

Theorising the Practice of Language Mixing in Music:

An Interdisciplinary (Linguistic and Musicological) Investigation of Sri Lanka's Leading Genre of Contemporary Popular Song and its Community.

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own work and that it has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

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Abstract

This thesis represents the first ever study of Sri Lanka's leading genre of contemporary popular song covering a period of over twelve years, and how its artists and principal audience interpolate 'global' and 'local' (linguistic and musical) elements in their invention and negotiation of the genre. The central objective is to articulate the collective linguistic identity of the genre's artists and principal audience. They are shown to constitute a community of over 5.5 million youth and young adults of Sinhala ethnicity, more than a quarter of the country's population. Notably, this is also the first ever study of macro-societal linguistic identity in a musical context involving an interdisciplinary linguistic and musical-structure based approach. Underlying the central objective the thesis addresses broader questions about whether our perception of and response to language/language-mixing in music differs from our perception of and response to language mixing (language) in non-musical (i.e. conversational) contexts and if so, how such differences might be explained in terms of linguistic and/or musico-linguistic structure.

The genre explored is termed 'Post 1998 Leading Sri Lankan Popular Song' (98+LSLPS): 1998 marks the symbolic year in which the first songs of the genre emerged and became hugely popular in Sri Lanka. At present, it includes around 300 songs. A community of practice model (Wenger 1998) is used to describe the three-way relationship between the artists, audience and songs. The song data analysed are in audio format. Musically, the songs are heterogeneous involving blends of styles, ranging from indigenous Sri Lankan folk tunes to hip hop rhythms to western classical melodies. These are delivered through four presentational techniques among which rap and singing are dominant. It is English and Sinhala mixed language lyrics which distinguish the songs as a genre. Not surprisingly, there is evidence that the community regard the songs as 'mixed': however, they are also found to regard the songs as simultaneously 'not-mixed'. The portrait corresponds to the community's identification of the songs as simultaneously homogeneous Sinhala and Sinhala-Sri Lankan systems on the one hand and heterogeneous multicultural systems on the other. Exploring the salience of this portrait at the level of the songs' lyric organisation constitutes the major part of the thesis and is a crucial forerunner to articulating the collective linguistic identity of the community, which is based on interpreting the findings.

Accordingly, I advance a novel musico-linguistic analytical framework based on the notion of the musical rhythm derived 'line' for analysing the songs. The framework is also a response to the fact that the song lyrics are in audio format rather than being assigned a pre-determined structure by transcription. The analyses demonstrate that the songs' lyric structure is entirely congruent with the portrait assigned to the songs by their community. Interpreted in relation to the community's collective linguistic identity, it is described as representing a form of overarching monolingualism, deriving from active multilingualism in music. Drawing on the relationship between Sinhala ethnicity and the Sinhala language and the fact that the community members are of Sinhala ethnicity, the study concludes by suggesting that this linguistic profile may be indicative of the community's definition of the 'Sinhala' language in this musical domain. Overall, the study establishes that musical structure governs the organisation of language/language mixing in music and that this is reflected in how communities perceive language/language mixing in music.

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Dedication

In remembrance of my maternal ancestor, the freedom fighter, Prince Edirimanne Suriya Bandara (alias Dominicus Corea), and paternal ancestor, Ekanayaka Adiga, Prime Minister to King Parakramabahu VI (1410-1462).

Chapter 1

Introduction

“Popular music is nothing if not dialogic, the product of an ongoing historical conversation in which no one has the first or last word. The traces of the past that pervade the popular music of the present amount to more than mere chance: they are not simply juxtapositions of incompatible realities. They reflect a dialogic process, one embedded in collective history and nurtured by the ingenuity of artists interested in fashioning icons of opposition” (Lipsitz 1990: 99)

This thesis is an interdisciplinary (linguistic and musicological) investigation constituting the first study of Sri Lanka’s leading genre of popular song, its artists and principal audience. It explores how ‘global’ and ‘local’ elements are juxtaposed and blended musically and linguistically in the songs in relation to the significance attached to the songs by their artists and principal audience in their desire to simultaneously identify with a Sinhala Sri Lankan identity and an English-Sinhala ‘multilingual’ Sri Lankan identity. Crucially, the defining feature of the songs is that they have mixed language lyrics mostly comprising English and Sinhala, the latter being the first language of over 80% of Sri Lanka’s population. A few songs include English, Sinhala and Tamil mixed language lyrics. Rapping and singing are two of the four rendition types identified in the songs. Fusion, Sinhala pop, ballad and hip-hop are some of the terms used by the artists, audience and the media to describe the genre.

The core objective of this thesis is to understand and describe the collective linguistic identity of the genre’s community of artists and principal audience. What distinguishes the song data analysed in this thesis is that the songs are in their original¹ default audio format and therefore without intonational cues which indicate clausal boundaries and which underlie most forms of spoken output. Accordingly, (and for further reasons explained later), this study introduces a novel musico-linguistic analytical framework based on the notion of the musical rhythm derived line for analysing song lyrics in audio format. The specifically South Asian context

¹ Subsequent to their initial release, some of the songs have been re-released as remixes. This study concerns the initial audio form of the songs.

that is the focus of this study is a point of departure from which to address issues surrounding the more general relationship between language mixing, music and societal perception. One of the crucial questions is, how do we perceive and respond to language mixing (and language) occurring in the context of music? Does our perception differ from how we perceive and respond to language mixing (language) in non-musical (i.e. conversational) contexts and if so, how might this be explained at the structural level of the languages occurring in a musical context? Moreover, the analytical framework developed in this thesis may be seen as a response to Lerdahl and Jackendoff's observation about the need "to create musical grammar that models listeners' connection between presented musical surface and the structure he/[she] attributes to the piece" (Lerdahl and Jackendoff 1983: 3, see also Fiske 1993; Raffman 1993; Monelle 1992, 2000).

The genre explored is termed 'Post 1998 (leading) Sri Lankan Popular Song' (98+LSLPS) in this study: 1998 marks the symbolic year in which the first songs of the genre emerged and became hugely popular in Sri Lanka. At present, the genre consists of around 300 songs. The study demonstrates that the artists and principal audience of 98+LSLPS represent a community exceeding 5.5 million Sri Lankan youth and young adults of Sinhala ethnicity roughly between 15 and 39 years of age, resident in Sri Lanka and abroad. The majority of Sri Lankans are of Sinhala ethnicity and comprise over 80% of its total population: the 98+LSLPS community members resident in Sri Lanka represent over a quarter of the country's total population (Department of Census and Statistics Handbook 2010).

It is initially necessary to clarify the use of the construct 'mixed language' in this study as defining the songs. In the strictest sense, a 'mixed language' refers to a language arising out of a 'fossilization of code-switching [that has] the grammar of one language and the lexis of another (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 35; see also Bakker and Mous 1994; Bakker 1997; Matras and Bakker 2003; Mous 2003). However, reference to the notion in this study is to multilinguals' language mixing (which would typically be termed code-switching or code-mixing) in the context of the particular song genre under investigation. Indeed, as demonstrated in the study, the

mixing of languages in the context of the songs in a sense reflects a kind of fossilisation of the language mixes, owing to the unique musical environment in which they are positioned; the difference is that the mixing is the consequence of active multilingualism by the songs' artists and audience. Widespread multilingualism is a defining feature of Sri Lanka's linguistic profile; 98+LSLPS represents a manifestation of this at the level of popular culture.

Overall, this thesis is organised into ten chapters (including the present chapter) and four appendices. Accordingly, chapter 2 provides an overview of English, Sinhala and multilingualism in Sri Lanka to facilitate an understanding of the wider linguistic context of 98+LSLPS, its artists and principal audience. Chapter 3 begins with an outline of Sri Lanka's musical development and environment to give the reader a sense of the musical background underlying the evolution and development of 98+LSLPS. It then introduces 98+LSLPS detailing its defining features and explaining the reason for terming the genre 'Post 1998 leading Sri Lankan Popular Song'. The rest of the chapter provides an overview of research relating to language mixing in music, in particular 20th and 21st century music.

A detailed description of the artists and principal audience and the relationship between them is provided in chapter 4. Wenger's (1998) proto-type 'Communities of Practice' (i.e. CofP) model, typically used to describe small closely located groups of individuals is employed for this purpose: the artists and principal audience of 98+LSLPS are shown to resemble a CofP despite constituting over 5.5 million individuals. The reasons for adapting Wenger's proto-type are also explained in the chapter. An important aspect of chapter 4 is the presentation of a portrait of how 98+LSLPS is regarded by its CofP. Notwithstanding the songs' defining mixed language lyrics, the genre is assigned an identity that incorporates two seemingly paradoxical counterparts. Specifically, the songs are projected as being 'mixed' and simultaneously 'not-mixed'. In other words, the songs are seen to be considered as simultaneously mixed and not-mixed by the community in their negotiation of the genre which in simplistic terms involves primarily, the recursive communication (by artists) and reception (by the principal audience members) of the songs. The portrait

draws on a spectrum of sources ranging from semi-structured interviews with the 98+LSLPS artists and selected audience members, to exploring how the songs are projected in the media (e.g. radio networks, print and electronic media). Moreover, Wenger's (1998) CofP model includes two complementary components: the CofP's 'participation of their practice' and their 'reification' (i.e. their output which in 98+LSLPS are the songs). Chapter 4 represents an exploration of the former.

Chapter 5 introduces the 98+LSLPS song sample analysed in chapters 7, 8 and 9. They represent the leading songs of the genre between 1998 and 2009 and are part of a song sample consisting of two sets of eight and six songs respectively with each set selected according to a specific method, the latter set involving the evaluation of data relating to nearly 300 songs. The reason the songs are described in a separate chapter is because they form the basis of the analyses in chapters 7, 8 and 9 and are consequently the focus of the analytical framework developed in chapter 6.

Accordingly, chapter 6 introduces the new musico-linguistic analytical framework based on the notion of the musical rhythm derived line for analysing the songs. Crucially, the development of the framework corresponds to the attempt to explain the 98+LSLPS CofP's 'portrait' of 98+LSLPS at the level of 98+LSLPS lyric organisation. Consider the following.

L60 [(M) sangabodhi maligavedi ma]
 /sagəbo:ðɪ maligaveðɪ ma/
 (Fm) I see ya grooving to this]
Sangabodhi palace-the-in I
{Sangabodhi in the palace I}

L61 [(Fm) This is our histo-
 (F) histo-
 (M) daeka
 /ðakə /]
see-having
{having seen}

L62 [(Fm) -ry This is all about who we are
 (M) *pranehani venta baeta dem*
 pranehani ventə batə ðem /
 (Fm) Who we]
life-harm happen-to beat will
{(I) will beat (him) to (cause his) life harm}

L63 [(Fm) Are and its no mystery (M) *siri*
 /ʃri/
 (Fm) Myste-]
shri
{(Shri)}

The extract belongs to a famous 98+LSLPS song lyric, also part of the sample². Observe the mix of English and Sinhala at different levels in the extract. On the one hand, the extract when viewed in its entirety can be seen to contain both languages. Equally, we find the integration of languages within each line in the form of English and Sinhala lines occurring horizontally which means they are communicated simultaneously. However, as already stated, the 98+LSLPS CofP identify the songs as being both ‘mixed’ and ‘not-mixed’. For example, comments such as “most of the songs are mixed with both Sinhala and English” (Yashan De Silva: interview: 2009).and “as a mix of the west and Sinhala is how the songs are communicated” (CAC-3³: interview: 2009) portray the songs as heterogeneous. On the contrary, comments such as “there was a need for one language, one medium for everyone to feel comfortable and communicate” for a “unified product [with] no division” (Santhush Weeraman: interview: 2009) portray the songs as homogenous systems.

The challenge of trying to reconcile this portrait at the level of the song lyrics is particularly apparent in the obvious conflict between the ‘not-mixed’ counterpart of the portrait and the language mixing which characterises the song lyrics. Moreover, the comments of the CofP members about the songs feeding the portrait, concern the songs in their entirety as well as aspects of them: it is only by evaluating the salience of the portrait at the level of the songs’ lyrics that we can determine whether the

² Appendix 2 contains the complete lyric and full details about the conventions used for transcribing and translating the sample lyrics.

³ 98+LSLPS audience member: refer appendix 1 for details.

portrait is reflective of the CofP's linguistic identity. Chapter 6 also includes a brief discussion of linguistic perspectives/models used to analyse and understand mixed language phenomena. It too highlights the need for an alternative analytical framework in order to address audio data like 98+LSLPS.

Together, chapters 7, 8 and 9 represent a three part analysis of the 98+LSLPS sample in terms of the analytical framework advanced in chapter 6. Accordingly, though not explicitly stated in the chapters, the analyses can be seen to correspond to the exploration of the second component of the CofP model, the CofP's reification (Wenger: 1998). Overall, the dual (mixed and not-mixed) identity assigned to the songs by their CofP is found to be entirely congruent at the level of the songs' lyrics. Chapter 7 explores the songs in terms of grammar. Chapter 8 does so in terms of song theme. Moreover, chapter 8 concludes with a discussion about the relationship between 98+LSLPS lyrics and English and Sinhala language varieties in Sri Lanka. Chapter 9 applies the analytical framework to the sample in terms of an exploration of the relationship between the lyrics and musical structure. Generalisations regarding 98+LSLPS grammar, theme and its musical elements and the relationships between them are addressed in the course of the analyses in all three chapters.

Having established the relevance of the dual identity assigned to the songs by their CofP at the level of the songs' lyrics, the concluding chapter involves returning to the core objective of the thesis by interpreting the dual mixed and not-mixed identity in terms of the 98+LSLPS CofP's collective linguistic identity.

Chapter 2

Sinhala, English and multilingualism in Sri Lanka: An overview

“The dividing lines between languages, like those between dialects, are hidden in transitions. Just as dialects are only arbitrary subdivisions of the total surface of language, so the boundary which is supposed to separate two languages is only a conventional one” (De Saussure 1959: 204).

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the two core languages of 98+LSLPS lyrics, Sinhala and English. It includes a description of their development in and impact on Sri Lanka, the speakers of these languages in post independence Sri Lanka and the overall nature of and entailed analytical challenges posed by the (multilingual) linguistic output of these speakers. Accordingly, section 2.2 deals with Sinhala; 2.2.1 outlines its development, 2.2.2 describes its speakers while 2.2.3 provides a description of some core linguistic properties associated with the language with reference to the categories of vernacular and literary Sinhala according to which it is typically defined. Then 2.3 explains the development of English in Sri Lanka and speakers; 2.3.1 provides a description of the linguistic properties attributed to the standard variety of English spoken in Sri Lanka. Section 2.4 engages in a discussion about the linguistic output of the speakers of these languages and entailed analytical challenges focusing especially on a recent study on English-Sinhala language mixing in Sri Lanka. A conclusion and summary of the chapter follow in section 2.5.

2.2 Sinhala

2.2.1 Its development

The Sinhala language is native to Sri Lanka and is an L1 if not L2⁴ to over 80% of Sri Lanka’s gross national population of over 20 million and as such, is the country’s dominant language (Department of Census and Statistics, Sri Lanka-Census year

⁴ L1 = first language. L2 = second language.

2001; see also, K. N. O. Dharmadasa 2007; Goonesekera 2005: 19; The Government of Sri Lanka: website; see also De Silva 1979). Tamil, Malay, Arabic and English are among the other languages of Sri Lanka coexisting with Sinhala. The dominance of Sinhala in contemporary Sri Lanka is obvious in the fact that it is the principal language of the country's audio-visual, audio and print media (see Senaratne 2009: 33).

The evolution of Sinhala corresponds to Sri Lanka's long standing involvement in the region since ancient times as a member of the 'East-West' trading negotiations concerning the sale of spices, pearls and elephants. This history gave rise to diverse linguistically defined ethnic communities who collectively comprise the country's population. The country's main ethnic communities are the Sinhala community (comprising over 80% of its population) for whom Sinhala is an L1 or L2, Tamils for whom Tamil is an L1 or L2, Muslims (7% of the country's population) consisting of two sub-groups, the Moors and Malays with Arabic and Malay functioning as an L1 or L2 to each sub-group respectively, and the Burghers (constituting 1% of the population) for whom English is an L1 or L2. Tamil is the L1 of the second largest ethnic group in Sri Lanka (Department of Census and Statistics; Goonesekera 2005: 19; The Government of Sri Lanka: website-the constitution of Sri Lanka)⁵. Today, Sinhala and Tamil are Sri Lanka's official languages while English occupies the constitutional status of a 'link' language⁶.

Having evolved in relative isolation owing to its island location, Sinhala tradition associates the advent of Sinhala in Sri Lanka with the final passing away of the

⁵ The introduction of Tamil to Sri Lanka owes to the arrival of the Dravidians to the Island. 177 B.C. is cited as the year in which Anuradhapura, the then capital of the country came to be ruled by two South Indians for twenty years followed by another, *Elara* ten years on, who, according to the religious-historical chronicle the *Mahavamsa*, held power for over forty years. So by the 3rd century B.C, the influence of the Dravidians on Sri Lanka was particularly marked (De Silva 1988). The Burgher community evolved as the consequence of intermarriages between Sri Lankans and members of the Portuguese Dutch and British communities who inhabited the island during the periods when it was under occupation by the Portuguese, Dutch and British.

⁶ Although accorded 'official' status in the North and East of the country under the 'special provisions' act of 1958, it was not until 1972 that Tamil was afforded constitutional provision albeit as a 'national' language of the country and it was only in 1987 that Tamil was granted equal status and declared an 'official' and 'national' language along side Sinhala.

Buddha (*parinibbana*) around 544-543 B.C. Some scholars agree that this could be a plausible dating owing to the existence of old Sinhala inscriptions belonging to the second and third centuries B.C (Gair 1998: 3; see also Adikaram 1946; De Silva 2005; De Silva 1997). The proto-type form of Sinhala is referred to as the *Elu/Hela-basava* ('Hela'-Language)⁷ (See also Gair 1998: 218). The precise origins of the language, however, remain debated among scholars since the language possesses linguistic characteristics that on the one hand suggest influence from Northern Indian Indo-Aryan languages while others are suggestive of contact with Southern Indian Dravidian languages, in particular Tamil-Malayalam⁸, the monolithic linguistic form that existed prior to its separation as Tamil and Malayalam which are today recognised as separate languages. Some notable pre-sixteenth century influences on Sinhala include the North Indian Sanskrit and Pali languages. Pali, the most researched descendent of Prakrit (a term used to denote ancient Indian vernacular languages) was the language of the Theravada Buddhist scriptures introduced to Sri Lanka along with Jainism and the Brahmi inscriptions.

Moreover, Buddhism played an influential role in the development of Sinhala and the two remain inextricably linked: Sinhala is the linguistic core of Buddhist practice in Sri Lanka (Adikaram 1946; Paranavithane 1967; Walpola Thero 1966). Consequently, a plethora of Pali (including Sanskrit) terms made their way into Sinhala reflected in the various Sinhala repertoires used for formal educational, administrative and in particular religious purposes. Furthermore, the earliest writings of the Sinhala people were in Pali (De Silva 2005; see also Ludowyke 1956: 91; Scott 1994). It has also been suggested that Sinhala might have been influenced by the now nearly extinct non-Dravidian language/s (now classified as Sinhala dialects) spoken by the aboriginal community, (the *Veddhas*), who inhabited Sri Lanka prior to the evolution of the Sinhala language (Gair 1998: 4; see also Dissanayake 1976: 19).

⁷ Nationalist discourse relating to language norms has often tended to ascribe an elevated status to this form as representing the 'pure' and hence authentic form of Sinhala.

⁸ The areas of similarity include the lexicon, phonology, morphology and syntax (Gair 1998: 4-12; see also Karunatilake 1974; Silva 1961).

Subsequent influences on Sinhala have included Malay, Tamil, Portuguese⁹, Dutch¹⁰, and English. Tamil made a notable contribution to the expansion of the Sinhala vocabulary (Karunatilake 1974; see also Gair 1998: 5 for examples and De Silva 1967) while Geiger (1938) suggests that Tamil also influenced Sinhala phonology, morphology and syntax. The exposure of Sinhala to Portuguese, Dutch and English followed the country's successive colonisation by the Portuguese, Dutch and British between 1505 and 1948 (Rogers 1994, 2004). Unlike the Dutch and Portuguese languages whose influence on Sinhala waned after the settlers left the Island, English continued to influence Sinhala after Sri Lanka gained independence from the British in 1948 and remains the dominant linguistic influence on Sinhala in contemporary Sri Lanka.

A key factor that contributed to the persistence of English influence on (Sinhala) across the threshold of the country gaining independence was its status as the country's official language between 1796 and 1956. Specifically, the British declared English the official language of the country (then Ceylon) in 1796 (the year when the country came under British colonisation): the language retained this status until 1956 when the Official Languages Act No33. (also known as the 'Sinhala Only Act') declared Sinhala the sole official language of Sri Lanka (The Government of Sri Lanka, constitution¹¹). The socio-cultural economic and political influence English exerted as a consequence of its constitutional status severely undermined the status of Sinhala. However, as explained in section 2.3, the displacement of English in 1956 did not prevent it from continuing to occupy the status of a dominant language of Sri Lanka's linguistic fabric and influence on the development of Sinhala.

Importantly, the legislation of Sinhala as the official language of Sri Lanka in 1956 was analogous to consummating Sinhala as the linguistic core of Sri Lankan society and culture (Dissanayake 1976: 33). The legislation was therefore, an explicit act of

⁹ For research on the linguistic and other influences of Portuguese on Sri Lanka refer De Silva (1972), Gunasekera (1891: 368-75) and Winius (1971; see also Strathern 2006).

¹⁰ For research on the linguistic and other influences of Dutch on Sri Lanka see Gunasekera (1891: 375-378), Hart (1974) and Sannasgala (1976).

¹¹ The Official Languages Department of Sri Lanka is the only authority vested with the power to implement policies pertaining to language in the country.

opposition to the dominance of English in the administrative and educational sectors of the country and the adoption of English as an L1 by a minority of Sri Lankans, referred to as the ‘Ceylonese elite’ and described in section 2.3 (Wickramasuriya 1976: 17; see also De Silva 1997). A nationalist ‘Sinhala-Buddhist’ socio-cultural revival during the second half of the nineteenth century was among the earliest and most notable consequences of the legislation (Dharmadasa 2000: 148).

2.2.1 The speakers of the Sinhala language

It has already been stated that the Sinhala ethnic community include the dominant speakers of the Sinhala language. More specifically the vast majority of habitual/L1 speakers of Sinhala belong to the Sinhala ethnic community while nearly all individuals of Sinhala ethnicity, certainly those resident in Sri Lanka, will have some knowledge of the language¹² (De Silva 2005; De Silva 1979; De Silva 1997; Paranavithane 1967; Spencer 1990). Of course, it would be wrong to assume that all speakers of Sinhala are of Sinhala ethnicity. Many members of Sri Lanka’s ‘non-Sinhala’ ethnic communities also possess knowledge of Sinhala using it regularly for both domestic and instrumental purposes. However, the vast majority of speakers of Sinhala as an L1 are of Sinhala ethnicity. The community are dispersed across the country. However, most individuals of Sinhala ethnicity reside in the southern part of the country with urbanised areas containing a particularly high concentration of individuals of Sinhala ethnicity (Department of Census and Statistics, Sri Lanka – Census year 2001).

Crucially, the association between the Sinhala language and individuals classified as being of Sinhala ethnicity is important: the Sinhala language is regarded as the linguistic core of the Sinhala ethnic community (Senaratne 2009: 70-73; see also Bandaranayake 1986; De Silva 1988; Dharmadasa 1992; Duncan 1990; Gunawardane 1990; Holt 1991; Jeganathan 1985; Kemper 1991; Malalgoda 1970; Nissan and Stirrat 1990; Rajasingham-Senanayake 1999; Roberts 1993, 1994, 1996,

¹² This was not always the case. Roberts, for example, claims that there were families who considered themselves of Sinhala ethnicity but who spoke Tamil at home in early-to mid 20th century Sri Lanka (Lanka-library: website; see also Gair 1998: 214).

1997, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003; Spencer 1990). Indeed Fasold (1984) explains that it is usual for language to be congruent with ethnic identity.

2.2.3 Some structural features of contemporary Sinhala

Traditional descriptions of Sinhala have tended to classify it as diglossic (Ferguson: 1959), including vernacular/spoken styles on the one hand and written/literary/formal styles on the other (Cardona and Jain 2003; Dharmadasa 2000; Gair 1998: 13, 213-214, 220-221, 305; Herath 2006; Premawardhena 2003). For example, the dominance of Pali and Sanskrit is regarded as typical of literary Sinhala. Therefore, Buddhist religious practice and discourse are particularly noted as reflecting literary Sinhala. More specifically, it was stated in 2.2.1 that Pali and Sanskrit influenced the development of Sinhala owing to their association with Buddhism (see also Malalgoda 1970; Scott 1994). Consequently, Pali and Sanskrit terms have tended to substitute for colloquial equivalents in specific Buddhist religious formal contexts¹³.

Sinhala is left-branching and its default word order is SOV. However, SVO OVS and OSV organisations are equally permissible occurring in both literary and vernacular Sinhala (see Gair 1998: 127) though most prevalent in the vernacular. These syntactic traits of Sinhala correspond to its complex derivational and inflectional system comprising mostly suffixes: both literary and spoken Sinhala distinguish a number of cases (Gair 1998: 13-43)¹⁴. Examples [1] to [6] represent all the subject, object and verb combinations occurring in contemporary Sinhala.

[1] *mama gedere giya* ‘I home went’ – SOV

[2] *mama giya gedera* ‘I went home’ – SVO

[3] *gedere mama giya* ‘home I went’ – OSV

[4] *gedera giya mama* ‘home went I’ – OVS

[5] *giya mama gedera* ‘went I home’ – VSO

¹³ For research on vernacular Sinhala refer Gair (1998), Karunatilake (1998), Paolillo (1987) and Fairbanks, Gair and De Silva (1994, 2001). For literary Sinhala including samples, a glossary and grammatical analyses of the form see Gair and Karunatilake (1976).

¹⁴ For details about Sinhala morpho-syntax refer Dharmadasa (1967), De Silva (1967), Dissanayake (1991), Karunatilake (1969, 2001), Sannasgala (1976), Silva (1961) and Weerakoon (1982, 1988).

[6] *giya gedera mama* ‘went home I’ - VOS

The language’s amenability for varied word order is complemented by the fact that it is a super pro-drop language, a feature particularly apparent in the vernacular form (Gair 1998: 127) and illustrated by the empty pronominal in the exchange between A and B in [7]:

[7] A: *ave nethe?*

Trans: didn’t came?’

B: *ou ava*

Trans.¹⁵: yes came

Importantly, notwithstanding the association of Sinhala with two core forms, there exist indications particularly at the lexical level of contemporary (post independence) Sinhala that the division between the two categories may not be as stark. For example, the third person singular pronouns *hetheme* (he) and *othomo* (she) represent a set of pronouns classed as literary pronouns ‘learnt’ as differentiated from ‘acquired’ forms. *Eya* (s/he) the third person singular pronoun and de-gendered equivalent typically serves as the quotidian spoken (and hence ‘acquired’) form (see also Gair 1998: 216). Yet *eya* can and does also occur in written Sinhala. Likewise, Sinhala verbs also inhabit multiple identities in both forms. For example, the inflected verbal correlates of the verb look, *balami* and *balamu* corresponding to the first person singular and plural pronouns *mama* ‘I’ and *api* ‘we’ respectively are normally associated with literary Sinhala. However, the forms command salience in both written *and* spoken contexts. The Sinhala vernacular equivalent is *balanawa* (Gair 1998: 216). Importantly, neither of the verb forms associated with literary and vernacular Sinhala can be considered exclusive to them. Furthermore, Pali and Sanskrit elements (associated with literary Sinhala) can be found in both vernacular and literary Sinhala. As will be explained in chapter 8, 98+LSLPS demonstrates a blurring of the diglossic spoken and written counterparts according to which Sinhala is typically classified.

¹⁵ Trans. is an abbreviation for translation.

What follows are brief descriptions of some of the key morpho-syntactic features corresponding to the primary Sinhala word classes found in 98+LSLPS. Some of the features are directly connected to the integration of English with Sinhala. As will become evident in the analyses of the songs in chapters 7, 8 and 9, examples of the word classes in 98+LSLPS differ from how they appear in the following discussions owing to the musico-linguistic framework through which 98+LSLPS lyrics are shown to be organised.

Nouns

Sinhala nouns inflect for case and are an open class. Broadly, as listed below, seven cases can be identified for Sinhala nouns although some scholars exclude the locative case from this category (see Gair 1998: 13-24).

DIRECT	<i>putuwa</i> ‘(the) chair’	<i>lamaya</i> ‘(the) child’
DATIVE	<i>putuwate</i>	<i>lamayate</i>
GENITIVE	<i>putuwage</i>	<i>lamayage</i>
INSTRUMENTAL	<i>putuwen</i>	<i>lamayagen</i>
	<i>putuwathin</i>	<i>lamayathin</i> ¹⁶
ACCUSATIVE	-----	<i>lamayawe</i>
VOCATIVE	-----	<i>lamayo</i>
LOCATIVE	<i>putuwele</i>	-----

The accusative, instrumental and locative cases only occur with a comparatively limited set of substantives while the rest are common to nearly all substantives.

Verbs

Sinhala includes twenty-five verb forms deriving from aspects of past and non-past tense, themselves structured around verb stems consisting of both roots and roots with derivational affixes (Gair 1998:17-18). According to traditional classifications,

¹⁶The underlined forms *wathin* and *yathin* represent phonological assimilation following the integration of *putuwe* and *lamaya* with *athin*.

Sinhala vernacular verbs are not required to exhibit subject verb agreement whereas literary verbs are expected to do so. In other words, Sinhala vernacular verbs are not marked for person, number or gender. Instead a single suffix accompanies Sinhala vernacular verb roots (refer Dissanayake 1976: 9 for examples)¹⁷.

There also exists a highly productive class of verbal nominals involving the conjunction of the suffix *eke* (which represents both the inanimate numeral ‘one’ and the definite article ‘the’) with verbs: *karana-eke* ‘the (act of) doing’, *kana-eke* ‘the (act of) eating’ are two examples. The suffix also plays a leading role in assimilating English inanimate nouns into Sinhala. As shown in [9a] and [9b] the suffix *eke* serves as a definite article ‘the’ to mark an English noun as a singular inanimate noun while its variant *ekak* serves as the indefinite counterpart.

[9]

a *car-eke*

Trans: the car

b *car - ekak*

Trans: a car

Sinhala phrasal verbs (a form which may be optionally verbal followed by a verb stem containing the main inflection) also feature in contexts of English occurring in Sinhala clauses. [10a] presents an example of a Sinhala phrasal verb involving a Sinhala verb (earn) and the Sinhala progressive participle *karanava* (doing) (Gair 1998: 19): [10b] presents an example of the same progressive participle occurring with the English verb ‘slice’.

¹⁷ The language also contains conditional verbs, a restricted set of quasi-verbs with the number of verb forms ranging between four and six (Gair 1998: 16). Conditional verbs are formed through the conjunction of tensed verbs with the suffix *-th* (or *-eth* depending on the phonological environment of the verbal stem that attaches to the suffix).

[10]

a *hamba karanava* (indeterminate stem + PROG-participle)

Trans: earning

b *slice-karanava*

Trans: slicing

Note that section 2.4 explores the sociolinguistic implications of such English and Sinhala assimilation.

Postpositional particles

Postpositional and substantive particles comprise the two forms of postpositional particles found in Sinhala. The former is made of particles that combine with substantives to form postpositional phrases; they do not by themselves inflect for case: e.g. *thamai* ‘is’ as in *eke thamai prashne* ‘that is the problem’ (see Gair for other examples 1998: 22). Substantive particles inflect for case and govern the case of the particular phrase they create upon conjunction with a substantive (Gair 1998: 22). [11a] and [11b] containing the base and inflected forms of the particle *uda* (above) respectively illustrate this:

[11]

a *lamayava uda thibba* – ‘the child above placed’

b *lamayava udin thibba* – ‘the child on above placed’.

Furthermore, Sinhala also includes particles which function as focus forms, as the focus of a focused clause, or following either a verb or non-focused clause. The interrogative *da* /də/ reportative *lu* /lu/ particles and a few emphatics are among notable examples. These in particular, occur regularly in Sinhala mixed language clauses (Senaratne 2009; see also Gair 1998: 53).

Adjectives

Sinhala adjectives manifest in a number of ways, the merging of roots with selected post-position particles being one way. *Math* and *vath* are two semantically similar suffix counterparts which occur regularly: for example the adjective *ushnawath* ‘hot’ involves the merging of the noun root *ushna* with the suffix *wath* while the adjective *vashpamath* ‘steamy’ involves the merging of the noun root *vashpa* ‘steam’ with the suffix *math*. The deletion of particles in substantives (e.g. the adjective *rasne* ‘hot’ derived from the deletion of the particle *ye* from the noun *rasneye* ‘heat’) is another way in which Sinhala adjectives are formed. There are also a few uninflected forms which represent dual adjectival and (predominantly plural) substantive status (e.g. *pol* as plural noun ‘coconuts’ and as adjective ‘coconut’ as in *pol piti*-‘coconut flour’).

Adverbials and adverbs

Particularly differentiated on the basis of instrumental and dative case representations Sinhala adverbials are a robust class derived through the inflection of both substantive and adjectival counterpart forms (Gair 1998: 44; Reynolds 1995: 134). [12a] and [12b] contain clauses with adverbials representing the instrumental and dative cases respectively.

[12]

a *mang eke auwen pichchuwa*

I that sun-by (deliberate use of by ‘I’) burnt

Trans: ‘I burnt it **by aid of the sun**’

b *mang auvate pichchuna*

I sun – by (‘I’ as recipient of) burnt

Trans: ‘I was burnt **by the sun** (The sun burnt me)

Sinhala adverbs are a restricted class exclusive to complementing either predicates or clauses in their entirety, *yantan* ‘barely’ and *nitere* ‘often’ being two examples (see also Gair 1998: 22, 40-41, 97; Reynolds 1995: 134-144).

Demonstratives

Sinhala has a unique four-way deictic system consisting of four primary demonstrative roots: *me* ‘this’ (1st proximal), *oye* ‘this’-further way (2nd proximal), *ara* ‘that’ (distal) and *e* ‘that’-furthest (anaphoric) which substitute for nouns and noun phrases and inflect for gender. The first proximal (‘this’) inflects for four forms of the demonstrative pronoun (Gair 1998: 23). The remaining three inflect for fewer forms as illustrated by the three forms comprising the anaphoric demonstrative *e* ‘that’ (referring to a temporal and/or spatially distant context) in [13]¹⁸.

[13]

- a. *eke* ‘that one /it’ – inanimate (e.g. *eke giya* ‘It left’)
- b. *eka* ‘It – non-human male or a derogatory male human (e.g. *eka giya* ‘It/He left’)
- c. *eki* ‘It- non-human female or a derogatory female human (e.g. *eki giya* ‘It/She left’)

Pronouns

Sinhala contains specific first and second person pronouns while third person pronouns are based on the demonstrative pronouns discussed previously. All three categories inflect for number while second and third person pronouns also inflect for gender. A number of alternatives are available in all three categories corresponding to a complex network of differing levels of formality. Not only is there significant semantic variability in associated levels of formality between these alternatives in each category but the variability, a salient feature of ‘vernacular’ Sinhala, extends to literary Sinhala as well. Moreover, Sinhala pronouns are grammatically optional as

¹⁸ (13b) and (13c) are often used to refer to individuals in a derogatory sense in both vernacular and literary Sinhala.

especially evident in the vernacular. This corresponds to the previously stated fact that Sinhala is a pro-drop language, a feature especially apparent in its vernacular.

2.3 The development of English in Sri Lanka and Sri Lankan English/es; an overview

As stated previously, the English language was introduced to Sri Lanka, then 'Ceylon', by the British (who succeeded the Dutch) in 1796 as the colonial rulers of the Island. English was made the country's only official language in the same year and although the country was granted independence in 1948, English remained its official language until 1956. The British 'vision' was both 'commercial' and 'civil' and therefore, involved developing a system that integrated both these aspects unlike the specifically commercial motivations of the previous European occupants of the Island, the Portuguese (1505-1658) and Dutch (1658-1796) ¹⁹. English played a decisive role in this enterprise. Sri Lankans recruited in to the new bureaucracy established by the British were required to have knowledge of English which meant that English became the language of the country's administrative spheres and linguistic core of a new social structure. Dutch, the language of the colonisers preceding the British, and the vernaculars, Sinhala and Tamil were displaced (C. Fernando 1976; Goonesekera 2005). English was also made the sole language of instruction in most (urbanized) schools and remained so until 1956 (Goonesekera 2005: 16; Raheem: 2005). Consequently, English became a means of social mobility within this newly evolving social structure (see also Goonesekera 2005; Kandiah 1984, 1991; Parakrama 1995; Rogers 1994, 2004).

These developments gave rise to a Sri Lankan middle class 'elite' community comprising members from most of the ethnic groups and castes and defined exclusively in terms of their adoption of English for domestic and instrumental purposes. The adoption of English as a virtual 'mother-tongue' by this group can be

¹⁹ Notwithstanding the dominantly 'commercial' interests of the Portuguese and Dutch colonizers, a number of lexical items did enter the vernacular languages, some of which were also subsequently appropriated into the localised variety of Standard English spoken by Sri Lankans. Certain historical accounts (see Tennant: 1850) attest to the prevalence of (Portuguese and Sinhala/Tamil) bilingualism among Sri Lankans in some of the Maritime Provinces during the period of Portuguese occupation.

said to represent the genesis of ‘Standard Sri Lankan or ‘Lankan’ English (Canagarajah 2005a: 422; S. Fernando 1985: 42; Kachru 1986: 41; Kandiah 1984; Meyler 2007: xi), the form regarded as the standard form of localised English in Sri Lanka, henceforth SSLE. However, notwithstanding their adoption of English as a first language, members of this community did and continue to possess knowledge of one or more of the vernacular languages (C. Fernando: 1976).

The subsequent institution of Sinhala as the official language of Sri Lanka in 1956, had an important impact on both the development of English in Sri Lanka and Sri Lankans’ attitudes towards it. On the one hand, English continued to occupy a central place as a *de facto* official language in senior administrative domains of the nation’s state sector. Today, it is a lingua franca of the private sector (Senaratne 2009: 12) and the principal medium of instruction in education at tertiary level: English is the principal medium of instruction of most degree courses in Sri Lankan universities (Raheem 2005 see also Herath: 2006). Consequently, the denationalisation of English did little to reduce its overall status as an important tool of communication capable of promoting upward social mobility.

On the other hand, however, the establishment of Sinhala as the only official language of Sri Lanka meant that English was no longer the medium of instruction in local schools notwithstanding the continuing status of English as an important language in Sri Lanka. Instead, English came to be offered as just one subject especially in state owned schools (Senaratne 2009: 37). The abolition of the English medium in school education was followed by a decrease in teachers qualified to teach subjects in the English medium as well as teach the English language. English, therefore, become increasingly inaccessible to the vast majority of Sri Lankans. The consequence was the emergence of a new generation of Sri Lankans for whom English was at best an L2.

Importantly, the inaccessibility of English coupled with its continuing status as a language of empowerment made it an even more enviable commodity for most Sri Lankans. For individuals of Sinhala ethnicity, this led to the growth of resentment on

the part of speakers of Sinhala as an L1 towards Sri Lankans for whom English was an L1 and who were regarded as ‘privileged’ by virtue of their knowledge of English (Goonesekera 2005; Passé 1948; Senaratne 2009)²⁰. These developments paralleled the widening of the already existing socio-economic and cultural gulf between habitual speakers of English and L1 speakers of the vernacular languages: the former became an alienated group despite remaining powerful societally (Senaratne 2009: 36-37). Kandiah (1984) advances a cogent argument of this conflict in his analysis of the notion of the *kaduva*, the Sinhala term for sword which came (and continues) to be used as metaphor for the double-edged power wielded by Sri Lankan L1 speakers of English: English as a source of simultaneous empowerment and alienation.

However, the attitude of speakers of Sinhala as an L1 towards English appears to have been changing in recent times with their former hostility giving way to a more affective orientation. More specifically, the majority appear to want to acquire English and even indigenise it. Representing over 80% of the country’s total population, this attitudinal shift of the Sinhala ethnic community can be considered representative of the dominant attitude of Sri Lankans towards English in contemporary Sri Lanka. The change of attitude is not unrelated to the prevailing prestigious status of English as an international lingua franca (see also Kachru 1986: 1). The fact that Sri Lankans who have a good command of English enjoy a clear advantage over those who do not in obtaining employment in the country illustrates the prestige and perceived importance of English in contemporary Sri Lanka. As will become clear in later chapters, 98+LSLPS fully complements the observation that English is no longer regarded with the hostility that it was formerly.

The current demand for and growth in privately owned English language teaching centres also reflects individuals’ recognition of the importance of English for purposes of self advancement in contemporary Sri Lanka (see also Kandiah 1987). Moreover, next to Sinhala, English is a dominant language of local print and electronic media such as the radio, television, newspapers and magazines.

²⁰ The impact of these linguistic developments on the other minority communities is not addressed in this discussion since the focus of this thesis pertains to Sri Lankans of Sinhala ethnicity.

Importantly, these including the internet constitute the leading informal avenues through which the vast majority of Sri Lankans gain access to and acquire English. Moreover, the fact that the vast majority of Sri Lankans who wish to acquire English are compelled to fall back on the services of privately owned English language teaching centres and other informal avenues are testimony to the tragic inability of the country's mainstream education system to meet the challenge of teaching English.

Nevertheless there have been some significant national language policy initiatives in recent times to promote English language skills in Sri Lanka. Moreover, they demonstrate the importance being given to English at the highest levels of governance. Most notable among these initiatives was the re-introduction of an 'English medium' stream in all public schools in 2003 giving students the choice of undertaking their education in either English, Sinhala/Tamil or a combination of these languages (Sri Lanka Government Website-circular No.18). The expected outcomes of these initiatives, however, are yet to be seen. According to the national census figures of 2005 (Department of Census and Statistics, Sri Lanka), only 362²¹ of a total of 9727 government/public schools were reported as currently offering students the option of an English medium²² education. Furthermore, the census also revealed that the number of students enrolled and studying in the English medium in *any* grade was under 1% of the total student population in Sri Lankan public sector schools²³. These realities may owe in part to the fact that the introduction of the English medium into public schools remains as yet a relatively new initiative. However, the situation is also a consequence of the severe dearth of teachers qualified to teach subjects in English (let alone English as a subject) in Sri Lankan public sector schools (see also Canagarajah 1999, 2005b).

²¹ 249 schools were reported to include a Sinhala and English medium; 86 were reported to include a Tamil and English medium while 27 were reported to include a Sinhala, Tamil and an English medium.

²² In order to be deemed eligible to be classed as 'possessing an English medium stream', schools were expected to demonstrate that they were able to offer three or more subjects for at least one grade/school year in English.

²³ 33,795 students of a total number of 3,942,412 were recorded as studying in the English medium. See also Canagarajah (2005) for details about English language planning issues in Sri Lanka.

The problem is compounded by the fact that most teachers qualified to teach in English tend to be concentrated in the country's leading urban cities (i.e. Colombo and Kandy) and there too the best teachers tend to be confined to the small collective of more prestigious state and privately owned schools, higher pay being the draw of the latter²⁴. Consequently, not only do children attending these schools tend to be from more affluent backgrounds but wield an educational advantage. A highly competitive national level annual scholarship examination organised by the country's Ministry of Education for 5th grade students (mostly twelve year olds) is the main pathway through which students gain access to higher classes in state run schools. Consequently, the prestigious state run schools located in the urban cities attract the students gaining the highest marks: this consolidates the schools' reputation as the country's leading state run schools. However, the selection system does tend to ensure that the country's leading state run schools include students from more varying socio-economic backgrounds compared to their privately run counterparts.

Crucially, the majority of the Sri Lankan population, habitual speakers of the vernacular languages (the majority being speakers of Sinhala as an L1), remain the most disadvantaged when it comes to acquiring English in contemporary Sri Lanka. As a result, they are also the most economically challenged Sri Lankans. Their acquisition of the language occurs primarily through the informal avenues listed earlier. Consequently, these individuals continue to find themselves at the lower-end of a veiled English language based class system. Individuals who regard themselves as L1 speakers of SSLE in contemporary Sri Lanka are those who have either grown up with the language or have had the privilege of being educated in the leading private or public sector schools referred to earlier. Not surprisingly, therefore, speakers of SSLE remain a minority. Perhaps the most notable consequence of the widespread and expanding usage of English by the majority of Sri Lankans coupled with the unconventional methods of their English acquisition has been the evolution of various localised forms of English usage. Some research do refer to their presence

²⁴ 85 private schools were identified of which 31 (catering to 56,947 students) are located in Colombo (Department of Census and Statistics, Sri Lanka 2005). In total the 85 schools were recorded as providing services to just fewer than 106,000 at the time the study was conducted.

but as yet, there exists no rigorous linguistic analyses of these forms (see for example, Parakrama 1995; Goonesekera 2005).

The growth of such diverse manifestations of English usage corresponds to the growing opacity about the precise grammatical composition and identity of 'Sri Lankan' English particularly in relation to its standardised counterpart, SSLE, associated with the previously described Sri Lankan minority community and which until recently was regarded as analogous to Sri Lankan English. An example of this is found in Senaratne's (2009: 54) definition of Standard and non Standard SLE. She states that SSLE is modelled on British English (BE) while non-standard forms of SLE reflect Sinhala and Tamil, a representation which differs from the way in which SSLE has been defined by researchers such as Kandiah (1981, 1984, 1987, 1991,1994)²⁵. Senaratne's (2009: 54) view does, however, appear to reinforce the results of a recent survey (Goonesekera 2005: 39-42) conducted in Sri Lanka in order to assess language attitudes. Nearly 51% of habitual speakers of English resident in Sri Lanka's capital Colombo, specifically those considered to be part of the minority of standard Sri Lankan English speakers, claimed that they speak 'British' English.

Furthermore, a more recent sociological trend in Sri Lanka has been the tendency of affluent Sri Lankans (who include some habitual speakers of English) to send their children to English speaking countries (e.g. USA, UK, and Australia) for tertiary level education. Naturally, the linguistic repertoire of the returning Sri Lankans often reflects the influence the various English varieties spoken in the countries of their study have had on them. This, in turn, has also influenced the development of English locally. The spectrum of accents of the young presenters of privately owned English radio networks evocative of American and British English varieties is an example. Therefore, the definitions of researchers like Senaratne (2009) are not entirely unexpected nor are the views of the 51% of the individuals interviewed for the afore-mentioned study surprising. Another reason for researchers' varying

²⁵ Critics such as Dasgupta (1993: 135) comment on the underlying problematic of pivoting analyses of so called 'peripheral Englishes' on the norms of Englishes deriving from the 'centre' circle as defined in Kachru's model of World Englishes (1985; see also Mufwene 1994; Pennycook 2003: 519.520).

definitions of English output by Sri Lankans seems to be either the absence of clear criteria or conflicting criteria used to distinguish the Sri Lankan habitual speaker of English from the Sri Lankan speaker of English as an L2. For example, Herath (2006) defines ‘habitual’ speakers of English (in other words speakers of SSLE) as individuals who have a “fairly high level of fluency in the language but who do not use English as a first language in the home” claiming that this definition additionally incorporates L2 speakers of the language” (69)²⁶.

What these conflicting projections portend is the need for research focusing on comparative evaluations of the linguistic (grammatical and sociolinguistic) properties of Sri Lankan English usage variously labelled as SSLE and non-standard SLEs. As yet, however, most research on English in Sri Lanka has focused on the older ‘standard’ form of SLE. For example, the primary focus of Kandiah one of the leading contributors to linguistic scholarship on English in Sri Lanka (1981, 1984, 1987, 1991, 1994) has been on SSLE or what he terms ‘Lankan English’ (see also S. Fernando 1985).

What follows is a brief description of some linguistic features associated with SSLE. As will become evident in later chapters, the relevance of the description owes to the fact that English is one of the two languages which source the language of 98+LSLPS and fact that the kind of English found in 98+LSLPS differs from SSLE and yet in its domain of 98+LSLPS is an ‘L1’ to its community of artists and principal audience.

2.3.1 Standard Sri Lankan English (SSLE) – some attributed linguistic features

Linguistic features advanced in support of the view that SSLE is an ‘institutionalised new variety’ (Kandiah 1987: 31)²⁷ are congruent with the view that it is the

²⁶ The debate about the identity of Sri Lankan English, whether or not it comprises sub forms, is not restricted to academic circles but is widely debated in the context of Sri Lankan socio-political discourse itself straddled within wider discourse relating to aspects of national identity.

²⁷ See also Kandiah (1981, 1987, 1991, 1994) for detailed analyses of SSLE.

consequence of interaction between an ‘original’ standard BE model and the country’s indigenous, in particular Sinhala and Tamil languages, over the course of the adoption and subsequent indigenisation of English by Sri Lankans (see also Kandiah 1987: 61)²⁸. Semantic ‘transfer’ is among the contexts referenced to highlight the indigenous roots attributed to SSLE. The following are some examples²⁹.

The use of ‘no’ as a yes-no tag.

[14] Manel is going to come no? (Manel is going to come isn’t she?)

The use of ‘no’ as an operator that affirms/ asserts or invites assent to the truth of a proposition (Kandiah 1981).

[15] She couldn’t have been in Colombo. She was here no.

‘Here’ used in order to secure the attention of the addressee.

[16] Here, where is that shop?

‘There’ used to draw the addressee’s attention to the fact that the proposition is an announcement, often of a novel nature.

[17] There, the Perera’s are planning to sell their car.

Similarly the following are examples of features argued to have no equivalent counterparts in any of the languages which have influenced the development of SSLE and therefore presented in support of the view that SSLE is a unique self-contained language variety.

²⁸ The influence of Sinhala on English in Sri Lanka appears more pronounced than that of Tamil: unsurprising considering that Sinhala is the L1 of the majority of Sri Lanka’s population, individuals of Sinhala ethnicity.

²⁹ Rhythmic, intonational and stress patterns play a crucial role in nuancing the various meanings of these expressions.

‘My’ implying a rather mild sense of wonder.

[18] My, I never thought a packet of rice could be so expensive.

The non-interrogative tag element ‘will you’ attaching to an imperative sentence and functioning as a way of coercing the addressee to assent to the request being made.

[19] Go and collect the parcels, will you, without complaining all the time.

Kandiah (1981: 95) argues that even though clauses like [19] evoke a degree of functional resemblance to the Sinhala bound element *-ko*, they remain distinct and cannot be considered translations of this Sinhala element.

‘Will you’ (Kandiah 1981) attaching to a pledge and in so doing evoking a sense of reassurance and emphasizing the speaker’s determination to accomplish his/her pledge:

[20] I will collect the parcel from the post office, will you. So rest assured.

A further feature associated with SSLE involves the speaker firstly identifying the intended ‘focus’ of the clause and then placing it in initial position (Kandiah 1981). The speaker thereby engages in a significant ‘communicative act’ by not only providing the addressee with information but by additionally signalling the locus of his/her own attention concerning the information. The following are some examples. Observe the subtle difference in emphasis between [25] and [26] both of which contain the ‘same’ information

[21] For one hour I was waiting.

[22] Now itself you want the box?

[23] The lecture is when?

[24] Twenty-five eggs she bought.

[25] Today no mangoes?

[26] Mangoes today haven't?

[27] Chocolates she likes a lot.

[28] For the explosion it must have broken.

This feature resembles the phenomenon of 'topicalization' (Kandiah 1981) also presented as defining SSLE. Topicalization involves the speaker identifying the 'nominal' of a sentence, associating it as its 'topic', moving it to the front of the main clause from its subject, object or post-prepositional position in the sentence's main or subordinate clause/s and leaving a nominal trace in its place. [29], [30] and [31] represent three examples: the co-referential nominals have been highlighted for illustrative purposes:

[29] **Manel**, I knew **she** would get the job.

[30] **Nihal**, who would have thought **the bloke** could be so unscrupulous.

[31] **Vimali**, you know **the idiot** thinks she is going to be elected president.

Moreover, [32], [33] and [34] illustrate a characteristic associated with SSLE described as 'non-redundancy'. It pertains to expressions eliciting a very restricted degree of specification thus enabling the speaker to avoid over articulation (Kandiah 1981).

[32] If Nadesan comes, sure success. (If Nadesan comes, he is sure to be a success).

[33] No point going to Colombo tomorrow. (There is no point in going to Colombo tomorrow).

[34] Are they teachers? I thought students and gave them the forms. (= Are they teachers? I thought they are students and gave them the forms).

Broadly, the syntactic features attributed to SSLE do appear to differentiate English/es in Sri Lanka from those found in countries where a majority of the population speak English as an L1 as evidenced by the overall response of a group of fourteen non Sri Lankan speakers of English as an L1 from the UK, Ireland, Australia, Canada and the USA to examples [14] to [33]. Most of them stated that

the clauses would appear awkward in the prevalent varieties of English found in their respective countries. Nearly all of them were of the view that placing the intended ‘focus’ of the clause in initial position as illustrated by the clauses from [21] to [28] would be particularly strange. However, it may be possible to argue that [18] and [19] can also be interpreted as compatible with forms of archaic vernacular BE. Importantly, examples [14] to [33] were also presented to a group of South Asian multilinguals from India and Pakistan for whom English is arguably an L1. Their responses differed from those of the previous group; [21] to [28] were described as awkward but the rest were identified as not uncommon in the varieties of English spoken in their respective countries³⁰. This suggests that the features are not exclusive to SSLE but distinguish habitual English usage in South Asia. Furthermore, while a comprehensive documentation of the syntax of non-standard forms of SLE is yet to be undertaken, it is likely that these forms may also exhibit some of the features described in relation to SSLE.

Phonological evidence is also used to describe SSLE and advanced as serving to differentiate SSLE from its source BE model (see S. Fernando 1985; Senaratne 2009: 55-56). For example, SSLE is considered to maintain the differentiation between the two contrasting vowel phonemes, /əu/ (road, boat etc), and /ɔ:/ (as in, caught, fought etc), typically associated with standard BE but realised differently. In SSLE the long pure vowel [o:] substitutes for /əu/. Similarly, speakers of SSLE are considered to have an [o:] in words such as ‘fort’, ‘court’, ‘borne’ etc: this would be presented as contrasting from the [ɔ:] vowel most likely to occur in such words in standard BE. A number of morphological processes have also been associated with SSLE. [35a, b and c] illustrate three associated processes.

[35]

a **vadai** /vʌde:/ - a savoury ‘snack’

b **yaka** /jʌkʌ/ - devil

c **uncle**

³⁰ Members of each group were contacted through the online social network Facebook. Specifically, the members of each group were sent a group message requesting them to evaluate the clauses on the basis of the variety or varieties of English they speak and/or is/are spoken in their countries.

[35a] is a ‘borrowing’ from Tamil. [35b] is a Sinhala ‘borrowing’ and is the semantic equivalent of the noun devil; however, it can also function as an adjective when inflected and collocated with English nouns to create compounds such as, for example, *yako-fellow*. This translates as devil-fellow but in actual fact connotes a crude/crass individual. [35c] functions as a respectful term of reference for adult male relatives, adult males occupying a similar social status *and* as a derogatory term of address for adult males, (Kandiah 1987).

Hybridizations, constructions involving the integration of elements from at least two languages (Kachru 1983) and lexicalised Sinhala compounds involving English, Sinhala (mostly) and Tamil are among further features cited as distinguishing SSLE (see also Senaratne 2009).

2.4 The Sinhala ethnic community and Multilingualism in Sri Lanka

In 2.2, Sinhala was described as the linguistic core of the Sinhala ethnic community who account for over 80% of Sri Lanka’s total population. Subsequently, the description of English in Sri Lanka (in 2.3) referred to the fact that the vast majority of Sri Lankans in post independence contemporary Sri Lanka, most of whom are of Sinhala ethnicity, have some knowledge of English, the consequence of their overall growing affective attitude towards English and prestigious status of English in Sri Lanka. This demonstrates that the linguistic composition of the Sinhala ethnic community is one of English and Sinhala multilingualism. The size of the community entails that Sri Lanka is a fundamentally multilingual nation (see also C. Fernando 1976; S. Fernando 1982; Parakrama 1995). Indeed, according to Sri Lanka’s Department of Census and Statistics (2005: 3-5) over 90% of its population are multilingual. An important consequence of this reality is widespread language mixing. This is confirmed in Senaratne’s (2009) comprehensive sociolinguistic study on language mixing in Sri Lanka which establishes that language mixing involving Sinhala and English is the defining feature of post independence Sri Lanka³¹.

³¹ For reasons explained in chapter 1, I use the term ‘mixed language’ to describe language mixing in 98+LSLPS. However, its closest parallel is the phenomenon of code-switching. Note also, that this study does not differentiate between the terms code-switching and code-mixing. In the present discussion, the term code-mixing may be used since it is the term used by Senaratne (2009) whose

Section 2.3 also noted that a vast majority of Sri Lankans for whom English is an L1 belong to the Sinhala ethnic community while section 2.2.2 noted that Sinhala is the L1 of a majority of individuals of Sinhala ethnicity and that those for whom Sinhala is an L1 speak different forms of English (see also Senaratne 2009: 65-68). Accordingly, it may be possible to (albeit broadly) identify multilingualism of the Sinhala ethnic community in terms of the three groups shown below: (I), (II) and (III) represent the largest, second largest and smallest groups respectively.

- (I) Multilinguals for whom Sinhala is an L1 and English an L2
- (II) Multilinguals for whom both Sinhala and English are L1s
- (III) Multilinguals for whom English is an L1 and Sinhala an L2

However, it is important to bear in mind that these are only surface representations concerning individuals' linguistic repertoire. One of the major analytical challenges arising out of attempts to research the consequences of widely diffused multilingualism (i.e. language mixing) found in countries like Sri Lanka involves having to establish criteria for differentiating language mixing from forms which have been borrowed and subsequently nativised into the host languages, rendering them no longer foreign but rather part of the respective host languages/language varieties or altogether new codes. Senaratne's (2009) research is an example. As will become apparent in subsequent chapters, 98+LSLPS represents a domain of language mixing involving essentially Sinhala and English but where the consequence of this 'mixing' resembles unified codes.

Senaratne's (2009) study is relevant to the context of this thesis as it concerns Sinhala-English code mixing among urbanised individuals of Sinhala ethnicity (Senaratne 2009: 14): the core artists and audience of 98+LSLPS are urbanised and semi-urbanised youth and young adults of Sinhala ethnicity. Data analysed included questionnaire information gathered from 200 respondents, 40 semi informal interviews with respondents known to the researcher and a matched guise attitude test on 20 of the 40 respondents were interviewed (Senaratne 2009: 10-19, see also

analysis is being reviewed. Elsewhere, with the exception of direct quotations, the term code-switching is used to refer to both.

chapter 4) All the respondents were above the age of 18; but no upper age limit was provided. They are all employed in the country's government and private sectors. The structural analyses concerned elicitations from the respondents interviewed. The researcher maintains that the data are representative of Sinhala dominant and English dominant Sri Lankan bilinguals from urban areas: the criterion used to distinguish between the two bilingual types was employment.

Accordingly, government sector employees were classified as Sinhala dominant while private sector employees were classified as English dominant (Senaratne 2009: 78). While Senaratne's classification is broadly accurate owing to the fact that Sinhala and English are the key operating languages in the government and private sectors respectively, it does appear arbitrary for purposes of establishing specific linguistic profiles of the kind constituting the focus of Senaratne's (2009) study. Consider, for example, the linguistic profile of this writer: she and most members of her immediate and extended family consider English and Sinhala dominant languages but are employed in the government sector. Similarly, the claim that English is the dominant language in the private sector applies mainly to higher ranking job positions; there are many individuals employed in the private sector, for whom English is not an L1.

Senaratne (2009: 133-249, see also 247-249) categorises Sinhala-English language mixing in terms of four types: code-mixing (i.e. code-switching: see footnote 31), borrowing, Sinhalization and hybridization. She also differentiates code-mixing from borrowing and Sinhalization on the grounds that the latter two are part of the nativisation of non-Sinhala (essentially English) elements into Sinhala (2009: 136), the subsequent occurrence of such elements in Sinhala clauses reflecting a single language. Phonological criteria are used to differentiate between nativisations and code-mixing especially at the level of lexis. Senaratne (2009: 237) defines borrowings from English as "the addition of a Sinhala suffix *ye* to the English word that is mixed, the stress on the final /r/ consonant of English mixes and a shift from short vowels to long vowels". Sinhalizations are defined as "mostly identifiable by the front close vowel prefix /i/ which follows consonant clusters beginning with /s/,"

the replacement of /f/ with /p/, the replacement of /ɔ/ with /o/ and the deletion of /s/ word finally. Elsewhere in the same discussion the Senaratne also references Muysken's interpretation of the distinction between borrowing and code-mixing: 'code-mixing takes place above word or clause level and borrowing takes place below word level' (2009: 142).

In theory, it is possible to differentiate between forms which have been nativised into a language (borrowings or Sinhализations) from code mixing interpreted as a phenomenon involving 'two distinct varieties' (Senaratne 2009: 133). Indeed Sinhala abounds with 'English' words and includes compounds also such as 'home-coming', 'face-book' and so on and so forth. Yet the task is proven complicated and problematic in the context of trying to describe authentic multilingual output. This is particularly apparent at the level of lexis. [36] contains examples of what Senaratne (2009: 133) describes as a nativisation and code-mix respectively.

[36]

a. *layer-ekak*

N Indefinite case maker (a layer)

b. *boot eke*

N GEN (in the boot)

Senaratne (2009) argues that the noun in 'booteke' remains phonetically congruent with English phonetics whereas 'layer-ekak' is phonetically congruent with Sinhala. Consider first, [36a]. It represents a classic case of the phenomenon of 'linking [r]' whereby the final 'r' of the noun 'layer' merges with the initial vowel 'e' of the Sinhala suffix *ekak* for phonotactic reasons which are not specific to Sinhala (see Giegerich 1992). Therefore, the argument that 'layer' is an example of Sinhализation owing to being 'patterned according to Sinhala phonetics' (Senaratne 2009: 133) is problematic. More specifically, the integration has nothing to do with the phonetics of Sinhala but rather owes to predictable phonotactics underlying the consonant and

vowel implicated in the merger; the integration would have yielded similar results had the suffix been an English one including an initial ‘e’ vowel. Similarly, in [36b], the phonotactic environment of the final ‘t’ consonant of the noun ‘boot’ and initial ‘e’ vowel of the Sinhala suffix does not entail any obvious phonetic alteration to either the noun or suffix when integrated. Therefore, it is not possible to justify the claim that the phonetic congruence between the noun’s ‘t’ consonant following its integration with the Sinhala suffix and English indicates that it is a code-mix and not a nativisation.

The problem of referencing such phonological criteria is perhaps predicted in Senaratne’s subsequent reference (2009: 134) to ‘party’ which she argues is part of Sinhala owing to its integration with the Sinhala suffix *ye* (denoting the definite article) without providing supporting phonological evidence of the kind she elsewhere claims distinguishes a nativisation from a borrowing. The fact is that the integration of the noun and the suffix does not alter the phonetics of either in a manner which makes the construct specifically representative of Sinhala phonetics and therefore a nativisation. [37] illustrates how the construct would most likely sound when pronounced:

[37]

[patɨjə]

Isteeshan representing the English noun ‘station’ is a further example of a Sinhalization presented by Senaratne (2009:134). She argues that it is a Sinhalization because it represents an ‘item where a front close vowel is inserted as a prefix to the English element’. This form does indeed exist and is arguably a member of the Sinhala lexicon³² but the problem owes to its low prestige associations due to its affiliation with the lexicon of lower-middle class (financially challenged) Sinhala speakers for whom Sinhala is a dominant L1 and English a marginal L2 as it were, a

³² A bilingual Sinhala-English speaker of Sinhala ethnicity had this to say about the term: ‘I think *istsation* and *issticke*’ have become part of the (Sinhala) vocabulary’ (L. De Fonseka: Facebook message: 11/8/10). *Isticker* refers the proper noun ‘sticker’.

veritable sub-group of the group of multilinguals for whom Sinhala is an L1 represented by group (1) of the three groups outlined as representing Sinhala ethnic multilinguals³³. The point is that it would not be at all unusual for an L1 Sinhala speaker to use ‘station’ in a ‘Sinhala clause’; indeed this is very likely to be the preferred and occurring form over its alternative *isteeshan* considering its associations with speech of individuals of a lower socio-economic background and entailed low prestige. Crucially therefore, the argument that the Sinhala speaker who uses ‘station’ instead of *isteeshan* in a Sinhala clause is engaging in code-mixing as opposed to uttering a Sinhalized term cannot be justified on the basis of Senaratne’s phonological criteria.

Another example of code-mixing in a Sinhala clause cited by Senaratne (2009: 153, 180) is ‘friends-*la*’. The author presents an analysis of the merging of the plural noun ‘friends’ and Sinhala suffix *-la* based on the assumption that the noun remains English in its Sinhala clausal environment. Recall the phonological basis which the author claims distinguishes nativisations from instances of code-mixing. Indeed [frendz/s-lʌ] is likely to be the most probable and regular phonetic realisation of the construct. In this sense, the noun’s pronunciation does not differ from how it would be pronounced when occurring in an English clause. Considered in isolation (from its Sinhala suffix) there is one element which does render the noun ‘friends’ alien to Sinhala phonology namely, [z]; Sinhala phonology does not have a [z]³⁴. Nevertheless, the phonetic consequence of its integration with the Sinhala suffix diffuses this seeming incongruence. More specifically, the preceding [d] consonant of the noun coupled with the short back vowel /ʌ/ of its Sinhala suffix counterpart resulting in [lʌ] predicts that the letter <z> in ‘friends’ will be pronounced as a

³³ A Sinhala-English bilingual professor of Sociology at the University of Colombo, Sri Lanka described the use of *isteeshan* as follows: ‘hardly used nowadays by young people; I think as a result of the expansion of electronic media and English language instruction (irrespective of quality). So if someone uses it, he or she is likely to be in [his/her] 50s or above and would not have much formal education’: ‘most likely used by folks who do not deal regularly with the cities/towns’ (S. Perera: Facebook message: 10/08/10). On a similar note, when asked to describe the likely socio-economic background of the typical user of this term, a bilingual Sinhala-English speaker of Sinhala ethnicity stated that the user will most likely be of a ‘lower middle class, working class background’ (L De Fonseka: Facebook message: 11/8/10).

³⁴ However, the phoneme is quite common in spoken contemporary Sinhala though not included in the documented phonological inventories of Sinhala.

voiceless [s] counterpart of the fricative. This begs the question, how then, can we assume the noun is not part of Sinhala, has not been assimilated into the language, is not a nativised term in its own right?

The challenges and potential pitfalls entailed in attempting to understand Sri Lanka's Sinhala-English multilingual output in terms of a nativised form (borrowings or Sinhalizaciones) versus code mixing (i.e. 'two distinct varieties' according to Senaratne 2009: 133) dichotomy without establishing clear criteria for distinguishing between them is also reflected in Senaratne's (2009: 185-207) discussion of Sinhala elements in English in Sri Lanka. On the one hand, she provides details of a 'Sri Lankan' English' (2009: 52-60) citing the lexicalisation of Sinhala elements and compounds, collocations and hybrids associated with SSLE as characteristic of the variety. Yet her subsequent analyses of examples provided as representing the presence of Sinhala elements in English conflicts with the kind of examples of 'Sri Lankan English' presented previously according to which she appeared to subscribe to the view that there exists an identifiable localised standard variety of English in Sri Lanka. It seems that having detailed the attributes of SSLE without giving any indication that they may be problematic, Senaratne (2009: 135, 184-249) then abandons the premise that there exists a standardised variety of English in Sri Lanka in her analysis of what she presents as code-mixed English data (2009: 52-60). She embarks on identifying code-mixing in terms of a more standard (BE) form of English instead. Consider Senaratne's (2009: 185) example of the noun *perehaerə*³⁵ in [38].

[38]

The *perehaerəs* are a must.

The author's discussion centres on the fact that the noun in this clause includes the English plural suffix -s. Crucially, the noun is assumed to represent an instance of a Sinhala element in an English sentence. However, the noun refers to a very specific

³⁵ Senaratne's spelling.

cultural pageant unique to Sri Lanka held annually. Specifically, it is a proper noun arguably a member of the lexicon of some forms of Sri Lankan Englishes as indicated by the fact that it is listed in the recently published first dictionary of Sri Lankan English ‘A Dictionary of Sri Lankan English’ (Meyler 2007: 197). This problem is similarly echoed in Senaratne’s discussion of Sinhala compound nouns (187-9), Sinhala modifiers (191-3), Sinhala multi-word modifiers (193-194) Sinhala adverbs (195-6), Sinhala particles, interjections and quotatives (201-5): the examples cited are amenable to being interpreted as part of the collective lexis of ‘Sri Lankan Englishes’. If on the other hand, the author chooses to maintain that words such as *perehaerə* are Sinhala elements, then it follows that the hybrids, collocations and compounds referred to by the author as examples of (standardised) ‘Sri Lankan English’ are not acceptable since they too would have to be interpreted as Sinhala elements occurring in English clauses/speech.

Recall also the example of uncle [35c] cited in the discussion about SSLE (2.3.1). The term occupies a similar identity in Sinhala; it encompasses a range of semantic nuances some of which are sexual and not associated with the noun when occurring in standardised BE. This noun is among numerous elements which have dual identities in both English usage in Sri Lanka and Sinhala and whose identities contrast from their older standard BE source. The English noun ‘deposit’ in the following dialogue between two friends as described by one of them epitomises English adaptation into Sinhala

“Some years ago a young woman talking in Singlish said, "*ane eya hari deposit kenek*". With my good Sinhala and somewhat acceptable English, it took me quite a while to figure this one out” (Professor S. Perera: Facebook message: 12/08/10). [39] presents the English transcription and translation of the clause.

[39]

ane eya hari deposit kenek

Transcription: ‘Oh she is a very deposit-person’

Translation: ‘Oh she is a very reserved person’

“By deposit, she meant *thenpath* as in reserved. *Thenpath* is also Sinhala for 'deposit' in the sense of banking” (Professor S. Perera: Facebook message: 12/08/10).

Observe also, the above definition of the clause as representing ‘Singlish’. This term is commonly used locally in Sri Lanka to refer to discourse involving the fusion of English and Sinhala. The term anticipates the problem of deconstructing the discourse in terms of its source languages and reinforces the importance of establishing clear criteria regarding the difference between ‘nativisations’/borrowings (in the sense of Senaratne’s use of the terms) and ‘code-mixing’ before attempting to classify linguistic output according to such notions. Establishing such criteria also entails being systematic in terms of how one chooses to define the parameters of the linguistic systems (i.e. language varieties, languages etc) involved. More specifically, the complication of Senaratne’s discussion of Sinhala elements in English (2009: 184-249) relates to two conflicting classifications; she describes what she considers as the properties of (standard) Sri Lankan English but then goes on to analyse output which could be considered as representing Sri Lankan English in terms of BE norms. Moreover, it is highly unlikely that those (i.e. researchers such as those referenced in the description of SSLE in 2.3) who adopt the view that there exists a variety or varieties of Sri Lankan English eliciting unique linguistic characteristics at the level of phonology, lexis and syntax will analyse the examples provided by Senaratne as examples of Sinhala elements in English and therefore as examples of code-mixing. Instead the ‘Sinhala’ elements are more likely to be classified as representative of ‘Sri Lankan English/es’ (see also, Canagarajah 1995).

Importantly, (as will become clear in later chapters), 98+LSLPS demonstrates different uses of English and projects a different portrait of Sinhala-English multilingual output in Sri Lanka owing to the musical domain in which the output is generated. Overall Senaratne’s (2009) study confirms that language mixing involving Sinhala and English is the defining dominant norm of Sri Lanka. Crucially, however, Senaratne’s study also demonstrates the challenges arising in trying to evolve an accurate description of the country’s multilingual identity by differentiating its

multilingual output in terms of frameworks (i.e. Sinhalization, borrowing, code-mixing) as well as notions of language/language varieties (e.g. Sinhala, SSLE) without first establishing specific criteria for distinguishing between them.

2.5 Summary and Conclusion

The first part of this chapter (2.2.1 and 2.2.2) demonstrated that in addition to being native to Sri Lanka, the Sinhala language is the dominant language of Sri Lanka owing to the fact that it occupies the status the linguistic *core* of Sinhala ethnic identity. Specifically the Sinhala ethnic community was shown to represent over 80% of Sri Lanka's total population and comprise the majority speakers of Sinhala as an L1. Importantly, some structural features associated with the Sinhala language considered the linguistic core of Sinhala ethnic identity in terms of the two forms (vernacular and literary) by which it is typically classified were then presented in section 2.2.3. This description informs an important part of the discussion about the collective linguistic identity of the 98+LSLPS artists and principal audience in chapter 10 and is accordingly reviewed in chapter 10. Section 2.3 described the development of English in Sri Lanka and provided an outline of its speakers. The language was shown to be very dominant in contemporary Sri Lanka prevailing as indigenised language varieties (Sri Lankan English/es/SLEs) or an L2 to a vast majority and as an L1 to a minority, the latter variety termed standard Sri Lankan English (SSLE) and being the most researched. It was also stated that the majority of SSLE and SLE speakers belong to the Sinhala ethnic group. Section 2.3.1 detailed some linguistic features attributed to SSLE.

The discussion of English was followed by an overview in section 2.4 of the contemporary linguistic situation in Sri Lanka with special reference to a recent study on the context by Senaratne (2009). The Sinhala ethnic community were shown to be fundamentally multilingual with English and Sinhala functioning as the core constituents of the community's multilingualism. Consequently, language/code mixing was shown to be the norm of the community. Considering the size of the community, language mixing and multilingualism involving the two languages were also established as defining Sri Lanka's linguistic profile. The linguistic composition

of Sinhala individuals was presented in terms of three broad categories. Sinhala individuals who speak Sinhala as an L1 and for whom English is an L2 were shown to constitute the majority group. Importantly, the discussion highlighted some of the complexities entailed in trying to advance analyses of the community's linguistic output. Examples were used to show that their output is amenable to being interpreted variously as Sinhala-English code-mixing on the one hand or as English, Sri Lankan English/es, or Sinhala on the other depending on the perspective of the researcher.

As stated previously in chapter 1, 98+LSLPS implicates individuals of Sinhala ethnicity. Approximately, over 5.5 million Sinhala youth and young adults constitute its core artists and audience. As also explained in chapter 1 language mixing defines 98+LSLPS. Discussed in chapter 4, the attitude of the 98+LSLPS core artists and audience towards the genre epitomises the complications that would arise in trying to define the diffused character of their linguistic output solely in terms of such categories as Sri Lankan English/es, language mixing or Sinhala. Indeed, as also explained in chapter 1, their perspectives underlie the analytical framework and song analyses of this study in chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9: the analyses portray the community's output (as occurring in the songs) rather differently to how Sinhala-English multilingual output has been classified so far in existing scholarship. The language integration in 98+LSLPS reflects simultaneously, attributes of code-mixing (i.e. code-switching) and attributes of a unified code.

It is also worth noting that Senaratne's study (2009: 75-84) demonstrated that code-mixing is viewed negatively whereas output where the languages involved remain intact is viewed more positively by the Sinhala ethnic community. However, Senarate's observations are based on a matched guised test conducted on just 20 of the 200 urban bilingual participants selected for the study (2009: 83-84). So it is by no means indicative of the collective perception of the urban bilingual population of Sri Lanka's gross population of approximately 20 million individuals.

Crucially (as discussed in chapter 4), the collective perception of the 98+LSLPS artists and core audience regarding their ‘mixed language’ is far from being negative and thus differs radically from the perceptions of Senaratne’s 20 participants. Moreover, the collective perception of the 98+LSLPS artists and audience are representative of over 5.5 million Sri Lankans. Nevertheless, it is also the case that the core of 98+LSLPS is youth and young adults (approximately ranging between the ages of 15 and 39). Senaratne’s (2009) study includes older members of the community as well; recall that as stated in 2.4, she only provides a lower age limit of 18 years for her participants. So it may be possible that there is a generation based attitudinal shift with regards to attitudes towards language mixing with ‘younger’ Sri Lankans being positively orientated towards it.

In conclusion, one thing remains clear notwithstanding the contradictions stemming from different analytical approaches towards defining and representing English in Sri Lanka, Sinhala and language mixing. Sinhala *and* English are the defining components of the linguistic repertoire of post independence Sri Lanka’s Sinhala ethnic community and are therefore also the leading components of Sri Lanka’s linguistic profile.

Chapter 3

Music in Sri Lanka, the evolution of 98+LSLPS and language mixing in world musics

“If all meanings could be adequately expressed by words, the arts of painting and music would not exist” (Dewey 1934: 74).

3.1 Introduction

This chapter commences with a broad outline of the development of Sri Lankan music in 3.2 to facilitate the reader’s understanding of the evolution of 98+LSLPS in terms of the Sri Lankan socio-historical and cultural traditions foregrounding the genre. Then, 3.3 describes the reasons for naming a collection of songs 98+LSLPS and in so doing establishes them as a genre of popular song. The key feature which distinguishes the songs as a genre, is their mixed language lyrics: this is described further in section 3.4. Some features specific to sung mixed and unmixed language or, expressed differently, language delivered through music which differentiates such output from (a) natural speech and more generally from (b) other mediated linguistic phenomena are explained in 3.5. A description of the key zones or genres of language mixing in contemporary music including an overview of linguistic research on the subject follows in 3.6. The discussion in 3.6.1 distinguishes between ‘hip-hop’ music (the genre which embodies language mixing in contemporary music), and the phenomenon of rap which defines it. The relevance of the distinction relates to the identity of 98+LSLPS which is then further clarified. Sections 3.7 and 3.8 outline the relationship between 98+LSLPS and the Sri Lankan and contemporary global popular music industries respectively.

3.2 The development of Sri Lankan music; an outline

Notwithstanding a history of over 2500 years, little is known about Sri Lanka’s earliest musical traditions and culture. Archaeological evidence does indicate the existence of a number of percussion and string instruments dating back to around 1500 BC (Abeywickrama 2006; De Silva 2005; Kulathilaka 2004). Broadly, the

various indigenous musical forms found in Sri Lanka are associated with its Sinhala, Tamil, Muslim and the Burgher ethnic communities (Oxford Music Online). However, there exists no comprehensive study of the genesis of Sri Lankan musics, especially relating to the origins of the early musics and musical practices of the country's ethnic, in particular its minority ethnic (e.g. Tamil and Muslim) communities³⁶ (Oxford Music Online). The Portuguese, Dutch and British colonisation of Sri Lanka, the advent of independence from British colonisation in 1948, Buddhism and contemporary global pop culture are among the principal socio-political forces that have influenced the development of Sri Lankan musics (Ariyaratna 1989, 1997, 2002; Baddage 1989).

The central influence of Buddhism on Sri Lankan music pertains to genres directly related to Buddhist religious practices as embodied in the early traditional music of Sri Lanka. More specifically, Sri Lanka's early traditional music is typically classified according to three geographical regions, namely the southern (*low-country*), north-central (*up-country*) and the centralised south-western (*Sabaragamuwa*) regions. The early musics of these regions evolved in relative homogeneity and yet exhibit similarities in that most of them involve monotonic chanting and recitations centred on repetitive melodic structures (Oxford Music Online). These correspond to Buddhist religious practices which prevailed in all these regions (Oxford Music Online). Examples include *pirith chanting*, a single monotonic chant of religious content.

However, Sri Lanka is also home to a number of secular in particular secular popular (as opposed to secular classical) musical genres, although some of them have also been influenced by Buddhism. Folk music genres are an example of the indirect influence of Buddhism on Sri Lankan music. The genre of *Jana Kavi* translated as 'folk-poems' involving the monotonic rendition of linguistic sequences concerning

³⁶ Overall, the Tamil community's contribution to Sri Lankan music is described as incorporating a range of dance and folk musical styles which have since evolved alongside other Sri Lankan musical genres. Some of them, especially dance music, exhibit characteristics of Indian musical styles while the social history and structure of Tamil prosody is argued to have had a direct bearing on forms of music now regarded as Sinhala music (Oxford Music Online).

secular topics is among the most famous: the poems often celebrate values and traditions evocative of Buddhist ideology. Moreover, *Sokari*, (based on melodies originating from the southern part of the country), *Nadagam* (a form of sung music whose lyrical content tends to be comic in character) and *Nurthi* (Abhayasundara 1963; Alawathukotuwa 2004; Arawindha 1996; Gunasingha 1997; Makuloluwa 1962) are among the best known Sri Lankan popular music genres, in particular associated with secular open-air theatre. *Baila* a style of dance music attributed to African slaves known as *Kaffrinhas* brought to the country by the Portuguese is another well known genre of Sri Lankan secular popular music (Ariyaratna 2002)

A relatively recent addition to the domain of musical genres found in Sri Lanka somewhere between the late 18th and early 19th centuries during the period when Sri Lanka came under British colonisation (and relevant to 98+LSLPS), was music which might be classed as belonging to the tradition of ‘western classical music’ or more specifically western tonal music. It is likely that Sri Lanka would have been exposed to this form of music during the Portuguese and Dutch occupation of the country. However, unlike the Portuguese and Dutch, the British colonial enterprise was (as discussed in chapter 2) both commercially and culturally motivated. This may underlie their stronger contribution to establishing a culture of ‘western classical music’ in Sri Lanka: the creation of the Symphony Orchestra of Sri Lanka, the oldest western classical orchestra in South Asia, is an example of their contribution.

Unlike the musical genres described in the preceding paragraphs, ‘western classical music’ in Sri Lanka, in particular its study and performance was and to a considerable extent remains to date the preserve of a small urbanised elite community (see also Abeywickrama 2004; Ariyaratna 1987/2003). Most Sri Lankans who study it seriously hail from families of predominantly urbanised (affluent) upper-middle/upper class social backgrounds; among them are many Sri Lankans for whom English is an L1. This owes to the fact that costly private tutelage offered in the country’s most urbanised cities is the principal method through which Sri Lankans can engage in a serious study the genre (i.e. acquire technical skills required to perform ‘western classical musical’ instruments as well as developing an overall

nuanced understanding of the musical tradition). Consequently, most Sri Lankans at the forefront of producing and disseminating musical works (through performance) classified under the heading of ‘western classical music’ belong to this affluent elite community. Western classical music is, however, offered as an optional subject alongside traditional Sri Lankan music in nearly all state and private sector schools. Yet the lack of qualified teachers and infrastructure (e.g. instruments) has meant that studying the subject at school level offers little opportunity for acquiring in depth knowledge of the musical genre or necessary skills required to become competent performers of the musical instruments (e.g. piano) associated with the genre. This reality echoes that of the English language teaching situation in Sri Lanka (described in chapter 2: 2.3).

Nevertheless, it would be incorrect to conclude that the vast majority of Sri Lankans are therefore unfamiliar with western classical music. In reality, a significant collective of Sri Lankans would have heard of the canonical figures (such as J.S Bach, Mozart and Beethoven) associated with the genre and possibly be familiar with their best known compositions. Indeed, it would be true to say that Sri Lankans’ interest in the genre is growing. This is reflected in the manner in which western classical music has been influencing the development of more recent indigenous genres of Sri Lankan music. The evolution of Sinhala classical opera pioneered by the musician/composer *Kalasuri Khemedhasa* in the early 1970s is a notable example. 98+LSLPS is another more recent example: the principal theme of the debut 98+LSLPS hit single *Vasanthaye* by the duo BNS who pioneered the genre, is an adaptation of J.S Bach’s Overture No. 3 in D major, BWV 1068.

Moreover, as detailed in chapter 2, the advent of independence in Sri Lanka in 1948 was succeeded by a socio-cultural renaissance (Dharmadasa 2000: 148). Naturally, Sri Lankan music was among the cultural domains influenced by this. For example, the ‘Sinhala’ vocal music of the late 1950s was characterised by lyrics in the Sinhala language that were strongly poetical and which conveyed nationalistic sentiments (Kulathilaka 1976). Also, many artists involved in the musical efforts of the era had roots in Sri Lankan theatre and this is reflected in the fact that the emergent music of

the era demonstrated features of some of Sri Lanka's older indigenous musical genres (e.g. *Sokari*) associated with secular theatre (Ariyaratna 2007, 2008).

Indian film music was among the most popular music forms in Sri Lanka in the 1960s. However, the subsequent emergence of Sri Lankan 'pop' music by local bands who drew on older forms of music, most notably the afore-mentioned *Baila* genre as well as *Calypso* music of the *Caribbean* displaced Indian film music as the most popular music of the era until the 1980s which witnessed Indian film music regain its former popularity. Furthermore, *Sarala-gi*, or 'light classical music' (Oxford Music Online) was another form of music that emerged and became extremely popular during the 1960s. Drawing on traditional Sri Lankan sources it reflected a nationalistic reaction to the presence of Indian film music in Sri Lanka at the time.

Genres of international music especially genres of western popular music (e.g. rock and pop), that emerged in the latter half of the 20th century were also popular in Sri Lanka. The main medium through which these genres were disseminated to the general public initially was through the English channel of the state-owned Sri Lanka Broadcasting Cooperation (SLBC) previously 'Radio Ceylon'. Private radio networks are the main medium through which western 'pop' musics are disseminated in contemporary Sri Lanka: as explained in chapters 3 (3.3) and 5, it was not until the 1990s that privately owned radio networks became dominant in Sri Lanka. These musics influenced the development of Sri Lankan pop music which included the accentuated rhythmic pulse quintessential to western pop musics although with lyrics in the vernaculars.

In 98+LSLPS we see a more radical form of musical integration combining indigenous Sri Lankan melodies with adaptations of western classical melodies and contemporary musical styles (i.e. western pop music rhythmic structures, rap etc). Indeed, that a linguistic feature (as briefly stated in chapter 1) unites the songs as a musical genre demonstrates their musical diversity. Clearly, although 98+LSLPS may on the one hand be regarded as reflecting an extant aspect for musical

integration in Sri Lanka it also represents a far more if not *the* most radical form of such integration in Sri Lanka so far. As explained in sections 3.3, 3.7 and chapter 4, the evolution 98+LSLPS has been greatly facilitated by the corresponding growth of the private sector and privately owned media networks in Sri Lanka which have fostered and promoted the local entertainment industry.

3.3 The development of 98+ LSLPS

The construct ‘Post 1998 (leading) Sri Lankan popular song’ (which informs the abbreviation 98+LSLPS) assigned to the songs being investigated in this thesis is the consequence of identifying the key stages of the development and socio-cultural features of the songs. 98+ refers to the year 1998 and the ensuing years up to the present time. 1998 was the year when a handful of vocal pop songs by the duo BNS (Bathiya Jayakody and Santhush Weeraman), gained prominence in Sri Lanka. The songs encompassed a wide array of musical styles and contained mixed Sinhala/English language lyrics. Broadcast on leading Sri Lankan radio networks they became chart hits. It must be noted that there were other pop groups prior to BNS whose songs also included the defining mixed (Sinhala-English) language lyric trends of BNS. The earliest song to demonstrate these trends within the musical context of a popular song appeared in 1992; namely *Lowe Samaa*, (by the well known pop band *Gypsies*). This particular song was hugely popular at the time it was released and remains so to date. Yet the song was an exception within a context where monolingual songs were dominant. The songs of BNS epitomised the style of Sinhala-English mixed language lyrics. Moreover, the almost instant popularity of the songs was paralleled by the almost instant popularity of this mixed language lyric style in a country where, until then, the style had remained dormant³⁷.

Crucially, the songs’ popularity led to a massive surge of new songs by new artists (also described in chapter 4) exhibiting the defining features of the duo’s songs. Consequently, this song type grew to become the mainstream popular song type in the world of Sri Lankan contemporary music. It is the popularity of this song type

³⁷ The success of the songs also corresponded to the duo’s success at an international music festival around the same time the songs were released and which provided them and their songs with considerable national publicity.

among Sri Lankan music artists following its symbolic genesis in 1998 which underlies its transformation from being a small collection of a ‘new’ form of Sri Lankan pop songs into the country’s mainstream genre of popular music³⁸. The term ‘leading’ is intended to reflect this fact. Explained in chapter 4, the popularity of the song form made BNS local celebrities establishing them as the leading members of the Sri Lankan popular music industry. Chapter 5 (section 5.2) details the method used to clarify the status of 98+LSLPS in terms of its popularity in Sri Lanka as part of introducing the 98+LSLPS sample analysed in subsequent chapters. Moreover, as stated in previous chapters and detailed in chapter 4, the artists and principal audience of 98+LSLPS, are Sri Lankans or have Sri Lankan roots. The genre is, therefore, quintessentially Sri Lankan: hence the inclusion of ‘Sri Lankan’ in the construct.

Finally we come to the words ‘popular music’: it is a musical concept but one which has increasingly tended to be defined in socio-cultural terms (Frith 1996)³⁹. Generally speaking, most musical concepts are defined according to or associated with specific musical features. However, musics classified as ‘popular music’, particularly in the domain of contemporary music, are not necessarily governed by specific musical constraints relating to musical form or structure. Instead, popular music serves as an umbrella term for musics aimed at or encompassing a mass or general (as opposed to socially exclusive/elite) audience: popular music “stages identifications, imagines subjectivities and performs community” (Zuberi 2001: 195). The artists and principal audience of 98+LSLPS (described in the following chapter) constitute over 5.5 million individuals, most of whom are resident in Sri Lanka while the others are dispersed across the world.

Moreover, the fact that musics, especially contemporary musics classified as popular music involve the presence of a mass audience corresponds to a further important attribute of popular music. Popular music genres harness people together as audience

³⁸ Evidence of this is presented in the discussion about the artists and principal audience of 98+LSLPS in chapter 4.

³⁹ It is worth noting that the discipline of popular music and in this sense the concept of *popular* music is relatively new having emerged and developed in as recently as the 1980s (Oxford Music Online).

members and artists, people who may have nothing in common except for the fact that they celebrate and promote a particular style of music. They are thus rendered a community. The fact that the popularity of a popular music genre is dependent on the strength and size of its supporting community (i.e. a powerful popular music genre will possess a large community of fans and artists) results in an interesting pattern. The greater the popularity of a popular music genre, the larger and more cohesive will be its community of artists and audience. This, in turn, reinforces the identity of the genre's artists and audience as members of a defined community.

