), Omi emi (green), Omi Elu/ Ikete (ash colour/ grey), Omi efufu (pink), Omi edudu (‘dark’ black), Omi-falalata/ Adikabala (black and white combination), Adikeke (purple), Omi kefe (brown), ome alemu (orange), Odo eye (ox blood), Odufe (green and white combination), Edu wala (red, green and white combination), Alemu ghanaji (orange and milk colour combination)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Igbara (Koto) spoken in Kogi State</td>
<td>Oovu (white), Ojoji/Oji (black), Ozaya (red), Ibulu (blue), Eyi ezi (brown), Eyi itihuo (grey: colour of ash), Eyi aje (yellow), Eyi abbi/ eyi asurakpa (green), Odohwa/ eyi asemi (pink), Eyi golu/gold (gold), Eyi aremi (orange), eyi laba (cream), eyi odunu (purple)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Igbara (Okene) spoken in Kogi State</td>
<td>Oovu (white), Ojoji (black), Ovivi/ Thuponna (red), Oni sororo (cream: from colour of locally made cream), Oni bulu (blue), Erere (green), Oni dadu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language Region</td>
<td>Colour Term</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiv spoken in Benue State</td>
<td>Pu (white), U’i (black), Nyian (red), N’kwe (blue or green), Nd’ggh (green), Na (yellow), Nkoun (brown)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yoruba spoken in Ogun, Osun, Oyo, Ondo, Lagos and Kogi States</td>
<td>Funfun (white), Dudu (black), Olo (red), Awo olom (green), Aro/ bulu (blue), Elekou (purple), Olom aro (purple or black), Olom asan (orange), Olom sanma (sky blue), Olom eru (grey: colour of ash), Olawo nesur (yellow), Olawo nile (Brown), Olom gioli/ olom nolu (golden)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nupe spoken in Niger State</td>
<td>Bokw (white), Zikó (black), Dzú (red), Yaran/ Nwófín (green), bulw (blue), nufw jikana (brown), nufw mikili (yellow)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Colour Terms in some Nigerian Languages
Source: Field data, 2013

Discussion

It is clear from Table 1 that some languages have more than one colour term for some colours. This is explained by the fact that many Nigerian languages have dialects. This means that there would be some differences in the pronunciation of some words, vocabulary and less commonly syntax among regional varieties. From Table 1, it can be seen that these languages have terms for black, white, red and in some, green, blue and yellow. However, of interest to the objective of this paper is that there is the use of English colour names incorporated into the respondents’ vocabulary of indigenous language colour terms, e.g. Ehbulu (Esan), Ibulu (Igala, Igbira), bulu (Hausa), Oni bulu, Eyi golu/gold (gold) (Igbira), bulu

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44 Discussions with some speakers of the above language revealed that the scope covered by a single colour term is much wider than their English counterpart. This is probably because some of the Nigerian languages studied above have fewer colour terms. For example, red would cover many kinds of reds e.g. scarlet, crimson, maroon, etc. In Tangale, according to respondents, white can be used to denote red and yellow, while black can be used to denote blue and green; in Bassa — Nge bright colours with a tinge of red in them such as English pink, scarlet, magenta, maroon, ox blood and even orange are called zuru-zuru (derived from zuru (red), while dark colours such as English purple, navy blue etc are called jeko-jeke (derived from jeko (black). Similarly, in Igbo, which according to respondents, has ojii (black) to refer to all dark blue colours, Ocha (white) is used to refer to light blue colours and light pink colours; dark pink and purple colours can be referred to using obara (red), while orange is seen as a shade of yellow and so it can be referred to using manu (yellow). In the same vein, Zeiger (2008) finds that Funfun for some Yoruba speakers includes white, silver, pale gray and chrome; Pupa includes red, pink, orange, and deep yellow while Dudu includes dark and generally cool colours such as black, blue, indigo, purple, green, dark browns, red-browns and dark greys.
bluu (Tiv), Olomi goozi (Yoruba), and bulun (Nupe). These colour terms have been changed to become like the general pronunciation patterns of the language, and this is reflected in the orthography of these words.

According to Dunstan (1969: 82), in Hausa, “initial and final consonant clusters are difficult for Hausa speakers, who tend to insert a vowel between each pair of consonants e.g. screw driver becomes sukuru direba”. This explains why blue is pronounced /bulu/. In Igalia and Igibiria (Koto) blue is ibulu, while in Igibira (Okene) it is Oni bulu. We find this in Igibira (Koto) where gold colour is called eyi golu. In Igibira (Koto), –i has been added before /b/ in Ibulu and this pattern can be found in some African languages such as Bemba in which book is called ibuku and in Zulu where brush is ibhulashi (see Schmied 1991: 159 & 156).

