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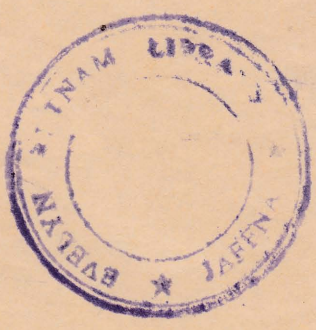
Reprtnt from the Second Volume of the International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies, Jaffna, 1974.



Some Archaisms and Peculiarities in Sri Lanka Tamil

S. SUSEENDIRARAJAH

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Thirumakal Press
Chunnakam
1979

2393

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SOME ARCHAISMS AND PECULIARITIES IN SRI LANKA TAMIL

S. SUSEENDIRARAJAH

The purpose of this paper is to bring out some of the archaisms and peculiarities at the phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical levels in the Jaffna variety of Sri Lanka Tamil and to discuss briefly the kind of sociolinguistic attitude these have caused during the past few decades in the minds of the Tamils and non-Tamils within the island and abroad. Those features of Jaffna Tamil (JT), both regional and social which find attestation in the earlier literary documents but lost in varieties of Tamil other than that of Sri Lanka are referred to herein as archaisms, whereas those features of JT that find no attestation in any earlier state of the language either literary or spoken, and are not found to occur in varieties other than the Sri Lanka Tamil are referred to as peculiarities. The scope of comparison as far as the modern dialects of Tamil are concerned is limited to linguistically oriented modern descriptive studies available on various dialects of Tamil and author's field notes on various dialects of Indian Tamil (IT).[1]

A chronological study of the eventual disappearance of these archaisms in IT and the development of peculiarities in JT, it is believed, may throw some light in determining the period roughly during which JT separated from the IT. Although it may be possible with the help of inscriptional and literary documents to broadly determine the time-points at which archaisms fell into disuse in IT, it is not equally possible to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion with the help of documentary evidence, regarding the chronology of the development of JT peculiarities as they are restricted to the spoken style and as much have not gained entry into iterary-works. The prevalent tendency to adopt the norms of

literary Tamil to a large extent in editing folk-literature is a case in point. One may rely on Tamil inscriptions, the language of which is usually considered as representing the spoken style but it is again doubtful whether these inscriptions specially the early ones in Sri Lanka reflect a variety of Sri Lanka spoken Tamil or Indian spoken Tamil or a mixture of both.

At the outset some of the archaisms in the phonological system of JT may be discussed. One such feature in JT is the occurrence of the front vowels word—initially without the onglide [y]. In IT word-initial front vowels have an onglide [y]. There is inscriptional evidence to infer that this phonetic change took place in the IT dialects from the 11th century onwards. Examples are ikko:yil > yikko:yil 'this temple', iraṇṭu > yiraṇṭu 'two' (Meenakshisundaran 1965: 126). Similarly u and o are also pronounced-word initially without any onglide in JT whereas they have the onglide [w] in IT.

Another noticeable feature in IT dialects is the lowering of high vowels or metaphony which has not been operative in JT. i > e and u > o is observed in IT when followed by Ca and this change finds attestation in inscriptions from early middle Tamil (500—850 A. D.). JT retains i and u in the initial syllable of a word irrespective of what vowel follows.[2] Scholars (Bright 1966: 313—14; Shanmugampillai 1971: 297—303) have recorded about six items in JT where i > e and u > o have taken place. They are: iḷaya > eḷaya 'younger', iḷavu > eḷavu 'death', puttakam > pottakam 'book', muraṭan > moraṭan 'rough person', kuraṭṭay > koraṭṭay 'snore' and tuvakkam > tovakkam 'beginning'. It is worth pointing out here that lowering of vowels is dominantly prevalent in Batticaloa Tamil, Sri Lanka Indian Tamil and the Sri Lanka Muslim Tamil. It is also worth noting here that in JT an absolute change has not taken place even in the cited forms. Both forms, i. e. the unchanged and the changed occur in the speech of the Jaffna Tamils as free variants. It is therefore likely that in JT the above examples are recent borrowings from other dialects.

