
Sri Lankan English (SLE) Vocabulary: A New Vocabulary in a New Variety of English

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1. INTRODUCTION

When any language is carried away from its country of origin, the language often develops into a new variety in order to express the new geo-socio-cultural phenomena and concepts it encounters in its new environment. It is sometimes used by a section of the original population, but at other times together with a new population, or by the new population alone. With the spread of English to other continents and countries from about the eighteenth century onwards (See Baugh 1935 : 348-350), the English language developed into new varieties (Mencken 1919, Baker 1945, Passé 1943, 1948, 1955, de Souza 1969, Chitra Fernando 1977, Kandiah 1979, 1981, etc., Kachru 1982, 1983, 1986 etc., Foley 1988, etc.).

As Braj B. Kachru (1986:129-131) explains, the new varieties became "transplanted languages". Kachru defines a transplanted language as follows :

A language may be considered transplanted if it is used by a significant number of speakers in social, cultural and geographical contexts different from the contexts in which it was originally used.

.....a transplanted language is cut off from its traditional roots and begins to function in new surroundings, in new roles and new contexts. This newness initiates changes in language. It is these changes which eventually result in certain characteristic linguistic manifestations and are identified with labels such as the "Australianness" in one variety, the "Americanness" in another variety, or the "Indianness" in still another variety of English (130).

These changes led to a gradual recognition of separate language identities, and since then, new varieties of English have been increasingly acknowledged, e.g. American English, Australian English, Indian English, Nigerian English, Black English, Chicano English, Singaporean English, Sri Lankan English (SLE). One of the main devices that are used to

express the different feelings and concepts of the users in the new variety is new vocabulary. This article will discuss Sri Lankan English (SLE) Vocabulary, a new vocabulary in the new variety of English, Sri Lankan English (SLE).

English was introduced in Sri Lanka (earlier Ceylon) from 1796 and has developed over two centuries into the new variety called Ceylon, Lankan or Sri Lankan English (Passé 1943, 1948, 1955, Halverson 1966, de Souza 1969, 1979, Chitra Fernando 1977, Kandiah 1965, 1978, 1979, 1981, 1984, 1987a, 1987b, 1990, 1994, Raheem & Fernando 1978, Siromi Fernando 1985, 2008b, 2010b, 2010c, Raheem & Gunsekera 1994, Parakrama 1995, Canagarajah 1995, Gunsekera 1998, 2000a, 2000b, 2005, Herat 2001, 2005, Raheem 2006, Raheem & Devendra 2007, Mukherjee 2008). Sri Lankan English (SLE) vocabulary, *i.e.* that part of the English vocabulary which is characteristically Sri Lankan, has expanded since inception and the objectives of this article are to focus on why and how SLE vocabulary developed, the particular fields in which it developed and the strategies that are used to generate it.

Some of the characteristically SLE vocabulary has been recorded in British dictionaries such as the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) drawn from as early as Robert Knox's writings in the 1680s (See Boyle 2004). I will refer in this article to items that appear later in the language. SLE vocabulary has been discussed by many Sri Lankan researchers, beginning with Passé 1948, 1950, 1955, and since then by de Souza 1969, Kandiah 1979, 1981, Siromi Fernando 2003, 2008a, 2010a, Gunsekera 2001 reprinted in 2010, 2002, 2005, Herat 2005a, 2005b etc. as well as by two non-Sri Lankans, Halverson 1966 and Meyler 2007. Gunsekera has included a glossary of 576 vocabulary items in her book *The Postcolonial Identity of Sri Lankan English* (2005) and Meyler's *A Dictionary of Sri Lankan English* (2007) is the first SLE Dictionary. Currently the International Corpora of English - Sri Lanka (ICE-SL), undertaken jointly by a team from the University of Giessen headed by Joybrato Mukherjee and a team from the University of Colombo headed by Dushyanthi Mendis, are working on the SLE corpora. This article has been enriched by the work indicated above.

The article will attempt to answer the following questions:

- (1) Why are new vocabularies generated in new varieties, and how?
- (2) Why and how has SLE vocabulary been generated?
- (3) What strategies are used in generating the new vocabularies?
- (4) What effect have the strategies used in generating new vocabularies had on SLE vocabulary?

