ASPECTS OF
LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT
IN TAMIL

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PREFACE

Tamil is one of the two oldest languages (other being Sanskrit) and also one of the modern languages of India. Moreover, it is spoken by sizable population in Sri Lanka, Malaysia and Singapore. The development of a language is an on-going process. The development of Tamil due to the expansion of its function and the modernization in this century makes an interesting study because of its special characters. However, the problems discussed here are mainly based on the Indian situation.

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0. Introduction

Languages undergo development, i.e., elaboration and codification, when their functions undergo expansion as a result of expanded role repertoires.[1] Such expansion and symbolic elaboration of language-functions has, in recent years, occurred most frequently in the developing nations and linguists, especially sociolinguists, have begun to study the language problems of such areas (see Fishman *et al*, 1968).

Since the process of development is taking place in the modern period of the history of these nations, it is called here 'modernization'. It is to be noted that modernization is a subject of keen interest to social scientists who are attempting to fathom the panoply of social changes that are revolutionizing the contemporary world. The various aspects of modernization, except the language aspect, are discussed in Weiner, 1966.

The aim of this paper is two fold: (i) to study the theory of language development (§.1) and (ii) to illustrate from Tamil, one of the Indian languages belonging to the Dravidian family, the general development (§.2) as well as the sociocultural factors responsible for the particular way such development has taken place in the language (§.3).

1. Theory of Language Development

Ferguson (1968:28) has given three parameters for measuring language development. They are (i) graphization

(ii) standardization and (iii) modernization (which is, of course, employed by Ferguson in a different sense from that above; the usage is discussed below).

Under graphization (that is, reduction to writing), Ferguson is mainly concerned with the effect of the introduction of writing systems on language development. In this connection, it must be pointed out that Sjoberg (1964) has tried to make some generalizations about the problem of the interrelation of writing, speech and society. As observed by her, script reform is also a problem in what are called transitional societies (i.e., those seeking to industrialise). Script reform should be understood here in the sense of the modification of the allographs of some graphemes to facilitate printing and the introduction of new graphemes and symbols to represent new or foreign sounds, not as standardization of spelling.

One other problem connected with graphization can be spelling reform, which is concerned with the use of symbols in representing words. Owing to language change, certain symbols may become redundant or some new symbols may have to be employed.

The second dimension is standardization, which is defined as the development of a norm which overrides regional and social dialects.

Modernization, the third dimension, refers to the development of intertranslatability with other languages in a range of topics and forms of discourse characteristic of industrialised, secularised, structurally differentiated, "modern" societies. It is to be noted that Ferguson (1968) himself is not happy with the term 'modernization' in this particular sense,

as this process is not really 'new' or 'modern'. For Ferguson, 'modernization' has two aspects which he described as: (i) the expansion of lexicon of the language by new words and expressions (or 'development of vocabulary'), and (ii) the development of new styles (or 'forms of discourse'). In this paper, we shall use the simpler terms, in the parentheses above, to refer to these aspects of the third dimension. This allows us to use the term 'modernization' in a non-technical sense, as in the title of this paper (where it refers to all three dimensions of language development).

The development of vocabulary can come through the path of internal creation, i.e., a language's own processes of word formation, or through borrowing (Ferguson, 1968:33). It will be more useful for our study if we can make further distinctions regarding internal creations, as this will help to understand the processes more clearly from the sociolinguistic point of view.

In the study of historical linguistics, a distinction is made between loan word and loan shift; under the heading of loan shift, loan translation is considered to be a subvariety (for details, see Hockett, 1958:411). Loan words are equivalent to 'borrowings' and loan shifts to 'internal creations'. Loan shifts or internal creations can be further classified into three sub-categories, viz., loan extensions[2], loan translations and loan creations[3]. When a native word is used with a redefinition of its meaning to express a new idea, this can be called 'loan extension'. Here a word may be in current usage or found only in the early texts. In the case of English, the word 'God' which was used to denote any superhuman figures came to be employed in the modern sense when Christianity needed a word to express the idea of the creator and the ruler of the Universe,

and in the case of Tamil, *po:kkuvarattu* which was found in early texts in the sense of 'going and coming' has been utilized to express the sense of 'transport' when a word was needed to express that idea. A loan creation is one which is adapted from material already existing in the language but which is a new creation arising from interference. For instance, for the word 'beer', Japanese has coined a word which means literally 'wheat brew' (Ray, 1963:67). In the same way, for the word 'train' Tamil has coined a word, *pukaivanti* which means literally 'smoke cart' and Malayalam *ti:vanti* which means literally 'fire cart'. Loan translation is where the new coined term shows equivalent structure and meaning to the model. The term 'loan word' is itself a loan translation of German 'Lehnwort' (Hockett, 1958:412) and *ni:rvi:lcci* in Tamil is the result of loan translation of the English word 'waterfalls'.

Another problem connected with internal creations is the source of the material used for them. There may be some speech communities which may wish to use their own language material and not those of some other language. This may be part of the 'purist' movement in a language. Since this reveals the sociocultural attitudes of speech communities, it is necessary to distinguish between languages of those communities which insist upon the use of native materials and others which are ready to use non-native materials (which have entered the language at an early stage); the former can be said to use native internal creation and the latter non-native internal creation. When the Government of India wanted to replace the word 'radio', *a:ka:sava:ni*, a Sanskrit compound was suggested and it was accepted by all the Indian languages except Tamil. There was a protest from the State Government and scholars in Tamilnad, as a result of which the native compound, *va:noli*, is used (only within Tamilnad).

The awareness of the greatness of one's own culture, language, etc. seems to play some part in the development of languages, especially those which have great cultural and literary traditions. One part of the purification movement which is concerned with the elimination of foreign words already existing in the language is probably to be explained in this way. Since it is not due to external influence, it can be considered 'internal change' and this should be also taken as a part of modernization. Greek and Tamil can be cited as examples of this movement. The concept of internal change can be considered to include other changes taking place in a language (as lexical changes in Tamil: for details see §.5), without the influence of some other language.

2. Modernization in Tamil

Tamil has written records from the third century B. C. onwards. The earliest extant specimens of written Tamil are Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions (inscriptions written in Brahmi script). The first work available in literary language is a grammar (*Tolka:ppiyam, circa* 2nd cent. B. C.) and literary works are found from a date some-what later than this.

Western influence on the Tamil language started from the 16th century through the work of Christian missionaries. Two important contributions were: (i) the introduction of printing and (ii) the development of prose, which had formerly been employed only in commentaries of grammatical and literary works, as an independent genre. However, the modernization of Tamil seems to have started only from the beginning of this century (Irschick, 1969:303f.) The following events may be cited as evidence of the tendency towards modernization. The first daily newspaper was published in 1899; in 1919 a Tamil scientific terms society was founded;

and in the same year, Tamil came to be employed as a campaign (i.e., political campaign) language. The use of Tamil on the radio and cinema dates from the first quarter of this century. Tamil became the official language of the State in 1965. It was also introduced in 1960 as an alternative medium of instruction at College level. This was responsible for the publication of books in Tamil on various science and arts subjects, and of glossaries of technical and administrative terms. However, it should be pointed out that fundamental things for planned development of the language such as (i) the adaptation of the script to suit printing instruments such as typewriters, typesetting machines, teleprinters, etc., (ii) the preparation of a good modern Tamil dictionary, and (iii) the development of the vocabulary in a systematic way, etc., are yet to be carried out.

This paper will accept the view that any problem of language development is concerned only with the written language (Haugen, 1966:53f.). Therefore only the modernization taking place in the standard written language is discussed here.

2.1 Graphization

Script reform and spelling reform are the two aspects discussed in this section.

The clear graphic distinction between short and long *e* as well as *o* was introduced probably in the 18th century.

Another important graphemic change is the avoidance of what are called conjunct consonants especially in the case of geminated consonants such as *tt*, *ṭṭ*, *kk*, etc. These consonants together with the following vowels were formerly written

as one letter; e.gs. க்ட tta, ட tta, க்க kka, etc. Now they are written as double consonant symbols, most probably due to the influence of the printing press: e.gs. ...த்த tta, க்க kka, etc.

The printing presses began to avoid the conjunct consonants simply to reduce the number of letters needed, and this must have played a major part in the avoidance of them in hand writing also. For instance, take the *t* series. If one is to use conjunct consonants, one has to have seven symbols, viz., *tta, tti, ttu, t, ta, ti,* and *tu.* (The simple consonant symbol is needed because there are geminates as well as non-geminated consonant clusters in the language). By getting rid of conjunct consonants, that is, by using four symbols alone, one can manage the printing without any difficulty.

There are some other script reforms which aim at systematization of the allographs (e.gs. ை for the *ai* series instead of ெ with some consonants and ை with others, etc.). Such attempts are not seriously implemented even though the Government appointed a committee in 1947 which has made more cautious recommendations (for details, see Brown, 1953:5f.). It is a pity that although scholars like Meenakshisundaran (1952) tried their best to convince the Government, the press and the public, the matter is completely neglected now.[4]

There have been attempts to introduce new symbols, especially to represent the voiced stop consonants, by some popular journals and writers. Although this practice is not universally accepted, it is more common now to represent the voiced *ba* as ப (i.e., by the bold type of the letter used for *pa*). The representation of other voiced stop consonants has not gained currency. Similarly, the suggestion to represent the fricative sounds by using the Tamil grapheme called

a:ytam (ॐ) and the respective stop consonants (e.g. *f* as *a:ytam* plus *p*) has not proved popular.

The addition of punctuation marks (comma, semicolon, etc.) and the use of quotation marks are other common innovations found in all the Indian languagas as a result of modernization.

As far as spelling reform is concerned, there seems to be no problem in connection with native words but the spellings of foreign words are undergoing some changes. From the medieval period Tamil must have borrowed five additional graphemes from the Grantha script to represent the sounds *j*, *ṣ*, *s*, *h* and *kṣ*. Foreign words with these sounds used to be written with these graphemes. But the modern tendency is to avoid these graphemes and to use the nearest Tamil graphemes. For instance, *j*, *s* and *ṣ* are now written as *c*, *kṣ* is written as *ṭc* and *st* is written as *tt*. e.gs. *varatara:jaṉ* as *varatara:caṉ*, *sa:mina:taṉ* as *ca:mina:taṉ*, *ṣaṇmukam* as *caṇmukam*, *mi:ṉa:kṣicuntaraṉ* as *mi na:ṭcicuntaraṉ*, *akastiyaliṅkam* as *akattiyaliṅkam*, etc. (All are male personal names).

The problem of transliteration of Tamil spellings into Roman script can also be considered a problem of spelling. There is no difficulty in using the IPA system for transcribing Tamil. But when one wants to transcribe texts written in Tamil characters for which the phonetic value is not known definitely, it is always better to follow the system of transliteration where there is one to one correspondence between the Tamil and the Roman script. For this sort of purpose, the system given in Tamil Lexicon is followed in comparative Dravidian studies as well as in the historical and descriptive studies of ancient texts. But, in 1968, i.e., at the

time of the Second International Conference of Tamil Studies, the sponsors of the conference announced a system of transliteration which cannot be called a step in the right direction. Marr (1972:436) has called this a 'rather alarming transliteration'. There is no regularity in the system and it is cumbersome. For instance, the retroflex sounds are transcribed both by capital letters (ட as *T* and ண as *N*) and by diagraphs (ள as *lh*). The transcriptions of dental sounds த as *th* and ந as *nh* and the nasals ங as *ng* and ஞ *nj* are really cumbersome. The main motive might have been to avoid the use of diacritics, but it should be pointed out that the use of diacritical marks is becoming more and more popular not only in scholarly writings but also in commercial advertisements. Moreover, there are already many presses with diacritical marks in Tamilnad and so this will not be a difficulty for printing books. However, the Government seems to be aware of this problem and in 1971, at the suggestion of the late M. Varadarajan, Vice-Chancellor of Madurai University, the Director of Tamil Development invited the opinions of many Tamil linguists. Unfortunately no further action has been taken so far. A consistent transliteration system will prove useful both to linguistic studies and the development of Tamil studies.[5]

2.2 Standardization

Tamil is well known for its diglossic situation (Ferguson, 1956:337). Modern standard written Tamil (SWTa) which is not only used for writing but also for making public speeches and reading radio news, etc., is not based on any one of the modern spoken dialects and hence it is considered a 'supradialectal norm' (Ferguson, 1968:31). However, SWTa. has been somewhat influenced by the spoken language. Varadarajan (1965) and Asher (1972b) have discussed some relevant points in this connection with regard to the language

of modern literature. In the case of scientific writings, one may suspect greater influence of spoken language. SWTa· has also been influenced by the syntax of English.

Another point to be noted here is that SWTa. has developed certain conventions. For instance, certain morpho-phonemic changes occurring in speech are not indicated in writing it. The illustrations below are taken from the literary work of a great Tamil scholar, R. P. Sethu Pillai (1950) : (i). The use of a glide between two words, the first ending in a vowel and the second beginning in a vowel is avoided, *cumma:iru* 'keep quiet' (p.56) for *cumma:viru*. *celutta icai* 'agree to pay' (p.42) for *celuttavicai*, etc. (ii) The *-u* which is called *kuṟṟiyalukaram* (shorter *u*) in Tamil grammars is retained when it is followed by another word beginning with any one of the vowels. *iṉṟu aṟinte:ṉ* '(I) learnt (it) today' (p.43) for *iṉṟaṟinte:ṉ*, *ataṟku aḷitte:ṉ* '(I) gave (something) to it' (p.39) for *ataṟkaḷitte:ṉ*, etc. These changes are already found in the earlier inscriptions, the language of which is not considered to be the standard one. But these are now more or less accepted as standard usage. The reason for non-use of the morphophonemic rules is that books have to be read by an increasing number of people who have only a general education in Tamil. The idea of mass circulation has led many publishers to print the ancient texts in two styles, one with the morphophonemic changes across word bounda-ries and another without these changes. Annamalai University has published the whole of the *Kampara:ma:yaṇam* text in the two styles.

SWTa. seems to have acquired a special status in the evolution of the history of Tamil language. This means that it has its own phonological and grammatical rules. Occasional discussions in periodicals and newspapers of 'correct' usage support our assumption. Last year, a discussion was published

on the use of *oru/o:r* 'one (adj.)'. Even though it is generally believed that *o:r* should be used with nouns beginning with a vowel and *oru* elsewhere, it is not specifically mentioned either in *Tolka:ppiyam* or *Nannu:l* (i.e., two famous native Tamil grammars) and literary usage also does not confirm the assumption (for details regarding the Old Tamil (OTa.) usage, see Shanmugam, 1966:730). Another instance of the controversy relates to the use of *alla*, the negative finite verb. This is the neuter plural finite verb form and hence it is expected to be used only with the neuter plural subject. But on the basis of what occurs in spoken Tamil, scholars like Varadarajan use it with all nouns irrespective of their gender-number (for discussion, see Varadarajan, 1965:85). There are many scholars who think that the use of *alla* with all type of nouns is not correct.

