

# THE PROCESS OF HYBRIDIZATION IN SINHALA-ENGLISH VERB FORMATION

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මිශ්‍ර කථනයෙහි යෙදෙන මිශ්‍ර (hybrid) හෝ ද්විභාෂා ක්‍රියා පදයකට සමාන ද්විභාෂා නාම පදයක් වශයෙන් 'ද්විභාෂා මිශ්‍රණ සමාස නාමයක්' හැඳින්විය හැකිය. සිංහල - ඉංග්‍රීසි මිශ්‍ර කථනයෙහි පවතින සංස්කෘතික, දේශපාලනික සහ ආගමික යන විවිධ විෂයයන්වලට අදාළ මිශ්‍ර සමාස නාම නිර්මාණය කිරීම සඳහා, ද්විභාෂා භාෂිකයා විසින්, පද සංයුක්ත කිරීමේ උපක්‍රම හෝ පදිම විවර ක්‍රියාවලිය උපයෝගී කර ගනියි. මිශ්‍ර පදයක් හෝ මිශ්‍රණයක් (hybrid) යනු දෙකක් නොව එකකි. එය විවිධ භාෂා දෙකක් හෝ කිහිපයක් ආශ්‍රයෙන් නිර්මාණය වේ. ඒ අනුව එක් මිශ්‍රණයක (hybrid) පද දෙකක් හෝ ඊට වැඩි ප්‍රමාණයක් තිබිය හැකි අතර මව් භාෂාවෙන් අවම වශයෙන් එක් පදයක්වත් අන්තර්ගත වේ. මෙම මිශ්‍ර පද (hybrids), Kachru 1983: 138 සිද්ධාන්තයට අනුව, 'Indianisms' යනුවෙන් ද හැඳින්වේ. (ඉංග්‍රීසි පදයක් සහ ඉන්දීය භාෂාවල පදයක් සංයුක්ත වී නිර්මාණය වූ පද\*) Kachru 1983 සිද්ධාන්තය මිශ්‍ර පද සංකල්පය (hybrid) සඳහා යොදා ගනිමින්, මිශ්‍ර සමාස නාම පද විග්‍රහ කරන අයුරු, මෙම සමීක්ෂණ වාර්තාවෙන් ඉදිරිපත් කෙරේ. විවිධ විෂය ක්ෂේත්‍රයන්හි නියුතු සිංහල - ඉංග්‍රීසි ද්විභාෂා භාෂිකයෝ 20 දෙනෙකුගේ සාමාන්‍ය සංවාද සහ පුවත්පත් සමීක්ෂණවලින් ලබාගත් දත්ත මෙම විග්‍රහය සඳහා යොදා ගෙන ඇත. මෙම මිශ්‍ර පද (hybrids) විග්‍රහය ආශ්‍රයෙන් ද්විභාෂා කථනයන්හි යොදාගන්නා තනිපද මෙන්ම දීර්ඝ වාග් කොටස්, සමාජයීය වශයෙන් වැදගත්කමක් උසුලන බව පැහැදිලි වේ. සිංහල - ඉංග්‍රීසි භාෂා දෙක අතර පවතින පෘථුල සම්බන්ධය, මිශ්‍ර සමාස

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සංස්. ආචාර්ය පූජ්‍ය මිමුරේ ගුණානන්ද හිමි, මහාචාර්ය ඊශා හේවාබෝවල, මහාචාර්ය සුසන්ත මහඋල්පත, ජ්‍යෙෂ්ඨ කථිකාචාර්ය ප්‍රියංකර රත්නායක මානවශාස්ත්‍ර පීඨ ශාස්ත්‍රීය සංග්‍රහය, 19 කලාපය, 2012/13, මානවශාස්ත්‍ර පීඨය, කැලණිය විශ්වවිද්‍යාලය

නාම බිහිවීමට හේතු වූ බව, මෙම අධ්‍යයනයෙන් හෙළිදරව් කෙරේ. මෙම සොයා ගැනීම්, 'Sri Lankanisms' (ඉංග්‍රීසි සහ සිංහල (දේශීය පදයක්) එක්ව නිර්මාණය වන මිශ්‍ර පද) වශයෙන් හඳුන්වන මිශ්‍ර සමාස නාම පද නිර්මාණය පිළිබඳ කරුණු හෙළි කරයි.

