

Abstract

The study of social dialects is a new and major area of interest in Sri Lanka. This paper examines the speech behaviour and lexicographical reflexes of caste groups among Jaffna Tamils in Sri Lanka between 1960s and 1980s. This study is based on data collected from Danial's two novels *Kovindan* and *Adimaika*. This study explores the caste constraints that govern the use of address terms in Jaffna. Personal names, kinship terms and pronouns are mainly discussed under the term 'Address forms'.

The terms that have been discussed in this study have a historicity value. This study explores the relationship between the linguistic variation and social variation according to the caste system. Socio-linguistic distinctions were maintained in Jaffna according to the caste divisions between 1960s and 1980s, and this was much reflected on the address terms. These terms show the power of high caste people over the scheduled caste people, and they show that how certain human rights were denied even in the form of speech in Jaffna, Sri Lanka.

CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

1.1 Scopes and Purpose of the Study

1.2 The structure and content

CASTE BASED ADDRESS FORMS
IN THE NOVELS OF K. DANIAL

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Scope and purpose of the study:

Jaffna District is situated in the Northern part of Sri Lanka (Formerly known as Ceylon), and it is populated by Tamil speaking people. This is the capital city of the Northern Province of Sri Lanka. (Maps: 1.1 & 1.2) Most of the Tamils living in Jaffna follow the Hindu religion and a significant number of people follow Christianity.

Caste and language have experienced an explosion of interest over the past quarter of a century in Sri Lanka. This has been an important issue in Sri Lankan intellectual tradition for several years. There are, of course, a number of related questions, which fall under the general heading of 'caste and language'. Questions such as 'How do words state the correlation of generation and caste with language use?' and 'How is social level codified in a particular caste?' are some which fall under this general heading. Although, they are important in the field of linguistics, they are not all going to be the focus here. Therefore, this study focuses on the caste based address forms that were prevailing in Jaffna area between the periods of 1960s and 1980s. The data is collected from one of the famous Sri Lankan novelist K. Danial's two novels Kovindan and Adimaika]. It was possible to get far more data and information on the address terms in these novels. (See Appendix-1)

In an attempt to explain Danial's place in the history of Sri Lankan Tamil novels, I would like to give a brief introduction to Tamil novel writing in Sri Lanka. Novel writing started in Sri Lankan Tamil literature as a result of Sri Lankan authors' exposure to Western literature and Indian literature from the late 19th century onwards. The history of Sri Lankan Tamil novels could be divided into three major divisions, which are said to be the early, mid, and modern novels. Most of the novels that belong

Map 1.1: Sri Lanka – Districts and Major Towns

In Christopher McDowell, 1996.

Map 1.2: Assistant Government Agent (AGA) Divisions – Jaffna District

In Christopher McDowell, 1996

to the early period (1860-1900) dealt with social reforms, and the mid period novels (1900-1950) spoke about nationalism, the freedom movement and exploitation as their central themes.

The novels that belong to the post independence period (after 1950) are categorised as modern novels. The sudden social, political and economical changes in the country in the late 1940s had a lot of influence on the theme of the novels. Sri Lanka gained its independence in 1948 and the Sinhala 'Maha Sabha's leader' S.W.R.D Bandaranayaike came to power in the political field in 1956. Discrimination against Tamil speaking people was growing in the period after independence in the fields of employment, education and language. This brought a threat to existence of the Tamils as a community with its own linguistic and cultural identity. (Reddy, 2003: 325-330) This made Tamils to think about their equivalents and identity in the country from various points of views.

The main trend due to this background was the occurrence of the 'Marxist-inspired literary movement, which was nationalistic and at the same time which opposed the social oppression and deprivation.' (Sivathamby, Internet-1) One of the reactions of this literary movement was its voice against the social exploitation and the caste system in the Northern part of Sri Lanka. Many young writers emerged during this period. Among them, one of the major writers was Danial who came from the Dalit¹ (formerly called as untouchable and now called as the scheduled castes) group. 'Tamil Nadu (South India) had to wait until the 1990s for Dalits to write about themselves. In fact, Danial is considered as the forerunner of Dalit writing.' (Sivathamby, Internet-1) Danial was born in 1926 and died in 1986. Although, Danial only received a school education up to grade five (Danial, 1986: 3), he is considered as a very good novelist.

His novels provide useful insights on the questions of scheduled caste identity and upper caste ideology. Through this he explores the neglected aspects of life of the scheduled castes in Jaffna (Northern part of Sri Lankan) society. There is nothing that is unreal in his novels. His class, culture and caste in Jaffna society made his

¹ The word 'dalit(a)' comes from the Sanskrit root 'dal'. It gives the meaning of 'held under check', 'suppressed' or 'crushed'. It also has a looser sense as 'oppressed'. This term was originated in India.

fictions as wonderful creations, but none of them are written outside the scheduled caste sensibility.

Danial has explored the local-level politics that is much involved with the caste divisions. The wealth and power of Vellalars (landholders), their life style, their interactions with the scheduled caste people, and also the life style, experience, hopes, expectations, wants, needs and customs of the scheduled caste people are vividly portrayed in his novels.

He used the language of the scheduled castes in his novels, which has a historicity value. His novels underwent several criticisms by the upper caste writers and academicians. (Danial, 1986: 1-16, Marx, 2003) His major contributions to the history of Tamil novels were 'Paṅcamar' (First part-1972), 'Paṅcamar' (Part 1 & 2-1982), 'Poraḷikaḷ Kattirukkirarkaḷ' (1975) 'Kovindan' (1982), 'Adimaikaḷ' (1984), 'Kanal' (1986), 'Taṅṅir' (1987) and 'Paṅcakoṇaṅkaḷ' (1993). These novels have been written between the periods of 1970s to the late 1980s.

The primary sources for this research are Danial's two novels 'Kovindan' (1982) and 'Adimaikaḷ' (1984). Both of these novels are presented almost in the same way. Both examine the life style of two generations. Through this Danial has explored the fall of the power of Vellalars in Jaffna society. In Kovindan, Danial explores the way that the scheduled caste people are treated as slaves by the Vellalars, and later how the scheduled caste people are struggling against the Vellalars regarding equality in land authority and temple entry. The name Kovindan is the name of the character of a dog in this novel. Through this character Danial creates an implicit meaning of 'love beyond caste' to the novel. Adimaikaḷ explores the fancy life of Vellalars and the problems that they face because of it. The ill treatment of the scheduled caste people by the Vellalars is depicted in this novel.

The selection of these two novels for this study depends on the availability of Danial's novels to me in England. The two novels that are used for this study are representative of Danial's writing in general. Therefore, selection of these two novels is not particularly interesting from the point of view of address terms. While doing this

study, it was possible for me to get Danial's novels in a single volume, which has been compiled by Danial's son Danial Vasanthan. (2005)

Until now, no thorough and intensive study of the linguistic structure of the scheduled castes based on Danial's novels has been done. Thirunavukkarasu's research (2004) gives a complete knowledge on Danial's writings with its social background. However, this research does not deal with any linguistic aspects on Danial's publications.

Also, Shanmugavel from Tamil Nadu, India has done a PhD research on scheduled castes and their problems in the novels of Danial. (Thirunavukkarasu, 2004: 290-291) I could not get the opportunity to read this PhD thesis for this study. There are also some other articles on Danial's writings that were published in the Sri Lankan Tamil magazines and news papers, (Thirunavukkarasu, 2004: 290-291) but none of them give a detailed study on the linguistic aspects of the caste based address forms in Danial's novels.

Although there is a considerable interest in studying the caste based address forms of Jaffna, social and cultural practices related to the caste divisions in Jaffna make it very complex to study this through fieldwork, as social interactions take place without any caste reference outside the house and their own community group. The task is made more difficult by the civil war in the Tamil areas in Jaffna. Therefore, to date, no systematic studies have been made on the caste based address forms of Jaffna.

Therefore, the main aim of this study is to attempt to classify, analyse and interpret the caste based address forms in the novels of K. Danial according to the social background of Jaffna Tamils. Kinship terms, pronouns and personal names are mainly analysed under the term of 'address forms'.

1.3 The structure and content:

This research is divided into five sections. Chapter one begins with a short history of the Tamil novel writing in Sri Lanka and Danial's contribution to it. It gives the basic background of what the study is about.

It is very difficult to understand the fourth chapter, for a person who does not have a good knowledge about the caste system. Therefore, according to the existing literature, a detailed explanation about caste is given in the second chapter in the literature review. Also, the literature review explains about address forms in Tamil and some other European languages. Some of the ethical problems regarding a caste based study, and the major challenges faced during the translation of the text are explained in the section 'research context'. The research questions are also explained in the second chapter.

The third chapter deals with the research methodology. This section explains what kind of data is used to examine the research questions, and how these data were categorised and analysed. It also explains the strengths and weaknesses of the data in Danial's novels.

The fourth chapter is about the main research finding. The findings give the answer to the main research questions that are explained in chapter two.

The fifth chapter is a conclusion. The limitations that were faced while doing the research are explained in this chapter.

CHAPTER TWO: Background of the study

2.1 Literature review

2.1.1 Caste

2.1.2 Address Forms

2.2 Research context

2.3 Research questions

CHAPTER TWO

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

2.1 Literature review:

2.1.1 Caste in Jaffna:

Caste is a dominant social stratification in Jaffna society. There are many debates on the origin of caste and ranking of castes in a hierarchical order in South Asian countries. Consideration will not be given to these matters in this study due to the length of the dissertation. It appears that caste division was more important than ethnic division until recent days, but by the new rules and pressures of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) seeking the establishment of an independent Tamil Eelam for Tamil people in Sri Lanka, this social stratification has lost its importance in daily social interaction. The modern urban environment gives more strength to this.

Although there are many changes in caste ideology in urban areas, caste continues to be more important in rural society where a more traditional economic structure still prevails. (Jayawardena, 2000: 161) When it comes to marriage, family functions and get togethers, the caste divisions are strictly followed by everybody inside the home. Each and every person is born into one caste and this cannot be changed. Therefore, the caste divisions prevail internally in everyone's mind and externally within the family

The most common basic concepts underlying caste are;

1. Traditional occupation
2. Purity and personal hygiene (according to Hindu ritual purity). This makes the scheduled castes² as untouchables
3. Profession, wealth and power
4. Social participation, status and position

² The scheduled caste people are also called as 'Low caste' people. Other terms are also used such as Dalits, Harijan, outcastes and untouchables. The terms 'scheduled caste' and 'Harijan' are the polite forms. As the term 'Harijan' (coined by Mahatma Gandhi) is used only in India, I would like to use the term 'scheduled caste'.

The Jaffna caste system as follows;

- *Piramanar* or Brahmin priests
- *Chettiar* or merchants, no longer found
- *Vellalar* or landholders
- *Idayar* or herders, no longer found
- *Madapalli* or landholders, no longer found
- *Agamudaiar* or landholders, no longer found
- *Marawar* or landholders, no longer found
- *Paravar* or fishers
- *Karaiyar* or fishers
- *Palliwilli* or fishers, no longer found
- *Sempadavar* or fishers, no longer found
- *Thimilar* or fishers
- *Mukkuvar* or fishers
- *Thanakarar* or Royal stable workers, no longer found
- *Sanar/Nadar* or toddy tappers, no longer found
- *Kadeyar* or lime burners, no longer found
- *Siviar* or royal palanquin bearers, no longer found
- *Koviar** or temple workers
- *Seniyar/Saliar* or weavers, no longer found
- *Nalaver** or toddy tappers
- *Paraiyar* or tom-tom beaters
- *Pallar* or farm hands
- *Vadugar* or soldiers, no longer found
- *Thurumbar Washers* for toddy tappers and other low-caste families

A special category called Kudimakkal was divided along

- *Navidar/Ampattar* or barbers
- *Koller* or black smiths
- *Tattar* or gold smiths
- *Kannar* or brass founders, no longer found
- *Thatcher* or carpenters
- *Sitper* or masons, no longer found
- *Paner* or tailors, no longer found
- *Vaniyar* or oil makers, no longer found
- *kussavar* or potters
- *Wannar* or washer men

Castes marked with the asterisk (*) are found only amongst Jaffna Tamils.

Ceylon Gazetteer, Page 55, In Internet-3:

<http://www.answers.com/topic/caste-in-sri-lanka>

Pfaffenberger (1982) mentions three more castes other than the above caste divisions, which are the Pandaram or garland makers for the temples, Cirpacari or temple sculptor (no longer found) and Nattuvar or auspicious music musicians.

Each and every caste name denotes a specific traditional occupation. However, the English equivalent for these occupations will not give a proper meaning and idea for the caste divisions. For example, one of the cast name 'Navidar/Ambattar' gives a specific meaning according to the occupation as 'hairdresser'. At present, all the hair dressers do not belong to the 'Navidar/Ambattar' caste. The education system has made hairdressing as an art. Some people react very positively to being called a 'hairdresser'. However, this does not mean that the 'Navidar/Ambattar' cast has come to a high status in Jaffna society. Caste groups are ranked on hereditary basis.

Another aspect is noticeable in contrast to the above mode from Arumainayagam's illustrations (1979: 28). Due to modernisation and assimilation, most of the ancient caste divisions are not found at the present time, and some of them have lost their original role in the social system. For example, very few people exist as 'Sitper' (Masons) in Jaffna. The requirements for buildings created by economic changes have made this occupation lucrative. Therefore, other castes are also now to be found pursuing this occupation. The number of these artisans is largely increasing. Therefore, Arumainayagam states that 'Sitper' caste no longer exists as a different class. (1979: 28)

According to Banks (1960: 63), Jaffna Tamil caste system is very much 'Vellalar' based since ancient time, and this is the most numerous caste in Jaffna. He says that the feature of this number is just opposite to the pyramidal modal of the sociological concept about class, which has the upper class being few and the lower class many.