2. WHY NEW VOCABULARIES ARE GENERATED IN NEW VARIETIES

In his article "Problems of Bilingualism", Haugen (1950a) states:

.....we may say that a bilingual comes into being because he is subject to linguistic pressure from speakers of two languages rather than one. Linguistic pressure is a special type of social pressure which operates to produce linguistic conformity. Such pressure goes beyond the requirements of mere understanding, involving as it does a requirement of identity and identification. In describing interlingual influence, we shall first want to establish the nature, strength, and origin of the linguistic pressure that has brought into being a mediating group of bilingual speakers (1950a: 66).

Haugen compares the development of two new vocabularies, first the German of an immigrant German community in the USA; and second the Norwegian of a group of Norwegian intellectuals in Norway. He first discusses the nature of pressure exerted on the two groups to develop new vocabularies as follows :

In the United States a rather powerful pressure of an economic, political, and social nature is exerted on minority language groups. These, in turn, set up counterpressures of a frequently religious or cultural nature to maintain their linguistic identity. In the case of modern English in Norway, however, the pressure results from the overwhelming international importance of English, as transmitted by the schools, the radio, the films, the newspaper, and the commercial channels. The bilingual group is a minority whose influence will extend only as far as national pride and tradition permit." (66)

3. HOW NEW VOCABULARIES ARE GENERATED IN NEW VARIETIES

Haugen also describes the types of fields from which new items were drawn:

The English terms acquired by the Pennsylvania German speakers were of general importance, involving crucial terms of American social and governmental life. But in Norway the terms were of rather special nature, being of the greatest interest to only a limited section

of the population....He [the immigrant in USA] was under strong pressure to acquire the new distinctions made by native [American] speakers; any others that were provided for by his own language became superfluous and tended to be forgotten.

Most important for the immigrant was the fact that the new situations in which he learned his English were shared by a large number of other speakers of his own language. They were all in the same boat, drifting in the same direction. Without affectation or snobbishness they were speaking an Americanized tongue to each other before they were fully aware of what was happening to them. The needs of understanding and of social solidarity were most effortlessly met by a gradual infiltration of loans. These were not limited to actual cultural novelties or so called 'necessary' words; the terms most characteristic of the new environment were often impressed on their minds by mere repetition in vivid situations. Their experience in the new language began to outstrip their experience in the old, and the discrepancy set up a pressure which led to linguistic change (68 & 69).

Haugen contrasts the words that were used to extend Norwegian as follows:

... in contrast with the situations described from the United States, [in Norway] most of the words [in English] have entered by way of the written language. Schools have actively taught the language, giving at least a smattering to most people with a higher education. ...The 'culture carriers' are Norwegians who have learned English as a foreign language.

The several hundred words that have come in [into Norwegian] through the activity of the bilinguals ... 'representative of the age of the Industrial Revolution.' They are words from the field of sports ... travel, especially railroad engineering, road building, motoring and flying ... sailing and shipping ... trade ... dress and fashions ... food and drink ... cultural ... government and politics ... society ..." (64 & 65)

4. WHY SLE VOCABULARY HAS BEEN GENERATED

In SLE, the situation is rather different to the two situations discussed above. As the

English people came to Ceylon in 1796 as imperialists and proceeded to rule the island, they faced the social pressure of understanding the social, economic, geographical, cultural novelties etc. of the Sri Lankan (then Ceylonese) environment and of ruling and managing the Ceylonese people. They used English as their first language and their knowledge of Sinhala / Tamil was most often basic. Of course, they were limited by the counterpressure of the English language in maintaining their English and colonial identity. They therefore extended their vocabulary only so far as to suit the new geographical, social and economic conditions and features that were more obviously different to the British context, e.g. flora, fauna, food, clothes, festivals, disease, coffee, tea and rubber plantations etc.

