The English Language in Ceylon

In this article an attempt is made, first, to examine and briefly account for the extraordinary place English has gradually assumed in the life of Ceylon, culminating in its adoption, in the early years of this century, as the 'mother tongue' of a small but powerful section. When a spirit of nationalism began to assert itself about twenty years ago there naturally followed a return to the vernaculars, accompanied by a tendency to neglect whatever positive gains have accrued from more than fifty years of English education. We are now in the difficult transitional phase, when the vernaculars are struggling into their rightful place in the educational system, while English is still being treated, in the so-called mother tongue' and allowed for the most part to look after itself. In conclusion a plea is made for the consolidation of the benefits English brought to Ceylon, the fullest exploitation of the very valuable contributions English can make towards the reinstatement of the vernaculars in the educational system, and towards the revival of native literature, the stabilization of the form of English spoken in Ceylon and the development of a technique by which it can be efficiently taught.

The remarkable place occupied by the English language in the political, and cultural life of Ceylon is one of the many linguistic results of the spread of the English-speaking peoples, geographically and politically, over immense new tracts of the world, which began in the sixteenth century and culminated in the nineteenth. When Drake, Raleigh and others began their voyages in search of wealth and adventure, English was the language of the few million inhabitants of England and the Scottish Lowlands. It was used in Ireland by the English colonists, it was known that

1. The population of England numbered about five millions in the xvi century.
In England it was only just beginning to replace Latin as the culture and knowledge. In the early sixteenth century Elyot felt impelled by patriotism to express themselves in their native but they apologised for its deficiencies. Latin was a more natural for educationists and men of learning. It was not till the end of the that, through the efforts of thoughtful schoolmasters like Richard as the English language began to be regarded as worthy of study and instruction.

At this time, when English was beginning to be recognised by men as equal in beauty and in suitability for all the purposes of peace and literature to any language, ancient or modern, and when a

 lords, a few Welshmen, a few scholars and merchants on the

The Dedication of Toxophilus (1545) to Henry VIII, Ascham apologises for English, when "to have written in another tongue had been both more profitable and also more honest for my nature." Contrasting English with Latin and which "everything is so excellently done ..., that none can do better," he writes: English tongue, contrary, every thing in a manner so meanly both for the matter handling, that no man can do worse." Elsewhere he says: "Although to have his book in Latin or Greek ..., had been more easier and fit for my trade in study, I have written this English matter in the English tongue for Englishmen."

The First Part of the Elementarye (1582): "I love Rome, but London better; Italy, but England more; I honour the Latin, but I worship the English." And, "Necessity itself doth call for English."

Mulcaster (ibid.): "I do not think that any language, be it whatsoever, is to utter all arguments either with more pith or greater plainness than our tongue is." Sidney, The Apologie for Poetic (c. 1581): "for the uttering sweetly the conceits of the mind which is the end of speech, that hath it equally other tongue in the world." Since the time of Ascham the English language had augmented with and developed in many directions.

Who are anxious to reinstate Sinhalese and Tamil as the languages of learning in Ceylon have many lessons to learn from the history of Western European like French and English in the sixteenth century. Some of these will be indicated in this article. Sidney and Mulcaster were saying about English what du had said about French: "In this connection I cannot sufficiently blame the foolish and temerity of some in our nation who, being in no wise Greek nor Latin, mis-reject with a more than stoical haughtiness all things written in French; and sufficiently wonder at the strange opinion of some learned men who think that tongue is incapable of good letters and erudition." (The Defence and Illustration of the French Language by Joachim du Bellay, 1549, translated by Gladys M. Turquet, in chapter XII du Bellay exhorts the French to write in their language; he cites examples of Petrarch and Boccaccio, who "though they did write much in Latin, maintain that this would not have sufficed to give them the great honour which they had not written in their own tongue. Which knowing well, many in our time, ..., have been converted to their mother tongue, even Italians have greater reason to adore the Latin tongue than we." He concludes the chapter: to me (reader, friend of the French muses) that after these whom I have thou shouldst not be ashamed to write in thine own language, but that thou if thou be a friend of France, nay, of thyself, give thyself entirely thereto, generous opinion that it is better to be an Achilles among one's own people and not to me (reader, friend of the French muses) that after these whom I have thou shouldst not be ashamed to write in thine own language, but that thou if thou be a friend of France, nay, of thyself, give thyself entirely thereto, generous opinion that it is better to be an Achilles among one's own people and not
great literature was beginning to appear in this so lately despised language, that there commenced those processes by which English was disseminated all over the world. The East India Company, organised in the reign of Elizabeth, began to trade actively in India in the reign of James. About the same time England's first colonies were planted by the Cavaliers in Virginia and by the Puritans in New England. In India there began the process by which English was to become the language of international administration and commerce in the East; in America English took root in the soil. And so, in the course of the next three centuries, the English language spread through the world, becoming, on the one hand, the language of most of the vast areas in which British emigrants settled (the U.S.A., Canada, South Australia, New Zealand), and on the other, the second language of the peoples who already possessed one or more developed languages (of their own country has produced new dialects of English. Irish-English again is a distinctive type.