Piramanar, Chettiar and Vellalars are considered as the High caste. All other divisions are considered as the scheduled caste groups. However, there is a further classification among the scheduled castes as 'Touchables' and 'Untouchables' in Jaffna. For example, Koviari, Tattar, Thatchar, Koller, Kussavar, Wannar and many other castes comes under the category of touchables and Nalavar, Paraiyar, Pallar, Navidar/Ampattar and many other groups come under the category of untouchables.

Touchables could be classified into the category of middle caste, and untouchables could be classified into the category of low caste. Therefore, it is possible to divide the castes into three groups as 'High', 'Middle' and 'Low'.

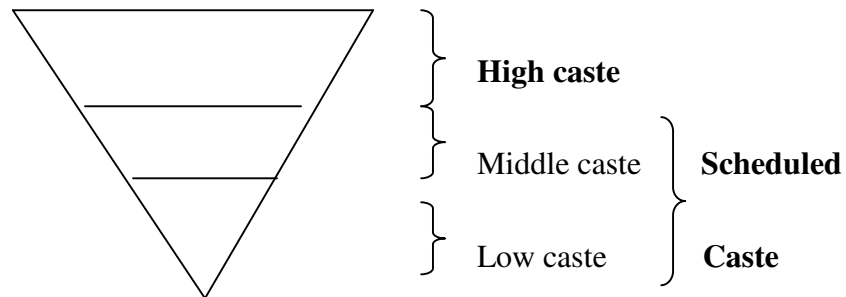


Figure 1.1: Pyramidal model of the Jaffna caste system.

Each and every caste stands in a specific social hierarchy where each has a superior or inferior relationship to the other. There are differences in power and wealth according to the caste. David (1977: 192-209) explains the inter relationship between the Jaffna castes in two categories. One is that the caste divisions which are engaged with agriculture such as priests, landowners, barbers and labourers. He calls this category as status or bound-mode inter-caste relationship. The second category is the castes in the fishing, artisan and merchant sectors. He calls this category as the contractual or non-bound mode inter-caste relationship.

Caste myths and histories have made an ideology about Vellalar hegemony over the centuries in Jaffna district. Therefore, Vellalars are the dominant group in Jaffna except in the costal areas where the Karaiyar cast (Fishermen) is dominant. However, the caste system among Tamils has been influenced and driven from the Brahman (Hindu priests) dominated system of southern India. Sivathamby says that (Internet-2) even among the Sri Lankan Tamils, Brahmans are the highest caste, but unlike in India they have less power and authority than the Vellalars.

The caste system of Tamils is more closely tied to ritual and religious bases than the caste system of the Sinhalese in Sri Lanka. Vehujanen illustrates that, (1989: 41) as the Indian Tamil and the Sri Lankan Tamil caste systems are closely tied to the Hindu religious aspects, some Hindu's tried to change their religion into Christianity and overcome this caste problem. However, they could not succeed in it. Although,

Christianity spoke about social equality, it could not apply its equal opportunities policy to the caste divisions. Therefore, the caste system, which has its validity with the Hindu environment, continues to make its existence to other religions in Sri Lanka. This feature is noticeable in the Indian environment as well. (Dumont, 1970: 210)

Ryan's study on the Sinhalese caste system (1993: 65-72) shows that the Jaffna caste system has some common features with the Sri Lankan Sinhalese caste system as well as the south Indian Tamil caste system. However, it has many characteristic features of its own. Some of the Jaffna caste systems are equivalent to the Sinhalese caste system. For example, Tamil Vellalars are equivalent to Sinhalese Govigama, Karaiyars are equivalent to Karava, Paraiyars are equivalent to Berava, Nalavar equivalent to Durava, Pallar are equivalent to Batgam, Saliyar are equivalent to Salagama and Thurumbar are equivalent to Hena.

The Tamil Koviarys claim that they belong to the Sinhalese Govigama caste, which was isolated in the Tamil areas after the Jaffna kingdom conquest of the North. Similar names and occupations of the Jaffna caste system are found in the South Indian caste system, except the Koviarys, Nalavas and Thurumbas. (Gough, 1960, Beteille, 1971) However, in comparison to the Indian Caste system, the Sri Lankan Tamil caste system is not a dominant social stratification. The organisations of the scheduled castes and their struggle for equality, the pressures against the caste divisions by the LTTE and the modern urban environment have softened the caste ideology in Jaffna district.

A couple of decades ago, reaffirmation of the caste system took place in the form of language and through a set of customs and a style of life. The language pattern between the same caste members and between different caste members shows the social stratification very clearly. This language form still prevails in the rural areas. Each and every caste had their own language pattern, which makes it possible for people to determine one's caste. Interactions between different castes were made in a particular way according to etiquette. Each caste used different personal names and the address forms between different castes varied according to which caste the person belongs. A high caste person was addressed in a polite and prestigious way, whereas a scheduled caste person was addressed in a rude and impolite way.

The language itself had some interaction rules that showed the superior or inferior status of a person. Pandit says that (1963, Secondary citing from Bean, 1974: 287) in Marathi and Gujarathi, the high prestige people use many Sanskrit borrowing words when they talk to a low prestige speaker to keep a distance from the low prestige person and to maintain his/her own status. It was expected that a scheduled caste person should greet their superiors first. And high caste person should be addressed in an honorific way. A non-Brahman should greet a Brahman in the same way as the worshipper greets the God. This polite and impolite way of talking was followed by everyone even for the daily interaction. It was expected that a scheduled caste person should use the word 'aakkum' (the meaning is 'probably') while talking to a high caste person. For example, an ordering form of 'neeᅅgal vaᅅgo' (you come) has to be said as 'neeᅅgal varuᅅgalaakkum'. This means that a scheduled caste person did not have the rights to order a high caste person.

Suseendirajah (1999b: 135) explains that how certain verbs are denoted to the action done by certain caste. For example, the verbs *veᅅu*, *alacu*, *alambu*, *kaᅅuvu*, and *tooy* give the English meaning 'wash cloths'. *Veᅅu* is used to describe the action done by 'Wannar' (washer men). The verbs *alacu*, *alambu*, *kaᅅuvu*, and *tooy* are used if the same action is done by some other castes.

As modernisation is taking part, many of these castes based language patterns have disappeared. Indeed most of the scheduled caste people speak in the normal way that a high caste person speaks.

2.1.2 Address Forms:

Address forms such as kinship terms, personal names and pronouns could vary according to ones region, age, gender, occupation, education, caste and so on. In an area like Jaffna, which has a multi-caste system, people are more concerned about address forms. The caste divisions are shown through language patterns, especially through the address forms.

Address forms could be seen in two ways. One is in the form of relationship of father-child, mother-child, grandparents-child, husband-wife and so on where the address forms are used to show the descent system within family members or within the same caste members. The second form is in between social groups to show the hierarchical order, position and status of a person. Both are interconnected with culture and social behaviour. They are connected with cultural phenomena such as personal and group identity, and social class distinctions. The first one shows 'blood' identity and the second one shows 'group' identity.

These address forms tell us how caste categories and relationships were defined and what norms were supposed to be applied to them. They define and allocate membership to each and every individual. Therefore, an individual is placed within the society into which he/she is born. It also underlies the allocation of status to a person in the society.

These aspects could be found in the address forms of several other languages, and this has been described in detail by many authorities. As much space could not be devoted to these literatures, the important ones are briefly discussed in this section. Although, address forms in Jaffna Tamil has many related perspectives to the address forms of other languages, address forms in Jaffna have alternative perspectives. In their study of 'The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity', Brown and Gilman deal with the two singular pronouns in certain European languages. These two singular pronouns of address began with the Latin 'tu' and 'vos'³. Eventually, these two terms got different forms in certain European languages. In English they became 'thou' and 'ye'⁴. 'Thou' was a familiar address term, and 'ye' was a polite address term. Brown and Gilman say that (1966: 255) the superior uses the familiar address term and receives the polite address term, and they say this is said to be the power of one person over another. Of course, issues related to Brown and Gilman's power and solidarity also functions in Jaffna Tamil society. However, there is another pronoun for medial respect and to indicate the singular in Jaffna Tamil, which is an uncommon aspect in other Tamil dialects.

³ Technically 'vos' is a plural form. Brown and Gilman explain (1966: 255) how this pronoun was used to address a single emperor.

⁴ These pronouns are not related etymologically with the Latin pronouns 'tu' and 'vos', as Latin is a Romance language, whereas English is a Germanic language.

Brown and Gilman say that the familiar address term was gradually developed to an intimacy address form, and the polite address term was developed to a formality address form. (1966: 257) They call this dimension as 'solidarity'. This intimacy-formality form is found in Tamil pronouns, but it does not mean that the formality and polite pronoun usage has declined. Tamil pronouns have both familiar-polite and intimacy –formality forms. It is prominent in Danial's novels that these address forms vary according to the addressees caste and class.

Sharma's study of Kumauni⁵ pronouns of address (1986: 109) indicates two similar pronouns to European pronouns. They are 'tu' (thou) and 'tum' (you). 'Tum' is used for singular and plural forms. Sharma says that 'tu' is used as a non-honorific pronoun to show equality and increased intimacy. 'Tum' is used as an honorific pronoun in formal situations and for non-intimate relationship. He says that higher caste people are addressed in a honorific way. However, he states that in a situation where one person belongs to the higher caste and the other person belongs to the scheduled caste but high in the socio-economic position, then both use the honorific term for each other. This aspect is not found in Danial's novels, as the caste system was very strong in Jaffna during the period his novels were written. However, now this honorific pattern of address could be seen in the daily interaction across different caste members in Jaffna.

Jayaraman's study (2005) on the Hindu personal names and surnames provide an insight into the social and cultural roots to Hindu personal names in India and it explains to what extent people like to retain their personal identity through personal names. Although, his article deals with the Indian names, most of the patterns described here have wider applicability to Hindu personal names in Jaffna. Jayaraman verifies that the names, which are based on Hindu gods such as Ramakrishnan, Govindarajan, Sivaramakrishnan and Shivashanmugam, are in the naming customs of South India. He states that (2005: 487) the names which end in 'an', 'am' and 'nath' are Southern Indian names. However, what Jayaraman states here could be discussed more deeply in a linguistic perspective. The personal names in Jaffna state that there is a great difference in these endings according to one's caste. This will be discussed in the fourth

⁵ It is the dialect of Kumaun division of Uttaranchal, a region in the Indian Himalayas.

chapter. Jayaraman's approach to the sanskritization of personal names states that (2005: 483) this practice is a social mobility and changing one's personal name and surname is one of the simplest ways to indicate changes in caste status of the person. This statement leads to further arguments. No one else has demonstrated such a process of social mobility in their study about caste. But it is sure that this is not applicable to personal names in Jaffna. Although changes take place in the naming tradition in Jaffna, a person cannot change his/her caste identity and mobility through changing naming customs.

Sharma's study (1986) states that personal names could be the addressee's first name or last name+honorific term or use of first name+kin term. He says that first names are used to a person younger in age or lower in social status. Last name+honorific term is used to a person who is high in social status. Sharma attests that this address form is only used to address Brahmans and he says that the suffix 'jyu' is added to the last name of as Tyarijyu (Mr. Tewari), Panjyu (Mr. Pant) and Pandejyu (Mr. Pandey). However, opposed to what Sharma attested, the Vellalars in Jaffna are addressed by their last name+honorific term such as 'First name (M)+Nayinar' or 'First name (F)+Nacciyar'. Sharma states that in the rural settings of Kumauni, first name+kin terms are used to address acquaintances and intimately known persons even if they belong to different castes. In Jaffna, this category of address is limited within inter caste relation, but this address form could be seen among the younger generation.

Aceto's (2002) study indicates that the ethnic names in Bestimentos index both ethnic and linguistic identities, and they are highly valued. He says that descents from other countries often prefer different names that index multilingualism and ethnicity, which have no social or economic repercussions for doing so. Even this aspect is noticeable in Tamil personal names. Suseendirajah's (1999c: 170) states that Sri Lankans almost take care to maintain ethnic or religious differences through names. In contrast to the ethnic names in Latin America and Sri Lanka, caste based address forms have social repercussions. The ideology about address forms were created, maintained and developed by the high caste people for social identities. The right to a name is one of the most basic rights of human beings, but the address forms in Jaffna show the denial of this human right.

Raheem's study on the kinship terms of the Moor community in Ceylon (1975) states that the Moor community derives cultural and linguistic identities from both Arab and Dravidian sources. As the mother tongue of the Moor community in Sri Lanka is Tamil, most of the kinship terms that are described by Raheem are common to the other Tamil communities as well. This is because of the standard literary form of Tamil which makes a strong influence on the spoken Tamil dialects. For example the consanguinal kin terms by Raheem in table-2 lists fortythree kin terms in Moor Tamil, Ceylon Tamil and literary Tamil. Within these, twentyeight words are common to Moor Tamils, Ceylon Tamils and literary Tamil.

Suseendirajah (1999d) illustrates that the kinship terms are used as polite and respectful address forms as well as reference to kinsfolk. He also explains the restrictions in the use of kin terms across caste divisions. He says that the usage of kin terms were more popular among certain castes that come under the category of 'touchables', and now these terms have spread to other caste groups too. (1999d: 195) As Suseendirajah says, the kinship terms did not function across castes for many decades. Even this aspect is prominent in Danial's novels.

2.2 Research context:

As the texts are in Tamil language, it seems that while dealing with Danial's novels, I have two great responsibilities. One is that to preserve the basic identity of the community, which is described in these novels. Secondly, I consider myself as the person who is responsible for the transference of the ideas and information of Danial across linguistic and cultural barriers.

This research involves lots of research ethics, as caste is a sensitive matter to deal with. Danial explores the Jaffna caste system deeply in his novels. He openly mentions the caste names in his novels and shows which are the high castes and which are the scheduled castes in Jaffna society. However, this research will not give any details on the hierarchical order of these divisions. As mentioned above some of the castes are no longer found and some of them are no longer considered to be a different caste due to

the demand of that particular caste's occupation. Therefore, it is very difficult to include certain castes into the divisions of 'High', 'Middle' and 'Low'. Therefore, in this study, the castes are divided into 'High' and 'Scheduled', according to the collective general facts. The caste names will not be used, unless it is essential to give a detailed explanation.