However, as the Ceylonese (later Sri Lankans) took English over as a language of their own, the nature of the linguistic pressure changed and its strength increased considerably. At the initial stage, it was not the total Sri Lankan population, but mainly the Sri Lankan elite and some of the class next in the hierarchy, on whom linguistic pressure was exerted from the English language. By this stage, the majority of this section used English as their first language (Passé 1943, 1948, 1955, de Souza 1969, Halverson 1966, Chitra Fernando 1977, Gunesekera 2005). There was strong social pressure on them of an economic, political, multi-religious, multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic, multi-cultural etc. nature. As a result, new terms proliferated to adapt English to suit a progressive independent Sri Lankan nation. A counter-pressure was exerted on the SLE community to be true to themselves as Sri Lankans, to develop a vocabulary that could carry the weight of expressing their characteristically Sri Lankan thoughts and feelings.

In time, new dialects of SLE have developed, which are used by people employing English as a second, rather than a first language. Many of them are highly educated professionals, forming a new elite. Others are well-educated but have not obtained highly prestigious employment and form the middle and lower classes. These groups are under greater pressure of the Sinhala and Tamil languages, which are their mother tongues and first languages. They are also under different, but increasingly powerful, pressures to assert their identities as opposed to the identities of those who were differently placed in society, power, multilingual contexts etc. Consequently, new vocabulary items have been added, while some of the earlier vocabulary items have fallen successively into disuse. The new vocabulary has concentrated on a larger number of fields that probe incisively into the inner concepts and feelings of a larger section of Sri Lankan society and culture.

5. HOW SLE VOCABULARY HAS BEEN GENERATED

In the colonial period, the fields in Ceylon English vocabulary concentrated on developing vocabulary to reflect a limited Ceylonese context which was most obviously different from the British context, i.e. a limited number of words in the fields of topography,

environment, flora, fauna, place and personal names, festivals, food and beverages, clothes, minerals and gems, furniture, vehicles and sailing vessels, currency, road and railroad construction, architecture, English (and to a lesser extent vernacular) education, disease, government and administration, tea and rubber plantations etc. However, the strategies used in generating words kept close to the English language, keeping clear of Sinhala and Tamil borrowings unless unavoidable.

In the post-Independence period, the fields in Ceylon English vocabulary concentrated on the one hand in representing more fully the Ceylonese context, and on the other in representing new phenomena in modernity. Some of the fields that are relevant are as follows:

(1) Topography (2) Environment (3) Flora (Trees, Plants, Fruit, Flowers, Vegetables, Herbs, Timber) (4) Fauna (Animals, Birds, Fish, Insects, Reptiles) (5) Kinship Terms (in relation to at least four ethnic groups) (6) Place & Personal Names (also in relation to the same groups as in (5)) (7) Types of Human Beings (8) Social Institutions & Processes (9) Food, Beverages & Consumer Goods (10) Clothes & Textiles (11) Minerals & Gems (12) Jewellery, Ornaments & Beauty Items (13) Furniture (14) Equipment & Instruments (15) Vehicles & Sailing Vessels (16) Trade & Currency (17) Technology (18) Architecture (including Buildings & Constructions) (19) Religion (20) Language (21) Education (22) Health (23) Politics, Government & Administration (24) Other Fields in Culture (Art, Music, Dance etc.).

In the contemporary period, when new dialects of SLE developed, there were changes and additions to the SLE vocabulary. The mood in Sri Lanka had become more complex, as it passed through times of racial and class tensions, conflict, war, economic and social disparities, corruption, natural disasters, rehabilitation, peace and reconciliation etc. Words representing these changes in mood have been reflected in SLE vocabulary.

In both the post-Independence and contemporary periods, the alterations and extensions to the vocabulary were not always necessarily generated in new fields, but often through new methods of word formation.

6. STRATEGIES USED IN GENERATING NEW VOCABULARIES IN NEW VARIETIES AND ITS EFFECTS ON SLE VOCABULARY

Baugh (1935, 2nd edition 1951 : 364) states in relation to the English language, "Most of the new words coming into the language since 1800 have been derived from the same sources or created by the same methods as those that have long been familiar,....". This statement is true of new words coming into any language or variety. Therefore, one

strategy that is often used in generating words in new varieties are the old, familiar methods of combining morphemes already existing in a language, through affixation or self-explaining compounds.

