

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

**THE CHARACTERISTIC LEXICAL FEATURES OF STANDARD SRI
LANKAN ENGLISH**

A Pro Gradu Thesis in English

by

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2006

HUMANISTINEN TIEDEKUNTA
KIELTEN LAITOS

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THE CHARACTERISTIC LEXICAL FEATURES OF STANDARD SRI LANKAN ENGLISH

Pro Gradu – tutkielma

Englannin kieli

Heinäkuu 2006

103 sivua + liite

Englannin kieli on vuosien saatossa levинnyt ympäri maailmaa ja tänä päivänä sitä käytetään joka mantereella. Englannin kieli itsessään ei kuitenkaan ole pysynyt samana, vaan sen kielioppi, sanasto ja ääntämys ovat muovautuneet paikallisten kielikontaktien ja kulttuurin/kulttuurien mukaan. Tänä päivänä useat tutkijat puhuvatkin englanneista monikossa, sen sijaan, että puhuttaisiin yhdestä englannin kielestä. Englannin kieliä, joita käytetään vanhoissa siirtomaissa, erityisesti Aasiassa, Afrikassa, Karibianmerellä ja Uudessa Seelannissa, kutsutaan nimellä *Uudet englannit*.

Uudet englannit ovat kehittyneet kontakteista paikallisten kielien kanssa. Englannin kielen on täytynyt muovautua uuteen ympäristöön ja kulttuuriin omaksumalla sanastoa paikallisilta kieliltä ja keksimällä uusia sanoja odoille käsitteille, joita englannin kieli ei tunne. Täten jokainen *Uusi englanti* on sanastollisesti, kielipollisesti ja ääntämyksellisesti hieman toisistaan poikkeava.

Tutkielman tarkoituksena on selvittää Sri Lankan englannin sanastollisia erityispiirteitä. Toisin sanoen, millaisia sanoja käytetään Sri Lankan englannissa, joita ei esiinny muissa englannin varianteissa, ainakaan britti- ja amerikanenglanneissa. Tällaisia sanoja ovat esimerkiksi lainasanat, hybridit, uudissanat, käänösplainat, vanhat englannin kielten sanat, sanat, joiden merkitys on muuttunut tai laajentunut sekä idiomit. Myös koodinvaihtoa käsitellään lyhyesti. Näiden lisäksi selvitetään myös, kuuluvatko sanat joihinkin tiettyihin sanaston alueisiin, esimerkiksi luontoon tai historiaan.

Tutkielman aineistona on srilankalaisesta englanninkielisestä lehdestä kerätty artikkelit, joita on 152 kappaletta. Sri Lankan englanninkielien sanoja artikkeleista löytyi yhteensä 170. Tutkimuksen tulokset osoittavat, että Sri Lankan englannissa on sanoja, joita ei löydy britti- tai amerikanenglanneista, mutta yhtäläisyksiä löytyy muiden Aasian englantien kanssa, esimerkiksi Intian englannin. Erityisesti muiden Aasian kielten sanoja käytetään lainasanoina runsaasti, mutta myös lainasanoja singaleesista, jota suuri osa srilankalaisista puhuu äidinkielenään, on paljon. Tosin monesti on vaikea tietää, onko sana lainattu Sri Lankan englantiin sanskritista vai singaleesista sanojen samankaltaisuuden vuoksi. Myös hybridejä ja idioomeja esiintyy paljon. Kaiken kaikkiaan voidaan todeta, että Sri Lankan englanti on oma varianttinsa, jonka sanasto erottuu osittain muista englannin kielistä.

Asiasanat: language contacts, New Englishes, Standard Sri Lankan English, loanword, neologism, loan translation, hybrid, archaism, semantic change, extended meaning, idiom, code-switching, lexical field

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1 INTRODUCTION

The spread of the English language has not gone unnoticed in today's world. English has found its way to every continent and many of the remotest areas in the world. The English language has not, however, remained the same, in terms of grammar, pronunciation and lexis, in the countries where it has spread. Each country or each linguistic area has shaped the language to fit its own communicational needs. Therefore, the English language is slightly different in each of the areas it has spread to, though there are also similarities between the varieties.

It is important to be aware of these different English varieties spoken and written around the world and therefore also realize that the 'original' varieties, namely British English and American English, are not the only ones spoken nowadays. These varieties of English, which are spoken around the world are also called New Englishes among researchers (see e.g. Platt, Weber and Ho 1984) and the term is generally used when referred to post-colonial varieties of English (Schneider 1997: 7). Since New Englishes is a central concept in the present study it is discussed in more detail in section 2.2. It should not be forgotten either that today there are actually more non-native speakers of English in the world than native speakers. This is due to the fact that the English language has spread around the world and is nowadays used as a lingua franca. These New English speakers are therefore not to be left unnoticed.

New Englishes have emerged from language contact situations (Winford 2003). In other words, when two or more languages are in contact with each other they inevitably influence each other, most noticeably each others' vocabulary. One way for a new language to adapt to its new surroundings is by borrowing words from the background languages and adding new concepts to its vocabulary in that way. This enables the speakers of the language to fully express themselves in a new environment. New Englishes have borrowed most of their loanwords from background languages of the particular area where the English language has spread.

The purpose of this present study is to find out what the characteristic lexical features of one of the New Englishes are. The variety my study focuses on is known as

Standard Sri Lankan English (see e.g. Gunesekera 2005), which is distinguished from more colloquial Englishes also spoken in Sri Lanka in terms of being more closer to British English except in the area of lexis. Standard Sri Lankan English is spoken by a small minority of Sri Lankans who are native speakers of either Sinhala or Tamil. When referring to the English spoken in Sri Lanka researchers also use the terms Educated Lankan English (see e.g. Fernando 1989), Sri Lankan English (see e.g. McArthur 2003b and Platt, Weber and Ho 1984) and Lankan English (see e.g. Parakrama 1995). When I specifically discuss or refer to the present study I will use the term Standard Sri Lankan English but when referring to other studies by other researchers, other terms, such as Sri Lankan English or Lankan English, are used as well.

The aim of my study is to get an idea of what kinds of lexical items are used in Standard Sri Lankan English which are somehow characteristic to this particular variety. Thus, these are items that are often not found in the original varieties, British English and American English, or in the English-speaking world at large. In other words, what sort of words has Standard Sri Lankan English borrowed from the background languages, mainly Sinhala, and also from other South Asian languages, such as Hindi and Sanskrit, and to what extent? In addition, are there other lexical features that are not found in the original varieties, such as the use of archaic English words or neologisms, that is, new words created by Sri Lankans? Furthermore, is there difference of usage in some words between Standard Sri Lankan English and the original varieties? Moreover, I will examine whether the words that have been borrowed from the background languages, in other words, loanwords and also hybrids, loan translations and neologisms belong to certain areas of specialist knowledge, that is, lexical fields (Saeed 2003: 63). Platt, Weber and Ho (1984: 87) suggest that words that have to do with nature, food, clothing or religion usually do not have equivalents in the original variety and must therefore be added to the New English variety. The characteristic lexical items of Standard Sri Lankan English that are found in the data are thus also investigated in terms of their lexical fields.

This study was undertaken because although English varieties and New Englishes, and even South Asian English, as Kachru (1986: 41) points out, have been studied fairly extensively in general, studies on Sri Lankan English are quite few in number.

The studies that have been conducted on Sri Lankan English have concentrated more on spoken data, in other words colloquial English or Englishes in Sri Lanka. However, Manel Herat's (2001) study on native and non-native users of Sri Lankan English and her data from formal discussion on the radio where Lankan Standard, as she calls it, is used shows that it is close to Standard English in all respects except in lexis. Herat thus uses the term Lankan English or Lankan Standard but also indicates that there is a range of Lankan Englishes which differ from each other in terms of deviance from Standard English. In addition to Herat's study, Gunesekera (2005) has studied Standard Sri Lankan English lexis and her data are also spoken discourse, more precisely, conversations among Sri Lankans, and thus represent real life usage. In sum, studies on the lexical features of Standard Sri Lankan English especially in written discourse have not been given much attention and therefore, at the moment there is not much information available. Furthermore, my data is different compared to Herat's and Gunesekera's data and therefore the results of my study will give a different perspective to Standard Sri Lankan English. For these reasons I hope that the results of my study will 'fill a gap' in the study of Standard Sri Lankan English in terms of its vocabulary. As pointed out above, not much research has been conducted in this aspect of Standard Sri Lankan English and therefore I believe that my study will provide new information.

Personally I have been very interested in different varieties of English for some time now and I am fascinated by the idea that a culture of a given country can have an effect on a language which is not native to the country and therefore also have an enormous influence on its lexis. My interest in Standard Sri Lankan English in particular is mainly due to my personal experiences in Sri Lanka and my fascination with the country's culture, nature and people. In terms of Standard Sri Lankan English, I am eager to learn more about the influence of different languages, especially Sinhala, on Standard Sri Lankan English. As I conduct my study I will also gain more information about Standard Sri Lankan English and learn more about Sri Lankan culture in general.

I hope that my study on Standard Sri Lankan English is able to show characteristic features of the lexis of the variety and therefore contribute to the knowledge of Standard Sri Lankan English and perhaps also to South Asian English(es) in general.

Moreover, as pointed out above, Sri Lankan English has not been extensively studied and therefore this study is of importance in terms of shedding some light on the lexical features of Standard Sri Lankan English.

2 LANGUAGE CONTACTS AND NEW ENGLISHES

When two languages are in contact, they inevitably influence each other, which often results in borrowing words from the other language. This lexical borrowing can range from casual to heavy and it varies from one contact situation to another. The two factors that have the most valuable impact on borrowing are “need” and “prestige”. In other words, a language borrows words if its own vocabulary lacks terms it needs in a new socio-cultural environment. Lexical borrowing thus is an extremely common phenomenon and most, if not all, languages have been subjected to it at some point during the course of their development. This is also the case with the English language, which has also borrowed words from other languages when moving to new parts of the world.

The English language, indeed, has spread around the world to many new areas where it has developed characteristic features in order to fully meet the needs of the new socio-cultural environment. The English language, therefore, is gradually moving farther and farther away from its European roots. These new forms of English, which are spoken around the world, as McArthur (2003b: 7) states, are commonly defined as ‘English’, because usually that is how their speakers identify them. However, since English is spoken in many cultural areas nowadays it is often considered among researchers that there is not just a single English anymore, instead, there are Englishes. This chapter deals with language contacts and the spread of the English language starting from its roots on the British Isles and moving on to the post-colonial varieties of English. The term New Englishes will be examined in more detail in section 2.2.

2.1 Languages in contact

A new language variety does not develop in isolation (Platt, Weber and Ho 1984:

87). Winford (2003: 2) states that most languages, perhaps all, have been in contact with another language or other languages during their history. Thus, when two languages start to coexist due to social, cultural, political or geographical reasons, they inevitably have an influence on each other (Chandrasena Premawardhena 2003). For instance, the Anglo-Saxon conquest of the Celtic population in Britain mixed the two peoples and their languages. This language contact thus resulted in a number of Celtic place names in Britain. (Baugh and Cable 1994: 72-73.) Moreover, usually when people who speak different languages interact, they tend to find ways to express themselves in order to overcome the difficulties of not fully understanding each other. This contact may result in the borrowing of vocabulary or in some cases lead to the formation of a completely new language. However, there are cases when lexical borrowing does not even necessarily have to involve the speakers of the different languages to be in contact with each other, or the contact can be minimal. This is possible when new lexis is borrowed through book learning by, for instance, a teacher or a lexicographer who then passes on the new vocabulary to others. Moreover, words may be borrowed in the course of traveling, exploration, conquest or even exposure to the donor language in the mass media. Furthermore, radio, television and the Internet have facilitated the spread of English, especially American English, to other languages. (Winford 2003: 2, 30, 31.)

Winford (2003: 11, 15, 18) distinguishes three kinds of social contexts of language contact situation, which will be briefly explained in the following. Firstly, there are situations which involve language maintenance, which refers to the preservation of a native language from generation to generation by its speakers. Preservation means that language does not change radically within a short period of time. Secondly, contact between speakers of different languages can lead to language shift, which means that a group's native language is partially or totally abandoned in favor of another language. Thirdly, contact between different linguistic groups can lead to the creation of completely new contact languages which are often called 'pidgin' and 'creole' languages. In the following paragraphs I will concentrate on language maintenance since it is the most relevant of these contact situations concerning the present study.

Winford (2003: 12) explains that in a language maintenance situation the external language, with which the native language is in contact, influences the lexicon and structure of the group's native language. The degree of influence varies from case to case. This situation where words from the external language are incorporated into the native language is called 'borrowing'. As far as the history of the English language is concerned, Middle English was greatly influenced by French vocabulary. English borrowed words like *crown, peer, clerk, pastor, judge, mitten and pigeon* from French, just to name a few. (Baugh and Cable 1994: 164-167.) Moreover, borrowing may vary greatly from casual to heavy lexical borrowing to more or less significant incorporation of structures. Moreover, lexical borrowing is an extremely common phenomenon which most, if not all, languages have been subjected to at some point of their development. (Winford 2003: 12.)

Winford (2003: 51, 53) reminds that open-class items such as nouns and adjectives are more easily borrowed whereas closed-class items like pronouns and conjunctions tend not to be adopted into a new language. Furthermore, the fact that nouns and adjectives form less tightly knit subsystems of the grammar than closed-class items do could be a reason why they are more commonly borrowed. In addition, open-class items are frequently used in contexts where they can be isolated and extracted as loans. (Winford 2003: 51, 53.) However, Romaine (1995: 65) points out that core vocabulary, such as body parts, numbers, personal pronouns and conjunctions, are sometimes borrowed as well. This was the case of Old English, which borrowed pronouns and prepositions from Scandinavian languages. *They, their* and *them* are actually of Scandinavian origin. Moreover, the prepositions *till* and *fro* are Scandinavian as well. (Baugh and Cable 1994: 100.) In other words, even though closed-class items are more rarely borrowed than open-class items, there are still cases when this has happened.

If a language borrows heavily from another language it is possible that there are situations where the user of the language may choose between two words, one borrowed and the other native, which may then reflect in different levels of style (Winford 2003: 58). Furthermore, Romaine (1995: 59) reminds that borrowed items are not fully incorporated into the language immediately. It takes time for each individual to adapt to a new word until it can meet more general acceptance. In other

words, borrowed items have an uncertain linguistic status for a while after they are first adopted.

As noted above, lexical borrowing ranges from casual to heavy. The extent of borrowing and also the motivations for it are influenced by several social factors that vary from one contact situation to another. “Need” and “prestige” are the two factors that have a valuable impact on lexical borrowing. As pointed out by Weinrich (1953: 56, as quoted in Winford 2003: 37), “most of the borrowing associated with “distant” contact seems to be motivated by the need to designate new things, persons, places and concepts”. Distant borrowing refers to a situation where the speakers of two languages are not in direct contact with each other but instead lexis may be borrowed through media, for instance. In other words, a new language variety forms its vocabulary for the purposes of the society where the language is used (Platt, Weber and Ho 1984: 87)

2.1.1 Creating new words and new meanings

More or less all the varieties of New Englishes typically have a set of words that can be traced back to the days of first contact of the colonial settlers with the local culture and also to the early development of the English language in a particular area. The early words were, for instance, borrowed from local languages or other English varieties and incorporated into the New English because the early settlers in the colonial areas had no other means of describing the new experiences, sights, sounds and tastes they encountered. Philippine English has borrowed, for instance, the word *tuba* (an alcoholic drink made from coconut sap) from Tagalog, which is one of the native languages in the Philippines. (Bolton and Butler 2004: 94.) In the following paragraphs, some linguistic processes through which new lexicons were created in the New Englishes will be presented in more detail.

One way to enrich the vocabulary of a New English is to borrow words. Thomason and Kaufman (1991: 37) define borrowing as ”the incorporation of foreign features into a group’s native language by speakers of that language: the native language is maintained but is changed by the addition of the incorporated features”. This definition thus, refers to the concept of ‘language maintenance’ introduced in section

2.1 by Winford (2003). In the case of New Englishes, loanwords often come from background languages (Platt, Weber and Ho 1984: 88), for example, Standard Sri Lankan English borrows from Sinhala and Tamil, but also from Hindi, which is spoken in India, and from other South Asian languages. There are, of course, words that are used only occasionally in the New English and which are not familiar to all of the speakers. Platt, Weber and Ho (1984: 89) mention that words which are recognized by most speakers of the variety are called stabilized loanwords. Some loanwords can eventually become universal, such as *sari* and *sarong* which refer to items of clothing worn in South Asia, *sari* by women and *sarong* by men. Furthermore, there are loanwords that may only be used momentarily which are called nonce borrowings (Romaine 1995: 62).

As pointed out by Platt, Weber and Ho (1984: 97), the most common way of creating new words is compounding. In other words, using words that already exist in the English language and combining them to form a new expression which is not used in the original varieties, which are British English and American English. These words are also called neologisms. Görlach (1998: 26) adds that compounds are most easily understood and produced. Therefore, they are the most frequent solution for the filling of lexical gaps. In Sri Lankan English, as stated by Fernando (2003), words have been compounded with one or more English stems or have been formed into hybrids by compounding a Sinhala stem and an English one. *Green chillies*, *egg hopper*, *drink-stool*, *sea tigers* and *body bath* are examples of compounds whereas *fish moju*, *ash plantain*, *poya day* and *pol sambol* are hybrids. Furthermore, *basket woman* (coarsely behaved woman) and *rice puller* (appetizer eaten with rice) also fall under the category of compounds (Platt, Weber and Ho 1984: 98).

Another way of adding new words to a variety as introduced by Platt, Weber and Ho (1984: 101, 104), is that words change their semantic meaning. They can lose their old meaning entirely and take on a new meaning. This, however, is fairly rare. It is more common for a word to keep its old meaning and add new meanings. Romaine (1995: 56) calls this a loanshift. In Sri Lankan English the noun *outstation* refers to the smaller places in the countryside or, as noted by Fernando (2003), to areas out-of-Colombo or the main city. According to Preshous (2001: 49), this word is a trace from the colonial period when the government officers had to administer large areas

and had to travel to certain outlying areas. Moreover, the word *burgher* in British English refers to an inhabitant of a burgh, in other words a citizen, but in Sri Lankan English *Burgher* refers to the descendants of the Dutch and the Portuguese (Fernando 2003).

In sum, it can be said that the vocabulary of each New English consists of words that have come from very different sources. There are completely new creations and words whose meanings have been modified to fit the new environment. However, many of these new words are unique to the particular New English in question. These are few examples of how new words are created or borrowed. There are also other ways of creating new words, such as, a word can change its grammatical category or adding a prefix or a suffix to an already existing word, but they are not discussed in more detail because my study focuses on the categories explained above.

2.1.2 Code-switching vs. borrowing

It is necessary here to distinguish between borrowing and code-switching. This is not a very easy task because it is difficult to say where the line between code-switching and borrowing should be drawn since the two are not completely distinct phenomena. According to Romaine (1995: 143), the distinction between these two concepts is traditionally made in reference to the degree of integration of the borrowed items in the base language, that is, in the language words are borrowed into. Furthermore, it is said that ideally a borrowing is a historical transferred form, which is usually word or lexical stem which has become nativized. On the other hand, ideally code-switching is spontaneous and a clearly bounded switch, which affects all levels of linguistic structure. However, there are cases when code-switching involves single lexemes and therefore the boundary between borrowing and code-switching is quite cloudy. (Tent 2000: 23.) This issue is also taken up by Winford (2003: 105) who calls occurrences of single lexemes momentary switches, where single words or phrases from one language are inserted into another language. This is not regarded as code-switching by some researchers, such as Kachru, who calls it code-mixing, or Poplack and Meechan (1995: 200, as quoted by Winford 2003: 106), who treat these single word switches as nonce borrowings, that is, items

that occur only temporarily. Furthermore, code-switching often involves more complex utterances, that is, more than one item switches, which would not be considered borrowing.

According to Tent (2000: 23), one way of distinguishing code-switching and borrowing is the fact that borrowings are often phonologically and morphologically nativized. Furthermore, Sankoff et al. (1986, as quoted by Winford 2003: 107), argue that “if an utterance has the syntax and morphology of one language, then any lexical item not native to that language must be a borrowing”. That is, borrowings are treated as words whose pronunciation and morphology adapt to the rules of the recipient language. However, phonologically adapted items can also be treated as code switches, and therefore this criterion faces difficulties as well. Moreover, in written texts it is impossible to say whether the pronunciation of a word has adapted to the recipient language pronunciation. Therefore, this criteria obviously only works when spoken data is considered.

Possibly the clearest difference between borrowing and code-switching is the fact that code-switches cannot be as easily predicted as borrowings. Code-switches may occur at fairly unpredictable points in a discourse whereas the occurrences of borrowed items can often be predicted, since they have been adapted into the recipient language and have therefore become part of that language. (Myers-Scotton 1992: 37, as quoted by Tent 2000: 24.)

It is apparently difficult to distinguish borrowing and code-switching, since they, in a sense, are similar phenomena in the same continuum. However, for the purpose of the present study, nonce borrowings, as defined above, will be regarded as borrowings and not code-switches. Longer utterances, on the other hand, such as phrases and sentences, which also involve structural borrowings, will be labeled under the term code-switching.

2.2 What are New Englishes?

As discussed above, the English language has spread from its original roots in England first to America and then along with colonialism and colonial settlers to

other areas in the world, such as Asia and Africa. The English language used in the post-colonial areas is the focus of this chapter. In the following, an attempt is made to clarify the meaning of the term *New English* or *New Englishes*. Examples of *New Englishes* and studies investigating them will also be given.

Researchers have come up with different terms of referring to the many varieties of English spoken in the world today. Braj Kachru introduced the term *world Englishes* in the 1970s and in 1985 *World Englishes* became the name of a journal which was founded and is co-edited by Braj Kachru. Kachru points out in an interview by Jacqueline Lam Kam-Mei (2000) that the concept of *world Englishes* includes both native and non-native languages and it belongs equally to everyone who uses it. Around the same time Kachru categorized these Englishes according to their uses into three circles: inner, outer and the expanding circle. The inner circle includes countries such as Great Britain, Canada and New Zealand, where English is the first language of the people. The outer circle includes countries where English is an official language and has an extended range of uses, for instance, in education. The expanding circle consists of countries where English is learned as a foreign language. With regard to these circles, Sri Lanka belongs to the outer circle.

Varieties of English is also a widely used term, which emphasizes the subdivisions of the English language. According to McArthur (2003b: 9), it is considered a safe term, because it allows language scholars to be less specific about the kind of speech and usage whereas *dialect* would require more specific social distinctions. Furthermore, the term *dialect* fails when English as a world language is discussed. It is totally inadequate, for instance, when referring to African-American English and Spanglish, a hybrid of Spanish and English. The reason for this is that the traditional *dialect* criterion of regionality cannot be applied to these two cases; both ‘Englishes’ are spoken in various parts of the United States and therefore do not refer to just one particular region.

Platt, Weber and Ho (1984: 2) introduce another term to refer to different Englishes, which is *New Variety*. This term, as defined by them, suggests that there are somewhat recognizable varieties spoken and written by groups of people in the world. However, not all speakers of English always speak a *New English*. Schneider

(1997: 7) emphasizes that this term is generally used when referring to post-colonial varieties as spoken in the Caribbean, Africa, Asia, Australia and New Zealand. These *New Englishes* include, for instance, Philippine English, Singapore English, Nigerian English and Sri Lankan English. However, Platt, Weber and Ho (1984: 2) remind that it is difficult to define this term and that there are always borderline cases that do not neatly fit into categories.

According to Platt, Weber and Ho (1984: 2-3), a *New English* needs to fulfill certain criteria in order to be defined as one. First of all, in the countries where a New English is spoken English has been taught as a subject and has spread through the education system. Moreover, even though there are other main languages in a specific area, English nevertheless has been the medium of education. Secondly, the area where a New English has developed, a native variety of English has not been spoken by the majority of the population. Thirdly, those who speak or write English use it in a variety of settings, for instance, writing of literature, in letter writing, in parliament, in the media and in communication between the government and the people. English may be used as a lingua franca between people whose native languages are different. It may also be used among people whose native language is the same but who for some reason feel more comfortable using English in certain situations. Finally, the variety has become ‘localized’ or ‘nativized’ by deviating itself from the native variety, in other words, it has developed features of its own which are not part of the native variety. These features include sounds, intonation patterns, sentence structures, words and expressions. Furthermore, a New English may have created rules of its own for using the language as a means of communication.

The definitions given above all define the English language which is used around the world in slightly different ways. For instance, *world Englishes*, the term introduced by Braj Kachru includes, both native and non-native varieties, whereas *New English* emphasizes the post-colonial varieties spoken, for example, in the Caribbean, Africa and Asia. For this slight difference in meaning I will use the term *New English* or the plural form, *New Englishes*, in my thesis when I refer to Sri Lankan English or Standard Sri Lankan English or to the other varieties of English spoken in Asia or other parts of the world. This term, in my opinion, best fits this particular context.