With regard to archaisms in the consonantal system, a striking phonetic change that had occurred in IT is the change of voiceless plosives after a nasal into voiced plosives. This change is attested from the 9th century onwards (Jeyakumari 1960). Today the voicing in IT is very prominent acoustically. But in the speech of the Jaffna peasantry plosives following a nasal are voiceless. Even in the English educated urban speech plosives following a nasal are not so heavily voiced in the speech of their counterpart from the mainland. Further in IT, the voicing of the plosives has been extended to other positions of words which feature is totally absent in JT. For instance compare the following sets of items: IT: sogõ 'health', guṇdu 'bomb', gudire 'horse'; JT: cukam 'health', kuṇṭu 'bomb', kutire 'horse'.

Words with final—VN retain the final sequence of vowel plus nasal phonemes distinctly in JT whereas in IT—VN has become—$\tilde{V}$. Example: Literary Tamil (LT) paḻam > paḻõ in IT and paḻam 'fruit' in JT.

Words ending in consonants in Tamil developed an enunciative vowel u even in the Caṅkam period. For instance ka:mar > ka:maru 'beauty' (Patiṟṟupattu 27:16). This type of change is also attested in inscriptional records from the 7th century onwards (Jeyakumari 1960). Today in most of the dialects of IT words ending in consonants have an enunciative vowel, either u or i. In a few other dialects of Tamil the final consonants are lost instead of taking an enunciative vowel. On the other hand in JT only items having the pattern (C)VC$_1$ where C$_1$ is either a lateral l or a retroflex ḻ and V is short take [ï], phonemically u as the enunciative vowel. The final—y in monosyllabic words instead of remaining as it is or taking an enunciative vowel has a tendency to get lost if it is preceded by e:. It also has a tendency to get lost in monosyllabics when preceded by —a: and in polysyllabics when preceded by —a or —a: after changing —a and —a: to —ɛ and —ɛ: respectively. All other words with consonantal endings have resisted the occurrence of an enunciative vowel thus retaining the archaic canonical shape. The following examples will make the case in point clear:

LT	JT	IT		
		1	2	
pantal	pantal	pantalu	panta	'pandal
makaḷ	makaḷ	makaḷu	maka	'daughter'
ma:ṅka:y	ma:mkɛ:	ma:mka:yi	ma:mka:	'mango'

Another archaic phonological feature in JT is the alveolar plosive t. Tolkappiyam (Sutra 94) describes the symbol ṟ *(ற)* as an alveolar plosive.[3] This ancient grammatical work has used the term oṟṟutal 'pressing' which clearly implies the plosive character of ṟ. The grammar would have used the term varuṭal 'rubbing' if the sound was a trill. The alveolar plosive sound t is retained in JT in the long (geminated) as well as the short forms as in vetti 'victory', poti 'to fry' whereas in IT t is lost perhaps except in literary pronunciation where it occurs only in cluster with r as in kuṟṟam [kutram] 'fault'. LT requires the change of the alveolar lateral l to the alveolor plosive ṟ in certain contexts. Even in these contexts the aveolar plosive pronunciation is not maintained in IT.

On the other hand Tolkappiyam (Sutra 95) describes r *(ர)* as a trill. But in some of its occurrences in the initial syllable usually when preceded by the vowel i and in some of its penultimate occurrences usually when preceded by a back vowel it is pronounced as an alveolar plosive in JT.

Today the alveolar plosive t and the trilled r are distinct phonemes in JT. In the dialects of IT perhaps except in Nanjil Nadu where it occurs non-initially in a few borrowed items such a distinction is not made. In JT t occurs word-initially, intervocally single and geminate and in cluster with certain other plosives and nasals. Examples: teṇṭu 'two', poti 'to fry', pattu 'affection', meːtku 'west', entɛ 'my' etc. Today the contrast between t and r in JT is restricted to the environments where back vowels, short or long, precede. In other environments their distribution is conditionable. Examples of contrast: pori 'to slip', poti 'to fry'; ku:rɛ 'bridal saree', ku:tɛ 'roof'.