One of the main purposes of hybridization<sup>1</sup> is to expand and extend the vocabulary in the contact variety. This paper presents a study of English elements embedded<sup>2</sup> in a Sinhala matrix<sup>3</sup> resulting in a host of hybrid verbs in Sinhala-English Code Mixing (hereafter CM). It attempts to discuss and analyze hybrid compound verbs in utterances where the matrix language is either Sinhala or English. Apart from nouns, modifiers, adverbs, noun phrases, adverbial phrases, there are many hybrid verbs in the Sinhala-English bilingual corpus revealing a variety of mixing strategies. The hybrid English elements include the combination of the English verb stem + the Sinhala nominalizer *eka* and the English verb stem + Sinhala auxiliary verb. There are other instances where the Sinhala intensifiers precede the English verb stem. The phenomenal use of helping verbs from Sinhala is also another productive method of creating bilingual verbs in mixed discourse. The process of hybridization by Kachru (1983) will be used to identify the hybrid verb construction which results in a variety of hybrid compound verbs in the corpus. Hybridization has been observed as one of the main characteristics of the emerging new code mixed variety (Senaratne 2009: 243). Using Muysken's (2000) Code Mixing typology, mixing strategies will be categorized as insertion, alternation and congruent lexicalization. The analysis sheds light on the process of hybridization resulting in a host of hybrid verbs in mixed discourse.

## 1. Theoretical framework

This paper analyses the hybrid verb defined as the 'bilingual verb' (Muysken, 2000: 184). In his theory, the hybrid verb is analyzed in relation to three strategies of CM: insertional,

alternational and congruent lexicalization (hereafter CL). The four types of bilingual verbs identified in CM literature according to Muysken (2000: 184) are situations where:

- a. the new verb is inserted into a position corresponding to a native verb (in adapted form or not)
- b. the new verb is adjoined to a helping verb.
- c. the new verb is a nominalized complement to a causative helping verb in a compound.
- d. the new verb is an infinitive and the complement of a native auxiliary

Observing CM patterns in bilingual data from typologically different languages as well as similar ones, he explains that insertional, alternational and CL strategies are governed by different structural, psycholinguistic and social constraints. The three strategies are used to elucidate bilingual data in a variety of contexts ranging from colonial settings to stable bilingual communities.

Functional elements are used to elucidate insertional CM while the bilingual verbs are analyzed as indicative of the three types of CM strategies by Muysken (2000). The strategies are also distinguished by social and psycholinguistic factors that prompt a speaker to code-mix. This section first outlines Muysken's theory of insertional, alternational and CL, and then focuses on the analysis of bilingual verbs in determining CM strategies.

Analyzing a variety of data, Muysken (2000) suggests that 'foreign' verbs are 'sometimes inserted as finite stems<sup>4</sup> and sometimes as infinitives'. This is evident in the Sinhala-English mixed corpus. He observes that there is also evidence of adjunction and CL patterns suggestive of a 'full range of CM strategies' in bilingual data.

Further, the complexities involving the creation of the bilingual verb are revealed where an 'embedded language lexical verb' and

a 'matrix language helping verb' are combined (Muysken 2000: 185). Many Indic languages indicate a pattern where a 'helping verb' from the native language is combined with a foreign verb stem to create a bilingual verb in mixed data. He suggests that though the verbs are assumed to be borrowings, they are neither phonologically adapted nor integrated into the language. The process where a foreign verb is combined with a matrix auxiliary (helping) verb is described as a 'productive process' and as having three types. They may be adjoined, contain a nominalized complement in a compound and an infinitive complement. The adjunction takes place in alternation strategies where as in insertion strategies, single verb stems replace native verbs. Instances of particle plus verb constructions are indicative of congruent lexicalization, according to Muysken (2000).

Kachru (1983/1986) makes a significant analysis of the bilingual combinations in mixed discourse. Accordingly, a mixed form or a hybrid is described as 'one which is composed of elements from two or more different languages'. Hence, a hybrid will comprise of two or more elements and at least one element will be from a local language. These hybrid forms are also referred to as Indianisms (Kachru 1983: 138). The elements of a hybrid formation belong either to an open-set (no grammatical constraints on the selected items) or to a closed-system (one of the elements belong to a closed-system of the local languages) in lexis. Kachru also proposes that there are certain structural and contextual constraints on hybridization and categorizes hybrids into:

- a. hybrid collocations
- b. hybrid lexical sets
- c. hybrid ordered series of words
- d. hybrid reduplication.