2.2.1 How have New Englishes been studied?

English as the world's lingua franca has become the focus of attention for many scholars. The interest in the English language no longer concentrates only on the 'original varieties', British English and American English. More and more studies are being conducted on the new varieties, especially the post-colonial varieties of English such as Nigerian English, Singapore English, Indian English and Philippine English. Moreover, the comparative studies of different English varieties have become a major area of academic research as well. The growing interest is partly due to the pioneering work of scholars such as Manfred Görlach, Sidney Greenbaum and Braj Kachru. Fallon (2004: 309) adds that the availability of electronic corpora has also had an effect on the recent growth. Furthermore, as Cheshire (1991: 6) notes, this growing interest has resulted in the academic journals English World-wide and World Englishes as well as a popular magazine English Today, which discuss issues that deal with various questions of New Englishes. In addition, numerous books and articles have been written describing the different varieties of English spoken around the world today. These include, for instance, books and collections by Platt, Weber and Ho (1984), Kachru (1986), Cheshire (1991), McArthur (2003b, also the editor of English Today), and Melchers and Shaw (2003).

Studies on New Englishes have been conducted in all areas of language. As Melchers and Shaw (2003:13) observe, there is variation at all levels of language in New Englishes. In other words, they differ from each other in terms of spelling, phonetics/phonology, morphology, syntax, the lexicon and discourse. Therefore, New Englishes have been studied in terms of their characteristic vocabulary, differences in pronunciation and distinct features of grammar. Usually the distinctiveness or deviation in the New English has been compared to the original varieties, often to British English. However, the deviances are not treated as errors or mistakes, but instead they are recognized as characteristic features of a particular variety. Therefore, by studying the distinct features of New Englishes it has also been possible to determine them as varieties of English in their own right.

One fairly popular way of approaching and learning about New Englishes is to study their lexicon. Several studies, for instance, by Dubey (1991) and Tent (2000), have

investigated and analyzed the characteristic vocabulary of a specific New English. The lexis of some New Englishes, for example, Indian English, has been studied more extensively than others and even dictionaries have been compiled of the findings. In fact, Fallon (2004: 309) mentions the International Corpus of English (ICE) which is the first ever attempt to compile a database of the national or regional variety. The interest in lexis is justified because, as pointed out by Platt, Weber and Ho (1984: 87), a New English inevitably creates a whole range of new expressions in order to fulfill the communicative needs of the speakers. Therefore, studying lexical items in a particular New English is likely to be rewarding as well, at least in terms of finding those items in a variety. A specific area of interest in the vocabulary studies are loanwords. According to Yang (2005: 425), borrowing in the studies of New Englishes has been recognized as a valuable part of nativization and therefore it is also widely studied. Moreover, as Görlach (1998: 25) states, borrowings are the most conspicuous features illustrating lexical innovation in a variety and therefore widely studied.

2.2.2 Lexical studies on New Englishes

Yang (2005) conducted a study of the lexical innovations in China English. He concentrated on lexical borrowing; more precisely on loanwords and loan translations. Loan translations are also called calques. By loan translations Yang refers to the definition given by Romaine (1995: 57), who calls them loan shifts: “loan shift might involve rearranging words in the base language along a pattern provided by the other and thus create a new meaning”. Yang’s data comprised of two English newspapers in China and he analyzed 84 articles from those newspapers. Altogether Yang found 59 borrowed lexical items: 36 loanwords and 23 loan translations. He did not include words that had been borrowed prior to the early 1980s or that already exist in general English vocabulary. He also noted that sometimes this distinction was difficult to make. Yang found that there was a low frequency in both loanwords and loan translations. In other words, the items he found in the articles seldom occurred more than once, in fact, only two borrowed items occurred in more than one article. Yang, therefore, concluded that most of the lexical borrowings in the articles cannot be considered stabilized loanwords. Rather,

they are so called nonce borrowings, which are defined by Romaine (1995: 62) as “single occurrences of an item and may be integrated only momentarily”.

Preshous (2001) studied the lexical features of Malaysian English by analyzing texts from several Malaysian newspapers and other sources. He observed that Malay loanwords are frequently incorporated in the text. Moreover, Preshous (2001: 48-50) noted that loanwords related to food, for example *teh tarik* and *ikan bakar*, are countless and suggested that the reason for this is perhaps that it is a subject close to the heart of the Malaysians. Preshous discovered that a translation in the brackets is provided for some loanwords in his data. Thus, the word in question is regionally specific and therefore not familiar to all the readers. Furthermore, Preshous presented words that have acquired a distinct meaning in Malaysian English compared to other Englishes. For instance, *bungalow* in Malaysian English has a slightly different meaning to the same word in British English. The most distinctive feature of Malaysian English presented by Preshous (2001: 50) is the use of the particle *lah*. He pointed out that it can be used as separate item or attached to other words to add emphasis. He illustrates this with the example, *I'm going to the supermarket to buy a few things, lah!*, in which the particle is used as a separate item. In addition, Preshous noted that code-switching and code-mixing between English and Malay are common.

In his study, Tent (2000), catalogued and analyzed the corpus of Fiji English lexemes and expressions. Tent's material for the corpus was collected from numerous different sources, for instance, stories, articles, letters, advertisements in the local print media, hand-written and printed notices and signs, conversations and television and radio news broadcasts, to name a few. In Fiji English, just like in any other post-colonial English, the lexis includes, for example, loanwords from background languages and from other varieties of English, hybrids, which are English and Fijian or Hindi lexical collocations and compounds, English archaisms, grammatical conversions and Standard English lexemes that have undergone locally motivated semantic shifts. While compiling and categorizing his corpus Tent encountered several problems. Firstly, he found it difficult at times to distinguish between code-switched and nativized borrowings. This problem occurs because Fijian-English and Hindi-English bilingualism have been common in Fiji for some time and therefore

Fijian and Hindi words are routinely inserted into English sentence frames, which has caused the blurring of the boundary between borrowed and code-switched material. Secondly, Tent (2000: 24) identified a problem with restricted regional and lectal usages of lexemes. In an ideal situation, all these levels should be surveyed. However, he says that it was difficult to get access to some lects, because he, as a researcher, was an outsider to the speech community and therefore could not get a very exhaustive sample of lectal and regional usages. Thirdly, Tent (2000: 26) mentioned that it was difficult to decide whether individual lexical innovations were fixed expressions or only used once in a particular context. Furthermore, Tent (2000: 25) took up the issue of whether a lexical borrowing had been nativized and how it can be determined. He found out that very often Fijian and Hindi words in English language publications were italicized which implied that they were still considered 'alien' words. However, he discovered differences in how these words were treated between two newspapers. One newspaper italicized the Hindi and Fijian words but the other did not. In sum, Tent pointed out that if an item was not italicized or glossed it might be a stronger indication of a word's integration into Fiji English. These are a few of the dilemmas Tent was faced with when collecting material for his corpus. He concluded that one must have a degree of arbitrariness and subjectivity when making decisions concerning what items to include in a lexicon and how they are to be classified.

Bautista (1997, as quoted in Bolton and Butler 2004: 100) conducted a detailed study on Philippine English lexis, concentrating on the vocabulary items used by educated Filipinos. Bautista divided the localized lexical items into four categories. The first group included lexemes derived from 'normal expansion' of reference, which include *brown-out*, *fiscalize* and *topnotcher*. The second category consisted of words that are infrequent in other varieties of English, or as he calls them the 'preservation of items'. Such words are, for instance, *city folk* and *solon*. The next category included coinages and neologisms such as *carnapper* and *awardee*. The fourth group of vocabulary items included borrowings from Philippine languages. These are, for example, *lapu-lapu* and *Pinoy*. Bolton and Butler (2004: 100), however, state that the Philippine English lexis has not been thoroughly studied and the few existing studies are pioneering ones.

A study conducted by Bakshi (1991) revealed some similarities in the lexis of Indian and Standard Sri Lankan English. He analyzed characteristic features of Standard Indian English, as used by bilingual speakers, based on letter columns collected from three Indian newspapers. He categorized these words, partly in the same categories as the present study, for instance, loanwords and neologisms, and partly in different categories, such as lexis and initials. Among the characteristic words he found in the newspapers he has included *step-motherly treatment* and *brethren*, both of which can also be found in my data and are therefore also present in Standard Sri Lankan English.

Dubey (1991) studied the lexical style of Indian newspaper English mostly concentrating on matrimonial advertisements where a lot of loanwords and culture-related features can be found. Dubey used the term ‘native item’ to refer to loan lexical items and culture related items characteristic of the native languages spoken in India. His study showed that the frequency of native items per 100 words varies between subregisters in the texts. For instance, the highest frequency can be found in matrimonial advertisements (6.75%) whereas the frequency in editorials is much lower (0.06%). Dubey pointed out that the occurrence of native items varies according to situational requirements, for example to whom the newspaper is aimed at. Moreover, his data suggested that in Indian English semantic shifts of lexical items are a general feature. This means that common English words have developed slightly new meanings in Indian English compared to British English and these meanings can only be understood if one has knowledge of the Indian culture. In sum, Dubey’s data showed that native items are indispensable in some contexts or for stylistic reasons because of the functional value they have.

All in all, the results of the studies conducted on New Englishes show many similarities. All the varieties seem to use loanwords extensively, which is not surprising since, according to Yang (2005: 425), borrowing has been recognized as an important part of nativization in New Englishes. It should be noted that New Englishes do not only borrow from the background languages of the country but from other Englishes as well. Therefore, it is not uncommon to find the same word, such as *outstation*, used in more than one New English. Furthermore, words that have undergone semantic shifts are a common feature in these varieties. Some of

these words have kept their original meaning and added other meanings whereas others have similar, yet distinct meanings. Another interesting finding in some of the studies is the fact that some loanwords are accompanied in the text by commentary, which implies that the word in question is either a nonce borrowing or regionally specific. In other words, the lexical item is not familiar to all the readers and therefore needs clarification. In sum, New Englishes have used very similar strategies when forming the lexis of the new variety and a significant number of new words have been incorporated into the lexis of New Englishes. This suggests that the vocabulary of the original varieties, British English and American English, has not been adequate for the people to express themselves in their new socio-cultural environments.

3 ENGLISH IN ASIA

Asia is geographically an extremely large area with dozens of different nations. Melchers and Shaw (2003: 138) state that there are several hundred languages spoken in South Asia, however, many of them by very small numbers. The dominant languages are Indo-Aryan which are related to Hindi and Urdu in the north, Dravidian languages such as Tamil in the south, and English as an ex-colonial language in most areas. Thus, English has a major role in Asia and it is used in many different areas of life. Moreover, as McArthur (2003: 20) notes, Asia is different from other major continents in terms of English speakers, because it has no large population of native English speakers. On the other hand, as Qiong (2004: 26) points out, there are c. 350 million English users in Asia, which more or less adds up to the same number if the population of the United States, Canada and Britain are combined. This, therefore, is no small number and should not be overlooked. The countries of Asia have a long history with English because several of them have been part of the British Empire and even the United States. Furthermore, Kachru (1994: 497) adds that originally the English language was introduced to Asia over two centuries ago.

Honna (no date available) states that English is used to communicate both within a nation and between nations in Asia; English, thus, has become a popular link

language between different language groups. For instance, people in Southern India prefer English to Hindi in intranational communication. In other words, English has become the inter- and intranational language of the countries in Asia. (Lorento and Hancock 1986: 185.) Moreover, McArthur (2003a: 22) states that English spoken in Asia is a language in its own right; in other words, it has been thoroughly indigenized. The English language has thus established a position in these countries and developed new models and norms (Kachru 1996).

3.1 South Asian English

Kachru (1986: 33, 1994: 508) uses the term *South Asian English* to refer to the variety of English spoken in the Indian subcontinent, which includes India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Bhutan, and emphasizes that it is a cover term used for the standard variety of English. Altogether the population of these countries is well over one billion which means that there are plenty of potential English speakers in the area.

South Asia is defined as a "linguistic area", in terms of English, because it has shared linguistic features. According to Hock (1986: 494-512, as quoted in Kachru 1994: 498), there is considerable linguistic convergence in the Indian subcontinent which is the result of shared cultural and political history, shared literary and folk traditions and also the "all-pervasive substrata of Sanskrit, Persian and English, in that chronological order". Moreover, all the major countries are multilingual and there are even diglossic situations, as in Sri Lanka, which means that the learned variety of language is used in formal situations and its colloquial variety in non-formal situations. These are the reasons South Asia is considered a linguistic area. In addition, many of these shared linguistic characteristics are transferred to South Asian English, which makes the variety distinct from other New English varieties. (Kachru 1994: 498, 500.)

Kachru, however, (1986: 36, 83) reminds that he does not use the term "linguistic area" to indicate linguistic homogeneity or a uniform linguistic competence. The term refers to the regional varieties spoken in the countries, for instance, Sri Lankan English and Indian English. Furthermore, each regional variety of English is spoken

in a different environment in terms of history, acquisition and culture. Therefore, it must be kept in mind that the way one particular variety has developed needs to be considered from this perspective. Thus, generalizations should be made carefully. In other words, as Kachru (1986: 135,139) points out, the distinct characteristics each regional variety has are due to linguistic, cultural and ethnic contexts of the region. Moreover, each variety of English goes through acculturation in the surroundings it has been transplanted in, in other words, in its new socio-cultural context. In this new environment the variety then becomes culture-bound.

According to Kachru (1986: 37-38), South Asian English is distinct because of three factors that are shared by the users of the New Englishes spoken in the area. The first factor is that English is mainly an additional language in South Asia. There are people who speak English as a first language but the number is not significant. Melchers and Shaw (2003: 138) add that only a small minority of South Asians, about 100 000, have English as their first language and ethnic identity. These people are descendants of mixed marriages many generations ago. Kachru (1986: 38, 1994: 513) points out, for instance, that the Anglo-Indian community in India and the Burgher English users in Sri Lanka claim to be native speakers of English. However, most of the people who use English are at least bilinguals and in some cases it is difficult to determine what their dominant language actually is. The second factor is that English is an acquired language in South Asia. Thus, English is acquired in sociolinguistic, educational and pragmatic contexts. For example, McArthur (2003a: 20) states that English has spread through education in many Asian countries. Therefore, as pointed out by Melchers and Shaw (2003: 138), the language proficiency of South Asians varies greatly. The third factor is that English is taught through the written medium and not through spoken language. Therefore, many features of pronunciation are based on spelling. (Kachru 1986: 38.) Thus, Kachru (1994: 513) states that spelling or orthographic pronunciation plays a crucial role in the acquisition process. Moreover, South Asian English is generally spelt in the British style, however, word stress is not that significant and it can vary greatly among individuals (Melchers and Shaw 2003: 138-139).

Kachru (1994: 513-514) states that the ‘South Asianness’ of English is to be defined according to its linguistic characteristics and its contextual and pragmatic functions.

Linguistic characteristics refer to, for instance, phonological, lexical and grammatical features of the language. Contextual functions mainly determine the functional domains in which the language is used in South Asia and pragmatic functions refer to how the language is used. However, in terms of pragmatics, South Asian English, namely the standard variety, has not deviated much from British English. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that even though there are similar lexical features among different Englishes spoken in the Indian subcontinent, there are still characteristic features in each individual variety. These lexical items derive from the different cultural backgrounds of these countries; each country, for instance, has its distinct history, types of dishes, festivals and religion.

An example of the cultural differences between the countries is, for instance, the fact that the main religion in India is Hinduism and in Sri Lanka it is Buddhism, which is bound to have an impact on the words used in the variety of English spoken in the two countries. Moreover, the native languages are different in these two countries; in Sri Lanka they are Sinhala and Tamil whereas in India they are, among several others, Hindi and Urdu. Tamil is also spoken in South India so there is a common language between these two countries as well. Moreover, both varieties have also borrowed a lot of words from other South Asian languages. All in all, the native languages have a significant impact on the lexis of a particular New English because, as stated by Melchers and Shaw (2003: 142), many of the characteristic lexical features of South Asian English have been borrowed from foreign languages and refer to local cultural features. However, New Englishes spoken in the Indian subcontinent do share some lexical items with each other as well because the flora, fauna, food and clothes, for instance, of these countries have similarities. All these features have an impact on the vocabulary of each New English and the characteristic words that derive from the socio-cultural context of each country are therefore needed in order for the people to be able to fully express themselves.

The abovementioned factors that make South Asian English distinct are all true in terms of Sri Lanka as well. Most of the English speakers in Sri Lanka are second language speakers, only a small minority speaks English as their first language. Moreover, the language is in many cases learnt at school and the medium of education has been written texts instead of spoken language. These factors are very

similar to the criteria which a language has to fulfil in order to be considered a New English. The criterion is introduced by Platt, Weber and Ho (1984) and was presented in the second chapter of this thesis. (See section 2.2)

4 ENGLISH IN SRI LANKA

4.1 Historical background

4.1.1 The colonial period

The English language was introduced to Sri Lanka in 1796 as a 'gift' from the colonialists (Herat 2005). Since then language and society in Sri Lanka have undergone considerable changes, which added to the linguistic diversity of the island (Fernando 1989: 185). Already a few years before Sri Lanka was declared a Crown Colony in 1802, schools in the settlement were taken over by Reverend James Cordiner and therefore the initial efforts to introduce English in Sri Lanka were made by the missionaries. However, the government did not take part in English education until 1831. Therefore, a considerable number of schools were Christian until 1886. (Kachru 1994: 504.)

Next the effect of the English language on the language situation in Sri Lanka is described, following Fernando (1989: 185-186). At the time of the introduction of English to the country, Sri Lankan people were monolinguals, speaking either Sinhala or Tamil as their mother tongue. The fact that English became the language of administration, education, legislation and judiciary, which were previously held by the vernacular languages, made the language situation in Sri Lanka more complex. Thus, this new situation created a new socio-economic situation between those who knew English and those who did not. This becomes clear when the class system of Sri Lanka is considered: before the introduction of English, Sri Lanka had a hereditary class system which was not related to language. However, under the British rule the English speaking people, the Anglicised elite, became the upper and middle classes. In other words, the introduction of the English language changed the formation of the classes. Herat (2005: 182) sums up that language has been linked

with most of the changes that have taken place in Sri Lanka, for instance, the downfall of the last Sinhala kingdom, independence and its aftermath and the adoption of Western culture and way of life, which evidently is closely linked with the English language.

Ever since the commencement of British rule to Sri Lanka at the end of the 18th century, Sri Lanka was governed in English. The lower-ranking and middle positions of governmental, commercial, and financial establishments were staffed by local loyalists who acted as the intermediaries between the British and the local majority. Thus, these positions were filled by people who had knowledge of English. Therefore, English education was important in order to realize this employment. The problem, however, was the lack of qualified English teachers. It was believed in general that teaching English to a selected group would result in many advantages. This laid the foundation of English education in Sri Lanka. The local people who were then educated in English formed a new English-educated middle class which was based on education, wealth and occupation. This group became politically powerful and prestigious. The English language therefore worked its way into this elite group, which was the agent of British colonial rule. English, thus, became the language of the privileged while Sinhala and Tamil remained everyday languages of the majority. (Herat 2005: 184-185.)

Fernando (1989: 186) divides the English speakers of Sri Lanka before 1948 into three groups, each with its own social and cultural identity. The first group was the British colonials who were monolingual English speakers; the second were Eurasian, Sinhalese and Tamil bilinguals who used Standard Sri Lankan English. They are also called acrolect speakers of English, which means that they spoke Standard English or the variety of highest prestige. The third group was the Eurasian, Sinhalese and Tamil speakers, who, in contrast to the second group, were basilect speakers of English. Basilect is the variety of the lowest prestige or most deviant from the standard. This group used English for limited purposes, for instance, in their work.

In the beginning of the 19th century the missionaries began to give a small scale English education to the children of Europeans as well as to the children of the upper

classes. The government gave its support to the English education. Moreover, English schools were established in the late 19th century, which led to the decline of traditional Hindu and Buddhist schools. This was due to the fact that the government supported the English schools and neglected the traditional ones. Furthermore, the Buddhist and Hindu schools had always been free but the English schools had high fees and therefore English education was only available for a minority of the people. However, the English schools provided secondary education and were, as Herat (2005: 186) states, "a path of upward social mobility". The schools led to professions, for instance, in the areas of medicine and also to good positions in the government. On the other hand, Sinhala and Tamil schools only provided education in basic literacy skills. (Herat 2005: 185-186.)

4.1.2 The post-colonial period

After the independence of Sri Lanka in 1948 the English speaking westernized elite had become estranged from the masses. The elite held all the important professional positions in the country. Moreover, they had poor knowledge of the indigenous languages and they had the economic and political power as well as inequality in social status in relation to the Sinhala and Tamil speakers. In addition, all this resulted in widespread hostility towards the English speaking class. However, after independence the state required that English should be taught as a subject in all state schools giving equal possibilities for all to acquire knowledge of English, which has shown that people can learn English even if they are not educated in the English medium. (Herat 2005: 186.)

In 1956, as stated by Fernando (1989:186), English was replaced by Sinhala as the official language and in 1978 both Sinhala and Tamil became the national languages. Moreover, according to Platt, Weber and Ho (1984: 20) in 1956 the English language was replaced by Sinhala as the language of administration. Later on, English also lost its place as the major medium of education to Sinhala in primary, secondary and partly in tertiary schools. Education was also available in Tamil in all of these levels of education. Fernando (1989: 186-187) continues that English was then made a compulsory second language from third grade upwards in all Sri Lankan schools. This change in language policies resulted in a new group of speakers: the mesolect

group. The people of this group speak the intermediate variety of English in terms of prestige and deviance from the standard between the acrolect and the basilect. Acrolect speakers speak Standard English or the variety of highest prestige and basilect is the variety of the lowest prestige or most deviant from the standard. Moreover, the new situation created another new group of English speakers, which was the largest: learners of English as a foreign language. The speakers of this group use English mostly for academic purposes.

All in all, Kachru (1994: 542) states that there have been a number of policy switches in Sri Lanka in terms of language(s), but they have not significantly affected the enthusiasm for the English language in the general public. However, it has been realized that issues related to English and attitudes towards it are extremely complex. Kachru (1994: 550) illustrates this by pointing out that in Sri Lanka the power and status of English is symbolised by the word *kaduva* ‘sword’, and to speak in English is *kadden kapanava* ’to cut (down) with the sword’ and by implication, intimidate the listener by doing so. Moreover, Kachru (1994: 542-543) continues that these difficult issues mainly have to do with the following questions. What should be the function of the English language at various stages of education? And what should be the role of regional language, national language and English? He also points out that these issues get entangled in politics as well, especially at the times of elections, which makes the situation even more complex. These questions have been dealt with to some extent in Sri Lanka as the following chapter reveals.

4.1.3 The current situation

In 1956 Sinhalese and Tamil were both declared national languages. Sinhalese was declared the official language of Sri Lanka in 1956 and Tamil in 1987. For a short period of time in 1987 English also enjoyed the status of an official language. According to the constitution, Sinhalese and Tamil are the languages of governance in Sri Lanka today, with translations in English permissible when necessary. Moreover, government documents are available in all three languages, more so in urban areas. However, the fact that the status of English has changed several times has led to a great deal of confusion about its legality. Most Sri Lankans still believe

that English is a national language or a link language and most are reluctant to call it a language of Sri Lanka. (Gunesekera 2005: 76-77.)

Nowadays English is taught from 1st or 3rd grade onwards in Sri Lankan schools. As stated by Fernando (1989: 187), the descendants of the Anglicised elite, the Burghers, are fluent bilinguals of English and either Sinhala or Tamil. The percentage of native speakers of English is very small, but a fair number of Sinhala speakers still have a good knowledge of English (Chandrasena Premawardhena 2003). According to McArthur (2003b: 330), approximately 10% of the population of Sri Lanka, including especially the Burghers, speak English. However, it should be noted that this does not necessarily mean that all of them are native speakers of English.

In some professional disciplines, such as, law, medicine and engineering, study at tertiary level is obligatory in English. The language of the judiciary is still English and Sinhala and Tamil only have restricted use in the courts. (Fernando 1989: 187.) Moreover, Sinhala and Tamil, as pointed out by Herat (2001:1-2), are used in the fields of education, administration and bureaucracy. In today's education policy much emphasis is put on improving the knowledge of English and IT skills of the Sri Lankan people (Chandrasena Premawardhena 2003). Moreover, it should also be noted that Sri Lanka has several daily and weekly English language newspapers, including the *Ceylon Daily News*, the *Ceylon Observer*, *The Island*, the *Sun* and the *Sunday Weekend* (McArthur 2003b: 330-331). Furthermore, according to Boyle (2005), in the latter part of the 20th century Sri Lanka started an open-market policy which brought great influences of British, American and Australian language and culture. Therefore, since more English medium schools were opened and the expatriate community has grown, the use of Sri Lankan English has started to disperse and strengthen.