Typically, fan/audience support of popular music genres range from attending gigs or concerts where a genre's songs are being performed by its artists, listening to the songs on media networks such as radio and the internet to purchasing the songs in their audio and if available, audio-visual formats. The important role of the audience in music is reflected in the claim that they are "actively involved in the construction of meaning" (Bennett 1999: 86; Ang 1996; Fiske 1989). It is a similar close bond between the 98+LSLPS artists and principal audience of several million individuals scattered across Sri Lanka and resident abroad that underlies the status of 98+LSLPS as the leading form of popular music in Sri Lanka. Chapter 4 explores the notion of 'community' in relation to the 98+LSLPS artists and principal audience.

Furthermore, in the prevailing climes of globalisation, popular music is a concept that has come to "connote genres whose styles have evolved in an inextricable relationship with their dissemination via the mass media and their marketing and sale on a mass-commodity basis" (Oxford Music Online). This explains the heightened musical diversity of musics classified as 'popular music' in the zone of contemporary global music (see Otchet 2000). The diverse definitions assigned to 98+LSLPS by its artists (and audience) reflects this⁴⁰. "New age Sinhalese⁴¹ pop music" (Chinthy

⁴⁰ All the core and most of the leading artists as well as a sample of the audience of 98+LSLPS were interviewed. Chapter 4 contains a detailed explanation of them and their definitions and descriptions of the songs. Appendix 1 provides details about how the artists and audience members referenced in this study have been classified.

⁴¹ The term Sinhalese is the anglicised equivalent of Sinhala as is often used to refer to both individuals of Sinhala ethnicity and the Sinhala language.

Fernando: interview: 2009) “ethnic fusion music” (BNS: website⁴²) “Sinhala hip-hop” (Fill-T: interview: 22.12.08) “Sri Lankan contemporary hip-hop” (Santhush Weeraman of BNS: interview: 9.02.09) “R&B, pop/ethnic, southern hip-hop, dirty south, crunk, hip-hop soul, etc” (about Yashan: The Island Newspaper: 31.07.07) “ethnic R&B and Sri Lankan pop with a little bit of rap as well” (Amila Paranamanage: interview: 2009) “pop, commercial hip-hop, its not really hip-hop (Krishan Maheson: interview: 2009) “Asian Sri Lankan hip-hop” (Iraj Weeraratne: interview: 2009) are some definitions assigned to 98+LSLPS by its artists.

3.4 The principal distinguishing feature of 98+LSLPS

It has already been stated that 98+LSLPS involves the integration of various musical styles embodied in the pioneering 98+LSLPS hit single by BNS in 1998, *Vasanthaye* which, as mentioned in section 3.2, centres on an adaptation of J.S Bach’s Overture No. 3 in D major, BWV 1068⁴³. The integration of musical styles is by no means unique to 98+LSLPS: what distinguishes the integration of musical styles in 98+LSLPS from other Sri Lankan musics deriving from the integration of musical styles is that 98+LSLPS involves the integration of particularly dissimilar musical styles. Ironically, while this form of integration may distinguish 98+LSLPS from other Sri Lankan musics, it does not necessarily unite the songs as a genre. This is because each of the songs tends to draw on different musical sources. The multiple definitions assigned to the songs by their artists (referred to in section 3.3 and also discussed in chapter 4: 4.5) demonstrate that they are aware of the songs’ musical heterogeneity. This being said, there is perhaps one musical feature present in the songs which does distinguish 98+LSLPS as ‘genre’, namely rap. Yet there are also a few songs which do not contain rap. We revisit the phenomenon of rap in section 3.5.

Importantly, what does clearly distinguish 98+LSLPS as a genre, is a linguistic feature, the songs’ mixed language lyrics. Most involve integrations of Sinhala and English (or, as will be debated in the ensuing chapters, language that *appears* to resemble English). The total song output of the artists and core-artists between 1998

⁴² Details of the websites of the core and leading 98+LSLPS artists referred to in this study are included in appendix 1.

⁴³ The musical diversity of 98+LSLPS is also discussed in chapter 4 (section 4.4).

and 2010 is around 300 songs: over 230 songs were analysed to identify the main languages occurring in the songs. A few songs include Sinhala–English integrations containing a little Tamil while even fewer comprise Sinhala-English integrations with fleeting occurrences of Divehi and Arabic respectively.

Figure 1 relates to the languages of the songs belonging to the leading albums of the leading artists of 98+LSLPS since the genesis of 98+LSLPS in 1998. The artists include the core artists, BNS and Iraj and the leading female and group/band of the artists’ circle (described in chapter 4).

Figure 1

Artists’ Total Number of songs	Songs containing mixed language lyrics (i.e. combinations of English, and/or Sinhala and/or Tamil)	Mixed language lyrics containing Sinhala + English
BNS 33	22	22
IRAJ 30	24	13
Ashanthi 15	9	9
Centigradz 10	5	5

Of a total of 88 songs 60 songs that is, over 65% of the songs contain lyrics combining Sinhala, English and at times Tamil. Of these, over 80% involve Sinhala and English blends. Sinhala is the language of the majority (over 90%) of the few remaining songs including monolingual lyrics. Importantly, these figures project Sinhala and English blends as the defining feature of 98+LSLPS lyrics.

Although language mixing in 98+LSLPS is unprecedented in as far as Sri Lankan music is concerned and therefore distinguishes 98+LSLPS from other musics in Sri Lanka, the trend of language mixing in music has been present in many parts of the world for centuries and is also extremely common in contemporary popular musics elsewhere in the world. For example, the ancient Macaronic carols as well as hymns and poems, a medieval form of music and intended for dancing included aspects of Latin along with either of two vernaculars French or English (Schendl 1996, 1997).

A further example of language mixing in early music genres is the troubadour verse involving a number of Romance languages (Steiner 1975: 188-189). Other examples of language mixing in world musics are Peruvian popular songs called Waynos involving the integration of Spanish and Quechua (an observation made by Muysken 1990), musicalised Spanish-Arabic mixed language poetry of the Middle Ages, the genre of Matruz (translating as ‘embroidery’) belonging to a Moroccan-Jewish community involving Arabic-Hebrew mixing (Zafrani 1983: 189), and Arabic-French mixing in Rai music (Bentahila 1983a, 1983b; Bentahila and Davies 2002: 187-207). What distinguishes 98+LSLPS from other globalised musics containing mixed language is the languages involved in the integrations, in particular, Sinhala. Recall that as explained in chapter 2, Sinhala is native to Sri Lanka.

Importantly, the trend of language mixing music has become particularly dominant in the zone of global popular music in recent times, especially since the latter half of the 20th century. The status of 98+LSLPS as *a* if not *the* leading genre of music in Sri Lanka since its symbolic genesis in 1998, is a poignant testimony to this ‘norm’. Two distinguishing features of this contemporary trend are that most of the language mixing involves English and another language and that the music contains rap. We explore this further in section 3.6. That a linguistic feature appears to distinguish contemporary popular music also supports the view that the concept of ‘popular music’ is largely resistant to being defined in purely musical terms.

3.5 Some features which distinguish un/mixed language in music from other domains of un/mixed language

Language in music regardless of whether it comprises mixed or unmixed language falls within the domain of mediated linguistic phenomena such as, for example, drama and poetry⁴⁴. Some researchers exploring language mixing in music such as, for example, Potter (1995) and Sarkar and Allen (2007) adopt the view that language mixing in music is similar to vernacular speech. However, the more widely held view is that such phenomena contrast with the spontaneity and immediacy of natural

⁴⁴ For analyses of language mixing in prose (novels), see Gorden and Williams (1998) and N’Zengou-Tayo (1996); for similar research on mixed language in poetry see Flores (1987), Keller (1979) and Tessier (1996).

speech contexts (see also Bentahila and Davies 2002: 192-193; Schendl 1997)⁴⁵: “code-switching in song lyrics is a very different phenomenon from code-switching in conversation, as it is neither spontaneous, nor is it intimate” (Sarkar and Winer 2006: 178; see also Androutsopoulos 2010: 20 and Bentahila and Davies 2002: 192-193).

This view is supported in the analyses of 98+LSLPS songs in later chapters which establish that the Sinhala-English mixes of the songs differ from spontaneous Sinhala-English mixed language elicitations. As also detailed in later chapters, this is due to the musical context through which the songs are communicated: bear in mind that this study concerns songs in their audio format. For now, suffice to say that while language mixing in music falls within the rubric of mediated language such as novels and poetry there is one feature which distinguishes it from *all* other (non-mixed and mixed) linguistic phenomena: musical language involves the embedding of language in musical (rhythmic and notational) structure.

As for the relationship between the language and musical structure, Lerdahl and Jackendoff (1983) argue that “musical events are organised around a fixed and regular metrical structure that must be maintained throughout” (326) whereas the rhythm of natural language “is flexible and is not required to conform to any particular pattern” (326). Elsewhere they claim that “themes, motives and other musical ideas (in the limited sense in which they are usually meant) are relatively local patterns that are subsumed under more generalised perceptions of rhythmic structure and pitch elaboration” (Lerdahl and Jackendoff 1983: 286). Langer’s (1953) statement that “though the material of poetry is verbal, its import is not the literal assertion made in the words, but the way the assertion is made, and [that] this

⁴⁵ For contrastive research on songs lyrics and speech see, for example, Alpher (1976), Dixon (1984), Donaldson (1984), Merlan (1987), Sutton (1987) and Tunstill (1995) and for research on songs which also contain ‘spoken language’ see Crozet (2010), Morey (2010), Rodríguez-Vázquez (2010), Sollis (2010), and Stebbins & Planigale (2010). Research on cross linguistic text-setting in music include Fabb & Halle (2008), Halle & Lerdahl (1993), Hayes (2008), Hayes & Kaun (1996), Kiparsky (2006), Lerdahl & Jackendoff (1983), Rodríguez-Vázquez (2007) and Turpin (2007).

involves the sound, the tempo...and the unifying, all-embracing artifice of rhythm” (260-261) supports Lerdahl and Jackendoff’s (1983) claims.

Likewise Kiparsy (2006: 7) maintains that “the composer and performer construct a match between three tiers of rhythmic structure: linguistic prominence, poetic metre and musical rhythm” (see also, Abercombie 1967; Boone 1999; Duffell 1999: 8; Halle and Keyser 1971: 140; Halliday 1967, 1994; Hayes and Kaun 1996; Liberman 1979; Morgan and Janda 1989; Rodríguez-Vázquez 2010). Moreover, Krims (2000) in his study of rap in English refers to the musical environments in which the language is situated (42-92 and elsewhere). His research explores the poetics of rap in terms of how the phenomenon of rap has been influenced by and in turn influences the domain of cultural politics. However, his is a socio-musicological study and not a linguistic analysis. As such he does not engage in a structural analysis of rap language. It is also worth noting that his research does not explore the phenomenon of language mixing in rap which is what characterises rap in 98+LSLPS and many other contemporary musics as discussed in section 3.6.

Overall, these studies signal that musical structure may well govern the distribution of linguistic material in music. However, their focus is on non-mixed language in music and none concern music from South Asia. As will become evident in chapter 4, the perceptions of the 98+LSLPS artists and audience regarding 98+LSLPS support this view while the subsequent analyses of the songs reinforces the view at the level of the songs’ lyric structure. Importantly, the (arguably key) consequence of the positioning of language in music is that such language, regardless of whether it comprises multiple languages or a single language, lacks intonational markers characteristic of natural speech. Such markers indicate pauses, full stops and other features crucial to affecting effective communication between individuals, markers which to the linguist, signal clausal and phrasal boundaries necessary for linguistic (structural) analyses. This characteristic together with the implications for analysing the lyrics of 98+LSLPS are explained in chapter 6 (6.3). Some linguistic studies on language mixing in music do explore features related to the attendant musical context of the language such as the ‘refrain’ (Bentahila and Davies 2002: 202, 204).

Nevertheless, (as will become apparent in section 3.6), musical structure has not yet been invoked in linguistic analyses of mixed language occurring music. This is because the data analysed are lyrics of the songs which have been isolated from their musical environments and interpreted in terms of natural speech.

An attendant feature of the entirely mediated character of song lyrics, (especially of the kind found in 98+LSLPS where the lyric of a song is never altered), which distinguishes it from spontaneous speech is that song lyrics are devoid of the inevitable errors of spontaneous speech (see also Hill 1999). By implication, the Sinhala-English mixed language data of 98+LSLPS can be regarded as devoid of accidental errors that are likely to be present in spontaneously elicited Sinhala-English mixed language data.

There is also a further consideration as regards analysing language in popular music; recall that popular music engages large groups of people (i.e. fans). As noted by Sarkar and Winer (2006) analyses of language intended for large groups of individuals need to reflect an awareness of this fact: when code-switching moves into the arena of public discourse, discourse intended for large audiences of strangers and carefully pre-written at that, it requires a different approach to analysis” (178). The effort of this study to first present a portrait of 98+LSLPS songs on the basis of how they are perceived by the 98+LSLPS artists and (principal) audience and thereafter advance a structural explanation for the portrait complements this view.

3.6 Language mixing in contemporary music: core zones and prevailing linguistic research

As noted in 3.3, not only has language mixing in music existed for centuries but it is particularly dominant in the zone of contemporary popular music with most instances of such mixing involving English as one of the participating languages. This feature can be seen to correspond to the contemporary global culture of language mixing within which English occupies centre stage (see also sections 2.4 and 3.8). Linguistic interest in language mixing in music has been growing steadily but remains a new development in linguistic scholarship: “[l]inguistic analysis of popular music and

investigations of the globalisation of popular music as an aspect of culture are both recent developments in research culture” (Omoniyi 2006: 197). Bentahila and Davies, (2002: 187-207) and Pennycook (2002) are among others who also recognise the paucity of linguistic investigation pertaining to language mixing in music.

Among the principal foci of most prevailing linguistic research on language mixing in music stands the domain of hip-hop music (Androutsopoulos 2010; Garley 2010; Hassa 2010; Lee 2010; Omoniyi 2006, 2009 (a); Pennycook 2003; Simeziane 2010; Terkourafi 2010; Williams 2010). Hip-hop is a musically sourced *concept* “encompassing dance and performance, visual art, multimedia, fashion and attitude” (Enculturation 1999: 2) that evolved in the 1970s. More specifically, it is a culture, a lifestyle, an ideology incorporating dress, attitudes, dance (particularly ‘breaking’, a form of acrobatic dance popularised by young Latinos⁴⁶) and language (Rose 1991; 277; Walcott 1995: 5; see also Alim 2003: 2, 55 and Dimitriadis 2001). Music, however, plays an especially important role in defining the ‘culture’ that is hip-hop (Oxford Music Online). The initial development of hip-hop is attributed to the resistance politics of marginalised African Americans of the Bronx of New York City (Oxford Music Online; see also Pennycook 2003; Rose 1994; Terkourafi 2010). In this sense, hip-hop can be said to foreground an identity of African-Americanism.

Today hip-hop is a global phenomenon (Terkourafi 2010). Widely associated with youth culture (see also Bennett 2000; Cutler 1999; Pennycook 2003) no longer is it considered solely “an expression of African-American culture: it has become a vehicle for global youth affiliations and a tool for reworking local identity all over the world” (Mitchell 2001: 1-2). Moreover, it is the association between hip-hop and resistance movements by marginalised communities that arguably underlies its appeal globally. More specifically, due to its origins, hip-hop culture is typically characterised as a zone encompassing radical politics, which criticises dominant ideologies and engages with issues of poverty and marginalisation (Akindes 2001: 95; Mitchell 2001: 31; Osumare 2007: 62; Terkourafi 2010: 2). Importantly, the adoption and indigenisation of hip-hop by diverse communities globally has

⁴⁶ See Schloss (2009).

paralleled a broadening of its identity in terms of what it represents: “we may in fact be dealing with a case of reappropriation rather than an example of North American cultural imperialism spreading on the wings of globalisation’s structures” (Omoniyi 2009 (b):118; see also Omoniyi 2005, 2006). As noted by Terkourafi (2010: 4, 7 and elsewhere), the adoption of hip-hop culture by diverse communities has also posed challenges to researchers seeking to theorise the identity of hip-hop and hip-hop music: it is not a monolith (see also Dyson 1996). Yet as also noted by Terkourafi (2010), hip-hop does nevertheless appear to maintain an overarching homogeneous identity of sorts. She observes that the heterogeneity and homogeneity of globalised hip-hop is signalled in researchers’ propensity to theorise the culture in terms of notions such as ‘transculturalism’ and ‘global flows’ developed by Pennycook (2007) and Alim et al (2009) respectively (see also Appadurai 1996; Terkourafi 2010: 4).

The emergence of hip-hop music also known as R&B/urban pop is believed to be the consequence of the rhythmic splitting of popular songs by DJs in 1970s discotheques: key among the DJs was the Jamaican-born Kool Herc. Grandmaster Flash, and Afrika Bambaataa were the notable successors of Kool Herc who facilitated the evolution of hip-hop music (Oxford Music Online). As the central component of hip-hop culture adopted and indigenised by a spectrum of communities from around the world hip-hop music is today a global phenomenon (Alim 2009; Lipsitz 1994a, 1994b; Omoniyi 2006: 197; Stokes 1994; Terkourafi 2010). However, as Terkourafi correctly notes (2010: 2) it is certainly not the first musical genre to develop into a globalised one through its adoption by different communities globally, the genres of Jazz and rock’n’roll being notable predecessors.

Furthermore, hip-hop culture and therefore its music have experienced stigmatisation throughout its development as a global phenomenon owing to the radical politics with which hip-hop is associated. However, just as the influence of globalisation has not been unique to hip-hop music neither has stigmatisation; jazz and rock’n’roll were also stigmatised (Terkourafi 2010: 2). Hip-hop music came to be recognised by the mainstream music industry around 1979 (Oxford Music Online). Crucially, the core of

hip-hop music and therefore of hip-hop culture is its language: the language of hip-hop resides *within* its music and is therefore transmitted through hip-hop music. It is the language of hip-hop then, which is directly implicated in its stigmatisation.

Rapping stands chief among the linguistic practices through which the language of hip-hop music is negotiated and communicated. Indeed, hip-hop music is considered synonymous with rap music (Bennett 1999: 78). In brief, rapping is a “narrative form of vocal delivery which is spoken in a rhythmic patois over a continuous backbeat, the rhythms of voice and the beat working together” (Bennett 1999: 78). Importantly, it is rapped lyrics, then, which have been the central focus of considerable linguistic research on hip-hop music. That this is the case is quite obvious in researchers’ tendency to use the terms rap (i.e. rap lyrics, rap song etc) and hip-hop interchangeably (Terkourafi 2010: 1, 14). For example, ‘hip-hop’ is the name given to the genre of song in the title of Androutsopoulos’s (2010: 19-43) paper investigating multilingualism and ethnicity in the song genre. However, the term rap features quite a few times in the author’s reference to the songs as reflected in the paper’s synopsis: “Overall the chapter aims at demonstrating that multilingualism in rap lyrics is a complex discourse process that cannot be properly understood without taking generic and institutional factors into account” (Androutsopoulos 2010: 21). We revisit the relationship between rap, hip-hop and 98+LSLPS in section 3.6.1. Considering that the majority of research on language mixing in contemporary music has tended to concern hip-hop music, a domain dominated by rap, it is possible to deduce that most such research is in fact about rapped language mixing.

Language mixing is the principal tool through which communities indigenise hip-hop (see Cramer and Hallett 2010 for work on theme in mixed language hip-hop lyrics). However, language also serves as the principal medium through which the homogeneity or authenticity (as Terkourafi 2010: 8 terms it) of hip-hop is in some sense preserved. As stated previously, English is often among the participating languages in most contexts of language mixing in music described as representing hip-hop music. This, in turn, projects the seemingly heterogeneous hip-hop musics as part of a single domain of global hip-hop music. The kind of English found in the

musics is also argued to unite them: the English in most hip-hop musics tend to include forms reflective of the Black inner city roots of hip-hop such as AAE⁴⁷ (Garley 2010; Hassa 2010; Williams 2010), while metaphorical and embellished language as well as rhyme are also associated with the English of such musics (Smitherman 1995).

The dominance of English in contemporary global popular music such as hip-hop has led researchers to recognise that hip-hop music evinces the potential to offer valuable linguistic insight regarding the spread and adoption of English by various communities (see also Androutsopoulos 2010: 19). Accordingly, Pennycook (2003: 526) suggests that hip-hop may be one of the best domains for research “if we are looking for some notion of emergent global Englishes”.

As yet, though, a majority of linguistic research on hip-hop music/rap and consequently on English in hip-hop has tended to centre on North America, Europe and to a lesser degree, the African subcontinent (Pennycook 2003: 525 see also Laing 1990; Denzin 1969)⁴⁸. For example, Ibrahim’s (1999) study on rap among African students in Canada shows that rap represents a form of Black stylised English (a derivative of AAE) and plays an important role in enabling students to assert their ‘blackness’ in the racialised contexts they inhabit: that rap, therefore, “must be read as an act of resistance” (365-366; see also Adams and Winter 1997; Cutler 1999; Smitherman 2000 for further research on rap in other North American contexts).

Multilingualism in German rap songs involving English and the languages of Germany’s migrant communities (i.e. Romani, Turkish, Italian, Greek and Russian) and entailed ethnic projections are the foci of Androutsopoulos’s recent paper titled ‘Multilingualism, Ethnicity and Genre in Germany’s Migrant Hip-Hop’ (2010: 19-43). Based on a corpus of 220 songs and drawing on notions of ‘base language’ (Auer 2000) and the ‘symbolic function of language choice’ he outlines the ways in which English and the migrant

⁴⁷ African-American Englishes.

⁴⁸ Examples of such research include Androutsopoulos (2010), Auzanneau (2001), Bennett, (1999: 21-77), Bentahila and Davies (2002, 2008), Garley 2010; Hassa 2010; Higgins (2009), Ibrahim (1999: 349-369), Lüdtko (2007), Omoniyi (2006:195-208, 2009a, 2009b) Pennycook (2003: 513-533) Simeziane (2010) and Williams (2010).

languages have been resourced in rap which he describes in terms of three developmental phases (23). The manner in which ethnicity is inscribed onto language choice (i.e. migrant languages as indexical of ethnic identity) and the way in which the relationship reflects underlying issues of identity are also described. Further aspects of the study involve exploring the structural organisation of the lyrics as well as the relationship between the generic categories of song (e.g. stanza and refrain) and language choice. Bennett's study (1999: 77-91) on German rap of migrant Turkish and North African youth communities in Frankfurt am Main supports Androutsopoulos' findings. He explores the cultural significance of the languages found in the rap lyrics arguing that hip-hop in Frankfurt is being used as a medium for the expression of issues relating to racism and national identity.

Omoniyi's⁴⁹ (2006: 195-208) investigation of language mixing in Nigerian hip-hop concerns songs incorporating a mix of Yoruba and a mix of Englishes such as Standard English and Pidgin English. Overall, the investigation encompasses the levels of phonology, lexis, syntax and discourse, the analysis of the lyrics at discourse level being the most comprehensive. The author also explores features which distinguish the genre from other genres of hip-hop. Examples provided include the absence of "gangsta, heavy sexualisation, misogyny, politics and monolingualism" (Omoniyi 2006: 198). Language mixing in the songs is presented as indicative of the community's "desire to preserve aspects of their Outer Circle identity and at the same time acknowledge and recognise the reality of social change that include Inner Circle norms as a consequence of globalisation in contemporary society" (Omoniyi 2006: 196). Accordingly, the genre is described as a site "of internationalised entertainment which result[s] from and contribute[s] similarly to the same cultural processes of globalisation" (197).

In arguing that aspects of Nigerian hip-hop language reflect indigenisation Omoniyi contrasts his analysis with Pennycook's analysis of Japanese rap lyrics (2003: 513-533). Pennycook defines the presence of English in the Japanese lyrics as signalling affiliation with what is seemingly a cultural 'other'. Omoniyi (2006) argues that this

⁴⁹ For more research on hip-hop in Nigeria see Omoniyi (2005, 2006, 2009a, 2009b).

comparison “subscribes to the principle that rap and hip-hop are traditionally domiciled in the African American community but fails to explore the deeper roots of transplanted cultural repertoires” (201). However, there is an important difference between the environments under consideration by Omoniyi and Pennycook. Nigeria is a post-colonial nation where English functions as an L1 for some and as an L2 for others (Omoniyi 2006: 196-197). In Japan, English is an L2 used essentially for instrumental purposes: the status of English in Japan owes primarily to the forces of globalisation and the fact that English is the global de facto language of commerce. The discussion on English in Sri Lanka in chapter 2 (section 2.3) demonstrated the multiple identities it possesses in Sri Lanka.

Importantly, it is necessary to recognise that English occupies varying and often multiple identities as an L1, L2 and/or de facto *lingua franca* in various societies owing to its unique socio-political and historical development across these societies as part of its evolution as a global language and that the identity of English in a particular society or community will undoubtedly influence and arguably be influenced by the way in which it is represented in musics emerging from the community or society (Androutsopoulos 2010: 19; see also Rutten 1996). It is also worth noting that Pennycook’s research informs a handful of research on language mixing involving English in contemporary music beyond North America, Europe and the African subcontinent.

Crucially, the observation about the difference between Omoniyi’s and Pennycook’s hip-hop contexts, signals the importance of addressing the paucity of research on language mixing involving English in contemporary music beyond North America, Europe and the African subcontinent in efforts to comprehend the nature of English adoption and reinvention in contemporary mixed language music. As discussed in chapters 7, 8, 9 and 10, 98+LSLPS contributes to this paucity and also demonstrates how the status and identity of English in Sri Lanka influences and has been influenced by its dominance in the songs.

Moreover, the complexity of trying to make sense of how English is being adapted and represented in such contemporary domains is predicted by researchers working within the frame of ‘World Englishes’ who recognise that “English in its international context is still not well understood” (Kachru 1985: 11) owing primarily to the “monolingual model of analysis and logistical problems relating to the scale of the global spread of English” (Pennycook 2003: 518; see also Dujunco 2002; Garofalo 1993; Harris 2002; Lavie and Swedenburg 1996; Lee 2002, 2004; and Taylor 1997 for research on hip-hop with a focus on English varieties). This issue too is implicitly addressed in the present study due to the fact that the structural analyses of the songs in terms of a new musico-linguistic analytical framework are part of the effort to explain the songs’ structure in terms of how they are perceived by the genre’s community of artists and audience.

Bentahila and Davies,⁵⁰ (2008: 1-20 see also 2002: 187-207) exploration makes a notable contribution to research on language mixing in music concentrating on a context which does not involve English, the Rai lyrics of Algeria and Morocco which include rap involving Arabic and French. Accordingly, Arabic is shown to be the dominant language of the lyrics. The authors also explore how language mixing interacts with the structural components of song; the relationship between code-switches and rhyme scheme is an example (4-9). The manner in which different languages in a lyric function to highlight and marginalise aspects of a lyric and thus enhance communication and contribute to the overall poeticism of a song is also discussed. Chapters 7, 8 and 9 explore similar features in relation to 98+LSLPS: the difference is that 98+LSLPS lyrics are interpreted in terms of their musical structural environment.

Overall, and importantly (as also noted in section 3.5), we see that existing linguistic scholarship on mixed language in contemporary music (essentially hip-hop music and therefore rap), comprise socio/ethno-linguistic and grammatical analyses of the mixed language considered in isolation of their attendant musical structural contexts in which they are positioned and through which they are communicated (i.e. rendered and

⁵⁰ For reasons provided in chapter 1, note that what the authors referenced in the present discussion term code-switching, is what I refer to as ‘language mixing’ in relation to 98+LSLPS. Chapter 6 explores code-switching scholarship generally (i.e. out with music).

perceived). On the contrary the present study pertains to mixed language in music in its audio format.

3.6.1 Clarifying the relationship between rap, hip-hop and 98+LSLPS

As stated, rap is the principal mode through which hip-hop language is negotiated and communicated and is consequently a global phenomenon in contemporary culture indexical of ‘post-modern practice’ and radical politics (Krims 2000: 8, see also Potter 1995; Rose 1994; Shusterman 1992) albeit stigmatised on account of the stigmatised hip-hop music with which it is associated⁵¹. Although rap music is associated with the development of hip-hop in the 1960s (by pioneers such as Kool Herc, Afrika Bambaataa and Grandmaster Flash referred to earlier) with 1974 considered its symbolic birth year, the roots of rap can be traced to the *Griots* (musician poets of an oral tradition) of West Africa (Keyes 1991: 40) and therefore predates hip-hop by several centuries. Importantly, even though hip-hop music has become a principal locus for rap, the art form is not native or unique to hip-hop. As Krims (2000: 10) states “there is music that is often labelled as ‘hip-hop’ that may not include rapping....there is some rap music that many consumers of the musics would deny the status of the term ‘hip-hop’.” Instead, he argues that rap is a mode of communication which belongs to the genre of *song* (Krims 2000: 41 see also 10-11), noting too that today it is a global phenomenon: “there is scarcely a country in the world that does not feature some form or mutation of rap music” (2000: 5). Indeed, that rap is not analogous to hip-hop music was exemplified in a one-person theatre show presented at the Edinburgh Festival in 2010: rap is the medium through which the actor presents narrations of historical accounts, novels, the Darwinian story of evolution being the topic on the actors show at the festival in 2010 (described on Babas Word website).

Krims (2000) references rhyme to distinguish rapping from other modes of song lyric communication. Moreover, rap is said to elicit more internal rhyme and less line-terminal rhyme (2000: 43). In tracing the development of the art form Krims (2000: 43) proposes that the rhythm of rapping has become more irregular. Elsewhere, the author

⁵¹ For research which seeks to validate rap and destigmatise it, see Brennan (1994), Dyson (1996), Keyes (1996) Potter (1995), Rose (1994: chapter 3), Shusterman (1991).

presents rap in terms of four genres (Krimms 2000: chapter 2). They are *party rap* (57) dealing with celebration, pleasure and humour, *mack rap* (62), a sexualised form of rap concerning sexual prowess, sexual politics, women, the desire for sex etc, *Jazz/bohemian rap* (68), a politically conscious form of rap engaging with issues of exploitation and injustice and *reality rap* concerning ‘ghettocentricity’ and social issues arising from marginalisation and impoverishment. This is discussed in relation to 98+LSLPS in chapter 8.

Establishing the distinction between rap and hip-hop music, that the former is not exclusive to the latter but is rather, a defining and integral component of the system of song is important to 98+LSLPS. As stated in 3.4, rap is dominant in 98+LSLPS despite not occurring in all 98+LSLPS songs and therefore distinguishes the genre from other genres of Sri Lankan music. However, the genre cannot be defined as hip-hop music. For example, even though the term hip-hop does feature in the descriptions of the genre by its artists and principal audience (see chapter 4: 4.5) they also include a range of other terms and phrases such as fusion, pop, rap, ballad, Sri Lankan rock, Sinhala pop *and* hip-hop (as discussed in section 3.3). Moreover, that rap and hip-hop are separate is exemplified in the fact that hip-hop never features in descriptions of the core songs of 98+LSLPS, the songs by the pioneers of the genre, BNS, responsible for the evolution of 98+LSLPS in 1998 and which continue to define it. Indeed, when interviewed, the duo made very clear that these songs are not representative of hip-hop music (refer chapter 4 for details).

Additionally, some of the comments by 98+LSLPS artists and audience indicate a disassociation between rap from its (African and American) hip-hop roots further demonstrating the extent to which the art form has been appropriated and reinvented by the 98+LSLPS community. The following comments by a well known 98+LSLPS lyricist and audience member respectively are notable illustrations:

“A certain style of ancient Sinhala folk songs are rapped. It’s like rap you hear now. Rap isn’t alien to Sri Lanka.” (Interview with artist Wasantha Duggannarala: Murder Dog Magazine, Vol.15, No. 2, p.70).

“When you say rap, it is like we always think of this western culture but in our [Sri Lankan] culture there was something related to rap, people have just not figured it out so far. In old way of worship systems and you know there’s something like that” (IAC 16: interview: 2009).

Whether indigenous Sri Lankan musical genres contained forms of musical utterance similar to rap is something that needs to be investigated further. Some traditional forms of chants associated with traditional dance can be seen to elicit some resemblance to rap since the chants involve speech delivered in the context of acoustically prominent musical rhythm due the fact that they are accompanied by indigenous percussion instruments. However, these chants do not exhibit the compression of language within strict and short musical rhythmic sequences entailing very rapid rendition which distinguishes rapped language; rendering rapped language as natural speech would take much longer (this is explained in detail in chapter 9). Importantly, the significance of the quotes pertain to the fact that the 98+LSLPS community regard rap as indigenised within a unique genre of Sri Lankan music. Furthermore, singing is dominant among the four presentational techniques through which 98+LSLPS songs are delivered; rap comes in second (this is discussed in chapters 7, 8 and 9). Overall, these reasons contribute to the classification of the songs under consideration in this study in terms of the abbreviation 98+LSLPS: the effort is to avoid the pitfall of delimiting the songs according to terms and phrases which may mask the complexities and unique character of their composition.

Moreover, it follows that due to the fact that existing linguistic research on hip-hop song lyrics (see section 3.5) does not consider the lyrics in terms of musical structure (i.e. musical rhythm and attendant notational frames), there exists no linguistic research on rap (which in contemporary music is most prevalent in hip-hop music) which considers the phenomenon in terms of musical structure. That it may be important to do so is signalled in clarifications (referenced previously) about differences between mediated language and spontaneous speech as well as differences between language occurring in music and all other linguistic output (see for example, Hill 1999: 550-551, qtd. in Pennycook 2003). As already stated, the

analytical framework developed to explore 98+LSLPS is based on musical structure. Furthermore, presently, there appears to be no research on rap occurring in contemporary mixed language musics from South Asia. The investigation of 98+LSLPS addresses this issue being a contemporary South Asian genre of mixed language music dominated by rap.

3.7 The relationship between the Sri Lankan music industry and 98+LSLPS

The evolution of Sri Lankan contemporary popular music, music geared towards the 'mass' essentially Sri Lankan market, paralleled the emergence of what could be regarded as a quasi local commercially oriented popular music industry: 98+LSLPS occupies the status of the mainstream style/form of music within this industry a status the genre came to occupy soon after its emergence in 1998 (Murder Dog Magazine Vol. 15 No.2, p 64-84; see also figure 2 in chapter 4 for a diagrammatic summary of the 98+LSLPS community and its place within the Sri Lankan and global music industries).

The 1960's marked the advent of commercial popular music in Sri Lanka. Its growth paralleled the growth of Sri Lankan radio. The first radio broadcasting service was a state-run network (Radio Ceylon subsequently designated the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation or SLBC). The SLBC has always included English, Sinhala and Tamil channels. However, the media that arguably revolutionised the status of Sri Lankan contemporary popular music and established it as the unequivocal mainstream of Sri Lankan music garnering almost the entire population of Sri Lanka were private radio and TV networks which first emerged in the 1990s. Explained in chapters 4 and 5, the networks are hugely popular; the privately owned radio networks identified as 'Sinhala' (medium) radio networks are among the most highly rated in the country.

Crucially, as stated in section 3.3, the development of 98+LSLPS owes to the growth of Sri Lanka's privately owned radio networks. The networks that provide the greatest airplay to 98+LSLPS songs are the most popular radio networks in the

country. (e.g. Sirasa FM Hiru FM, Y-FM⁵²- according to the Sri Lanka Market Research Bureau and Ogilvy Marketing International)⁵³. In turn, the sustained airplay of 98+LSLPS on these networks maintains the status of 98+LSLPS as the country's leading genre of music. As explained comprehensively in chapter 4, the principal audience of 98+LSLPS chiefly responsible for promoting the status of 98+LSLPS represent nearly 40% of the country's youth. Encouraging the airplay of the songs on radio networks by listening to, voting for and requesting the songs is an important method through which these individuals support 98+LSLPS. The audience's affirmation of their affection for the songs encourages the radio networks to continue to air the songs in the expectation that the increased airplay of the songs would further augment audience support for the networks⁵⁴. Consequently, both the privately owned local radio networks and 98+LSLPS have benefited hugely from their partnership. 98+LSLPS also dominates some of the leading Sri Lankan music internet archives (e.g. Elakiri.com).

Overall, though, a lack of proper organisation coupled with a weak national economy has prevented the Sri Lankan music industry from evolving into a cohesive organisation capable of fostering local musicians and promoting new music in a manner that provides the musicians with the financial support they require and deserve. Most local musicians are unable to earn a decent living through music (production and performance) alone and as such tend to collaborate with other artists to minimise the costs entailed in the production and marketing of music and be involved in related business occupations - this is discussed in chapter 4.

⁵² The website of Y-FM is provided in appendix 1.

⁵³ The Lanka Market Research Bureau (LMRB) and Ogilvy Media International private limited are the two leading institutions which provide evaluations of the popularity of Sri Lankan media networks on the basis of viewer ratings. The information underlying the claim that the listed radio networks are the most popular in Sri Lanka include annual national assessments carried out by the LMRB between 2002 and 2010 and similar assessments carried out by Ogilvy Media International between 2005-2009. The findings are corroborated by the 98+LSLPS artists who were interviewed. Further details are included in chapters 4 and 5.

⁵⁴ Ensuring that they have a consistent and ideally expanding audience is crucial to these radio networks since it is this that guarantees that the networks are selected for purposes of marketing/advertising which in turn provides them with the revenue necessary for their survival and growth.

3.8 The relationship between the contemporary global popular music industry and 98+LSLPS

Popular music is the core of the contemporary global music industry: globalisation is the undisputed underlying influence driving the global popular music industry (Frith 2007; Giddons 1999; see also Heller 2005). Specifically, the industry is driven by multi-national music marketing co-operations whose governing ethos centres on promoting and marketing music for a global ‘mass-market’ audience (Garofalo 1993; Taylor 1997). As Pennycook (2003: 523), states, globalisation parallels global corporatisation involving the exchange and merging of concepts and ideologies. He argues that these processes manifest in different ways societally and nationally. The consequence is heterogeneity; the emergence of new domains and reinvention of old domains (Appadurai 1996). The kinds of contemporary music discussed in section 3.6 illustrate this. 98+LSLPS involving the fusion of Sinhala and English within heterogeneous integrations of musics and variously classed by its community (e.g. popular/pop hip-hop, fusion, pop-fusion etc.) epitomises this exchange of concepts and ideologies at the level of ‘art’ (see also Bentahila and Davies 2002; Otchotet 2000). The result is the evolution of new art which is nevertheless not altogether independent but echoes other artistic sources too. As also mentioned in section 3.6.1, the emergence of such concepts as ‘transculturalism’ and ‘global flows’ (Appadurai 1996; Pennycook 2007; Alim et al 2009) demonstrate researchers’ attempts to deal with these realities.

The artists who occupy centre stage within global popular music industry are among the most celebrated and wealthiest individuals on the planet. It is therefore unsurprising that the ultimate aspiration of most popular music artists is to become members of this financially lucrative domain. The lure of the financial benefits awaiting artists whose music is recognised internationally is perhaps stronger for artists from developing countries: recall the insecure financial status of the popular music artists in Sri Lanka mentioned in 3.7. Importantly, the artists’ aspiration entails that their music conform to the dictates of the industry which are based on mass-market demands. It is also a fact that the global popular music industry is a part of the economy of developed countries and therefore, the dominant musical expectations of the industry at any given point tend to stem from the musical

traditions of these countries. Consequently, artists from developing countries are faced with the task of endeavouring to generate musics that have the capacity to capture the peoples of their own countries while also having the potential to be accepted into the mainstream global music industry (Melville 2000: 40).

The dominance of rap in 98+LSLPS may be interpreted as an example of the above mentioned effort. However, as explained in 3.6, rap is also regarded as part of Sri Lankan music by the 98+LSLPS community of artists and principal audience. Similarly, the presence of blends involving diverse musical styles in contemporary popular musics (such as 98+LSLPS) may also be interpreted as another example of musicians' effort to address both local and global audiences. The feature of musical blending is particularly apparent in the contemporary musical output of countries like Sri Lanka that possess unique indigenous traditional musical genres. A consequence of this kind of musical output is the paucity of terms suited to defining the musics since the lexicon of global musical discourse derives primarily from 'western' and European musical traditions (Monelle 1992, Email: 3/10.2008): a further reason why the songs implicated in this study are termed 98+LSLPS. The varying definitions assigned to 98+LSLPS by its artists and audience briefly mentioned in 3.6 and detailed in chapter 4 demonstrates the community's recognition that prevailing musical terminology is inadequate for purposes of describing heterogeneous musics which inhabit the space of the contemporary global popular music industry.

As for language, English (discussed in section 3.6), is the dominant language in the field of contemporary global popular song (see for example, Bentahila and Davies 2002: Pennycook 2003: Sancton 2000: Otchev 2000). This is not surprising considering the prestigious status English occupies globally (described in chapter 2 and 3.6) and the afore-mentioned geographical nuclei of the contemporary global popular music industry. Therefore, the inevitable likelihood is that contemporary popular song artists will conform to the linguistic practices of the musics of these regions (tantamount to the use of English) in their efforts to gain a stronghold within the highly lucrative industry. Nevertheless, and crucially, the analyses of 98+LSLPS in chapters 7, 8 and 9 demonstrate that the presence (indeed dominance) of English

in the songs is not simply about artists' endeavours to become internationally recognised but forms part of a complex reinvention and expression of collective linguistic identity by the 98+LSLPS community.

3.9 Summary and conclusion

The outline of Sri Lanka's musical development in section 3.2 provided insight into the Sri Lankan socio-historical background of 98+LSLPS. In explaining the reasons for grouping a set of songs under the construct 'post 1998, (leading) Sri Lankan popular song', in 3.3, the songs were shown to represent a separate musical genre. The chapter proceeded (in 3.4) to detail the specific feature which distinguishes the songs from other Sri Lankan and non-Sri Lankan musics. Mixed language lyrics consisting essentially of Sinhala and English blends with the occasional inclusion of Tamil and even rarer occurrences of Divehi and Arabic were described as the key distinguishing feature of 98+LSLPS. Section 3.5 explored factors which differentiate language mixing in music from spontaneous speech as well as all other linguistic phenomena. That language mixing in music represents 'mediated' communication embedded in musical (rhythmic and notional) structure was the most important factor noted.

Hip-hop music was described as the leading contemporary global music genre for language mixing in section 3.6. The discussion incorporated an overview of hip-hop culture, its globalisation and indigenisation highlighting the dominance of English within this context, a description of the defining feature of hip-hop music, namely rap, and an overview of prevailing linguistic research on hip-hop music including mixed language lyrics. It was noted that there exists no research which considers the musical and linguistic interface of language mixing in music or linguistic research on language mixing occurring in South Asian musics: both areas are addressed by the present study on 98+LSLPS. Section 3.6.1 explained an important distinction between rap and hip-hop with which it has tended to be most associated. Specifically, rap was shown to be an independent art form occurring in various kinds of music despite being integral to hip-hop music. 98+LSLPS was presented as an example of rap occurring in a genre which cannot be defined as representing hip-hop alone.

The description of the relationship between 98+LSLPS and the Sri Lankan music industry in 3.7, showed 98+LSLPS to be the mainstream musical genre in what is essentially a quasi poorly organised network. Section 3.8 cast 98+LSLPS within the broader locale of the contemporary global popular music industry. With reference to 98+LSLPS, the discussion demonstrated how artists who wish to become internationally recognised and enjoy the entailed financial benefits are compelled to engage in a constant mediation of their own indigenous expressive impulses in relation to the musical and linguistic 'norms' of the commercialised global music industry in which they are straddled.

Chapter 4

The artists and principal audience of 98+LSLPS: A ‘Community of Practice’

“Music, then, plays a significant part in the way that individuals author space, musical texts being creatively combined with local knowledges and sensibilities in ways that tell particular stories about the local, and impose collectively defined meanings and significance on space” (Bennett 2004: 3).

4.1 Introduction

This chapter concerns the artists and principal audience of 98+LSLPS. It describes them explaining how they collaborate with each other in their invention, communication and preservation of 98+LSLPS. Accordingly, they are shown to be Sri Lankan youth and young adults of Sinhala ethnicity between approximately 15 and 39 years of age representing a group of over 5.5 million individuals. Urbanisation interpreted in terms of individuals’ socio-economic backgrounds is used to further describe the principal audience (and to a lesser degree the artists) while gender is also referenced briefly in the discussion about the artists.

It might be worth noting that descriptors used to describe the 98+LSLPS community of youth and young adults are congruent with those considered to underlie the major youth categories of Sri Lanka: “In Sri Lanka, major divisions among youth are based on ethnicity, class, language, ideology and rural-urban differences” (Hettige 2002: 63). Crucially, an adaptation of Wenger’s (1998 initially presented in Lave and Wenger 1991) prototype Community of Practice (CofP) model is used to describe the 98+LSLPS artists and principal audience who are consequently shown to resemble a CofP. The discussion draws on interview data from artists and audience and a range of metalinguistic sources (e.g. artists’ websites, the principal media through which the songs are aired and naming practices). The interviews with the artists and audience members comprised semi-structured informal interviews. Questions were posed with a view to generating a discussion where the interviewees would feel inclined to talk about the songs as well as their relationship with and attitude towards

them. All artists were interviewed individually. The interviews included person to person interviews, phone interviews and email communication. Members of the 98+LSLPS audience were interviewed in groups. Each group consisted of between 3 and 6 individuals. Appendix 1 includes the questions asked from the artists and audience members respectively and which formed part of the interviews.

Section 4.2 introduces the CofP model and proceeds to explain how the 98+LSLPS artists and audience are described in relation to it. The model comprises two complementary components, one which relates to how CofP members interact with each other in their endeavour to realise a joint enterprise referred to as their *participation of their practice* while the other concerns their collective output referred to as their *reification*. Both components are typically defined in terms of three concepts *mutual engagement*, *shared repertoire* and *joint enterprise*. This chapter describes the 98+LSLPS CofP's 'participation of their practice' in terms of these three concepts. Chapters 7, 8 and 9 represent an investigation of the 98+LSLPS CofP's reification on the basis of an analysis of a 98+LSLPS song sample introduced in chapter 5. Section 4.2 concludes with a diagram of the 98+LSLPS artists and principal audience representing their interactions with each other and the relationship between them and the Sri Lankan and global popular music industries (explained in the preceding chapter in sections 3.7 and 3.8): the rest of the chapter which follows is in many respects an explanation of this diagram.

Section 4.3 concerns the mutual engagement of the 98+LSLPS artists and principal audience. The artists are described in terms of two groups in 4.3.1: the core artists (4.3.1.1) and non-core artists (4.3.1.2). Next 4.3.2 describes the genre's principal audience in terms of ethnicity (4.3.2.1), generation (4.3.2.2) and 'urbanisation' (4.3.2.3). Section 4.3.3 elaborates further on the mutual engagement between the 98+LSLPS artists and principal audience. A description of the resources used by the artists and principal audience of 98+LSLPS in their participation of their practice representing their shared repertoire constitutes section 4.4. Their shared repertoire is presented as including a linguistic, musical and musico-linguistic component. However, due to the linguistic objective of this thesis, the emphasis in this chapter is

on the linguistic component of the CofP's shared repertoire. The composition and character of the musical and musico-linguistic components are clarified in later chapters. In section 4.5, the 98+LSLPS CofP's participation of their practice in terms of their joint enterprise is presented as a 'portrait' corresponding to how 98+LSLPS is regarded by the members and drawn on the basis of interview data and a selection of other metalinguistic information. The portrait is shown to consist of two opposing profiles⁵⁵. The manner in which the CofP's participation of their practice influences and is influenced by two constellations, the Sri Lankan and global popular music industries is discussed in section 4.6.

4.2 On adapting the Community of Practice (CofP) Model to 98+LSLPS

Since its introduction, Wenger's (1998) CofP prototype has been used extensively for sociolinguistic study (see Meyerhoff 2002) in particular for the study of small groups of individuals. Linguists such as Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992, 2003) define a community of practice (CofP) as "an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavour" (1992: 464) and who engage in the "construction of a shared orientation to the world around them- a tacit definition of themselves in relation to each other and in relation to the nature of other communities of practice (Eckert 2005: 16). The individual's identity is seen to evolve in terms of "a sense of place in the social world" (Eckert 2005: 17) by virtue of his/her membership in the many communities of practice that define her/him. These fundamentals correspond to Wenger's presentation of the model. However, here I draw on Wenger's (non-discipline specific) model because the context explored in this thesis is one which involves the blend of language and music. Interestingly, it is the musical nature of the context which underlies the model's applicability to describing the relationship between an extremely large and widely dispersed collective of several million individuals.

For Wenger, (1998) *practice* is the core that unites individuals as participants of a 'community of practice' (i.e. CofP) and generates a community's 'output'. The

⁵⁵ As explained in chapter 1, the analytical framework introduced in chapter 6 and used to analyse the 98+LSLPS song sample in chapters 7, 8 and 9 is a consequence of trying to reconcile this portrait at the level of the songs' lyrics.

‘output’ of a CofP sustains its identity and reinforces solidarity between the community members. Wenger describes *practice* as an aspect of “human engagement in the world [which] is first and foremost a process of negotiating *meaning* (1998: 53) neither in the literal sense of the word as defined in dictionaries nor in an abstract philosophical sense. Instead, the word used in this context refers to meaning “an experience of everyday life” (Wenger 1998: 52). More specifically, it is important to be acutely conscious of the ‘constructedness’ of identity, especially linguistic and cultural (collective or individual) identity when articulated through the prism of individuals’ perceptions and views. So in the case of the 98+LSLPS artists and principal audience, the description and theoretical reasoning of their collective linguistic identity becomes tantamount to a description and theoretical reasoning of how they have chosen to construct and project themselves in and through their state of comprising the 98+LSLPS community.

As stated in 4.1, two complementary components; *participation* and *reification* form the basis of a CofP’s ‘practice’ as defined by Wenger (1998: 66-68). Typically, a CofP’s practice (as participation and reification), is explored through three interrelated concepts, namely, *mutual engagement*, a *shared repertoire* and *joint enterprise* (Wenger: 1998; see also Meyerhoff 2002: 526-549, 2006: chapter 9). It is the desire to realise a *joint enterprise* which unites individuals as a CofP. *Mutual engagement* between individuals through the negotiation of a *shared repertoire* foregrounds the realisation of a *joint enterprise*. Accordingly, a CofP’s ‘participation of their practice’ refers to members’ negotiation of their shared repertoire through mutual engagement with a view to realising a joint enterprise. A CofP’s ‘reification’ refers to the output/joint enterprise of members’ mutual engagement through their negotiation of a shared repertoire. Wenger argues that the participation and reification of a CofP’s practice “do not imply each other and therefore do not substitute for each other” (1998: 66) but remain inextricably bound together (1998: 61-62). In other words, he maintains that it is essential that both be evaluated in order to understand the dynamics of a CofP.

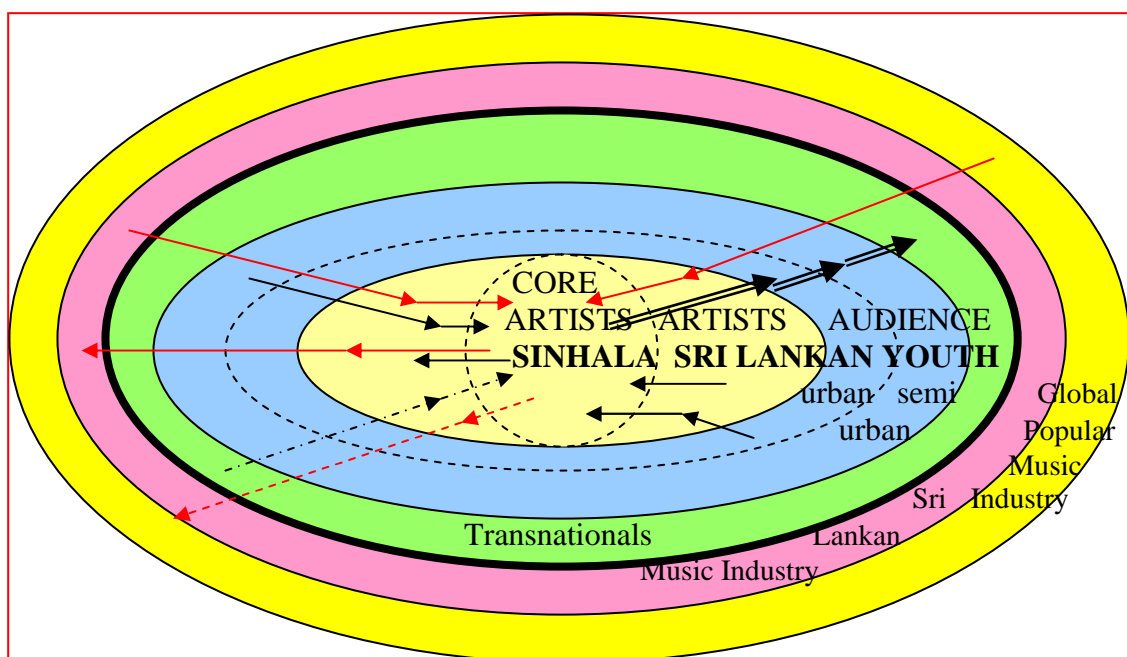
So in brief, the 98+LSLPS artists’ and audience’ practice of their participation can be described as incorporating the processes of 98+LSLPS song invention and

preservation. This includes the artists (the individuals responsible for performing and inventing the songs) and principal audience members (responsible for promoting and sustaining the genre by listening to and purchasing the songs in CD and DVD format etc), engaging with each other through the negotiation of a shared repertoire comprising linguistic, musical and musico-linguistic components. The Sinhala and English languages form the core of the shared repertoire's linguistic component. The repertoire's musical component includes both non-indigenous and indigenous musical (notational and rhythmic) styles while a set of four presentational techniques (i.e. rap, singing, rhythmic and A-rhythmic rendition) through which the songs are communicated/performed (discussed in chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9) constitute the repertoire's musico-linguistic component.

Figure 2 is a visual synthesis of the 98+LSLPS artists' and principal audience's participation of their practice to be explained in the ensuing discussion in terms of their mutual engagement, shared repertoire and joint enterprise.

Figure 2

The CofP of Post 1998 Leading Sri Lankan contemporary popular song (98+LSLPS) and its place within the Sri Lankan and global popular music industries.



- All the circles within the thick black line bordering the mauve circle represent the 98+LSLPS CofP. The mauve and yellow circles represent the Sri Lankan and global music industries respectively.
- The arrows represent links between the circles relating to how the groups represented by them influence each other. The head of the arrow corresponds to the direction of the influence, the tail its source.
- The arrows concerning links between the CofP members are in black; the arrows in red concern the relationship between the 98+LSLPS CofP and the Sri Lankan and global popular music industries.
- The patterned arrows represent comparatively weak links between their source and reach.
- Non-patterned arrows represent close bonds.
- The double arrow represents heightened influence.
- The patterned lines separating the two inner circles and the ‘Local’/Sri Lankan audience’ circles are intended to reflect the fact that the groups are connected to each other.

4.3 The artists and audience of 98+LSLPS and their ‘participation of their practice’ in terms of their mutual engagement

Typically, mutual engagement (the negotiation between the members of a CofP) involves individuals having personal contact with each other (Meyerhoff 2006: chapter 9, 2002). However, as will be shown, the dynamics of engagement between the 98+LSLPS community members do not always involve direct interpersonal contact between them. This is due to the size and geographical diffusion of the 98+LSLPS community members coupled with the musical character of their enterprise. Music is “not an embodiment of an idea but an expression of an idea” (Monelle 1992: 8) and includes communication between two groups, inventor/s,

performers (artist/s) and an audience through music: the communication could, for example, involve the audience listening to a piece of music on CD⁵⁶.

Collectively, as will become apparent in what follows, (and as stated in 4.1), the artists and principal audience of 98+LSLPS are youth and young adults of Sinhala ethnicity⁵⁷ within the approximate age range of 15 to 39. Most are resident in Sri Lanka, mainly in the country's more urbanised cities: some are resident abroad. According to demographic statistics based on the annual census' between 2001 and 2006, over 40% of Sri Lanka's gross population are youth ranging between the ages of 15 to 39 (Department of Census and Statistics, Sri Lanka⁵⁸; The Government of Sri Lanka: website). However, these statistics do not represent the relatively smaller group of youth of Sinhala ethnicity or who have Sinhala roots referred to in section 4.3.2.2 who are temporarily or permanently resident abroad and who are part of the 98+LSLPS principal audience (represented by the outer audience circle of figure 2): hence the reason for the statement that the 98+LSLPS CofP comprise *over* 5.5 million individuals.

4.3.1 The (core and non-core) artists of 98+LSLPS

The artists of 98+LSLPS are the individuals responsible for communicating/performing and most often inventing a 98+LSLPS song and can be identified in terms of two groups, 'core artists' and 'artists' (represented by the two

⁵⁶ Wenger proposes three modes of individual belonging which he maintains are distinct (1998: 173). They are *engagement, imagination and alignment* according to which individuals' participation of their practice can be further classified. However, this study is essentially about identifying broad patterns of participation for members in terms of the roles of artist and audience comprising the role categories of the 98+LSLPS CofP. This focus on investigating group identity relates to the objective of this thesis which concerns articulating the collective projected linguistic identity of the 98+LSLPS artists and principal audience.

⁵⁷ Edwards and Krakow (1985), Edwards (1991) and Knack (1991) are some researchers who have explored ethnically defined networks.

⁵⁸ These censuses were derived during the time of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. Specifically, data from four northern districts of the twenty four districts constituting the country are absent as the districts were inaccessible at the time being occupied territories of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). However, the majority of the population residing in these districts are of Tamil ethnicity whereas the core of 98+LSLPS includes individuals of Sinhala ethnicity.

inner circles of figure 2)⁵⁹. The members of the two groups interact with each other as part of their artistic negotiations as represented by the patterned boundary line separating the groups in figure 2.

4.3.1.1 The 98+LSLPS core artists' participation of their practice in terms of their mutual engagement

Members of the core artists circle are the epicentre of 98+LSLPS and include three artists/musicians. They are the male duo BNS (including Bathiya Jayakody and Santhush Weeraman), the pioneers of the quintessential 'mixed language lyrics within musical-blends' style which distinguishes 98+LSLPS, and the musician/producer Iraj (Iraj Weeraratne). Their music is the core of 98+LSLPS. All three artists are of Sinhala ethnicity, are between 25 and 35 years of age and can be regarded as belonging to the category of 'urbanised' males. The artists are famed both within the 98+LSLPS community as well as nationally; this is due to fact that 98+LSLPS is Sri Lanka's mainstream popular music genre (described in chapter 3: 3.4; see also Murder Dog Magazine 2008: 67)⁶⁰.

As stated in chapter 3, it was in 1998 that BNS gained recognition in Sri Lanka following their hit song *Vasanthaye* from their debut album titled the same. The song was the first in a series of songs and albums produced by the duo. The unparalleled popularity of *Vasanthaye* and the huge successes that accompanied the duo's subsequent releases established them as the country's leading artists in the field of contemporary popular music as affirmed by the extensive media coverage they received and continue to receive. Indeed, it would be very difficult to find Sri Lankan

⁵⁹ The creation of music, particularly music following the development of the phonograph cylinder, the first device that could preserve music performance, has incurred the growing contributions of individuals other than composers and performers (i.e. sound technicians) to music production. However, performers remain the most important contributors to the invention and realisation of music.

⁶⁰ The homepage of Y-FM one of the country's leading youth radio contains a feature on BNS on its homepage describing the duo as "Sri Lanka's most accomplished musical duo in the field of ethnic fusion music" (Y-FM: website: 18.09.2009). Moreover, all the artists interviewed confirmed that Y-FM is a leading Sri Lankan youth radio network ('Lich' – webmaster of the country's leading online Sri Lankan music archive ElaKiri.com: interview: 2008; 'Fill- T': interview: 2008; D.Ekanayake: interview: 2008 [leading DJ formerly of Hiru FM]; Krishan Maheson: interview: 2009; Amila Paranamanage: interview: 2009; Hiran Thenuwara: interview: 2009; Santhush Weeraman: interview: 2009; Chinthya Fernando: interview: 2009; Iraj Weeraratne: interview: 2009).

youth (and in all likelihood adults) resident in Sri Lanka who have not heard of BNS and this includes youth of all the country's ethnic communities. The following are some notable achievements of BNS as of 2009 (BNS: website; Santhush Weeraman: interview: 2009 and the Y-FM radio network).

- (a) Over 450 live performances (as of January 2011) with audiences exceeding 20,000 individuals (BNS: website).
- (b) 14 entries in the Sri Lankan music charts, 7 no.1 hits, and eight albums including a total output of over one hundred songs (as of mid 2009).
- (c) Composers and performers of the Official Sri Lankan cricket anthem (by the Board of Cricket Control in Sri Lanka).
- (d) A music publishing and recording contract under Universal Music Publishing, Hong Kong and Sony BMG Music Entertainment.
- (e) Performing the opening act for prestigious musical events involving internationally renowned artists (e.g. UB 40 in 2002, the 'Vengaboys' in 2001) held in Sri Lanka (see BNS website for further details).
- (f) Runners-up place in the 4th Pop Music Festival in Zernjanin Serbia in 2003. Silver award winners at the "Azia Dauzey" Music Festival in Kazakhstan in 2001 and bronze award winners at the 4th Shanghai Asia Music Festival in China 2001.

Although the duo's achievements may not seem like much when compared with the kind of internationally recognised accolades (e.g. Grammys, Brit awards etc) and chart successes enjoyed by the leading names of the international global popular music industry, the achievements are significant in the context of Sri Lanka's cultural topography. In other words, the kinds of accomplishments that underlie artists' stardom in the international zone of pop-culture remain somewhat peripheral to the dynamics of the Sri Lankan music industry. For example, Sri Lanka is not on the tour circuit of internationally reputed popular music artists. Therefore, the concerts involving internationally acclaimed artists listed in relation to BNS were the only ones of their kind to have been held in the country in each of those years. Consequently, each of these concerts received enormous publicity. Sri Lanka's weak

economy, climate of political instability (due mainly to its protracted thirty year war albeit recently concluded), and lack of an organised local music industry (discussed in chapter 3: 3.6), are the key factors underlying this situation. Importantly, the paucity of these kinds of events in Sri Lanka has meant that performing at one of them automatically confers on the selected artists the status of the country's leading musicians.

Reputed as a musical 'institution', Iraj is arguably the only other artist whose financial and musical status parallels that of BNS within the domain of contemporary Sri Lankan popular music (Iraj: website; DJ-Dilon: interview: 2008, [DJ of one of the country's leading Sinhala radio channels Hiru-FM]). For the most part, Iraj's presence as a performer involves group performances with various 98+LSLPS artists: "I have a big team working with me...sometimes I work with senior people sometimes new" he stated (Iraj Weeraratne: interview: 2009). Specifically, compared to BNS, Iraj does not possess a strong identity as a vocalist. Instead, his artistic identity in 98+LSLPS is diffused and encompasses that of vocalist, composer *and* producer. The tendency for artists to collaborate with one another is by no means unique to Iraj but is rather a defining trait of the mutual engagement between the 98+LSLPS artists generally: a number of BNS' songs involve collaborations too. Discussed in sections 4.3.2 and 4.3.3 this is the reason for the patterned border line between the two artists' circles in figure 2. What distinguishes Iraj's contribution in his collaborative songs from BNS' contribution in their collaborative songs is that Iraj's contribution as a vocalist is marginal whereas BNS are the principal vocalists in their songs.

As of 2010, Iraj's song output includes around forty songs incorporating two song albums, his debut *IRAJ* in 2004 and *Aloke* in 2007 and a number of singles (Iraj: website; Iraj Weeraratne: interview: 2009). Furthermore, Iraj holds fifteen No.1 Sri Lankan chart hits to his credit and his debut album holds the record for the fastest selling debut album and fastest selling album in Sri Lanka's history with over 100,000 copies sold in Sri Lanka in just four weeks (Iraj: website). However, his overall artistic output (in terms of generating songs) is comparatively less than BNS.

Importantly, the iconic reputation he possesses within 98+LSLPS notwithstanding these quantitative figures is testimony to the popularity of the songs for which he has been responsible. Another noteworthy feature of Iraj's songs is that many of them contain mixed language lyrics involving Sinhala, English *and* Tamil; untypical for 98+LSLPS (discussed later in sections 4.3.2 and 4.4). Recall too the linguistic definition of the genre presented in chapter 3: 3.4.1.

Overall, the musical output of the core artists through the invention and performance of 98+LSLPS songs constitutes their engagement with the 98+LSLPS audience (Santhush Weeraman: interview: 2009, Murder Dog Magazine: 2008: 68). As core artists whose songs epitomise the trends of 98+LLSPS, BNS and Iraj play a central role in sustaining and promoting the genre and thereby establishing a sense of community between both the 98+LSLPS artists and between the artists and principal audience. Bearing in mind that the performance/communication of a song may involve a live performance at a concert, a CD recording or recorded transmission through the radio or internet, each time a core artist performs/communicates a 98+LSLPS song he (they are all males) engages with the community at two levels. At one level, the performance represents an implicit act of communication between the artist and members of the artists circle by virtue of the fact that the song reaffirms the defining features of 98+LSLPS. However, it also represents a relatively more explicit act of communication between the artist and principal audience of 98+LSLPS since the songs are specifically directed at this audience. The arrow from the core artists' circle to the artists' and audience circles is intended to represent this directionality of mutual engagement between the community members.

Moreover, because the core artists consist of specific and very well known individuals regarded as the pioneers of the genre, their mutual engagement reflects a more definitive act of sustaining and promoting the genre and hence the community compared to their community counterparts, the members of the artists' and audience circles (also represented in figure 2). As explained in section 4.3.1.2, the membership of the artists' circle tends to vary as it is a group which continues to expand gathering new members. So while their mutual engagement is crucial to the CoffP, most

members of this group (there are exceptions such as *leading* artists also explained in section 4.3.1.2) do not reflect the same degree of explicit association with the genre as do the core artists. Likewise, the membership of the 98+LSLPS principal audience is also highly dynamic, indeed far greater than that of the artists. Furthermore, the audience's engagement with the community (explained in sections 4.3.2 and 4.3.3) is collective by nature; individuals do not stand out as is the case with members of the artists' circles.

The core artists' circle members' iconic status within 98+LSLPS is complemented by their entrepreneurship. They have managed to develop their musical prowess as successful businesses while concurrently engaging in the development of 98+LLSPS. *Saregama Productions* (BNS: website) one of Sri Lanka's leading state of the art recording studios and event management companies is owned and run by BNS. The studio is where many of the best selling chart hits by others in the industry have also been produced. Similarly, Iraj hosts both television and radio shows related to music. According to listener ratings, the show 'The hip-hop party' aired weekly on Y-FM, one of the country's leading Sinhala radio stations succeeded in becoming the most listened to teenage radio programme in the country in one year (Iraj: website, Y-FM radio: website). Moreover, Iraj too owns his own production studio.

Furthermore, the artists have in more recent times been tending to get increasingly involved with the movie industry. BNS's contribution to the sound tracks of local movies include *Hiripoda Wassa* in 2006 *Asai Mang Piyambanna* in 2007 (this sound track went on to become the highest selling sound track of the decade in Sri Lanka), *Rosa Kele* in 2008, *Julia* in 2009 and *Uthathara* in 2010. Similarly, Iraj completed the soundtrack for a Sinhala/Hindi movie produced in India in early 2009 (Iraj Weeraratne: interview: 2009).

4.3.1.2 The 98+LSLPS (non-core) artists and their 'participation of their practice' in terms of their mutual engagement.

This discussion of the 98+LSLPS non-core artists explores their mutual engagement with each other and the core artists. The popularity and success of 98+LSLPS

epitomised by the core artists led to a massive proliferation of (non-core) artists (represented by the artists' circle in figure 2) generating songs that emulated the defining mixed language and mixed musical style features of the core artists' songs. As summarised by a 98+LSLPS audience member, "BNS made a change and there were others who followed after them" (IAC-16: interview: 2009). Recall that the arrow stemming from the core artists' circle to the artists' circle is intended to represent the core artists' continuing influence on these artists. The membership of this group is quite large.

As with the core artists, these artists too were found to be Sri Lankan youth/young adults predominantly of Sinhala ethnicity between the ages of 20 and 39 and urbanised: most of them, certainly the leading artists of the group reside either in the capital Colombo, the country's urban locus or its suburbs. While some have been born in Colombo others have moved to the city in order to develop their musical careers (Fill-T: interview: 2009; Santhush Weeraman: interview: 2009; Iraj Weeraratne: interview: 2009; Yashan De Silva: interview: 2009; Murder Dog Magazine 2008: 82). The number of artists of Tamil ethnicity in this group is marginal. Furthermore, the core audience's generational parameters and ethnicity (they are youth/young adults of Sinhala ethnicity) predict that the artists are also probably youth/young adults of Sinhala ethnicity. More specifically, successful communication between artists and audience in a creative communicative sphere such as popular song is likely to be greatly facilitated if there is generational and linguistic parity between them. 98+LLSPS' status as the country's leading genre of popular song owes to the successful communication between its artists and principal audience

Importantly, the dominance of 98+LSLPS in Sri Lanka owes *equally* to the contributions of these artists as it does to the core artists. As with the core artists, each time an artists' circle artist generates a 98+LSLPS song s/he re/affirms his/her identity as a 98+LSLPS artist. The engagement also represents an engagement between the artist and the genre's principal audience. This is depicted by the thick black arrow commencing from the core artists circle, proceeding through the artists'

circle and leading to the audience circles in figure 2. Likewise, this process reinforces the status of the core artists as the epicentre of the 98+LSLPS community. The arrow stemming from the artists' circle and leading to the core artists' circle in figure 2 represents this. We revisit the mutual engagement between these artists and their community later.

Another feature of the artists' circle group (noted previously) is that its membership tends to be unstable. That is to say, new members enter frequently while others cease to be members, the popularity of the artists' songs among the 98+LSLPS principal audience being the sole determinant. Judging by the 98+LSLPS songs aired on the most popular Sri Lankan radio networks (e.g. Y-FM and Hiru-FM), it would appear that the artists' circle contains around one hundred artists at any given time⁶¹. Even though it is impossible to ascertain the number of artists of this group in more specific terms it is possible to identify specific 'leading artists' within the group whose popularity and fame throughout the 98+LSLPS CofP is extensive and whose position within the circle arguably borders the two artists' circles. Between ten and twenty percent of the artists' circle members can be considered leading artists ('Lich': interview: 2008). Overall, the 98+LSLPS artists' popularity and status within the community resemble a cline⁶² commencing from the core artists' circle and culminating at the end of artists' circle (see figure 2).

It is also particularly interesting to find that the Sinhala ethnic identity of these artists is reinforced by the context of 98+LSLPS song names (see also Bentahila and Davies 2002: 191; and Omoniyi: In Press: 206, who recognise the importance of naming practices). Now it may be argued that the analysis of 98+LSLPS song names belongs to the exploration of the 98+LSLPS CofP's reification since a song's name is, after all, part of the song. However, reification as interpreted in this thesis refers to the *internal* organisation of the songs. Accordingly, consider the following summary

⁶¹ Some details about these networks were provided in chapter 3. Chapter 5 provides more details about them including information regarding the basis for referring to them as the country's leading radio networks.

⁶² A scale of sustained gradation.

relating to the languages of the names of the albums and songs of the core artists as well as of three of the leading artists/groups of the artists' circle.

BNS' output included 6 album releases between 1998 and mid 2007⁶³, namely, Vasanthaye (1998), Life (Manusathkule) (2000) Tharunyaye (2002) Neththara (2005) and Ras Vihidena (2007). 4 of the 6 albums have titles that are entirely in the Sinhala language while one, Life-(Manusathkule), has an English and Sinhala component to it. Moreover, 29 (approx. 89%) of the 33 songs comprising the albums have Sinhala titles: the remaining 4 have English titles.

Iraj has released two albums to date. The first is titled IRAJ (a Sinhala name) while the second includes a Sinhala and English component and is titled Chapter 2; Alope. 17 (over 50%) of the albums' 30 songs have Sinhala names.

Ashanthi, the only female to have earned a reputation as a leading solo artist of the artists' circle has to date released one solo album. The album has a Sinhala name, Sandawathuren. 14 (over 90%) of its 15 songs have Sinhala names.

Centigradz is one of the leading all male groups/bands of the artists' circle. The title of their debut bestselling album is Heritage (Urumaya): it contains an English and Sinhala component. Of the album's 10 songs (which includes an instrumental piece), 9 (over 90%) have Sinhala names.

6th Lane is the oldest group/band within the artists' circle. Even though their debut bestseller album bears their name 6th-Lane, an 'English' name, 13 (over 90%) of the 14 songs comprising the album have Sinhala names.

In brief, over 85% of the ninety songs constituting the albums summarised here have Sinhala names. Furthermore, seven of the ten albums have names that are entirely in

⁶³ BNS released three more albums; one in late 2007 and two in 2009. They too were found to include Sinhala titles while over 90% of the album songs have Sinhala names. However, the calculations presented in this part of the chapter were done before the albums were released. Crucially, the naming practices of these albums support this discussion.

Sinhala while two of the remaining three albums have names combining English and Sinhala. Sinhala identity is also evident in the Sinhala names of the twelve 98+LSLPS sample songs analysed in chapters 7, 8 and 9. Overall, the artists' practice of assigning their songs and song albums Sinhala names, specifically names with Sinhala roots⁶⁴ projects the songs as strongly Sinhala in identity. This is particularly interesting in light of the fact that English and Sinhala are both equally dominant in the songs as apparent in the analyses of 98+LSLPS song sample in chapters 7, 8 and 9.

As we know, L1 speakers of Sinhala are typically members of the Sinhala ethnic community (refer chapter 2 for details). If in a context of music such as this, all its defining songs are found to elicit a Sinhala identity, then it is very likely that the artists who seek to become members of this group will be those who intend to produce songs that complement and promote this identity and who therefore have a close affinity with the identity. Furthermore, hardly any songs in the above list have Tamil titles despite the remarkable fact that many songs by the core artist Iraj (although a minority in terms of the 98+LSLPS collective), have lyrics that combine English, Sinhala *and* Tamil. Firstly, recall that (as explained in chapter 2) Sinhala and Tamil are the only two languages that correspond to specific ethnic communities in Sri Lanka. English does not reflect ethnic identity in Sri Lanka. Although the vast majority of speakers of English as an L1 and L2 in Sri Lanka are of Sinhala ethnicity (see chapter 2), this owes to the fact that the community is the country's largest ethnic community. Indeed, English usage can be seen to conceal individuals' ethnic identity. Consequently, the absence of Tamil and dominance of Sinhala in the songs' titles reinforces the Sinhala identity of the songs which, in turn, predicts that their human source must also be of Sinhala ethnicity.

Additional evidence that the artists are Sinhala can be seen in the fact that nearly all 98+LSLPS audio songs are aired exclusively on Sinhala radio networks: "Sinhala

⁶⁴ Note that the effort here is to identify signals that point to an overarching Sinhala ethnic identity as far as the artists are concerned; this is not to imply that 'English' titles are incompatible with Sinhala identity but rather to recognise elements (such as names with Sinhala roots) that project a more direct affinity with Sinhala ethnicity in terms of the Sinhala language.

radio channels [*sic*] the most powerful weapon for us to cater to the people” (Fill-T: interview: 2008). “Today I would say most of our songs are played on Sinhala channels” “since most of our songs are Sinhala and a majority of the country also speak Sinhala definitely Sinhala have [*sic*] a definite stronghold” was what the core artist’s circle member Santhush of BNS had to say about radio networks that promote the duo’s songs (Santhush Weeraman: interview: 2009).

It is also interesting to note that nearly all the leading artists of the artists’ circle are male. Recall also that the three core artists are also male. Moreover, only three of the 98+LSLPS sample songs analysed in later chapters (and introduced in chapter 5) feature a female lead performer; in two, the performer is an artist called Ashanthi De Alwis (better known as ‘Ashanthi’). As stated in the preceding summary concerning song names, Ashanthi is a leading 98+LSLPS female artist. Importantly, she is among a handful (of around five) female artists to have achieved such a status (see also Murder Dog Magazine 2008: 64-84). She received a publishing contract from Sony Music and M-Entertainment for the period between 2003 and 2007 and is reportedly the first and youngest Sri Lankan female artist to have signed with an international music label (Ashanthi: website). However, notwithstanding her status as a soloist, she is often identified as a crew member of BNS (‘Lich’: interview: 2008); recall the reference to the tendency for artists to collaborate with each other in the invention and performance of the songs. Indeed, the majority of the songs of her album *Sandawathuren* (released in 2006) involve collaborations between her and other artists (Murder Dog Magazine 2008: 64-84).

Let us now revisit the mutual engagement of the 98+LSLPS artists with the 98+LSLPS community. Their engagement varies according to their particular artistic roles: some are soloists (e.g. Ashanthi, Ranidu), some are in groups as band members (e.g. 6th Lane, Centigradz) while others occupy multiple identities as soloists and part time band members (through collaboration) in specific songs. Soloists interact directly with their audience. That is, they communicate directly with their audience whereas being a member of a band involves the artists interacting with their respective band members first (in the process of performance) before engaging with

their audience⁶⁵. As briefly referred to in section 4.3.1.1, the growing tendency among members of this circle as well as between members of this and the core artists' circles is for collaborative song productions. In fact, an important reason for the popularity of the 'leading artists' of the artists' circle is that many of their songs involve collaborations with the core artists. That this is not just a prevailing but growing trend is apparent in the musical development of new artists entering 98+LSLPS such as Yashan De Silva described as one of the "youngest artists in Sri Lanka's mainstream music industry" ("Leisure Land": The Island Newspaper: 10.06.2009). Twelve of Yashan's seventeen songs (his total song output in 2009) aired on local (Sinhala) radio networks involved collaborations between him and other artists from both the core and artists' circle. Similarly, nearly all the songs in his maiden album involve collaborative efforts. (Yashan De Silva: Email: 2009; "Leisure Land": The Island Newspaper: 10.06.2009).

Both groups of artists can be seen to benefit from this interaction. On the one hand, the effort affords members of the artists' circle the kind of professional career exposure they seek by virtue of being associated with the core artists' circle members. Similarly, the core artists' circle members benefit artistically from the contributions of different artists. This sort of collaboration also heightens the potential for a member of the 98+LSLPS artists' circle to become a core artists' circle member. The roots of this trend for collaboration lie in the financial instability of what was described previously (in chapter 3) as Sri Lanka's quasi popular music industry. As a Disc Jockey of one of the country's leading Sinhala radio networks stated, "these artists can't make it on their own" (DJ-Dilon: interview: 2008). Specifically, however, the financial insecurities experienced by 98+LSLPS artists relate to the artists' circle members: the core artists are among the most affluent musicians in the country. Notably, excluding profits generated through live performances, many musicians in Sri Lanka are unable to sustain themselves financially solely through music unless they utilise their musicianship for other commercial activities such as, for example, advertising and producing 'jingles' for radio channels.

⁶⁵ Bear in mind, that as stated previously, the performance/communication of a song may be achieved in various ways (i.e. as a live performance, through a CD recording or electronic media).

According to the webmaster of one of the country's largest online music archives Elakiri.com, the approximate remuneration per broadcasting that some leading 98+LSLPS artists received when their songs were broadcast on a leading television network in 2007 was Rs. 2.00 (around 0.01 Euros) ('Lich': interview: 2008). BNS were reportedly paid a mere Rs. 640.00 (4.20 EUR) by a local radio network for a song from their album *Neththera* (released in 2005) which was subsequently aired over 300 times on the network ('Lich': interview: 2008). This problem is compounded on account of the very steep financial investments required in order to produce and record music ('Lich': interview: 2008). The 98+LSLPS core and artists' circle artists interviewed by this researcher were unanimous in their view that 98+LSLPS song production is very costly (see also Murder Dog Magazine 2008: 66). Consequently, very few artists select music making/performance as a principal career. Moreover, the core artists' overall financial stability has meant that the songs they produce are of a superior sound quality which in turn ensures that their songs are at a decided advantage as far as the zone of Sri Lankan music chart hits are concerned.

4.3.2 The audience of 98+LSLPS

That an initiative of a little known duo (BNS) involving the invention of a song type blending two languages (Sinhala and English) with different musical styles evolved into a distinct local genre of music could not have been possible except for the consistent support and patronage of a cohesive audience. The principal audience of 98+LSLPS are mainly semi/urbanised Sri Lankan youth/young adults of Sinhala ethnicity; most range between the ages of 15 and 39. Collectively they comprise several million individuals (see Hettige 2002: 26). Figure 2 represents the audience in terms of three concentric circles (two in pale blue and one in pale green).

The members represented by the two interconnected blue circles closest to the diagram's epicentre are distinguished on the basis of urbanisation. Collectively they are the 98+LSLPS audience resident in Sri Lanka – hence the pre-modifier 'local'. The use of the terms 'urban and semi-urban' in this study corresponds broadly to the

98+LSLPS audience members geographically (explained later). The individuals represented by the third audience circle are also Sri Lankans of Sinhala ethnicity or with Sinhala ethnic roots, and Sri Lankan transnationals of Sinhala ethnicity resident/studying/working abroad (i.e. individuals employed in the middle east etc)⁶⁶.

We first explore the 98+LSLPS principal audience in terms of ethnicity and generation; the locally based audience is also further described in terms of urbanisation. This is followed by a discussion of the mutual engagement between the audience members of the three groups as well as their engagement with the 98+LSLPS artists⁶⁷.

4.3.2.1 The audience of 98+LSLPS as ‘Sinhala’

Generally, determining the identity of the principal audience of a musical genre on the basis of its artists’ definition of their intended target audience can be problematic: the individuals who actually listen to the music may in fact be completely different to the people who are being targeted by the artists. And yet, to do so in relation to 98+LSLPS does appear to make perfect sense due to the fact that it is a *leading* form of *popular* music in Sri Lanka. What renders and sustains a popular genre of music a leading genre (as also discussed in chapter 3: 3.3) is the close bond between an audience and its artists. Specifically, the genre’s status owes to the audience’s support of the genre and artist’s awareness of this and sustained satiation of the audience’s expectations whilst at the same time ensuring that his/her own artistic creativity continues to evolve. Consequently, it follows that the artist’s ability to consistently meet the expectations of an audience stems from the artist’s awareness about the broad identity (in terms of nationality, age range language etc) of his/her audience. So it is in this sense that the comments of the 98+LSLPS artists garnered

⁶⁶ Strictly speaking, diasporic communities are the consequence of ‘forced migrations while voluntary migrations lead to the formation of transnational communities’. However, it is argued that it is not always possible to distinguish migrant communities according to these criteria (see Cheran 2001, 2002).

⁶⁷ Note that members of all three audience circles represented in figure 2 were interviewed. Refer appendix 1 for details about the way in which the members are referenced in this thesis.

from the interviews and their websites become indexical of the 98+LSLPS principal audience's identity.

Nearly all of the artists' comments indicated the audience to be of Sinhala ethnicity, regardless of whether the members are resident within Sri Lanka or abroad. For example, Santhush of BNS had this to say: "since most of our songs are Sinhala and a majority of the country also speak Sinhala definitely Sinhala we have a definite stronghold" (Santhush Weeraman: interview: 2009). Core artist Iraj's description of his audience echoed Santhush's description; "Sinhalese, Sinhalese, definitely Sinhalese (Iraj Weeraratne: interview: 2009). Similarly artists' circle member Amila of the group Centigradz stated that "obviously the majority is [*sic*] people who speak Sinhala" (Amila Paranamanage: interview: 2009) a claim complemented by another leading artist: "Sinhala radio channels [*sic*] the most powerful weapon for us to cater to the people" (Fill-T: interview: 2008). Recall that as explained in chapter 2, the Sinhala language is considered the linguistic core of Sinhala ethnicity. The audience description by arguably the only Tamil 'leading' artist of the artists' circle also confirmed that the principal audience of 98+LSLPS are Sinhala: "as a Tamil artist [I believe 98+LSLPS has] quite a huge following of Sinhalese" (Krishan Maheson: interview: 2009).

Interestingly, despite being of Sinhala ethnicity and acknowledging that the vast majority of their audience are Sinhala, many of the artists were keen to maintain that they have a Tamil fan-base too. "The songs are not directed only to the Sinhala community or Tamil community it's a blend" claimed Santhush of BNS (Santhush Weeraman: interview: 2009). Bear in mind also that some of Iraj's songs (the other core artists' circle member) contain lyrics involving Tamil, Sinhala and English blends signalling an intended audience including individuals who define themselves in terms of the Sinhala and Tamil languages. Nevertheless, that the majority of the 98+LSLPS principal audience members are Sinhala remains true in terms of the overwhelming prominence of Sinhala identity that features in the comments of these artists about their audience. Moreover, the fact that the principal media through

which the songs are aired are Sinhala radio networks also demonstrates that the songs' principal audience are of Sinhala ethnicity.

Although the radio networks are central to the 98+LSLPS CofP's negotiation of the songs, they are not the only medium through which 98+LSLPS is negotiated. Audio visual media such as video also feature as a context through which some 98+LSLPS songs are negotiated: the audio-visual media type with the broadest national coverage in Sri Lanka is television. The country is home to both state and privately owned television networks; notably, the privately owned networks promote 98+LSLPS more than the state owned networks. However, this context is not particularly useful to the focus of the present discussion because most television networks in Sri Lanka tend to broadcast programmes and commercials in Sinhala, Tamil and English and therefore cannot be distinguished as catering to any specific ethnic communities or age groups.

Moreover, the mutual engagement of the 98+LSLPS audience is not entirely one of listening to 98+LSLPS, attending concerts by the artists and purchasing audio and video versions of the songs. Notably, the involvement of some members is considerably more proactive and extends to actively promoting 98+LSLPS by disseminating songs through the internet and radio networks. Specifically, comments made by these more 'involved' audience members, also indicate that the principal audience of 98+LSLPS is essentially of Sinhala ethnicity. For example, the webmaster of the leading Sri Lankan music website Elakiri.com stated that "they go as Sinhala" when describing the collective identity of the songs on the website ('Lich': interview: 2008).

Live performances and online archives form the core source through which 98+LSLPS is communicated to the third audience circle members. For example, 98+LSLPS accounts for approximately 60% of the songs found on the leading Sri Lankan internet music archive Elakiri.com (accessed on 8.04.08). According the site's webmaster the only monolingual songs are those with Sinhala language lyrics; English or Tamil occurs only in the context of mixed language lyric songs (Lich':

interview: 2008). Furthermore, this is what he had to say about the website's core audience: "English also listen Sinhala also listen" ('Lich': interview: 2008). Specifically, his reference was to an audience of Sri Lankans who speak English and/or Sinhala as an L1. Considering that the leading songs on this archive are Sinhala-English mixed lyric 98+LSLPS songs it seems reasonable to conclude that the members of the outer audience circle are most likely to be of Sinhala ethnicity.

4.3.2.2 The 98+LSLPS audience as youth and young adults

All comments by the artists as well as audience members interviewed demonstrate that the 98+LSLPS principal audience members are youth and young adults mostly within the age range of 15 to 39. There was slight variation in the specific age ranges provided by the interviewed members. This is only natural considering the fact that the comments were related to members' attempts to define an audience of several million individuals of Sinhala ethnicity. Crucially, though, the overall consensus of the members interviewed is that the principal audience members (including those of the outer audience circle) fall within the age range of 15 to 39. The following are some examples of comments by 98+LSLPS principal audience members: "*mama tharunayek vidiyata ae sinduvalata kamathi*" Trans. "as a young person I like those songs" (CAC-1: interview: 2009); "*godak tharuna kattiya, vayasa vadi aya kemethi na*" Trans. "mostly young people [like the songs]; older people aren't interested" (CAC-7: interview: 2009), "young aged between 15 and 40, hip Sri-Lankans, mostly Sinhalese" (OAC-39: interview: 2010). Similarly, one member defined the audience members as below 40 years (CAC-23: interview: 2009) while another was of the view that the members are between 18 and 35 years (CAC-20: interview: 2009).

The artists' comments regarding the ages of their audience included direct comments as well as implicit signals in their description of the songs. For example, the comment by core artist Santhush of BNS that "what [they; BNS] want is for the Sri Lankan youth to feel that what they have is strong enough to compete with the sound of Ricky Martin" suggests that the principal audience of 98+LSLPS comprise youth (Santhush Weeraman: interview: 2009). Likewise, one of the youngest leading

artists of the artists' circle Yashan stated that his audience is “gonna be the youth say between the age groups fourteen to thirty [*sic*]” (Yashan De Silva: Email: 2009). Observe that the comments by this artist coupled with those of the core artists represent those of the source and present/future of 98+LSLPS: this suggests that youth have always been and continue to be the target principal audience of 98+LSLPS artists. Moreover, bear in mind that a youth aged 25 in 1998 will be 38 years old in 2011. This factor contributes to our conclusion that the age range of the 98+LSLPS principal audience is between 15 and 39.

Moreover, the financial success of 98+LSLPS core and leading artists on account of the popularity of their musical output owes to an audience who purchase the songs (for example, in the form of albums or by downloading them from the internet) and tickets to the concerts of these artists. Little children of eight could be fans of the songs but obviously cannot input the financial resources that drive the popularity of 98+LSLPS. Consequently, they cannot be considered part of the 98+LSLPS principal audience. Furthermore, the context of the local radio networks which air 98+LSLPS signals that the local 98+LSLPS principal audience are youth. More specifically, the fact that the radio networks are extremely popular indicates that they are aware of the identity of their principal audience and are successfully catering to their musical tastes. The networks define their principal audience as youth. For example, Y-FM, one of the country's leading radio networks and importantly one of the main networks that airs 98+LSLPS is described as “the original youth channel” (Y-FM: website).