The spread of the English language into countries from which it had previously ousted the native languages, or in which it imposed itself as the language of government and business, in fact of the everyday life of the intelligent and cultivated classes, has created linguistic situations of many kinds—interesting, novel and difficult. In the U.S.A. there are three distinct types of American English, and the problem of a common standard, first for Americans and secondly for the English-speaking world, has excited a great deal of controversy. In Canada, Australia and New Zealand, isolation from the mother country has produced new dialects of English. Irish-English again is a distinctive type.

Different, and far more difficult, are the linguistic problems of countries like India and Ceylon, where English has been imposed on or adopted by peoples who already possessed one or more developed languages of their own (unlike the American Indians or Zulu tribes). In India, and to a lesser extent in Ceylon, the language of the colonists gradually absorbed many terms and phrases from the indigenous languages, describing things that had no equivalent in the English language. But neither the official nor the business men who made contact, or who desired contact, with the foreign officials. The missionaries had devoted themselves to the study of the vernaculars and the development of vernacular schools. But from about 1870 more education was demanded and the Missions, assisted by the Government, established English secondary schools in the larger towns.

From the beginning there were scholars who were interested in the languages of the peoples they had to deal with. English were taught it, and were used as intermediaries between the peoples and those whom they governed. Consequently, in all these countries, foreign English have developed (i.e., English as spoken by the British), which occupies a more or less dominant place in the life and culture of the people.

6. "It is vain to pretend that there is a recognised ideal standard of pronunciation for all the United States and Canada. The West will not bow before the East or the East before the West, and the South has a deep-rooted affection for its own mode of speaking." H. Kurath, S.P.E. Tract No. XXX, American Pronunciation.

7. Hobson-Jobsonisms. The original form has usually been modified to更适合 English speech habits: e.g. bungalow < Hind. bungla 'belonging to Bengal'; chilb < Hind. chitti < Sans. chitra 'a mark'; pyjamas < Hind. pae-jama 'leg-clothing'; pyjama-suit < Hind. pae-jama-shikaar 'leg-clothing'.
An English system of education, with English as the medium of instruction, was established in Ceylon. The indigenous languages, continued however to meet the daily needs of the vast majority of the people and even those who attended English schools knew their own language well. There were several newspapers and journals in the two vernaculars, and vigorous controversies were carried on in the press (see note 1.2). But at the beginning of the present century the vernaculars began to lose ground seriously to English, until the growth of a national spirit arrested this development about twenty years ago. English was adopted by many educated people as their first language. The vernaculars were used chiefly by simple and illiterate folk, and by the educated only in the simplest and most familiar intercourse, and were even then freely mingled with borrowings from English. The spoken languages adapted themselves to the needs of the new life that Westerners brought with them chiefly by the ready and methodical borrowing largely from the English vocabulary. Obviously the indigenous languages could not, under these circumstances, be the vehicles of modern learning and culture, or the means of coping with a new and increasingly complex civilization.

The predominance of English in the political and cultural life of a people to whom it is an alien language has created curious and difficult situations. A system of government resembling English prototypes has developed and so quite naturally Western institutions and Western ideas came to become familiar, and have fostered the natural desire to be free; to throw off the cultural and political bondage to England, and to attempt to restore national culture by reabsorbing into the new westernized way of life as much of the ancient cultures as is still relevant in the modern world. Religious language were naturally the first to be influenced by the nationalist spirit. Christian missionaries had done most to disseminate English culture in the East.