Gunesekera (2005: 13, 14, 33, 34) describes the power and situation of English in today's Sri Lankan society as follows. If one wants access to power and prestige, knowledge of English is a necessity. This does not mean that those who are in power are necessarily fluent in English but they are more in contact with speakers of English than the average Sri Lankan. Moreover, those who are born into a family

where English is spoken are more privileged than those whose home language is Sinhala, for instance. Gunesekera (2005: 13) points out that "without English, to some extent, wealth and power are meaningless in Sri Lankan society". Therefore, it is not surprising that many parents are willing to work hard in order to provide good education for their children so they could become fluent speakers of English. English education is thus considered the most prestigious. In sum, the power or English in the Sri Lankan society today cannot be questioned. It is connected to well-being and prestige as well as power. In a sense, English divides Sri Lankan society into the privileged and the downtrodden; in other words, to the English speaking class, which is very conscious of its privileged position, and to the 'yakkos', those not fluent in English. As noted by a former Minister of Education, V.J.M. Lokubandara (1993-1994), at the University Grants Commission when he addressed the academic community and the private sector in 1993, the real gap in Sri Lankan society is not based on religion, ethnicity, money or caste: it is based on language (Gunesekera 2005: 34). This has resulted in the emergence of different varieties of Sri Lankan English, an issue that will be dealt with in more detail in section 4.2.2.

4.2 Features of Sri Lankan English

4.2.1 The history of Sri Lankan English lexis

Boyle (2005) describes the history of Sri Lankan English as follows. In the mid-17th century some British sailors were captured in the Kandyan kingdom in Ceylon, the former name of Sri Lanka, and were forced to live in remote villages. These sailors started to use Ceylonese terms in their everyday speech and also added common flora and fauna, which had no English equivalent, to their vocabulary. In 1679 Robert Knox, who was one of the sailors, managed to escape the kingdom and returned to London. There he compiled a book called *a Historical Relation on Ceylon*, which was published in 1681. This piece of work laid the foundation of Sri Lankan English (SLE). Knox's book introduced many words of Sri Lankan origin to the British. These words include *dissava*, *toran* and *Buddha*. These words and many other eventually ended up in the Oxford English Dictionary (OED). Moreover, some of these words made their way to English literature as well. For instance, Daniel Defoe

used *dissava* in his novel *Captain Singleton* (1720) and *Bo-tree* and *kittul* appeared in Birch's *History of the Royal Society* (1756). However, words of Sri Lankan origin did not have any real advantage to writers of English until one hundred and fifteen years later because the Dutch ruled the maritime providences of Ceylon and discouraged competitors. (Boyle 2005.)

When the British acquired Ceylon in 1796 more books were published in London describing the island and in this way Knox's words also reached readers in the island. Furthermore, the use of Sri Lankan English words was reinforced and Anglo-Indian words found their way to the island with military personnel who had been stationed in India. In the mid-19th century Sri Lankan English expanded while the Ceylonese elite wanted to take on the English language and also the English way of life. The variety acquired terms of local origin which referred to cultural and environmental characteristics as well as grammatical features characteristic to Sri Lankan English. Moreover, Ceylonisms, or idioms not used in other English varieties, were also introduced. (Boyle 2005.)

An important milestone of Sri Lankan English was reached in 1879 when the first edition of the Oxford English Dictionary was compiled. A number of Sri Lankan English words, such as *Buddha* and *rattan*, from *a Historical Relation on Ceylon* were included in the dictionary. In addition to Knox's words, some other words, like *beriberi* and *puja*, from SLE entered the dictionary as well. Over 200 Sri Lankan English words were included in the 2nd edition of the Supplement to the Oxford English Dictionary which was published in 1989. Some of them were words already discovered by Robert Knox and others were new additions, such as *poya* and *Sri Lankan*. (Boyle 2005.)

4.2.2 Sri Lankan English and other terms

Gunesekera (2005: 11) states that "Sri Lankan English is the language used by Sri Lankans who choose to use English for whatever purpose in Sri Lanka." However, Sri Lankans themselves have been, and to some extent still are, reluctant to say they speak or use Sri Lankan English, because they have for generations declared that they use British English or the Queen's English. There are a few possible reasons for

this reluctance. Firstly, Sri Lankan English is often considered an inferior variety to British English by Sri Lankans themselves. Secondly, ever since the colonial times, English has been believed to belong to the British and nobody else. Thirdly, because of the reasons just mentioned, Sri Lankans believe they have tampered with the original variety. Lastly, but perhaps most importantly, most Sri Lankans are not aware of the status of English in Sri Lanka, let alone the status of Sri Lankan English. Therefore, they do not realize that they are actually speaking a variety called Sri Lankan English. (Gunesekera 2005: 11, 20.) Furthermore, it should be remembered that Lankan English does not pervade every aspect of the lives of any of its users. This is because the English language never became the language of all the people, it served a small minority. Therefore, English was never adapted to deal with local religions, kinship systems, meals, topography, flora and fauna. (de Souza 1977: 38-39, as quoted in Parakrama 1995: 39.)

It is important to realize, as Herat (2001) points out, that there is a diglossic situation in terms of the English language in Sri Lanka. This means that Standard Sri Lankan English, or Standard Lankan English, as she calls it, is the H variety whereas Colloquial Lankan English is the L variety. Standard Lankan English is different from Standard British English only in lexis and phonology and Colloquial Lankan English differs in terms of syntax. Moreover, because of historical reasons the language situation in Sri Lanka is fairly complex and this affects the English language as well. Thus, the different varieties of English interact with each other and also with the other languages used in Sri Lanka, namely Sinhala and Tamil. In the following paragraphs, the standard and the colloquial varieties will be discussed and explained more thoroughly. (Herat 2001.)

Gunesekera (2005: 24, 34, 35, 115) refers to the variety used by the Sri Lankan elite as Standard Sri Lankan English, a term mainly used by the educationists, and more generally known as Sri Lankan English. Standard Sri Lankan English indeed is used by westernized, elitist segments of Sri Lankan society. The majority of these speakers have not studied in the English medium, but at least one parent has and the home languages are English and either Sinhala or Tamil. Thus, the speakers of this variety are bilingual Sri Lankans. Standard Sri Lankan English is based on Sinhala, in other words, Sinhala is the language that has most influenced Sri Lankan English

in terms of phonology and lexis. Fernando (1989: 188) introduces the term Educated Lankan English to refer to this same variety. It is generally considered a nativized variety, which means that it is a variety of its own right. In addition, Educated Lankan English is considered a legitimate variety of English and is the most practical alternative to Standard British English in Sri Lanka. Furthermore, this variety is more or less uniform regardless of the racial origins of its speakers. The most noticeable differences between Educated Lankan English and British English can be found at the level of pronunciation. Moreover, there is stylistic variation in lexis which is determined by the context of the situation.

In addition to Educated Lankan English or Standard Sri Lankan English, which ever one prefers to use, there is a variety called *Singlish* in Sri Lanka, which divides researchers' opinions about whether it is a subvariety of English or a subvariety of Sinhala. According to Fernando (1976, as quoted by Parakrama 1995: 102-103), there are more Sinhala phrases in *Singlish* than English phrases and therefore *Singlish* is a subvariety of Sinhala. However, Parakrama (1995: 103) considers the situation to be the opposite. He argues that "the term *Singlish* itself points in the opposite direction, both in its use and its derivation." Moreover, he notes that English in Singapore is also sometimes called *Singlish* which, in his opinion, supports his view that English indeed is the base language and not Sinhala. However, Parakrama (1995: 104) notes that it is difficult to determine which language is primary and which is secondary and therefore does not state his opinion one way or the other. Nevertheless, the term *Singlish* is used predominantly in Sri Lanka to mean 'impure language' in contrast to the standard or 'pure' language.

Gunesekera (2005: 34-37, 125) introduces an alternative term for non-standard Sri Lankan English, which is called "Not pot English". This variety is spoken by Sri Lankan people who are not very familiar with English and make mistakes when speaking it. It is a marker of social class, which identifies the speaker as a person who is more familiar with Sinhala or Tamil than English. The speakers of "Not pot English" do not have access to the privilege or advantages of westernization and sophistication, which is a given to the speakers of Standard Sri Lankan English. However, it should be emphasized that this term is used exclusively to refer to Sri Lankans, not to foreigners who are not familiar with English. "Not pot English" is

the most used and best known variety of English among Sri Lankans and yet the least accepted. In general, it is considered sub-standard or non-standard Sri Lankan English and it is largely influenced by Sinhalese phonology. In addition to Standard Sri Lankan English, *Singlish* and “Not pot English”, there is also Tamil English and Burgher English in Sri Lanka. Tamil English is influenced by Tamil whereas Burgher English is a mixture of elements of Portuguese Creole and English. However, these two varieties do not enjoy the prominence of the two Sinhalese based varieties of English.

Researchers recognize Standard Sri Lankan English as a variety of its own. In other words, Standard Sri Lankan English is a nativized variety. Furthermore, as pointed out by Yang (2005: 425), lexical borrowing has long been recognized as an important part of nativization which English has undergone, for instance in Asia. This is also true with respect to Standard Sri Lankan English; it too has borrowed significantly from other languages in Sri Lanka, mainly from Sinhala but also from Tamil, and other Asian languages. Moreover, as noted above, Herat (2001), who calls this variety Standard Lankan English, considers it the H variety which is the uniform standard variety of Lankan English, which differs from Standard Englishes elsewhere in lexis and phonology. In other words, Standard Sri Lankan English has its distinct characteristics compared to other ‘original’ varieties of English, British English and American English, and to other New Englishes. Thus, there is evidence from researchers that there is a variety called Standard Sri Lankan English.

In section 2.2 in this thesis, where New Englishes were discussed, a set of criteria for New English by Platt, Weber and Ho (1984) was presented. These criteria can be applied to Standard Sri Lankan English as explained in the following. English indeed has been taught in Sri Lankan schools and therefore has **spread through the education system**. Moreover, English has **never been the first language** of the majority of the people in Sri Lanka. There is only a small group of people, called the Burghers, who are the descendants of Europeans, whose first language English is. There are bilingual English speakers in Sri Lanka but as Herat (2001) notes, Sri Lankans, for the most part, never refer to themselves as ‘native speakers’ of English. One possible explanation for this could be the fact that due to political reasons each Sri Lankan has to declare their mother tongue and declaring it either Sinhalese or

Tamil has become a matter of ethnic pride. Therefore, only Burghers and Eurasians state that their mother tongue is English. (Gunesekera 2005: 76.) Furthermore, English is used as a lingua franca between Sinhala and Tamil speakers who do not understand each other's languages. English is also **the language of education, administration and bureaucracy**. (Herat 2005.) The final criteria Platt, Weber and Ho (1984) introduce is the fact that the New English has become '**localized**' or '**nativized**'. Standard Sri Lankan English indeed has developed lexical, syntactic and phonological characteristics which are not part of the native variety. However, there are also similarities with other South Asian Englishes, for instance, Indian English.

It is important to recognize that there are different varieties of English spoken in Sri Lanka. The varieties can roughly be divided into standard and non-standard or H and L varieties. This study focuses on Standard Sri Lankan English, which is the least deviant form of English used in Sri Lanka, but, as noted above, not the only variety of English used in the country. The term Standard Sri Lankan English will be used when referring to sources which for a certainty deal with this particular variety. In other cases, when one cannot be sure which variety is in question, the term Sri Lankan English will be used. Sri Lankan English is the most general term which covers both standard and non-standard varieties.

4.2.3 Linguistic features of Sri Lankan English

According to Herat (2005:186), the most distinctive feature of Sri Lankan speech is its syntax. It shares some common features with other non-standard contact varieties, including features such as variable copula use, article use and variation in word order. Moreover, another noticeable feature of any New English is its vocabulary, which is also the case with Sri Lankan English. Standard Sri Lankan English has been influenced by several languages such as Sinhala, Tamil, Malay, Portuguese, Dutch, Arabic and also by several varieties of English, such as British, Welsh, Irish, Scottish, American and Indian. These languages have influenced the areas of morphology, syntax and semantics. (Gunesekera 2005: 115.) Fernando (2003) states that vocabulary is one of the key elements, which transformed English into Sri Lankan English. These vocabulary items are largely from areas which are

significantly different to the geo-socio-cultural context of British English. These include, for example, flora, fauna, food, clothes, currency, religion and education.

Fernando (2003) reminds that there are words in Sri Lankan English which are from foreign languages but which make Sri Lankan English a distinct variety. These words are also called alien words. They include, for instance, *ayah*, *mahout*, *sarong*, *Jataka* and *Nirvana*. Many of them are unfamiliar to the British but are an important part of Sri Lankan English especially as an intranational language, that is, in Sri Lanka among Sri Lankans. According to Fernando (2003), some of these words are used less frequently and are often replaced by other words. For example, *ayah* has been replaced by a less derogatory term and words such as *tic-polonga* and *moringa* are pronounced or spelt more in accordance with Sri Lankan languages. These alien words, although originally from foreign languages, are an essential and characteristic part of Sri Lankan English vocabulary because they are not generally used in the original varieties, though may be used in other New Englishes, especially in Asia.

Another group of words, as stated by Fernando (2003), called denizens, are also used to make Sri Lankan English a distinct variety. Denizens are words of foreign origin but they are more widely used in the original varieties, especially British English. Although these words have acquired 'full English citizenship', in terms of being recognized in a dictionary, they are not familiar to an average English speaker. Some of these words include *teak*, *betel*, *mango*, *curry*, *lakh* and *vedda*. However, just like alien words, many denizens have also become obsolete in Sri Lankan English for many different reasons. Words such as *rickshaw* and *bungalow* are no longer in use or are seldom used, whereas *talipot* and *bandicoot* are replaced by Sinhala or Tamil words. Moreover, many denizens derive from North and South Indian languages, for instance, Urdu, Hindi, Tamil and Gujarati, and also many words have come through Spanish, Portuguese and Dutch. This demonstrates that Sri Lankan English is very much a South Asian language and therefore closely linked to its colonial past and the influence of Arabic. Sri Lankan English frequently uses Sinhala, Tamil or English words instead of denizens. Therefore, words from Sinhala and Tamil are especially Sri Lankan in flavor. Words of Tamil origin (the original word in parenthesis) include *mango* (mankay), *pariah* (paraiyar) and *catamaran* (kaTTumaram) and words that derive from Sinhala (the original word in parenthesis)

include *anaconda* (henakandaya), *calamander* (kalumadiriya) and *tic-polonga* (tit-polonga).

Fernando (2003) also reports of words that are generally thought to be of English origin, but are not found in Oxford English Dictionary (OED), which enrich Sri Lankan English. These words are found in formal writing but more so in informal communication. Examples of these words are *hopper*, *mammoty*, *rulang* and *kokis*. These words are considered to be English but actually they derive from Tamil, Arabic and Dutch, for example.

In his paper, Fernando (2003) gives a list of recent borrowings into Sri Lankan English from Sinhala, Tamil and Arabic. He points out that these words can be found in newspapers, magazines, technical books or fiction books and are more and more used in intranational communication as well. Examples of recent borrowings are the following: *buriyani*, *pappadam*, *kahakurulla*, *kohu*, *tirikkalaya*, *perahera* and *amma*. However, Fernando emphasizes that recent borrowings are not part of international usage and are used with foreigners only in a local environment where they are introduced to local customs and life. In other words, they are a significant part of Sri Lankan English and characteristic of Sri Lankan culture though not used more widely in other New Englishes or in the original varieties.

4.2.4 Sri Lankan English and other Asian Englishes

As pointed out in section 3.1, South Asia is considered a linguistic area in terms of English because it has shared linguistic features. In other words, Sri Lankan English and thus also Standard Sri Lankan English share some of its vocabulary with other New Englishes spoken in South Asia, such as Indian English. This is partly due to the fact that Sri Lanka shares similar cultural features, such as religion and flora and fauna with other countries in the region. Moreover, Sinhala, which is one of the native languages of Sri Lanka, is an Indian language, related, for instance, to Hindi and Bengali in India as well as Divehi in the Maldives. In addition, Sinhala has been influenced by Sanskrit, which is the vehicle of classical Indian literature and Pali, which is the vehicle of Buddhism and also Tamil, which is spoken by a minority in Sri Lanka. (Disanayaka 2005: 14-15.) Therefore, Sinhala shares similar

lexical features with other Asian languages. For instance, the word *amma*, which means ‘mother’, is used both in Sinhala and in Tamil. Furthermore, since many of the South Asian countries used to be colonial countries, there are words which originate from those times and from the colonial languages. An example of this is the word *outstation*, which refers to the areas outside big cities. This word has gone through semantic change from the traditional meaning in Oxford English Dictionary “a station at a distance from headquarters or from the center of population or business” and is used at least in Standard Sri Lankan English and Malaysian English. (Fernando 2003, Preshous 2001: 49.)

In sum, it is evident that different New Englishes in South Asia have some vocabulary in common due to reasons given above. However, it must be borne in mind that though these varieties share many lexical features with each other, each of them still have characteristic features that can only be found in one particular variety. For instance, Begum and Kandiah (1997: 191) note that even though Sri Lankan English shares many lexical features with Indian English, there are still many Indian English features that are by no means familiar to the users of Standard Sri Lankan English.

4.2.5 Studies on Sri Lankan English

Previous studies on Sri Lankan English include those conducted by Herat (2001, 2005). She studied the zero copula use in colloquial Lankan English speech and found that much variation can be found in the usage of the ‘be’ verb. Her studies showed that the zero copula use in Lankan English speech may be the result of universal tendencies of grammar. This is supported by studies conducted on other New Englishes which show similar features. Furthermore, Herat studied the writing of native and non-native speakers of Lankan English. Her studies showed that there is uniform standard variety of Lankan English, which Herat calls the H variety, which differs from Standard British English only in lexis and phonology. She noted that even in formal texts, for instance, religious concepts, culture-specific lexical items such as food, kinship terms, systems of address and clothing are often explained in Sinhala. Moreover, the colloquial variety, the L variety, is different from Standard British English also in terms of syntax. Herat has therefore

determined on the basis of her own research that there is a standard variety of Lankan English, which can be compared to the Standard Sri Lankan English. In other words, her studies have dealt with similar issues as the present study and therefore her results are comparable to my study in terms of lexical features.

Fernando (2003) listed Sri Lankan English words that occur in the British dictionaries. He pointed out that some of the words he discussed in his paper are recognized in Standard British English whereas others are not. He divided the words into categories which are natives, denizens and aliens. Furthermore, he gave examples of items that cannot be found in British dictionaries. They included recent borrowings, hybrids, compounds, code-mixing, code-switching and words with changed or extended meaning. Moreover, Fernando noted that the words that do not occur in the British dictionaries are usually not used in international communication. Instead, they are restricted to intranational interaction. In other words, they are used in Sri Lanka among Sri Lankans. These categories were discussed in more detail in section 4.2.3 and therefore I will not go over them again. To conclude, Fernando stated that Sri Lankan English has used several strategies to ensure that the English vocabulary is capable of carrying its concepts and nuances. Some of the words that Fernando brought up in his paper are the same as the characteristic Standard Sri Lankan English words found in my data. They will be dealt with in more detail when analyzing my data.

5 DATA AND METHODS

5.1 Research questions

This study focuses on the characteristic lexical items of Standard Sri Lankan English in an English language newspaper published in Sri Lanka called the *Sunday Observer*. In other words, this study will deal with lexical items that make Standard Sri Lankan English a distinct variety and different from other New Englishes. Moreover, lexical items which are not used in other varieties of English, particularly in the original varieties, British English and American English, are of interest. These characteristic items include loanwords, hybrids, neologisms and loan translations,

English archaisms, words that have undergone semantic change or extended meaning, idioms and code-switching.

The main research question of this study is: What are the characteristic lexical items of Sri Lankan English? This research question can then be divided into several sub questions:

- (1) What kinds of words has Standard Sri Lankan English borrowed from the background language Sinhala?
- (2) What kinds of words has Standard Sri Lankan English borrowed from other Asian languages, such as Sanskrit and Hindi?
- (3) Are there other lexical features that are not found in the original varieties, such as the use of archaic English words, neologisms and loan translations, hybrids, words that have undergone semantic change or extended meaning and idioms?
- (4) Are there cases of code-switching in the data?
- (5) Do the characteristic lexical items found in the data belong to certain lexical fields; that is words that belong to a particular area, such as nature, religion or food?

This study thus aims at shedding some light on the characteristic vocabulary of Standard Sri Lankan English in its written form.

This area of research is of interest because it has not been extensively studied. Most studies on Sri Lankan English concentrate on spoken data, in other words colloquial Sri Lankan English, also known as 'Singlish' or 'Not pot English'. Gunesekera (2005) has most likely documented the most extensive single glossary on Standard Sri Lankan English that is available at the moment. Her glossary includes 576 lexical items of which the majority is from Sinhala, though there are borrowings from Tamil, Indian English, Malay, Arabic, Portuguese and Dutch as well. Her findings are from conversations among Sri Lankans, and therefore represent real life usage. In addition to Gunesekera's glossary, there is very little information available on Standard Sri Lankan English lexis and therefore this present study is of importance. Moreover, Herat (2001) has studied the native and non-native users of Lankan English and her data is from formal discussion on the radio where Lankan Standard, as she calls it, is used. Thus, these studies have contributed to the field but

their data are from spoken discourse and differ from my data which is from written discourse. Therefore, the studies are not entirely comparable to the present study, although helpful. The results of my study will then give a different perspective to Standard Sri Lankan English.

5.2 Data description

The data of this study were collected from the electronic version of an English newspaper in Sri Lanka, the *Sunday Observer*. The *Sunday Observer* was chosen because it is one of the leading English newspapers in Sri Lanka. Just like any other major newspaper in any language it has a great deal of coverage of important events in Sri Lankan and around the world. The articles regularly feature visits of Sri Lankan leaders to foreign countries, political issues in Sri Lanka, environmental catastrophes, bombs in Iraq and the bird flu. Moreover, the newspaper's target audience is the English speaking population of Sri Lanka and therefore it can be assumed that the English language used in the newspaper is Standard Sri Lankan English. In addition, the newspaper features events, shopping, dining, travel, jobs, marriage advertisements and various other aspects useful to an average Sri Lankan.

The articles of my data are from the 'Features'-section of the *Sunday Observer* because I believe that articles in that section deal more with Sri Lankan culture, people, and lifestyle and therefore, more characteristic lexical features can be found. This assumption is based on findings by Platt, Weber and Ho (1984: 87), who suggest that words that refer to clothing, food, housing, festivals, family relations or status relations, in other words terms related to the culture of the new nation, do not usually exist in the original variety and must therefore be added to a New English. Thus, it is assumed that articles from the Features-section contain more loanwords, hybrids, idioms and other characteristic lexical features than the other sections of the newspaper.

The data were obtained from the articles that were published in the *Sunday Observer* in September and October 2005. The days for the data collection were consecutive Sundays and were chosen because these issues were the most recent ones at the time of data collection. The data were collected from the electronic version of the

newspaper available on the Internet. All articles from the Features-section were analyzed except for the ones that came from major English news agencies and broadcasters such as the BBC. For the purpose of this study, both words and phrases were included as lexical items. All place names, personal names of people, institutions etc. were not included in the data because they are so numerous and not relevant to the present study. Moreover, names of books and songs were excluded from the analysis. The only exceptions to proper names are those related to religion, food and medicine or Sri Lankan cultural heritage, which were included in the analysis. Altogether 170 words were found in the articles. A list of all the characteristic lexical items is presented in Appendix 1.

5.3 Methods for analysis

This study is qualitative in nature. This means that the aim is not to present a numerical account of all the words found in the data, but instead focus on the lexical items themselves. In other words, the focus is on examining the meaning of the words, the context in which they are used in and the lexical fields they belong to. Nevertheless, the number of different lexical items found in the data will be given, but this is merely done to give an idea of the size of the data and the extent the lexical items are used.

The data was approached by first browsing through the articles and then selecting the words that at first glance looked like they could be words characteristic to Standard Sri Lankan English, thus, words that cannot be found in other Englishes, especially in the original varieties, British English and American English. Loanwords from Sinhala and other South Asian languages were easy to spot in the text since they clearly stand out and can easily be identified as non-English words. Hybrids were the same because they consist of an English word and a loanword. The more tricky ones to pinpoint in the text were neologisms, loan translations, and words that had undergone semantic change or extended meaning, also known as loanshifts. These words were more difficult to identify because they consist of English morphemes and therefore do not have any 'foreign' elements in them. Consequently, they look like English words and for a non-native English speaker, like me, identifying these words proved to be a challenge. However, words that looked out of place or not familiar

were picked out and then they were checked in the online version of Oxford English Dictionary (hereafter OEDO) and if not found there they were included in the analysis. Nevertheless, some words that appeared in OEDO were still included in the analysis because they were described as old-fashioned or it was said that the word is used especially in South Asia or Indian English. Still, it is possible that words that could have been taken into account in this study were left out because I was not able to identify them as neologisms, loan translations or words that had undergone semantic change or extended meaning.