Compared to the members of the two inner audience circles, members of the outer audience circle tend to be dispersed across a range of different countries⁶⁸. The Middle-East is home to a large concentration of Sinhalese of approximately 100,000 (Zunzer 2004: 15). Moreover, Italy as well as the UK, Canada, Australia and Japan are also growing to be dominant contexts for Sinhala transnationalism (Cheran 2001, 2002; Hennayaka-Lochbihler & Lambusta 2004). The generational parameters of the

⁶⁸ Compared to Sri Lankan Tamil transnationalism which has been well researched, Sinhala transnationalism remains under researched (Fuglerut 1999; McDowell 1996; Cheran 2001, 2002).

transnational Sinhala communities correspond to the occupational profiles of the communities. For example, the large Sri Lankan migrant community in the Middle-East consists mainly of Sri Lankans who are temporarily resident employees; consequently, most are young adults (approximately between the ages of 20 and 39). On the contrary, the generational spectrum of the Sinhala ethnic transnational communities in countries where Sri Lankans are permanently domiciled is predictably more diffused and includes the elderly and children (see Abrahams 1999: 167).

In addition to engaging with 98+LSLPS through electronic media such as the internet, the chief context which defines the membership of the outer audience circle involves live concerts by 98+LSLPS artists in the countries of the Sri Lankan transnational communities. Importantly, the indigenous/local character of the 98+LSLPS concerts arguably augmented by their international (non-Sri Lankan) geographical setting can be seen to offer the transnational audience members with a means to engage with a deeply personal aspect of their own identity alien to the cultures of the countries in which they are resident. Therefore, it would seem unlikely that the outer audience circle members' ages will conform to the 15 to 39 year range associated so far with the 98+LSLPS principal audience. Indeed, many of the artists (e.g. BNS, Iraj, Ashanthi, Centigradz etc) have performed in a range of countries (i.e. UK, Australia etc). However, according to the findings of the present study, the Middle-East is the epicentre of 98+LSLPS concerts. Consequently, it is possible to conclude that the majority of the 98+LSLPS outer audience circle are also youth and young adults.

Furthermore, the songs' themes encompassing a wide array of topics (ranging from love, relationships, sexuality and politics to cultural identity) and the manner in which they are treated strongly suggest that their audience are youth and young adults. This is explored in chapter 8. The artists also stressed that their song topics are intended for youth and young adults. Additionally, while gender was shown to be a determining factor as far as the artists were concerned (the overwhelming majority being male) it is not relevant to defining the 98+LSLPS principal audience as

confirmed by some of the artists interviewed: “ it [the songs] goes [*sic*] to both [female and male]” stated a leading artist Fill-T (Fill-T: interview: 2008).

4.3.2.3 The locally based audience: the *urban* versus *non-semi urban* cline

The differentiating descriptor between the inner and centre audience circles (figure 2) is urbanisation. The use of the terms urban and semi-urban to differentiate the members refers to classifying them in terms of the Sri Lankan geographical region to which they belong. The centre audience circle labelled semi-urban in figure 2 is intended to represent members inhabiting regions that are comparatively less urbanised than the country’s ‘urban’ centres such as its capital Colombo and other major cities (e.g. Kandy, Galle). The degree of urbanisation in these ‘urban’ cities and their influence on the rest of the country varies. Colombo, for example, can be said to exert greater influence on the rest of the country by virtue of being the nation’s commercial capital.

More specifically, as with most of the world’s capital cities, Colombo is the cosmopolitan urban financial hub of the nation and home to many of the nation’s major public and private sector businesses and institutions. Colombo’s importance as the country’s urban nucleus underlies the fact that it is in many respects the nation’s cultural ‘trend-setter’ particularly in the arena of popular culture and music. This is not to suggest that Colombo exhibits a specific cultural identity; as some researchers have noted it does not do so (Perera 2002). It is its status as a trend-setter that is being emphasised. Indeed, 98+LSLPS can be seen to be a consequence of urbanisation in Sri Lanka: the recorded versions of the songs show that a spectrum of technology based musical tools, salient to most genres of contemporary popular music globally (synthesisers, mixers, recording equipment etc.) have been resourced. Furthermore, all the major local (e.g. television and radio) media networks including the radio networks which play a crucial role in disseminating and promoting 98+LSLPS in Sri Lanka are also based in Colombo.

The cultural impact of Colombo over the rest of the country is particularly strong owing to the country's size. However, it is also very important to recognise the complexity and inevitable degree of abstraction entailed in trying to articulate the diffusion of several million individuals in terms of the notion of 'urbanisation'; hence the patterned lines between the two circles in figure 2. Recall that the local audience of 98+LSLPS constitute the majority of the 98+LSLPS community. For example, Colombo, the country's capital is home to the nation's largest slum population. Nevertheless, it is also true that Colombo, its suburbs and the major cities of the country are more commercialised and therefore, remain more urbanised than the rest of the country. The inner audience circle members located in these urbanised city centres tend to belong to the middle and upper middle social classes. Compared to their fellow centre audience circle members, these members are better educated, tend to be employed and are consequently more secure financially. These features are congruent with research on youth in Sri Lanka (Gunawardena 2002: 100-130; Hettige and Mayer 2002: 13; Hettige 2002: 28, 32) which show parallels between urbanised youth, higher levels of employment and education. The way in which English and Sinhala define these two groups also differs somewhat and is explained in section 4.4

4.3.3 Clarifying the 98+LSLPS CofP's 'participation of their practice' in terms of their mutual engagement.

Dispersed across the country, it is the members of the centre audience circle, the majority of the 98+LSLPS community, who are the main target audience of the 98+LSLPS artists. Their support underlies the status of 98+LSLPS as a *leading* genre of *popular* music in Sri Lanka and the accompanying celebrity status of the 98+LSLPS artists. Being from the less urbanised regions of the country, the majority of the members belong to economically challenged backgrounds. "We do shows outstation and when I'm singing one of my tracks, I see kids in like slippers and torn caps break dancing" was how a leading artist's circle member described the genre's audience members (Randhir Witana in Murder Dog Magazine 2008: 69). Likewise, leading artist Fill-T described them as follows: "[sic] they are the people who are

running by buses and they have one vehicle or something like that...they do not living the high high life” (Fill-T: interview: 2008), while according to an inner audience circle member and leading local disc jockey, they are “the people who go home in a bus” (DJ-Dilon: interview: 2008)⁶⁹.

The membership of the urbanised relatively more affluent inner audience circle is small compared to the millions comprising the membership of the centre audience circle: not surprising considering that Sri Lanka is a developing country with a high unemployment rate (Hettige and Mayer 2002). However, these audience members are the artists’ first target. This is because the artists consider them the nation’s cultural trendsetters and therefore, the intermediaries who will link them with their main focus, the dense centre circle audience. This further explains why most of the artists of 98+LSLPS reside in Colombo or its surrounding suburbs. As core artist Santhush of BNS stated, “if Colombo youth like our songs, [*sic*] masses automatically follow that’s the way it works in society” (Santhush Weeraman: interview: 2009). The double arrow stemming from the core artists’ circle and proceeding through the artists’ circle to each of the audience circles culminating in the outer audience circle is intended to reflect this engagement of the artists with their audience (Chinthy Fernando: interview: 2009; Krishan Maheson: interview: 2009; ‘Lich’: interview: 2008; Randhir: interview: 2009).

Combined, the members of the inner and centre audience circles form the audience of the Sri Lankan radio networks on which the songs are broadcast and which play a pivotal role in facilitating artist-audience negotiation. The importance of radio networks to the mutual engagement of the 98+LSLPS CofP was also confirmed by the following comment by an audience member when talking about the context in which the mutual engagement between artists and audience is most pronounced: “*godak durata ahanne radio-wala*” Trans. “mostly it is through the radio that [we] listen” (CAC: interview: 2009). Sri Lanka has an estimated 23 radio networks- Sirasa

⁶⁹ As is the case in most developing nations, the public transport system in Sri Lanka is under developed. While there are exceptions, it would be correct to assume that the majority of individuals who commute by public transport habitually, either do not possess a private vehicle or cannot afford to commute by private vehicle on a regular basis.

FM, Y-FM and Hiru-FM are its three leading radio networks (data based on Lanka Market Research Bureau 2002-2010 listener ratings, Ogilvy Media private limited 2005-2009 listener ratings. Confirmed by D. Ekanayake: interview: 2008; 'Lich': interview: 2008). Furthermore, these were the channels mentioned by the 98+LSLPS artists interviewed in this study when asked to list the leading radio networks that broadcast their music. Crucially, as also confirmed by the more 'involved' audience members (radio network DJs and producers etc) and artists, these networks elicit a strong Sinhala identity. For example the dominant medium of presentation on these radio networks is Sinhala (D. Ekanayake: interview: 2008; 'Lich': interview: 2008).

The two black arrows from the centre and inner audience circles respectively, leading to both the artists' and core artists' circles, are intended to represent the mutual engagement between these audience members and the artists in the context of the audience members actively supporting 98+LSLPS (by patronizing the artists' concerts, purchasing 98+LSLPS song CDs, requesting 98+LSLPS on leading radio programmes and making them 'hits' etc). The following comment by an audience member about her younger sisters demonstrates the close bond between these locally based audience members and the songs and therefore by implication these members and the artists: "my sisters sing this [Iraj's song *Kotthu*] all the time...they just go on singing...they know all the words and they just go on singing" (IAC-10: interview: 2009). Without the 'positive' negotiation of these individuals the context of 98+LSLPS would cease to exist; there would be no 98+LSLPS CofP. That the artists are aware of this was evidenced in comments indicating that the members of the inner and centre audience circles are their primary target audience. For example, the artists stated that projecting a strong local Sri Lankan identity that would galvanise all Sri Lankan youth is one of their core objectives (Santhush Weeraman: interview: 2009, Iraj Weeraratne: interview: 2009). Importantly, they are of the view that they have achieved this: "I'm talking Island-wide...there is a crowd [of 98+LSLPS audience members] in each and every corner of the Island" ('Dirty 4' in Murder Dog Magazine 2008: 79).

Geographically dispersed and small in number, the presence of an outer audience circle (the Sri Lankan Sinhala youth/young adult transnationals) is due to the 98+LSLPS artists' popularity with the members of the two inner audience circles. In turn, the group's mutual engagement of 98+LSLPS serves to project the artists as 'international' artists within the geographical confines of Sri Lanka thereby elevating the status of 98+LSLPS and its artists locally. Specifically, most concerts listed as 'international concerts' on the 98+LSLPS artists' websites and referenced by local media as part of promoting the artists locally, are essentially concerts organised by and held for these transnational communities. For example, the core-artists' circle member Iraj's website describes him as "the success story of modern Sri Lanka blending not just East with West, but the languages of all communities of our troubled island, to make music that can be nothing but truly international" (Iraj: website).

Indeed, nearly, all the outer audience circle members interviewed confirmed that it is they (the Sri Lankan outer audience circle members) who are responsible for organising concerts for 98+LSLPS artists abroad. As stated by core artist Bathiya of BNS, "when a Sri Lankan artist performs in America, the turnout is mostly Sri Lankans" (Bathiya Jayakody in Murder Dog Magazine 2008: 68)⁷⁰. So the projected 'international' status the artists occupy within Sri Lanka is basically due to the patronage of the members of this outer audience circle (Ashanthi De Alwis: Email: 2009; 'Lich': interview: 2008). The following comment by a centre audience circle member confirms the perception among the local audience that the 98+LSLPS are internationally reputed: "*prasiddai kiyanne ee kattiya international gihilla avith thiyana*" Trans. "famous meaning those people have got international exposure/status" (CAC-19: interview: 2009, also confirmed by CAC-2: interview: 2009).

⁷⁰ Other notable forms of international exposure received by 98+LSLPS include a BBC 1 interview with BNS during one of their tours in the UK. Similarly, some 98+LSLPS songs by, for example, BNS, Ashanthi and Yashan have received airplay on international radio networks such as BBC Radio 3. However, the core international platform of the artists comprises Sri Lankan transnationals.

Overall, the three audience circles represent a cline in terms of the intensity of their mutual engagement with the 98+LSLPS community. The members of the two inner audience circles are more closely connected to 98+LSLPS than those represented by the third circle primarily because the vast majority of the 98+LSLPS concerts takes place within Sri Lanka and are aimed at these locally based individuals, as are too, the main electronic media (i.e. radio networks) through which the songs are communicated. This is why the arrow leading from the outer audience circle to the artists' and core artists' circles is patterned.

4.4 The shared repertoire underlying the 98+LSLPS CofP's 'participation of their practice'

As stated in section 4.2, a CofP's participation and reification of their practice underlies a shared repertoire. Sharing does not, however, mean that members possess identical repertoires, that the knowledge/skills they possess in order to negotiate their joint enterprise is similar. On the contrary and as will become apparent in the discussion of the 98+LSLPS CofP's shared repertoire, "elements of a repertoire can be very heterogeneous" (Wenger 1998: 82). Importantly, a CofP's shared repertoire includes all elements of the repertoire. As Wenger states, "they gain their coherence not in and of themselves as specific activities, symbols or artefacts, but from the fact that they belong to the practice of a community pursuing an enterprise" (1998: 82).

In linguistic inquiry, delineating a shared linguistic repertoire involves the analyst either focusing on linguistic variables being negotiated by community members within the space of their participation of their practice, or doing so in the context of the linguistic consequences of their participation, or both (Meyerhoff 2002: 528). The present study incorporates both. Specifically, this discussion explores the repertoire of the 98+LSLPS artists and principal audience in terms of their participation of their practice, that is, in terms of what 'appears' to be the sources of their song output/reification. As stated in section 4.1, chapters 7, 8, and 9 represent explorations of the community's shared repertoire in terms of their 'output', the internal structure of 98+LSLPS songs culminating in the description of the

98+LSLPS community's collective linguistic identity in chapter 10. As also stated previously, the shared repertoire of the 98+LSLPS community comprises a linguistic and musical component. In brief, Sinhala, Tamil, Divehi, Arabic and English as well as musics with Sri Lankan and non-Sri Lankan roots constitute the shared repertoire of the 98+LSLPS CofP. Due to the linguistic focus of this study, the main thrust of the current discussion concerns the linguistic component of the repertoire. However, the analyses of the songs in chapters 7, 8 and 9 include exploring the repertoire's musical component, owing to the musical structural basis of the analytical framework used to analyse the songs.

As we know, Sinhala and English mixed language lyrics distinguish 98+LSLPS (refer section 3.3.1). As the inventors and performers of the songs, the artists of 98+LSLPS are required to have specific knowledge of the linguistic (and musical) resources underlying the songs. It follows, then, that they will have knowledge of Sinhala and English. We also know that the 98+LSLPS principal audience are the intended addressees of the artists' efforts, the recipients of the songs. Therefore, it is to be expected that individuals classified as the 98+LSLPS principal audience would possess linguistic competence (and a 'feel' for the musics) congruent with the languages (and musical styles) occurring in the songs. After all, there can be no truly meaningful communication between artists and audience through vocal song in the absence of linguistic compatibility between them.

Bentahila and Davies' (2008: 3) are among those who predicate linguistic compatibility as underlying negotiation between artists and audience in vocal song contexts⁷¹. Effective communication between artists and a principal audience is the basis of 98+LSLPS' status as Sri Lanka's leading genre of popular music. Consequently, it is possible to conclude the 98+LSLPS principal audience possess knowledge Sinhala and English. Moreover, the fact that the 98+LSLPS community are essentially of Sinhala ethnicity and fact that English and Sinhala constitute the linguistic sources of the ethnic community (explained in chapter 2) support this

⁷¹ As explained in chapter 3 (section 3.6) their investigation involved Rai songs with mixed language lyrics.

conclusion. Accordingly, both languages can be seen to be core constituents of the 98+LSLPS community's shared linguistic repertoire.

However, as noted previously, the core artists' circle member Iraj's song lyrics involve trilingual English, Sinhala and Tamil blends. As a core artist his songs are among the most important songs of the genre. So not only does this appear to make Tamil part of the 98+LSLPS community's shared (linguistic) repertoire but it would seem that it occupies a similar status to Sinhala and English as a core constituent of their repertoire. Nevertheless, two factors explain why Tamil is not an important constituent of the community's shared linguistic repertoire.

Firstly, Iraj is the only artist whose songs feature Tamil to this degree. The dominant linguistic trends of the majority of 98+LSLPS artists echo the linguistic trend of BNS whose music is characterised by Sinhala and English integrations. The summary regarding the languages occurring in the songs of the core and leading artists presented in figure 1 in chapter 3: 3.4, confirms Sinhala and English as the core of the community's shared linguistic repertoire. Indeed, it may appear strange that most 98+LSLPS artists' circle members' songs do not emulate the linguistic trends of Iraj's songs considering that their aim is to aspire to the status of the core artists' circle members. While ideological and political reasons might account for the paucity of Tamil in the songs, there is also a fundamental sociolinguistic reason for this.

Explained in chapter 2, the Sinhala language defines members of the Sinhala ethnic community, the community primarily implicated in 98+LSLPS. It was also explained that not only is English taught as a compulsory language in all state schools but is ubiquitous in Sri Lanka being present in nearly all spheres of social, cultural and political life in Sri Lanka. In fact, it would be virtually impossible to find individuals of Sinhala ethnicity between the ages of 15 and 39 (the generational parameters of the 98+LSLPS artists and audience) who have no familiarity whatsoever with the English language. Even those with negligible competence might at least be able to utter an English word or two (even if the word is perceived by them as representing

Sinhala). On the contrary, Tamil presence and usage is limited featuring mostly in social and cultural contexts involving individuals of Tamil ethnicity. It was only relatively recently that the Tamil language was included into the state school curriculum as a compulsory subject: it was an optional subject formerly. More specifically, most of the 98+LSLPS community members grew up in an era when there was very little natural exposure to the Tamil language. Consequently, it cannot be assumed that the 98+LSLPS community members will have any knowledge of Tamil. The absence of Tamil in the songs is therefore not surprising.

Secondly, we need to remember that the artists' and audience's knowledge of their shared repertoire differs and corresponds to the nature of their mutual engagement with 98+LSLPS. In the case of the audience, their negotiation of the songs concerns negotiating the songs' overall sense. As explained in the song analyses in chapters 7, 8 and 9, the Tamil sequences help to maintain the overall musico-linguistic sense of their songs, an important contribution which relates to the particular multi-layered nature of a song which includes linguistic communication mediated through musical structure. Importantly, however, the influence of Tamil on the overall thematic projections of the individual songs in which Tamil occurs is found to be negligible. In other words, a song's Tamil components do not provide information that conflicts with or radically alters the song's theme (explored in chapter 8) as communicated through the song's Sinhala and English components. Therefore, the presence of Tamil in a few specific 98+LSLPS songs suggests that it is a core element of the linguistic repertoire of the specific artists/inventors of the songs but not of the community as a whole. Therefore, Tamil cannot be regarded a core constituent of the 98+LSLPS community's shared linguistic repertoire.

Overall, Sinhala is the more prominent partner of the two (English and Sinhala) languages forming the core of the 98+LSLPS CofP's shared linguistic repertoire. This is because it is the L1 of the semi-non urbanised youth and young adults represented by the centre audience circle in figure 2. As explained in chapter 2 (section 2.4) and previously in this chapter, Sri Lankan multilinguals for whom English is an L1, the language of 'home' or a dominant L2 possess stronger

employability than those for whom Sinhala is a dominant language. Most reside in the urban city centres, are consequently employed and are members of the Sri Lankan middle or upper-middle classes (see also Hettige and Mayer 2002: 13; Hettige 2002: 28, 32). Members of this group between the ages of 15 and 39 belong to the inner audience circle. Overall then, the members of this audience circle can be said to possess a balanced knowledge of English and Sinhala. Importantly, members of the centre audience circle constitute the majority of the 98+LSLPS CofP which is what renders Sinhala the more dominant language of the two core languages of the community's shared linguistic repertoire. These linguistic affiliations of the two groups correspond to research concerning Sri Lankan youth ranging between 15 and 29 years (Amarasuriya, Gündüz and Mayer 2009; Goonesekera 2005; Hettige 2002: 33; Lakshman 2002: 94-96).

Moreover, the responses of all the artists regarding their L1s⁷² were that they had been exposed to Sinhala first and then English. The following comments illustrate the importance of Sinhala as a core language of the artists' shared linguistic repertoire.

“It is Sinhala, their mother language” (Santhush Weeraman: interview: 2009).

“Most of the guys are not that much [*sic*] fluent in the language in English...the people might not get the message that we want to communicate to them if we go all out in English” (Amila Paranamanage: interview: 2009).

“Obviously, the majority is [*sic*] people who speak Sinhala” (Amila Paranamanage: interview: 2009).

However, even though Sinhala is the prominent component of the two core languages of the 98+LSLPS community's shared repertoire, the artists appear to have a more balanced affiliation with both languages compared to the majority of the

⁷² The question was worded in such a way so as to give them the opportunity to name more than one language.

98+LSLPS principal audience. For example, they all chose to be interviewed in English signalling a positive attitude towards and perceived confidence in the English language. This complements the growing positive attitude towards and interest in English among Sri Lankans generally, in particular youth (discussed in chapter 2: 2.3). The artists also claimed to use English when speaking with friends and family and appeared reluctant or unable to define their linguistic competence in terms of two 'separate' languages: "[sic] English it is spoken at home...Sinhala both" "I speak Sri Lankan" stated one a leading member of the artists' circle thus alluding to a symbiotic relationship with both languages (Chinthy Fernando: interview: 2009). Another member of the same circle referred to speaking "[sic] two languages Sinhala and English mostly with [his] friends English mostly...English means not this British English," (Fill-T: interview: 2008). The artist's assertion that the 'English' he speaks is not 'British English' suggests that he does not consider the language 'foreign' but an integral feature of his own symbiotic identity. Overall, these patterns complement Wenger's view (1998: 82-85) that CofP members' knowledge of their shared repertoire is bound to differ depending on their membership roles.

As with their shared linguistic repertoire, there also exist differences in the distribution of musical skills and associated knowledge between the 98+LSLPS artists and principal audience. The artists are required to possess specific knowledge of musical form and style by virtue of their role as the inventors/performers of the songs. Broadly, their musical repertoire includes indigenous and non-Sri Lankan styles of music, and four presentational techniques. A brief review of the musical styles found in the 98+LSLPS sample songs illustrates the kind of musical styles with which the artists need to be familiar.

For example, as stated previously, the hit single and pioneering 98+LSLPS song *Vasanthaye* (released in 1998) by core artist duo BNS is modelled on J.S Bach's Overture No. 3 in D major, BWV 1068. But it includes rap. *Shaheena* a recent 98+LSLPS song by the duo features a melody evocative of middle-eastern tones interspersed with a few recursive lyric lines in Arabic, whereas their celebrated song

Sri Sangabodhi is modelled on an indigenous Sri Lankan melody. These two songs also contain rap. Moreover, the earliest hit of the leading artist Ranidu's maiden album *Oba Magemai* is essentially a slow ballad. Although the presence of rap in the songs may make them appear like hip-hop music, the fusion of different musical styles contained in the songs renders them incompatible with being classified according to such categories as hip-hop. As stated in chapter 3 and explained in later chapters (i.e. chapters 7, 8 and 9), the four presentational techniques identified in this thesis in relation to the artists' communication of the songs are rap, singing, rhythmic and A-rhythmic rendition. To communicate the songs in this way requires specific skills.

On the contrary, the audience's knowledge of music entails a tacit musical awareness of musical forms incorporated in the songs, particularly musical styles that have Sri Lankan roots and which may be evocative of indigenous and/or religious practices. Similarly, they are likely to be able to differentiate between some of the presentational techniques such as rap and singing. However, they are not required to possess the skills to communicate 'language' through these techniques. In general their knowledge parallels the holistic nature of their negotiation of 98+LSLPS. Consider also, the nature of the relationship between the different audience circles (i.e. the inner, centre and outer circles) and rap in 98+LSLPS. Recall that Sinhala radio networks are the main conduit through which 98+LSLPS is communicated to the locally based 98+LSLPS audience. Notably, 98+LSLPS is the only form of music broadcast on these networks which contains rap. In contrast, local English radio networks broadcast all the latest western hip-hop and other music which abound with rap.

Importantly, the (urbanised and more affluent) inner audience circle members are also members of the Sri Lankan audience who subscribe to these local English radio networks whereas the centre (large, economically challenged) audience circle members are not associated with the networks. Likewise, the international environments in which the outer circle audience members reside abound with non-Sri Lankan music containing rap. Consequently, it is likely that the relationship between

the members of the three groups and 98+LSLPS rap will vary in accordance with the degree and nature of their overall familiarity with rap. More specifically, the nature of the relationship between the inner and outer audience circle members and 98+LSLPS rap may be somewhat similar due to the members' familiarity with rap generally, and therefore contrast with the nature of the relationship between the centre audience circle members and 98+LSLPS rap.

4.5 The 98+LSLPS CofP's 'participation of their practice' in terms of their joint enterprise

The joint enterprise of the 98+LSLPS CofP is the invention and negotiation of 98+LSLPS/songs. The exploration of the 98+LSLPS CofP's joint enterprise in this thesis has two counterparts. As stated in section 4.1, this chapter presents the 98+LSLPS CofP's joint enterprise as a portrait drawn on the basis of implicit and explicit comments made by members of the community about the songs as well as metalinguistic information relating to 98+LSLPS' socio-cultural status. As stated in Chapter 1 and in section 4.1, the songs' portrait is shown to comprise two opposing profiles: the songs are projected as being mixed phenomena and at the same time not-mixed/ integrated and autonomous phenomena. Expressed differently, the 98+LSLPS community are seen to consider the songs as mixed phenomena and yet as also simultaneously not-mixed phenomena. The 98+LSLPS community's simultaneous association of the songs with a dual mixed and not-mixed identity can be seen as reflecting the multi-dimensional character of their musico-linguistic engagement with a collective of songs in audio format.

4.5.1 The joint enterprise/98+LSLPS as 'mixed'

It is unsurprising that the artists and audience members' comments about 98+LSLPS during personal interviews as well as information given in the artists' official websites and other media (e.g. magazines, news papers etc) reflect the songs as mixed. After all, it is their mixed language lyrics which distinguish the songs which also contain the blending of different musical styles. The reader will recall that some

such comments were discussed briefly in chapter 3: 3.4 and elsewhere as part of explaining the reason for assigning the songs a separate term (i.e. 98+LSLPS).

First consider the artists' descriptions of their songs in their entirety. "Ethnic fusion music" (BNS: website), "Sri Lankan contemporary hip-hop" "a synergy of both [language and music]...we created a blend" (Santhush Weeraman: interview: 2009), and "Asian Sri Lankan hip-hop" (Iraj Weeraratne: interview: 2009) were among the core artists' descriptions. Among the descriptions of the artists' circle members were that the songs are "new age Sinhalese pop music" (Chinthi Fernando: interview: 2009), "Sri Lankan hip-hop" "Sinhala hip-hop all Sinhala" "using Sinhala instruments and most of the [*sic*] instruments which are coming from America" (Fill-T: interview: 2008), "R&B, pop/ethnic, southern hip-hop, dirty south, crunk, hip-hop soul, etc" (about Yashan De Silva: The Island Newspaper: 31.07.2007), "ethnic R&B and Sri Lankan pop with a little bit of rap as well (Amila Paranamanage: interview: 2009) and "hip hop R&B" (Hasanjith Kuruppuarachchi: interview: 2010). The diversity of the descriptions and spectrum of terms associated with 98+LSLPS (e.g. hip-hop, fusion, Sri Lankan pop, Sinhala hip-hop) demonstrates that the artists regard 98+LSLPS as a heterogeneous (i.e. mixed) phenomenon.

Their comments about the song lyrics echo this projection: "my lyrics are usually in Sinhala and English. Some separate language versions but mostly mixed [*sic*]" stated leading female artist Ashanthi (Ashanthi De Alwis: Email: 2009) while one of the youngest leading members of the artists' circle, Yashan had this to say: "most of the songs are mixed with both Sinhala and English" (Yashan De Silva: interview: 2009). Similarly, Amila of the leading artists' circle band Centigradz stated that they "definitely use both languages Sinhala and English" (Amila Paranamanage: interview: 2009): "its fifty fifty in my songs" was how the leading artist Chinthi (Chinthi Fernando: interview: 2009) described the distribution of Sinhala and English in his songs.

An associated mixed identity also presented itself at the level of the artists' comments about 98+LSLPS song theme: a "majority falls into romance, love, free

love, youth, the freedom of expression” stated core artist Santhush of BNS (Santhush Weeraman: interview: 2009). Likewise, Amila of Centigradz spoke of the band’s songs as being “very sentimental, all about the darker shades of love (Amila Paranamanage: interview: 2009). “Love, emotion, heartbreak, friendship, joy, laughter...almost anything and everything to do with life...a soundtrack of life of sorts” was how artists’ circle member Ashanthi described her song themes (Ashanthi De Alwis: Email: 2009) while artists’ circle member Fill-T said that his songs concern “violence, politics, love and the street knowledge...” (Fill-T: interview: 2008).

Comments about the songs, song lyrics, and themes by members of all three 98+LSLPS principal audience circles complemented those of the artists. With regard to song lyrics, for example, one member described a 98+LSLPS song as a “mixture of Tamil, Sinhala and English” (IAC-16: interview: 2009). Another said “*than api kathakaranawa vage ethenath thiyenne kawalamak*” Trans. “Now just like we speak, what is there is a mix” (CAC-15: interview: 2009). An inner circle audience member (IAC-11: interview: 2009) referred to the songs as “Sinhala song[s] with English words”. Moreover, an outer audience circle member claimed that the “songs are mixed. Sinhalese Tamil, English, mostly re-mixed, rap songs. They use all three languages Sinhalese. Tamil, English” (OAC-37: interview: 2010). They are “about love, boot⁷³ and how they feel” (DJ-Dilon: interview: 2008), “*egollo eke eke theval gana sindu kiyanava*” Trans. “They sing about various different topics” (CAC-9: interview: 2009), “*ee gollo eka eka theval gana sindu hadanava*” Trans. “They make songs about various topics” (CAC-3: interview: 2009) were some other audience member comments relating to 98+LSLPS themes.

“*Batahirath sinhalath mix karapu sinduwak hatiyata kiyanne*” Trans. “as a mix of the west and Sinhala is how the songs are communicated” (CAC-3: interview: 2009) was how one centre audience circle member described the songs while another member

⁷³ In addition to its default meaning of a type of shoe, the word ‘boot’ as referenced in Sri Lanka is also used to denote ‘ditching’ a partner: for example, ‘I gave him the boot’ in English and which also translates as ‘*mama eyata booteka dunna*’ in Sinhala. As illustrated by the examples, the word is ubiquitous in both Sinhala and English informal speech in Sri Lanka.

of the same circle described the 98+LSLPS song as: “*English thanuvakata hadapu Sinhala sinduvak*” Trans. “a Sinhala song structured according to an English tune” (CAC-7: interview: 2009). According to the webmaster of the leading internet archive for Sri Lankan music, in particular 98+LSLPS, (Elakiri.com), and centre audience circle member, the songs represent “pop” and “hip-hop” (‘Lich’: interview: 2008). On the whole, then, it would appear that the 98+LSLPS community regard their joint enterprise as a mixed phenomenon, structurally and thematically. Furthermore, these kinds of projections reinforce Pennycook’s (2003) observation that assigning multiple definitions appears to be a common feature of musical categorisation and description in Asian countries.

4.5.2 The joint enterprise/98+LSLPS as ‘not-mixed’

In the previous discussion the 98+LSLPS community members’ comments were shown to project 98+LSLPS as inherently mixed. It was argued that the projection is natural considering the mixed linguistic and musical composition of the songs. For this reason, the discussion centred on the comments of the community members interviewed, and in the case of artists, included their comments on their web pages. However, in what follows, we see that these very members also project 98+LSLPS as homogenous/integrated and therefore as ‘not-mixed’. This projection conflicts with the mixed composition of the songs. Therefore, the present discussion incorporates an exploration of some additional socio-cultural indications to confirm that the members’ comments are not unique to them but can be considered representative of the community as a whole. Crucially, we find that the socio-cultural indications support the members’ comments.

Overall, the projected homogeneity corresponds to the community’s association of the songs with a Sinhala and/or Sri Lankan identity. Importantly, nowhere, in either the members’ comments or the socio-cultural contexts explored are the (individual) songs defined or projected as ‘English’ notwithstanding the fact that English and Sinhala are both integral to the songs. The comment “no the songs are Sinhala songs *ne* (Trans. *ne* = ‘no’) so no air on English channels [*sic*]” (Hasanjith

Kurupparachchi: interview: 2010) by an artists' circle artist when asked if the songs are aired on English radio networks illustrates this.

The closest association of the songs with English stems from projections and comments by the members that the songs are mixed. It is tempting to assume that associating the songs with a 'Sri Lankan' identity reflects a mixed identity; the country encompasses many languages and is culturally diverse (as shown in chapters 2 and 3). However, the manner in which the term Sri Lankan is invoked in the members' descriptions and socio-cultural contexts connotes a sense of distinctiveness and therefore, homogeneity. More specifically, the community members' reference to the songs as being 'Sri Lankan' frequently occurs in conjunction with references to the songs as being Sinhala. The following are some examples of artists' comments which project 98+LSLPS as homogenous in the sense of being Sinhala and Sri Lankan.

"We can call it Sri Lankan hip-hop" "Sinhala hip-hop, all Sinhala, we invented it" (Fill-T: interview: 2008).

"If you take [*sic*] lyrics it's about Sinhala culture Sri Lankan problems" (Fill-T: interview: 2008).

"The essence of being Sri Lankan", "Sri Lankan contemporary pop", "mostly our songs are played on Sinhala channels" (Santhush Weeraman: interview: 2009).

"It basically circles around the Sri Lankan sounds" (Amila Paranamanage: interview: 2009).

"[98+LSLPS] songs are Sinhala Sinhala" (Iraj Weeraratne: interview: 2009).

"I can say my stuff is Sri Lankan" (Chinthy Fernando: interview: 2009).

Similarly, the artists' naming practices pertaining to 98+LSLPS songs and song albums discussed in section 4.3.1.2 projected 98+LSLPS as Sinhala: nearly all the

songs and albums have Sinhala names. The artists' comments concerning the manner in which they relate to their invention and performance of the songs also illustrated further the homogeneity with which they are regarded. For example, "we have a local element, something unique which is our own flavour, our own sound" commented artists' circle member Krishan Maheson (interview: 2009). "There was a need for one language, one medium for everyone to feel comfortable and communicate", and 98+LSLPS is a "unified product [with] no division" stated core artist Santhush of BNS (Santhush Weeraman: interview: 2009).

Similarly the claim that a 98+LSLPS song "can comprise coded information and all if arranged in an intensely rhythmic lyrical form" by the artists' circle artist Yashan (Yashan De Silva: The Island Newspaper: 31.07.07), suggests that the songs are perceived as integrated communicative systems rather than 'mixes' of heterogeneous elements. More specifically, the notion of coded language evokes linguistic content that elicits an autonomous identity: in the context of language mixing, this would translate as integrated linguistic output which cannot be regarded in terms of its participating source languages. Observe too, that the artist references musical rhythm as underlying a song's unity: as will become apparent in later chapters, the analytical framework developed to analyse the 98+LSLPS sample supports this view. Moreover, the view that the songs are homogenous is endorsed further in the claims that a 98+LSLPS song represents a "universal language" (Amila Paranamanage: interview: 2009), and is "not only music, [but] is the whole thing" (Krishan Maheson: interview: 2009).

The 98+LSLPS audience members' comments reinforce the view that 98+LSLPS songs are homogenous/not-mixed. "Fused, Sri Lankan but produced for a wide audience" was how one inner circle audience member described the songs (IAC-13: interview: 2009), while "I'm not conscious" was the response of another member of this circle when asked for views about whether members might be conscious of the songs' linguistic and musical mixing when they negotiate (experience) a song (IAC-6: interview: 2009). The songs are "*Sinhala sindhu*" Trans. "Sinhala songs" and as for the individual songs "*Sinhala sinduvak kiyala thereneva*" Trans. "[we] can

understand/feel that it is a Sinhala song” stated two centre audience circle members respectively (CAC-21: interview: 2009 and CAC-8: interview: 2009). ‘Singlish’ and ‘Sinhala’ were terms used by two outer audience circle members to describe the songs (OAC-31 and OAC-29: interviews: 2010 respectively). Moreover, nearly all of the song definitions provided by the interviewed outer audience circle members included references to the terms Sinhala or Sri Lankan, the latter presented as connected to Sinhala (OAC-28 to OAC-48: interviews: 2010).

Furthermore, commenting on the 98+LSLPS sample songs (introduced in chapter 5), an inner audience circle member defined the song *Malpeththak Se* as “a Sinhala song” (IAC-14: interview: 2009). Another member of the same circle and DJ at one of the country’s leading radio networks which provides the greatest airplay for 98+LSLPS described the BNS hit single *Sri Sangabodhi* (also a sample song) defined on the duo’s website as the “first ‘multilingual’ song aired on an English radio channel after three decades”, (BNS: website) as “basically 100% Sinhala” (DJ-Dilon: interview: 2008). Likewise, a centre circle member said “*mata nang kiyyane ba mona basavenda kiyala*” Trans. “I of course can’t tell in what language it is” when commenting on the sample song *Kotthu* by core artist Iraj (CAC-7: interview: 2009). Consider also the comment that “the melody won’t linger in one’s memory if the lyrics cannot be recalled” by an inner circle audience member and webmaster of Elakiri.com (‘Lich’: interview: 2008). The comment implies that a song’s melody and lyric are inextricably bound which in turn projects the view that a song is an autonomous unit. The analyses of the 98+LSLPS song sample in later chapters demonstrate that the linguistic and musical components of a song are integrated rendering a song a homogenous unit.

As explained previously, the local radio networks which play a crucial role in promoting 98+LSLPS are among the leading socio-cultural contexts where the genre is projected as not-mixed. Moreover, as explained previously (chapter 3 and section 4.3.2), the radio networks through which the songs are aired are essentially Sinhala networks. More specifically, the non-98+LSLPS (sung) songs broadcast through them have pure Sinhala language lyrics while the language in which songs are

introduced as well as of other programmes (i.e. documentaries, interviews etc) broadcast on the networks is Sinhala⁷⁴. Importantly, English radio networks in Sri Lanka do not broadcast 98+LSLPS notwithstanding English being an integral feature of the song lyrics.

Confirmed by the webmaster of a leading Sri Lankan music internet archive, the emphasis of these networks is on non-Sri Lankan (i.e. western) pop songs in English while the only Sri Lankan songs broadcast are those containing lyrics entirely in English ('Lich': interview: 2008). The BNS song *Sri Sangabodhi* (from the album *Life*) released in 1998, is an exception as it became the only mixed language song to have been broadcast on a Sri Lankan 'English' radio channel after three decades (BNS: website). The exclusion of 98+LSLPS from Sri Lankan 'English' radio networks is particularly significant in light of the fact that the networks do broadcast non-English songs (e.g. French, Italian, German) deriving from non-Sri Lankan 'western' music genres such as western classical opera. Moreover, many locally published English magazines and newspapers have always featured and continue to feature articles on 98+LSLPS. In other words, 98+LSLPS is 'discoursed' within the English speaking context of Sri Lanka but is not considered representative of 'English'. Consequently, it appears that the genre possesses a decidedly 'Sinhala' socio-cultural identity. Examples such as the heading 'The oldest and most comprehensive Sinhala lyrics site on the web' (my emphasis: Ananmanan.com: website) of the Sinhala lyrics section of the Sri Lankan music website Ananmanan.com where 98+LSLPS songs are listed reinforce this projection.

Some of the songs have occasionally been broadcast on international radio networks (refer section 4.3.1). It is relevant to note that in these contexts they have been promoted as 'Sri Lankan' songs. Similarly, a comprehensive feature article on 98+LSLPS in the magazine *Murder Dog* (2008: 64-84) which represented a rare example of international print media publicity for the genre also defined the genre as Sri Lankan mainstream music. The use of the term Sri Lankan internationally for a

⁷⁴ Tamil radio networks, broadcast 98+LSLPS songs mixed language songs provided they include Tamil. The 98+LSLPS artists and audience members confirmed this. However, Tamil, as we know, only features in a handful of 98+LSLPS songs.

musical genre that is locally projected as Sinhala, demonstrates the covert manner in which ‘Sri Lankan’ is being represented in terms of a Sinhala identity. Similarly, “The largest Sri Lankan online community” is the subheading of Elakiri.com, a leading online archive of 98+LSLPS and probably the leading online archive for Sri Lankan contemporary music generally. When interviewed, its webmaster stated that 98+LSLPS songs are a core part of the website’s song corpus: 98+LSLPS accounts for approximately 60% of its songs (‘Lich’: interview: 2008 and corroborated according to statistics from the Elakiri.com website). Notably, he added that the site contains songs with lyrics that are entirely in Sinhala but that it does not contain any songs with lyrics entirely in English or Tamil. Overall, these patterns of reference which implicitly correspond Sri Lankan with ‘Sinhala’ echo the manner in which the two terms tended to be used by the 98+LSLPS community in their description of the songs and which consequently contribute to projecting the songs as not-mixed/homogeneous systems.

4.6 The 98+LSLPS Coff’s relationship with the Sri Lankan and global music industries

As explained in chapter 3 (sections 3.7 and 3.8) 98+LSLPS is straddled within two socio-cultural and economic constellations: the Sri Lankan and global popular music industries (represented by the two outer circles in figure 2). We now review the relationship between the 98+LSLPS community’s participation of their practice and these two constellations.

The red arrow in figure 2 stemming from the core artists’ circle and proceeding through the artists’ circle to the circle representing the Sri Lankan music industry is intended to reflect the engagement of the artists with the Sri Lankan music industry in terms of their influence on it. Specifically, the genre’s status in Sri Lanka corresponds to the fact that its artists are hugely influential within the local industry. However, chapter 3 (section 3.7) also explained that the Sri Lankan music industry is little more than a ‘label’ encompassing a diffused collective of musicians and that as a result, many 98+LSLPS artists are financially insecure. For reasons provided in sections 4.3.1.1 and 4.3.1.2 the 98+LSLPS core artists were cited as exceptions: a

few leading artists of the artists' circle are also among the exceptions. Importantly, the artists' financial insecurity coupled with the steep costs of song production were described as the main reasons for 98+LSLPS artists' tendency to evolve songs involving collaborations between them. Consequently, the red arrow stemming from the Sri Lankan music industry circle and leading to the artists' and core artists' circles is intended to represent this impact of the industry on the manner in which the artists of 98+LSLPS participate in their practice.

Moreover, the artists consistently maintain that their vision is to make 98+LSLPS an internationally recognised and sought after popular music genre representing a 'Sinhala', 'Sri Lankan' and hence local identity, a vision shared by the 98+LSLPS principal audience. In other words, they seek to make 98+LSLPS a leading genre of the Sri Lankan *and* global popular music industries. This is reflected in the statement by the core artist Santhush of BNS: "[our aim is to] create a product to compete with international artists" (Santhush Weeraman: interview: 2009). Similarly, the artists' circle member Fill-T's comment that "it is really important to show our identity otherwise we can't touch the worldwide level...when we go to the world market we've got to show that we are from Sri Lanka [*sic*]" (Fill-T: interview in Murder Dog Magazine: 2008: 79) echoes this aspiration. However, as discussed in chapter 3 (section 3.8), most of the multi-national corporate partners of the global popular music industry belong to the economies of developed nations.

Consequently, the industry tends to reflect the musical, and in the case of sung song, linguistic, practices of these nations. The dominance of English in global contemporary popular music is considered part of this reality (this was discussed in chapter 3: 3.6 and 3.8). To this end, the 98+LSLPS community are compelled to negotiate the musical and linguistic resources available to them that embody both local and 'non-local' facets. Consequently, the presence of non indigenous and indigenous musical elements in 98+LSLPS may be seen as reflecting the community's vision. Nevertheless, English as we know, is also part of the Sri Lankan linguistic fabric (refer chapter 2: 2.3). Therefore, English in 98+LSLPS may be interpreted as representative of a local and global phenomenon. Indeed, the

analysis of the song sample demonstrates that English in 98+LSLPS is localised, so localised that it appears to represent a different identity altogether.

The arrow commencing from the core artists' circle proceeding through the artists' circle and leading to the global music industry circle is intended to represent their vision. The reader will observe, however, that the line is patterned and that its head rests on the borderline separating the Sri Lankan and global popular music industry circles. This owes to the prevailing status of this vision. More specifically, the status of 98+LSLPS at present remains one which is dominant and popular but only within the context of Sri Lankan parameters; recall (as discussed in section 4.3) that the international exposure experienced by the artists of 98+LSLPS centres around Sinhala Sri Lankan transnationals. The community's vision, therefore, (which would include the songs being marketed and broadcast internationally) remains to be realised. As stated earlier, a few 98+LSLPS songs have, in more recent times, been broadcast on a few international radio networks. Yet such publicity has been occasional and sporadic, hardly indicative of any significant international recognition: "yes they go as Sinhala [*sic*] never will they be aired abroad" ('Lich': interview: 2008). The red arrow commencing from the global music industry circle, passing through the artists' circle and concluding in the core artists' circle represents the overall musical and linguistic norms of the global popular music industry which influence the 98+LSLPS community's participation of their practice. Overall, we see that the 98+LSLPS community's participation of their practice is inextricably bound to the two outer constellations in which the genre is straddled.

4.7 Conclusion

The human source of 98+LSLPS is a collective of more than 5.5 million individuals comprising artists and principal audience members. They constitute over 40% of Sri Lanka's total population of approximately 20 million people and can be described as youth and young adults of Sinhala ethnicity between 15 and 39 years of age. Most of them are spread across the country while some are scattered overseas. Crucially, this chapter demonstrated that they resemble CofP on account of their unique engagement with one another sourcing a unique linguistically defined genre of

music. An adaptation of Wenger's (1998) proto-type CofP model (introduced in section 4.2) was used to describe the artists and principal audience of 98+LSLPS and explain how they constitute a CofP. In conformity with two primary components of Wenger's articulation of the model, this chapter explored the community's 'participation of their practice' in terms of the three concepts which define the model; mutual engagement (section 4.3), shared repertoire (section 4.4.) and joint enterprise (section 4.5). A detailed description of the 98+LSLPS artists and principal audience was included in the discussion of their mutual engagement.

The primary focus in section 4.4 was on the linguistic counterpart of the community's shared repertoire. Sinhala and English were shown to constitute the core linguistic components of their shared repertoire. The community's participation of their practice in the context of their joint enterprise (in section 4.5) was interpreted as a portrait of the way in which the songs are perceived and defined by the community. Accordingly, the portrait was shown to constitute two remarkably conflicting identities; the songs were shown to be projected as mixed phenomena (4.5.1) but they were also shown to be projected as not-mixed homogeneous phenomena (4.5.2). As explained in chapter 1 and elsewhere in this chapter, chapters 7, 8 and 9 attempt to reconcile this paradoxical portrait at the level of the structure of the songs' lyrics. Drawing on musical structure, the chapters advance a new framework of lyric analysis which complements the portrait.

The relationship between the Sri Lankan and global music industries and the 98+LSLPS CofP's participation of their practice was explored in section 4.6. The community's impact on the Sri Lankan music industry was described as hugely influential owing to the genre's popularity within Sri Lanka and its status as a mainstream form of popular music in the country since its symbolic emergence in 1998. The presence of indigenous and non-indigenous (linguistic and musical) elements in the songs was shown to relate to the artists' desire to retain a local identity while affecting an impact on the global music industry. However, the discussion also highlighted the fact that 98+LSLPS still remains an inherently Sri Lankan genre which is yet to gain the kind of international recognition to which its community (in particular its artists), aspires.

Chapter 5

The 98+LSLPS sample

5.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the 98+LSLPS songs analysed in chapters 7, 8 and 9, analyses representing an exploration of the 98+LSLPS CofP's reification (i.e. their output). As previously stated, the genre comprises an expanding collective of around 300 songs. The selected sample consists of fourteen songs, twelve of them being 98+LSLPS songs that are analysed in the ensuing three chapters. These 98+LSLPS songs are identified as the leading 98+LSLPS songs to have emerged between 1998 and 2009. Consequently, they reflect 98+LSLPS song trends during the same period. The sample is not selected on the basis of statistics but rigorous sampling methods have been used. This chapter details the methods. Three leading Sri Lankan radio networks are among the main sources used to identify the leading songs. Accordingly this chapter incorporates details about the networks along with a description of how they were identified as being the leading networks in the country. As will be shown, the nature of the song selection also confirms that 98+LSLPS is Sri Lanka's leading popular music genre.

5.2 The 98+LSLPS sample: selectional methodology

The fourteen songs selected are made up of two sets, each with different selectional criteria. Data involving 292 songs were evaluated for the purpose. As explained in chapter 4, the core artists followed by the leading artists form the nucleus of the 98+LSLPS CofP. The first set consists of eight songs and represents the most popular songs by these artists. Specifically, it includes two songs each by the core artists and one song by the leading artists of the artists' circle. The songs are listed under 'set 1' in the complete sample list provided at the end of this chapter.

The second set includes six songs of which four are 98+LSLPS songs.. As stated in chapters 3 and 4, a principal reason why 98+LSLPS can be considered the leading style of vocal music in Sri Lanka owes to the fact that it is given prominence by the

nations' leading radio networks which happen to be privately owned. Sri Lanka has over 25 privately and state run radio networks broadcasting in Sinhala Tamil and English (Sri Lanka Media Ministry: website). The names of three radio networks were repeatedly cited by the artists and audience members as being dominated by 98+LSLPS and therefore, as being the key media context of 98+LSLPS. They are Sirasa FM, Hiru FM and Y-FM. Generally speaking, the networks are extremely well known and are widely regarded as some of the country's leading radio networks especially as far as Sri Lankan youth of Sinhala ethnicity are concerned. The 98+LSLPS community confirmed this. However, in order to evaluate the popularity of 98+LSLPS in Sri Lanka (especially considering that the genre is over a decade old), it was necessary to evaluate systematically, the networks cited by the community in terms of popularity ranking nationally, and thereafter identify the dominant song genres broadcast on the networks. In other words, I felt that if the three listed radio networks are found to be the country's leading radio networks between 1998 and 2009 and thereafter 98+LSLPS is found to dominate the networks, then the status of 98+LSLPS as the country's leading popular music genre will have been established. Consequently, independent information was sought regarding the national rankings of the networks and their dominant song genres. Crucially, this process resulted in the second set of 98+LSLPS sample songs: the songs represent the leading songs between 1998 and 2009.

Despite the numerous radio networks in the country, there is little systematic reviewing of the networks by independent organisations. Networks that have island-wide coverage are, as expected, more popular since they command a larger listenership. However, generally, most networks engage in promotional publicity claiming to be the country's most popular networks despite the absence of supporting evidence to justify such claims. Among the leading organisations that do review and rank Sri Lankan radio networks are the Lanka Market Research Bureau and Ogilvy International. Consequently, they were accessed to obtain information about the popularity of the three radio networks nationally. Established in 1981, the former is Sri Lanka's first and leading state owned market research organisation providing

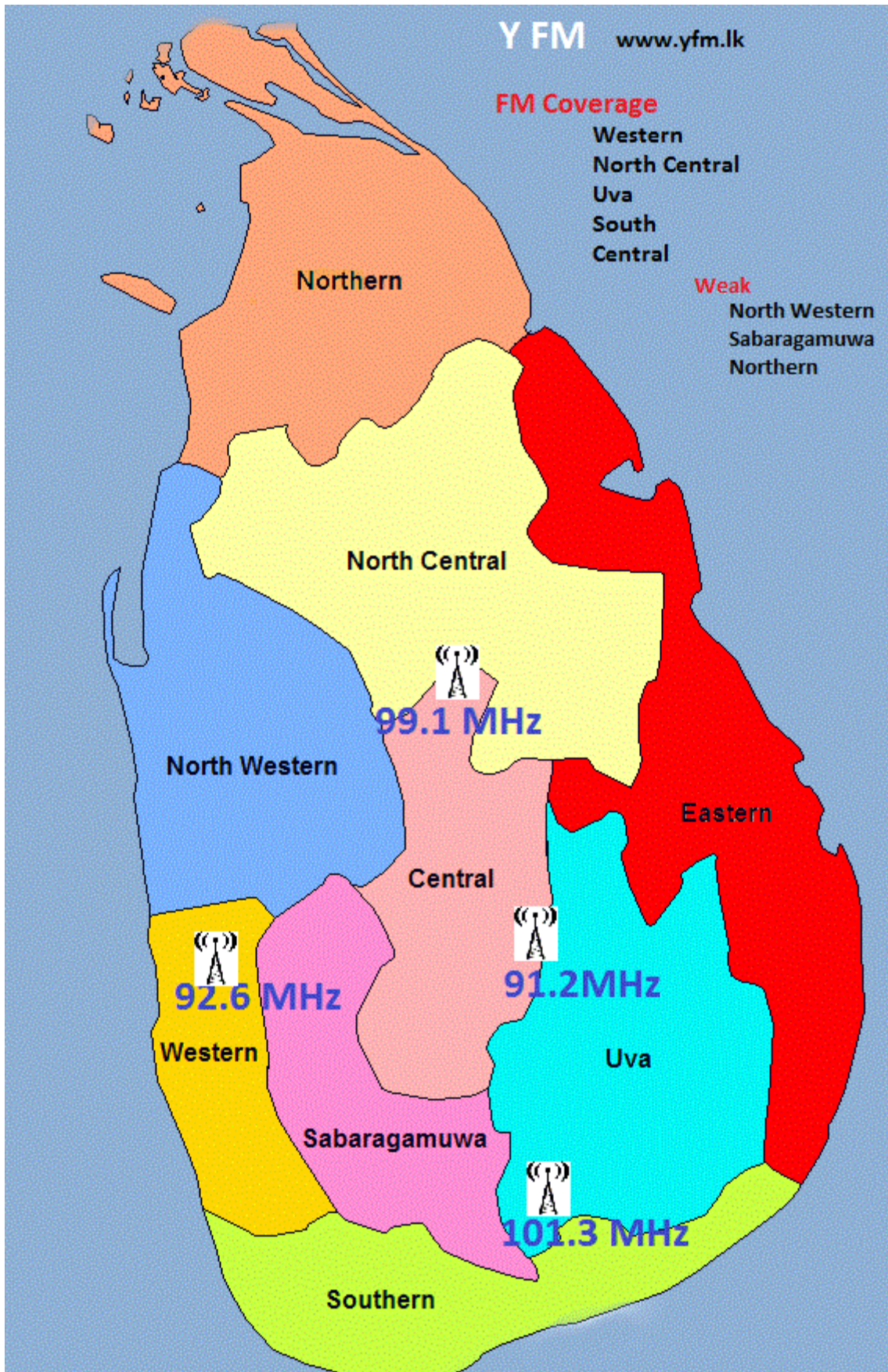
information about the popularity of local television and radio media on the basis of market shares. The latter is Sri Lanka's private sector equivalent⁷⁵.

Annual reports for the period between 1998 and 2009 based on Island wide surveys conducted on individuals aged 15 and above were obtained from the Lanka Market Bureau. Ogilvy International, however, is relatively new to Sri Lanka; information from them about the leading radio networks was for the period between 2005 and 2009. Accordingly, three radio networks were identified as the country's leading networks, namely, Sirasa FM, Hiru FM and Y-FM. Importantly, the three networks correspond to the three networks cited by the 98+LSLPS CofP as the principal media through which they negotiate the genre. Both Sirasa-FM and Hiru-FM have Island-wide coverage. Their principal target audience are young to middle aged adults. Interestingly, Y-FM does not have Island-wide coverage like its two counterpart networks (see map – overleaf) but covers most of the country's (Sinhala dominant) urbanised cities. Bearing in mind that Sinhala youth are the core of 98+LSLPS the status of the network demonstrates the massive influence youth wield over the Sri Lankan music industry. After all, a network's popularity owes to listener support.

Moreover, all three networks are Sinhala; their programmes are broadcast in Sinhala, and excepting 98+LSLPS, the lyrics of most other (sung) songs broadcast on the networks are in Sinhala. Y-FM is self-defined as a multilingual network (Sisira Dharmasena/DJ-Slash, announcer and producer of Y-FM: Email: 27/08/2010). However, most of its programmes are in the Sinhala language as are most of the songs aired on the network; the lists of the top songs broadcast on this network (described later) confirms this. Compared to the other two networks, Y-FM is a relative newcomer having launched in 2005. However, there is a reason why the network remains important in this context and is included as one of the leading three radio networks between 1998 and 2009. Specifically, 2005 can be considered a half

⁷⁵Ogilvy & Mather is a leading global marketing and communications company providing a comprehensive range of marketing services including: advertising; public relations and public affairs; branding and identity; shopper and retail marketing; healthcare communications; direct, digital, promotion and relationship marketing. It possesses a network of more than 450 offices in 120 countries.

way point in terms of 98+LSLPS' existence in Sri Lanka since its symbolic emergence year, 1998. Consequently, it makes sense to evaluate the presence of 98+LSLPS in a radio network that is shown to be among the top three leading networks in the country between 2005 and 2009.



Y-FM coverage in Sri Lanka (supplied by the producer of the network).

Having established that the three radio networks cited by the 98+LSLPS community represent the leading radio networks of Sri Lanka between 1998 and 2009 in terms of popularity, the next task involved ascertaining the status of 98+LSLPS in the three networks. Each of the three networks was requested to provide a list of the top 10-15 songs to have been broadcast on their leading song/request show biennially. These were effectively the top 10-15 songs during each successive two year time frame following the symbolic emergence of 98+LSLPS in 1998. Sirasa-FM and Hiru-FM were requested to provide lists for the period between 1998 and 2009. Y-FM was asked to do so for the period 2005 to 2009. Sirasa-FM was unable to provide a list for 1998; the lists they provided were for the period between 1999 and 2009. Accordingly, the song lists provided by these networks were organised as follows:

1998-1999 – Hiru-FM

2000-2001, 2002-2003, – Sirasa-FM and Hiru-FM

2004-2005⁷⁶, 2006-2007, 2008-2009 – Sirasa-FM, Hiru-FM and Y-FM

Each of the lists contained a combination of both 98+LSLPS and other Sinhala songs (songs with Sinhala language lyrics). The frequency of an artist on a network list (i.e. the artist with the highest number of songs in a list) was taken to indicate his/her popularity on the network during the corresponding two year period. Consequently, an artist who had the most number of songs in relation to all the network lists for a two year period was identified as the most popular artist for the period. The genre of his/her songs would then signal the most popular genre for the period. For 1998-1999, (as indicated by the preceding song lists), the only data available was from Hiru-FM. Two artists were found to have had the highest popularity on this network during this period; each featured twice on the list. Therefore, it was decided that the artist who appeared to be the most popular in the subsequent 2 years time period would be selected.

Accordingly, six artists were identified for each of the two year periods between 1998 and 2009. Four are 98+LSLPS artists while two are extremely well known local

⁷⁶ Y-FM information was for 2005 only, the birth year of the network.

non-98+LSLPS artists whose songs contain monolingual Sinhala lyrics. This suggests that 98+LSLPS is the dominant genre on the networks and consequently confirms the comments made by the 98+LSLPS community. It is also relevant to mention that many of the artists of the non-98+LSLPS songs on the lists are among the most famous Sinhala popular song artists; in other words their songs contain monolingual Sinhala lyrics and cater to the country's largest ethnic community. Moreover, although 98+LSLPS artists' songs are among the most popular on the lists, the majority of the songs on the lists (note that each list contained between 10 and 15 songs), included non-98+LSLPS songs containing monolingual Sinhala lyrics. One reason for this is that compared to the 300 or so songs comprising the 98+LSLPS corpus, the domain of monolingual Sinhala song is older and therefore much larger including around several thousand songs (recall the outline of music in Sri Lanka provided in chapter 3: 3.2). Indeed, apart from 98+LSLPS, none of the lists provided contained any songs in any other language other than Sinhala. This demonstrates that songs with monolingual lyrics in Sinhala are the second dominant 'genre' on the networks and thus reconfirms that the networks are Sinhala networks. Interestingly, that 98+LSLPS songs are the leading songs of this song set despite the large size of the monolingual Sinhala song corpus further reinforces the genre's popularity.

Moreover, evidence from the lists also demonstrates a steady growth in the popularity of 98+LSLPS. Specifically, the lists exhibited a widening gap between the number of song occurrences of 98+LSLPS artists heading the three two year periods from 2004 to 2009 and the number of song occurrences of the non-98+LSLPS artists coming in second for each of the periods. For example, the core artist Iraj had the highest number of songs in 2006-2007 with a total of six song occurrences in all the lists. On the contrary, the number of song occurrences of the artist (a non-98+LSLPS artist) with the second highest number of song occurrences for the period was three. This pattern is indicative of the overall growth of the genre's popularity. That this pattern is visible since 2006 also shows that the genre's growth in popularity is especially pertinent to contemporary Sri Lanka. Comments by CofP

members that 98+LSLPS is the nation's mainstream genre (quoted in chapter 4) are thus echoed in this context.

It was from the songs on the lists of the six artists heading the two year periods between 1998 and 2009 that the songs for the second set of the sample were selected. The selection involved identifying the most popular song of each of the six artists. This was achieved by selecting the song which occurred in most of the song lists of the networks for the two year period in which the artist was the leading artist. For example, if an artist had four songs occurring in the three lists of the networks for a two-year period and one occurred in two lists, this song was selected. Where there was no such occurrence, the artist's song which received the greatest airplay on a network during the period was selected. The selected song sample in terms of its two sets is as follows: the 98+LSLPS songs are in bold font and italicised.

Set 1 – leading songs of the 98+LSLPS core artists' circle members and leading artists of the 98+LSLPS artists' circle.

BNS –1998 *Vasanthaye* – Earliest hit song

2008 *Shaheena* – Recent hit song. Among the top 5 of Hiru-FM for 2009 and Top 10 of Elakiri.com⁷⁷. No. 1 on Y-FM for 2008 and 2009.

Iraj - 2007 *Ae Hetha* – (featuring Delon and Aminath Shani)

No.1 on most downloaded songs on Elakiri.com (40399 downloads - accessed on 31/08/09)

2008 *Kotthu* – (featuring Illnoiz)

No.1 on the Top 10 chart hits list of 2008 for Y-FM. The second most downloaded single on Elakiri.com (37955 downloads -accessed on 12.01.2009)

Ranidu –2003 *Oba Magemai* – (featuring Ashanthi) Earliest hit song

(from maiden album *Oba Magemai*)

No. 1 on the major Sri Lankan song chart shows such (i.e. *Hiru-FM top 40, Rasa risi gee, Sithgath gee* etc).

⁷⁷ As stated in previous chapters, Elakiri.com is a leading website for Sri Lankan songs.

The release of the song's album titled the same, corresponded to the artist becoming the youngest Sri Lankan artist to be signed on to the international record label Sony Music- India (Ranidu: website).

6th Lane –2004 *Malpeththak Se* – Earliest hit song

Centigradz - 2005 *Dark Angel* – Earliest hit song

Ashanthi – 2006 *Sandawathuren* (featuring Yashan) – Earliest hit song

Set 2

Leading Sri Lankan songs: 1998 to 2009.

Total number of songs evaluated: 292.

Total number selected: 6

1998-1999 Karunaratne Divulgane – *Sulanga Nuba Vage*

2000 – 2001 BNS - *Sri Sangabodhi*

(also the first Sinhala-English multilingual song to have been broadcast on a Sri Lankan English radio network after three decades and one of the best known songs of the genre).

2002-2003 Nirosha Virajini – *Duhul Malaka*

2004-2005 – Ranidu – *Ahankara Nagare*

2006-2007- Iraj – *Oba Hinda* (featuring Samitha Mudunkotuwa)

2008-2009- Ashanthi–*Hanthane* (featuring DeLon)

A further point about the songs concerns the nature of the data. As stated in previous chapters, the songs used in this analysis are in audio format; as explained in chapter 4 and elaborated in the ensuing chapters the 98+LSLPS CofP's negotiation of 98+LSLPS concerns songs which are delivered and received through the medium of musical vocalisation. While some of the songs have subsequently been reinvented in audio-visual format, the proto-type (i.e. core form) of the song as negotiated by the CofP is in audio format. Moreover, the songs analysed in this study are initial audio versions of the songs. Expressed differently, some of the songs have also been re-mixed and re-released in audio form. The versions used in this study are the original

versions representing the form in which the songs were first negotiated by their CofP and which in the case of this sample, led to their subsequent popularity. Re-mixed and audio-visual versions follow the initial negotiation of a song in its original form. Appendix 2 contains transcriptions and translations of lyrics of the all 98+LSLPS sample songs and one non-98+LSLPS sample song as appearing in the recordings. As explained in the appendix, all non-English (in particular, Sinhala) lyric lines are accompanied by a phonemic transcription, word-to-word translation and paraphrase: the appendix includes details about the translation and transcription conventions used.

5.3 Conclusion

This chapter provided details about the 98+LSLPS song sample which underlies the detailed structural analyses to follow in chapters 7, 8 and 9. Most of the chapter comprised an explanation of the methods used to select the songs. The sample was presented in the form of two sets. Set 1 consists of 8 songs based on the leading songs of the core and a group of leading artists of 98+LSLPS. Set 2 contains 6 songs based on data from the country's three leading radio networks. The data consisted of lists provided by the individual networks of the most popular 10 -15 songs to have been broadcast biennially on each of them between 1998 and 2009. Reasons why the three networks referenced are considered the most popular in Sri Lanka were also provided. That 98+LSLPS dominates these networks was also established thus confirming that 98+LSLPS has been Sri Lanka's leading genre of popular song for over a decade.

Chapter 6

Analysing the 98+LSLPS sample: Methodology

“A notion of bilingualism [multilingualism]-in-action brings to the forefront two primary interrelated ideas: the idea of choice as a category in itself and choice within a larger system of tension” (Mendoza-Denton and Osborne 2010: 119).

6.1 Introduction

This chapter advances a novel framework for analysing song lyrics, specifically the lyrics of the 98+LSLPS song sample representative of the 98+LSLPS CofP’s reification. Its basis lies in the effort to explore the relevance of the dual mixed and not-mixed identity (described in chapter 4) assigned to 98+LSLPS songs by their CofP at the level of the songs’ lyrics. Importantly, the assigned identity is related to the songs’ lyrics but also to the songs in their entirety (which includes the songs’ musical and linguistic elements). As stated in the introduction, the ultimate objective of this study is to understand and describe the collective *linguistic* identity of the 98+LSLPS CofP: it is by understanding and then interpreting the organisation and structural identity of the songs’ ‘language’ that this is achieved. Therefore, it is crucially important to subject the song lyrics to a rigorous analysis in order to fully evaluate their role in the construction of the identity assigned to the songs by their CofP. Evaluating the relevance of the dual identity at the level of lyric organisation will indicate the extent to which the identity is representative of the 98+LSLPS CofP’s collective linguistic identity.

A song is regarded as the ‘basic unit’ of analysis in this study, the reasons for which are explained in section 6.2. It is within the context of individual 98+LSLPS songs that the dual identity assigned to the songs is explored. As stated in previous chapters, the defining feature of 98+LSLPS is its mixed language lyrics. More generally, there exists a growing body of diverse analytical models and perspectives aimed at addressing mixed language data. Code-switching is the domain in which they are to be found. Therefore, it is necessary to establish the need for a new

analytical perspective by exploring the relevance of existing models/perspectives to the 98+LSLPS data and reasons why they are not fully equipped to deal with the 98+LSLPS data. Accordingly, 6.3.1 provides an outline of what distinguishes the audio format of the 98+LSLPS data from language mixing phenomena found in other (in particular spoken) environments. A broad description of some of the fundamental features of leading code-switching approaches follows. Accordingly section 6.3.1.1 deals with sociolinguistic and conversation analytic approaches while section 6.3.1.2 deals with grammatical approaches. The discussions explain how the approaches might contribute to our understanding of 98+LSLPS but more importantly why they remain fundamentally incompatible with fully addressing the organisation of the songs in audio format.

Section 6.3.2 introduces an alternative framework for analysing the lyrics which captures their hierarchical organisation. The principle underlying the framework is the ‘musical rhythm derived line’ explained in 6.3.2.1; musical rhythm derived lines are the segments which are shown to comprise a lyric. A diagrammatic representation of the hierarchy according to which these lines are organised is presented in section 6.3.2. The analyses in chapters 7, 8 and 9 correspond to exploring the various tiers of this hierarchy. The sections following 6.3.2.1 involve an explanation of the terms used to denote the tiers of the hierarchy in the course of which the hierarchy is also explained in detail. The terms are *code* (6.3.2.2) which includes two modifiers *similar* and *dissimilar* (6.3.2.2.1), *fusion* (6.3.2.3), *Text* and *Lone Lines* (6.3.2.4) and *Text rendition* and *Lone Line rendition* (6.3.2.5). Furthermore, two phenomena epitomise the way languages are integrated in 98+LSLPS in a manner which is not found in natural speech. They are labelled *Intra Line Code Fusion-Linear* and *Intra line Code Fusion-Horizontal* respectively and are introduced in section 6.3.2.6. A further elaboration of the concept of the *code* in relation to the phenomena is also included. The chapter’s conclusion (6.4) includes a brief outline of how chapters 7, 8 and 9 are organised in keeping with the analytical framework.

6.2 A song; the basic unit of analysis

As stated in this chapter's introduction, each song of the 98+LSLPS sample is considered a basic unit of analysis in this study. That is, the linguistic content of each individual song is considered a self-contained communicative act. As explained in previous chapters, the reason why audio recordings constitute the format of the song data explored in this thesis is because this is how songs are conceived, intended to be perceived and negotiated by the 98+LSLPS CofP. This promotes the view that a 98+LSLPS song in audio format is a unified entity.

Moreover, linguistic and musical research on that which we label 'a song' implicitly and explicitly supports this view. Halle (forthcoming) for example, describes vocal song as "a composite which combines two objects each with its own structure, a linguistic object – text – and a musical object – tune" thus highlighting its unity as a differentiated entity. Similarly in their discussion about the intuitive receptions and intentions of the listener and composer respectively in the context of 'song', Lerdahl and Jackendoff (1983: 63) signal the idea that musical pieces are heard and constructed as autonomous units (see also Rothstein 1989).

These projections about 'song' extend to definitions of musics in general too; a musical piece containing a name be it a movement of a larger work such as sonata or a single song is seen to have an internal unity which renders it an individuated system of sorts. For example, Lerdahl and Jackendoff (1983) refer to the musical construction as "a sequence of musical units that are perceived simply as being related to one another in certain ways" (286 see also 280-4), where the "totality of the field as perceived cannot be built up piecemeal as a mere accumulation of the perception of its parts each taken in isolation" (303), but where "every aspect of musical cognition involves an intricate interweaving of local and global evidence" (331; see also, Barwick 2000: 329, 2003: 82-83; Berndt 1965: 247; Kartomi 1984: 60; Koffka 1935; Sutton 1987; Tonkinson 1978: 112; Turpin 2005; Wertheimer 1923; Wild 1984: 192).

Musical rhythm is a feature of music which contributes heavily to projecting a piece of music as an individuated entity. Defined and explored in detail in relation to 98+LSLPS in chapter 9 it is among the key musical phenomena invoked in the description of music. Broadly, a rhythmic template underlies a piece of music (e.g. a song). This makes the contents within the template (i.e. the lyrics of a song) appear ‘individuated’ and therefore homogenous. Research concerning the relationship between music and language suggests that musical rhythm is the nucleus of a piece of music (see Barry 1990: 65; Boone 1999: 82; Halliday 1967, 1994; Kiparsky 2006: 7; Liberman 1979: 313; Schlegel 1963: 103-104; in Todorov 1988: 17-18; and Rodríguez-Varquez 2010). Likewise, Jackendoff and Lerdahl (1983) argue that musical events are centred on a “fixed and regular metrical structure” (326 see also 13, 21, 280-4; Schachter 1999: 81).

6.3.1 An alternative framework for analysing 98+LSLPS song lyrics; why?

Not only are the data under analysis in audio format but as discussed in chapter 3 (3.6), existing research on mixed language song lyrics deals with song lyrics in ‘print’ form, that is, they concern the lyrics in isolation of their attendant musical environment. Crucially, the new analytical framework to be introduced in this chapter is (a) intended for the analysis of song lyrics in audio format and (b) complements the dual mixed and not-mixed identity assigned to the 98+LSLPS songs by their CofP at the level of the song lyric structure.

What distinguishes 98+LSLPS in audio format from typical language mixing phenomena is that the rendition of a 98+LSLPS lyric lacks the intonational cues (such as pauses etc) found in non-musical mixed language output (this too was briefly mentioned in chapter 3). The reason is the dominance of a song’s musical rhythmic template (explained in chapter 9). Typically, intonation signals clausal and phrasal boundaries in speech. Now as explained in section 6.2, it is reasonable to regard a song (especially one which is communicated and received in audio format) a unit and by implication the song’s lyric, an individuated ‘communicative event’. Consequently, the absence of intonation indicating clausal boundaries within the

lyric would, in effect establish it further as a homogenous unit. However, there is an important and obvious reason for a need to identify a 98+LSLPS lyric in terms of smaller units (i.e. sentences) while exploring its morpho-syntax. The average duration of a 98+LSLPS song is approximately 4 minutes. This results in a 'sentence' of similar duration. Such lengthy communicative efforts are arguably unusual if not improbable in terms of the human cognitive capacity for speech processing: we do not generally speak endlessly long sentences but rather a series of sentences owing to our cognitive limitations. This sort of extended communication, then, is likely to impede rather than promote effective communication between individuals. Bear in mind that the core of the popularity of 98+LSLPS owes to the successful negotiation of the songs between its artists and principal audience. Moreover, because existing research on language mixing in music concerns the lyrics in print form, they are not faced with this issue because the lyrics are interpreted in terms of intonational cues that would accompany a speech-like 'recitation' of the lyrics.

In order to justify the advancement of a new framework for analysing the 98+LSLPS data it is first necessary to demonstrate the inadequacy of prevailing approaches for analysing such musical data in audio format. Bearing in mind that the defining feature of 98+LSLPS lyrics is mixed language, the analytical approaches being referred to are those developed to analyse mixed language data typically referred to as code-switching data. As will become evident in the analyses of the song sample in chapters 7, 8 and 9, the language integration in 98+LSLPS in audio format resembles code-switching but only to a certain degree. Clarified in chapter 1, this is why the term code-switching is not used to define language mixing in 98+LSLPS. That being said, in as far as existing linguistic terminology is concerned, code-switching does remain the term which most closely represents the kind of language mixing found in 98+LSLPS.

It was not until the research of Gumperz and his colleagues in the 1960s and 1970s (Gumperz 1964, 1967, 1976; Gumperz and Wilson 1972; Blom and Gumperz 1972), that code-switching came to be a topic of widespread interest among linguists. The

investigation of code-switching has since incorporated both sociolinguistic and grammatical orientations (for detailed overviews of the phenomenon see Clyne 2003; Coulmas 1997; Hammers and Blanc 2000; Li Wei 2000; Romaine 1995; Thomason 1997). Importantly, it is in relation to the issue of the absence of intonation in the song data that we encounter the central (though not only) incompatibility between current analytical approaches and 98+LSLPS. Specifically, the majority of linguistic analyses of code-switching have, for the most part, tended to concentrate on contexts (i.e. conversational data) where the data include cues indicating clausal divisions (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 20). Consequently, current approaches are not equipped to segment extended speech events which do not contain intonational cues of natural speech, being organised and delivered in terms of musical rhythm instead.

Accordingly, what follows is an overview of some of the leading and classic analytical approaches relating to code-switching. The relationship between them and 98+LSLPS is also explored: the explorations are centred round one 98+LSLPS sample song, *Oba Magemai*, the shortest lyric in the sample. Overall, the discussions highlight why existing approaches used to analyse code-switching data are untenable with analysing the 98+LSLPS data. However, they do also point to features which are relevant to understanding 98+LSLPS.

6.3.1.1 Sociolinguistic/ethnographic and Conversation Analytic approaches to code-switching and 98+LSLPS

Sociolinguistic/ethnolinguistic approaches constitute the majority of studies on code-switching (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 10). Collectively, they have been varied and range from the macro-societal to the idiolectal. In her book ‘Code-switching’, Gardner-Chloros (2009: 42-43) argues that most sociolinguistic/ethnographic and conversation analytic analyses of code-switching can be differentiated in terms of three broad foci. The first is an ‘external’ (macro-societal) focus and pertains to exploring code-switching in terms of factors external to the participants of a code-switching context. Examples provided include exploring code-switched data by identifying and comparing the prestige of the source languages as apparent in their

code-switched context with the prestige associated with the languages generally (see Gal 1979; Labov 1972; Trudgill 1974). The second focus involves analysing code-switching in terms of 'internal' factors such as participants' competence in the source languages and the relationship between them (Milroy and Gordon 2003). The third involves exploring code-switching with a view to identifying underlying constraints which may be seen to distinguish the phenomenon from other linguistic phenomena (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 43). Among the notable macro-societal sociolinguistic studies on code-switching are those of Heller (1988) whose research on a company in Montreal and a school in Toronto explored the relationship between code-switching and conflict management. Li Wei, Milroy and Pong Sin Ching (2000) proposed the use of social networks to understand the relationship between code-switching choices among individuals and the wider socio-cultural and political contexts to which they belong as part of their well known research on code-switching among Chinese in Tyneside.

Perhaps the most notable contribution to macro-societal analyses of code-switching was by Gumperz (1964, 1967) and Blom and Gumperz (1972: 407-434) whose research contexts ranged from Delhi to Norway. They forwarded the notions of situational and metaphorical code-switching on the basis of an analysis of verbal interactions involving Ranamål, one of a series of dialects that segment northern Norway into linguistic 'regions' and Bokmål, one of two Norwegian *standard* languages. Their analytical perspective takes into account social factors such as context (*setting* and *situation*) which they regard as serving to determine the nature of speakers' linguistic choice. They also adopt the view that a speaker's ability to alternate between languages/varieties reflects what Hymes (1971) termed the speaker's *communicative competence*. Verbal interaction is said to constitute situational code-switching if code-switching is the norm pre-determined by the setting. Examples of such settings provided include formal contexts (e.g. lectures) and certain religious ceremonies (e.g. South Asian Vedic ceremonies). Metaphorical code-switching is affected by discourse topic and is therefore the established norm among its participants. Notwithstanding the authors' systematic linguistic detailing of Ranamål in order to demonstrate its status as an independent 'linguistic system'

they also maintained that when combined *Ranamål* and *Bokmål* represent a single linguistic system.

Poplack's (1988, 2005⁷⁸) comparative research concerning English-Spanish code-switching in a Puerto-Rican community in New York (Poplack 1980) and English-French code-switching in five neighbourhoods in the Canadian Ottawa-Hull community is another well known macro-level sociolinguistic study of the phenomenon. In the case of the Ottawa-Hull communities the fact that French is the dominant language in some of the neighbourhoods while English is dominant in others made the contexts interesting to study. As Gardner-Chloros (2009: 62-63) notes, the comparison between the Canadian and New York based communities is not entirely clear, differences in data collection techniques being a possible reason. Importantly, Poplack's (2005) study of bilingual speech among New York based Spanish/English speakers belonging to Puerto Rican settlements incorporates both a discourse centred and grammatical approach. She defines code-switching as instances of language alternation between two languages in a single discourse among balanced bilinguals and maintains that translations of code-switched speech will be grammatical by both L1 and L2 language standards. Moreover, she adopts the view that balanced bilinguals' competence in a language is similar to monolinguals' (native speakers') competence (Poplack 2005: 231, 247).

Conversation analytic studies can be said to fall within the foci detailed earlier. That is, they concentrate on the internal dynamics of code-switching which includes exploring how participants construct meaning within the conversations (for example Milroy and Gordon 2003; McCormick 2002; see also Gardner-Chloros 2009: 65-91 for a review of conversation analytic studies on code-switching). In Conversation analytic studies, code-switching refers to the point where the switch from one language to another in a sentence corresponds to a significant part of the conversation (Auer 1998). This means speakers need to be aware of the fact that they are drawing on independent systems. Accordingly, Auer (1998) identifies code-switching as a phenomenon occurring along a continuum of language contact. The

⁷⁸This refers to Poplack's paper which appeared in the 2005 edition of the *Bilingualism Reader* edited by Li Wei (221-256).

next stage is defined as *language mixing* where overall switching as opposed to specific individual switch points becomes the norm in a conversation: Myers-Scotton's (1993a) notion of code-switching as the 'unmarked choice' corresponds to this. *Fused lects* is the final stage where there is a stabilisation of language mixing, reflecting a 'new' language as it were.

Myers-Scotton's (1988) Markedness model presents code-switching as a communicative process involving participants "use of two or more linguistic varieties⁷⁹ in the same conversation incorporating both intersentential and intrasentential switching without prominent phonological assimilation of one variety to the other," (Myers-Scotton 1988: 157). According to Li Wei (1998a qtd in Gardner-Chloros 2009: 70) Myers-Scotton's (1988) Markedness model may possibly represent the most notable sociolinguistically derived contribution to code-switching analysis since Blom and Gumperz introduced the concepts of situational versus metaphorical code-switching. Myers-Scotton reasons that language choices are indexical of rights and obligations between participants of a conversation, that this indexicality forms part of the speaker's communicative competence and that it involves the speaker consciously negotiating between linguistic forms available to him/her. Therefore, the model maintains that all occurrences of code-switching are consequential of the *conscious* choice of the speaker. The occurrences are distinguished further as either the outcome of the speaker's *unmarked* or *marked* choice. So code-switching as the unmarked choice refers to it being the normative code of a conversational exchange. One of the main features which distinguish this model from most conversation analytic approaches to code-switching is that it is based on the analyst's interpretation of a conversation rather than on participants' interpretations regarding their output.

On the contrary, Li Wei (2005) like Auer (1998, 2005), maintains that code-switching can best be understood at the level of conversational structure which involves taking interpersonal conversational dynamics and context into consideration. He demonstrates this in his analysis of four conversation extracts with

⁷⁹ The term 'variety' as used by Myers-Scotton here, as well as in relation to the MLF model, is congruent to the concept of a 'language' and does *not* refer to 'dialects/varieties' *within* a language.

a Chinese female in England where he shows that the meaning of specific switches can only be discerned by evaluating the extracts in relation to their conversational environment (Li Wei 2005). This view is reinforced in Gafaranga and Torras' (2002: 1-22) and Gafaranga's (2002, 2005, 2007) research. Gafaranga and Torras (2002: 1-22) argue that any viable definition of code-switching should emerge from a sequential (ethno-methodological/conversation analytic) framework based on an analysis of participants' own perspectives regarding a given verbal interaction (see also Auer 1984). Accordingly, the authors reject approaches to code-switching which locate it in terms of distinct languages occurring within the same conversation arguing that participants of code-switched conversations rarely ever view language integration in this manner. The authors develop their position in conjunction with an analysis of three sets of code-switched data: Kinyarwanda-French, Catalan-Castilian and Catalan/Castilian-English. Described as occurring as either the default or deviant *medium* of a conversational context they forward the concept of *language alternation* to represent 'code-switching' (Gafaranga 2002, 2005, 2007; Gafaranga and Torras 2002). The default medium corresponds to contexts where language alternation is the norm, the deviant medium, the converse. Crucially, the concept of the 'medium' implies that in conversation, speakers' output is not necessarily evocative of a mixing of languages and depends on how participants regard their language choices.

The third focus, to understand the nature of code-switching can be said to underlie all the approaches discussed so far. Importantly, all three foci underlying existing sociolinguistic and conversation analytic approaches to code-switching remain relevant to 98+LSLPS. For example, the background to 98+LSLPS provided in chapter 3 and the linguistic background of the artists and principal audience provided in chapter 2 correspond to the first focus while the description of the internal negotiational dynamics of the 98+LSLPS artists and principal audience outlined in chapter 4 can be seen to correspond to the second. Consequently, the description in chapter 4 is especially congruent with the emphasis conversation analytic approaches place on researching the internal dynamics of a code-switched context (see Auer 1998, 2005; Li Wei 2005). Arguably, the effort to address questions regarding the relationship between language integration and music corresponds to the third focus.

Similarly, it is also possible to identify in 98+LSLPS features that make it resemble situational switching (Blom and Gumperz 1972: 407-434). After all, the integration of languages *is* the norm of the songs. In this sense the integration of languages in the song lyrics can also be described as representing the ‘unmarked choice’ (Myers-Scotton 1988) or Gafaranga and Torras’ ‘medium’, more specifically the default medium (Gafaranga and Torras 2002: 1-22; Gafaranga 2005). Furthermore, Gafaranga’s observation that participants rarely regard code-switching as *switching between* languages is entirely congruent with some of the comments made by the 98+LSLPS artists and principal audience members regarding the song lyrics (described in chapter 4, section 4.5.2).

However, prevailing sociolinguistic and conversation analytic approaches to code-switching study remain fundamentally unsuited to addressing all aspects of 98+LSLPS. This is because the approaches have been developed to address code-switching in conversation or written material which follow the conventions of natural speech. The sentence (or ‘turn’ in the case of conversation analytic approaches) is a pre-defined unit or at least an easily predictable unit in these kinds of code-switched contexts. Importantly, the ‘pre-defined in its context’ sentence functions as the point of departure for these approaches: we see this even more clearly in the grammatical approaches to code-switching. On the contrary, the 98+LSLPS data are in sung (audio) format and importantly, do not indicate clausal boundaries⁸⁰. This (as described in section 6.3.1) is because the lyrics, when sung, absent the intonation of natural speech which typically signals clausal boundaries in conversation. Instead, the lyrics in sung format resemble an extended sentence. To complicate matters further, they last approximately four minutes (the average duration of a song). For reasons also provided in section 6.3.1, such lengthy sentences are untenable with effective interpersonal communication which (as highlighted in chapter 4), is the bedrock of the 98+LSLPS community. Consider [1] which contains a translation of the lyric of the 98+LSLPS sample song *Oba Magemai*:

⁸⁰ As explained previously, the reason for using audio versions of the songs owes to the fact that this, after all, is how a song is negotiated by its artists and audience. Song lyrics are not invented with the intention that they be recited or read.

[1]⁸¹

SONG: *Oba Magemai*
 [You (are) mine alone]

ARTISTS: Ranidu & Ashanthi

now facing a different direction you departed

I want you to hold me I want you to say you'll never leave me you'll always be beside me Tell me you'll never leave me

come-on come on in this warmed vile world why did you abandon me like this my heart (having) warmed (and) when crying and falling

now facing a different direction you departed

(F) oh no no no (M) throughout life I will protect you criticism advice I will reach you you are mine alone I am yours alone (MFm) for eternity for as long as be a flowing tumbling long river you are the love flowing in through life you are the fragrance of early morn you are the possessor of my life you are a flowing tumbling long river you are the love flowing in through life you are the fragrance of early morn you are the possessor of my life

(M) oh oh oh

you are

oooh wou wo oh oh oh yei yei yeh yeh yeh in the gloominess of this violent world you and I the light will be when the world weeps for love you and I will along a different direction proceed

(F) oh no no (M) the trees leaves streams brooks ours are the tiny baby brood ours is

(F) mmm (M) like me like you our world too will only be protected if we

are protected a flowing tumbling long river you are

(F) baby won't you hold the love

flowing through life you are

(F) you'll never leave the fragrance of early morn you are

(F) me say

you'll always be beside **the possessor of my life you are**

(F) me tell you will always need a flowing

(F) me

tumbling long river you are

(F) baby won't you hold the fragrance of early morn you

are

(F) me say

you

will always be beside the possessor of my life you are

⁸¹ Note that this transcription excludes some repeats. It is with the repeats as occurring in performance that the song's duration is calculated.

(F) me I want you to hold me I want you to say you'll never leave
me you'll always be beside me **for eternity as long as we be a flowing tumbling**
long river you are
(M) yaay

The words in bold font represent translations of Sinhala words while the rest represent English. The underlined sections are rendered simultaneously. As explained in appendix 2, the letters in parenthesis (F, M etc) denote the gender and number of speakers; some sections are simultaneously rendered by groups of females and males (e.g. MFm). Importantly, existing sociolinguistic or conversation analytic approaches do not offer any means of segmenting this sort of data into smaller clausal units so as to enable for the identification of how code-switching occurs in them. Indeed, the translation as presented here appears quite meaningless which also reinforces the fact that the lyric must comprise smaller segments. The challenge is to decipher where the lyrics segment and in order to do so, it is necessary to understand the source of the smaller segments. A further incompatibility between prevailing sociolinguistic and conversation analytic approaches to code-switching and 98+LSLPS relates to their inability to deal with data involving the simultaneous rendition of multiple mixed language output; this is a feature which defines 98+LSLPS songs. As stated in previous chapters, the simultaneous rendition of multiple utterances is and has for centuries been a dominant feature of sung language/language in song. Remarkably, though, there exists no linguistic analysis of this phenomenon. The analytical framework developed to analyse 98+LSLPS (introduced in section 6.3.2), offers a means of analysing it. Crucially the framework resolves the issue regarding segmenting the lyrics.

Moreover, the absence of typical conversation type sentences coupled with the presence of overlapping multiple mixed language utterances of the 98+LSLPS data demonstrates that the data are incompatible with the more traditional definitions of code-switching and multilingualism. Poplack's (2005) claim that code-switched speech will be grammatical by both L1 and L2 language standards is an example.

6.3.1.2 Grammatical approaches to code-switching and 98+LSLPS

Grammatical studies of code-switching are numerous and provide insight into the structural composition of code-switching. Bhatia and Ritchie (1996), Gardner-Chloros (2009), Myers-Scotton (1997) and Muysken (2000) provide summaries of grammatical studies on code-switching. Interestingly, Gardner-Chloros (2009: 91-92) identifies three problematic sites regarding grammatical approaches to the study of code-switching all of which are relevant to 98+LSLPS and all of which stem from a monolingualist focus. As argued by Gardner-Chloros (2009), the first is that they privilege dissecting code-switched data in terms of sentences drawn on the basis of rules associated with monolingual written/spoken language (e.g. intra and intersentential switching). Gardner-Chloros (2009) argues that this may not necessarily be appropriate for the analysis of some forms of code-switching such as spontaneous speech. The second site concerns what she describes as the ‘misplaced faith in the role of the Matrix language’; in other words that grammatical approaches approach code-switching by trying to distinguish a base or Matrix Language. The third is that most grammatical approaches derive from the assumption that the structure of code-switching can be understood as the juxtaposition of otherwise autonomous sets of grammatical rules corresponding to the source languages of code-switched output.