## 2. Analysis of data

Observe the examples in (1) and (2) where the English stem is preceded by a Sinhala intensifier which either modifies nouns or adjectives in monolingual Sinhala sentences. Semantically, the English elements act as verb stems. Hence, they can be analyzed as insertions in Sinhala sentences based on CM typology. The stems are integrated morphologically, syntactically and semantically in the matrix.

1. *okkoma* fail (all/fail)
2. *okkoma* pass (all/pass)

Perhaps a prominent and an area that needs further discussion and research is the inclusion of helping verbs from Sinhala that create compound hybrids or 'bilingual compound constructions' (Muysken 2000: 197) in mixed discourse.

The inclusion of English stems followed by a Sinhala verb in mixed data is a recurrent phenomenon. Muysken (2000) observes that this construction occurs in many Indian languages. English stems when mixed in a Sinhala base are most often followed by various forms of *karana* 'to do' and *vena* 'to become'. Note that the English stem + the Sinhala verb pattern is found with corresponding compound verbs in Sinhala, which are often accompanied by either *karanava* or *venava*. In this case, two types of helping verbs assist in the incorporation of English elements to create hybrid verbs. The helping verbs are combined with nouns thereby providing more flexibility to the bilingual in the use of mixed discourse.

Observe the examples in Table (1). The compound verb *kata karanava* can be transformed into a mixed verb call *karanava* easily as the matrix pattern is already available in Sinhala. Observe too how many main verbs in Sinhala have transformed themselves

into hybrid verbs with the help of helping verbs from Sinhala. Notice that the first element of the corresponding hybrid compound is in English while the second element is Sinhala. In many cases, the helping verb from Sinhala 'to do' *karanava* is frequent and used phenomenally than any other verb in the mixed variety.

Matrix compound verbs or main verbs	Corresponding hybrid compound verb
<i>kata karanava</i>	Call <i>karanava</i>
<i>natanava</i>	Dance <i>karanava</i>
<i>elavanava</i>	Drive <i>karanava</i>
<i>hambavenava</i>	Meet <i>venava</i>

Table: 1 Matrix verbs and hybrid verbs

These following examples are frequent in mixed discourse. The corresponding matrix verbs in (3) and (5) are main verbs such as *ridenava* 'to hurt' and *kiyanava* 'to read'.

3. Hurt *vuna*
4. apologize *kara*
5. read *karanavaa*
6. pass *karanavaa*

Observe too the productivity of the English verb stem + matrix verb pattern in the following examples.

7. Observe *karanava*
8. Clarify *karanava*

The Sinhala helping verbs are also used productively to create complex constructions such as the following.

9. Spend the day *karanavaa*
10. I love you *kiyanavaa*
11. All the best *kiyanava*

The examples reveal the variety that exists within the bilingual verb.

### 3. Other cases

In addition, English stems in non-infinitive<sup>5</sup> form appear as direct insertions and most often, are included in a Sinhala base, accompanied by the Sinhala nominalizer *eka*<sup>6</sup>. In the following examples, which refer to ordinary activities, the English stems are followed by *eka* which nominalizes the stems and facilitates nesting. *eka*, as a nominalizer enables the bilingual to bring in elements as stems without inflection in CM. The lone English stems are inserted and followed by *eka*. Clearly, *eka* enables stems to be insertions in Sinhala sentences. The insertion of bare forms from English has resulted in the formation of bilingual or hybrid nouns.

1. dance *eka*
2. act *eka*
3. fine *eka*
4. drive *eka*
5. run *eka*

Observe the following examples where inflected verbs have been used to create hybrid forms.

6. dancing *eka*
7. singing *eka*

This pattern of using the nominalizer to integrate foreign verb stems, identified as the nominalization strategy, has also been observed in French-English CM (Muysken 2000: 208). The pattern can be described as a noun + nominalizer combination. Then, there are also cases where many other patterns can be observed which create hybrid compounds.