The major challenge that I face during the data analysis is the translation of certain parts of these novels. Modern computer technology is not used for the translation purpose, as these texts are not in electronic version. Translation is done manually to certain pieces of text, which are been analysed in the fourth chapter for description.

It is very clear that these novels and their local structure, style, lexical and syntactical complexity will definitely vary from Tamil culture to the English culture. Therefore, certain words cause problem in the translation. This happens especially when we try to translate the address forms in English. These novels are in a simple form of language for a native Tamil speaker. This simplicity does not lead me to translate the text easily, as many words have strong connotations. Therefore, the translation only has denotative equivalents, which are connotatively neutral. This might lead the textual explicitness to be lower than the source text. However, the transliterary form is given, and additional explanations are given below the quotations of the text.

Bearing all these in mind, this translation process could be judged according to what I set out to achieve, rather than thinking about what qualifies as good translation of these novels. My own purpose is that of describing certain parts of the novels in English to explain the caste related address forms to the English world.

The entire caste based plural forms have an 'ar' suffix, which is a form of old literary Tamil. This suffix 'ar' is replaced by an 'ars' for the convenient of writing in English, and this suffix pluralizes these terms. Many anthropologists, who have researched caste, have adopted the same expedient (Parry, 1979, Yalman, 1967, Mayer, 1960, Leach, 1960, Suseendirajah, 1999b)

2.3 Research questions:

Emphasis is given to the following research questions.

- 1) What are the different address forms between members of the same household, and members of different castes? (This question deals with the external meanings of the words.)
- 2) Do these address forms pass the message of inequality between castes? (This question deals with the internal meaning or the symbolic process of the words.)

The data in these texts are analysed in a critical way, but it is a content analysis, i.e., this research analyses the caste based address forms, which are cited only in Danial's novels. A dynamic approach (approaches about the modern trends) to these data is made according to the availability of secondary sources.

CHAPTER THREE: Research Methodology

3.1 Type of data

3.2 Methods of data analysis

3.3 Measurements

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Type of data:

The data for this research is taken from the above-mentioned two novels 'Kovindan' (1982) and 'Adimaikal' (1984). Danial wrote about the local community that he understood and experienced very well. Danial says that most of the characters and their language pattern in his novels are created through observations of people in the society where he lived. Through their dialog pattern, he observed the special phrases that they used, and recorded them in his novels. (Danial, 1986: 7) For example, the main character 'Ijjavaṇṇṛ' in the novel 'Paṅcamar' is a character that Danial created through three years observation of a person in a particular society (Danial, 1986: 5). This makes a good reason to trust the data in the novels. However, he tries to focus on the other scheduled castes and upper castes as well from his point of view. Therefore, the validity of these data given in the novels is more questionable.

As it is mentioned above in the section 2.3, it is important, therefore, to divide the castes as 'High' and 'Scheduled' (This will be a general division rather than a division based on caste names), according to the collective facts to analysis the above mentioned research questions. The Brahmin speech is not taken into consideration for this study. Therefore, the data, which were taken into consideration under the high caste division, are from the dominant Vellalar community. Several caste communities (Middle caste and Low caste) are included in the scheduled caste division. However, I cannot claim with confidence that all the data given in Danial's novels are equally acceptable for many other caste communities. There may be differences in these address forms within each and every caste and within areas where Danial lived. It is good to keep in mind that these novels are an individual's own piece of literary work, and these could not be considered as a research work on this field.

Danial interprets his stories in a certain way where culture is used as a system of communication. Therefore, the caste based address forms in his novels are also culture bound. Culture changes from time to time, so, too, the language. Many of the caste

based address forms that are described in Danial's novels are not in use now, and some of them have lost their significance. Therefore, validity of these data is never 'once and for all'. However, this research is a start for further discussion. The validity of this research and data will go up and down with times as work goes on in this field. Linda Hutcheon mentions that, 'texts that make us think not only about their fictionality but also about their historicity.'(1992: 19) Hence, these data also has a great historicity value.

Address forms between the members of the same caste appear to have great stability and resistance to change. Yalman who studied the Sinhalese caste and kinship system too has mentioned this in his research. (1967: 6) According to the social system and emotional roots, these address forms tend to remain highly structured, consistent and traditional. On the other hand, it is likely that the address forms between members of different castes have undergone lots of changes.

Leach (1960: 1-10) explains this kind of changes as a 'picture on a sheet of rubber'. When the rubber is stretched, the picture also changes. If the rubber sheet is stretched even more, there will be great changes in the picture. However, the underlying form and identity in the structure of the picture will not change. This happens in a society where one structure is transferred into another. (Yalman, 1967: 8)

The validity of this research is tightly tied to the discourse analysis and the data that I obtain from the linguistic structure of Danial's novels. I would define these novels and the data sets to the period of 1960^s to 1980^{s6}. The present caste based address forms are not being studied in this research, as this has to be covered as a further research through fieldwork. Therefore, conclusions for the above research questions will only be drawn from the linguistic details that are met in Danial's novels.

3.2 Methods of data analysis:

These novels are written from a scheduled caste person's point of views, and are written inside the scheduled caste sensibility. The thought representation in the

⁶ Although Danial says in his introduction that the theme of the novel Adimaika] belongs to the period 1890-1956, I observed many modern shifts in the address terms in this novel than in the novel Kovindan, which is a critical matter that could be analysed as a different study.

narrator's utterance has to be interpreted from a scheduled caste person's point of view. Therefore, the address forms that are used in the narrations also reflect the scheduled caste identity.⁷ However, to limit the samples, the address forms that were cited in the character's conversations are mainly included in the data list. As characters are rarely addressed by their personal names, further reference was made to the author's narrations to analyse the personal names. The personal names that are unknown by caste, but are in the author's narrations are not included in the data. These kinds of data appear in Adimaika\ especially on page 153,154 and 210.

Caste based address forms are divided into two as 'High caste address forms' and 'Scheduled caste address forms', and then each of them are sub divided into two as address forms between members of the same caste, and address forms across members of different castes.

For example, the novel 'Kovindan' is divided into thirteen chapters and the second chapter of the novel has the following address forms.

High caste address forms	Scheduled caste address forms
<i>Among high caste:</i>	<i>Among scheduled castes:</i>
Shanmugampillai	Nagan
Kasipillai	Sinnattian
Arunasalampillai	Sinnattiyar
Muthalithabi	Kanthan
Senathirasa	Suppiran
Kanapathipillai	Murugesan
Maniyakaran	Sellappan
Alakamma	Seenian
Sellamma	Valli
Akka	Ithini
Akka\	Periya Karuppi
Mon	At ^h ai
*T ^h ant ^h ai	Appu

⁷ The distinction between the characters' and the narrator's language in Danial's fictions could be analysed in further research.

*Manaivi	*Anṅai
*Muppattan	*Thambi
*Puttan	*Akkai
*Peran	*Inc ^h eer
*Pillai	*Edi
*Suthumalaian	*Nee
*Aval	*Ival
*Avan	<i>Across different castes:</i>
Neer	Nayinar
<i>Across different castes:</i>	Nachiyar
Pallan	Nayinathi
Kovia Kanavathian	Ayya
Kovia Mapaniyan	*Pendil
Kovia	*Avai
Kovia Marimuthu	*Avar
Kovichi Kilavi	
Kolla Narayani	
Podiyal	
*Nee	
*Unakku	
*Avan	

*** Indicates that these words are common to all the castes, but there are distinctions when it is used in between different castes.**

Certain words are common to both the high and scheduled castes. However, these words are included in the division/divisions depending on by which caste character has used the term in the novel.

These four divisions are then divided into the category of personal names, Kinship terms and pronouns. For example, the high caste address forms within the same caste have the following categories.

Shanmugampillai- Personal name
Kasipillai-Personal name
Arunasalampillai-Personal name
Muthalithabi-Personal name
Senathirasa-Personal name
Kanapathipillai-Personal name
Maniyakaran-Other category
Alakamma-Personal name
Sellamma-Personal name
Akka (Elder sister)-Kinship term
Akka\ (Elder sister)-Kinship term
Mon (Son)-Kinship term
*T^hant^hai (Father)-Kinship term
*Manaiivi (Wife)-Kinship term
*Muppattan (Great grandfather)-
Kinship term
*Puttan (Grandfather's father)-
Kinship term
*Peran (Grandfather)-Kinship
term
*Pillai (Child)-Kinship term
*Suthumalaian-Other category
*Ava\ (She)-Pronoun
*Avan (He)-Pronoun
Neer (You-Medial respect)-
Pronoun

This method is used for the whole novel to simplify the data analysis. I kept tracking each and every addressing form that appeared in the novels, but did not keep tracking how many times they appeared. Therefore, consideration is not given to the statistics of these data.

3.3 Measurements:

The data was collected from 10 male high caste characters, 2 female high caste characters, 7 male scheduled case characters and 3 female scheduled caste characters from the novel Adimaikaḷ.

The data from Kovindan were collected from 10 male high caste characters, 3 female high caste characters, a group of high caste children, 15 male scheduled caste characters, 4 female high caste characters and 4 scheduled caste children.

Number of characters - Adimaikaḷ	High caste	Scheduled caste	Number of characters - Kovindan	High caste	Scheduled caste
Male	10	7	Male	10	15
Female	2	3	Female	3	4
Children	0	0	Children	1 (Group)	4

Table 3.1: Number of characters that were used to collect data.

The distribution of the address terms among high caste and scheduled caste household members are shown in the table bellow.

Address forms	Among same caste members: High - High		Among same caste members: Sched. – Sched.	
	Adimaikaḷ	Kovindan	Adimaikaḷ	Kovindan
Personal names and their alternatives	33	10	31	22
Kinship terms and their alternatives	14	12	23	13
Pronouns	12	5	7	4
Other	5	9	7	1

Table 3.2: The distribution of the address terms among high caste and scheduled caste household members

This data could be shown in graphs as follows.

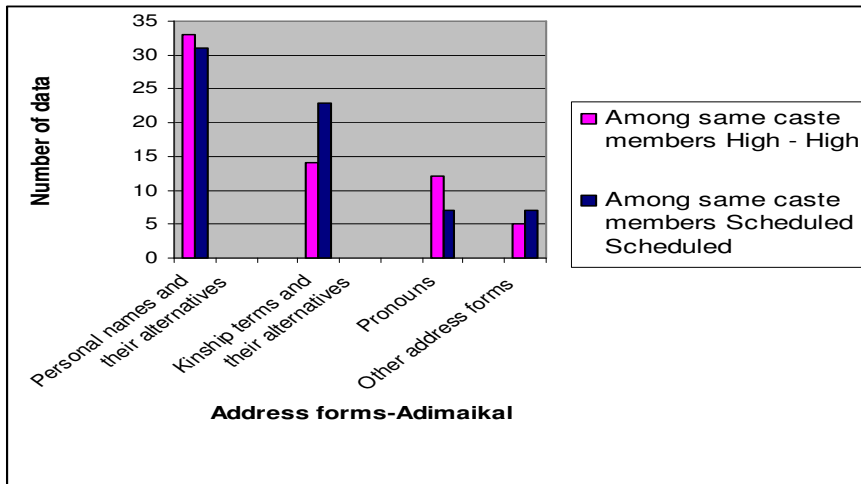


Figure 3.1: Address forms among same caste members in the novel Adimaika].

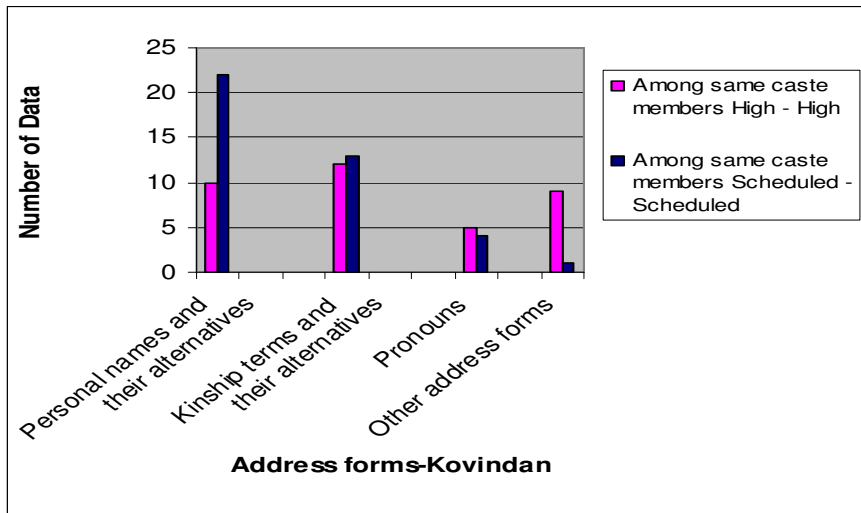


Figure 3.2: Address forms among same caste members in the novel Kovindan

The distributions of data among different caste members are shown in the table bellow.

Address forms	Between different caste members: High – Sched.		Between different caste members: Sched. – High	
	Adimaika]	Kovindan	Adimaika]	Kovindan
Personal names and their alternatives	27	19	18	7
Kinship terms and their alternatives	3	11	1	1
Pronouns	11	5	8	6
Other	14	6	1	4

Table 3.3: The distribution of data among different caste members

This data could be represented in graphs as follows.