The indigenous languages had to be rescued immediately from the inferior social and cultural position to which they had been degraded. But English was already securely entrenched in the lives of the intelligentsia and the native agents of British rule, a small percentage of the population, but the rich, educated, the powerful. From them must come both the struggle to change old order, and the resistance to change, arising either from the conviction that “Whatever is, is right” or from sheer inertia. The very difficult task that now faces educationists, and the unenviable position of English in this situation can be made clearer by a comparison.

1. Many Englishmen continued to use their native tongue in literature as well as intercourse, especially in the parts most remote from French influence—the North West Midlands.

2. Will colloquial Sinhalese and Tamil play a similar part in Ceylonese literature, the pundits succeed in keeping alive the moribund literary forms? In a recent work Sinhala Fiction, by E. K. de S. Sarathchandra) it is noted that controversial Sinhalese Fiction, such as Koggala Dharmatikka, which began in the middle of the 19th century, supplanted the language (p. 7), made it a flexible and vigorous (p. 9); that the style of Koggala Dharmatikka, for example, simple, direct, and close to the spoken language” (p. 10). But the pundits seem to be asserting themselves: On page 16 the author says that “in the early days of nationalism the newspapers and periodicals used a language closer to the spoken than newspapers and periodicals of today.” On page 18 we are told that in the 19th century Sinhalese language “had thrown to the winds many grammatical conventions in fluidity of expression. . . . And this did to some extent in spite of the influence of the grammarians, though today we see signs of the language being stilted owing to influence.”
University of Ceylon Review

English, like Sinhalese and Tamil in Ceylon today, was still, there
the language of the great majority of the people. There were, first, the
saints who probably knew a few French words (like the illiterate Sin,
and Tamils who know a few English words); the bilingual Englishmen
the bilingual Sinhalese and Tamils); and the Normans who gradually
the language of the country (unlike the British, few of whom do so, and
unlike the Normans, are not a permanent part of the population). But
was inevitable that French should be the language of everyone of conseque
or who desired to be of consequence. "For unless a man knows French
is held of little account," wrote Robert of Gloucester in 1248. Ralph Hig
writing about 1350, tells us that noblemen's children are taught French
the time that they are rocked in their cradles; and even country folk will
gentlemen and try to speak French to be thought well of.

The position of English in relation to French was thus in many ways
that of Sinhalese and Tamil in relation to English. But there are vital dif
ences. In the first place, as Normans and Englishmen became welded in
one nation the Norman-French language began to lose its prestige and Eng
became the symbol of the rising spirit of nationalism. It might seem an es
thing to have done to give back to English its rightful place in the life of
nation. But the process was slow. Beginning about the middle of the thir
teenth century it was completed only at the end of the fourteenth, when
the first time since the Conquest, one could speak of "the King's Eng
Henry IV (1399) was the first king of England, since the Conquest, to wh
English was his mother tongue. In Ceylon, English cannot be merely disca
like French in fourteenth century England. A majority of politicians as we
as educationists would probably wish to retain English as a second langu
Englishmen in the fourteenth century recognised a loss in the discontinua
of French in the grammar schools where "children now-a-days know no more
French than does their left heel," because they would be at a disadvantage
when they "cross the sea and travel in foreign countries" (John de Tre,
1387). How much more would Ceylonese regret the loss of a language kno
in every part of the world. Some place has obviously to be found for Engli
in our educational system.

The change over from French to English took place in England imme
ately before the earlier Renaissance and England was able to profit by the
discovery of the ancient classics and the intellectual awakening of Europe.
Literary movements in all parts of the country accompanied the general n
placement of French by English. At the same time "Standard English
began to emerge, and Chaucer appeared at exactly the right moment to enh
the prestige of this type of English and accelerate its adoption as the stand
literary language. Ceylon, one must hope, will profit by the Renaissance
of Oriental learning and culture in India. But the reinstatement of the na
and the cultural renaissance must be preceded by radical changes
educational system. The English literary tradition had been reduced
the language, to political and social inferiority but not destroyed
Norman Conquest. English ceased, for a time, to be the language of
ners, but it continued to be used uninterruptedly for the edification
mant of the common people, and this popular literature derived
from older literary forms. Above all, the continuity of Engli
and never really been broken. The French culture introduced by the
modern but did not oust the native culture. In Ceylon the native
among the educated, has been all but effaced by the very thorough
westernisation in the English schools; it is chiefly among those who
the vernaculars that the traditional culture has preserved its continu.
intelligence may be able to appreciate the ancient or modern litera
Europe, but have lost the ability to read the literature of their native
Popular literature exists, but its quality and efficacy are limited by
atively low standard of culture of the vernacular speaking people.
the absence of communication between the vernacular literates and the
educated. In brief, our educated men and women are for the most
English educated" and therefore incapable of either producing or
ning native literary works. Those who attend the Vernacular Schools
ly literate enough to read or write anything valuable in their
language. The new system of education must in the course of
vide the poet or playwright or novelist both with his technique and
public.

