

The Expediency Hypothesis and modes of secondary term formation in ICT terminology in Sinhala: A bilingual corpus analysis

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Abstract- This study investigates the formation typology of borrowings within the genre of information and communication technology (ICT) in Sri Lanka utilizing a corpus of Sinhala secondary terms. The main instrument of analysis is the *Glossary of Computer Terms- Sinhala Dictionary Resources*¹ a bilingual corpus of 5,086 ICT terms in English with their equivalent terminology provided in Sinhala. Data collection utilized random and then selective sampling procedures and shortlisted the final terminology (n=500) which underwent typological identification and term analysis to discern the borrowing procedures. Formulating and applying the Expediency Hypothesis this study theorizes that preference for importation is due to convenience and sociolinguistic laziness. Coinage formation especially loan creations, though cognitively challenging, has painstakingly generated Sinhala terms with unwieldy pronunciation which do not trigger any associated schemata to the ICT concept. Evidence for trends in ICT terms borrowed from English is scaffolded through a brief lexical analysis of the *G.C.E. (O/L) IT Teacher Instructional Manual of Sri Lanka* (Sinhala medium)². The findings reveal that non translated English words in English fonts splatter the contents of the Sinhala medium manual making their frequency of occurrence approximate 34%. Importations followed by loan translations too inflated the Sinhala ICT wordstock of the manual but coinages were rare and loan creations had a zero occurrence. This study concludes that the redundancy of coinages enforced through preference for English importations sociolinguistically tarnishes and threatens the purity of Sinhala: a minority language of the world. This redundancy is not restricted to ICT terminology but can be extended to all spheres saddling Sinhala with a substantial lexical debt owed to English in its day to day linguistic parlance.

Index Terms- ICT terminology, borrowing, Sinhala, linguistic purity

I. INTRODUCTION

Background

Etymologically the vocabulary of a language consists of two main assemblages: lexical items native to the language and foreign elements which are loanwords. The omnipresence of loanwords in languages of the world is succinctly worded by Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009, p. 55)^[1] who state that a

language 'entirely devoid of loanwords' is a very rare occurrence. According to Postolea (2012: 103)^[2] concepts 'being basic units of knowledge, are almost never bound to their place of birth. Packed in their original language, they easily travel across borders'. This is very true to ICT terminology and the influx of these ICT terms 'packed in their original language': English, results in a linguistic metamorphosis in the recipient languages. Sinhala, a language which is struggling to preserve its purity against linguistic pressures inherent to globalization and technological development, is witnessing an ascendancy of English borrowings in the ICT word stock. Linguistic purism which safeguards the linguistic rights of minority languages, as defined by Geers (2005)^[3] aims to purify above all the lexical system of a language from loanwords and other harmful language units replacing them mainly out of the native resources of a language.

According to Sager (1997)^[4] the first process where the new concept is named by its creator in his/her native language is primary term formation and when the name given to a concept by its original creator passes from its original language into other languages it is secondary term formation. Within the genre of ICT almost all the newly innovated terms originate in English thus making it the original language of creation. In the Sri Lankan context the process of secondary term formation is a complex procedure which involves the gamut of strategies in loanword formation of which the three main components are: Importation, Partial substitution and Substitution. Many scholars over the ages (Betz, 1959^[5]; Duckworth, 1977^[6]; Haugen, 1950^[7]; Toury 1995^[8]; Weinreich, 1953^[9]; Betz, 1959^[10]; Zenner, 2013^[11]) have theorized on various types of norms identified in the borrowing process. Thus there are a multitude of taxonomies but this study uses the taxonomy put forth by Grzegorz (2003: 26)^[12] where Betz's (1959)^[13] terminology with revisions of Duckworth's (1977)^[14] are combined together with Haugen's (1950)^[15] terminology of lexical borrowing.