2.3 Development of vocabulary

The technical, scientific and cultural terms which are necessary to express modern ideas are mostly coined in Tamil by native internal creation. One of the striking features of internal creations in Tamil is the use of classical elements. But the motive does not seem to be that of classicalising the modern language. As modern Tamil is considered to be more analytical, unlike Old Tamil which is more synthetic (for a general discussion with some illustrations see Varadarajan, 1957), the employment of OTa. material gives the feeling of a compound (i.e., a unit term) rather than a phrase. Examples of the use of OTa. material follow. (The material is taken mostly from Sakthivel (1972) and *Glossary of technical terms of Economics* (1960).

(a) Grammatical suffixes found in Old Tamil may also be employed in the coinage of technical terms. For instance,

-*ñar* and -*nar* (for OTa. reference, see Shanmugam, 1971:40f)
are the allomorphs of a nominalisation morpheme.

Word	Meaning
kalaiñar	artist
iyakkunar	director
o:ṭṭunar	driver etc.

(b) Another suffix, -*o:r* and its corresponding masculine
suffix, -*o:ṇ* are also sometimes used.

tuyppo:r	consumer
kaṭaṇ i:vo:ṇ	creditor etc.

(c) The past negative relative participle marker in spoken
and written Tamil is *a:ta* (where *a:t* is the negative and *a,*
the relative participle suffix) but the suffix in OTa. is *a:* and
this is more frequently made use of in the coinage of
technical terms.

ma:ṛa:c celavu	constant cost
paṛṛa:k kuṛai	deficit
toṭarpila: ve:lai	irregular employment
tiṛanpeṛa: toḷila:ḷi	unskilled labourer etc.

(d) The use of simple adjective forms (which is very
rare in Mod. Ta. where the noun itself is used as adjective)
is another instance of classicalisation. E.g., *iraṇṭu vi:ṭu* in Mod.
Ta. and *iru vi:ṭu* in OTa. 'two houses' where *iraṇṭu* 'two' is
a noun and *iru* is an adjective.

irumaṇaivi maṇam	bigamy
paṇṇa:ṭṭu va:ṇipam	international trade etc.

(e) The use of construction of verbal root plus noun is
another classical way of formation utilized in the coinage of
technical terms.

> uyar ku:li   high wage
> kuṟaintucel viḷaivu   diminishing return'   etc.

(f) There are a few cases where the classical words are used as technical terms even when the words denoting those objects or ideas are found in common usage.

Meaning	Common Word	Classical Word used as technical teɪm
lip	utaṭu	ital
neutrality	naṭunilaimai	notumal
beggar	piccaikka:rar	iravalar

2.3.1 Loan extension

The following are some of the words found in the early texts that are used to denote new meanings in modern Tamil.

va:ṇoli	sound from sky	radio
pe:ra:ciriyar	great teacher	professor
cevveṇ	nouns or verbs used co-ordinatively in a sentence without conjunctive particles	cardinal number (Maths.)

2.3.2 Loan creation

There are many cases of loan creation in Tamil. It would be interesting to study the principles underlying these. One obvious instance of loan creation alone is noted here.

New objects are considered as an additional element in the appropriate semantic field and so some new adjective is added to distinguish them from the other objects. E.g., when the train was introduced in Tamilnad, it must have been

taken as a kind of cart (*vaṇṭi*) by means of which the Tamils used to travel, and therefore the train was considered a cart with a characteristic feature of emitting smoke (*pukai*), hence the name, *pukaivaṇṭi* 'smoke-cart' (lit.). In the same way, a photograph must have been taken as a picture (*paṭam*) of one's own shadow (*niḻal*) and so it is called *niḻalpaṭam* 'shadow picture' (lit.) probably referring to image falling on sensitised paper.

2.3.3 Loan translati n

This is more common in the field of science and technology whereas loan creation is more common in the field of words of everyday usages.

tolaipe:ci	distant speaker	telephone
tolaino:kki	distant observer	telescope
a:ḷunar	one who governs	governor (head of a state)
neṭuñca:lai	long road	highway etc.

2.3.4 Borrowing

Even though borrowing is not found on a large scale as in other languages like Malayalam, Telugu, etc., one cannot deny the fact tha there are some cases of borrowings. In the *Glossary of Technical Terms of Economics*, prepared by the College Committee, there are about ten borrowed words with no Tamil equivalent and a further ten for which Tamil synonyms are given. Given current trends, it is to be expected that in later editions of this *Glossary* some at least of the borrowed words will be replaced by Tamil words coined on the basis of internal creation. However, words

like names for the currency of the various countries and
words denoting the weights and measurements are borrowed
as loan words. For instance, the Indian coin 'rupee' is *ru:pa:y*
and words of measurements and weights such as 'kilo', 'litre'
are *kilo:*, *liṭṭar* respectively in Tamil.

2.4 Development of style

The reduction of the length of a sentence can be
considered a change in style. Longer sentences, with a length
of up to 10 or 15 lines, are more prevalent in the earlier
period while short sentences, with a maximum length of 2
or 3 lines are now found predominantly.

Another interesting feature is the use of alliteration.
This was more common during 1940 to 1960 but it is not
predominant now. R. P. Sethu Pillai among literary scholars
and C. N. Annadurai among politicians can be considered the
most skilful in the use of alliteration.

The technique of writing research papers is slowly being
developed and this may seem to involve the creation of yet
another new style of written Tamil. It is not, however,
possible to enter into details on this and other matters of
prose style; a good amount of further research into this
question has to be done.

2.5 Internal change

The changes taking place internally may be listed as
(i) morphophonemic changes, (ii) purification, i.e., elimina-
tion of foreign words as far as possible, (iii) the replacement
of some native words by others.

2.5.1 Morphophonemics

There are stray cases of morphophonemic changes applicable to a single word. They are important because they had taken place due to the expansion of role repertoires of Tamil during the last five years.

When the name of the state was changed from Madras to Tamilnadu in English and *tamilna:ṭu* in Tamil, naturally the latter had to be used in various compounds. The adjective form of this word is at variance with the morphophonemic pattern of the language because any polysyllabic word ending in –*ṭu* should have the doubling of the final consonant if it is to be used adjectivally (e.g. *utaṭu* 'lips' is *utaṭṭu*–) But in the case of the word *tamilna:ṭu* it remains as it is even when used adjectivally, as in *tamilna:ṭu aracu* 'Government of Tamilnadu'. This was not objected to by the speakers of Tamil. But, on the other hand, another morphophonemic deviation in terms of Mod. Ta. (but which is not a deviation in OTa.). proved to be too unpopular to survive: one of the family planning advertisements contains the phrase, *aḷavo:ṭu peṟṟu, vaḷamo:ṭu va:lvo:m* 'having given birth to a limited number (children), (we) will live with prosperity'. Really, this is quite attractive; there is a good rhythm in the phrase. However, it was objected to, because of the use of the word, *vaḷamo:ṭu* 'with prosperity', which is contrary to the modern morphophonemic rule. That is to say, nouns ending in –*m* should have an inflectional increment, –*tt*– before a case suffix. Since *o:ṭu* is the sociative it should be *vaḷatto:ṭu*. In that form, the phrase is not so catchy. However, it should be pointed out that the addition of the inflectional increment –*tt*– is not compulsory in OTa., which shows many instances without the inflectional increment, especially before the sociative (for details see Shanmugam, 1971 : 202f.). Since no one has defended the use of *vaḷamo:ṭu*, however, the

Government has slightly modified the phrase now thus: *aḷava:kap peṟṟu, vaḷama:ka va:lvo:m* (the use of the inflectional increment is not necessary before the adverbial suffix, *a:ka*).

2.5.2 Purification

Purification is considered to be a part of language planning (Haugen, 1966 : 52). As far as possible, words considered to be non-native were replaced by native words already existing or by new coinages. The idea of 'purification' can only be an ideal goal because all the foreign words cannot be identified easily without a good knowledge of historical and comparative linguistics. Even scholars of historical and comparative linguistics find it difficult to decide on the etymology of some words. However, it is to be mentioned that the number of loan words which are used not out of necessity but for the sake of fashion or prestige is reduced now in Tamil. Professor A. C. Chettiar, former Professor of Tamil, Annamalai University, estimated that in 1900 roughly 50% of the words in the written language were sanskritically influenced, but that fifty years later, this influence had been reduced to only 20% (Hardgrave, 1965:30). During the last ten years, the percentage must have been reduced still further.

The following are examples of substitution by (a) native words and (b) newly coined compounds:

(a) *Sanskrit*   *Tamil*
     (Tamilised forms)

akkira:caṇar	*talaivar*	president
puruṣar	*a:ṇ*	male
parikṣai	*te:rvu*	examination
ra:ja:	*aracar*	king

mantiri	*amaiccar*	minister
cuva:ci	*mu:ccuviṭu*	breathe

(b)
pira:ṇava:yu	*uyirkka:ṟṟu*	oxygen
carvakala:ca:lai	*palkalaikkaḷakam*	university
maṉo:tattuvam	*uḷaviyal*	psychology
vantaṉo:paca:ram	*naṉṟi navilal*	vote of thanks
a:mo:ti	*valimoḻi*	second (verb)

In this connection, it will not be out of place to quote an instance which took place in 1967 to show how it is still a live issue. When the *Tira:viṭa Muṉṉe:ṟṟa Kaḷakam* (DMK *Tira:viṭa* is the tamilised form of Sanskrit *dra:viḍa*) came to power in 1967, tamilisation was a very potent force and the Government took an active interest in the tamilisation of words on a large scale. The word 'express bus', was first tamilised as *turita vaṇṭi* which literally means 'fast cart'; but this loan translation was objected to by some people on the ground that the word *turita* 'fast' is not pure Tamil and so it cannot be considered as a proper tamilisation. So the Government had at some expense to rewrite the name as *viraivu vaṇṭi*, where *viraivu* is a native Tamil word. However, such purification has not been carried out at the same level in the popular journals. But they are, slowly but surely, following the trend. Until very recently, *Kalaimakaḷ*, one of the popular journals, was using the Sanskrit word *namaska:ram* in the heading of its editorial, even though this greeting is not in common use now; but it was not replaced by the corresponding Tamil word, *vaṇakkam*. Instead, the editorial employs different headings, on the basis of the importance of the subject matter to be discussed. A comparative study of the language of journals during the 1930s would be a worthwhile undertaking.

2.5.3 Replacement of native words

Only replacement occurring in the process of tamilisa-
tion is discussed here. It must be said that, in general,
replacement increases the efficiency and economy of the
language. This change can be brought about under four
different categories. Replacements either (i) increase the
productivity of the form (Ray, 1963: 40), (ii) allow for
invariability of morpheme shapes as far as possible (Tauli,
1968:41), (iii) decrease the length of the form (Ibid:88), or
(iv) are closer to the meaning of the model.

The word *nu:lnilaiyam,* was coined for 'library' and it is
still in use. But, another word, *nu:lakam,* has been created
recently and is gaining popularity probably because it is
easy to create the other related words like 'librarian', 'library
science', etc. from the latter (*nu:lakar* 'librarian', *nu:lakaviyal*
'library science') and not from the former. Here, the
productivity of the form is the cause of the replacement.

The widespread view based on the sense of order and
symmetry is that the ideal state of a language implies one-
to-one correspondence of expression and content, that each
meaning should have only one expression and each expression
should denote only one meaning. This is not wholly feasible
in vocabulary, but in morphology the invariability of
morpheme may be regarded as ideal (Tauli, 1968:41).
For instance, in Tamil, the word for 'travellers'
bungalow' was *payanikaḷ viṭuti* till recently and it has now
been replaced by *payanar viṭuti,* probably because the word
for 'travel' is *payanam* and word ending in *-m* are changed
into agentive nouns by the replacement of the final *-m* by
-r in many cases, as in *vi:ram* 'valour': *vi:rar* 'warrior'

maruttuvam 'medicine': *maruttuvar* 'doctor', etc. Similarly, instead of using many words for denoting a particular meaning, one word can be used with greater efficiency. For instance, the words *iyal, nu:l* and *a:ta:ram* are used to denote 'science' in compounds; but more and more such compounds are now using the word *iyal* while the other two words are becoming rare. *uļanu:l* 'psychology' is *uļaviyal* now and *moļinu:l* 'linguistiscs' is *moļiyiyal*, etc. Moreover, the word *moļinu:l* is used to denote 'philology'.

Words like *ceyala:ļar* 'secretary', *poruļa:lar* 'treasurer' are now shortened to *ceyalar* and *poruļar* respectively. This shortening may be due to the increase of the frequency of these words.

The word 'police station' was first tamilised as *ka:valur nilaiyam* (lit. 'place of the watchmen') and has now been replaced by *ka:val nilaiyam* (lit. 'place of protection') probably because of the awareness of the fact that the word 'police' mainly means 'the government department responsible for maintaining civil law and order'. In the field of scientific and technical terms also, many words are now replaced so as to give the original meaning of Greek or Latin technical terms (see the introduction to the book *Kalaiccorkaļ*, 1936).

3. Socio-Cultural-Linguistic Factors

The sociocultural and political situation of Tamilnad has already been discussed by political sociologists like Hardgrave (1965), Irschick (1969) and Das Gupta (1970), cultural sociologists like Srinivas (1966) and linguists like Asher (1972a) and Schiffman (1972).

It will be convenient to trace the sociocultural factors in terms of the general concept developed by Srinivas (1966) to

explain the Indian situation as a whole. The two concepts, sanskritization and westernization are alone enough for our purpose.

As a result of sanskritization of Tamil culture in the medieval period, Brahmins occupied the higher positions in society and the kings' courts. Similarly, when westernization took place in the modern period, Brahmins took a lead in that and therefore entered the colonial administration, gaining a new criterion of status, in addition to the old, together with new political and economic advantages (for details, see Srinivas, 1966:102 and Irschick, 1969:12f). As Srinivas has pointed out the high caste dominance in education and the new occupations provided the *raison d'etre* for the Backward Classes Movement. It is not an accident that the movement was strongest in peninsular India where one caste (in the varṇa sense), the Brahmins enjoyed a preponderence in higher education, the professions and Government employment. It is also an area where a wide social and cultural gulf obtained between the Brahmins and others. While Brahmin dominance in certain areas is general to peninsular India, it is particularly striking in Tamilnad (Srinivas, 1966:102). The Backward Classes Movement from its earliest days developed a mythology of its own; contemporary speculations identifing the Brahmins with the Aryans, and Tamil with the original Dravidian language, were eagerly seized on by the leaders of the non-Brahmin castes to manufacture an elaborate theory of Brahmin Machiavellianism throughout the centuries (for more details, see Srinivas 1966:104f).

As a consequence of this movement, a cultural and literary renaissance took place. Ideas concerning the antiquity and cultural self-sufficiency of the Dravidians were propagated by foreign scholars like Robert Caldwell (1819–1891), G. U. Pope (1820–1907) and native scholars like P. Sundaram

Pillai (1855–1897) and T. Ponnampalam Pillai (a contemporary
of Sundaram Pillai but the exact date is not known). At the
same time, native scholars were discovering, editing and publi-
shing ancient Tamil poems, some of which had been largely
forgotten for centuries. As Asher (1972a:36) has noted, the
ancient Tamil texts, called Sangam texts, are widely and justi-
fiably reckoned to represent the greatest literary creations
in Tamil and are predominantly secular in content; a corol-
lary of this is that Aryan influence in them is very
limited. Other scholars such as Maṟaimalaiyaṭikaḷ
(note that this is a tamilised form of his former name
Swami Vedachalam (1875–1950) and Somasundara Bharati
(1879–1959) had popularised the ideas of the self-sufficiency
and also the purification of the Tamil language.

