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***IMPACT OF BORROWINGS FROM ENGLISH ON
JAFFNA TAMIL (A Text Book for University Students)***
Dr. V. SUNTHARESAN, Ph.D.

Foreword

Professor Suntharesan discusses in this book the impact of borrowings from English in Jaffna Tamil, a rich standard dialect of Tamil spoken in Sri Lanka. Scholars from Jaffna have enriched Tamil literature, both in poetry and prose, for centuries. Primarily through their efforts, Modern Tamil prose was well established. Earliest textbooks in Tamil on a number of subjects were written by Jaffna scholars and these became models for textbooks in Tamil used in Tamilnadu, India. Tamils around the world owe a sense of debt and gratitude to the scholars of Jaffna.

Professor Suntharesan's book presented here offers many insights into how Tamil has borrowed and assimilated words from English and other languages. Even as the impact of English on Tamil grows on a daily basis, Tamil language provides for loan translations. Meanwhile the distance between spoken and written varieties of Tamil is getting to be wider.

Research presented in this book *IMPACT OF BORROWINGS FROM ENGLISH ON JAFFNA TAMIL* will enable us to adopt an appropriate language planning strategy.

M. S. Thirumalai, Ph.D.

Managing Editor

Language in India www.languageinindia.com

languageinindia@gmail.com

**IMPACT OF BORROWINGS FROM ENGLISH ON
JAFFNA TAMIL
(A Text Book For University Students)**

Dr. V. SUNTHARESAN, Ph.D.
Senior Lecturer
English Language Teaching Center
University Of Jaffna
Jaffna, Sri Lanka
suntharesan@yahoo.com

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www.languageinindia.com

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KEY TO PRONUNCIATION OF QUOTED EXAMPLES

Tamil Phonetic Chart

Consonants

P as in padam	(Picture)
t as in matam	(Tree)
ṭ as in ṭamil	(Tamil)
ṭ as in vi:tu	(House)
c as in cattī	(Pan)
k as in katavu	(Door)
m as in mani	(Bell)
n as in kan	(Eye)
i as in valai	(Net)
l as in palam	(Fruit)
r as in ṭari	(Loom)
v as in valai	(Net)
y as in yannal	(Window)

Vowels

i as in ilai	(leaf)
e as in eli	(Rat)
ə as in ətu	(Take)
æ as in ælai	(Wave)
t as in talai	(String)
i: as in ni: ṭi	(Justice)
e: as in e:ti	(Stream)
ə as in ṭə:tu	(Search)
u as in utai	(Dress)

o as in onru (One)

a as in avan (He)

o: as in o:sai (Sound)

u: as in nu:ru (Hundred)

a: as in a:ru (River)

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Bilingualism and Language Contact

The Jaffna Tamil Society in Sri Lanka comprises both bilinguals in Tamil and English and Tamil monolinguals. It's a common feature that bilinguals and monolinguals in Jaffna use a number of English words in their day-to-day speech and in writing in Tamil at home in social interaction, in education, for religious purpose etc. In case of bilinguals the use of English words may be through Language contact situations like code switching, code mixing borrowing etc. But the English words used by the monolinguals are only borrowings. This volume focuses on English borrowings only among the Tamil monolinguals in Jaffna as English borrowings are more used by the monolinguals and the characteristics including the assimilated forms of the borrowings and the functions of the borrowings can be better identified and studied among the monolinguals.

The initial development of bilingualism in Tamil and English in Jaffna is the outcome of English Education and civil administrative activities through the English medium during the British colonial rule in Sri Lanka. English is still taught as a Second Language in educational institutions and a considerable part of the administration is carried out in English in Sri Lanka. As a result, English still continues to be in contact with the national languages Sinhala and Tamil and this language contact situation has led to the presence of several English borrowings in Tamil.

Two or more languages are said to be in contact if they are used alternately by the same persons. Bilingualism is the practice of alternately using two languages and the persons involved are bilinguals. As a result of language contact there have been instances of deviations from the norms of either language. These deviations occurring in the speech of bilinguals because of their familiarity with more than one language are referred to as interference. The term interference implies the rearrangements of patterns resulting from the infiltration of foreign elements into the highly structured domains of language such as the phonemic system, morphology and syntax and some area of vocabulary. Such transfer of elements from one language into the other is called borrowing in general. The extent of interference relies on the extent of differences or similarities between the languages concerned (Weinreich, 1953)

Extreme similarity or extreme dissimilarity between languages is said to be an unfavorable condition for language interference. The mere contact of two languages is not supposed to lead to a situation in which one language borrows elements from the other language. Two conditions are essential for borrowing to occur. The meaning of the borrowed word should be comprehended by the person intending to adopt that word in his Language or he should convincingly assume as if he has comprehended it.

One language borrows from another language not only for the reason that the recipient language lacks such terms. But due to the contact of foreign languages terms

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infiltrate into the recipient language causing changes in the recipient language and not in the donor language.

Borrowing of certain items takes place only under the condition of large scale bilingualism and the borrowing of some other kind of items occurs under the condition of large scale monolingualism. It is the basic vocabulary of a language which is subject to borrowing under the former condition and the vocabulary for artifacts which is subject to borrowing under the latter condition. Further the possibility for borrowing is greater under the latter condition.

In case of Jaffna Tamil, the parts of speech mainly nouns, verbs and adjectives as basic vocabulary in English are used as borrowings under condition of large scale bilingualism. For example the English nouns like radio, cycle, computer, studio, sofa etc, are borrowings in Jaffna Tamil in their assimilated forms as re:tio caikil, kampu:tar, istu:tio, so:pa, etc. respectively.

Similarly English verbs like test, try, help, taste, cut, join, etc. are borrowings in Jaffna Tamil in their assimilated forms testu, rai, kelpu, te:stu, kat, yoyin etc respectively. These borrowings take the Tamil verb form “pannu” (Do) to harmonize with the Tamil syntactic structure.

Examples of Tamil sentences:

- vayarai yoyin pannu
(Join the wire)
- vattiyai test pannu
(Check the battery)

English adjectives like neat, dry, round, easy, tight, loose, etc are used as borrowings in Jaffna Tamil in assimilated forms as ni:tu, rai, ravuntu, lu:si etc respectively. These types of borrowings take the Tamil form “a:” ,the shortened form of “a: ha” (to become) to comply with the Tamil syntactic rules.

Examples of Tamil sentences:

- “arai ni:ta: itukku”
(The room is neat)
- “kanakku i:sia: itukku”
(The sum is easy)

The English words which have become borrowings like the above types are more popular among the bilinguals in Tamil and English. These types of English words very often occur in situations like code- switching or code – mixing in the speech of Jaffna Tamils. Therefore these types of borrowings are used under condition of large scale bilingualism.

Members of labour class and peasantry deal with artifacts to a higher extent due to the nature of their occupations. The English like hammer, screw driver, pick axe etc. are very common among them and these names have become borrowings in assimilated forms as a:m:a:r, isku:traivar, pikka:n etc. respectively. Since the majority of the working class people in Jaffna are Tamil monolinguals the vocabulary for artifacts is subject to borrowing under condition of large scale monolingualism.

In Sri Lankan Tamil as in Indian Tamil, many words have been borrowed from Sanskrit. Tamil and Sanskrit came into contact due to ethnic, cultural and religious intercourse in India. A number of Sanskrit words are mixed with Tamil in literature written by Indian authors and such literature has been used as texts in government schools and universities in Sri Lanka. Hence the mixing of Sanskrit words in Sri Lankan Tamil and the following examples could be cited.

Sanskrit	Tamil
• tu: ta	tu: tu (messenger)
• ta:na	ta:nam (donation)
• Pa:na	pa:nam (a drink)
• Pu pa	putpam (flower)

Sri Lanka was under the rule of the Dutch, the Portuguese and the English around 1543, 1650 and 1796 respectively. Their languages came into contact with the national languages including Tamil through administrative, educational, religious and legal set up and as a result a good number of borrowings from the said languages are found in Sri Lankan Tamil.

Portuguese	Tamil
• ko:po	ko:pai (cup)
• cappa:to:	cappa:tu (shoe)
• tu:lha	tuva:i (towel)

Dutch	Tamil
• fiscal	piska:l
• appeal	appi:l
• advocate	appukka:tu
• balkje	ba:ja:

During the British colonial era in Sri Lanka, the English educated natives were employed by the rulers to assist them in administration. An elite society the members of which were highly proficient in English emerged. Even after the independence, English was still the medium of instruction in government and private educational institutions until 1945 when mother tongue was introduced as the medium of instruction. But English continued to

hold a prestigious position. Thus English bilingualism developed among the natives of Sri Lanka. The subsequent language contact situation between English and Tamil inevitably led to borrowings from each other. Compared to the Tamil borrowings in English, English borrowings in Tamil are much greater in number.

After the mother tongue replaced English as the medium of instruction, though English bilingualism declined to a considerable extent, the scientific and technological development internationally has led to the entry of several hundred English technical terms into the day-to-day speech of natives. Such terms are frequently used even by many monolinguals that may be traders, industrialists, and mechanics, employees of government as well as private sectors and ordinary members of the public

It's encouraging to note that today a great emphasis is being laid on the formulation of technical terminology in Tamil. Vast attempts are being made at the state level in India and Sri Lanka in this respect. It has been intended to involve personnel with high proficiency and expertise in both languages in this task. The coexistence of English borrowings and their Tamil equivalents will further expand the scope of the Tamil language.

Almost all the English borrowings are used in their transliterated forms in the speech of Tamils although some borrowings have Tamil translated forms. In writing both transliterated and translated forms are used. The use of transliterated forms can be partially attributed to the lack of translated forms. In view of this feature this volume may be useful to some extent to those who are involved in producing technical terminology in Tamil.

For example, the translated form “ca:nriṭal” and the transliterated form “ce:tipikattu” are used for the English word ,certificate. The translated forms are generally used in literary form of speech and writing whereas transliterated forms occur in casual or colloquial speech. When transliterating an English word it is written in the Tamil scripts mostly with phonetic change.

Literature Review

In this section, some studies relevant to language contact and borrowing carried out already by researchers and scholars are reviewed.

Language Development

The comment of Nuhman (1993) on language development is summarized as follows.

The adaptability of the language of a particular community according to the communicative needs is meant by language development. The social development of a community throughout time increases the communicative needs.

Language development involves not only the addition of new words, but the changes in all the language domains such as phonology, morphology and syntax. Since language is a social media, the language changes and the subsequent language development are ultimately determined by social changes. Various policies and procedures are adopted at present and there are contradictions and conflicts over the same issue. The final objective of language development would be to modernize the language and language modernization implies the adaptability of the language according to the needs of the present day modern communication.

Scholars like Karunakaran (1978), Annamalai (1980) and Shanmugam (1983) have studied in detail on modernization of Tamil. According to them the expansion of the current needs, the abolition of old usages of words and the adoption of the usage of common words are included as aspect of language modernization.

Since the latter part of the 18th century, a gradual development in Tamil could have been observed. Religious preachers, modern literary and technical experts, writers, journalists and mass media personnel have contributed substantially toward modernization of Tamil.

There is an anti – modernization campaign which does not approve the aforesaid changes in Tamil. They are of the opinion that the traditions and norms of the language will be threatened by the new changes. The language traditionalists emphasized the preservation of the old traditions of a language. The language traditionalism is of two schools of thought each different from the other. One school of thought stresses the grammatical purism and the other both the grammatical purism and language purism. (Nuhman, 1991)

Grammatical Purism and Language Purism

Grammatical purism is concerned with maintaining the traditional grammatical rules with no deviations and neglecting new changes. It also focuses on completely preventing the influence of speech form on the written form and on modifying the speech form in accordance with the norms of written form. In short the rationale behind grammatical purism is that the traditional grammar should be followed in both speech and writing. In other words it is the stress on maintaining a high literary standard.

Language purism refers to the usage of only the native language elements. Language purism focuses on the elimination of foreign words and the use of only Tamil words. Sri Arumuga Navala, a Tamil scholar and a pioneer in the modern Tamil prose style can be regarded also as the pioneer of the movement of grammatical purism in Tamil. The following comments are notable.

*“Sri Arumuga navalar has contributed
considerably in maintaining a rigid nonflexible*

Prose style in Tamil". (Kamil Zvelabil, 1978, P.259)

The Tamil scholars who followed Sri Arumuga Navalar also had serious concern over grammatical purism in Tamil. Saint Vipulananda, a profound Tamil scholar who always maintained a thorough grammatical purism in Tamil remarked thus. "Every language has its unique features and these features should be maintained without being deviated....." (Vipulananda, 1973, p 155-56)

All grammatical purists are not language purists. Several Sanskrit words are found in the works of Sri Arumuga Navalar. He has used even English words amply in his writings related to social and political matters. (Nuhuman, 1993)

Language purism has become a popular concept and there has been a big controversy over the issue of the effects of other languages on Tamil, in a language contact situation. A language not only reflects the society which speaks that language but the culture of the society also. The role of language in an individual is also equally important. Language appears to be a medium which links the individual with the society to which he/she belongs and which links him/her to the past or the future. Language plays a crucial role in one's thoughts and actions.