After the words had been identified in the text they were divided into seven categories: loanwords, hybrids, loan translations and neologisms, semantic change or extended meaning, archaic words, idioms and code-switching. No distinction was made between loan translations and neologisms even though they are two distinct phenomena because as a non-native speaker of English and Sinhala it would have been impossible for me to separate them. Therefore, they are included in the same category. This categorization was adopted from Nihalani et al. (1979) and Platt, Weber and Ho (1984). Loanwords were later divided into Sinhala loanwords and loanwords from other Asian languages. After the words had been separated into groups, their meaning and etymology were thoroughly investigated. This was done by using OEDO, Freedictionary and the glossary of Standard Sri Lankan English compiled by Gunesekera (2005). Furthermore, words that were not found in these sources were typed in Google and in that way found on the Internet. Still, some words, mainly Sinhala words, were left unidentified and they were checked from a Sri Lankan informant whose mother tongue is Sinhala. At this point, when more precise information of the words was found, some words were left out and some even changed their category. After the words had been carefully analyzed and checked and they had been divided into categories, the words were put into groups according to their lexical field. In other words, lexical items that belong to a particular area, for instance, food, religion, flora or Ayurveda, were put under the same heading. These lexical fields were then analyzed and findings were compared to findings by other researchers.

5.4 Loanwords not included in the analysis

Loanwords from Sinhala or other South Asian languages that are already codified as part of the vocabulary of British English and American English and other Englishes were not taken into account in the analysis. However, this distinction was sometimes difficult to make since it was not always easy to ascertain the history of a borrowed lexical item or its acceptance in the original varieties of English. This problem occurred because the lexis of the English language(s) is constantly changing and the newer lexical additions which are already used in spoken language may not yet be found in dictionaries. OEDO proved to be an excellent help in checking the words as well as previous researches and books that contain information about Sri Lankan English or other New Englishes for that matter. It was often stated in these sources that a particular word is in general usage in the original varieties of English and therefore the word was not included in the analysis. Therefore, the decision to leave out a word from the analysis was based on OEDO, previous research and books that have information on Sri Lankan English or other New Englishes for that matter. In the following, some of these words are briefly discussed.

Several of the words that are accepted in the original varieties have to do with Buddhism. This is not surprising since it is a way of life that has spread from its original roots in the Indian subcontinent to other parts of the world. These words are originally from Sanskrit and include *Buddha* ('awakened one' or 'enlightened one') and therefore also *Buddhism* and *Buddhist*, *Nirvana* ('to emanate', 'go out' or 'die down'), *Bodhisatva* ('one whose essence is perfect knowledge') and *Theravada Buddhism* ('the lesser vehicle'). In addition, *Sri Lanka* or *Lankan* are words of Sanskrit origin, *Sri* being the honorific prefix (OEDO). Furthermore, the name of the language which the majority of Sri Lankans speak, *Sinhala* (also *Sinhalese*, formerly *Singhalese*) comes from Sanskrit. Sinhala belongs to the Indo-Aryan branch of the Indo-European family of languages. (Freedictionary.) Moreover, the word *Ayurveda* is widely used in the data and its original meaning in Sanskrit is 'knowledge of life'.

Sari and *sarong* are the names of traditional pieces of clothing worn by the people in Asia. The word *sarong*, which is worn by men, is from the Malay 'sarong kabaya' and the term *sari*, a traditional attire for women, is of Indian origin (Gunesekera

2005: 273, 274). Both words are widely used in Standard Sri Lankan English and can also be found in many dictionaries and are therefore words familiar to speakers of other Englishes, and other languages for that matter. Another word that is widely used is *paddy*. It is derived from the Malay word ‘padi’ which means ‘rice’, especially unhusked (OEDO). This word appears several times in the data and is often used together with other words, for instance, ‘paddy rice’, ‘paddy cultivator’ and ‘paddy field’. Furthermore, *mango*, *teak*, *curry* and *verandah* are lexical items which are familiar to many speakers of English. *Mango* is a Dravidian word, *teak* is of similar origin, *curry* is probably from Tamil and *verandah* comes from either Portuguese or Spanish, but is also found in several Indian languages. It should be noted that it is often difficult to identify with certainty the language where a particular word originates from because similar words appear in many Asian or even European languages. For instance, the word *teak* could come from Portuguese ‘teca’, Malay ‘tekka’, Tamil ‘tekku’, Telugu ‘teku’, Tulu ‘tekki’ or even Canarese ‘tegu’, ‘tega’ or ‘tengu’.

The abovementioned words give an idea of the type of loanwords that were not included in the analysis. The decision to leave some loanwords out of the analysis was made on the basis of whether the word was found in the sources mentioned above. If a word was not found in the sources or if it was identified as an item which belongs to a certain New English it was included in the analysis. These words are discussed in the following chapter.

6 CHARACTERISTIC LEXICAL ITEMS OF STANDARD SRI LANKAN ENGLISH

These results show a data-based analysis of 170 lexical items, including loanwords, hybrids, neologisms, English archaisms and idioms. In addition, 15 examples of code-switching will be presented as well. In general, these lexical items do not seem to be in widespread use in this data. Many of the items only appear once or twice in the data. However, there are quite a few words that occur several times, some over a dozen times. A complete list of all the characteristic lexical items found in the data is given in Appendix 1.

6.1 Loanwords

All in all, this category, including both loanwords from Sinhala and other South Asian languages, is by far the largest category of characteristic lexical items found in the articles of my data. Loanwords are easy to identify in a text written in English because they clearly look foreign and therefore stand out. Moreover, in many cases, loanwords are somehow marked in the text, for instance, by putting them in quotation marks or giving their translation in brackets. This will be discussed in more detail in section 8.2. In the following, some examples of loanwords that are found in the articles of the Sunday Observer will be presented.

6.1.1 From Sinhala

Before presenting findings of Sinhala loanwords from the data it is worthwhile to examine some general information on the frequency and use of the loanwords. Sinhala is one of the national languages in Sri Lanka and therefore it has an impact on the vocabulary of Standard Sri Lankan English, considering the fact that most of the Standard Sri Lankan English speakers have Sinhala as their mother tongue. The total number of loanwords from Sinhala in my data is 39. Interestingly, all the loanwords that appear in the data are nouns. Furthermore, Sinhala loanwords are used in 21 articles in the data. This can be considered a fairly small number since there are 152 articles in the data and Sinhala loanwords then occur in only 13.8 % of the articles. In other words, there is a relatively low frequency of occurrence of Sinhala loanwords. Furthermore, the number of Sinhala loanwords varies from article to article: some only have one loanword, some have several. In general, it can be said that Sinhala loanwords found in the data are not in widespread use; most of them only occur once or twice and often within one article. In fact, there is only one word, *veddah*, which can be found in two separate articles. The following Sinhala loanwords, for instance, appear only once in the data: *pola*, *amma*, *gata bera*, *kiribath*, *daane*, *hubaha*, *tala ata*, *tala bola*, *chenas*, *nelun gee*, *nelun kavi* and *Honda Hitha*. *Kamatha* is used twice, *pirith* three times, *veddah* and *ambula* four times and *dagaba* five times. In sum, it can be said that there are no Sinhala loanwords that are used repeatedly in the data. Below I present several examples of Sinhala loanwords found in the data and also examine the meaning of the words (the

loanwords are marked with italics):

- 1) At the end of the day, people have to go home to household issues and a shrinking purchasing capacity which of course is thrown in their faces unceremoniously each time they visit the *pola*. (*Sunday Observer*, September 18, 2005)
- 2) The woman named Madevi, was also known by the name Pattini or Pattini *amma*. (*Sunday Observer*, September 25, 2005)
- 3) Yet, today, the *thammatta* and the *gata bera*, which knew the touch of his hands remain mournfully silent. (*Sunday Observer*, September 25, 2005)
- 4) ‘Please tell me what you know about him, dear mother,’ pleaded the young princess looking at the far away scene where *a veddah* was seen eating the left-over milkrice (*kiribath*) cooked for an almsgiving ceremony held on the previous day in the palace. (*Sunday Observer*, October 2, 2005)
- 5) People come and give us *daane* - baby cream, soap, perfume, etc. (*Sunday Observer*, October 2, 2005)
- 6) You've got to be careful about the snake who comes out of the anthill (*hubaha*), otherwise it will bite you. (*Sunday Observer*, September 18, 2005)
- 7) Along the roadway to the pond, there lived a poor old woman, who used to lay a big mat in the bright sun in order to get her sesame seeds (*tala ata*) dried. ... When the sesame seeds are moderately dried she would mix them with honey and make *tala bola* or sesame balls. (*Sunday Observer*, October 9, 2005)
- 8) They are the songs composed by farmers who keep watch in their *chenas* from makeshift huts on the tree tops, miners inside mines and carters carrying goods from one village to another or to a weekly fair. (*Sunday Observer*, September 18, 2005)
- 9) Come harvest time the women too join in the work, which involves the singing of traditional *nelun gee* or *nelun kavi*. (*Sunday Observer*, September 25, 2005)

Pola in the first example refers to a ‘fair’ or an ‘open market’, which is a traditional market for fresh produce in Sri Lanka (Gunesekera 2005: 264). A fairly recent borrowing in Standard Sri Lankan English is the kinship term *amma* which means ‘mother’ (Fernando 2003). Pattini, in example 2 refers to a goddess who is believed to have the power to prevent and cure diseases (Gottberg Anderson 1997: 106). It is interesting that this word, as Gunesekera (2005: 166-167) points out, can be found both in Sinhala and Tamil. Therefore, it could be a loanword from either of the languages, but since Standard Sri Lankan English, which is analyzed here, is a Sinhala based variety, it can be assumed that *amma* has been borrowed from Sinhala. *Gata bera*, in example 3, is a Sri Lankan musical instrument: *bera* means drums in Sinhala (Gunsekera 2005: 240). *Thammatta* also refers to a Sri Lankan drum (Sri Lankan informant). Both loanwords are used in an article that deals with traditional Sri Lankan dances and music.

The word *kiribath* means 'milkrice' and is rice cooked in the traditional way to serve on special occasions. It is cooked in coconut milk and cut into diamond shaped pieces and served with 'lunumiris' (spicy paste of chillies and onions). *Kiribath* consists of two morphemes: *kiri* meaning 'milk' and *bath* meaning 'cooked rice.' (Gunesekera 2005: 228.) As example 4 shows *kiribath* is a word which is given in brackets as a Sinhala translation to the English word 'milkrice'. Similar words in the examples are *hubaha* and *tala ata*; they too appear in brackets. The way these Sinhala loanwords are used in the data, in the brackets, suggest that the English term may not be familiar to all of the readers and therefore a Sinhala translation is needed. Gunesekera (2005: 132) points out that there is a growing tendency to use borrowings in writing and not to bother with a gloss. In the case of *kiribath*, *hubaha* and *tala ata*, the newspaper seems to be in some kind of a transition period. Perhaps it wants to use the Sinhala word but is not quite sure whether the English word would still be better. Thus, the newspaper has decided to use both. Moreover, the Sinhala word *kiribath* might also be stabilizing its position in the lexis of Standard Sri Lankan English. However, these loanwords serve a different purpose in the data than *pola*, for example. According to Gunesekera (2005: 193-194), *daane*, in example 5, refers to an 'almsgiving' in Standard Sri Lankan English. Interestingly, she adds that in Sinhala *daane* is used to mean 'alms', not necessarily in memory of someone. She continues that *daane*, therefore, has undergone semantic change in Standard Sri Lankan English, since it only refers to an almsgiving in memory of someone. However, in the example from the data the way *daane* is used seems to be different. It does not mean 'almsgiving in memory of someone', as Gunesekera (2005: 193-194) suggests, because *daane* in the article is given to elderly ladies who live in a nursing home and are therefore still alive. The Sri Lankan informant confirms this: *daane* does not necessarily have to refer to an almsgiving in memory of someone, though it can, but also to any kind of gift one wants to another person or institution. This is done as an act of good will. Thus, the way the word is used in the data differs from Gunesekera's definition.

Chena, in example 8, refers to a form of shifting cultivation in Sri Lanka and also to the shrubby vegetation produced by such cultivation or a piece of land used for this (OEDO). Rajapakse (no date available) adds that *chenas* are paddy fields where

other products, for instance sweet potatoes, are cultivated in the off-season. In the example given above, *chena* clearly means the piece of land which is used for cultivation. *Nelun gee* and *nelun gavi*, on the other hand, refer to the ‘nelum’ song style which has a prominent place among songs associated with paddy cultivation in Sri Lanka. They are most common in the upcountry region of Sri Lanka and it is rare to hear them in other parts of the country. *Nelum gee* songs are associated specifically with paddy transplanting. (Rajapakse, no date available)

In the following, some of the words that occur twice or three times are presented. They are first explained and then examples from the data are given. *Kamatha*, in examples 10 and 11, is used twice in the data, though within one article. *Kamatha* refers to a place where the trampling of paddy takes place (Rajapakse). It is a sacred place to the paddy cultivator (Sri Lankan informant). It is used in an article in which paddy cultivation is discussed in connection to the western lifestyle which is spreading to Sri Lanka as well. *Pirith*, in examples 12 and 13, refers to a chanting ceremony conducted by Buddhist monks (Gunesekera 2005: 262) and is used three times in the data. The examples below show how these words are used in the articles (the loanwords are marked with italics):

- 10) At the time of threshing, the *ambula* at the *kamatha* will be replaced with a buffet with the widest of spreads to give the cultivator a real treat. (*Sunday Observer*, September 25, 2005)
- 11) When it comes to the threshing, the old traditions of the *kamatha* will be discarded with the first threshing preceded by singing in and dancing night club style complete with karaoke too. (*Sunday Observer*, September 25, 2005)
- 12) He will grant government funds to all public and private institutions that put up sound amplifying equipment on their buildings and broadcast continuous 24-hour chanting of recorded *pirith*. (*Sunday Observer*, October 9, 2005)
- 13) The idea is to make this country the only land where one can hear the most *pirith* chanting in the world. He is also having plans to have piped-in *pirith* in tourist hotels to create the proper Buddhist atmosphere in such places. (*Sunday Observer*, October 9, 2005)

The three Sinhala loanwords that have most occurrences in the data are *veddah*, *ambula* and *dagaba*. They are examined in more detail in the following. *Veddah* is a Sinhala word meaning ‘archer’ or ‘hunter’. Generally it is, however, used to refer to a member of an aboriginal people inhabiting the forest districts of Sri Lanka (OEDO). There are slight variations in the way the word is spelled. In addition to

veddah, Oxford English Dictionary Online also recognizes the spellings ‘Vaddah’ and ‘Wedda’. The word in Sinhala is spelled ‘vedda’. In example 16 the word is spelled ‘vadda’ which is not mentioned in any of the references. However, it may be an alternative way of spelling the word or it can also be a typing error. After all it should be remembered that the examples are taken from the online edition of the newspaper and therefore typos are possible. The following examples from the data show how the words are used in the articles (the loanwords are marked with italics):

- 14) The queen-mother said, "that is *a veddah* who lives in the forest." (*Sunday Observer*, October 2, 2005)
- 15) "But my darling, you must understand that the *veddahs* don't come to a royal palace. They live in the jungle and they are a tribe of hunters," she said. (*Sunday Observer*, October 2, 2005)
- 16) In Chullhansa Jataka, we are reminded of the fact that even an evil person could have some good qualities when we find that the *Vadda* hunter releases the entrapped swan king on hearing the pleadings of the swan king's closest disciple. (*Sunday Observer*, October 2, 2005)

One Sinhala loanword which is linked to Buddhism is *dagaba*. The term is used in Buddhist countries to refer to a dome-shaped monumental structure containing relics of Buddha or of some Buddhist saint (OEDO, Gunesekera 2005: 194). *Ambula*, on the other hand, refers to food and a metalinguistic commentary is provided after the word in the article. Moreover, according to the Sri Lankan informant *ambula* traditionally refers to pickled or preserved food, but in this context, where *ambula* is taken to the paddy cultivator in the *kamatha*, it refers to any kind of food that will not suffer from the heat (Sri Lankan informant). *Ambula* appears four times and *dagaba* five times in the articles. The following are examples from the data (the loanwords are marked with italics):

- 17) It is well-known and documented that the biggest Buddhist *Dagaba* is in Sri Lanka. (*Sunday Observer*, October 9, 2005)
- 18) Why on earth should anyone build a *dagaba* bigger than that and make a mere pigmy *dagaba* of such a historic monument to Buddhism, Buddhist architecture and construction? (*Sunday Observer*, October 9, 2005)
- 19) The idea, like that of the largest *dagaba*, is to make this the land with the largest number of Bo-trees worshipped by the people, for its size in the world," said Dahamvimala. (*Sunday Observer*, October 9, 2005)
- 20) With all this change she will look damn foolish if she has to carry the *ambula* to the field, which is home cooked rice and tasty curry. (*Sunday Observer*, September 25, 2005)

- 21) In the NPE, the woman will no more bring the *ambula* to the field dressed in rustic cloth jacket of an era to be replaced. (*Sunday Observer*, September 25, 2005)
- 22) At the time of threshing, the *ambula* at the *kamatha* will be replaced with a buffet with the widest of spreads to give the cultivator a real treat. (*Sunday Observer*, September 25, 2005)

The above examples of Sinhala loanwords in the data show that they are often used in contexts where there are no English equivalents and the Sinhala word best describes the exact cultural meaning which is then clear to all the readers. For Sinhala words like *veddah*, *pirith*, *nelun gee* and *nelun gavi* there are no English translations which would transmit the same cultural connotations as the Sinhala words do. On the other hand, *hubaha*, *tala ata* and *kiribath* have an English equivalent but still the Sinhala word is given in brackets. Interestingly some of the loanwords take the English plural ending -s, which could mean that that word is already a stabilized Sinhala loanword in Standard Sri Lankan English. Nevertheless, many of the words seem to be nonce borrowings, since they are only used once or a few times in the data and within one article. In sum, it can be said that Sinhala loanwords have a relatively low occurrence in the data.

6.1.2 From other Asian languages

Loanwords from other Asian languages, such as Sanskrit, Malay and Hindi are slightly more common in the data than Sinhala loanwords. Especially words of Sanskrit origin are numerous, which is not surprising because Sinhala was greatly influenced by Sanskrit. Moreover, a large amount of words related to Ayurveda are of Sanskrit origin. Because Sinhala was influenced by Sanskrit, some Sanskrit words could therefore also have been borrowed from Sinhala. However, because many Sanskrit words have to do with Buddhism or Ayurveda, which are part of several cultures in Asia, it is assumed that these words are direct Sanskrit borrowings. Furthermore, the Sanskrit words included in this category were not mentioned in any of the sources as Sinhala loanwords. Therefore, they are included in this category. Altogether there are 52 loanwords from other Asian languages, which are used in 23 different articles. In other words, since there are 152 articles altogether, loanwords from Asian languages appear in 15.1 % of the articles.

The usage of loanwords from other Asian languages is similar to that of Sinhala loanwords: many are only used once in the data. However, there are clearly more loanwords from other Asian languages than from Sinhala that are used more than once and found in more than one article. The lexical items that are used in more than one article include *biryani*, *Jataka* and *Eelam*. In addition to these loanwords, several words related to Ayurveda, such as, *Kapha*, *Pitta*, *dosha* and *Vata* are used in more than one article. Loanwords that are only used once are, for instance, *Sri*, *Samadhi*, *mamsa*, *lasika*, *maitriya*, *paneer*, *crore* and *Sangha*. Some words, such as *biryani*, *raga* and *batik* are used twice. Words that are used more than twice include, *dhal*, *Pitta*, *Kapha*, *Dhamma*, *Jataka*, *dosha* and (*Tamil*) *Eelam*. In the following, I will provide examples and explanations of some of the loanwords found in the data (loanwords are marked with italics):

- 23) There's Kadai lamb, Butter Chicken, Sarhan Khorma, an array of Indian cottage cheese dishes *Paneer*, *biryianis* in clay pots and desserts tastefully Indian, all prepared by Chefs from India. (*Sunday Observer*, September 18, 2005)
- 24) Instead she will bring KFC *briyani* or pizzas of various flavours. (*Sunday Observer*, September 25, 2005)
- 25) The Buddhists in Sri Lanka would welcome the articles on two great Theras from Negombo - Ven. Sri Medankara and Ven. Meegomuwe Jinawansa who have radiated the light of *Dhamma* in "Little Rome". (*Sunday Observer*, October 2, 2005)
- 26) The museum principally consists of five sections: The house in which Martin Wickramasinghe was born, the *Samadhi*, where his ashes have been interred, the Museum of Folk Culture and the restored eco-environment. (*Sunday Observer*, September 25, 2005)
- 27) *Twak* is the end organ of the body; derives all the nutrients needed for a flawless skin from *Rasa dhatu*. All the 18 types of skin diseases described by *Charka*; involves the 3 *dosha* and 4 *Dhatus*; *Vata*, *Pitta*, *Kapha* along with *Twak* (Skin tissues), *Rakta* (Blood), *Mamsa* (Muscle) and *Lasika* (Lymphatic). (*Sunday Observer*, October 9, 2005)
- 28) He had declared to his chief disciple Ananda that he was neither the first Buddha nor the last, but that *maitriya* Buddha would appear in the world after him to preach the same doctrine. (*Sunday Observer*, October 9, 2005)
- 29) Fr. Don Peter brings forth the spirituality of the two religions, austere discipline of Catholic orders and their similarity to the Vinaya rules of the Buddhist *Sangha*. (*Sunday Observer*, September 18, 2005)
- 30) Geologists believe that the Earth has been existing for about 200 *crores* of years (1 *crore* equals 10 million), which means the age of the Earth is 2000 million years. (*Sunday Observer*, October 9, 2005)

Paneer, in example 23, refers to curd or soft cheese made especially from sheep's or

goat's milk, but more recently it is also used to mean hard cheese. The origin of the word is in the Urdu and Persian languages. (OEDO.) Another loanword that is food related is *biryani*. It is a borrowing from Arabic or Hindi, and is used by speakers of English, Sinhalese and Tamil. It refers to rice cooked in ghee or fried oil, mixed with spices, condiments, boiled eggs, cashews, raisins, and chicken or mutton. It is richer than normal fried rice, and is the festive dish of the Muslim community in Sri Lanka. It can also be spelled ‘buriyani’. (Gunesekera 2005: 187.)

Sri, which is illustrated in example 25, comes from Sanskrit through Hindi (Freedictionary). It is used in India, as a title prefixed to the names of deities and distinguished persons and to the titles of sacred books, as a mark of respect. In addition, more recently it is used as the Indian equivalent of Mr. (OEDO.) Since *Sri* is used in the data to refer to Sri Lankans by Sri Lankans it is therefore also a title used in Standard Sri Lankan English, not only in India, as OEDO would suggest. In the sentence from the data, *Sri* refers to a distinguished person. The word *Dhamma* is redirected from the Sanskrit word ‘dharma’, which is more often used in the original varieties of English as well. It roughly means ‘law’ or ‘way’. It is the way of the higher truths in Buddhism and also the doctrine of the religious and moral rights and duties of each individual. (Freedictionary.) *Samadhi* in Sanskrit means ‘placing together’. It has two meanings: the state of union with creation into which a perfected yogi or holy man is said to pass at his apparent death and the voluntary burial of such a person before death in anticipation of this state; the site of the burial of a holy man. (OEDO.) In example 26, *Samadhi* refers to the site where the ashes of a great Sri Lankan writer, Martin Wickramasinghe, have been buried.

In the data, there are several articles about *Ayurveda*, which is a comprehensive system of medicine, more than 5000 years old and based on a holistic approach rooted in Vedic culture (Freedictionary.) Many, if not all, words related to *Ayurveda* treatments derive from Sanskrit and they are continuously used in the articles. In fact, *Ayurveda* is also a Sanskrit loanword; *ayu* means ‘life’ and *veda* ‘knowledge’ (OEDO.) However, it is a term which is already in general usage in the original varieties of English, and therefore it is not included in this category. Extract number 27 from my data provides several examples of words that relate to *Ayurveda*. Next, I will examine these loanwords in more detail. *Dosha* refers to the three humours

circulating in the body and governing physiological activity, their differing proportions determining individual temperament, physical constitution and (when imbalanced) giving rise to a disposition to particular physical and mental disorders. *Pitta* is one of the *doshas* and is made up of the elements of fire and water and responsible for heat, appetite, and digestion. *Vata*, on the other hand, is a *dosha* which is made up of the elements of air and ether and responsible for movement and activity. (OEDO.)