What is valuable in the life and thought of the past has to be made avail
the present, and the instrument of language, long left to the use of those
incepable of adapting it to the needs of a changing world, and put to
these uses only, has to be polished and reshaped. That Sinhalese and Tam
ake the place now occupied by English in the lives of the Ceylonese is a
y accepted view. How this is to be effected is not so generally con
and when it is, the simple solution of making the indigenous languages
ory subjects in the schools and for examinations, and of using the
other tongue as the medium of instruction 'as soon as the change can
duced' is the vague programme envisaged. Least of all is the part to
by English in the period of transition, and after, given any attention.
there can be no doubt that English must play an important part in
ation of a suitable technique for making the vernaculars the media of
, and probably a predominant part in any literary Renaissance one
age for Ceylon.

This refers to ' the common reader', and not to specialists and scholars.
The small percentage of educated Ceylonese are English educated; they know English, and, for the most part, they know it well. It is by the work of translation and adapting suitable foreign books and of writing new ones must be done, before Sinhalese and Tamil can have their natural place in the educational system. If these English educated scholars know no Sinhalese or Tamil, or do not know them sufficiently well is likely to be the case at first), they will have to collaborate with Sinhalese Tamil scholars. But the ideal is that there should be, as soon as possible, the stage of complete bilingualism in the English schools. It is only the school who knows English and Sinhalese (or Tamil) almost, if not quite, as well, will be able to bring the thought and feeling, the learning and creative literature of other nations to his countrymen; or translate the terminology of modern science or mathematics or linguistics into the vernacular; or adapt the technique of modern scholarship to local needs.

Before considering the place of English in the educational system of present and of the future, I shall indicate briefly the process (as I see it) by which the vernaculars can once more be brought to play their natural part in the life of the island. First the standard of education in the Vernacular Anglo-Vernacular Schools must be raised by every available means, and compulsory education strictly enforced. Simultaneously, the teaching of vernaculars in the English Schools must be entrusted to teachers thoroughly proficient in them.

14. A beginning has already been made: Several books used in the vernacular schools are adaptations of English books, and some important books have been translated into Sinhalese and Tamil e.g. Our Heritage (Parts 1 and 2), and The History of Ceylon are available in English, Sinhalese and Tamil versions; The New Geographical Dictionary in English and Sinhalese, and there are books on other subjects too, in one or both of the vernaculars. But, on the whole, the tendency in Ceylon has been to press for the adoption of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction without previously or simultaneously providing the necessary materials and technique. Contrast the procedure of the state of Hyderabad: Conjointly with the building of the new university in which instruction was to be imparted in Urdu, a publication bureau was set up by Government to translate and compile the necessary text books.

15. Not of course, of England alone; both Western and Oriental learning and literature can be read in English translations. A certain amount of Western and Oriental literature has, apparently, been translated into Sinhalese (see Modern Sinhalese Fiction, by E. R. de S. Sahatia, 1909, which in the absence of a critical Sinhalese-reading public it is difficult to assess the value of this work.

16. In England, in the sixteenth century, simultaneously with the attempts made by intelligent educationists, like Mulcaster, who "perceived in due course the arbitrariness and remoteness from life of the education of their day, and the unreasonableness of the neglect of English," to give the English language its natural place in the educational curriculum, scholars were at work adapting the language to every modern need, by the work of translation from foreign languages, ancient and modern, into English. Poets and writers of all kinds experimented with the language, and by the end of the century there could be no doubt of the capacities of English for every kind of art use.

17. The number of such readers will increase as the standard of education in the Vernacular Schools rises, and as the whole population of the island is brought within the educational system. There will thus grow up together scholars capable of translating the best of foreign literatures into the indigenous languages, and readers of profiting by these books. What is valuable in the ancient cultures of the island will be revitalised by contact with what is of worth in other lands, ancient and modern; and to give expression to this new synthesis the now voiceless artists.