Gardner-Chloros (2009: 94-95) also argues that most grammatical approaches to code-switching can be distinguished in terms of three broad orientations. The first is the variationist approach comprising the formulation of “grammars based on universal *constraints* on where code-switching could occur in the sentence” (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 95; examples include Timm 1975; Pfaff 1979; Poplack 2005; Sankoff and Poplack 1981). The second orientation is the generativist orientation of the 1980s (Di Sciullo, Joshi 1985; Mahootian 1993; Belazi Rubin and Toribio 1994; MacSwan 1999, 2000, 2005) while the third is described as the production approach encompassing psycholinguistic analyses of code-switching

Consider Poplack's (2005) grammatical approach to code-switching. It includes the application of two syntactic constraints: the *equivalence constraint* and the *free morpheme constraint*. According to the equivalence constraint code-switching is likely to appear where the surface structures of the two languages correspond to and complement one another, specifically where two languages share the same word order. Consequently, code-switching *within* syntactic constituents is not considered permissible. However, a number of counter examples are to be found in the literature as illustrated by the following by Gardner-Chloros (2009: 97):

[2]

Tu peux me pick-up-er?
You can me pick-up-INF suffix
Can you pick me up?

As Gardner-Chloros explains, the speaker violates the equivalence constraint by “switching from French to English at a point where the pronoun object placement differs between the two languages – by giving the verb ‘to pick up’ a French infinitival ending, *er* (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 97). French/Moroccan Arabic (Bentahila and Davies 1983), Swahili/English (Myers-Scotton 1993a), and English/Japanese (Nishimura 1997) code-switching research are other examples which present similar counter examples. Poplack's (2005) free morpheme constraint stipulates that code-switching can occur between any constituents provided *neither* of the participating constituents are bound morphemes. Moreover, switches between a lexical item and bound morpheme are prohibited unless the former has been integrated phonologically into the language of the latter. However, this is the norm of code-switching in some communities such as in, for example, Maori-English code-switching (Eliasson 1989). Clearly, both the equivalence and free morpheme constraints rely on applying the grammatical rules of the source languages of code-switched data to interpreting the data. It follows that the ‘sentence’ in such analyses is derived according to the grammars of the source languages.

Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Framework (MLF) (1983, 1988, 1993a, 1993b, 2001, 2002, 2006) does not conform to any of the three orientations presented by Gardner-Chloros as distinguishing grammatical approaches to code-switching: Gardner-Chloros (2009) recognises this. Importantly, the model stands among the leading grammatical models which attempt to explain the abstract deep level grammatical processes underlying what the model's author terms *classic code-switching*. The 4-M model (Myers-Scotton 2002, 2006) Abstract Level Model and Uniform Structure Principle (Myers-Scotton 2001, 2002) are extensions of the MLF hypothesis. According to the MLF, code-switching is "the alternation between two varieties in the same constituent by speakers who have sufficient proficiency in the two varieties to produce monolingual well-formed utterances in either variety" (2001: 23). Bilingual speech is described as "any clause that includes elements from two or more languages," (Myers-Scotton 2006: 234). The model's unit of analysis was initially the sentence (Myers-Scotton 1993) followed by the CP⁸² (Myers-Scotton 2002) and more recently the clause (Myers-Scotton 2006).

Two principles or sets of oppositions form the core of the MLF model, the Matrix Language vs. Embedded Language opposition and the content vs. system morpheme opposition. The former, the Matrix language vs. embedded language opposition is the core of the model and refers to the hypothesis that all bilingual clauses are characterised by asymmetrical relations between the participating languages, (Myers-Scotton 2002: 15). One language termed the *Matrix Language* is considered to inform the morphosyntactic frame of a clause by conforming to the abstract grammatical properties that entail the well-formedness requirements of the language (Myers-Scotton 2006: 241, 243). The linguistic content belonging to another language and occurring within the Matrix Language clause is termed the *embedded language*. The Matrix Language is determined quantitatively: the language contributing the highest number of morphemes in a discourse consisting of more than one sentence is identified as the Matrix Language. However, as argued by Gardner-Chloros (2009: 102) this assumes that all morphemes of such a discourse can be

⁸² In Myers-Scotton's (1997: 220) description, a CP represents a clause occurring with a complementizer although it is also possible that both the complementizer and clausal elements will be null.

distinguished between the participating languages whereas this is not necessarily the case (see Clyne 1987: 754 for examples). Similarly, Bentahila and Davies (1998: 31) discuss the complications of analysing conversations which appear to contain multiple Matrix Languages.

The central conflict between these grammatical approaches to code-switching and 98+LSLPS relates to the fact that they've evolved to deal with code-switching in writing or natural speech, data which, for the most part, can be 'read' and dissected into smaller units (i.e. sentences) in keeping with the conventions of speech and/or writing. The problems described so far in relation to existing grammatical approaches to code-switching are that the approaches entail 'reading' and dissecting code-switched data on the basis of the grammatical rules associated with the participating languages of the data (Gardner-Chloros 2009). The argument was that code-switching in natural spoken and written contexts often appear to violate the grammatical rules associated with the participating languages of the data (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 165-180). This is why concepts such as the Matrix Language and the notion of the sentence as interpreted according to such grammatical rules are argued to be inadequate for fully addressing code-switching.

However, and importantly, the argument that code-switching in speech and writing violates the rules of their participating languages does not mean that the data do not (perhaps more implicitly in the case of written data) include (e.g. intonational) cues which project the data in terms of a collection of smaller units (i.e. sentences). The data do, after all, belong to the domains of natural language. 98+LSLPS in audio format, however, differs from such code-switched data. They do not include the intonational cues of spoken and written data according to which they might be interpreted and accordingly dissected into 'sentences'. The lyric translation in [1] illustrates this. This is why concepts such as intra and inter-sentential code-switching, the equivalence and free morpheme constraint (Poplack 2005) as well as the notion of the Matrix Language, intended for spoken and written code-switched data and which therefore *assume* that the data include cues indicating identifiable sentences are inadequate in the context of 98+LSLPS. They do not tell us how to

identify ‘sentences’ in data which do not contain cues about sentence boundaries. The incompatibility between 98+LSLPS and existing grammatical approaches to code-switching is also highlighted in lyric sections involving the communication of multiple utterances simultaneously. The lyric in [1] contains examples of this. For example, the Matrix Language model does not indicate how the Matrix Language of a simultaneous multiple utterance might be identified.

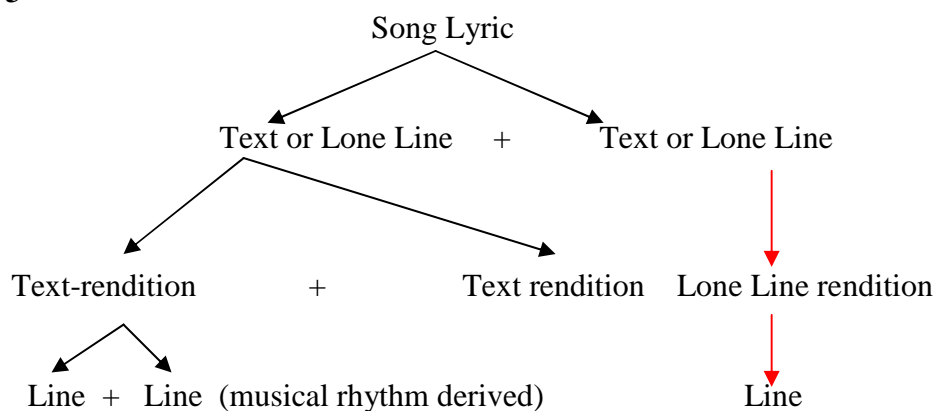
One of the central areas of code-switching analyses involves differentiating between borrowings and code-switching. Various methods ranging from phonological (Poplack and Sankoff 1984; Muysken 2000) to morphophonemic (Eppler 1991; Zimman 1993) criteria have been used to distinguish between the two (see Romaine 1995 and Myers-Scotton 1992 for reviews on various methods used). For example, Poplack’s (2005) analyses (discussed in section 6.3.1.1) derives from the assumption that French is the base language of the data explored and (drawing on Poplack and Sankoff 1984) distinguishes borrowings as single words which have been phonologically integrated into French. In other words, borrowings are identified as elements that have been integrated with the morphophonemic structures of the borrowing variety.

However, 98+LSLPS contains elements which can be regarded as belonging to both Sinhala and English varieties found in Sri Lanka. The proper noun *Kotthu* a food type and topic of one of the sample songs is an example. Moreover, the fact that the 98+LSLPS is sung renders it untenable with phonological criterion which relies on corresponding elements of the codeswitched data to the phonology of the participating languages. Furthermore, the previously discussed issue of the absence of clearly identifiable sentences in 98+LSLPS lyrics makes morphophonemic criteria (such as those used by Poplack 2005), unsuitable for distinguishing borrowings from code-switching in the lyrics. Accordingly, (as explained in section 6.3.2), the method used to differentiate between borrowing and code-switching in this study, relies on identifying the diachronic roots of the lyric components. This method complements Gardner-Cholors’s view that borrowing “can only ultimately be distinguished from code-switching in diachronic terms” (2009: 97; see also chapter 2).

6.3.2 The alternative framework for analysing mixed language in music

Section 6.3.1 explained that a song lyric is regarded as the minimal unit of analysis in this study. Moreover, the preceding discussions highlighted why existing analytical approaches relating to code-switching are not equipped to address data such as 98+LSLPS. As stated in section 6.1, the core of the alternative framework to be introduced is the ‘musical rhythm derived line’: it addresses the issue of the absence of discernable sentences in a 98+LSLPS lyric in audio format. Crucially, the musical rhythm derived line is the core of the lyric line hierarchy presented in figure 3 according to which 98+LSLPS songs are shown to be structured in chapters 7, 8 and 9. Bear in mind that the analytical framework is intended to address the dual identity according to which the songs appear to be perceived by their CofP. Moreover, it is also important to note that in as much as its basis is a musical phenomenon (musical rhythm), the framework is fundamentally intended to explain the organisation of the song lyrics.

Figure 3



The principle, then, is that a 98+LSLPS song lyric consists of a collection of musical rhythm derived lines. The lines are partially autonomous units because they are also connected to each other hierarchically on the basis of a combination of linguistic (as in grammatical), thematic and musical factors. The integration of the lines of a lyric projects the lyric as a unified entity resembling a homogenous metaphorical extended sentence. In this sense the not-mixed identity assigned to the songs by their CofP

becomes visible at the level of the individual song lyric. However, the fact that the extended sentence like identity of a lyric is made of an integration of musical rhythm derived lines reflects a form of mixing. This echoes the mixed identity assigned to the songs by their CofP. Importantly, this view of the lyrics resolves the previously described incompatibility between effective communication among individuals and a lyric with no subsections of nearly 4 minutes duration. Of course, the most obvious basis for the assigned mixed identity is to be found in the convergence of lines comprising or containing elements from different languages. The musical rhythm derived analytical framework highlights three specific sites of such language mixing, two at the level of the individual lines, that is, within a musical rhythm derived line and one at the level of Texts (see figure 3). Defined as ILCF-H and explained in section 6.3.2.6 one of the sites of language mixing at the level of the line involves the simultaneous rendition of sequences in either similar or dissimilar codes and is analogous to linguistic polyphony. This form of rendition is common in music. Notably, this is the first analytical framework that has addressed such phenomena. Following a further explanation of the musical rhythm derived line in section 6.3.2.1, the subsequent sections of this chapter explain the terms used to describe the hierarchical organisation of the musical rhythm derived lines and in so doing explain the hierarchy. The three sites which highlight language mixing in 98+LSLPS are explained thereafter.

The effort to advance a structural analysis of the songs which addresses the identity assigned to the songs by their CofP reflects an attempt to integrate the sociological and context based emphasis of the sociolinguistic and conversation analytic approaches outlined in section 6.3.1.1 with the structural emphasis of the grammatical approaches outlined in section 6.3.1.2. Accordingly, it supports the view that “the priority is to set up comparative studies which will allow us to gauge the effect of the different types of variable which have been found to affect CS [code-switching]” (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 77).

6.3.2.1 The musical rhythm derived linguistic ‘line’ as a quasi sentence

Detailed in chapter 9, musical rhythm can be seen to govern the organisation of the language of a 98+LSLPS song in audio format making it also responsible for the absence of intonational cues salient to natural speech in the songs and which typically signal sentential boundaries. Crucially, however, the language of a song in audio format can nevertheless be seen to be organised in terms of smaller segments but defined by the song’s musical rhythm. The manner in which musical rhythm segments 98+LSLPS lyrics is detailed in chapter 9.

In brief, the kind of musical rhythm occurring in 98+LSLPS is for the most part similar to that found in western tonal music. Like natural language, musical structure is hierarchical. In western tonal music, musical beats are seen to form the core of a collection of recursive musical rhythmic sequences of symmetrical duration termed ‘bar lines’⁸³. The bars combine to form a musical rhythmic ‘grid’/template. So if we parallel musical beats to words, then bars would correspond to sentences and a piece of music would correspond to the discourse or text represented by the collective of sentences. The system of western tonal music scoring is based on bars.

At this stage, it is pertinent to refer to the phenomenon of syncopation which concerns a particular way in which words and morphemes are ordered in music, especially in ‘pop’ music in relation to musical rhythm. In brief, a hallmark of vocal popular music (such as 98+LSLPS) is that words and morphemes often occur on the off-beat or expressed differently, do not always (indeed rarely do) occur precisely on the start of a beat but are distributed along the durational sequences comprising the space between beats. Such distribution of words and morphemes in quintessential western tonal musical traditions most often involves a symmetrical subdivision of the durational sequences between beats. Now this kind of distribution may appear to facilitate an opposition between the surface musical rhythm and the underlying musical rhythmic structure of a musical piece. Indeed, this seeming opposition forms part of the complex and little understood relationship between surface and

⁸³ Note that the claim that all bars in a musical construct tend to be of equal duration is a generalisation mostly congruent with western tonal music: exceptions are explained in chapter 9.

underlying deep-level musical rhythmic structure (see also Lerdahl and Jackendorf 1983) the discussion of which extends beyond the specific objectives of the present study. Importantly, as evidenced in 98+LSLPS, the underlying rhythmic structure of such music arguably remains the governing core of a song regardless of where specifically words and morphemes might be ordered in relation to the song beats. The recursive four beat bar lines form the basis of the 98+LSLPS songs and in so doing function as the core organiser of the songs’ language.

What is important is that the musical bars of most western tonal musical works comprise symmetrical durational sequences. It is here that musical and linguistic structure differs. Whereas sentences can be of varying length, the bars of a piece of music remain of similar duration. Because a song’s musical rhythm governs its language, the musical bar line assumes the role of segmenting a song’s linguistic material into quasi ‘sentences’: a song lyric, begins to resemble a set of musical rhythm sourced lines⁸⁴. Crucially, as illustrated in [3], the musical rhythm derived lyric lines/sentences are very unlike sentences found in spoken speech: hence the use of the qualifier ‘quasi’ when referring to them.

[3]⁸⁵

Song – *Kotthu* (2008)

L6 lime-uth one sam-
 /laɪm ʊθ ɒnɛ sɑm/
lime-also want sam (bol)
{Lime also want (sambol)}

Sam- in [3] is the initial part of the Sinhala proper noun *sambolaya* (or *sambol*, the equivalent content noun in ‘Sri Lankan’ English) and denotes a spicy condiment. Although Sri Lankan cuisine contains a range of *sambol* variations, each specified with a modifier (e.g. *lunu* ‘onion’ *sambola* etc) the term is frequently used

⁸⁴ The transcriptions and translations of the songs in appendix 2 have been presented in terms of musical rhythm derived lines. For purposes of avoiding overtly lengthy transcriptions, the lines of the transcriptions of some songs represent two musical rhythm derived lines distinguished by a slash / (e.g. *Shaheena* - L28 *adare haegum ratavak karan/ mehendi andinne/* denotes two lines).

⁸⁵ The examples of the song lyrics provided in this chapter are taken from appendix 2 and are therefore in the format in which the lyrics are presented in appendix 2.

interchangeably with one form of *sambol*, *pol sambol* or coconut-*sambol* consisting of a combination of grated coconut, lime, chilli, salt and pepper. Its plural form *sambola* is often used as a singular noun too. Importantly, in no other context written or spoken would the word be split in the way that it has been in the above sentence. The splitting of words in a-morphemic boundaries is extremely widespread in the 98+LSLPS corpus when the lyrics are interpreted according to the notion of the musical rhythm derived line. The feature is just one example of how the morphosyntax of the ‘language’ of 98+LSLPS contrasts with the morphosyntax of its source Sinhala *and* English languages occurring in non-musical environments. As the reader will discover in the analyses of the song sample in the ensuing chapters, this kind of a-morphemic segmentation defines ‘English Text rapped renditions’, a dominant lyric type of 98+LSLPS.

There exists some linguistic research which invokes the musical rhythmic line (Dell and Halle 2009; Halle and Lerdahl 1993; Halle- forthcoming; Hayes and MacEachern 1996, 1998; Hayes 2009). Researchers such as Liberman and Prince (1977 and Liberman 1979) explore the organisation of speech sounds in temporal grids in their effort to understand how communities distinguish between prose and verse. However, most studies so far have focused on the relationship between musical rhythm and the phonology of language in music (see also Allen 1975; Beckman 1986; Fabb & Halle 2008; Halle & Lerdahl 1993; Hayes & Kaun 1996; Hayes and MacEachern 1996; Hayes 2008; Hyman 1977; Jackendoff 1989; Kiparsky 2006; Laver 1994; Lerdahl & Jackendoff 1983; Rodríguez-Vázquez 2007; Turpin 2007a for research concerning the relationship between song language and musical rhythm). Specifically, there appears to be no research on the impact of musical rhythm determined lyric-lines on morpho-syntax. Moreover, there certainly exists no analyses of contemporary, in particular Asian musics containing mixed language lyrics in terms of the musical rhythm derived line; Lerdahl and Jackendoff (1983: 279) and Loeb (2006: 133) refer to the paucity of in depth analyses of Asian vocal music. Furthermore, the use of the notion of the musical rhythm derived line in this study pertains to understanding the structure of the songs in terms of how their CofP negotiate and perceive the songs as part of exploring collective linguistic identity.

6.3.2.2. Code

The term *code* is used to refer to both languages *and* varieties/styles of languages in the analyses of the songs (i.e. ‘Intra Line Code Fusion-Linear’ and ‘Intra Line Code Fusion-Horizontal’ introduced in section 6.3.2.6). It features in terms (i.e. code-mixing, code-switching) used to represent the integration of languages or language varieties. In this study, the use of the term code is based on a recognition that the linguistic structure of mixed language data especially when occurring in contexts like a song and when regarded in terms of such metalinguistic contexts as musical structure, may differ significantly from the structural features typically associated with the participating languages demonstrating instead a collapsing of the boundaries by which the participating languages are usually differentiated from each other.

6.3.2.2.1 Similar and Dissimilar Code

While the term code is intended to reflect recognition of the blurred boundaries between the source languages of the song lyrics, the source languages can still be distinguished from each other. This is not surprising considering that the defining feature of a 98+LLSPS song lyric is the obvious mixing of languages (in particular English and Sinhala). Accordingly, two modifiers, namely, *similar* and *dissimilar* accompany the term code in this study and are used to differentiate between languages on the one hand and language varieties on the other. ‘Similar code’ represents a language variety/dialect (e.g. spoken Sinhala, formal Sinhala, Sri Lankan English) while ‘dissimilar code’, a different language (e.g. Tamil, English, Sinhala). Indeed, some of the key categories of the musical rhythm derived lyric line hierarchy (figure 3) rely on identifying the intersection of clearly dissimilar languages. The category of *Text* detailed in section 6.3.2.4 is an example as it corresponds to consecutive (musical rhythm derived) lyric lines that display an affiliation with one specific language/code. So, for example, to state that a lyric comprises two Texts is tantamount to stating that the lyric comprises two groups of lyric lines, each group representing a separate code (i.e. a dissimilar code).

Linguistic content that exhibits blurred identity (i.e. appears to belong to English and Sinhala) is distinguished by identifying the diachronic roots of the content: this was outlined in section 6.3.2.2. Consider [3]; the noun *sambola* originates from Sinhala but can also be regarded part of Sri Lankan English/es. According to the method used in this study, the noun *sambola* is classified as a Sinhala noun in a Sinhala code line. However, this method is not without shortcomings; some constituents may occupy a stronger identity in their adopted host code than in their source code. Consequently, it was decided that constituents that have no relationship with their source code any longer but occupy a leading position in their host code would not be regarded as representing a dissimilar code when occurring in a line/sentence of the host code: the 98+LSLPS data did not include any such constituents. The issue of the blurring of the dissimilar versus similar code distinction is magnified in contexts involving the simultaneous integration/rendition of multiple codes within an individual musical rhythm derived line. Section 6.3.2.6 introduces the phenomenon and explains how the lines' code identity is determined.

6.3.2.3 Fusion

Fusion is the term used in this study to refer to instances of similar and dissimilar code integration within a song lyric either within lines or between lines. The term also has special significance in the context of 98+LSLPS; fusion is a term often used in musical discourse to refer to contemporary musics (i.e. 98+LSLPS) involving the amalgamation of different genres particularly genres stemming from western musical traditions and non-western musical traditions. The reader will recall that the term featured in the 98+LSLPS CofP members' descriptions of 98+LSLPS presented in chapter 4. As stated previously, code-switching, code-mixing and language alternation are the terms traditionally used to refer to language and language variety contact phenomena. However, the terms 'switching', switching *between* languages and 'alternation', *alternating between* languages do not quite reflect the denser degree of language and language variety integration found in 98+LSLPS especially when the lyrics are interpreted in terms of their attendant musical rhythmic environment. The phenomenon of Intra Line Code Fusion-Horizontal described in

6.3.2.6.2 exemplifies this. Similarly, the manner in which musical rhythm derived lines are shown to be connected grammatically (chapter 7), thematically (chapter 8) and in terms of their attendant music structural environments (chapter 9) also demonstrates how closely integrated the 98+LSLPS lyrics are. Consequently, the term fusion is intended to evoke the idea of a blend, of heightened code integration as found in 98+LSLPS.

There are of course existing concepts advanced in order to represent spaces of cultural integration and reinvention. However, they are not as suitable to describing 98+LSLPS code integration as is the term fusion. ‘Hybridity’ (Bhabha 1994) and ‘third space’ (Bhatt 2008) are among two notable examples. In as much as the notion of hybridity seeks to reflect similar forms of integration, the notion includes the premise that all reinventions consequential of such integrations serve to unsettle stable identities. In turn, the premise implies that such reinventions are evocative of unstable identities and in so doing undermines the homogeneity and entailed independence of such reinventions at the level of identity. Indeed, the premise is evident in the very term hybridity deriving from the lexeme hybrid: not only does the lexeme refer to the result of the integration of different entities or beings (i.e. different animal species or plant varieties) but also connotes that the result is somewhat inferior to its sources.

A relatively neutral term that does not evoke the negative connotations associated with the term hybridity, the notion of ‘third space’ also refers to similar reinvented identities. However, the notion refers primarily to the sphere of writing where writers may engage in re-negotiating multilingual identity within the context of their creative endeavours. While 98+LSLPS songs include lyrics and therefore could be argued to include a form of ‘written’ content, the present study pertains to the active negotiation of 98+LSLPS songs in audio format (i.e. a format involving within and between linguistic *and* music and blends) by a community of several million individuals. More specifically, language blends in 98+LSLPS form part of a larger system of blending. Using a term like ‘third space’ to refer to the language blends of

98+LSLPS could be misleading as it would undermine the fact that the language blends are integrated within a broader framework of musico-linguistic blending.

6.3.2.4 Text and Lone Lines

Text refers to the second highest stratum of the hierarchy (in figure 3), and represents the largest category of a song lyric. Importantly, the identity of a Text relies solely on linguistic factors as opposed to some of the other categories. For example, Text-conditions explained in section 6.3.2.5 are determined on the basis of music. A Text requires the presence of two or more consecutive lines in similar code. That is to say, a set of two or more consecutive lines in one language or varieties of the same language (i.e. Sri Lankan English/es and/or African-American English) is classified a Text qualified by the name of the relevant code: e.g. English Text. *Lone Lines* refer to consecutive lines in dissimilar code. [4a] includes a section of an English Text followed by a Sinhala Text belonging to the 98+LSLPS sample. The lines in (red and black) bold font are translations⁸⁶. L66 and L68 in [4b] represent Sinhala code Lone Lines while L67 represents an English code Lone Line⁸⁷.

[4]

(a)

English-Text
Song - *Ae Hetha* (2007)

L29 Ya ya
L30 let me take you back to my home place
L31 *Mage gedera* cell call it home base
My home
{My home cell call it home base.}

⁸⁶ As explained in appendix 2, Sinhala, English and Tamil Texts in the appendix are in black red and blue fonts respectively.

⁸⁷ Lone Lines are represented in pink font in appendix 2 regardless of their code.

Sinhala-Text

Song – *Sandawathuren* (2006)

- L7 *sandawathuren dowa* **ah ah ah ah**
moon-water-in from ah ah ah ah
{From moon-water (moon-lit-water) ah ah ah ah.}
- L8 *sithuvili pibideva* aha ahaaa
Thoughts spring-may-will aha ahaaa
{May thoughts spring aha ahaaa.}
- L9 *nonidena nethu gaava* that's right
sleepless eyes touched that's right
{Touched (by) sleepless eyes that's right.}
- L10 *sihinaya oba veva* **ah ah ah hiri**
dream you may-it-be ah ah ah small
{(A/the) dream may you be ah ah ah small.}

(b)

Song – *Sandawathuren* (2006)

- L65 Local got much love though
- L66 *sithuvili pibideva* what it do baby I wanna
thoughts spring-may-will
{May thoughts spring.}
- L67 Ride you step inside you
- L68 *sihinaya oba veva* gotta
dream you may-it-be
{A/the dream may you be.}

The site at which two adjacent Texts converge in a lyric represents an instance of dissimilar code convergence. Therefore, it represents one of the three sites referred to previously as exemplifying language ‘mixing’. For example, consider a song containing 30 lines of which 28 consecutive lines are in English code while the remaining 2 are in Sinhala code. The song would be said to comprise an English Text followed by a Sinhala Text: the point at which the two Texts intersect would be a site of dissimilar code integration and therefore of obvious language/code mixing. As with Texts, the convergence of Lone Lines also represents dissimilar code fusion (i.e. they too are contexts which conflict directly with the not-mixed counterpart of the dual identity assigned to the genre by the 98+LSLPS CofP). Overall, Texts dominate over Lone Lines in 98+LSLPS. Two Lone Lines per song of approximately thirty lyric lines is the average ratio.

6.3.2.5 Text and Lone Line renditions

As stated in previous chapters, four techniques are identified as the main ‘vehicles’ through which 98+LSLPS lyrics are communicated by their artists to their principal audience. They are, *rap*, *singing*, *rhythmic* and *A-rhythmic rendition*. Chapter 9 explains the techniques in detail. However, it is necessary to introduce them briefly at this stage since they define the third stratum of the musical rhythm derived line hierarchy represented in figure 3. *Rapping* as was described in chapter 3 (section 3.6.1) involves unsung speech rendition synchronised according to musical rhythm. The technique of singing is by far the most widely occurring form of communication in 98+LSLPS. Moreover, singing dominates the majority of vocal music genres in Sri Lanka. *Rhythmic and A-rhythmic rendition* are two concepts advanced in this study. I define rhythmic rendition in 98+LSLPS as unsung (speech like) language communicated within a musical rhythm framework similar to rapping, but involving fewer words per lyric line than rapped renditions. Furthermore, rhythmic Text renditions contain fewer lyric lines than rapped Text renditions. A-rhythmic rendition is speech delivered within the context of a song where the musical rhythm which defines the song is inaudible or appears absent. Therefore, A-rhythmic rendition resembles natural spoken speech. Of the four 98+LSLPS presentational techniques it is the only one that does not hinge on the rhythmic structure of the songs.

The term used to define lines on the basis of the presentational technique through which they are delivered is *rendition*. So while Texts and Lone Lines are linguistically determined in terms of their language/code, renditions are identified according to the technique through which Texts and Lone Lines are communicated. This is the key difference between Texts and Lone Lines on the one hand and renditions on the other. In the case of Texts, the techniques serve to subdivide them into smaller units. So a Text rendition represents a subsection of a Text. For example, an English Text includes four possible Text renditions, namely, English Text rapped rendition, English Text sung rendition, English Text rhythmic rendition and English Text A-rhythmic rendition. As an example of how renditions serve to subdivide a Text, consider an English Text of 20 lines, the first ten rapped and the second sung.

The first ten lines would be defined ‘English Text rapped rendition’ the concluding ten, ‘English Text sung rendition’. In the case of Lone Lines, identifying the technique through which they are delivered does not serve to subdivide them but serves to provide further information about them (e.g. The song opens with two Lone Lines the first delivered in rap, the second sung).

6.3.2.6 Intra Line Code Fusion-Linear (ILCF-L) and Intra Line Code Fusion-Horizontal (ILCF-H)

Sections 6.3.2.6.1 and 6.3.2.6.2 introduce the two remaining sites of code integration in 98+LSLPS lyrics which exemplify the mixed identity assigned to the songs by their CofP and consequently appear to conflict with the not-mixed counterpart of the assigned dual identity. They both occur *within* 98+LSLPS musical rhythm derived lines and are in this study termed Intra-line Code Fusion-Linear (ILCF-L), and Intra Line Code Fusion- Horizontal (ILCF-H). ILCF-L and ILCF-H occur mostly in Text renditions rather than in Lone Lines. Both ILCF-L and ILCF-H are defined in terms of two constituent sub-categories. The distinction relates to the pre modifiers *similar* and *dissimilar* used to distinguish codes in this analysis. Bear in mind that in this study, it is the diachronic roots of a construct that determines its identity as a dissimilar or similar code construct in a lyric line.

As stated previously, ILCF-H is extremely common to most forms of sung language and yet remarkably there exists no linguistic research regarding the phenomenon. The analytical framework introduced in relation to 98+LSLPS offers a method of analysing the phenomenon. Moreover, 98+LSLPS ILCF-L too, contrasts from the kind of intra-line code fusion found in other Sri Lankan (and possibly non-Sri Lankan) spoken and written media due to the fact that the definition of the lines is based on musical rhythm; this results in interesting and unusual linearly aligned code-mixed constructs. The ensuing chapters review both phenomena in detail in relation to the 98+LSLPS sample songs. Interestingly, despite appearing to be fundamentally ‘mixed’ linguistically, their organisation and relationship with their

respective lyrics are shown to complement *both* the mixed and not-mixed counterparts of the identity assigned to the songs by their CofP

6.3.2.6.1 Intra Line Code Fusion-Linear (ILCF-L): Intra Line *similar* Code Fusion-Linear (ILsCF-L) and Intra Line *dissimilar* Code Fusion-Linear (ILdCF-L)

This concept applies to all instances of code integration occurring in a linear fashion *within* a musical rhythm derived line/quasi sentence. Accordingly, we classify ILCF-L as occurring in one of two guises, Intra-line *similar* Code Fusion-Linear (ILsCF-L) or Intra-line *dissimilar* Code Fusion-Linear (ILdCF-L). The difference between them lies in the nature of the codes integrating within a line. Recall that dissimilar codes are analogous to what would typically be considered ‘separate’ languages while similar codes refer to varieties and dialects belonging to a single language (refer 6.3.2.2.1). For example, the noun *Kotthu* is a Sinhala noun and has roots in Sinhala but could be interpreted as a member of the Sri Lankan English/es lexicon too. However, in this thesis, it would be interpreted as a Sinhala noun due to its Sinhala roots. Consequently, its occurrence linearly in an English code 98+LSLPS lyric line would render the line an ILdCF-L line.

Moreover, the exploration of ILCF-L in 98+LLSPS includes the exploration of ILdCF-L only. Two reasons underlie the decision to do so. Firstly, as explained in chapter 2, it is becoming increasingly difficult to differentiate between varieties of Sinhala and varieties of English in Sri Lanka. The problem persists in trying to differentiate 98+LSLPS lyric lines in terms of specific similar codes. Secondly, the focus here is to explore areas of code fusion which exemplify language mixing and which consequently appear to conflict with the not-mixed counterpart of the identity assigned to the songs by the 98+LSLPS CofP. Analysing ILdCF-L avoids the problem of having to dissect codes in terms of specific similar codes and is also consistent with the above focus.

[5a] and [5b] illustrate ILdCF-L in some English Text lines of the 98+LSLPS sample. [5c] and [5d] represent Sinhala Text ILdCF-L.

[5]

ILdCF-L in an English Text

(a) Song – *Ae Hetha* (2007)

L31 *Mage gedera* cell call it home base

(b) Song - *Kotthu* (2008)

L58 There are times when I'd lie for you *kotthu*

ILdCF-L in a Sinhala Text

(c) Song – *Sandawathuren* (2006)

L32 *sandawathuren dowa* Yashan baby

/sʌḍəvʌθurɛn ḍova/

moon-water-in from

{From moon-water (moon-lit-water) Yashan baby.}

(d) Song - *Kotthu* (2008)

L20 foreign *kaema kalanam mata gedara yanna bae*

/fɔrɪn ka:mə kʌlʌnʌm mʌtə gɛḍərə jʌnnə bə:/

foreign foods eat after I home go can't

{I can't go home after eating foreign foods.}

In [5a], *mage* and *gedera* have Sinhala roots and comprise the English code lines' dissimilar sequence. Likewise, in the case of [5b] *kotthu* has Sinhala roots. Similarly, 'baby' in [5c] and 'foreign' in [5d] have roots in the English language and constitute the dissimilar sequences of their respective Sinhala code lines.

6.3.2.6.2 Intra Line Code Fusion- Horizontal (ILCF-H): Intra Line *similar* Code Fusion-Horizontal (ILsCF-H) and Intra Line *dissimilar* Code Fusion-Horizontal (ILdCF-H)

Intra Line Code Fusion- Horizontal (ILCF-H) refers to the simultaneous occurrence of multiple linguistic *sequences* in a musical rhythmically derived clausal line; hence the use of the term horizontal. *Sequence* refers to the horizontally positioned components of an ILCF-H line. There is no limit to the number of horizontal sequences that can comprise an ILCF-H line. Some lines in the sample include up to four sequences. [6] represents an ILCF-H line occurring in a 98+LSLPS sample song.

[6]

Song- *Sri Sangabodhi* (2000)

L83 [(Fm) We'll be modern history
(M) sangabodhi maligave-di
/sAgəbo:ðɪ maligaveðɪ
(M3) Millenium music style represent]
Sangabodhi palace-the-in
{Sangabodhi in the palace.}

As with ILCF-L, ILCF-H is defined as consisting of two complementary subcategories; Intra Line *similar* Code Fusion-Horizontal (ILsCF-H) and Intra Line *dissimilar* Code Fusion- Horizontal (ILdCF-H). ILsCF-H involves the presence of more than one similar code sequence horizontally as illustrated by the two extracts in [7]. The first occurs in an English Text, the second in a Sinhala Text (section 6.3.2.6.3 explains how the dominant code of these lines according to which the lines are defined as Sinhala or English etc. is determined).

[7]

(a) Song -*Oba Magemai*_(2003)

L4 [Tell me you'll never leave me
Come-on come on (M)]

(b) Song –*Vasanthaye* (1998)

L37 [*sithata naengena / sithuvili mal*
/sɪθətə nagenə sɪθuvɪlɪ mɐl/
(F) *sahas*]
/sɐhɐs/
[mind-to birthing thoughts flowers
Secret]
{[(The) thoughts that birth. Thought flowers
Secret .]}

ILdCF-H involves dissimilar code sequences in horizontal position. The first of the following two extracts of ILdCF-H in [8] occurs in a Sinhala Text, the second occurs in an English Text.

[8]

(a) Song –*Sandawathuren* (2006)

L59 (Mm) [*nonidena nethu gaava*
/nomɪðenə nɛθu gava/
(F) you got the flow you got the flow]
sleepless eyes touched
{Touched by sleepless eyes}

(b) Song - *Sri Sangabodhi* (2000)

L83 [(Fm) We'll be modern history
(M) *sangabodhi maligave-di*
/sɐgəbo:ðɪ malɪgavɛðɪ
(M3) Millenium music style represent]
Sangabodhi palace-the-in
{Sangabodhi in the palace.}

Because the phenomenon involves simultaneous multiple renditions, a range of presentational techniques may feature in a single line. For example, one sequence might be rapped, another might be sung. Furthermore, sequences of an ILCF-H line may also include ILdCF-L. Both these are found in 98+LSLPS. [9] represents an example of ILdCF-L occurring in an ILdCF-H line.

[9]

Song – *Kotthu* (2008)

L14 [lime-*uth* *onea* *sam*
 / laim Uθ onε sΛm/
_____ lime-*oth* *onae*
 / laim Uθ onε/]
[lime-also want sam(**bol**)
 lime-also want]
{[lime also want (**sambol**)
 lime also want .]}

ILdCF-H can arguably be said to distinguish 98+LSLPS from other Sri Lankan communicative phenomena, musical and non-musical. This is probably because English-Sinhala language mixing is dominant in 98+LSLPS whereas most other Sri Lankan song genres are monolingual. Evidence from the song sample supports this argument: the abundance of ILdCF-H in the sample's 98+LSLPS songs contrasts with its absence in the sample's non-98+LSLPS songs. Overall, therefore, we see that ILCF-H is a defining feature of 98+LSLPS in its Sri Lankan context. As already stated, ILsCF-H is, however, an extremely common feature of sung music generally.

6.3.2.6.3 Determining the dominant code in ILCF-L and dominant code (*and rendition form*) in ILCF-H

Identifying the dominant code is crucial to analysing ILCF-L and ILCF-H, in particular ILdCF-L and ILdCF-H. It is only by identifying the dominant code of a musical rhythm derived line that any dissimilar sequences within it either horizontally or linearly aligned can be identified. Importantly, dominant in the context of 98+LSLPS does not necessarily refer to grammatical dominance. Bear in mind that the data are song recordings. So the acoustic prominence (or loudness) of a sequence is also considered.

If the content of an ILCF-L or ILCF-H line connects with the content of its preceding and/or following musical rhythm derived lines, then its dominant code is considered the same as that of its adjacent line/s. Accordingly, when occurring in a Text, the

line's status as a member of the Text entails that its dominant code corresponds to the code of the Text.

In ILCF-H lines, acoustic prominence is also used to determine a line's dominant sequence: the code of the sequence is defined as the line's dominant code. Furthermore, the rendition (rapped or sung etc.) form assigned to an ILCF-H line corresponds to the technique used to deliver its dominant code sequence. In the lyric transcriptions in appendix 2, the lines' font colour corresponds to its dominant code.

6.4 Summary and outline of analyses in chapters 7, 8 and 9

This chapter introduced a new analytical framework for analysing music with mixed language lyrics in audio format based on the notion of the musical rhythm derived line. In the case of 98+LSLPS, the notion serves as the governing principle underlying a lyric line hierarchy according to which the song lyric lines are argued to be structured. The analyses of the 98+LSLPS sample in chapters 7, 8 and 9 correspond to exploring the various strata of the hierarchy. This chapter commenced by establishing the song as the basic unit of analysis (in section 6.2). The chapter also established that conventional approaches to code-switching analysis are inappropriate for audio data like 98+LSLPS (sections 6.3.1.1 and 6.3.1.2). Thereafter, the new framework as well as the terms used to describe the various components of the framework were introduced in sections 6.3.2.1. to 6.3.2.5. Importantly, the framework incorporates accounting for two phenomena which epitomise unusual language integration in 98+LSLPS. They are termed *Intra Line Code Fusion–Linear* and *Intra line Code Fusion–Horizontal* respectively and were introduced in section 6.3.2.6.

The analyses of the song sample in terms of the analytical framework in chapters 7, 8 and 9 are broadly structured as follows. Chapter 7 explores the (musical rhythm derived lyric) line convergence within Text renditions. It also explores ILCF-L and ILCF-H lines. The explorations involve drawing on the structural/grammatical features of the lines. Grammatical tendencies of the various Text and Lone Line rendition types (i.e. English rapped renditions, Sinhala sung renditions) and the

relationship between the main 98+LSLPS codes, in particular between Sinhala and English on the one hand and the Text and Lone Line rendition types on the other are also explored.

Chapter 8 explores convergence between Text renditions and thereafter all the Texts and Lone Lines of a 98+LSLPS lyric. The exploration involves drawing on lyric theme and content. The relationship between the Text and Lone Line rendition types, Text and Lone rendition thematic tendencies and patterns relating to the position of the Text rendition types in a song lyric are also described. Chapter 9 explores the convergence of the Text renditions and then the Texts and Lone Lines of a lyric in terms of their relationship with musical structure. The emphasis is on musical rhythm. The chapter includes an exploration of the relationship between 98+LSLPS Text rendition types (i.e. rap, singing), the core (English, Sinhala) codes of 98+LSLPS and musical structure. The phenomena of ILdCF-L and ILCF-H are also reviewed in terms of musical structure.

Finally, it is necessary to bear in mind an important epistemological implication arising from the fact that generalisations forwarded about the structure and organisation of 98+LSLPS lyrics in the ensuing analyses are the consequence of analysing 98+LSLPS in terms of a new musical structure based analytical framework developed in this thesis and which has therefore, not yet been applied to other contexts of language in music. Specifically, it is not permissible to compare and/or contrast the generalisations with generalisations about the structure and organisation of other contemporary mixed language lyrics found elsewhere in linguistic scholarship. The exception to this is the exploration of 98+LSLPS lyric theme in chapter 8. Here theme in some (i.e. rap) sections of the 98+LSLPS lyrics is contextualised in relation to existing literature on similar lyric types.

Chapter 7

The 98+LSLPS sample: Song (lyric) organisation through grammar

“[T]he significance of artistic icons are values. Value arises within an act, within which a property of an object or situation in relation to someone, consummates or frustrates his[her] interest...” (Coker 1972: 32).

7.1 Introduction

This is the first of three chapters which explore the analytical framework introduced in chapter 6 relating to the hierarchical lyric line organisation of 98+LSLPS songs. Recall, too that the basis of the hierarchy is the notion of the musical rhythm derived line (explained in chapter 6: 6.3.2.1). The focus is on the twelve 98+LSLPS songs of the song sample introduced in chapter 5. As explained in chapter 6, the key purpose of exploring 98+LSLPS lyrics is to understand the dual mixed and not-mixed identity assigned to 98+LSLPS by its CofP (discussed in chapter 4) at the level of the 98+LSLPS lyrics. This chapter explores the framework in relation to lyric grammar.

The first part of this chapter engages with the Text and Lone Line renditions of the sample lyrics (figure 3). This means we explore whether the individual musical rhythm derived lines of a given Text rendition elicit relative grammatical autonomy while also displaying features that make them appear connected to each other. The central focus is on English Text renditions (section 7.2) and Sinhala Text renditions (section 7.3) since English and Sinhala are the two core codes of the 98+LSLPS CofP’s shared (linguistic) repertoire. The analysis of each is undertaken in terms of the four presentational techniques of rap, singing, rhythmic and A-rhythmic rendition through which the Texts are delivered. This is followed by a brief exploration of the Text renditions in the non-Sinhala and non-English codes of 98+LSLPS in section 7.4 and leads to a similar brief overview of 98+LSLPS Lone Line renditions in section 7.5. Note also that the analyses in sections 7.2 to 7.5 do not concern ILCF-L or ILCF-H lines. Overall, considerable attention is also devoted to examining the

relationship between the two core codes and four presentational techniques of 98+LSLPS. Similarly, grammatical features corresponding to the Text rendition types are also identified in the individual discussions of them. Importantly, the explorations in this chapter, particularly those concerning English and Sinhala Text renditions demonstrate that the lines of a Text rendition elicit some grammatical regularity making them appear somewhat autonomous but also display grammatical irregularity and that this irregularity diminishes when they interpreted as connected to each other. This, in turn, establishes congruence between the analytical framework presented in figure 3 and the lyrics at the level of Text renditions.

As explained in chapter 6, ILCF-L and ILCF-H comprise two sites which on the surface appear to collide with the not-mixed component of the identity assigned to 98+LSLPS by its CofP. However, analysed in terms of the musical rhythm derived analytical framework, this chapter demonstrates that for the most part, the grammar of the phenomena contributes significantly to establishing the salience of both components of the assigned identity at the level of lyric organisation. More specifically, the lines are found to exhibit a degree grammatical regularity while also exhibiting grammatical irregularity; the latter diminishes when the lines are interpreted in relation to each other. The exploration of these two phenomena constitutes the second part of this chapter. Note that both occur at the level of the lyric line. They are each explored independently, ILCF-L in section 7.6 and ILCF-H in section 7.7. For reasons explained in chapter 6 and section 7.6, the exploration of ILCF-L relates to ILdCF-L only. On the contrary, both ILsCF-H and ILdCF-H are explored in section 7.7. The exploration of these phenomena involve focusing more on the English and Sinhala Texts in which they appear most although they are also explored in non-English/non-Sinhala Texts and Lone Lines. With regards to evaluating the robustness of the phenomena, it was decided to privilege the number of songs in which they occur rather than the collective number of occurrences of each phenomenon in a song. The reason for this is because the presence of a phenomenon in multiple songs is presumably more indicative of its overall distribution in the genre. The chapter concludes with a summary in section 7.8.

7.2 98+LSLPS English Text renditions

Below is a summary of the distribution of English Text renditions in the sample.

Eleven of the twelve songs have English Texts rendered as follows:

Rap: 9 songs

Singing: 5 songs

Rhythmic rendition: 9 songs

A-rhythmic rendition: 3 songs

As stated, bear in mind that the present discussion concerns linear lines in similar (or the same) code and does not consider ILdCF-L and ILCF-H as they are explored separately later in the chapter. As explained in chapter 5, twelve of the fourteen sample songs are 98+LSLPS songs. The presence of English Texts in eleven of the twelve songs establishes English Texts as a robust feature of 98+LSLPS. English Texts are hardly present in non-98+LSLPS songs as evidenced in their absence in the non-98+LSLPS sample songs. This further distinguishes English Texts in 98+LSLPS. The one 98+LSLPS sample song that does not include English Texts is *Oba Hinda* (by core artist circle Iraj and featuring a Sri Lankan female vocalist). Interestingly, it does not contain language or musical style mixing typical of 98+LSLPS songs, but instead resembles the two non 98+LSLPS songs of the sample. However, the lack of resemblance between the selected song and 98+LSLPS does not indicate a shift in the artist's musical style and identity because a vast majority of the artist's songs conform to the quintessential language and music style mixing which define 98+LSLPS.

7.2.1 English Text rapped renditions

Rap is the leading technique through which English Texts are negotiated by the 98+LSLPS CofP. Specifically, nine of the twelve songs contain English Text rapped renditions. Crucially, English Text rapped renditions exhibit grammatical features which distinguish them from sung, rhythmic and A-rhythmic English Text renditions.

[1a] is the English Text rapped rendition of the first 98+LSLPS song *Vasanthaye* released in 1998 by the core artists BNS. As explained in a number of preceding chapters, the symbolic birth of the 98+LSLPS CofP can be traced back to the popularity of this song. The second extract is the English Text rapped rendition belonging to the most recent 98+LSLPS song in the sample, *Hanthane*.

[1]

. (a) Song - *Vasanthaye* (1998)

Rap: (M) with (F) background vocalisation

L19 Check out check out my new *Sinhala* style I am
L20 Using the style for the very first time which
L21 Comes from a country a pearl of a land from the
L22 Hill and the rivers and the golden sand with north
L23 South east and west together we must stand u-
L24 -nite the bond of friendship and the love for the country man
L25 DJ at the mike do the boogie dance man lets
L26 Do the *Sinhala* dance walla two three

(b) Song - *Hanthane* (2008)

Rap (M) and (Mm)

L24 Young *Ashanthi* what you wanna do like you
L25 Got me like I got you (Mm) hey
L26 Yeah and I said the boy looks fine but the
L27 Girl hanging out with ya kinda like a (Mm) hey
L28 Ei so don't come round here talking
L29 [All that stuff you slap in the face
(Mm) hey]
L30 Yeah and ya all know my name see
L31 All in the house got to ** smash the (Mm) kay ** (M) but the
L32 Queen right shot gun squirt the ladies say
L33 As H A N T H (Mm) way
L34 Yeah and now you gotta spell cos if you
L35 Don't know by now you just pack (Mm) away

Bearing in mind that a (musical rhythm derived) line is taken to be representative of a quasi-sentence in this context, the lines of both renditions can be seen to be irregular. They contravene the typical norms of English sentence construction for non-musical contexts.

First consider L19 of [1a]. ‘Check out check out my new Sinhala style’ is perfectly regular and yet the line’s conclusion, a predicateless subject ‘I am’ renders it a sentence fragment. Similarly consider L20: Using the style for the very first time which. The line’s concluding ‘wh’ word ‘which’ functions commonly as the Q-element in interrogative clauses (e.g. Which carrot did Mantha fry?) and may also appear as the head of relative clauses (e.g. The carrot which Montha fried vanished). Here, however, it appears to be the head of a phantom relative clause preceded by what could be considered a participial phrase ‘using the style for the very first time’, ‘using’ being the phrase’s head. As illustrated in [2] both the incomplete relative clause and participial phrase lack an obligatory main clause within which they would be expected to occur.

[2]

E.g. Using the style for the very first time which *felt nice I went home*. Or
I went home Using the style for the very first time which *felt nice*.

Consequently, L20 resembles a sentence fragment. Parts of the line make sense while parts do not. When regarded in conjunction with the line immediately preceding (L19) and following it (L21), the issue of the incomplete relative clause and participial phrase is resolved as shown in [3].

[3]

‘L19 Check out check out my new Sinhala style I am L20 Using the style for the very first time which L21 Comes from a country a pearl of a land from the’..

While the ‘ungrammaticality’ of L20 might have been resolved, observe that L21 remains a sentence fragment owing to the preposition ‘from’ and determiner ‘the’ with which it concludes. However, combining L21 with L22 resolves this. The preposition ‘from’ in L21 becomes the head of a prepositional phrase ‘from the hill and the rivers and the golden sand’ while the concluding determiner of L21 assumes the position of the determiner of the NP ‘the hill’ contained within the PP. However, an apparently incomplete PP surfaces again at the end of L22 in the context of its line end preposition ‘with’ and noun ‘north’. Here too, when viewed in relation to L23,

these line-end anomalies are seen to make sense as shown below in [4]. They become part of a PP followed by an obligatory main clause: the relevant sections are underlined.

[4]

L22 Hill and the rivers and the golden sand with north
L23 South east and west together we must stand u-

Observe that yet again the line terminal ‘u’ of L23 renders it a fragment. In conjunction with L24 it is seen to constitute a morpheme fragment of the verb ‘unite’. Now consider L24 of [1b]

L24 Young Ashanthi what you wanna do like you

The line’s final two words ‘like’ and ‘you’ complicate what would otherwise be a grammatically partially regular interrogative clause as shown in [5]

[5]

Young	Ashanthi	what	you	wanna	do?
N-premodifier	N	WH-DET	2 nd -Pers.Sing.Pro	V +to-INF	AUX

What makes the clause partially irregular is its lack of the tensed primary auxiliary ‘do’: ‘young Ashanthi what do you wanna do?’⁸⁸.

The line’s end ‘like you’ could arguably be interpreted as the predicate of a clause containing a phantom subject (e.g. I like you) but if viewed in relation to L25, ‘like’ becomes unambiguous as it can be interpreted in a comparative sense, preceding the NP ‘you got me’. As such, it corresponds to the Like+ NP construction ‘like I got you’ in L25. Once again, we see that although the individual lines of the extract are

⁸⁸ The morphosyntactic blend ‘wanna’ involving the merging of the verb ‘want’ and the first element of the obligatory infinitive clause ‘to’ through the substitution of the alveolar nasal stop /n/ for the voiceless alveolar oral stop /t/ in both words and permitting of the schwa /ə/ to replace the final short high back vowel /ʊ/ of ‘to’ features regularly in the English speech of Sri Lankan youth and young adults. It rarely features in the English speech of older Sri Lankans.

not entirely irregular grammatically, they appear far more regular when interpreted together.

Importantly, we see that the lines in both rendition extracts violate the basic morpho-syntactic conventions of English clauses in written and spoken (non-musical) media. The presence of sentence fragments when the lyrics are interpreted in terms of the notion of the musical rhythm derived line is the main reason. Observe too that most of the sentence fragments occur line-terminally. Notably, the ambiguity and presence of constituent fragments is highest in the English Text rapped renditions of 98+LSLPS and it is this which distinguishes the Text renditions from its counterparts. In other words, fragmented clauses while occurring in most of the other English and Sinhala Text rendition types of 98+LSLPS are not as dominant or as ambiguous as those found in English Text rapped renditions. That the earliest and newest rapped renditions of the sample contain such fragments demonstrates the salience of fragments to 98+LSLPS rapped renditions.

[6] includes further examples of a range of constituent fragments belonging to the sample's English Text rapped renditions. They represent a fraction of similar such fragments found in the song transcriptions in appendix 2. The grammatical headings accompanying the lines relate to the underlined line-terminal fragments.

[6]

(a) **Lone⁸⁹ subject pronouns (without predicates)**

Dark Angel

L35 Rip it through like a big hurricane and they

Ae Hetha

L22 Rings she had ??⁹⁰ to see all things and I

Sandawathuren

L41 Yeah-(M) I'm a nasty toy you say you

⁸⁹ The word 'lone' is intended to indicate the absence of words that would typically be considered obligatory in order to provide syntactic and semantic credence to the highlighted functional words.

⁹⁰ A lyric word followed by a double question mark (??) indicates a lack of clarity in the recording and therefore, the possibility that the word may be dissimilar to that which is rendered.

(b) **Lone determiners (without NPs)**

Sandawathuren

L36 I'm a

Malpeththak

L23 Jane' 'I don't believe you girl I send two letters a

Dark Angel

L8 Me and you and about them stories too the

(c) **Lone prepositions (without prepositional objects)**

Ae Hetha

L15 Body cringes hurts too what you wanna⁹¹

Malpeththak

L11 [John this is really damn John make love to
Nigger]

L16 Rose I offered the warmest kiss I could ever give to

L22 Man damn ya – don't me phone like John does to

L35 You they're jealous 365 I'm thinking of

L37 Girl you just screw me down for no reason at

(d) **Lone adjectives**

Ae Hetha

L11 Can you explain that and manage to a got two

(e) **Lone subordinate adverbials**

Vasanthaye

L21 Comes from a country from a country a pearl of a land from the

Hanthane

L27 Yeah now now and you gotta spell cos if you

Ae Hetha

L23 Don't spend on wines⁹² it's a cheaply thing and if ya

L37 and enjoy the journey cos

Dark Angel

L34 It burns out with a spoon of jelly when I

⁹¹ The focus is on the preposition 'to' contained in the blend 'wanna' (i.e. want + to) and functioning here as an infinitiveless to-infinitive.

⁹² Unclear in recording.

Sri Sangabodhi

L44 Cups up and be sure to catch them when they fall before you

(f) **Subjectless auxiliary verbs**

Ahankara Nagare

L31 Shizzle my nizzle while I was working the middle and we was

Dark Angel

L14 Show and tell their feelings to people outside but now its⁹³

Malpeththak

L25 _____ (censored) ‘don’t lie me Shane- I think that someone is

(g) **Possessive determiners (without head nouns)**

Ae Hetha

L43 I know you like this treatment get your

Sri Sangabodhi

L41 –thiya banging on your frontiers holding on our

L43 – try lay the corner stone so throw up your

Dark Angel

L17 True for you I wanna aloft to you I give my

(h) **Incomplete WH- questions**

Dark Angel

L12 I can get you right-in: this time. Why you

(i) **Lone coordinators**

Shaheena

L40 Floating on a cloud above the world beneath so

L44 Hot I’d mistake you for the Mexican border so

Malpeththak

L31 Easy been in hard work please don’t be so

(j) **Lone introductory imperative clause markers**

Sandawathuren

L36 Rider can I sit beside you mammy lets

⁹³ The focus is on ‘is’.

Vasanthaye

L26 DJ at the mike do the boogie dance man lets

Dark Angel

L42 Not what you say or what you've heard lets

(k) **Incomplete *it*-clefting**

Sandawathuren

L37 Walk a minute lets talk a minute keep it

Perhaps the most striking example of grammatical non-conformism in 98+LSLPS English Text rapped renditions involves morphological splits that violate within word/lexeme morpheme-boundaries. Recall the reference to the verb 'unite' split between L23 and L24 in [1] reproduced in [7] below: the relevant sections are underlined.

[7]

L23 South east and west together we must stand u-
L24 -nite the bond of friendship and the love for the country man

The verb 'unite' is a free morpheme, a lexeme. By segmenting the word in two parts 'u' and 'nite', the lexeme takes on the form of two bound morphemes. Crucially, English does not recognise either as bound morphemes. The letter 'u', is a meaningless 'letter' in absentia of 'nite' as far as L23 is concerned, However, as explained earlier, the issue appears resolved when L23 is considered together with L24; the integration results in the verb 'unite' which then lends itself to being interpreted as the head of a VP, 'unite the bond of friendship'. The fragment 'nite' in L24 though appearing a fragment in written form has two homonyms 'night' and 'knight'. Considering that the lines are communicated acoustically, the potential for ambiguity as regards this fragment appears therefore, arguably reduced. It could even be argued that it elicits no ambiguity whatsoever in an acoustic environment. So it is the 'u' in L23 that needs to be accounted for. Importantly, interpreting the line as connected to L24 resolves this issue and in so doing lends a specific identity to 'nite' as the bound morpheme counterpart of 'u'.

The underlined segments in [8] represent further instances of word/lexeme level segmentation in the sample's English Text rapped renditions.

[8]

Within word/lexeme segmentation

(a) *Sri Sangabodhi*

L42 Own in this war zone resurrect the indus-
L43 -try lay the corner stone so throw up your

(b) *Malpeththak*

L18 Head Ooh – she didn't want to converse with me any-
L19 -More 'you don't love me enough' she said 'how much you want' I said 'I'm

L44 You P.S. we need each other when you read this let-
L45 -Ter please treat me better see you later

(c) *Dark Angel*

L2 Wel-
L3 -come on I know you love me from your⁹⁴ deep in-
L4 -side I know you gonna take care of myself

L41 Day in the sunset down my year mo-
L42 -ther ^{**rs}⁹⁵ in a Cadillac while you are here baby

Overall, the sentence and word/lexeme fragments of the rapped Text rendition lines analysed so far appear considerably minimised when the lines were considered as connected to each other. Viewing the lines of a Text rendition in this way reinforces an impression that a Text rendition is an extended 'sentence' resulting from the convergence of a collection of 'quasi sentences' or expressed differently, the convergence of all its musical rhythm derived lines. Accordingly, [9] illustrates how the rapped Text rendition in [1a] might be understood by its CofP.

⁹⁴ The second person singular pronoun 'your' is pronounced as 'ya' in this song.

⁹⁵ Censored in the recording.

[9]

Song - *Vasanthaye* (1998)

Rap: (M) with (F) background vocalisation

L19 Check out check out my new *Sinhala* style
I am L20 Using the style for the very first time which L21 Comes from a country a
pearl of a land from the L22 Hill and the rivers and the golden sand with north L23
South east and west together we must stand.
u-L24 -nite the bond of friendship and the love for the country man
L25 DJ at the mike do the boogie dance man
letsL26 Do the *Sinhala* dance walla two three

Importantly, the amenability of 98+LSLPS lines to being interpreted as *grammatically* connected is particularly strong in the context of English Text rapped renditions because the renditions contain the highest proportion of sentence and word/lexeme fragments in 98+LSLPS..

7.2.2 English Text sung renditions

English Text sung renditions occur in just five of the twelve 98+LSLPS sample songs. The two extracts in [10] represent the earliest and a more recent English Text sung rendition in the sample. Note that in [10a], it is only the lines accompanied by (F) standing for ‘female’ that are sung.

[10]

(a) Song - *Sri Sangabodhi* (2000)

Sung (F) interspersed with (M3) rhythmic rendition

L51 (F) Yeah yeah yeah
L52 (F) Yeah (M3) ah ha haaa
L53 (F) Yeah yeah yeah (M3) come
L54 (M3) On baby baby come on (F) yeah (M3) come
L55 (F) [Yeah yeah
(M3) On baby baby come on baby baby come]
L56 (M3) On baby baby come on its right
L57 (M3) Ladies I want you all to put your hands up
L58 (M3) And represent (Mm) Yeah

(b) Song - *Dark Angel* (2005)

Refrain –sung (F)

L18 I

L19 See there's an angel and

L20 I can't believe it she wanna

L21 Say she loves you baby she wanna

L22 Say you drive her crazy I

L23 See there's an angel and

L24 I can't believe it she wanna

L25 Say she loves you baby she wanna

L26 Say you drive her crazy

The grammatical features of both renditions are quite similar. This suggests that the structure of these rendition types have not changed significantly over the past ten years of the genre's development. At a glance they appear grammatically less opaque than English Text rapped renditions. One reason is that they do not contain instances of word/lexeme fragments numerous in 98+LSLPS English Text rapped renditions.

Similarly, clausal fragments in these renditions are not as grammatically awkward as those found in rapped English Text renditions. Consider L 20, 21, 24 and 25, in (10b) all of which conclude with the morphosyntactic blend 'wanna'. The sections 'I can't believe it' (L20, L24) and 'Say she loves you baby' (L21, L25) may be interpreted as declarative and imperative clauses respectively. However, this leaves the construct 'she wanna' (i.e. she wants to) unaccounted for in each line. On the one hand the construct could be interpreted as a fragment infinitive: this would render the lines clausal fragments. On the other hand, as illustrated in [11], the construct can also be interpreted as a declarative clause not untypical in spoken discourse; 'she wants to!'.

[11]

Song - *Dark Angel* (2005)

L20 I can't believe it. She wanna/ wants to!

L21 Say she loves you baby. She wanna/ wants to!

L24 I can't believe it. She wanna / wants to!

L25 Say she loves you baby. She wanna/ wants to!

This interpretation gives us four musical rhythm derived sentences each representing two clauses. Yet the declarative clause at the end of each line appears semantically ambiguous; e.g. what does she want to do? This issue is resolved when the lines are interpreted together. [12] represents [10b] in terms of such an interpretation. The blend ‘wanna’ assumes the status of an infinitive clause, crucially a grammatically complete one and not a fragment. Punctuation marks and capitalization have been inserted in keeping with the interpretation.

[12]

Song - *Dark Angel* (2005)

Refrain –sung (F)

L18 I L19 see there’s an angel and L20 I can’t believe it. She wanna L21 say she loves you baby. She wanna L22 say you drive her crazy. I L23 see there’s an angel and L24 I can’t believe it. She wanna L25 say she loves you baby. She wanna L26 say you drive her crazy.

On the whole, most of the 98+LSLPS English Text sung rendition lines exhibit a higher degree of grammatical regularity in comparison to English Text rapped rendition lines. Arguably, the relative grammatical regularity of the lines could be seen as diminishing their tendency to converge with each other. However, a further characteristic of the lines indeed characteristic of all sung 98+LSLPS rendition lines shows them to be connected. Specifically, the lines rhyme; perhaps not as consistently as the lines of some of their counterpart Sinhala renditions (e.g. Sinhala sung renditions), but to an extent that facilitates connectivity between them. [10b] is an example. Consequently, the Text renditions appear unified. As will be explained in chapter 9, the rhyming of 98+LSLPS lines is related to the lines’ musical rhythmic context.

It is interesting to note that of the four English Text rendition types, only the lines of sung renditions rhyme. Once again, bear in mind that this generalisation is based on dissecting the lyrics in terms of their attendant musical rhythmic structure. While English Text rapped rendition lines are closely aligned with their musical rhythmic context (explained in chapter 9) they do not rhyme (see also Krims 2000: 43): it is

their sentence and lexeme/word fragments that connect them. Moreover, and as with English Text rapped renditions, the thematic connection between English Text sung rendition lines (discussed in chapter 8) reinforces the renditions' internal unity.

7.2.3 English Text rhythmic renditions

English Text rhythmic renditions are found in nine of the twelve sample songs. The sample contains no Sinhala Text rhythmic renditions. Moreover, rhythmic rendition is the second leading technique through which 98+LSLPS English Texts are structured. Compared to English Text rapped renditions, the rhythmic renditions contain very few lines. Grammatically, the lines appear less fragmented than English Text rapped rendition lines but more fragmented than English Text sung rendition lines. Specifically, they do not contain word/lexeme fragments found in the rapped renditions but contain sentence fragments that are more grammatically opaque than those found in the sung renditions.

The lines by (M3) in [13a] represent one of the earliest 98+LSLPS English Text rhythmic renditions. It is also worth noting that the rendition occurs later than the earliest English Text rapped rendition which appeared in 1998 in the BNS song *Vasanthaye*. However, both songs are by the duo. [13b] represents one of the sample's most recent English Text rhythmic renditions.

[13]

(a) Song - *Sri Sangabodhi* (2000)

Sung (F) interspersed with (M3) rhythmic rendition

L51 (F) Yeah yeah yeah

L52 (F) Yeah (M3) ah ha haaa

L53 (F) Yeah yeah yeah (M3) come

L54 (M3) On baby baby come on (F) yeah (M3) come

L55 (F) [Yeah yeah

(M3) On baby baby come on baby baby come]

L56 (M3) On baby baby come on its right

L57 (M3) Ladies I want you all to put your hands up

L58 (M3) And represent (Mm) Yeah (M) siri
/ʃri/
shri
{(Shri).}

(b) Song - *Hanthane* (2008)

Rhythmic rendition (M) and (F)

L29 [(M) Yeah yeah yeah yeah
(F) Ashanthi]

L30 (M) Yeah ah come on come on

L31 (M) Wooh (F) come on now on now on

L32 (F) Come on now on now (M) ah

L33 (M) Lets go baby

There is grammatical parity between the two extracts suggesting consistency in terms of the grammatical tendencies of 98+LSLPS English Text rhythmic renditions. (M3)'s renditions in L 54, 55 and 56 in [13a] reproduced below in [14] represent the kind of sentence fragments discussed earlier in relation to English Text rapped renditions. Essentially, the complication of the lines arises line-initially. Note that the adjacent and horizontally occurring sung renditions of the lines have been excluded for purposes of facilitating this discussion.

[14]

Song - *Sri Sangabodhi* (2000)

L54 (M3) On baby baby come on (M3) come

L55 (M3) On baby baby come on baby baby come

L56 (M3) On baby baby come on its right

Remove the line initial preposition 'on' (underlined) and each line becomes grammatically 'regular'. In L54, 'baby baby come on' and thereafter 'come' could function as two imperative clauses with the same organisation applying to L55 whereas L56 could represent a single imperative clause. However, distilling a line by eliminating lexemes is, of course, not permissible. On the contrary, were the three lines to be considered as connected, the only problem would be the opening preposition 'on' in L54. The rest would read as shown in [15] once again predicting that line sentences in 98+LSLPS appear to function as fragment constituents of

multi-line sentences while also eliciting some degree of internal grammatical regularity.

[15]

'Baby baby come on come on baby baby come on baby baby come on baby baby come on its right'.

L 58 in [13a] is also ambiguous owing to the presence of a transitive verb without an object. However, it is also the case that the verb is not entirely inconsistent with how it could occur in an informal discourse context among habitual speakers of English in Sri Lanka: and represent' is an example of what would be a perfectly grammatical conjunctive clause as shown in examples [16] and [17] respectively.

[16]

X – So you defend them?

Y – And represent.

[17]

X – I defend and represent them.

Y – And represent?

Furthermore, while both extracts in [13] are grammatically similar in that their lines mostly comprise constituent fragments, they do differ somewhat from each other as well. As shown in [18], the fragments in [13b] appear more dispersed within each line as opposed to [13a] where they tend occur either line-initially or line-terminally. Note that the relevant sections have been underlined.

[18]

Song - *Hanthane* (2008)

L38 (M) Wooh (F) come on now on now on

L39 (F) Come on now on now (M) ah lets go baby

Although the lines appear less ambiguous when interpreted together (i.e. ‘Wooh come on now on now on come on now on now ah’) the conflation does not resolve the problem of an isolate PP ‘on now’ followed by a lone preposition ‘on’ in L38 or the isolate PP ‘on now’ in L39.

The following are more examples of sentence fragments in 98+LSLPS English Text rhythmically rendered lines. They demonstrate the prevalence of sentence fragments in the renditions and that the fragments are not restricted to any specific constituent type. The fragments are underlined.

[19]

(a) **VP fragments**

Song – *Kotthu*

L64 Another day has been

(b) **Subjectless VPs**

Song - *Kotthu*

L65 Saved for the citizens of CMB

(c) **Participial phrases without a main clause**

Song - *Kotthu*

L66 Until the next time

(d) **Subjectless auxiliary verbs and to-infinitives without a verb**

Song - *Sandawathuren*

L38 Is tight nobody gonna fool me you wanna

(e) **Predicateless subject pronouns**

Song - *Sandawathuren*

L4 Yashan and Ashanthi

Observe that the first three extracts of [19] are consecutive lines of one Text rendition. When combined, their respective ambiguities are resolved: ‘Another day has been saved for the citizens of CMB until the next time.’ The scenario applies to the other extracts too: when combined with their respective adjacent lines (refer appendix 2), their grammatical irregularities disappear. Consequently, we see that English Text rhythmic rendition lines (like their counterpart rapped and sung

renditions lines) demonstrate a degree of internal grammatical regularity but also elicit irregularity. The lines' grammatical irregularities diminish when they are considered together predicting that the lines are connected to each other.

7.2.4 English Text A-rhythmic renditions

Featuring in just three of the twelve 98+LSLPS songs, A-rhythmic rendition is the least occurring presentational technique in 98+LSLPS English Texts. Moreover, A-rhythmic renditions are exclusive to English code. Overall, therefore, the technique can be seen to be the least productive in 98+LSLPS. However, the discussion on song theme in chapter 8 demonstrates that they are no less important to the lyrics than the other Text renditions. Their importance is also highlighted in the explanation (in chapter 9) of their contribution to maintaining the overall unity of a song in audio/sung format. The basis for identifying A-rhythmically rendered lines (detailed in chapter 9) differentiates them from other 98+LSLPS lines. Briefly, due to the way in which they are rendered, the lines correspond to clausal boundaries as predicted by natural speech and are not determined by musical rhythm. The extracts in [20] constitute all the English Text A-rhythmic renditions of the sample.

[20]

(a) Song - *Sri Sangabodhi* (2000)

L48 (M2) Good heavens

L49 (M2) this song does sound rather groovy

(b) Song - *Kotthu* (2008)

L69 (M1) Mr Kotthuuuuuu yaaaah haaaaaaa

L70 (M2) Hello is the mic. still working?

L71 (M2) Ya I paid 200 rupees for my Kotthu man

L72 (M2) I'm still waiting for it and I haven't got it

L73 (M2) If it was in India, I would've fed my entire family with it ya

In terms of grammar, all the lines appear grammatically regular with the possible exception of L48 in [20a] reproduced in [21]:

[21]

L48 (M2) Good heavens

L48 could be interpreted as a lexicalised idiomatic expression. In other words, the seeming grammatical irregularity of L48 is exceedingly subtle when compared with the kind of irregularities found in the sample's English Text rapped, sung and rhythmic renditions. That the lines are rendered in a manner that resembles natural speech seems the most probable reason for this.

Consequently, the overall grammatical regularity of English Text A-rhythmic renditions distinguishes them from the other English Text renditions. What connects the lines despite their grammatical regularity is song theme discussed in chapter 8. Interestingly, their paucity in the songs coupled with the dominance of English Text rapped and rhythmic renditions which, as shown in chapter 9, are the rendition types most closely aligned with musical rhythm signals the genre's underlying structural preferences in as far as English Texts are concerned: at the level of grammar, English Text rapped and rhythmic rendition lines are the lines most inclined towards being interpreted as both autonomous and inextricably connected to each other.

7.3 98+LSLPS Sinhala Text renditions

Ten of the twelve 98+LSLPS songs contain Sinhala Texts. The following summarises their distribution in the sample.

Rap: 1 song

Singing: 10 songs

Rhythmic rendition: none

A-rhythmic rendition: none

Bear in mind that as with the discussion of 98+LSLPS English Text renditions, the present review only considers similar code lines and does not consider ILdCF-L and ILCF-H lines. Note also, that as explained in appendix 2, the line paraphrases of the Sinhala lines are the consequence of trying to conjoin the word-to-word translations

of each line. This owes to the attempt to capture the grammatical texture of the source text. Therefore, the translations are unlikely reflect the lines' particular semantic nuances that regular translations of the renditions are likely to convey.

7.3.1 Sinhala Text rapped renditions

Kotthu released in 2008 by the core artist Iraj is the only sample song which contains Sinhala Text rapped renditions. Clearly, rap is not the 98+LSLPS CofP's favoured mode of organising and negotiating 98+LSLPS Sinhala Texts. Furthermore, the renditions are new to the genre compared to their counterpart English Text rapped renditions which occurred in the earliest 98+LSLPS song *Vasanthaye*. The thematic implications of this as well as possible reasons for the dominance of English rap in 98+LSLPS are explored in chapter 8. [22] represents an extract of the Sinhala Text rapped rendition.

[22]

Song - *Kotthu* (2008)

Rap (M)

L17 *pittu kanna bae mata aappa kanna bae mata*

/pittu kanna ba matə appə kanna ba: matə/

rice-cake eat can't I-to hoppers eat can't I-to
{Can't eat rice-cakes I can't eat hoppers (I-)to.}

L18 *ude kapu bath eka daen ayeth kanna bae*

/uðe kapu baθ ekə ðan əjɛ kanna ba:/

morning ate rice the now again eat can't
{The rice (I) ate in the morning (I) can't eat now again.}

L19 *nanage kade vahala hinda eke Kotthu nae ane oye*

/na:nəge kade vahaɭa hinda eke koθθu na: ane oye/

cousin's shop/butik⁹⁶ closed because in it Kotthu haven't oh
those

{Because (my) cousin's shop is closed it hasn't Kotthu in it oh those.}

⁹⁶ Butik is the Sri Lankan English equivalent to the Sinhala noun kade; a small shop that sells local produce and other small essential household goods. The shops also usually sell tea and are a popular meeting place for locals of the area.

The lines are grammatically regular. This owes to the fact that Sinhala is heavily dependent on case marking which means that word order does not determine grammatical regularity in Sinhala clauses to the degree that it does in English. Recall the exposition of the Sinhala code (language) in chapter 2. The trait is particularly nuanced in colloquial Sinhala since some formal written codes of Sinhala do tend to adhere to the underlying grammatical conventions of the language by which its default SOV word order is arguably privileged. The context of the Sinhala Text rapped rendition in the sample involves colloquial Sinhala.

Consider the grammar of L17 and L18 represented in [23].

[23]

L17	<u><i>pittu</i></u>	<u><i>kanna bae</i></u>	<u><i>mata</i></u>	<u><i>aappa</i></u>
	/pittu	kʌnnə ba	matə	appə
	rice-cake eat	can't I-to		hoppers
	Proper-N	to-inf V –Pres.	1 st -Pres-Sing-Pers -Pro-Dat ⁹⁷	Proper-N

kanna bae mata

kʌnnə ba: matə/

eat can't I-to/for

to-inf V 1st- Pres-Sing-Pers -Pro-Dat

{eat rice-cakes can't I-to/for eat hoppers can't I-to/for}

L18	<u><i>ude</i></u>	<u><i>kapu</i></u>	<u><i>bath</i></u>	<u><i>eka</i></u>	<u><i>daen</i></u>	<u><i>ayeth</i></u>
	/uðe	kapu	bʌθ	ekə	ðan	aɟe
	morning	ate	rice	the	now	again
	N	V-past tense	Proper-N	Def-Det	Transition-Conj.	Adv.

kanna bae

kʌnnə ba:/

eat can't

V-pres. Modal-Aux.

{The rice (I) ate in the morning (I) can't eat now again}

⁹⁷ -ta is a dative post-position particle.

The dative pronoun *mata* occurring at the end of L17 can be interpreted as the subject of the VP *aappa kanna bae* ‘can’t eat Hoppers’. The translation of the line follows this interpretation. However, when read together with L18, the possessive pronoun *mata* can also be interpreted as the subject of the constituents in L18 which combine to form its predicate. The reason for this owes to the previously mentioned nature of Sinhala grammar where within-clause word order does not occupy a privileged status. This is just one example of why the issue of syntactic-constituent fragments remains most relevant to the English Texts of 98+LSLPS. Accordingly, the translated ‘sense’ of the two interpretations is represented in [24].

[24]

(1) the possessive pronoun as belonging to L17
‘Pittu I can’t eat, Hoppers I can’t eat’

(2) the possessive pronoun as belonging to L18
‘The rice I ate in the morning now again can’t eat’

A further feature of the Sinhala Text rapped rendition is that it does not contain word/lexeme fragments whereas word fragments are the defining feature of English Text rapped renditions. In the discussion of the latter (in section 7.2.1), word fragments were shown to strongly support the interpretation that the lines are related to each other. It follows, then, that the absence of word fragments must enhance the unity of each Sinhala rapped line and in so doing conflict with the analytical framework concerning 98+LSLPS lyric line organisation by undermining the claim that 98+LSLPS Text rendition lines are connected to each other. However, these lines exhibit an alternative characteristic which promotes the claim that the lines are connected to each other. Specifically, Sinhala Text rapped lines rhyme. It was also stated (in section 7.2.2) that the rhyming of 98+LSLPS lines is related to musical structure; as such it is explained further in chapter 9. Bearing in mind that it is the performance of the lyrics which characterises the 98+LSLPS CofP’s negotiation of the songs, the lines’ rhyming makes them appear connected to each other. Consequently, and in keeping with the analytical framework concerning 98+LSLPS line organisation, we see that Sinhala Text rapped rendition lines appear autonomous

while also appearing to be connected to each other. Chapter 8 shows that the lines are also connected thematically.

7.3.2 Sinhala Text sung renditions

Sung renditions constitute the majority of Sinhala Texts in the sample with all ten songs with Sinhala Texts containing sung renditions. This means that singing is the dominant representational technique for Sinhala Text in 98+LSLPS. In this respect, the rendition type is the Sinhala code counterpart of English Text rapped renditions, the leading English Text rendition type in 98+LSLPS. Below are examples of Sinhala Text sung renditions belonging to the oldest and newest songs in the sample.

[25]

(a) Song - *Vasanthaye* (1998)⁹⁸

Refrain: sung (MMmFm) unless otherwise stated

L1 *vasanthaye//*

/vʌsʌnθəje/

spring in

{In spring.}

L2 *pibidena mal / piyeli vage*

/pɪbɪðɛnə mʌl piɟəli vʌgɛ/

blooming flower buds like

{Blooming flowers. Like buds.}

L3 [*sithata naengena / sithuvili mal*

/sɪθətə nʌɛŋənə sɪθʊvɪli mʌl/

sahas

]

/sʌhʌs/

[mind-to birthing thoughts flowers

Secret]

{[(The) thoughts that birth. Thought flowers

Secret .]}

⁹⁸ As explained in appendix 2, note that the slash (/) within each numbered line represents the beginning of a new line. So each line number in this extract represents two musical rhythm derived clausal lines separated by a slash.

- L4 *renu vage/dangakaata vaehi*
 /renU vΛge ɖΛngəkartə vahɪ/
pollen like mischievous rain
{(Are) like pollen . Mischievous rain.}
- L5 *podak vage ape/hada sithuwili mee*
 /poɖΛk vΛge ape hΛɖə sɪθUvɪɪ me/
drop-a like our hearts thoughts these
{Like a drop our. These hearts' thoughts.}
- L6 *sundhara love dutu / ve*
 /sUnɖərə love ɖUtU vɛ/
exquisite world see-did
{Espouse (the) exquisite world. Did.}

b) Song - *Hanthane* (2008)

- L11 *hanthane hanthne*
 /hΛnθane hΛnθane/
Hanthane Hanthane
{In Hanthane in Hanthane.}
- L12 *malpare malpare*
 /mΛpare mΛpare/
flower-road-the-in/on flower-road-the-in/on
{On The flower-road on the flower-road.}
- L13 *sansare sansare*
 /sΛnsare sΛnsare/
sansare-in sansare-in (cycle-of-life cycle-of-life)
{In sansare in sansare.}
- L14 *piya nagala*
 /pijə nagəla/
steps climb-has-and⁹⁹
{(I did) climb steps-and.}

Both extracts are refrains. The role and contribution of Text renditions occurring as a song refrains to a song lyric is described in chapter 8. It is sufficient to say at this stage that a refrain functions as the nucleus of a song's theme. Therefore, the code and rendition type of a refrain indicates their importance to the song. As with English Text sung renditions, both texts contain constituent fragments. However, constituent fragments in the renditions appear marginal when compared with the frequency of constituent fragments in their counterpart English renditions. As stated in section 7.3,

⁹⁹ The inflection *-la* attached to the verb *naginma* (to climb) can be interpreted as either denoting the past tense or past tense *and* a conjunction: a mission accomplished and to be followed by something else as it were.

this is because compared to English clauses the dependence of Sinhala clauses on word order is considerably less. This also explains why the fragments that do occur in the Sinhala Text rendition lines appear more grammatical than those occurring in the English Text rendition lines.

In terms of fragment types, PP fragments are the more common type found in Sinhala Text sung renditions. As shown in [26], both extracts presented in [25] contain them. The fragment PPs in the source Text are in bold font. These are followed by a selection of other constituent fragments found in the sung renditions.

[26]

(a) **Lone PPs**

Song - *Vasanthaye* (1998)

L1 *vasanthaye//*

/vʌsʌnθəje/

spring in

N inflected with the post position particle *e* [e] to represent the preposition ‘in’

{In spring.}

Song - *Hanthane* (2008)

L11 *hanthane hanthne*

/hʌnθane hʌnθane/

Hanthane Hanthane

N inflected with the post position particle *e* [e] to represent the preposition ‘in’¹⁰⁰

{In Hanthane in Hanthane.}

L12 *malpare malpare*

/mʌlpʌre mʌlpʌre/

N inflected with post position particle *e* [e] to represent the preposition ‘in’

flower-road-the-in/on flower-road-the-in/on

{On The flower-road on the flower-road.}

L13 *sansare sansare*

/sʌnsʌre sʌnsʌre/

N inflected with post position particle *e* [e] to represent the preposition ‘in’

sansare-in sansare-in (cycle-of-life cycle-of-life)

{In sansare in sansare.}

¹⁰⁰ The structure is identical in both words of each of the lines of this extract.

(b) **Lone subordinate clauses**

Song -*Oba Magemai* (2003)

L25 *adarayata*

/aðəɾəjətə

love-for

N with post position particle *te* /tə/ representing the preposition 'for'

lokaya *handanavita*

lo:kəjə hʌdənəvɪtə/

world **weep-when**

N V-PROG

{**When (the) world weep(s) for love**}

Song – *Shaheena* (2008)

L28 *adare*

/aðəre

love-of

N inflected with the post position particle *e* /e/ representing the preposition 'of'

*haegum ratavak karan*¹⁰¹

hægum rʌtʌvʌk kərʌn

feelings pattern **having done**

N N AUX-Perf V-trans

{**Having patterned love feelings.**}

(c) **Lone To-infinitives**

Song – *Shaheena* (2008)

L34 [*mayimen*

/məɪmən

boundary-from

N- inflected with the post position particle *e* /e/ representing the preposition 'from'

eha piyambanne

eha pijʌbʌnnə

across **fly-to**

P V-inflected with post position particle *a* /ə/ to represent the preposition 'to'

thatu

θʌtʊ

wings

N-Pl

{**To fly across (the) boundary wings.**}

¹⁰¹ Note that in appendix 2, two lines are represented with a dash / demarcating them from each other. Only the relevant line has been provided here.

(d) **Lone adverbial clauses**

Song - *Ahankara Nagare* (2004)

L14 *maga penena*

/mʌgə pɛnɛnə

path visible-that-is

N V-inflected with the post position particle *a /ə/* denoting the conjunction of the relative pronoun ‘that’ and the auxiliary verb ‘is’

tharama sondurui

nam

θʌrəmə soḍʊrui

nʌm

extent sweet-is

if

N Adj –inflected so as to denote the present tense/ auxiliary verb ‘is’ P

{If (the) extent (of) path that is visible is sweet.}

Sinhala Text sung renditions also contain word/lexeme fragments as shown in [27].

The attendant lines of the examples can be found in appendix 2.

[27]

(a) Song – *Vasanthaye* (1998)

L7-8

no-ve

/no ve/

not is

{Isn’t}

(b) Song -*Sri Sangabodhi* (2000)

L12 -13

Siri-sangabodhi: a proper noun

/ʃri sʌgəbo:ḍi /

Shri Śangabodhi

{Shri Sangabodhi.}

(c) Song - *Ahankara Nagare* (2004)

L5-L6

puran-ganakda

/pʊrən ɡənʌkḍə/

city woman-are (you)/is (she)

{(A) city woman /prostitute are you?.}

(d) Song – *Sandawathuren* (2006)¹⁰²

L12 –L13

sulan-gata

/sʊlən- gətə/

wind –to

N-DAT.

{To (the) wind}

L13-L14

hitha-that

/hiθə- tʌθ/

mind-to-also

N-DAT+ Adv

{To (the) mind also}

Recall that in the case of English Text renditions, lexeme/word level fragmentation is exclusive to English Text rapped renditions. In the case of Sinhala Text renditions, the feature is exclusive to Sinhala Text sung renditions. So yet again, the Sinhala Text sung rendition appears the counterpart of the English Text rapped rendition. Importantly, the issue is resolved when the lines are considered as connected to their respective adjacent lines.

Accordingly, [28] contains translations of how each of the two extracts in [25] would appear when their lines are interpreted as constituents of extended sentences.

[28]

(a)

Song – *Vasanthaye* (1998)¹⁰³

L1 In spring L2 blooming flowers like buds are L3 thoughts that birth thought

secret

flowers L4 like pollen mischievous rain L5 like a drop our these hearts' thoughts L6
see (the) exquisite world did.

¹⁰² The forms listed first in the pairs of lines (e.g. *sulan* (*sulang*) and *hitha*) are free morphemes. As with most Sinhala substantives they inflect for case. However, once inflected the free morpheme does not occur on its own with its complementary post position particle isolated from it in the manner that it does in these examples. Over 50% of the lines in this song contain this form of word segmentation.

¹⁰³ Bear in mind that the L numbers do not always correspond to a single line since some refer to two lines separated by a slash /.

(b)

Song - *Hanthane* (2008)

L11 In Hanthane in Hanthane L12 on the flower-road on the flower-road L13 in heaven/bliss in heaven/bliss L14 I climbed steps/and.

The lines of these Text renditions also rhyme thus supporting the interpretation that they are connected. Consequently, we see that the lines' grammatical regularity does not undermine their amenability to being interpreted as connected to each other.

7.3.3 Sinhala Text rhythmic and A-rhythmic renditions

As already stated, the sample contains no Sinhala Text rhythmic or A-rhythmic renditions. Therefore, we conclude that the presentational techniques are irrelevant to 98+LSLPS Sinhala Texts.

7.4 Tamil, Arabic and Divehi Text renditions

The sample contains three non-Sinhala/non-English Texts and they all occur in recent songs of the core artists: Divehi in Iraj's *Ae Hetha* (2007), Tamil in Iraj's *Kotthu* (2008) and Arabic in BNS' *Shaheena* (2008). In terms of line numbers, the Texts are a minority in their respective songs. Moreover, three of the four presentational techniques feature as the communicative vehicles for these Texts. Tamil Texts are negotiated through rap and rhythmic rendition, Divehi Texts through singing while Arabic Texts are negotiated through rhythmic rendition and singing. The relative novelty of the songs containing non-English/non-Sinhala Text renditions and fact that Sinhala and English are the core constituents of the 98+LSLPS CofP's shared linguistic repertoire¹⁰⁴ are the most likely reasons for the paucity of non-English/non-Sinhala Texts in 98+LSLPS.

¹⁰⁴ This was explained in chapter 4.

7.5 98+LSLPS Lone Line renditions

The sample contains less than ten Lone Lines in total. Excepting one line in Tamil, the rest are in either Sinhala or English. [29] contains some examples.

[29]

(a) Song – *Sri Sangabodhi* (2000)

A-rhythmic rendition (M1+ M2)

L1 (M1) [*Maetha athithaye Sinhelaye vangsha kathaven pituvak viya*

/ma:θə ʌθiθəje siŋhɛɛɛje vʌŋʃə kʌθʌven piʈʊvʌk vijə/

(M2) When

I was in Ceylon they used to have these funny little stores called tea-stores and in these stores they played some funny little songs and one of them sounded a little bit like this]

recent history-in-the Sinhala-of lineage story-from page-a was

{Of the recent history of (the) story (of) Sinhala lineage a page (it) was}

(b) Song – *Sandawathuren* (2006)

Rap (Mm) interspersed with vocalisation of Sinhala lines (Mm)

L66 *sithuvili pibideva* what it do baby I wanna

thoughts spring-may-will

{May thoughts spring.}

Lone Lines in the sample are delivered through three of the four presentational techniques, namely, rap, singing and A-rhythmic rendition. The phenomena of ILdCF-L and ILCF-H are also found in these lines: [29a] is an example of ILdCF-H while [29b] is an example of ILdCF-L. Chapters 8 and 9 demonstrate how the lines display a degree of internal unity but are also equally if not more inclined to being interpreted as related to their adjacent Text or Lone Lines and in so doing complement the analytical framework regarding 98+LSLPS lyric line organisation. Bear in mind that Lone Lines are on the same plane as Texts in the line organisation hierarchy represented in figure 3 (of chapter 6).