The intervocal alveolar plosive geminate -tt- has merged with the intervocal dental plosive -tt- in early middle Tamil

and this change had operated uniformly in modern dialects of IT whereas it is noteworthy that JT had resisted this type of change until probably the last century (Ramasamy Iyer 1962) and today several words could be shown wherein the alveolar plosive-geminate is retained. Examples: ottumɛ 'unity', kuttam 'fault', po:ttu 'praise', tu:ttu 'scandal'. Apart from these, a number of items could be cited where -tt- occurs as a free variant of -tt-. Examples: netti ~ netti 'fore-head', ne:ttu ~ 'yesterday'. Words with -tt- (for instance vetti 'victory') do not have substitutes in JT and hence the likelihood of these items being borrowed recently from the literary dialect is ruled out.

Word-initial c has changed to s in IT and s is phonemic in IT. But c is retained word-initially in the speech of the Jaffna peasantry. In the speech of the educated c freely varies with s initially. The Jaffna peasantry has c even in many recent borrowings from English and other languages where s occurs initially. For example the word 'soda' is pronounced as co:ṭa:.

In IT (Kamatchinathan 1969) the intervocal k has changed into v in numerous items. Examples: kuttave 'lease', ku:ve 'owl', ceravu 'wing' etc. In JT k is retained in this position.

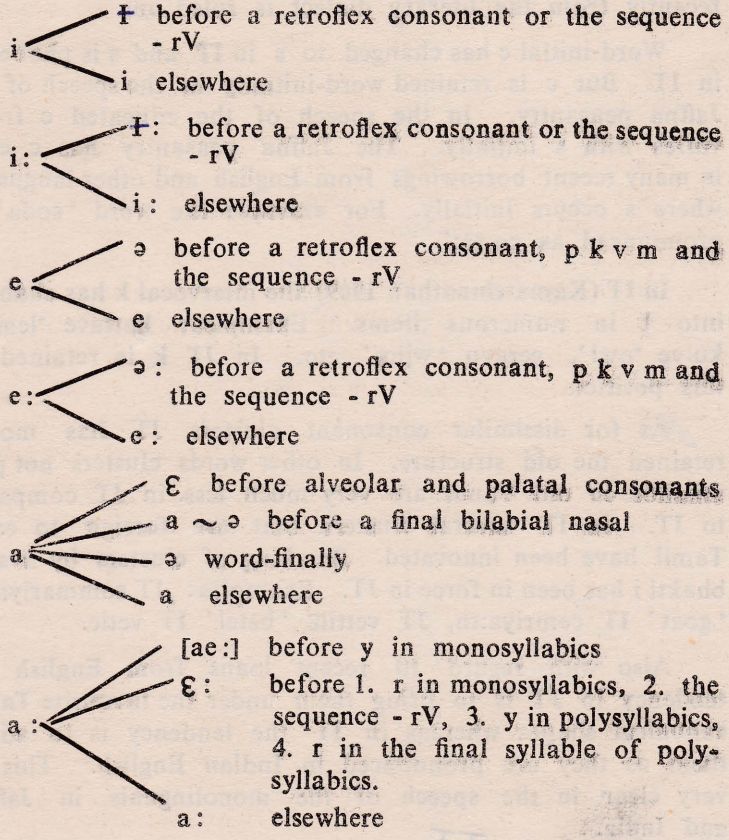
As for dissimilar consonant clusters JT has mostly retained the old structure. In other words clusters not permissible in old Tamil are very much less in JT compared to IT. In IT several clusters that are foreign to early Tamil have been innovated. Breaking of clusters by svarabhakti i has been in force in JT. Examples: JT cemmariya:ṭu 'goat' IT cemriya:tu, JT vettilɛ 'betel' IT vetle.

Also with regard to recent loans from English the tendency in JT is to bring them under the favourite Tamil canonical shapes whereas in IT the tendency is to adopt them as they are pronounced in Indian English. This is very clear in the speech of the monolinguals in Jaffna and India.

Compared with IT, the syllabic pattern of a large number of lexical items remain unchanged in JT. In IT polysyllabic

(other than disyllabic) lexical items have lost syllables ranging from one to three and thereby have created new types of syllabic patterns and consonantal clusters that are unknown to early Tamil and JT.

JT has in course of time developed certain peculiarities in its phonological system. These are mostly vowel splits which are exclusive to JT. These are also unique both in terms of the specific vowels affected as well as the vocalic environment that have conditioned the vowel splits. The vowel splits may be illustrated as follows:



To start with, all these splits were merely allophonic in that they were conditionable by the stated environments.