The loanword, *maitriya*, relates to Buddhism, which is the main religion in Sri Lanka. *Maitriya* is the name of a Bodhisattva who some Buddhists believe will eventually appear on earth, achieve complete enlightenment, and teach the pure dharma (Freedictionary). *Maitriya* is originally a Sanskrit word and spelled ‘maitreya’ (OEDO). The loanword *Sangha* in example 29 consists of two morphemes: *sam* meaning ‘together’ and *han* ‘to come in contact’. *Sangha* is the community or order of Buddhist monks. (OEDO.) The word *crore* is of Hindi origin and one *crore* equals ten million (OEDO). In the data it appears together with years as in *crores of years*. Interestingly, example 30 from the data given above explains the meaning of the word in brackets. Perhaps this is done in order to help a reader who is not familiar with the word. The following extracts provide further examples of lexical items that are used more than once in the data (loanwords are marked with italics):

- 31) Next door is Gamini Wijesundara's *Batik* workshop where he produces sarongs, blouses and skirts in a plethora of flamboyant colours. (*Sunday Observer*, September 18, 2005)
- 32) Pandith W.D Amaradeva, who began arranging and performing indigenous folk songs, embellishing them with Indian *ragas*... (*Sunday Observer*, October 9, 2005)
- 33) Having mastered the Bengali tunes then in vogue and from his older brother, learnt the rudiments of the classical North Indian *raga*, he became a star at local recitals and gained early renown as a singer of Buddhist devotional songs. (*Sunday Observer*, October 9, 2005)
- 34) ... "we will initially offer 400 g packet of milk powder at Rs. 139, 500g of *dhal* at Rs. 34 and 500g of dried sprats at Rs. 94." The programme to be reviewed every six months has obviously been drawn up by people who think that the cost of living is only to do with milk powder, *dhal* and dried sprats for a beginning. (*Sunday Observer*, October 2, 2005)
- 35) Meanwhile, the UDI is another dream for the Vanni residents which are similar to their separate state or *Tamileelam*. ... Their promised land of *Eelam* has become a farce and people have no confidence or sympathy towards the LTTE. (*Sunday*

Observer, September 18, 2005)

- 36) Unless the current situation is improved from the lessons learnt, the government, irrespective of whichever the party in power would be compelled to satisfy the LTTE not only by giving the, so-called 'delicate recipe' of federal status but, also granting 'total autonomic powers' meant for a separate *Elam* state loosing all the 'jurisdictional powers' over the N&E, in toto. (*Sunday Observer*, September 18, 2005)
- 37) The narrative style as well as the preaching style of a Buddhist priest have been retained in most *Jataka* stories. (*Sunday Observer*, October 2, 2005)
- 38) For instance in the *Nandivisala Jataka*, the bull exemplifies the fact that by gentle and soft speech, great deeds could be achieved. In *Ummanga Jataka*, Pandit Mahausada is portrayed as one with rare qualities of wisdom and insight. In *Chullhansa Jataka*, we are reminded of the fact that even an evil person could have some good qualities when we find that the *Vadda* hunter releases the entrapped swan king on hearing the pleadings of the swan king's closest disciple. (*Sunday Observer*, October 2, 2005)

In example 31, the word *batik* originates from Malay word for 'dot' or 'point', which is 'titik', and the Javanese word 'amba', meaning 'to write'. The OEDO describes it as the Javanese art and method of executing designs on textiles by covering the material with wax in a pattern, dyeing the parts left exposed, and then removing the wax, the process being repeated when more than one dye is used. In addition, it refers to a fabric dyed in this way; the kind of pattern, consisting of a medley of colors, characteristic of this art. Even though the OEDO describes *batik* as a Javanese method it is also widely used in Sri Lanka and *batik* making has a long history there as well. *Raga* is originally a loanword from Sanskrit meaning 'color', 'passion' or 'melody', the Hindi word 'rag' means 'mode in music'. However, in Indian music *raga* refers to a melodic type which provides a framework for improvised melodies. (OEDO.) *Dhal* in example number 34 is a Sanskrit term common to many South Asian languages referring to pulses obtained from some leguminous plants, chiefly from the cajan. It can also be spelled 'dahl', 'daal' and 'dal'. *Dhal* can also refer to a spicy stew that is prepared from *dhal*, pulses. (Freedictionary, OEDO.)

Eelam is a loanword from Tamil, which means 'Sri Lanka'. *Eelam* entered the lexicon of Sri Lankan English after the LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam) became a major political force in Sri Lanka in the 1980s and began their struggle for separatism. (Gunesekera 2005: 198.) The word is often used together with Tamil, as in 'Tamil Eelam' or as a compound *Tamileelam*, it can also be spelt *Elam*. Both of these words are found in the extracts 35 and 36 above.

The *Jataka* is a voluminous body of folklore and mythic literature, primarily associated with the Theravada Buddhist tradition (OEDO). It is a series of 550 stories which tell of the exemplary behavior of the future Buddha (Frey, Lemmer and Namasivayam 1996: 22). In Sanskrit, *jataka* means ‘engendered by’ or ‘born under’. The word is used in Buddhist literature and refers to a story of one or other of the former births of the Buddha. *Jataka* is also the name of the Pali collection of these stories. (Freedictionary, OEDO.) There are several *Jataka* stories, such as *Nandivisala Jataka*, *Ummanga Jataka* and *Chullhansa Jataka* which are given in the example. These names are not included in the analysis, because they are proper names that refer to separate stories.

The loanwords from other Asian languages are all nouns just like Sinhala loanwords. The large number of Sanskrit words is not surprising but perhaps the fact that Hindi and Tamil words are quite scarce is unexpected. The low occurrence of Tamil loanwords might be explained by the fact that most of the users of Standard Sri Lankan English are native speakers of Sinhala, and therefore Standard Sri Lankan English is a Sinhala based variety, but the absence of Hindi words might suggest that Indian English does not have that big of an influence on Standard Sri Lankan English after all, which could be expected because of their geographical closeness. On the other hand, many Sanskrit words that are used in Standard Sri Lankan English are also used in Indian English and therefore those words might have come to Standard Sri Lankan English through Indian English.

6.2 Neologisms and loan translations

The words in this category were the most challenging to identify. The reason for this is that I am neither a native speaker of English nor Sinhala and therefore pinpointing these words in the data proved to be fairly difficult. However, after going through the data several times some words stood out in the text and after checking them in the dictionaries and other sources that dealt with New English lexis they could be identified as either neologisms or loan translations and included in this category. Altogether there are 15 neologisms in the data. A few neologisms and loan translations found in Standard Sri Lankan English are also used in other Asian

Englishes and they were therefore easily identified in the data. On the other hand, some words were not found in any reference books which suggest that they are only found in the lexis of Standard Sri Lankan English. I have not distinguished between neologisms and loan translations in my analysis and therefore they are presented in the same category. However, in a few cases information is given of whether the item is a loan translation or a neologism. Furthermore, the words in this category will be presented in the following way: first, those neologisms and loan translations that can be identified for certainty, in other words, those that have also been observed by other researchers; second, loan translations and neologisms that are not found in OEDO and could therefore be included.

Altogether there are three words that can for certainty be included in this category. These words are: *milkrice*, *short eats*, and *butter chicken*. *Short eats* and *butter chicken* are only used once in the data whereas *milkrice* appears four times within one article. In the following, extracts from the data are given and the words are examined in more detail (neologisms and loan translations marked with italics):

- 39) "They should also avoid food with lots of oil and flour, especially *short eats*", she says, adding they should eat lots of fruits and vegetables. (*Sunday Observer*, October 9, 2005)
- 40) There's Kadai lamb, *Butter Chicken*, Sarhan Khorma, an array of Indian cottage cheese dishes Paneer, biriyani in clay pots and desserts tastefully Indian, all prepared by Chefs from India. (*Sunday Observer*, September 18, 2005)
- 41) He must have been quite hungry and that's why he has come to eat the left-over *milkrice*. (*Sunday Observer*, October 2, 2005)
- 42) The princess kept silent for the moment and thought of the plight of the hunter who was seen eating the thrown off *milkrice*. (*Sunday Observer*, October 2, 2005)
- 43) "You should not eat these thrown off *milkrice* as you are a human being." (*Sunday Observer*, October 2, 2005)

Short eats is a Standard Sri Lankan English word that refers to 'finger food'. Its origin is likely to be found in colonial English and can also be written 'shorteats'. (Gunesekera 2005: 276.) *Short eats* are often sold on the side of the roads or at the street corners in little kiosks or cafés. These kiosks are called 'kades'. *Butter chicken*, on the other hand, is an Indian chicken dish.

The word *milkrice* was already mentioned in section 6.1.1 where its Sinhala translation *kiribath* was discussed. *Milkrice* can be identified as a loan translation because it cannot be found in OEDO and in the data it is explained with the Sinhala translation as the first example of this word shows. Considering the fact that *milkrice* required a translation in the data could suggest that it is not yet a stabilized word in Standard Sri Lankan English. On the other hand, it is interesting that the English translation is favored over the Sinhala word which might mean that *milkrice* is becoming more common in Standard Sri Lankan English. Nevertheless, the use of this word and its Sinhala equivalent is a fascinating case.

Next, I will deal with some of the words that are possibly neologisms or loan translations but for which I was not able to find proof in other studies, books or dictionaries. The neologisms and loan translations were, however, not found in OEDO. These words include, for instance, *kitchen war*, *span cloth*, *credible news*, *horse deal(ing)*, *horse trading* and *chat program*. All these words only occur once in the data except for *span cloth* which is used three times in one article and *horse deal(ing)* which is found in more than one article. Examples of these words are in the following (neologisms and loan translations marked with italics):

- 44) Mr Wickremesinghe too had an interesting remark last week when he addressed UNP party activists at SiriKotha. He secured a truce with the Tigers, that is indeed his most salient achievement. "There should be an immediate ceasefire in the *kitchen war*", he said. "Problems in our homes should be addressed before we address problems of the country," he told. (*Sunday Observer*, September 29, 2005)
- 45) However, in 1795 through *horse dealing* when the Batavian Republic in Holland was formed under French influence, the company's fate was determined at a counting table. In 1798 the government of the Batavian Republic took over the company's possessions. The next *horse deal* for Oriental trade soon followed in the Treaty of Amiens signed in 1802 by Britain, France, Spain and the Batavian Republic. (*Sunday Observer*, September 18, 2005)
- 46) Intense *horse trading* though nominations (*Sunday Observer*, September 18, 2005)
- 47) This Manager wanted to manage the "ethnic problem" in much the same way that CEOs execute *horse-deals*, i.e. behind closed doors. It may work for a big company, but it is a no-no in a democracy. (*Sunday Observer*, September 18, 2005)
- 48) Rajitha Senaratne scorned the paddy cultivator who toils in the field in clad in the very practical *span cloth*, and his betel chewing habit. Come the promised Ranil Perakum Era, they will no more be clad in the *span cloth*, which to Senaratne's shame even exposes the man's buttocks. ... The *span cloth* will give way to good designer jeans; his top will be covered with the trendiest of shirts... (*Sunday Observer*, September 29, 2005)
- 49) In fact, the Sirasa program should be lauded because it was constructively so different

to other such t.v. programs which were '*chat program*' where it was lamentable that the participants were detrimentally not music artistes but were from entirely different fields. (*Sunday Observer*, October 9, 2005)

- 50) A half hour news belt at 7.45 p.m. will concentrate according to the handpicked executives, on '*credible news*' which will be followed by comedy based programmes from 8.15 to 8.45 p.m. (*Sunday Observer*, October 9, 2005)

The word *kitchen war*, in example 44, is used in an article that deals with the upcoming presidential election and describes the campaigns of the two candidates Mahinda Rajapakse and Ranil Wickremesinghe. As the extract from the data shows, the word is used when discussing the unrest in the north, in the Tamil area. *Kitchen war* could refer to problems people have in their families such as domestic violence, which, in fact, is fairly common in Sri Lanka. The sentence "Problems in our homes should be addressed before we address problems of the country" in the example supports this meaning. On the other hand, *kitchen war* might also refer to the fighting in the Tamil area because there is also a mention in the extract about the truce with the Tigers which was secured by Mr. Wickremesinghe. *Horse dealing* or *horse deal* or even *horse trading* are fascinating lexical items as well. None of them were found in OEDO but their meaning can be interpreted in the context. The words seem to refer to some kind of illegal activity, or not-so-fair procedures. In example number 47 the meaning of *horse deals* is explained by metalinguistic commentary 'i.e. behind closed doors'. Therefore, it can be assumed that the item refers to the sort of activity that should not be brought to everyone's knowledge.

Span cloth was not found in OEDO as a compound; however, it clearly refers to a piece of cloth worn by men in Sri Lanka. Perhaps it is something similar to a sarong which is a cloth wrapped from the waste down and knotted at the waste. Anyhow, *span cloth* is likely to refer to some kind of a traditional piece of cloth worn by the rice cultivator in Sri Lanka because the article itself discusses how the paddy cultivator could change his entire attire into more modern or western for that matter. If that was to happen he would wear jeans and a T-shirt in the field, according to the article.

Chat program and *credible news* are both put in quotation marks in the data, which suggests that the words are probably not familiar to all the readers of newspaper, they are not stabilized words in Standard Sri Lankan English yet. However, they are not

explained in more detail. Interestingly, *chat program* is not in its plural form even though grammatically the sentence would require it. The term could refer to a program on TV where people who participate in it discuss a given topic, in other words, it could be the Sri Lankan equivalent of a talk show. *Credible news* is an intriguing word. Perhaps it could mean just what the individual words mean; the news is credible, they can be trusted. This meaning would also fit the context.

Neologisms and loan translations are not easy to understand. Even though they are created by using common English words their meaning cannot always be interpreted in the context. The reason for this is that they can be very culture-specific and understanding them would require exposure to Sri Lankan culture and society in general and knowledge of Sinhala as well.

6.3 Hybrids

There are 31 hybrids in the data, which means that one word is Sinhalese or from another South Asian language and the other is an English word. These hybrids are used in 18 different articles on the data, in other words, 11.8% of the articles contain hybrids. Several of the hybrids are names of political or historical eras and consist of names of famous kings or politicians. Again, most of the hybrids are only used once in the data. These hybrids include, for instance, *beeralu pillow*, *sanni mask*, *Poya days*, *pancha karma treatment and cycle of samsara*. *Maha season*, *Vinaya rules*, *cadjan leaf*, *ola leaf* and *bodhi tree* are used more than once. Furthermore, some names of historical periods of Sri Lanka are used more than once as well. I present below several examples of hybrids found in the data and also examine the meaning of the words (hybrids are marked with italics):

- 51) The grinning face of Nochci, the collection of "*sanni*" masks used to cure various illnesses and the majestic masks of King Mahasmmamatha and Queen Manikpala provide entertainment and enlightenment to anybody interested in rural traditions. (*Sunday Observer*, September 18, 2005)
- 52) The Council has already distributed '*beeralu*' pillows and the other tools needed for crocheting among 150 lace-makers in the South. (*Sunday Observer*, September 18, 2005)
- 53) Yasodaravata is a folk poem, which has often been sung and recited in temples on *Poya days* and in houses especially on the occasion of a funeral to drive home the truth that death is inevitable. (*Sunday Observer*, September 18, 2005)

- 54) Only possible way to clean these routes is *pancha karma treatment*. This treatment should be performed by a qualified physician capable of managing counter-effects. (*Sunday Observer*, October 2, 2005)
- 55) In the biography of the Gautama Buddha, Yasodara plays a minor role. She is his beloved queen who has been his wife throughout their existence in the endless *cycle of samsara*. (*Sunday Observer*, September 18, 2005)

Beeralu pillow in example 52 is a hybrid of Portuguese origin. *Beeralu* is the Portuguese word for ‘bobbin’ and this form of lace making is assumed to have been bought to the coastal areas of Sri Lanka by the Portuguese. *Beeralu* or *biiralu*, as spelled by Gunesekera (2005: 179), here is a reference to ‘*biiralu lace*’ which is a kind of lace made in the Southern Providence of Sri Lanka. The *biiralu* is woven on a ‘*biiralu kotte*’ (lace pillow) on which strands of thread are interlaced. Making ‘*biiralu lace*’ is a cottage industry in Sri Lanka. (Gunesekera 2005: 179.) *Beeralu* is marked with quotation marks in the text, which might suggest that the word or the hybrid is not a stabilized word in Standard Sri Lankan English yet.

A sacred day to the Buddhist in Sri Lanka is the *Poya day* which means ‘full moon day’, *poya* being a Sinhala word for ‘full moon’. It is celebrated each month and it is a public holiday in Sri Lanka. The word is from Sinhala and in the 1970s it referred to weekend or Sunday and ‘Pre-Poya’ was the day before the Sabbath. (Gunesekera 2005: 266.) *Pancha karma treatment*, on the other hand, is a concept of Ayurveda. *Pancha* means ‘five’ and *karman* means ‘action’ or ‘treatment’ in Sanskrit. In Ayurvedic medicine it is an integrated programme of five types of treatments and procedures for cleansing the body of toxins and thus restoring its balance of humours (OEDO). *Samsara*, in example 55, refers to the concept of reincarnation or rebirth in Indian philosophical traditions (Freedictionary) and literally means ‘a wandering through’ in Sanskrit. Thus, the hybrid refers to the endless cycle of death and rebirth to which life in the material world is bound. (OEDO.)

The hybrids that were used more than once are presented in the following. *Maha season*, *ola leaf* and *bodhi tree* appear twice in the data. *Maha season* refers to the months of February and March when paddy is cultivated. It ends in the Sinhalese New Year which is held in March. (Sri Lankan informant.) *Ola leaf* is where traditional inscriptions in Sri Lanka were done and rolled into a scroll. *Ola* refers to

the kind of 'paper' made from the *ola leaf* and it is a borrowing from Sinhala. *Bodhi tree* is from Sinhala and refers to the tree under which Lord Buddha, in other words, Siddharta Gautama, attained enlightenment. (Gunesekera 2005: 181, 253.) Both the tree and the leaves of the *bodhi tree* are sacred to the Buddhist. Interestingly, one of the oldest trees in the world is a *bodhi tree* and it grows in Anuradhapura in Sri Lanka. The tree was brought there by Venerable Sanghamitta Theri. (Gunesekera 2005: 181.) In the hybrid, *Vinaya rules*, *Vinaya* literally means 'discipline', in both Pali and Sanskrit. It refers to the textual framework for the Buddhist monastic community, or sangha. The teachings of the Buddha can be divided into two broad categories: Dharma or doctrine and *Vinaya* or discipline. (Freedictionary.) In other words, the hybrid means the rules of conduct that regulate Buddhist monastic life (OEDO). A Malay and Javan word, *cadjan leaf*, was introduced by foreigners into Southern India. The hybrid refers to coco palm leaves, which are a common substitute for thatch in Southern India (OEDO) and thus also in Sri Lanka. *Cadjan leaf* can also refer to a strip of fan-palm leaf which is prepared for writing on and therefore mean the document which is written on such strip (OEDO). The extracts presented next are from the data and show the abovementioned lexical items in their contexts (hybrids marked with italics):

- 56) In paddy purchasing the JVP trusted the market mechanism and intervened to influence competition and break the private monopoly. It was not 100% successful in the last *Maha season*, but improved this *Yala season*. Reducing the cost-of-living and maintaining lower fixed prices are not possible in the present global situation. (*Sunday Observer*, October 2, 2005)
- 57) Martin Wickramasinghe was born in 1890 in the village of Malalagama in Koggala. As a village boy he first learnt Sinhala letters from an *Ola Leaf* alphabet, tracing the letters on a sand-board. (*Sunday Observer*, September 25, 2005)
- 58) Jeremy Muller, Editor of the OLA publications, and founder of the organisation explaining why he selected the name OLA says "The name is well suited as the oldest Sri Lankan writings were written on the *ola leaf* and the acronym strikes a chord with the patriotic heartstrings among all ethnic groups in this diverse cultural land of ours". (*Sunday Observer*, October 2, 2005)
- 59) Buddhism being the most populace living religion of the world during the advent of prophet Mohamed and the *Bodhi tree* being the one under which Siddharta Gautama received Enlightenment, Quaranic commentators legitimately connect the *Bodhi tree* to the Fig tree, and hence infer that the symbol Fig refers to the Buddha and Buddhism. (*Sunday Observer*, October 9, 2005)
- 60) This popular song sung by Malini Bulathsinghala says everything about the plight of a poor mother who helplessly looks at the flying *cadjan leaves* exposing them to the rain. (*Sunday Observer*, October 2, 2005)

- 61) Fr. Don Peter brings forth the spirituality of the two religions, austere discipline of Catholic orders and their similarity to the *Vinaya rules* of the Buddhist Sangha. (*Sunday Observer*, September 18, 2005)

In the articles of the data there are a number of hybrids that refer to the historical, political and cultural periods or eras of Sri Lanka. These include, for example, *the Kurunegala Period*, "*Kandy*" period or *Kandyan Period*, *the era of Parakramabahu the Great*, *Anuradhapura period* and *the time of Kuveni*. These hybrids are used quite extensively and it seems that in articles that deal with contemporary Sri Lankan politics they appear often. The following examples are from the data and some of them give further information about the period in question (hybrids marked with italics):

- 62) The style of Jataka Potha is in contrast with other works during the *Kurunegala period*. (*Sunday Observer*, October 2, 2005)
- 63) The *Kurunegala Period* in Sinhala literature covers the period between 1293-1347 B.C. Though the period was short when compared with the *Anuradhapura* or the *Pollonnaruwa periods* respectively, it was a period of considerable literary activity. (*Sunday Observer*, October 2, 2005)
- 64) Actually this massive task was completed in the early years of the *Kandyan Period*. (*Sunday Observer*, October 2, 2005)
- 65) "The Last Kingdom of Sinhalay" is a historical novel set against the *Kandy period*. (*Sunday Observer*, October 2, 2005)
- 66) When recalling *the era of Parakramabahu the Great* what strikes one most is his great work in building tanks for irrigation, which made this country known as the granary of the East. (*Sunday Observer*, September 25, 2005)
- 67) Shortly after the flak from his talk about a *new Perakum Era* had settled down, last week he said he would pave the way for another *era of Pandukabhaya*, and like him would unite the entire country. (*Sunday Observer*, October 2, 2005)
- 68) Performances of Dr. Panibharatha proved the belief held as far back as the *time of Kuveni* that the mysterious powers possessed by the sun, moon, stars, sky, earth, trees, rocks and water can be evoked to influence our lives through music, song and dance. (*Sunday Observer*, September 25, 2005)

The Kurunegala period was a period of approximately 40 years in the 13th-14th centuries B.C. Kurunegala is the last capital of the Sinhalese kings. (Frey, Lemmer and Navasivayam 1996: 213.) "*Kandy*" period or *Kandyan period* covers the end of the 16th century till 1815. During that time Sri Lanka was under the Dutch and Portuguese occupation and Kandy was the seat of government. (Gunaratna 2004: 87.) *The era of Parakramabahu the Great* refers to king Parakramabahu who ruled in Polonnaruwa during 1153-1186 and who built several artificial lakes in Sri Lanka

(Gottberg Anderson 1997: 35, Sri Lankan informant). *The Polonnaruwa period* started in the middle of the 11th century and lasted until the 13th century. Polonnaruwa was the second capital of Sinhala. (Gunaratna 2004: 43.) It was a time when considerable work was done in constructing the irrigation system as the example from the data shows. *Anuradhapura period* began in the 3rd century B.C. and lasted till the 11th century A.D (Gottberg Anderson 1997: 37-39). *The time of Kuweni* refers to an enchantress, who according to the Mahavamsa chronicle, which dates back to the history of the island, tempted the followers of Vijaya (a North Indian prince) into captivity (Gottberg Anderson 1997: 71).

The hybrids presented above give an idea of how they are used in the data and what kinds of hybrids are used in Standard Sri Lankan English. Some hybrids are of Sinhala origin whereas most are from South Asian languages like Sanskrit, Pali or Malay. Interestingly, quite a few are names of eras in the history of Sri Lanka and it must be said that if one does not know the meaning of the periods in the data or the people the names refer to, it is difficult to be fully aware of what is discussed in the article. Thus, the articles are clearly written for a reader who has all the background knowledge about Sri Lankan culture. Surprisingly, again, there are not many hybrids that contain a Hindi word; actually there are none in this category.