As a result, general feelings regarding the high antiquity
and the superiority of the ancient Tamil culture, the
independence of the Dravidian family of languages (from
Sanskrit, and hence from the Indo-European family) and the
very little change of the Tamil language from the ancient
to the modern period, etc. played a greater part in the
language politics of Tamilnad (for details, see Asher, 1972a:37
and Schiffman, 1972).

Another thing to be noted in this connection is the
development of a general tendency all over India in recent
years: open language conflict, which became acute immedi-
ately after national independence. After the reorganization
of the states on a linguistic basis in the 1950s, regional
consciousness and pride had an organized institutional represen-
tation (Das Gupta, 1970 : 243). That is, many states before
reorganization, had more than one language under their juris-
diction (for instance, Madras state had Tamil, Telugu, Kannada
and Malayalam; Bombay had Marathi, Gujarathi, Kannada,

etc.). But now, after reorganization, each major language is spoken mainly within a single state: Tamil within Tamilnad, Kannada within Karnataka, etc. Therefore, at the state level, the importance of the regional language has been steadily increasing. All the states generally adopted the regional language as their official language. At the same time, the regional languages are also increasingly displacing English as the medium of instruction (Ibid. 195).

These factors discussed above may be called 'positive factors'. There may be 'negative factors', that is, those which are absent in the society under discussion but which are present in another, closely related society. This may be useful not only for a contrastive study but also for a better understanding of the other society. Malayalam society which is closely related to Tamil society has a system of hypergamy (i.e., the giving of girls in marriage to boys from a higher caste) especially the marriage of Nambudri Brahmin boys to Nair non-Brahmin girls which has been held to be generally helpful in the sanskritization of the way of life (Srinivas, 1966 : 29). The popularity of translations from Sanskrit, especially the works of Kālidāsa, and the existence of a Malayalam grammar in Sanskrit, etc. are some of the factors which might have been responsible for the non-resistence of Malayalam to sanskritization. The corollary of this is that the absence of these factors in Tamil society might have been helpful to the desanskritization and native internal creation of the Tamil language.

Another important reason for purification may be the structural diversity of loan words introduced into the language. The fact that the donor and the borrower languages are structurally different may be well known. But what is more important is the knowledge of the structural diversity

of the words introduced into the language by borrowing. The awareness of the difference might have played some part in the Tamil purification movement. One can note the following structural diversity of the Sanskrit words introduced into Tamil: (i) Initial consonant clusters, even though there are some in the colloquial language due to loss of vowels, are not admitted in the written language. Contrary to this' clusters such as *sr-*, *st-*, *ty-*, etc. are found in the Sanskrit loan words. Egs. *sri* 'Mr.', *stri* 'lady', *tya:nam* 'worship', etc. Similarly, there are many medial consonant clusters not found in native words: *-tc-*, *-ty-*, *-tr-*, *-pt-*, *-rc-*, *-st-*, etc. are some of the new clusters introduced into the language. Egs. *vaṇamako:tcavam* 'ceremony of tree planting', *atyuṭcakar* 'chancellor', *putraṇ* 'son', *a:pta* 'dear', *tu:ratarcaṇi* 'telescope', *kaniṣṭa* 'young', etc. (ii) Many such words go against the syllabic pattern of Tamil words and also the number of syllables in such words may be greater than in native words Egs. *vantaṇo:paca:ram* 'vote of thanks', *upa atyaṭcakar* 'vice-chancellor', *kantakika:milam* 'sulphuric acid', etc.

There is one example where the translation of a particular word is misleading: in railway stations, the word 'gentlemen' was translated into sanskritized Tamil as *puruṣarkaḷ* which means 'husbands' in the colloquial language. Since this is a case of restriction of meaning felt by the native speakers of the language, it had to be replaced by some other word with a general sense. So, the native word, *a:ṇkaḷ* is now used.

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FOOTNOTES

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2   Maheswari Balakrishnan (1972-123) has called this as 'resuscitating archaic and obsolete words'.

3   The idea of loan creation is found in Ray 1963:67.

4   The Govt. of Tamilnadu has recently introduced some reforms in the script. For details, see the last article.

5   It is to be noted that the latest issue of 'The Journal of Tamil Studies' (September, 1972) which is now published under the auspices of the International Institute of Tamil Studies, Madras, has followed the system given in the *Tamil lexicon*.

2. TAMIL AS A MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

A national language as medium of instruction is primarily an extension of its social function which requires the development of the language to the extent of the requirement of its new function. However the socio-cultural factors would decide the nature of development of the language and this is the main reason for the language planning and development being a part of socio-linguistics.

Tamil, as one of the national languages or one of the fifteen languages recognized by the 8th schedule of the constitution of India, is the official language of the state, Tamilnadu from 1956 and an alternative medium at the university level from 1960 for the humanities and from 1962 for the science subjects. As Tamilnadu, a state within the Indian Union, the development of Tamil should be naturally influenced by the policy of the central Government. Hindi has been declared as the official language of the Union and English is permitted as the associate official language until all the states agree to use Hindi. In most of the states, regional languages have been introduced not only as the official language of the state but also as the alternative medium of the undergraduate level and only some universities have attempted to teach the postgraduate course also through the regional language medium. However, the technical courses like engineering and medicine are taught only through English medium throughout India. So, at the maximum three languages the regional language [s], the national language and the international language [English in India] have their roles to play not only in the various social functions but also in the development of the languages in India.

The development of the Indian languages was at first at the hands of private agencies and then, especially after the independence, the central and the state Government took the necessary initiatives. The central Government is mainly interested in the development of the official language of the union but made some arrangements for the development of the regional languages through the state Governments The central Government set up a commission for evolving scientific and technical terminology in the hope that the majority of the terms coined by them, i.e., about 80% to 90%, could be adopted by the regional languages and the remaining terms could be adopted by the regional languages to suit their idiom and genius (vide the Government of India. 1968). However, the states also have set up their own machinery for the development of the language of their region. Since education was the state subject until very recently (i.e., until the 42nd amendment of the Indian constitution by the Janata Govt.), the state commission did not accept the centre's terms with any great enthusiasm. Moreover the terms coined by the central commission came under severe attack (e.g., vide Khubchandani 1969 : 90, Pandit 1969 : 117). At least three significant trends could be noticed in the process of development of the Indian languages: 1) Purification, 2) Classicalisation and 3) Westernization.

It should be noted in this connection that Fishman (1972: 238) has observed the tendency for purification throughout the South and Southeast Asian countries:

"In South and South East Asia, given the general identification of internationalism with Euro-American colonism, purification shows tendencies of combating "cultural colonialism" much more then neighbouring vernaculars, all the more so, since the latter have little, if any, national significance.

The interest in indigenizing the national languages of South and South East Asia is a definitive sign of the new and broader socio-cultural integration that they must succeed in developing to the end that a new supraethnic authenticity will be developed that will correspond to the new unification and modernization that have been emphasized thus for."

However, the purification overlooks certain national and educational interests. If the case of Hindi is taken into consideration. one important linguistic factor is forgotten. That is to say, there are two different language families, Aryan (more generally, Indo-European) and Dravidian recognized by the 8th schedule of the Indian constitution. But they have developed common features which make India "a linguistic area" (Emeneau, 1956). As Katre has noted (1969 : 176), a large non-Sanskritic element exists in the present day Indian languages and so the purification as well as the classicalisation would stand in the way of making the national language more widely understood. It is always good for a nation to have one list of technical terms agreeing broadly with as minimal local modification as is necessary so that the efficiency of communication and facility in education could be achieved. One way of achieving this is to retain the international terms as far as possible. Even though the retention of the international terms is generally welcomed and supported by the national leaders and academicians, the interpretation of the international terms varies from person to person and certain specific principles are now being formulated to delimit the scope of this category of words (e.g., vide Kothari 1965 : 5), But the central commission for scientific and technical terminology has accepted only about 10% and about 80% of terms have been taken from Sanskrit (Government of India. 1968). The importance of retaining the international terms as far as possible has

been emphasized time and again. Jawaharlal Nehru observed thus (taken from the Government of India, 1968) :

"Words from foreign languages which have become current coin in this country should be retained, partly because they are current coin and partly because the more common words you have with the rest of the world, the better for scientific and technical subjects. Science and technology know no frontiers.

The scientific and technical terms that we use will be common in the various Indian languages and, wherever possible, should be similar words of international usage. Otherwise, there will be confusion, and the burden on the minds of the students will be great."

Here the international understanding and the pedagogical problems are stressed. Another argument will be that the growth of scientific knowledge is so fast as to double in less than ten years in the present context (Shah 1969 : 350) and so it is not possible to translate all the recent research findings in the national or regional languages. Nor is it possible to coin the new terms for all the advanced subjects. Moreover, a nation should not always be in the receiving end of the scientific and technical advancements. If she wants to make her own contribution, it is imperative that the scholars and the researchers should be in a position to consult the latest books and journals in their chosen fields and this will be possible if the international terms are retained. In this connection the common arguments in favour of coining the technical terms in the regional and national languages may be noted: 1). It is difficult to grasp and remember technical terms if they are in a foreign language ; 2) One's initiation into science would not be natural if one used one term to describe a concept inside the science class room and another term for it outside the class room; 3) A large scale popularisation of

science can be achieved only if done in the regional language and it is essential for the sake of adequate and wise support of science; without it the average citizen would hardly have any real awareness of the "new world" opening before him (Kothari 1965 : 9f). This aspect can be called the percolation of knowledge while the former can be called the sharing of knowledge (Pattanayak, 1969 : 333). Different strategy should be followed for each category. More popular books using lesser number of technical terms should be produced for the percolation of the knowledge and this should not be allowed to stand in the way of sharing or advancement of knowledge

Tamil is also well-known for the purification tendency and it is still very active, especially in removing Sanskrit words. For example, the Sanskrit phrase *satyame:va jayate*: 'truth alone triumphs' used in the emblem of the Government has also been translated into Tamil as *va:ymaiye: vellum* as soon as the DMK party came in power in Tamilnadu in 1967. It should be pointed out that in the early stage of modernization of Tamil, most of the technical terms coined were Sanskrit compounds difficult for the ordinary person without any sanskrit background and so in the second phase of modeanization, native internal creations are prefered (for details regarding the socio-cultural backgrounds and the language development, vide Shanmugam 1975). However, recently the commonly found loanwords are retained in the coinage of legal terms (Maharajan 1976) and some arguments to retain the loanwords found commonly in the modern spoken Tamil are given in an article by the author (Shanmugam, 1976). The purification would make Tamil more distinct from other Indian languages and the spoken dialects of Tamil and so the learning of languages would become little more difficult for the Tamils.

The classicalisation would widen the gap between the spoken and written styles and the common man would react very sharply against the high brow styles which are unintelligible to him. The classicalisation trend of Hindi has already been discussed by various authors (e.g., Gumperz and Naim 1960 for Hindi and Khub Chandani 1969 for all the Indian languages). But the detailed study of classicalisation in Tamil has shown that it could be welcomed at least in the sphere of technical terms since Modern Tamil is more analytical than Old Tamil which is more synthetical (Shanmugam 1975 : 58) and not in the sphere of phonology and morphology where it may impede the easy comprehension (Agesthialingom and Shanmugam 1976).

The westernisation has set the trend of borrowing from European languages, particularly English and this led to the code mixing, i.e., using two or more languages interchangeably even within the same utterance. This has resulted in some indirect changes also. For example, in Tamil, the replacement of the simple verb by the verbal noun of the simple verb plus another verb may be cited.

muṉṉe : ṟṟattaippeṟiṟuppo:m for muṉṉe : ṟiyiruppo : m
'grown'
'vaḷarcciyum viraiva:kap peṟappaṭṭu for viraiva:ka vaḷarntu' 'fast' by grown etc.

Many sentences in modern science books appear to be the literal translation of English sentences (Agesthialingom and Shanmugam 1974 b and 1976). The statement of Subramanyam (1969 : 231) that some items in the Tamil encyclopaedia should have to be retranslated into English to understand them may also be noted.

So far, the problem of language development, i.e., only elaboration has been discussed and the remaining problem is

the codification which is mainly concerned with the written language. The medium of instruction, even though appears to be a problem of spoken language, is really the problem of written language since a teacher could use a kind of manipravala style (i.e., mixture of national and international languages) in the class room but the same method could not be followed in the written style even if the language does not have two different styles, spoken and written so as to be called diglossic. Here also the three major trends already noted could be found operating.

The modern written Tamil is not based on any one of the spoken dialects and hence it is called 'supra dialectal norm' (Ferguson 1968 : 31). However, at the level of derivational morphology and the syntax, the influence of spoken language could be noted. Similarly the increasing influence of northern spoken dialect is felt in the standard written language as the capital of Tamilnad, Madras, is situated in that area. It is possible to note the following two features to support the contention. One is the use of the allomorph of neuter plural morpheme-*kaḷ*. It has two allomorphs *–kaḷ* and *–kkaḷ*. With the respect to the polysyllabic words, especially ending in *–u* which is called 'shorter u' in the native grammars, *–kaḷ* is more common in the northern diaelct and this is increasingly employed in standard Tamil e.g., *eḷuttukkaḷ* in southern dialect is *eḷuttukaḷ* 'letters' in northern dialect. Parantamanar who hails from Madras argues that *eḷuttukaḷ*, *viḷakkukaḷ* 'lamps' etc. are 'good' Tamil (1972:223). Varadarajan who used the allomorph-*kkaḷ* in those types of words in most of his writings began to change to *–kaḷ* form in his later life. Shanmugam Pillai is the Chairman of the Department of Tamil of the Madurai University where Varadarajan was the Vice-Chancellor (1969-74) told the present author that he used *–kaḷ* form in

his later writings. The other evidence is the use of allo morphs of neuter singular demonstrative pronouns, *atu* 'that', *itu* 'this' which have *at/atan* : *it/itan* in other dialects and *att-* and *itt-* in the northern dialect and the latter forms have been increasingly used by other dialect speakers also. Akilan, one of the modern creative writers who recently got an All India award for his writing hails from the central dialect area but uses the northern dialectal forms (1972 : 43, 118 etc.).

The problem of codification can be discussed from the point of view of phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics.

At the phonological level, there are two problems. One is the adequacy of Tamil orthography. The native orthography is inadequate to write the names of foreign authors and borrowed technical terms having voiced stops and fricatives. Moreover, the modern spoken dialects have more number of phonemes than the native orthography and hence individual attempts are made to represent the new phonemes by introducing some additional scripts. The creative writers do use some additional scripts while the authors of the text-books on science and humanities hesitate to use them. There is no uniformity even in the books published by the State Government which is the sole publisher of all the text-books in Tamil including the books useful for the Tamil medium at the University level (Agesthialingom and Shanmugam 1974a). Here the purification and the classicalisation may be responsible for the lack of interest in the codification.

Another aspect of the phonological problem is the standardisation of the spelling of some words which are commonly written differently from the classical spelling. The problem is being discussed occasionally in the popular journals and also in the treatises dealing with standard Tamil (e.g.