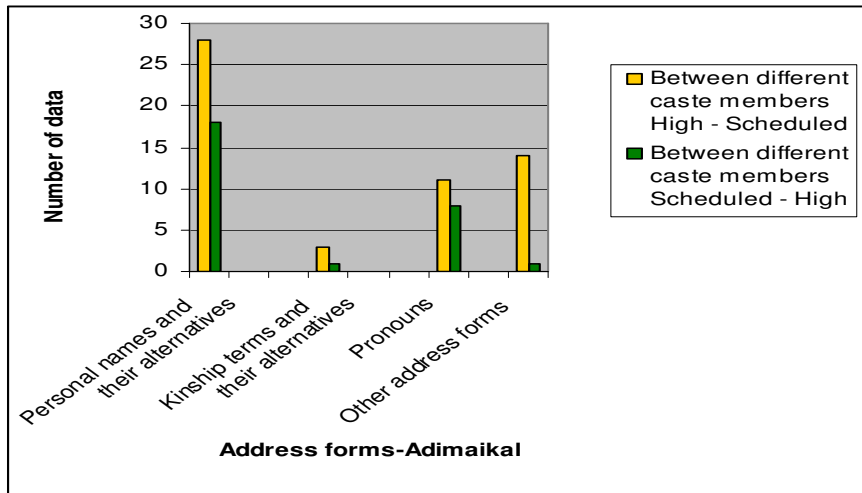


Figure 3.3: Address forms used between different castes members in Adimaika].

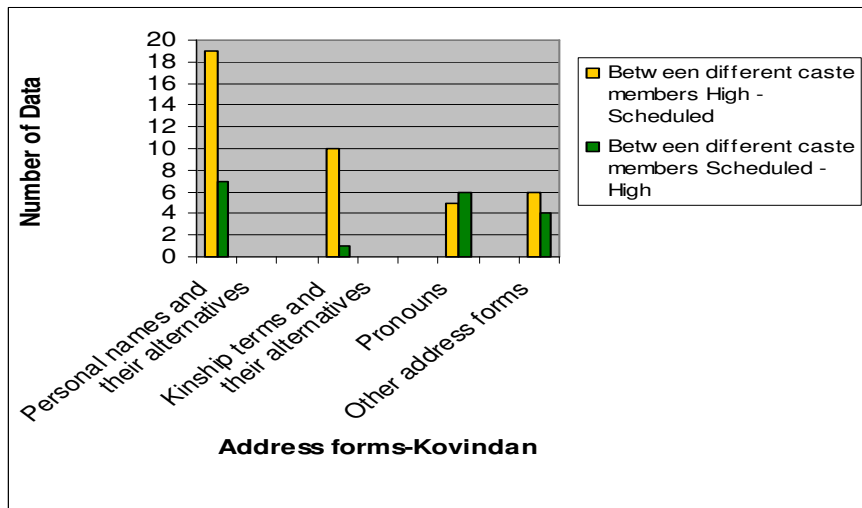


Figure 3.4: Address forms used between different caste members in Kovindan.

The difference is prominent in the use of kinship terms. Both the high caste and the scheduled caste people use the kin terms within the household, but the usage of kin terms between different castes are limited. This shows that caste division is based on blood relation.

CHAPTER FOUR: Interpretation of the findings

4.1 External meaning of the caste based address forms

4.2 Internal meaning or the symbolic process of the words

CHAPTER FOUR

INTERPRETATION OF THE FINDINGS

4.1 External meaning of the caste based address forms:

4.1.1 Personal names:

In Jaffna society, personal names were mainly used for caste recognition. Personal names have served as a lexical index of caste to the local community. Therefore, classifying people according to their caste origin was possible from their names. High caste people bear different names from the scheduled caste people. In fact, the custom of addressing a person by their personal name was strong in-between castes. Therefore, identifying the difference between the personal names may not always be easy for a non-Tamil speaker.

Most of the Tamil names have special meaning. Some of them have more than one meaning. Therefore, it is very common for one to ask another what his/her name means. Naming a child is usually based on what qualities the parents would like the child to adopt. For example, the name *Ramachandiran* that occurs in the novel *Adimaikal* has two meanings. One is *Rama* which is the main character in the Indian epic *Iramayanam* is the seventh avatara⁸ of God Vishnu, and was a king of ancient India. The second part of the name *chandiran* gives the meaning of moon.

However, Danial registers a great difference in the way of naming a high caste person and a scheduled caste person. The names given to a high caste person falls generally into the category of religious belief and personal achievements, where as the names given to a scheduled caste person give meanings such as 'ugly', 'disagreeable', or 'crippled'. For example some of the scheduled caste names that appears in these novels as follows:

Ithini – Female name that gives the meaning of 'little in amount'.

⁸ Avatara refers to the incarnation of a God. The Hindu God Vishnu has taken ten incarnations. It is called as 'Dasavatara' (Dasam=Ten, Avatara=incarnation).

Periya Karuppi – Female name that gives the meaning of ‘big and very dark person’

Sinnathurai – Male name that gives the meaning of ‘small lord’

Sinnappodiyan – Male name that gives the meaning of ‘small boy’

Karuthaan – Male name that gives the meaning of ‘dark person’

Some of the scheduled caste names fall into the category of religious beliefs. Names such as *Valli*, *Kanthan* and *Bairavan* have religious connotations. Suseendiraraja says (1999b: 134) that the high caste people discarded these names for a certain period, and they became very popular among the scheduled castes. This could be because of the morphological endings of those personal names, which show the caste difference.

Most of the high caste personal names for a male end with ‘-pillai’, and some of them end with ‘-thampi’ or ‘-ar’.

‘-pillai’	Shanmugampillai
	Arunasalampillai
	Kasipillai
	Velupillai
	Kanapathipillai
	Kayilayapillai
	Asaipillai
‘-thampi’	Muthalithampi
	Sellathampi
‘-ar’	Kathirkamar
	Santhirar
	Maluvarayar
	Suriyar

Table 4.1: High caste personal names for males in Danial’s novels.

'-pillai' is a special linguistic characteristic that indicates the caste throughout Danial's novels, and it is used in the personal names of Vellalars.

All these morphological endings are honorific markers. On the other hand, most of the scheduled caste personal names for males end with '-an'. '-an' is a masculine marker in Tamil. However, it could be a morphological ending that shows the non-honorific manner of addressing a person. In the case of scheduled caste personal names, the morphological ending '-an' is used as a non-honorific marker. In the name *Sinnan* the stem '*sinna*' gives the meaning 'small' and '-an' is a masculine marker as well as a non-honorific marker.

Feminine names do not have such a prominent morphological ending, but it is noticeable in the novels that most of the scheduled caste feminine names end with the '-i' marker and all the high caste feminine names end with '*ammal*' or '*-pillai*', which are honorific markers. *Ammal* is a general term for Hindu Goddesses and it also gives the meaning 'mother'.

High caste	Scheduled caste
Srithevi ammal	Ithini
Alakammal	Kanni
Kanammal	Valli
Muthupillai	Periyai Karuppi
Annappillai	Selli

Table 4.2: High caste and scheduled caste feminine personal names in Danial's novels.

Although, the personal names have an external reference, the main aspect that has to be considered here is that the elderly men and women are never addressed by their personal names, especially in their presence, even by the same caste members. Also, a scheduled caste person cannot call a high caste elderly or younger person (even a child) by their personal name. In such situations, calling a person by his/her name is considered as disrespectful and rude. But, a high caste younger person can call a

scheduled caste elderly person by his/her name. Sharma reports (1986: 109) a similar aspect in the Kumauni language. He says that the priestly caste Brahmins used to address all others (including agriculturist Brahmins) by their name, even if the addressee is the age of his parents or grandparents. Also, he says that the same attitude of address is used by the other castes to address a lower caste person.

Another main feature in the personal names is, they are more relaxed when people verbally use them. Some of the textual evidences as follows:

Kayilayapillai – Kayilayan, Kayilayapillaiar

Sellappa – Sellappar

Kayithan – Kayithar, Kayitharappa

Sellan – Sellar

Sinnattiyar – Sinnattiyar

The last three show a high level shift of the scheduled caste personal names. *Kayilayan* is a low level shift of a high caste personal name.

Most of the personal names that are used by the high caste people to address a scheduled caste person have a caste title in front of the name. Some examples are given below.

Koviy Kanavathiyar (Kovindan, page: 23)

Kolla Narayani (Kovindan, Page: 23)

Koviya Marimuthan (Kovindan, page: 52)

Karaiyara Iyakkarasan (Kovindan, page: 180)

Thatchak Kanthasami (Kovindan, page: 180)

Nala Cuppan (Adimaika], page: 59)

Pall Kanthan (Adimaika], page: 136)

In certain situations the caste title is used as an alternative to the personal name when both the speaker and the listener know the referent person. Following examples illustrates this.

1) nee anta *Nalavanitta* sollu

you that to *Nalavan* tell

You tell to that *Nalavan*. (Kovindan, 25)

- 2) anta *Nalappediyan* aarendu visari
that *Nala* boy who is you inquire
You inquire who that *Nala* boy is. (Kovindan, 25)

In such situations it is clear that the speaker belongs to a higher stratum than the addressee. There are different morphological endings to show the feminine and masculine words. 'ar' is the morphological ending that shows the plural form.

Feminine Singular	Masculine Singular	Non-gender specific Plural
Nalavan	Nalathi	Nalavar
Pallan	Palli	Pallar
Koviyan	Kovicci	Koviyar
Vellalan	Vellalacci	Vellalar

Table 4.3: Caste titles that are used as address terms.

These address forms are mainly used as referent address terms and bystander address terms. However, the caste titles are used as addressee referent terms when the speaker is in an angry mood.

A scheduled caste person addresses a high caste male as *Nayinar* and a high caste female as *Nayinathi*. *Nacciyar* is another term that is used on behalf of the term *Nayinathi*. These words are addressee honorific and they give the meaning 'Master' and 'Madam' respectively. The morpheme structure of these words as follows;

Nayam + ar

Nayam + athi

The roots 'Nayam' gives the meaning of beauty, merit and sophisticated in English (Dictionary of Contemporary Tamil, 1992: 608). 'ar' and 'athi' are suffixes, which are added to describe the person in an honorific way, who has the qualities of the word root

expresses. Therefore, the person who is addressed in this way is considered that he/she follows a style of life and a set of customs, which are prestigious and pure. These two words have a connotation of respect. Suseendirajah (1999a: 121-122, 1999b: 129) says that these terms are used by Nalavar caste and Pallar caste to address a Vellalar caste man and a woman, respectively. However, contrasts to this, in Danial's novels the Koviars are using the terms *Nayinar*, *Nayinathi* and *Nacciyar* to address the Vellalar caste people. (Adimaikal: 62, 120, 132, 140, 192, Kovindan: 15). David (1977: 195) says that the word '*Nayinar*' is a Telugu word adopted for master or lord. The equivalent word for those Tamil words in English could be 'Sir/Master' and 'Madam' which give a normal sense to an English reader. These address terms will usually follow the addressee's first name. Even a high cast new born baby is called in this way, but they add *sinna* (small) or *periya* (big) in front of the addressing term. So the terms are,

Nayinar – Sinna Nayinar

Periyay Nayinar

Nacciyar – Sinna Nacciyar

Periyay Nacciyar

Addressee's first name will not be used if *sinna* or *periya* is added in front of the address terms. The term *Periya Nayinar* usually refers to the head (Father) of the high caste family and *Sinna Nayinar* refers to the son of the family. It is noticeable from Danial's novels that scheduled caste people use these terms even within themselves as a referent honorific while speaking about a high caste person. Now this practice has faded away. The words *Nayinarmaar* and *Nayinathimaar* are the plural terms that were used by the scheduled caste people. The morphological ending '*-maar*' is a plural marker as well as an honorific marker.

Other non-kin terms that are used by the scheduled caste people to address a high caste male and a female are *ayya* and *amma* respectively. *Ayya* gives the meaning of 'Sir' and *amma* gives the meaning of 'Madam'. *Amma* is a kinship word for 'mother', however it is not used as a kinship term at certain times, but used as a address term to show the respect and politeness of the speaker to the addressee. Lower status people to

address a male and a female in a higher status even now use these two terms as non-specific general honorific terms.

Danial shows the changes that occur in the way that scheduled caste people address a high cast person. This is prominent when the conversation happens across two or more scheduled caste members. For illustration let us look at the following part of the novel 'Adimaikal'.

'*Tulaiyalaiyo variyal?*'
Sinnappodiyan kettan.

'Are you coming from far away'
asked Sinnappodiyan.

'*Utilai Maluvarayattrai molukku etho kuraipadam. Pathittu varan. Vara vellik kilamai kalippu kalikka venum.*' **Kayithan patil sonnan.**

'Something wrong with **Maluvarayar's daughter.** I went to see her. I have to exorcize her on coming Friday.' answered **Kayithan.**

'*Enna... Maluvarayar veettaiyo.... Kayithar neer uppidip ponaneero? valavukkai vittinamo.....*' *Sinnappodiyan accariyattudan kettan.*

'What...to **Maluvarayar's** house... Did you go like this **Kayithar**? Did they allow you to enter their premises....' asked Sinnappodiyan with surprise.

(Adimaikal, page: 95)

It is noticeable that Maluvarayar, who is from a high caste, is addressed by his name in the conversation of two scheduled caste people. Also, Maluvarayar's daughter is not been addressed as *Sinna Nacciyar*. Opposed to this, *Kayithan* who is a scheduled caste person is getting a high level shift in the form of address by the other person as *Kayithar*. The morpheme end '*an*' becomes '*ar*', which is an honorific marker. A low level shift is also noticeable in a high caste name *Kayilayapillai*. A scheduled caste person has addressed this name as *Kayilayan*. (Adimaikal, page: 205) The '*an*' ending is a non-honorific marker.

Suseendiraraja observed a general linguistic characteristic of personal names among the scheduled castes in Jaffna district. He says that they are very short and are not more than tri-syllabic (1999b: 133). The other general linguistic characteristic is that the high caste personal names are attractive and literary based where as the scheduled caste personal names are unattractive and more folk based.

However a careful analysis of the caste based address forms in Danial's novels indicates that, there were changes emerging in these personal names. As the modernisation is taking part, many of the distinctions in the address forms have disappeared. It is likely that many caste groups accept wide ranges of common address forms. For example, the names that are used for scheduled caste characters such as *Kanthatami*, *Thamotharam* and *Irathinam*, and the names that are used for high caste characters such as *Kulathungam*, *Sellappa* and *Iramachanthiran* are some of the common personal names that are accepted by many caste groups. Therefore, the traditional caste names are not preserved and passed down to the younger generation. It is clear from Danial's novels that these changes have started to happen since Danial's period.