6.4 English archaisms

The lexical items in this category include words that, according to OEDO, are no longer in general use in the original varieties. Some of these archaic words may be used in literature or perhaps sometimes in speech as a stylistic device. However, they are not found in ordinary spoken use. Altogether there are nine archaic words in the data, which is not a lot. These words are used in ten different articles, which is 6.6% of the total 152 articles in the data. In other words, they appear in a very small number of articles. Of these archaic words *damsel*, *luncheon*, *bed-sheet* and *wedlock* are used only once whereas *perch*, *brethren*, *clad*, *yore* and *sans* are used several times. In the following, I will present these archaic words in the contexts they are used in the data (English archaisms marked with italics):

- 69) Initially I could not believe as I had a *luncheon* meeting with Gamini just two weeks before. I telephoned Gamini's eldest daughter Chamila and she confirmed that he had died. (*Sunday Observer*, September 25, 2005)
- 70) There were marriages by custom, for example, in Sri Lanka, in the days of *yore*, a young man from a village went to the adjoining village, chose a beautiful *damsel* and brought her home as his wife and lived happily ever after. (*Sunday Observer*, September 25, 2005)
- 71) Our forefathers, great great grandfathers of most countries in the world over, never entered *wedlock* by both parties signing a register before a Registrar of Marriages. (*Sunday Observer*, September 25, 2005)
- 72) Udumbara, working in her hut with the flying shuttles, says she is ready to weave saris, sarongs, *bed-sheets* and pillowcases based on the customers specific requirements. (*Sunday Observer*, September 18, 2005)

These archaic words do not cause difficulty in understanding; however, they do catch the eye of the reader. OEDO reveals that when the word *luncheon* is used to refer to lunch, it is archaic. In the example above, *luncheon* does seem to mean 'lunch' and could therefore be considered archaic. *Damsel*, in the second extract, is not in ordinary spoken use. It refers to a young unmarried woman, without any connotation of rank or respect. Nowadays it is an archaic word or used in a literary or playful manner. (OEDO.) *Wedlock* is defined as a 'condition of being married, a marriage as a state of life or as an institution, matrimonial relationship' by OEDO. Today it is only in literary or legal use. In the last example, *bed-sheet* does not cause difficulty in understanding, but according to Nihalani et al. (1979: 32) is not likely to be used by present day speakers of English (especially British English) who would simply just use 'sheet'. Adding 'bed' to the word 'sheet' does seem unnecessary since sheets are usually only used in beds and therefore this should not cause confusion. Next examples of English archaisms that appear more than once in the data are given (English archaisms marked with italics):

- 73) The size of the land given to the beneficiaries will vary depending on the land availability in each district. The smallest land will be four *perches* and the maximum will be 20 *perches*. (*Sunday Observer*, September 18, 2005)
- 74) As he was educated, he held his *brethren* in contempt for their traditions and assumed himself above all for his wisdom. (*Sunday Observer*, September 18, 2005)
- 75) Amaresh believes his *brethren* in Jaffna do not know what the "real" people of the South are like. "We have not seen them properly and they have not seen us properly". (*Sunday Observer*, September 18, 2005)
- 76) Many believe the poster showing a young cultivator in a green paddy field *clad* in jeans and stylish shirt caused more damage to the UNP's image in April 2004 than the blundering words of its leader. (*Sunday Observer*, September 25, 2005)

- 77) She too will come well made up with the most alluring of lip shades, a fancy hairdo, *clad* in the latest trend in skimpy skirts, and revealing designer tops. (*Sunday Observer*, September 25, 2005)
- 78) There was observance of customs in all communities in Sri Lanka, pertaining to marriage, which were strictly observed, but all these were *sans* signing on a dotted line. (*Sunday Observer*, September 25, 2005)
- 79) "I will create an environment for people of all ethnic communities and faiths to live in peace and harmony *sans* suspicion," he told a crowd waving blue and red flags. (*Sunday Observer*, September 25, 2005)
- 80) Considering all these facts, it is worthwhile to ponder whether legal marriages of the present day have met with the same degree of success that the marriages of *yore* by custom were accustomed to. (*Sunday Observer*, September 25, 2005)

Clad is the past participle of verb ‘clothe’ and therefore means ‘to cover something with clothing’, ‘to dress’ (OEDO). The word is used quite a few times in the data and in two different articles. The article where *clad* appears four times deals with Sri Lanka’s upcoming presidential elections and the candidates’ campaigns. The writer of the article finds connections of the campaigns to earlier times in Sri Lanka’s history. *Sans* is the only characteristic lexical item which is a preposition that is found in the data. It means ‘without’ in French and according to OEDO it is chiefly used with reminiscence of Shakespeare in the English language. In Standard Sri Lankan English *sans* can be used as a stylistic device. *Yore*, in example 80, obviously refers to a period of time in the past and is also considered archaic (OEDO.)

Interestingly, four of the abovementioned archaic words are used in the same article. These words are *sans*, *yore*, *wedlock* and *damsel*. This article deals with marriage in the past compared to marriage today. This might then suggest that since the issue discussed in the article has to do with life in the past, the archaic words are used as a stylistic device. Then again, *sans* is also used in an article which discusses the campaign of Mahinda Rajapakse, who at the time was running for president. The example above, where *sans* is used, has actually been uttered by Mr. Rajapakse himself. In other words, he has used the word in his speech.

In sum, there are some archaic or stylistic words used in the data, however, not that many. In some cases it is difficult to determine whether the word in question is a characteristic lexical item of Standard Sri Lankan English or used as a stylistic

device. Still, it is noteworthy that archaic words are used in this variety since this characteristic might be a relic of the colonial period and therefore should not go unnoticed.

6.5 Semantic change or extended meaning

The words in this category, just like neologisms and loan translations, which were discussed in section 6.2, were fairly difficult to identify in the data. The reason for this is that some lexical items in the data might have extended meanings that are only slightly different from the original meaning the word has in British English and therefore difficult to notice in the data. However, those identified in the data will be presented in the following.

Altogether there are eight words that I was able to identify in the data that have gone through semantic change or extended meaning. These words are *belt*, *outstation*, *Tigers*, *uncle*, *hawker*, *upcountry*, *hill country* and *central hills*. Interestingly, some of these words such as *belt*, *Tigers* and *upcountry* are used several times and in more than one article. For instance, *Tigers* appears repeatedly throughout the data. Altogether, the words are used in 16 different articles in the data, thus 9.9% of the articles contain words from this category. Examples of how these words are used in the data are presented the following (characteristic items marked with italics):

- 81) The channel will commence with a programming of five hours daily from 6.00 p.m. to 11.00 p.m. At 6.00 p.m. there will be one hour children's *belt* which will be followed by a half hour of game show programmes with the objective of teaching values to children. A half hour news *belt* at 7.45 p.m. will concentrate according to the handpicked executives, on 'credible news' which will be followed by comedy based programmes from 8.15 to 8.45 p.m. The music *belt* will be telecast from 8.45 p.m. to 9.15 p.m. and the programme content will focus on the music of the 70's, folk music, classical and modern. (*Sunday Observer*, October 9, 2005)
- 82) Last week's double murder in Kandy borders on tragedrama where a young doctor goes berserk and kills his doctor wife and their infant son in a rage that has cast a pall in the *hill country*. (*Sunday Observer*, September 25, 2005)
- 83) "The museum should be marked as one of the places not to be missed by school children from *outstations* who come to Colombo on class excursions", says Ananda Jayasinghe, one of the Assistant Development Officers of the Crafts Council. (*Sunday Observer*, September 18, 2005)
- 84) The news reached the editorial around 2.00 pm. My Associate Editor, Lalith Edirisinghe seated opposite who knew that Gamini was my *uncle*, requested me to check the news. ...Gamini and my father were first cousins, sons of the brother and

sister of the nine member Fonseka family from the Dehiwala Junction. (*Sunday Observer*, September 25, 2005)

- 85) One Saturday afternoon, I was browsing through some used old books inside a pavement *hawker's* tiny bookstall, and voila! (*Sunday Observer*, September 18, 2005)

In example 81, *belt* seems to refer to a period of time when a certain TV show is on. It forms compounds with different words, such as ‘news *belt*’ and ‘music *belt*’, which then give more specific information as to what is shown on TV. OEDO does not recognize this type of usage for the word ‘*belt*’ and therefore it is possible that it is a characteristic feature of Standard Sri Lankan English. Another possibility is that *belt* is part of the specialist vocabulary of media language. *Hill country* is another type of word. It is likely to be used in other Englishes as well, but in Standard Sri Lankan English it specifically refers to the central part of the island which is known for its mountainous landscape and tea plantations. *Outstation* is a lexical item which refers to areas out-of-Colombo or other major cities (Fernando 2003). The word originates from the colonial period when government officers had to administer large areas and were required to travel to certain outlying regions (Preshous 2001:49).

Uncle is a fascinating example of English words that has taken additional meanings in a New English. In Standard Sri Lankan English the word *uncle* can be used to refer to various male relatives and adult males of equal social status who may for reasons of respect and propriety be ‘uncles’ to children (Kandiah 1987: 37-39, as quoted in Parakrama 1995: 100). In other words, *uncle* takes on several additional meanings in Standard Sri Lankan English and can be used in contexts where other Englishes would require another term altogether. The use of this lexical item will be discussed in more detail in section 8.1.

Hawker in example 81 refers to a person who runs a stall, selling goods to people. In British and American English ‘*hawker*’ refers to a person who tries to sell things by calling at people’s homes or standing in the street, especially when you do not approve of this activity. Thus, the word has a negative connotation. (Collins Cobuild 2001: 720). According to Platt, Weber and Ho (1984: 98) this word is from Singapore and Malaysian English but clearly also used in Standard Sri Lankan English. In these New Englishes the word *hawker* does not have a negative connotation and therefore differs from the original use. In the following, more

examples of words of semantic change or extended meaning are given (characteristic items marked with italics):

- 86) The pro-Thondaman Tamil weekly Sunday Virakesari, on September 25 claimed that an *upcountry* political party had struck a 150 million-rupee deal with a national party to support its candidate at the presidential poll. (*Sunday Observer*, October 9, 2005)
- 87) The problems of the *upcountry* Tamils should also be addressed during the process of northeast negotiations. (*Sunday Observer*, September 18, 2005)
- 88) Industrial complexes and self-employment projects should be established at the abandoned tea factories. This would help eradicate migration from estates and using *upcountry* children for immoral activities in towns. (*Sunday Observer*, September 18, 2005)
- 89) Supreme Court yesterday granted permission to carry forward with the inquest on the *upcountry* teaching appointments issue in the event of no consensus being reached between the two respective parties before October 3. (*Sunday Observer*, September 18, 2005)
- 90) This is a promise he could not fulfil last time as the *Tigers* insisted on two party talks. The LTTE would not be happy with Mr Wickremesinghe's pledge. But, banned from travelling to the European Union the *Tigers* have other worries. Only seven weeks to go for the election. Let's hope that the *Tigers* would be engaged with other issues and would not move suicide cadres to the South in repetition of the previous election. (*Sunday Observer*, October 2, 2005)

Upcountry is a similar word to *hill country* since it too refers to a specific region in Sri Lanka. In fact, it pretty much refers to the same area as *hill country*. OEDO recognizes this item by defining it as “situated in, belonging or relating to the inland part of a country or a part of the country away from town”. Moreover, *upcountry* sometimes refers to an area higher in altitude. However, OEDO notes that the term is now rare in the U.K. Nihalani et al. (1979: 186) point out that *upcountry* means ‘towards the interior, usually of a large country’. This definition is interesting since I do not think that Sri Lanka would generally be considered a large country, but still the item is widely used in Standard Sri Lankan English. It is noteworthy that *upcountry* can also be spelled *up-country* or *up country*. Nevertheless, *upcountry* is used to refer to the central area of Sri Lanka which is mountainous and where all the tea plantations can be found.

Tigers is also a common English noun which in Sri Lankan English is not used to mean the big animal but it specifically refers to Tamils who fight for separatism. According to Saeed (2003: 77) when the meaning of a word either narrows or becomes more generalized it is called a semantic shift. This is the case with *Tiger*

which in Standard Sri Lankan English is used to refer to Tamils. The word came into the Standard Sri Lankan English lexicon through the LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam) (Gunesekera 2005: 286), which is the Tamil political party. The word is usually found in its plural form. The *Tigers* are Hindus who want the north-eastern part of Sri Lanka, where most of the Hindus live, become a separate state. The *Tigers* are known to use violent means in order to meet their goal. The fighting in the north was at its worst in the 1990s when the LTTE and the government groups bombed each others areas and thousands of people were killed. The situation has been fairly peaceful since the fighting stopped but starting from November 2005 there have been serious bombings in the north of Sri Lanka and occasionally in Colombo as well. However, the *Tigers* are Tamil soldiers who want to form a separate Tamil state and in Standard Sri Lankan English when someone mentions the word *Tiger* or *Tigers* there is no question to which the term is meant to refer.

All in all, the words in this section are extremely interesting and even though the number of words that have gone through semantic change or extended meaning is fairly small in my data, they still show that this is a method that is used in Standard Sri Lankan English when creating new words or new meanings to common English words.

6.6 Idioms

Surprisingly there are quite a few idioms characteristic to Standard Sri Lankan English in the data. Some of them are exclusively used in South Asian Englishes, at least in Indian English and Standard Sri Lankan English, whereas others are similar to idioms in British or American Englishes but slightly different, for instance, a single lexical item might be changed into another. The meaning of these idioms, however, is the same as the British English counterpart. Altogether there are 16 idioms that are either characteristic to Standard Sri Lankan English or South Asian Englishes in general or idioms that are similar to those used in the original varieties but slightly different. Moreover, there are six idioms that were not recognized by dictionaries (Fergusson, Collins Cobuild) or found in previous research. They are included in the analysis as well. The 16 idioms found in this data are used in 13 articles out of the total 152. In other words, altogether 8.6% of the articles have

made use of idioms. It should be noted that many articles have more than one idiom. Most of them are used only once in the data but there are some that appear several times. In the following, I will examine some of them in more detail (idioms marked with italics):

- 91) Some innocent families in the East who thought that they receive *step-motherly treatment* demonstrated carrying placards pleading the Government to give them homes soon. (*Sunday Observer*, September 18, 2005)
- 92) But, SLMC sources still say that Hakeem *has a soft corner for* the UNP candidate. (*Sunday Observer*, September 25, 2005)
- 93) However, I should say that he always *had a soft corner for* some selected people in Cinnamon Gardens and they cannot alone win an election, forgetting the public who undergo numerous problems daily. (*Sunday Observer*, October 2, 2005)
- 94) "He is trying to *steal the thunder and the robes* of the JHU, with his policies on fostering Buddhism," said Prof. Mahaushada Chandagedera, who has studied election manifestos in Sri Lanka from the 1977, and heads the Elections Study Group of the Samaja Vidya Kendra. (*Sunday Observer*, October 9, 2005)
- 95) Quite strangely, this numeral capacity of the Mind seems to have worked upon the subconscious state as seen in the following language expressions concerning either a high-point or a "limit": (A) Dressed up to the nines (well dressed) (B) *possession is nine points of the Law* (ownership in Property Law) (C) A nine days wonder (something or somebody sensational). (*Sunday Observer*, October 2, 2005)
- 96) The election for the fifth executive presidency - posters, placards, banners, and especially cut-outs that display various 'outstanding' characteristics of the candidates, necessary to claim their individual eligibility for the new leadership, have began to fill the space, 'indiscriminately' in *every nook and corner* of the cities. (*Sunday Observer*, October 2, 2005)

One of the idioms in the above examples is only used in the South Asian varieties of English; the others are similar, yet, somewhat different to those used in other Englishes. The idiom in example 91, *step-motherly treatment*, is characteristic of some South Asian Englishes, but is not found in the original varieties of English. According to Bakshi (1991: 44), it was created by Indian English users. Clearly it has spread to Standard Sri Lankan English as well. *Step-motherly treatment* means 'cruel treatment' (Bakshi 1991: 44). *Have a soft corner for someone* would be expressed in British English as 'have a soft spot for someone', which, according to Fergusson (1999: 317), means 'to be fond of (a person)'. It is originally an Indian English idiom and unknown to the speakers of British English (Nihalani et al. 1979: 57).

Steal the thunder and the robes and possession is nine points of the Law are both similar to idioms used in other Englishes. British and American English would most likely say ‘steal someone’s thunder’, without adding *and the robes* to the idiom. The idiom means “to spoil the effect someone had hoped to achieve with a particular idea by using the idea oneself first” or “to attract publicity away from someone towards oneself” (Fergusson 1999: 326-327). *Possession is nine points of the Law* differs from the idiom ‘possession is nine-tenths of the law’ used in other Englishes only slightly (see e.g. Fergusson 1999: 258). Instead of saying ‘nine-tenths,’ Standard Sri Lankan English uses ‘nine points’. The idiom is used in disputes of ownership and it means that “the person who possesses the property in question is in the strongest position” (Fergusson 1999: 258).

The idiom in the last example, *every nook and corner*, again, is a slight variation of an idiom found in British English which is ‘every nook and cranny’. According to Nihalani et al. (1979: 128), this is a popular idiom among Indian English writers, and thus also found in Standard Sri Lankan English. Moreover, there is a phrase ‘odd nooks and corners of knowledge’ which is sometimes used in American English (Nihalani et al. 1979: 128). The following examples are idioms which differ from idioms used in British English only in terms of having changed a preposition or adding a plural –s (idioms marked with italics):

- 97) His candidature *came out of the blues*. (*Sunday Observer*, September 18, 2005)
- 98) When the Norwegian Ambassador, Hans Brattskar visited Kilinochchi on Thursday to meet LTTE political commissar S.P. Thamilselvan, one of the main concerns of his visit was to demand from the Tigers to demonstrate its commitment to the ceasefire agreement *by word and deed*. (*Sunday Observer*, October 9, 2005)
- 99) Last week's double murder in Kandy borders on tragedrama where a young doctor goes berserk and kills his doctor wife and their infant son in a rage that has *cast a pall in* the hill country. (*Sunday Observer*, September 25, 2005)
- 100) This might be a huge blow to the blind-obedience learning culture that is present in the country but it will definitely make the students *stand up on their own feet* and do what they believe is righteous. (*Sunday Observer*, October 9, 2005)

By word and deed and *cast a pall in* are idioms that have changed their prepositions from the original idiom. According to Fergusson (1999: 80), *by word and deed* is expressed in British English with the preposition ‘in’ as in ‘in word and deed’ whereas *cast a pall in* is found in Collins Cobuild (2001: 1112) as ‘cast a pall over’.

By word and deed means ‘not in speech only’ (Fergusson 1999: 387) and if something unpleasant *casts a pall in* something it makes it less enjoyable than it should be (Collins Cobuild 2001: 1112). In the idiom *came out of the blues*, in example 97, there is an additional plural -s which is not found in the original idiom ‘out of the blue’ which means ‘unexpectedly’ (Fergusson 1999: 28). The idiom *stand up on their own feet* in Standard Sri Lankan English has added ‘up’ to it which is not found in the idiom widely used in other Englishes. This idiom means “to be independent, to manage without the help of others” (Fergusson 1999: 126). Next, idioms which were not found in any of the dictionaries or previous research are presented in the contexts they are used in the data (idioms marked with italics):

- 101) Anandasangaree well explained the LTTE fascism during a television interview last week. When the interviewer asked why majority Tamils do not rise against the LTTE if the organization violates the rights of the Tamils, Anandasangaree asked who would dare to do so *sitting in the jaws of a tiger*. (*Sunday Observer*, October 9, 2005)
- 102) However, he gave enough dreamy promises to the younger generation of the country and the public. His *bracelets or chewing gum talks* would not work anyhow. (*Sunday Observer*, October 2, 2005)
- 103) However, one amongst them was always *on his nerves' end*. This terrified man would jump on the rustle of leaves and even climbed a tree when a herd of elephants crossed their path. (*Sunday Observer*, October 2, 2005)

Because the idioms given above were not found in any of the reference books, it is fairly difficult to determine what they mean. However, from the context one can get some clues as to what the meaning of the idioms might be. In example 101, the idiom *sitting in the jaws of a tiger*, in this context, could mean the following: the majority of the Tamils are afraid to rise against the LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam), even though they know the LTTE is violating their rights, because they are Tamils themselves and fear that if they do so they themselves could get hurt. In other words, it would do them more harm than good. On the other hand, the idiom could mean something else, but based on the extract from the data this explanation is possible as well.

In example 102 ‘he’ refers to one of the presidential candidates, Ranil Wikremesinghe, and the person speaking is a former politician Mr. Adhikari who is a member of the same party as Mr. Wikremesinghe. By using the idiom *bracelets or chewing gum talks* Mr. Adhikari might suggest that he does not believe that the

words that come out of Mr. Wikremesinghe's mouth have truth to them. In other words, he is just saying things in order to get people to like him or vote for him but has no intention of putting his words into action. The idiom in example 103, *on his nerve's end*, is fairly straightforward, it is easily understood. In this context it means that the person was so nervous that any noise or anything out of the ordinary for that matter would have scared him. In British English the idiom 'at his wits end' has the same meaning (Fergusson 1999: 385).

The idioms in the above examples were not found in the dictionaries (Fergusson, Collins Cobuild) or previous research and therefore there is no absolute certainty that these idioms are only used in Standard Sri Lankan English. On the other hand, this could suggest that the reason these idioms are not found in other Englishes is just that, they are characteristic to Standard Sri Lankan English and not used in other Englishes. However, keeping in mind that there are thousands and thousands of idioms used in the English language and new ones are created all the time and some idioms are becoming more common, it is possible that these idioms too are used more widely but not recorded in the dictionaries given.

In sum, it can be said that there are idioms in Standard Sri Lankan English that are not found in other Englishes, at least in the original varieties, British and American English. However, there are idioms that are used in other South Asian Englishes as well, at least in Indian English. These idioms have been created by the speakers of Indian English and then adopted into Standard Sri Lankan English. Furthermore, there are idioms in my data that were not found in any of the sources used and based on their single occurrences in this data one cannot say anything definite about their use in Standard Sri Lankan English in general. In addition, it must be remembered, as reminded by Platt Weber and Ho (1984: 107) that the idioms which differ from a British or an American idiom only in one word such as *possession is nine points of the law* in example 95, the British equivalent being 'possession is nine-tenths of the law', can be just a mistake the writer has made when trying to use a certain British idiom without being successful. In that case, the idiom obviously cannot be considered a stabilized idiom in the New English.

6.7 Code-switching

In the data, there are also 15 instances of code-switching. All examples, except one, are code-switching between English and Sinhala. The one exception is between English and Sanskrit. Eight of these code-switching situations are in both English and Sinhala (Sanskrit) and seven Sinhala excerpts have not been translated into English. All the code-switching situations have been checked with the Sri Lankan informant in order to make sure that those not translated are in Sinhala. Moreover, five occasions are lyrics of a song, three are quotes from a speech and two are campaign slogans by the presidential candidates Mr. Rajapakse and Mr. Wikremesinghe. One example is a Sanskrit saying. These code-switches appear in nine different articles, thus 5.9% of the articles in the data have made use of code-switching. In the following, examples of these code-switching situations are presented in the contexts they appear in the data (code-switches marked with italics):

- 104) Today Ranil Wickremesinghe has returned to his 2001 slogan: *karana de kiyana, kiyana de karana* (*I say what I do and do what I say*). What a fascinating transparency! But what does the track record say? (*Sunday Observer*, September 18, 2005)
- 105) When Mr. Rajapakse kicked off his campaign under the slogan *Dinawamu Sri Lanka*, last week, he reiterated his commitment to a negotiated settlement. (*Sunday Observer*, September 25, 2005)
- 106) According to Anura Priyalal Sirisena who wrote Dr. Panibharatha's biography, the turning point in his life had come when he saw his uncle perform at the Saman Devalaya in Ratnapura. "*My God. What a dance*" (*Deiyane, ehema natumak*). (*Sunday Observer*, September 25, 2005)
- 107) Fortunately, the watcher sensing that something was amiss by the sudden silence came out to the verandah where I was seated. Noticing the cobra he coolly said *naya methaning yanna, mahathaya bayawela wage* (*Cobra go away from here, sir appears frightened*). Like a dog obeying its master, it slowly slithered away. (*Sunday Observer*, October 2, 2005)
- 108) A few weeks later one evening I heard the estate labourers shouting *naya tractoreta ahuwela* (*The tractor has run over the cobra*). I ran to the spot only to find that the cobra was badly injured and was breathing its last breath. Even then it summoned enough strength to crawl towards me to die at my feet. (*Sunday Observer*, October 2, 2005)

The first two occasions of code-switching in examples 104 and 105 are from the campaign slogans whereas the rest are words someone has actually uttered. The words: "*My God. What a dance*" "(*Deiyane, ehema natumak*).") were said by a famous Sri Lankan dancer, Kalasoori Panibharatha. Examples 107 and 108 are from

a true story where a cobra becomes friends with an estate watcher. Four of the examples above, examples 104, 106, 107, 108, have been translated into English as well. In example 104, Mr. Wikremesinghe, the presidential candidate, probably wants to address both the Sinhala and Tamil speakers and the campaign slogan is therefore in both languages. On the other hand, it is possible that the writer of the article has added the translation to the text in order to serve the readers of the newspaper better. The reason is most likely the same for the other examples, the articles in the newspaper should be understood by the readers no matter what their mother tongue is.