Parantamanar 1972). The linguistic analysis of modern Tamil and the orthography reveals the fact that the modern Tamil writing system is not fully phonemic but morphophonemic and morphemic in many cases (Shanmugam 1977) and so the necessity of new standardisation of the spelling of the words become important. As Lepage has observed "if education in the Vernacular is to involve literacy, written forms must be developed which are reasonably close to the colloquial usage, the orthography must often be changed and the vocabulary brought up to date" (1964 : 20). This supports the spelling reform from the educational point of view.

The morphological problem is mainly based on the coinage of the technical terms. In general, it can be said that the technical terms so far coined in Tamil are not created in such a way as to make the further creation of similar words easy and simple. In other words, they are descriptive in nature and do not have any generative capacity.

There is one structural problem in Tamil. It being a suffixing agglutinative language, has to coin many words having prefixes :

I Colonisation : Decolonisation : : niṟama:kkam: niṟa ni:kkam

   Compression : Decompression : : iṟukkam : iṟukka ni:kkam

II Ionisable : Non-ionisable : : ayaṇi a:kum : ayaṇi a:ka:ta

III a Polar : Non-polar : : miṇmuṇaivu : miṇmuṇaivu aṟṟa
    b Active : Non-active : : vi:riyamuḷḷa : vi:riyam aṟṟa

IV Metal : Non-metal : : ulo:kam : alo:kam

In the case of the first the verb *ni:kku* 'remove', is used to denote the negative, in the case of second and of third ,aṟṟu 'cut/remove' and in the case of fourth the real prefix is used There are many prefixes, of course, all borrowed from Sanskrit in the spoken languages and modern writings (not of the classical authors but the creative writers and the journalists) and they are all recognised by some native grammars and also one modern writer on standard Tamil (Parantamanar 1972 : 264). Here the purification is responsible for the hesitation in the adoption of commonly used Sanskrit prefixes, which would simplify the technical terms, as in IV.

I   a   Activated-kiḷarvu peṟṟa

      b   Activated [charcoal] – tiraṇce:r [kari], vi:riyam e:ṟiya [kari]

      c   Activated [complex]-kiḷarvuṟṟa [iṭainilai]

      d   Activated [state]-kiḷarvuṟṟa [nilai]

II   Activation [energy]-kiḷaruvukoḷ [a:ṟṟal]

III   a   Active [centre]-kiḷarvukoḷ [maiyam], viṇaipuri [pulaṅkaḷ]

      b   Active [hydrogen]-tiraṇce:r [haiṭrajaṉ], vi:riya [haiṭrajaṉ]

      c   Active [mass]-viṇaipaṭuporuṇmai

IV   a   Activity-kiḷarcci

      b   Activity [co-efficient]-viṇai valivu [eṇ], viṇaittiṟa kuṇakam

      c   Activity, [ionic]—[ayaṇikaḷiṉ] viṇai vaḷivu

Here paradigmatically there are four words but the Tamil terms do not show clearly the paradigmatic relation. Nor is there any uniformity in the base form, which is

expressed in eight different ways: *kiḷarvupeṟu, kiḷarvuṟu, kiḷarvukoḷ, viṉaipaṭu, viṉaivalivu, tiraṉce:r* and *vi:riyam* which can be grouped under four bases. The plurality of the terms for a single technical term is one of the basic defects in Tamil as well as other Indian languages and it is due to the lack of central authority who could select one form and implement it consistently. In the above examples, the simple word, *vi:riyam* is a loanword, *kiḷar* is in the spoken language and the other two are classical terms. Since the base *kiḷar* is also used in coinning the other terms like florescence (*kiḷar oḷivi:cal* as well as *uṟĩncioḷivi:cal*) and induction furnace (*kiḷarmiṉulai*). So it would be better to select *vi:riyam* and create the other forms, like *vi:riṭṭa* for activated, *vi:rippu* for activation. Another thing to be noted is the avoidance of synonyms and this will be further discussed under semantics. Something may also be said about the compound formation (IV c) which is a phrase *ayaṉikaḷiṉ viṉai valivu* rather than a compound.

There are many other cases where the same tendency is found:

Kinetic theory of gases : va:yukkaḷiṉ iyakkappaṇpu-kkoḷkai-va:yvu iyakka [paṇpu] koḷkai

Steam distillation:ni:ra:viya:l ka:ycci vaṭittal-ni:ra:vivaṭippu

Auto oxidation and auto reduction: ta:ne: a:ksijaṉ e:rramum iṟakkam-cuya a:ksijaṉ e:ṟṟa iṟakkam

Back titration:eñciyatai muṟittal-eccamuṟippu

The compound formation is common in Tamil and that should be utilised in the coinage of technical terms also.

Another problem is the coinage of the general terms used in the technical sense :

Transformer : (miṉ aḻutta) ma:ṟṟi

Reactance : (miṉ) maṟuppu etc.

The redundant forms are given within brackets.

The notion that the technical terms should be as far as possible self-explanatory is prevalent in many cases. Since the science fixes the meaning of a term and the language fixes the word only (Kothari 1965 : 4), those words could also be coined in the general sense and their technical meaning be derived from the context of the science.

Generally one would expect that there may not be any problem of syntax. But the study of the text-books used for the Tamil medium reveals that they are far from satisfactory from the syntactical point of view also (Agesthialingom and Shanmugam 1974 b and 1976). Here the classicalisation and the westernization could be easily noted. However, one thing should be worth remembering, namely, that the authors do not have any experience in text-book writing. Therefore, the text-book writers should be given some training in the language so that they could avoid certain misconceptions as well as follow certain methods of writing.

At the semantic level, the concept of intellectualisation as defined by the Prague school — the richness and multiple differentiation of the vocabulary (Vachek 1966 : 97) should be given due weight not only in the elaboration but also in the codification. Therefore, separate words should be created for different concepts within a semantic field. For instance, in the field of economics, the words development and growth are used with different connotation. It has been suggested that *muṉṉe:ṟṟam* and *vaḷarcci* respectively and should be consistently employed. In the field of chemistry, the words inactive and weak are translated as *vi:riyam* aṟṟa. Since

inactiveness may be due to different reasons, both should be expressed by two different words. To differentiate two slightly different concepts, it is better to create two different words than making compounds or phrases.

In conclusion, it should be pointed out that the medium of instruction is not only the language problem but also the linguists' problem. In all the developing nations, the intellectuals face the dilemma whether they should be more interested in the basic topics than in the applied or practical topics which are directly useful to their nation and which need immediate attention so that the nation could have the correct perspective of their problems. It is worth while to mention that the Indian agricultural scientists were recently told that they should not take undue interest in abstract problems with a view to publish papers in international journals but the problems facing the Indian farmers and publish their papers in the Indian journals so that they are easily available to the local people who could profit by them. The linguists, especially in India, who had given only the general theory of language development so far did not enter the field of language development directly. As a result, many language patriots with their different orientation and traditions did the major work in the coinage of technical terminologies as well as other areas of language development. Since the medium of instruction is not merely the creation of technical terms for writing text-books on science and technology but really involves the whole question of the language development examining national and educational problems the linguists have a greater role to play. This has been already pointed out in an inspiring passage in the report of the official language commission set up by the Government of India (1957; 218 para 7) ;

"Indological researches, hitherto only a scholarly pursuit for academicians, are now potent with practical moment of the highest consequence to this country. Here is a tremendous challenge to the Indian linguists and a like opportunity to help in forging linguistic ties to match and sustain the cultural and political unities of the community of Indian people. Nowhere in history could philologists and linguists have been called to a greater duty."

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3. REGIONAL LANGUAGE AND NATIONALISM

On the basis of the sociologically oriented theories of nationalism, India is considered to be a 'multi-ethnic society' in which there are a large number of ethnic groups which vary in size from highly localised caste and tribal group to great language and religious groups (Brass, 1974 : 14). This is reflected in the Constitution of India which has recognized two official languages for the Centre: one exoglossic language, English and another endoglossic language, Hindi and additionally fourteen national languages including the classical language, Sanskrit. Of the fourteen modern languages, eleven belong to the Indo-Aryan family and four to the Dravidian. With the exception of Sindhi and Urdu, the rest of the modern languages are the dominant regional languages in one or more states.

3.1. Trends in Indian Languages

All the modern languages of India have been undergoing phenomenal changes due to the expansion of their social function and three major trends have been noted so far in their development (Shanmugam, 1977a). They are (i) westernism, (ii) classicalism, and (iii) purism. There seems to be another trend to be recognized now. It can be named modernism which is the opposite of classicalism referring to the trend of bringing the language closer to the speech of the modern educated persons (See, Krishnamurti, 1973). This can be clearly seen in the two languages, Bengali and Telugu: *ca:lit bha:ṣa:* 'colloquial language' versus *sa:dhu bha:ṣa:* 'literary language' in Bengali (Dimock, 1960), and *vya:vaha:rika* 'colloquial language' versus *gra:nthika* 'classical language' in

Telugu (Krishnamurthi, n.d,) illustrates this point. In *sa:dhu bha:ṣa:* of Bengali and *gra:nthika* of Telugu, the morphology is older and the vocabulary is predominantly Sanskritic and hence the movement to modernize the lauguage was started in the beginning of this century and it was successful to a good extent in those two languages.

These four trends, however, are found in all the languages but the emphasis given to them may only vary reflecting the socio-cultural factors involved in the development of the language. Westernism is common to all the languages of India and it mainly refers to the influence of English. The development of prose literature in general and scientific and technical literature in particular are due to the westernism. It is generally believed that all the languages are influenced by the syntax of English. The lexical influence of English not as loan words but as loan translations and loan extensions is considerable in all the languages.

Purism is considered to be common not only in Indian languages but also in other South Asian languages as well as in South East Asian languages (Fishman, 1972 : 247f). According to him, this is mainly 'to combat the cultural colonism much more than neighbouring vernaculars and it is a definite sign of the new and broader sociocultural integration that they must succeed in developing to the end to a new supraethnic authenticity'. This can be considered purism opposing westernism. In the languages which have modernism, purism is restricted to the elimination of pedantic classic words and not to the assimilated loan words. But in those languages where classicalism is the major force, purism is directed to all kinds of loan words, whether they are assimilated words or recent borrowings. Hindi (Das Gupta Gumperz 1968 : 161 f and Das Gupta, 1970 : 183, 187) and Tamil belong to this category.

Classicalism is 'borrowing and reborrowing from classical language which is Sanskrit in the case of all the Indian languages except Tamil, and Old Tamil in the case of Tamil' Kubchandani, 1969 : 89). Almost all the languages except Tamil depend upon Sanskrit for the coinage of technical terms. Here again, there seems to be some differences among the various languages. In those languages where modernism is active, all the technical terms are not coined by using the classical elements. In fields like agriculture, fishery, and carpentry occupational vocabularies available in the dialects are employed as far as possible and only in other fields classical elements are used. Borrowing from the dialect is really an enrichment of the standard language and hence it is brought nearer to its main goal of universality (Asmah, 1975 : 31). This tendency can be noted in Telugu. The situation in other languages is not known. But in the case of languages where classicalism is predominant in all fields, functional efficiency and the expansion of communication are not given due weight but only national pride is given importance. Here the primary responsibility of the language planners is considered to create new products while the responsibility of people is supposed to invest time and the training required for the use of such products (Das Gupta, 1970 : 180).

In spite of the fact that purism and classicalism are active forces in some languages, the elaboration of function of language especially after independence should have made some changes towards modernism. Moreover, standardization of languages is considered to be a major problem now in India (Krishnamurti, 1973). So, the languages where modernism is active, can be said to have modernism voluntarily (ie. volitive modernism) and others where classicalism is predominant can

be considered to have modernism involuntarily (ie. involitive modernism).

With this general background, the intensity and the extensity of these trends in Tamil, one of the regional languages of India is studied here with a concentration on the attitude of language planners and supporters who are not directly involved in the language planning activities but support or oppose the general trend of development, on various aspects of language planning.

3.2. Attitude of Language Planners in Tamil

The language planners in Tamil are aware of the three dimensions of language planning, viz. cultivation, elaboration and codification.

3.2.1. Cultivation

Tamil is traditionally classified into three varieties : (i) literary, which includes grammar, philosophy etc.; (ii) musical; and (iii) dramatical. Traditionally they are known as *muttamil* 'three (varieties of) Tamil'. On that basis, some planners have suggested that in the modern time, the fourth variety named 'Scientific Tamil' should be recognized (Ganesan, 1972 : 16). There are many supporters who have argued for the flexibility of the language from the classical style to suit the modern need. Parantamanar in his guide book called the modern Tamil *naṭaimuṟaittamil* 'current Tamil' (1972 : 8), Politicians like Sivagnanam (1960 : 69) and journalists like Somale (1968 : 185, 343) have supported this. But there are others who oppose this.

Muttukkumaran (1976) an Engineer by profession who is also interested in the development of Tamil has rejected the

plea for the recognition of 'Scientific Tamil' on the following grounds: (i) In English, there are many varieties and so it is difficult for a scholar in one field to understand the terms in another field because of the fact that the same term is used in different senses. For instance, the term 'granite' in geology is different from the same term in civil engineering: and (ii) development in general does not refer to growth in a haphazard way and therefore, even scientific Tamil should only be developed within the literary tradition following the (traditional) grammatical rules (Muttukkumaran, 1976 : 5). Muttuppillai (1971 : 17) who had worked in the state government had coined many administrative terms and vehemently criticised the idea of Parantamanar about 'current Tamil' by saying that it is not correct to classify Tamil into two varieties like current Tamil and literary Tamil because everybody would like to have only one variety of Tamil, i.e., literary Tamil. Eventhough the arguments are for accepting the literary variety, they can be taken to mean the basic question of unimodel standardization versus multimodel standardization. Even traditional recognition of three varieties seems to be more on the basis of subject matter than on the basis of linguistic structure. However, one can notice many differences even within the literary variety. The literary language is different from the grammatical language. For instance, *ve:ṛṛumai* means 'case' in grammar but 'difference' in literature. Similarly there are many differences between the literary language and the philosophical language. So, it is not correct to say that English alone has different meanings in different fields for the same word. So, the argument against the recognition of a new variety amounts only to the opposition to the modernism.

3.2.2. Elaboration

There are three different views regarding the elaboration process in Tamil. One is that all the terms should be coined only through the internal creation and that they should be self-explanatory. This is suggested because if the loan words are accepted in the language, they would lead to the adaptation of new sounds which in turn compel one to create new graphemes. The acceptance of new graphemes would be responsible for the divergence and the loss of language (Iramalinganar, 1968 : 32 and Ganapathi Pillai, 1967 : 76). Malayalam which was a dialect of Tamil became a separate language only because of its excessive borrowings and the adaptation of new graphemes, according to this group of scholars.