With reference to affixation, Baugh states, "Another method of enlarging the vocabulary [since 1800] is by appending familiar prefixes and suffixes to existing words on the pattern of similar words in the language" (366). In generating new words in SLE, affixation is generally used where English suffixes are affixed to English stems, producing new meanings in SLE. This strategy has generated only a small number of words. Three examples are given in the Table below.

Table 1: Generating new words through affixation

| Field | Suffix | Term | Meaning |
|-----------------------|-------------|-------------------------|---|
| Types of Human Beings | - ee | Surrendees ² | people who surrendered to the Sri Lankan government in the recently concluded war |
| Social Institutions | - ery / ies | chummery | a house where chums live together |
| | | eateries | eating-houses |

With reference to self-explaining compounds, Baugh states, "A second source of new words [the first source being Borrowings] is represented in the practice of making self-explaining compounds, one of the oldest methods of word-formation in the [English] language" (365). In generating SLE vocabulary, this strategy is used to a large extent. Eight examples are given in the Table below.

¹The following abbreviations will be used in giving examples of SLE words below :

fr from E English S Sinhala T Tamil M Malay L Latin Sk Sanskrit Ps Persian

U Urdu H Hindi SBE Standard British English SLE examples will be given below, under different categories. The examples will indicate the field, the term, meaning, language from which the term is drawn and any other details, as necessary.

²Michael Meyler (personal communication 2010) points out that the item 'surrendees' found in a Daily News paper could have been, more correctly, something like 'surrenderees'.

Table 2: Generating new words through compounds

| Field | Term | Meaning | Language from which the term is drawn |
|------------------|---------------|--|---------------------------------------|
| Flora | temple flower | (= <i>araliya</i>) <i>frangipani</i> flower (Meyler 2007 : 258); flower used for worship in temples | E + E |
| Social Processes | headbath | taking a bath including washing one's hair / getting one's head and hair wet (adapted fr Meyler 111) | E + E |
| Food | white curry | (of curries) mild, made with coconut milk and green chilli but no other spices (Meyler 288) | E + E |
| Beverages | plain tea | tea without addition of milk | E + E |
| Clothes | jacket piece | a length of fabric for a jacket / blouse meant to be worn with a saree | E + E |
| Jewellery | nose ring | a stud worn on the nose (Meyler 180) | E + E |
| Furniture | drink stool | a stool meant for placing one's drink, as part of a sitting/ living-room suite of table, stools, settee and chairs | E + E |
| Equipment | tubelight | Sri Lankan term for a fluorescent light | E + E |

Some other strategies, that are also commonly used in forming new words in all varieties, have become increasingly popular. They generate new words by using the names of trademarks or brand names, acronyms or proper nouns as words. Baugh's comments about these three categories are as follows :

A considerable number of new words must be attributed to deliberate invention or coinage. There has probably never been a time when the creative impulse has not spent itself occasionally in inventing new words, but their chances of general adoption are nowadays

often increased by a campaign of advertising as deliberate as the effort which created them. They are mostly the product of ingenuity and imitation, the two being blended in variable proportions. Thus a trade-mark like Kodak seems to be pure invention, while Victrola and Frigidaire contains recognizable elements combined in a form sufficiently new to be registered at the patent office. This does not prevent their passing into current speech and often being treated as common nouns.....Words formed by combining the initial or first few letters of two or more words are known as acronyms (367). Another source from which many English words have been derived in the past is the names of persons and places. Everyone is aware that morocco is derived from the corresponding proper name and that sandwich owes its use to the fact that the earl of Sandwich on one occasion put slices of meat between pieces of bread. Like other processes of English word derivation this can be well illustrated in the nineteenth century and later (368&369).

New words in these categories have been generated in SLE as well and examples are given below.