- 109) Though Dr. Panibharatha, the demi-god in the field of traditional song, music and dance is no more, lines like "*Jengath kita kita/// kukuda kudang gatha... Kiria gita kira kira kira gath jeng....* used at the conclusion of the dance recitals he had staged round the country, will continue to vibrate for eons to come. (*Sunday Observer*, September 25, 2005)
- 110) (*Sannaliyane, Sannaliyane/Me himidiri udaye/hadaweda damala lassana karala/katada anduma viyanne?*) "For whom are you weaving this beautiful cloth early in the morning?" (*Sunday Observer*, October 9, 2005)
- 111) "*Raja Meduraka Ipadi Sitiyanam Numbath Rajeki Puthune, Hirikada Bagena Polathu Igilei Ada Numbe Siri Yahane, Heenen Hina novi Ma Handavapan me rayame*" (If you were born in a palace, my son, you're also a king but now the cadjan leaves fly over your head exposing you to harsh rain water on our wattle and daub house. Don't smile in your dreams to make me sad in this lonely night) - a mother's lament on a rainy night. (*Sunday Observer*, October 2, 2005)
- 112) *Krishna...Krishna/Kima ma ridavanne?"* (Krishna, why are you giving me such pain?) (*Sunday Observer*, October 2, 2005)
- 113) A combination of classical, neo-classical, popular and folk music, Subhanie's songs make one recall the Sanskrit saying in Kavyalankara Sutra, *Apurva vastu nirmanakshama pragna pratibha* (artistic talent is the ability to create something that had never been before). (*Sunday Observer*, October 9, 2005)

The extracts 109-113 above are code-switching examples from songs. The examples 109-112 are between Sinhala and English and 113 is between Sanskrit and English which makes use of a Sanskrit saying. Furthermore, the third example is the longest occurrence of code-switching in this data: it comprises two sentences whereas all the other examples only have one sentence.

It is interesting that all occurrences of code-switching, except for two, give the English translation for the Sinhala or Sanskrit utterance as well. This could be done for the benefit of the readers. Perhaps not all readers of the Sunday Observer

understand Sinhala and therefore the English translation is needed. However, it is significant that the data makes use of code-switching since, after all, it is an English language newspaper and therefore it could be assumed that it would only use one language. On the other hand, if code-switching was not used, the newspaper and therefore also the data would show less characteristics of Standard Sri Lankan English. In other words, occurrences of code-switching distinguish this variety more from other Englishes and therefore identify it more strongly as Standard Sri Lankan English. Moreover, code-switching might also be used for special effect in the articles, thus, to catch the eye of the reader.

6.8 Summary

As the categories above show, Standard Sri Lankan English makes use of several strategies of creating new words and coming up with new meanings to old words, not to mention borrowing words from Sinhala and other Asian languages. These words are often used because the speakers of Standard Sri Lankan English need to find ways to express themselves in their own culture and environment and the English language does not have words for all the concepts they need. However, Standard Sri Lankan English has used the same strategies as other New Englishes to fill in the lexical gaps. Moreover, many of the characteristic lexical items found in my data are also found in other South Asian Englishes, which is understandable because of their physical closeness as well as similarities in culture and environment.

Loanwords and hybrids are numerous in my data, as can be expected, but surprisingly there are not many words that originate from the colonial languages, for instance, Dutch or Portuguese. This could perhaps be explained by the fact that many words that are originally from European languages are nowadays generally used also in other Englishes, including the original varieties. Therefore, these words were not included in the analysis. Furthermore, some words that are used in my data, especially loanwords, are most likely not stabilized as loanwords yet but instead are used as nonce borrowings, thus temporarily in a particular context. These words are often followed by metalinguistic commentary or marked in some other way and may not be familiar to all the speakers of Standard Sri Lankan English. In addition, in general the characteristic words are not in widespread use in the articles. There

are several articles which do not make use of any characteristic items whereas some use a lot of them.

It is clear that my data includes characteristic lexical items that are not found in other Englishes and thus make Standard Sri Lankan English a variety of its own. In addition, someone who is not familiar with all the characteristic lexical items in the data is not likely to fully understand the meaning of every word or sentence. Therefore, it can be said that Standard Sri Lankan English is closely connected with Sri Lanka's culture and environment. In other words, the culture of Sri Lanka is clearly present in Standard Sri Lankan English.

7 THE LEXICAL FIELDS IN STANDARD SRI LANKAN ENGLISH

Platt, Weber and Ho (1984: 87) suggest that the speakers of the New Englishes often find themselves in situations where the English language vocabulary is not enough in order for them to fully express themselves. This then encourages New English speakers to develop a new range of expressions to fulfill their communicative needs. For instance, the English language may lack words and phrases needed to express the cultural background of the nation. These words might refer to local food, clothing, housing, festivals, family relations or status relations, for example. These groups of words are also called lexical fields (Saeed 2003: 63).

The characteristic lexical items in my data represent six lexical fields. These fields are: Buddhism, food, flora, Ayurveda, music/literature and historical eras/periods. Altogether there are 137 lexical items, out of the total 170 words, that can be included in these categories. 41 of the words in this category are 'miscellaneous', in other words, they do not fit into the themes of these lexical fields. The categories of characteristic lexical items in Standard Sri Lankan English that are included in the analysis of lexical fields include loanwords, hybrids and neologisms and loan translations. In the following, these lexical fields will be presented in more detail. Extracts from the data will not be given since characteristic words have already been discussed in section 6 and examples of many of the same words as presented in this chapter are given there.

7.1 Buddhism

The number of words that have been included in this category is 17, in other words 12.4% of the total 137 words are related to Buddhism. This is not surprising, since it can be expected that many lexical items that have to do with religion and the way it is practiced would be found in Standard Sri Lankan English because Buddhism is the main religion in Sri Lanka and very much part of the every day lives of the Sinhalese.

The words in this category are of Sanskrit origin, from Pali which is the vehicle of Buddhism (Disanayaka 2005: 15) and from Sinhala. It is possible that some Sanskrit words have come via Sinhala because Sinhala was significantly influenced by Sanskrit. Sanskrit words include the following: cycle of *samsara* ('the endless cycle of death and rebirth'), *dhamma* ('law' or 'way') and *Vinaya* ('discipline', which refers to the textual framework for the Buddhist monastic community or sangha). (Freedictionary, OEDO.) Pali words are, for instance, the following: *sangha* ('community') and *Vesak* (the most holy time in the Buddhist calendar) (OEDO). The words of Sinhala origin do not relate to the Buddhist terminology but instead more to how it is practiced. Sinhala words are the following: *poya* day ('full moon day'), *pirith* (the changing ceremony conducted by Buddhist monks) and *dagaba* ('the dome shaped white building sacred to Buddhism') (Gunesekera 2005: 194, 262, 266).

7.2 Food

Each country has its traditional foods which have often been prepared in the same way for years. The names of these dishes have thus become so much part of the local culture that they cannot be translated into another language and still keep the meaning exactly the same. It is also possible that people do not want the names to be changed. In the case of Sri Lanka many names of dishes have not been translated into English but they have kept the Sinhala names in Standard Sri Lankan English. Moreover, some foods have been adapted to Sri Lanka from India, or at least they are mentioned in the data, and their names have not been translated into English either. Altogether there are 15 lexical items relating to food, which is 10.9% of the total

number of words in the data. In the following these items are presented.

Foods that have a Sinhala name include, for instance, the following dishes: *kiribath* ('milkrice'), *tala ata* ('sesame seeds') and *tala bola* ('sesame balls'). Interestingly, the English translations are given in the data together with the Sinhala name. *Pasanda boti*, *Kadai lamb* and *Sarhan khorma* are Indian dishes. The origin of these lexical items could not be found out but the context where they appeared in the data suggests that they are Indian dishes. In addition, there are two neologisms or loan translations as well: *short eats* and *butter chicken*. *Short eats* refer to Sri Lankan 'finger food' (Gunesekera 2005: 276) whereas *butter chicken* appears to be an Indian chicken dish.

7.3 Flora

The climate in South Asia is clearly very different from that of Britain or the United States. Therefore, all kinds of plants, flowers, trees, fruit and such that grow in the area also differ greatly. Thus, it is not surprising that Standard Sri Lankan English and other South Asian Englishes have many words that relate to flora which are not found in other Englishes. However, it must be remembered that many words of fruits and plants, which originate from South Asian languages have already spread to other Englishes and therefore they are no longer exclusively used by South Asian English speakers. Therefore, it is understandable that this category does not include as many words as might have been expected. Nevertheless, 6 words that can be included in this category were found in the data, which is 4.4% of the total 137 words. These words will be given in the following.

Bodhi tree is the tree under which Siddharta Gautama, also known as Buddha, attained enlightenment (Gunesekera 2005: 180-181.) *Burutha* is also a tree, which grows in Sri Lanka and *cadjan* leaves are strips of fan-palm leaves, in other words, either of the talipot, or of the palmyra. The word comes from Malay and Javan and was introduced by foreigners to Southern India. (OEDO.) *Dhal* is a word of Sanskrit origin which refers to pulses and also to the stew prepared from it (Freedictionary).

7.4 Ayurveda

Ayurveda is an over 5000-year-old comprehensive system of medicine, which is based on a holistic approach and rooted in the Vedic culture (Freedictionary). It is widely practiced in Sri Lanka and in the data there are several articles that deal with this approach and its treatments. Therefore this category includes the most, 34, lexical items of these lexical fields presented here. In other words, 24.8% of all the characteristic words included in this study are related to Ayurveda. Moreover, most, if not all, words are of Sanskrit origin. This cannot be said with absolute certainty because not all the words were found in the dictionaries that were used for this study. However, all the words that could be found were of Sanskrit origin and therefore it can be assumed that also at least a great majority of the rest of the words are as well. The word ‘Ayurveda’, as pointed out in section 5.4, is already in use in the original varieties and has therefore not been taken into account in this analysis. In the next paragraph some words that relate to Ayurveda are presented.

Apparently there are three main *doshas*, medical humours, in Ayurveda: *pitta*, *kapha* and *vata*. *Pitta* resembles fire, *kapha* water and *vata* air. Each of these humors circulates in the body and governs physiological activity. Their differing proportions determine individual temperament, physical constitution and if this is imbalanced it might result in a physical or mental disorder. (OEDO.) Moreover, an Ayurvedic practitioner is called a *vedamaththaya*. In addition, the different treatments are called *Chikitsas*: there is, for instance, *Gandharva Chikitsa*, *Satvavajaya Chikitsa*, *Jala Chikitsa* and *Rasa Chikitsa*.

7.5 Music and literature

This category contains 13 words that have to do with music or literature. In other words, 9.5% of the characteristic words found in the data. These words are characteristic to Standard Sri Lankan English and not familiar to the speakers of other Englishes, except for people in South Asia. The Jataka stories are a part of this category even though they are also associated with the Theravada Buddhist tradition and could therefore be included in the Buddhism-section. However, I decided not to include all the different Jataka stories individually in the total number in this

category. In the following paragraph some of the words, which relate to music or literature are presented.

Nelun songs are associated with the paddy transplanting and in the data two of these types of songs are mentioned: *nelun gee* and *nelun gavi*. *Nelun gee* songs are especially associated with transplanting. (Rajapakse.) *Vannam* is a type of dance entertainment in which the performer attempts to mimic the movements and sounds of a bird or an animal, for instance, the Song of the Elephant or Gajaga Vannama (Gottberg Anderson 1997: 256.) *Raga*, on the other hand, is a piece of Indian music based on a traditional scale or pattern of notes which is also called a raga (Collins Cobuild 2001: 1263.)

7.6 Historical eras and periods

This category includes names of Sri Lanka's historical eras and political periods. These names are all hybrids and there are 11 of them altogether. Thus, 8.0% of the characteristic lexical items found in the data belong to this category. Interestingly, many of these items appear in articles that deal with Sri Lanka's political situation, especially the upcoming presidential election. At times the politicians or their way of practicing politics are compared to earlier times in the country's history. Examples of these types of hybrids are given in the following paragraph.

The following periods, for instance, refer to historical times in Sri Lanka: *Anuradhapura period*, *Polonnaruwa period* and *Kurunegala period*. Anuradhapura, Polonnaruwa and Kurunegala are also all ancient capitals of Sri Lanka. Moreover, the *era of Pandukabhaya* and the *era of Parakramabahu the Great* refer to ancient kings. *Pre Vijaya times* and *time of Kuweni* are not historical periods as such. *Pre Vijaya times* refer to the period before Vijaya, who is the legendary founding father of the Sinhalese, who arrived on the island (Gottberg Anderson 1997: 33). *Time of Kuweni*, on the other hand, refers to an enchantress who tempted the followers of Vijaya into captivity (Gottberg Anderson 1997: 71).

7.7 Summary

The lexical fields presented above give a clue as to what kinds of words have been borrowed or created by the speakers of Standard Sri Lankan English; in other words, lexical items that cannot be found in the original varieties. The lexical fields are all somehow related to the culture of Sri Lanka and therefore, it is understandable that such words are either borrowed from native languages or speakers have created totally new ones altogether. However, it is surprising that there are not that many words that refer to clothing in this data. In fact, there are only two words, *batik* and *span cloth*, that would be included in the lexical field. And actually *batik* could be excluded from this if its meaning would be restricted only to the cloth. On the other hand, some words like *sari* and *sarong* are not included in this analysis since they are already used in other Englishes as well. Another lexical field that is almost non-existent in this data is words that refer to family relations or kindred terms. There is only one item in the data that refers to family members and that is *amma*. *Amma* means ‘mother’ in both Sinhala and Tamil. These questions are dealt with in more detail in section 8.

8 DISCUSSION

This study was conducted by analyzing articles from an English newspaper in Sri Lanka, the Sunday Observer. The articles of my data are from the ‘Features’-section of the Sunday Observer because that section deals more with Sri Lankan culture, people and lifestyle and it is believed that more characteristic lexical features can be found in this section. First, the data was approached by browsing through the articles and selecting words that looked like they could be words characteristic to Standard Sri Lankan English. When this was done, the words were checked in the online version of Oxford English Dictionary and if not found there they were included in the analysis. After identifying the words, they were divided into seven categories which were adopted from Nihalani et al. (1979) and Platt, Weber and Ho (1984). Once the words had been separated into groups their meaning and etymology were thoroughly investigated with the help of OEDO, Freedictionary and the glossary of Standard Sri Lankan English compiled by Gunesekera (2005). Words that were not

found in these sources were typed in Google or checked from a Sri Lankan informant whose mother tongue is Sinhala.

The methodology that was used was a useful way of approaching the data. Reading through the articles while identifying characteristic items also gives a good idea of the context where the words are used. This is important because many of the words could not have been understood without the context. Moreover, the purpose of this study was to analyze words in the context which was achieved with this approach. Identifying some of the words, for instance, loan translations and neologisms, proved to be challenging and having a native British English speaker check those from the data would have been useful. This, however, would have been a lot to ask from a native speaker because it would have taken quite a bit of his or her time. Moreover, since there was no one readily available for this task it was not done. As far as the categorization is concerned, it worked very well. The categories chosen included the most important ways of creating or adopting new words to a New English and more importantly they were useful for investigating the lexical characteristics of Standard Sri Lankan English. Clearly other categories could have been added, such as the tendency to use Latinate or big words (Gunesekera 2005: 134), but this was not done mainly because they would have been difficult to identify in the data. The dictionaries used for this study were very good. OEDO was chosen because it is a British English based dictionary just like Standard Sri Lankan English is more based on British English than American English. Furthermore, without the help of a Sri Lankan informant the meaning of all Sinhala loanwords could not have been found out. This, thus, was an enormous help. In the following section the main findings of the study are presented.

8.1 Main findings

This study was undertaken to find out the characteristic lexical items of Standard Sri Lankan English. In other words, it was assumed, based on a few previous studies that the lexis of Standard Sri Lankan English differs from other New Englishes and also from the original varieties British and American English. This study confirmed that there are lexical items which are characteristic to this particular variety and that it is possible to talk about the lexis of Standard Sri Lankan English, as opposed to the

lexis of British English or Australian English, for instance. In the following, I will discuss the main findings of this study in more detail.

All New Englishes have borrowed words from background languages and Standard Sri Lankan English is no exception to this, after all, borrowing is recognized as an important part of the nativization of New Englishes. In this study it was found that many loanwords from Sinhala are specific concepts which are an essential part of the Sri Lankan culture and cannot often be translated into English. Gunesekera (2005: 132) also points out that even though there is a tendency to use English words in writing, a loanword is chosen if there is no English equivalent. Some of the loanwords in my data include musical terms, *nelun gee* and *vannam*, traditional dishes, *tala ata* and *kiribath*, as well as concepts related to Buddhism, *pirith* and *dagaba*. These Sinhala loanwords best describe the exact cultural meanings of given concepts and are easily understood by most of the speakers of Standard Sri Lankan English. This can be assumed because Standard Sri Lankan English is a Sinhala based variety and therefore the majority of the speakers speak Sinhala as their mother tongue. All in all, it can be stated that many of the Sinhala loanwords are specialized vocabulary which do not have equivalents in the English language. Yang (2005) reports similar findings in his study of the China English loanwords. His findings also show that most loanwords do not form part of the core vocabulary of China English.

In the data, there are slightly more loanwords from other Asian languages than from Sinhala. This is not surprising since especially the Englishes spoken in the Indian subcontinent have shared linguistic features (Kachru 1994: 500), which means that, for instance, Indian English and Standard Sri Lankan English have quite a few of the same loanwords in their vocabularies. Moreover, some countries share the same background languages, for instance, Tamil is spoken both in India and Sri Lanka and Sanskrit is the vehicle of classical Indian literature. Sanskrit has also greatly influenced Sinhala, which makes it difficult at times to identify the origin of some loanwords. Thus, it is possible that words of Sanskrit origin have been borrowed to Standard Sri Lankan English via Sinhala. Furthermore, it is surprising that there is only one loanword in the data which relates to flora and none related to fauna. A more frequent use of such words could have been expected because the countries in

South Asia have similar climate and therefore they also share some plants and animals. On the other hand, many words related to flora and fauna have already spread to other varieties of English and to other languages as well and therefore they are not exclusively used by the English speakers of Asia, or South Asia.

In the data there are also other lexical features in addition to loanwords, such as neologisms and loan translations, hybrids, archaic English words, words that have undergone semantic change or extended meaning and idioms. Neologisms and loan translations are not distinguished in this study; only in few cases information is provided on whether a word is a neologism or a loan translation. These lexical items are not very common in the data but there are enough of them to show that Standard Sri Lankan English uses this method to create new words this way as well. Hybrids, on the other hand, are more common. This finding is similar to that of Gunesekera (2005: 145), who notes that compounding of a Sinhala or Tamil and an English word is a productive process in Standard Sri Lankan English. In my data there are some hybrids which are of Sinhala origin whereas most are from other Asian languages, such as Sanskrit, Pali or Malay. Moreover, there are quite a few hybrids which are names of eras in the history of Sri Lanka. In addition, there are also hybrids of names of dishes and also some related to Buddhism. The hybrids that occur in the data are an inseparable part of the culture of Sri Lanka, just like the loanwords, and do not necessarily have equivalents in English and therefore have not been translated either.

A few examples of archaic English words can be found in the data. Some of the words, *perch*, *brethren*, *clad*, *yore* and *sans*, are used more than once in the data whereas others appear only once. The use of archaic words can also act as a stylistic device in formal writing. For instance, there is one article in the data where marriages in the past are compared to those of today and archaisms like *sans*, *damsel* and *yore* are used. The archaic words then fit perfectly in the context of the article. On the other hand, archaisms can also be found in articles that deal with today's Sri Lankan politics. Therefore, they can be used as stylistic devices or characteristic lexical items.

Another method for creating new words in Standard Sri Lankan English, as in other New Englishes, is for words to undergo semantic change or extension of meaning. The number of words in this group in my data is not very big but the lexical items themselves are fascinating. This process is also noted by Gunesekera (2005: 152) who has found several examples of words that have taken on a new meaning in her fieldwork. In my data the word *uncle*, for instance, has several meanings in Standard Sri Lankan English. According to Kandiah (1987: 37-39, as quoted in Parakrama 1995: 100-101) it can be used to convey the meaning it has in British and American English. In addition to this, *uncle* can be used, for instance, to address several male relatives and the parents of the speakers. Moreover, all adult males of equal social status can be referred to as *uncles* by children unless their relationship requires another term, such as ‘sir’. If adolescents use this term in addressing adult male strangers they may express both an overt acknowledgement of the respect that society expects them to give him as well as a wry indication that such deference is not really necessary and therefore use *uncle* in a humorous way. Of course, the person who is being addressed does not know how the word is to be taken. In the data *uncle* is used to refer to the cousin of the writer’s father. (Parakrama 1995: 100-101.) All in all, some common English words have very different kinds of uses in Standard Sri Lankan English.

Idioms are also used fairly frequently in the data. Many idioms are very close to British or American idioms differing only in terms of having a different preposition or replacing a word with another. On the other hand, there are idioms which cannot be found in any of the dictionaries or other reference books used in this study and might therefore be only used in Standard Sri Lankan English.

In addition to the characteristic lexical items discussed above, there are also cases of code-switching in the data. What is noteworthy about code-switching is that all occurrences except for two give the English translation for the Sinhala or Sanskrit utterance as well. This could be done to make sure all the readers understand what is being said. It is significant that code-switching is used in this data because it distinguishes this variety from others and identifies it more strongly as Standard Sri Lankan English as opposed to, for instance, Pakistani English. The use of code-switching expresses a particularly Sri Lankan ethos, as stated by Fernando (2003).

The characteristic lexical items in my data can be divided into six lexical fields. These fields are: Buddhism, food, flora, Ayurveda, music/literature and historical eras/periods. These give a good idea as to what kinds of words have been borrowed from other languages or created by the speakers of Standard Sri Lankan English. These lexical fields are very closely related to the culture of Sri Lanka and therefore it is not so surprising that such words have been borrowed from Sinhala or other Asian languages or created by speakers of Standard Sri Lankan English. Yang (2005) also found several lexical items related to Chinese music and food in his study on China English lexis. However, there were no occurrences of words related to flora in his study but instead many loan translations in the field of ‘politics and current events’. Therefore, loan translations and loanwords in his study were partly from the same lexical fields as in my study. Also Preshous (2001) points out that in Malaysian English the area of food and drink provide countless examples of loan words.

As mentioned in section 7.7, words that refer to clothing as well as family relations or kindred terms are almost non-existent in the data. The lack of nouns for describing family relations can be explained by the fact that the data are from a newspaper where the themes of articles do not often deal with issues like the family. On the other hand, if the data were from spoken discourse there might be much more occurrences of words relating to family relations. Interestingly, Parakrama (1995: 65) states that, according to his fieldwork, the bilingually educated Sri Lankans, whose Standard Sri Lankan English is ‘impeccable’, use the Sinhala words for family relationships and intimacies. In my data, which is very different from Parakrama’s spoken data, there is no evidence of such words.

In sum, it can be said that Standard Sri Lankan English has made use of many different strategies to make the English language capable of carrying its concepts and nuances. The strategies are similar to those that are used in other New Englishes, for instance, in Malaysian English (Preshous 2001), Indian English (Nihalani et al. 1979) and China English (Yang 2005). Thus, many, if not all, New Englishes use the same processes of filling the lexical gaps in their vocabularies. However, in Standard Sri Lankan English the most productive ways of producing new words are borrowing and hybrids, as the data of this study also shows. Gunesekera (2005) has also

reported similar findings in her study although she also adds affixation to this list. By affixation Gunesekera refers to adding suffixes to Sinhalese words such as thadeying, in which the root of the word is thada meaning ‘tight’. In my data there is no evidence of affixation and in that respect my findings are different compared to hers.

8.2 Typographic marking and metalinguistic commentary

In general, it is assumed that the reader will understand the borrowed items that have been incorporated into the text. However, often the loanwords have been marked or emphasized in some way to catch the eye of the reader, suggesting that not all the readers are familiar with the word. There are two ways of marking written borrowings. They are called typographic marking and metalinguistic commentary (see e.g. Yang 2005). Typographic marking includes boldface, italics or quotation marks whereas metalinguistic commentary refers to a translation or a commentary of a loanword. In the following, I will present how these two ways of marking are used in my data.

All in all quite a number of borrowed items in my data are accompanied with a commentary. Several Sinhalese or Sanskrit words, or words of some other origin, are given an English translation. This is done either by providing the translation in brackets or setting it off from the borrowed item by commas. For instance, in an article on Sri Lankan folk songs, the Sinhala names of different types of songs are explained in brackets. For example, *Prasasti* (songs in praise of kings) and *Hatangee* (songs exploiting the valour of war) are explained in this way. Quite a few of the words relating to Ayurveda are also given an English translation in brackets. These words include *twak* (skin), *upadhatu* (sub-tissue) and *mamsa* (muscle). This could suggest that Sri Lankans in general are not familiar with the terminology used in Ayurveda. On a few occasions an English word was explained by giving a Sinhalese term in brackets. This was the case with words such as *anthill* whose Sinhalese translation *hubaha* was given in brackets. Another example is *milkrice*, which is a traditional Sri Lankan dish made by cooking the rice in coconut milk. The Sinhalese translation *kiribath* was given in brackets. The meaning of the word

ambula was given by setting off metalinguistic commentary from the word itself as in ‘*ambula...*, which is home cooked rice and tasty curry’.