7.6 Intra-line *dissimilar* Code Fusion-Linear (ILdCF-L) in 98+LSLPS

We now explore Texts and Lone lines of 98+LSLPS in terms of the first of the two within-line code fusion phenomena found in 98+LSLPS and which appear to conflict directly with the not-mixed counterpart of the dual identity with which the genre is associated by its CofP: namely ILdCF-L. As with the preceding discussions, the overall objective is to explore 98+LSLPS lyric line organisation in terms of the analytical framework introduced in chapter 6. This investigation explores ILdCF-L in the samples' English and Sinhala Text renditions as well as in its Lone Lines and non-Sinhala/English Texts. The relationship between the phenomenon and the various Text rendition types (e.g. rap, singing etc) is also examined.

7.6.1 ILdCF-L in English Texts

ILdCF-L is present in all four English Text rendition types and is the most robust of the three within-line 98+LSLPS fusion phenomena. Six of the twelve 98+LSLPS sample songs contain English Text ILdCF-L lines. Moreover, nearly all the dissimilar constructs of English Text ILdCF-L lines are in Sinhala. In total, the sample contains over 35 English Text ILdCF lines. The majority occur in English Text rapped renditions: five songs include seventeen occurrences. Eleven occur in English Text sung renditions: however, they are distributed across just two songs. On the other hand, English Text rhythmic renditions contain just six ILdCF-L occurrences overall, but they are distributed across four songs. There is only one ILdCF-L line in a 98+LSLPS English Text A-rhythmic rendition. Rhythmic renditions, therefore, are the second dominant environment for English Text ILdCF-L lines. [30] represents the earliest and most recent English Text ILdCF-L lines in the sample. Both feature in rapped renditions. This reinforces rap as the leading medium through which the 98+LSLPS CofP negotiate ILdCF-L in 98+LSLPS English Texts.

[30]

(a) Song - *Vasanthaye* (1998)

L19 Check out check out my new Sinhala¹⁰⁵ style I am

(b) Song – *Hanthane* (2008)

L24 Young Ashanthi what you wanna do like you

82% of the dissimilar constructs of the sample's English Text ILdCF-L lines are proper nouns. On the contrary, the dissimilar constructs of the Sinhala Text ILdCF-L lines include phrases and content nouns. Interestingly, there was only one occurrence of a proper noun in the ILdCF-L lines of English Text rhythmic renditions. Moreover, proper noun segments constitute 60%, of the dissimilar constructs of the ILdCF-L lines in English Text rapped renditions and 100% of the dissimilar constructs of English Text sung renditions respectively. That is, they are spread over consecutive lines similar to the line-initial and line-terminal word/lexeme segmentation previously discussed. Consider [31].

[31]

Song - *Ae Hetha* (2007)

English Text Rapped rendition

L38 We touch down in the evening and I-

L39 Raj picks us up we're drinking

The song *Ae Hetha* [35a] containing the first example (L38-39) is by the core artist Iraj and it is his name that occurs in segmented form: *I-* at the end of L38 and *-Raj* commencing L39. However, this (obvious) interpretation is only available if the lines

¹⁰⁵ As explained in chapter 6, identifying ILdCF is based on identifying the source/root language or the default language of a construct. It is for this reason that 'Sinhala' is represented as essentially a Sinhala proper noun in this study even though it may also be considered a member of (Sri Lankan) English as well, and is consequently deigned an instance of ILdCF when occurring in an English Text. The definition of Ashanthi, a proper noun as representing Sinhala also owes to the same criterion; it may be that name has roots in some other languages but certainly in terms of English and Sinhala, the name has roots in Sinhala.

are viewed together. Viewing the lines independently does not elicit this interpretation. Consider [32]:

[32]

L38 We touch down in the evening and I
PRO V N P DET N CON. PRO

‘I’ the first syllable of the bisyllabic proper noun Iraj assumes the status of the first person present tense pronoun. ‘Raj’ then assumes the status of the Subject, a proper noun in L39 (see below)– an identity that is perfectly plausible since ‘Raj’ also happens to be a very common proper noun in Sri Lanka.

[33]

L39 Raj picks us up we’re drinking
N V PRO P PRO+ AUX V

So in a sense, the lines are amenable to both interpretations reinforcing the argument that 98+LSLPS lines can be interpreted as connected while also possessing some degree of grammatical autonomy. [34] is a further example of English Text ILdCF-L.

[34]

Song - *Sri Sangabodhi* (2000)

L40 World wrapped around our little fingers little hound and Ba-
L41 -thiya banging on your frontiers holding on our

‘Ba’ and ‘thiya’ are bound morphemes which combine to form the proper noun *Bathiya*. Unlike in the case of [31], the two segments by themselves are meaningless in Sinhala. This renders the segments particularly inclined towards being interpreted together. The interpretation is facilitated by virtue of the fact that *Bathiya* is the name of one of the core artists of the core artists’ circle duo BNS: *Sri Sangabodhi* is classified as a BNS song. Notably, word/lexeme segments differentiate English Text ILdCF-L lines from Sinhala Text ILdCF-L lines playing an important role in promoting the interpretation that the lines are constituents of longer multi-line sentences.

[35] represents an English Text ILdCF-L line whose dissimilar construct is not a proper noun.

[35]

Song -*Sri Sangabodhi* (2000)

Sung

L70 [(Fm) This is all about who we are (M) *daeka*

/ðakə /]

V-PROG+ PERF

see-having

{having seen.}

The English section of L70 is clearly complete; *daeka* complicates the clause. One interpretation is that the verb makes the line an adverbial clause absencing a main clause such as *api giya* ‘we left’. This entails that the English counterpart be interpreted as including a phantom ‘that’, making it a *that*-nominal clause. Remarkably both the Sinhala and English equivalents appear capable of acting as the main clause of the adverbial as illustrated in [36a] and [36b].

[36]

(a)

This is all about who we are *daeka api giya/giyemu*¹⁰⁶

having-seen we left

{Having seen (that) this is all about who we are, we left.}

OR

{We left, having seen (that) this is all about who we are.}

(b)

This is all about who we are *daeka* _____ we left.

having-seen

{Having seen (that) this is all about who we are, we left.}

OR

{We left, having seen (that) this is all about who we are.}

¹⁰⁶ *giyemu* is the formal inflected equivalent of the verb *giya*; the inflection corresponds to the first person plural pronoun *api* ‘we’.

Now consider [37] which represents the line following L70.

[37]

L71 [(Fm) And its no mystery
(M) *pranehani venta baeta dem siri*
 /pranehani ventə batə ðem ʃri/
 life-harm happen-to beat will
 {(I) will beat (him) to (cause his) life harm.}

L71 is an instance of an English Text ILdCF-H line (section 7.7). Its dominant code is English. The first words in L71, however, are in Sinhala code. It is these words that follow the progressive perfective verb *daeka* with which L70 ends. So when interpreted together, the Sinhala code noun *pranehani* (trans. life-harm/harm to life) becomes the subject of a main clause for *daeka* in L70. The fact that L71 is an ILdCF-H line offers further interpretations too: section 7.7 deals with the phenomenon. For now, we see that converging the sequences under consideration resolves the issue of L70 as being a sentence fragment.

Another feature of English Text ILdCF-L lines is that their dissimilar constructs occur without being grammaticalized into the dominant code. Expressed differently, the constructs do not carry any English inflections. This differentiates the lines from Sinhala Text ILdCF-L lines. The dissimilar constructs of Sinhala Text ILdCF-L lines tend to be morphosyntactically adapted into the dominant (Sinhala) code. These are interesting insights in light of the kinds of grammatical tendencies assigned to mixed language phenomena discussed in chapter 6 (6.3.1). For example, the fact that the dissimilar constructs of English Text ILdCF-L lines do not conform to the grammatical norms of the dominant code conflicts with the premise of some analytical models (i.e. Myers Scotton 1983, 1988, 1993a, 1993b, 2001, 2002, 2006; Poplack 2005) discussed in chapter 6 according to which the ‘embedded language’ (i.e. the ILdCF-L constituents of a mixed language ‘clause’) is typically expected to reflect the morphosyntactic features of the clause’s dominant language (or ‘Matrix Language’ to use Myers-Scotton’s terminology).

7.6.2 ILdCF-L in Sinhala Texts

At first glance, ILdCF-L appears highly robust in the Sinhala Texts. Compared to the over 35 occurrences in the English Texts, the sample was found to contain over sixty five ILdCF-L occurrences in Sinhala Texts. English functions as the dissimilar code in nearly all of them. However, the lines are distributed over just four songs, a third of the sample whereas half of the song sample contains English Text ILdCF lines. Therefore, English Texts are, in fact, the core habitat of ILdCF-L in 98+LSLPS. Interestingly, most Sinhala Text ILdCF-L lines occur in the sung renditions; rapped renditions are the dominant context for English Text ILdCF-L lines. The parallel is reminiscent of the similarities observed between the rendition types in the discussion of English and Sinhala Text renditions earlier in this chapter.

As stated in section 7.6.1, whereas proper nouns dominate English Text ILdCF-L lines, the dissimilar constructs of Sinhala Text ILdCF-L lines tend to be content words and phrases. Most are discourse markers. The two extracts in [38] represent the sample's earliest and most recent Sinhala Text ILdCF-L lines.

[38]

(a) Song - *Sri Sangabodhi* (2000)

Sung

L12 *prane hani venta baeta dem* (F) ooh ah (M) *siri-*
prane hani ventə batə ðem/ /sri/
life harm happen-to beat will oh ah Shri-
{(I) will beat (him) to (cause his) life harm ooh ah (Shri).}

(b) Song - *Shaheena* (2008)

Sung

L23 [*Shaheena Shaheena /Shaheena supem manoli*]¹⁰⁷
/ supem mənoli/

¹⁰⁷ Only the relevant section of the line has been provided: the line contains an instance of ILdCF-H which has been omitted here but is available in appendix 2.

**Shaheena Shaheena Shaheena lovable ‘woman-who-births-desire’
{Shaheena Shaheena. Shaheena lovable woman who births desire.}**

The phrase ‘ooh ah’ in L12 of [38a] resembles a ‘pop music formula’ in that it can attach to the preceding declarative clause as indicated in the translation provided. It can also be considered part of the proper noun segment (and honorary referent) *Shri* (e.g. an exclamation ‘ooh ah Shri!’)¹⁰⁸. The reason why the translation provided in the example (also found in appendix 2) corresponds to the former interpretation owes to the attempt to remain true to the line’s overall semantic sense while not entirely ignoring the lines that are adjacent to it.

In [38b], we have a proper noun which is arguably of non-Sinhala origin, possibly of Arabic origin or at least signifying a middle-eastern source in keeping with the song’s theme¹⁰⁹. The proper noun titles the song too. Interestingly, this happens to be one of the few examples of a proper noun occurring as the dissimilar construct of a Sinhala Text ILdCF-L line.

Another interesting feature of Sinhala Text ILdCF-L lines is that some exhibit multiple layers of code fusion. Consider [39].

[39]

Song - *Ae Hetha* (2007)

Rap

L31	<i>mage</i>	<i>gedara</i>	<i>cell call it</i>	<i>home base</i>
	/mʌge	gɛðɜrɜ/		
	my	home		
	1st Pers. Sing. Poss. Pro.	N	N V <i>it</i> -cleft	N N

Here, *mage gedara cell* functions as a place adjunct, an NP of the pro-form ‘it’. Consequently, ‘cell call it home base’ constitutes the line’s ILdCF-L sequence.

¹⁰⁸ Some could dispute the claim that the phrase ‘ooh ah’ represents English. Yet culturally, it can certainly be argued that it represents a ‘western’ strongly English sense in the context of Sri Lanka and perhaps more importantly, that it does not have any roots in the Sinhala language, the counterpart language of the line in which the phrase occurs.

¹⁰⁹ Song theme is addressed in chapter 8. Summaries of the song themes are contained in appendix 3.

However, the line also presents a further realisation of code fusion. Specifically, *gedara*-cell and ‘home base’ are paralleled in the clause and both can be considered N+N compounds. By designating these ‘phrases’ compounds, the former comes to represent a further site of code fusion involving the Sinhala noun ‘*gedera*’ and English noun ‘cell’.

[40] represents two Sinhala Text ILdCF-L lines comprising English content words as their dissimilar constructs.

[40]

(a) Song - *Kotthu* (2008)

Rap

L24 *purse eka nae mage langa daen puluwannam credit denna*
 /pəs eke na: mage laŋə ðan pʊlʊwʌnnʌm krɛdɪt dennə/
purse the haven’t my near/with now if-possible credit give
{The purse (I) haven’t with me now if possible give (it to me on) credit.}

(b)

Sung

L6 *lime-uth one sam-*
 /laɪm ʊθ ɒnɛ sʌm/
lime-also want sam (bol)
{Lime also want (sam-bol)}

Observe that the nouns ‘purse’ in L24 and ‘lime’ in L6 include the Sinhala inflections *-eka* and *-uth* respectively. In this environment, *-eka* denotes the indefinite article while *-uth* the additive adjunct ‘also’. As stated in section 7.6.1, this is a feature of Sinhala Text ILdCF-L lines. Furthermore, the feature facilitates the internal cohesion of the lines thus making them appear grammatically autonomous.

However, the lines’ grammatical unity does not undermine their amenability and indeed propensity for being interpreted as connected to each other due to three

factors referred to in section 7.3. They are rhyme, theme (explained in chapter 8) and musical rhythm (explained in chapter 9).

7.6.3 ILdCF-L in non-Sinhala/ non-English Texts and Lone Lines

English is the language of most of the dissimilar constructs of the ILdCF-L lines of the sample's non-Sinhala/English Texts and Lone Lines. Examples include the rapped Tamil Text rendition in the song *Kotthu* which contains five ILdCF-L occurrences and the sung Arabic Text rendition in the song *Shaheena* which contains one (refer appendix 2). Most are common nouns (e.g. tea, chicken etc). The dissimilar construct of some of the Tamil Text ILdCF-L lines is the proper noun *Kotthu* which, in this study, is identified as a Sinhala dissimilar construct although some may argue that the noun is also a member of the Tamil lexicon. The proper noun BNS is the dissimilar construct of the Arabic Text ILdCF-L line. Arguably, the internal grammatical cohesion of these lines in as far as the 98+LSLPS CofP's negotiation of them is concerned, could be said to benefit from the fact that the lines' dominant codes are not part of the core codes of the 98+LSLPS CofP's shared linguistic repertoire: the core codes are Sinhala and English. It is likely that the CofP's negotiation of the lines will concern the lines' dissimilar constructs only. The sample contains just one ILdCF-L Lone Line; not surprising considering that the entire sample of twelve songs only contains a total of seven Lone Lines. As will be explained in chapters 8 and 9, song theme and musical structure integrate the non-English/Sinhala ILdCF-L lines with the other lines of their respective songs. Bear in mind that the data under investigation are songs in audio format.

7.7 Intra Line *similar* Code Fusion –Horizontal (ILsCF-H) and Intra Line *dissimilar* Code Fusion –Horizontal (ILdCF-H).

We now explore the two components of Intra Line Code Fusion-Horizontal (ILCF-H), namely Intra Line *similar* Code Fusion-Horizontal (ILsCF-H) and Intra Line *dissimilar* Code Fusion-Horizontal (ILdCF-H) in the sample. Both refer to a system of horizontal code fusion within a line. ILCF-H is arguably, the most fascinating aspect of 98+LSLPS code fusion. At first glance, ILCF-H appears to conflict entirely

with the not-mixed counterpart of the identity assigned to the songs by their CofP: as will be shown, however, ILCF-H exemplifies both (the mixed and not-mixed) components of the assigned identity. We see that ILsCF-H and ILdCF-H lines project the identity of a single code, that of their dominant code. The lines show considerable within line grammatical autonomy. Yet they also produce grammatical ambiguity which decreases when they are interpreted as connected to their adjacent lines. The central focus is on ILCF-H in English and Sinhala Texts. But the discussion does also review its presence in non-Sinhala/English 98+LSLPS Texts and Lone Lines.

The linear integration of different codes in clauses written or spoken is not an unusual phenomenon. However, people do not habitually and repetitively utter different sequences simultaneously and deliberately. In music they do. Furthermore, and as explained previously, the phenomenon is distinguished in music as the lines' sequences are often delivered/negotiated through specific presentational techniques. So, for example, one sequence might be sung while its simultaneous counterpart is rapped. Chapter 8 explores ILCF-H in terms of song theme; chapter 9 does so in terms of musical structure.

7.7.1 ILsCF-H in English Texts

Once again we find rapped renditions to be the principal context of ILsCF-H lines in English Texts with four songs featuring six occurrences. Consequently, it is evident that ILsCF-H is not common in English Texts; six occurrences in just four songs are rather few. Examples of the sample's earliest and most recent English Text ILsCF-H occurrences are included in [41].

[41]

(a) Song - *Mal Peththak* (2004)

Rap (M) unless indicated otherwise

L42 [Too look I'm really glad being steady with
(F) o—o-o-o-o- ou ou]

(b) Song - *Hanthane* (2008)

Rap (M) and (Mm)

L29 [All that stuff you slap in the face
(Mm) hey]

[41a] illustrates the kind of ‘pop formula’ ILsCF-H forms most frequently found in the English Texts. The exclamatory clausal modifier of [41b] is an exception. Importantly, the lines’ horizontal sequences provides for interesting grammatical realisations. Consider [41a]. The horizontally aligned ‘pop formula’ parallels the adjunct fragment ‘being steady with’ and is also part of the complement ‘glad’. Note that this is how the line is delivered each and every time. The horizontal sequence is therefore, an integral component of the line’s syntax.

Now, the opening adjunct of the line’s upper sequence ‘too’ (too look I’m really...) complicates the line as does its concluding preposition ‘with’. However, interpreting the line in terms of its adjacent lines resolves this. [42] contains the line along with its preceding and following lines.

[42]

L41 Do it if Jane knows she might call it off
L42 [Too look I’m really glad being steady with
(F) o—o-o-o-o- ou ou]
L43 You I don’t want to miss you I want to kiss

Accordingly, the adjunct ‘too’ can be interpreted as belonging to L41 while the preposition ‘with’ can be seen to align with the second person pronoun ‘you’ in L43. [43] illustrates the consequence of this interpretation.

[43]

[Look I’m really glad being steady’
o---o-o-o-o-ou-ou]

What we end up with is ‘really glad being steady’ as the complement of ‘Look I’m’ while ‘o –o-o-o-o –ou-ou’ functions simultaneously as a parallel complement of

‘Look I’m really gla-’. However, this explanation is not without complications either. That the sequence ‘o...o..’ parallels the line-end preposition ‘with’, demonstrates that ‘with’ cannot be excluded from the sequence so easily. Accordingly, and as illustrated in [44], the sequence appears a syntactic anomaly: a fragmented complement ‘Look I’m really glad to be steady with’.

[44]

[Look I’m really glad being steady with
Look I’m really gla-o---o-o-o-o-ou-ou.]

Overall, however, the convergence of the L41,42 and L43 does diminish the grammatical opacity of ‘too’ and ‘with’. However, the interpretation does not fully resolve the grammatical conundrum of the preposition ‘with’s position in L42 due to its relationship with the ‘ou’ ‘pop formula’. The discussions of the relationship between ILCF-H lines and song theme on the one hand and musical structure on the other in chapters 8 and 9 support the interpretation that the lines are connected. .

[41b] also poses an intriguing grammatical problem: omit the exclamation ‘hey’ and the line can be defined a lone NP. However, the exclamation cannot be omitted as it parallels the noun ‘face’. So the consequence is two lone NPs ‘All the stuff you slap in the hey’ and ‘All the stuff you slap in the face’ rendered simultaneously. Moreover, the exclamation in the former renders its NP semantically ambiguous. However, there exists a further dimension to this conundrum. Recall, once again, that the songs are performed; the negotiation of the songs involves rendition not reading. ‘Hey’, therefore, could also be considered a homonym with the ability to be perceived as either the exclamation ‘hey!’ or the noun ‘hay’. Perceived as the latter, the line reads as ‘All that stuff you slap in the hay’; a completely regular NP albeit a fragment in this context no different to its horizontal counterpart ‘All that stuff you slap in the face’.

There are twenty occurrences of ILS CF-H in 98+LSLPS English Text sung renditions; however they all belong to a single song. This suggests that the rendition type is not a good source of the phenomenon. The song is *Sri Sangabodhi*, one of the

most famous 98+LSLPS songs by the core artists BNS which greatly facilitated the development of 98+LSLPS. Therefore, it is notable that despite the song's pivotal role within the genre, ILsCF-H is rare in 98+LSLPS English Text sung renditions. [45] presents a sample of ILsCF-H belonging to an English Text sung rendition in the song *Sri Sangabodhi*.

[45]

Song - *Sri Sangabodhi* (2000)

Sung (MFm) except where indicated

L33 [This piece of history
(F) histo-]

ILsCF-H in the extract consists of the horizontal alignment of the bound morpheme/particle '-ry' of 'history' (upper sequence) with the bound morpheme 'histo'. When interpreted in relation to its adjacent lines, the line's fragment 'histo' is seen to constitute part of the noun 'history'. Similarly, the irregularity entailed of the lone NP comprising the line's upper sequence is also resolved (refer appendix 2).

As mentioned earlier, different presentational techniques are used to deliver the sequences of ILsCF-H. Consider L83 in [46]: two of its sequences are sung (by an Fm and M), while the remaining sequence is generated through rhythmic rendition (by M3).

[46]

Song - *Sri Sangabodhi* (2000)

Sung - (Fm) and (M). Rhythmic rendition - (M3)

L83 [(Fm) We'll be modern history
(M) sangabodhi maligave-di
/sʌgəbo:ðɪ maligaveði
(M3) Millenium music style represent]
Sangabodhi palace-the-in
{Sangabodhi in the palace.}

Accordingly, *sahas* appears a singular noun in L3a and an adjective in L3b. Bearing in mind that in the Sinhala original, the verb, precedes the adjective (birthing secret thoughts), an interesting onomatopoeic effect is also generated owing to the horizontal rather than linear positioning of the adjective between the verb and noun. Importantly, the horizontal positioning of the lexeme *sahas* means it is far more closely bound with the lines than would be a linearly occurring constituent. Overall, this example exemplifies line convergence in 98+LSLPS. Each line shows internal cohesion involving the fusion of horizontally ordered sequences while also appearing connected to its adjacent lines.

[47b] presents another fascinating grammatical complex. As illustrated in [49], the line consists of two simultaneously occurring sequences. The words that align horizontally (underlined in [49]), are the dative first person singular present tense pronoun *mata* ‘for/to me’ and the verb *onae* ‘want’.

[49]

[*Kotthuth one mata*
Kotthuth one]

Translation

[Kotthu also want for me
Kotthu also want .]

On the one hand, the alignment of the two words entails two possibilities: ‘want for me’ or ‘for me want’ – the difference lies in semantic nuance as they are both perfectly permissible in spoken and written Sinhala. However, what we have here is a more cohesive compound-like word integration owing to the words’ horizontal positioning, which, while exhibiting both syntactic possibilities just presented, seems to project a sense of ‘want’ and ‘for me’ as a composite ‘state of being’. Moreover, further possible interpretations emerge when the line is interpreted in terms of its adjacent lines. [50] contains L13 of [47b] together with its adjacent lines.

[50]

L12 takata takata takas gaala genna mali¹¹⁰ daen
mata

{Bring (it) to me now younger-brother quickly.}

L13 [kotthuth one mata
kotthuth onae

{[Kotthu also want for me
Kotthu also want].}

L14 [lime-uth onae sam
lime-oth onae

{[lime also want (sambol)
lime also want .]}

The dative pronoun *mata* ‘for/to me’, the last word of the upper sequence of L13 lends itself to being interpreted as the subject of the upper sequence of L14, itself an ILdCF-H line¹¹¹. Similarly, the line terminal dative pronoun of L12 can be interpreted as the subject of the predicate, *kotthuth one* (‘Kotthu also want’ or ‘want Kotthu also’) contained in the upper sequence of L13. Likewise, this interpretation also renders the inflected construction ‘limeuth’ (lime also) occurring in the centre sequence of L14, the object of the verb *onae* (want) of the centre sequence of L13 resulting in the sequence ‘*kotthuth onae lime-uth onae*’ (i.e. ‘Kotthu also want lime also want’). Thus the speaker’s desire for ‘Kotthu’ and ‘lime’ appear doubly emphasized; a fascinating semantic consequence.

7.7.3 ILsCF-H in non-Sinhala/non-English Texts and Lone Lines

There are no occurrences of ILsCF-H in any of the sample’s non-Sinhala/non-English Texts or Lone Lines. Overall, Sinhala Texts remain the core domain of ILsCF-H in 98+LSLPS.

¹¹⁰ While younger-brother is a literal translation, the term functions as a second person singular pronoun for males and is used by Sri Lankans when addressing males younger than themselves. It can be used in both congenial contexts in order to denote respect and warmth as well as in hostile contexts in order to invoke insecurity in the addressee.

¹¹¹ ILdCF-H in Sinhala Texts is explored in section 7.7.5.

7.7.4 ILdCF-H in English Texts

ILdCF-H lines in English Texts are marginal: they are found in just one sample song namely, BNS' celebrated *Sri Sangabodhi* and only occur in its sung renditions. The song contains a total of 24 ILdCF-H occurrences. Furthermore, all the dissimilar constructs of the lines involve Sinhala. [51] represents two examples.

[51]

(a) Song - *Sri Sangabodhi* (2000)

Sung- (Fm) (M) and (F). Rhythmic rendition - (M3)

L60 [(M) *sangabodhi maligavedi ma*
/ sʌgəbo:ðɪ maligaveðɪ ma/
(Fm) I see ya grooving to this]
Sangabodhi palace-the-in I
{Sangabodhi in the palace I.}

(b) Sung - *Sri Sangabodhi* (2000)

Sung- (Fm) (M) and (F). Rhythmic rendition - (M3)

L81 [(Fm) And be-lieve in our destiny
(M) *sangabodhi maligave----di ma*
/ sʌgəbo:ðɪ maligaveðɪ ma /
(M3) Don't know who they -----]
Sangabodhi palace-the-in I
{Sangabodhi in the palace I.}

Let us first consider [51a]. The Sinhala sequence translates as 'In the *Sangabodhi* palace I', the proper noun *Sangabodhi* representing an adjective. The song, however, is about an individual by the name of *Sri Sangabodhi*¹¹². Importantly, the line's horizontally aligned sequence cannot be ignored in attempts to dissect it. [52] illustrates how the two horizontal sequences (of which the Sinhala is a word-to-word translation) appear together.

¹¹² Recall that acoustic prominence is one of the criteria used to determine the dominant code and hence rendition mode of ILCF-H. It is this which makes [51a] an English Text line notwithstanding the fact that the line's Sinhala sequence precedes the English sequence.

[52]

L60	<i>Sangabodhi</i>	palace		in	I
	N	N		P	PRO
	I	see ya		grooving	to-this
	PRO	V 2 nd	Pers.Sing. Pro	V-Pres.	P DET

Remarkably, the two sequences do not appear syntactically incongruous when placed linearly save for the reiteration of the 1st person singular pronoun in the Sinhala and English respectively and even this could be seen as a deliberate repetition for purposes of emphasis as shown in [53].

[53]

Sangabodhi maligavedi ma I see ya grooving to this
{In the Sangabodhi palace I I see ya grooving to this}

Once again, the variation concerns the semantic nuance of the projected merger. The Sinhala construction functions as a subordinate clause of an English main clause. Crucially, that the constructions appear simultaneously, are communicated and perceived as such by their CofP and appear perfectly regular even when placed adjacent to each other (as a ‘regular clause’), indicates the heightened degree of language integration in this context - an inextricable blending (which the coinage ‘code fusion’ is intended to convey).

However, we also see that the line’s horizontal sequences are connected to their counterpart sequences of their line’s adjacent lines. The thematic and musical rhythmic contexts of such lines (explored in the ensuing chapters) promote this interpretation. [54] represents a translation of how the Sinhala sequence of L60 appears when interpreted in relation to its adjacent Sinhala sequences in L59, 61 and 62.

[54]

‘Seeing /Having seen *Sri Sangabodhi* in the palace I will beat him and cause him life harm’.

7.7.5 ILdCF-H in Sinhala Texts

Resembling English Text ILdCF-H lines, Sinhala Text ILdCF-H lines occur solely in sung renditions. English is the core code of the lines' dissimilar constructs. However, seven of the twelve 98+LSLPS songs contain a total of fifty nine ILdCF-H occurrences. The two BNS songs *Vasanthaye* and *Shaheena* constitute the sample's earliest and most recent contexts. The two extracts in [55] belong to them.

[55]

(a) Song - *Vasanthaye* (1998)

sung (MMmFm) combined with simultaneous (F) rhythmic rendition

L36 [*pibidena mal / piyali vage*

/pɪbɪðɛnə mɐl piɟəli vɐgɛ/

(F) There's always / peace freedom]

blooming flowers / buds like-are

{Blooming flowers. Buds are like.}

(b) Song – *Shaheena* (2008)

Sung by (M2) except where indicated.

L33 [*mage haadakam kalpayak* durin/ thiyana *iki bindinne/*

/mɐgɛ hɐðəkɐm kɐlpəɟɐk

ðurɪn ðiyan

ɪki biðɪnne/

(F)oh

oh ah]

my affection very-long-distance from keeping tears-breaking

{My affection (a) very long distance away. Keeping and weeping.}

[55a] contains two lines (which we term L36a and L36b). Each is an ILdCF-H line. The upper sequence of L36a is a Sinhala noun phrase (*pibidena mal*: blooming flowers). It is paralleled by an English subject without a complement ('There's always). In L36b the Sinhala sequence can be interpreted as a predicate without a subject. The line's English sequence constitutes two lone nouns. As with ILdCF-H in English Texts, the lines' defining horizontally positioned sequences enables us to interpret the lines in diverse ways.

[56] presents a basic grammatical analysis of the two lines in [55a]. Observe that each of the lines' sequences contain two words; the alignment in [56] corresponds to the way in which the lines are performed (delivered) in their default audio format.

[56]

L36 [*pibidena mal / piyali*¹¹³ *vage*

/pibiðenə mɔl / piɟəli vʌgɛ/

V- Prog. N N AUX.

(F) There's always / peace freedom]

Det-AUX ADV N N

blooming flowers buds like-are

{Blooming flowers. Buds are like}

Interestingly, as shown in [57], the grammatical ambiguities resulting from the fact that the sequences are constituent fragments disappear when they are aligned linearly. The translation of the Sinhala code sequences are in bold font.

[57]

Line 36a of [55a]:

blooming flowers there's always

[[[There's [always]] [[*pibidena mal*]]]
Det-AUX ADV ADJ N

OR

There's always **blooming flowers**

[[[*pibidena mal*]] [[There's [always]]]
ADJ N DET-AUX ADV

Line 36b of [55a]:

Peace freedom **buds are like**

[[[peace] [freedom]] [[*piyali vage*]]]
N N N AUX+V

¹¹³ *mal piyeli* can be regarded a N+N construction; a compound.

OR

Buds are like peace, freedom

[[[*piyali*] *vage*]] [[peace] [freedom]]]
N AUX+V N N

The plausibility of the above is supported by the fact that the lines' Sinhala sequences can either precede or follow their English counterparts. Remarkably, the sentences fall in line with both English and Sinhala grammar. So in terms of English grammar, the Sinhala sequence in L36a becomes the subject of the English sequence. In L36b, the English sequence becomes the subject while the Sinhala sequence assumes the identity of the predicate. However, acoustically, the dominant code of both lines is Sinhala; hence their classification as instances of Sinhala Text ILdCF-H.

It would appear that the horizontal positioning of the lines exemplifies the fact that the sequences of each line can be alternated with no significant change to the meaning of the lines and that each interpretation is compatible with the grammars of both codes. Indeed, it could be argued that the horizontal positioning of the sequences projects both interpretations. Consequently, the lines can be seen to exhibit greater morpho-syntactic fusion than exhibited when the lines' respective horizontal sequences are aligned linearly. At this stage we see that the lines complement one of the two components of framework regarding 98+LSLPS line organisation: specifically they elicit internal grammatical autonomy.

But what of the counterpart component of the framework which maintains that 98+LSLPS lines are connected to each other? Interestingly, the lines' autonomy does not conflict with this premise. The thematic content of the renditions in which the lines are positioned (discussed in chapter 8) and musical rhythmic frame through which they are channelled (discussed in chapter 9) support the interpretation that the lines are also connected to each other. Grammatically too, the lines can be interpreted as connected to each other. Accordingly, [58] presents two possible interpretations involving L36a and L36b: the words in regular font represent English while those in bold font are translations of Sinhala.

[58]

L36a+L36b of [55a], merged.

Like blooming flowers buds, there's always peace freedom.

OR

There's always peace freedom **like blooming flowers buds**.

Observe that here too the converged lines and their corresponding horizontal sequences are amenable to alternation when aligned linearly. Moreover, both interpretations are grammatical in both English and Sinhala. The convergence between the sequences line internally and including adjacent line sequences reflects a hierarchical fusion of sorts perhaps. This is strongly evocative of the not-mixed counterpart of the dual identity with which the genre is associated by its CofP while the fact that the lines do nevertheless embody the integration of dissimilar codes parallels the mixed counterpart of the dual identity.

Now consider the two lines of [55b] termed L33a and L33b reproduced in [59].

[59]

L33a [*mage haadakam kalpayak* _____ *durin*
(F)oh]
my affection very-long-distance from

L33b [*thiyan iki bindinne*
(F) oh ah]
keeping tears-breaking

The horizontal convergence of the Sinhala and English sequences in each of the lines appears less complex than in the two lines of [59]. This owes to the fact that the English sequences in both involve 'pop formulae'. On the one hand, one could argue that the English sequences are therefore semantically redundant making the Sinhala sequences more pronounced.

On the other hand, the English code 'pop formula' connotes despair. Moreover, the Sinhala sequences of L33a and L33b reflect the sentiments of distance (connotative

of parting) and flowing/breaking respectively; they too evoke sorrow. Consequently, the convergence of the Sinhala and English sequences accentuate the feeling of sorrow. Furthermore, each of the English sequences occurs at the end of their respective lines and can be seen to serve as the boundary of each line (in performance) thereby projecting the lines as partly autonomous.

However, the lines' horizontal sequences do exhibit a degree of grammatical irregularity. As shown in [60], the Sinhala sequence in L33a is a lone subject:

[60]

L33a	<i>mage</i>	<i>haadakam kalpayak</i>	<i>durin</i>
	Sing.Pres.Poss. PRO N	ADJ	N+Prep blend

Similarly L33b includes a particle predicate and conjunctive clause. Both sequences are therefore sentence fragments. The irregularity is reduced when the sequences of the both lines are interpreted together. Accordingly, we see that line convergence is promoted by the lines' grammar. Overall, then, [59] represents ILdCF-H lines which appear autonomous and connected to each other.

[61] represents a particularly complex Sinhala Text ILdCF-H line. The song in which it occurs is *Oba Magemai* which happens to be the sample song containing the highest number of Sinhala Text ILdCF-H lines.

[61]

Song -*Oba Magemai* (2003)

Sung-(MmFm). (F) where indicated

L32 [*dore galayana senehe obai*
 /ðore galajʌnə senehe obʌi/
 N-Loc V-Prog N-Loc 2nd Pers.Sing. PRO+ AUX
 (F) Me you'll never leave]
Life-in flowing love-in/of you-are
{(The) love flowing in/through life you are.}

First let us consider the line's Sinhala sequence. It is a main clause, complete and regular in terms of typical Sinhala grammar. The English sequence begins with what appears to be a lone first person singular pronoun 'me' since it is followed by a main clause. However, the clause contains an intransitive verb 'leave'. Consequently, the pronoun 'me' could also be interpreted as a fronted direct object of the verb: 'you'll never leave me'. In terms of the horizontal alignment of the two sequences the first person singular pronoun 'me' of the English sequence coincides with the Sinhala common noun marked for the locative case *dore* represented in the translation by the noun+ preposition construct 'life-in'(in-life). Similarly, the Sinhala second person singular pronoun plural copula verb blend *obai* deriving from the conjunction of *oba* (you) and *thamai* (is/are) parallels the English second person singular pronoun 'you' of the English SVO clause 'you'll never leave'.

Arranging the sequences linearly and in so doing substituting the English constituents for their Sinhala counterparts results in the construct presented in [62].

[62]

L32 'Me *galayane senehe* you'll never leave'
Trans: Me **in flowing love** you'll never leave

Here too the first person singular pronoun 'me' remains grammatically awkward. Nevertheless, it is interesting that overall, the construct conforms to English and Sinhala grammar and consequently echoes the organisation of [55a]. Interpreted as an English clause, the Sinhala sequence assumes the identity of a prepositional phrase. It remains a prepositional phrase even when the line is interpreted as a Sinhala clause. That it is more Sinhala is evoked in the fact that the line's (acoustically determined) dominant code is Sinhala and that the line belongs to a Sinhala Text rendition. Importantly, these interpretations of the line illustrate the inextricable bond between the horizontal sequences of ILCF-H lines. The issue of the grammatically awkward pronoun 'me' is resolved when the line is viewed in relation to its preceding line as shown in [63].

[63]

Song – *Oba Magemai*

Sung-(MmFm). (F) where indicated

L31 [*gala halena digu nadiya obai*
/gʌlɑ halənə ðɪɡʊ nʌðɪjə obʌɪ/
(F) baby won't you hold]
flowing tumbling long river you-are
{(A) flowing tumbling long river you are.}

L32 [*dore galayana senehe obai*
/ðore gʌlɑjʌnə senɛhɛ obʌɪ/
(F) Me you'll never leave]
Life-in flowing love-in/of you-are
{Me. (The) love flowing in/through life you are.}

L33 [*himidiri yuga-ye* *suvanda obai*
/hɪmɪðɪrɪ jʊɡəje sʊvəðə obʌɪ/
(F) Me say you'll always be beside]
early time-in/of or morn-in/of fragrance you-are
{Me (The) fragrance of early morn you are.}

L34 [*mage diviye himikari obai*
/mʌɡɛ ðɪvɪjɛ hɪmɪkʌrɪ obʌɪ/
(F) Me tell me you will always need]
my life-in/of possessor (female) you-are
{Me (The) possessor of my life you are.}

Accordingly, the pronoun becomes the direct object of the English fragment 'baby won't you hold' of L31. The pronoun 'me' in L33 functions as the object of the verb 'leave' of the English construct 'you'll never leave' in L32. Observe also how the first person singular present tense pronoun fronts all the lines in [63] and as evident in appendix 2, fronts all the lines of the particular Text rendition. Consequently, we encounter, yet again, a grammatical portrait involving relatively autonomous lines but interlinked nevertheless. As mentioned previously, the songs' themes and musical rhythmic structure promote this reading. Importantly, the reading adheres to the framework about 98+LSLPS lyric line organisation and in so doing reflects at the level of the lyrics, the dual (mixed and not-mixed) identity with which 98+LSLPS is regarded by its CofP. Remarkably, line internal linguistic cohesion can be seen to be

particularly strong in ILdCF-H lines despite the fact that they appear to exemplify language mixing.

7.7.6 ILdCF-H in Non-Sinhala and Non-English Texts and Lone Lines

The sample's Non-Sinhala/English Texts and Lone Lines contain few ILdCF-H lines; two each in the Divehi and Arabic Texts and three in the Lone Lines. The occurrences are dispersed across sung and A-rhythmic renditions. Furthermore, English is the code of nearly all the lines' dissimilar constructs. [64] contains the sample's earliest and a recent ILdCF-H line.

[64]

(a) Song - *Ae Hetha* (2007)

Refrain –sung-(F), interspersed rhythmic renditions (M)

L8 [*Mee the hey thei aey mee numphene kelaa aey*
Check this out. .yo yo yo girl..... now play that]

(b) Song - *Sri Sangabodhi* (2000)

A-rhythmic rendition (M1+ M2)

L1 (M1) [*Maetha athithaye Sinhelaye vangsha kathaven pituvak viya*
/ma:θə ʌθiθəje sɪŋhɜ:lɜ:je vʌŋʃə kʌθʌvən pɪtʊvʌk vɪjə/
(M2) When

I was in Ceylon they used to have these funny little stores called tea-stores and in these stores they played some funny little songs and one of them sounded a little bit like this]

recent history-in-the Sinhala-of lineage story-from page-a was
{Of the recent history of (the) story (of) Sinhala lineage a page (it) was }

Recall that non-Sinhala/English Texts or Lone Lines contain no ILsCF-H lines. The paucity of ILdCF-H and absence of ILsCF-H in non-Sinhala/English Texts or Lone Lines confirms that Sinhala and English Texts are the core of ILCF-H. As stated in relation to ILdCF-L in non-English/Sinhala lines, it is likely that the 98+LSLPS CofP's negotiation of ILdCF-H lines will involve a greater focus on whatever sequences that occur in English or Sinhala owing to their unfamiliarity with the non-English/Sinhala codes and fact that Sinhala and English are the core of their shared

(linguistic) repertoire. It is the relative acoustic prominence of the non-English/Sinhala sequences which underlies the lines' code names (i.e. Divehi line etc). Explained in chapters 8 and 9 song theme and musical rhythm connect the lines with the other lines of their respective song lyrics. Accordingly, they too are shown to support the framework regarding 98+LSLPS lyric line organisation.

7.8 Summary and conclusion

This chapter is the first of a three part analyses of the 98+LSLPS sample (introduced in chapter 5) spread over three chapters and undertaken in terms of the analytical framework advanced in chapter 6 with a view to understanding the dual identity assigned to the songs by their CofP at the level of song lyric organisation. In brief, the framework maintains that 98+LSLPS lyric lines elicit varying degrees of internal grammatical regularity and yet display a strong inclination to being interpreted as connected to each other. Due to their partial grammatical regularity and entailed autonomy, the lines reflect a mix when viewed together and hence reflect the mixed counterpart of the identity. The lines' inclination to being interpreted as connected to each other and forming part of an extended clause reflects the not-mixed counterpart of the identity.

The first part of this chapter involved exploring the Text and Lone Line renditions of the songs. The focus was mainly on Text renditions involving Sinhala and English owing to the fact that they are the dominant codes of 98+LSLPS¹¹⁴. Accordingly, English and Sinhala Text renditions were explored in sections 7.2 and 7.3, Arabic, Tamil and Divehi Text renditions were explored in section 7.4 while Lone Line renditions were explored in section 7.5. The Text renditions, particularly English and Sinhala Text renditions were shown to support the analytical framework; the lines elicited some degree of grammatical regularity and in this sense autonomy but also elicited a very strong grammatical tendency towards being interpreted as connected to each other. As explained, song theme and musical structure explored in chapters 8

¹¹⁴ Ten of the twelve 98+LSLPS sample songs contain lyrics involving the integration of Sinhala and English while one (*Oba Hinda*) is entirely in Sinhala and the other (*Dark Angel*) is in English.

and 9 respectively, highlight the relevance of the framework to non-English/Sinhala Text and Lone Line renditions. The exploration of Text renditions also involved detailing the relationship between the specific codes and the four presentational techniques through which the lyrics are communicated.

With nine of the twelve sample songs containing English Text rapped renditions, rapped renditions were identified as the dominant rendition form of English Text in section 7.2.1. Crucially, their lines are dominated by sentence fragments and lexeme/word fragments. It is these features that demonstrate the Text renditions lines' strong inclination towards being interpreted as related to each other. Yet they also exhibit partial grammatical autonomy. English Text Sung renditions (explored in section 7.2.1) constitute the third dominant rendition form of the English Texts. They too contain sentence fragments though less grammatically ambiguous. Also, they do not contain lexeme fragments. The lines do, however, rhyme (discussed in chapter 9). Consequently, the lines appear partially autonomous while sentence fragments and rhyme project them as connected to each other. In section 7.2.3, rhythmic rendition was shown to be the second dominant rendition type of English Texts. The renditions' lines contain sentence fragments more ambiguous than English Text sung rendition lines but less ambiguous English Text rapped rendition lines. The lines differ from rapped and sung renditions in that they do not contain lexeme fragments nor do they rhyme. Grammatically, these lines too complement the framework about lyric line organisation: they are autonomous to a degree while being strongly inclined towards being interpreted as connected to each other.

The least productive rendition type of English Text is the A-rhythmic rendition explored in section 7.2.4. Overall, just three songs contain a total of 7 A-rhythmic rendition lines including two short English Texts (*Kotthu* L69-73 and *Sri Sangabodhi* L48-49). Indeed, these renditions are shorter than rhythmic renditions. Because they are defined in terms of clausal cues corresponding to natural speech and not musical rhythm (explained in chapter 9) A-rhythmic rendition lines are regular grammatically. Consequently, the lines do not project a strong grammatical inclination to converge with their adjacent lines. However, chapters 8 and 9 show

that the lines are inclined towards being interpreted as connected to their adjacent lines due to song theme and musical structure. The absence of line-terminal rhyme in the rapped renditions reinforces Krims' claim that in rap, line internal rhyme is more frequent than line-terminal rhyme (2000: 43)

Ten of the twelve sample songs contain Sinhala Texts. Compared to English Texts, the rapped rendition occupies a very different status in Sinhala Texts: the sample contains only one Sinhala Text rapped rendition (discussed in section 7.3.1). A further distinguishing feature of the Sinhala Text rapped rendition is the relative grammatical regularity of its lines. On the contrary, recall that sentence and lexeme/word fragments dominate in English Text rapped renditions. Nevertheless, the lines do also appear equally amenable to being interpreted as connected to each other. The leading rendition type of Sinhala Texts is singing. All the ten songs containing Sinhala Texts contain Sinhala Text sung renditions (section 7.3.2). Remarkably and importantly, these renditions resemble the English Text rapped renditions. Specifically, they abound with sentence fragments. Nevertheless, the lines' degree of fragmentation is less in comparison to their English counterparts making them appear autonomous; as explained in the discussion, this owes to the nature of Sinhala grammar. Yet Sinhala Text sung rendition lines also rhyme. Coupled with their sentence fragments the lines therefore, also appear connected to each other. Sinhala Texts contain no rhythmic or A-rhythmic renditions.

Only three sample songs contain non-English/Sinhala code Text renditions; they were explored in section 7.4. The code in each song Text rendition is different. So cumulatively the songs represent Tamil, Arabic and Divehi Text renditions. Section 7.5 concerned 98+LSLPS Lone Lines; ten lines constitute the Lone Line collective of the entire sample. Overall, we see that English Text rapped and Sinhala Text sung renditions dominate the sample. The paucity of Lone Line renditions reflects the fact that the vast majority of lines in the lyrics occur as groups (i.e. Text renditions). This fact also reinforces the framework about 98+LSLPS lyric organisation.

The exploration of 98+LSLPS Text renditions was followed by a discussion of ILCF-L and ILCF-H in 98+LSLPS Texts and Lone Lines sections 7.6 and 7.7. This meant exploring the framework regarding 98+LSLPS line organisation at the level of these ‘mixed’ ILCF-L and ILCF-H lines. Each phenomenon was explored in relation to the Text types found in 98+LSLPS; e.g. English Texts, Sinhala Texts etc. The investigation of ILCF-L comprised the exploration of ILdCF-L only. The exploration of ILCF-H included the exploration of both ILsCF-H and ILdCF-H. Crucially, ILdCF-L and ILCF-H comprise two of the three linguistic contexts which (as explained in section 7.1) ‘appear’ to conflict directly with the not-mixed counterpart of the identity with which 98+LSLPS is associated by its CofP. The robustness of ILdCF-H and ILCF-H was measured according to the number of songs in which they occurred.

The reason the exploration of ILCF-L was restricted to ILdCF-L owes to the overall thrust of this chapter in exploring the most nuanced sites of conflict between the dual identity assigned to 98+LLSPS by its CofP and the 98+LSLPS lyric organisation. Specifically, ILdCF-L contrasts with the not-mixed counterpart of the dual identity because it is based on the conjunction of dissimilar codes (mostly involving the integration English and Sinhala). Both sub categories of ILsCF-H and ILdCF-H conflict with the not-mixed counterpart of the dual identity attributed to 98+LSLPS by its CofP because they involve the horizontal alignment of different constituents; the former involves the same code while the latter involves dissimilar codes.

English Texts (section 7.6.1) and Sinhala Texts (section 7.6.2) were identified as the nuclei of ILdCF-L in 98+LSLPS. Moreover, nearly all the lines involve the juxtaposition of these two codes. There is only one occurrence of ILdCF-L in a Lone Line making Text renditions the home of ILdCF-L in 98+LSLPS. On the one hand, 98+LSLPS Sinhala Texts contain the overwhelming majority of ILdCF-L lines: they contain over sixty five occurrences. However, the lines are distributed across four sample songs whereas English Text ILdCF-L was found in six songs despite eliciting a total of less than 40 occurrences. Explored briefly in section 7.6.3, the sample was found to contain very few non-Sinhala/English Text ILdCF-L lines. It was argued

that it is the lines' dissimilar code that is likely to be negotiated by the 98+LSLPS CofP because the lines' dominant codes do not form part of the core codes of the CofP's shared linguistic repertoire whereas the their dissimilar code (English) does.

The phenomenon of ILsCF-H was found to be less productive in 98+LSLPS when compared to its counterpart ILdCF-H. In the case of ILsCF-H, four songs elicited occurrences in English Texts (section 7.7.1) while three did so in Sinhala Texts (section 7.7.2), specifically Sinhala Text sung renditions. Not only did the English Texts lead by just a single song, but contained less than one third of ILsCF-H lines in comparison to the Sinhala Texts. Consequently, it would appear that the phenomenon has equal status in both English and Sinhala Texts. There were no ILsCF-H lines in the sample's non-Sinhala/English Texts (section 7.7.3). In the case of ILdCF-H, Sinhala Texts (section 7.7.5) were identified as the core context for the phenomenon in comparison with English Texts (section 7.7.4), its second core context. Seven of the twelve songs contain a total of fifty nine Sinhala Text ILdCF-H lines while only one song contains an English Text ILdCF line. As with ILdCF-L, nearly all ILdCF-H lines involve the juxtaposition of English and Sinhala. Only a few non-Sinhala/English Texts contain ILdCF-H lines (section 7.7.6).

It is interesting to note that of the three phenomena ILdCF-L, ILsCF-H and ILdCF-H, ILdCF-H is the most dominant in the sample. The discussions also showed rapped and rhythmic renditions to be the dominant context for ILdCF-L and ILsCF-H in the English Texts while singing was found to be the dominant rendition type for ILdCF-L, ILsCF-H and ILdCF-H in the Sinhala Texts. Moreover, the absence of non-Sinhala/English ILsCF-H lines and paucity of non-Sinhala/English ILdCF-L and ILdCF-H lines in the sample further reinforces English and Sinhala as the core codes of the 98+LSLPS CofP's shared linguistic repertoire. Importantly, the discussions showed that ILdCF-L and ILdCF-H conform to the framework regarding 98+LSLPS lyric line organisation. That is the lines were shown to exhibit considerable grammatical regularity while also demonstrating a predisposition to being interpreted as connected to each other.

We therefore conclude at this stage that the structure of 98+LSLPS Text rendition lines and Lone Lines including ILdCF-L and ILCF-H lines complements the mixed and not-mixed identity assigned to the songs by the 98+LSLPS CofP. Chapters 8 and 9 demonstrate how a lyric's Text renditions and thereafter its Texts and Lone Lines converge in terms of song theme and musical structure.

Chapter 8

The 98+LSLPS sample: Song (lyric) organisation through theme

“[M]usic does not...simply provide a marker in a prestructured social space, but [a] means by which this space can be transformed” (Stokes 1994).

8.1 Introduction

Chapter 7 explored the grammatical organisation of the sample lyrics according to the analytical framework introduced in chapter 6. This chapter explores the thematic organisation of the lyrics according to the same framework. Specifically, it first focuses on theme at the level of Text renditions leading to an analysis of how theme contributes to connecting the Text renditions of a Text and thereafter how theme also contributes to connecting the Texts and Lone Lines of a lyric to form a cohesive unit (the Text-rendition to Text/Lone Line hierarchy is illustrated in figure 3 of chapter 6).

Theme and topic are at the core of a song lyric and ultimately represent the core of individuals’ negotiation, in this case the 98+LSLPS CofP’s negotiation of their songs. Furthermore, bear in mind that the mixed and not-mixed identity assigned to the genre by its CofP does not relate solely to components of the songs but to the songs in their entirety too. Therefore, it makes sense to consider the various facets comprising a 98+LSLPS lyric in the attempt to reconcile the identity assigned to 98+LSLPS by their CofP at the level of 98+LSLPS lyrics.

Section 8.2 presents a general review of the broad thematic tendencies of the song sample. Appendix 3 contains summaries of the song themes¹¹⁵. A description of

¹¹⁵ A summary of the theme/s of the song *Oba Hinda* by Iraj is not included. The song is similarly excluded in the transcriptions of appendix 4 too. This song, although belonging to the repertoire of a 98+LSLPS core artist, features a leading non-98+LSLPS artist. As such, it does not display the characteristics of 98+LSLPS songs. Crucially, the song is an exception in as far as Iraj’s song style is concerned.

three stylistic devices which contribute to the thematic complexity of the songs follows in section 8.3. They are the refrain, its counterpart, the stanza and the technique of multiple voicing. Next the thematic tendencies of each of the Text rendition types (i.e. rapped Text renditions, sung Text renditions etc) are presented in section 8.4. Indeed, it is widely recognised that languages can assume congruence with specific forms of content in the context of language mixing (see, for example, Bentahila and Davies 2002: 200; Rayfield 1970 on Yiddish-English code-switching, Stevens 1974 on Arabic-French code-switching). Section 8.4 also identifies where the four Text rendition types tend to be positioned in the lyrics (e.g. rapped renditions occur in the middle of a lyric) so as to facilitate the discussion in sections 8.5 and 8.6. Section 8.5 explores the relationship between the renditions of a Text in terms of theme. Thereafter, section 8.6 explores the relationship between the Texts and Lone Lines (essentially all the linguistic components) of a lyric in terms of theme. Overall, the discussions show that thematically, the renditions of a 98+LSLPS song Text and likewise a song's Texts and Lone Lines are connected hierarchically in accordance with the analytical framework concerning 98+LSLPS lyric organisation. Accordingly, (and as with chapter 7) the discussions reconcile 98+LSLPS lyric organisation and the identity assigned to the songs by the 98+LSLPS CofP: this time, in terms of song theme.

It has already been mentioned that 98+LSLPS issues from a Sri Lankan context which is heavily multilingual. Chapter 2 also highlighted some of the issues relating to English and Sinhala usage, their manifestations and the increasing complications arising from attempts to differentiate and define such manifestations in terms of the wider discourse on language dialects and varieties. Indeed, as explained in chapter 6, the use of such terms as *dissimilar* and *similar* in the analytical framework concerning 98+LSLPS lyric organisation reflects recognition of this. Importantly, 98+LSLPS represents an exemplary example of unorthodox and diverse language use in Sri Lanka. Consequently, considering the dominance of 'language variety' centred discourse on English in Sri Lanka (described in chapter 2), a brief exploration of English in 98+LSLPS in relation to the topic of Sri Lankan English language varieties is presented in 8.7. A similar investigation of 98+LSLPS Sinhala in relation to the two typical

categories associated with it, namely formal and colloquial Sinhala (also described in chapter 2) follows in section 8.8.

8.2 98+LSLPS - overall thematic tendencies

Broadly, most of the sample songs explore the topic of ‘love’ explicitly, while the rest do so implicitly: specific narratives and sub-topics distinguish the songs (refer song theme summaries in appendix 3). That is, ten of the twelve 98+LSLPS sample songs concern love between individuals. The thematic nucleus of the remaining two songs is secular love; the two songs are *Sri Sangabodhi* by BNS and *Kotthu* by Iraj. *Sri Sangabodhi* concerns the celebration/love of new identity while *Kotthu* celebrates a popular Sri Lankan street food called Kotthu.

Moreover, the treatment of the topic of love varies considerably in relation to the four Text rendition types of 98+LSLPS. Furthermore, many songs involve the explicit celebration of sexual love. This arguably differentiates 98+LSLPS from other genres of Sri Lankan song. Although the two non-98+LSLPS sample songs also concern the topic of love neither pertains to sexual love. As clarified in the ensuing discussions, the 98+LSLPS CofP’s manipulation of their shared (essentially Sinhala and English) linguistic repertoire in the contexts of the four 98+LSLPS rendition types (of rap, singing, rhythmic and A-rhythmic rendition) underlies the ambiguous and complex thematic layers of the lyrics.

8.3 Refrain, stanza, multiple voicing

Three devices specific to musical structure and salient to the genre of popular sung song further enhance the thematic complexity of 98+LSLPS lyrics. They are, the refrain, its counterpart the stanza and the technique of multiple voicing. The refrain and poetic stanza/verse are terms used to refer to specific modes of language presentation occurring in most genres of vocal song. ‘Bridge’, ‘channel’, ‘release’, ‘middle eight’, or ‘inside’ are some alternative terms to ‘refrain’. Musically, a refrain functions to provide contrast being not only melodic (and often harmonic) but also tonal, particularly in the case of popular song genres and inevitably in the case of western tonal music often modulating to the subdominant, dominant, submediant, or

mediant key¹¹⁶ (Oxford Music Online). All the refrains of the 98+LSLPS sample are given in appendix 2. Alternating with stanzas, a song's refrain tends to be a recursive element and therefore, functions as its musical and by implication thematic nucleus. The refrains of 98+LSLPS are highly recursive. In other words, the prominent position occupied by a song refrain lends prominence to its linguistic content. Therefore, and not surprisingly, the linguistic content of song refrains tends to comprise either a synthesis of the song's thematic focus/foci or an important aspect of a song's theme or themes. As Bentahila and Davies note, a refrain is 'where rhythm, rhyme and change of language all conspire to bring these particular words into the limelight' (2008: 5; see also Bentahila and Davies 2002: 202).

The linguistic content of a song's stanzas varies. This is a key difference between refrains and stanzas. As will be seen in the discussion of a 98+LSLPS song in section 8.5, a song's refrain can also reflect some thematic variations when it recurs; however, its core content remains the same. Moreover, the melodic repetitiveness accompanying a refrain as it recurs between a song's stanzas reinforces its attendant core message (see Hodge 1985 qtd. in Bentahila and Davies 2008: 8)¹¹⁷.

Multiple voicing too is a characteristic of vocalised music which crucially, can be seen to enhance the thematic complexity (and ambiguity) of 98+LSLPS lyrics. It involves the simultaneous presentation of one or more lyric lines by a combination of female and/or male voices. Importantly, a majority of single and multi code (i.e. ILdCF-L or ILCF-H) 98+LSLPS lines involve various combinations of female and/or male and even child voices. Interestingly, multiple voicing is absent in the two non-98+LSLPS songs of our sample. This may suggest that it occupies a particularly important place in 98+LSLPS in the context of Sri Lankan popular music.

¹¹⁶ The concept of the musical key relates to melody which is outlined in chapter 9 (9.6).

¹¹⁷ That repetition serves to clarify and enhance communicative efficacy in natural speech has also been recognised (see Bentahila and Davies 1983: 237; Gumperz 1976 on Hindi-English and Slovenian-English; Kachru 1977: 111; Rayfield 1970 on Yiddish-English; Redlinger 1976; Timm 1975).

8.4.1 Thematic features of 98+LSLPS rapped Text renditions

As discussed in chapter 7, English Texts are the home of 98+LSLPS rapped renditions (i.e. ten of the twelve sample songs contain rapped renditions, English being their dominant code). Importantly, nearly all the sample songs' English rapped renditions (contained in the song transcriptions in appendix 2) include explicit references to sexuality in pre and post marital contexts. The Text rendition in [1] is an example.

[1]

Song – *Ae Hetha* (2007)

Rap (M)

L29 Ya ya

L30 Let me take you back to my home place

L31 *Mage gedera* cell call it home base

L32 We can take my -----¹¹⁸ whole way

L33 G for flying you know bout my *ale*

love

L34 Say no more no phone call yo I-

L35-raj we gonna be there de man you feel me

L36 And enjoy the journey cos

L37 This gonna be something you won't forget believe me

L38 We touch down in the evening and I-

L39 *Raj* picks us up we're drinking

L40 Out the tracks and the Ds and the candy

L41 World I wanna take you panties please

L42 I know you like this treatment get your

L43 Head sprung then get done for the weekend

L44 Yo Iraj I'll be back

L45 Tell that Maldivian girl to sing the track

This rendition revolves around a male speaker expressing sexual desire for a female. As argued in chapter 7, interpreting L34 and 35 together includes the convergence of the lines' concluding bound morpheme 'I' and 'raj' resulting in the construction 'Iraj', a Sinhala proper noun representing a male. Iraj, as we know is also a core artist

¹¹⁸ The recording is unclear here and printed versions of the lyrics exclude this particular Text rendition.

and this song is classified as one of his songs. In L45 reference to a ‘Maldivian girl’ suggests the addressee is a female. However, the rendition provides no details about the girl in the form of a name or background concerning her relationship with the addressor. Another particularly sexually explicit rapped rendition is presented in L28-44 of the sample song *Dark Angel* (refer appendix 2). The addressor is a male while lines such as L44 indicate that the addressee is female. The Text rendition involves the addressor explicitly detailing an act of sexual intercourse involving him and the addressee. Comparatively, some rapped renditions such as the two in the song *Malpeththak* may appear mild. However, they remain provocative when compared to 98+LSLPS sung, rhythmic and A-rhythmic renditions. Consider [2] for example; the rendition reflects radicalism as it involves the addressor daring the audience to listen to and celebrate the new song style which represents new identity.

[2]

Song – *Vasanthaye* (1998)

Rap: (M) with (F) background vocalisation

L18 So

L19 Check out check out my new Sinhala style I am

L20 Using the style for the very first time which

L21 Comes from a country from a country a pearl of a land from the

L22 Hill and the rivers and the golden sand with north

L23 South east and west together we must stand u-

L24 -nite the bond of friendship and the love for the country man

L25 DJ at the mike do the boogie dance man lets

L26 Do the Sinhala dance walla two three

As will become apparent in the ensuing discussions, the other rendition types are not radical. Similarly, even the 98+LSLPS rapped Text renditions occurring in the two songs which do not concern love between humans are more provocative than the other 98+LSLPS rendition types. The rapped Text rendition in the BNS song *Sri Sangabodhi* also involves a ‘dare’ posed by the addressor to an addressee to join and follow the example of a ‘visionary’ called Bathiya. The song recounts the murder of a respected historical figure of royal lineage (which as stated in appendix 3 has been recorded in historical texts) and broadly speaking, forms part of a celebration of Sri

Lankan identity involving the conflation of past and present. Likewise, the rapped renditions in the song *Kotthu* provide details of a male addressor's (mostly illegal) adventures due to his love of the fast food Kotthu. Though not unique to Sri Lanka¹¹⁹ Kotthu, a form of street food has grown to become the quintessential national fast-food of Sri Lanka (similar to fish and chips in Britain for example). Moreover, making Kotthu the topic of the song (including its rapped rendition) can be seen to represent the 98+LSLPS CofP's desire to champion a distinctly local identity. Krims (2000: 42) notes that food is not an unusual topic for certain forms of rap music. However, 98+LSLPS is not a rap genre but rather a genre of popular music which involves some rap. Therefore, that a food item is the topic of an entire 98+LSLPS song, (indeed a very well known 98+LSLPS song) is interesting. It is also interesting to note that the only occurrences of Sinhala and Tamil Text rapped renditions occur in the Kotthu song; consequently, it appears that English (in rapped renditions) is the code through which the most provocative (sexually explicit) thematic content of 98+LSLPS is communicated.

Considering that the central focus of this chapter relates to how theme unites the renditions of a Text and thereafter unites a lyric's Texts and Lone Lines, let us now explore thematic unity at the level of rapped renditions. While it is possible to derive a broad sense of the topic of the 98+LSLPS rapped Text renditions (e.g. an addressor or addressors making sexual innuendos to an addressee or addressee or uttering provocative statements) it is nearly impossible to decipher further details about the topic such as the gender and identity of the addressor and addressee/s, and/or the specific context foregrounding the exchange between the addressor/s and addressee/s. The ambiguity surrounding addressor and addressee identities is augmented by virtue of the fact that song renditions also constitute the site of communication between its artist/or artists and their audience and yet it is the artist/artists who are involved in 'acting' out the specific narrative of the rendition. Moreover, the fact that rapped Text rendition lines are delivered by combinations of lone and multiple voices compounds the Text renditions' ambiguity. Consequently,

¹¹⁹ Versions of this food are prevalent throughout Asia, particularly in South and Southeast Asia.

we see that rapped Text renditions exhibit thematic ambiguity despite also exhibiting a degree of thematic cohesion. Consider the rapped Text rendition in [3]

[3]

Song – *Sandawathuren* (2006)

Rap (F) – L31 –L 40(M) delivers middle of L40, latter part of L40-52 by (Mm)

L36 I'm a
L37 Low key play a hoochie my game
L38 Is tight nobody gonna fool me you wanna
L39 Love me cuddle kiss and hug me you better
L40 Get right if you wanna get to me - ah ha ha (M) Now I'm
L41 Local and got much dough but I
L42 Still got seven pairs of Timbos I'm a
L43 Rider can I sit beside you mammy lets
L44 Walk a minute lets talk a minute keep it
L45 Real for you girl I don't need no gimmicks Holla
L46 At your boy like I'm Pastor Troy yeah yeeeeeah (Mm)
L47 Yeah yeah yeah I'm no drama boy huh
L48 Yeah-(M) I'm a nasty toy you say you
L49 Wanna love me kiss and hug me 'hug me'*-(M) drop some
L50 Chocolate sauce and you can rub me mmm lets make it
L51 Hot in here like Miami and let me
L52 Hit the spot so gently

The lines in this Text rendition are by a female voice, a male voice and multiple male voices. The rendition commences with a female rather warningly professing to be strong and then going on to invite one or many addressees to 'hug' her (L36-first section of L40). The response by a male voice signals a combination of a quasi acknowledgement integrated with a chuckle (middle of L40). This is followed by a long response similar in tone to that of the female but by multiple male addressors who, after engaging in a celebratory expression of their own prowess, proceed to address a female (L45) with whom they claim they wish to be intimate. Their address becomes sexualised in L49 and the rendition concludes so. While it is clear that the rendition concerns a heterosexual relationship of some sort, details beyond this remain utterly ambiguous. For example, the following are some basic questions which remain unaddressed in the rendition and which consequently make the rendition appear 'meaningless'.

What is the background to the exchange?

Who are the speakers in the exchange?

What is the reason for the defensive tone of the female speaker and male speakers?

Who is the female speaker addressing?

Are all the male addressors addressing the same female?

Now ‘meaningless’ communication is completely at odds with the kind of efficient communication which must necessarily underlie the unity of a community of over 5.5 million individuals. However, (explained in sections 8.5 and 8.6), the kind of questions predicted by the previous reading of the rapped rendition in [3] are resolved when the song renditions are interpreted in conjunction with the other renditions of their respective songs in accordance with the analytical framework concerning 98+LSLPS lyric organisation.

As briefly mentioned in section 8.2, the explicit expression of sexual love distinguishes 98+LSLPS in the context of Sri Lankan mainstream music which does not contain such content (as reflected in the two non-98+LSLPS sample songs). We now see that it is the 98+LSLPS rapped renditions that are responsible for this. Importantly, the explicit expression of sexual love in the rapped renditions is highly suggestive in light of the broader context of post-colonial Sri Lankan cultural expression where the public display of sexual love is regarded as inappropriate and offensive. The absence of sexually explicit scenes in Sri Lankan films as well as the censoring of sexual images in foreign particularly western English movies and music videos broadcast on local national and privately owned television networks illustrate the general cultural norms. There does nonetheless exist a covert expanding culture of sexually explicit literature in the vernaculars. Nevertheless, 98+LSLPS is far from representing covert culture. As the leading genre of Sri Lankan popular song dominating the country’s leading privately owned radio networks it inhabits a highly public sphere.

However, it is interesting that the printed versions of the lyrics often included with CDs of the songs exclude the rapped Text renditions. Moreover, when the artists

were asked for the lyrics for purposes of this study, most of the lyrics provided excluded the rapped renditions. This is why some of the transcriptions of the rapped renditions in appendix 2 contain some missing words. The rapped renditions were derived by listening to the recorded versions of the songs; some of the words were impossible to decipher. This atmosphere of secrecy surrounding the rapped renditions appears to suggest the 98+LSLPS CofP's desire to conceal the Text renditions from the general public which, in turn, signals the CofP's awareness that the renditions are transgressive in the context of dominant Sri Lankan cultural norms.

The defining radicalism of 98+LSLPS rapped Text renditions complements the kind of resistance narrative with which rap (typically) occurring in hip-hop music is associated (referred to in chapter 3) and which owes to its roots among marginalised and impoverished working class black Americans (Rose 1994; Keyes 1996; also outlined in chapter 3). For example, Lusane (2004: 357; see also Rose 1994) states that the social issues (e.g. unemployment, oppression) of working class black America comprise the central theme in American rap. Forman (2004: 208) also highlights that in its effort to highlight injustice, rap serves to unite communities. The radical rap renditions of 98+LSLPS distinguish the genre and in so doing contribute to distinguishing its artists and audience as a CofP. Indeed, that activism and resistance underlie rap music is evident in the fact that it has remained its defining theme even following adoption by diverse communities across the world (Dyson 2004: 62; Whiteley 2004: 1-2, 8-16).

As stated in chapter 3, Krims' (2000) investigation of rap classifies it in terms of four forms, namely, party, mack, Jazz/bohemian and reality rap. Interestingly, the topics he identifies with each of the forms are found in 98+LSLPS rapped renditions. Specifically, romance and sex are associated with party rap (Krims 2000: 57); the rapped renditions in *Malpeththak* and *Ahankara Nagare* can be described as concerning romance in the sense that they are mildly sexual and do not contain explicit references found in most of the other rapped renditions (i.e. *Dark Angel*). The explicit detailing of sex and seduction (e.g. L 31-35 in *Dark Angel*, L12-15,18, 41 in *Ae Hetha*, L49-52 in *Sandawathuren*, L41 in *Shaheena*) and the almost boastful

celebration of wealth and oneself (L41-42 in *Sandawathuren*, L19-22 in *Ae Hetha*, L41-42 in *Dark Angel*), echo the themes of mack rap which Krims (2000: 63-64) describes as concerning sexual promiscuity, the desire for women and the celebration of wealth.

The narration of stories, the emphasis on knowledge and positive thinking are some of the topics presented in relation to Jazz/bohemian rap (Krims 2000: 68-69). Broadly, the rapped renditions of *Sri Sangabodhi*, *Vasanthaye* and *Kotthu* exemplify the celebration of history, positive thinking in terms of celebrating new identity and local culture respectively. Reality rap concerns confrontational and didactic lyrics dealing with politics, historical tales and religion (Krims 2000: 70). Except for a passing reference in L42 in *Sri Sangabodhi*, none of the 98+LSLPS rapped renditions deal with politics in the strict sense of the term. Indeed, this applies to all of the 98+LSLPS Text renditions (i.e. sung, rhythmic renditions etc). This is notable considering that the genre developed amidst the context of Sri Lanka's protracted 30 year civil war. The non reference to politics may perhaps reflect the CofP's desire to maintain 98+LSLPS as a 'warless' zone. However, the subversive sexual content of the 98+LSLPS rapped renditions do arguably carry overtones of 'political activism' in the broader sense of resistance to normative cultural ideology. Moreover, the nationalistic celebration of (albeit a decidedly Sinhala) history and religion through the rapped renditions of songs such as *Sri Sangabodhi* reflects the didacticism associated with reality rap theme. The celebration of local identity which arguably connotes a form of political activism is echoed in the uniquely Sri Lankan elements of the 98+LSLPS rapped renditions such as in words with Sinhala roots: the noun 'Kotthu' in *Kotthu*, L31, 33, 38-39 in *Ae Hetha* and L40-41, 46-47 in *Vasanthaye* are some examples. Krims (2000: 199) cites rap in Amsterdam as demonstrating an emphasis on race and ethnic identity.

Owing to the overarching base of activism which characterises rap theme, a number of similarities between 98+LSLPS rap and rap musics among various communities around the world can be observed. For example, Hernandez and Garofalo's (2004: 89-107) study on Cuban rap found that it contained strong dimensions of

nationalism. Likewise, Lee Watkins (2004: 124-149) noted that rap in Cape Town Africa concerns resistance to Apartheid while Flores (2004: 84) found that the celebration of history and culture characterises Puerto Rican rap. Moreover, that rap in Sri Lankan music is occurring in a youth and young adult musical genre also corresponds to research which shows youth to constitute the typical community type of rap music globally. Mitchel's (2001: 108-124) investigation of rap in Europe and New Zealand, Bennett's (2000) work on rap in Germany and Dyson's (2004: 61-69) work on American rap are some examples (see also Krims 2000; Rose 2004).

Nonetheless, there are a number of features which distinguish the CofP of 98+LSLPS rap. Firstly, as discussed in chapter 3 (section 3.6) rap has traditionally been the tool of marginalised and repressed communities. On the contrary, the 98+LSLPS CofP represents Sri Lanka's largest (and consequently most powerful) ethnic community. However, what does to a degree render the community marginalised is their socio-economic status. As explained in chapter 4, the vast majority of the 98+LSLPS CofP (in particular, the centre audience circle), can broadly be described as semi/urbanised and working class. Consequently, unemployment and discrimination on account of low socio-economic status are among the key issues that afflict these members.

Secondly, it is interesting that the CofP use English (in this context of rap) as the language of intimacy. Broadly, language mixing has been observed in a number of contemporary rap musics. For example, Watkins (2004: 124-149) found a mix of African dialects, Arabic, English and gypsy expression in rap from Cape Town Africa, Mitchel (2004: 108-124) noted French and Italian in Zimbabwe rap, while Bennett's (2000) studies showed English and German as occurring in rap in Frankfurt. These are just a handful of illustrations which reflect language mixing as prevalent in rap. Crucially, studies have also shown that the use of the vernacular in the context of mixed language rap is preferred for the expression of intimate and serious topics: German in German rap (Bennett 2000: 145), Italian in Italian rap (Mitchel 1996) are two examples (see also Bentahila and Davies 1983: 235 who make a similar observation in relation to Rai lyrics).

As described in chapter 4, Sinhala is a dominant language of the 98+LSLPS CofP even though both English and Sinhala are the core codes of their shared repertoire. It would, therefore, seem natural for Sinhala to be the code through which deeply personal dimensions of human emotion are communicated in songs. It is of course important to bear in mind that the post-colonial histories of countries like Sri Lanka distinguish their linguistic dynamics from countries such as Germany and Italy. Crucially, the 98+LSLPS CofP's exploitation of English for purposes of intimate expression in a context of intense language mixing involving a vernacular and English indicates that the CofP have a deeply symbiotic relationship with English, one which demonstrates that in the context of 98+LSLPS both Sinhala and English occupy an equal central place in the CofP's negotiation of the genre.

Furthermore, (as briefly mentioned in chapter 3: 3.6), rap involves the delivery of strings of words at high speed which makes its language more difficult to understand: chapter 9 explains this. It is also worth reminding ourselves of the grammatical tendencies of English Text rapped renditions discussed in chapter 7 (7.2). In brief, sentence and lexeme fragments were found to abound in these renditions. Specifically, it would appear that these features facilitate (acoustic) ambiguity and consequently, the discussion of controversial topics. Coupled with the fact that English remains an L2 for a majority of Sri Lankan Sinhalese (explained in chapter 2), it would appear that the 98+LSLPS CofP's use of English in the rapped renditions doubly augments their ability to maintain ambiguity with regards to the renditions' provocative content. The position of rap Text renditions in the songs (described in section 8.6) supports this argument.

It is also interesting to note the presence of English expressions and words strongly evocative of mainstream AAEs and African American hip-hop culture in the 98+LSLPS rapped renditions. Researchers such as Alim (2003: 54, 2009) may classify the expressions and words as representing Hip Hop Nation Language (HHNL), the term used to refer to the kind of vocabulary occurring in Hip-Hop musics. Examples in 98+LSLPS include 'Sean Johns'¹²⁰ (L41) in *Shaheena*,

¹²⁰ An brand of American eyewear.

‘hoochie’ (L37), ‘Timbos’¹²¹ (L42), ‘mammy’ (L43), ‘Pastor Troy’ (L46) in *Sandawathuren* (also in example [3]), and ‘homey baby’ (L42) and ‘jiggy’ (L44) in *Ahankara Nagare*. Mammy, for example, is a variant of ‘mama’ and has roots as a stereotypical racial caricature of African American woman slaves. Commonly occurring in African American contemporary musics such as Blues music to most recently hip-hop music genres, the term has come to be used to connote a modern home-maker reflecting the ideals of warmth and nurture. This, no doubt, is a simplistic definition of the term. More importantly, these sorts of forms are not found in spoken Sri Lankan English varieties (such as those discussed in chapter 2). Therefore, their presence in 98+LSLPS appears to signal a momentary allegiance to an African-American cultural identity.

However, as elaborated in section 8.7, the fact that the expressions occur in rap renditions which are essentially localised thematically and are located in lyrics which also exhibit a broad local thematic identity demonstrates that to simply interpret them as AAE or HHNL ‘borrowings’ does not reflect their true identity in 98+LSLPS. Indeed, a recent comment by a leading 98+LSLPS inner audience circle member and lyricist about how critically important localisation has been to popularising 98+LSLPS rap in Sri Lanka underlies the perception among the 98+LSLPS CofP that 98+LSLPS rap pertains to local issues. The member stated that “artists like Bathiya and Santhush, Chinthu and Iraj became popular after [he] took old literary works and converted them to rap for them; so they have a lot of acceptance today” (Wasantha Duggannarala qtd. in *Murder Dog Magazine* 2008: 71).

The explicit discussion of sexuality in 98+LSLPS rapped Text renditions is particularly interesting in light of research concerning the socio-economic profile of Sri Lankan youth between the ages of 15 and 29 referred to in previous chapters (Hettige and Mayer 2002). The study also explored youth attitudes to love. Until around 25 years ago, arranged marriages were the dominant form of marriage in Sri Lanka. The youth who participated in Hettige and Mayer’s study were asked about preferences regarding their choice of partners. Of the 2892 participants comprising

¹²¹ “Timberland”, a leading rapper from Georgia, USA.

the study's sample population, 39% selected arranged marriage as their preference while love marriage was found to be the preference of 54% (Hettige 2002: 49). What is interesting is that both preferences relate to marriage which is the clear preference of the youth in the study when considered in terms of the 0.3% who selected 'living together' as their preference (Hettige 2002: 49). The youths' preference for marriage is reinforced in the fact that 76% were opposed to pre-marital sex. Attitudes of the youth towards homosexuality and lesbianism were also found to be negative with 81% responding negatively (Hettige 2002: 52). It is interesting to note that the questions about homosexuality and pre-marital sex posed to the youth were part of a set of similar questions regarding prostitution and the use of 'hard drugs'. Consequently, this context in which the questions were framed might arguably have influenced the youths' response. What is most remarkable is the contrast between these findings and the content of the 98+LSLPS rapped Text renditions.

However, it is also important to bear in mind that Hettige and Mayer's (2002) study concerns youth between the ages of 15 and 29 and was published in 2002 whereas the 98+LSLPS CofP include youth and young adults ranging between 15 and 39 years while their projected identity through the songs represents a time span extending beyond a decade (from 1998 to 2010). Therefore, it could be argued that the projections of 98+LSLPS do not necessarily conflict with those of Hettige and Mayer's (2002) study. Moreover, the overall subversive thematic thrust of these Text renditions may be seen to reflect the widespread discontent among Sri Lankan youth demonstrated in Hettige and Mayer's (2002) study on other issues such as social injustice¹²² politics and education. The explicit language of the renditions also complements the particularly volatile climate of youth politics which has defined the socio-political identity of Sri Lankan youth arguably due to Sri Lanka's unstable socio-political environment consequential of its successive colonisation over several centuries (explained in chapter 2) followed by its recently concluded thirty year civil war (Fernando 2002: 131-151 see also Hettige and Mayer 2002: 26; Lakshman 2002: 84).

¹²² 71% of the participants in the study were of the view that Sri Lanka is not a just society (Hettige 2002: 45)

In terms of their location in the songs, rapped Text renditions occur towards the middle of a lyric. Importantly, there are no songs which either commence or conclude with such renditions. Even more interestingly, the rapped renditions of seven of the ten songs including rapped renditions are preceded by refrains. The relevance of this in terms of song theme is discussed in sections 8.5 and 8.6.

8.4.2 Thematic features of 98+LSLPS sung Text renditions

Also stated in chapter 7, sung Text renditions constitute the genre's most prolific rendition type with all twelve 98+LSLPS sample songs containing sung Text renditions. This, of course, is to be expected considering that 98+LSLPS is a context of song. Broadly, the representational technique of sung stanzas or singing can be said to incur the production of musical sound involving the combination of *tonality* (pitched sound in terms of a hierarchically ordered inventory of sounds constructed round a centre sound called a 'key' or 'tonic') and *musical rhythm* (the 'symmetrical' accentuation of sound in western tonal music). The refrain, the recurring constituent described in section 8.3 also belongs to the category of sung Text rendition (example [4] discussed later is a refrain).

This fact confirms the importance of singing to 98+LSLPS. Sinhala is the core code of this rendition type: as stated in chapter 7, five sample songs contain English-code sung renditions while nine songs contain Sinhala sung renditions. Moreover, multiple voicing is dominant in 98+LSLPS Sinhala Text sung renditions with seven of the twelve renditions containing multiple voicing¹²³. It is interesting to note that multiple voicing is absent in the songs of Iraj one of the core artists while it is present in the sung renditions of all three songs of BNS the other core artists of 98+LSLPS. Therefore, it would appear that the tendency to deliver sung renditions through multiple voicing stems from BNS.

¹²³ The sung Text renditions of the 98+LSLPS sample communicated in this way include *Vasanthaye* L1-6 (refrain), *Sri Sangabodhi* L33-39, 51-83, *Shaheena* L22-24 (refrain), *Sandawathuren* L19-27, the refrain repeated in varied ways in L28-35, the first section of L64, 68-71, *Oba Magemai* L13-20 (refrain), *Malpeththak se* L1-8 (refrain) and *Ahankara Nagare* L5-12.

Unlike rapped Text renditions, Sinhala Text sung renditions are devoid of provocative (e.g. sexualised) content. Instead, nearly all the sample's sung renditions concern romantic love. For example, the English Text rapped and Sinhala Text sung renditions of the song *Sandawathuren* both concern the topic of love. However, the latter set presents romanticised expressions of love while the former makes explicit references to physical intimacy.

Imagery and metaphors abound in these renditions serving to describe and/or celebrate an addressee or addressees (e.g. *Oba Magemai*, *Malpeththak*), or a relationship (e.g. *Vasanthaye*). Exemplified in the recurrent refrain of *Oba Magemai* (the first occurrence being in L 13-20), the addressors represent the addressee's love as everlasting by comparing it to the attributes of a river such as the fact that a river represents an eternal flowing evocative of an eternal calming 'presence'. Note that multiple male voices present the rendition signalling the presence of a group of male addressors. However, the rendition does not detail the identities of the addressors. In the case of the rendition's addressee/s, not even the gender of the addressee/s is provided.

Similarly, in *Vasanthaye* (particularly apparent in its opening Text rendition in L1-18 which happens to be its refrain), a celebration of spring as reflective of youth, birth, newness and innocence becomes the basis for a description of the love between the addressors and addressee/s. The use of this kind of imagery to depict and address females is quite typical of Sinhala heterosexual love poetry (Dissanayake 1976; Gair 1998). Consequently, it seems plausible that the 98+LSLPS CofP would interpret such a 98+LSLPS rendition as referring to a female given their shared (dominantly Sinhala and English) linguistic repertoire and corresponding mutual socio-cultural affiliations. However, here too, the Text rendition excludes details about the identities of the addressors or addressee/s. Consider [4].

very different expressions of pre and post marital sexual love of the rapped renditions, the overall discourse on love in the 98+LSLPS sung and rapped renditions can be interpreted as indexical of social change among youth and young adults in Sri Lanka. Specifically, the discourse demonstrates an attempt on the part of Sri Lankan youth and young adults to negotiate their own experiences and perceptions of love in relation to the various cultural biases and norms foregrounding the environment they inhabit¹²⁴.

Half of the sample's sung renditions occurs lyric medially, while two songs commence and four conclude with them. The positioning contrasts with 98+LSLPS rapped Text renditions, all of which occur lyric-medially. Sections 8.5 and 8.6 address the relevance of this positioning.

8.4.3 Thematic features of 98+LSLPS rhythmic Text renditions

Excepting two Arabic occurrences in the BNS song *Shaheena*, all of the sample's rhythmic Text renditions are in English. Moreover, (as noted in chapter 7) the renditions contain few lines. Thematically, these renditions are remarkably similar. Most comprise the practice of 'naming' and involve stating the names of the artists of the songs (e.g. *Ae Hetha*, *Sandawathuren*, *Hanthane*), providing details of the context in which the lyric is situated (e.g. *Ahankara Nagare*), explicitly stating the topic of the song (e.g. *Kotthu*, *Oba Magemai*) and/or outlining how the addressors are expected to relate to and participate in the song's overall theme (e.g. *Sri Sangabodhi*) (see also Bentahila and Davies 2002: 191 and Omoniyi In Press: 206 who refer to the importance of naming in songs). A few 98+LSLPS rapped Text renditions do also include names of individuals: the rapped Text renditions in [1] and [2] are examples. Overall, however, naming in 98+LSLPS rapped Text renditions is rare. Moreover, the names that do occur in the few rapped Text renditions are overshadowed by the renditions' (previously detailed) thematic focus on sexuality.

¹²⁴ Even though most members of the 98+LSLPS outer audience circle are youth and young adults who are temporarily resident in the Middle East, this is for purposes of employment (refer chapter 4). Sri Lanka remains their homeland and therefore, arguably their core socio-cultural environment.

On the contrary, naming is the central focus of 98+LSLPS rhythmic renditions. Furthermore, unlike rapped renditions, rhythmic renditions tend to occur at the beginning and/or end of a lyric. Specifically, six of the nine sample songs containing rhythmically uttered Text renditions open with them. They are, *Ae Hetha* L1-4, *Kotthu* L1 to the first part of L8, *Oba Magemai* L1-4, *Dark Angel* L1-6, *Ahankara Nagare* L1-4 and *Hanthane* L 1-4. Three songs, namely, *Sri Sangabodhi* L58-82, *Sandawathuren* L72-73 and *Hanthane* L29-33 conclude with rhythmic renditions (refer appendix 2 for details). This position gives prominence to the renditions' content. Sections 8.5 and 8.6 describe the relevance of the renditions' positioning at the level of a Text and complete 98+LSLPS lyric. [5] contains examples of two 98+LSLPS rhythmic Text renditions. The first Text rendition opens its song while the second follows an A-rhythmic Lone Line rendition at the start of its song.

[5]

(a) Song - *Ahankara Nagare* (2004)

Rhythmic rendition (M)

L1 Represent CMB
 L2 It's your homey baby
 L3 You're with the awe yeah
 L4 Yeah and I'm jiggy as hell

(b) Song – *Sandawathuren* (2006)

Rhythmic rendition (M) for 1st half of line and then (F)

L2 Ha ha ha ha (M) ha ha ha ha (F)
 L3 It's about time to introduce my boy Yashan/
 L4 Yashan and Ashanthi
 L5 Rocking the building/
 L6 You heard

Overall, few rhythmic Text renditions involve multiple voicing. However, they do nevertheless exhibit ambiguity. In [5a] a male addressor references Sri Lanka's capital Colombo (CMB in L1) and then proceeds to state that it is the home of the addressee/s. The addressor claims that the addressee/s (L3) and he (4) are delighted with the situation. However, no information concerning the addressor's reason/s for

naming Colombo or his subsequent claims is provided. As such, the rendition is ambiguous. [5b] involves a male and female addressor. The female introduces her ‘boy’ Yashan and then herself. The names represent those of the song’s two performers (leading artists’ circle members) and hence its chief addressors. However, the source of the male’s laugh in L2 and the addressee’s subsequent proclamation (middle of L2 to L6) remain a mystery. Explained in sections 8.5 and 8.6, the issue of thematic ambiguity in 98+LSLPS rhythmic Text renditions is resolved when they are interpreted in terms of the analytical framework concerning 98+LSLPS lyric organisation.

8.4.4 Thematic features of 98+LSLPS A-rhythmic Text renditions

As explained in chapter 7, all A-rhythmic renditions in the sample are in English. Overall, the sample contains just three songs with A-rhythmic renditions. Moreover, A-rhythmic Text renditions are even shorter than Rhythmic renditions. Like their rhythmic rendition counterparts these renditions too relay contextual information. Notably all the renditions are delivered by individual voices. However, this does not render them devoid of thematic ambiguity. Consider [6].

[6]

Song – *Kotthu* (2008)

A-Rhythmic rendition: (M1 and M2) child voices

L69 (M1) Mr Kotthuuuuuu yaaaah haaaaaaa

L70 (M2) Hello is the mic. still working?

L71 (M2) Ya.I paid 200 rupees for my Kotthu man

L72 (M2) I’m still waiting for it and I haven't got it

L73 (M2) If it was in India, I would've fed my entire family with it ya

The Text rendition is by two male children; *Kotthu* is the only sample song featuring ‘child’ voices. The first shouts out to someone named ‘Kotthu’. The remaining lines are by the second child who begins by inquiring about a microphone (L70) before proceeding to comment on an individual also named ‘Kotthu’ (L71). L71 is ambiguous; to a 98+LSLPS CofP member *Kotthu* represents a popular food item (as explained in section 8.4.1). On the one hand, ‘man’ might be the referent and *Kotthu*

the object of the clause. Or, 'Kotthu man' could be the object of the clause. L72 suggests that M2's reference to Kotthu pertains to something inanimate (i.e. he refers to it as 'it'). Bear in mind that this interpretation involves interpreting the two lines together (in keeping with the analysis in chapter 7 about the relationship between Text rendition lines). The final line of the rendition is evocative of Indianised English owing to the presence of 'ya' (meaning 'yes') and pronunciation. Accordingly, the lines might be interpreted as conveying the impression that Kotthu has an 'international' fan base. Overall, the contributions of the two addressors in this rendition appear disjointed, the absence of information pertaining to the broader context of the conversation being the principal reason. That two anonymous children are the rendition's addressors arguably augments the ambiguity of the rendition. Furthermore, the specific identity of the addressee /addressees' remains unaccounted for.