Table 3: Generating new words -Use of brand names or trademarks

| Field | Term | Meaning | Language from which the term is drawn |
|----------|--------|-----------------|---------------------------------------|
| Vehicles | Pajero | a jeep | E |
| Clothes | Batas | rubber slippers | E |

Table 4: Generating new words- Acronyms

| Field | Term | Meaning | Language from which the term is drawn |
|---------------------------------------|----------------|--|---------------------------------------|
| Types of Human Beings | IDPs | Internally Displaced Persons | E |
| Technology | A/C | air-conditioned / air-conditioning | E |
| Politics, Government & Administration | JVP, JHU, LTTE | political parties – Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna, Jathika Hela Urumaya & Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam | E |

6.1 Names of Proper Nouns

There is very little evidence of SLE words of this category. In the 1960's at the University of Ceylon in Peradeniya, there was an often used phrase "doing a gajay", which meant staying in a Hall of Residence without official consent or payment of fees. The term originated because a person called Gajay constantly lived without permission in a Hall. Apart from this example, fairly established words of this type are not currently available to my knowledge (Any further examples in this category will therefore provide a valuable contribution).

Another fashionable type of word derivation is the use of abbreviations or clippings producing words like ad, exam, phone etc. Abbreviations became popular in 18th century England, where Jonathan Swift complained of "the tendency to clip and shorten words" (Baugh 311). However this tendency has now established itself as a fairly common method. A fairly small category of Abbreviations can be found in SLE as well. Four examples are given in the Table below.

Table 5: Abbreviations (Clippings)

| Field | Term | Abbreviated from | Language from which the term is drawn |
|------------------|-----------------|------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Social Processes | <i>kuppi</i> | <i>kuppi classes</i> | S |
| Clothes | <i>shalwar</i> | <i>shalwar kameez</i> | Ps, through U & H |
| Culture | <i>Avurudhu</i> | <i>Aluth Avuruddha</i> | S |
| | <i>Pongal</i> | <i>Thai Pongal</i> | T |

7. NEW STRATEGIES IN GENERATING VOCABULARY IN NEW VARIETIES

However, the main strategies used in generating new vocabulary in new, rather than in established varieties, are described in Haugen (1950 a & b). He (1950b: 105) defines bilingualism, and the main strategies used in new vocabularies are as follows:

An attempt has been made to establish a precise definition for the term 'borrowing' by describing it as the process that takes place when bilinguals reproduce a pattern from one language in another. Two kinds of activity which enter into borrowing are distinguished, viz. substitution and importation, which are defined in terms of a comparison between the model and the reproduction. By distinguishing morphemic and phonemic substitution it becomes possible to set up classes of loans : (1) loanwords, without morphemic

substitution; (2) loanblends, with partial morphemic substitution; and (3) loanshifts, with complete morphemic substitution. The second of these includes what are more commonly known as 'hybrids', the third the 'loan translations' and 'semantic loans'.... Loanblends are classified into blended stems, derivatives, and compounds, while loanshifts are divided into loan homonyms and loan synonyms.

7.1 Loanwords (Borrowings)

Loanwords (also termed Borrowings) are imported into the borrowing (or reproduction) language from the model language, *i.e.* the language from which items are borrowed. Although importation takes place in Borrowings, morphemic substitution does not. Phonemic substitution however can occur. Morphemic importation can occur with no, partial or complete phonemic substitution (Haugen 1950b : 85). For example, the word *kiribath* (Sinhala) is imported into SLE with no phonemic substitution. On the other hand, the word *mankay* (Tamil) is imported into English (Shorter Oxford English Dictionary 2003 : 1271) including SLE, as 'mango' with partial phonemic substitution. More examples are given in the Table below.

Table 6: Loanwords

| Field | Term | Meaning | Language from which the term is drawn |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|
| Place Names | <i>Sammanthurai</i> | a town in Sri Lanka named 'Malay port' | M + T |
| Social Processes (War) | <i>Rana Sura Padakkama</i> | a medal awarded for excellence in the battlefield | S + S + S |
| Food | <i>murukku</i> | a snack made with rice flour and spices into crispy spiral pieces (Meyler 173) | T |
| Religion | <i>daham pasal</i> | Buddhist Sunday school (Meyler 70) | S + S |
| Politics, Government & Administration | <i>pradeshiya sabha</i> | provincial councils | S + S |
| Culture | <i>arangethram</i> | the first dance recital given by a student of Bharatha Natyam , marking the end of her apprenticeship (Meyler 12) | T |

Haugen also mentions 'adaptation' in Borrowings, "The morphology shows a similar range from partial to complete adaptation." (1950a: 65) He comments, "These can be further divided according to the extent of phonological, morphological, and syntactic substitution." (p 75)

SLE Borrowings provide some examples of phonological, morphological or syntactic substitution. The kinship term 'aunt / aunty' is imported into Sinhala, and also sometimes into SLE, with slight phonological substitution as [ænti]. There is a little phonological adaptation as well in place, personal or ethnic names. Several place / personal / ethnic names in Sinhala, Tamil etc. were imported into English in colonial times with phonological substitution to suit British tongues. Later, in post-independence times or subsequently, the words reverted / are reverting to Sri Lankan pronunciations. Some examples are given in the Table below.