1.1 Modes of borrowing

Words taken over from foreign languages are known as borrowed words or loan words and the term borrowing is used to denote the process of adopting words from one language to another. Lexical borrowing is by far the most common category of borrowing in the field of ICT in Sri Lanka. Literature has theorized that the motivation to borrow lexical items occurs in two modes. Theorizing on modes of borrowing the Dominant Hypotheses was formulated by Higa (1979)^[16] and Kachru (1994)^[17] formulates the Deficit hypothesis. While both

¹ <http://www.sinhaladictionary.org/index.php/list/glossary+of+computer+terms/5.b.xhtml>

² <http://www.nie.sch.lk/ebook/e11tim33.pdf>

hypotheses are applicable in the context of borrowings in the field of ICT in Sri Lanka this paper compiles evidence for and formulates another mode in borrowing and classifies it within the taxonomy as the Expediency Hypothesis.

1.1.1 The Dominance Hypothesis

Higa (1979: 378)^[18] had defined that ‘the Dominance Hypothesis presupposes that when two cultures come into contact, the direction of culture learning and subsequent word-borrowing is not mutual, but from the dominant to the subordinate’. Furthermore the borrowing is not necessarily done to fill lexical gaps. Many words are borrowed and used even though there are native equivalents because they seem to have prestige. This study repudiates the use of the term *dominant language* in the current sociolinguistic context in Sri Lanka but upholds the worldwide recognition given to English as the donor language. According to Trask (1996: 41)^[19] ‘English itself has become the most prestigious language on earth, and today English is primarily a donor language’. Thus this study proposes that the Dominant Theory should be replaced by a donor/recipient hypothesis. Agreeing with Trask (ibid) that English (be it British or American) is ‘the most prestigious donor language on earth’ it is noted that a vast corpus of words enter recipient languages such as Sinhala and are borrowed from English. This is clearly evidenced in the secondary ICT term formation.

1.1.2 The Deficit hypothesis

This hypothesis presupposes that, Borrowing entails linguistic gaps in a language and the prime motivation for borrowing is to remedy the linguistic deficit, especially in the lexical resources of a language. (Kachru, 1994:139)^[20]

Agreement comes from Fantini (1985: 146)^[21] who states,

One of the initial reasons for borrowing is when one language has a semantic *gap* in its lexicon (i.e., when there is no existing word in the language with the same meaning as the loanword) and needs to borrow a term to express the necessary idea or concept.

It seems that this lexical deficit is a worldwide ongoing phenomenon. Unique lexical inventions coined to represent innovations in science, information technology, social networking etc. enter the English vocabulary daily. Languages which need to assimilate these words into their word stock solve the problem of by simple lexical borrowing.

Relinking with the discussion on modes of borrowing in the Sri Lankan sociolinguistic sphere ample proof for yet another mode of borrowing is evidenced. It might have had its origins roughly during mid-colonial stages, and its evolution is recorded in the history of loanword assimilation in Sinhala. Sinhala, initially borrowed a large stock of loanwords from the language of its ex-colonizer, English. At one stage during this superstrate borrowing process a large number of Sinhala words were coined to satisfy the deficit created by English vocabulary. But these coinages gradually became redundant and the English lexical importations were retained. I suggest that most of these English lexical importations were preferred over the coinages by the speakers of Sinhala due to expediency. It is linguistic pragmatism which provided the impetus to follow this mode where importations is preferred and the vernacular coinages are rejected.

1.1.3 The Expediency Hypothesis

Expediency carries connotations of an action done due to desirability and convenience. It is a practical method of solving intricacies in the context of linguistic behavior. On the other hand it connotes sociolinguistic laziness. Using the Sri Lankan sociolinguistic paradigms evidenced in the ICT field in Sri Lanka evidence is produced to validate that expediency is another motivation for the preference for importation in over coinages. The Expediency Hypothesis finds agreement from Katamba (2005, p. 138-139)^[22] who states that ‘to adopt a word [is much easier] rather than to make up an original one from nothing’. Danesi and Rocci (2009, p. 161)^[23] too posit that borrowing is ‘a practical strategy’ which can add to the word stock of a language. Thus importation is a less cognitively taxing process than creating new words for new notions.

But in Sinhala though a large stock of coinages are created with much effort it is evidenced that most of them have faced redundancy in day to day as well as ICT parlance. This study classifies and discusses this mode under the Expediency Hypothesis and argues through the provision of evidence from the secondary ICT term formation in Sinhala that it differs from the two loanword borrowing processes identified by Kachru (1994)^[24] and Higa (1979)^[25].