The impacts of the colonial rule on the socio cultural life of the natives have led to an extreme language fanaticism. Like nationalism, language sentimentalism can be expected to produce both progressive and retrogressive effects.

As a consequence of the prolonged argument in India that Tamil derived from Sanskrit, many efforts were taken to emphasize the distinctiveness of the Tamil language.

Evidences were established to prove that Tamil belongs to the Dravidian family and it is as old as Sanskrit in its origin. There were debates not only to maintain the differences between Tamil and "vatamoli" but to prove the superior features of Tamil also. The influence of Sanskrit upon Tamil was caused by religious and political impacts in various times. In spite of such influence Tamil has developed further in scope and essence. The elimination of excessive domination of "Sanskrit" over Tamil and the restoration of Tamil to its classic purism are different in nature. The enthusiasm in establishing that Tamil is the oldest language and in condemning Sanskrit as an inferior language have been the result of extreme Tamil fanaticism.

The link between Sanskrit and Tamil has in fact contributed much to the development of Tamil. As English has been enriched by Latin and Greek Tamil has been fostered by Sanskrit. Tamil has not lost its basic features by Sanskrit borrowings. The emphasis on Tamil purism known as "tāṇiṭamil va:ṭam" in Tamil, is of course based on the resistance against the Sanskrit influence on Tamil. The advocates of this campaign did not bother about the English influence on Tamil. It should be recognized that this campaign has contributed to the

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simplicity of Tamil to some extent. But there has been more concern on purism than simplicity and as a result the campaign has obstructed the vocabulary expansion of Tamil, and in some cases simple words have been replaced by more complex ones.

The classic Tamil which was in usage in south India and the present day Tamil are different in certain features. Most of those who are proficient in present day Tamil are unable to read and appreciate the “Sanka literature” (Classic literature). The vocabulary and in a less degree the structure of Tamil language have been changed. A number of classic words lost by present day Tamil are found in other Dravidian languages. (Sivasekaram, 1993)

The fact that Tamil which is used presently is a modern form of classic language and the changes occurring in it are historically significant cannot be refuted.

All scholars including language purists admit that new words and new phrases are necessary for the development of Tamil. Opinions differ only in creating these new words. Creating new words based on the Tamil roots to meet the needs of the modern society will be practically impossible and harmful to the development of the language. (Sivasekaram, 1993) Therefore discussion on formulating new words based on the foreign language borrowings would be beneficial in this context.

Language purism at its intense stage emerged into Tamil purist movement and this movement was founded by Marai Malai Adikal, a Tamil genius. The advocates of this movement maintained that grammatical purism and language purism should be preserved. It is pointed out that Tamil would perish due to the mixing of foreign language elements. The following remarks are worth quoted here.

“Unless Sanskrit words are banned in Tamil, Tamil will lose its uniqueness and grow deviated from its original form. Addition of foreign language words to Tamil causes the disappearance of many Tamil words from usage” (Somale, 1956, P 71).

Tamilization of Foreign Language Words

No language borrows words from other languages without phonological deviations and the borrowed words are not assimilated with perfect phonological features of the native language.

At the same time foreign language sounds and sound clusters are borrowed by the native language. Due to the contact with Sanskrit letters ஐ(d3)ஸ(sa), (ja) and ஹ(ha) and their corresponding sounds have been borrowed in Tamil. These sounds are helpful in writing the borrowed names in English and other languages, in Tamil.

Maraimalai Adikal's view that a language loses its purity due to the mixing of another language is unsound from socio linguistic point of view. In fact a language is further developed with expansion of its vocabulary due to its mixing with another language (Nuhman, 1993)

Borrowings

Due to the contact with other cultures, the objects and concepts of those who belong to those cultures are introduced in a community and consequently the words denoting such new objects and concepts find their way into the native tongue of that community.

Words like cycle, car, bus and lorry have been borrowed from English into Tamil. The usage of such words is indispensable in our day – today communication. There have been attempts to translate these words. The word cycle, was translated into Tamil as 'miṭivanti', 'i: turuli' and 'ṭuvit jakkaravanti' and bus was translated as 'pe: tuṇṭu'.

In spite of these translations, these words are still used in their original forms. The word lorry is pronounced as 'la: ri' in Tamil Nadu, India and as 'lori' in Sri Lanka.

Somale (1956) reported thus. "Information about a war cannot be conveyed without the use of words like 't æ: nki', 'vima: nam', 'petto: l', 'mo: ta: r', 'kuntu', 'pi: tanki' etc."

'vima: nam' – (Sanskrit)

'kuntu' – (Marati)

'pi: tanki' – (Portuguese)

These words are difficult to translate into Tamil.

Many scholars are of the opinion that Tamil Purist Movement is detrimental to language development. According to Vaiyapuripillai (1989), this movement resembles the trend of a civilized man turning out to be a savage. Kailasapathy (1986) commented that the effort to prevent Sanskrit mixing in Tamil is retrogressive.

When classic words or newly formulated technical terms are employed to replace the currently existing usage in a language on account of maintaining language purism, the difficulty of comprehending the ideas will arise. At this point, there will be a conflict between purism and simplicity of the language. Conflict is the result when new words or phrases are prevented by purists' concept, from entering the scope of Tamil (Annamalai, 1993.).

Seenivasan (1972) remarked that the poetic words in Tamil as referred to by Tolkapiyar, a renowned Tamil grammarian of the 4-5th century, are the 'iyat sol', 'ṭiti sol',

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‘tisai sol’ and ‘vata sol’.

Among these, the vata sol refers to words which are borrowed from Sanskrit and tisai sol refers to words borrowed from all other languages, in Tamil. This reference indicates that there were foreign language words in the classic Tamil literature.

The foreign language words are received and used in a native language for lexical need purpose and for prestige motive. There is a general intendency among the natives to imitate the language of the people whom they regard as a prestigious community. The following comments are notable in this context.

“People emulate those whom they admire in speech pattern as well as in other respects.” (Hockett 1960, P 424.)

It’s quite natural that when there are political changes in a country, words from rulers’ language are received by the native language.

Many Sanskrit words have entered Tamil as a result of the admiration of Sanskrit literature. Particularly several Sanskrit words were borrowed in Tamil during the Pallawa’s region in Tamil Nadu 6th – 9th century A.D.

Due to political influence, several Hindustani and English words have penetrated into Tamil.

There is always more probability for the foreign language words to be borrowed in the native language rather than the native words to be borrowed in the foreign language. There is greater concern and consciousness in speaking a foreign language correctly while there is little attention to the linguistic purism of the speaker’s own language. Hence the mixing of foreign language words in the native language. This view is endorsed by the following comments.

“It is the not foreign language a nation learns that turns into a mixed language., but its own native language becomes mixed under the influence of a foreign language” (Jespersen, P . 208 quoted in Seenivasan, 1972).

Assimilation of English Words

Many English words have been assimilated in Tamil and used as if they are Tamil words. The English Veranda, Hospital, Bottle, Train, Bank, Tumbler, Tea and Hotel are assimilated and pronounced as kospital, rein, væ:nku, tamlar, ti: and o:tal respectively.

Borrowings, Code-Switching and Code-Mixing

Borrowing is quite different from code-switching and code-mixing. There has been much discussion on this issue among researchers. Hamers and Blanc (1989) stated that borrowing is generally limited to lexical units which are more or less well assimilated, but code-mixing transfers elements of all linguistic levels and units ranging from a lexical item to a sentence. Code-switching and code-mixing are strategies of the bilingual speaker whereas monolinguals practice borrowing in language contact situations. According to Ryes (1974), only single words that may be either morphologically adapted or not adapted are involved in borrowing but code-switching occurs at clearly discernible syntactic junctures. Haugen (1956) and Hasselmo (1970) commented that whatever the length of the item, if it has been adapted to the phonological and or morphological pattern of the language being spoken, it becomes a borrowing and if not it can be called code-switching. These comments are supported by Grosjean (1982) who stated “a code –switch can be of any length (a word, a phrase, a sentence) and is a complete shift to the other language, whereas a borrowing is a word or short expression that is adapted phonologically and morphologically to the language being spoken.”

CHAPTER 2

THE BRITISH RULE AND THE DOMINANT ROLE OF ENGLISH IN SRI LANKA

In this chapter, various measures taken by the British colonial rulers to impart English education among the Sri Lankan natives to obtain the assistance of the natives in their rule have been discussed. Because it has been the English education which caused the development of bilingualism in English and either of the national languages due to the contact of English with the national Languages of Sri Lanka including Tamil, and subsequently the presence of English borrowings in Tamil.

English Bilingualism in Sri Lanka

Bilingualism in English in South Asia developed vastly following the colonization by the British. The Colonization began in South Asia in the sixteenth century and the process went on vigorously throughout the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, as the British established their full political control in this region. The British strengthened their power in colonies and the English language also had a firm position there. Consequently it created an atmosphere where English L₂ speakers emerged in a large number though their competence of the language varied.

Queen Elizabeth-1 granted a charter to some merchants of London authorizing them to engage in trade with India and the East on 31st December 1600, and through such trade activities English penetrated into the Indian subcontinent. English bilingualism was introduced in Sri Lanka by the efforts of three distinct groups. They are the missionaries who arrived in the island for religious purposes, a small group of Lankans who desired to use English as a tool for scientific and material gain and the politicians who emphasized the need of English by their policies.

English Education in Colonial Ceylon

The educational activities accelerated by the British Colonial rulers and the consequent influence of the English language over the life of the natives of Sri Lanka are matters of interest.

On the 15th of February 1796, the colonial power of Sri Lanka came to the hands of the British. Many remarkable political and educational changes took place in Sri Lanka during the period from 1798- 1805, when the Hon. Frederic North was the governor. According to the educational policies adopted by North, the learning of English language by natives was given much importance and motivation and several measures were taken to impart English education. Two main categories of higher grade schools were established. One of them was founded in Colombo and called the Academy or seminary to provide the highest form of education. The other kind of such school was a little lower than the Academy in status and it was known as the preparatory school as the responsibility assigned to this kind of school was to impart instruction and prepare scholars for the entrance to the Academy. Those who qualified from these two categories of schools found opportunities in the government service.

A good course in fundamental English education was made available for a period of eight years. English was included in the curriculum in the preparatory schools. Since the need of English was strongly felt in the government service, the sole aim of these schools was to well qualify candidates in English.

One of the major functions of the academy was to cater to the needs of the higher grade public service by preparing youths educated in English. Further the most intelligent students were selected from the academy and sent to England for further education. On their completion of study in England, they returned to the homeland and were placed in responsible government posts.

The following extract from the report submitted by the principal of the Academy on 1st April 1800 is evidence of the Enthusiasm shown by students in learning English.

In the Malarbar School, “The first class.....can repeat almost one thousand words of the English vocabulary and one hundred and fifty phrases in conversation. They read eight pages of the grammar and repeat about one thousand English words, spelt, pretty well.....”

Teaching English together with the mother tongue of children was a notable feature of the academy.

North even declared that petitions only in English could be accepted from the general public. In connection with it, arrangements were made to assign students in the academy to translate petition from vernacular or even Dutch into English.

After the retirement of governor North, Sir Thomas Maitland assumed the position of governor on the 19th of July 1805. His administration lasted from 1805 to 1811 and the educational progress during this period was slow owing to economic reasons.

Sri Robert Brownrig was appointed Governor of the settlement on 10th March, 1812 and his administration lasted till 1820. His contribution to the promotion of education was remarkable. It's worth mentioning that it was during his time, a printing press was established in Colombo for educational and religious publications. As great educational activities, Charity schools, Sunday schools and the introduction of the monitorial system came into being during his administration.

Among the educational reforms, attempts to bring the native youths from interior villages to the academy to provide English education were included. It was intended to popularise English education among the natives.

Brownrig being fascinated by the significant changes which took place in the sphere of education in England was eager to implement similar schemes in Sri Lanka. One of the new methods he wanted to experiment in Sri Lanka was the monitorial system, a successful educational system recommended by Dr. Bell.

He introduced this system in some of the schools established by him with the hope of obtaining pupil- teachers for imparting the English language among natives. Of course, the cry for English education originated in his time as his activity encouraged the study of English.