4.1.2 Kinship Terms:

The kinship terms remain great strength in Jaffna society over several decades. These terms are much influenced by the standard literary Tamil. Therefore, there are several common kinship terminologies that are used in the South Indian and Sri Lankan Tamil. Danial shows how day-to-day kinship terms were used within same caste and, among different castes. However, compared to the other address terms, the kinship terms that are cited in these novels are very few.

Most of the fictive kin terms that are used among the same caste are the terms used in the standard literary Tamil. The kinship terms that are cited in the author's narration are;

Thanthai – Father

Manaiivi – Wife

Muppattan – Great grandfather

Puttan – Grandfather’s father

Peran – Grandfather

Makan – Son

Akka – Sister

Thampi – Brother

Danial explicates certain slang words for some of the literary Tamil fictive kinship terms. The word *appu* is used instead of the literary Tamil words *Appa* or *Thanthai* (Father), and *at^hta*, *at^htai* and *Kot^hai* is used instead of the literary Tamil words *Amma* or *Thai* (Mother). A child to address the mother never uses the word *athtai* and *Kothai*. Another elderly person, while speaking to the child about its mother, uses these terms, and they give the meaning ‘your mother’. At this point the following conversation from the novel *Adimaika* shows this.

Iravu pal kodukkum neram vant^huvittatu.

The time has come to
give milk in the night.

Sellan veetukku vantapot^hu Selli veetil illai.

When Sellan came home, Selli was
not at home.

*‘Kot^hai innum varelaiye? Sellan Kanthanai
kettan.*

‘Hasn’t your **mother** come home?’
Sellan asked Kanthan.

*‘Ippa konc^ham munt^hitan ponava.’ Kanthan
mottaiyakave patil sonnan. Athatkup pin
pesavillai.*

‘Just now she went.’ Kanthan replied
incompletely. Then he did not say
anything.

(*Adimaika*], page: 104)

Certain affectionate kin terms could be used to show closeness with distant relatives. For example, an old person could address a younger person as *mon* (son) *mol* (daughter) *monai* (Gives the meaning ‘child’ or ‘children’. General form to address both sex), *pillai* (child) and *thampi* (brother). These affectionate kin terms are usually used among same caste members. However, Danial shows the changes that are

emerging in this disciplinary. In certain situations, the high caste speakers have addressed the scheduled caste members by using those kin terms, but the scheduled caste members have never used those kin terms to address a high caste person in either of his novels *Kovindan* and *Adimaikal*. However, this does not promote intimacy in between caste groups. Danial points out that the usage of these kin terms by a high caste person is to get the attention of a scheduled caste person and please him. In *Adimaikal*, Danial shows that a high caste character Kannamma calls Kanthan who is a scheduled caste person as *mama* (uncle), which is the only situation where the kin term is used to show politeness and intimacy.

On the other hand, there are certain affectionate titles that are used among same caste members to show solidarity. These correspond to affectionate honorific in English as *love*, *darling*, *honey* etc. Farghal and Shakir in their study of Jordanian Arabic, explain these kinds of affectionate honorific in Arabic (1994: 248) *Rasa* (my king), *kutti* (my small), *kannu* (my eyes), *mani* (my purl) are some of them in Tamil. These are used by parents to address a child or by an elderly person to address a younger person or between lovers. Although, these affectionate titles are used among same caste members, the word *rasa* has been used once to address a scheduled caste member by a high caste person in *Kovindan* (134). However, it has not been used to show the intimacy between both the addressee and speaker. The utterance is a polite request to the scheduled caste person, in a situation where the high caste person to please the scheduled caste person could not use a close or distant kin term.

There are certain affectionate titles between husband and wife to address each other. Usually the wife uses the term *appa* (father) and *injerunko* (see here) as an addressee honorific to address her husband. The terms *aa* (my person), *enrai anthal* (my that person) and *purusan* (my husband) are used as referent terms by the wife. The term *appa* (father) is usually used by the husband as well to address the wife. *Injerum* is a medial respect form and *injer* is a least respect form that are used by the husband, which is similar to the above honorific address term *injerunko* that is used by the wife. The referent address terms that are used by the husband to address the wife are *penc^hati* and *enrai manici*. Except the medial respect form *injerum*, which is used by the high caste, both the high caste and scheduled caste members use all other kin terms.

1) (Female-male)

enrai anthalukku enna kuraic^hal.

my that person what's wrong

What's wrong with my husband. (Kovindan: 104)

2) (Male-female)

omappa, neer konjam poruman

yes appa you for a while be patient

Yes, be patient for a while. (Kovindan: 24)

3) (Female-male)

Neengal eenappa summa kattureengal?

You (Respect) why unnecessarily shouting (present)

Why are you shouting unnecessarily? (Kovindan: 139)

4) (Male-female)

injerummappa, Nanniyan pendillelle vanthirukkiral.

See here, Nanniyan's wife has come

Here, Nanniyan's wife has come. (Kovindan: 97)

5) (Male-female)

injer, nee pesamal irukkonum kandiyo?

See here, you (non-hon.) quiet have to be/keep alright

See here, you have to be quiet, alright? (Kovindan: 31)

6) (Female-male)

Injerunko pariyari elle vant^hirukkilar

See here the barber it is who is waiting

Here, it is the barber who is waiting. (Adimaika]: 154)

The above examples are the utterances for those kin terms.

Kin terms are used as referent terms when the speaker does not know the addressee's name. In certain situations high caste people purposely use them even if they know a person's name. From the textual evidence it is clear that this kind of address form is mostly used by high caste people among themselves and across different casts. Some examples are listed below.

1. *Kanthaiyannrai mon*

Kanthaiyan's son

2. *Unrai annanrai mon*

Your brother's son (Kovindan, 156)

3. *Ambalavaanappariyariyinrai ilaya mon*

Ambalavan Pariyari's Younger son (Kovindan, 101)

4. *Nanniyai pendil*

Naniyan's wife (Kovindan, 115)

5. *Karuthaan pendil*

Karuthaan's wife (Adimaika], 229)

It seems that a scheduled caste person using such kin terms to address a high caste person was considered as an impolite way of speaking.

4.1.3 Pronouns:

Literary Tamil has three first person pronouns, which are *Naan*, *Naam* and *Nangal*.

Naan-Singular

Naam-Plural, Speaker and listener inclusive.

Nangal-Plural, Only speaker inclusive

As '*naam*' is not in use in Jaffna Tamil, '*nangal*' is the first person pronoun used for both purposes. The pronouns *Naan* and *nangal* are found in Danial's novels, and they

are used by all caste members. When the word *nangal* gets a case marker, then it becomes *enkal*, (in spoken Tamil *enkada*) which is an important first person pronoun that shows the caste group identity. A noun that shows the caste of a person or the group identity follows the pronoun *enkada*. For example,

1. *Enkada atkal*

Our people (Adimaikal, 138)

2. *Enkada podiyal*

Our boys (Kovindan,156)

3. *Enkada Koviya podiyal*

Our Koviya boys (Kovindan, 121)

4. *Enkada Pallan*

Our Pallan (Adimaikal, 62)

5. *Enkada oor Nalavan*

Our village Nalavan (Adimaikal, 60)

6. *Enrai Pallan*

My Pallan (Adimaikal, 59)

7. *Enrai Kudimon*

My slave (Adimaikal, 59)

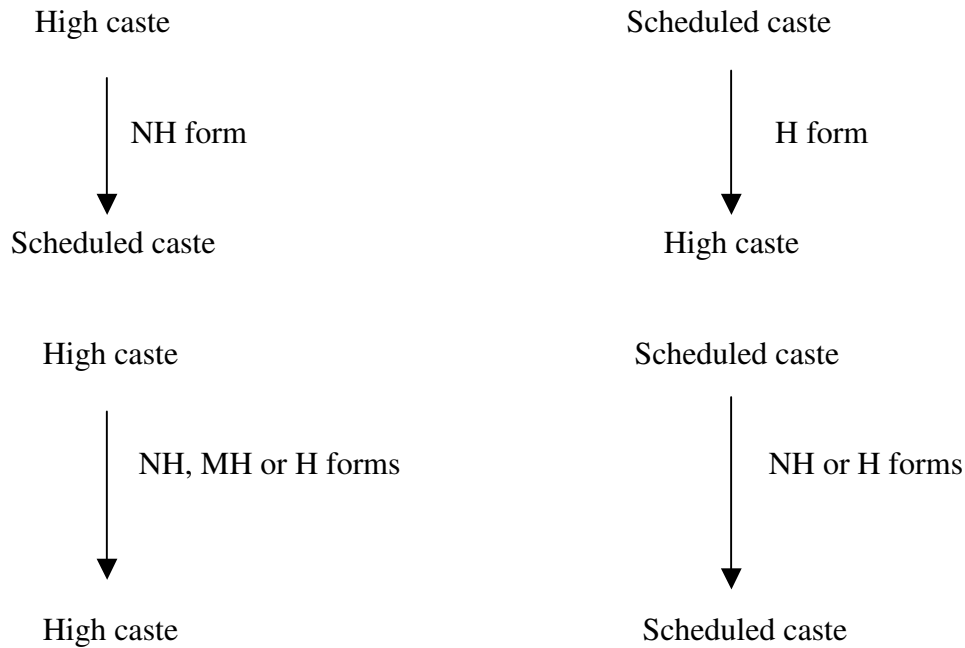
The second person pronouns *nee* (singular) and *neengal* (plural & honorific singular) that are in literary Tamil are commonly used in most of the Tamil dialects. However, Jaffna Tamil has another pronoun for medial respect, which is *neer*.

Non-honorific singular form (NH) – *Nee*

Medial honorific singular form (MH) – *Neer*

Honorific singular form (H) or plural form – *Neengal*

When these words get the case marker, they become as *un*, *um* and *ungal*. The medial respect forms *Neer* and *Um* are not commonly used in other Tamil dialects. *Nee* could be also used to show the intimacy of the speaker and the listener. These second person pronouns are used differently according to the speakers' and listeners' caste, status, class, power and age.



It is prominent from Danial's novels that a high caste person always uses the impolite and non-honorific pronoun to show the power over the scheduled caste addressee. On the other hand, a scheduled caste person uses the polite and honorific form to address the high caste addressee. The medial respect form is not much used by the scheduled caste people, but those terms are well known to them. The medial respect pronouns *neer* and *um* are used once in the novel *Kovindan* (page 160) by a scheduled caste character, and this is the one and only textual evidence where a scheduled caste person has used a medial respect pronoun. In these novels the scheduled caste members have used *nee* among themselves, in familiar and unfamiliar situations. Suseendraraja (1999e: 221) says that a wife who belongs to the scheduled caste usually uses *neengal* to address her husband. In contrast to this modern shift, in Danial's novels most of the wives are using the pronoun *nee* to address their husbands.

The third person pronouns that are found in literary Tamil are as follows,

Remote Demonstrative Pronouns	Proximate Demonstrative Pronouns
avan	ivan
aval	ival
avar	ivar
avarkal	ivarkal
atu	itu
avai	ivai

Table 4.4: The third person pronouns that are found in literary Tamil

Adapted from: Kothandaraman, 1980: 14.

The third person pronouns that are found in Jaffna spoken Tamil are as follows,

Remote Demonstrative Pronouns	Proximate Demonstrative Pronouns
Avan	Ivan, Uvan
Ava/Aval	Iva/Ival, Uva/Uval
Avar	Ivar, Uvar
Avankal/Avai	Ivarkal/Ivai, Uvangal/Uvai
Athu	Ithu, Uthu
Athukal	Ithukal, Uthukal

Table 4.5: The third person pronouns that are found in Jaffna spoken Tamil

Avai, ivai, uvai, uvan, uva/uval, uvar, uvangal, uthu and *uthukal* are not commonly used in other Tamil dialects.

Athu, ithu, uthu, athukal, ithukal and *uthukal* are used for non-humans. Other pronouns, which are used for humans, could be classified as follows.

		Remote Demonstrative Pronouns	Proximate Demonstrative Pronouns	
Non honorific or intimacy forms	Masculine	Avan	Ivan	Uval
	Feminine	Aval	Ival	Uval
	Plural form and non-gender specific	Avangal Uvangal		Ivangal
Honorific forms	Masculine	Avar	Ivar ⁹	Uvar
	Feminine	Ava	Iva	Uva
	Plural form and non-gender specific	Avai	Ivai	Uvai

Table 4.6: Non-honorific and honorific third person pronouns in Jaffna Tamil

The usage of these pronouns change dramatically according to the speaker's and addressee's caste, education, wealth and social status. A high caste person is addressed by the honorific third person pronoun by a scheduled caste person, and a scheduled caste person is always addressed by the non-honorific third person pronoun by a high caste person. (See appendix-1) For example,

Ittanaiyum vanttuviaṭṭa potum

Although all these happened,

Nagan avarin anttaranka naṭpane!

Nagan is his best friend!

Padasalaik kalattiliruntu inruvarai

He is **his** friend from the

avan avarin naṭpantan; visuvasamana adimaitan!

school age until now;

A very sincere slave!

⁹ In Tamil grammar books, *Avar* and *Ivar* are used as general plural forms for both genders. Now they indicate the honorific singular form. However, Nuhman says that these pronouns have been used in the Sanga literature (A.D 1-4th century) as honorific singular forms.

*Ateponru Naganukkum avar antharankamana
nanpantan; visuvasattidkuriya esamantan!*

Also **he** is a intimate
friend to Nagan; A very
sincere master!