The other group is ready to accept the loan words for those items where it is not possible to find the Tamil equivalents. But this is not a homogeneous group because there is a difference of opinion with regard to the retention of loan words. Some are of the opinion that the loan words should be admitted in the language only temporarily. Muttuppillai has observed that the loan words should be conceded only transitorily because the administrative language should be familiar as it is going to be in use for a long time to come. So, he has suggested that the loans should be replaced as and when the Tamil equivalents are found out (Muttuppillai, 1971 : 28). Meenakshisundaram (1976 : 27) gives another reason in support of this view. The acceptance of loan words in science would minimise the difficulties of learning a new set of terms for Tamil. But he hopes that the Tamil terms would emerge in the minds of the students when scientific knowledge is well advanced. So the use of the loan words is only for the advancement of scientific

knowledge. But on the other hand, there are others who are not favourable to the elimination of loan words which have become part and parcel of the language (Maharajan, 1976, Sivagnanam, 1960). They could be said to belong to the other group who are willing to retain the loan words permanently. It is to be noted here that an attempt has been made to classify the words which could be accepted as loan words. For instance, Ganesan (1972 : 35) has noted that the terms based on personal names like volt and watt, place names having special significance like New York, Netherland and the international terms such as sine, logarithm should be taken as loan words. The third group is willing to accept all the international terms as loan words in Tamil.

3.2.3. Codification

Codification of the morphological system which is very essential for the productive coining of new terms in the language has not been discussed by Tamil scholars. But its theoretical importance has been considered by Kulandaisamy (1973). But the codification of the phonological system has been a common point of discussion in Tamil for a long time. Here, two problems, viz.. (i) the number of graphemes to be used in Modern Tamil, and (ii) the phonological rules to be followed, are discussed.

As for the number of graphemes, there are three schools of thought. One can be called the classical school, according to which 31 graphemes (i.e., 12 vowels, 18 consonants and 1 intermediary) mentioned in the native grammars should alone be used in all varieties or in all subjects. Another school which consists of modern creative writers, politicians, historians, journalists and others is of the opinion that, in addition to the above graphemes, four or five scripts

popularly known as Sanskrit or Grantha scripts which are being used for the last 1300 years in the Tamil inscriptions should also be employed. This group can be called modernist. The third one wants to use or is using a different type of additional graphemes over and above the Grantha graphemes to represent the new phonemes developed in Modern Tamil. But there is no uniformity in the new symbols employed by them. This is mainly a small group of journalists who can be called ultramodernists.

The arguments of the classicalists against the acceptance of the additional graphemes are very interesting. One is that Tamil has more number of graphemes since the so-called syllabic graphemes are taken into account by them. The real issue to be decided here is what type of writing system (i.e., alphabetic or syllabic) Tamil has. Gelb (1962 : 198) has already noted that all the Indian writing systems belong basically to the alphabetic system. But the popular opinion in Tamilnadu is that the Tamil writing system is of the syllabic type, according to which the so-called syllabic letters are counted as separate letters and hence the higher number (Mahadevan, 1973 : 3 and Meenakshisundaram, 1973 : 46). The second one is about the nature of the relationship between the script and the language. Since the script is intrinsic to the language, the loss or addition of scripts would be responsible for the divergence or loss of the language (Muttuk-kumaran, 1976 : 8). Thirdly, it would be difficult to learn additional scripts and hence one need not waste one's time and energy in learning the additional scripts (Meenakshi-sundaram, 1976 : 24). Fourthly, English has not so far borrowed any new grapheme in spite of the fact that it has borrowed a large number of words from various languages. This is cited by all the classicalists,

In the phonological rules to be adopted, there are two different views even among the classicalists. Since all the native Tamil grammars discuss the distribution of the phonemes in Tamil, i.e., initials, finals and medial clusters, these grammatical rules should be followed. For example 'Rockefeller' should be written in Tamil as *ira:kpellar* and not as *ra:kpellar* because /r/ should not occur initially as laid down in the Tamil grammars. The other subgroup of classicalists is willing to make some concessions in the phonological rules since there is no uniformity among the various Tamil grammars in the description of distribution of phonemes (Meenakshisundaram, 1976:29). Parantamanar (1972:452) is also for the acceptance of certain new phonemes initially and finally, and so has listed them in his book. The modernists have not expressed any opinion regarding the phonological rules to be accepted. That means, they do not think of any problem in this respect. However, a perusal of modern writing in Tamil would convince anybody that it is necessary to standardise the phonology as there is a lot of free variation in the spelling of words.

The following are the different views on the various dimensions of the language planning:
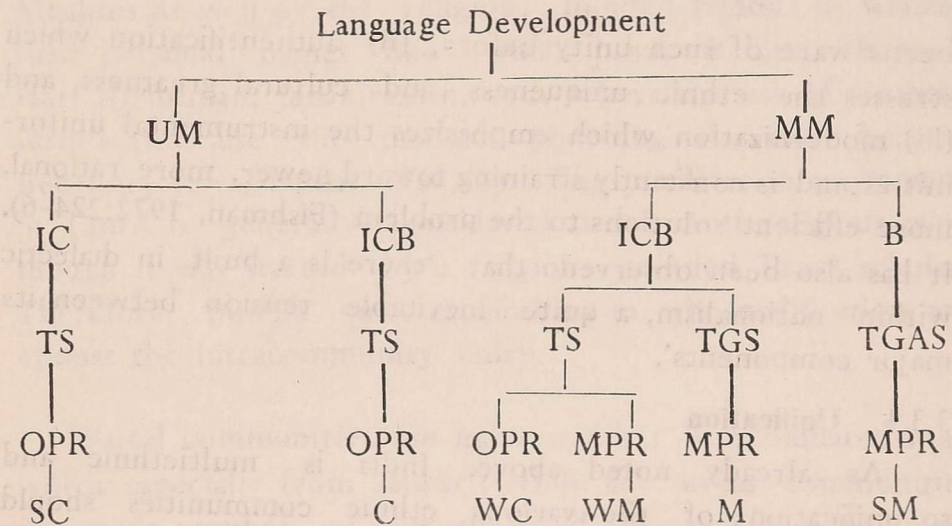
Cultivation: Unimodel (UM); Multimodel (MM)

Elaboration: Internal Creation (IC); Internal Creation and Borrowing (ICB); Borrowing (B)

Codification: (a) Inventory of graphemes: Tamil Scripts (TS); Tamil and Grantha Scripts (TGS); Tamil, Grantha and Additions (TGAS)

(b) Phonological rules: Rules of Tamil grammar (OPR); Rules of Modern Tamil (MPR)

Language Development

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                    Language Development
                             |
         ┌───────────────────────────────────────┐
         |                                        |
        UM                                       MM
         |                                        |
    ┌────┴────┐              ┌──────────┬─────────┐
    |         |              |          |         |
   IC        ICB           ICB         B
    |         |             |           |
   TS        TS            TS  TGS    TGAS
    |         |            ┌──┴──┐      |
   OPR       OPR         OPR MPR MPR   MPR
    |         |           |  |    |     |
   SC         C          WC WM   M     SM
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In fact, we do not have as many groups as there are number of combinations of various dimensions of language planning. If language development as a whole is taken into consideration, there are six groups; viz., strong classicalism (**SC**), classicalism (**C**), weak classicalism (**WC**), weak modernism (**WM**), modernism (**M**), and strong modernism (**SM**).

3.3. Nationalism and Language Development

Nationalism is used in two senses: **(i)** a process by which ethnic group and communities are mobilized for action to attain political ends, and **(ii)** a process by which loyalties are developed to the state (Brass, 1974:9f). Fishman calls the latter nationism (1968 : 43) which is rejected by Brass on the ground that the term is artificial and it is 'too easily read as nationalism on the printed page'. In the development of language, only the second process seems to be significant.

Nationalism has three emphases, viz., (i) unification which stresses the inherent unity of the population that never hap

been aware of such unity before, (ii) authentification which stresses the ethnic uniqueness and cultural greatness, and (iii) modernization which emphasizes the instrumental uniformities and is constantly straining toward newer, more rational, more efficient solutions to the problem (Fishman, 1972:224-6). It has also been observed that 'there is a built in dialectic within nationalism, a quite inevitable tension between its major components'.

3 3.1. Unification

As already noted above, India is multiethnic and so unification of the various ethnic communities should be attempted as far as possible and this can be called intercommunity unification. All the ethnic communities are internally divided by different castes, religion, etc. and so unification within the various subgroups of an ethnic community can be called intracommunity unification. This is similar to the distinction made by Das Gupta (1970 : 7f) between the sociological concept of the social community and the political concept of the political community. He feels that the distinction is important in analysing national development in the new states based on various kinds of segmental diversity and makes it possible to arrive at a better understanding of the sequential development of various kinds of cohesion. Similarly, the above distinction of intercommunity unification and intracommunity unification would be helpful to comprehend the cohesive nature of the language development.

Tamil speech community is segmented by two important ethnological divisions, caste and religion and other sociological distinctions like educated vs. uneducated, and rural vs. urban. The classicalism in the codifications especially the non-acceptance of Grantha scripts and the modern phonological rules would pose some difficulties to the Christians and the

Muslims as well as the religious minded Hindus in writing their personal names like Israel, John, Rahim, Hameed, Hari Kirushnan, Janakiraman, etc., where the use of Grantha scripts and also the modern phonological rules become necessary (Sivagnanam, 1960:48). The purification movement in Tamil is generally considered to be anti-religious even though it was started by a religious minded Tamil scholar. Therefore, purism and classicalism in the codification are against the intracommunity unity.

Rural communities use more number of assimilated loan words especially from Sanskrit while the urban communities use more number of unassimilated loans especially from English. As a result, the rural dialect has fewer phonemes which do not include the voiced stops, retroflex sibilant, etc. which are found in the urban educated dialect (Meenakshi_sundaran, 1965 : 203). Since the modern culture is urban and industrial oriented, modernization of the language requires additional graphemes in Tamil. Elaboration is not at all possible through internal creation alone, especially in the scientific and technical fields. So, classicalism and purism will not serve any purpose for the expansion of communica_tion and may be helpful to a small group of literati. Hence they may be useful to emphasise authentification and not intracommunity unification.

It is generally believed that India as a nation has achieved only political integration and has yet to achieve national integration. This is also reflected of employment of common technical terms in all the languages of India are not fully realised. Therefore, each State is following its own way and is coining technical terms to be used in the regional language of the State. Of course, the Union Government had set up a scientific and technical terminology commission

which had already coined thousands of terms to be used in all the Indian languages. Education was a subject of the States (listed under the State List of the Constitution). A recent amendment of the Constitution includes it in the Concurrent List (bringing it under the purview of the Union and States as well). After the recent political changes the status of education is once again seriously discussed in the country and the result will be known only after sometime. However, all the States except Tamil Nadu have accepted officially many administrative terms suggested by the Union Government and Tamil Nadu is using a new set of terms coined internally.

All India forms		Tamil forms
a:ka:śava:ṇi	'All India Radio'	va:noli 'radio'
lo:ksabha:	'Indian Parliament'	na:ṭa:lumanṟam 'parliament'
du:rdarśan	'Indian television'	tolaikka:ṭci 'television' etc.

The All India terms are more specific while the Tamil forms are generic. So, some additional set of words becomes necessary in Tamil to denote the specific meanings. For example, the Trivandrum radio station in Kerala would make the following opening statement: *a:kasava:ni tiruvanandapuram ke:ndram* 'All India Radio, Trivandrum Centre', whereas a radio station in Tamilnadu, for instance, Trichi Station would introduce thus: *a:lintiya re:ḍiyo:vin tirucci va:ṇoli nilaiyam* 'Trichi Radio Station of All India Radio'. Note that the first part, *a:lintiya re:ḍiyo:* 'All India Radio' is a borrowing from English *a:ka:śava:ṇi* is not accepted in Tamil as it is a Sanskrit word. So, a term was borrowed from English. In other words, borrowing from an endoglossic

language is objected to in the name of purism but not the borrowing from an exoglossic language. This is part of the general attitude of the State Government which is being ruled by regional parties for the last ten years. Here the intercommunity unification is sacrificed to maintain the authentification.

In phonology also, Tamil is peculiar in the sense that it does not have graphemes for the voiced stops, aspirated stops voiced or voiceless which are found in most of the other Indian languages having writing systems. Hence, the modernists in Tamil argue for the creation of graphemes atleast for the voiced stops. This may bring Tamil closer to the other Indian languages and thus pave the way for intercommunity unification. The classicalists oppose this not only on the basis of the authentification but also on the basis of threat to the language, as noted in 2.3.

3.3.2. Modernization

One of the major problems of modernization of Tami is script reform which was first suggested as early as 1933 but without success so far. After the independence in 1947, the State Government set up a commission for that purpose but no action had been taken on the recommendation of the commission. The main problem is to reduce the number of secondary symbols for the vowels which are irregular in some cases and erratic in some others. It has been calculated that there are 138 separate symbols from the typographical point of view. So, the script reform introducing certain rationality would decrease the number and increase the typographical and the educational efficiency of the script. Suggestions to reduce the number of graphemes are being made now and then by scholars interested in the subject (for recent suggestion, see Kothandaraman, 1977; and Kulandaisamy,

1978). The apathy for the script reform may be due to the attitude with regard to the general nature of the script which is already noted. Moreover, Pandit (n.d. 121) has attributed another reason which is worth quoting here: 'One of the reasons for this apathy may be that we have not reached a stage where the lag between the tradition and technology is effectively felt; we are sufficiently immune to the technological demands for the scripts'.

Purism in the language has resulted in an increase of synonyms (e.g. *a:yvu* is used now in three different sense[s] because two other words used previously have been eliminated as they are Sanskritic words) and in the length of the words i.e, simple words which are assimilated loan words are replaced by compounds (e.g. *viva:tam* 'discussion' has been replaced now by *kalanturaiya:ṭal*) (for details, see Shanmugam, 1976). These are against the increase of the functional efficiency of the language which is the goal of modernization.

It may be said that the rationale behind modernization of language is not felt by the language planners and supporters in Tamil as all of them including the modernists are always pointing out the genius and uniqueness of Tamil and arguing for their maintenance (Sivagnanam, 1960). This means that preference is given to authentification rather than to unification and modernization.

4. Sociocultural Factors

The predominance of authentification in the attitude of language planners in Tamil may be sought in the socio-cultural situation prevalent in that region. It is true that the Tamil language is somewhat unique in its structure as well as in its literary tradition. To quote the Gazetteer of India: 'In certain ways this language (Tamil) has preserved the Old

Dravidian spirit best. Tamil literature goes back to the Christian era ... In originality, though not in extent Tamil literature stands by itself' (Vol. I.P. 4 4). This is known well to all the classicalists and is fully exploited.

Certain peculiarities of the social situation have been explained by the sociologists. As Srinivas (1966 : 100) has observed 'the backward class movement found in every part of the country was and still is to some extent very prominent in South India and the Tamil country its heart and soul'. This movement was started because of the dominance of Brahmins in the social, cultural and political fields in the last century and in the first quarter of this century. From the earliest days, it developed a mythology of its own i.e , identifying the Brahmin with the Aryans and Tamil with the original Dravidian language. As Srinivas has strongly put it, the movement was 'anti-Brahmin, anti-North, anti-Hindi, anti-Sanskrit and finally anti-God' (1966 : 105). The purification movement can be regarded as having been influenced by this movement.

The Backward class movement had considerable influence in the political field which in turn affected the polity of language development. Dravida Munne:ṛṛak Kaḷakam (DMK) as a regional political party owes its success to a great extent to this movement and this party was in power in the State government for nine years (1967-76) and one of the main objectives of the party is to protect the Tamil language and Tamil culture (Parthasarathi, 1973: 565, 579). The present ruling party of the State is an offshoot of this party. The language policy of the two parties does not differ very much from each other.