As the Kandyan kingdom was captured by the British on the 11th of February 1815, this British administration was expanded further and as a result, an increasing need for the government translations in English arose. This led to the attempts to popularize the English

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language in the island. As stated previously Brownrig's plan to bring natives from the districts to be educated at the academy started working successfully. By 1816, thirty Sinhalese, ten Tamil and forty Portuguese children were found receiving English education in the academy in Colombo.

The implementation of the monitorial system as referred to earlier, was another factor for the spread of English education. This system was tried out in a school set up for the children of the soldiers and the progress recorded was quite satisfactory. The following is an extract of the report of Brownrig to the home government, about the progress of the school.

At present I am Prepared to state to your Lordship, that the number of children already received to the school exceeds one hundred the plan of education is Dr. Bell's system..... the establishment will in a short time produce pupils capable of assisting in the general & most desirable object of propagating the English language among the rising generations of the natives" (Brownrig, quoted in Ruberu, 1962, P.136).

The role of Missionaries in imparting English Education

Brownrig extended his invitation to the Wesleyan Missionaries to teach English. A team of four Wesleyan Missionaries arrived in the island for the first time in 1814 and they were paid generously by Brownrig for their service of teaching the native Headmen and their children to acquire knowledge of the English language.

The different Missionaries functioning in the country differed in attitude towards the use of English in the schools established by them. The American Missionaries who preferred to have their permanent residence in Jaffna insisted on the teaching of English. It was stated in the prospectus of the proposed Mission college that the main objective of the college was "to give native youth of good promise a thorough knowledge of the English language." This Mission put its policy into practice in the schools it established in Jaffna.

The medium of instruction in these schools was English. The mission emphasized the teaching of English so that the native youths could acquire the knowledge of European sciences and Literature. Furthermore the mission felt that by obtaining a good number of English educated scholars, important English books could be translated into the native language by these scholars.

May be the expected outcome and progress in the teaching of English in the schools maintained by the missions other than the American Mission were unsatisfactory. Though the missionaries attached to these missions were immensely keen in making the process of English teaching a success, the lack of fund hindered their activities. The teaching of English involved a great experience since foreign teachers were to be employed in the teaching profession.

The following extract serves as an evidence of the recognition of the importance of English and of the inadequacy of the funds experienced by these missionaries.

"The English language is introduced into as many schools as the limited nature of funds will admit and it would be desirable to increase the number of English schools the advantages resulting from such instructions being very great; but it is not merely the acquisition of English which is to be looked to. though that so of great importance; but in

school where English is taught it is necessary to appoint a man not only with the English language but also with European ideas, and modes of thinking and acting and rudiments of other branches of useful knowledge”

What could be gathered from this extract is that it was the intention of the missionaries not only to impart the English education but nurture the children in an English culture also.

The American Mission paid excellent attention to the progress of education in Jaffna. It established schools at Vaddukkoddai, Tellippalai, Uduvil, Pandaththarippu and Manippai. The Central day schools were one of the three categories of schools founded by the mission. There were central Day schools in the stations of Vaddukkoddai, Uduvil, and Manippai. The students attending these schools were seventy five in 1832. English was taught in all these Central Day schools.

Another category of schools run by the American Mission was the charity Boarding schools and English was a compulsory subject in these schools. The objective in running these schools is clearly reflected in a letter written by the missionaries to the Colebrook commission. According to this letter, more than 180 lads and youths were learning in these schools and the teaching of English was the main concern. The charity schools were intended to popularize English education and prepare teaching personal to teach the natives.

Later on the mission decided to set up an institution for providing higher education and the objectives of the proposed institution were stated in the prospectus entitled, “Statement concerning a mission college for Tamil and other youths in Jaffna” which was published in advance. The emphasis on the teaching of English was clearly laid down in it.

The higher institution founded at Vaddukkoddai in the Jaffna district was known as the Batticotta seminary and Gabriel Tissara, a well qualified native was the tutor in English and Tamil. In addition there were assistant teachers. As noted earlier, the American Mission was eager to promote the English education and the following extract supports this fact.

“There is no other way of opening to the mind of youth channels of knowledge so pure and full as are opened by communicating in early youth beginning even in childhood a thorough acquaintance with the English language with a good knowledge of English they may transfer much of the learning of the west in to the language of the East. But unless a large class of good English scholars are raised up from among the natives from which quarter our teachers, translators & native authors to be produced, how is European Science to be brought” (Colonial Office Records P,104, Letter of Barnes to Secretary to State, 11 March, 1829 Quoted in Ruberu,1962,P.197).

The curriculum of the seminary included English and the scientific course was mostly conducted in the English medium.

The Academy or the seminary in Colombo was a Government school system. This seminary had two English teachers and in the instruction in reading and writing English was given importance. It is the only Government institution which provided English teaching.

The Establishment of Private Schools

Another significant feature in the educational progress during the period of Brownig was the establishment of private educational institutions. A number of private English schools were set up. In fact, it was the growing demand for English education that caused the emergence of the private English schools. The period between 1812 and 1825 witnessed the development of many private English schools in Colombo. Individuals who ran these schools charged fee from pupils for providing English education. In May 1818, a private boarding school was set up by Mr. William Taylor. The school curriculum included English language, Grammar, Reading and other subjects.

People realized the value of English by 1818 and they openly expressed their demand for an English education. Subsequently there was the growth of private schools. Most of the students in the private schools were males because the parents were convinced of having employment opportunities for their sons through English education. Females were deprived of the employment opportunities then. As the government could not afford financially to provide a full fledged English education, the private schools came into being. Forty boys were attending four private schools at Nallur in Jaffna. The significant feature of the private schools was that they were totally secular.

The Advent of the Colebrook Commission

Colebrook and his secretary Gregory arrived in Sri Lanka on 11th of April 1829. Charles Hay Cameron arrived in Sri Lanka on 27th of April, 1830 to assist Colebrook. As a barrister Cameron took the responsibility of reporting on the judicial system and legal procedures while Colebrook on the general administration and the educational reforms. On the recommendation of the Colebrook commission, English was made the medium of instruction in government schools.

To facilitate the administrative procedures, the knowledge of English was felt to be a must among those who were to be involved in the administration. Further it was expected that the natives could be in good affinity with the rulers through English. The anxiety of the natives to gain social and economic prospects was also a factor which motivated the commission to insist on the English education.

On the recommendation of the commission, an avenue of public service to native people was opened. All the dealings in this avenue were carried out in English. It motivated the natives to learn English in order to qualify themselves for finding higher employment opportunities.

English became the state language and the Government schools which hitherto had been conducted in the vernacular were converted into English schools. The school masters in Government schools had to be appointed on the recommendation of the commission and naturally the commission recommended only those who had a good competence in the English language. In this manner English was made the medium of instruction in Government schools. It was a deliberate attempt of the commission to insist that the school masters should possess English knowledge in order to replace the vernacular by English. It was cited that out of over 12,000 children under instruction those who are taught the English language does not exceed 800. Hence the commission's proposal to convert the government schools into English schools.

The Role Played by the National Languages

While English had a prominent place in administrative and the Courts, native languages had the place only in the domestic spheres and particularly in their transaction with people in inferior positions. English was the language of those who borrowed the culture, civilization, norms and other values of the rulers and adopted them in life to differentiate them from others in the society and establish themselves as a prestigious group. The native languages were relegated to insignificance. English educated men enjoyed the privilege of entering into the civil service and professions. The snobbery associated with the English education was strengthened by economic and class considerations. High fees were charged by English medium schools and vernacular schools were free. Thus the English educated people were usually the members of the wealthy section of the society whereas the vernacular educated people were the ordinary poor masses. The vernacular educated men had the access only for the lower levels of the occupations.

The Position Occupied by National Languages in Education

The Government subsidized heavily the education in English schools. The total number of English schools in 1939 was 336 and the number of pupils attending these schools was 80,381. The Government spent Rs. 25.08 a year in respect of bilingual schools and Rs. 18.70 a year in respect of vernacular schools.

Despite the outstanding influence of the English language, there was the growing awareness among some of the natives of the country about the indispensable need of the mother tongue to be used as the medium of instruction. To ensure the achievement of educational goals, it was felt that education be made available in the natural way. i.e through the mother tongue.

The proposal that the medium of instruction be the mother tongue underwent severe criticism. The detrimental effects of this proposal were pointed out by some educationists and the English educated elite in Ceylon. It was argued that the English medium education was a must as English was the vehicle of “Mutual intelligibility” between Communities.

On the other hand some leading personalities like Anagarika Darmapala, and D..B. Jeyatileke appealed to cultivate Sinhala and some experts who visited the island to study education suggested improvements in the educational system and some Directors of Education were of the firm opinion that the absence of the vernacular teaching in school was educationally harmful. Consequently in 1939 vernacular languages were introduced as compulsory subjects at examinations for government jobs and the teaching of the vernacular languages was thus geared.

The ‘Swabasha’ movement gained momentum especially among the teaching professionals. The Northern Province Teachers Association and its counterpart in the South strongly advocated this movement of educational reforms.

The NPTA and the Jaffna youth congress gave support to the ‘Swabasha’ movement. Two popular Newspapers ‘The Hindu Organ’ and the ‘Morning Star’ wrote editorials in support of the movement. The following is an excerpt from an article which appeared in the Hindu Organ.

“Until the language of the mother tongue is restored to its rightful place and the rulers are assigned the position of a window in the scheme of education, nothing of permanent value

can be created. A century of English education with a vengeance has created only a race of snobs whose ecstasies over their pettifogging ways knows no limit.”

C.W.W. Kannankara, the Minister of education during the Donoughmore period was the one of the leading proponents of the ‘Swabasha’ movements. W. Dahanayake who was also a protagonist of this movement remarked.

“What is it that the English education had done to us? It has impeded the natural development of each individual of this country. Knock out English from the pedestal it occupies there on our Sinhalese & Tamil Languages and we shall soon be a free race.”

As the Swabasha movement gained support from various circles, measures were taken to teach Sinhalese as a second language in the North and Southern provinces. S.O Canakaratnam, the Tamil member for Batticaloa South, moved a resolution in the State Council, in 1937 that teaching of Sinhala in Tamil schools and Tamil in Sinhala schools be made compulsory.

Sinhala classes were conducted in schools in 1938. The Hindu Board of Education took the initiative to conduct Sinhala classes for Tamil teachers also. The NPTA passed a unanimous resolution in 1938 that the teaching of Sinhala and Tamil be made compulsory in all government schools in Sri Lanka. The resolution was openly recognized by the Jaffna youth congress in 1939.

In the late 1930s, a movement was organized in the south to promote the learning of Tamil among the Sinhalese. A series of Tamil classes for pupils up to the fifth standard were conducted at Ananda College, a leading Buddhist Boys’ school and the teachers too were taught Tamil in 1939.

The Position of National Languages in Administrations

In 1934, at a political meeting, a motion that the members of the civil and clerical services, Justice of the peace and Lawyers should reach a certain standard in Sinhala and Tamil and Lawyers be allowed to conduct trials in Sinhala or Tamil was passed and in 1935, motions urging that Sinhala and Tamil be made the language of administration and the Courts were passed.

Today the medium of instruction in all government educational institutions including universities in Sri Lanka is the mother tongue of students. Amendments were made then and on to the official language policy and Sinhala and Tamil are made the official languages. All these glorious changes are the outcome of the agitation and sacrifices of the patriots of the Country.

The Current Status of Sri Lankan English

English has attained the status of both intranational and international language. People with English knowledge are distributed in each district of Sri Lanka. English newspapers namely the Daily News, Sunday Leader, Week End Express etc.... are published in Colombo, the capital of Sri Lanka. English is the language of the judicial system. It is also the prime language in Parliamentary proceedings and a compulsory language of most of the public examinations of higher study courses like M.BA and CIMA. The degree programs in Engineering and medicine are conducted in the English medium in Universities. South Asian English should not be considered in terms of linguistic homogeneity or of a uniform linguistic

competence. Several regional varieties including Lankan English are covered by this term. The educated South Asian English are basically of two sub varieties namely the Pidgin English and the Standard English.

The sub varieties and registers are concerned with language function. Sri Lanka comprises communities which are ethnically and linguistically pluralistic and therefore the role of English should be related to this type of pluralistic characteristic. English was used as a link language during the colonial era and it still continues to play the same role. The functions of English can be categorized into four major types viz. instrumental, regulative, interpersonal and creative. The instrumental function refers to the use of English as the medium of instruction at various stages of education. The use of English in the legal system and administration is referred to as the regulative function. In the interpersonal function, English provides a code of communication to linguistically and culturally diverse groups. As a part of the influence of English, a significant body of South Asian English writing had emerged in which the natives have displayed their innovative skills.