*Ovoru nalum atikalaiyodu 'Nayinar, Nakanakkum!'
enru varavu sollikkonde vanthuviduvan.*

Everyday in the morning
he tells his arrival as,
'Nayinar (Master) this is
Nagan!'.
(Kovindan, 43)

Roger Fowler (1985: 63) shows a similar dimension of 'superior', 'inferior' and 'equal' in the French and German pronouns. It is impossible to show these distinctions in the English translation.

avan – He (impolite)

avar – He (polite)

avanin – His (impolite)

avarin – His (polite)

It is noticeable that Nagan, who is from a scheduled caste community, is always addressed in the impolite form and the narrator addresses the other person in a polite form. This addressing form shows to a native speaker the status of Nagan and the other person. In the fourth line, 'he' is included in the verb 'vanthuviduvan', which is also an impolite form. The suffix 'an' marks the tense and the gender-number-person. A finite verb will take the 'an' suffix, when the subject is 'avan' or else any other word for which 'avan' can be a legitimate substitute.

4.2 Internal meaning or the symbolic process of the words:

Certain address forms could only be understood through the caste based social background of Jaffna society. Jaffna district appears as a single unit from outside, but it is divided itself into caste areas. All the agricultural villages have separate high caste and scheduled caste residential areas. The Vellalars, who are the landowners and

belongs to the dominant caste, employ the scheduled caste people to work in their lands. Therefore, each and every area will have landholders and their own employees. Some decades ago, these employees were considered as slaves to the landholder (Master) whom they belong to. It was the responsibility of the landholder to protect them and give them food and shelter. When a serving caste person of a Master is involved in a disputed with another (whether high caste or scheduled caste), the Master has to support him. Similarly, it is the responsibility for the serving castes to protect their Master in disputes. This type of relationship is reflected in the address forms as well. When the landholders address their serving castes, they usually use the address form as,

First person singular/plural pronoun + 'Person'/Caste title

Some examples from Danial's novels as follows.

1. *Enkada Koviya podiyal*
Our (plu.) Koviya boys (Kovindan, 121)
2. *Enkada oor Nalavan*
Our (plu.) village Nalavan (Adimaika], 189)
3. *Enkada Pallan*
Our (plu.) Pallan (Kovindan, 21)
4. *Enrai Kudimon*
My (sing.) person of the house (Adimaika], 59)

This shows that the scheduled caste people are referred to as belongings of the Master's house. Therefore, a Master is engaged in bound-mode relations with his employees.

When the landholders from a particular area speaks to another area landholder about their serving castes, then they use the address form as,

Second person pronouns + 'Person'/Personal name/Caste title

Some examples as follows,

1. *Ummada Nalavan*

Your (sing.) Nalavan (Adimaika], 60)

2. *Ungada Nalavan*

Your (plu.) Nalavan (Adimaika], 164)

The employees address their Master as,

1. *Enkada Nayinathi*

Our(plu.) Madam (Adimaika], 122)

2. *Enkada Nayinar*

Our(plu.) Master

3. *Unkada Nayinar*

Your(sing./plu.) Master

There are certain referent address forms for a group of people who belongs to a particular area. For example,

1. *Angaththai Nalavar*

That area Nalavar (Adimaika], 150)

2. *Avanrai inaththavangal*

Who belongs to his caste people

The people whom belongs to his caste (Adimaika], 20)

3. *Unrai atkal*

Your people (Kovindan, 11)

4. *Avanrai atkal*

His people (Kovindan, 119)

Therefore, it is clear that the variations in the structural positions of various castes in Jaffna regions are reflected in the address forms. Most of these address terms have faded away now, however these address terms are the proofs for caste dominated social system of Jaffna district in the 20th century.

Titles of address related to a person's occupation are common in Jaffna even now. Vithanaiyar (Government Agent), Clerker (Clerk), Master (Master) and Manager (Manager) are some of the address forms that are cited by Danial in his novels. These are absolute social honorifics that are used in informal situations by both high and scheduled castes.

**CHAPTER FIVE: Conclusions and implications
for future research**

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusions and implications for future research

The relationship between linguistics and thought representation according to the caste variation has been explicated through the address forms that are cited in Danial's two novels. Through this study, it is clear that different social boundaries are reflected in the linguistic pattern of Jaffna.

In this study, I have shown that,

1. The address terms carry message about bound mode and non-bound mode relationships within the household and outside the household.
2. The address terms in Jaffna not only have an external reference, but also a social judgement and mental perception for caste recognition.
3. The address terms have an imbalance when they are used across different castes.

From the literature, it is clear that in certain societies great care is given in the way names and kin terms are preserved and passed down. Apart from this, many of the address terms that are described in this study have lost their importance now. For example, by the influence of foreigners, English or English surrounding names are widely chosen by many social groups. The modernisation process has made changes in the language pattern in Jaffna. It is likely that many social groups accept wide ranges of common address terms. These changes have to be analysed in a further research.

The limitations that I had to face while doing this study must be put on in the conclusion. Firstly, there were certain limitations in collecting the data from Danial's novels. The data analysis was done to the whole parts of Kovindan and Adimaikal, rather than selecting particular passages of these two novels. However, importance was given to the character's conversations, as they were more suitable to trace the address forms between different caste members. Conversations among the characters are limited in these novels. Therefore, there was no need to select particular passages to do the data analysis. Most of the modern shifts in the address forms are shown in the latter

parts of these two novels. Therefore, both novels have been analysed from the beginning to the end.

To make this study more feasible, consideration was not given to the statistics of the data. Also, there was no purpose of doing a statistical analysis, as most of these address forms were used almost two decades ago and now they only have a historicity value.

Most of the data that were used for analysis have occurred several times in the novels. However, they were entered only once in the table (Appendix-1), but repetitions of the data were marked on a separate sheet to use for illustration in the chapters.

Secondly, there were limitations in accessing the Tamil books related to this study. However, I was able to get some important books and articles from Sri Lanka. In the meantime, I had a wonderful opportunity to read extensively in the field of caste. Until now, European writers have a great interest on researching about the caste system in the Asian countries. Many academics have done research on the caste system. Therefore, this study contains extensive references of the European writers. Although the nature of caste differences is well explained in their study, analysis of caste-based speech in Jaffna is scarce.

Thirdly, there were limitations to do this study through a fieldwork. This study is not based on fieldwork, as this study has a very short history. I have taken few months time to turn my ideas into this study. Therefore, the use of literary text for the data analysis (Discourse analysis) was one established way of explaining the caste based address forms in Jaffna.

However, the analysis and discussions that have been presented in this study could be viewed and compared simply with the ongoing social changes in Jaffna, if one could do a further study on this field through a fieldwork. Although this study did not show the present caste based address terms in Jaffna, future researches could demonstrate the continuities and discontinuities in the transmission of the caste based address forms that have been analysed in this study.

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APPENDIX-1

TABLES OF DATA

1.1 Data from Adimaikal

1.2 Data from Kovindan

TABLES OF DATA

1.1 DATA FROM ADIMAICAL

Personal names and their alternatives

Among same caste members	Among same caste members	Between different caste members	Between different caste members
<i>High caste</i>	<i>Scheduled caste</i>	<i>High caste-Scheduled caste</i>	<i>Scheduled caste-High caste</i>
Annappillai	Ellipolai	Annavi nalavan	Ayya-Amma
Arunasalam vithanaiyar	Ilayavan	Annavi Sellan	Kannammappillai(Kannamma)
Asaipillai	Ithini	Ithini Kovicci	Kayilaya nayinar
Iramaccanthiran	Ithinियar	Kovicci	Kayilayan
Irasarathina muthali	Kanni	Koviya nacciyar	Malluvarayar
Kakilayapillai	Kantha	Koviyan	Nacciyar
Kannamma	Kanthan	Koviyaappayal	Nayinar
Kanthapillai	Karuthaan	Nala Cuppan	Nayinar podiyal
Kanthappa amman	Kathiravelan	Nala Sinnappan	Nayinarmaar
Kanthappar	Kathiravelu	Nalappillai	Nayinathi
Kanthappu amman	Kayithan	Nalathiyal	Pariyari Nayinar
Kayilayan	Kayithar	Nalavan	Periya nayinathi
Kayilayapillai	Kayitharappa	Nalavar	Sellathampi nayinar(Sellappar)
Kayilayapillaiar	Maariyan	Nallavar	Sinna Nacciyar
Koppaay Irasavasal Samuvel	Melakkara Sinnan	Pal Muthali	Sinna nayinar
Kottappetti Arumugathar	Murukan	Pall Kanthan	Sinna nayinathi
Malluvarayar	Muthaliyan	Palla	Suriya nayinar
Muthalithampi	Ponan	Pallan	Vellalacci
Muthukkumarasami udaiyar	Poothi	Pallar	
Muthupillai(F)	Sarakkan	Palli	
Pallakku Muthalithampi	Sarakkan-Sarakkar	Palli Selli	
Puthoor Malluvarayar	Sellan	Pandariyan	
Puthoor Pallakku Muthalithampi	Sellar	Pariyari Ponna	
Santhirar	Selli	Sellan pendil Selli	
Sellappa	Sinnan	Thavasayan	
Sellappar	Sinnappan-Sinnan	Thurumpan	
Srithevi	Sinnappodiyar	Thurumpan Kayithan	
Suriyar	Sinnappodiyar		
Thidaveerasinga muthaliyar	Sinnappu(Sinnappan)		

Varani Rasa	Suppan		
Vellupillaiyan(Vellupillai)	Vayiravan		
Vellupillai			
Vellupillaiyar			

Kinship terms and their alternatives

Among same caste members	Among same caste members	Between different caste members	Between different caste members
<i>High caste</i>	<i>Scheduled caste</i>	<i>High caste-Scheduled caste</i>	<i>Scheduled caste-High caste</i>
Anna	Amma	Annai	Pethi nacciyar
Appu	Aattai	Mama	
Enrai acci(Mother)	Annai	Pendil	
Kayilayapillai attaan	Anthal		
Maccaan	Appa(F)		
Marumol	Appa(M)		
Mol	Appu		
Monai	Injer(F)		
Pethacci	Injer(M)		
Pillai	Injeradi		
Pullai	Injerappa(F)		
Sammanthi	Injerappa(M)		
Thampiyavai	Ithini Achci		
Vellupillai marumon	Karuttaan pendil		
	Kottai		
	Maccan		
	Mon		
	Mootta mol		
	Peran		
	Pethi		
	Pullai		
	Thampi		
	Unrai manici		

Pronouns

Among same caste members	Among same caste members	Between different caste members	Between different caste members
<i>High caste</i>	<i>Scheduled caste</i>	<i>High caste-Scheduled caste</i>	<i>Scheduled caste-High caste</i>
Avai	Avan	Aval	Ava
Avan	Avangal	Avan	Aval
Engal	Ivan	Ival	Avan
Ivan	Nee	Ivan	Avangal
Nangal	Neer	Ivangal	Avar
Nee	Un	Nee	Ivan
Neengal(Pl.)	Uvan	Neer	Thangal
Neengal(Sin.)		Un	Ungada
Neer		Ungal(Pl.)	
Um		Uvan	
Un		Uvankal	
Ungal			

Other address forms

Among same caste members	Among same caste members	Between different caste members	Between different caste members
<i>High caste</i>	<i>Scheduled caste</i>	<i>High caste-Scheduled caste</i>	<i>Scheduled caste-High caste</i>
Enai	Annavi	Angaththai nalavar	Enkada nayinathi
Kodikamathar	Annavi Sellan#	Avanrai inaththavangal	
Udaiyar	Annaiyar	Avanrai sirai	
Vithanaiyar	Enai	Engada atkal	
Singalavan	Enrai Rasa	Enkada oor nalavan	
	Podicci	Enkada pallan	
	Podiyal	Enrai kudimon	
		Enrai pallan	
		Enrai sirai kuttiyan	
		Nalavattrai kulam	
		Puttoor pallan	
		Puttoor pallar	
		Ummada nalavan	
		Ungada nalaval	

1.2 DATA FROM KOVINDAN

Personal names and their alternatives

Among same caste members	Among same caste members	Between different caste members	Between different caste members
<i>High caste</i>	<i>Scheduled caste</i>	<i>High caste-Scheduled caste</i>	<i>Scheduled caste-High caste</i>
Alakamma	Ithini	Ambatta Murugesan	Nacciyar
Arunasalampillai	Kanni	Antha Nalappediyan	Nayinar
Kanapathipillai	Kanthan	Antha Nalavan	Nayinaravai
Kasipillai	Kanthasami	Karaiyara Iyakkarasan	Nayinathi
Muthalithampi	Murukesan	Kolla Narayani	Sinna Nacciyar
Sellamma	Muthan	Koviay Marimuthan	Sinna Nayinar
Senathirasa	Nagan	Kovicci	Vellalan
Shanmugampillai	Nanniyan	Koviya Kanavathiyar	
Srithevi	Navali Sinnattiyar	Koviya Mapanniyan	
Velupillai	Pairavan	Koviya Nanniyan	
	Periya Karuppi	Koviya podiyal	
	Rasan	Murukesu Koviya	
	Seeniyar	Naniyan Pendil	
	Sellappan	Pallan	
	Sinnathurai	Palliyal	
	Sinnattiyar	Saandara Veerasingan	
	Sinnattiyar	Sayakkara Thurairasa	
	Suppiran	Tacca Kanthasami	
	Thamotharam	Vannara Kanthaiyan	
	Valli		
	Vandil Sinnattiyar		

Kinship terms and their alternatives

Among same caste members	Among same caste members	Between different caste members	Between different caste members
<i>High caste</i>	<i>Scheduled caste</i>	<i>High caste-Scheduled caste</i>	<i>Scheduled caste-High caste</i>
Akka	Aathai	Amma	Pendil
Appa(F)	Akkai	Atkal	
Appa(M)	Akkal	Ayya	
Enrai manici	Annai	Kanthaiyannrai mon	
Inchear	Anthal	Mol	
Incherum	Appa	Mon	
Incherunkko	Appa(F)	Monai	
Mon	Appu	Pendil	
Monai	Enrai anthal	Rasa	
Pillai	Enrai unthal	Theppan	

Thampi	Inccher		
Thampiyavai	Marumon		
	Thampi		

Pronouns

Among same caste members	Among same caste members	Between different caste members	Between different caste members
<i>High caste</i>	<i>Scheduled caste</i>	<i>High caste-Scheduled caste</i>	<i>Scheduled caste-High caste</i>
Aval	Ival	Avan	Ava
Avan	Ivan	Nee	Avar
Neer	Nee	Nee	Neengal
Um	Neengal	Un	Neer
Uvan		Engal	Um
			Engal

Other address forms

Among same caste members	Among same caste members	Between different caste members	Between different caste members
<i>High caste</i>	<i>Scheduled caste</i>	<i>High caste-Scheduled caste</i>	<i>Scheduled caste-High caste</i>
Malaaikari	Amman kovilkarar	Enkada koviyap podiyal	Anthap podicci
Suthumalaiyan		Unkadai	Enkadai atkal
Vithanaiyar		Unkadai Kannadi	Enkadai podiyal
Enkadai atkal		Unrai atkal	Nayinar podiyan
Clerker		Vayiravanrai atkal	
Master			
Maneger			
Palaiya vithanaiyar			
Indiyakkaran			

APPENDIX-2

Translation of the novel 'Kovindan'- Chapter: Eleven

Translation of the novel 'Kovindan'-Chapter: Eleven

Usually Kanavathiyam comes once in three days, but today he has come after four days. He is afraid that Ayya* might scold him.