8. Verb + *karana* = hate *karana*
9. Noun + verb + *karana* = expression use *karana*
10. Gerund = chanting *karana*

Apart from English elements in Sinhala sentences, hybrid verbs are also prevalent in cases where the matrix language is English. Senaratne (2009:243) categorizes the hybrid verbs as follows:

Sinhala element	English bound morpheme	Hybrid verb	meaning
<i>kediri</i>	fying	<i>kedirifying</i>	To grumble
<i>kusukusu</i>	fying	<i>kusukusufying</i>	To whisper
<i>poder</i>	ing	<i>podering</i>	To drizzle

The examples reveal word internal mixing patterns identified as CL by Muysken (2000). Bilingual speakers coin new verbs using existing Sinhala words through word internal mixing (Senaratne 2014). In such cases, the Sinhala elements are combined with English suffixes. The forms are affixed to an English verb ending to denote the continuation of the action. Note that the compound verb from Sinhala *kusukusugaanvaa* 'to whisper' includes an innovative construction suffixed by the English bound morpheme 'fying'. This example clearly violates the Bound Morpheme Constraint<sup>7</sup> which forbids the combination of bound morphemes in mixed data. The mixing pattern is best explained in Muysken's (2000) theory. The item indicates word internal mixing patterns and therefore indicative of CL.

The majority of bilingual verbs in the Sinhala-English corpus reflects compounding a native verb to the borrowed bare verb or verb stem from English. The most prominent verb that accompanies a host of English verb stems is *karanava* 'to do'. Other verbs such as *tiyanava* 'to be' (most often combined with a noun in mixed data and does not occur as part of a mixed verb), *daanava* 'to put', *gannava* 'to get', *denava* 'to give', *gahanava* 'to hit or give' are also used to create hybrid verbs.

From these listed Sinhala verbs, the ones that contribute to the mixed verb or bilingual verb most frequently found in the Sinhala-English bilingual corpus are *karanava* and *venava*. The others, however, also contribute to the formation of hybrid verbal phrases. This study categorizes the bilingual verb as a hybrid verb indicative of all three mixing strategies: insertion, alternation and CL patterns. Some mixed verbs display a pattern of compounding a nominal from the borrowing language and a verbal item from Sinhala. These examples are analyzed as conjunct verbs where the nominal item is from English and the verbal item is from Sinhala. Observe that the English nominal is accompanied by many verbal items from Sinhala. The hybrid compounds are governed by the Sinhala element, which is adjoined to the English nominal. Such cases are indicative of alternational CM. This is an extremely productive process and employed by most bilingual speakers in Sri Lanka.

Elements joined	Example
English nominal+verb	Permission <i>denna</i>
English inflected verb + particle	Coming <i>da?</i>
English V stem+Sinhala helping V	Call <i>karanava</i>
English NV+ Sinhala V	Register sign <i>karanava</i>

Table 2: A categorization of hybrid verbs ( Senaratne 2009: 244)

#### 4. Summary and conclusions

The analysis of data revealed that the English verb stem + Sinhala helping verb construction as the most productive combination in the Sinhala-English bilingual corpus. The inclusion of verb stems in base form and nouns from English presents both insertion and alternation mixing strategies. English verbs are attracted to the matrix language as stems, inflected forms, clipped forms and reduplicated forms in mixed data. A majority of verb stems are followed by the matrix helping verbs forming hybrid compound verbs. It is evident

that there is matrix language influence with regard to the formation of hybrid compound verbs. When mixing single verbs from English, the matrix language pattern of not overtly expressing the subject is also retained as illustrated in the data. Phrases from English are also mixed as complete constituents resulting in hybrid compound constructions. In mixing verbs and verb phrases from English, insertional CM appears as the dominant mixing strategy used by the Sinhala-English bilingual. Alternational CM is plausible in the hybrid compound verb (or bilingual verbs), where an English verb stem is followed by a matrix helping verb based on Muysken's (2000) typology. Furthermore, word internal mixing that results in new hybrid verbs where the matrix is English is indicative of CL. The verb + particle combination is indicative of both insertional and CL mixing patterns. It is prevalent in the hybrid construction of inflected or clipped verbs from English + Sinhala particle combinations. The process of hybridization which results in a variety of hybrid verbs in informal discourse of the Sri Lankan bilingual makes use of morphological processes such as compounding and word internal mixing.

### Endnotes:

- 1 See Kachru (1983)
- 2 The term 'embedded' language is used by Myers-Scotton (2001) to refer to other language elements that are 'guests' in the borrower language
- 3 The 'Matrix Language Framework Model' was put forward by Myers-Scotton which describes the influence of the dominant language on code switching.
- 4 A finite verb is a form that has a subject and that can function as a root.
- 5 The infinitive form= to + verb. Infinitives can function as nouns, adjectives or adverbs.
- 6 Also see Weerakoon (1988)
- 7 The Bound Morpheme Constraint is a theory forwarded by Poplack (1988) which indicates that word internal mixing does not take place in CS.

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