This new body of English writing emerged in Sri Lanka also. The native Sri Lankans produced English works including Algu Subramanian's which were highly appreciated by the local reading population, because in these works there is a blend of local culture and life style. Among the Sinhala writers Edirwira Sarachchandra, Sri Gunasinghe, Punyakanti Wijenaik and Gunadasa Amarasekara are some of the leading personalities. Gradually the English writings by the Sri Lankan natives influenced the literatures of the national languages also. Consequently the fiction, poetry and drama in Tamil also experienced new genres. Today it's very rare to find writings in Tamil which are free from the inclusion of English borrowing.

CHAPTER 3

LANGUAGE CONTACT AND BORROWING

The contact of Tamil with English in Sri Lanka, the subsequent development of bilingualism and the presence of English borrowings in Tamil, are studied in this chapter. The analysis in this chapter is restricted to English borrowing occurring only in the speech of Tamils since borrowings in literature are studied in the last chapter of this volume.

Language Contact

Contact between languages is a historical necessity and the subsequent mutual influence of languages contributes immensely to linguistic development. The extension of trade, advancement of science and technology and vast improvement of communication strategies bring languages into contact. When one or more languages come into contact, they tend to react more or less upon one another. Based on this truth, according to certain philologists there is no language which is free from being a mixed language in certain respects.

The domination of one language over the other and its status heavily depend on the speech community concerned. The political situation plays a great role here. Because of the patriotic feeling or of the inclination towards independence certain people may oppose the influence of one language and uphold and develop the other.

Following the adoption of English language as the administrative language and as the medium of instruction in Sri Lanka around, 1832, Sinhala and Tamil national movements emerged to revive the native languages. Origin of these movements was primarily political and the chief motive was to free the natives from the traditional enemy- the influence of English.

Although political reasons governed the rivalry of English and the native languages to great extent, religious feelings too increased the resisting power of the native's languages. The native Sinhalese and Tamil patriots determined not to sacrifice their mother tongues and adopt that of a conqueror that they despised. They took all efforts to preserve their mother tongues. However English the Language of the oppressor was still used for administrative purposes. It can be speculated how difficult the Sinhala and Tamil ethnic communities have found it to keep up the integrity of their languages alongside of English. Employees and domestic staff spoke English with their employers. In towns a constant exchange of business was carried on and tourists were continuously coming and going. English became the common or standard language.

Some Views on Mixed Languages

According to Vendryes certain philologists are of the view that all languages are more or less mixed languages. Languages get mixed when they are in contact. In the view of some

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philologists, mixed languages generally seem to be examples of worn- out languages. The reciprocal influence of the languages in contact ultimately results in mutual loss. (Vendryes, p. 281, quoted in Varatharajan, 1975, P.115). The following example is often cited. In Caucasus, a considerable mixture of language is found. The prime reason for the vast degeneration of these languages is exactly the influence of their neighbors. In the south –east part of Daghestan, on both banks of the Samur River, a series of dialects belonging to the Kurine group of languages is found. These languages have lost their vigour by the flood of American and Tartar. Their area too has been restricted. (Hymes, 1974, P .86)

In 1819, Grimm, a renowned scholar maintained that contact of languages inevitably led to the loss of their grammar. When a language is used in a foreign country, it is subjected to be exposed to many and varied influences. Ultimately it loses its individual characteristic more rapidly than other languages. (Christina Bratt Paulston, Mary Newton and Bruder, 1976, P.92). Because of this linguistic state of affair, there have been instances which demand the establishment of a common language. It results into the formation of a mixed speech which can serve as a common language. Sabir which is a mixture of French, Spanish, Greek, and Italian and Arabic is used in the Mediterranean parts. Particularly these languages have lent their vocabulary in the Far East and broken English used by the natives of Sierra Leone are examples for mixed languages.

The following quotation is worth mentioning in this context. “Certain philologists have even gone so far as to say that there is no language which is not in certain respects a mixed language”. (Vendryes. Language, P. 281. As quoted by Varatharajan. P. 93)

Every Language has to borrow a considerable number of words which are technical terms. Protest against such borrowings does not arise because those who deal with technical terms are not many in number and they realize the importance of technical terms in their specific usage also. It should be admitted that in contexts which do not require technical terms, the deliberate insertion of foreign language words is undesirable. It’s equally undesirable to insert foreign language words while words with equivalent meanings are available in the native language itself. It should also be borne in mind that it is extremely difficult to project a language devoid of borrowings.

When borrowing occurs between two languages which are equally influential, both languages will exit. If one language is more dominant than the other, the more dominant language will flourish and the other will deteriorate. In Europe following the mixing of Armenian with Russian, the Armenian language declined in status. In Ireland in spite of the vast extend of mixing of English, the Irish language still thrives. Even though Germans and the French settled in the USA, their native languages vanished and only English is surviving. If one language has both oral tradition and script tradition and the other has not the oral tradition, the former will borrow more words than the latter. This is the reason for the existence of more number of Vatamoli words in Tamil which has both oral and script traditions and for the existence of less number of Tamil words in Vatamoli. The same reason is applicable for the presence of greater number of English borrowing in Tamil and the less number of Tamil borrowings in English because during the British rule in Sri Lanka,

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communication and correspondence in administrative, educational, socio economic and cultural affairs were mostly carried out through various forms of English materials compared to oral means.

Language Modification

Languages are modified in various levels daily. Some languages get modified naturally and others purposefully. Due to changes and developments in a society, new language elements are added to respective languages every day. Both in speech and writing language components multiply. The existing components of a language may be either expanded or contracted depending on the social environment. In some instances, traditional grammatical rules are abandoned or they are simplified. In some other cases, technical terms and other language components are either expanded or contracted. Thus language planning is carried out to develop language resource and language skills.

Bilingualism

Language is said to be the property of a group and bilingualism is the property of the individual. The use of two languages by an individual indicates the existence of two different language communities. The bilingual community consists of bilingual individuals with reasons for being individuals. The existence of different monolingual communities results in the contact between them and such contact leads to the state of bilingualism. (Macket, 1968)

Many different definitions of bilingualism have been given by researches. Bloomfield defined bilingualism as the “native like control of two languages”(1933,P 56). This definition implies the idea of balanced bilingualism. In contrast to this definition, Macnamara (1969) stated that a bilingual is anyone who possesses a minimal competence in one of the four language skills, i.e listening, speaking, reading and writing a language other than his mother tongue. Hamers &Blanc (1989) reported that between these two extremes one encounters a whole array of definitions. According to the Webster’s Dictionary (1961) bilingual is defined as “having or using two languages especially as spoken with the fluency characteristic of a native speaker; a person using two languages especially habitually and with control like that of a native speaker’ and bilingualism as ‘the constant oral use of two languages’.

All these definitions range from a native-like competence in two languages to a minimal proficiency in a second language. A number of theoretical and methodological difficulties involve in these definitions. These definitions do not specify what is meant neither by native competence which may vary even within a unilingual population nor by minimal proficiency in a second language, nor by obeying the concepts and structure of that second language (Hamers and Blanc 1989, P 7).

In consideration of the dimension of bilingual competence, a distinction has been made between a balanced bilingual and a dominant bilingual. A balanced bilingual is a person who has equal competence in his native language and a second language. A dominant

bilingual is the one who has greater competence in one of the languages, usually in the mother tongue. (Lambert, 1955, Quoted in Hamers and Blanc 1989, P.8)

The function of each language determines the degree of its proficiency. In other words language proficiency depends on the uses of the language by the individual & the condition under which it is used. These functions may be external or internal.

The external functions of bilingualism depend on the amount of contact and on the variations of the area of contact in duration, frequency and pressure. The language usage of the home, the community, the school and the electronic and printed media may be the area of contact through which the language proficiency can be acquired by an individual. (Mackey, 1968).

Home Language

In some families of elite group, a private tutor may be engaged to teach children English. There may be some other families in which one of the parents may be proficient in English, a second language and English becomes to be used as one of the two home languages. Even in some other families one of the parents makes it a habit of speaking to the child in one language. For instance, the mother sticks to Tamil and the father English, when talking with the child. These are different situations prevailing in families which induce bilingualism.

Community Language

The opportunities an individual can have to develop bilingualism include the languages spoken in his neighborhood, ethnic group, occupation group and recreation group.

The active role of an individual in the social life of his ethnic group may motivate him to maintain his other languages, which may be English.

Language of occupation group and recreation group

The occupation an individual holds and the members of his recreation group may oblige him to use English. The language used in correspondence or any other form of communication in the office where one is employed may be English. Or the language spoken in club meeting such as the meeting of Lion's Club and Rotary Club in connection with his recreation activities may be English.

Schools, Universities and other educational institutes play a vital role in developing bilingualism. In all the government and private schools English is taught as a second language. In the science and medical faculties of the universities, the medium of instruction is almost English. The medium of instruction of most of the private courses conducted by institutes is strictly English.

Besides, there is the frequent service of private teachers teaching English. Some families engage private teachers to teach their children English with prestige motive. Finally

there is the individual who improves knowledge of English through self instruction. The process of self instruction includes reading English materials and listening to English programmes on the electronic media.

The electronic media like the radio, television, the cinema and recordings and the press media like Newspapers, magazines and books have great influence on the individual in his being a bilingual. Regular habit of watching programs held in English or reading materials printed in English would certainly enhance one's knowledge of English. Reading is regarded as a very effective way for improving the knowledge of a foreign language since the access to reading materials is the most available.

An individual may develop bilingualism by regularly corresponding in English on various purposes including business, penfriendship etc.

Duration

The duration of language contact determines the extent of the influence of the language on the bilingualism of the individual. For instance, the competence in English of an individual who has spent more years in an English speaking country may be greater than that of another individual who has spent relatively fewer years there.

Pressure

The economic, administrative, political, cultural, military, historical, religious or demographic factors may demand the individual to use a particular language.

In case of some private sector firms, English proficiency is a must for recruiting employees. Men seeking economic prosperity through employment in private firms endeavour to achieve the required level of English proficiency.

In certain state administrative departments, employees are expected to possess a good knowledge of English.

For cultural reasons an educated person is expected to be fluent in one or more foreign languages. Greek and Latin were the cultural languages of the educated Europeans one time. In Sri Lanka English language has been cultural language.

The use of English is maintained by pressures of political circumstance. Political prestige of the super powers in the world may have led to this situation. Under the British Colonial rule, English was given much prominence in political, administrative, economic, social, cultural and trade activities. Though the national languages have been duly recognized for official purposes at present, English still enjoys its established prestige in Sri Lanka.

The language which the bilingual must learn and the extent to which he must learn them may depend on the past historical experience. The status of English in Sri Lanka is attributable to the historical role of Great Britain in this country.

A bilingual may master English language for religious purpose also. In Christian seminaries, the clergy may be required to learn English compulsorily. Thus the members of clergy attached to the Christian Church are considerably bilinguals.

The maintenance of the languages of the bilinguals depends on the number of persons he comes into contact. However together with the number, the distribution too should equally be taken into consideration. The native speakers of some languages other than English are greater in number than that of English. Yet English has a greater distribution and it is used as official and administrative languages in many parts of the world. In Sri Lanka too, English still enjoys the administrative language in some government departments and private institutions.

Contact and Interference

The language contact may cause structural changes in one or both of the languages concerned and this tendency of changing the structure is termed as interference. In other words the violation of the norms of any of the languages involved by the individual in his speech as a result of languages contact is known as interference. Interference may result in rearrangement of the definite organized structure of a language from the introduction of foreign elements such as phonemic system, morphology and syntax and certain part of vocabulary.

The learning problems and the amount of interference depend on similarities of the languages in contact. Accordingly the extent of interference may vary whereas the mechanism of interference remains the same between any languages.

In addition to similarities or dissimilarities between languages that are in contact, there are non-linguistic or non- structural factors which have some influence, as follows. (Weinreich, 1979: P3)

1. The speaker's mastery of oral skills of the languages and his ability to handle two languages independently.
2. Relative proficiently in each language.
3. Mastery of either language by topics and interlocutors.
4. Manners of learning each language.
5. Attitudes towards each language, whether idiosyncratic or stereotyped.
6. Attitudes towards the culture of each language community.
7. Attitudes towards bilingualism.
8. Tolerance or intolerance with regard to the mixing of languages and to incorrect speech in each language.
9. Relation between each of the language communities.

Language contact is one aspect of Cultural contact. Due to Cultural diffusion and acculturation interference may occur. For the better understanding between language contact and culture, anthropologists, psychologists and linguists should work together.