According to the Expediency Hypothesis a linguistic community is persuaded by practicality and pragmatism, a case in point is the Sinhala speech community, to reject their own coinages which satisfy the deficit of vocabulary and favor the loanword. The term expediency also carries the flavour that it is not necessarily moral³. The moral aspect, as far as linguistic behaviour is concerned, is to disdain a process which struggles to uphold linguistic purity in a language. The suggested process of the Expediency Hypothesis when applied to secondary ICT term formation in Sinhala could be recorded as follows.

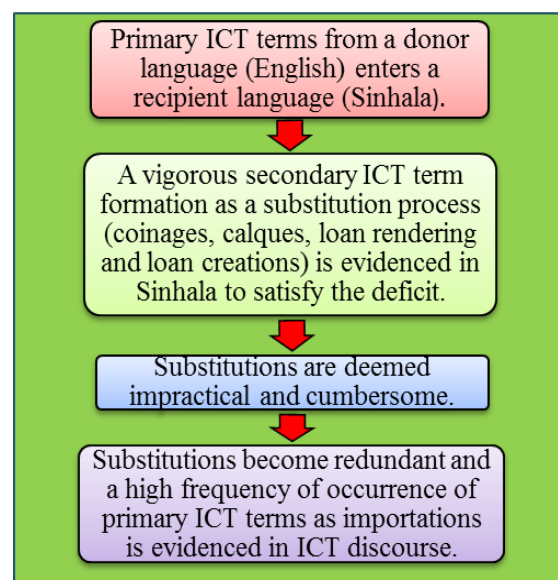


Figure 1: Applicability of the Expediency Hypothesis to secondary ICT term formation in Sinhala

³ Oxford Advanced learners' Dictionary
<http://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english>

II. METHODOLOGY

Bowker & Pearson (2002, 45) ^[26] have pointed out, “there are no hard and fast rules that can be followed to determine the ideal size of a corpus. Instead, you will have to make this decision based on factors such as the needs of your project, the availability of data and the amount of time that you have”. Based on the above premise the *Glossary of Computer Terms- Sinhala Dictionary Resources* was selected as the main instrument of analysis in this study. It is a bilingual corpus of 5,086 ICT terms in English with their equivalent secondary terminology provided in Sinhala. Random sampling procedures selected every other page of the corpus and 128 out of 255 pages were browsed. Each page underwent selective sampling procedures to compile 500 lexical terms for scrutiny. The study followed a term analysis process which consisted of three tiers: identification, comprehension and cross linguistic (English- Sinhala) comparison. While most words were single lexicalized units multi word terms which functioned as a unit of meaning and identified a concept too went under analysis. The second instrument was the *G.C.E. (O/L) IT Teacher Instructional Manual of Sri Lanka* (Sinhala medium). Scrutinizing the manual excerpts were obtained selectively. Then the two shortlisted sets of terms were analyzed to validate the Expediency Hypothesis. This paper cites a few selected terms when providing examples for each borrowing process.

III. TAXONOMY OF LEXICAL BORROWINGS IN SECONDARY ICT TERM FORMATION IN SINHALA

Thus study utilizes the Betz-Duckworth-version for a taxonomy of lexical borrowings assembled by Grzega (2003: 26) ^[27] incorporating terms of Haugen (1950) ^[28]. The taxonomy subdivides loans as Importation, Partial substitution and Substitution illustrated by Figure 2 below.

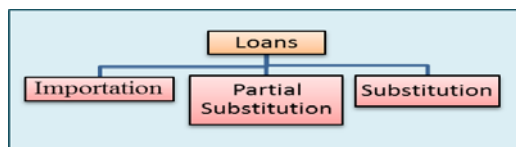


Figure 2: Extract of loans from Betz-Duckworth-version for a taxonomy of lexical borrowings assembled by Grzega (2003: 26) ^[29]

3.1 Importation

Importations are typical borrowing which are words consciously imported from another language. According to Capuz (1997: 87) ^[30] ‘the direct transference of a lexeme, both in meaning and form’. is importation and the original form of the loan is discernible (Russ 1994, 222) ^[31]. The taxonomy subdivides Importation to nonassimilated Foreign words and assimilated Loanwords. Figure 3 below depicts the typology for Importation.