DMK had introduced the two-language formula in the secondary education by which Tamil, the regional language and English would be taught to the students and provision for learning Hindi at schools was abolished, whereas the other States especially non-Hindi States accepted the three language formula by which the regional language, English and Hindi would be taught to the students in the secondary schools. The present ruling party in Tamil Nadu is following the same two-language formula. So, the anti-Hindi feeling has political support in the State.

Even a national party like the Congress has not escaped from the influence of the politicalisation of language. The success of the party was assured only when it could combine the Indian nationalism and Tamil interests. In the words of Prakash (1973 : 77), 'the politicalisation of language in Tamilnad has stemmed from other sources—the anti-Hindi campaign and the unique role of Tamil in ushering far reaching influence in Tamil society'.

Since literacy is low, classicalism and purism could not be expected to hold sway for a long time. Moreover, the alliances of the regional parties with the various national parties for election purposes may have some effect. Additionally, the forces of modernism are not altogether without support. Therefore, it would be interesting to watch the development of Tamil as to how it is going to reconcile the forces of authentification on the one hand with unification and modernization on the other hand.

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4. FOLK-LINGUISTICS IN TAMIL

1. Introduction

The term 'folk-linguistics' was first used by Hoenigswald (1966) to refer to the study of popular pronouncements about the internal structure, dialectal differences, etc. and to the study of the popular attitudes towards the pecularities of one's own language as well as other languages and dialects. However, there is another study by Bloomfield (1944) in which he has discussed popular ideas and opinions on language as secondary and tertiary responses. Now-a-days, these things become a part of the attitude studies which try to explore the psychological and sociological implications also. The general trend in the study of language attitude have been recently discussed by Agheyisi and Fishman (1970).

The folk-beliefs and attitudes found in the books on language planning and development are collected and studied here from the point of view of language attitude studies. Since Tamilnadu is known for its 'strong linguistic – nationality identity' (Prakash, 1972:75) and the Tamils for their pride in the antiquity of their land, culture and civilization (Harrison, 1960:37f), the attitude study will be helpful to understand the intensity of current trends in language development as the underlying motives.

The books from which the information is collected fall under two categories: i. books on standardization (Parant-amanar, 1972), and ii. books on technical terminology dealing with (a) Engineering terms (Ganesan, 1972; Appas Mantiri, 1973a, 1973b) and (b) Administrative terms (Muttuppillai,

note the title of the book, *Ariyaṇaiyil aḻaku Tamiḻ* 'Beautiful Tamil in the throne' and Iramalinganar, 1971). The information available through the secondary sources are occasionally used.

The folk-belief and attitudes current in Tamil are discussed under two major headings: i) Superiority and ii) Relation between the language and the society.

The language attitudes are found to be responsible for certain general tendencies in the development of Tamil e. g. classicalization, purification, (see, Shanmugam, 1977) and some of them have further led to the formation of some general linguistic theories. Agheyisi and Fishman (1970) have noted that the attitudes could be considered to have multiple structure, viz. (i) cognitive or knowledge, (ii) affective or evaluative and (iii) conative or action. So, here the attitudes *per se* could be taken to refer to the cognitive structure, the general tendencies they have created to the conative structure and the general linguistic theories formulated to the affective structure.

2. Superiority

The idea that one's own language is superior to other languages is quite widespread and may be regarded as a normal component of the belief of any society; but there is a considerable variety in the attributes of superiority which are maintained by different societies. For example, the Arabs feel that their language Arabic is beautiful, making its direct appeal in the recitation of classical poetry and in formal and semi-formal oratory and it has grammatical symmetry and logical structure and also a vast and rich lexicon (Ferguson, 1959).

The superiority of Tamil could easily be established with the help of the attributes used by Tamil poets to describe

the Tamil language. These poetic attributes are often quoted by the Tamil scholars to point out the superiority of Tamil language (Parantamanar, 1972:22,46). The modern features of the superiority could be easily equated with these poetic attributes. Therefore, the poetic attributes with their modern equivalents are taken to refer to the cognitive structure, the tendency of the language development to the conative structure and the general linguistic theory to the affective structure.

No.	Attributes	Cognative	Conative	Affective
1.	*paintamiḷ* 'green Ta.'	conserva- tive	classicali- sation	colloquialisms
2.	*vaṇṭamiḷ* 'fertile Ta.'	vastness and richness	internal creation and purifi- cation	excessive loans responsible for divergenec and disappearances of language and loss of capacity of creation of new words
3.	*centamiḷ* 'perfect Ta.'	grammatical cultivation	classicali- sation	if grammar is not insisted, diver- gence of langua- ges
4.	*toṇmoḷi* 'ancient language'	antiquity	internal creation	need not borrow loan words
5.	*ti:ntamiḷ* 'sweet Ta.'	sweetness	purification	loans spoil the sweetness

It should be added that many features of the superiority of Tamil are supported by the statements of western scholars

like Caldwell and these statements are also quoted by Tamiɭ scholars (Parantamanar, 1972:23). All the statements of Tamilo-philes are simply quoted here without discussing their vali-dity because they are all taken as folk-beliefs and not as scientific truths.

2.1. Paintamiɭ

Paintamiɭ means green Tamil, that is, Tamil is ever green because of its conservative character. This is well expressed by another popular expression, *kaṇṇittamiɭ* 'virgin Tamil'. This concept implies that Tamil has not undergone drastic changes in the structure in the course of her history. In the course of elaboration of this feature, one could easily hear that the ancient Tamil classics could be read without much difficulty while in other languages like English old texts could not be read without special training. Note the statement of Muttukkumaran (1976) that *Tirukkuṟaɭ* a late Old Tamil ethic literature written about thousand and eight hundred years ago could be read by a common man and also by a foreigner. The concept finds support sometimes from linguists. For instance, Zvelebil (1968) observes thus:

'The phonology and the morphology of modern literary Tamil is in the basic outlines and structural principles identi-cal with the norm set up in the 3rd-2nd century B.C. Hence, the often repeated statement that Tamil is remarkably 'con-servative' that it has preserved its identity through the ages and that it has changed very little or not at all. This state-ment is quite true, very true even as far as the standard literary style of the language is concerned'.

The modern attitude can be traced to the end of the 19th century when Sundaram Pillai (1855-1897) in his invocation songs to his drama, *mano:nmaṇi:yam* first published in 1891

praised Tamil for its feature *ci:riḷamai* 'beautiful youthfulness'. But it should be pointed out that some scholars in this century have criticised the weakness of this concept (e.g. Vaiyapuri Pillai, 1956a: 45f). Nevertheless it continues to be popular even now. One of the reasons may be that there is no detailed historical study of the Tamil language which explains the difference between Old Tamil and Modern Tamil.

The consequence of this feature of superiority is that the classical features of the language are adopted in modern prose writings (for details, see Agesthialingom and Shanmugam, 1976) and also considered to be the best way of writing modern Tamil. Ganesan, for example, has insisted (1972:31) that the words like London, diesel should be written in Modern Tamil as *ilaṇṭaṇ* (instead of *laṇṭaṇ*) and *ti:caḻ* (instead of *ṭi:cal*) on the ground that *l* and *ṭ* cannot occur initially and hence the rules of Tamilisation (i.e. fashion of adaptation of loan words) given in the 13th century grammar called *Naṇṇu:l* alone should be followed. But there are many examples of words beginning with these sounds in the later literature, more exactly from the 15th century (see the poems of *Tiruppukaḷ* by Arunagirina:tar and also poems of Ta:yuma:navar) and they are ignored. Classicalisation can be found in all levels of the language.

One of the ways of coining new technical terms is by loan extension (a native word is used with a redefinition of meaning to express a new idea) and this has been recognised by the planners in Tamil as the best way. Moreover, all of them are willing to consider the ancient literature as the major source for this. For instance, M. P. Sivagnanam, Chairman of the Tamilnadu Legislative Council and a Tamil scholar has congratulated the author of a book on the

Engineering technical terms for writing the book in pure Tamil and for quoting the ancient Tamil literature with a view to popularise the Engineering knowledge (Appas Mantiri, 1973a. V) Muttuppillai has explicitly stated that 'good literary Tamil alone is suitable for good administration' (1974:17).

Iramalinganar (1972:32) has emphasised the classicalisation negatively from the point of view of general theory. According to him, a language would diverge into different languages under two conditions: (i) when the new graphemes are added and (ii) when the colloquial forms are included in the literary language. This means that classicalisation would prevent the divergence of the language.

2.2. Vaṇṭamiḻ

Vaṇṭamiḻ means fertile Tamil. This refers to the vastness and richness of Tamil lexicon. Parantamanar (1972:29) has noted that there are approximately more than one lakh (i.e. hundred thousand) words in Tamil and this is a reasonable count. But there are others who exaggerate the vastness of Tamil lexicon. For example, Appas Mantiri (1973a:XV) has remarked that even two thousand years ago, Tamil possessed many lakhs of words and Muttuppillai (1974:15) has gone to the extent of saying that even Tamil scholars do not know the actual number of words existing in Tamil.

The richness of the lexicon of any language lies in the existence of synonymy and the multiple differentiations. Parantamanar has observed that one word *ari* has 109 meanings out of which 50 are based on Sanskrit and others on Tamil and there are different words to denote the different stages of the growth of woman, different words for a single

concept to denote the social differentiation (e.g. for 'giving', men of lower status should use the word *i:*, men of equal status *ta:* and men of higher status *koṭu*) etc. Muttuppillai (1974:12) has added some more examples to the above list.

The awareness of the vastness and richness of Tamil lexicon has made the planners to argue for the internal creations in the development of the language. Muttuppillai feels that there will not be any difficulty in the creation of new words in Tamil which has countless root words and any English word can be coined in Tamil more beautifully than the original and also more easily when the meaning of the word is known (1974 : 12,59). It is interesting to note that he himself has narrated his difficulties in finding out the Tamil equivalent for the English word, pass book in another article of the same book (pp. 72–76). The tendency for internal creation in the language development can be taken as the positive side of this feature.

The purification movement, i.e. the elimination of the existing loan words in the language could be taken as the negative side of this feature. Maraimalaiyatikal, the father of the purification movement has explained the basis of the movement thus: Tamil is so rich in vocabulary as to be capable of independent existence without the support of other languages and so it is a sin to spoil its beauty and weaken its strength by employing the loan words when there are native words, (Quoted in Murugavel, 1977). Eventhough all the Tamil grammars admit the occurrence of loan words in Tamil which are called *vaṭacol* 'northern words' or Sanskrit, the purification movement is mostly due to sociocultural situation which exists in the Tamilnadu (for details see, Shanmugam 1975 : 63f) and the superiority feeling created by the Tamil scholars and linguists. For instance, Caldwell

while establishing the independence of the Dravidian family from Sanskrit, the Indo-Aryan family has observed as follows:

'Tamil, however, the most highly cultivated *ab intra* of all Dravidian idioms can dispense with its Sanskrit altogether, if need be, and not only stand alone but flourish without its aid' (1857:45).

This statement became the corner stone for the purification movement. This is still one of the subjects of debate in Tamilnadu. As a result, the language planners in Tamil toy with the idea of how much the loan words should be accepted in modern Tamil. There are different shades of opinions from the complete removal of existing loan words and the internal creation of new words to the acceptance of all the necessary loan words without any inhibitions. Ganesan (1972) and Muttupillai (1974) can be cited as belonging to the former category and Maharajan (1976) to the latter category. However, what is interesting here is the generalisation of Tamilophiles with regard to the impact of borrowing in a language.

Parantamanar (1972:185) says that if there is excessive borrowing in a language it would lead to the divergence of languages or to the loss of the capacity for creation of new words just as Armenian language is lost because of excessive borrowings from Russian and English has lost the capacity for coining new words. Iramalinganar (1972:32) feels that the borrowing of words would pave the way for creating new graphemes which would then cause the decay of the language and the divergence of languages as Malayalam. Kannada and Telugu. Here one can find the underlying reason for the strong condemnation of attempts to some Sanskrit graphemes existing in the literary Tamil for the last 500 years and in the inscriptional Tamil

for the last 1300 years (Mahadevan, 1974). Ganesan (1972:32) argues that since English has not borrowed any grapheme to represent foreign names and words, Tamil should not borrow or adapt new graphemes and that such borrowing would affect the national pride.

2.3. Centamil

Centamil means the perfect or cultivated Tamil. This is also strengthened by another phrase, *ilakkana varampu utaiya moli* 'language having grammatical refinement'. The existence of nine native grammars adds strength to this. All these have given rise to the feeling of superiority in the modern time. Parantamanar (1972:50) has stated that the Tamil grammar is based on scientific and logical methods and Tamil syntax, especially the order of constituents in a sentence, i.e. subject, object and predicate is based on the same order as our thought. Muttuppillai (1974:83f) has observed that eventhough all the languages of the world do have grammars, there is nothing like Tamil grammar and this is the conclusion of the scholars (and not his). He has also observed that the origin and the evolution of Tamil language and grammar are more natural than in other languages.

The implication of the feeling is that the native grammars written in the ancient and medieval period can be used as the grammars of modern Tamil. So, real Tamil development is considered to be the study of early Tamil grammars (Muttuppillai, 1974:38). Parantamanar who has attempted to give a simplified grammar for modern writters has given the earlier grammatical rules in prose and so most of the rules are only applicable to ancient Tamil (1972:84, 95, 98, 156 etc.) and many modern usages are criticized as wrong (pp. 149, 286, 293). For instance, the plural form of *na:l* 'day' is

na:ṭkaḷ in the writings of Maraimalaiyatikal (1974:23), Varadarajan (1967:43, 63, etc.). But Parantamanar says that *na:ṭkaḷ* means 'new toddy' and so it should not be used and *na:ḷkaḷ* is the correct form.

The grammar (i.e. the study of ancient Tamil grammars) is insisted because that is only the way to preserve the sweetness of Tamil and to protect the language from decay (Parantamanar, 1972:47). According to him, Malayalam first became a dialect and then an independent language because in the Chera country (i.e. ancient name of modern Kerala) the Tamil grammar was not imposed upon and this is the statement of linguists.

2. 4. Tonmoḷi

Tonmoḷi means that Tamil is an antiquated language (having greater antiquity). The antiquity of Tamil within the Dravidian family is a historical fact but the problem is how old is the Tamil language. On the basis of the earliest extant written record, Tamil can be said to have originated in 3rd or 2nd century B.C.. Nilakanta Sastri, the famous historian of South India attributes to 2nd century B. C. (1976:89). But the Tamilophiles interpret the antiquity on the basis of the origin of the language. Parantamanar first states that Tamil can be considered to have originated before 3400 years (i e. 1500 B. C) and then asserts that Tamil's antiquity is atleast 340 years old (1972:19). Another scholar goes to the extent of saying that Tamil is as old as the universe; the origin of Tamil language is as mysterious as the origin of the world and though one can guess the origin of the world, one may not able to find out the origin of the Tamil. Similar statements could also be found regarding the origin of the Tamil country (for details see, Kailasapathi,

1970:27–34). This attitude is responsible for another folk – belief with regard to identification of the Proto – Dravidian. Caldwell was not very enthusiastic about the identification of the Proto-Dravidan with the Old or classical Tamil. To quote:

'Some persons have been of opinion that what is called *Centamil* or the classical dialect of the Tamil language is regarded as the best representative of the primitive Dravidian speech. Without under-estimating the great value of the *Centamil*, I am convinced that no dialect can be implicitely accepted as a mirror of Dravidian antiquity (1857:77).