Table 7: Phonological, morphological or syntactic substitution

| Field | Term & transcription | Term / transcription imported into English | Language from which the term is drawn |
|----------------|--|--|---------------------------------------|
| Place Names | Colpetty [kɔlpeti] | Kollupitiya [kollupitijə] | S |
| | Kegalle, Tangalle etc. [ke:gɔ:l, tæŋgɔ:l] | [kæ:gallə, t,æŋgallə] etc. | S |
| | Dambulla [dambul] | Dambulla [d,ambullə] | S |
| Personal Names | Abeywardene [abe:wɔ:dne] | [abəjə ^u ard,ənə] | S |
| Ethnic Names | Tamil | [d,amil] | T |

In place names in the pronunciation of 'Galle' in names like Kegalle, 'Tangalle, the English rule of pronouncing 'a' before a final 'l', or 'l' succeeded by another consonant, as /ɔ:/ was amusingly (or perhaps irritatingly) followed until the contemporary period, when again more and more Sri Lankans have started reverting to the meaningfully correct Sinhala pronunciation.

Another example is the Sinhala place name 'Dambulla', which was imported into English with phonological adaptation as 'Dambul', resulting in a hilariously and most unfortunately unintentional bilingual pun³. It punned (unintentionally) on the phrase 'damn bull', which

³ See Haugen 1950a :123 for description of a bilingual pun.

was ironically most inappropriate to its use for 'Dambulla', well-known as a place of sacred rock caves and inscriptions.

In personal names, the pronunciation of 'wardene' in names like 'Abeywardene', underwent slight phonological substitution, and was pronounced by the British, and by the Sri Lankan elite as well in the colonial and post-independence periods. However, in the contemporary period more and more Sri Lankans realise the ludicrous Anglicization of this pronunciation. They increasingly treat it with derision, and tend to resume its meaningfully correct Sinhala pronunciation.

Morphological substitution occurred, for example, in the importation of 'Sinhala' (S) into English (including Ceylon / Sri Lankan English), when the English suffix / - ese / was substituted instead of the Sinhala zero suffix, as 'Sinhalese'. Now however there is an increased return to 'Sinhala'.

There is also a syntactic substitution in the change of word order in Kinship Terms, where for example SLE uses terms like Albert Uncle, Edmund Aiya instead of Uncle Albert, Brother / Cousin Edmund, and Mary Aunty, Daisy Akka instead of Aunty Mary, Sister / Cousin Daisy etc.

In colonial times, the English had used many new English forms to name new phenomena, *e.g.* rubber estate, tea planter, Central College, Government Agent (GA) (Self-Explaining Compounds); drumsticks, ladies' fingers, woodapple (Semantic Creations); ash plantain, coconut husk (Loan Translations). Borrowings were less popular as a device at a time when the British were under pressure to maintain their British identity. Even when Sinhala or Tamil words were imported, they were often used only as hybrid compounds, *e.g.* chena cultivation (slash and burn cultivation), ekel broom (a broom made with ekels used to sweep outside houses) ; or as acronyms of Sinhala or Tamil words, *e.g.* PD, SD (for Periya Dorai - T meaning 'Big Master', Sinna Dorai - T meaning 'Small Master').

In contrast, an increasing number of Borrowings flowed into the new vocabulary of SLE sometime after Ceylon gained Independence in 1948, when the terms of the colonial period fell into disuse and Sinhala or Tamil Borrowings became fashionable, *e.g.* Madhya Maha Vidyalaya - S (or MMV) instead of Central College, bandakka - S instead of ladies' fingers etc.