Today however these allophonic splits have been brought to positions of contrast in a couple of items due to certain phonological changes that affected the said environments.[4] Two significant phonetic tendencies seem to have been operative in these splits, namely (1) centralization which has been a dominant factor, and (2) fronting.

In the consonantal system a peculiar feature in JT is that unlike other plosive phonemes the alveolar plosive does not have a voiced allophone.

Another peculiar feature in JT is the change that had occurred in the medial -nr-. The medial -nr- has changed in all the known dialects of Tamil. It has changed to -ṉṉ- in IT but in JT it has changed to -ṇṭ-. The earliest inscriptional evidence available for its change to -ṉṉ- dates back to the 16th century (Shanmugam 1966).

Apart from all these, certain other phonetic changes that have taken place in IT are not shared by JT. They may be briefly pointed out here: (a) Diphthongization of front vowels: the front vowels i, i:, e and e: develop into diphthongs with an offset y glide. (b) Final -u is fronted into i because of i or y preceding. For example, LT vaittu > vaiccu > vaicci 'having placed'. The fronting of the final -u to i after the palatal c also takes place in IT. For example, LT kaḷañcu > kaḷanci 'a weight'. Labialization of 'a' takes place when followed or preceded immediately by a labial. For example, LT anupavittu > anupovicci 'having enjoyed', kampam > kambõ 'pillar'.

As for the grammatical features that are archaic in JT, the medial demonstrative u- which occurs quite frequently in Caṅkam literature (Kuṟuntokai 81, 170; Naṟṟinai 237) and the interrogative marker -e: occuring with nouns and finite verbs are either unknown or infrequent in IT wheres in JT their occurrence is very dominant and frequent. In the mainland the demonstrative u - had slowly disappeared beginning from the language of the Pallava, Cola and Nayakka ages. But JT maintains a sharp distinction among all the three demonstrative bases namely a -, i - and u- enumerated in the early grammatical works, and still has all the interrogative markers given in Tolkaappiyam (Sutra 32).

There is no evidence for the occurrence of - a : as an interrogative marker in early Tamil literature. Even during the period of Naccinaarkiniyar, a commentator on Tolkaapiyam, it was probably not in usage (See Naccinaarkiniyar's commentary on Tolkaapiyam Sutra 32). JT has - e : as a free alternant of - a : which is the preponderant interrogative marker in IT.

A distinction between causative and non-causative verb is seen in the language of the Cave inscriptions (Meenakshisundaran 1965 : 111). The bare verb root functioned as the non-causative, while the causative was formed by adding -pi to the root. This formation occurs in the language of Tolkaappiyam (Sutra 761) but only once. It occurs frequently in Caṅkam works especially in Kalittokai. Later Tamil grammarians (Pavananti Sutra 138) give - vi and - pi as causative markers. In JT the causative base is derived morphologically by the addition of these markers whereas they are lost in IT and the causative is expressed therein only periphrastically with the infinitive form of a verb plus the auxiliary verb forms paṇṇu 'to do', vay 'to cause' or cey 'to do'. One comes across this periphrastic construction in JT also but the usage of the causative markers is dominant. The causative markers - vi and - pi are in complementation in JT. -vi also shows up with a free variant - i :. Example : pa:ṭu 'sing' pa:ṭuvi ~ pa:ṭi: 'cause to sing'. It is worth pointing out here that a commentator on Tolkaapiyam, namely Naccinaarkiniyar had taken - i as the causative marker (see Tolkaappiyam Collatikaaram Sutra 226) instead of - vi and - pi. Caldwell too sets up - i as the causative marker. Varadarajan (1955 : 228) has shown that - i : too indicates causal sense in Telugu.

Another archaic contrast maintained in JT is between the quasi verbs alla and illɛ. alla negates a fact and illɛ signals the non-existence of a being or thing. Both have today merged together in IT as ille. In JT the contrast is maintained in several contexts although there are signs of overlappings in a few contexts. Consider the following : vi:ṭu alla 'not a house' (but something else'), vi:ṭu illɛ 'no house'; but both (a) ni:mkaḷ po:natu piḷɛ alla and

(b) ni:mkaḷ po:natu piḻɛ illɛ give the same meaning as 'you have gone and there is nothing wrong in it'.