In terms of overall lyric position, most of the sample's A-rhythmic renditions occur at the beginning or end of a song; two songs commence with them while one of them concludes with one. A few A-rhythmic renditions occur song-medially. The renditions which commence the songs precede rhythmic renditions whereas the rendition which concludes a song follows one. Sections 8.5 and 8.6 explore the significance of this organisation.

8.4.5 Thematic features of 98+LSLPS Lone Line renditions

As explained in chapter 7: 7.5, Lone Lines (single lyric lines) manifest through all four presentational techniques. The thematic tendencies identified in relation to the Text rendition types apply to Lone Lines as well. [7] contains two of the sample's A-rhythmic Lone Lines.

[7]

(a)

Song - *Sri Sangabodhi* (2000)

A-rhythmic rendition (M1+ M2)

L1 (M1) [*Maetha athithaye Sinhala ye vangsha kathaven pituvak viya*

/ma:θə ʌθiθəje siŋhəɬəje vʌŋʃə kʌθʌven piʈʌvʌk vijə/

(M2) When

I was in Ceylon they used to have these funny little stores called tea-stores and in these stores they played some funny little songs and one of them sounded a little bit like this]

recent history-in-the Sinhala-of lineage story-from page-a was

{Of the recent history of (the) story (of) Sinhala lineage a page (it) was }

(b)

Song – *Sandawathuren* (2006)

A-rhythmic rendition (F)

L1 Right now I'm done here

[7a] represents a Sinhala code ILCF-H Lone Line containing two sequences, each presented by a male addressor. The upper sequence involves an addressor referencing a historical Sri Lanka and its lineage. The second involves an addressor referencing a song played in ‘funny little stores called tea-stores’ when he was in Ceylon and which sounded ‘a bit like this’. The reference to Ceylon invokes a colonial era. Recall the explanation about this song in section 8.4.1 (see also appendix 3). Importantly, interpreted alone, the Lone Line appears ambiguous: the absence of contextual information relating to the two sequences is the key reason. The abrupt conclusion of the English code sequence with which the line concludes (i.e. the sound of the song remains undescribed) is a further concern. Moreover, the identity of the addressee/s and specific identities of the addressors remain unknown. Similarly, the Lone Line in [7b] projects the ‘mood’ of an addressor yet provides no further information; it too, is therefore, ambiguous. Explained in sections 8.5 and 8.6, the issue of the renditions’ thematic ambiguity is resolved when they are interpreted in terms of the analytical framework concerning 98+LSLPS lyric organisation.

8.5 98+LSLPS Text rendition convergence through theme: Text as ‘one’/not-mixed

The discussions in section 8.4 demonstrated that Text renditions are ambiguous generating only partial thematic cohesion when evaluated independently. As explained in chapter 6, a Text is homogeneous in terms of code/language since the defining feature of a Text which differentiates it from its counterpart Texts and Lone Lines is that all its renditions are in the same code. Here we investigate whether the renditions of a Text, also connect through song theme. Moreover, (as illustrated in appendix 2), the way in which the renditions of a Text are communicated differ as they include various combinations of female and/or male voices and individual voices. This distinguishes the renditions of a Text making them appear heterogeneous. So demonstrating thematic congruence between the renditions of a Text reinforces its overall unity. Consider the English Text from the BNS song *Sri Sangabodhi* presented in [8].

[8] Song – *Sri Sangabodhi* (2000)

Sung (MFm) except where indicated

L32 I see ya grooving to this
L33 [This piece of history
(F) histo-]
L34 [This is all about who you are
(F)-ry who you]
L35 [And it’s no mystery
(F) are myste-]
L36 [Lets keep on moving to this
(F) -ry]
L37 [And believe in your destiny
(F) desti-]
L38 [If we don’t know who we are we’ll
(F) -ny
L39 Be modern history

Rap (M)

L39 We’ve got the
L40 World wrapped around our little fingers little hound and **Ba-**
L41 **-thiya** banging on your frontiers holding on our

L42 Own in this war zone resurrect the indus-
L43 – try lay the corner stone so throw up your
L44 Cups up and be sure to catch them when they fall before you
L45 Walk the walk you best learn to crawl
L46 Shady vocalist turned entrepreneur **Ba-**
L47 **-thiya** make yourself heard

A-rhythmic rendition (M2)

L48 Good heavens
L49 This song does sound rather groovy

The Text consists of three renditions: as shown in appendix 2, L49 is followed by a Sinhala Lone Line. The first (sung) Text rendition involves a series of ILCF-H lines. Multiple male and female addressors deliver the upper sequence of the lines. They appear to provide encouragement to the addressee/s who are ‘grooving to this’ (L32). However, the reason/s for the addressee/s’ grooving remain unaddressed throughout the rendition. The addressors’ encouragement continues in the form of references to destiny and the importance of believing in oneself. Nevertheless, they also refer to a ‘history’ of some sort (L33, 39) and this coupled with reference to destiny (L37) lends a serious tone to the discourse. The rendition’s last two lines (L38-39) where the addressors state that a ‘modern history’ (L39) will be the consequence of the addressee’s/s’ inability/unwillingness to believe in their destiny is especially ambiguous. The Text rendition’s overall thematic ambiguity is enhanced by its lines’ horizontal sequences delivered by a lone female voice. Specifically, her rendition highlights three words: they are history (L33) mystery (L35) destiny (L37).

The Text’s second rendition is a rapped rendition. The addressor is a male. However, he refers to himself in terms of the first person plural pronoun ‘we’ suggesting that he represents a collective ‘voice’. The addressee is an individual named Bathiya presented as a visionary. The addressor refers to a ‘war zone’ (L42) and urges Bathiya to ‘resurrect the industry’ (L42-43). The addressor concludes by encouraging Bathiya to be confident and ‘make himself be heard’ (L47). The last line also alludes to Bathiya’s background as a vocalist. In addition to the implied reference to Sri Lanka’s recently concluded civil war (discussed earlier), the reference to a war zone in the specific context of this rendition where the addressor is encouraging the

addressee to resurrect an ‘industry’, can be seen to contribute to facilitating an atmosphere of tension and excitement. The addressee’s identity as a singer will not be news to the 98+LSLPS CofP since Bathiya is a 98+LSLPS core artist. Therefore, the CofP are likely to interpret the ‘industry’ as referring to Sri Lanka’s fledgling popular music industry (described in chapter 3). Similarly, considering that the 98+LSLPS CofP comprise Sri Lankans it is likely that the community will interpret the ‘war zone’ as a reference to Sri Lanka’s recently concluded civil war. However, the Text rendition itself does not furnish any reasons underlying the addressor’s statements, concerning, for example, the ‘war-zone’, ‘industry’ and need to resurrect the latter. Finally, the Text’s concluding two line A-rhythmic rendition by another male addressor begins with an exclamatory ‘good heavens’ (L48). He then proceeds to claim that a particular (unspecified) song is ‘groovy’ (L49). Yet no information about the context of these statements is included and as such the Text rendition is ambiguous.

Now consider the three Text renditions together. Importantly, their various unaddressed ambiguities are considerably diminished when they are interpreted collectively. The addressors in the first two renditions assume the identity of a community of males and females. In both, the community is seen to be engaging in promoting change in which they too are involved (L33, 39). Words like history, mystery and destiny emphasised in the first rendition lead to a more pronounced and focused call for change in the second rendition where the addressee assumes the identity of the core artist Bathiya. The references to Sri Lanka’s civil war (L42) and invocation to Bathiya to resurrect Sri Lanka’s contemporary music industry (42-43) in the second rendition suggest that the history and destiny referred to in the first Text rendition forms part of the Text’s holistic treatment of Sri Lankan identity as being the consequence of painful historical reality (war) and more recent inspiring cultural reinvention (through music). Interpreting the renditions together also clarifies the identity of the addressee in the first rendition. Similarly, the context of ‘grooving’ with which the first Text rendition commences becomes representative of music when interpreted in relation to the ‘industry’ of the second Text rendition. Combined, the Text’s first two renditions can be seen to project a growing intensity

of feeling, urgency and tension. The third Text rendition diffuses this thus reflecting a quasi cathartic thematic relief. By serving to lighten the mood of the Text, any ambiguity regarding the purpose of the rendition's opening line, 'good heavens' (L48) is arguably resolved. The rendition's concluding line appears to demonstrate that the Text is part of a song and in so doing casts the Text in a wider 'context' of sorts. Note, also, that the word 'groovy' commences and concludes the Text thus enhancing its overall unity.

However, the 'history' referred to as well as the overall context of the Text remains unclear even when the Text's renditions are interpreted together. Moreover, the wider context of a song in which the Text is predicted to be positioned also generates a sense of anticipation and consequently, ambiguity. Therefore, we see at this stage that the ambiguities of interpreting renditions of a Text alone are significantly diminished when the renditions are viewed together but that the resultant thematically integrated Texts do also exhibit some thematic ambiguity.

8.6 Text and Lone Line convergence through theme: the 98+LSLPS lyric as 'one'/not-mixed

We now explore thematic convergence at the level of the Texts and Lone Lines of a lyric in keeping with the analytical framework concerning 98+LSLPS lyric organisation. The central part of this discussion revolves around the Texts and Lone Lines of one sample song, *Sandawathuren*: the reader will recall that some of the examples discussed in section 8.4 are from this song¹²⁵. The reason for focusing on a single sample song is to facilitate the reader's understanding of the hierarchical convergence of a 98+LSLPS lyric's Texts and Lone Lines. Bear in mind that the thematic interpretation of this song presented in the ensuing discussion arguably represents one of a spectrum of potential thematic interpretations. The selected interpretation is one which attempts to broadly reflect how the song might be interpreted by the 98+LSLPS CofP considering their shared linguistic and musical

¹²⁵ The reason for selecting this song is that it contains examples of all the rendition types and also represents a relatively recent entry into the genre thus representing the genre's current trends.

repertoire. [9] contains the transcription of the song lyric of *Sandawathuren* (also presented in appendix 2).

[9]

SONG

Sandawathuren

Moon-water-from/of 2 (Of/By moon water)

Artists: Ashanthi featuring Yashan

A-rhythmic rendition (F)

L1 Right now I'm done here

Rhythmic rendition (M) for 1st half of line and then (F)

L2 Ha ha ha ha (M) ha ha ha ha (F)

L3 Its about time to introduce my boy Yashan/

L4 Yashan and Ashanthi

L5 Rocking the building/

L6 You heard

Refrain –sung (Mm)

L7 *sandawathuren dowa* ah ah ah ah
moon-water-in from ah ah ah ah
{From moon-water (moon-lit-water) ah ah ah ah.}

L8 *sithuvili pibideva* aha ahaaa
Thoughts spring-may-will aha ahaaa
{May thoughts spring aha ahaaa.}

L9 *nonidena nethu gaava* that's right
sleepless eyes touched that's right
{Touched (by) sleepless eyes that's right.}

L10 *sihinaya oba veva* ah ah ah hiri
dream you may-it-be ah ah ah small
{(A/the) dream may you be ah ah ah small.}

Sung stanza (Mm)

L11 *poda pini naava matha*
rain-drop dew didn't-arrive light/mild
{(The) dewy rain drops didn't arrive light. }

L12 *nala danga paava sula-*
breeze mischief –as in 'dance' dawned wind
{Breeze mischief danced (wind).}

L13 *-ngata kavi keedaa hitha-*
-to poems recited-day mind
{**To (the wind) day poems (were) recited (mind).**}

L14 *-tath thatu aava _____ obe*
-to wings arrived/birthed your
{**(In) to (the) (mind) wings arrived (your).**}

L15 *maa sitha semaa _____ love*
I mind similar world
{**(Your) mind (and) mine (are) similar world.**}

L16 *sonduruma veva deha*
sweetest may-it-be two
{**Sweetest place may it be (two-hearts).**}

L17 *-dak lung veva*
Of unite may-it-be
{**(Two hearts) may unite.**}

L18 *(M) thani kama duruveva ah aah/*
loneliness banished-may-it-be ah aah
{**Loneliness banished be ah aah.**}

Refrain –sung -(Mm) ; L7-10

Sung (Mm and Fm alternating)

L19 (Mm) *love /*
world
{**World.**}

L20 *nidena _____ mee rae pre-*
repose-in this night love-
{**(On) this night (as the world) (is) in repose (love).**}

L21 (Mm) *-maya aehaerewa saya*
the awake-may-it-be bed
{**May the (love) awake (bed).**}

L22 (Mm) *-ne thaniwuda hith*
in bed alone-when-be mind
{**In a time when alone in (bed the) mind.**}

L23 (Mm) *-giniyam bowaa ele-*
In flame engulfed rise
{**In flame(s) engulfed (rise).**}

L24 (Mm) *-bena hiru gaava _____ suba naekathak*
- ing sun touch/touching great auspices
{**Touch/ing (the ris)ing sun great auspices.**}

L25 (Ff) *veva _____ athi-*
let there be hand
{**Let there be (hand).**}

L26 (Ff) *-natha badhena daa*
in hand unite-when day
{**when (hand) in hand (you/we are) unite(d).**} ; married

L27 (M) pathiniya oba weva yes yeah
you may-it-be yes yeah
{May the blessing be you yes yeah.}

Refrain –sung -(Mm)

L28 sandawathuren dowa oaow oaow (F)
L29 sithuvili pibideva aha aha (F)
L30 nonidena nethu gaava yeah what (F)
L31 sihinaya oba veva ah ah ah (F)

Refrain -sung (Mm)

L32 sandawathuren dowa (M) Yashan baby
L33 sithuvili pibideva (Mm) aha aha
L34 nonidena nethu gaava (Mm) that's right
L35 sihinaya oba veva (M+F)aha aha

Rap (F) – L31 (M) concludes line

L36 I'm a
L37 Low key play a hoochie my game
L38 Is tight nobody gonna fool me you wanna
L39 Love me cuddle kiss and hug me you better
L40 Get right if you wanna get to me - ah ha ha (M)

Rap (Mm)

L40 Now I'm
L41 Local and got much dough but I
L42 Still got seven pairs of Timbos I'm a
L43 Rider can I sit beside you mammy lets
L44 Walk a minute lets talk a minute keep it
L45 Real for you girl I don't need no gimmicks Holla
L46 At your boy like I'm Pastor Troy yeah yeeeeeah (Mm)
L47 Yeah yeah yeah I'm no drama boy huh
L48 Yeah-(M) I'm a nasty toy you say you
L49 Wanna love me kiss and hug me 'hug me'*(M) drop some
L50 Chocolate sauce and you can rub me mmm lets make it
L51 Hot in here like Miami and let me
L52 Hit the spot so gently

Refrain as in same melody – different words -vocalised (FFm) and (M) in alternation:

L53 (Ff) sandawathuren aava (M) oh oh oh oh

- L54 (Ff) kothe mal aehareva (M) aha aha
dome-in flowers blossom-be
{In (the) dome (may) flowers blossom aha aha.}
- L55 (Ff) mee raeya mage veva (M) yeah what
this night mine be
{This night (may) mine be yeah what.}
- L56 (Ff) mage sanda oba veva (M) ah ah ah
my moon you be
{My moon (may) you be ah ah ah.}

Refrain-vocalised (Mm) and (F) in alternation-indicated

- L57 (Mm) sandawathuren dowa (F) oh hoo oh hoo
L58 (Mm) sithuvili pibideva (F) aha aha
L59 (Mm) [nonidena nethu gaava
- (F) you got the flow you got the flow]
L60 (Mm) sihinaya oba veva (F) yeah

Refrain-vocalised (M) and (F) in alternation-indicated

- L61 (Mm) sandawathuren dowa
(F) Yashan in the building/
L62(Mm) sithuvili pibideva (F) Ashanthi/
L63 (Mm) nonithena nethu gaava yeah_that's right/
L64 (Mm) sihinaya oba veva ah ah ah/

Rap (Mm) interspersed with vocalisation of Sinhala lines (Mm)

- L64 Know that I'm
L65 Local got much love though
L66 sithuvili pibideva what it do baby I wanna
thoughts spring-may-will
{May thoughts spring.}
L67 Ride you step inside you
L68 sihinaya oba veva gotta
dream you may-it-be
{A/the dream may you be.}

Refrain-vocalised (Mm + M)

- L69 (Mm) sandawathuren dowa (M) yeah yeah yeah]
L70 (Mm) sithuvili pibideva (M) ha ha haa
L71 (Mm) nonithena nethu gaava (M) hey hey
L72 (Mm) [sihinaya oba veva (M) hah haa
(M) hey]

Rhythmic rendition (M)

L73 Yeah hit me up people Yashan on-
L74 -line dot com

This song contains six Texts, three in English (L1-6, L36-52, L73-74) three in Sinhala (L7-35 L53-64 and L69-72) and four Lone Lines (L65-68). One of the English Texts comprises two renditions (L1-6), the rest include one rendition each.

As shown in section 8.5, interpreting the renditions of each Text collectively resolves some of the ambiguities entailed in interpreting the renditions alone. However, it was also shown that the Texts continue to demonstrate ambiguity. Consider the first Text of [9]. An opening declarative clause by a female in the song's first Text becomes indicative of satisfaction due to the laughter in its following line. The subsequent indirect reference to the proper noun Ashanthi (L4) suggests it is the addressor's name; Ashanthi is a common Sri Lankan female name and significantly the name of the leading 98+LSLPS female artist and one of the song's artists. However, ambiguity pertaining to the individual introduced as 'Yashan' (L3) remains unaddressed. More specifically, the 98+LSLPS CofP is likely to recognise the name Yashan as representing a leading 98+LSLPS artist; however, the reason for his name occurring in this context will remain a mystery. Similarly the Text does not describe the identity of the addressee/s.

The song's refrain (L7-35) constitutes the opening of the song's second and longest Text rendition. Three variations of the refrain recur in the rendition alternating with two stanzas. The core of all the refrains comprises an expression of endearment. The song's first stanza which follows the first refrain reinforces the sentiment. For example, the addressors refer to the hope of marital union between the addressor/s and addressee/s in L26. The tone is fractured in stanza two due to an ambiguous comment by a lone female in L30 which can be interpreted as an imperative or interrogative clause reflecting cynicism and suspicion. However, a positive tone is re-established in the Text's concluding refrain. As illustrated in [9], a combination of multiple male, multiple female and lone female voices communicate various aspects

of the renditions. Importantly, the identity of the Text's addressor/s and addressee/s and therefore specific nature of the relationship between them remains ambiguous throughout the Text.

The third Text (L36-52) is a rapped rendition. It commences with a confrontational and aggressive exchange between a lone male and female over unfaithfulness, develops into a boastful proclamation by the male about his own virtues (L42-48) and concludes with him presenting an explicit invitation to the lone female to have sex with him (L49-52). That the rendition involves a lone male and female makes it less ambiguous than the multiple voicing infused Texts explored thus far. Yet ambiguity surrounds the reason for the underlying hostility and suspicion between the participants of the exchange.

Text four comprises three variants of the refrain. The addressors and addressees include different combinations of male and females. Note that L55 involves a repetition of the female's slightly ambiguous comment (L30) referred to in the discussion about Text two except that here, it is communicated by a lone male to multiple female addressees. The overall tone is positive as it conveys endearment. Two names, Yashan and Ashanthi are also mentioned by a female in the final refrain. However, the relevance of these individuals is not described. Likewise, the purpose of three variants of an expression of endearment is also clearly ambiguous.

Four Lone Lines follow the fourth Text¹²⁶. All the Lone Lines are by the same set of multiple male voices. In short, a reference to someone being 'local' and possessing love followed by a 'wish for thoughts', in turn, preceding a reference to the likely effect of these thoughts followed by a reference to riding inside someone and leading to a wish that a dream be realised, comprise the content of the Lone Lines. The Lone Lines are clearly very ambiguous as they do not make any reference to the identity of the addressee/s or provide any background information that makes them meaningful.

¹²⁶ Note that L64 has been presented in two renditions since the last part of L64 is rapped. Importantly, it should not be mistaken for a Lone Line.

The penultimate Text is the song refrain by multiple male voices; each line invokes a response by a lone male voice. The responses are light hearted (reflective of laughter) and the tone of endearment is maintained throughout. However, the Text provides no reason/s for the lone male's responses or insight regarding the identity of the addressee/s. The final Text is by a lone male and refers to the individual called Yashan. This takes place in the context of the addressor inviting 'people' to support him by exploring his website which begins with the name 'Yashan'. So this Text is the only Text in the song which involves a specific identification of a male addressor in terms of a name. Considering that Yashan is a leading artist of the 98+LSLPS artists' circle, it is reasonable to assume that the 98+LSLPS CofP would not be confused as to the nature of the website. However, this two line Text remains thematically hollow when considered alone.

Importantly, the ambiguities of the Texts and Lone Lines of the lyric appear resolved when they are viewed collectively. Broadly, the key ambiguity of the Texts concerned the identity of the addressor/s and addressee/s. However, two names, those of the leading artists and performers of the song Yashan and Ashanthi are mentioned in the opening Text; Yashan is mentioned again in the song's concluding Text. It is consequently possible to infer that the relationship described in the remaining Texts concern a lone male and female. When combined, the overarching expressions of endearment, doubt, tension which distinguish the Texts reflect a narrative about a relationship between the two individuals. Consequently, the multiple voicing through which the various Text renditions are delivered could be interpreted as a depersonalised voice, giving the lyric a further thematic dimension as a quasi 'comment' on human emotion.

The four Lone Lines can also be seen to be connected to each other. Illustrated in [10], when combined, they project a synthesis of the deeply emotional plea and wish contained in the refrain (L65,66,68) as well as the sexuality of the relationship inferred to in the lyric's English Text rapped rendition (in L66, 67).

[10]

Rap (Mm) interspersed with vocalisation of Sinhala lines (Mm)

L65 Local got much love though

L66 *sithuvili pibideva* what it do baby I wanna

/sɪθʊvɪlɪ pɪbɪðevʌ/

thoughts birthed-may-it-be

{May thoughts be birthed what it do baby I wanna}

L67 Ride you step inside you

L68 *sihinaya oba veva* gotta

/sɪhɪnəjə obə vevə/

dream-the you may-it-be gotta boy friend

{May you be the dream gotta}

That the Lone Lines also summarise the preceding lyric Texts suggests further that they are connected to each other. Observe also, that L66 and L68 represent lines from the refrain; this too predicts that the Texts are connected. Moreover, we find a curious grammatical signalling which supports the interpretation that the lyric's Lone Lines are thematically connected to their adjacent Texts. Specifically the ILdCF-L line 64 concludes with the English fragment 'know that I'm'. However, when interpreted with L65, the adjective 'local' of L65 resolves the fragment by becoming its object. The relevant lines have been reproduced in [11].

[11]

L64 (Mm) *sihinaya oba veva* ah ah ah/ know that I'm

L65 Local got much love though

The consequence of interpreting the Texts and Lone Lines of a lyric as thematically connected is an entity which reflects overall thematic homogeneity despite being thematically heterogeneous internally owing to the complex sub-narratives which inform it.

Furthermore, this interpretation of a 98+LSLPS lyric also highlights the pivotal role played by the refrain (essentially a sung rendition) in facilitating the overall thematic

unity of a lyric. *Sandawathuren* contains eight representations of its refrain which recur at strategic places such as immediately preceding and following its rapped rendition. The most striking thematic disparity concerns the endearing tone of the refrain and the confrontational tone of the rapped rendition. So the fact that the refrain precedes and follows the lyric's rapped rendition reinforces 'celebration' as the lyric's dominant theme. The placement also serves to conceal the violent and hence provocative content of the rapped lyric (recall the discussion about rap themes in section 8.4.1). Observe also how, as noted in section 8.4 (and in chapter 7), the lyric- initial and lyric-terminal position of the lyric's rhythmic and A-rhythmic renditions which provide details about the addressors and addressees, serves to unite all of the lyric's Texts and Lone Lines by clarifying the ambiguities about the identity of the addressor/s and addressee/s of the various Texts and Lone Lines. Furthermore, English as also stated elsewhere, is the core language of these Text rendition types; this further affirms the fact that English is a core component of the 98+LSLPS CofP's shared linguistic repertoire.

Sandawathuren does not contain non-Sinhala/English-code Divehi, Arabic or Tamil Texts. Yet, a few of the sample songs do. As explained in chapter 4: 4.4 and elsewhere, Arabic and in particular Divehi are unknown to the vast majority of the 98+LSLPS CofP: this affects the manner in which such Texts are negotiated by the CofP. Consider *Ae Hetha*. Its refrain is sung by a female and is in the Maldivian language of Divehi. The rendition comprises a female's note of endearment and calling to her lover. The song title is also a Divehi construct and translates as 'hey heart'. However, because Divehi is not spoken in Sri Lanka it is very unlikely that the vast majority of the 98+LSLPS CofP will be able to decipher its meaning. Instead, it is the refrain's melody and sound of a female singing that will most probably be perceived by the CofP. Importantly, the refrain alternates with English Text rapped renditions with provocative content similar to extract [1]. Consequently, the Divehi Text can be seen to serve as a musical 'pause' segmenting what would otherwise be an extended English Text rapped rendition into three smaller English Texts (i.e. L5-8, 25-28, 46-49). Accordingly, it would appear that the Divehi Text sung rendition's thematic contribution to *Ae Hetha* involves it governing the

98+LSLPS CofP's negotiation of the song's rapped renditions. The Arabic sung renditions in the BNS song *Shaheena* occupy a similar role to the Divehi rendition in *Ae Hetha*.

A rapped and A-rhythmic rendition in the song *Kotthu* (L29-40 and 41 respectively) represents the only occurrence of Tamil in the 98+LSLPS sample. Importantly, the renditions do not convey information that alters or is essential to the song's theme about the food item *Kotthu*. As stated in chapter 2, Tamil is one of the two official languages of Sri Lanka; Sinhala is the other. Nevertheless, the paucity of Tamil Texts and Lone Lines in the sample and the non-essential nature of the content in the few Tamil Texts and Lone Lines occurring in the sample indicate that they are a peripheral component of 98+LSLPS. However, as explained in chapter 9, the musical context of the lyrics makes non-English/Sinhala Texts and Lone Lines indispensable to maintaining the overall unity of their respective lyrics.

Moreover, recall the discussion about ILdCF-L in non-Sinhala/English Texts in chapter 7 (section 7.3.3) where it was argued that the lines' dissimilar sequences are likely to dominate thematically due to the fact that the 98+LSLPS CofP are unfamiliar with the code of the (acoustically) dominant sequences. Interestingly, most of the sample's dissimilar sequences appear directly connected to the central theme of their respective lyrics: this supports the argument that it is these sequences that are being negotiated by the 98+LSLPS CofP. For example, the names of the addressors (i.e. BNS) of the song *Shaheena*, constitutes the 'dissimilar' construct in its Arabic Text as shown in [12].

[12]

Song – *Shaheena* (2008)

A-rhythmic rendition –whispered (F1)

L2 as-salaamo alaikum BNS
the-peace be upon you oh people

Similarly, the dissimilar code words in the song *Kotthu*, function as reminders of the song's central theme of food/Kotthu (L34, 40) and narrative about the addressors' adventures relating to Kotthu (L38). The absence of ILsCF-H in non-Sinhala/English Texts (as noted in chapter 7 section 7.7.3) further indicates that the contribution of non-English/Sinhala codes to song theme is indirect at most (i.e. the simultaneous rendition of two non-Sinhala or non-English sequences is highly unlikely to be understood by the 98+LSLPS CofP).

8.7 98+LSLPS and the case of 'Sri Lankan English'

English is a core language of 98+LSLPS. A number of English expressions which are not used in habitual Sri Lankan English speech (i.e. SSLE and SLEs described in chapter 2) feature in 98+LSLPS. Bear in mind that in 98+LSLPS, especially in the songs' audio format, we are dealing with a fundamentally unique form of musico-linguistic communication which differs from natural spoken (i.e. conversational) and written output (discussed in chapter 6). The roots of English language variety discourse (and therefore categories such as SSLE and SLEs) arguably stem from efforts to understand widespread English usage in contexts of such natural spoken and written output.

Accordingly, we find expressions (section 8.4.1 listed some of them) that could be seen as indicative of AAEs in the genre's rap renditions, expressions which, therefore, might be seen as indexical of 'African-American' culture. Note that rap as stated in chapter 7 (sections 7.2.1, 7.3.1) and section 8.4.1, is one of the two dominant rendition types of 98+LSLPS: English is its dominant language. Typically, English rap has tended to be regarded as representing African American Englishes (AAEs) and also Hip Hop Nation Language (HHNL defined in section 8.4.1) due to its African and subsequently African American roots (explained and referenced in chapter 3: 3.6). Comments by three Sri Lankan habitual speakers of English and 98+LSLPS inner audience circle members about the phrase 'homey baby' and word 'jiggy' in extract [13] may be seen to support this interpretation. They were described as untypical of Standard Sri Lankan English (SSLE) (IAC-24; Facebook

message; 2009, IAC-25; Facebook message; 2009, IAC-26; Facebook message; 2009).

[13]

(a) Song - *Ahankara Nagare* (2004)

Rhythmic rendition (M)

L1 Represent CMB

L2 It is your homey baby

L3 You're with the awe yeah

L4 Yeah and I'm jiggy as hell

Nevertheless, as discussed in section 8.4.1, 98+LSLPS rap in which forms resembling 'AAEs' occur, concern the detailing of deeply intimate aspects of human emotion that are provocative by the standards of mainstream Sri Lankan cultural norms. Importantly, it was argued in section 8.4.1 that the CofP's use of English to negotiate such provocative issues demonstrates an affective attitude towards English which, in turn, suggests that English represents a symbiotically indigenised code in 98+LSLPS. By implication the seemingly 'non - Sri Lankan English' forms occurring in the renditions also assume an indigenised identity in the context of the genre. Consequently, to classify forms which exhibit AAE associations as AAEs in 98+LSLPS simply does not fully reflect the manner in which they have been incorporated into 98+LSLPS. The status and profile of English in 98+LSLPS rap contributes to linguistic studies on rap in South Asia, an area scarcely researched as noted by researchers such as Rose (1994: 72) and Bennett (1999: 82; see also Denzin: 1969).

Moreover, as discussed in sections 8.5 and 8.6, the 98+LSLPS English Texts form part of 98+LSLPS lyrics: overall most of the lyrics reflect a distinctively local thematic character incorporating local (Sinhala) expressions and metaphors (recall the discussion in section 8.4.2). This too predicts that 98+LSLPS lyrics are the outcome of a cohesive localised repertoire developed by and belonging to the songs' artists and principal audience, the 98+LSLPS CofP. The fact that it is efficient communication comprising (through performance), the repetitive negotiation of

deliberately invented systems involving the amalgamation of music and language that renders the over 5.5 million individuals of 98+LSLPS a community predicts the same. Expressed differently, the purposeful nature of the CofP members' invention and negotiation of 98+LSLPS (including its lyrics) predicates a deeply symbiotic relationship between the CofP and the language/s (including the seemingly 'non-Sri Lankan English' forms) they exploit as part of this process.

The A-rhythmic rendition in [14] is another example of how English in 98+LSLPS differs from English associated with SSLE and the broader enclave of Sri Lankan English/es (SLEs) but which nevertheless appears indigenised in the song context.

[14]

Song – *Kotthu* (2008)

A-Rhythmic rendition: (M1 and M2) child voices

L69 (M1) Mr Kotthuuuuuu yaaaah haaaaaaa

L70 (M2) Hello is the mic. still working?

L71 (M2) Ya. I paid 200 rupees for my Kotthu man

L72 (M2) I'm still waiting for it and I haven't got it

L73 (M2) If it was in India, I would've fed my entire family with it ya

More specifically, L71 and L73 are reflective of Indianised English (due primarily to pronunciation and the presence of 'ya' in L 73) and therefore, incompatible with SSLE and unlikely to be considered part of SLEs. However, the lines occur in a song dealing with an inherently local topic, the Sri Lankan food item *Kotthu* and consequently, cannot not be considered part of an indigenised English code in their context of 98+LSLPS. The two extracts in [15] highlight further the incompatibility between 98+LSLPS English and Sri Lankan English language variety categories such as SSLE and SLEs as traditionally defined (described in chapter 2).

[15]

(a) Song -*Hanthane* (2008)

Rap (M) and (Mm)

L24 Young Ashanthi what you wanna do like you
L25 Got me like I got you (Mm) hey
L26 Yeah and I said the boy looks fine but the
L27 Girl hanging out with ya kinda like a (Mm) hey
L28 Ei so don't come round here talking
L29 [All that stuff you slap in the face
(Mm) hey]
L30 Yeah and ya all know my name see
L31 All in the house got to ?? smash the (Mm) kay ? (M) but the
L32 Queen right shot gun squirt the ladies say

(b) Song - *Dark Angel* (2005)

Refrain – sung (F)

L18 I
L19 See there's an angel and
L20 I can't believe it she wanna
L21 Say she loves you baby she wanna
L22 Say you drive her crazy I
L23 See there's an angel and
L24 I can't believe it she wanna
L25 Say she loves you baby she wanna
L26 Say you drive her crazy

On the one hand both extracts abound with sentence fragments (recall the grammatical discussions in chapter 7) and therefore differ from SSLE norms (outlined in chapter 2). At first glance, it would appear that the incompatibility between habitual (particularly standard) Sri Lankan English output and the renditions owes to the fact that they are the consequence of dissecting the lyrics according to musical rhythm. However, they remain unusual in terms of SSLE even when interpreted in keeping with how they might be delivered in natural speech. [16] contains such an interpretation of [15a].

[16]

(1) Young Ashanthi what you wanna do

(2) L24 like you L25 Got me like I got you (Mm)

(3) Hey L26 Yeah and I said the boy looks fine but the L27 Girl hanging out with ya kinda like a -----.

(4) Hey L28 Ei so don't come round here talking

Some examples incompatible with SSLE include the absence of do-support in clause 1 (young Ashanthi what do you wanna do) and the missing copula 'is' between 'ya' and 'kinda' in clause 3. Interestingly, interpreting the lines as shown in [16] does not render them thematically less ambiguous than how they appear when interpreted according to the analytical framework. Indeed, the lines appear more ambiguous in [16]. This further demonstrates that the language of this musical context reflects a different linguistic dynamic, one that cannot be understood in terms of concepts such as SSLE advanced to address natural spoken and written output.

The incompatibility between varieties like SSLE and SLEs on the one hand and 98+LSLPS English on the other is especially pronounced in 98+LSLPS phenomena such as English¹²⁷ ILdCF-H lines which comprise the horizontal blend of multi-word Sinhala-English sequences yet which reflect an overall English identity when performed (section 6.3.2.6.3 in chapter 6 detailed how the lines' dominant code is determined). A Notable example of English ILdCF-H is contained in lines 60-83 of the BNS song *Sri Sangabodhi* (in appendix 2): [17] includes some lines from the extract.

¹²⁷ These are lines where the dominant code is English.

[17]

Song - *Sri Sangabodhi* (2000)

L64 [(Fm) -re lets keep on moving to this

(M) sangabodhi mali-gave-di ma

/sʌgəbo:ðɪ malɪgavəðɪ ma/]

Sangabodhi palace-the-in I

{Sangabodhi in the palace I.}

L65 [(Fm) And believe in our destiny (M) daeka

/ðakə/

(Fm) Desti-]

see-having

{having seen.}

L66 [(Fm) -ny if we don't know who we are

(M) pranehani venta baeta them

/pranehani ventə batə ðem/]

life-harm happen-to beat will

{(I) will beat (him) to (cause his) life harm.}

Occurring in a natural spoken or written context, the Sinhala sequences in L64, 65 and 66 would not be considered reflective of SLEs let alone SSLE. Recall too the grammatical analysis in chapter 7 (7.7) which showed that the horizontal sequences of each line reflect integrated systems.

Overall then, in 98+LSLPS not only do we encounter a context which reflects the appropriation and indigenisation of English by an expanding and diverse community of Sri Lankans (particularly Sri Lankan youth) who see the 'code' as a defining feature of their identity but we encounter a form of indigenisation which appears incompatible with varieties such as SSLE and SLEs as described in the prevailing literature. Comments made by some of the 98+LSLPS CofP members reinforce this: they described the English Texts of 98+LSLPS as being 'different' yet also indigenised and homogenous. For example, some maintained that the English Texts represent '*Sri Lankan*' instead of describing them as English (Santhush Weeraman: interview: 2009; Ashanthi de Alwis: interview: 2009; Yashan De Silva: interview: 2009).

However, notwithstanding the unusual English forms occurring in the songs, any effort to assign them an identity in terms of prevailing language varieties would ultimately have to involve classifying them as ‘Sri Lankan English/es’ (SLEs) at best. This is because when compared to other English language varieties inhabiting the rubric of ‘World Englishes’, SLEs is by far the only variety which is most compatible with the localised themes of the English Texts as well as their quintessential seemingly ‘non-English’ Sinhala constructs such as those in [17]. Specifically, the dissimilar sequences of the vast majority of English ILdCF-H (as well as ILdCF-L) lines derive from Sinhala. What is important, as also noted by Thiru Kandiah (Email; 8.6.2010), is that habitual and concerted linguistic output be first distinguished from non habitual/concerted linguistic output (e.g. errors by learners of the language etc.) prior to any attempt to classify linguistic output in terms of the language variety paradigm, especially contemporary linguistic output of environments where some languages occupy a spectrum of identities as an L1, L2, partial L2 etc (e.g. English in Sri Lanka). As established variously throughout this study, 98+LSLPS lyrics constitute a highly concerted form of communication between the 98+LSLPS CofP members.

8.8 Sinhala/s and 98+LSLPS

Chapter 2 described the Sinhala language in terms of two main varieties; formal versus colloquial Sinhala. The former is associated with written genres (i.e. poetry) and specific formal occasions of speech. 98+LSLPS incorporates both these forms. Some Texts and Lone lines reflect formal/poetic Sinhala (e.g. *Oba Magemai*, *Sandawathuren*, *Shaheena*), while some reflect colloquial Sinhala (e.g. *Kotthu*). Typically, metaphors and rich imagery are associated with poetic and hence more formal Sinhala. 98+LSLPS abounds with such Texts and Lone Lines: recall the discussion in section 8.4.2. It is also interesting to note that formal/poetic Sinhala is dominant in the lyrics of non-98+LSLPS popular Sinhala songs such as the two songs of our sample (appendix 2 contains transcriptions of one song). Rhyme is another hallmark of Sinhala poetic language. The poetic 98+LSLPS Sinhala Texts and Lone Lines also contain line terminal rhyme. However, rhyme is also present in the (colloquial) Sinhala Texts of *Kotthu* (L 8, beginning of L 16, the latter section of

L16-28, L42, L43 -55. the latter section of L63-65; see appendix 2 for details). As shown in chapter 9, the line-terminal rhyme of the 98+LSLPS Sinhala Texts relates to musical rhythm. It is also worth noting that the majority of Sinhala ILdCF-L lines which involve ‘English’ (dissimilar) words are found in the colloquial Sinhala Texts of *Kotthu*. The amalgamation of Sinhala styles in 98+LSLPS is particularly interestingly manifested in its Sinhala ILdCF-H lines. Once again, bear in mind that the phenomenon of ILCF-H derives from the fact that 98+LSLPS is a musical genre. [18] contains an example.

[18]

Song – *Vasanthaye* (1998)

Refrain: sung (MMmFm) with simultaneous (F) rhythmic rendition

L35 [*vasanthaye*//

/vʌsʌnθəje/

(F) The world is there with a sign of your heart]

spring in

{In spring.}

L36 *pibidena mal / piyeli vage*

/pɪbɪðɛnə mʌl piɟəli vʌge/

(F) There’s always peace freedom

blooming flowers buds like-are

{Blooming flowers. Like buds are.}

L37 [*sithata naengena / sithuvili mal*

/sɪθətə nʌɛŋɛnə sɪθʊvɪli mʌl/

sahas

/sʌhʌs/

(F) Fly away to a joyous place and]

[mind-to birthing thoughts flowers

Secret

{[(The) thoughts that birth. Thought flowers

Secret

.]}

L38 [*renu vage/dangakaata vaehi*

/renʊ vʌge ðʌŋəkʌrtə vʌhi/

(F) lift your face to the sunlight]

pollen like mischievous rain

{(Are) like pollen . Mischievous rain.}

L39 [*podak vage ape /hada sithuwili mee*

/poðak vAge ape hAðə siθUvili me/

(F) Ride the ocean waves to a different land where]

drop-a like our hearts thoughts these

{Like a drop our. These hearts' thoughts.}

L40 [*sundhara love dutu / ve*

/sUnðərə love ðUtU ve/

(F) The weather is fresh and pure]

exquisite world see-did

{Espouse (the) exquisite world. Did.}

In [18] the horizontal 'English' sequences of L35-40 are rendered simultaneously with the Sinhala sequences and yet the Sinhala sequences dominate acoustically making the lines appear Sinhala. Importantly, this kind of code fusion is incompatible with the categories of formal or colloquial Sinhala.

Moreover, there exists a further dimension entailed of the musical setting of 98+LSLPS which contributes to making 98+LSLPS Sinhala seem like a blend of formal and colloquial styles. On the one hand, the songs do not constitute a formal event of communication; indeed their identity as a class of 'popular song' proves this. As such, the Sinhala of 98+LSLPS can be seen as representing informal Sinhala. On the other hand, the song lyrics also represent 'documents' invented by the 98+LSLPS CofP and 'preserved' through the CofP's repetitive performance of the songs which constitutes the CofP's 'participation of their practice' (explained in chapter 4). Consequently, the Sinhala of 98+LSLPS also reflects a form of quasi formal Sinhala.

As with the categories of SSLE and SLEs discussed in section 8.7, the main reason why it seems impossible to fully account for 98+LSLPS Sinhala in terms of the dichotomous formal versus colloquial paradigm according to which the Sinhala language is typically described, lies in the fact that the categories are the result of existing typological descriptions of Sinhala concerning Sinhala in natural speech and traditional written contexts. It is, therefore, unsurprising that such categories appear untenable with the musico-linguistic output of 98+LSLPS. In sum, it is ultimately the musico-linguistic context of 98+LSLPS which distinguishes its Sinhala and makes

the Sinhala incompatible with an analysis that involves it being dissected solely in terms of such categories as formal and colloquial Sinhala.

8.9 Summary and conclusion

For the most part, this chapter concerned lyric theme in the lyrics of 98+LSLPS. The guiding focus was to understand the relationship between the renditions of a 98+LSLPS lyric Text and thereafter between the Texts and Texts/Lone Lines of a 98+LSLPS song in terms of song theme in keeping with the analytical framework regarding 98+LSLPS lyric organisation advanced in chapter 6.

Accordingly, the discussion commenced with an overview (in section 8.2) of the dominant thematic tendencies of 98+LSLPS. Love was described as the overarching theme of the songs while it was also stated that the songs' treatment of the topic varies considerably. Three features salient to the system of song and which contribute to song theme were then described in section 8.3; they are the refrain, stanza and the technique of multiple voicing. Next, section 8.4 examined the thematic tendencies of the four 98+LSLPS Text rendition types. It also identified where each rendition type occurs most frequently in a lyric (e.g. at the beginning or middle of a lyric etc) in anticipation of the subsequent discussions about how renditions of a Text and thereafter a song's Texts and Lone Lines might be thematically related.

98+LSLPS rapped Text renditions (section 8.4.1) were shown to concern topics that are provocative by mainstream Sri Lankan cultural standards with the vast majority containing explicit references to and descriptions of sexual love. As the dominant code of the Text renditions English was shown to be the code used to negotiate such topics. Romantic love was identified as the focus of most 98+LSLPS sung Text renditions (section 8.4.2). That the Text renditions are mostly in Sinhala suggests that Sinhala functions as the language for such topics in 98+LSLPS. In terms of song position, rapped and sung Text rendition were described as occurring song medially with most rapped Text renditions occurring close to the song refrain which, as explained in section 8.3, represents the synthesis or core of a song's theme/s. As

stated in previous chapters (e.g. chapter 7) the sample contains few rhythmically and A-rhythmic renditions. Thematically, the Text renditions (discussed in sections 8.4.3 and 8.4.4), contain names of individuals and places. Moreover, most rhythmic and A-rhythmic Text renditions occur at the beginning or end of a lyric; where both occur, the latter always precedes the former if occurring at the beginning of a lyric and follows the former if occurring at the end of a lyric.

Importantly, the discussions of the rendition types in section 8.4 demonstrated that when considered alone they appear ambiguous exhibiting only partial thematic clarity. For example, it is very difficult to fathom the identity of the addressor and addressee in rapped and sung Text renditions. Similarly, the content of rhythmic and A-rhythmic Text renditions, essentially proper nouns (names of individuals) and contextual information appear meaningless when regarded in isolation.

In keeping with the analytical framework concerning 98+LSLPS lyric organisation, section 8.5 proceeded to explore the relationship between the renditions of a lyric Text in terms of theme. The thematic ambiguity exhibited by a Text rendition when considered alone was shown to diminish significantly though not entirely, when the rendition is viewed as connected to the other renditions of its Text. Having established that the renditions of a 98+LSLPS Text are connected thematically, section 8.6 then proceeded to explore the relationship between all the Texts and Lone Lines of a song in terms of theme. Accordingly, the thematic ambiguities displayed by the Texts and Lone Lines of a lyric when interpreted alone were shown to be resolved when the Texts and Lone Lines are interpreted collectively.

The fact that rhythmic and A-rhythmic renditions relay contextual information and names of individuals was explained to underlie their song initial position. In occurring at the end of a song too, they serve to remind the audience of the context and/or individuals relevant to the topic and thereby induce a sense of thematic cohesion. Similarly, it was argued that the position of the provocative rapped renditions song medially and/or adjacent to the uncontroversial refrains helps integrate the provocative content of rapped renditions with the other content of a

lyric and is so doing conceal the provocative content. It would appear, therefore, that the positioning of the rapped renditions in a lyric facilitates the 98+LSLPS CofP's negotiation of provocative topics.

Section 8.7 briefly explored the English of 98+LSLPS in terms of the discourse on language varieties focusing on the varieties termed Standard Sri Lankan English and Sri Lankan Englishes described in chapter 2. This was followed by a brief exploration of Sinhala in 98+LSLPS in terms of the two categories of formal and colloquial Sinhala (outlined in chapter 2) according to which Sinhala has traditionally been described. Each discussion demonstrated that the linguistic composition of 98+LSLPS cannot be fully understood in terms of these language varieties and categories. Reasons provided included the fact that categories such as SLEs, SSLE and formal and colloquial Sinhala have evolved in connection with understanding natural speech and written output whereas 98+LSLPS belongs to a unique musico-linguistic system of communication.

Chapter 9

The 98+LSLPS sample: Song (lyric) organisation through musical structure

“Those songs are not possible to sing without music” (98+LSLPS audience member - CAC [98+LSLPS audience member]: interview: 2009).

“The melody won’t linger in one’s memory if the lyrics cannot be recalled” (‘Lich’ [98+LSLPS audience member]: interview: 2008).

9.1 Introduction

In this the third and final part of our analysis of the 98+LSLPS sample in terms of the analytical framework concerning 98+LSLPS lyric organisation introduced in chapter 6, we turn our attention to investigating the relationship between 98+LSLPS lyrics and musical structure, in particular musical rhythm and melody. Moreover, exploring musical rhythm in 98+LSLPS as well as explaining the concept is especially important considering the basis of the analytical framework, the ‘musical rhythm derived clausal line’ also introduced in chapter 6. The chapter did not detail the concept of musical rhythm.

Therefore, this chapter begins with a description of musical rhythm in section 9.2 and follows with a description of the nuclei of musical rhythm, the musical beat and concept of the musical bar, in section 9.2.1. We then revisit the notion of the musical rhythm derived line in section 9.3. The first three sub-sections of section 9.4 correspond to examinations of the relationship between musical structure and 98+LSLPS Sinhala and English sung rapped and rhythmic renditions respectively. Section 9.4.4 explores the relationship between 98+LSLPS non-Sinhala/non-English sung, rapped and rhythmic renditions in terms of musical structure. Considering the dominance of Sinhala and English in 98+LSLPS, the greater focus of the discussions tends to be on the renditions of these two codes. Next, section 9.5 summarises some generalisations about the relationship between the three discussed rendition types and musical rhythm. An examination of the relationship between A-rhythmic renditions

and musical structure follows in section 9.6: the reason why this rendition type differs from rapped, sung and rhythmic renditions is also clarified. This leads to an investigation of the two intra-line phenomena of ILCF-L and ILCF-H in terms of musical structure in 9.7. The concluding discussion (in section 9.8) explores the relationship between all the Text and Lone Line renditions of a given 98+LSLPS song lyric and musical structure and includes reflecting on the relationship between the mixed and not-mixed identity assigned to the genre by the 98+LSLPS songs and 98+LSLPS lyric organisation. .

In brief, the analyses in this chapter demonstrate that a musical rhythmic template made of recursive symmetrical durational sequences (termed bars), functions as the binding agent of the various (linguistic and other) components of a 98+LSLPS song. The durational sequence corresponds to a musical rhythm derived line which is the core of the analytical framework concerning 98+LSLPS lyric organisation. With the exception of A-rhythmic renditions, all sections of a 98+LSLPS song's lyrics are shown to be directly embedded within the attendant musical rhythmic template of their respective songs. Melody is shown to integrate most of the A-rhythmic Text and Lone Line renditions into the context of a song; interestingly, linguistic theme also plays a similar role in the case of an unusual A-rhythmically rendered exception occurring in the sample. Some researchers have recognised the symmetrical nature of mixed language occurring in music but there seem to be no analyses concerning how such symmetrical mixed language might be related to or governed by its attendant musical structural context. For example, in their paper on Arabic and French mixed language lyrics in a genre of Rai music, Bentahila and Davies conclude by stating that “what is different is the way they [the mixed language lyrics] are distributed in regular or symmetrical ways...and most of all the delicate interplay between switches and the other stylistic devices characteristic of popular songs” (2008; 19). The analyses in this chapter draw on appendix 4 which contains representations of sections of the sample songs (excluding *Oba Hinda*¹²⁸), in terms of their musical (essentially musical rhythmic) environments.

¹²⁸ As explained in previous chapters, this song though by Iraj does not contain the linguistic (or musical) features of 98+LSLPS and instead has the characteristics of traditional Sinhala popular songs. This is the only song by Iraj which cannot be classified as a 98+LSLPS song.

9.2 Musical rhythm

Meyer, (1973) describes musical rhythm as one of ‘the two primary parameters of musical structure’, the other being ‘pitch’. Pitch relates to the distribution of musical notes in a musical piece or melody while musical rhythm concerns the duration of these notes in a musical piece or melody. There remains much debate about the precise nature of durational organisation in music. Broadly, musical notes in traditional western tonal music tend to conform to recursive symmetrical durational sequences facilitating a sense of temporal regularity. Importantly, the symmetrical durational sequences of a musical piece constitute its rhythmic template. This template (resembling an ‘umbrella’ of sorts) serves as the regulator of all the notational and other ‘content’ of a musical piece. The idea is echoed in the Oxford Music Dictionary where it is argued that humans may be inclined towards perceiving the musical rhythm of a piece “as a coherent and continuous entity rather than a succession of isolated moments of sound” (Oxford Music Online).

The durational sequences of musical pieces (especially indigenous musical pieces) from non-western regions, however, cannot be fully understood in terms of such symmetrical sequences as some of them (e.g. Sri Lankan indigenous folk genres such as *kavi*) conform to different underlying rhythmic constraints. Suffice to say that the musical pieces do, arguably underlie some form of musical rhythmic structure albeit differently structured. As reinforced by the Oxford Music Dictionary, the durations of musical notes in musics, “may be more or less regular, may or may not give rise to a sense of beat or tempo, and may be more or less continuous, but as all music involves duration(s), all music necessarily has some manner of rhythm” (Oxford Music Online). Importantly, however, as will be clarified in the ensuing discussions, excepting A-rhythmic renditions the recursive symmetrical durational sequence based rhythmic structure of traditional western tonal music defines the rhythmic structure of 98+LSLPS songs.

9.2.1 Musical beats and the concept of a musical bar/measure

The musical beat and musical bar (also termed measure) are the nuclei of musical rhythm. Musical beats constitute the smallest units of audible rhythm in music and it is their combination that gives rise to a musical rhythmic template (described in section 9.2). Essentially, musical beats are “idealizations, utilised by the performer and inferred by the listener from the musical sign” (Lerdahl and Jackendoff 1983). So when someone taps in rhythm to a piece of music it is a response to these smallest building blocks of musical rhythm. The spaces between musical beats in western tonal music are isochronous and it is within these spaces that musical notes are ordered. As Rothstein (1989: 103), states “any metrical scheme requires repetition—that is, the recurrence of units that are at least conceptually of equal size” (see also Schachter 1994).

Importantly, however, musical beats do not immediately conjoin to form the rhythmic template of a musical piece in western tonal music. Instead, they appear as alternating strong and weak beats and first combine to form recursive symmetrical durational sequences (described in section 9.2) which then combine to form a rhythmic template. These symmetrical durational sequences are termed musical *bars*. Accordingly, a bar’s opening beat is its strongest and signals the beginning of the bar and end of the preceding bar. Consequently, the first beat of a bar serves to demarcate bars (i.e. symmetrical durational sequences) in a piece of music. In western tonal music, the number of beats per bar is specified in terms of a *time signature*. Groupings of two, four and three beats constitute the basic and most frequently occurring bar patterns in western tonal music. A three beat bar will have an initial strong beat followed by two weak beats. A two beat bar will have a strong beat followed by a weak beat. A four beat bar will have a strong beat followed by a weak beat, another slightly stronger beat weaker than the first and a final weak beat.

Often, larger types of musical works of the western tonal musical repertoire (e.g. sonatas, operas) will consist of musical sub-sections each possibly defined in terms of different rhythmic templates. This means that the number of beats per bar of each

sub-section may differ. For example, one section/sub-text may have a rhythmic template whose bars comprise three beats each while another may have a rhythmic template whose bars comprise two beats each. Now this reference to musical sub-sections may appear to contradict the claim that the organisation of musical beats remains consistent within (western tonal) musical pieces. What was not mentioned is that a musical piece may be part of a larger musical piece. For example, the movements of a sonata while resembling separate musical pieces (and therefore, often performed independently), are still sub-sections of a larger work, the sonata. Broadly, what indicates that what appear to be separate musical pieces are in fact part of a larger work is the counterpart of musical rhythm, also central to musical construction, namely, musical pitch. Specifically, the notes of most musical pieces of the western tonal music are related, determined according to the concept of the *key*. The sub-sections of a musical piece may involve a change (modulation) of keys: crucially the musical keys of the sub-sections will be related thus uniting the sub-sections¹²⁹.

However, most contemporary popular songs are relatively short, they do not contain sub-sections and consequently tend to correspond to a single rhythmic template. 98+LLSPS illustrates this: most sections (excepting A-rhythmic renditions) of a 98+LSLPS song correspond to a single rhythmic template. This is explained later.

9.3 The 98+LSLPS musical rhythmic line/quasi sentence revisited

The notion of the musical rhythm derived line is the core of the analytical framework introduced in chapter 6: 6.3.2 for dissecting language in music in audio format such as song lyrics in audio format. As also explained in chapter 6, this kind of data, do not exhibit the intonational cues of natural speech owing to their musical environment, and therefore do not indicate clausal boundaries found in natural speech output. Importantly, it is the musical bar of a (i.e. symmetrical durational sequence) which corresponds to a musical rhythm derived line. Consider [1] which

¹²⁹ The key in western tonal music is, in fact, the name of the harmonic centre or *tonic* of a piece of music, the tonic being the matrix of the group of related notes structurally permitted to occur in a piece (see also Suurpää 2006).

contains some Sinhala Text sung and English Text rapped rendition lines, both from the BNS song *Vasanthaye* (refer appendix 4 for further examples).

[1]¹³⁰

Song – *Vasanthaye* (1998)

SONG	Line Number	Beat 1	Beat 2	Beat 3	Beat 4
Sung (Refrain)	1a	<i>vasan-</i>	<i>-tha-</i>	<i>-ye-----</i>	<i>-----</i>
	1b	<i>-----</i>	<i>-----</i>	<i>-----</i>	<i>-----</i>
	2a		<i>pibi-</i>	<i>-dena</i>	<i>mal</i>
	2b	<i>piye-</i>	<i>-li va-</i>	<i>ge</i>	
Rap *	18	<i>oba</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>jeevaya</i>	<i>ve so *</i>
	19	check out	check out my	new <i>Sinhala</i>	style I am
	20	using the	style for the	very first	time which
	21	comes from a	country a	pearl of a	land from the
	22	hill and the	rivers and the	golden	sand with north
	23	south east and	west to-	-gether we must	stand u-

The first two vertical columns of the grid indicate the song’s rendition type and musical rhythm derived lyric line number respectively. Each of the four subsequent vertical columns represents a musical beat. Viewed horizontally, the four cages constitute a four beat bar line and therefore a musical rhythm derived line (e.g. L19 ‘check out check out my new Sinhala style I am’). Consequently, in [1] we see that each of the renditions’ musical rhythm derived lines is based on four beat bars. The

¹³⁰ The fonts used in the examples follow the transcription and translation conventions detailed in appendix 2.

four beat divisions function as the source of quasi sentences in ‘sentenceless’ music based linguistic output such as a song lyric in audio format.

Importantly, observe that the number of beats per bar line remains consistent throughout in [1]: hence its obvious symmetry. Indeed, it is the same with all the sample songs as shown in appendix 4: the number of beats per bar in each of the songs is the same. This appears to be the default recursive durational sequence for 98+LSLPS. Interestingly, the four beat bar is identified as the dominant durational sequence of most globalised contemporary popular song genres (Krimms 2000: 52).

Notably and as will be discussed later, it is the fact that the bars converge to form a song’s rhythmic template which then makes the musical rhythm derived lines of a song also appear connected to each other as part of a cohesive system. However, as stated in section 9.2, 98+LSLPS A-rhythmic renditions do not conform to this symmetrical rhythmic system. Nevertheless, the lines do connect with their counterpart musical rhythm derived lines. This too is explained later. It is interesting to note that there appears to be no research which considers a song’s linguistic and musical interface in terms of a song’s overarching musical rhythmic template, an observation confirmed by such notable musicologists as Schachter 1999: 23-30; and Monelle (Email: 28.11.08).

9.4.1 98+LSLPS sung Text renditions and musical rhythm

The second leading rendition type of 98+LSLPS, the sung Text rendition, is one of three Text rendition types firmly located within a given song’s musical rhythmic template; this was noted in the previous two chapters. This discussion focuses on the sample’s Sinhala and English sung Text renditions but as explained in section 9.8, features identified in relation to the lines of the four 98+LSLPS Text rendition types apply to their counterpart Lone Lines as well. The present discussion also highlights some features that appear to differentiate the codes in 98+LSLPS sung renditions at the level of the relationship between the renditions’ lines and their corresponding musical beats. Nevertheless it is important to bear in mind that

English Text sung renditions in the sample are few in comparison to Sinhala Text sung renditions. Therefore, it is not possible to make definitive generalisations about differences and similarities between the two codes in terms of how they operate in musical structure when occurring in 98+LSLPS sung renditions.

Excepting two (English) lines (L58 in *Kotthu* and L21 in *Dark Angel* – see appendix 4), individual sung rendition line beats contain no more than either two words or two morphemes of two words. This is illustrated in [2]¹³¹.

[2]

Song – *Vasanthaye* (1998)

sung	4b	<u>dan-</u>	<u>-gakaa</u>	<u>-ta</u>	<u>vaehi</u>
------	----	-------------	---------------	------------	--------------

Song - *Mal Peththak* (2004)

sung	5	<u>-ve kavu-</u>	<u>-luven epi-</u>	<u>-ta maha</u>	<u>varsha</u>
------	---	------------------	--------------------	-----------------	---------------

Song – *Sandawathuren* (2006)

sung	15	<u>sonduruma</u>	<u>veva</u>		<u>deha</u>
------	----	------------------	-------------	--	-------------

Song – *Kotthu* (2008)

sung	61	wake	up and	wonder	why
------	----	------	--------	--------	-----

A further feature of 98+LSLPS sung Text renditions is the extension of a single word over a single beat. Consequently, it affects a linguistic bond between the beats. Interestingly, this feature distinguishes Sinhala sung Text renditions from English sung Text renditions. As shown in [3], words do not extend beyond the span of two

¹³¹ As hyphen on either the right, left or both sides of a construct indicates that it is a bound morpheme.

beats in English Text sung renditions whereas the Sinhala Text renditions contain occurrences of a single word occupying the space of a complete four beat line.

[3]

Song - *Sri Sangabodhi* (2000)

	36	[and be-	-lieve in your	desti-	-ny desti-]
--	----	----------	----------------	--------	----------------

Song – *Vasanthaye* (1998)

Sung (Refrain)	1a	<u>vasan-</u>	<u>-tha-</u>	<u>-ye-----</u>	<u>-----</u>
-------------------	----	---------------	--------------	-----------------	--------------

Moreover, as illustrated in [4], the linguistic content of the final beat durations of most of the sung Sinhala rendition lines consists of either a single word or morpheme.

[4]

Song - *Sandawathuren* (2006)

Sung (Stanza)	10	<u>poda pini</u>	<u>naava</u>		<u>matha</u>
	11	<u>nala danga</u>	<u>paava</u>		<u>sula-</u>
	12	<u>-ngata kavi</u>	<u>keedaa</u>		<u>hitha</u>
	13	<u>-that thatu</u>	<u>aava</u>		<u>oba</u>

Song - *Oba Magemai* (2003)

9	<u>diviya pu-</u>	<u>ra ma</u>	<u>oba raki-</u>	<u>-mi</u>
10	<u>andam</u>	<u>gunadam</u>	<u>kiyade</u>	<u>-mi</u>

Overall, it would appear that the paucity of words characterises Sinhala Text sung rendition lines. A few exceptions in the sample include L12 (*Kotthu*), L7 (*Oba Magemai*), L1-2 (*Mal Peththak*) and L7, 11 (*Ahankara Nagare*). Recall that in chapter 8: 8.4.1, rapped rendition lines were described as containing many words entailing faster delivery in performance in order to maintain the musical rhythmic pulse of a line. Specifically, it was argued that this could diminish the clarity of the rendition content and help mask the provocative themes conveyed through the lines. Consequently, it could be argued that the paucity of words in sung rendition lines results in the occurring words evoking enhanced thematic prominence. Note that as discussed in chapter 8, the content of sung renditions is completely non-provocative. Accordingly, such a thematic prominence of sung rendition words could be seen as also helping to conceal the provocative material of rapped rendition lines.

In the case of English Text sung lines, a combination of either two words, morphemes or word and morpheme combinations define the linguistic content of the lines' final beat: [8b] is an example. Although containing more words/morphemes than Sinhala sung Text rendition lines, English Text sung rendition lines contain the least words compared to the lines of the other English Text rendition types. Moreover, the paucity of words or word segments/morphemes in the 98+LSLPS sung Text rendition lines can also be seen to highlight their attendant melodies.

Another feature of the English and Sinhala sung 98+LSLPS Text rendition lines referred to in chapter 7 and argued to facilitate inter-line connectivity is line terminal rhyme; the final syllables of the final beat of the renditions' adjacent or alternate lines rhyme albeit in degrees. Sinhala Text sung rendition lines rhyme more consistently than their English sung counterparts (e.g. *Dark Angel*: refer appendix 4 for details). Crucially, such rhyming patterns are only apparent when the lyrics are dissected according to the notion of the musical rhythm derived line. [5] and [6] represent the linguistic content of the final beats of rhyming lines belonging to Sinhala and English Text sung renditions respectively. The Sinhala example includes a phonemic transcription. Also note that [6] represents the content of the final beat of

English ILsCF-H lines. Appendix 4 contains illustrations of the complete lines of these extracts.

[5]

(a) Song – *Sandawathuren* (2006)

Line	Beat 4
10	<i>matha</i> /mʌθə/
11	<i>sula-</i> /sʊlə/
12	<i>hitha</i> /hɪθə/
13	<i>oba</i> /obə/

(b) Song - *Oba Magemai* (2003)

Line	Beat 4
9	<i>-mi</i> /mi/
10	<i>-mi</i> /mi/

[6]

Song - *Sri Sangabodhi* (2000)

Line	Beat 4
31	to this
32	-ry histo-]
33	Are who you]
34	-ry -myste]

35	to this]
36	-ny desti-]

Consider [6]: it contains an interesting rhyme pattern. The ILsCF-H lines entails the simultaneous rendition of multiple syllables. Yet the horizontally positioned line terminal syllables do not follow any consistent rhyming pattern. L32, for example, has ‘ry’ /ri/ and ‘his-’ /hɪs/ which do rhyme while ‘-ny’ /ni/ and ‘des-’ /des/ in L36 do not. However, the line terminal syllables of the upper sequences of L32, 34 and 36 do rhyme exhibiting a pattern of alternate rhyming lines. On the one hand, the line terminal rhyming of these Text renditions can be seen to signal the boundary of the rendition lines in acoustic terms. Consequently, the lines appear autonomous. On the other hand, line-terminal rhyming also serves to connect the lines with each other because it emphasises the recursive symmetrical durational sequence of each line. The character of the musical beats of the lines promotes this interpretation. Specifically, the final beat of a line precedes the strongest beat of its adjacent line, its first beat: recall that the bar lines of western tonal music comprises alternate strong and weak beats. Accordingly, it is the first syllable of each line that contains the strongest stress. The final syllable of a line belongs to a weak beat. This rhythmic pattern establishes recursivity and makes the lines appear connected. [7] illustrates this in relation to [5b]. The opening (strong) syllable of the first beat and (weak) syllable of the final beat of each line are highlighted in blue font.

[7]

(a) Song - *Oba Magemai* (2003)

9	<u>diviya pu-</u>	<u>ra ma</u>	<u>oba raki-</u>	<u>-mi</u>
10	<u>andam</u>	<u>gunadam</u>	<u>kiyade</u>	<u>-mi</u>

Broadly, adjacent and alternate Sinhala Text sung rendition lines appear to be the clear leaders in eliciting line terminal rhyme. The most consistent presence of rhyme parallels the songs' refrain lines; all the refrains of the 12 sample songs are sung renditions. That 11 refrains are in Sinhala further confirms the rhyme friendly character of 98+LSLPS Sinhala Text sung renditions lines.

Although English Text sung renditions elicit less line terminal rhyme compared to their Sinhala counterparts, they compensate for this by containing more line terminal bound morphemes: this is what serves to connect the Text rendition lines. The extract in [8] illustrates this.

[8]

Song - *Sri Sangabodhi* (2000)

31	I	see ya	grooving	to this
32	[this	piece of	histo-	-ry histo-]
33	[-ry This is	all about	who you	are who you]
34	[and are	it's no	myste-	-ry -myste]
35	[lets -ry	keep on	moving	to this]
36	[and be-	-lieve in your	desti-	-ny desti-]

It may be that rhyming in 98+LSLPS Sinhala sung Text rendition lines stems from a more general tradition of Sinhala song invention as evidenced in the lines of the sample's non-98+LSLPS songs in audio format. All of the songs are exclusively in

Sinhala and their lines rhyme (see lyric transcriptions in appendix 2)¹³². What is interesting in 98+LSLPS, however, is that Sinhala is privileged over English for this purpose which suggests that the 98+LSLPS CofP consider Sinhala more suited for rhyming than English.

9.4.2 98+LSLPS rapped Text renditions and musical rhythm

As stated in chapter 8, 98+LSLPS rapped Text renditions occur song medially often following the song refrain. English as we know is the dominant code of rapped renditions. Of all four 98+LSLPS rendition types (and as stated previously), rapped rendition lines contain the highest number of words or morphemes per line. Therefore, at the level of musical structure, it follows that the beats of rapped lines contain the highest number of words and/or morphemes in 98+LSLPS. Specifically, most beats of (the four beat) 98+LSLPS rapped rendition bar lines contain around three words or word and morpheme combinations. It is also worth noting that the four beat bar is regarded as the norm for rap music (Krimms 2000: 52-53). Moreover, the presence of many words or morphemes in the 98+LSLPS rap lines corresponds to recent trends in rap music. Krimms (2000: 43) observes that the delivery (i.e. communication) of lines in recent rap have tended to become more rapid. This implies the presence of more linguistic content in the lines. Importantly, we see that 98+LSLPS, rapped renditions contrast with 98+LSLPS sung renditions which contain the least number of words per beat. [9] contains some rapped Text lines from the sample.

¹³² Tsujimura and Davis (2009: 179-195) demonstrate the presence of rhyme in Japanese hip-hop showing that Japanese hip-hop musicians use the principle of moraic assonance in order to affect rhyme. However, it is not entirely clear whether the lyrics are being interpreted in terms of their musical/audio format or if the discussion is about rap in hip-hop or all (e.g. singing) aspects of hip-hop. Note that it is the musical rhythm derived line based analysis which underlies the features found in the 98+LSLPS lyrics and also, that 98+LSLPS is not, in this study, classified as 'hip-hop'.

[9]

(a) Song – *Kotthu* (2008)

Rap	23	<u>waiter aiya</u>	<u>thattu kalane</u>	<u>mage oluwata</u>	<u>bila gewanna</u>
	24	<u>purse eka</u>	<u>nae mage langa daen</u>	<u>puluwannam</u>	<u>credit denna</u>

(b) Song – *Vasanthaye* (1998)

Rap	23	south east and	west to-	-gether we must	stand u-
	24	-nite the bond of	friendship and the	love for the country	man

(c) Song - *Sri Sangabodhi* (2000)

Rap	43	cups up and be	sure to catch them	when they fall be-	-fore you
-----	----	----------------	--------------------	--------------------	-----------

(d) Song - *Ahankara Nagare* (2004)

	32	chilling and thrill-	-ling hitting the	spots was our fil-	-ling but then it
	33	all broke	down shortly you	bounced with no tel-	-ling now tell me

(e) Song - *Dark Angel* (2005)

Rap	17	show and tell their	feelings to the	people outside	but now its
	18	true	to tell your	feelings to me	to show your

(f) Song – *Hanthane* (2008)

	34	yeah	and now you	gotta spell cos if you	don't know by now you just
--	----	------	-------------	------------------------	----------------------------

The lines in [9] also confirm the observation made in chapter 7 that line terminal rhyme is not a defining feature of the 98+LSLPS rapped Text lines. As noted previously, the absence of line terminal rhyme is not unique to 98+LSLPS rap in English code but appears to be a general feature of English rap in general (Krim

2000: 42-43). The two Sinhala Text rapped renditions in the song *Kotthu* and a few lines in the English Text rapped renditions of the songs *Hanthane* and *Ae Hetha* constitute the sole exceptions. [10] contains some examples of the final beats of lines from these renditions: note that line terminal rhyme involves the final beat of a bar line.

[10]

Song – *Kotthu* (2008)

Rap	22	<u>nidiyanakota</u> /niðijənəkətə/
	23	<u>bila gewanna</u> /bilə gɛvʌnnə/
	24	<u>credit denna</u> /krɛdɪt dɛnnə/
	25	<u>mata gahanna</u> /mʌtə gʌhʌnnə/
	26	beach <u>ekata</u> /bitʃ ɛkətə/
	27	<u>maaru wenna</u> /marʊ vennə/

Song – *Hanthane* (2008)

	32	ladies say
	33	way

Song - *Ae Hetha* (2007)

	30	home place
	31	home base
	32	whole way
	33	<u>ale</u> love]
	44	back
	45	track

The English rapped Text renditions do, however, contain words which rhyme with other words in both their respective lines and other lines of the same Text rendition. For example, consider the lines [11] from the song *Ae Hetha*

[11]

Song - *Ae Hetha* (2007)

13	riddle	see me in the	middle like a	sandwich
14	and baby	girl I don't	speak your	language but your
15	body	cringes	hurts too	what you wanna
16	do stick to	me like a tattoo	that I bought for	you
17	I'll raise a	toast for	you	champagne
18	glass and later	on am gonna	wax that	ass and if she's
19	good let her	reign cos we	finished the	task cos I
21	cash	and I'm	spending it	fast rocks and
22	rings	she had to	see all	things and I

Some examples of words that rhyme in [11] are 'riddle' and 'middle', 'see' and 'me' in L13, 'do' 'tattoo' and 'you' in L16 and 'you' in L17, 'glass' and 'task' in L18 and L19, 'rings' and 'things' in L22. Furthermore, this kind of rhyming is characteristic

of rap music generally (Krimms 2000: 42-43). However, certainly in the case of 98+LSLPS, the rhyming is not systematic and therefore, cannot be seen to connect the lines of a rendition in a systematic manner.

The musical feature which does reinforce the interpretation that rapped Text rendition lines are connected to each other is the comparatively heightened audibility of the renditions' attendant musical rhythmic pulse and this is due to the absence of melody in the renditions. So while melody is prominent in sung Text renditions (since they are sung), exaggerated (four beats per bar line) rhythmic beats defines the rapped rendition lines. The heightened audibility of rhythm is arguably a feature salient to most rapping (Krimms 2000). The emphasized rhythmic pulse involves stress on the initial beat (explained in section 9.2.1). Importantly, the recursive four-beat pulse affects a cyclic pattern making the lines appear acoustically similar. Furthermore, (as mentioned in chapter 8: 8.4.1 and section 9.4.1) the compacting of linguistic content in each beat entails that in performance, the content has to be communicated rapidly in keeping with the durational span of each beat. Not only does this reduce the clarity of the content being communicated but makes the lines appear acoustically similar which, in turn, makes the lines appear connected to each other.

9.4.3 Rhythmic Text renditions and musical rhythm

Rhythmic Text renditions averaging 5 lines (the longest containing just 7 lines), occurring occasionally and only at the beginning or end of a 98+LSLPS song, are the least productive of the three rendition types occurring within the musical rhythmic templates of 98+LSLPS. English as we know is the principal code of these Text renditions in 98+LSLPS. This rendition type cannot be deemed unique to 98+LSLPS. However, there exists no definitive name for this kind of rendition elsewhere in the literature. Importantly, it is its unique unsung (i.e. uttered as opposed to sung) style of delivery within musical rhythm which defines the rendition type in this thesis. Moreover, melody is either absent or barely audible in the rendition type. Now as we know, rap rendition also involves an unsung style of

communication within musical rhythm while melody in the renditions is also either absent or barely audible.

What distinguishes rhythmic Text renditions from rapped renditions is the paucity of words in the bar lines of the former (whereas rapped Text rendition lines contain the highest number of words/morphemes per line). Consequently, rap and rhythmic renditions sound very different. Indeed, 98+LSLPS rhythmic renditions have the least number of word and/or morphemes per line and contain the highest number of empty (wordless/morpheme-less) beats per line of all three 98+LSLPS rendition types occurring within rhythmic templates. Considering that this rendition type involves the unsung delivery of language through musical rhythm it is possible that this kind of rendition would, in other analyses, be classified as rap. However, as argued in this study, rhythmic renditions differ from rapped renditions. [12] illustrates the difference between the two rendition types. It contains three English Text rhythmic rendition lines followed by the first four lines of an English Text rapped rendition belonging to the song *Sri Sangabodhi*.

[12]

Song - *Sri Sangabodhi* (2000)

Rhythmic Rendition	2			ah ha	haa
	3		yeah	yeah	yeah
	4	[yeah yeah doo wap	yeah wup	come do wup	on pa wuppa]
Rap*	38	[be	modern	histo-	-ry we've got the*]
	39	world wrapped a-	round our little	fingers little	hound and <u>Ba-</u>

	40	<u>-thiya</u>	banging on your	frontiers	holding on our
	41	Own in this	war zone	resur-	-rect the indus-

Observe the contrast between the linguistically vacant beats in the rhythmic rendition lines and the rapped lines. Moreover, single words constitute the norm of the final beats of rhythmic rendition lines whereas the final beats of rapped rendition lines abound with word fragments (i.e. bound morphemes). Note also the similarity between the rhythmic rendition lines and 98+LSLPS sung (particularly Sinhala) rendition lines with regard to the lines' paucity of linguistic content. However, unlike sung rendition lines, the concluding syllables of the final (fourth) beat of these rendition lines rarely rhyme with their adjacent counterparts. L2-3 of *Sri Sangabodhi*, and L1-5 of *Kotthu* (refer appendix 4) are some of the very few counter examples to the features presented in relation to rhythmic renditions.

Importantly (and resembling rapped renditions), the recursive four beat rhythmic pulse of rhythmic renditions is highly audible. Consequently, as explained in section 9.4.2, the acoustically prominent rhythm beats generate a cyclic rhythmic pattern that projects the lines as connected. Moreover, the relative paucity of words in the lines (illustrated in [13]) enhances the audibility of the musical rhythmic beats.

[13]

Song – *Sandawathuren* (2006)

Rhythmic Rendition	3	its about	time to intro-	-duce my boy Ya-	-shan
	4		Yashan	and Ashan-	-thi
	5	rocking the	Building	you heard -----	-----

Song - *Dark Angel* (2005)

Rhythmic Rendition	1			Centi-	-gradz
	2			digital D	Js
	3			yeah	
	4	dark an-	-gel		
Rap	5				well

9.4.4 Non-Sinhala/English 98+LSLPS Text renditions and musical rhythm

So far we have only explored Sinhala and English sung, rapped and rhythmic Text renditions. As with the lines of these rendition types, all the non-Sinhala/non-English (i.e. Tamil, Arabic and Tamil) rendition lines of the 98+LSLPS sample also conform to the four beat bar¹³³ which defines the musical rhythmic template of their respective songs. The extract in [14] illustrates this; it is a Divehi Text rendition extract from the song *Ae Hetha* and is part of the same musical rhythmic template as the song's Sinhala and English Text renditions. Note that the song sample contains just one A-rhythmic Lone Line in Tamil.

[14]

Song - *Ae Hetha* (2007)

Sung (Refrain) Malè	5a	<i>ae he---</i>	<i>tha</i>	<i>they</i>	<i>no</i>
	5b	<i>bindi</i>	<i>kannaa</i>	<i>they</i>	<i>um</i>
	6a	<i>me the</i>	<i>hey thei</i>	<i>mee-----</i>	<i>-----</i>
	6b	<i>numphen----</i>	<i>-- nee kela</i>	<i>aey-----</i>	<i>-----</i>

¹³³ As explained earlier in the chapter, the musical rhythmic templates of all the 98+LSLPS sample songs are made of four beat bars.

	7a	[<i>ae he---</i>	<i>tha</i>	<i>they</i> ah ha	<i>no</i> ha]
	7b	[<i>bindi</i>	<i>kannaa</i>	<i>they</i> yeah	<i>um</i>]
	8a	[<i>me the</i>	<i>hey thei</i> check	<i>mee-----</i> this out	<i>-----</i>]
	8b	[<i>numphen----</i>	-- <i>nee kela</i> yo	<i>aey-----</i> yo girl now you	<i>-----</i> play that]

9.5 98+LSLPS sung, rapped and rhythmic Text renditions and musical rhythm; some generalisations

Summarised in (1), (2) and (3), are some generalisations concerning the manner in which musical rhythm governs the line organisation of 98+LSLPS sung, rapped and rhythmic Text renditions and which consequently predict that the lines of the three Text rendition types are connected to each other.

- (1) Text rendition lines consisting of many words or morphemes (i.e. rapped renditions) appear connected due to the rapid rendition of the lines' linguistic content in order to ensure the content does not conflict with the four beat bar lines in which they occur.
- (2) Melody and line-terminal rhyme unite Text rendition lines which have few words or morphemes but are delivered in melody (i.e. sung renditions).
- (3) Musical rhythm in the form of predictable and recursive durational sequences is pronounced in Text renditions which absent melody and line-terminal rhyme (i.e. rapped renditions) and is even more pronounced in melody-less Text renditions containing few words or morphemes (i.e. rhythmic renditions). In the case of the latter, the absence or paucity of linguistic material in the lines creates an auditory vacuum which then further exaggerates the lines' already exaggerated rhythmic pulse.

As previously explained, the strong accented initial beat of the lyric lines also makes the lines of the three Text rendition types appear unified. Overall, the central difference between the linguistic content of the Text rendition types in terms of

musical rhythm lies in the distribution and density of the renditions' linguistic content. Importantly, the musical rhythmic template remains the same for all the lines of sung, rapped and rhythmic renditions of the sample songs. [15]¹³⁴ (also contained in appendix 4), illustrates this.

[15]

Ae Hetha	Line Number	Beat 1	Beat 2	Beat 3	Beat 4
Rhythmic Rendition	1			yeah	
	2	ah ah	ha ha	whose going	down
	3	it's I-----	--raj	Ceylon Records	colla-
	4	-bo De- -	--Lon in the	house lets	do this
Sung (Refrain)	5a *	<i>ae he---</i>	<i>tha</i>	<i>they</i>	<i>no</i>
	5b	<i>bindi</i>	<i>kannaa</i>	<i>they</i>	<i>um</i>
	6a	<i>me the</i>	<i>hey thei</i>	<i>mee-----</i> -	<i>-----</i>
	6b	<i>numphen----</i>	<i>-- nee kela</i>	<i>aey-----</i>	<i>-----</i>
	7a	[<i>ae he---</i>	<i>tha</i>	<i>they</i> <i>ah ha</i>	<i>no</i> <i>ha]</i>
	7b	[<i>bindi</i>	<i>kannaa</i>	<i>they</i> <i>yeah</i>	<i>um</i> <i>]</i>
	8a	[<i>me the</i>	<i>hey thei</i> <i>check</i>	<i>mee-----</i> - <i>this out</i>	<i>-----</i> <i>]</i>
	8b	[<i>numphen----</i>	<i>-- nee kela</i> <i>yo</i>	<i>aey-----</i> <i>yo girl now</i> <i>you</i>	<i>-----</i> <i>play that]</i>

¹³⁴ 5a and 5b = 2 lines and corresponds to the inclusion of two lines in each written line of the song's lyric transcription in appendix 2. (This was done solely for purposes of making the lyrics easier to read).

Rap	9	I see you	kissing your	girl in my	mag/back ??
	10	then you	look get	cut like a	bear trap
	11	can you ex--	--plain that	-----	manage
	12	to ah got two	balls	just wanna fit ya	- you're finished the
	13	riddle	see me in the	middle like a	sandwich
	14	and baby	girl I don't	speak your	language but your
	15	body	cringes	hurts too	what you wanna
	16	do stick to	me like a tattoo	that I bought for	you
	17	I'll raise a	toast for	you	champagne
	18	glass and later	on am gonna	wax that	ass and if she's
	19	good let her	reign cos we	finished the	task cos I
	21	cash	and I'm	spending it	fast rocks and
	22	rings	she had to	see all	things and I
	23	don't spend on	wines it's a	cheaply	thing and if ya
	24	all know De-	-Lon you know we	OG	man
Rap	29			ya	ya
	30		let me take you	back to my	home place
	31	<u>mage</u>	<u>gedera</u>	cell call it	home base
	32	we can	take my	----? the	whole way

	33	[G for	flying she	know bout my	<i>ale</i> love]
	34	say no	more no	phone call	yo I-
	35	- <i>raj</i> we gonna	be there de	ma can you	feel me
	36	and en-	-joy the	journey	cos
	37	this gonna be	something you	won't forget be-	-lieve me
	38		we touch	down in the	evening and I-
	39	- <u>Raj</u> picks us	up we are	drin-	-king
	40	out the	trafs ¹³⁵ and the	Ds and the	candy
	41	world I wanna	take your	panties	please
	42		I know you	like this	treatment get your
	43	head sprung	then get	done for the	weekend
	44		yo I-	-raj I'll be	back
	45	tell that Mal-	-divian girl to	sing the	track

The lines in [15] constitute a Text made of three renditions; a rhythmic (L1-4) followed by a sung (L5-8) leading to a rapped (L9-24) rendition. Crucially, all the Text rendition lines are of identical duration and this is due to the symmetry of the durational sequences in which the lyric words are based. The sequences establish a cyclic pattern thus making all the lines of the three Text renditions appear connected. We revisit this in terms of the dual mixed and not-mixed identity assigned to 98+LSLPS by its CofP in section 9.8.

¹³⁵ Unclear in the recording.

Furthermore, 98+LSLPS rapped sung and rhythmic Lone Lines also occur within the constraints of the four beat durational sequence. The distribution of the lines' language in the beats of their attendant bar lines corresponds to the distribution of the language of their equivalent Sinhala and English Text sung, rapped and rhythmic rendition lines in musical beats.

It is important to note, however, that the word to musical rhythm distribution being referenced in this study does not take into account syncopation or the precise manner in which words and morphemes are distributed relative to individual beats. This was alluded to in the brief reference to the relationship between surface musical rhythm underlying 'deep level' musical rhythmic constraints which foreground such notions as the musical bar line in section 6.3.2. The reason such distribution is not considered in the present analysis is because it does not contribute as significantly to explaining the mixed and not-mixed identity assigned to the songs by their CofP at the level of the song lyrics as do the other linguistic and musico-linguistic features of the songs explored in this study.

9.6 A-rhythmic Text and Lone Line renditions, musical rhythm and melody

As explained in chapter 7, A-rhythmic Text renditions/Lone Line renditions are the least robust rendition type of 98+LSLPS most occurring song initially and/or terminally. What distinguishes A-rhythmic renditions from the other three 98+LSLPS rendition types is their seeming disconnectedness from the musical rhythmic template of their attendant songs. This parallels the general inaudibility of musical rhythmic beats in the A-rhythmic renditions. Obviously, it is in the communication/performance and reception of the renditions that this difference is to be discerned. Moreover, that a change in musical rhythm serves to disrupt the cohesiveness of a musical piece and in so doing may signal the beginning of a 'new' piece (realised as either a sub-section of the existing piece or an unconnected new piece) was explained in the description of musical rhythm in section 9.2. The absence of musical rhythm can signal similarly.

At first glance, then, not only does it seem that the lines of A-rhythmic Text renditions are musically unconnected to each other but also makes them and their Lone Line equivalents appear musically disconnected from the songs in which they occur. Nevertheless, there is another core component of music, namely melody which makes A-rhythmic rendition lines appear musically connected to each other and similarly makes A-rhythmically rendered Texts and Lone Lines appear musically connected to their respective songs. However, melody also constitutes the source which distinguishes A-rhythmic Text and Lone Line renditions from their counterpart renditions. As explained elsewhere, A-rhythmic renditions sound like natural speech when preformed; the kind of melody occurring with the renditions facilitates this.

Now it is important to bear in mind that melody too is part of a system of musical rhythm; recall that musical rhythm was said to concern the distribution of notes in a musical piece or melody in section 9.2. Importantly, what distinguishes the melodies occurring with 98+LSLPS A-rhythmic renditions is that their musical rhythmic background is inaudible: the exaggerated audibility of rhythm in the other 98+LSLPS rendition types (particularly in rapped renditions) emphasises the inaudibility of musical rhythm in the A-rhythmic renditions. The inaudibility of the melodies' musical rhythm affects an illusory 'speech like' environment. This facilitates the communication of A-rhythmic renditions in a manner that resembles natural speech.

Moreover, in the case of some of the melodies occurring with A-rhythmic renditions, not only is their musical rhythm inaudible but their underlying (inaudible) musical rhythm contrasts with the symmetrical durational sequences which define the rhythmic templates of 98+LSLPS songs. That is, they cannot be represented in terms of a phantom four beats per bar recursive sequence; recall the discussion about the relationship between indigenous musics and musical rhythm in section 9.2. This further enhances the speech friendly character of the renditions' musical environment which, in turn, makes the renditions appear even more speech like when delivered.

Consider [16], an A-rhythmically rendered Lone Line in its melodic/notational context.

[16]

Song - *Sri Sangabodhi* (BNS)



L1 (M1) [*Maetha athithaye Sinhelaye vangsha kathaven pituvak viya*

/ma:θə əθiθəje siŋhəlɛje vɐŋʃə kəθavən pituvak vijə/

(M2) When

I was in Ceylon they used to have these funny little stores called tea-stores and in these stores they played some funny little songs and one of them sounded a little bit like this]

Trans. recent history-in-the Sinhala-of lineage story-from page-a was
 {Of the recent history of (the) story (of) Sinhala lineage a page (it) was }

Firstly, the musical rhythm of this melody is inaudible. Secondly, it does not underlie a four beats per bar musical rhythmic structure nor does it conform to the kind of rhythmic beat groupings typically associated with western tonal music (discussed in section 9.2). As we know, 98+LSLPS draws on a range of indigenous melodies. The song *Sri Sangabodhi* is an example; [16] is the song's opening line. What defines the song is that it incorporates the adaptation of a Sri Lankan indigenous melody which, in its original form, does not conform to a rhythmic pattern involving symmetrical durational sequences. [16] represents the first part of the melody in its original form. This is why the score does not contain a time signature, the indicator of the number of beats per symmetrical bar in western tonal music. Consequently, the feature doubly facilitates the natural speech like character of the melody's attendant A-rhythmic rendition line.

However, as stated earlier, melody in 98+LSLPS was described as integrating most A-rhythmic renditions with their respective songs. Crucially, melody in a 98+LSLPS song tends to manifest as either short extensions of a melodic sequence or as recursive melodic sequences occurring in different places of the song. Importantly,

the melodies of A-rhythmic renditions either recur or can be seen develop as an extension within the exaggerated rhythmic template of their respective songs. In the case of A-rhythmic renditions with melodies whose inaudible rhythm violates the rhythmic sequence structure of their attendant songs, the melodies when recurring (or their extensions), can be seen to have been organised so that they conform to the symmetrical durational sequences of their attendant songs. Consider [17], the opening of the refrain of *Sri Sangabodhi*.

[17]

Song - *Sri Sangabodhi* (BNS)

si-ri san-ga-bo-di ma-li-ga-ve dee ma da-ka pra-ne-ha-mi ven-ta-ba-te them-

Resembling other 98+LSLPS sample songs, a four beat per bar recursive durational sequence defines the overall rhythmic template of *Sri Sangabodhi* (see appendix 4). As already stated *Sri Sangabodhi* incorporates the adaptation of the indigenous melody: for the most part this involves modifying the melody so that it conforms to the song's symmetrical durational sequences. [17] is the melodic continuation of the melody presented in [16] but with a major difference. Unlike [16] the extract in [17] has been rhythmically adapted to conform to the four beats per bar durational sequence which defines the song's rhythmic template. Consequently, this melodic continuation can be seen to acoustically (i.e. in performance through audio format) project the A-rhythmic rendition of [16] as connected to the other renditions of the song. In the case of A-rhythmic Text renditions, melody also unifies the lines of the renditions.