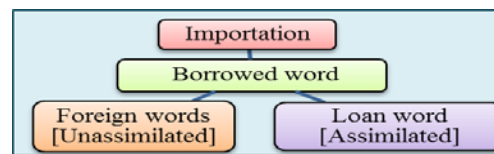


Figure 3: Extract of Importation from Betz-Duckworth-version for a taxonomy of lexical borrowings assembled by Grzega (2003: 26) ^[32] with Haugen's terms added in square brackets.

3.1.1 Foreign words

A *foreign word* is a nonintegrated word where both words show analogy in form as well as in meaning. In Table 1 below the pronunciation of the word is retained unchanged other than in *video* where the word final diphthong is monophthongized which is a norm in Sri Lankan pronunciation.

Table 1: Examples for nonintegrated foreign words from ICT term formation in Sinhala

Primary ICT term ⁴	Secondary term
Cartridge /ka:trɪdʒ/	කාට්‍රිජ් /ka:trɪdʒ/
Fax /fæks/	ෆැක්ස් /fæks/
Intelsat /ɪntelsæt/	ඉන්ටෙල්සැට් /ɪntelsæt/
Video /vɪdiəʊ/	වීඩියෝ /vɪdi:ɔ:/
Virus /vaɪrəs/	වයිරස /vaɪrəs/
Peek /pi:k/	පීක් /pi:k/
Mouse /maʊs/	මවුස් /maʊs/
Ribbon cable /rɪbən keɪbl/	රිබන් කේබල් /rɪbən ke:bl/
Ultra Fiche /ʌltrə fi:ʃ/	අල්ට්රා ඩිෂ් /ʌltrə fi:ʃ/

3.1.2 Loan words

Loan words are integrated word forms adapted to Sinhala. In this category the assimilation of borrowings is a partial or total conformation to the suffixation paradigms of the receiving language Sinhala.

⁴ Pronunciation for all Primary term obtained from *Oxford Learners Dictionaries*. <http://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english>

Table 2: Examples for *integrated foreign words* from ICT term formation in Sinhala

Primary ICT term	Secondary term ⁵
Type 1: Addition of the suffix /ə/	
Algorithm	ඇල්ගොරිතම /ælgortəmə/
Type 2: Addition of the suffix /əjə/	
Micro Chip	ක්ෂුද්‍ර චිපය /markroçipəjə/
Hologram	හොලොග්‍රෑම්ය /hologræ:məjə/
Zoom	සුම්ය /zu:məjə/
Card Hopper	කාඩ් හොපරය /ka:d hɒpəɹəjə/
Carriage	කැරේජය /kære:ʃəjə/
Clone	ක්ලෝනය /klo:nəjə/
Loop	ලූපය /lu:pəjə/
Megabyte	මෙගාබයිටය /megabartəjə/
Type 3: Addition of the suffix /ʊə/	
Menu	මෙනුව /menuʊə/
Logo	ලොගෝව /lo:go:ʊə/
Type 4: Germination and addition of the suffix /ʊə/	
Gate	ගේට්ටුව /ge:tʃʊə/
Ticket	ටිකට්ටු /tikəttʊə/

3.2 Partial substitution

Naming these terms as loan blends Haugen (1950: 215)^[33] defined them as those instances of lexical borrowing in which we find both *importation* and *substitution* transferred stem and Indigenous affix.

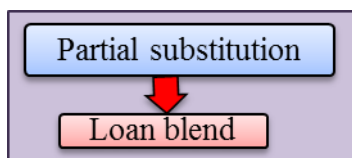


Figure 4: Extract of Partial substitution from Betz-Duckworth-version for a taxonomy of lexical borrowings assembled by Grzega (2003: 26)^[34].

Table 2 below records examples for loan blends where the composite word constitutes of one part borrowed from English the other substituted from Sinhala. It is to be noted that the English component of the composite word has undergone suffixation to fit the assimilation paradigms of Sinhala.