Typographic marking is also used on several occasions. The lexical items *kiyana de karana* and *vannam* appear in quotation marks. It is interesting that even though these loanwords are identified, clearly to catch the eye of the reader, they are often not translated or explained. The only exceptions are the words *vedamaththaya* which is both in quotation marks and explained in brackets as an ‘Ayurvedic practitioner’ and *Ombudsman Mandiraya* which is translated as ‘Ombudsman House’. Yet another way to mark borrowed items is to boldface or italicize them. However, there are no boldfaced or italicized words in my data. Interestingly, in the study conducted by Yang (2005) on lexical innovations in China English all the loanwords in his data were in italics. Tent (2000) reports a similar finding of Fijian English loanwords. They too are often italicized or glossed in the Fijian English newspapers he analyzed. This difference could be just a preference of the writers of the articles to use one or the other way of marking borrowed items.

Typographic marking and metalinguistic commentary might suggest that the characteristic items are not fully incorporated into the lexis of Standard Sri Lankan English yet, whereas the words that have not been marked in any way are more likely to be more established words. Moreover, words that have been translated in the text could also be nonce borrowings and therefore not stabilized loan words. Thus, they need to be explained. Gunesekera (2005: 68) states that nowadays borrowed lexical items in the English press in Sri Lanka are less frequently explained than before. It is clearly assumed that the readers are bilingual and therefore there is no necessity for a gloss. Preshous (2001) has also identified typographic marking and metalinguistic commentary in his study on Malaysian English and he notes that the words which have been explained one way or another in the text might be regionally specific and therefore not familiar to all the readers. In the case of Sri Lanka, where there are two background languages, Sinhala and Tamil, and most of the loanwords that appear in my data are of Sinhalese origin, the translation or explanation has most likely been provided for the benefit of the Tamil speakers or perhaps to the occasional non-Sinhala or non-Tamil speaker.

8.3 Nonce borrowings and stabilized loanwords

A large part of the loanwords and hybrids in the data only appear in the articles once or twice. Often if the words appear twice they do so within one article. These loanwords are called nonce borrowings and it is suggested that they do not belong to the core vocabulary of Standard Sri Lankan English. In fact, many loanwords are highly specialized vocabulary, for instance, the words that have to do with Sri Lankan history. Another group of words that are highly specialized are those related to Ayurveda. A similar kind of observation was made by Yang (2005) when studying Chinese English lexis. He found numerous examples of loanwords which were names of types of Chinese folk music and names of Chinese folk musical instruments. In Yang's data these lexical items often occur only once or twice as well. Often these highly specialized loanwords occur with metalinguistic commentary or some other type of identification, such as quotation marks, which suggests that they are nonce borrowings. Platt, Weber and Ho (1984: 88) also point out that nonce borrowings are often haphazardly chosen for a specific context and are not used more frequently in the variety in general. However, these nonce borrowings might gradually become stabilized loanwords if they fulfil a need. Thus, the nonce borrowings in my data might also become stabilized loanwords in the future.

Stabilized loanwords are words that are frequently used in a New English and are part of its vocabulary. In my data, there are words, such as *veddah*, *biryani*, *Jataka* and *Eelam* which appear several times and can therefore be considered stabilized loanwords. According to Platt, Weber and Ho (1984: 89) some stabilized loanwords are used all the time, others in colloquial language and others more frequently in speech than writing. Gunesekera (2005: 130) has made a similar point about Standard Sri Lankan English. She notes that there is a clear difference in the use of loanwords between speech and writing. In spoken discourse loanwords and code-switching are used much more frequently than in written discourse. In addition, Standard Sri Lankan English writing is more conservative and an effort is made to erase traces of bilingualism in it. (Gunesekera 2005: 130.) Based on this, it can be assumed that the use of loanwords in my data is perhaps not as great as it would be in spoken discourse. Moreover, all the words that occur only once in my data might then not necessarily be nonce borrowings. Perhaps these words are actually part of

the lexis of Standard Sri Lankan English but they just do not appear more frequently in my data. It is possible that this particular newspaper also tries to avoid using too many loanwords in writing. All in all, it is fairly difficult to determine the status of some loanwords in the data.

8.4 The origin of loanwords

Loanwords from Sinhala and other South Asian languages form the largest category of characteristic lexical items in my data. These words have been borrowed from Sinhala, Tamil, Sanskrit, Malay, Hindi, Urdu, Persian, Arabic and Javanese. Most of the loanwords come from Sinhala and Sanskrit. In some cases it was difficult to determine the origin of a certain loanword because several languages have similar words in their vocabulary where the loanword could originate from. For instance, OEDO gives three different languages and words where the word, *crore* as in *crores of years* (1 crore equals 10 million) might originate from. This word could have been borrowed from Hindi, Prakrit or Sanskrit.

It can be expected that Standard Sri Lankan English has borrowed and borrows words from Sinhala because it is the language the majority of the people in Sri Lanka speak and as Platt, Weber and Ho (1984: 88) point out, loanwords often come from background languages. Clearly it is easy for Standard Sri Lankan English speakers to use their mother tongue as a resource for lexical items they are not familiar with in English or for which there are no equivalents in English. In my data there are 39 loanwords from Sinhala. However, as explained in section 8.1, it is difficult to say whether some of the loanwords have been borrowed straight from Sanskrit or via Sinhala since Sinhala is greatly influenced by Sanskrit. In other words, it is possible that those loanwords that have been labelled under Sanskrit have in fact been borrowed from Sinhala. This, however, is very difficult to determine. In addition, there might have been more Sinhala loanwords in the data, but, as pointed out by Gunesekera (2005: 132); there is a tendency to avoid using borrowings in written discourse and to instead choose an English equivalent. Moreover, Sri Lankans have had and to some extent still have a prescriptive attitude towards the English language. In other words, the majority of speakers still believe that English should be used purely as English with no borrowings from Sinhala or Tamil. (Gunesekera

2005: 51.) This probably also affects the number of Sinhala loanwords used in my data as well. However, Gunsekera (2005: 132) also states that recently the tendency in newspapers to use borrowings is growing. Therefore, it is possible that in the near future more and more loanwords from Sinhala will be used in Standard Sri Lankan English writing.

The number of loanwords from other Asian languages is slightly bigger compared to the Sinhala loanwords. Altogether there are 52 of them. A large number of these words are related to Ayurveda which is very popular in Sri Lanka and therefore there are several articles in the data that deals with approach. Most, if not all, words related to Ayurveda are of Sanskrit origin and the articles make use of these lexical items a lot. Moreover, there are many words that have to do with Buddhism and a great number of those words are also of Sanskrit origin. Moreover, some words that relate to food, for instance, have been borrowed from Hindi. Surprisingly there is only one word borrowed from Tamil, which is *Eelam*, and means ‘Sri Lanka’. It could have been expected that there are more words from Tamil because, after all, it is the mother tongue of a minority in Sri Lanka. On the other hand, Standard Sri Lankan English is a Sinhala based variety, which explains the lack of Tamil loanwords. In addition to Sanskrit, Hindi and Tamil loanwords there are only a few words from other Asian languages. These words are *paneer* which is either from Urdu or Persian, *batik* which is of Malay origin and *biryani* which is borrowed from either Arabic or Hindi.

In sum, it can be said that most loanwords used in Standard Sri Lankan English are either from Sinhala or Sanskrit. In other words, they are from the speaker’s mother tongue or from the language that has greatly influenced their mother tongue. The loanwords that have not been borrowed from these languages represent concepts that are part of the cultures of several Asian languages and have thus been adopted into Standard Sri Lankan English as well.

8.5 Similarities with other Asian Englishes

Many of the loanwords from Asian languages are also used in other Englishes. This is quite understandable since very likely words of Hindi origin, for instance, are used

in Indian English. Words like *sri*, *lakh*, *crore* and *raga* can be found in the lexis of Indian English as well, *lakh* also in Pakistani English. In fact, OEDO define *sri*, *crore* and *lakh* as words used in India. Moreover, *dhal* and *Vesak* are words that are common in many South Asian Englishes. Clearly *Eelam* can also be found in Tamil English and the many terms related to Ayurveda are most likely used in many other Asian Englishes.

The only loan translation or neologism that is used in other Englishes is *bedsheet*, which is found in Indian English. Furthermore, *hawker*, *outstation*, *uncle* and *upcountry* are words that have gone through semantic change and all of them are used in other Asian Englishes as well. *Hawker*, *uncle* and *upcountry* are all used in Indian English and *outstation* originates from the colonial period and is used at least in Malaysian English in addition to Standard Sri Lankan English. *Brethren* is the only English archaism that is definitely in use in Indian English. There it is used as a stylistic device. In terms of idioms that occur in my data there are a few similarities with Indian English. *Step-motherly treatment*, *have a soft corner for someone* and *every nook and corner* can all be found in Indian English as well.

It is possible that the characteristic lexical items used in Standard Sri Lankan English are more widely used in other Asian Englishes but for the purposes of this study this aspect was not studied more extensively. However, already the given examples show that there is a close relationship between Standard Sri Lankan English and Indian English and there are words that occur in other Asian Englishes as well. This is to be expected especially within South Asia because the countries in the Indian subcontinent and the Englishes spoken in those countries share linguistic features with each other. In fact, South Asian English is a cover term which is used to refer to the Englishes spoken in the Indian subcontinent. (Kachru 1986: 33.)

8.6 Implications

Studying the vocabulary of a particular language is challenging, especially when the language is one that has not been widely studied before and there are no extensive vocabularies available. This is the case with Standard Sri Lankan English; there is very little information available. On one hand this makes the study more rewarding,

but on the other hand more challenging as well. Fortunately the recent book by Gunesekera (2005) has provided much helpful information in terms of the history and development of Standard Sri Lankan English as well as its vocabulary. In addition, the studies conducted on other Asian Englishes were valuable as well because many observations and findings could be applied to this study.

A language is in a constant state of change which means that its vocabulary is changing all the time as well. In terms of my study this caused a few challenges. Firstly, the lexical items that had to be excluded from the analysis because they are already more widely used in other Englishes and other languages were not always easy to identify. There might be words that are already used in spoken language but not in written and therefore they might not yet be included in dictionaries. Secondly, the spelling of some loanwords might change when they are borrowed to another language and therefore they can be difficult to find in a dictionary. In other words, it is impossible to keep up with the change of a language and in a study like this; once something has been stated it might very soon change.

9 CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to investigate the characteristic lexical features of a New English called Standard Sri Lankan English. In other words, the aim was to find out how Standard Sri Lankan English differs from other varieties of English in terms of lexis. The characteristic lexical features that were examined include loanwords from Sinhala and other Asian languages, hybrids, neologisms and loan translations, English archaisms, semantic change and extended meaning, idioms and code-switching. Some of the lexical features found in the data are used in other New Englishes but they are not found in the original varieties, British English and American English. Furthermore, the lexical fields of these characteristic features were of interest as well. The words were divided into six lexical fields which are Buddhism, Ayurveda, flora, historical periods/eras, music/literature and food. The lexical fields were chosen on the basis of what kinds of words were found in the data.

This study was undertaken because there is very little information available on Standard Sri Lankan English even though New Englishes in general have been studied quite a bit. The studies conducted on Sri Lankan English concentrate more on colloquial English and spoken discourse. Therefore, this study is different in terms of data and provides important information about written discourse and the kinds of lexical items used in it. For these reasons this study ‘fills a gap’ in the study of Standard Sri Lankan English in terms of its vocabulary.

On the basis of this study it can be said that the lexis of Standard Sri Lankan English differs from other New Englishes. Of course there are similarities with other Englishes, especially with those spoken in Asia, but there are more differences with the original varieties, British English and American English. Standard Sri Lankan English uses many different ways of creating new words to fulfil its communicative needs. This is done by, for instance, borrowing from other languages, compounding and creating new meanings to old words. These methods are used in many, if not all, New Englishes. These words then become characteristic to Standard Sri Lankan English and are unfamiliar to someone who does not have knowledge of Sri Lankan culture. Thus, the lexis of Standard Sri Lankan English is unique compared to other Englishes.

This study has examined the characteristic lexical features of Standard Sri Lankan English in one English newspaper in Sri Lanka. In other words, the data was from a written discourse. In the future it would be fascinating to compare two newspapers and see if there is a difference in the amount and type of lexical features. This other newspaper could also be one that is targeted to the Tamil speakers of Sri Lanka. The vocabulary, especially loanwords, might differ significantly from the Sunday Observer which is targeted to Sinhala speakers. On the other hand, data from spoken discourse could have more occurrences of loanwords, especially Sinhala loanwords, as Gunesekera (2005: 130) suggests. Moreover, it would be fascinating to take a closer look at the Sanskrit loanwords and try to investigate their origin in more detail. It is possible that some of them might have been borrowed into Standard Sri Lankan English via Sinhala.

Compared to previous studies conducted on Sri Lankan English this study is different in some respects. Firstly, the data in this study are from a written discourse whereas Herat (2001) and Gunesekera (2005) have analyzed spoken data. Moreover, previous studies have mainly focused on loanwords, neologisms, loan translations, words that have undergone semantic shifts and hybrids and have not examined the use of idioms. This study thus gives new information regarding the characteristic features of Standard Sri Lankan English, which hopefully can be of some use in the future for others who study the lexis of Standard Sri Lankan English.

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APPENDIX 1

List of all the characteristic lexical items of Standard Sri Lankan English found in the data

(translations or explanations of words are given in brackets)

LOANWORDS

Sinhala

- osari* (one of the styles in which saris are draped in Sri Lanka)
- pirith* (the changing ceremony conducted by Buddhist monks)
- pola* (Sinhalese word for ‘fair’ or ‘open market’. It is the traditional market for fresh produce)
- amma* (mother)
- gata bera* (a Sri Lankan drum)
- thammatta* (a Sri Lankan drum)
- veddah* (a member of an aboriginal people inhabiting the forest districts of Sri Lanka)
- kiribath* (milkrice)
- daane* (almsgiving)
- hubaha* (anthill)
- tala ata* (sesame seeds)
- tala bola* (sesame balls)
- chena* (a form of shifting cultivation in Sri Lanka or the shrubby vegetation produced by such cultivation or a piece of land used for this)
- dagaba* (the dome shaped white building sacred to Buddhism)
- Honda Hitha* (a goodwill term means good mind)
- nelun gee* (nelum songs are associated with paddy cultivation, nelum gee with transplanting)
- nelun kavi* (nelum songs are associated with paddy cultivation)
- se gee* (a type of folk song)
- Prasasti* (songs in praise of kings)
- Hatangee* (songs exploiting the valor of war)
- Sandesha Kavi* (messages in songs)
- Jathika Chinthanaya* (national thinking)
- kamatha* (a place where the trampling of paddy takes place, a sacred place to the paddy cultivator)
- ambula* (traditionally pickled or preserved food, but in this context where *ambula* is taken to the paddy cultivator in the *kamatha* it refers to any kind of food that will not go bad due to the heat)
- vannam* (a type of dance entertainment in which the performer attempts to mimic the movements and sounds of a bird or an animal)
- badu samaa panatha* (a duty free agreement)

Satyakriya (act of truth)

Sakra (the god of gods)

Thera (a monk, a term often used when speaking or writing Standard Sri Lankan English, another term is used in spoken Sinhala)

Banamadu (a place where the sermon is delivered in a temple or elsewhere)

peyava (an herbal drink)

beli (a close relative of citrus, the fruit is about the size of an orange and has a pale green, smooth, hard, woody shell)

Siya Saviya (a person's own power)

Siya Rekuma (protect one's own)

burutha (a valuable tree)

Mandiraya (a fashionable house)

Dukganna Rala (a title for a person who works in a palace)

Dharmishta Samajaya (a well-mannered/behaved people)

Dharma Rajya (an empire/a kingdom where there is no criminal activity and people obey the rules)

Asian languages (not all words related to Ayurveda have a translation or explanation)

crore (1 crore equals 10 million)

Paya Nahari (a lamb dish from India Punjab, paya means lamb)

Sarhan Khorma (an Indian dish)

Paneer (In Iran and South Asia, traditionally curd or soft cheese made esp. from sheep's or goat's milk, but more recently also hard cheese)

biryani (refers to rice cooked in ghee or fried oil, mixed with spices, condiments, boiled eggs, cashews, raisins, and chicken or mutton. It is richer than normal fried rice, and is the festive dish of the Muslim community in Sri Lanka)

batik (the Javanese art and method of executing designs on textiles by covering the material with wax in a pattern, dyeing the parts left exposed, and then removing the wax, the process being repeated when more than one dye is used. Also, a fabric dyed in this way; the kind of pattern, consisting of a medley of colors, characteristic of this art)

lakh (one hundred thousand)

Sri (a title prefixed to the names of deities and distinguished persons as a mark of respect; also, more recently, used as the Indian equivalent of Mr.)

Jataka (a voluminous body of folklore and mythic literature, primarily associated with the Theravada Buddhist tradition)

dhal (pulses which have been stripped of their outer hulls and split, as well as to the thick, spicy stew prepared of them)

raga (a piece of Indian music based on a traditional scale or pattern of notes which is a so called a raga)

Samadhi (**a.** The state of union with creation into which a perfected yogi or holy man is said to pass at his apparent death. **b.** The voluntary burial of such a person before death in anticipation of this state; the site of the burial of a holy man)

Eelam (a borrowing from Tamil meaning ‘Sri Lanka’)

maitriya (a bodhisattva who some Buddhists believe will eventually appear on earth, achieve complete enlightenment, and teach the pure dharma)

Sangha (the community or order of monks)

dhamma (redirected from dharma, roughly *law* or *way*)

dosha (The three main doshas (medical humours) in Ayurvedic medicine are Vata, Pitta and Kapha. Each of the three humours circulate in the body and govern physiological activity, their different proportions determine individual temperament, physical constitution and (when imbalanced) give rise to a disposition to particular physical and mental disorders)

Pitta (in Ayurvedic medicine: one of the three doshas in the body, made up of the elements fire and water and responsible for heat, appetite, and digestion)

Kapha (in Ayurvedic medicine: one of the three doshas in the body, made up of the elements water and earth and responsible for water, mucus, and other fluids in the body)

Vata (in Ayurvedic medicine: one of the three doshas in the body, made up of the elements air and ether and responsible for movement and activity)

vedamaththaya (Ayurvedic practitioner)

Twak (Ayurveda: skin)

Upadhatu (Ayurveda: sub-tissue)

Rasa Dhatu (Ayurveda)

Charka (Ayurveda)

Rakta (Ayurveda: blood)

Mamsa (Ayurveda: muscle)

Lasika (Ayurveda: lymphatic)

Kusta Roga (Ayurveda)

Khsudra Roga (Ayurveda)

Amavisha (Ayurveda: internal toxins)

Ama (Ayurveda: improper digestion)

Pancha Karma Chikitsa (Ayurveda)

Madhu Chikitsa (Ayurveda: bee’s honey)

Sagandha Chikitsa (Ayurveda: presently known as aromatherapy)

Gandharva Chikitsa (Ayurveda)

Satvavajaya Chikitsa (Ayurveda)

Jala Chikitsa (Ayurveda: inducing water in a systematic way)

Rasa Chikitsa (Ayurveda)

Nila Chikitsa (Ayurveda)

Ahara Chikitsa (Ayurveda)

Kashaya (Ayurveda)

Guli (Ayurveda: medicinal pills)

Kalka (Ayurveda: pastes)

Choorna (Ayurveda: powders)

Arishtas (Ayurveda: an elixir)

Asawas (Ayurveda: preparation in which herbal drugs are soaked in liquids fermented and filtered. Sometimes natural alcohol obtained from herbs is added to expedite fermentation and efficacy)

Guggulu (the oleogum resin from a small tree, which grows in northwestern India.)

Commiphora mukul (a small tree which grows in northwestern India)

Gugul (one of the best known Ayurvedic herbs)

Tripitaka (the formal term for a Buddhist canon of scriptures, a loanword from Sanskrit)

Vesak (refers to the greatest festival in the Buddhist calendar, celebrated in May, the birth, death and enlightenment of Lord Buddha)

NEOLOGISMS / LOAN TRANSLATIONS (English-English)

Bedsheet

Milkrice (a traditional Sri Lankan food made of milk and rice)

short eats ('finger food')

Butter Chicken

Tamil Tiger

kitchen war

span cloth

credible news

chat program

companion farmer

bare-bodied

marriages by custom

veges

an almsgiving ceremony

horse-deals

HYBRIDS (English-Sin/Tamil/other)

Moghali cooking

Pasanda Boti kebab

Kadai lamb

Crab Masala

Poya days (full moon day)

Ola Leaf (refers to the kind of 'paper' made from a palm leaf, traditional inscriptions were done in the 'ola leaf' and rolled into a scroll)

Bodhi tree (the tree under which Siddharta Gautama attained enlightenment)

sanni masks (wooden masks which are used to scare away the bad sprits)
beeralu pillows (refers to ‘biiralu lace’, a kind of lace made in the Southern Province of Sri Lanka)
Vinaya rules (the textual framework for the Buddhist monastic community)
pancha karma treatment (In Ayurvedic medicine: an integrated program of five types of treatments and procedures for cleansing the body of toxins and thus restoring its balance of doshas)
Theravada literature
cadjan leaf (strip of fan-palm leaf prepared for writing on)
cycle of samsara (refers to the concept of reincarnation or rebirth in Indian philosophical traditions, so a cycle of rebirth)
Maha season (February and March, ends in the Sinhalese New Year)
Yala season (from May to August, ends in the great Perahera festival held in Kandy)
Yala crop (a crop grown during Yala season)
Sama Samajist candidate (a member of a Sri Lankan political party)
pre Vijaya times (Vijaya is the legendary founding father of the Sinhalese)
time of Kuweni (an enchantress, who according to the Mahavamsa, tempted the followers of Vijaya into captivity)
The Kurunegala Period (the period of approx. 40 years in the 13th-14th centuries B.C.)
Kandy period, Kandyan Period (from the end of the 16th century to 1815)
era of Parakramabahu the Great (a king who built several artificial lakes in Sri Lanka)
new Perakum Era (Parakramabahu the Great ruled during this era)
Anuradhapura period (from the 3rd century B.C. to 11th century)
the Polonnaruwa period (from the 11th century to 13th century)
the era of the Panhinda and Puskola
era of Pandukabhaya (ruled between 313-276 B.C.)
Vedic period (c.1500-c.500 B.C.)
Mahasara ornament
title of Kalasoori (an honorary title given to an artist)

ENGLISH ARCHAISMS

perches
brethren
clad
wedlock
damsel
sans
yore
a luncheon meeting

bygone

SEMANTIC CHANGE OR EXTENDED MEANING

hawker (a person who runs a stall selling goods to people)

belt

central hills (refers to the mountainous area in the middle of the island)

hill country (refers to the mountainous area in the middle of the island)

outstations (refers to areas outside Colombo or another major city)

Up-country, upcountry, up country (refers to the mountainous area in the middle of the island)

uncle (several extended meanings)

Tigers (refers to Tamils fighting for separatism)

IDIOMS

by word and deed

cast a pall in

come out of the blues

to steal the thunder and the robes

step-motherly treatment

possession is nine points of the Law

every nook and corner

have a soft corner for sbd

the short end of the stick

lost her senses

stand up on their own feet

be born in a line room

in a lighter vein

on his nerves' end

bracelets or chewing gum talks

sitting in the jaws of a tiger

CODE-SWITCHING

badu samaa panatha

"*Jengath kita kita/// kukuda kudang gatha... Kiria gita kira kira kira gath jeng....*

Mehe Waren Araka Karapan Meka karapan (Mehe Waren means come here, Araka Karapan do that and Meka karapan do this; a very rude way of telling someone to do something)

karana de kiyana, kiyana de karana (I say what I do and do what I say)

Dinawamu Sri Lanka

jeng, jeng, thirikita jeng....

"My God. What a dance" (Deiyane, ehema natumak")

naya methaning yanna, mahathaya bayawela wage (Cobra go away from here, sir appears frightened)

naya tractoreta ahuwela (The tractor has run over the cobra)

Na Na Ne Na, Kiru Kodu

"Jengath kita kita/// kukuda kudang gatha... Kiria gita kira kira kira gath jeng....

(Sannaliyane, Sannaliyane/Me himidiri udaye/hadaweda damala lassana karala/katada anduma viyanne?) "For whom are you weaving this beautiful cloth early in the morning?"

Raja Meduraka Ipadi Sitiyanam Numbath Rajeki Puthune, Hirikada Bagena Polathu Igilei Ada Numbe Siri Yahane, Heenen Hina novi Ma Handavapan me rayame" (If you were born in a palace, my son, you're also a king but now the cadjan leaves fly over your head exposing you to harsh rain water on our wattle and daub house. Don't smile in your dreams to make me sad in this lonely night)

Krishna...Krishna/Kima ma ridavanne?" (Krishna, why are you giving me such pain?)

Apurva vastu nirmanakshama pragna pratibha (artistic talent is the ability to create something that had never been before)