Process of Borrowing

Due to the changes in the physical, political, economic, social and cultural environment, a need arises for new meanings and such need is met by extension or the transfer of the already existing words of a language. However there may be a great demand for new words as well. The chief sources of new words are borrowing, derivation, compounding and clipping. Borrowing is the most important source of the new words. A considerable part of the present day Jaffna Tamil vocabulary is made up of borrowed words. It is true that the core of the Tamil vocabulary including the function words dealing with fundamental and relatively unchanging realities remains native.

Karunakaran's (2011) comment in this context that the total vocabulary of an individual is not constant at any age and time and it is subjected to change, is quite relevant.

With regard to the element to be borrowed, the following comments are appropriate in this context.

“There are degrees of kind as well as of extent in the process of borrowing. What is most easily taken out for the stores one language to be added to those of another is the names and epithets of things, nouns and adjectives; verbs, much less easily; particles hardly at all apparatus of derivation prefixes and suffixes of inflection, ending of declension and conjunction, least of all” (Whitney, , P119 quoted in Varatharajan, P 123-124)

In case of Jaffna Tamil, English nouns, verbs and adjectives only are used as borrowing. For Example, English nouns like Bulb, Tape, Pipe Envelop etc are borrowing in their assimilated forms as valppu, te:ppu, ‘paippu’, envalappu etc respectively.

English verbs like Close, Type Weld etc are used as borrowings in the assimilated forms as kulo:s taippu, veltu etc respectively.

The use of new objects brings new words to languages. If a language has a specialized field of knowledge, we borrow words from that language when we gain the specialized field of knowledge. A country may have contact with another for political, religious or trade reasons. The epic of Manimekalai is evidence of the entry of Samana and Buddhist words into Tamil.

It's worth mentioning the following statement at this juncture.

“One reason for this extensive borrowing is the fact that the particular circumstances favoring it have existed frequently in the history of English. The chief of these is language contact that is the presence in close geographical, political, and economic proximity making use of different languages.” (Francis, 1964, P. 132)

The language from which words are borrowed is called the donor language and the language receiving words, the borrowing language. As languages are concerned the borrowed word needn't to be returned to the donor language. Besides the donor language does not lose

any aspect while borrowing languages may undergo changes to some extent. Prestige motive and need filling motive are generally attributed to borrowing.

One of the reasons of borrowing words from other languages is that the particular circumstances favoring it have prevailed very often. The chief of them is the language contact. Bilingualism the inevitable result for language contact may be of various kinds and it ranges from the complete and approximately equal use of two languages for both speaking and writing for almost all purposes to the limited use of a second language for certain purposes such as scholarship, diplomacy, religion etc. In most cases one language seems to be dominant and it is usually the first language of the bilingual and the one used for day –to – day activities.

As developing countries like Sri Lanka are concerned, owing to the slow development in the scientific and technological disciplines these countries heavily depend on the western nations which are developed for materialistic needs. Consequently a large number of articles including instruments, equipment, spare parts etc are imported into the developing nations. Most of the names of these goods have become borrowings in these countries.

In case of English borrowings in Jaffna Tamil, almost all the borrowings are nouns. There are very limited number of borrowings which verbs, like ‘test’ (test), join (Join), kanaik (Connect), peint (Paint), veld (Weld), pætfu (Patch), etc. Most of these verb borrowings are used by mechanics.

‘Larger amount of borrowing is from the dominant language into the second language. But the bilingual speaker may use a word from his second language to fill what may be a gap in the lexical system of his dominant or native languages or a gap in his own knowledge of it’. (Nelson Francis, 1963, P. 132)

The above quotation has much relevance to the Sri Lankan English bilingual.

The mere contact of two languages is not supposed to lead to the situation in which one language borrows elements from the other language. Two conditions are essential for the borrowing to occur. The meaning of the borrowed word should be comprehended by the person intending to adopt it in his language or he should convincingly assume as he has comprehended it.

The bilingual speaker may be compelled to use a word from the second language to fill the gap in the lexicon of his native tongue. If the borrowed word is taken up by other speakers, it becomes an addition to the semology of the total language. Or else it may be used as a synonym for an already existing word. Words like ‘Torch’ and ‘concrete’ have no Tamil equivalents. Words like ‘Harbor’ and ‘Light house’ exist together with their with their Tamil equivalents ‘turaimukam’ and ‘Velitfa vi:tu’, respectively.

Hudson stated that one language borrows terms from another language not only for the fact borrowing language lacks such terms. But due to the contact of the foreign language,

terms infiltrate into the borrowing language causing changes in it and not in the donor language. The borrowing of certain items takes place only under the condition of large scale bilingualism and the borrowing of some other kind of items occurs under the condition of large scale monolinguals. It is the basic vocabulary of a language which is subjected to borrowing under the former condition and the vocabulary for artifacts which is subject to borrowing under the latter condition.

As long as a borrowed word is used only by bilingual speakers, its foreign quality is preserved by them, especially in pronunciation.

Soon after a borrowed word is used by monolinguals, its sound system is adapted to the native tongue. Within a generation or two of its first use, the fact that the word is a borrowed one is forgotten by monolinguals. From then on the process of change in pronunciation and meaning as well will not be different from that of native words.

Sanskrit Borrowings in Tamil

In Sri Lankan Tamil as in the Indian Tamil, a good number of words borrowed are from Sanskrit. Sanskrit has been in close contact with Tamil since the age of Tholkapia, a great grammarian. A large number of Sanskrit words are found in Sanga literature. Following examples can be cited in this respect.

Words	Literature
• a: ti (beginning)	kurunṭohai
• d ₃ a: mam(Midnight)	kalitohai
• aram (Ethical deed)	kalitohai
• amilṭam(Celestial food)	ṭirumuruhattupatai
• intiran(Lord of Devas)	cilappaṭika: ram
• pa:vanai(Gesture)	manimekalai
• aṭi(a woman of low caste)	ṭirukkural
• pahava:n (Abhramin)	ṭirukkural
• kamalam(loutus)	patipa:tal

In the 11th century A.D, the Manippiravala style, a language form with Tamil and Sanskrit words being mixed, came into being. In the 20th century also, the use of Sanskrit words can be observed in the poetry of Parathy.

The following set of Tamil sentences is an example of *manippiravala* style in which Sanskrit words are mixed.

“Am mæniṭan puṣṭpankalai koṭu mavnama:ha iraivanai paninṭan. pin ci:kitama:ha avan veliye:ri cenra:n”.

(“The man plucked flowers and silently prayed to God. Then he left quickly)

In the above example, the underlined words *pujpankal* (Flowers) *mavnama:ha* (Silently) and *ci:kitama:ha* (Quickly) are Sanskrit words in their inflected forms.

Literatures including the above mentioned ones are used as texts in government schools and universities in Sri Lanka. Besides large volumes of Indian Tamil journals and magazines containing a considerable number of Sanskrit words are read in Sri Lanka. Hence the mixing of Sanskrit words is found in Sri Lankan Tamil. Several Sanskrit words are used by Sri Lankan Tamils in speech colloquially as well as literally and in writing today. Following are examples of such words.

Sanskrit	Tamil	
• manṭra	manṭitam	(Hymn)
• kaviṭa:	kaviṭai	(Poetry)
• va:sa	va:sam	(Living)
• va:ta	Va:tam	(Week)
• putuṣa	Putuṣan	(Male)
• nimitṭa	nimitṭam	(Good omen)

Portuguese and Dutch Borrowings in Tamil

Following the arrival of Portuguese and Dutch in Sri Lanka by 1543 and by 1650 respectively, their languages too came into contact with Tamil via political, educational and legal procedures mainly. Consequently some Portuguese and Dutch words infiltrated into Tamil.

Portuguese	Tamil	
• ko:ppo:	ko:ppai	(Cup)
• sappato	cappa:tṭu	(Shoe)
• toalha	ṭuva:i	(Towel)

Original Portuguese words for these derivations are not known	katuṭ a:si	(Paper)
	va: ṭṭu	(Duck)
	aluma:ti	(Almirah)
	ca:vi	(Key)
	a:ya:	(Nanny)
	anna:si	(Pine apple)
	sannal	(Window)

Dutch		Tamil
▪ Fiscal		piska:l
▪ Advocate		appuka:ttu
▪ Balkje		ba: ʃa:
▪ Appeal		æppi:l
Original words are not known. {		
	kʌkku:s	(Lavatory)
	ula:nʈa:	(Surveyor)

English Borrowing in Tamil

Following the arrival of the British in Sri Lanka in 1796, many English words have been borrowed into Tamil.

In a survey related to the use of English vocabulary in the Jaffna Tamil, Karunakaran, (2011) endorsed that the majority of the subjects revealed that they use English borrowings in their day-to-day interactions.

The following is the list of some English borrowings in Tamil as per the observation of the author of this volume.

English Words	Assimilated Forms
• Accident	aksitentu
• Accountant	akkavuntan
• Acre	əikar
• Aero plane	əro:ppilen
• Agent	e:d ₃ entu
• Aids	eids
• Airport	eya:po:ttu
• Album	ʌlvʌm
• Aluminum	æluminiyam
• Amen	a:men
• Antenna	æntena
• Apothecary	apo: ʈikæti
• Apple	ʌppil
• Army	a:mi
• Arrest	ærestu
• Asthma	æsma
• Aunt	ænti
• Auto	o:to:

• Baby	bə:bi/ ve:vi
• Bag	væ:kku
• Bakery	və:kkari
• Balcony	vælkani
• Bank	væ:nku
• Bankruptcy	vankuro: tu
• Barber	va:var
• Barrel	væræl
• Basin	veicin
• Basket	va:skæt/ pa:skæt
• Bath room	va: tru:m
• Beach	bi:tʃu
• Bell	vel/pel
• Bible	vaivil
• Bicycle	vaisikal
• Bill	vil/pil
• Biscuit	visukko: tu
• Bishop	visop
• Black market	vilæ:kma:kkat
• Blade	vileitu/pileitu
• Blender	viləntær
• Blouse	vilaucu/pilaucu
• Blue film	vulu:pilim
• Board	po:tu
• Boarding	vo:tiŋ/p:tiŋ
• Body	voti
• Bomb	vom
• Bomber	vomper/pomper
• Brake	vireikku/pireikku
• Brandy	viranti/piranti
• Bulb	vælpu
• Business	visinæs
• Butter	pattar
• Bye	bai
• Café	kavei
• Cake	keikku
• Calendar	kæləntar
• Camera	kəmæra:

• Camp	kæ:mpu
• Campus	kʌmpasu
• Can	kæ:n
• Cancer	kæ:ncer
• Canteen	kænti:n
• Canvas	kænvas
• Cap	kæp
• Car	ka:r
• Carrot	kætatu
• Carbon	ka:van
• Card	ka:ttu
• Cardboard	ka:tpo:ttu
• Carnival	ka:nival
• Carpenter	ka:ppentar
• Carpet	ka:ppettu
• Carrier	karriyal
• Caste	ka:stu
• Cement	ci:menttu
• Certificate	cə:tipikkətu
• Chain	cein
• Chalk	co:kku
• Cheap	ci:pu
• Check	cəkku
• Cheese	ci:su
• Cheque	cəkku
• Chimney	cimini
• Chlorine	kulo:rin
• Chocolate	co:kiləttu
• Choke	co:ku
• Christmas	kirismasu
• Church	cə:t fu
• Cigarette	ci:kirətu
• Circus	cə:kasu
• Civil	civil
• Clerk	kila:kku
• Clinic	kilinnikku
• Clip	kilippu
• Coat	ko:tu
• Coco	kokko:
• Coffee	ko:ppi

• Cogwheel	kokkuvi:l
• Coil	ko:il
• Collar	kolar
• College	kolit ju
• Colony	kolani
• Colour	kalar
• Commission	komisan
• Company	kompæni
• Compass	kompa:su
• Computer	komputtar
• Concrete	konkiri: ttu
• Conductor	kontAktar
• Congress	konkirasu
• Cooker	kukkar
• Copy	koppi
• Cordial	ko:tiyal
• Coupon	ku:ppan
• Court	ko:tu
• Cover	kavar
• Cream	kiri:m
• Cricket	kirikættu
• Cross	kuros
• Cup	kAppu
• Curfew	kæ:viu
• Current	kærantu
• Cushion	kusan
• Customs	kastampsu
• Cycle	caikil
• Dance	tæ:nsu
• Deck	tekku
• Design	tisain
• Diary	tayari
• Dickey	tikki
• Diesel	ti:sal
• Dish	tis
• Divorce	tivo:su
• Doctor	toktær
• Double	tAvil
• Dowry	tavuri
• Driver	raivar