Table 3: Examples for *loan blends* from ICT term formation in Sinhala

Primary ICT term	Secondary term ⁶
Analog Modem	ජරනිසම මොඩෙමය /prɛtʃɹɪg ^h amə mɔdɔməjə/
Application Package	යෙදුම් පැකේජය /jɛdum pæke:ʃəjə/
Antivirus	ජරනිවයිරස /prɛtʃʌvairəsəjə/
Closed Loop	වැසූ ලූපය /ʋʌssu: lu:pəjə/
Communications Protocol	සන්නිවේදන ජරොටෝකෝලය /sannɪvə:ðɛnə prɔtɔko:ləjə/
Disk Drive	ඩිස්ක ධාවකය /dɪskə d ^h a:vəkəjə/

⁵ Pronunciation for the Secondary term transcribed by author.

⁶ The Sinhala term in each composite word is highlighted in yellow while the partially assimilated English component is underlined.

3.3 Substitution

As a process substitution subdivides into multiple modes of borrowing.

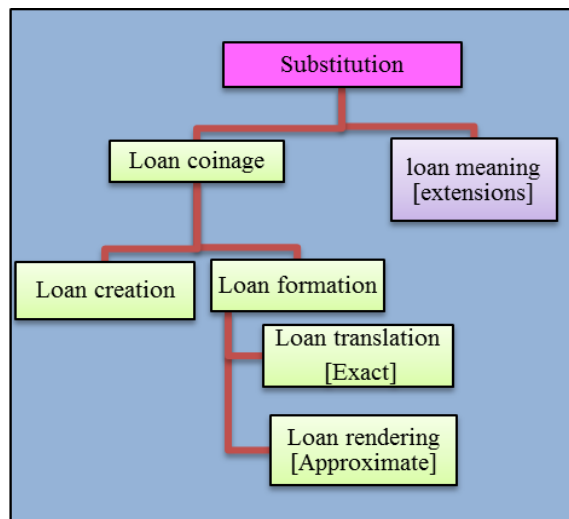


Figure 5: Extract of substitution from Betz-Duckworth-version for a taxonomy of lexical borrowings assembled by Grzega (2003: 26)^[35] with Haugen’s terms added in square brackets.

3.3.1 Coinage

As illustrated in Figure 5 above Coinages are subdivided into Loan formations and Loan creations.

3.3.1.1 Loan formation

The two branches of loan formation: loan translation and loan rendition according to Tesch (1978: 114)^[36] cannot be separated reliably. According to Grzega, (2003: 28)^[37] ‘As to an onomasiological theory it should be underscored that loan formations, which Haugen (1956)^[38] calls *creations*, are hard to detect’. What is foreign is the concept, but there is no foreign linguistic import. The word is created just like any word out of indigenous material (Grzega, 2003: 26)^[39].

3.3.1.2 Loan translation (calque)

Durkin (2014: 164)^[40] states that Loan translations are newly created words exactly translating the compositional elements of the foreign language form. The Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics (Bussmann 2006, 151)^[41] records that ‘While, in the case of borrowing, a foreign word and its meaning are adopted wholesale into the other language as a loan word, a calque emerges when the language is adapted to new concepts. This can happen in several ways: (a) by way of a borrowed meaning through change and expansion of the meaning of native words; (b) through neologisms loosely based on a foreign concept; (c) through word-for-word loan translation; (d) through a loose loan translation’. Based on Russ (1994, 222)^[42] it could be stated that ‘if each part of the English word is rendered literally’ by its Sinhala counterpart it is a loan translation. ‘It can either be a single word or a fixed phrasal expression created by an item-by-item translation of the (complex) source unit’ (Haspelmath and Tadmor, 2009: 39)^[43].

Table 4: Examples for loan translations from ICT term formation in Sinhala

Primary ICT term	Secondary term
All Purpose Computer	සර්වකාර්ය පරිගණකය /sarʊəka:rjə parɪgʰanəkəjə/
Data Encryption	දත්ත ගෝපනය /dattə go:pənəjə/
Data Table	දත්ත වගුව /dattə vəguvə/
End of reel block	පටි අන්ත කවචය /paʔi antə kattʃə/

3.3.1.3 Loan rendering

Russ (1994: 222)^[44] states that if the formation of the word is only partially or approximately literal then it is Loan rendering. Agreement comes from (Zenner, 2013:14)^[45] who states that loan rendition is imperfect or partial translation and cites the following formation: Dutch *Wolkenkratzer* for English *sky scraper* is literally *cloud scraper*.