18. That English now and hereafter? No one who has thought at all of national education will deny that the present linguistic situation is the highest degree of unsatisfactory. In the English Schools the vernaculars were "treated about twenty years ago as alien languages, and not merely neglected: educational authorities at one time even sought to banish their use from the school and the home" (English, in the big schools, being both in their native language and in English. Many such teachers be immediately available. But the present policy of gradually making the mother tongue compulsory in the English Schools, together with the study of the indigenous languages at the University of Ceylon, will produce such teachers in increasing numbers. When Sinhalese, Tamil, and English have an equal status in the school curriculum, there will emerge from schools a thoroughly bilingual intelligentsia. These will not only add to the number of teachers, now woefully small, capable of teaching the mother language; but will form a nucleus of readers for new books in Sinhalese and Tamil. The number of such readers will increase as the standard of education in the Vernacular Schools rises, and as the whole population of the island is brought within the educational system. There will thus grow up together scholars capable of translating the best of foreign literatures into the indigenous languages, and readers of profiting by these books. What is valuable in the ancient cultures of the island will be revitalised by contact with what is of worth in other lands, ancient and modern; and to give expression to this new synthesis the now voiceless artists.

19. The reviewer of a recent book: Modern Sinhalese Fiction, by E. R. de S. Sahatia, asks very appropriately: "What is the author's purpose in writing a criticism of Sinhalese fiction in English?" and points out that, if it is intended to guide and help writers of Sinhalese fiction, it should have been written in Sinhalese, that neither should be intended for the Sinhalese-reading public. It must be addressed to the English-reading public and yet how many of these can read a Sinhalese novel? (The Ceylon Times, June 4, 1913).
was regarded as the mother tongue; it is still treated as such and consequently also neglected. In all countries there is a tendency to take one's mother tongue for granted. It is learnt first at one's mother's knee, and then, one just picks it up. Foreign languages, mathematics, science must be taught by specialists. But one's native language can be allowed to look after itself. When the baneful results of this attitude began to force themselves on attention in England, educationists began to examine the place of the teaching of English in the curriculum of the schools, and at the universities. In 1921 George Sampson, in English for the Elementary Schools to boys and girls in whose case English is not quite the same thing as mother tongue, referred to the teaching of English in the Elementary Schools. Sampson is referring to the teaching of English in the Elementary Schools to boys and girls in whose case English is not quite the same thing as mother tongue. For these children come from homes in which different forms of English are spoken. "The teacher's hardest struggle", he wrote (p. 25): "...is not against pure ignorance but against evil knowledge. It is hopeless does the struggle seem that many elementary school teachers give up, and say that the attempt to teach good English to children who live move in an atmosphere of degraded English is sheer waste of time."

20. See the Report of the Departmental Committee Appointed by the President of the English Language in Ceylon. English was taught first to a few, then, as the demand increased, to ever increasing numbers. When a sufficient number of teachers had mastered it, more or less, they were regarded as capable of teaching the language to others, or at any rate, of using English in the teaching other subjects. These English-speaking Ceylonese gradually adopted English as their language. The next generation of children would thus hear English more than Sinhalese (or Tamil or Portuguese or Dutch) in their homes, English could be used more and more in school. In the course of time the English system of instruction, text books and all, was introduced. And so, more and more Ceylonese learnt to think and express themselves in a foreign language, and to do this for the most part remarkably. As the school-going population increased, more natives of the
country were required as teachers. English, which had originally been taught by those whose native language it was, gradually came to be taught almost entirely by Ceylonese. At the same time increasing numbers of those whose home language was Sinhalese or Tamil went to English schools. These developments acted together to affect slowly but surely the standard of English used in the schools. The worse (from a linguistic point of view) the home language of the better should be the teaching in the school. But really the reverse is the case, and this is roughly the situation today.

As schools were staffed more and more by Ceylonese, the standard of English (especially spoken English) varied considerably from school to school and from teacher to teacher. A very good mathematician might have a poor command of English. English, treated for so long as the mother tongue of the school pupils (and where it was not, recommended to be adopted as such), became in most cases no one’s business, especially as it was not by any means confined to India. It was the common danger lurking in all parts of the Empire, and was no more a danger than the common possibility of an alien tongue, with the peculiarities and idiosyncrasies of which only the born to the tongue (and not all those) or habituated to it by long study or constant use become familiar.