An archaic case marker in JT is —il, a case sign of comparison. —in occurs as a case of comparison in Tolkaapiyam (Sutra 561) and in Caṅkam literature. Later it had been confused with —il. At an early period nasal endings became denasalized into laterals. The third case sign —a:n became —a:l (see Tirukkuraḷ 26:6, 101:4) and the fifth case sign —in also became —il. JT uses this sign for comparison as in itil atu nallatu 'that is better than this' for which the corresponding IT usage is itay viṭa (or ka:ṭṭlum) atu nallatu. The latter type of construction also occurs in JT but it is infrequent.

In JT the present tense base forms of the verbs va: 'to come' and ta: 'to give' are va:r- and ta:r- respectively. Contrastively in IT, the shortened forms var- and tar- occur.

The restrictions in the use of ta: 'to give' and koṭu 'to give' as enumerated in Tolkaappiyam (Sutra 512, 513) are not adhered to in IT whereas in JT the archaic situation prevails maximally. However one could also note the distributional conditions being slowly shaken up. In contexts like colli-t-ta: 'to impart knowledge' and colli-k-kuṭu 'to impart knowledge' both the forms are now being used with all pronouns irrespective of the conditioning. Similarly this tendency is slowly gaining entry into Sri Lanka LT too. For instance enakkum ..... koṭu 'also give me' occurs in a very recent language teaching text used in all the Tamil schools in Sri Lanka (Tamil Malar 5, 1968: chapter 2).

The older generation in Jaffna uses na:m as a second person singular honorific pronoun to address certain classes of people. For instance, na:m is used when speaking to a Brahmin priest. This usage is now slowly disappearing especially when people begin to feel that caste is not something to reckon with. Tamil grammatical works have not given the usage of na:m as a second person pronoun. But there is evidence to infer that in ancient times too na:m was used as a second person honorific pronoun. In

one of Saint Tirunaavukkaracar's hymns we come across na:m being used as a second person honorific pronoun (Tirunaavukkaracar: stanza 2539, edition 1941).

—en and —am are among the first person singular and plural markers respectively of the pronominal terminations enumerated in Tolkaappiyam (Sutra 687, 688). Similarly —i is one of the second person singular markers of the pronominal terminations mentioned in Tolkaappiyam (Sutra 708). All these markers are in current use in JT whereas they have fallen into disuse in IT. —i occurs in JT as a second person singular marker but only in conditional constructions when —o; or —enṭa:l follows. For example, ceytiyo: po:ven 'if you do, I will go', ceyti enṭa:l po:ven 'if you do, I will go'.

JT adds —um to a verb form and uses it as a finite verb with human singular noun concord. It does not occur with pronouns. For example, tampi ceyyum 'younger brother will do'. This type of construction was in use during the age of Tolkaappiyam (Sutra 712). In IT such finite verbs have only non-human singular noun concord.

paṭu was used as the passive particle in old Tamil. uṇ also occurs in poetry as a passive particle (Cilappatikaaram IX, 22) but preceded not by the ceyya-type of form but by the root. In later times peṟu 'to get' was used as the passive particle alternating with paṭu. In JT, passive is expressed by adding an inflected form of either uṇ or paṭu to the verb root. paṭu can occur with almost any verb and is thus very productive in JT but uṇ occurs only with a restricted number of verbs. Examples: koṭṭuṇ : koṭṭuṇutu 'it is being spilled', koṭṭuṇum 'it will be spilled'; pu:ṭṭuppaṭu : puṭṭuppaṭutu 'it is being locked', pu:ṭuppaṭṭutu 'it was locked'. All verbs taking uṇ for their passive formation take paṭu as a free alternant.

The noun vi:ṭu 'house' when occuring as a goal of motion with verbs va: 'to come' and po: 'to go' takes the accusative case unlike in IT where it takes the dative case in this construction. JT usage may be compared with what Tolkaappiyam says in Sutra 570.

JT also retains the archaic non-past negative construction. The non-past negative construction in JT formed by adding

the pronominal termination to the verb stem except in the epicene plural and in neuter where —a: occurs after the verb stem as the negative marker. Examples: na:n pa:ṭen 'I wont sing', na:mkaḷ pa:ṭam 'we wont sing', atu pa:ṭa:tu 'it wont sing'.