Table 5: Examples for loan rendering from ICT term formation in Sinhala

Primary ICT term	Secondary term	Literal meaning of the highlighted Sinhala term
<u>Holding time</u>	ධාරණ කාලය /dʰa:rəna ka:ləjə/	Learning time
<u>Domain tip</u>	වසම් ඉම /vasam imə/	Domain Line
Piggyback ⁷ file	රුකුල් ගොනුව /rukul gonuʋə/	Bolstered ⁸ file

In the three examples above the primary ICT terms have undergone only a partial translation during the rendering. The literal meaning of the secondary term when translated back to English is different from the primary ICT term prior to borrowing.

3.3.1.4 Loan creation

‘Loan creation covers the rather vague idea of conceptual transmission i.e. the creation of a new word in a language’ (Zenner, 2013: 15)^[46]. Russ (1994: 222)^[47] states that ‘if nothing of the English word is literally translated but an attempt is made at an interpretation of its meaning by an approximate translation it is a loan creation’. Furthermore they confirm that all components of the Loan creation come from and its construction has no prior equivalent in the recipient language,

Table 6: Examples for loan creation from ICT term formation in Sinhala

Primary ICT term	Secondary term
Programme	ක්රමලේඛය /krəmə le:kʰəjə/
Churning	මන්ඵන /mantʰənə/
Software	මෘදුකාංග /murɟuka:ŋə/
Computability	ආගණන්යතාව /a:ganjəʃa:ʋəjə/
Icon	නිරූපකය /niru:pəkəjə/

3.1 Loan meaning

Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009: 39)^[48] identify one sub process where the meaning of the foreign word is transferred on an indigenous word. Thus Table 8 below records a Sinhala word to which the meaning of the English word is transferred.

Table 7: Examples for loan meaning from ICT term formation in Sinhala

Primary ICT term	Secondary term
driver ⁹	ධාවකයා ¹⁰ /dʰa:ʋəkəjə:/

The Secondary term ධාවකයා in Table 7 above is polysemous as it is used to express a different meaning from the normal usage in ICT term formation in Sinhala.

IV. THE EXPEDIENCY HYPOTHESIS AND MODES OF SECONDARY TERM FORMATION IN SINHALA

Recall that the Expediency Hypothesis theorizes that a linguistic community is persuaded by practicality and pragmatism to reject their own loan coinages which satisfy the deficit of vocabulary and favour importation. Secondary ICT term formation in Sinhala bears evidence for this theorization. Both processes Loan translation and Loan creation are time consuming and need weighty cognitive manipulation. Loan creation is the heavier process as it has to avoid all known words in the Sinhala wordstock. As a mother tongue user of Sinhala I find the examples for loan creations given in Table 6 not only unfamiliar but also rarely used words within the domain of ICT while the English terms are familiar importations with a high frequency of usage. Furthermore the enunciation of the Sinhala loan creations is an arduous task. Tracing the linguistic evolution of the Sinhala speech community which symptomizes a history of avoiding heavy coinages of Sinhala and a preference for English importations Widyalkara (2014)^[49] posited the Expediency Hypothesis and conducted a comprehensive sociolinguistic analysis. This study compiles further evidence to argue that though Sinhala ICT coinages are formed under the objective of preserving the purity of the language, expediency which opts for convenience and reflects sociolinguistic laziness makes the Sinhala ICT coinages redundant. Providing evidence

⁷ Piggybacking is the unauthorized access of a Wireless Local Area Network.
⁸ Support or strengthen.

⁹ A *driver* is a piece of software that converts commands such as 'PRINT', into instructions that the particular piece of hardware (printer) can understand.
¹⁰ A person who drives a vehicle.

this study surveys the *G.C.E. (O/L) IT Teacher Instructional Manual of Sri Lanka* (Sinhala medium) which currently provides guideline to teachers who teach ICT to Grade11 students with a mean age of 16 years.