But Sundaram Pillai (1891) has praised the Tamil as the mother of all the Dravidian languages and this view holds the field even today, even swearing in the name of Caldwell (Sivagnanam, 1970:50). Parantamanar boldly asserts that the view of Sundaram Pillai is gaining ground more and more and this will be clear to all those who look at the problem impartially (1972 : 20). In another place, he observes that Tamil is older than Sanskrit (P.18). Sanskrit has three more categories of stops: voiced, voiceless aspirate and voiced aspirate than Tamil which has only voiceless stops. Since it is natural that complex categories are developed after simple category, Tamil should be older than Sanskrit.

Coming to the tendency created by this attitude of superiority, Muttuppillai observes that the high antiquity of Tamil is responsible for the vastness and the richness of lexicon and so the internal creation for all the terms needed in Modern Tamil should be developed (1974:57,81). Parantamanar thinks that the notion that a language should be developed by borrowing words from other language is not applicable to Tamil but may be applicable to a language like Hindi which is recently born (1972 : 184). Therefore, it is clear that the

internal creation alone is considered to be fitting process of development of Tamil. But many scientists as well as others are for borrowing the international technical terms as loan words in Tamil.

2.5. Tintamil

Ti:ntamil means sweet Tamil. It is natural that the mother tongue is sweet to its speakers. But in the case of Tamil, scholars believe that even the word Tamil means sweetness since many Tamil poets have employed it in that sense (Balasubramanian, 1974 : 84). It is also popularly considered that the lack of aspirated sounds and sibilants and the presence of lateral fricative (the sound occurring in the final position of the word, Tamil) are responsible for the sweetness. Parantamanar quotes the statement of Winslow according to which Tamil is so sweet as to attract the listener towards the speaker (1972 : 24). To Muttuppillai, any Tamil word is sweeter than the word in other languages. Interestingly, he has argued that the Tamil word ko:vai 'file' is more sweeter because of every one knows ko:vai 'fruit' and ko:vai ital 'woman's lips', but finally concludes that the word ko:ppu as the Tamil equivalent of 'file' can be accepted because of its high frequency (1974:21).

This feeling of superiority had led to the tendency of purification since it is considered that the excessive use of loan words spoil the sweetness of the language (Parantamanar, 1972 : 184).

3. Relation Between Language and Society

In a Tamil text book published by the Government of Tamilnadu for the students of the fourth class, it is said that 'the progress of the Tamil language is the life and soul of Tamil people and the Tamil country' (Tamilnadu Text book

society, 1975:9). One of the political leaders of Tamilnadu (Anbazhagan) has also remarked in his introduction to Muttuppillai's book (1974:X) that 'if only the country and the language could develop well, the people would get the prosperity in their life'. According to these statements, the development of the nation and the society depends upon the development of the language. That is, if the language is developed in a pure manner, i.e. without borrowing, the nation and the people will be superior in their moral life. For instance, the commonly used Tamil word for bribe

is *lañcam* which is a borrowing. So, Muttuppillai says that if we use the pure Tamil word, *kaiyu:ṭṭu* instead of the above loan word, it would pave way for the avoidance of the habit of bribary in the society (1974:9). Similarly if the language depends on internal creation and not on borrowing, the nation could be developed without the foreign aid.

The implication of this belief is that the language could be developed without its functional base and therefore the spoken language or the modern written language need not be taken into consideration. This will explain the reason why the language planners in Tamil are not ready to accept the common words of the spoken language and the modern creative writings as the standard language. Hence they argue that the existing words are not appropriate, clear, brief and also not agreeable of the genius of the Tamil language. For instance, the commonly used word *bas*, i e. English *bus* is considered to be a meaningless word and so it is inappropriate and foolish to retain it in Tamil. Moreover, it was a fault committed by the earlier generation not to have created the Tamil equivalence at the time of the introduction of 'bus' and so, as an explation we should now accept the good Tamil words, i.e. *pe:runtu* created at present and this word would become popular in no time (Iramalinganar,

1972:31). Muttuppillai observes that just as one would remove the dust by winnowing and increase the smoothness and softness by polishing, the words should be changed so as to give more softness and smoothness (1974:15) and in another place, he remarks that the borrowing should be resorted to only when it is not possible to have internal creation but even those words should be replaced in due course when the Tamil words are available.

However, it should also be mentioned that there are others who held the view that the development of a language depends upon the development of the nation and the society. For instance, Periyar Ramaswamy has advocated this view only (Kothandaraman, 1974:65).

This folk-belief that the development of the language is motivating feature for the development of the society and the nation has led to the another dimension, i.e. evaluation of Tamil scholars according to the view of the superiority of the Tamil. Those who support and propagate that Tamil is the most cultivated language in the world and all the features of superiority mentioned above, are given the titles of 'guardians of Tamil'. For instance, one scholar is named as *centamilk ka:valar* 'guardian of Centamil' and another scholar is titled as *muttamilk ka:valar* 'guardian of three varieties of Tamil (literature, music and drama)' and yet another *a:ticcor ka:valar* 'guardian of administrative terms', etc. These titles are conferred not on the basis of their contribution but on the basis of their views on language. On the other hand, those who are questioning the antiquity on the scientific grounds (either the antiquity of Tamil or the antiquity of some Tamil classics on the basis of the historical evidences) and those who are against the purification and the classicalisation are dubed as *tamiltturo:ki* 'traitor of Tamil' (Vaiyapuri Pillai, 1956b:23), *tamilp pakaivarkal* 'enemies of Tamil' (Muttup-

pillai, 1974:V; Aravanamuruval, 1976:209), *po:littamiḷaṉparkaḷ* 'pseudo Tamilophiles' (Ganesan, 1972:8) etc.*

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5. LANGUAGE STATUS AND THE MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

0. Introduction

The use of language as the medium of instruction in higher education has two major problems; viz. i) the elaboration of the function and the forms which depend upon the political or national status of that language and ii) the codification which is based on the sociocultural factors connected with the developmental status of that language Moreover when the medium involves the change from on. already existing language to a new language, however familiar it may be, the change is bound to be problematic because of the differences in the developmental status as well as the national or political status. So, the developmental and national status of the replaced language and the replacing language have also to be noted.

1. Elaboration of function and status

India is a multilingual country. Moreover English, an exoglossic language was used as the sole official language of the Centre and the States till independence. Even after independence, English is still being used as one of the two official languages of the Centre and also as the official language of the States in varying degrees. Therefore the status-relationship between the various languages in the pre-Independent and Independent India should be noted.

1.1 Pre-Independent India

India became a British Colony in eighteenth century. As a result, British type of education giving importance to English was introduced in India. English was used as medium of instruction in higher education and modern Indian languages were taught as second language at the University level.

All the modern Indian languages were given equal status and were called by the contemptuous term, Vernacular languages. Therefore English came to occupy the highest place and the Indian languages were relegated to a position of little or no importance.

During the period of the struggle for Independence in the first half of the twentieth century, our national leaders tried to create a national language using some variety of Hindi and Urdu and giving a common term Hindustani. When Congress formed the ministry in States in the thirties, the Madras Government introduced Hindi as one of the compulsory subjects at the secondary school. But it was not accepted by the people and so it was given up after some time.

1.2 Independent India

Even though India got Independence in 1947, she had her own constitution only in 1952 when she became a republic. The constitution recognised English, and Hindi with the Devanagari script as two official languages. Other fifteen languages including Hindi are also specified in the VIIIth schedule which are referred to as regional languages in the chapter II of the part XVIIth of our Constitution.

What is the significance of the terms official and regional languages ?

In the 1952 Constitution, English was given the status of official language only for a period of fifteen years and after that time, Hindi alone would be the sole official language. Hewever, at the end of the fifteenth year, an amendment was introduced to retain English as long as the State Governments of non-Hindi regions wanted to retain it. The restriction placed on English gives some clue to the thinking of the constitution makers. That is, Hindi would be elevated after sometime to the highest status, making it more or less the real national language of India and the other languages would become only the regional languages. If so, a question will arise why it is not stated in our constitution in such a clear term? Most probably the complexity of the language problem was not understood then. The lack of understanding of the status of the various languages is clear from the different interpretation given by the different groups of people.

Kloss (1968) when studying the typology of the relationship between the language and the nation, refers to India as a endoglossic multinational state sub–type II multilingual state with the following remark (p. 76).

M_1 = Hindi (38%)

F_1 = English

M_2 — M_{13} = the national constitutional language other than Hindi

NOL = M_1 + F_1

ROL = M_2 — M_{13}

Here the statement needs revision because of the recognition of new languages in the constitution. But the status indicated here is that Hindi is the national official language and other languages are only regional official languages and this is nearer to the truth.

On this basis, if the regional languages are used as the media of instruction in the higher education as well as the language of administration, law, mass communication, etc. The language development should be interlinked with two other fundamental aspects, as already noted by Katre (1969 : 171,) viz. (1) interstate and (2) international communication. Therefore the functional allocation of so-called regional languages and the two official languages should be clearly made. English as one of the official languages is retained now not because of its importance in the international field but because of two other reasons: i) resistance of non-Hindi speaking States to the omission of English from the list of official languages and ii) non-development of Hindi to the expected level so that it could be made use of in various new functions. If English is not used as one of the official languages what will be our language of communication at the international level? It is clear that the status relationship of various Indian languages and English is not made clear. The fundamental policy about the functional allocation of Indian languages and English i.e. status planning will be helpful to decide to what extent the regional languages could be the medium of instruction and how the elaboration of forms (corpus) planning should be made. However attempts are being made throughout India to replace the English medium through the regional languge medium. Therefore it is necessary to know the reactions to the change.

1.3 Innovation and Status

A ny change, in order to be successful should be accepted by the parties concerned. The change of the medium of instruction from English at present to the national language of India affects two parties viz. i) teachers and ii) the students and the parents who are responsible mostly for the selection of medium by their wards. Both do not seem to be happy over the change of medium because of the political status and the developmental status of the languages. The teachers concerned with the developmental status and the students with the political status.

The lack of text books and technical terms is one of the grievences of the teachers. Moreover, the lack of training in the new medium stands in the way of acceptance by the teachers. As Satyam Bose, a scientist of the Bose-Einstein statistics fame once remarked : If some cannot impart an intricate problem of his field to his audience in his mother tongue, it is not because he does not know his mother tongue but because he does not know his subject (quoted in Pattanayak, 1969:332). So, the lack of text book, etc cannot be the real cause.

As for the students, the mother tongue medium is considered to be beneficial from the psychological point of view. In the case of Tamilnadu, the students who are studying in the Tamil medium in the colleges are given incentive stipends and book allowances. Inspite of the economic advantage, the students are not coming forward in large numbers. Moreover when the government of Tamil_ nadu in 1969 allowed the students whose mother tongue is Tamil to join the Tamil medium only if they want admission in the government colleges, there was a big protest so that

Government had to allow the students to choose the medium according to their personal preferences. Why students were against the change of medium ? The only argument given by them was that Tamil medium would affect their employment opportunities. In this connection it should be pointed out that Tamil medium is available only in a few colleges and it is not at all popular. From our point of view, the status of Tamil as a regional language is responsible for the unpopularity, in spite of the fact that Tamils are very proud of their mother tongue. On the other hand, the report that Hindi medium in the higher education in Hindi speaking states reveals the fact that the status of Hindi as the official language in the Centre and in some states like U.P., Bihar, etc. is responsible for welcoming the change in the medium.

2. Elaboration of forms and status

As for the elaboration of forms is concerned, the States seem to have a role to play. The publication of college level text-books by the State governments is financed by the Central government only on the condition that the technical terms coined by the Central technical terms commission should be used in those books. The aim is to have common terms for all the Indian languages. At the same time, the problem of understanding the books in the international languages such as English should be kept in view. But this was not taken care of because the Central commission for scientific and technical terms has accepted only about 10% of the international terms and 80% of terms have been taken from Sanskrit (Government of India, 1968). On the other hand, the acceptance of the terms in the other Indian languages has not produced the desired effect. The case of Telugu has been noted by Krishnamurthi (1978:50). To quote: 'many of these terms are tongue twisters, being long Sanskrit

Compounds and even teachers find it harder to pronounce most of these than their English originals ... it appears that the international terms, in most cases, would fit Telugu phonology with greater case than the coined Sanskrit Compounds'.

This shows that the Central government's effort to create a common terminology was not successful. Here the force of classicalisation can be clearly noted. The modern science subjects should be taught in the modern language, whether it is the coinage of technical terms or the mediun of instruction. However this is the case of acceptance of the superiority of the central authority in the educational matters. But at the linguistic level, the full authority cannot be exercised as there are structrual differences between the various languages of India.

Since education is also a State subject, all the State Governments did not accept the Central terms. For instance, the Government of Tamilnadu has not agreed to the use of the Central technical terms.

Tamil is well known for its purification tendency and for its preference of internal creation. There seems to be another aspect in the elaboration of forms connected with the status assumed by the planners for the language and the State (i.e. national status). Let us first consider the national status assumed by the Tamil planners. This is understood not from any direct references but only from indirect references.

Natarajan, (1965:137) a science teacher argues for the Tamil medium by comparing with Japan, Germany and Russia where mother tongue is the medium of instuction in higher education. Chellappa (1965:63), an economist asks what

will happen if we teach in our mother tongue when all other countries are teaching in their mother tongues. The books written in Tamil will have as big a local market in Tamil nadu and other Tamil speaking countires as Norway, France, Belgium, Yugoslavia have for their languages. Ganesan (1982:10), an engineer, observes that countries like China, Japan, Russia and Israel are big powers at the international level because they are teaching their students through the mother tongue and Tamilnadu would become a super power if Tamil is introduced as a medium of instruction. These are representative opinions of a cross section of people in Tamilnadu. This means that Tamilnadu is considered to be an independent nation and not as a state within Indian union. But there are quite a few who think in terms of Tamilnadu as a state and they are all the nationalists.

The assumption of national status for Tamilnadu has an impact on the attitude of those scholars regarding the elaboration of the forms i.e., the coinage of technical terms in Tamil. Only a very few are interested in the borrowing of Sanskrit words when there are no equivalents in Tamil while most of them are for borrowing terms from English when the Tamil equivalents are not available. There are also a few who want to create Tamil terms for all the technical terms since it would be possible in Tamil to create internally equivalents for all the scientific and technological terms. For instance, Subramaniya Bharati (1882-1921) as a true nationalist has noted that where ever Tamil equivalents are not found borrowings from Sanskrit could be resorted to and if the equivalents are not found both in Tamil and Sanskrit, English words could be adopted. But most of the modern writers think in terms of Tamil and English only. Ganesan, after classifying the technical terms into three major categories, viz. i) special names, ii) arbitrary names and iii) natural names which have some connection with the meaning and

first two categories could be borrowed as loan words while the third category should be loan creations only.

In general, there is no awareness about the advantages of having technical terms common to all the Indian languages. This is mostly due to misconception about the status of those languages.

The problem of codification in general has already been discussed by the writer elsewhere.