In [18] we encounter an interesting 98+LSLPS rendition blend comprising an A-rhythmic rendition resembling singing. It is the first line of the BNS song *Shaheena*.

[18]

Song – *Shaheena* (2008)

A-rhythmic rendition - sung chant

L1 ah..yay *Shaheena*

Specifically, [18] has the rhythmic identity of an A-rhythmic rendition in that it does not conform to the strict durational sequence of the song. Yet it also displays affinity with sung renditions because it is sung/chanted. The Lone Line is classified an A-rhythmic rendition because it is its rhythmic character which distinguishes it most.

As already noted, melody does not unite all 98+LSLPS A-rhythmic renditions with the renditions of their attendant songs. The sample includes an A-rhythmic rendition concluding a song (L69-73 in *Kotthu*) which does not occur within melody or audible musical rhythm. Instead, it occurs alone. Musically then, the rendition appears to compromise the cohesiveness of the songs in which it occurs. Interestingly, what unites it with its fellow renditions is song theme and hence a linguistic attribute. Not surprisingly, the lines are in Sinhala, one of the core codes of the 98+LSLPS CofP's shared linguistic repertoire. [19] contains the rendition.

[19]

Song – *Kotthu* (2008)

A-Rhythmic rendition: (M1 and M2) child voices

L71 (M1) Mr Kotthuuuuuu yaaaah haaaaaaa

L72 (M2) Hello is the mic. still working?

L73 (M2) Ya.I paid 200 rupees for my Kotthu man

L74 (M2) I'm still waiting for it and I haven't got it

L75 (M2) If it was in India, I would've fed my entire family with it ya

A-Rhythmic rendition: (M1 and M2) child voices

L69 (M1) Mr Kotthuuuuuu yaaaah haaaaaaa

L70 (M2) Hello is the mic. still working?

L71 (M2) Ya.I paid 200 rupees for my Kotthu man

L72 (M2) I'm still waiting for it and I haven't got it
 L73 (M2) If it was in India, I would've fed my entire family with it ya

L69 echoes line 5 ('Mister *Kotthu*'), the opening line of the song's rhythmic rendition. The remaining lines of the song concern the context of ordering the fast food 'Kotthu' which is what the entire song is about –refer appendix 3 for a summary of the song lyric. So here we have a remarkable scenario where a linguistic attribute (theme) becomes the source which ensures that the overall unity of what is effectively a *musical* entity (i.e. a song), is not compromised on account of a component which is musically incompatible with the entity.

9.7 ILCF-L, ILCF-H and musical structure

Considering that ILCF-L and ILCF-H are forms of the musical rhythm derived line, we now explore the relationship between the line types and musical rhythm. Both ILdCF-L and ILCF-H lines conform to the musical rhythmic structural norms described in relation to the lines of the four rendition types discussed in section 9.4. Moreover, it is in the rendition types which are directly connected to musical rhythm that ILCF-H and ILdCF-L are dominant. This indicates their dependence on the four beat symmetrical durational sequences which characterise the songs. Consequently, the lines exhibit symmetry. Therefore, in communication/performance, the lines resemble their counterpart non-ILdCF-L and non-ILCF-H rendition lines which, in turn, makes them appear connected to their counterpart lines. [20] contains some examples of English and Sinhala code ILdCF-L, ILsCF-H and ILdCF-H occurring in the rap, sung and rhythmic renditions of the sample songs in terms of their attendant four beat bar line structure.

[20]

ILdCF-H in English Text
 Song - *Ae Hetha* (2007)

Rap	31	<i>mage</i>	<i>gedera</i>	cell call it	home base
-----	----	-------------	---------------	--------------	-----------

Song - *Sri Sangabodhi* (2000)

Sung + Rhythmic Rendition 1,2,3= three voices	59	1[<u>sangabodhi</u> 2 I	<u>maligave-</u> see ya	- <u>di</u> grooving	<u>ma</u> to this]
	60	[this 3	is our	histo-	-ry histo- <u>daeka</u>]
	61	[-ry this is <u>pranehani</u>	all about <u>venta</u>	who we <u>baeta</u>	are <u>dem</u> who we]
	62	[and	its no	myste-	-ry <u>siri</u> myste- to this]
	63	[-ry lets <u>sangabodhi</u>	keep on <u>maligave-</u>	moving <u>-di</u>	to this <u>ma</u>]
	64	[and be-	-lieve in our	desti-	-ny <u>daeka</u> desti-]
	65	[-ny if we <u>pranehani</u>	don't know <u>venta baeta</u>	who we <u>them</u>	are]
	66	[we'll	be	more	than a <u>siri</u>]
	67	[histo- I <u>sangabodhi</u>	-ry see ya <u>sangabodhi</u>	grooving <u>sangabodhi</u>	to this <u>sangabodhi</u>]

ILsCF-H in English Text

Song - *Hanthane* (2008)

Rhythmic Rendition 1,2=two voices	3	1[ah ----- 2	---ah	Ashan-----	--ti yeah]
--	---	-----------------	-------	------------	----------------

Song - *Sri Sangabodhi* (2000)

Sung+ Rhythmic Rendition 1,2,3= three voices	4	1[yeah 2yeah 3doo wap	yeah wup	come do wup	on pa wuppa]
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ILdCF-H in Sinhala Text

Song - *Oba Magemai* (2003)

Sung+ Rhythmic Rendition 1,2=two voices	32	1[<u>dore ga-</u> 2 Me	<u>-layana</u>	<u>senehe o-</u>	<u>-bai</u> you'll never leave]
---	----	----------------------------	----------------	------------------	---------------------------------------

ILsCF-H in Sinhala Text

Song – *Vasanthaye* (1998)

Sung 1,2=two voices	3a	1[<u>sitha-</u>	<u>-ta naen</u> 2 <u>sa-</u>	<u>gena</u> <u>-has</u>	-----]
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An interesting feature of, ILdCF-L lines is that regardless of whether their dominant code is Sinhala, English, or any other code, a line's dissimilar constituents only ever occur within the durational span of a musical beat. Bound morphemes occurring across beats (i.e. in adjacent beats of a line) as well as those occurring line terminally and line initially (i.e. the first part of a word/lexeme ends one line while the remaining part of the word/lexeme begins the following line), are always in the line's dominant code. [21] illustrates this; the line's dominant code is Sinhala.

[21]

Song – *Sandawathuren*: Sinhala Text ILdCF-L line

Sung	8	<u>nonidena</u>	<u>nethu gaa-</u>	<u>-va</u>	that's right
------	---	-----------------	-------------------	------------	--------------

9.8 A Lyric as 'one' and 'mixed'

The generalisations regarding the relationship between musical rhythm and 98+LSLPS rapped, sung and rhythmic Text renditions (section 9.4) showed that the rendition lines are organised in terms of musical rhythmic templates consisting of

recursive symmetrical durational sequences which correspond to the rendition lines. Accordingly, the lines of such Text renditions were shown to be rhythmically connected. The extract in [15] illustrated this in terms of a song Text comprising three rendition types. The exception was the A-rhythmic rendition type. However, (in section 9.6) this type too was shown to be musically connected to the other renditions on the basis of melody (which also distinguishes the rendition type). Likewise, 98+LSLPS ILdCF-L and ILCF-H lines were also shown to be organised in terms of the rhythmic templates of the songs. Moreover, that the relationship between 98+LSLPS Lone Lines and musical structure parallels the relationship between their corresponding Text rendition lines and musical structure was also established. Consequently, we see that all the Text renditions and Lone Lines of a lyric are governed by musical structure, in particular musical rhythm (recall that as explained in section 9.6, melody too foregrounds some form of musical rhythm) and are therefore, connected to each other.

Accordingly, appendix 4 contains a representation of the core artists' circle member Iraj's song *Kotthu*, in terms of musical structure. The song's defining melody has also been provided and is what recurs throughout the song- recall that recursive short melodies were described as defining 98+LSLPS and contributing to uniting the components of a song. The melody in *Kotthu* is both sung and features in instrumental form elsewhere in the song. Note that the song's A-rhythmic renditions are represented as spoken not bar lines.

Overall, as shown in the analyses of chapters 7, 8 and the present chapter, dissecting a 98+LSLPS song lyric (in audio format) in terms of its musical structure (i.e. the notion of the musical rhythm derived line) demonstrates a lyric as comprising quasi symmetrical sentences communicated in a variety of ways (i.e. singing, rap, rhythmic and A-rhythmic rendition) including multiple voicing. This fully complements the mixed counterpart of the dual identity assigned to the songs by their CofP. However, as stated in previous chapters (e.g. chapter 3), a mixed identity is quite obvious in the fact that the lyrics involve the mixing of languages essentially Sinhala and English. But this musical structure based interpretation of the lyrics presents them in terms of

a far more structured and complex mixed identity. Crucially, interpreting a lyric in terms of the notion of the musical rhythm derived line and corresponding analytical framework also presents it as a homogenous system because its quasi sentences exhibit hierarchical integration grammatically, thematically and in terms of an overarching musical rhythmic and melodic template (detailed in chapters 7, 8 and the present chapter respectively). In turn, the not-mixed counterpart of the dual identity assigned to a song genre whose defining feature is the presence of mixed language lyrics, by the genre's CofP, is shown to be entirely congruent at the level of the songs' lyric organisation.

One further point also merits mention here. As detailed in chapter 5, the recordings used are essentially first version audio recordings. With time most 98+LSLPS songs go through a process of remixes, a feature of contemporary popular music generally where songs are 'remixed' or infused with subtle new musical and/or linguistic elements. Importantly, a review of the remixed versions of the 98+LSLPS sample songs demonstrates that their musical rhythmic templates and core melodies remain unaltered. More specifically, all changes occur within the same rhythmic template and respective melodies thus affirming the importance of musical rhythm and melody to defining and distinguishing a 98+LSLPS song. This observation also partially addresses Turbin and Strebbins' (2010: 7) question regarding the extent to which multiple performances may/may not vary a song's musical structure.

9.9 Conclusion

The focus of this chapter involved exploring 98+LSLPS lyric organisation in terms of musical structure. It commenced with an overview of musical rhythm (section 9.2) followed by a further explanation of the notion of the musical rhythm derived line (section 9.3), the core of the analytical framework concerning 98+LSLPS lyric organisation. In section 9.4, the four 98+LSLPS rendition types were each explored in relation to musical structure. Importantly, the lines of 98+LSLPS sung rapped and rhythmic Text and Lone Line renditions were shown to be cast within and therefore governed by recursive symmetrical durational sequences (of four beats per bar line). Accordingly, these rendition lines occurring in a 98+LSLPS song were shown to

belong to a rhythmic template of recursive symmetrical durational sequences consequently appearing to be connected.

With the exception of two renditions, melody was shown to govern A-rhythmic Text and Lone Line renditions (in section 9.6) and integrate them with the other renditions of their respective songs. As illustrated in the representation of the song *Kotthu* in terms of musical structure in appendix 4, the rhythmic template can be seen to dominate the songs owing to the overall paucity of A-rhythmic renditions. Moreover, ILdCF-L and ILCF-H lines (section 9.7) were also shown to be positioned within a song's rhythmic template making them appear connected with the other lines of their songs. Finally, the discussion in section 9.8 established that the dual identity assigned to 98+LSLPS songs by their CofP is entirely compatible with the structure of the songs' 'mixed' code lyrics when the lyrics are analysed according to the musico-linguistic analytical framework developed in this thesis. More generally, this approach to analysing language in song demonstrates that a song's language organisation is governed by the song's musical structure, in particular musical rhythm.

Chapter 10

Conclusion: The collective linguistic identity of the 98+LSLPS artists and principal audience

“We never speak only one language – or rather there is no pure idiom”.

“We only ever speak one language – or rather one idiom only.” (Derrida: 1996)

“There was a need for one language, one medium for everyone to feel comfortable and communicate...to feel this is us” (Santhush Weeraman [98+LSLPS core artist]: interview: 2009).

“*Sinhala sinduvak kiyala thereneva*” –Translation: “[I/we] can understand/feel that it is a Sinhala song” (CAC-21 [98+LSLPS audience member]: interview: 2009).

10.1 Introduction

In this final chapter we attempt to describe the collective linguistic identity of the artists and principal audience of 98+LSLPS (i.e. the 98+LSLPS CofP) by interpreting the discussions in the preceding chapters as well as summarising the overall significance of this study and highlighting how it might be extended further. Section 10.2 summarises the core objective and findings of the thesis so far. A description of the 98+LSLPS CofP’s collective linguistic identity follows in section 10.3. The CofP’s linguistic identity is described as a form of monolingualism involving active multilingualism in and with music. The chapter concludes (in section 10.4) with an overview of the study’s contribution to linguistic, musicological as well as interdisciplinary (musico-linguistic) research and some directions on how aspects of the study might be extended for further research.

10.2 The study so far

Overall, this thesis is a comprehensive exploration of ‘glocal’ contemporary popular music representing the first study of macro-societal linguistic identity in a context of popular music that draws on linguistic and musical structure. The specific focus has been on Sri Lanka’s leading genre of popular music, its artists and principal audience, the core objective being to comprehend and describe the linguistic identity

of the community, arising from their negotiation (i.e. the invention, performance and reception) of the songs. The objective foregrounds questions about whether there may be underlying differences between our perception of and response to language mixing (i.e. code-switching) and by implication language in music on the one hand and our perception of and response to language mixing (i.e. code-switching) and by implication language in non-musical contexts and how any such differences might be explained in structural terms.

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 comprised a socio-cultural investigation of 98+LSLPS. Chapter 2 provided an overview of Sri Lanka's multilingual environment, two of the country's core languages and how one of them corresponds to a specific ethnic identity. Specifically, the Sinhala ethnic community was described as the country's largest ethnic community representing over 80% of its total population. Importantly, the Sinhala language in terms of the properties traditionally associated with it (presented in section 2.2.3) was described as the linguistic *core* by which the community is typically identified. However, the community was also described as being fundamentally multilingual owing to individuals' knowledge and regular use of both Sinhala *and* localised forms of English (i.e. Sri Lankan English/es) for instrumental and domestic purposes. Properties associated with the localised English form termed Standard Sri Lankan English, were also presented. Consequently, language mixing was shown to be the community's linguistic norm.

Crucially, on the basis of a discussion of examples reflective of contemporary linguistic output of the Sinhala community, it was argued that it is not possible to segment and distribute all of their output *between* the categories of Sinhala, Sri Lankan English/es or code-'switching' considering the way in which the categories are currently defined in the prevailing literature¹³⁶. More specifically, the examples were shown to appear compatible with multiple categories: it was argued that some words and phrases are interpretable as representing Sinhala, Sri Lankan English/es or both. In turn, the chosen interpretation determines whether the clause in which the word/phrase occurs reflects code-switching or not.

¹³⁶ Chapter 2 described some of the main features associated with Sinhala and Sri Lankan English/es.

In chapter 3, an overview of the genesis, status and distinguishing feature of 98+LSLPS was advanced. Moreover, hip-hop music was described as the core zone of language mixing in global contemporary music while rap was described as a quintessential attribute of hip-hop music. The chapter also highlighted the fact that while hip-hop is synonymous with rap, not all music containing rap represents hip-hop. Rap and singing were described as the dominant of four rendition types through which 98+LSLPS is delivered. *Rhythmic* and *A-rhythmic* rendition are the remaining two. The terms have particular usage in this thesis and are described in subsequent chapters. Briefly, rhythmic rendition refers to a form of rendition which would typically be classified as rap but which in the present study is distinguished on the basis of word/morpheme to musical rhythm organisation. A-rhythmic rendition concerns the natural speech like rendition of sequences within the context of a song. Despite the dominance of rap, 98+LSLPS was described as not representative of hip-hop. Instead, 98+LSLPS was described as musically heterogeneous including indigenous folk melodies as well as adaptations of western classical music.

Consequently, mixed language lyrics (mostly involving English and Sinhala) were shown to distinguish the songs from other Sri Lankan song genres thus uniting them as a separate musical genre¹³⁷. Reasons for describing 98+LSLPS as the country's leading/mainstream genre of popular vocal (i.e. sung) music since its symbolic genesis in 1998 in the context of a 'Sri Lankan music industry' were also included. The 'Sri Lankan music industry' was described as more of a label rather than an organisation or cohesive network for Sri Lankan musicians involved in popular music in Sri Lanka. That the dominance of English and western musical styles in the songs may be partly reflective of their artists' aspiration to make 98+LSLPS an international brand of music was also discussed as part of exploring the relationship between 98+LSLPS and the global popular music industry. The chapter additionally highlighted the fact that as yet, there exists no research which examines the linguistic output of South Asian popular music by exploring the musics' linguistic and musical interface.

¹³⁷ Typically, the lyrics might be classified as representing code-switching; however, for reasons provided in chapter 1, the term mixed language is used to describe the integration of languages in 98+LSLPS.

Next in chapter 4, over 5.5 million Sri Lankan youth and young adults of Sinhala ethnicity approximately between 15 and 39 years of age (over quarter of the Sri Lanka's total population), were shown to constitute the artists and principal audience of 98+LSLPS. Wenger's (1998) prototype Communities of Practice model was applied to describe the artists and principal. It is the continuous negotiation and entailed bond between members underlying and sustaining the genre's status as a *leading popular* music genre that was shown to render a collective of several million individuals a CofP. Establishing that the individuals are a community was important in order to be able to investigate 'collective' linguistic identity. Sinhala and English were described as the core components of their shared linguistic repertoire. Importantly, the exploration of the CofP's joint enterprise involved presenting a portrait of what 98+LSLPS means to the CofP: the CofP were found to regard the songs in terms of an identity comprising a 'mixed' and 'not-mixed' counterpart. Collectively, the discussions in chapter 4 addressed one of the two complementary components of Wenger's (1998) CofP model, namely the CofP's 'participation of their practice'.

Chapter 5 introduced a sample of 14 songs made of two sets, one of which was based on evaluating a list of nearly 300 songs. The sample included the 12 leading 98+LSLPS songs which emerged between 1998 and 2009 underlying the analyses in chapters 7, 8 and 9. The methodology used was also outlined. Moreover, the methodology had the added function of clarifying the status of 98+LSLPS in Sri Lanka: that 98+LSLPS has been Sri Lanka's leading popular music genre since 1998 (stated in the preceding chapters) was confirmed. Importantly, the song sample is adopted in the original audio form in which the songs were released and continue to be negotiated by its artists and audience.

The distinguishing features of lyrics in audio format were described in chapter 6: they lack the intonational cues of natural speech and written data which indicate sentential boundaries. Moreover, the lyric of a 98+LSLPS song averages four minutes in duration. Considering that the basis of the genre's leading status is effective communication between the CofP members, it was argued that a

‘communicative event’ (i.e. a lyric) of such duration is incompatible with individuals’ efficient communication and processing of information. A review of representative sociolinguistic and grammatical approaches to analysing language mixing data was shown to rely on data indicating sentential boundaries. In other words, they were shown to have been developed to deal with natural speech and written output. Consequently, the inadequacy of these approaches for dealing with language conveyed through music was established. It was also stressed that the aim of the analyses of the song sample was to reconcile the ‘mixed’ and ‘not-mixed’ counterparts of the ‘portrait’ assigned to the songs by the CofP at the level of a song’s (English-Sinhala mixed language) lyric organisation. It is important to recall a further important reason (outlined in chapter 1) for needing to evaluate the portrait assigned to the songs by their CofP at the level of the songs’ lyric organisation. Specifically, the mixed and not-mixed dual identity assigned to the songs by their CofP referred to the songs in audio format and therefore, pertained to the songs in their entirety: the songs in their entirety include a linguistic *and* musical component. It was necessary to evaluate whether the portrait was reflected in the songs’ linguistic component alone in order to evaluate whether the portrait represents the CofP’s perception of the songs’ linguistic component and by implication is reflective of the CofP’s collective linguistic identity.

Chapter 6 introduced a new musico-linguistic analytical framework based on the notion of the musical rhythm derived line for purposes of analysing songs in audio format. The framework presents a lyric as consisting of a collection of quasi sentences determined by musical structure and converging hierarchically on the basis of linguistic and musical factors to form a homogenous unit. Importantly, the analyses of the 98+LSLPS sample in chapters 7, 8 and 9 in terms of the framework showed that the organisation of a 98+LSLPS lyric complements the two counterparts of the portrait assigned to the songs by their CofP. The musical rhythm derived lines and the various sub structures of the framework were shown to reflect the mixed counterpart of the portrait while the systematic manner in which they converge making them appear inextricably bound as a cohesive unit was shown to correspond to the not-mixed counterpart of the portrait. Therefore, what appears like English and

Sinhala (as well as occasional Divehi, Arabic and Tamil) mixing in the lyrics on the one hand was also shown to resemble a unified code.

Importantly, the structural and thematic composition of the languages as well as their integration with each other was shown to differ from individuals' natural spoken and written output due to the influence of musical structure. More specifically, the analyses in the three chapters established the presence of an inextricable bond between the 'language' of a 98+LSLPS song and its musical structure which, in turn, distinguishes the organisation of the song language from natural spoken and written output and demonstrated that this is reflected in how the songs are collectively perceived by their CofP. Collectively, the analyses of the three chapters corresponded to addressing the second component of Wenger's (1998) CofP model, namely, the CofP's 'reification' (i.e. output). The main focus of the analyses was on lyric sections involving English and Sinhala (the two defining languages of the lyrics) the presence of other languages (specifically Divehi, Tamil and Arabic), being marginal occurring in just a few lyric lines of three sample songs.

Identifying the features of English and Sinhala when a lyric is interpreted in terms of musical (rhythmic) structure was part of the focus. The discussions in all three chapters also explored the relationship between the two languages and the four presentational techniques (or rap, singing, rhythmic and A-rhythmic rendition) through which the songs are delivered. The grammatical features of the languages in music were identified in chapter 7 while the manner in which English and Sinhala presented through music relates to song theme was investigated in chapter 8. Love was shown to be the overarching topic of most lyrics although the songs' treatment of the topic as well as inclusion of a range of sub-topics was shown to distinguish the songs. In chapter 9, the relationship between the two languages and musical structure was detailed.

In chapter 7, English was shown to be the dominant language of rap which occurs in almost all the sample songs while Sinhala was shown to be the dominant language of sung renditions. English was also shown to be the dominant language of the songs'

rhythmic and A-rhythmic renditions while a third of the lyric renditions were shown to comprise English sung renditions. English rapped (musical rhythm derived) lyric lines were shown to abound with sentence and word/lexeme fragments, the latter particularly line-terminally. However, when the lines of a rapped rendition were interpreted together, these irregularities are considerably diminished. In chapter 8, content that is radical and sexually explicit in the context of norms associated with Sri Lankan cultural practice was shown to characterise English rapped lyrics. Moreover, rapped renditions were identified as occurring lyric medially, mostly next to a song's refrain. Chapter 9 demonstrated that the rapped line is characterised by the conflation of many words and word fragments. The rapid delivery of the content of rapped lines in performance is a key consequence. It was argued that these features coupled with the dominance of word/lexeme and sentence fragments in the lines help conceal their provocative content. That English is being used to explore deeply intimate aspects of human emotion and radical issues was argued to reflect the fact that English is as much a *core* attribute of the 98+LSLPS CofP's collective linguistic identity as is Sinhala.

English sung renditions also contain sentence fragments, but of a less ambiguous nature. Moreover, they contain few word/lexeme fragments and in terms of theme, concern romantic love. The English dominated rhythmic and rapped renditions are both unsung; that is they are delivered like speech except in terms of musical rhythm. However, rhythmic rendition lines are distinguished as they include few words. Moreover, rhythmic renditions were shown to be especially short comprising few lines and occurring at the beginning or conclusion of a lyric. Thematically, they relate to naming individuals and places. A-rhythmic renditions were described as the most rare and grammatically regular rendition types because it is the only rendition type that is not bound by musical rhythm. Instead, chapter 9 demonstrated that melody integrates them with the other sections of their respective lyrics. These renditions too, concern naming, are extremely short and tend either to begin or conclude a song. It was argued that the reason for their position in a lyric and overall paucity in the genre owes to their non-dependence on musical rhythm.

Sinhala sung renditions were shown to be the correlate to English rapped renditions in as far as the lyrics' dominant rendition types are concerned. Discussed in chapter 7, Sinhala sung renditions were shown to abound with sentence fragments but contain few words per line compared to rapped English renditions. Moreover, the fragments were shown to be less grammatically ambiguous than the fragments of English rapped renditions. Furthermore, Sinhala sung renditions contain few word/lexeme fragments. The sample contains just one Sinhala rapped rendition. Here too, the lines appear less grammatically ambiguous compared to the English rapped renditions. That Sinhala is dependent on inflectional morphology and is not dependent on word order was provided as a possible reason for these features. The sung lines do, however, rhyme: coupled with the fact that they contain sentence fragments, the lines were subsequently shown to be connected to each other while also appearing partially autonomous. At the level of theme (explored in chapter 8), these renditions (including English sung renditions) were described as concerning romantic love and issues which are uncontroversial thus differing from English rapped renditions.

Chapter 8 also discussed the role of a song refrain which is usually sung and recursive. Described as encompassing either the synthesis of a song or its focal point, nearly all the 98+LSLPS sample refrains were shown to be Sinhala sung renditions entailing that the refrains are thematically benign. This too was shown to help diffuse the provocative nature of the rapped renditions which, as stated earlier, were found to often follow or precede a refrain. Importantly, and in keeping with the analytical framework about lyric line organisation, all the rendition types in all the languages of the lyrics, when interpreted alone, showed thematic ambiguity despite reflecting a degree of cohesion as well. When interpreted together, the ambiguities were shown to diminish. The system of multiple voicing where different combinations of voices deliver different sections of a lyric was also explored and shown to enhance the complexity of a lyric's theme. Furthermore, chapter 8 demonstrated that the kind of Sinhala and English found in 98+LSLPS cannot be accounted for on the basis of existing categories such as Standard Sri Lankan English/es and formal versus colloquial Sinhala since they manifest in forms which reflect the *merging* of

elements usually associated with the individual categories. This confirmed some of the predictions about the complexity of describing language mixing in Sri Lanka in chapter 2.

Chapter 9 showed the lines of a lyric are all governed by and integrated within a durational template made of symmetrical durational sequences (comprising four beats per bar line) based on musical rhythm which makes them appear like a single code. Specifically, all the lines of a lyric excepting the lines of A-rhythmic renditions were shown to be of the same length making them appear similar and connected at the same time. Interestingly, all the sample songs were shown to involve a similar rhythmic template involving a durational sequence of four beats per bar line. Consequently, musical structure was shown to explain the rapid rendition of rapped rendition lines and the slower rendition of sung and rhythmically rendered lines. For example, while the beats of rapped rendition lines include the compacting of more than one word/lexeme, the words of sung rendition lines tend to be stretched across beats. Moreover, an exaggerated rhythmic pulse corresponding to the four beats of a bar line was shown to characterise the songs rapped and rhythmic renditions thus projecting them as part of a larger unified musical system.

Melody was shown to dominate and function similarly in the case of sung renditions where musical rhythm was not as exaggerated. Importantly, (and as stated previously) melody was also shown to integrate A-rhythmic renditions with their respective songs. An interesting aspect of the discussion involved highlighting an A-rhythmic rendition devoid of melody and which was in fact shown to be connected to its musical structure on the basis of a linguistic attribute. Specifically, its thematic content was shown to maintain the overall thematic unity of its song.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of analysing the lyrics according to the musico-linguistic framework was the analyses of two phenomena termed Intra Line Code Fusion-linear (ILCF-L) and Intra Line Code Fusion Horizontal (ILCF-H). The former refers to language mixing within a line similar to code-switching. ILCF-H lines involve the deliberate rendition of different sequences simultaneously. Most

ILCF-L lines in the sample involved Sinhala and English mixes. However, as with the single language lyric lines (discussed above), these lines were shown to differ from natural speech and written mixed language output structurally and thematically, because the lines are determined by musical structure. Moreover, ILCF-H was described as an extremely common phenomenon of ancient and contemporary mixed and non-mixed sung language globally, but which has remarkably not been subjected to linguistic inquiry so far. In this study, most of the ILCF-H lines involved the horizontal alignment of Sinhala and English sequences as well as the horizontal alignment of sequences in the same language (i.e. Sinhala or English). Overall, the study established that the musical rhythmic context of ILCF-L and ILCF-H lines projects them as both integrated and autonomous and yet as also connected to their adjacent lines structurally as well as thematically.

10.3 The 98+LSLPS CofP's collective linguistic identity

The congruence (established in the preceding chapters) between the 'mixed' and 'not-mixed' counterparts of the portrait assigned to the songs by the CofP and song lyric organisation indicates that the CofP's collective linguistic identity also encompasses a mixed and not-mixed counterpart. However, it is necessary to interpret this duality further in order to understand what it actually means in terms of the CofP. First consider the 'mixed' counterpart of the CofP's identity. On the basis of the languages occurring in the song sample, Sinhala, English, Tamil, Divehi and Arabic were presented (in chapter 4) as informing the CofP's shared linguistic repertoire while English and Sinhala were shown to be the core of their shared linguistic repertoire. Therefore, the mixed counterpart of the CofP's linguistic identity can be corresponded to this mixed language repertoire (i.e. the linguistic sources of the songs). Accordingly, the 'mixed' counterpart of the CofP's linguistic identity appears analogous to multilingualism, with English and Sinhala as the core. The song analysis in chapters 7, 8 and 9 also demonstrated a spectrum of different forms of mixing between the languages in their musical environment and this reflects further, the mixed counterpart of the CofP's linguistic identity.

Now consider the not-mixed counterpart of the CofP's collective linguistic identity which in the analyses of the song lyrics was shown to correspond to the mixed languages of a lyric appearing homogenous. At the level of linguistic identity such homogeneity corresponds to monolingualism. Crucially, what we see, here, is a rather unusual form of overarching monolingualism in a musical context issuing from active multilingualism. As shown in the song analyses, the not-mixedness of a 98+LSLPS song lyric is the result of the CofP's complex integration of multiple languages with *and* within musical structure.

There are some further interesting implications following the CofP's identity in light of two terms explicitly and implicitly associated with the songs by the CofP. The terms were Sinhala and Sri Lankan: as shown in chapter 4, the term 'Sri Lankan' was often used in conjunction with 'Sinhala'. Importantly, the terms reinforced the not-mixed counterpart of the portrait on how 98+LSLPS is regarded by its CofP. On the one hand, then, the CofP's monolingualism can be seen to correspond to a Sinhala (and Sinhala based Sri Lankan) homogenous identity; bear in mind too that the CofP belong to the Sinhala ethnic community. Indeed, it would appear that the 98+LSLPS CofP's overarching projected monolingualism corresponds to their perception of the Sinhala language since both are linguistic phenomena. Recall also (and as explained in chapter 2), that the roots of Sinhala ethnicity are inextricably connected with language, in particular, the Sinhala language.

However, the 98+LSLPS CofP's (Sinhala) monolingualism is the result of their underlying multilingualism rooted in Sinhala *and* English. More specifically, Sinhala *and* English occupy equal status as core languages of the CofP's shared linguistic repertoire. It seems, therefore, that the CofP's projected definition of their (Sinhala) language involves a blend of 'Sinhala' and 'English' elements. This contrasts with the description of the Sinhala language provided in chapter 2. More specifically, as evident from the discussions in chapter 2, existing scholarship on Sinhala and English in Sri Lanka can be seen to (implicitly and explicitly) assign a Sinhala language comprising structural properties of the kind described in section 2.2.3, the status of the linguistic core of the Sinhala ethnic community: English is regarded an

important language occupying the status of an L2 for a vast majority of Sri Lankans of Sinhala ethnicity and L1 for a minority today (the discussions on ‘standard’ Sri Lankan English in section 2.3.1 and multilingualism in section 2.4 reflect this). Importantly, the Sinhala language described in section 2.2.3 does not contain any ‘English’ elements. In 98+LSLPS we see a strikingly different projection of the linguistic ‘core’ of the ‘Sinhala’ CofP. It is one which includes the amalgamation of Sinhala and English.

At a structural level (as explained in chapter 9), we see that the reason why the amalgamation of languages in 98+LSLPS is so cohesive is musical structure which regulates the integration of the languages and in so doing makes them appear homogeneous in their musical environment (i.e. audio format).

Ultimately, it is also important to recognise that the 98+LSLPS CofP’s roots lie in music and that music is a creative space which draws individuals together, is inherently reflective of collective will and, as such, provides insights into the symbiotic dynamics of collective ‘invented’ identity. Consequently, the CofP’s musical basis reinforces the description of the CofP’s linguistic identity (that it embodies a form of monolingualism issuing from active multilingualism in music) as representative of the CofP’s definition of the ‘language’ of (their) Sinhala ethnicity.

10.4 Some implications of this study and directions for further research

In addition to constituting the first systematic study of Sri Lanka’s leading genre of popular music, its artists and principal audience this study presents a number of new insights about language mixing (and by implication language), occurring in music. Thus it contributes to linguistic and musicological scholarship as well as to the small but expanding body of interdisciplinary scholarship involving both disciplines. Firstly, the thesis incorporates a radical application of the CofP model traditionally used to describe small and closely located groups of individuals to describe a collective of several million individuals. Secondly, the structural analyses of the songs that complements the community’s perception of them (that the songs are simultaneously ‘mixed’ and ‘not-mixed’), parallels the development of a new

analytical framework which draws on musical structure, in particular, the notion of the musical rhythm derived line for analysing songs in audio format.

As stated previously, this is arguably the first linguistic study of language mixing in music which explores macro-societal identity by taking in to account the audio/musical environment in which a song's 'language' is positioned, communicated (i.e. performed) and perceived. Furthermore, as evident in the analyses of chapters 7, 8 and 9, the analytical framework encompasses a holistic approach to analysing song lyrics drawing on various aspects of a song lyric such as its grammar, theme, and music-lyric interface and in so doing offers a novel interpretation of how languages are integrated in music. Moreover, whereas normally, lyrics such as 98+LSLPS may seem to involve two basic rendition types, singing and rapping, the musical rhythm interpretation of the lyrics in this study involved identifying two more rendition types through which the lyrics are communicated; namely rhythmic and A-rhythmic rendition. Accordingly, the discussions showed how language mixing in music is influenced by rap, singing, rhythmic and A-rhythmic rendition techniques. Stylistic features such as multiple voicing were also shown to play an important role in both enhancing a lyric's thematic complexity as well as facilitating its overall thematic unity.

Furthermore, on the basis of the relationship between a 98+LSLPS lyric and musical rhythm (explored in chapter 9), the study demonstrates that the structural organisation of language (in this case language mixing) occurring (i.e. performed and received) in a musical rhythmic template made of recursive symmetrical durational sequences (the dominant structure of the musical rhythm derived line in 98+LSLPS¹³⁸) is governed by the musical rhythmic template. That is, the natural rhythm and intonation of a language are seen to be controlled by musical rhythm. So in the context of language mixing, this facilitates the integration of the languages by making them appear (i.e. sound) similar. Because the analytical framework is the consequence of trying to advance a structural explanation for how the songs are perceived by their community, the analyses also suggest that it is in terms of musical

¹³⁸ There were exceptions such as A-rhythmic renditions referred to previously.

rhythm rather than the natural rhythm of the languages that mixed language (and language) in music is perceived. The hierarchical nature of the song lyric organisation according to which the lyrics are perceived supports predictions of researchers such as Fiske (1993) who argue that “a generic decision-task hierarchy is behind any explanation of music cognition activity” (128).

Further applications of this framework, in particular, the notion of the musical rhythm derived line include other contexts of music with mixed language (i.e. code-switched) lyrics as well as comparing the resultant interpretations with investigations into whether they are congruent with how the musics’ artists and audience regard them. For example, consider the following mixed language rap lyric extract involving three varieties of French, two varieties of English and a variety of Caribbean Creole¹³⁹ (Sarkar 2009: 150).

[1]

Show me respect, j’suis la true *ill nana*
Pourquoi t’es venu, si tu *front sou kote*?
Fai pas ton **mean**, j’vois ton *bounda* sauter
Sit u sais pas danser, qu’est-ce que t’as te moquer?
Dis-le, t’aimes me **moves**, pas vrai, t’es choqué?
Hey! Mais qu’est-ce main fait la? Go away!
Neg pa lave, pafume No way!
You tha man, toutes les femmes te veulent..oh! ouais!
You wanna get down, you go down! O.K.

In the researcher’s discussion about the lyric there is no indication that it has been interpreted in terms of its musical rhythmic context. Consequently, interpreting the lyric in terms of its musical rhythmic context (i.e. the musical rhythm derived line)

¹³⁹ Standard Quebec French (unmarked)

Nonstandard Quebec French (bold)

European French (bold, and underlined)

Standard North American English (underlined)

African American Vernacular English (AAVE) (italicized)

Haitian Creole (bold, italic, and underlined)

may yield a different organisation of the text altogether and consequently offer further insights regarding how the languages have been integrated in music, the relationship between the individual participating languages and musical structure as well as how this affects overall lyric grammar and theme. For example, when interpreted in terms of its musical structure, the line beginnings and endings and therefore, the number of lines into which the text subdivides, may differ from how they appear in [1]. In turn, it would be interesting to review the salience of such analyses in relation to how the songs are perceived by their communities of artists and audience.

The notion of the musical rhythm derived line is equally applicable to analyses of non-mixed (in particular contemporary) language occurring in music. For example, as shown in chapters 8 and 9, the interpretation of a lyric in this way shows interesting patterns (e.g. relating to rhyme) between the various languages and the techniques of rap, singing etc. It would be interesting to explore how languages in other contemporary global music genres involving these rendition types are organised in relation to them and whether there may be underlying constraints regarding how specific languages occur in the various rendition types. For purposes of illustration, consider the four sentences in [2]. They belong to a mainstream American rap lyric extract presented in a paper on hip-hop by Cutler (2009: 90).

[2]

- (1) Listen man, yo. Hey, yo, listen. Hey yo, hey yo.
- (2) I'mo spit hot bars even if this dude is borin'.
- (3) They got Shells battlin' lil Chuck Norris
- (4) We get it goin' man; you don't really want that

Needless to say, the particular structuring of the text in [2] relates to the researcher's focus of the paper. However, observe that the lines include punctuation and as such reflect conversational speech. It may well be that the 'sentences' of text would involve a different organisation if the text were to be interpreted in terms of its

musical rhythmic context. In turn, the interpretation could offer interesting grammatical and thematic insights and enable for comparisons with the language when occurring in non-musical (conversational) settings. [3] includes a hypothetical interpretation¹⁴⁰.

[3]

Listen man you hey yo listen.
Hey yo hey you I'mo spit hot bars even.
If this dude is borin they got shells.
Battlin' lil Chuck Norris we get it goin man you.
Don't really want that.

Conclusions of such research would also contribute to addressing broader questions about the nature of human perception of language mixing (and language) in music.

Moreover, a notable phenomenon, extremely fascinating from a linguistic point of view, recognised by and analysed in terms of the analytical framework advanced in this thesis was that which was termed Intra Line Code Fusion –Horizontal (ILCF-H). As explained previously, the phenomenon is and has for centuries been a regular feature of sung language all over the world and involves the simultaneous rendition of different utterances in both the same as well as different languages. However, there exists no known research on it, certainly not in relation to perception and linguistic identity. Consequently, there exists no analytical framework capable of addressing the phenomenon. The framework developed in this study offers a means of doing so.

In terms of Sri Lanka, that the country's leading genre of popular song for over a decade, has as its nucleus, a community of Sri Lankan Sinhala youth and young adults constituting over a quarter of the nation's population and belonging to its largest ethnic community is important. Linguistic tendencies of youth groups,

¹⁴⁰ The text has been interpreted in terms of a four beats per bar musical rhythmic structure, a common time signature of contemporary popular music.

particularly of dominant groups of the kind discussed in this thesis, can often be indicative of evolving linguistic patterns at a broader societal level. Consequently, and although this study pertains to a genre of popular song, it may be that the overarching monolingualism of the 98+LSLPS CofP identified by them as ‘Sinhala’ and yet deriving from active (Sinhala and English) multilingualism (which contrasts with the properties associated with the Sinhala language considered to be the linguistic *core* of Sinhala ethnicity and described in chapter 2), reflects or may develop to become the underlying linguistic *core* of the Sinhala ethnic community.

Appendix 1

Artists

Unless specified all the artists listed below are male and of Sinhala ethnicity.

Santhush Weeraman of BNS	9.02.09 core artists' circle member
Bathiya Jayakody of BNS	8.10.09 core artists' circle member
Iraj Weeraratne	3.03.09 core artists' circle member
Amila Paranamanage of Centigradz	3.02.09 artists' circle – leading artist
Ashanthi De Alwis email	16.03.09 artists' circle – leading female artist
Chinthya Fernando	3.02.09 artists' circle – leading artist
Edward Dunstan	22.12.08 artists' circle- new Tamil artist
Fill-T of 6 th -Lane	22.12.08 artists' circle – leading artist
Hasanjith Kurupparachchi	14/04/2010 artists' circle- new artist
Hiran Thenuwara of 6 th -Lane	15.12.09 artists' circle – leading artist
Krishan Maheson	3.02.09 artists' circle – leading Tamil
Randhir Witana	16/04/2010 artists' circle – leading artist
Yashan De Silva email	artists' circle – leading artist

Audience

Center Audience Circle

CAC-28/08/09 – male waiters/chefs based in the Trincomalee district (1, 2, 3)

CAC-23/08/09 – female batik factory showroom receptionists (4,5, 6)

CAC-23/08/09 – female batik factory workers (7, 8, 9)

CAC- 20/08/09- male university clerk (15)

CAC 20/08/09- male three wheeler drivers (17,18,19,20,21,22)

Inner Audience Circle

IAC 20/08/09, - female university English language instructors (10,11,12,13,14)

IAC-23/08/09- female batik factory owner (16)

IAC-6/12/09- female and male recent university graduates in English literature (24,25,26)

Outer Audience circle (all are employed or studying abroad)

OAC-20/08/09-UAE(23)

OAC-15/06/10-UAE (28)

OAC-16/06/10-Australia (29)

OAC-16/06/10-UAE (30)

OAC-15/06/10-UAE (31)

OAC-15/06/10-UK (32)

OAC-15/06/10-UK (33)

OAC-16/06/10-UK (34)

OAC-16/06/10-USA (35)

OAC-18/06/10-USA (36)
OAC-15/06/10-UK (37)
OAC-15/06/20-UK (38)
OAC-16/06/10-UK (39)
OAC-16/06/10-UK (40)
OAC-15/06/10-USA (41)
OAC-15/06/10-USA (42)
OAC-15/06/10-UAE (43)
OAC-15/06/10-Australia (44)
OAC-16/06/10-UAE (45)
OAC-15/06/10-USA (46)
OAC-18/06/10-USA (47)
OAC-18/06/10-USA (48)
OAC-23/06/10- UK (49)

Individuals involved with 98+LSLPS (i.e. webpage managers, DJs) who also happen to be Inner Audience Circle members

Lich – 18/12/2008- webmaster of Elakiri.com – the leading Sri Music online music archive
DJ Dilon- 22/12/2008-formerly employed at Hiru FM, one of the three leading radio networks described in Chapter 6
DJ Slash-24/12/2008 - producer/manager/DJ – Y-FM, one of the three leading radio networks described in Chapter 6

Artists' and Radio Websites

BNS: <http://www.bnsmusic.com/>
Iraj: <http://www.irajonline.com/home.html>
Yashan: <http://www.yashanonline.com/>
Ashanthi: <http://www.ashanthi.com/>
Y-FM: <http://www.yfm.lk>

Interview Questions for Artists

- 1 How many songs have you produced and aired ? Please list ALL the songs to date.
- 2 In which year was your first song/album aired on either radio or TV?
- 3 Some of your songs appear to have mixed English and Sinhala lyrics. Do you feel they are mixed? If so how?
- 4 If not, how would you describe the lyrics?
- 5 How would you describe your songs?

- 6 How would you define/describe the musical aspect of your songs?
- 7 How do you name your songs?
- 8 What guides your decision to give a song a particular name?
- 9 On what networks are your songs aired?
- 10 Are they Sinhala, Tamil, English or multilingual networks?
- 11 Who is your audience?
- 12 What are your most famous songs ? Please list no more than 5 in order of popularity.
- 13 What is the basis for your claims? (statistics, ratings etc)
- 14 Why do you think the songs are famous?
- 15 What are they each about? (i.e. themes of each song)

Interview Questions for Audience members

- 1 Have you heard of any of the following? BnS, Iraj, Ashanthi, Ranidu, Chinthi, Krishan, 6th-Lane, Centigradz. (Please indicate specifically whom you have or have not heard of).
- 2 If you are familiar with some of the artists above, how would you describe their songs? (i.e. Sri Lankan, Sinhala, Tamil etc). Explain why.
- 3 In what language are the song lyrics?
- 4 Do you listen to the artists' music regularly and/or attend their concerts?
- 5 Do you know any of their songs?
- 6 In your view, are the artists known internationally?
- 7 In your view, who listens to their songs most (in terms of nationality, age group, and ethnicity)?

Additional questions to members of the Outer Audience Circle:

- 8a Have any of the artists performed in the country in which you are resident?
- 8b If yes, did you attend any performances and generally, who do you think attended the concert/s (i.e. age group, gender etc)?

Appendix 2

98+LSLPS Sample Songs: Discography

- Ashanthi and Yashan. (2006). “Sandawathuren” from the *Sandawathuren* album. Sony Entertainment.
- Ashanthi. (2009). “Hanthane”. Online version: <http://www.myspace.com/ashanthi/music>.
- BNS. (1998). “Vasanthaye” from the *Vasanthaye* album. Torana Music.
- BNS. (2000). “Sri Sangabodhi” from the Life album. Torana Music.
- BNS. (2008). “Shaheena”. Online version: http://www.slhits.com/index.jsp?mainframe=srilankan_artist.jsp~name-
- Centigradz. (2005). “Dark Angel” from the *Heritage* album. Maharaja Entertainment.
Online version: <http://music.aol.com/album/heritage/1023179>.
- Iraj. (2006). “Oba Hinda”. Online version: <http://www.slhits.com/profile.jsp?id=Iraj>.
- Iraj. (2007). “Ae Hetha”. Online version: http://www.slhits.com/index.jsp?mainframe=srilankan_artist.jsp~name-Iraj.
- Iraj.(2008).“Kotthu”. Online version: http://www.slhits.com/index.jsp?mainframe=srilankan_artist.jsp~name-Iraj.
- Ranidu and Ashanthi. (2003). “Oba Magemai” from the *Oba Magemai* album. Sony Music.
- Ranidu. (2006). “Ahankara Nagare” from the *Diviyapura* album. Ransilu.
- 6th Lane. (2004). “Malpeththak Se” from the *Nirvanaya* album. Sony Entertainment /BMG.

Sample Songs- Transcription , word translation and line paraphrase

Overall format for each musical rhythm derived lyric line.

- Text – *Sinhala Text*
- English Text
 - Tamil Text
 - Divehi Text
 - Arabic Text
 - Lone lines – All languages

Phonemic transcription

Word to word translation of non-English (Sinhala) segments in English: **bold**

Line paraphrase of non-English (Sinhala) segments in English: **{bold in brackets}**

Transcription , word translation and line paraphrase conventions: further details

- Some examples of words/phrases that could be considered part of English in Sri Lanka and Sinhala: ***bold italics underlined***. Note however, that this is for illustrative purposes only in keeping with the discussion in chapter 2 about the blurring of boundaries between Sinhala and English. Importantly, the examples are not classified as belonging to both English in Sri Lanka and Sinhala in this study owing to the criteria used to classify such examples provided in chapter 6.
- Simultaneous rendition (ILCF-H) in original text; square parentheses [].
- Simultaneous rendition (ILCF-H) is represented in the word –to–word translations only if the sequences are non-English. Such instances are represented in square parentheses [].
- Simultaneous rendition (ILCF-H) is represented in the line paraphrase only if the sequences are non-English. Such instances are represented in square parentheses [] within { } parentheses.
- Lexical overlaps in the word-to-word translation: **bold underlined**.
- Where translation paraphrase contains duplicate lexical words in translation due to the division of words in original Text): **bold underlined in round parentheses**.
- Inserted additional words in paraphrase in order to facilitate translation; (**bold in round parenthesis**).
- Song and performance details: **bold underlined**.
- Male: (M).
- Female: (F).
- Ambiguous gender, sounding like F and/or Male: (M<>F).
- Simultaneous multiple M voices :(Mm), Simultaneous multiple F voices: (Fm), Simultaneous multiple F+M voices (FMm).
- A lead female or male voice within simultaneous multiple vocalisation: (FMm) – the lead voice being that of a female, the multiple vocalisation comprising male voices).
- In some very long songs, two musical rhythm derived lyric lines are represented as a single line with a slash to indicate the separation between them. For example ‘E hetha they no / bindi kannaa’ contains two lines, ‘E hetha they no’ and ‘bindi kannaa’.

Note – In Sinhala, the phonemes represented by θ and \eth are dental stops whereas they typically indicate dental fricatives in ‘Standardised’ forms of English. Interestingly, in Sri Lankan Englishes. The phonemes can be said to be allophonic: they manifest as dental stops and dental fricatives depending on the morphological environment in which they occur; they are dental stops when occurring word initially and word terminally and are stops when occurring word medially. Kachru (1986: 39) notes that the replacement of dental fricatives with dental stops is a feature of South Asian Englishes.

SONG: **Vasanthaye**
spring-in
{In Spring}

ARTISTS: BNS

Refrain: sung (MMmFm) unless otherwise stated

L1 vasanthaye//

/vʌsʌnθəje/

spring in
{In spring.}

L2 pibidena mal / piyeli vage

/pɪbɪðɛnə mʌl piːjɛli vʌgɛ/

blooming flowers buds like-are
{Blooming flowers. Like buds are.}

L3 [sithata naengena / sithuvili mal

/sɪθətə nʌɛŋənə sɪθʊvɪli mʌl/

(G) *sahas*]

/sʌhʌs/

[mind-to birthing thoughts flowers
Secret]
{[(The) thoughts that birth. Thought flowers
Secret .]}

L4 renu vage/ dangakaata vaehi

/renʊ vʌgɛ ðʌŋəkʌrtə vʌhi/

pollen like mischievous rain
{(Are) like pollen . Mischievous rain.}

L5 podak vage ape /hada sithuvili mee

/pɒðʌk vʌgɛ ʌpɛ hʌðə sɪθʊvɪli me/

drop-a like our hearts thoughts these
{Like a drop our. These hearts' thoughts.}

L6 sundhara love dutu / ve

/sʊnðərə lʊvɛ ðʊtʊ vɛ/

exquisite world see-did
{Espouse (the) exquisite world. Did.}

Sung (MMmFm)

L7 oba ma mise vena / kisiweku no-

/obə mʌ mɪsə vɛnə kɪsɪwɛkʊ no/

you me other-than any one-else not
{Other than you (and) me. Not anyone else.}

- L8 - ve vaehi bindu de / dunu athare
 /ve vahı bınðu ðe-ðunU ʌθəre/
is rain drops rainbows amidst
{Is/prevails rain drops (rainbows). Amidst (rainbows).}
- L9 oba ma de novena/ maa oba de novena
 /obə ma ð novənə ma obə ð novənə/
you me is not I you is not
{ (where) you (are) not me. I am not you.}
- L10 arumaye minisun / athare
 /arUməje minisUn ʌθəre/
heritage men/people among
{Heritage people. Among.}
- L11 me miniskamai / sitha puraa gaelena
 /me miniskʌmʌi siθə pUra galena/
This humanity it is mind throughout flows-which
{(This humanity it is. Throughout the mind which flows.}
- L12 [randiya daharai/ me nadiye
 /rʌnðijə ðʌhʌrʌi me nʌðije/
 (F) forever]
golden-liquid ray-is this stream -in
{(The) ray (of) golden liquid (this) is. In this stream.}
- L13 mee love aei / mee love kimada
 /me love ai me love kiməðə/
this world-in why this world-in why
{ Why (In) this world. In this world why.}
- L14 mayavak maeda / hasuvenne
 /majʌvʌk mʌðə hʌsUvenne/
illusion midst trapped-get
{(Midst (an) illusion. Get trapped.}
- L15 kimatha mee anduru / dasune thani
 /kiməðə me ʌnðUrU dʌssUnə θʌni/
why this gloomy image-in isolate
{Why this gloomy. Image (of) solitary (become).}
- L16 vi oba thae/venne
 /vi obə θa-venne/
be/come you pine do
{(Become) you pine? Do.}
- L17 sundara ve apa / dutu love arumaya
 /sUnðərə ve ʌpə ðUtU love arUməyə/
beauteous will-be our saw world mystery
{Beauteous will be our. Sighted world's mystery.}
- L18 oba ma jeevaya / ve
 /obə ma dʒivəjə ve/
you me life be/are
{You my life. Are.}

Refrain: Sung (MMmFm)

Rap: (M) with (F) background vocalisation

L18 So

L19 Check out check out my new Sinhala style I am

L20 Using the style for the very first time which

L21 Comes from a country from a country a pearl of a land from the

L22 Hill and the rivers and the golden sand with north

L23 South east and west together we must stand u-

L24 -nite the bond of friendship and the love for the country man

L25 DJ at the mike do the boogie dance man lets

L26 Do the Sinhala dance walla two three

Sung (MMmFm)

L27 me miniskamai / sitha puraa gaelena
/me miniskAMAI siθə pŪra galena/
This humanity it is mind throughout flows-which
{(This humanity it is. Throughout the mind which flows.)}

L28 [randiya daharai/ me nadiye
/rʌnðijə ðʌhʌrʌi me nʌðije/
(F) obema]
/obəmə/
[golden-liquid ray-is this stream -in
you only]
{[(The) ray (of) golden liquid (this) is. In this stream
You only.}]}

L29 mee love aei / mee love kimada
/me love ai me love kiməðə/
this world-in why this world-in why
{ **Why (In) this world. In this world why.**}

L30 mayavak maeda / hasuvenne
/majavʌk mʌðə hʌsʌvenne/
illusion midst trapped-get
{(Midst (an) illusion. Get trapped.)}

L31 kimatha mee anduru / dasune thani
/kiməðə me ʌnðŪrŪ dʌssŪne θʌni/
why this gloomy image-in isolate
{**Why this gloomy. Image (of) solitary (become).**}

L32 [*vi oba thae/venne*

/vi obə θa-venne/

(F) *thani*]

/θani/

**be/come you pine do
alone**

**{[(Become) you pine? Do.
Alone¹⁴¹.]}**

L33 *sundara ve apa / dutu love arumaya*

/sʊnðərə ve ʌpə ðʊtʊ love ʌrʊməyə/

**beauteous will-be our saw world mystery
{Beauteous will be our. Sighted world's mystery.}**

L34 *oba ma jeevaya / ve*

/obə ma dʒivəjə ve/

**you me life be/are
{You my life. Are}**

Refrain: sung (MMmFm); increased (Fm) harmonisation than previously

Refrain: sung (MMmFm) with simultaneous (F) rhythmic rendition

L35 [*vasanthaye//*

/vʌsʌnθəje/

(F) The world is there with a sign of your heart]

**spring in
{In spring.}**

L36 *pibidena mal / piyeli vage*

/pibidənə mʌl piyəli vʌge/

(F) There's always peace freedom

**blooming flowers buds like-are
{Blooming flowers. Like buds are.}**

L37 [*sithata naengena / sithuvili mal*

/sɪθətə nʌɛnə sɪθʊvɪli mʌl/

(H) *sahas*

/sʌhʌs/

(F) Fly away to a joyous place and]

[mind-to birthing thoughts flowers

Secret]

**{[(The) thoughts that birth. Thought flowers
Secret .]}**

¹⁴¹ Alone could in this context, occur between any of the words that comprise the clause.

L38 [*renu vage/dangakaata vaehi*

/renʊ vʌgɛ ɔ̃ʌngəkartə vahɪ/

(F) lift your face to the sunlight]

pollen like mischievous rain

{(Are) like pollen . Mischievous rain.}

L39 [*podak vage ape/hada sithuwili mee*

/pɔ̃ɔ̃ʌk vʌgɛ ʌpɛ hʌɔ̃ə sɪθʊvɪlɪ mɛ/

(F) Ride the ocean waves to a different land where]

drop-a like our hearts thoughts these

{Like a drop our. These hearts' thoughts.}

L40 [*sundhara love dutu / ve*

/sʊnɔ̃ərə lʊvɛ ɔ̃ʊtʊ vɛ/

(F) The weather is fresh and pure]

exquisite world see-did

{Espouse (the) exquisite world. Did.}

Sung (F)

The song concludes with a long low back unrounded vowel along a melodic theme contained within the underlying 4/4 rhythmic frame of the song. The melody also occurs at the beginning of the song.

SONG: **Sri Sangabodhi**
Sri-Sangabodhi –*Sri* is an honorific second person singular pronoun analogous to ‘His royal highness/sir’. Sangabodhi is a proper noun. {Sri Sangabodhi}

ARTISTS: BNS

A-rhythmic rendition (M1+ M2)

L1 (M1) [*Maetha athithaye Sinhala*ye vangsha kathaven pituvak viya
 /ma:θə ʌθiθəje siŋhəlɛje vʌŋʃə kʌθʌvɛn piʈʊvʌk vijə/
 (M2) When

I was in Ceylon they used to have these funny little stores called tea-stores and in these stores they played some funny little songs and one of them sounded a little bit like this]

recent history-in-the Sinhala-of lineage story-from page-a was
 {Of the recent history of (the) story (of) Sinhala lineage a page (it) was }

Melody without strong rhythmic base commences followed by a gradual increased exaggeration of rhythmic pulse - (M3) rhythmic rendition + (F) sung + (Mm) sung (M* -main voice throughout song) sung

L2 (M3) Ah ha haa

L3 (F) Yeah yeah yeah

L4 (F) [Yeah

(M3) Yeah yeah come on

(Mm) Oh wup wup doo wuppa wuppa]

L5 (Mm) [Doo wup wup doo wuppa wuppa

(M3) take a chow

(F) yeah yeah

(M) *siri*

/ʃri/

shri

{(Shri/great sir.)}]

Sung (M) except where stated otherwise

L6 [*sangabo-dhi ma-ligave di -ma*

/sʌŋəbo: ði maligavɛði ma

(Mm)Doo -wup -wup doo -wuppa wuppa

(M3) ah haa ***Iraj***]

Sangabodhi palace-the-in I

{(Shri) Sangabodhi in the palace I.}

L7 (Mm) Doo wup wup doo wuppa wuppa

- L8 (M) *siri*
/ʃri/
Shri
{**(Shri)**}
- L9 [*sangabo-dhi ma-ligave di -ma*
/sʌgəbo: ɖɪ malɪgavɛɖi ma
(Mm)Doo -wup -wup doo -wuppa wuppa]
sangabodhi palace-the-in I
{**(Shri) Sangabodhi in the palace I.**}
- L10 *siri*
/ʃri/
Shri
{**(Shri).**}
- L11 *sangabodhi maligavedi ma daeka*
/sʌgəbo:ɖɪ malɪgavɛɖi ma ɖakə/
Sangabodhi palace-the-in I see-having
{**(Shri) Sangabodhi in the palace (I) having seen.**}
- L12 *prane hani venta baeta dem* (F) ooh ah (M) *siri*
prane hani ventə batə ɖɛm/ /ʃri/
life harm happen-to beat will oh ah Shri
{**(I) will beat (him) to (cause his) life harm ooh ah (Shri).**}
- L13 *sangabodhi maligavedi ma daeka*
/sʌgəbo:ɖɪ malɪgavɛɖi ma ɖakə/
Sangabodhi palace-the-in I see-having
{**(Shri) Sangabodhi in the palace (I) having seen.**}
- L14 *pranehani venta baete dem*
/pranehani ventə batə ɖɛm/
life harm happen-to beat will
{**(I) will beat (him) to (cause his) life harm.**}
- L15 (F) doo ap ap doo ap-pa rap-pa doo a pap doo ap pa-rap
- L16 [(M) *allaa bandaa randaa bindaa undae kunda*
laamisinda
/alla bʌnɖɑ rʌnɖɑ bɪnɖɑ ʊnɖɑ: kʊnɖɑ lamɪsɪnɖɑ /
(F) oooh]
caught-having tied-having detained-having broken-having his spine I-will
destroy
{**I will break his spine having caught tied and detained (him).**}
- L17 [*saendae kale maligave innava soya*
/sanɖɑ: kalɛ malɪgavɛ ɪnnəva soja/
(F) oooooooooooooooooooooooooooooooooooh
(M3) like a child]
evening time-in palace-in/at wait search-in
{**In (the) time (of) evening in (the) palace (I will) wait in search.**}

- L18 [(M) *allaa bandaa randaa bindaa undae kunda laamisinda*
 /alla bʌnḏa rʌnḏa binḏa Unḏa: kUnḏa lamismḏa /
 (F) ooh]
**caught-having tied-having detained-having broken-having his spine I-will
 destroy**
{I will break his spine having caught tied and detained (him).}
- L19 [*saendae kale maligave innava soya*
 /sanḏa: kale maligave innava soja/
 (F) ooh
 (M) aha ha ha]
evening time-in palace-in/at wait search-in
{In (the) time (of) evening in (the) palace (I will) wait in search.}
- L20 [*dharme seela rakna raja lami divinasa*
 /ḏarme silə rʌkna radʒʌ lami ḏivinasʌ/
doctrine-the composure protects king will-I life-destroy
**{I will destroy (the) life (of the) compos(ed) king (who) protects the
 doctrine.}**
- L21 [*karme venne passe hinda kimda dosoya*
 /karme venne passe hinḏʌ kimḏə ḏosojʌ/
karme happen-to afterwards because what-is error-the
{Because (the) karme happen(s) afterwards what is the error yeah.}
- L22 [*kolahala sidda venna kale bo sonda*
 /koləhalə siḏḏə vennə kale bo soḏʌ/
 (Fm) doo la la la]
agitation/insurrection happen to-be time very good
{(The) time is good (for) insurrection to happen.}
- L23 [*kolahala sidda venna kale bo sonda*
 /koləhalə siḏḏə vennə kale bo soḏʌ/
 (F) la doo la la]
agitation/insurrection happen to-be time very good
{The) time is good (for) insurrection to happen.}
- L24 [*theja saara seelavantha dharmā sanga bodhi raja*
 /θedʒəsarə siləvʌnθə ḏarmə sʌŋgə boḏi radʒə
 (F) ah ah ah ah
stature-infused benevolent doctrine king
{Esteemed benevolent king (of) doctrine.}
- L25 [*bangā kara lami naera maliga soya*
 /bʌŋgə kərə lami na:rə maliga soja/
 (F) ah ah aaaaah ha
destroy do I-will surely palaces search/find
{I will (in) palaces search, find (and) destroy surely.}

- L26 [*theja saara seelavantha dharma sanga bodhi raja*
 /θedʒəsərə siləvʌnθə ðərmə sʌŋgə bɔði rɑdʒə
 (F) ah ah ah ah
stature-infused benevolent doctrine king
{Esteemed benevolent king (of) doctrine.}
- L27 [*banga kara lami naera maliga soya shri*
 /bʌŋgə kərə lami nɑ:rə mʌlɪgə sojɑ ʃri/ /
 (F) ah ah aaaaah ha
destroy do I-will surely palaces search/find shri
{I will (in) palaces search, find (and) destroy surely (Shri).}
- L28 [*sangabodhi maligavedi ma daeka*
 /sʌŋgəbɔ:ði mʌlɪgʌvɛði mɑ ðəkə/
Sangabodhi palace-the-in I see-having
{(Shri) Sangabodhi in the palace (I) having seen.}
- L29 [*pranehani venta baeta dem* (Mm) ooh ah (M) *siri*
 /prʌnehʌni vɛntə bətə ðɛm/ /ʃri/
life harm happen-to beat will ooh ah shri
{(I) will beat (him) to (cause his) life harm. ooh ah (Shri).}
- L30 [*sangabodhi maligavedi ma daka*
 /sʌŋgəbɔ:ði mʌlɪgʌvɛði mɑ ðəkə/
Sangabodhi palace-the-in I see-having
{(Shri) Sangabodhi in the palace (I) having seen.}
- L31 [*pranehani venta baeta dem*
 /prʌnehʌni vɛntə bətə ðɛm/
life harm happen-to beat will
{(I) will beat (him) to (cause his) life harm.}

Sung (MFm) except where indicated

- L32 I see ya grooving to this
- L33 [This piece of history
 (F) histo-]
- L34 [This is all about who you are
 (F)-ry who you]
- L35 [And its no mystery
 (F) are myste-]
- L36 [Lets keep on moving to this
 (F) -ry]
- L37 [And believe in your destiny
 (F) desti-]
- L38 [If we don't know who we are we'll
 (F) -ny
- L39 Be modern history

Rap (M)

L39 We've got the
L40 World wrapped around our little fingers little hound and **Ba-**
L41 **-thiya** banging on your frontiers holding on our
L42 Own in this war zone resurrect the indus-
L43 – try lay the corner stone so throw up your
L44 Cups up and be sure to catch them when they fall before you
L45 Walk the walk you best learn to crawl
L46 Shady vocalist turned entrepreneur **Ba-**
L47 **-thiya** make yourself heard

A-rhythmic rendition (M2) and (M1)

L48 (M2) Good heavens
L49 (M2) this song does sound rather groovy
L50 (M1) *Sinhale* *vangshakathava mese venasviya*
/sɪnhəle vʌŋʃəkʌθavə mese venʌsvijə/
Sinhala-the-of ancestral-narrative this-way change-did
{The ancestral narrative of the Sinhala (people) in this way did change}

Sung (F) interspersed with (M3) rhythmic rendition

L51 (F) Yeah yeah yeah
L52 (F) Yeah (M3) ah ha haaa
L53 (F) Yeah yeah yeah (M3) come
L54 (M3) On baby baby come on (F) yeah (M3) come
L55 (F) [Yeah yeah
(M3) on baby baby come on baby baby come]
L56 (M3) On baby baby come on its right
L57 (M3) Ladies I want you all to put your hands up
L58 (M3) And represent (Mm) Yeah (M) siri
/ʃri/
shri
{(Shri)}

Repeat-L11-46

Rap (M); a repeat of L 47 but with addition of Sinhala 'shri'

L59 **-thiya** make yourself heard (M) siri
/ʃri/
shri
{(Shri)}

Sung- (Fm) (M) and (F). (M3) = rhythmic rendition

L60 [(M) sangabodhi maligavedi ma
/sʌgəbo:ðɪ malɪgavɛðɪ ma/
(Fm) I see ya grooving to this]
Sangabodhi palace-the-in I
{Sangabodhi in the palace I.}

L61 [(Fm) This is our histo-
(G) histo-
(N) daeka
/ðakə /]
see-having
{having seen.}

L62 [(Fm) -ry This is all about who we are
(M) pranehani venta baeta dem
pranehani ventə batə ðɛm /
(Fm) Who we]
life-harm happen-to beat will
{(I) will beat (him) to (cause his) life harm.}

L63 [(Fm) And its no mystery (M) siri
/ʃɪ/
(Fm) Myste-]
shri
{Shri.}

L64 [(Fm) -re lets keep on moving to this
(M) sangabodhi mali-gave-di ma
/sʌgəbo:ðɪ malɪgavɛðɪ ma/]
Sangabodhi palace-the-in I
{Sangabodhi in the palace I.}

L65 [(Fm) And believe in our destiny (M) daeka
/ðakə /
(Fm) Desti-]
see-having
{having seen.}

L66 [(Fm) –ny if we don't know who we are
(M) pranehani venta baeta them
/pranehani ventə batə ðɛm /]
life-harm happen-to beat will
{(I) will beat (him) to (cause his) life harm.}

L67 [(F) We'll be more than a
(M) siri
shri
{**Shri.**}

L68 [(F) Histo-----ry
(Fm) I see ya groo---ving to this
(M) sangabodhi sangabodhi sangabodhi sangabodhi
/ sʌŋəbo:ðɪ sʌŋəbo:ðɪ sʌŋəbo:ðɪ sʌŋəbo:ðɪ /]
{**Sangabodhi Sangabodhi Sangabodhi Sangabodhi.**}

L69 [(Fm) This is our histo---ry
(M) sangabodhi maligavedi-ma
/ sʌŋəbo:ðɪ malɪgavɛði ma
(F) history]
Sangabodhi palace-the-in I
{**Sangabodhi in the palace I.**}

L70 [(Fm) This is all about who we are (M) daeka
/ðakə /]
see-having
{**having seen.**}

L71 [(Fm) And its no mystery
(M) pranehani venta baeta dem siri
/pranehani ventə batə ðɛm ʃri /]
life-harm happen-to beat will
{**(I) will beat (him) to (cause his) life harm.**}

L72 [(Fm) lets keep on moving to this
(M) sangabodhi maligave--di ma]
/ sʌŋəbo:ðɪ malɪgavɛði ma /
Sangabodhi palace-the-in I
{**Sangabodhi in the palace I.**}

L73 [(Fm) And believe in your destiny (M) daeka
/ðakə /]
see-having
{**having seen.**}

L74 [(M) pranehani venta baeta dem
/ praneha -- ni ventə ba-tə ðɛm /
(F) If you don't know who we are
(F) we'll]
life-harm happen-to beat will
{**(I) will beat (him) to (cause his) life harm.**}

L75 (F) be more than a history

- L76 [(Fm) I see ya grooving to this (M) *daeka*
 /ðakə/
see-having
{having seen.}
- L77 [(M) *pranehani venta baeta dem*
 / pranehani ventə batə ðem/
 (Fm) This is our history
 (F) history]
life-harm happen-to beat will
{(I) will beat (him) to (cause his) life harm.}
- L78 [(F) This is all about who we are
 (M3) you can't stop who we are
 (M) *siri*
 /ʃri/
shri
{Shri.}
- L79 [(M) *sangabodhi maligave-di ma*
 / sʌŋəbo:ði maligaveði ma /
 (Fm) Ooh]
Sangabodhi palace-the-in I
{Sangabodhi in the palace I.}
- L80 [(Fm) Lets keep on moving to this
 (M) *siri*
 /ʃri/
 (M3) you can't stop this Sinhala song]
shri
{Shri.}
- L81 [(Fm) And be-lieve in our destiny
 (M) *sangabodhi maligave----di ma*
 / sʌŋəbo:ði maligaveði ma /
 (M3) Don't know who they -----]
Sangabodhi palace-the-in I
{Sangabodhi in the palace I.}
- L82 [(Fm) If you don't know who we are
 (M3) For you rung? For your card ?? (M) *siri*
 /ʃri/
shri
{Shri.}

L83 [(Fm) We'll be modern history

(M) sangabodhi maligave-di

/sʌgəbo:ðɪ maligavəðɪ

(M3) Millenium music style represent]

Sangabodhi palace-the-in

{Sangabodhi in the palace .}

SONG: Shaheena
A proper noun

ARTISTS: BNS

A-rhythmic rendition; sung- chant (F1¹⁴²)

L1 ah..yay *Shaheena*

A-rhythmic rendition –whispered (F1)

L2 as-salaamo alaikum BnS
the-peace be upon you oh people

Rhythmic rendition (F1)

L3 [-----/-----
(M) ooh]

L4 [-----/-----
(M) ooh]

Rhythmic rendition -whispered–(M)

L5 (M) as-salaamo alaikum

Sung (M1) L6-L9, (M2) L10-L13

L6 [*kola thalayen moona hangamin/ maa diha balanne*
/kolə θaləyən mʊnə hɑŋgəmin mɑ ðiɦɑ bəlɑnnɛ/
(F) ah ah]/

**coy rhythm-of face hiding I at looking
{(With coy rhythm hiding (your) face. Looking at me.)**

L7 [*kavuluwen ebi neth kaelum vali/n aadarai kiyanne*
/kɑvʊlʊwɛn ɛbi nɛθ kælʊm vəlɪn ɑðərəi kiɣɑnnɛ/
(F) ooh]

**window-through peering eye gaze with/love-that saying
{ Peering through (the) window with eye-gaze. Speaking love.}**

L8 [*alavanthakam naesiyān vethin/ vasamkara hindinne*
/ɑləvɑθəkɑm nɑsiɹɑŋ vɛθɪn vɑsɑmkərə hiðɪnnɛ/
(F) ooh]

**love-activities kindred-from / hiding waiting
{Love activities from (your) kindred /hiding (and) waiting.}**

¹⁴² There are two male and female vocalists and who take turns as lead singers. M1, M2, F1 and F2 are intended to enable the reader to distinguish between them.

L9 [*pahatha malaye thama inne mang/ api durai ruveththi*

/pʌhʌθə mʌləje θʌmə innɛ mʌŋ ʌpi ɖʊɾʌi ruvɛθθi/

(F) ooh]

below floor-on still waiting-in I we distant-are beautiful

{I (am) still waiting on the floor level below. We (are) distant (my) beautiful.}

L10 *kola thaleyen moona hangamin/ maa diha balanne/*

/kolə θʌləyɛn mʊnə hʌŋgəmin mɑ ɖiɦɑ bʌlʌnnɛ/

coy rhythm-of face hiding I at looking

{(With coy rhythm hiding (your) face. Looking at me.)}

L11 *kavuluwen ebi nethkaelum vali/n adarai kiyanne*

/kʌvʊlʊnɛn ɛbi nɛθkʌlʊm vʌlɪn ʌɖərəi kiɾʌnnɛ/

window-through peering eye gaze with/love-that saying

{ Peering through (the) window with eye-gaze. Speaking love.}

L12 *alavanthakam naesiyan vethin/ vasamkare hindinne/*

/ʌlʌvʌθʌkʌm nʌsijʌŋ vɛθɪn vʌsʌmkərə hiɖinnɛ/

love-activities kindred-from concealing waiting

{Love activities from (your) kindred. Concealing (and) waiting.}

L13 [*pahatha malaye thama inne mang/ api durai ruvaththi*

/pʌhʌθə mʌləje θʌmə innɛ mʌŋ ʌpi ɖʊɾʌi ruvɛθθi/

(F) aah/

(M) Elakiri.com]

below floor-on still waiting-in I we distant-are beautiful

{Still waiting on the floor level below am I. We (are) distant (my) beautiful.}

Sung- (F1)

L14 Judanwayinsa nun sukhada /

L15 bihinnabyil farakhan abadua/

L16 Innaabilada dee muadadaa/

L17 khunnamighairil nun sukhada/

Sung (F2) except where indicated

L18 I like the way you look at me/

L19 I like the way you play with me/

L20 (F1) Laisalfiraaqquoo/

L21 What you do to me boy/

Refrain- (Mm) except where indicated

L22 [*Shaheena Shaheena/ sandalle sidanganavi*

/sʌɖʌlle siθʌŋgənavi (F2) That's]

Shaheena Shaheena the-balcony-of goddess.

{Shaheena Shaheena. The goddess of the balcony.}

L23 [*Shaheena Shaheena /Shaheena supem manoli*

/supem mənoli/

(F2) me (M<>F) ooh]

**Shaheena Shaheena Shaheena lovable ‘woman-who-births-desire’
{Shaheena Shaheena. Shaheena lovable woman who births desire}**

L24 (MFm) *Shaheena Shaheena/ sandalle sidanganavi/*

/sʌʔalle siθʌŋənavi/

**Shaheena Shaheena the-balcony-of goddess
{Shaheena Shaheena. The goddess of the balcony.}**

L25 (Fm) Oh I’ll be your fantasy/

L26 (F2) What you do to me boy/

Sung chant (F1)

L27 *Aaaaah*¹⁴³/ *Shaheena*

Sung (M1) with (F)

L28 *adare haegum ratavak karan/ mehendi andinne/*

/aðəre haegum ɾatavak kəɾʌn mehənði ʌðinne/

**love-in feelings pattern –having-done mehendi drawing
{(By) love feelings patterned. Mehendi¹⁴⁴ drawing.}**

L29 *mage haathakam kalpayak durin/ thiyān iki bindinne/*

/mʌge hʌðəkʌm kʌlpəjʌk ðurɪn ðiyan iki biðinne/

**my affection very-long-distance-from keeping tears-breaking
{My affection (a) very long distance away. Keeping and weeping.}**

L30 *mayimen eha piyambanne thatu/ naehai pasu-thavenne/*

/maɪmən eha piʝʌbʌnnə θʌtu nahai pʌsu θʌvenne/

**Boundary-from across fly-to wings not regretting
{To fly across (the) boundary wings. Not regretting.}**

L31 *ahas maliga hadan innakang api/ ape ruveththi ooh/*

/ʌhʌs malɪgʌ hʌðʌn ɪnnəkʌŋ ʌpi ʌpe ruvɛθθi/

**sky palaces making as-long-as we ours beautiful
{‘Castles (in the) air’ (as long as) we build. (and) wait. We are beautiful.}**

¹⁴³ Lasts for 1 ½ bars: altogether six beats

¹⁴⁴ An ink pattern drawn on the palms of a bride on her wedding eve – usually at a special ceremony. It is a predominantly Hindu custom

Sung by (M2) except where indicated. The lines of (M2) here are identical to L28- L31 but are sung an octave higher than (M1)

L32 [*adare raegum ratavak karan/ mehendi andinne*
/aðəre ragum ratavak kəran mehendɪ ʌðɪnne/
(F) aaah]

**love-in feelings pattern –having-done *mehendi* drawing
{(By) love feelings patterned. Mehendi drawing}**

L33 [*mage haadakam kalpayak durin/ thiyam iki bindinne/*
/mage haðəkam kalpəjak ðurin ðiyan iki biðɪnne/
(F)oh oh ah]

**my affection very-long-distance-from keeping tears-breaking
{My affection (a) very long distance away. Keeping and weeping.}**

L34 [*mayimen eha piyambanne thatu/ naehai pasu-thaevenne/*
/maimən eha pijabannə θatu nahai pasu θavenne
(F) ah ah]

**boundary-from across fly-to wings not regretting
{To fly across (the) boundary wings. Not regretting.}**

L35 [*ahas maliga hadan innakang/ api ape ruweththi*
/ahas maliga haðɪn innəkəŋ ʌpi ʌpe ruwəθθi/
(F) ah]

**sky palaces making as-long-as we ours beautiful
{‘Castles (in the) air’ (as long as) we build. (and) wait. We are beautiful.}**

REPEAT -L14 – L25

L36 (F2) What you do to me boy (M) as-salaamo

Rap (M) with occasional (F)

L37 Alaikum alaikum Salam I ought to thank your

L38 [Mums cause baby you the bomb
(F) ooh]

L39 The way you shake is like anaesthesia its got me

L40 Floating on a cloud above the world beneath so

L41 Shake your bon bon feel my Sean Johns

L42 [Just like a cheer leader with her
(F) pom poms]

L43 You just what the doctor ordered you're so

L44 Hot I'd mistake you for the Mexican border so

L45 Hot that I need me a glass of water you a

L46 [Fly desert rose like the Sultan's daughter
(F) ooooooh]

Refrain; repeat L22-26

SONG

**Ae Hetha
Hey Heart**

ARTISTS: Iraj (featuring DeLon and Aminath Shani)

Rhythmic rendition (M)

L1 Yeah

L2 Ah ha ha ha what's going down

L3 Its Iraj Ceylon Records colla-

L4 -bo Delon in the house lets do this

Refrain –sung-(F), interspersed rhythmic rendition (M)

L5 *E hetha they no / bindi kannaa they um*

L6 *me the hey thei mee / numphnnee kela aey*

L7 [*E hetha they no / bindi kannaa they um*

Ah ha ha yeah]

L8 [*mee the hey thei aey mee / numphene kelaa aey*

Check this out. .yo yo yo girl..... now play that]

Refrain –sung -translation (paraphrase)

[Hey heart come to me with love

You're my love

I want you]

Rap (M)

L9 I see you kissing your girl in my mag/back¹⁴⁵

L10 Then you look get cut like a bear trap

L11 Can you explain that and manage

L12 To got two balls just wanna fit ya you're finished the

L13 Riddle see me in the middle like a sandwich

L14 And baby girl I don't speak your language but your

L15 Body cringes hurts too what you wanna

L16 Do stick to me like a tattoo that I bought for you

L17 I'll raise a toast for you champagne

L18 Glass and later on am gonna wax that ass and if she's

L19 Good let her reign cos we finished the task cos I

L20 Know she know where my business is at my business is

L21 Cash and I'm spending it fast rocks and

L22 Rings she had to see all things and I

L23 Don't spend on wines it's a cheaply thing and if ya

L24 All know Delon you know we OG man

¹⁴⁵ Unclear in recording.

Refrain-sung - (F), interspersed rhythmic rendition -(M)

L25 *E hetha they no / bindi kannaa they um*

L26 *me the hey thei mee numphnee kela aey*

L27 [*E hetha they no/ bindi kannaa they um*
yeah]

L28 [*mee the hey thei aey mee/ numphene kelaa aey*
Elakiri.com]

Rap (M)

L29 Ya ya

L30 Let me take you back to my home place

L31 *Mage gedera* cell call it home base

L32 We can take my ----- whole way

L33 G for flying you know bout my *ale*

love

L34 Say no more no phone call yo I-

L35-raj we gonna be there de man you feel me

L36 And enjoy the journey cos

L37 This gonna be something you won't forget believe me

L38 We touch down in the evening and I-

L39 *Raj* picks us up we're drinking

L40 Out the trafs ?? and the Ds and the candy

L41 World I wanna take you panties please

L42 I know you like this treatment get your

L43 Head sprung then get done for the weekend

L44 Yo Iraj I'll be back

L45 Tell that Maldivian girl to sing the track

Refrain-sung - (F), interspersed rhythmic renditions -(M)

L46 *E hetha they no/ bindi kannaa they um*

L47 *me the hey thei mee numphnee kela aey*

L48 *E hetha they / no bindi kannaa they um*

L49 [*mee the hey thei aey mee numphene kelaa aey*

Aha

ah ah]

Rap (M)

L50 So Iraj man I wanna know about these

L51 Girls these days man you know they be ?? freaks man

L52 But its so good though cos you know

L53 Life is life we just gotta live it how we wanna live it

L54 Know what it is yo Ceylon Records

L55 We are Iraj I'm gonna see you

L56 Soon back in SL Sri Lanka Ceylon Records

L57 Represent lets do this

SONG:

Oba Hinda
you because
{Because (of) you}

ARTISTS: Iraj (featuring Samitha Mudunkotuwa)

Refrain –sung (F)

L1 *oba hinda bae mata me tha-*

/obə hɪnð̌ɹ ba: mɹtə me θɹ/

you because-of cannot I-to this much
{Because of you I cannot this much.}

L2 *–ram(Fm) ivasanna kalpana*

/rɹm ɪvəsɹnnə kɹlpənə

much patient-to-be thought
{Patient be (of) thought.}

L3 *hitha (Fm) mage karakava*

/hɪθə mɹge kɹrəkəvə/

mind mine circle/twist/confuse-do
{Mind of mine twist/confuse.}

L4 *oba langata gaththe ma*

/obə lɹŋgətə gɹθθɛ mɹ/

you close-to brought-did me
{Close to you brought me.}

L5 *hitha mella nae daennam*

/hɪθə mellə nɹ: ðɹnnɹm/

mind tame isn't now-still
{Now still (my) mind isn't tame.}

L6 *oba ma vashi kala*

/obə mɹ vɹʃi kəɹɹ/

you me mesmerise did
{You did mesmerise me.}

L7 *hitha mella nae daennam*

/hɪθə mellə nɹ: ðɹnnɹm/

mind tame isn't now-still
{Now still (my) mind isn't tame.}

L8 *oba ma vashi kala*

/obə mɹ vɹʃi kəɹɹ/

you me mesmerise did
{You did mesmerise me.}

Stanza 1 –sung (F)

L9 oya mokada kaerakila

/oʝa mokəðə karəkɪla/

you why circle

{Why did you circle?}

L10 mage hitha vata giye

/mʌge hɪθə vʌtə ɡɪjə/

my mind round go-did

{Around my mind did go.}

L11 vashi venna monavada

/vʌʃɪ vennə monəvʌðə/

mesmerise to-be what

{(To) be mesmerise(d) what.}

L12 oben oya tharam vune

/obən oʝə θʌrʌm vʊne/

you-from this/that much happen-did

{Happened this much from you?}

L13 vashi vune mama ruwata obe

/vʌʃɪ vʊne mʌmʌ ruvətə obe e/

mesmerise was I appearance-of your that

{Mesmerise(d) I was of/by your appearance that.}

L14 baenda sene sansare priye

/banðə sene sansare prɪje/

marry-did affection cycle sweetness

{Marriage (of) affection cycl(ic)/transmigrational sweetness.}

L15 ekama deyai illanne priye

/ekəmə ðejʌɪ ɪllʌnne prɪje/

one-only thing asking sweetness

{One thing only (am I) asking sweetness.}

L16 piliganna epa an landaka sene

/pɪlɪɡʌnnə epə ʌn lʌðəkə sene/

believe/accept not another lass's affection

{Accept not another lass' affection.}

Refrain –sung (F) - repeat

L17 adare asha

/aðəre ʌʃʌ/

love-of realisation

{Realisations of love.}

- L18 *hodi potha kiyavala*
 /hoði poðə kijəvəla/
nursery book-the read-having
{Nursery books having read.}
- L19 *mohanaya vuva ma*
 /mo:hənəjə vuva ma/
enchant become-did I
{Enchant(ed) did I become.}
- L20 *obe thurule naelavila*
 /obe θurule naləvila/
your arms-in cradle-be
{In your arms cradled.}
- L21 *raththarane hamadama ithin mata*
 /rʌθθərəne haməðamə iθin matə/
gold-person/ precious always so me-to/for
{Precious, so always for me.}
- L22 *inna denna obe thurule raendi*
 /innə ðennə obe θurule raɔ̃i/
stay permit your arms-in lingering
{Lingering in your arms permit (me to) stay.}
- L23 *mava bendan karakara magul oba*
 /mavə baðʌŋ kʌrəkərə mʌgʊl obə/
me bind-and marriage ceremony you
{Binding me and/for (a) marriage ceremony you.}
- L24 *ganna dine kawadada ane*
 /gʌnnə ðine kʌvəðəðə ʌne/
taking/realising date when-is ane/please?
{When is the day ane?}

Refrain –vocalised (F) – repeat – L 1- 4

SONG:

Kotthu

A proper noun (popular fast food consisting of tempered vegetables and/or meat combined with egg and shredded wheat flour pancakes (roti): extremely popular local ‘fast food’.)

ARTISTS: Iraj (featuring Illnoiz)

Rhythmic rendition (M)

L1 In da city of CM-
L2 -B, when the freaks come out at
L3 night we need a super he-
L4 -ro who u gonna call

Rhythmic rendition (M) – child’s voice

L5 Mister **Kotthu.**
L6 u ya
L7 ya yayaya yayaya yayaya ya
L8 ya ¹⁴⁶.

Refrain sung (M)

L8 *mata*

/mʌtə/

to/for me

{For me.}

L9 *kotthuth one mata*

/koθθʊθ one mʌtə/

kotthu also want for-me

{Kotthu also want for me.}

L10 *lime-uth one sam-*

/laɪm ʊθ one sʌm/

lime-also want sam (bol)

{lime also want (sam-bol).}

L11 *bola tikak udin daala* cheese *tikak vaediyen daala*

/bolə tɪkʌk ʊdɪn ðɑlɑ tʃis tɪkʌk vɑdɪjən ðɑlʌ/

(sam)bol¹⁴⁷) a little on top with/put cheese a little more with/put

{A little (sambol) on top a little more cheese on top.}

¹⁴⁶ Note that the opening of the refrain is a continuation of L8. A similar pattern also prevails in L16, L43 and L63.

¹⁴⁷ A blend of freshly grated coconut, turmeric, onions, salt, green chillies and lime. Eaten regularly, it is a staple accompaniment to most Sri Lankan meals.

L12 takata takata takas gaala genna malli daen mata
 /takətə takətə takas gəla gennə mɔlli ðan matə/
ONOMATOPOEIA¹⁴⁸ (means ‘quickly’) **do bring younger-brother now.**
to/for-me

{Bring (it) to me now younger-brother quickly.}

L13 kotthuth one mata
 /koθθuθ one matə/

kotthuth onea
 koθθuθ one/]

[Kotthu also want for-me
Kotthu also want]

{[Kotthu also want for me
Kotthu also want].}

L14 [lime-uth onea sam
 /laɪm uθ one sɔm/

lime-uth onea
 /laɪm uθ one/]

[lime-also want sam(bol)
lime-also want]

{[lime also want (sambol)
lime also want .]}

L15 bola tikak udin daala cheese tikak vaediyen daala
 /bolə tɪkək uɖɪn ðala tʃis tɪkək vɑːɖiːjən ðɑːlɑː/

(sam) bol) a little on top with/put cheese a little more with/put
{A little (sambol) on top a little more cheese on top.}

L16 takata takata takas gaala genna malli dan
 /takətə takətə takas gəla gennə mɔlli ðan/

ONOMATOPOEIA (means ‘quickly’) **do bring younger-brother now.**
{Bring (it) to me now younger-brother quickly.}

Rap (M)

L16 mata

/matə/

I-for

{For me.}

L17 pittu kannā bae mata aappa kannā bae mata

/pɪttu kɔnnə ba matə ɑppə kɔnnə baː matə/

rice-cake eat can't I-to hoppers¹⁴⁹ **eat can't I-to**
{Can't eat rice-cakes I can't eat hoppers I to.}

¹⁴⁸ The sounds used to signify the act of preparing Kotthu whose popularity owes in part to the fact that its preparation takes little more than a few minutes; local fast food.

¹⁴⁹ A wafer thin rice cake made of ground and fermented rice flour and can be considered a very popular and frequently eaten form of indigenous food.