Of the 79 words in the extract in Figure 6 below 22 are English words denoting a high frequency of 28% in the occurrence of English words in the whole extract though it guides teachers to teach in the Sinhala medium.

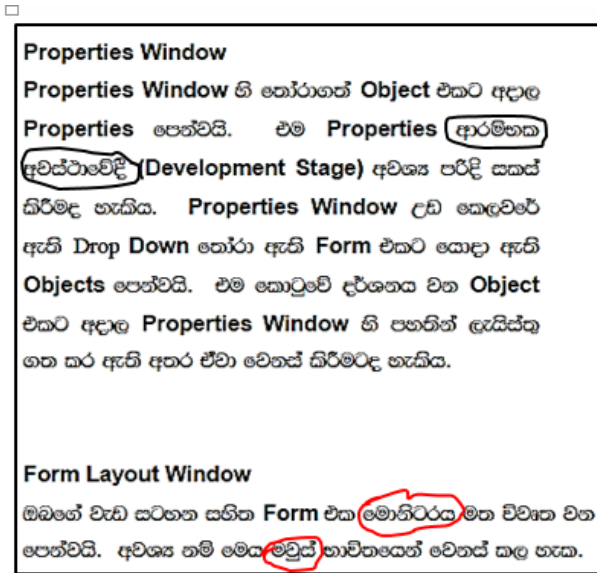


Figure 6: Extract from the *G.C.E. (O/L) IT Teacher Instructional Manual of Sri Lanka* (Sinhala medium), National Institute of Education in Sri Lanka, 2008: 16

Additionally in Figure 6 above note that there are only two importations (circled in red). The first is an assimilated loanword¹¹ where the pronunciation equivalent to *monitor* is transliterated in Sinhala graphemes and a suffixation based on the norms of the recipient language is added. The second is *mouse*¹² written in Sinhala font which is an unassimilated foreign word and retains the pronunciation. There is one instance where the Sinhala loan calque is provided its translation equivalent in English¹³ (circled in black). What is of interest is that rather than using secondary forms a high frequency of usage of English words in English fonts is evidenced in the extract above.

This validates the Expediency Hypothesis which states that linguistic laziness and practicality generates a preference for the importation and in this instance also favours the English word over the Sinhala equivalent.

¹¹ මොනිටරය/*monɪtərəjə*/

¹² මවුස් /*maʊs*/

¹³ ආරම්භක අවස්ථාවේදී /*a:rambʰəke avastʰa:ve:di:/* (Development stage)

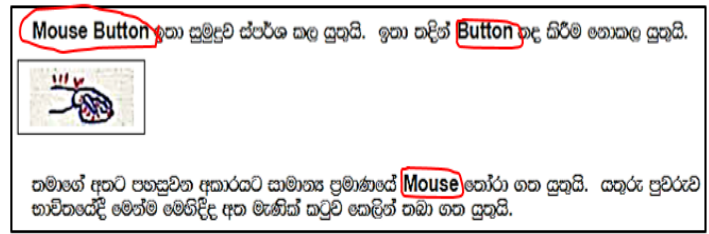


Figure 7: Extract from the *G.C.E. (O/L) IT Teacher Instructional Manual of Sri Lanka* (Sinhala medium), National Institute of Education in Sri Lanka, 2008: 194

Figure 7 above is an extract which instructs the use of the mouse. Note that instead of the Sinhala nonintegrated importation¹⁴ used in Figure 6 the English term *Mouse* is used. The word *button* on the other hand has a translation equivalent *boththama*¹⁵ which has a high frequency of usage and a corresponding schemata activation. It is a naturalized denizen from Portuguese to Sinhala.

Adherence to the Expediency Hypothesis is witnessed not only in the rejection of the Portuguese denizen but also that in all instances the English word is preferred over a Sinhala equivalent. In Figure 8 below note the interchangeable use of the word *mouse* and its nonintegrated foreign transliteration¹⁶ මවුස්. The English word *drag* is provided Sinhala word¹⁶ which is a loan meaning substitution (circled in blue). Thus it could be assumed that the teacher has to use the Sinhala word and provide its translation to the students. But within the same extract instead of the Sinhala word the English term *drag* is used.