• Elastic	əla: t̪ikku
• Election	let ʃæn/leksæn
• Enema	ənima:
• Engine	indʒin
• English	inkili:su
• Entry	enti
• Envelop	envalappu
• Eraser	re:sar
• Estate	este:tu
• Fail	peil
• Fan	pæ:n
• Father (Rev)	pa: ʔar
• Film	pilim
• Firing	payarinku
• Flask	pila:sku
• Force	po:s
• Foreign	porin
• Free	piri:
• Full	pul
• Funnel	punæl
• Gallon	kælæn
• Galvanize	kælvanaisu
• Garage	kæra:t ʃu
• Gate	keitu
• Gear	kiyar
• Generator	cenare:tar
• Glass	kila:su
• Goal	ko:l
• Government	kavanme:n̪tu
• Gram	kira:m
• Gravel	kiraval
• Grenade	kiraneitu
• Halt	ko:ltu
• Handle	kæ:n̪til
• Hardware	ka:tvayar
• Headlight	ketlaitu

• Heat	ki:t
• Heater	ki:tar
• Helicopter	kelikoptar
• Hurricane	atikkan
• Hello	kælo:
• Ice	aisu
• Identity card	aitiṇka:tu
• Inch	intfi
• Iron	ayan
• Jam	yæ:m
• Jean	dʒi:n
• Jeep	yi:ppu
• Jet	dʒet
• Join	yoin
• Jug	yokku
• Kettle	ke: ṭil
• Kilo	kilo:
• Lamp	la:mpu
• Lavatory	lævæti
• Law	lo:
• Level	leval
• License	laisensu
• Lieutenant	leptinæn
• Left	leptu
• Light	laitu
• Lily	lili
• Line	lain
• Load	lo:ttu
• Local	lo:kæl
• Lock	lokku
• Loose	lu:su
• Lorry	lori
• Love	lAv
• Machine	mesi:n
• Mail	meyil

• Malaria	mælætiya
• Manager	mænetfær
• Marble	ma:vil
• Market	ma:kattu
• Maroon	matu:n
• Mass	ma:s
• Master	ma:star
• Match	mætʃu
• Mayer	meiyær
• Mental	mentæl
• Meter	mi:tar
• Metre	mi:tar
• Mill	mil
• Motor	mo:tar
• Muscle	masil
• Net	nettu
• News	niyu:s
• Nice	naisu
• Notice	no:ti:su
• Number	numpær
• Nurse	ne:su
• Office	ovisu
• Ounce	avunsu
• Overseer	o:vasiyær
• Orange	oreintʃu
• Orator	ore:tar
• Packet	pækketu
• Paint	peintu
• Paper	pe:pær
• Parachute	pæræsu:tu
• Parallel	pætælæl
• Parcel	pa:sal
• Pass	pa:su
• Passport	pa:spo:ttu
• Pedal	petal
• Pen	pe:nai

• Pencil	pentfil
• Pension	pentfan
• Peon	pi:ɔ:n
• Permit	pə:mitu
• Photo	po:to:
• Pipe	pæppu
• Pistol	pistal
• Plan	pilæ:n
• Plane	pile:n
• Plaster	pila:star
• Plate	pile: tu
• Plug	pilAkku
• Pocket	pokkatu
• Police	polisu
• Polish	polisu
• Post	po:stu
• Powder	pavutar
• Power	pavar
• Principal	print fipæl
• Public	pApilikku
• Pump	pAm
• Puppy	pAppi
 • Queue	 kiu:
 • Radio	 re:tio:
• Razor	re:sar
• Receipt	risi:tu
• Repair	ripæyar
• Report	ripo:ttu
• Reserve	risə:vu
• Rewind	rivain
• Rim	rim
• Road	ro:ttu
• Rose	ro:su
• Rowdy	rauti
 • Saloon	 salu:n
• Sanitary	sanitary
• Scent	sentu

• Screen	iskiri:n
• Screw	iskuru;
• Seat	si:ttu
• Sergeant	sa:yan
• Shed	settu
• Shirt	sə:ttu
• Shock	sokku
• Sister (Rev)	sistar/sis ʈar/sitar
• Size	sayisu
• Soda	so:ta
• Sofa	so:Pa:
• Sound	savuntu
• Spring	ispirinku
• Station	iste:san
• Stool	istu:l
• Strike	istaiku
• Studio	istu:tio
• Style	istayil
• Support	cʌpo:ttu
• Suspender	caspentar
• Switch	cuvit ʃu
• Slip	cilipu
• Slate	cile:tu
• Slow	cilo:
• Tailor	teyilar
• Tank	tæ:nkku
• Tape	te:ppu
• Teacher	ti:t ʃar
• Tea	ti:/ ʈe:
• Television	telivisan
• Thanks	thanks
• Theatre	ʈiye:ttar
• Ticket	ʈikættu
• Tie (n)	tai
• Toddy	toti
• Toffee	topi
• Torch	to:c ^v
• Towel	taval
• Train	rain

• Transformer	ranspo:mar
• Transistor	ræ:nsitar
• Tray	re:i
• Trouser	ravusær
• Town	tavun
• Tuition	tu:san
• Tutor	tu:tari
• Type	taippu/tappu
• Union	yu:nian
• Video	vi:tiyo:
• Visa	visa:
• Vote	vo:ttu
• Ward	va:ttu
• Watch	va:t fu
• Watcher	va:tjar
• Wine	vayin
• Wire	vayar
• Whisky	viski
• Zip	cippu

The following are some examples of Tamil borrowings in English.

- Onicut
- Ola
- Conjee
- Catamaran
- Kanakkapulle
- Coir
- Curry
- Teak
- Poonac
- Puja
- Mango
- Betel
- Mulligatawny
- Cheroot
- Pandal
- Balcony
- Pariah
- Chatty

- Sandal
- Chunam
- Mudeliar

Borrowing from Other Languages in Tamil

1. Marati Borrowings

According to Tamil Lexicon, there are fifty five Marati words in Tamil.

Examples:	sə:mia:	}	Food		}	Vessels	
	kitʃʃati						d ₃ a:ti
	kasa:yam						kunta:n
	patta:ni						

- kaila:hu (Hand shaking)
- apa:ntam (Accusation)
- killa:ti (Rowdy)

2. Telugu Borrowings

The Tamil lexicon states about three hundred twenty five Telugu words in Tamil.

Examples:

- turai (Coast)
- ti:vatti(torch)
- kAttitam(Building)
- kalappatam (Adulteration)
- uruntai(round)
- ravikai(blouse)
- kΛ:yam (wound)

3. Kannada Borrowing

The Tamil lexicon speaks about thirty eight Kannada words in Tamil

Example:

- sama:littal (bring under control)
- sotʃu (asset)
- patta:kattī (a hand knife)
- kulukuṭal (Shaking)

4. Malayalam Borrowings

Examples:

- vellam (jiggery)
- aviyal (boil Rice)
- kΛ:la:n (Mushrooms)
- tfakkai (Waste residue)

5. Sinhala Borrowings

Examples:

- murunkai (A vegetable tree)
- pilly (Exorcism)

6. Chinese Borrowings

Examples:

- tfampa:n (A kind of boat)
- kΛnɲu (A large earthenware)
- pi:nka:n (Glass)

7. Turkey Borrowings

Examples:

- tɯppa:ki (Gun)
- va:nko:li (Ostrich)

8. Urdu Borrowings

Examples:

- amul (Bring to effect)
- ra:d₃ ina:ma: (resign)
- ina:m (Free)
- usa:r (Activeness)
- u: tɯvarti (incense)
- kuɽtaihai (lease)
- sanɽa: (Subscription)
- sata:sati (Average)
- sa:ma:n (Articles)

9. French Borrowings

Examples:

- po: t̪tal (Bottle)
- la:nt̪ar (Lamp)
- a:suppatt̪iri (Hospital)
- no: t̪arisu (Notary)
- poɻ t̪a:n (Button)

Most of the borrowings from other languages were mixed in Tamil long before the mixing of English borrowings in Tamil in India which has multiethnic and multi linguistic communities. It was possible because of the languages contact situations between Tamil and other languages within the country itself. Following the cultural diffusion between India and Sri Lanka, the borrowings from other Indian languages were mixed in Sri Lankan Tamil also. Thus in Sri Lanka also the borrowings from other languages were found in Tamil long before the English borrowings.

In case of English borrowings even the monolinguals in Jaffna are aware that these borrowings except ‘te:t tanni:r’ (Tea), ‘la:mpu’ etc are of English origin. But as the borrowings from other languages are concerned, both the Tamil monolinguals and bilinguals in Tamil and English except the linguistic specialists believe that these are Tamil words and any need for distinguishing them as foreign words doesn’t arise in them either.

Factors Contributing to Borrowing

1. Prestige Motive

Men of authority, power and privilege receive honour in a society and people in general tend to adopt practices and speech of these men of elite group. The terms denoting kingship like “Daddy”, “Mummy” and “Amma”, “Aunt” are preferred to the Tamil “appa”, “amma”. and “ma:mi” respectively. There have been instances when Tamils imitated the English men in speech and culture to achieve status.

2. Need-filling Motive

The entry of a foreign word into a language may be encouraged because of the absence of a term to refer to an object or a concept in that language. New experiences, new objects and new practices form essential situations for the entry of foreign words into a language.

Examples for English borrowings in Tamil in this respect: Computer, police, election, etc.

3. Concealing Social Identity

The meaning of certain words in the native language is regarded as derogatory and the equivalent words in another language are treated as cultured. The English 'barber' and 'dhoby' are preferred to the Tamil caste names, 'ampattan' and 'vanna:n' by members of these castes.

4. Register Influence

Registers are firmly established in all languages. For instance, the administrative, political, technological and legal registers undergo Anglization. Since these registers have a firm root in the native languages, it's usually difficult to introduce the equivalents in the native languages and get the natives acquainted with such equivalents even if they are available. For example, the English 'License' is in usage among the monolingual Tamils, with some phonological deviation.

5. Interpreting Facility

A borrowed word may be used as a device for elucidation and interpretation. Particularly in languages in which registers are not established or have not received general acceptance, borrowed words enjoy a prominent place. For example one finds it easier to interpret the Tamil term 'alaippa:nai' by mentioning its English equivalent 'summons'.

6. Neutralization

A borrowed word may function as a source of neutralization. The borrowed lexical item may be attitudinally and contextually neutral. The contextual clues for identification will be absent in it. For example, the English 'father' denoting the paternal kingship is sometimes preferred to the Tamil 'tantai' (Literary form) or 'appa', or 'appu' (Colloquial form).

The use of some words which is generally embarrassing in public places is replaced by English words. For example the word 'attain' is used in its assimilated form "attæn" to refer to menstruation of a girl, among the Jaffna Tamils. Similarly, 'virast ka:ncar' (Breast cancer), 'u:tin testu' (Urine Test), 'kitni ravil' (Kidney trouble) etc are common expressions among Jaffna Tamil monolinguals. These expressions function as neutralization.

7. Marker of Modernization

A borrowed word may be used as a marker of modernization, socio economic position and membership in an elite group. When one wants to demonstrate authority, power or identity one may use it. A person who is a Grama Sevaka by profession may not like to be addressed as 'vita:nai' but he would rather prefer to be called 'G.S'

8. Economy of Usage

The need to designate new things, places or concepts is also a reason for borrowing. Almost all the English names of carpentry and masonry tools and stationery are found used with phonological adaptations by Jaffna Tamils, because of the economy of expression.

Examples: Screw driver, mason, pen etc.

The converted Christian natives of Jaffna still bear foreign names such as Joseph, Clives, Antony, Mary, Christebella and Jasintha.

The words referring to Christian religious practices such as 'Prayer', 'confession' and 'mass' are frequent in the speech of Jaffna Tamil. There are some place names in Jaffna, which are English.

Examples: Jaffna, Delft, Kytes, Point Pedro.

9. Discourse Strategy

English borrowing are sometimes used as a strategy in discourse. Canagaraja cited examples of English borrowings such as 'fis' (Fish). 'kira:b' (Crab), 'pro:n' (Prawn), 'master' (Master) and 'pirais' (Price) used by fish vendors when dealing with their customers to establish a good rapport with them, in Jaffna (1992, P. 8).

There are three reasons for borrowing, according to Jespersen. They are as follows.

1. When new objects are introduced in a country, the foreign language names of such objects are borrowed.
2. When a new branch of knowledge from a foreign country is introduced, technical terms are borrowed.
3. Due to idle tendency translators mix the foreign language words with their native languages instead of tracing the native equivalents.

(Jespersen. quoted in Varatharajan. 1996, P. 95)

It's worth mentioning the following quotation in this context.

“When a nation produces something that its neighbors think worthy of imitation those will take over not only the thing but also the name” (Jespersen, quoted in Varatharajan. 1996, P. 95).