This type of negative construction had been in current use during Caṅkam period. For instance see verse 243 in Puṟanaanuuṟu. Examples could be cited from later literary works like Cilappatikaaram (see 1:19) and the hymns of Tirunaavukkaracar (see Maṟumaaṟṟa-t-tiruttaaṇṭakam 312—2-1, 2-2, 3-1). This type of negative construction has fallen into disuse in all the dialects of IT. Instead of this type, IT uses infinitive form of a verb plus maːṭ—inflected for person number and gender categories as required by syntax.

The infinitive plus ma:ṭ—construction was originally used not in a negative sense but only to indicate 'inability', Kamatchi Srinivasan (1965: 12-16) has pointed out that its first occurrence is seen in Cilappatikaaram where it occurs only once. In later literary works, especially in Bhakti literature a clear contrast between the negative (verb stem + negative marker + pronominal termination) and 'inability' (infinitive + inflected form of ma:-ṭ) is noticeable (Kamatci Srinivasan 1965).

As stated earlier, today the infinitive + ma:ṭ—is used in IT only as a negative construction. This construction occurs in JT also but it gives either an 'inability' sense or a negative sense depending on the context. For example, kuḷantɛ pe:ca ma:ṯṯutu can mean either 'inability' or negative. A clear contrast is observable in utterance like (a) avan cayikkiḷ o:ṭa:n 'he wont cycle' and (b) avan cayikkiḷ o:ṭa ma:ṯṯa:n 'he cannot cycle' where the first gives a negative sense and the second gives more an inability sense than a negative sense. JT also uses other ways to express 'inability': infinitive + e:la:tu or muṭiya:tu.

Proportionate more or less to the archaisms in grammar, JT also presents a considerable number of grammatical peculiarities. These are classifiable as (a) paradigmatic

peculiarities affecting the nominal, pronominal and verbal systems, and (b) syntactic peculiarities both selectional and constructional.

One of the ways of expressing possession in JT is to add—intɛ to nouns. It has an alternant—tɛ which occurs with first person singular pronoun. Examples: tampiyintɛ 'younger brother's,' entɛ 'my'.

In JT the plural marker—avɛ is added to personal names to indicate the sense of 'personal name plus family members or group'. Thus, ponnampalamavɛ 'Mr. Ponnampalam and his family or group'.

The clitic of acceptance in JT is either o:m or o: whereas in IT it is a:ma: or õ:.

A certain class of nouns in JT takes markers to indicate non-respect and respect. These nouns when unmarked indicate medial-respect. (All these have concord with pronominal terminations in finite verbs in the predicate position.)

Examples:

	medial-respect	non-respect	respect	
Verb:	vantutu	vanta:n	vanta:r	'came
	tampi	tampiyan	tampiyar	'younger brother'
	kiḷa:kku	kiḷa:kkan	kiḷa:kkar	'clerk'
	cuppu	cuppan	cuppar	'a name — Cuppu'
	ponnampalam	ponnampala—tta:n[5]	ponnampala—tta:r	'a name

In the pronominal system besides the pronoun ni:r the followlng may also be listed as peculiar to JT: avamkaḷ 'they' (masculine, non-honorific), avaḷavɛ 'they' (feminine, non-honorific), ava: 'she' (honorific) and avɛ 'they' (human, epicene).

The instrumental case marker—a:lɛ is also used to indicate the sense 'from' with verbs of motion in the predicative position. Example: kolumpa:lɛ va:ren 'I am coming from Colombo'. —a:lɛ is also used with time-nouns such as varucam 'year' and maṇittiya:lam 'hour' to give the sense 'after'. Thus, mu:ṇṭu na:ḷa:le va:mko: 'come after three days'.

—ic—— occurs as an alternant of the past tense marker—in—with certain verb classes with a human epicene form as the subject. —inam occurs as the plural marker. Examples: o:ṭiccinam 'they ran', pa:ṭiccinam 'they sang'.

In JT the negative quasi verb illɛ occurs with finite verbs and indicates not only the negative sense but also the desire on the part of the speaker for the action indicated by the verb to have taken place. Thus, po:ra:n illɛ means in addition to the negative meaning the desire of the speaker that the concerned person should go.