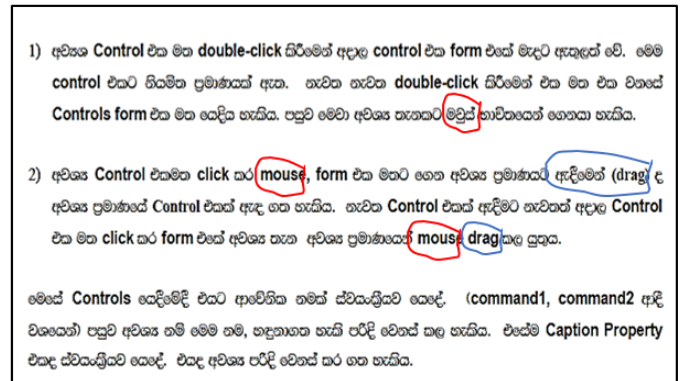


Figure 8: Extract from the *G.C.E. (O/L) IT Teacher Instructional Manual of Sri Lanka* (Sinhala medium), National Institute of Education in Sri Lanka, 2008: 22

An analysis of the full manual depicts an approximately 34% of occurrence of English words in English font, all ICT terminology, embedded in the Sinhala matrix contents. The next high frequency of occurrence of ICT terminology was of assimilated loanwords (18%) which was closely followed by unassimilated foreign words (16%). Partial substitutions were rare but what was noteworthy was that there was a zero

¹⁴ මවුස් /*maʊs*/

¹⁵ බොත්තම /*bottəmə*/

¹⁶ ඇදීමෙන්

occurrence of loan coinages which are cognitively laborious constructs.

Recall that Figure 1 constructed an applicability process for the Expediency Hypothesis through secondary ICT term formation in Sinhala. Further the Expediency Hypothesis posits that many languages which have undergone colonial contact with English, for example Sinhala, along its evolutionary process since colonization have coined words to satisfy the deficit created by English vocabulary. But these coinages gradually became redundant and the English lexical importations were retained. Thus expediency results from linguistic pragmatism and laziness which provide the impetus to prefer importations and reject the vernacular coinages.

V. CONCLUSIONS

Based on a translational perspective this study examined the core borrowing procedures discernable in the secondary ICT term formation in Sinhala. Analysis of the selected bilingual corpus constructs the following conditional propositions.

1. There are a multitude of online sites¹⁷ which provide secondary ICT terminology in Sinhala for primary English ICT terms.
2. Screening of the material included in the corpus of this study it was noted that while importation is a robust ICT term forming procedure a large number of substitutions especially in the form of coinage are evidenced in the corpora in these sites. The findings demonstrate that though coinages, loan translations and loan creations introduce new Sinhala ICT terms importation is the tool of choice in secondary ICT terminology formation and it is a predominant norm.
3. This study argues that the high preference for primary English terms and importations over vernacular coinages, loan translations and loan creations evidenced in the instrument *G.C.E. (O/L) IT Teacher Instructional Manual of Sri Lanka* (Sinhala medium) is due to practicality and pedagogical pragmatism.
4. Thus at the very introductory stage of ICT education the Sri Lankan student population will retain the importations and will have no exposure to the vernacular coinages which pedagogy has deemed as cumbersome. This linguistic behavior reflects an adherence to the tenets of the Expediency Hypothesis.
5. As Sinhala is a minority language in the world its purity is threatened if new coinages, especially in a discipline as ICT which has a high utilitarian value, become redundant.

It is suggested that further studies need to extend the field of this research to secondary formation of terms to Sinhala written and speech formats to confirm whether the trends discerned in this small-scale investigation are applicable and to compile further validation to the Expediency Hypothesis.

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¹⁷ http://www.kaputa.com/sinhalaunicode/sinhala_ict_glossary.htm
<http://advanced-level-ict.blogspot.com/2011/10/ict-sinhala-ict-glossary.html>
<http://www.sasrutha.com/article/2241146/gce-advanced-level-ict-ict-sinhala-ict-glossary>

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