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6. SCRIPT REFORM IN TAMIL

0. Introduction

It is now a well established fact that speech is primary while writing is secondary and the former is as old as the human race but writing is only five or six millennium old. At present, seven writing systems, viz. (1) Sumerian (2) Ancient Elamite (3) Mohenjadaro-Harappa (4) Chinese (5) Egyptian (6) Creatan and (7) Hittitte are considered to be the most ancient. They are believed to have a common origin inspite of lack of clear historical evidences (Gelb, 1962: 219) and so the development of the writing system in any language in the later period is taken to reflect cultural contact, if not political and economic domination from outside (Fishman, 1977 : XIV). This means that the creation of a writing system reveals the linguistic knowledge of the creator in particular and that society in general and also the socio-cultural factors or extra code factors of that society.

When the history of the writing system in various languages of the world studied it is seen that the writing system was revised due to various extracode factors. Hence the study of writing systems is regarded as having two aspects, viz. (1) the creation of the writing system and (ii) the revision of the writing system. The revision of the writing system especially in the modern period is a planned development of a language and hence it is popularly known as the script reform.

The script reform does in general, include not only the shape of the script or the graphemes in linguistic parlance but also the other changes like the inventory of graphemes.

Therefore the various dimensions of the revision of the writing system are noted first. As already noted, the revision is dictated by the socio-cultural factors and hence the major causes for the revision of the writing is discussed in general terms.

1. Dimensions of script reform

The modification of the shape of the graphemes or their allographs, i.e., the so-called secondary symbols is one of the simple changes introduced in a language and it can be simply called 'shape change'. The most extreme type of shape change could be replacement of the present shape by entirely new shapes borrowed from other languages. For example, Vietnamese was using Chinese script till the seventeenth century and afterwards began to use Roman script due to the French political and cultural influence. Therefore there are two types of shape changes, viz. i) the modification of the shape of the graphemes or simply the modification of the shapes and ii) the replacement of the old shapes by the new shapes or simply the replacement of the shapes, possible in the revision of the writing system of a language.

Another important change is the change in the inventory of the graphemes, i.e., reductions or additions in the total number of graphemes of a language. In Kannada and Telugu, the scripts for ṛ and ḷ had been omitted. As for the additions of graphemes, examples are found in many languages like Philipino, and Turkic in the USSR. This change can be referred to the graphemic change.

The shape change and the graphemic change entail another change, namely the spelling change, i.e., the change

in the spelling of the words. The spelling change may also be due to the historical changes in the language.

Totally, there are three major dimensions of the script reform in a language. They are (1) the shape change which includes the modification of the shapes and the replacement of the shapes (2) the graphemic change which includes the reduction or the addition of graphemes and (3) the spelling change.

2. Major causes

The gradual change is always inevitable in any cultural object but the major change is always due to some socio-cultural-political factors. The circumstances under which language and non-language behavionr changes concurrently, consecutively or independently are to be determined first and this is possible only when the study is undertaken in the context of studies of inter-group contacts.

One of the important causes is the major political change. As already noted the introduction of the Roman script in Vietnamese, Bahasa Indonesia, Wolof, etc., are due to western political dominance. In the case of Bahasa Indonesia, Arabic script was replaced by the Roman script due to Dutch political and cultural influence. Vietnamese and Wolof had undergone the replacement of the shapes due to French dominance.

Even in our own language, we come across replacement of shapes restricted to a particular region. This is with reference to the replacement of *Vaṭṭeḻuttu* by *Ko:leḻuttu* or *Tamiḻeḻuttu* by Rajaraja in the Pandya country where *vaṭṭeḻuttu* alone was used. Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaran (1966 : 241) explains the change in the following words:

'It was because of the difficulty of reading the cursory style and also because of the need to bring about unity in his empire through inscriptions written in a common script that the chola emperor Rajaraja, The Great, displaced the *vaṭṭeḷuttu* even in the Pandya country.'

This could be said to have served the unifying function by integrating various scripts prevalent in different parts of the empire. It also served the purpose of separating function. Since the *vaṭṭeḷuttu* was also employed in the adjacent Kerala country the replacement could have been considered to be helpful to cut off the close relationship between the Pandya Kingdom and the Chera Kingdom.

The modification of the shapes in the Chinese language was the result of political and cultural changes taking place locally, i.e , without external influence. The simplifications which have been adopted are by and large those which have been customarily used by Chinese in hasty and informal writing: 'Primarily they involve a reduction in the number of strokes by such devices as letting part of a character stand for the whole; replacing a complicated character by a simpler homophone, condensing several strokes into one or two and so on'. The number of abbreviated characters is expected to total about 3000 representing roughly half of the 7000-8000 characters occurring in ordinary modern Chinese' (John Defrancis, 1977:130).

The cultural change not enforced by the major political change seems to have effected the replacement of the graphemes in the medieval history of Indonesia where the Pallava and old Javanese scripts were replaced by the Arabic script because of the Islamisation of the country (Shanmugam, 1979:28).

The change in the technical aspect of writing also seems to be responsible for the script reform. For instance, when printing was introduced in Maharastra, the Modi script which was used in writing Marathi till the beginning of the 19th century was replaced by the Nagari script as the Missionaries could not separate the letters of Modi to prepare the type forms. This is the case of the replacement of the shapes. For the simplification of the shapes, Malayalam is a good example where 600 type scripts were reduced by the script reform to 90 type scripts (Prabodhachandran Nair, 1979:59).

In the Irish language, the Irish type was replaced by the Roman type because of the facility of the printing and because of the emotive argument that the latter gave written Irish a 'Modern' progressive appearance suited to its new status as a national language' (Murchu, 1977:284).

The status of the language alone is responsible for the revision of writing system in some cases. Generally the status can be of three kinds, viz., regional, national and supranational. Political changes are responsible for the change of the status of a language. A regional language may become a national language and a national language may attain the status of the supranational language. Similarly the change can take place in the opposite direction also.

In Philipines, there are many local languages which were considered to be vernaculars (or regional languages) and English was the official language. After independence, Tagalog became the national language as well as the official language. Incidentally the name of the language was changed to Philipino to suit its new statius. It had only twenty graphemes and had added another eleven scripts to write the words borrowed from other regional languages (Sibayan, 1974:239)

when it became the national language. This is a case of graphemic change due to the change of status.

There are cases of replacement of the shapes and the graphemic change due to the change of the status of the language. Turkic language spoken in Central Asia in the USSR had adopted the cyrillic script in toto by giving up the Roman script and so the inventory has increased. This is mainly due to the political status of the regions and hence the status of the language in general. (For details, Henze, 1977).

3. Script reform in Tamil

In the light of the above discussion it should be clear that script reform in any language would be natural and justifiable if the socio-cultural factors warrant such a change. They have already been pointed out by many scholars like Meenakshisundaran (1966), Pulavar Kulandai (1968), Kulandaisamy (1978).

Two major causes can be noted first. One is the change in the technique of writing. Till the Western influence in the 18th century, writing with hand in the palm leaves with the styles was the only common method found in Tamilnadu as well as in other parts of India. Eventhough printing was first introduced in 1577 (Sambandam, 1980:43) it became more wide spread only during the 19th century. Typewriting is another technological innovation which came from the West. In printing many technological innovations are being introduced from time to time.

The introduction of printing led Periyar E.V. Ramasamy to suggest script reform which is mainly concerned with the shapes of the graphemes. Even though the reform is oriented towards mechanical efficiency, it is also useful to

increase the pedagogical efficiency. After this proposal, more than scores of proposals have been suggested by the language scholars, engineers and journalists. The merits and demerits of some of the proposals are discussed in the book *eḻuttuci:rtiruttam* (Shanmugam, 1978: 32–58).

Political independence from foreign rule is another major extra code factor. This has brought about far reaching consequences in the attitude of the government, and the people. A democratic gevernment is responsible for the welfare of the people, i.e., their economic prosperity and social equality which can be achieved through the spread of education to all the levels. Hence compu'sory elementary education and adult education are two areas in which both the Central and the State governments are very much interested. But they have not come forward with a language policy which would facilitate mass education and mass communication. This would include the decision of the functional status of the regional and national languages and the modernization of the languages which includes the graphization, standardization and the development of inter-translatability with other languages in a range of topics and forms of discourse characteristic of industrialized, secularized, structurally differentiated modern societies (Ferguson, 1968:28)

As noted above, the line of the development of the language is closely connected with our attitude towards the language and the society. Those who are primarily interested in the welfare of the people, consider the language as an instrument helpful in the development of the society. Periyar E.V.R. was of this view and most of the political leaders support him. But there are a few who wish to give primary importance to the language and hence oppose any change in

the language in the name of uniqueness and the great grammatical tradition of Tamil. But the needs of the modern society are neglected by them.

Since the language as well as the script have changed throughout the historical periods, one cannot resist change in the name of tradition. Moreover, the Tamil society as well as Indian society at large is at the threshold of a new order, that has come to be called the socialistic pattern of society. Many social changes have already taken place and even now are taking place. Hence the language cannot be stagnant without catering to the needs of the modern society. One of the important changes in the language is the script reform in the widest sense noted above.

3.1. Shape change

During his birth centenary year the government of Tamilnadu has already introduced a reform especially for the modification of the shapes as suggested by Periyar E. V. Ramasamy (G. O. No. 1875 dated 19th october 1978). The modification is restricted to the uniformity of the secondary symbols for a: and ai series in the syllabic letters. The change introduced in a: series is applicable to o and o: series as they are the combinations of secondary symbols e/e: and a:

Even this minor change was not well-received. Opposition to it came from two groups. viz., i. the journalists and ii. a group of Tamil scholars. Both the groups, were against the reform because they were of the opinion that any cultural change like the script reform should not be introduced by an elected government which could change with every election held in every five years.

This is not a change unknown to people. Moreover many organizations and scholars have extended their support

to the script reform. Therefore, what the government did in this respect was to make the change official so that it could be used widely.

In the first order the two diphthongs in Tamil were eliminated and they were replaced by the sequence of the vowel /a/ plus the semi vowel y/v. This had given rise to great controversy among the Tamil scholars but the government of Tamil nadu subsequently issued another order to retain the two diphthongs. However all the three universites Madras, Madurai and Annamalai have accepted the reform and also many academic associations like All India Tamil Linguistics Association, All India University Tamil teachers Associations etc. not only have welcomed the reform but also employed the modified scripts in the publications. Many University teachers use the modified system in their own publications The Government on their part use it in all their publications. The text book society which is an organ of the government makes use of the new system as and when new books are published or old books are reprinted. Recently some dailies have also accepted script reform *Anna* news paper supporting the ruling AIADMK party is using the reformed scripts fully, while *Dinamalar* is employing the revised graphemes in the body of the news item and old graphemes in headlines. All other popular dailies and week-lies still follow only the traditional script.

The present government has already constituted another committee to suggest further reforms to be carried out. Hence it is proper to know in detail the other reforms to be introduced in the present writing system.

In the modification of shapes, the present reform is able to reduce the type scripts only and we still need 124 type

scripts. The syllabic letters, the secondary symbols in the *i, i: , u* and u: series are conjoined while all other secondary symbols are only adjoined and this has resulted in a large number of allographs for those four series.

Many scholars have already suggested certain modifications in the secondary symbols by selecting one symbol for each vowel and adding them adjointly. They are not entirely new forms and so there may not be any difficulty in accepting them. But the reform should be made official by cousulting a large group of scholars, journalists, creative writters and printers.

In the scholarly writings about the script reform in Tamil, the other dimensions of the script reform are not seriously discussed and hence they are not popular. However there are some scanty references about dimensions of script reform. The replacement of shapes is vehemently attacked by many and so the supplementary use of other scripts like Roman script is not given due weight. Here there are two types of replacements. One is for the transliteration system which is concerned with the one to one replacement of Tamil graphemes by the Roman scripts for the purpose of Tamil Linguistic research as well as for writing Tamil names in the language studies and for the preparation of catalogues in libraries. The need for the systematization of the transliteration has already been pointed out by some (Kothandaraman, 1974 : 42; Shanmugam, 1978).

The other type of use is the ordinary spelling of Tamil words in English and foreign languages. Eventhough it is not possible to control all the foreign writings, the official use in the public places of Tamilnadu and other parts of India could be standardized. India, being a multilingual country, it is imperative to use other scripts in public places like

Railway stations, Bus stands etc. and so, the method of writing Tamil words could be systematized in the Devanagari and other scripts. Kulandaisamy (1978) has very well argued the case of systematization of Roman script as an auxiliary case. This is a minor part of the script reform and society should regularise its activities as for as possible in all the spheres.

3.2. Graphemic change

In Modern written Tamil, we are using the script as well as some other letters commonly known as the Sanskrit or the Grantha script and they are also taught in the first year at primary schools. However, there are scholars who vehemently oppose the use of the Grantha scripts (see for details Shanmugam, 1978: 94 - 111). The hesitation in using the Grantha letters has led to the prevalence of double spelling for many words.

In the Grantha script, some of them represent the new sounds which are phonemic in the modern Tamil and atleast one letter is redundant. But, even the redundant letter is used complementarily. Moreover, those graphemes are very useful in the scientific and technological writtings. In the cultural side, one needs those graphemes to write the national anthem and also to write the names of Muslim and Christian Tamils.

Tamil is not a mere regional language. Since it is spoken especially in Sri Lanka, Malaysia and Singapore where it is used in the administration and education, it is an international language. In short, the expansion of the social function of Modern Tamil as well as its international status warrant the employment of Grantha graphemes as well as some additional graphemes for which uniform suggestion has

not been made. Therefore a detailed research should be undertaken to study all the modern needs as well as the present position of the language to find out a solution.

3.3 Spelling change

Tamil is a diglossic language which means that the spoken variety and written variety are different in all aspects of the language structure: phonology, morphology and syntax. Moreover, due to the literary and the grammatical tradition for the last two thousand years, the written spellings tend to be archaic eventhough the spoken language has changed considerably. Therefore the correct spelling of some words have become controversial from the scholarly point of view. The problem is between the ancient literary speilings known to the scholars and the modern spellings based on the spoken Tamil and the 'fit' between the phonemes and graphemes.

If mass literacy is the aim of our leaders, it is not correct to insist on the spellings based on ancient literature. The insistence of the ancient spelling has led one to consider the writings of Maraimalaiyatikal and M. Varadarajan as having spelling mistakes. Therefore the spelling of words should be revised on the basis of 1) the modern spoken language, 2) the relation between the phonemes and graphemes in Modern Tamil and 3) the theory of reading etc. As Subramania Bharati has observed the Modern written language should be comprehensive to all those who are educated even for one or two years. If so, the many modern usages in the spelling should be modified and standardized on the basis of the modern language.

4. Conclusion

Tamil is one of the classical languages of the world. But at the same time it is a Modern language. Therefore to

serve as modern vehicle for purposes like administration, education, judiciary, etc., it should be standardized so that the users should not entertain doubts with regard to the shapes, number of graphemes and spelling of words. The problem of standardization is an academic problem which should be solved by the academic scholars taking into consideration the present status and the modern needs. The spread of standardization is at the hands of the governments. Therefore it is high time that various institutions connected with the development of Tamil come forward to work on the problems of standardization and strive for consensus among Tamil scholars from Tamilnadu, as well as from Sri Lanka, Malaysia and Singapore. In fact, this is a problem to be tackled at the international level.

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