- L18 ude kapu bath eka daen ayeth kannā bae
 /ʊðe kapʊ bʌθ ekə ðan ajɛ kʌnnə ba:/
morning ate rice the now again eat can't
{The rice (I) ate in the morning (I) can't eat now again.}
- L19 nanage kade vahala hinda eke kotthu nae ane oye
 /na:nʌge kʌde vʌhʌlʌ hɪnðʌ eke koθθʊ na: ʌne oye/
cousin's shop/butik closed because in it Kotthu haven't oh those
{Because (my) cousin's shop is closed it hasn't Kotthu in it oh those.}
- L20 foreign kaema kalanam mata gedara yanna bae
 /fɔrɪn ka:mə kʌlʌnʌm mʌtə gɛðərə jʌnnə ba:/
foreign foods eat after I home go can't
{I can't go home after eating foreign foods}
- L21 [pila gihin kotthu kala Milo¹⁵⁰ beela lime]
 /pɪlʌ gɪhɪn koθθʊ kʌlʌ mʌɪlo bɪlʌ laɪm/
 -gʌhʌlʌ/
 /gʌhʌlʌ/
[Pila (proper noun-name of person) gone Kotthu eaten milo drunk lime hit/with]
{Pila (has) gone and eaten Kotthu (and) with lime, drunk Milo.}
- L22 paara ayine 3-wheel eke aathal eke nidiyanakota
 /pərə ʌɪne θri vil eke aθəl eke nɪðɪjənəkotə/
road side three-wheeler in relax in sleeping-when
{By (the) road side in (the) three-wheeler when sleeping relaxed.}
- L23 waiter aiya thattu kalane mage oluvata bila gevanna
 /vetə ʌɪjʌ θʌttʊ kəlʌne mʌge olʊvətə bɪlʌ gɛvʌnnə/
waiter elder-brother¹⁵¹ knock did my head-on bill pay-to
{(The) waiter-brother 'knocked on my head' (as in picked me out) to pay(the)bill.}
- L24 purse eka nae mage langa daen puluwannam credit denna
 /pəs eke na: mʌge lʌgə ðan pʊlʊwʌnnʌm kʀɛdɪt dɛnnə/
purse the haven't my near/with now if-possible credit give
{The purse (I) haven't with me now if possible give (it to me on) credit.}
- L25 onna machan¹⁵² okat ahala, uoo set vei mata gahanna
 /onnə mʌtʃʌŋ o:kʌθ ʌhʌlʌ u set vei mʌtə gʌhʌnnə/
now mate this-also heard he ready will I-to hit
{Now mate (having) heard this also he will ready to hit me.}

¹⁵⁰ A proper noun; a brand of non-alcoholic beverage.

¹⁵¹ Read footnote 107 about 'younger-brother': the same applies to 'elder brother' except that it refers to males older than the agent.

¹⁵² Friend/mate (used mostly by males in informal discourse).

26 aedapan daen 3-wheel eka wellawaththe beach ekata

/adəpən ðan θri vil eke valləvΛθθe bitʃ ekətə/

pull now three-wheeler the Wellawatte¹⁵³ beach-to-the
{Now pull (over) the three wheeler to the Wellewatte beach.}

L27 maara vaedene petrol nae shape eka maaru venna

/marə vadene petrəl na: ʃep eke maru vennə/

major thing-no/is petrol haven't without-a-hitch in exchange-to do
{Major problem no! haven't petrol to escape without a hitch.}

L28 [adanam mata inna venne kurundu-vaththe -policiye

/ΛðnΛm mΛtə innə venne kUrUðU vΛθθe polisije/

mata

/mΛtə/]

[today-of-course I-to wait will-be Kurundu-(garden) police station in¹⁵⁴
I-for]

{[Today of course (it is) in (the) Kurundu-Watthe police station (that) I will be
(made) to wait/stay
I-for]}

Refrain sung (M)

Repeat L 9- 16

Rap (M)

L29 Keri machi eri ehiri poyachi

high brother high went high

{Got high brother got stoned.}

L30 Adicha sarakku ippa thanda nalla thuki poyachi

hit liquor now only well lifting high

{The liquor (which we drank) now only (is making me) high.}

L31 Pondati pulla thachi veetukku pona pechi

wife pregnant home if-I-go scold

{(My) wife is pregnant: I will get scold(ed) if I go home.}

L32 ennada tym machan 4.00 mani aachi

what-man time mate four o-clock has become

{What's (the) time mate? Hope (it) has become four o clock.}

L33 valakam pala palaka thosam pasi thanda vanderuchi

as usual habit

only hungry came

{As (is the) usual habit (I am) getting hungry.}

L34 Kotthu thanda kekuthada illai maru pechi

Kotthu only asking no other talk

{Asking/(want) only Kotthu, don't want any other/more talk.}

¹⁵³ Proper noun: place name.

¹⁵⁴ Proper noun: famous police-station.

L35 illai pechi, thevitha lachi

no word nothing to talk about it

{No word, nothing to talk about it.}

L36 tea la rendu poochi vilundirichi

tea in two insects fallen

{Two insects (are) fallen in (the) tea.}

L37 mathithada abu nana ingu konjam vayenda

don't change Abu nana here come little

{Don't change Abu nana come here [a] little.}

L38 **budget** ku rendu Kotthu kattupadiyahuma

budget our two Kotthu is-it-enough

{Our budget, is it enough (for) two Kotthu.}

L39 podu thalaiva tabla eduda namma ordere

put boss table take our order

{arrange (the) table boss (and) take our order.}

L40 chicken Kotthu , masi samba! oh!! rendu bulsai

chicken Kotthu Maldive-fish sambol oh two bulls' eyes

{(A) chicken Kotthu Maldive-fish sambol (and) oh two bulls' eyes.}

A-Rhythmic rendition: quasi child's voice

L41 Master Ongalukku enna venumdu kelunga ellam kayla konduvandu tharom

master/boss to-you what want ask all hands bring give

vappa!

father

{Ask what you want boss, (we ??) will bring (and) give (it) all to (your)

hands

Father.}

Refrain-sung- (M)

L42 mata

/mʌtə/

I-for

{For me.}

L 9-15

L43 takata takata takas gaala genna malli dan

/ tʌkətə tʌkətə tʌkʌs

gala gennə mʌlli ðan/

ONOMATOPOEIA (means quickly) do bring younger-brother now

{ Bring (it) younger-brother now quickly}

ONOMATOPOEIA (means 'quickly') do bring younger-brother now.

{Bring (it) now younger-brother quickly.}

Rap (M)

L43 poddak

/poddak/

a-little

{A little}

L44 yanna one bamba paeththe/

/jannə o:nə bambə paθθe/

go must Bambalapitiya (town in Colombo district) area-in

{Must go towards (the) Bambalapitiya area.}

L45 kotthu sadde aehei machan maha rae madde

/koθθu sɑððe ahei mɑʃʌŋ mʌhɑ rɑ: mɑððe/

Kotthu noise-of hear-will mate great/ 'dead of' night-at

{(Will hear (the) sound of Kotthu at dead of night mate.}

L46 sudu iri aiyala paara depaththe

/sʊðʊ ɪɾi ɑijəʎɑ pɑrə ðepɑθθe/

white stripes elder-brothers road-the beside/on both sides

{white stripp(ed) elder-brothers on both sides (of) the road.}

L47 drag karala apiva allala daai the aethule

/dra:g kərəʎɑ ɑpivə ʌʎəʎɑ ðɑi ðə aθʊle/

drag -do us catch put will-they inside

{Will they drag us catch us (and) put (us) inside?}

L48 dannam machan lissala yanna vidiyak kohomath nae

/ðannɑm mɑʃʌŋ lissəʎɑ jannə viðijɑk kɔhɔmɑθ nɑ:/

now-of-course mate slip go-to a-way absolutely no

{mate now of course (there is) absolutely no way to slip away (and) go}

L49 shape talkak dala balamu baeri venekak nae

/ʃep tɔ:kɑk ðɑʎɑ bɑləmʊ bɑri venəkɑk nɑ:/

smooth talk-a put will see-will can't to-be not

{(We) will smooth talk (and) see; (can't be impossible.}

L50 yamuda aiye apith ekka plain tea ekak bonna enna

/jɑmʊðə ɑijɛ ɑpiθ ɛkkə plən ti ɛkkɑk bɔnnə ɛnnə/

go-shall-we elder-brother us with plain-tea one drink-to come

{Elder-brother, to drink a (cup of) plain tea shall/will you go with us come.}

L51 vela nathnam aa menna meka thiya-ganna

/vɛʎɑ nɑθnɑm ɑ mɛnnə mekə θijɑ gannə/

time haven't-if ah here this keep-take

{If haven't time, ah here take (and) keep this.}

L52 machan mama hithuwe ada api ivarai kiyala

/mɑʃʌŋ mɑmə hiθvʊɛ ʌðə ɑpi ivərəi kiʎəʎɑ/

mate I thought today we are finished that

{Mate I thought that we are finished today.}

- L53 *madaei* ava drags valata nai *thogayak aerala*
 /mʌðai avɑ dra:gs vələtə nai θogəyʌk arəlʌ/
what-the-heck came drags to snakes pile-of opened-have
{What the heck, (we) came (for) drags/smoking? (and) a pile (of) snakes
have opened up¹⁵⁵.}
- L54 *shape* eke gedara yamu *daen pahatath langai*
 /ʃep eke gɛðərə jʌmʊ ðan pʌhʌtʌθ lʌgʌi/
careful-ly home go-let-us now five-to-also close
{Let us go home carefully now (it is) close to five also.}
- L55 *onna othanin dapan machan ithuru* tika payin thamai
 /onnə oθənin ðapʌn mʌʃʌŋ iθʊrʊ tikə pʌin θʌmʌi/
just here put mate remaining little on-foot is
{Just put/drop (us) here mate, (the) remaining little is/(will be) on foot.}

Sung (M); different theme, same rhythm

- L56 You know I live for you *kotthu*
 L57 I'd even die for you *kotthu*
 L58 There are times when I'd lie for you *kotthu*
 L59 I even cry for you *kotthu*
 L60 I can't even sleep at night
 L61 Wake up and wonder why
 L62 All you do is to love my life
 L63 Can't wait for one more bite

Refrain sung (M) – same as previous occasions excepting L1 -below

- L63 *mata*
 /mʌtə/
I-to/for
{For me.}

L 9-16

Rhythmic rendition (M)

- L64 Another day has been
 L65 Saved for the citizens of CMB
 L66 Until the next time
 L67 You're hungry
 L68 Who you gonna call?

¹⁵⁵ 'Pile of snakes' is metaphorical for a bigger problem.

A-Rhythmic rendition: (M1 and M2) child voices

L69 (M1) Mr Kotthuuuuuu yaaaah haaaaaaa

L70 (M2) Hello is the mic. still working?

L71 (M2) Ya I paid 200 rupees for my Kotthu man

L72 (M2) I'm still waiting for it and I haven't got it

L73 (M2) If it was in India, I would've fed my entire family with it ya

L12 (MFm) *sasarapurapa sitina thura*
/sAsərə pʉrəpə sɪtɪnə θʉrə/
for eternity-we stay as-long-as
{For eternity as long as we stay/be.}

Refrain-sung - (MFm)

L13 *gala haelena digu nadiya obai*
/gAlə halənə ðɪgʉ nɒðɪjə obɒɪ/
flowing tumbling long river you-are
{(A) flowing tumbling long river you are.}

L14 *dore galayana senehe obai*
/ðore gAləjɒnə sənɛhɛ obɒɪ/
Life-in flowing love-in you-are
{(The) love flowing in/through life you are.}

L15 *himidiri yuga-ye _____ suvanda obai*
/hɪmɪðɪrɪ jʉgəjɛ sʉvəðə obɒɪ/
early time-in/of or morn-in/of fragrance you-are
{(The) fragrance of early morn you are.}

L16 *mage diviye himikari _____ obai*
/mʌgɛ ðɪvɪjɛ hɪmɪkərɪ obɒɪ/
my life-in/of possessor (female) you-are
{(The) possessor of my life you are.}

L17 *gala haelena digu nadiya obai*
/gAlə halənə ðɪgʉ nɒðɪjə obɒɪ/
flowing tumbling long river you-are
{(A) flowing tumbling long river you are.}

L18 *dore galayane senehe obai*
/ðore gAləjɒnə sənɛhɛ obɒɪ/
Life-in flowing love-in you-are
{(The) love flowing in/through life you are.}

L19 *himidiri yuga-ye _____ suvanda obai*
/hɪmɪðɪrɪ jʉgəjɛ sʉvəðə obɒɪ/
early time-in/of or morn-in/of fragrance you-are
{(The) fragrance of early morn you are.}

L20 [*mage diviye himikari _____ obai*]
/mʌgɛ ðɪvɪjɛ hɪmɪkərɪ obɒɪ/
my life-in/of possessor (female) you-are
(M) Oh oh oh oh oooh]

{(The) possessor of my life you are.}

L21 (M) Wou wo oh oh oh

L22 (M) Yei yei yeh yeh yeh

Sung: (M)

L23 anduruvu me saehasi love

/ʌðʊrʊvu me sahasi love/

gloomy-has-become this violent world-in
{In the gloominess (of) this violent world.}

L24 obai mamai alokaya ve

/obai mamai alo:kəyə ve/

you-are/and me-is/and light will-be
{You and I (the/a) light will be.}

L25 adarayata lokaya handanavita

/aðərəjətə lo:kəjə haɗənəvitə/

love-for world weep-when
{When (the) world weep(s) for love.}

L26[obai mamai venathata yaavi

/obai mamai venəθətə javi/

(F) oh no no no]

you-are/and me-are/ different-direction-to proceed-may/will
{You and I may/will (along) a different direction proceed.}

L27 gaha kola aela dola ape thamai

/gaha kolə alə ðolə ape θamai/

tree/s leaves streams brooks ours is/are
{(The) trees leaves streams brooks ours are.}

L28 [punchi paetaurala ape thamai

/pʊntʃi patɔuralə ape θamai/

(F) mmmm]

tiny baby-brood ours is/are
{(The) tiny baby-brood ours is.}

L29 ma men numbamen ape lokayath

/ma men nʊbəmən ape lokəjəθ/

I like you-like our world-too
{Like me like you our world too}

L30 (MmFm) raekenne api raekunoth pamanai

/rakenne api rakʊnoθ pəmənai

protect-will-be we protect-if-will only
{(We) will only be protect(ed) if we (are) protect(ed).}

Sung-(MmFm). (F) where indicated

L31 [gala halena digu nadiya obai

/gala halənə ðigu naðijə obai/

(F) baby won't you hold]

flowing tumbling long river you-are
{(A) flowing tumbling long river you are.}

- L32 [*dore galayana senehe obai*
 /ðore ɡalajʌnə senehe obʌɪ/
 (F) Me you'll never leave]
Life-in flowing love-in/of you-are
{(The) love flowing in/through life you are.}
- L33 [*himidiri yuga-ye suvanda obai*
 /himiðiri juɡəje suvəðə obʌɪ/
 (F) Me say you'll always be beside]
early time-in/of or morn-in/of fragrance you-are
{(The) fragrance of early morn you are.}
- L34 [*mage diviye himikari obai*
 /mʌge ðiviye himikari obʌɪ/
 (F) Me tell me you will always need]
my life-in/of possessor (female) you-are
{(The) possessor of my life you are.}
- L35 [*gala halena digu nadiya obai*
 /ɡalʌ halənə ðigu nʌðijə obʌɪ/
 (F) baby won't you hold]
flowing tumbling long river you-are
{(A) flowing tumbling long river you are.}
- L36 [*dore galayana senehe obai*
 /ðore ɡalajʌnə senehe obʌɪ/
 (F) Me you'll never leave]
Life-in flowing love-in/of you-are
{(The) love flowing in/through life you are.}
- L37 [*himidiri yuga-ye suvanda obai*
 /himiðiri juɡəje suvəðə obʌɪ/
 (F) Me say you'll always be beside]
early time-in/of or morn-in/of fragrance you-are
{(The) fragrance of early morn you are.}
- L38 [*mage diviye himikari obai*
 /mʌge ðiviye himikari obʌɪ/
 (F) Me]
my life-in/of possessor (female) you-are
{(The) possessor of my life you are.}

Rhythmic rendition -whispered (F)

- L39 I want you to hold me
 L40 I want you to say you'll never leave me
 L41 You'll always be beside me

Sung – (MFm)

L42 (MFm) sasarapurapa sitine thura

/sasərə purapə sitinə θura /

**for eternity-we stay as-long-as
{For eternity as long as we stay/be.}**

Sung-(FMm). (M) where indicated

L43 [gala haelena digu nadiya obai

/gʌlɑ hælənə ðɪgʊ nʌðɪjə obʌɪ/

(M) yaaaay]

**flowing tumbling long river you-are
{(A) flowing tumbling long river you are.}**

Repeat -L 32-38

SONG:

Malpeththak
flower-slice
[Petal]

ARTISTS: 6th Lane

Refrain: sung (MFm)

L1 *malpeththakse susinidu sitha*

/malpɛθθakse susiniðu siθə

flower-slice-as smooth/soft mind

{As (a) petal (the) soft mind.}

L2 *magen numba gohindo horakam karan*

/magen nuβə gohiñðo: horəkam kəran/

me-from you go-have steal have-done

{From me have you go(ne) stolen (away).}

L3 *thava ridenna nae idak mage*

/θavə riðennə na: idak mage/

more hurt-to no room my

{(There is) no more room to hurt (my)}

L4 *hadavathe mata duka tha sathuta*

/hadəvəθe matə ðukə ðə sathutə/

Heart-in me-for sorrow this-too joy-

{In (my) heart for me sorrow joy.}

L5 *ve kavuluven epita maha varsha*

/ve kavuluvən epitə maha varʃa/

is porthole-from beyond massive showers

{Is massive showers from beyond the porthole.}

L6 *vaetenava oba thilina dun rosa*

/vatənəva obə θilinə ðun rosə/

falling you gift did/ 'ed' rose

{Falling the (rose bush) you gifted (me).}

L7 *pandure pipunu mal pethi kada*

/pãðuru pipunu mal pɛθi kada/

bush-in/on blossomed flower-in slices breaking

{On the (rose bush) petals breaking }

L8 *haeleneva mata penava*

/halənəva matə penəva/

falling I -to see

{Falling I see.}

Rap – English (M) unless indicated otherwise

L9 Hey my name is Shane my girl friend's name is
L10 Rose she has a friend called Jane whose got a boyfriend named
L11 John (M2) Nigger* this is really damn John make love to
L12 Girls plus send three paged letters every day to
L13 [Jane 'hey what's wrong with that nigga' just asked
(F) aah]
L14 [Rose 'nothing wrong with him' She said 'so like
(F)aah]
L15 You' 'you don't love me Shane' of course I love you
L16 Rose I offered the warmest kiss I could ever give to
L17 Prove. she groaned and pulled her bag over the
L18 Head Ooh – she didn't want to converse with me any-
L19 More 'you don't love me enough' she said 'how much you want' I said 'I'm
L20 In love with you' I said. I wanted to explain but it was in
L21 Vain 'You've got to write me Shane – write me one page
L22 Man damn ya – don't me phone like John does to
L23 Jane' 'I don't believe you girl I send two letters a
L24 Week there may be a problem with postmen or something
L25 _____ (censored) 'don't lie to me Shane- I think that someone is
L26 You your love is a pain no more I see
L27 You

Repeat : refrain: sung (MFm) (L 27 cont.+ L2 – L8)

L27 *malpeththakse susinidu sitha*
/mʌlpɛθθʌkse susiniðʊ siθə
flower-slice-as smooth/soft mind
{As (a) petal (the) soft mind.}

Rap (M) unless indicated otherwise

L28 Dear Rose babe I send two letters a
L29 Week if you miss them it can't be- there's a problem with the
L30 _____ (censored) I tried to write you more than babe its not
L31 Easy been in hard work please don't be so
L32 Crazy make you understand babe never hate me
L33 Back I'm your *Kandy*/candy** you're acting like a lady
L34 Mad you may knowing girls here trying to getting over
L35 You they're jealous 365 I'm thinking of
L36 You even things a like that I'm doing so pretty
L37 Girl you just screw me down_ for no reason at
L38 All in the cold morn I feel alone I
L39 Walk along the 6th LANE insane you don't phone – I'm in
L40 Pain you never know here even what Jane's nigger
L41 Do it if Jane knows she might call it off

L42 [Too look I'm really glad being steady with

(F) o—o-o-o-o- ou ou]

L43 You I don't wanna to miss you I want to kiss you

L44 P.S. we need each other when you read this letter

L45 Please treat me better see you later

Repeat : refrain: sung (MFm) (L1 – L8)

Rhythmic rendition (F)

L46 Hello hello

L47 What the hell

L48 Who's calling

L49 A nuisance call

Repeat thrice : refrain: vocalised (L1-L8) –first two -(MFm), third (Fm)

* Whispered.

** Could be either.

SONG:

Ahankara Nagare
insolent/proud city-in
{In (a/the) insolent city}

ARTIST: Ranidu

Rhythmic rendition (M)

- L1 Represent CMB
L2 Its your homey baby
L3 You're with the awe yeah
L4 Yeah and I'm jiggy as hell

Refrain: sung (MFm)

L5 *ahankara nagare puran-*

/ʌhʌŋkərə nʌgərə pʊrən/

insolent/haughty city-the-in

{In the insolent city (city)}

L6 *ganakda* *oba landune tharamata*

/gənʌkðə obə lʌðʊne θʌrəmətə/

woman-a -are-you (prostitute) you young-girl/lass quite-a

{ A '(city) woman'/prostitute are you/ young lass quite a.}

L7 *ingath bohoma podi laemath boma aethi*

/ɪŋʌθ bɔ:mə pɔdɪ lʌmʌθ bɔmə əθɪ/

waist-also very small heart-also very/much have (large)

{Waist also (is) very small, (a) large heart also have.}

L8 *digaes thiyana landune kavuruda*

/ðɪgəs θɪjənə lʌðʊne kʌvʊrʊðə/

long-eyes have lass who-is

{(Of) long eyes (a/the) lass who is.}

L9 *nongkadu kiuwe kavuruda*

/no:ŋkadu kiʊve kʌvʊrʊðə/

displeasure/criticism tell/voice who

{Criticised who.}

L10 *nongkadu kive tharamata*

/no:ŋkadu kiʋe θʌrəmətə/

displeasure/criticism telling extent-of

{(The) extent of criticism.}

L11 *ingath bohoma podi laemath boma aethi*

/ɪŋʌθ bɔ:mə pɔdɪ lʌmʌθ bɔmə əθɪ/

waist-also very small heart-also very/much have (large)

{Waist also (is) very small, (a) large heart also have.}

L12 digaes thiyana landune
 /ðigas θijənə lɔ̃ðune/
long-eyes have lass who-is
{(Of) long eyes (a/the) lass who is.}

Sung (M) unless stated otherwise

L13 oya davasa thaama tharunai nam
 /ojə ðɔvəsə θamə θarunai nam/
this day still young-is if
{If this day is still young.}

L14 maga penena tharama sondurui nam
 /mɔgə penənə θarəmə sõðurui nam/
path visible-that-is extent sweet-is if
{If (the) extent (of) path that is visible is sweet.}

L15 maga thotadi hamuvela honda
 /mɔgə θotəði hamuvela hõðə/
path side (as in ‘wayside’) on meet-and pleasant
{On (the) wayside (lets) meet and pleasant.}

L16 rasakatha kanata kondurala
 /rasəkɔθa kɔnətə kõðurəla/
anecdotes ear-to whisper-do
{Anecdotes whisper to each other’s ear(s).}

L17 oya davasa thaama (FMm) tharunai nam
 /ojə ðɔvəsə θamə θarunai nam/
this day still young-is if
{If this day is still young.}

L18 maga penena tharama (FMm) sondurui nam
 /mɔgə penənə θarəmə sõðurui nam/
path visible-that-is extent sweet-is if
{If (the) extent (of) path that is visible is sweet.}

L19 maga thotadi hamuvela (FMm) honda
 /mɔgə θotəði hamuvela hõðə/
path side (as in ‘wayside’) on meet-and pleasant
{On (the) wayside (lets) meet and pleasant.}

L20 (FMm) rasa katha kanata kondurala
 /rasə kɔθa kɔnətə kõðurəla/
anecdotes ear-to whisper-do
{Anecdotes whisper to each other’s ear(s).}

- L21 [*numbe*¹⁵⁶ *vayasa matama galapei nam*
 /nubə vAjəsə matəmə galəpei nam/
 (F) oh oh]
your age me-to-only suits if
{If your age suits me}
- L22 [*maupiyān*¹⁵⁷ *hithata sathutui nam*
 /maupijān hiθətə sAθutui nam/
 (F) oh oh]
parents mind-to pleased if
{(Our/the) parents' minds if pleased (be).}
- L23 *mata sithadi sanasala vila*
 /matə siθəði sAnəsəla vilə/
me-to mind-give comfort pond -small loch-the¹⁵⁸
{To me (your) mind give and comfort the pond.}
- L24 *kalambala raeyama sarasalaa*
 /kAləbəla rajəmə sArəsəla/
agitate night-throughout decorate
{Agitate decorate (the) night throughout.}
- L25 *numbe vayasa matama (FMm) galapei nam*
 /nubə vAjəsə matəmə galəpei nam/
your age me-to-only suits if
{If your age suits me.}
- L26 *maupiyān hithata (FMm) sathutui nam*
 /maupijān hiθətə sAθutui nam/
parents mind-to pleased if
{(Our/the) parents' minds if pleased (be).}
- L27 *mata sithadi sanasala (FMm) vila*
 /matə siθəði sAnəsəla vilə/
me-to mind-give comfort pond -small loch-the
{To me (your) mind give and comfort the pond.}
- L28 (FMm) *kalambala raeyama sarasalaa*
 /kAləbəla rajəmə sArəsəla/
agitate night-throughout decorate
{Agitate decorate (the) night throughout.}

¹⁵⁶ *Numbe* is the second person singular pronoun and in Sinhala can be regarded the base form of the pronoun which attaches to a range of post-position particles in order to denote other syntactic variations of the pronoun (i.e. *numbee/ numbege*; your, *numbata* to-you etc). It is clear here that the word ought to be the second person singular possessive pronoun marked by the post-position particle *ee/ege*. This kind of syntactic construction where the possessive form of the word is only apparent in its clausal context can be considered unusual for both the written and spoken forms of the language.

¹⁵⁷ Here the word *maupiyān* ought to be in the genitive case – *maupiyange*. The absence of the case marker ‘ge’ resembles the absence in *numbe* –footnote 154.

¹⁵⁸ Something between a pond and small loch

Refrain-repeat : sung (MFMm) L5-11 + 29 below consisting of extended Rapped sequence

L29 *digaes* *thiyana landune*

/ðɪgas θɪjənə lʌŋʊne/

long-eyes have lass who-is

{(Of) long eyes (a/the) lass who is.}

Rap: (M) with (F) background chanting

L29 You was the

L30 Hottest in high school I was the baddest in the school you used to

L31 Shizzle my nizzle while I was working the middle and we was

L32 Chilling and thrilling hitting the spots was our filling but then it

L33 All broke down shortly you bounced with no telling now tell me

L34 What the hell am I supposed to do without you

L35 Who the hell's gonna give you everything that I do?

L36 Didn't know you gonna fade like that? Now

L37 How you gonna act like that

Refrain-repeat : sung (MFMm) L 5- 12

Chanting (F)

L38 Oh

L39 Oh eh eh yeah

L40 Hm eh

L41 Aah//

SONG:

Dark Angel

ARTISTS: Centigradz

Rhythmic rendition: (M)

L1 Centigradz digital DJs yeah dark angel

Rap: (M) unless stated otherwise

L2 Wel-

L3 -come on I know you love me from your deep in-

L4 -side I know you gonna take care of myself

L5 Right but you don't show that you are thinking of

L6 Me but baby I can read your mind do you know that

L7 Hey you always used to talk about

L8 Me and you and about them stories too the

L9 People walking down the street used to calling

L10 Me you're ex-boyfriend told you to but I

L11 Know the truth that you're loving me baby

L12 I can get you right-in: this time why you

L13 Wanna hide they say that the girls never

L14 Show and tell there feelings to people outside but now its

L15 Time to tell your feelings to me to show your

L16 Love for me I just wanna prove my love is

L17 True for you I wanna aloft to you I I give my

L18 [Heart to you I live my life on you

(F) ah ah]

Refrain –sung (F)

L18 I

L19 See there's an angel and

L20 I can't believe it she wanna

L21 Say she loves you baby she wanna

L22 Say you drive her crazy I

L23 See there's an angel and

L24 I can't believe it she wanna

L25 Say she loves you baby she wanna

L26 Say you drive her crazy

Rhythmic rendition: (M)

L27 Dark angel

Rap: (M)

L28 When I

L29 Get in to your pants I I show whose the man its like

L30 Cheating your girl she's losing all her shine i

L31 Got to have legs up straight on my roof top she

L32 Makes it hot with a ring on her block

L33 Rhythm in her belly its like div hot "JENNY" inside

L34 It burns out with a spoon of jelly when I

L35 Rip it through like a big hurricane and they

L36 Run with who¹⁵⁹ my dogs represent I don't

L37 Mind every damn new thing we've done

L38 Right set it free and put ya hands up now I

L39 Feel you like a soft breeze I can't touch M

L40 Killing time on a rap sheet making it rough An-

L41 -other day in the sunset down my year mo-

L42 -ther **rs in a Cadillac while you are here baby

L43 Not what you say or what you've heard lets

L44 Rap on the streets no time for her

Sung (M)

L45 Wo

L46 Whoa yay yeah

L47 Dark angel

Sung (M) echo of refrain

L48 I

L49 See there's an angel and

L50 I can't believe it

L51 She wanna

L52 Say you drive her crazy

Refrain repeat L18-26: (M)

¹⁵⁹ Unclear in the recording.

SONG:

Sandawathuren
Moon-water-from/of (Of/By moon water)

ARTISTS: Ashanthi (featuring Yashan)

A-rhythmic rendition (F)

L1 Right now I'm done here

Rhythmic rendition (M) for 1st half of line and then (F)

L2 Ha ha ha ha (M) ha ha ha ha (F)

L3 Its about time to introduce my boy Yashan/

L4 Yashan and Ashanthi

L5 Rocking the building/

L6 You heard

Refrain –sung (Mm)

L7 *sandawathuren dowa* _____ *ah ah ah ah*

/sʌðəvʌθurɛn ðova/

moon-water-in from

{From moon-water (moon-lit-water) ah ah ah ah.}

L8 *sithuvili pibideva* _____ *aha ahaaa*

/sɪθʊvɪlɪ pɪbɪðeva/

Thoughts spring-may-will

{May thoughts spring aha ahaaa.}

L9 *nonidena nethu gaava* _____ *that's right*

/nonɪðɛnə nɛθʊ gava/

sleepless eyes touched

{Touched (by) sleepless eyes that's right.}

L10 *sihinaya oba veva* _____ *ah ah ah hiri*

/sɪhɪnəjə obə veva

hɪrɪ/

dream you may-it-be

{(A/the) dream may you be ah ah ah small.}

Sung stanza (Mm)

L11 *poda* _____ *pini naava matha*

/pɔðə pɪnɪ nava mʌθə/

rain-drop dew didn't-arrive light/mild

{(The) dewy rain drops didn't arrive light. }

- L12 *nala danga paava sula-*
 /nɒlə ðʌŋgə pava sulə/
breeze mischief –as in ‘dance’ dawned wind
{ Breeze danced (wind).}
- L13 *-ngata kavi keedaa hitha-*
 /ŋgətə kʌvi kiðə hiθə/
-to poems recited-day mind
{ To (the wind) day poems (were) recited (mind).}
- L14 *-tath thatu aava obe*
 /tʌθ θʌtu əvə obə/
-to wings arrived/birthed your
{(In) to (the) (mind) wings arrived (your).}
- L15 *maa sitha semaa love*
 /ma siθə semə lovə/
I mind similar world
{(Your) mind (and) mine (are) similar world.}
- L16 *sonduruma veva deha*
 /soðurumə veva ðɛhʌ/
sweetest may-it-be two
{Sweetest place may it be (two-hearts).}
- L17 *-dak lung veva*
 /ðʌk lʌŋ vevə/
Of unite may-it-be
{(Two hearts) may unite.}
- L18 (M) *thani kama duruveva ah aah/*
 /θʌni kʌmə ðuruvevə/
loneliness banished-may-it-be ah aah
{Loneliness banished be ah aah.}

Refrain –sung -(Mm) ; L7-10

Sung (Mm and Fm alternating)

- L19 (Mm) *love /*
 /lovə/
world
{World.}
- L20 *nidena mee rae pre-*
 /niðɛnə me rə pre/
repose-in this night love-
{(On) this night (as the world) (is) in repose (love).}

- L21 (Mm) -maya aehaerewa saya
/məjə ahareva sɔjə/
the awake-may-it-be bed
{**May the (love) awake (bed).**}
- L22 (Mm) -ne thaniwuda hith
/ne θɒni vuðə hiθ/
in bed alone-when-be mind
{**In a time when alone in (bed the) mind.**}
- L23 (Mm) -giniyam bowaa ele-
/ɡiniɟəm bova ɛlə/
In flame engulfed rise
{**In flame(s) engulfed (rise).**}
- L24 (Mm) -bena hiru gaava suba naekathak
/mbɛnə hirʊ gava subə nakəθɒk/
- ing sun touch/touching great auspices
{**Touch/ing (the ris)ing sun great auspices.**}
- L25 (Ff) veva athi-
/veva ʌθi/
let there be hand
{**Let there be (hand).**}
- L26 (Ff) -natha badhena daa
/nəθə bəðɛnə ðə/
in hand unite-when day
{**when (hand) in hand (you/we are) unite(d).**} ; married
- L27 (M) pathiniya oba weva yes yeah
/pɒθiniɟə obə veva/
you may-it-be
{**May the blessing be you yes yeah.**}

Refrain –sung -(Mm)

- L28 sandawathuren dowa oaow oaow (F)
L29 sithuvili pibideva aha aha (F)
L30 nonidena nethu gaava yeah what (F)
L31 sihinaya oba veva ah ah ah (F)

Refrain -sung (Mm)

- L32 sandawathuren dowa (M) Yashan baby
L33 sithuvili pibideva (Mm) aha aha
L34 nonidena nethu gaava (Mm) that's right
L35 sihinaya oba veva (M+F)aha aha

Rap (F) – L31 (M) concludes line

L36 I'm a

L37 Low key play a hoochie my game

L38 Is tight nobody gonna fool me you wanna

L39 Love me cuddle kiss and hug me you better

L40 Get right if you wanna get to me - ah ha ha (M)

(Mm)

L40 Now I'm

L41 Local and got much dough but I

L42 Still got seven pairs of Timbos I'm a

L43 Rider can I sit beside you mammy lets

L44 Walk a minute lets talk a minute keep it

L45 Real for you girl I don't need no gimmicks Holla

L46 At your boy like I'm Pastor Troy yeah yeeeeeah (Mm)

L47 Yeah yeah yeah I'm no drama boy huh

L48 Yeah-(M) I'm a nasty toy you say you

L49 Wanna love me kiss and hug me 'hug me'*-(M) drop some

L50 Chocolate sauce and you can rub me mmm lets make it

L51 Hot in here like Miami and let me

L52 Hit the spot so gently

Refrain as in same melody – different words -vocalised (FFm) and (M) in alternation:

L53 (Ff) sandawathuren aava (M) oh oh oh oh

L54 (Ff) kothe mal aehareva (M) aha aha

/koðe mʌl ahareva/

dome-in flowers blossom-be

{In (the) dome (may) flowers blossom aha aha.}

L55 (Ff) mee raeya mage veva (M) yeah what

/me rajə mʌgɛ veva/

this night mine be

{This night (may) mine be yeah what.}

L56 (Ff) mage sanda oba veva (M) ah ah ah

/mʌgɛ sʌðə obə veva/

my moon you be

{My moon (may) you be ah ah ah.}

Refrain-vocalised (Mm) and (F) in alternation-indicated

L57 (Mm) sandawathuren dowa (F) oh hoo oh hoo

L58 (Mm) sithuvili pibideva (F) aha aha

L59 (Mm) [nonithena nethu gaava

- (F) you got the flow you got the flow]

L60 (Mm) sihinaya oba veva (F) yeah
Refrain-vocalised (M) and (F) in alternation-indicated

L61 (Mm) sandawathuren dowa
(F) Yashan in the building/
L62(Mm) sithuvili pibideva (F) Ashanthi/
L63 (Mm) nonithena nethu gaava yeah_that's right/
L64 (Mm) sihinaya oba veva ah ah ah/

Rap (Mm) interspersed with vocalisation of Sinhala lines (Mm)

L64 Know that I'm
L65 Local got much love though
L66 sithuvili pibideva what it do baby I wanna
thoughts spring-may-will
{May thoughts spring.}
L67 Ride you step inside you
L68 sihinaya oba veva gotta
dream you may-it-be
{A/the dream may you be.}

Refrain-vocalised (Mm + M)

L69 (Mm) sandawathuren dowa (M) yeah yeah yeah]
L70 (Mm) sithuvili pibideva (M) ha ha haa
L71 (Mm) nonithena nethu gaava (M) hey hey
L72 (Mm) [sihinaya oba veva (M) hah haa
(M) hey]

Rhythmic rendition (M)

L73 Yeah hit me up people Yashan on-
L74 -line dot com

* echo effect

SONG:

Hanthane
Hanthana-in
{In Hanthane¹⁶⁰}

ARTISTS: Ashanthi (featuring DeLon)

Rhythmic rendition (M) + (Mm)

L1 Ah haa

L2 Yeah so hot,

L3 [Ha haa Ashanthi
(Mm) yeah]

L4 Oh young di

L5 [Ya know what it is
(Mm) is]

L6 Ah here

Sung (F)

L7 *mal gamu gane ronyane*

/mɔl ɡɒmu ɡane rɔnjane/

flower fields throughout pollen-fields-in

{Flower fields throughout, pollen-fields in.}

OR {Throughout flower-fields, in pollen fields.}

L8 *kendara kale unusum thale*

/kɛnðərə kale unuʃum θale/

Horoscope-the time-in warm rhythm-the-in

{The horoscope time in, the warm rhythm in.}

OR { In the horoscope time, in the warm rhythm.}

L9 *nindade daekapul mage*

/nɪnðəðə ðakəpʊl mʌge/

sleeplessness cheeks my

{(Of) sleeplessness my cheeks.}

L10 *hiri vatuna*

/hɪrɪ vətʊnə/

numb became

{Numb became.}

Repeat L 7-10

¹⁶⁰ A mountain range located in the central region of Sri Lanka. *ee* functions as a post-position particle that denotes the locative case in Sinhala ; therefore the proper noun *Hanthane* also connotes the sense of ‘being *in* Hanthane’ in as much as it stands as a term of reference only. Line 5 is an example of when the word represents the former of the two possible ways in which it can be interpreted.

Refrain -Sung (F)

L11 *hanthane hanthne*

/hʌnθane hʌnθane/

Hanthane Hanthane

{In Hanthane in Hanthane.}

L12 *malpare malpare*

/mʌlpʌre mʌlpʌre/

flower-road-the-in/on flower-road-the-in/on

{On The flower-road on the flower-road.}

L13 *sansare sansare*

/sʌnsare sʌnsare/

sansare-in sansare-in (cycle-of-life cycle-of-life)

{In sansare in sansare.}

L14 *piya nagala*

/pijə nʌgəɫə/

steps climb-has-and

{(I did) climb steps-and.}

L15 *mandaram mandaram*

/mʌnðʌrʌm mʌnðʌrʌm/

rainy/downcast-sky rainy/downcast-sky

{Downcast sky downcast sky.}

L16 *haendaeve haendaeve*

/hʌnðʌve hʌnðʌve/

evening-in evening-in

{In the evening in the evening.}

L17 *tharu raene tharu raene*

/θʌrʊ rʌne θʌrʊ rʌne/

star host-in star host-in

{In/amidst (a) host (of) stars, in/amidst (a) host (of) stars.}

L18 *mama hitiya*

/mʌmə hitijʌ/

I waited

{I waited.}

Repeat L 11- 18

Sung (F)

L19 *mandan raene sansare*

/mʌnðʌn rʌne sʌnsare/

row –in sansare-in

{ in sansare }

L20 *premaya obege sansun thale*

/preməjə obəge sʌnsʊn θale/

love-the yours composed melody-in

{The love (is) yours composed in/of melody}

L21 *haendave paelandu sele*

/hanðave paləðu sele/

Evening-the-in attire-did style-in

{In the evening in the attired style}

L22 *piya simbala*

/pijə sɪbəla/

feet kiss-do-and

{Feet (were) kissed and}

Repeat L13-21 + 23

L23 [*piya simbala*

/pijə sɪbəla/

(M) ok check this out]

feet kiss-do-and

{Feet (were)¹⁶¹ kissed and}

Rap (M) and (Mm)

L24 Young *Ashanthi* what you wanna do like you

L25 Got me like I got you (Mm) hey

L26 Yeah and I said the boy looks fine but the

L27 Girl hanging out with ya kinda like a (Mm) hey

L28 Ei so don't come around here talking

L29 [All that stuff you slap in the face

(Mm) hey]

L30 Yeah and ya all know my name see

L31 All in the house got to smash the (Mm) kay ? (M) but the

L32 Queen right shot gun squirt the ladies say

L33 As H A N T H (Mm)way

L34 Yeah and now you gotta spell cos if you don't know by now you just

L35 pack (Mm) away

Refrain –(F) –L11-18–repeated thrice

Rhythmic rendition (M) and (F)

L36 [(M) Yeah yeah yeah yeah

(F) Ashanthi]

L37 (M) Yeah ah come on come on

¹⁶¹ Here the *aa* post-position particle can denote both past tense and a conjunction (an act that precedes and is connected to another). Hence the inclusion of the irregular verb 'was' in parenthesis.

L38 (M) Wooh (F) come on now on now on

L39 (F) Come on now on now (M) ah lets go baby

NON 98+LSLPS song

SONG:

**Duhul Malaka
Duhul flower-in-a
{In a Duhul-flower}**

ARTIST: Nirosha Virajini

Sung: (F)

L1 *duhul malaka mal peththaka/ /*

/ðuhul maləkə mal pəθθəkə/

**Tender/soft flower-a-in flower petal-in/of
{Of (the) petal of a Duhul flower.}**

L2 *eha meha penena paridi/ /*

/əha meha penənə pəriði/

**'this-way-that-way' (all aspects visible as)
{As all aspects (are) visible.}**

L3 *siyaluma liuva vu*

/sijələmə liuva vu/

**all wrote did/written-was
{ All (that) written was.}**

L4 *mage pem panivida-*

/mage pem panivida/

**my love messages
{My love (messages).}**

L5 *-va*

/jə/

a

{(message).}

L6 *samanalayek athe euva*

/samənələjek aθə euva/

**butterfly-a hand-in/through sent
{Sent through a butterfly.}**

L7 *hambavunada*

/hambəvunaðə/

**received-was-it
{Was it received?.}**

L8 *baraganne parissamen*

/barəgannə pəri:ssəmen/

**accept care-with
{Accept with care.}**

L9 *thatu podinokara*

/θatu podinokərə/

**wings crushing-not
{Crushing not (its) wings.}**

- L10 *mage pem panivida-*
 /mʌge pɛm pʌnɪvɪdə/
my love messages
{My love (message).}
- L11 *-ya*
 /yə/
a
{(message).}
- L12 *hambavunadai kiyala*
 /hʌmbəvʊnədʌi kiʝələ/
receive did/didn't that
{Did/didn't receive that.}
- L13 *liyala evanna*
 /liʝələ ɛvʌnnə/
write-and send
{Write and send.}
- L14 *oba venuven thava duratath*
 /obə vɛnʊvɛn θʌvə ðʊrətʌθ/
you behalf-on more further-also
{On your behalf further also.}
- L15 *jeevathvenna //*
 /ʝivʌθvɛnnə/
live-to
{To live.}
- L16 *laa laa la laa laa //*
- L17 *laa laa la laa laa //*
- L18 *laa laa la laa laa //*
- L19 *laa laa la laa laa //*
- L20 *obata kamathi vu davase //*
 /obətə kaməθɪ vu ðʌvəsə/
you-to like became day-on
{On the day (I/she/he/they) came (to) like you.}
- L21 *danuna hangum paata thamai*
 /ðʌnʊnʌ hʌŋʊm pʌtə θʌmʌɪ/
felt feelings colours these-are
{(The) colours (of the) feelings felt these are.}
- L22 *de-*
 /ðe/
Part of 'rainbow' – *dedunnak* – not a prefix.
{(Rainbow).}
- L23 *-dunnak vela*
 /ðʊnnʌk vɛlə/
rainbow-a become-having
{A (rainbow) having become.}

- L24 *daas vetha pahathvu-*
 /ðɑ:s vɛθə pʌhʌθvu/
eyes towards approach-that
{That towards (my/her/his) eyes approach.}
- L25 *-ne*
 /ne/
did
{Did.}
- L26 *ee sathute susume thamai*
 /e sʌθutə sʊsʊme θʌmʌi/
that happiness-of/in soft is
{That soft(ness) of happiness (it) is.}
- L27 *nala mudu suvindak vi*
 /nʌlə muðʊ sʊvəðʌk vi/
fiery sea fragrance-a become
{A fiery-sea fragrance (having) become.}
- L28 *hitha thetha-maaththu ka-*
 /hiθə θɛθə mʌθθʊ kə/
mind wetted do (ka is a tenseless auxiliary stem)
{(Did) wet (the) mind.}
- L29 *-le*
 /le/
did
{(Did).}
- L30 *ee bava haengeneva nam mata*
 /e bʌvə hʌɛnɛvə nʌm mʌtə/
that is feel-do if me-to
{If that you feel towards me.}
- L31 *kiyala evanne*
 /kijələ ɛvʌnnə/
tell and send
{Tell and send.}
- L32 *ee aethi mata oba venuven*
 /e aθi mʌtə obə vɛnuvɛn/
that sufficient me-for you -for
{That (is) sufficient for me, for you.}
- L33 *jeevathvenna //*
 /dʒivʌθvɛnnə/
live-to
{To live.}¹⁶²

¹⁶² ‘That is sufficient for me to live for you’

- L34 *oba nikman kala davase //*
 /obə nɪkmən kələ ðɔvəse/
you depart do/did day-the-on
{On the day you did depart.}
- L35 *unapu kandule tharama thamai*
 /unəpu kɔḍule θɔrəmə θɔmmɔi/
shed-did tears quantum is/are
{(The) quantum (of the) tears (you) shed it is.}
- L36 *poda*
 /pɔðə/
drizzle
{(Drizzle).}
- L37 *vaessak vela*
 /vassɔk vɛɔɔ/
shower-a become-having
{(A (drizzle) shower having become.)}
- L38 *polavata pathvu*
 /pɔləvətə pəθvu/
ground/earth-the-to fall
{Fall to the earth.}
- L39 *ne*
 /ne/
did
{Did.}
- L40 *ee kandule balaya thamai*
 /e kɔḍule bɔləjə θɔmmɔi/
that tear-of power is
{Of (that) tear (the) power (it) is.}
- L41 *mahavaeli ganga maedde*
 /mɔhɔvɔli ɡɔŋgə mɔððe/
Mahavaeli¹⁶³ river-the middle-in
{In (the) middle (of) the Mahavaeli river.}
- L42 *diya suliyak vu*
 /ðɪjə sʊɪjɔk vu/
whirl-pool-a become
{A whirlpool become.}
- L43 *ye*
 /je/
did
{Did.}

¹⁶³ The name of the longest river in Sri Lanka.

L44 ee bava danunaanam mata

/e bʌvə ðanʊnʌnʌm mʌtə/

that it-is feel-did-if me-to/for
{That it is (so) if (you) did feel for me.}

L45 kiyala evanna

/kijəʌ ɛvʌnnə/

Tell-and send
{Tell and send.}

L46 ee tika aethi thava duratath

/e tikə aθi θʌvə ðʊrətʌθ/

that little sufficient more further-also
{That little (is/would be) sufficient (for) further also.}

L47 jeevathvenna //

/ʃivʌθvɛnnə/

live-to
{To love.}

Repeat L 1-15

Appendix 3

Vasanthaye (1998)

Artists: BNS

The song's title translates as spring and serves as a metaphor for love. The narrative consists of a sub-narrative comprising two further narratives. The overarching narrative involves a male addressor's efforts to console his lover who appears distressed owing to societal pressures on their relationship. At the same time there is a celebration of love which the addressor describes in terms of such attributes typically associated with the time of spring; beauty, novelty, mystery (in Sinhala Text –sung. L1-6; refrain, L7-18, 27-40). The inserted narrative (in English Text-rap. End of L18-26) also contains two sub-narratives; the addressor praises and requests that his addressee/s listen to his new song and then proceeds to request his addressee/s to 'unite in 'friendship' and 'do the Sinhala dance. Geographical landscapes are used to express these sentiments while the concluding reference to 'Sinhala' suggests the landscapes refer to Sri Lanka; both sub-narratives concern new beginnings as it were and therefore echo the attributes associated with the title of the song, 'in spring'.

Sri Sangabodhi (2000)

Artists: BNS

This song is set around an important and respected (arguably venerated) Sri Lankan historical figure of royal lineage, Sri Sangabodhi. His murder has been documented in historical and fictional texts. The addressor, a male, assumes the identity of the murderer while the main text of the song involves the murderer contemplating the killing of Sri Sangabodhi (in Sinhala Text-sung. L8-31). As with the previous song *Vasanthaye*, this song too contains competing narratives. A brief conversation between a male and female speaker evokes romance (in English Text-sung. L51-58). An androgynous male-female speaker urging his/her addressees to acknowledge their contemporary identity while celebrating their shared history is another narrative (in English Text-sung. L32-first section of L39) while a male speaker's (via English Text-rap. Latter section of L39-47) description of an individual named *Bathiya* as a visionary and request to his addressees to follow the initiative of *Bathiya* comprise two further narratives. The themes of desire, radicalism and the celebration of reinvented identities appear to unite these narratives although the violent nature of the dominant narrative concerning Sri Sangabodhi does contrast with the relatively benign nature of the other narratives.

Shaheena (2008)

Artists: BNS

Broadly, three complementary yet different narratives interspersed with an expression of an addressor's praise of his female lover (in Sinhala Text-sung. L22-24) form the core of this complex song. The most prominent of the three narratives

(in Sinhala Text-sung. L6-L13, 28-35) involves a male addressor reflecting on his (female) lover's secret love for him (L8, 12), secret because she appears to have no choice but to conceal her feelings for him from her family and fact that this secrecy is frustrating her. In another narrative, a female voice speaks of her love for a 'boy' (L21). Whether the female is supposed to be the addressee of the dominant narrative or a different narrative is unclear. The third narrative (in English Text-rap L37-46) once again involving a male speaker constitutes an expression of his sexual feelings for his lover. The narratives can be considered related as they each concern aspects of romantic intimacy between individuals typically termed 'love'.

Ae Hetha (2007)

Artists: Iraj (featuring DeLon and Aminath Shani).

The song title is in Divehi and translates as 'hey heart'. Two narratives communicated by an adult male and female respectively constitute this song. The first is contained in the recurring refrain sung by the female (in Divehi Text-sung. L5-8,25-28, 46-49). It articulates her love for her addressor and a request that s/he be hers. The theme of the second narrative delivered by the adult male (in English Text-rap. L9-24, 29-45, 50-57) is less clear. Sexual innuendos (L 41 -43) clearly intended for a female (L14) indicate a relationship between the addressor and the female. However, the relationship appears at times to be unsteady (L9, L16) although the narrative as a whole does not necessarily reflect a tense relationship between the two individuals. Ambiguity is facilitated by the addressor's sudden references to *Iraj* who is projected as a friend and to whom he makes a few seemingly innocuous requests (L44-45, 50-51, 55). All the narratives of the song evoke a strong emotional resonance and therefore can arguably be said to correspond to the title of the song, 'hey heart': reference to the 'heart' is synonymous with love and romance especially in poetic forms of expression. Nevertheless, the narrative that corresponds most closely with the title is the refrain; a love 'text' as it were.

Oba Hinda (2006)

Artists: Iraj (featuring Samitha Mudunkotuwa)

The topic of love (entirely in Sinhala Text-sung) is explored in the context of a female speaker expressing her love for her lover while framing her feelings within an expression of overall doubt and anxiety by claiming that she has in some sense been 'trapped' in to falling in love with an individual owing to the individual's good looks. Her lover appears to be an adult male as signalled by the local context in which the narrative is located and the referent *raththarane* (golden one) which when used by a female in a context such as this, usually implies a male. The addressor's insecurities are further pronounced when she expresses a desire for marriage (L14) despite previous hints that she was in effect trapped in to falling in love and a request that he remain faithful to her (L16).

Kotthu (2008)

Artists: Iraj (featuring Illnoiz)

This song celebrates the ubiquitous fast-food *Kotthu*; a sentiment encompassed in its refrain (in Sinhala Text-sung – the latter part of L8 to the first part of L16 – contained under the lyric section titled ‘refrain’) where an adult male addressor expresses his insatiable yearning for the food immediately. The addressor describes the importance of *Kotthu* to him and the inhabitants of Colombo (Sri Lanka’s commercial capital) even suggesting that their very survival depends on it. A detailed elaboration of the addressor’s adventures involving *Kotthu* (in Sinhala Text-rap.L16-end to L28, end of L43-55 and Tamil Text-rap. L29-40) emphasises the theme of the importance of *Kotthu* to the city’s inhabitants. The song includes a further narrative (in English Text-sung. L56-63) in which the food is personified as a male lover; the addressor remains the adult male. This male addressor is one of principal addressors of the song. The voice of one of remaining two addressors sounds like that of a male child but sounds also like that of an adult male mimicking a male child’s voice. The song concludes with the third addressor representing an Indian adult male complaining about the delay of the *Kotthu* he has ordered; two possible ways in which this narrative relates to the rest of the text include functioning as a comic relief following the romantic personification of *Kotthu* by the previous addressor and/or highlighting that while *Kotthu* is an intrinsic part of urban Sri Lankan cuisine, its popularity is not restricted to Sri Lankans but extends to non-Sri Lankans as well.

Oba Magemai (2003)

Artists: Ranidu (featuring Ashanthi)

Three interwoven narratives all of which concern a love relationship between a man and woman constitute the text of this song. A lament of a male addressor over the fact that his beloved has abandoned him, a note of endearment by a female addressor (both in Sinhala Text- sung. L5-12, 23-30) and a verse (the song’s refrain) involving the praising a lover simultaneously voiced by an adult male and female (in Sinhala Text-sung. L13-20, 31-38) are the three narratives. Interpreting the narratives as concerning a single relationship leads to an overall narrative in which it appears that the male addressor’s lament owes to a misunderstanding since his lover does in fact love him. The simultaneous praise of a lover by a male and female reinstates the mutual affection that exists between the two individuals. However, the three narratives could also be read separately as relating to different pairs of individuals; the theme of love would still unite them as a cohesive text as would the title of the song (which translates as ‘you are mine alone’).

Malpeththak Se (2004)

Artists: 6th Lane

Two narratives (of which one is the song’s refrain) detailing two facets of an adult romantic relationship concluding with an imperative exclamatory comment (in English Text rhythmic rendition.L46-L49) constitute the song lyric. In one narrative, the song’s refrain (in Sinhala Text-sung. L1-8), a combined adult male and female voice tell of abandonment by a lover – the addressee. Its counterpart narrated by an

adult male (in English Text rap. L9-the first section of L27, L28-45) provides a detailed portrait of the tragic circumstances of a failed relationship. Once again, the multiple voices through which the former narrative is rendered makes it difficult for a 'listener' (i.e. audience) to assume that the two narratives belong exclusively to the context of one relationship. The exclamatory comment with which the text concludes is by a female. It constitutes her response to an anonymous caller. It could be interpreted as a quasi comic relief following a rather melancholic tale of despair or as related to the overall narrative of the song. If connected to the content of the two main narratives of the song, it serves to issue an inconclusive and hence ambiguous ending in as far as the future of the narrated relationship/s is/are concerned. More specifically, the anonymous caller could, for example, be seen as the lost lover; the lines would consequently suggest a lack of complete closure concerning the relationship hitherto appearing to have ended.

Ahankara Nagare (2004)

Artists: Ranidu

The song commences with a brief introduction in which a male addressor appears to provide his addressee/s with some information regarding the geographical context of the song, Colombo, the commercial capital of Sri Lanka and symbolising a cosmopolitan urbanised culture. An adult male and female then pose a rhetorical question to a young urbanised woman about her moral stature and whose physical beauty and proceed to celebrate while criticising those who may be tempted to judge her on moral grounds. An adult male addressor then proceeds to make a proposition to the woman (in Sinhala Text-sung. L13-28). He suggests that they could meet and hints at the possibility of marriage provided their ages complement one another and their parents are agreeable to the union. Both narratives appear to concern the same woman. A final narrative (in English Text rap L29-L37) presented by an adult male addressor recounts a failed school male-female relationship in which he claims to have been abandoned by his lover. Connecting the three narratives, it could be argued that the final narrative casts the first and second narratives as past events prior to the break up of the relationship. However, the dual male-female voicing of the first narrative could also be interpreted as exhibiting lesbian overtones thus providing for alternative readings. The theme of 'love' underlies all three narratives.

Dark Angel (2005)

Artists: Centigradz

An adult male speaker narrates the story of a heterosexual couple. Later, he personalises it suggesting that he may be one of the lovers. That the relationship is not perfect can be seen in the speaker's mild criticism of the female lover while the celebration of sexual love represents the narrative as exploring facets of heterosexual relationships. The above are sub-narratives of a broader narrative owing to the fact that they are all uttered by the same speaker (in English Text-rap. L2-18, 28-44). A separate narrative (the song's refrain) sung by a female (in English Text-sung. L18-26) is juxtaposed with this narrative serving to split it in to two sections. She describes a female in love and a lover. The gender of the lover is not specified. Viewing the two narratives as connected parts of a single narrative, it would appear

that the female's narrative also concerns a heterosexual relationship, the addressor being a sort of impartial observer as it were, owing to the fact that the male addressor's narrative concerns a heterosexual relationship. However, it is also possible to interpret the two narratives separately uniting only in terms of the fact that they both deal with the concept of love and human relationships. Interestingly, the narrative comprising the refrain recurs at the end of the song but is rendered by an adult male and consequently enhances the ambiguity as regards the gender of the lovers and the relationship between the narratives of the song.

Sandawathuren (2006)

Artists: Ashanthi (featuring Yashan)

Romantic and sexual emotions form the underlying theme of this song. Constituting the song's refrain (in Sinhala Text-sung. L7-10, 28-35, 53-the first section of L64), a male addressor expresses a wish for his lover's arrival; moon and reflected water's of the moon serve as symbolic imagery of the wish. The narrative recurs many times in the song but with some variations (e.g. interspersed with female utterances). The imagery of moon and water also frame another narrative celebrating male-female romantic feeling presented by an adult male and female (in Sinhala Text-sung. L11-27). An assertion about the importance of loyalty in such emotional relationships forms the core of yet a further narrative voiced by a female (in English Text rap. L36-the first section of L40). Celebrating sexual love forms the content of the remaining narrative voiced by an adult male (in English Text rap; latter section of L40 to L52). The narratives can be seen as connected by virtue of the fact that they all deal with human romantic relationships. However, it is possible that they all refer to a one specific relationship or different relationships as they are rendered by different combinations of male and male/female voices.

Hanthane (2008)

Artists: Ashanthi (featuring DeLon)

A female speaks of an idyllic time spent with her lover in the scenic hills of Hanthane in Sri Lanka (in Sinhala Text-sung. L11-18). The gender of the addressee is not specified. The female name *Ashanthi* (the name of the singer of the song) is mentioned in a short male narrative (L1-6) which precedes this narrative suggesting that the female speaker is *Ashanthi*. A male narrative (in English Text-rap. L24-35) follows in which the name *Ashanthi* is presented as addressee. The narrative includes reference to a male-female relationship (L26-27), some slightly aggressive references to the addressee (L28-29) and concludes with a praise of the addressee (L31-35). The lyric concludes with a narrative rendered by a male and female (in English Text-rhythmic rendition. L36-39) in which yet again the addressee is shown to be *Ashanthi*. Here, she is being affectionately invited to join the addressor. That the addressor is both female and male evokes ambiguity as to the nature of the relationship. Accordingly, the lyric can be interpreted as celebrating heterosexual as well as same sex relationships.

Appendix 4

Vasanthaye (1998)

Artists: BNS

Sung (Refrain)	1a	<u>vasan-</u>	<u>-tha-</u>	<u>-ye</u> -----	-----
	1b	-----	-----	-----	-----
	2a		<u>pibi-</u>	<u>-dena</u>	<u>mal</u>
	2b	<u>piye-</u>	<u>-li va-</u>	<u>ge</u>	
	3a	<u>[sitha-</u>	<u>-ta naen</u> <u>sa-</u>	<u>gena</u> <u>-has</u>	-----]
	3b	-----	<u>sithu-</u>	<u>- vili</u>	<u>mal</u>
	4a	<u>re-</u>	<u>-nu va-</u>	<u>-ge</u> -----	-----
	4b	<u>dan-</u>	<u>-gakaa</u>	<u>-ta</u>	<u>vaehi</u>
	5a	<u>podak</u>	<u>va-</u>	<u>-ge</u>	<u>ape</u>
	5b	<u>hada</u>	<u>sithu-</u>	<u>- wili</u>	<u>mee</u>
	6a	<u>sun-</u>	<u>- dhara</u>	<u>love</u>	<u>dutu-</u>
	6b	<u>ve</u> -----	-----	-----	-----
Rap *	18	<u>oba</u>	<u>ma</u>	<u>jeevaya</u>	<u>ve so</u> *
	19	check out	check out my	new <u>Sinhala</u>	style I am
	20	using the	style for the	very first	time which
	21	comes from a	country a	pearl of a	land from the
	22	hill and the	rivers and the	golden	sand with north
	23	south east and	west to-	-gether we must	stand u-
	24	-nite the bond of	friendship and the	love for the country	man
	25	DJ at the	mike do the	boogie dance	man lets
	26	do the <u>Sinhala</u>	dance walla	two	three

Sri Sangabodhi (2000)

Artists: BNS

Rhythmic Rendition	2			ah ha	haa
	3		yeah	yeah	yeah
	4	[yeah yeah doo wap	yeah wup	come do wup	on pa wuppa]
Sung * (Refrain)	5	[doo wup	wup	do wup take a chow yeah	pa wuppa yeah <u>siri</u> *.]
	6	[<u>sangabodhi</u> doo wup	<u>maligave</u> wup	<u>di</u> doo wup	<u>-ma</u> pa wuppa ah haa Iraj]
	7	[doo wup	wup	do wup	pa wuppa <u>siri</u> *.]
	8	[<u>sangabodhi</u>	<u>maligave</u>	<u>di</u>	<u>-ma</u>
	9				<u>siri</u>
	10	<u>sangabodhi</u>	<u>maligave</u>	<u>di</u>	<u>-ma daka</u>
	11	[<u>prane hani</u>	<u>venta baeta</u>	<u>dem</u> ooh ah	<u>siri</u>]
Sung	31	I	see ya	grooving	to this
	32	[this	piece of	histo-	-ry histo-]
	33	[-ry this is	all about	who you	are who you]

	34	[and are	it's no	myste-	-ry -myste]
	35	[lets -ry	keep on	moving	to this]
	36	[and be-	-lieve in your	desti-	-ny desti-]
	37	[if we -ny	don't know	who we	are we'll]
Rap*	38	[be	modern	histo-	-ry we've got the*]
	39	world wrapped a-	round our little	fingers little	hound and <u>Ba-</u>
	40	<u>-thiya</u>	banging on your	frontiers	holding on our
	41	own in this	war zone	resur-	-rect the indus-
	42	- try lay the	corner stone	say what	throw up your
	43	cups up and be	sure to catch them	when they fall be-	-fore you
	44	walk the walk	you best	learn to crawl	
	45	shady voca-	-list turned	entrepreneur	<u>Ba-</u>
	46	<u>-thiya</u>	make yourself	heard	-----
Sung + Rhythmic Rendition	59	[<u>sangabodhi</u> I	<u>maligave-</u> see ya	- <u>di</u> grooving	<u>ma</u> to this]

	60	[this	is our	histo-	-ry histo- <u>daeka</u>]
	61	[-re this is <u>pranehani</u>	all about <u>venta</u>	who we <u>baeta</u>	are <u>dem</u> who we]
	62	[and	its no	myste-	-ry <u>siri</u> myste- to this]
	63	[-re lets <u>sangabodhi</u>	keep on <u>maligave-</u>	moving <u>-di</u>	to this <u>ma</u>]
	64	[and be-	-lieve in our	desti-	-ny <u>daeka</u> desti-]
	65	[-ny if we <u>pranehani</u>	don't know <u>venta baeta</u>	who we <u>them</u>	are]
	66	[we'll	be	more	than a <u>siri</u>]
	67	[histo- I <u>sangabodhi</u>	-ry see ya <u>sangabodhi</u>	grooving <u>sangabodhi</u>	to this <u>sangabodhi</u>]

Shaheena (2008)

Artists: BNS

sung – (stanza)	6a	<i>kolatha-</i>	<i>-layan</i>	<i>moona</i>	<i>hangamin</i>
	6b	<i>maa diha</i>	<i>balan-</i>	<i>-ne -----</i> ah	<i>-----</i> ah]
	7a	<i>kavuluwen</i>	<i>ebi</i>	<i>neth kaelum</i>	<i>valin</i>
	7b	[<i>aadarai</i>	<i>kiyan-</i>	<i>-ne-----</i> ooh-----	<i>-----</i> <i>-----]</i>
	8a	<i>aalavan-</i>	<i>-thakam</i>	<i>naesiyam</i>	<i>vethin</i>
	8b	[<i>vasam ka-</i>	<i>-ra hindin</i>	<i>ne -----</i> ooh -----	<i>-----</i> <i>-----]</i>
	9a	<i>pahatha ma-</i>	<i>-laye</i>	<i>thama in-</i>	<i>-ne mang</i>
	9b	[<i>api durai</i>	<i>ruweth-</i>	<i>-thi</i> ooh -----	<i>-----</i> <i>-----]</i>
sung	14	Judanwa-	-yinsa	nun sukha-	-da
	15	bihinna-	-byil fara-	-khan abadu-	-a
	16	innaabi-	-lada	dee muada-	-daa
	17	khunnam-	-ghairil	nun sukha-	-da
	18	I like the	way you	look at	me
	19	I like the	way you	play with	me
	20	lai-	-salfi-	-raaqqu-	-oo
	21	what you	do to	me	boy
Sung (Refrain)	22a	<i>Sha-</i>	<i>-heena</i>	<i>Sha-</i>	<i>-heena</i>
	22b	[<i>san-</i>	<i>-dalle si-</i>	<i>-danga-</i>	<i>-navi</i> that's]
	23a	<i>Sha-</i>	<i>-heena</i>	<i>Sha-</i>	<i>-heena</i>
	23b	[<i>Sha-</i>	<i>-heena su-</i>	<i>-pem ma-</i> ooh	<i>-noli</i>]
	24a	<i>Sha-</i>	<i>-heena</i>	<i>Sha-</i>	<i>-heena</i>
	24b	[<i>san-</i>	<i>-dalle si-</i>	<i>-danga-</i>	<i>-navi</i> that's]

	25	oh I'll	be your	fanta-	-sy
	26	what you	do to	me	boy
Rap	37	Alaikum a-	-laikum Sa-	-laam I	ought to thank your
	38	[mums cause	baby you the	bomb	ooh]
	39	the way you	shake is like	anaes-	-thesia its got me
	40	floating on a	cloud above the	world be-	-neath so
	41	shake you	bon bon	feel my	Sean Johns
	42	just	like a cheer	leader with her	pom poms
	43	you just	what the	doctor	ordered you're so
	44	hot I'd mis-	-take you for a	Mexican	order so
	45	hot that I	need me a	glass of	water you a
	46	[fly dessert	Rose like a	Sultan's	daughter ooh]

Ae Hetha (2007)

Artists: Iraj (featuring Killer-B)

Ae Hetha	Line Number	Beat 1	Beat 2	Beat 3	Beat 4
Rhythmic Rendition	1			yeah	
	2	ah ah	ha ha	whose going	down
	3	it's I-----	--raj	Ceylon Records	colla-
	4	-bo De--	--Lon in the	house lets	do this
Sung (Refrain)	5a *	<i>Ae he---</i>	<i>tha</i>	<i>they</i>	<i>no</i>
	5b	<i>bindi</i>	<i>kannaa</i>	<i>they</i>	<i>um</i>
	6a	<i>me the</i>	<i>hey thei</i>	<i>mee-----</i>	<i>-----</i>
	6b	<i>numphen---</i>	<i>-- nee kela</i>	<i>aey-----</i>	<i>-----</i>
	7a	[<i>Ae he---</i>	<i>tha</i>	<i>they</i> <i>ah ha</i>	<i>no</i> <i>ha]</i>
	7b	[<i>bindi</i>	<i>kannaa</i>	<i>they</i> <i>yeah</i>	<i>um</i> <i>]</i>
	8a	[<i>me the</i>	<i>hey thei</i> <i>check</i>	<i>mee-----</i> <i>this out</i>	<i>-----</i> <i>]</i>
	8b	[<i>numphen---</i>	<i>-- nee kela</i> <i>yo</i>	<i>aey-----</i> <i>yo girl now you</i>	<i>-----</i> <i>play that]</i>
Rap	9	I see you	kissing your	girl in my	mag/back **
	10	then you	look get	cut like a	bear trap
	11	can you ex--	--plain that	-----	manage
	12	to ah got two	balls	just wanna fit ya	- you're finished the
	13	riddle	see me in the	middle like a	sandwich
	14	and baby	girl I don't	speak your	language but your
	15	body	cringes	hurts too	what you wanna
	16	do stick to	me like a tattoo	that I bought for	you

	17	I'll raise a	toast for	you	champagne
	18	glass and later	on am gonna	wax that	ass and if she's
	19	good let her	reign cos we	finished the	task cos I
	21	cash	and I'm	spending it	fast rocks and
	22	rings	she had to	see all	things and I
	23	don't spend on	wines it's a	cheaply	thing and if ya
	24	all know De-	Lon you know we	OG	man
Rap	29			ya	ya
	30		let me take you	back to my	home place
	31	<u>mage</u>	<u>gedera</u>	cell call it	home base
	32	we can	take my	----? the	whole way
	33	[G for	flying she	know bout my	<u>ale love</u>]
	34	say no	more no	phone call	yo I-
	35	- <u>raj</u> we gonna	be there de	ma can you	feel me
	36	and en-	-joy the	journey	cos
	37	this gonna be	something you	won't forget be-	-lieve me
	38		we touch	down in the	evening and I-
	39	- <u>Raj</u> picks us	up we are	drin-	-king
	40	out the	trafs ** and the	Ds and the	candy
	41	world I wanna	take your	panties	please
	42		I know you	like this	treatment get your
	43	head sprung	then get	done for the	weekend
	44		yo I-	-raj I'll be	back

	45	tell that Mal-	-divian girl to	sing the	track
--	----	----------------	-----------------	----------	-------

- 5a, 5b = 2 lines and corresponds to the inclusion of two lines in each written line of the song's lyrics transcription in Appendix 1 which was done solely for purposes of making the lyrics easier to read.

	18	<u>ude kapu</u>	<u>bath eka daen</u>	<u>ayeth kanna</u>	<u>bae</u>
	19	<u>nanage kade</u>	<u>vahala hinda</u>	<u>eke kotthu</u>	<u>nae ane oye</u>
	20	foreign <u>kaema</u>	<u>kalanam mata</u>	<u>gedara yanna</u>	<u>bae</u>
	21	<u>pila gihin</u>	<u>kotthu kala</u>	<u>milo beela</u>	<u>lime gahala</u>
	22	<u>paara ayine</u>	<u>3-wheel eke</u>	<u>aathal eke</u>	<u>nidiyanakota</u>
	23	<u>waiter aiya</u>	<u>thattu kalane</u>	<u>mage oluwata</u>	<u>bila gevanna</u>
	24	<u>purse eka</u>	<u>nae mage langa daen</u>	<u>puluwannam</u>	<u>credit denna</u>
	25	<u>onna machan</u>	<u>okat ahala</u>	<u>uoo set vei</u>	<u>mata gahanna</u>
	26	<u>aedapan daen</u>	<u>3-wheel eka</u>	<u>wellawaththe</u>	beach <u>ekata</u>
	27	<u>maara vaedene</u>	<u>petrol nae</u>	<u>shape eka</u>	<u>maaru venna</u>
Sung * (Refrain)	28	[<u>adanam mata</u>	<u>inna venne</u>	<u>Kurundu vaththe</u>	<u>-policie mata *]</u>
	9	<u>kotthuth</u>	<u>one</u>		<u>mata</u>
	10	lime- <u>uth</u>	<u>one</u>		<u>sam-</u>
	11	<u>bola tikak</u>	<u>udin daala</u>	cheese <u>tikak</u>	<u>vaediyen daala</u>
	12	[<u>takata takata</u>	<u>takas gaala</u>	<u>genna malli</u>	<u>daen mata mata]</u>
	13	<u>kotthuth</u>	<u>one</u>		<u>mata</u>
	14	lime- <u>uth</u>	<u>one</u>		<u>sam-</u>
	15	<u>bola tikak</u>	<u>udin daala</u>	cheese <u>tikak</u>	<u>vaediyen daala</u>
Rap*	16	[<u>takata takata</u>	<u>takas gaala</u>	<u>genna malli</u>	<u>daen mata mata *]</u>
	29	keri machi	eri	ehiri po-	-yachi
	30	adicha sarakku	ippa thanda	nalla thuki po-	-yachi
	31	pondati pulla	thachi	veetukku pona	pechi
	32	ennada	tym <u>machan</u>	4.00 mani	aachi
	33	valakam pala	palaka thosam	pasi thanda	vandiruchi

	34	Kotthu thanda	kekuthada	illai maru	pechi
	35	illai	pechi	thevitha	lachi
	36	tea la	rendu poochi	vilundi-	-richi
	37	mathithada	abu nana	ingu konjam	vayenda
	38	budget ku	rendu Kotthu	kattupadi-	-yahuma
	39	podu thalaiva	tabla e-	-duda namma	ordere
	40	<u>chicken</u> <u>Kotthu</u>	masi <u>sambal</u>	oh!! rendu	<u>bulsai</u>
Arhythmic Rendition	41 SEE BELOW				
Sung (Refrain)	42				<u><i>mata</i></u>
	9	<u>kotthuth</u>	<u><i>one</i></u>		<u><i>mata</i></u>
	10	lime- <u><i>uth</i></u>	<u><i>one</i></u>		<u>sam-</u>
	11	<u>bola tikak</u>	<u><i>udin daala</i></u>	cheese <u><i>tikak</i></u>	<u><i>vaediyen daala</i></u>
	12	[<u><i>takata takata</i></u>	<u><i>takas gaala</i></u>	<u><i>genna malli</i></u>	<u><i>daen mata mata</i></u>]
	13	<u>kotthuth</u>	<u><i>one</i></u>		<u><i>mata</i></u>
	14	lime- <u><i>uth</i></u>	<u><i>one</i></u>		<u>sam-</u>
	15	<u>bola tikak</u>	<u><i>udin daala</i></u>	cheese <u><i>tikak</i></u>	<u><i>vaediyen daala</i></u>
Rap*	43	<u><i>takata takata</i></u>	<u><i>takas gaala</i></u>	<u><i>genna malli</i></u>	<u><i>daen poddak*</i></u>
	44	<u><i>yanna</i></u>	<u><i>one</i></u>	<u>bamba</u>	<u><i>paeththe</i></u>
	45	<u>kotthu sadde</u>	<u><i>aehei machan</i></u>	<u><i>maha rae</i></u>	<u><i>madde</i></u>
	46	<u><i>sudu iri</i></u>	<u><i>aiyala</i></u>	<u><i>paara de-</i></u>	<u><i>- paththe</i></u>
	47	drag <u><i>karala</i></u>	<u><i>apiwa allala</i></u>	<u><i>daai the</i></u>	<u><i>aethule</i></u>
	48	<u><i>dannam machan</i></u>	<u><i>lissala yanna</i></u>	<u><i>vidiyak</i></u>	<u><i>kohomath nae</i></u>
	49	<u>shape talkak</u>	<u><i>dala balamu</i></u>	<u><i>baeri venekak</i></u>	<u><i>nae</i></u>
	50	<u><i>yamuda aiye</i></u>	<u><i>apith ekka</i></u>	<u>plain tea ekak</u>	<u><i>bonna enna</i></u>

	51	<u>vela nathnam</u>	<u>aa menna</u>	<u>meka thiya-</u>	<u>ganna</u>
	52		<u>hithuwe ada</u>	<u>api ivarai</u>	<u>machan mama kiyala</u>
	53	<u>madaei awa</u>	<u>drags valata</u>	<u>nai thogayak</u>	<u>aerala</u>
	54	<u>shape eke</u>	<u>gedara yamu</u>	<u>daen pahatath</u>	<u>langai</u>
	55	<u>onna othanin</u>	<u>dapan machan</u>	<u>ithuru tika</u>	<u>pavin thamai</u>
Sung	56	you	know I	live for you	<u>kotthu</u>
	57	I'd	even	die for you	<u>kotthu</u>
	58	There are	times when I'd	lie for you	<u>kotthu</u>
	59	I	even	cry for you	<u>kotthu</u>
	60	I can't	even	sleep at	night
	61	wake	up and	wonder	why
	62	all you	do is to	love my	life
Sung*	63	[can't	wait for	one more	bite <u>mata</u> *]
	9	<u>kotthuth</u>	<u>one</u>		<u>mata</u>
	10	lime- <u>uth</u>	<u>one</u>		<u>sam-</u>
	11	<u>bola tikak</u>	<u>udin daala</u>	cheese <u>tikak</u>	<u>vaediyen daala</u>
	12	[<u>takata takata</u>	<u>takas gaala</u>	<u>genna malli</u>	<u>daen mata mata]</u>
	13	<u>kotthuth</u>	<u>one</u>		<u>mata</u>
	14	lime- <u>uth</u>	<u>one</u>		<u>sam-</u>
	15	<u>bola tikak</u>	<u>udin daala</u>	cheese <u>tikak</u>	<u>vaediyen daala</u>
	16	<u>takata takata</u>	<u>takas gaala</u>	<u>genna malli</u>	<u>daen</u>
Rhythmic Rendition	64			another	day has been
	65	saved	for the citizens	of	CMB

	66		until the	next	time
	67	you're	hungry		who
	68	you gonna	call	-----	-----
A-rhythmic Rendition	69-73 SEE BELOW				

A-Rhythmic rendition: quasi child's voice

L41 Master ongalukku enna venumdu kelunga ellam kayla konduvandu tharom
Master/boss to-you what want ask all hands bring give
vappa!
father

{Ask what you want boss, (we ??) will bring (and) give (it) all to (your)
hands
father}

A-Rhythmic rendition: (M1 and M2) child voices

L69 (M1) Mr Kotthuuuuuu yaaaah haaaaaaa

L70 (M2) Hello is the mic. still working?

L71 (M2) Ya.I paid 200 rupees for my Kotthu man

L72 (M2) I'm still waiting for it and I haven't got it

L73 (M2) If it was in India, I would've fed my entire family with it ya

Oba Magemai (2003)**Artists: Ranidu (featuring Ashanthi)**

Rhythmic Rendition	1				I want you to
	2	hold me		I want you to say you'll	never leave
	3	me		you'll always	be beside
	4	me		Tell me you'll never leave	me come-on come on
Sung	5	<u>unusum-</u>	<u>-vu me</u>	<u>kuriru lo-</u>	<u>-ve</u>
	6	<u>aeyede</u>	<u>ma mese</u>	<u>thani keru-</u>	<u>-ve</u>
	7	<u>ma laya</u>	<u>unu ve</u>	<u>handa vae-</u>	<u>-tena vita</u>
	8	[<u>oba vena</u>	<u>thata dan</u>	<u>bala gi</u> oh no	<u>-va</u> no no]
	9	<u>diviya pu-</u>	<u>ra ma</u>	<u>oba raki-</u>	<u>-mi</u>
	10	<u>andam</u>	<u>gunadam</u>	<u>kiyade</u>	<u>-mi</u>
	11	<u>oba mage</u>	<u>mai</u>	<u>ma obe-</u>	<u>-mai</u>
	12	<u>sasarapu-</u>	<u>-rapa</u>	<u>sitina thu-</u>	<u>-ra</u>
Sung (Refrain)	13	<u>gala hae-</u>	<u>-lena digu</u>	<u>nadiya o-</u>	<u>-bai</u>
	14	<u>dore ga-</u>	<u>layana</u>	<u>senehe o-</u>	<u>-bai</u>
	15	<u>himidiri</u>	<u>yugave</u>	<u>suvanda o-</u>	<u>-bai</u>
	16	<u>mage di-</u>	<u>-viya himi-</u>	<u>-kari o-</u>	<u>-bai</u>

Mal Peththak (2004)

Artists: 6th Lane

Sung (Refrain)	1	<i>mal</i>	<i>peththak-</i>	<i>-se susi-</i>	<i>-nidu sitha</i>
	2	<i>magen num-</i>	<i>-ba gohin-</i>	<i>-do hora-</i>	<i>-kam ka-</i>
	3	<i>-ran thava</i>	<i>ridenna</i>	<i>nae idak</i>	<i>mage</i>
	4	<i>hadavathe</i>	<i>mata</i>	<i>duka -tha</i>	<i>sathuta-</i>
	5	<i>-ve kavu-</i>	<i>-luven epi-</i>	<i>-ta maha</i>	<i>varsha</i>
	6	<i>vaetanava</i>	<i>oba</i>	<i>thilina dun</i>	<i>rosa</i>
	7	<i>pandure</i>	<i>pipunu</i>	<i>mal pethi</i>	<i>kada</i>
	8	<i>haeleneva</i>	<i>mata</i>	<i>penava</i>	-----
Rap	28	dear	Rose babe	I send two	letters a
	29	week if you	miss them it	can't be- there's a	problem with the
	30	-----I	tried to	write you more than	babe its not
	31	easy been in	hard work	please don't	be so
	32	crazy make you	understand	babe never	hate me
	33	back I'm your	<i>Kandy/candy**</i> you're	acting like a	lady
	34	mad	you may knowing	girls here trying to	getting over
	35	you they're jealous	three sixty	five I'm	thinking of
	36	you even	things I	like that I'm	doing so pretty
	37	girl you just	screw me down	for no	reason at
	38	all in the	cold	morn I feel a-	-lone I
	39	walk along the	6 th LANE in-	-sane you don't	phone I'm in
	40	pain you	never know	here even what	Jane's nigger
	41	do it if	Jane knows	she might	call it off

	42	[too look	I'm really o-----	glad being o----o-----o--	steady with --o---ou----]
	43	You I don't	wanna miss	you I want to	kiss you
	44	PS. we	need each	other when you	read this letter
	45	please	treat me	better see you	later
Rhythmic Rendition	46	hello hello	hello hello	hello	
	47	what the	hell whose	calling me	
	48	a nuisance call			

Ahankara Nagare (2004)

Artists: Ranidu

Rhythmic Rendition	1		repre-	-sent CM-	-B
	2		its your	homey ba-	-by
	3		you're with the	awe	yeah
	4	yeah	and I'm	jiggy as	hell
Sung (Refrain)	5	<u>ahanka-</u>	<u>-ra naga-</u>	<u>-re</u>	<u>puran-</u>
	6	<u>-ganakda</u>	<u>oba landu-</u>	<u>-ne</u>	<u>tharamata</u>
	7	<u>ingath bo-</u>	<u>-homa podi</u>	<u>laemath bo-</u>	<u>-homa aethi</u>
	8	<u>digaes thi-</u>	<u>-yana landu-</u>	<u>-ne</u>	<u>kavuruda</u>
	9	<u>nongka-</u>	<u>-du kiv-</u>	<u>-ve</u>	<u>kavuruda</u>
	10	<u>nongka-</u>	<u>-du kiv-</u>	<u>-ve</u>	<u>tharamata</u>
	11	<u>ingath bo-</u>	<u>-homa podi</u>	<u>lamath bo-</u>	<u>-homa aethi</u>
	12	<u>-digas thi-</u>	<u>-yana landu-</u>	<u>ne</u>	
Rap*	29	<u>-digas thi-</u>	<u>-yana landu-</u>	<u>ne</u>	you was the
	30	hottest in high	school I was the	baddest in the	school you used to
	31	shizzle my niz-	-zle while I was	working the mid-	dle and we was
	32	chilling and thril-	-ling hitting the	spots was our fil-	-ling but then it
	33	all broke	down shortly you	bounced with no tel-	-ling now tell me
	34	what the hell am	I supposed to	do without	you
	35	who the	hell's gonna give you	everything that	I do
	36	didn't	know you gonna	fade like	that now
	37	how you gonna	act like	that -----	-----

Dark Angel (2005)**Artists: Centigradz**

Rhythmic Rendition	1			Centi-	-gradz
	2			digital D	Js
	3			yeah	
	4	dark an-	-gel		
Rap	5				well
	6	come on I	know you	love me from your	deep in-
	7	-side I know you	gonna take	care of my-	-self
	8	right but you	don't show	that you are	thinking of
	9	me but	baby I can	read your	mind do you know
	10	hey	you	always used to	talk about
	11	me and you	and about the	stories too	the
	12	people walking	down the street	used to	calling me
	13	you're ex-	-boyfriend	told you to	but I
	14	know the truth	that you're	loving me but	baby
	15	I can	get you right	in this time	why you
	16	wanna hide	they	say that the	girls never
	17	show and tell their	feelings to the	people outside	but now its
	18	true	to tell your	feelings to me	to show your
	19	love for me	I just	wanna prove my	love is
	20	true for you	I wanna a-	loft to you	I give my
Sung (Refrain)	21	[heart to you ah	I live my ah	life for you ah	I *]
	22	see there-	- 's an	angel	and
	23	I can't	be-	-lieve it	she wanna

	24	say she	loves you	baby	she wanna
	25	say you	drive her	crazy	I
	26	see there-	- 's an	angel	and
	27	I can't	be-	-lieve it	she wanna
	28	say she	loves you	baby	she wanna
	29	say you	drive her	crazy	

Sandawathuren (2006)

Artists: Ashanthi (featuring Yashan)

Rhythmic Rendition	3	its about	time to intro-	-duce my boy Ya-	-shan
	4		Yashan	and Ashan-	-thi
	5	rocking the	building	you heard -----	-----
Sung (Refrain)	6	<u>sandawathu-</u>	<u>-ren do-</u>	<u>-wa</u>	<u>ah ah ah ah</u>
	7	<u>sithuvili</u>	<u>pibide-</u>	<u>-va</u>	<u>ah ah ah ah</u>
	8	<u>nonidena</u>	<u>nethu gaa-</u>	<u>-va</u>	that's right
	9	<u>sihinaya</u>	<u>oba ve-</u>	<u>-va</u>	<u>ah ah ah hiri</u>
Sung (Stanza)	10	<u>poda pini</u>	<u>naava</u>		<u>matha</u>
	11	<u>nala danga</u>	<u>paava</u>		<u>sula-</u>
	12	<u>-ngata kavi</u>	<u>keedaa</u>		<u>hitha</u>
	13	<u>-that thatu</u>	<u>aava</u>		<u>oba</u>
	14	<u>maa sitha</u>	<u>semaa</u>		<u>love</u>
	15	<u>sonduruma</u>	<u>veva</u>		<u>deha</u>
	16	<u>-dak lung</u>	<u>veva</u>		
	17	<u>thanikama</u>	<u>duruve-</u>	<u>-va ah</u>	<u>ahh</u>
Rap Female	34				I'm a
	35	low key	play a	hoochie	my game
	36	is tight no-	-body gonna	fool me	you wanna
	37	love me	play and kiss and	hug me	you better
* Male	38	get right	if you wanna	get to me	ah ha ha now I'm*
Rap + Sung	62				know that I'm
	63	local	got	much love	though
	64	<u>sithuvili</u>	<u>pibide-</u>	<u>-va</u> what it	do baby I wanna

	65	ride you	step in-	- side you	
	66	<u>sihinaya</u>	<u>oba ve-</u>	<u>-va</u>	gotta

Hanthane (2008)

Artists: Ashanthi (featuring DeLon)

Rhythmic Rendition	2		yeah	so	hot
	3	[ah -----	---ah	Ashan-----	--ti yeah]
	4	oh		young	di
	5	[ya know what it	is is]
	6			ah	here
Sung (Stanza)	7	<u>mal gamu</u>	<u>gane</u>	<u>ron-</u>	<u>-yane</u>
	8	<u>kendara</u>	<u>kale</u>	<u>unusum</u>	<u>thale</u>
	9	<u>nin-</u>	<u>-dada</u>	<u>daekapul</u>	<u>mage</u>
	10	<u>hiri</u>	<u>vatu-</u>	<u>-na-----</u>	-----
Sung (Refrain)	11	<u>hantha-</u>	<u>-ne</u>	<u>hantha-</u>	<u>-ne</u>
	12	<u>malpa -</u>	<u>-re</u>	<u>malpa -</u>	<u>-re</u>
	13	<u>sansa-</u>	<u>-re</u>	<u>sansa-</u>	<u>-re</u>
	14	<u>piya</u>	<u>naga-</u>	<u>-la-----</u>	-----
	15	<u>manda-</u>	<u>-ram</u>	<u>manda-</u>	<u>-ram</u>
	16	<u>haenda-</u>	<u>-ve</u>	<u>haenda-</u>	<u>-ve</u>
	17	<u>tharu</u>	<u>raene</u>	<u>tharu</u>	<u>raene</u>
	18	<u>mama</u>	<u>hiti-</u>	<u>-ya-----</u>	-----
Rap	24	young A-	<u>-shanthi</u>	what you wanna	do like you
	25	got me	like I got	you hey	
	26	yeah	and I said the	boy looks fine	but the
	27	girl hanging out	with ya	kinda like a	hey
	28	ei	so	don't come a-	-round here talking
	29	[all that	stuff you	slap in the	face hey]

	30	yeah	and ya all	know my name	see
	31	all in the	house got to	smash the	kay ? but the
	32	queen right	shot gun	squirt the	ladies say
	33	as H	A N	T H	way
	34	yeah	and now you	gotta spell cos if you	don't know by now you just
	35	pack a-	-way		

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