The English names of foreign products such as radio, cycle, television, motor etc have become borrowings in Tamil.

Many words associated with the parliamentary system which are found in French have been borrowed from English because the parliamentary system was established for the first time by the English. Since France is a country with developed civilization and some articles from that country have been introduced in England, the French names of such articles have been borrowed in England.

Some people have the tendency of changing their habits with no regards for their traditions. Some others tend to regard foreigners as superior to them. When these tendencies are abundant in a speech community there will be more possibility for borrowing words from other languages.

Laziness is also a reason for using foreign words without any efforts for finding equivalent native forms for them. Otto Jespersen endorsed this view thus.

“When a nation has once got into the habit of borrowing words, people will very often use foreign words where it would have been perfectly possible to express their ideas by means of native speech material, the reason for going out of one's own language being in some cases the desire to be thought fashionable or refined through interlarding one's speech with foreign words, in others simply laziness.” (Jespersen, quoted in Varatharajan, 1996, P, 96-67).

In case of English borrowings in Tamil, words like Plug, Frame, Stencil, Offset, Shell, Motor, Adaptor etc have become borrowings since no attempts are made to create Tamil equivalents for these words because of laziness.

Other Sources of New Words

Though borrowing has been the chief source of addition to the vocabulary of a language, new words are created in other ways also.

1. New words may be created by fusing a suffix from the native language with a foreign word. For example, in spoken Tamil in Jaffna, the inflection “a:” is fused with some English words which are borrowings. This feature can be observed in the following examples.
 - ravila:itukku (It's troublesome)
 - ki:tta: itukku (It's hot)

- ‘sumu: t̪ta itukku (It’s smooth)

Similarly, the English ‘Clerk’ and ‘Shroff’ receive the Tamil ‘ir’ suffix to form words ‘kila:kkær’ and ‘cira:ppar’ used among the Jaffna Tamils.

2. There have been instances of creations of new words when some borrowed words undergo changes in meaning. For example, the word ‘ti:tjar’ which is the assimilated borrowings of the English ‘Teacher’ is used to refer to only a female teacher among the Jaffna Tamils. Likewise, the borrowing ‘ne:su’ (Nurse) is used to refer to a female nurse only.

The presence of English borrowings in Jaffna Tamil has in fact expanded the scope of Tamil to a large extent, particularly in its vocabulary. The use of English words facilitates communication with greater effect and desired objectives. Vast progress in economic and trade activities, transport system, cultural intercourse and communicative systems has quite changed the life style of the people. Unless the language of a speech community is modified according to the changing systems, members of the speech community can’t satisfy their needs. In this senses, the presence of English borrowings in the Jaffna Tamil and the subsequent facilities in communication are beneficial to the society.

CHAPTER 4

THE ASSIMILATION OF ENGLISH BORROWINGS

The borrowings from English in Tamil are pronounced strangely or differently by monolinguals or even by bilinguals sometimes, since the sound system of Tamil differs from that of English. In casual discussions, assimilated forms of borrowings are used by interlocutors who may be all bilinguals or bilinguals and monolinguals. Monolinguals may tend to assimilate the English sound into Tamil even though they listen to the accurate English pronunciation of words due to unfamiliarity with English sound system.

It's notable that the great Tamil grammarian *tolka:pia* encouraged the mixing of foreign words in a language with the condition that such words should be modified according to the phonetic system of that language. (Varatharajan. 1975, P, 101).

Before attempting to examine the nature of assimilation of English borrowings in the speech of Jaffna Tamil monolinguals, some general features of sound system of languages are discussed initially and then some generalizations regarding the assimilation patterns of English borrowings are given in this chapter.

Sound Variations of Languages

The sound system of languages varies. The differences in sound systems among languages are much less than the differences in words or phrases of them. The basic sounds are nearly the same in all languages. But the variations of sounds occur as some sounds are significant in some languages and some other sounds are more significant in some other languages. For example, the sounds represented by *l* (la) and *r* (ra) in Tamil and (ha), (sa) *श* (sha) in Hindi are prominent.

Some languages are full of weak sounds while others have ample strong sounds. There are rules defining the occurrence of certain sounds in the final position and combined sounds in the intermediate position in words in some languages. Such rules are not found in other languages. Sound variations occur among languages in this manner.

Innumerable sounds can be produced by man. But only certain sounds are used by him in the spoken language. The sounds which are easy to be articulated and are distinctively different from others are used in the spoken language. The following statement endorses this view. "Of the indefinite number of distinguishable sounds which it can produce, only a fraction, of twelve to fifty are put to use in any one language...from among the many possible, these have hanged to be taken, mainly the sounds easiest to make, and broadly distinguished from one another" (Whitney, quoted in (Varatharajan, 1975, P137).

The nature and weather influence the use of sounds in language. Hard sounds can be found in language spoken by people who struggle with the nature and control it, for their survival. People who do not confront with nature and who indulge in the delight of the nature choose mild sounds in their languages. The English who live in countries which have severe

cold climate use hard sounds. Clusters of two three consonants in the initial position as well as in the final position of words can be found in their languages. English words like Strength, Grind, Prink, Click, bright etc. can be cited in this respect. The Tamils who live without much exertion to struggle with the nature in countries like India, and Sri Lanka where there is a suitable climate for them, used mild sounds. Many grammar rules have been prescribed in Tamil to pronounce words. When strong sounds like க், ச், ட், த், ப் and ற் occur in the final position of a word, it will be difficult to pronounce the word. In such instances, உ (u) sound is added to the word to pronounce the word easily. English Mike, Torch, Shirt, Booth, pump etc. are pronounced as maikku, to:tfu, se:tu, pu: tu, pampu etc... in their assimilated forms when they are used as borrowings in Tamil.

Features of Phonetic Changes

The changes occurring in sounds of words are beyond the intention of speakers. The following view is worth mentioning in this context. “Phonetic changes doubtless take place mechanically, independent of the will or even of the knowledge of the speaker, but with a regularity so limited in principle and a variety so disconcerting in results that one can hardly rediscover in it any of the characteristics of a given type of Language” (Vendryes, quoted in Varatharajan, 1975, P140).

The will of the speaker is not involved in the phonetic modification but it is the speech organs including the tongue which gradually cause the phonetic modification. It is observed that the phonetic modification occurs because of the euphonious effect. If two consequent sounds are of the same class, or if they are analogous in nature, it will be easy to articulate the combined sound. Phonetic modification progresses toward this case. This view of supported by Otto Jespersen “Euphony depends not only on customs. But even more on articulation and on ease of perception. What requires intricate or difficult movements of the organs of speech will always be left as cacophonous, and so will, anything that is indistinct or blurred” (Jespersen, as quoted in Varatharajan, 1975, P140). For examples, the English Bench, Rubber, Belt etc. have become borrowings in Tamil in their assimilated forms as pentfu, rappar, velitu etc. These assimilated forms are created in accordance with the euphonious effect.

Economy of efforts is also a factor which influences phonetic modification. For example the English shock absorber has become a borrowing in the Jaffna Tamil and is used as “sokatfco:r” in a shorten form. The shortening of words in this manner is intended to speak much with less effort within a short span of time. Further examples of borrowings in shortened forms are given below.

English	Borrowings
▪ Identity card	itiŋca:t
▪ Battery	Vætti
▪ Factory	pæktri

One learns to speak a language as one hears another person speaking it. The person speaking and the person hearing the language can't be expected to speak that language in the same manner always. The mentalities and the state of senses vary from person to person. Therefore changes occur in the features including the pronunciation of words of a language. The following views are appropriately expressed by linguists in this context.

“No two speakers of a language have absolutely identical habits of pronunciation and in some cases there is a great variation from person to person or from region to region... consequently a good pronunciation of such a language need not be an exact counterpart of any one native speaker's pronunciation; if we establish habits well within the range of variation found among native speakers themselves, our pronunciation will count.....as good” (Charles, 1950, P. 262).

“Tradition is by its very nature imperfect and inaccurate “no one has ever yet been able to prevent what passes from mouth to hear from getting altered on the way.... and all through the life long process of learning one's mother tongue, one is liable to apprehend wrongly and to reproduce inexactly” (Whitney, quoted in Varatharajan, 1975, P. 146)

Assimilation

Assimilation is a kind of sound change commonly found in languages. In assimilation, one consonant becomes similar to another depending on the point of articulation or the manner of articulation. The following remarks on assimilation elaborate it further.

Perhaps the most common type of conditioned sound change is assimilation, whereby one sound becomes more like a neighboring one. Obviously this can be considered a simplification of the muscular movements needed to pronounce a given word. Assimilation is a very frequent phenomenon in just about all the languages of the world. In terms of articulator phonetics assimilation of consonants usually involves in one or more of the following three ways.

- Point of articulation
- Manner of articulation
- Voicing

(Arlotto, 1972, P. 81)

The above features of assimilation are well applicable to English borrowings when they are assimilated in Tamil.

The English Bomber and Ounce are borrowings in the Jaffna Tamil and they are pronounced as ‘Pomper’ and ‘avuntju.’

These assimilations are examples which are based on the point of articulation.

The English Paint and Chimney are borrowings in the Jaffna Tamil and are pronounced as ‘Peintu’ and ‘cimini’. These assimilations are examples based on the manner of articulation. The assimilation can be categorized into two types:

- Progressive assimilation
- Regressive assimilation

Progressive Assimilation

If a phoneme is modified in harmony with the preceding phoneme, the assimilation is called progressive assimilation. Arlotto remarks thus.” Progressive assimilation takes place when the phoneme is dominant and, in some way, makes the second more like itself” (Arlotto, 1972, P. 81). The following are some examples of English borrowings which have undergone progressive assimilation in the Jaffna Tamil.

English	Borrowings
• Film	pilim
• Camera	kæmæra:
• Basket	ba:skat
• Receipt	risi:ti
• Trouser	ravusær
• Watcher	wa:tʃar

Regressive Assimilation

If the pronunciation of a phoneme is changed in harmony with the phoneme following it, in a word the assimilation is called the regressive assimilation. Arlotto remarked thus. “Regressive assimilation means that a consonant becomes more like one that follows; in other words, the force of the change proceeds backwards, from a phoneme to the one which precedes it. Presumably, this shift is explained as an anticipation of the muscular movements which go to make up the second phoneme” (Arlotto, 1972, P. 81).

Some examples of English borrowings which have undergone regressive assimilation are shown below.

English	Borrowings
• Pencil	pentʃil
• Pension	pentʃæn
• Principal	printʃipæl
• Ounce	Avuntʃu

Levels of Assimilation

Borrowings may be assimilated either totally or partially and there are borrowings which are used without being assimilated.

The followings are examples of English borrowings which have been totally assimilated, partially assimilated and unassimilated in the Jaffna Tamil.

Total assimilation

English	Borrowings in Jaffna Tamil
• Bank	vanki
• Kettle	keiṭal
• Advocate	appuka: tu
• Will	uyil
• Count	ko: tu
• Rubber	rappær
• Bankruptcy	vankuro: ttu
• Hurricane Lamp	ætikæn la:mpu

Partial assimilation

English	Borrowings in Jaffna Tamil
• Receipt	risi:tu
• Shock	sok
• Bakery	veikari
• Inch	inch
• Certificate	cetipikat
• Chain	sein

Unassimilation

English	Borrowings in Jaffna Tamil
• Acre	eiker
• Aluminum	aluminium
• Level	level
• Line	lain
• Lorry	lori
• Car	ka:r
• Campus	kæmpæs
• News	niu:s
• Wine	vain

Some features of Assimilation caused by the difference of consonantal clusters between English and Jaffna Tamil.

Due to the differences in the above discussed patterns of consonantal clusters between English and Jaffna Tamil, English borrowings in Jaffna Tamil undergo assimilation in a fixed manner. Some examples in this respect are shown below.

- I. In certain words which have two consonants in combination in the initial position, a sound reduction occurs initially when they are used as borrowings in Jaffna Tamil to maintain an analogy with the Tamil phonetic system.

eg.	English	Borrowings in Jaffna Tamil
	• Train	rein
	• Tractor	raktar
	• Transistor	ransister
	• Transformer	ranspo:mar
	• Driver	raivar

- II. Another feature in words which have consonant clusters in the initial position is that the consonant cluster is split by inserting a vowel sound to maintain an analogy with the Tamil phonetic system when these words are used as borrowings in Jaffna Tamil.

eg:	English	Borrowings in Jaffna Tamil
	▪ Clerk	kila:ku
	▪ Brake	vireiku
	▪ Plate	pileitu
	▪ Grinder	kiraintar
	▪ Blade	vileitu

- III. In words which have consonant clusters in the final position, the split occurs in the final position as shown in the following examples.

eg:	English	Borrowings in Jaffna Tamil
	• Film	pilim
	• Bulb	valupu
	• Silk	siliku

- IV. Words which have consonants in the initial position are pronounced with a vowel sound initially.

eg:	English	Borrowings in Jaffna Tamil
	• Store	isto:r
	• Station	isteisæn
	• Stock	istok
	• Start	ista:t

- Screw iskuru:
- Strike istaik

Tamilisation of English borrowings

Many English borrowings gradually find their way into the day-to-day speech of Tamil monolinguals in Jaffna. The names of new things and practices are pouring in almost daily. In business, industry, financial institutions, recreations, and at home, use of English words is very frequent. Most of the English borrowings undergo a phonological change when they enter into the speech of monolinguals. The followings remarks by Hudson are appropriate at this point.