7.2 Loanblends

Loanblends show morphemic substitution as well as morphemic importation (p 85). Haugen explains the origin of loanblends as follows: 'They [Speakers] may actually slip in part or

all of a native morpheme for some part of the foreign [word]" (p 90). He also states, "Loanblends are classified into blended stems, derivatives, and compounds....." (p 105). All three types are known as Hybrids.

A blended stem is where inflectional suffixes and stems from two different languages are blended in a new variety. Haugen gives an example of the word *bordo* in the new American Portuguese variety, where the American (English) word 'boarder' is blended with the Portuguese regular agent suffix / - o /. In colloquial SLE, Sinhala words for animals like *iththavo* (porcupines), *mugatiyo* (mongooses), reptiles like *gerandiyo* (rat snakes), *kabaragoyi* (monitors) or birds like *ge: kurullo* (house sparrows), *polkichcho* (magpies) are used as Borrowings. In such nouns, the Sinhala stems are blended with the English regular plural suffix / - s / as *iththa;vo*, *kabaragoyas*, *ge: kurulla:s* etc.

A blended derivative is where derivational suffixes and stems from two different languages are blended in a new variety. Haugen gives an example of the word *bassig* in the new American German variety, where the American (English) word 'bossy' is blended with the German derivational suffix / - ig /. In colloquial SLE, the derivational suffix / - fy / generates a small number of verbs like *rasthiyadhufy / rastify* (to hang around aimlessly), *komalafy* (behaving in a mildly flirtatious manner by females in interaction with males to whom they are attracted).

A blended compound, more often termed a Hybrid Compound, is the blending of two or more stems from different languages. An example of a blended compound can be provided from SLE, where the word 'kohomba tree' (or 'margosa tree', used in Tamil-speaking areas with the same meaning) shows morphemic importation, where *kohomba* (S) is imported from Sinhala and *margosa* (T) from Tamil. It also shows morphemic substitution, where the English word 'tree' is substituted for the S/T equivalents. These compounds demonstrate the blending of compounds. In SLE the category hybrid compounds is fairly large. More examples are given in the Table below.

Table 8: Hybrid Compound

| Field | Term | Meaning | Languages from which the term is drawn |
|---------------------|--|--|---|
| Social Institutions | de-facto <i>Tamil eelam</i> government | the Tamil administrative unit unofficially established by the Liberation Tamil Tigers of <i>Eelam</i> (LTTE) in the North of Sri Lanka | E, fr L + T + T + E |
| Social Processes | <i>chena</i> cultivation <i>yala</i> harvest <i>binna</i> marriage | slash & burn cultivation April paddy harvest marriage in a matrilocal system | T + E S + E S + E S, fr Sk + E |
| Food | <i>ice palam</i> <i>chicken</i> <i>buriyani</i> | ice fruit (popsicle) a rice dish, traditionally made by the Muslim community, cooked with chicken | E + T E + Ps biryani |
| Religion | <i>bana cassettes</i> <i>bakthi geetha</i> recital | cassettes of Buddhist sermons a recital of Buddhist devotional songs | S + E S + S + E |

7.3 Loanshifts

Loanshifts show morphemic substitution without importation (p 85), and include Loan Translations and Semantic Loans.

7.4 Loan translations

In the SLE compound 'ash plantain', the morphemes in the Sinhala compound *alu kesel* are substituted with the two English translation equivalents 'ash' and 'plantain'. Vocabulary items of this type are called loan translations.

An interesting SLE item is the phrase 'D-rope' (glossed by Meyler 2007: 79 as (= dead rope)) which stands for exactly that. In this case, it falls into the category of acronyms. However 'dead rope' has been translated from the Sinhala phrase *dhirachcha* (decayed, dead) *lanuva* (rope) which metaphorically means 'something that turned out to be unreliable, a let-down'. This is therefore generated by loan translation as well.

More examples of loan translations are given in the Table below. In SLE vocabulary, this category is fairly large.