Yoruba respondents had olomi goozi as part of their Yoruba colour repertoires. Schmied (1991: 157) also explains that –i- is added after alveolar, palatal or velar consonants as we find in this instance. However in Tiv, blue is bluu bluu though it is not clear what the reduplication signifies. In most indigenous Nigerian languages, the consonant cluster ‘bl-’ is absent and so this ‘foreign’ cluster is phonemically changed by the introduction of a vowel sound between /b/ and /l/. In Esan, Igalia, Igibira, the /b/ is preceded by another vowel sound in accordance with the sound patterns of the language. This feature of split consonants is a recurrent pattern in almost all the languages studied here. However, in Nupe, the final –u in the phonetic adaptation of blue is bulun. Here, the final vowel has been nasalised, as is found in the Nupe language which has 3 nasalized vowels /ã, ů, ū/ (Dunstan, 1969: 137).

It is striking to note that the word colour itself has been adapted in some indigenous language to describe colour. In some languages like Hausa, many speakers prefer to use the term kala instead of the indigenous term launi to denote the attribute of colour. Adamu and Dantata (2003) discuss this issue and argue that kala is a Hausanized word that is presently threatening the indigenous Hausa word for colour, i.e. launi. We also find the word colour adapted in Bassa-Nge (colo biti, colo miliki etc) and Esan (colo nusi anume). Similarly, it is now common to hear on the radio, in otherwise Hausa programmes, the word yellow (pronounced /yalo/) and silver (pronounced /silba/) being used to describe the attribute of colour. In fact, yalo is listed by Adamu and Dantata (2003) as a Hausanized word that is threatening the indigenous expression used to denote the colour, yellow. The /u/ sound which is absent in Hausa is replaced by the /o/ sound indigenous to the language (see Jowitt, 1991: 76). As Schmied (1991:155) notes, English “vowels outside the normal five to nine vowel system tend to converge with the nearest African vowel”. Regarding the term silba, Hausa does not have /v/ and so /b/ is used to replace it in silver. Another colour term, which
though not listed in the respondents’ lists, is given by Gwammaja (2012: 68). The term is *gwaldin* which he says is used as a Hausa equivalent of the English colour term, *blonde*. Here the */əu/* in the English term *golden* has been replaced by */w/* followed by */aː/*: the cluster ‘gwa-*’ is found in Hausa and this explains why it is used in the indigenised form of *golden*. The final, unstressed */ə/* that occurs in the English term, but which is absent in Hausa, is replaced by */i/*.

Some respondents use an English colour term to indicate the colour of some entity which do not have a monolexeme (in the indigenous language) to refer to it, for instance, *pink, maroon, lilac,* and *ash* (the term *ash* is commonly used by Nigerians instead of *grey*). These terms which could be denoted by using circumlocutions in the indigenous languages are better preferred than the circumlocutions in the indigenous languages. Indeed, even English colour terms comprising compound words are used by Nigerians in cities and towns, instead of circumlocutions in the indigenous languages, for example, *sky blue, lemon green, army green, fuchsia pink, magenta, coffee colour, milk, cream,* and *navy blue* are now commonly heard among Nigerians while speaking their indigenous languages.

**The Case of Hausa: A Look at the Local Dyeing Industry in Kano**

Hausa belongs to the Chadic branch of the Afro-Asiatic languages which are spoken in most of North Africa and also large parts of south-western Asia. Hausa is one of the two most widely spoken languages of sub-Saharan Africa, with the other being Swahili. In Nigeria it is the dominant language of northern Nigeria, and serves as a lingua franca to peoples of that area. It is spoken in states such as Kano, Katsina, Kaduna, Sokoto, Zamfara, Kebbi, Jigawa, Borno, Yobe, Gombe, Bauchi, Plateau and Nasarawa. Thus, it has developed several dialectal variants over the years. Information about the colour terms used by local dyers was obtained from Kano State, the most populated state in Nigeria and home to over 10 million people. Kano has a long history of dyeing, and its dye pits have been a tourist attraction for many years. According to a sign on the gates of the famous dye pits of Kano in Kofar Mata Dye Pits, it was reputedly established in 1498. The only colour being dyed here is indigo, whose chief ingredient is obtained from the indigo plant which is called *shuni*. No other colours are made. In the past, textile products that were dyed in these pits were exported to places all over West Africa (Emelike, undated). However, more than 100 pits have fallen into disrepair and many of them are clogged with refuse and stones (Emelike, undated). Perhaps this is because of modernity and the quest for colours other than indigo. While the decline of these historical pits continues, it can be observed that modern dyers who work away from the pits, are now thriving. These dyers have become quite skilled at dyeing textiles of different
kinds using different colours. This intervention of modernity has resulted in new expressions of colour terms in the language. Such coined terms and their derivational processes are given below:

1. A word from an Indigenous Nigerian language + An English colour term: E.g Takwas blue (translation: turquoise blue). (Gwammaja (2012: 68) in his list of Hausa colour terms lists Takwas girin (translation: turquoise green)).

2. A colour term from an Indigenous Nigerian language + An English colour term: jan brown (translation: red brown); bakin brown (translation: black brown)

3. Combination of two English (colour) terms: For example, golden ash, ash blue, golden brown, red pink, ash purple, ash green, lemon army, golden yellow, golden purple, and purple blue.

4. Modifier + English colour term: For example, light blue, dark pink, light pink, light lemon, dark coffee. Various mixtures of colours are not referred to using single English hue names. For example, combining ‘dark’ black and red brown dyes will give the colour that they call dark coffee.

5. The use of colour from derived entities, which account for the colour name, for example, ox blood, jaki (donkey) kala; gafiya (rat) kala; and Benson kala (colour of Benson and Hedges cigarette pack).

Despite these new coinages, in some occupations that deal with colours, specialized vocabularies are still being used. However, this usage is restricted to relatively few speakers of Hausa, e.g. makers of traditional caps and traditional dyers. Even for this group of users, such usages are now threatened by the more readily heard English colour terms. Specialised vocabulary includes kunkumadi (maroon), makuba (brown), shuni (indigo), tsanwa (green) etc. This perhaps is inevitable because English as the official language of Nigeria, Nigerians are daily exposed to English influence through technology, media and the use of English items.

These terms are seen to be quite foreign as they were not listed in respondents’ elicited colour terms list. In other words, they did not consider them to be ‘indigenous’, even though they appear in everyday conversations. This can be seen as an instance of Hausa-English code-mixing.

For example,

1. Wani mutum mai bulun kaya ya zo neman ka (Translation: A man with blue clothes came looking for you)

2. Ina son mayafi funshiya pink (Translation: I want a fuchsia pink veil.)

3. Ba ta da lafiya, don na ga idanunta sun yi yalo (Translation: She seems sick because her eyes looks yellowish.)
4. *Wancan ne Idi Blaki* (Translation: That is Idi Black)

Tentatively, one can observe from the younger generation that English terms come more readily to mind when talking about colours. Even when there is an ‘equivalent’ term in their indigenous languages, they use the English term. For instance, though blue is *shudi* in Hausa, many young people (educated or not) use *blue*.

**Conclusion**

In conclusion, this paper has examined the influence of English on some in Nigerian languages. It was found that colour terms have been loaned into several indigenous Nigerian languages. These loans have been phonemically adapted to follow the phonemic patterns of the languages. The most common colour term loaned into the languages is *blue*, with it having different adaptations. Other colour terms loaned were *yellow, silver* and *gold*. In Hausa, new colour terms and coinages deriving from compounding have emerged, alongside phonological variants of some English colour terms. The presence of several ‘new’ colour terms is the result of advancements in the dyeing industry. In other words, there is an influx of English colour terms into indigenous Nigerian languages, in addition to the use of names of other entities to express colour.

Also, code-switching to English when the need for a colour word arises is found in casual speech. In the same vein, the elicited list and personal observation reveal that colour terms in indigenous Nigerian languages are varied and many but their frequency of use is on the decrease. Many of the respondents appear to have more knowledge of English colour terms, even though it is their second or third language. In terms of use, there seems to be a casual case of code-mixing with regard to using English colour terms while speaking their indigenous language. This would explain why many respondents had to spend some time trying to ‘remember’ the names of colours in their indigenous languages. As a whole, the domain of colour is one that is vibrant and flexible, as this paper demonstrates, it can (and has indeed) expand to encompass the colourful needs of language users. This paper concludes that with the global influence of English in the world, it will impact upon more domains in other languages.

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