In JT relative participle form of a verb + a pronoun occur in the predicate position as finite verb in the present and the past tenses. Always the subject pronoun recurs with the relative participle form. For example, na:n po:nana:n 'I went / I did go'. Verb + tense + pronominal termination also occur (as finite verb) in the predicate position. Thus, na:n po:nen 'I went'. But the former type is more frequent in JT and semantically both the types differ in certain contexts. The former gives a categorical sense in certain contexts. The former type of construction without the pronominal predicator also occurs giving an emphatic sense. For example, na:n po:na 'I did go', ni:mkaḷ po:na 'you did go'.

At the lexical level too JT has archaic as well as peculiar items. Archaic words in JT are not very many but there are hundreds of peculiar words most of which have even gained entry into Sri Lanka LT. Scholars (Sathasivam 1974) have attempted to compile a dictionary of Sri Lanka peculiar Tamil usages. A few examples are as follows: archaic words—culaku 'winnowing pan', ka:vo:lɛ 'dried palmyra leaf', aitu 'sparse'; peculiar words—kamam 'farm', mariyal 'prison', pinne:ram 'evening', eḷumpu 'to get up', maṭṭukaṭṭu 'to recognize', Apart from all these, one could also show certain phrases, idiomatic usages and proverbs as peculiar to JT.

As for language contact, IT had been open to the influence of several languages. In Sri Lanka although Tamil had co-existed with Sinhala for centuries Sinhala influence

on Tamil had been remarkably low. Perhaps a solitary example for borrowing from Sinhala into JT seems to be the word po:ya 'full moon day'. It occurs both in spoken and literary Tamil (Tamil Malar, book IV, 1968:119). However there are borrowings from foreign languages which are exclusively used in Sri Lanka Tamil. Examples: kanto:r 'office', notta:ricu 'notary-public', ko:raname:ntu 'government'.

In concluding one might note the type of sociolinguistic attitude that these archaisms and peculiarities of JT have created in the minds of the native speakers of Tamil as well as non-Tamil Tamil scholars.

The Tamils in general have great regard and veneration for the language of the past, especially for the language of the Caṅkam period. They generally believe that the present day language is somewhat corrupted and deteriorated. Even the minimum educated shares these views as a blind following of the view of the orthodox Tamil scholars. The preservation and high incidence of archaic features in JT thus make them feel that it is the best among the modern varieties of Tamil. They are proud of it and many scholars in Sri Lanka (Thaninayagam 1955) and India (Meenakshisundaran 1964) have given expression to the fact or have endorsed the fact JT is purer and more literary-like. Whenever someone decried JT as inferior to IT Jaffna scholars like Arumuka Navalar had defended and asserted a prestige-position for it. Today in Sri Lanka a movement to foster Tamil language in every aspect independent of the IT is gaining popularity. To achieve this end some of the extremists are advocating cessation of 'Tamil language-link' with India and even urging the government to ban the import of certain category of Tamil literature from India.

Among foreign Tamil scholars Hornell (1918:23—168, as reported in Kuiper 1962) had remarked that Jaffna Tamils use a kind of Tamil close to the classical Tamil.

NOTES

1. The author had stayed in India (Annamalainagar) from 1962—67 and had worked with students coming from various parts of the Tamil Nadu.

2. According to Krishnamurti's interpretation 'as Proto-South Dravidian split off from PDr, short i and u in the environment before single consonant plus a changed to e and o respectively'. According to him this change must have preceded the period of early Tamil literature. Again as Proto-South Dravidian broke up into Telugu, Kannada and Tamil (with Malayalam as a later off-shoot from Tamil) e and o were maintained in the first two languages. But in LT and Malayalam, these vowels, in the environment before Ca, changed to i and u respectively.

3. t is alveolar plosive, r is used herein to transliterate a Tamil letter whose pronunciation has been described by ancient grammarians alveolar plosive.

4. For details of vowel splits in JT see author's 'Vowel Splits in Jaffna Tamil', Pakha Sanjam, University of Panjab (forthcoming).

5. —m> -tt- can be explained by a familiar morphonemic rule in Tamil.

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