Kanavathiyam was waiting in front of the house under the mango tree until Ayya comes.

Kanni, who went inside the house, told Ammal** that Kanavathiyam is waiting outside for Ayya. Now Ammal has to convey this message to Ayya.

'Incherunkko,*** Pariyari**** has come'. For Ammal's message Ayya replied as, 'Is that Pariyari Kanavathiyam? Is he waiting? Let him wait. I'll come. I thought that I have to go to his house for shaving. Has he thought that my wife is pregnant? Let him wait.'

Kanavathiyam thought that, 'Even now Ayya likes to have a child', and he continued waiting under the mango tree with anxiety.

Ayya's teasing words hurt Ammal's feelings, but she did not say anything.

Kanni was grinding ragi inside the house, and the sound could be heard from outside.

Kanavathiyam was watching Kovindan which was in the cage.

'Kanavathiyam, why don't you come after I get a long beard. These days no one has a beard even if their wife is pregnant. I am sterile, and have you thought that I should have a beard? I can understand that now you don't behave with us like those days', said Ayya and he kept down the stool that he was carrying. He was ready to get the shaving.

*Ayya – A non-kin address term, which gives the meaning 'Sir'. It has been used to address the main character Shanmugampillai in this novel.

**Ammal – A non-kin address term, which gives the meaning 'Madam'. It has been used to address the character Srithivi.

*** Incherunkko – Address term used by wife to address her husband.

****Pariyari – Another caste term for Ampattar (Barber)

Ammal came behind him with the towel, soap case, basin and the round brush.

‘Did you bring the Dettol bottle’ asked Ayya.

‘I have forgotten’ said Ammal, and went inside the house.

Ayya is very careful in every thing. He has studied well about the skin diseases. Therefore, he keeps his own things for shaving. Pariyari has to bring only the shaving knife, and he has to wash it in the Dettol water and do the shaving.

Kanavathiyan washed the shaving knife with the Dettol that Ammal brought and started shaving.

‘Kanavathiyan, is there any news from your area?’

‘Nothing special. Our boys and Ayya’s Nayinar* boys got together and have formed a society.’

‘What? An association? Good job! Who is the President?’

‘Our co-operative shop Manager’s brother is the President. My brother’s son is the secretary.’

‘What? Your brother’s son? Is that Sinnathuraiyan?’

‘Yes. He is reading lots of books; If we ask him any reason, he is telling many things which are unable to understand.’

‘Let him read anything. He is mad. Do you know that he is doing another thing? I heard that he is doing shaving to those Sandara** boys who live near the temple. Tell me the truth without hiding anything Kanavathiyan.’

*Nayinar – Address term used by scheduled caste people to address a high caste person.

**Sandara – Caste title

Kanavathiyam did not say anything.

‘Why are you silent? Are you thinking how I came to know all these things? I will come to know what ever you do.’

Kanavathiyam continued his silence.

‘Kanavathi, I’ll tell you one thing. Your people are our serving people. You should not listen to others and create problems. Do you know what happened to that Kattadi Kanthaiyan’s son when he started laundry? Our people got angry when they came to know that Sinnaiyan is doing shaving to other caste people. I am the person who told them that, ‘They are our people. You should not punish them. We should correct them in the ideals of Gandhi’, and made them calm. Kanavathiyam! Your brother has passed away. So you have to advice him not to do such things.’

‘We can correct him. But Murugesan’s son Rathinam is supporting him. He is friendly with everyone without any Parai, Pall, Nalam and Thurumbu* differences. He is supporting Sinnathuraiyan?’

‘Who is that Rathinam? Is he short moustache Murugesan’s son? Is he the last child? I heard that he is a rowdy. He hasn’t experienced enough yet. Even last week I heard that he hit two Koviya boys at the shop. Kanavathi, do you know which Koviya boys were hit? They are Koviya Kannaadi’s son in laws. Kannaadiyan is waiting to take revenge on him. You see! He might die at any time. Your brother’s son is also going to die if he trust Murugesan’s son. If he dies for Tamil, then fifty or hundred people will come for his funeral. But if he dies for those Palls, Nalams and Parais, no one will attend his funeral. Okay! Let anybody die. If their fate is like that, I can’t stop it. I felt sorry for our serving castes, so I am telling this. If they want to listen to me, let them listen. Otherwise let them die. And they will also punish rowdy Rathinam. They will burn the house and chase him. Also, they will shave his head!’

*Parai, Pall, Nalam, Thurumbu – These are caste terms

During the conversation, Kanavathi finished shaving properly.

‘Kanavathi, shave this cheek also. It is hurting my ears’ said Ayya and bends his head.

‘Ayya, I think you have got many grey hairs. When I did the shaving last time, I saw only one or two grey hair. It seems that now you have grey hair all over.’ When Kanavathiyan said this,

‘Kanavathi, I don’t like you teasing me like this. You are teasing me by saying that I have got grey hair all over. Until now my wife has not asked me such a question’ said Ayya rudely.

Kanavathiyan did not speak after that.

‘Why are you shouting at Kanavathiyan?’ asked Ammal while coming out.

‘Did you hear to what he said? He is teasing me that I have got grey hair all over. Did he see it?’ said Ayya. ‘I promise that I did not tease him like that!’ answered Kanavathiyan to Ammal. Ammal felt sorry for him!

‘He should have told it after seeing one or two grey hair in your head. You have misunderstood him.’ Ammal blamed Ayya.

Kanavathiyan started to shave the hair on the cheek. The hair in the nose and underarm were also removed. Now the work is over.

‘Incherum,* give something to kanavathiyan’ said Ayya, and he got up with the stool and went inside.

*Incherum – Address term used by husband to address the wife.

‘Hey Kanavathi, You have spoken to Ayya without knowing what to speak. It was your good time that he did not hit you. Don’t you know his behaviour’ asked Ammal. She gave two rupees coins to Kanavathiyan.

After two days, Shanmugampillai stopped his car in front of the shop at seven o’clock in the night and went inside. While he was returning back from the shop, Murugesan’s son Rathinam was waiting for him near the car.

One of Rathinam’s friends Thiyagan was also there with him.

‘Hey Ayya, I heard that you have told you will burn Ambattars houses and shave their heads. Can you do that?’ Rathnam came closer* to Ayya and spoke to him.

Ayya was scared to see Rathinam’s height and rough voice. He has never seen Rathinam before.

Shanmugampillai did not say anything.

Some of the people who were standing nearby came forward. ‘Hey Rathinam, this is Ayya. This is our Shanmugampillai Ayya’. They thought that Rathinam is speaking roughly with Ayya as he does not know him, and introduced Ayya to Rathinam.

‘Yes, I know. He has told someone that he will burn Ambattars houses. That’s what I am asking him. You all go away’ said Rathinam loudly.

Many people have gathered there.

‘Ayya, you may go. He is drunk. You may go, Ayya’ said some of them and open the car door for Shanmugampillai. Some of them took Rathinam away from that place.

*It was prohibited that a scheduled caste person coming closer to a high caste person.

Ayya's car left the place.

Ayya has come home.

He was much tensioned.

Ammal guessed that something has happened.

'Has Nanniyan gone home?' asked Ayya.

'He did not come in the afternoon' Ammal replied.

Again she said that 'You haven't left the car in the garage'.

'I know that. You mind you own business' said Ayya and he took the torch light and went to the back yard of the house. He called 'Nanniyan; Nanniyan'.

'He hasn't come yet' Kanni replied.

'Send him as soon as he comes' said Ayya and returned.

It was later than ten o'clock in the night.

Nanniyan came to meet Ayya at that time.

Ayya has not taken the meal yet.

'Nanniyan, go immediately and tell your Kannadi that Ayya want's him to come, and bring him here' He said this to Nanniyan.

Nanniyan went away without saying anything.

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The following day, in the night, around seven o'clock, the message that Rathinam's dead body is on the way to Kothimullai lane to Savatkattu market, spread all over the village.

There were four stab wound marks on Rathinam's neck, back, waist and left hand fingers.

Many people said that Kannadi and some others were with him that day, and they were drinking together.

Many people were certain that Kannadiyan has killed him.

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## SOURCE TEXT (KOVINDAN: CHAPTER ELEVEN)

\* I have not done any corrections or changes to the source text. It appears as it is in the novel, which was published in 1995.

### கோவிந்தன்: பகுதி - பதினொன்று

வழமையாக மூன்று நாட்களுக்கொருதடவை வந்து போகும் கணவதியன் இன்று நான்கு நாட்களுக்குப் பின்புதான் ஐயாவிடம் வருகிறான். ஐயா கோபப்பட்டு கையைக் காலை நீட்டிவிடுவாரோ என்ற பயம்.

முற்றத்து மாமரத்தின் கீழ் கணவதியன் ஐயாவின் முகங்காணும் வரை காத்திருக்கிறான்.

அப்போதுதான் வந்து உள்ளே சென்ற கண்ணி கணவதியன் காத்துக்கொண்டிருப்பதை அம்மாளின் காதில் போட்டாள். இனி அத்தகவலை அம்மாள் ஐயாவின் காதில் போட வேண்டும்.

‘இஞ்சேருங்கோ பரியாரி எல்லே வந்திருக்கிறார்’ என்று கேட்ட அம்மாளின் குரலுக்குப் பதிலாக,

‘பரியாரி கணவதியனோ? வந்து நிக்கிறானோ? நிக்கிறானோ? நிக்கட்டுக்கு வாறன். நான் அவன்ரை வீட்டை போய்த்தான் தாடி இறக்கவேணும் போலை கிடக்கு, என்ரை மனிசி என்ன வாயிலும் வயத்திலும் எண்டு நினைச்சிட்டான் போலை கிடக்கு, நிக்கட்டுக்கு வாறன்’ என்ற குரல் கேட்டது.

‘ஐயாவுக்கும் பிள்ளைபெற வேணுமெங்கிற ஆசை இருக்குமாப் போலைதான் கிடக்கு’ என்று மனதுக்குள் கூறியவாறே மனக்கிலேசத்துடன் மாமரத்தின் கீழ் அவன் காத்திருந்தான்.

ஐயாவின் கிண்டலான பேச்சு அம்மாளைச் சோதிப்பதாக இருந்திருக்க வேண்டும். அவள் வாய் திறக்கவில்லை.

உள்ளே கண்ணி திருக்கையில் குரக்கன் அரைக்கும் ஓசை மெதுவாகக் கேட்டது.

கூட்டுக்குள் நின்ற கோவிந்தனைக் கணவதியன் பார்த்துக்கொண்டே நின்றான்.

‘என்னா கணவதியன், என்றை தாடி நெஞ்சிலே முட்டினாப்பிறகு வராதையன். இந்த நாளையிலே பெண்டில் பிள்ளைத்தாச்சியாக இருந்தாக்கூட ஆரும் தாடி விட மாட்டாங்கள். இப்ப பெத்த மலடனான என்னைத் தாடிவிட வேணுமெண்டு நினைச்சிட்டாய் என்ன? இப்ப நீங்கள் முந்தின மாதிரி இல்லையெண்டு எனக்கு விளங்குதடா’ என்று சொல்லிக்கொண்டே அவர் கையில் தூக்கி வந்த பட்டுவத்தைப் போட்டுவிட்டு சவரம் செய்விக்கத் தயாலாகி விட்டார்.

அவருக்குப் பின்னால் அம்மாள் கையிலே துவாயும், சவுக்காரக் கேசும் கிண்ணமும், வட்டப் பிறசுமாக வந்து சேர்ந்தாள்.

‘டிட்டோல் போத்திலும் கொண்டு வந்தனீரோ’ என்று ஐயா கேட்டபோது ‘மறந்து போனன்’ என்று கூறிக்கொண்டே அம்மாள் உள்ளே போனாள்.

எல்லாக் காரியங்களிலும் ஐயா மிகக் கவணம்!

சருமத்தொற்று நோய்களைப் பற்றி நன்கு படித்தவர். அதனால் சவரம் செய்வதில் தனக்கெனவே பிரத்தியேகமாக எல்லாவற்றையும் வைத்துக் கொள்வார். கத்தியை மட்டும் பரியாரி கொண்டு வந்து, அதை டிட்டோலில் கழுவி எடுத்து சவரம் செய்ய வேண்டும்! அம்மாள் கொண்டு வந்த டிட்டோலால் கத்தியைத் துடைத்தெடுத்துவிட்டு கணவதியன் சவரம் செய்யத் தொடங்கிவிட்டான்.

‘என்னடா கணவதியன் உங்கட பகுதியிக்கை ஏதும் புதினமே!’