Table 9: Loan translations

| Field | Term | Meaning | Term & Language from which it is drawn |
|-------------|---------------|---|--|
| Environment | monsoon rains | self-explanatory | <i>mosam vasi</i> , S + S |
| Food | yellow rice | a festive dish of rice cooked with spices and coloured with turmeric (therefore yellow) | <i>kaha bath</i> , S + S |
| Religion | tooth relic | sacred relic of the tooth of Lord Buddha | <i>dhantha dhathuwa</i> , S + S |
| Culture | funeral house | the home where a funeral / 'wake' takes place | <i>marana gedhara</i> , S + S |

7.5 Semantic loans (Semantic Changes)

Semantic loans (or semantic changes) also fall within the classification of loanshifts. Semantic loans do not show morphemic importation from a model language, but the meaning or semantic value of words in the model language appears with semantic change, or extended / restricted meaning in the borrowing language (p 91). For example, in Standard British English (SBE) the word 'Burgher' means 'a citizen'. The same morpheme is used in SLE, but is substituted with the changed meaning of 'a member of the ethnic group of settlers in Sri Lanka of Portuguese or Dutch ancestry'. More examples are given in the Table below. In SLE vocabulary, this category is very small.

Table 10: Sementic Loans

| Field | Term | Meaning | Language from which the term is drawn |
|-----------------------|-----------|---|---------------------------------------|
| Types of Human Beings | tubelight | by extension, a person who is slow to light up (like a fluorescent light), slow to catch a joke | SBE |
| | Tigers | without the initial letter capitalized this means a type of animals. In SLE, 'Tigers' with a capital T means the following : "(=LTTEers, the Boys) militant separatists, members of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)" (Meyler 268) | SBE |

7.6 Semantic Creations

Under the heading 'Creation', Haugen describes another type of loanwords (also called Semantic Creations) which includes "a number of terms whose existence may ultimately be due to contact with a second culture and its language, but which are not strictly loans at all" He also states:

Occasionally one finds reference in loanword studies to a completely native kind of creation, when this has occurred in response to stimuli from another culture. Examples from the Pima Indians have been presented by George Herzog of such newly created descriptive terms as 'having downward tassels' (oats), 'wrinkled buttocks' (elephants), 'dry grapes' (raisins), 'lightning box' (battery) etc. (p 94)

In SLE, English words have been formed on the stimuli provided by the Sri Lankan context. This category is small.

Table 11: Semantic creations

| Field | Term | Meaning | Language from which the term is drawn |
|----------------------------|-----------------|--|---------------------------------------|
| Flora (Fruit & Vegetables) | butter fruit | avocado pear (also known in colonial times as 'alligator pear' (Meyler 45) ; the fruit 'avocado pear' from which a butter-like dessert is made | E + E |
| | woodapple | a type of fruit with a hard brown shell and rich brown flesh, which is usually made into a drink or a jam (Meyler 290) | E + E |
| | ladies' fingers | (= <i>bandakka</i>) okra, a type of vegetable (Meyler 147) ; the vegetable <i>bandakka</i> (S), resembling the shape of ladies' fingers | E + E |

8. CONCLUSION

This article has reviewed the literature relevant to why and how new vocabularies are generated in new varieties of language. In relation to this, the linguistic and social pressures and counterpressures that impacted the development of SLE vocabulary was discussed. In the colonial period, the pressures were of a limited nature, and resulted in the development of a restricted portion of Ceylon English vocabulary, with a smaller number of categories of word formation. In the post-Independence era, the pressures were much stronger, where vocabulary was developed in a more comprehensive set of fields, in more categories of word formation. By contemporary times, SLE has started to be used more generally by a large portion of the Sri Lankan population, and SLE vocabulary has responded to these needs and demands. Today, SLE vocabulary items can be evidenced in most categories noted in the literature. Borrowings currently provide the largest number of new words in SLE. Self-explaining compounds and hybrid compounds are quite large in number, loan translations fairly large while the other categories are fairly small.

In conclusion, the SLE vocabulary has at present dynamically extended its numbers as well as the strategies of generating new vocabulary in a new variety. In the 21st century, linguists need to research extensively in this field exploring the linguistic pressures and counterpressures giving rise to the future development of SLE vocabulary; and conducting research in specific areas of vocabulary in order to refine and re-define the nature of SLE vocabulary.

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