It is certain that for a good many years to come English cannot be displaced by the vernaculars as the medium of instruction in the present English schools. Meanwhile Sinhalese and Tamil will become more and more the home languages of the educated. A period of thorough bilingualism is likely in fact inevitable. Except by the Burghers, English will cease to be regarded as their ‘dame’s tongue’. What is to be the position of English in this period? One of two attitudes can be adopted: let English go on being taught while the vernaculars are being developed and gradually reinforced by general use, or attempt to teach English systematically, as a foreign or second language. To regard English as a foreign language is, for many Ceylonese, a matter. And if English is to be taught as a foreign language, other questions have to be answered: What spoken form of it should be taught? "Standard English" 24 or the "Modified Standard" 25 used by the CEYLON REVIEW

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21. Not many years age there came to my knowledge what, I hope, is a rather extreme case. ‘English Conversation’ was taught in the Special Class (consisting of children who had transferred from Vernacular or Bilingual Schools to this English school) by the school boxing instructor, whose very amusing, but far from idiomatic English, used to be published in the school magazine, along with the current school-boy howlers.

22. See also J. R. Firth, Speech (Benn’s Sixpenny Library) p. 40. ‘The character of all spoken languages is that native speakers make the fullest use of the peculiar situation and of the assumed contexts of experience’. "Babu-Speak is not by any means confined to India. It is the common danger lurking in all parts of the Empire, and especially perilous if the languages are alien to the social life of its learners." The kind of English often written by undergraduates offering English as a subject is a terrible commentary on the present language conditions. The conditions in India are similar. "Mr. F. K. Clark, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, in his report on Education in India states: 'the use of the vernacular for instruction and examination purposes is increasing and will continue to do so'. Also with change the use and application of the English language have deteriorated." Cited W. E. J. Beeching in "The Vernacular as the Medium of Instruction", Modern Language Notes, Vol. XVII, No. 2, p. 49.
UNIVERSITY OF CEYLON REVIEW

best Ceylonese speakers? What are the characteristics of Ceylonese English? how does it differ from what is commonly called "standard" or "proper" English? Can a distinction be made between permissible variations and those which vitiate the language? Is English to be taught in all schools, in English, Bilingual, and Vernacular, and by whom is it to be taught, by Ceylonese or by Englishmen?

There has grown up in Ceylon a form of English speech with a distinct flavour of its own in regard to pronunciation and intonation, and, in the speech of most speakers, idiom, grammar, as well. The exploration of this form of English would include the investigation: (i) of the extent to which the sounds of Sinhalese and Tamil (and also, for example, Portuguese) have influenced the pronunciation of Ceylonese English; (ii) of the extent to which the sounds of Sinhalese and Tamil (and also, for example, Portuguese) have influenced the pronunciation of Ceylonese English; (iii) of the prevalence of 'translation errors', i.e. of the importation of words from the indigenous languages (and from Indian dialects of all kinds); and (iv) of the extent to which local idiom and grammar are practically assimilated into the spoken language.

All but a negligible minority, who for special reasons can speak Standard English, use a form of English showing these peculiarities, much more than is often the case in the spoken than in the written language. In the written language, the gradations between those who speak almost exactly like educated Englishmen, and whose written English is indistinguishable from Standard English, and those who speak a very mixed and impure form of English, is a kind of English spoken by English educated Ceylonese, chiefly those who have used English as their only or their first language for several generations. There are several reasons for this: those who now speak St.E. either belong to an educated social class, with long purses which can take them to the English Public Schools and Universities, and so are disliked too much to be imitated, or have rather pain- and social intercourse” (Firth speech p. 65). If we accept this, and its deterioration must be arrested by every possible means, we must be taught only by those who have made a special study of its practical use and sociolinguistic background. The best type of local English must be taught only by those who have made a special study of its practical use and sociolinguistic background.

There is no alternative to the importation of trained Englishmen and women. The greatest objection to this method of teaching Standard English is at present political. But there are also practical difficulties. For them the cost of employing a sufficient number of such teachers is far too high. Another alternative presents itself. One need only be men- men by Englishmen, but can tell you what it is, and play gramophone records to illustrate what they mean. This seems so ridiculous to myself, but it is not absolutely unknown in Ceylon. If Standard English is to be taught in Ceylon, then, there is no alternative to the importation of trained Englishmen and women. The greatest objection to this method of teaching Standard English is at present political. But there are also practical difficulties. For them the cost of employing a sufficient number of such teachers is too high. Another alternative presents itself. One need only be men-

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