‘அப்பிடி ஒண்டுமில்லையாக்கும், எங்கடை பொடியளும் ஐயா அயின்ரை நயினார்ப் பொடியளும் சேர்ந்து ஒரு சங்கம் வைச்சவை.’

‘என்னடாப்பா சங்கமோ? நல்ல காரியம்! ஆரடாப்பா தலைவர்?’

‘எங்கடை சங்கக்கடை மனேச்சற்றை நடுவிலுத் தம்பிதான் தலைவர். என்றை அண்ணனன்றை மோன்தான் காரியதரிசி!’

‘என்னடா உன்றை அண்ணன்றை மோனோ? சின்னத்துரையன் எண்ணுறது என்ன?’

‘ஓமாக்கும் அவன்தான் ஊருப்பட்ட புத்தகமெல்லாம் படிச்சுக்கொண்டு திரியான்; ஏனெண்டு கேட்டா ஏதோ எல்லாம் சொல்லுறான், எங்களுக்கு விளங்கேலாமைக் கிடக்கு.’

‘அவன் எதையெண்டாலும் படிக்கட்டுக்கு, விசரன் வேறை ஒண்டும் செய்யிறானாம் தெரியுமே உனக்கு?’

‘உந்த மூத்தனார் கோயிலடிச் சாண்டாரப் பொடியளுக்குச் சவரமும் செய்யிறான் எண்டு கதைக்கினம்! மறைக்காமைச் சொல்லு கணவதி?’

கணவதி ஒன்றும் பேசவில்லை.

‘ஏன்ரா பேசிறாயில்லை; உதெல்லாம் எனக்கென்னெண்டு தெரியுமெண்டு யோசிக்கிறாய் என்ன? நீங்கள் குசு விட்டாலும் எனக்குத் தெரிஞ்சுபோங் கண்டியோ?’

கணவதியன் மீண்டும் பேசவில்லை.

‘கணவதி, நான் சொல்லிப் போட்டன், உன்ரை ஆக்கள் எல்லாம் எங்கடை குடிமக்கள், விசரங்களின்ரை சொல்லுகளைக் கேட்டுக்கொண்டு வில்லங்கங்களை உண்டாக்கிப் போடப்படாது. உவன் கட்டாடிக் கந்தையன்ரை மோன் லோன்றி வைச்சுப் பட்ட பாடு தெரியுமெல்லே? அவன் கண்ட சாதியருக்கு வழிக்கிறான் என்று கேள்விப்பட்டோண்ணை எங்கடை ஆக்கள் எல்லாம் கொதிச்செழும்பினவங்கள். நான்தான் ‘அவங்கள் எங்கடை குடிமக்கள், அடிக்கக் கிடிக்கப் படாது. காந்திய வழியிலை திருத்தப்பாக்க வேணுமென்று’ சொல்லி ஒரு மாதிரி அமத்தி வைச்சிருக்கிறன், கணவதியன்! கொண்ணனும் செத்துப் போனான், நீதான் அவனிட்டை விசர்வேலை பார்க்க வேண்டாமெண்டு சொல்லவேணும்.’

‘அவனை நாங்கள் திருத்திப்போடுவமாக்கும், அவன் முருகேசன்ரை மோன் ரெத்தினமெல்லே அவனுக்கு உசார் கொடுக்கிறான். அவன் பறை, பள், நளம், துரும்பு எண்ட வித்தியாசம் பாக்காமை எல்லாரோடையும் சண்டித்தனச் சினேகிதம் வைச்சிருக்கிறான். இவனுக்கும் அவன் உசார் எடுத்துக் கொண்டெல்லேயாக்கும் நிக்கிறான்.’

‘ஆரடா அது ரெத்தினம்? சோட் மீசை முருகேசன்ரை மோனா? அவன் கடைக்குட்டியனோ? அவர் கொஞ்சம் சண்டியன் எண்டுதான் கேள்வி. அவர் இன்னும்

சரியான களரியிலை வேண்டிப் பழகேல்லை. போன மாசத்திலையும் ஒரு நாள் கூழாவடி நடுவிலான்ரை கடையிலை வைச்சுக் கோவியப் பொடியள் ரெண்டு பேருக்கு அடிச்சவனெண்டு கேள்வி. அடிவேண்டின கோவியப் பொடியன் யாரெண்டு தெரியுமே கணவதி? கோவியக் கண்ணாடியன்ரை மருமக்களாம். கண்ணாடியன் எங்கை எங்கை எண்டு பார்த்துக்கொண்டு திரியிறானாம். எக்கணம் இவன் சாகப்போறான் கண்டியோ? முருகேசன்ரை மோனை நம்பி உவன் கொண்ணன்ரை மோனும் சாகத்தான் போறான் போலை கிடக்கு. தமிழுக்காகச் செத்தான் எண்டாலும் ஒரு ஐம்பது நூறு பேர் வந்து போவான்கள். பள், நளம், பறையனுக்காகச் செத்தானெண்டா ஒரு குஞ்சு வருமே? சரி சாகிறவன் சாகட்டுக்கு. அவனவன்ரை விதி அப்பிடி இருந்தா நான் தடுக்கேலுமே? ஏதோ மனசு கேட்கயில்லை, நம்ம குடிமக்கள். சொன்னன்! கேட்டாக் கேட்கட்டும் இல்லாட்டிச் சாகட்டும். அதோடை சண்டியன் ரெத்தினனையும் விடுவாங்களே? வீடு வாசல்களை கொழுத்தியெல்லே கலைப்பாங்கள்! தலையையும் மொட்டை அடிப்பாங்களெல்லே!

கணவதி பேச்சுக்களுக்கூடாக சவரத்தை மிகவும் கச்சிதமாகச் செய்து முடித்து விட்டான்.

‘கணவதி இந்தக் கன்னத்தையும் ஒருக்கா ஒதுக்கிவிடு, காதுக்கை முட்டுது.’ என்று ஐயா தலையையும் சரித்துக் கொண்டார்.

‘ஐயாவுக்கும் சரியாய் நரை தட்டிப்போட்டுது போலை கிடக்கு. போன கோசு வெட்டேக்கை அங்கினைக்கே ஒண்டு டெரண்டு நரை மயிரைத்தான் கண்டன். இப்ப எல்லா இடமும் நரைச்சுப் போச்சுப் போலை கிடக்கு’ என்று கணவதியன் இழுத்தபோது,

‘கணவதி உந்தக் கருகல் பாஷைதான் எனக்கு எப்பனும் பிடிக்காது கண்டியோ. எல்லா இடமும் நரைச்சுப் போச்செண்டு கருகல் விடுகிறீர் என்ன? இண்டைய வரையிலை என்டை மனிசி கேட்காத கேள்வி’ என்று வெடுக்கெனப் பேசினார்.

கணவதியன் இதற்கு மேல் பேசவில்லை.

‘என்ன கணவதியனிலை பாயிறியள்?’ என்று கேட்டுக்கொண்டே அம்மாள் வந்தாள்.

அவன்ரை கதையைக் கேட்டீரே? எனக்கு எல்லா இடமும் நரைச்சுப் போச்செண்டு கருகல் விடுகிறான். இவன் கண்டவனே?’ என்று ஐயா சொல்லியபோது

‘பிள்ளையாராணை நான் அப்பிடி கருகலாக் கதைக்கேல்லையாக்கும்!’ என்று அம்மாளின் முகத்தைப் பார்த்து கணவதியன் பரிதாபமாகக் கூறியபோது அம்மாளுக்கு அவன்மேல் அனுதாபமாக வந்தது.

‘அவன் தலையில் கிடக்கிற இரண்டொரு நரை மயிரைப் பாத்துச் சொல்லியிருப்பான். நீங்கள் ..... காகைக்குக் கனவிலையும் பீதின்றிற எண்ணந்தான்’ என்று அம்மாள் ஐயாவையே குற்றஞ்சாட்டினாள்.

கணவதியன் கன்னத்து மயிரை ஒதுக்கத் தொடங்கி விட்டான். முக்கு மயிர், கமக்கட்டு மயிரும் எடுத்தாய் விட்டது. வேலையும் முடிந்துவிட்டது.

‘இஞ்சேரும் கணவதியனுக்கு ஏதும் குடுத்துவிடும்’ என்று கூறிக்கொண்டே ஐயா எழுந்து புட்டுவத்தையும் தூக்கிக்கொண்டு உள்ளே போய்விட்டார்.

‘எட கணவதி, உனக்கும் கதைக்கிற கதை எதெண்டு தெரியாமல் ஐயாவோடை கதைச்சுப் போட்டாய். என்னவோ உன்ரை நல்ல காலம் ஐயா உனக்கு அடிக்காமல் விட்டிடார். இன்னும் ஐயாவின்ரை குணம் தெரியேல்லையே’ என்று கேட்டுக்கொண்டே அம்மாள் கணவதியனுக்கு இரண்டு ரூபாய் சில்லரையைக் கொடுத்து அனுப்பினாள்.

இரண்டு நாட்கள் கழிந்து இரவு ஏழு மணிக்கு மேல் சண்முகம்பிள்ளை கூழாவடி நடுவிலான் கடைக்கு முன்னால் காரை விட்டுவிட்டு உள்ளே போய்த் திரும்பி வரும்போது முருகேசனின் மகன் இரத்தினம் காரடியில் ஐயாவுக்காகக் காத்திருந்தான்.

அவனுக்குப் பக்கத்தே அவனின் நண்பர்களில் ஒருவனான தியாகனும் நின்றான்.

‘என்ன ஐயா, அம்பட்டற்றை வீடுகளுக்கு நெருப்பு வைச்சு தலையும் மொட்டை அடிப்பன் எண்டு சொன்னீராம். உம்மாலை அது ஏலுமோ?’ என்று இரத்தினன் ஐயாவுக்குக் கிட்டவாக வந்து பேசினான்.

இரத்தினனின் உயரத்தைப் பார்க்கவும், அவனின் கனத்த குரலைக் கேட்கவும் ஐயாவுக்குச் சற்றுப் பயமாக இருந்தது. முன்பு அவர் இரத்தினனைக் கண்டதில்லை.

சண்முகம்பிள்ளை வாய் திறக்கவில்லை.

சற்றுத் தொலைவில் நின்ற சிலர்

நடுவே வந்து 'சீ, இரத்தினம் ஐயாவெல்லே, அது எங்கடை சண்முகம்பிள்ளை ஐயாவெடாப்பா' என்று ஐயாவைத் தெரியாமல்தான் இரத்தினம் ஏதோ கருவுகிறான் என்று நினைத்து அறிமுகம் செய்தனர்.

ஓ, எனக்குத் தெரிஞ்சுதான் கதைக்கிறன். இவர் அம்பட்டற்றை வீடெல்லாம் கொழுத்துவிப்பன் எண்டு சொன்னவராம். அதுதான் கேக்கிறன். நீங்கள் அங்காலை போங்கோ?' என்று அவன் உரக்கக் குரல் வைத்தான். பலர் வந்து சேர்ந்துவிட்டனர்.

'ஐயா, நீங்கள் போங்கோ, அவனுக்கு மெல்லிய தண்ணி, நீங்கள் போங்கோ ஐயா' என்று சிலர் கதவைத் திறந்து ஐயாவைக் காரில் ஏற்ற, இரத்தினத்தையும் சிலர் நகர்த்திச் சென்றனர்.

ஐயாவின் கார் பறந்துவிட்டது.

ஐயா வீட்டுக்கு வந்துவிட்டார்.

அவருக்கு இருக்கை கொள்ளவில்லை.

ஏதோ ஒன்று நடந்துவிட்டது என்று அம்மாள் எண்ணினாள்.

'நன்னியன் வந்திட்டுப் போட்டானோ?' என்று ஐயா கேட்டார்.

'மத்தியானத்துக்குப் பிறகு அவன் வரேலை' என்று அம்மாள் பதில் சொன்னாள்.

'காரை கராஜ்சுக்குள்ளே விடேலை' என்று அம்மாள் பின்பும் கேட்டாள்.

'அது எனக்குத் தெரியும். நீர் உம்மடை அலுவலைப் பாடும்' என்று ஐயா பதில் சொல்லிவிட்டு டோர்ஜ் லையிற்றை எடுத்துக் கொண்டு கொல்லைப்புறமாகச் சென்று 'நன்னியன்; நன்னியன்' என்று அழைத்தார்.

'அந்தாள் இன்னும் வரேலையாக்கும்' என்று கண்ணி பதில் சொன்னாள்.

'வந்தோன்னை உடனை வரக்காட்டிவிடு' என்று சொல்லிவிட்டு ஐயா திரும்பிவிட்டார்.

இரவு மணி பத்துக்கு மேலாகி விட்டது.

நன்னியன் அப்போதுதான் ஐயாவிடம் வந்தான்.

ஐயா இன்னும் உணவருந்தவில்லை.

நன்னியன் உடனே போய் உங்கடை கண்ணாடியைக் கூட்டிக்கொண்டு வா, ஐயா வரட்டாமெண்டு.' என்று மட்டும் சொன்னார்.

நன்னியன் மறுபேச்சின்றிப் போய்விட்டான்.

சாவற்காட்டுச் சந்தையிலிருந்து கொத்திமுல்லைக்குப் போகும் ஒழுங்கை முடக்கில் இரத்தினம் செத்துப்போய்க் கிடப்பதாக மறுநாள் இரவு ஏழு மணியளவில் செய்தி ஊரெல்லாம் பரவிவிட்டது.

இரத்தினனின் கழுத்துக்குள்ளும், முதுகுப் புறத்திலும், பழுவிலும், இடக்கை விரல் இடுக்கிலுமாக நான்கு குத்துக்கள் இருந்தன.

அன்று பகலெல்லாம் கண்ணாடியனும், வேறு சிலரும் அவனுடன் சேர்ந்து குடித்துத் திரிந்ததாகப் பலர் கூறினர்.

நிச்சயமாக கண்ணாடியன்தான் அவனைக் கொன்றிருக்க வேண்டுமென்று பலரும் பேசினர்.