“It is common for items to be assimilated in some degree to the items already in the borrowing variety, with foreign sounds being replaced by native sounds and so on”. (1980, P.59).

The basic reason for the phonological deviation is the difference between the sound systems of English and Tamil, and the number of phonemes in English and Tamil is not same. The sounds produced by the English letters b, d, g, f, v, θ, r, s, and z are new or troublesome for Tamil monolinguals. Ultimately these sounds are altered or adapted phonologically and pronounced conveniently by Tamil monolinguals who may not have any familiarity with the English language.

The comments of Nelson Francis are notable.

“As soon as borrowed words get taken up by monolinguals their sounds are adapted to the sound system of the host language. Within a generation or two of its first borrowed usually is forgotten by monolingual speakers, it has become naturalized.”(Francis, 1963, P 133).

It has been suggested that every foreign language word should be Tamilised before it is allowed for usage. When Tamiliing a word, the traditions of Tamil language should be taken into account also. In this context there have been various interpretations for tradition. However, all the interpretations acknowledge one fact that lexical rules of a properly structured written language should be taken into consideration when creating a new word in that language. Yet there are various interpretations for a properly structured written language. In the view of some scholars a properly structured written language is “Sentamil” (Highly literary Tamil) as acknowledged by pundits and for some others it is the form of Tamil structured by the fundamental grammatical rules which contains the Vadamoli scripts.

The above approach of creating new words is not totally false or retrogressive. This approach seems important to some extent to maintain the basic order of a language and eliminate confusion that may be caused by the presence of foreign language words. However this type of approach appears to be harmful as it ignores the changes that have occurred in the language and the necessity for changes in the languages in view of the contemporary needs.

At one time the Sanskrit borrowings and other foreign language borrowings were totally Tamilised before they were added for usage. However at a later stage due to the great impacts of North Indian Culture, Vatamoli words had to be used in a comfortable familiar form without being Tamilised. “Kiranthta” script which was in usage in South India from 6th century A.D to 10th century A.D during the reign of Pallawas, was used for this purpose. The Sanskrit letters ஷ (sha), ஸ (sa), ஐ (i), ஹ (ha), and ஹி (hi) were also used in Tamil. It seems impossible to eliminate the practical use of these letters in written form of Tamil, as they have taken a firm root. The use of these letters is helpful in writing many foreign language words so as to pronounce them accurately.

The English borrowings in Tamil or the English names known by Tamil are not pronounced precisely as they are pronounced by Englishmen.

At an early stage, it was possible to Tamilise the foreign language borrowings. But presently great difficulties are faced in Tamilising the borrowings. This is because of the comparatively lesser number of borrowings and the lesser degree of the complexities involved in Tamilisation in the earlier days.

The need for the creation of new letters, to meet the new sound requirements caused by foreign language words has been emphasized. It has been suggested that the new letters to be created should be of the features of letters like ஷ (sha), ஐ (i), ஸ (sa), etc. Creations of new letters to produce new sounds based on adapting the existing Tamil scripts would rather lead to further complications. (Sivasekaram, 1993)

A considerable number of French words which are found in English are pronounced precisely with their French sound by the English. (Sivasekaram, 1993, P. 30)

The sound differences in the pairs B-P, T-D, and K-G and sounds of F and Z are carefully stressed in the English names borne by Tamils. They are carefully distinguished in speech also. But they cannot be represented in Tamil phonetics. Therefore the need for a script reformation in Tamil is widely felt today.

Mathematical symbols and chemical formulas are used in their original forms as found in their European languages in Tamil writing. No equal Tamil forms are available for them.

During the last half of the 20th century, most of the foreign language borrowings in Tamil have been from English. These words have gained a firm position in the spoken Tamil in Sri Lanka and South India. The Tamilisation of such words started declining but they are used in convenient English pronunciation by Tamils presently. When foreign language words are used in Tamil writing particularly in creative work they are either transliterated or used in their English forms.

These are evident of the permanent status achieved by these words and the subsequently entry of new phonemes in Tamil. The allophones for the old phonemes too were raised to the phonemic level. In certain cases in Tamil writing, in place of foreign language

words unfamiliar Tamil technical terms or approximately alternate Tamil equivalents are used. To make the meanings of such words clear, English words are given in parenthesis. These attempts may further widen the gap between the spoken and written forms of Tamil and the consequences may be harmful to the development of Tamil.

The above discussion stresses the adoption of a proper script reformation scheme to deal with the foreign language borrowings in Tamil.

Foreign Symbols in Tamil

The numbers which are used in Tamil at present are from foreign languages. Punctuation marks like comma, full stop, question mark and exclamation mark are not found in classic Tamil. Without these numbers and marks ideas cannot be brought out satisfactorily. The advocates of Tamil purist campaign do not bother about the use of these symbols and marks.

The creation of scientific technical terms in Tamil has caused difficulties always. No terms are available in Tamil to refer to many of the chemical elements and metals which are new to the Tamils. The names of metals Potassium, Sodium, Magnesium, Aluminum etc are used in their transliterated forms. Though there are Tamils names such as itumpu, sempu, na:ham, kati, kantaham etc., the substances referred to by these names are denoted by their English transliterated names ayæn (iron), koppar (copper), siñu (Zink), kA:pan (Carbon), sAlpar (Sulphur) etc. respectively, in Jaffna, Sri Lanka. The scientific formulas of these elements and their compounds in Roman letters have been internationally recognized. The unit denoting measurements, m, kg, kw, etc. also are accepted for usage in Roman or Greek letters.

Tamilisation

A concept or a name which is completely alien to Tamil may be introduced in Tamil when need arises. For example the phrases Blue Film, Cold War, Black Market etc. have been phrases frequently used in Tamil. But the direct translation of these phrases will not yield the implied meaning of these phrases. In such cases, it is advisable to use these phrases in their English forms.

English tradition is followed in writing addresses and dates when writing letters, in Tamil. The usual order in the address in English is as follows: Name of Addressee, House Number, Street Town, and Province and Country. But as per the Tamil tradition it should be as follows: Country, Province, Town, street, House Number and Name of Addressee. Similarly the order in writing the English data is the day, month and the year whereas it is the reverse in Tamil. In writing both addresses and dates, English tradition is followed by Tamils.

The names of year and names of most of the months in Tamil are from Sanskrit. Among the names of the days “putæn” (Wednesday) and “sæni” (Saturday) are of Sanskrit origins. Since the structure of the days of a week in Tamil shares common features with that in other languages, no disparity arises in their usage. Since some Tamil months differ from the parallel English months in number, a difficulty in using the names of Tamil months is caused. Tamil months are considered only in religious occasions and customary practices. On other occasions Tamilised forms of English months are used. For example January has been Tamilised as either ‘yænævari’ or sænævari.

English Domination in Tamil Vocabulary

The use of English vocabulary in Tamil can be subjected to Tamilisation in three ways.

1. Some words are substituted for effective Tamil words in course of time. Words like ‘pæ:tæ:lumanram’ (Parliament), ‘va:noli’ (Radio), ‘ænkanitam’ (Arithmetic) etc are in broad usage in Tamil.
2. Pronunciation of some other English words can be modified to fit into the Tamil phonetic system and such words can be used with their modified pronunciation. Words like ‘ko:ppi’ (Coffee), ‘rappær’ etc. are examples of this type.
3. The English vocabulary penetrates into Tamil very fast at present. The acquaintance of Tamils with English sounds is also considerable. A number of English words are used in their original forms in the spoken Tamil. Words like Stapler, File, Screwdriver, Gear, Tube, Light, Stool etc. are in broad usage in Tamil speech. These words are of course new to Tamil but they are not substitutes.

In classic Tamil clear rules are prescribed for Tamilising foreign words. In Tamil the consonants ட (t), டி (it), ற (ir), ல (il), டி (il), and ற (il) can’t occur in the initial position of words. Therefore the vowels அ (a), இ (i), and உ (u) should be placed initially in the foreign words beginning with the said consonants.

e.g:	Foreign words	Tamilised words
	• Dutch	idatchu
	• Rubber	irappær
	• Rose	uto:sa:

The strong form of a single consonant cannot occur in the final position of a word in Tamil. Thus when Tamilising the English ‘Brake’, it should be either ‘vireikku’ or pireikku’

The ancient Tamil grammarian Tolkaapiya suggested that foreign language words should be phonetically modified according to the rules of the recipient language. (Varatharajan, 1996, P 82) Words like airo :ppa” (Europe), ingila:ntu (England), a:ngileiyær (The English), uyil (Will), kiri:s̥tu (Christ), villiam (William) etc. are some examples for phonetically modified English words which are in usage in Tamil. The following quotation is notable in this context.

“The Chinese change every r into l and the nearest approach they can make to the pronunciation of Christ is kiliseet (u). The Japanese, on the other hand cannot manage and in their mouths accordingly idolatry becomes idolatry” (Sayce, quoted in (Varatharajan, 1996, P.82)

In contrast to what has been discussed so far, a negative trend has been developed to accept the borrowings without any phonetic change. The scholars and grammarians of the present day agree in the sense that giving different names in different countries for the same object or concept would obstruct the development of knowledge and unity of nations. The following vital features are observed in respect of the English and Tamil phonological systems, which contribute considerably to the assimilated forms of English borrowings among the Jaffna Tamils.

1. The labiodental fricative ‘f’ is realized as ‘p’ in Jaffna Tamil, since the ‘f’ sound is not found in Jaffna Tamils.

Further Examples

English	Jaffna Tamils
• Fail	peil
• Firing	paerinj
• Free	pri:
• Foreign	porin
• Father (Rev)	pa: ʔar
• Lift	lipt
• Office	oppis
• Coffee	ko:ppi

2. The velar fricative ‘h’ in English is realized in Tamil as ‘k’ in the initial position but has almost similar pronunciation in inter vocal position.

e.g:	English	Tamil
•	Hospital	kospital
•	Handle	kæ:ntil
•	Hardware	ka:tvayar

‘H’ in inter-vocal position

- ka:ham (Crow)
- naharam (City)
- ṭaharam (Tin)

In the English ‘Hurricane’, the ‘H’ together with ‘u’ is realized as ‘æ’ and the word is pronounced as ‘ætikan’ in ‘ætikan la:mpu’.

3. The palatal affricate (ʃ), the ‘sh’ sound is substituted with (s) in Jaffna Tamil.

English	Jaffna Tamil
----------------	---------------------

- | | |
|-----------|--------|
| • Shop | sop |
| • Ship | sip |
| • Shirt | se:ttu |
| • Shed | set |
| • Shock | sok |
| • Bishop | visop |
| • Fashion | pæsan |
| • Mash | mæs |

Similarly the sound (ʃ) produced by ‘it’ is substituted by (s) as found in the following examples.

English	Jaffna Tamil
----------------	---------------------

- | | |
|---------------|-------------|
| • Tuition | tu:san |
| • Station | ste:san |
| • Petition | pettisan |
| • Application | applike:san |

4. The alveolar fricative ‘Z’ is also pronounced as (s) in Jaffna Tamil.

English	Tamil
----------------	--------------

- | | |
|-------|-----|
| • Zip | sip |
|-------|-----|

5. The sibilant ‘s’ is generally preceded by a vowel sound in Jaffna Tamil.

English	Jaffna Tamil
----------------	---------------------

- | | |
|----------|--------|
| • Stool | istu:l |
| • School | isku:l |

(These words receive a vowel sound 'I' in the initial position)

- Style istail
- Start ista:t
- Screw iskru:

Inter- vocal position

- Suspender susupender
- Biscuit visuko: ttu

6. The bilabial stop (Voiced) in English is equated with labiodentals (v).

- | English | Jaffna Tamil |
|----------------|---------------------|
| • Biscuit | visket |

(The word in its fully assimilated form in Tamil is visuko:ttu).

- Belt velittu
- Bathroom va: tru:m
- Bus vas

When (b) occurs in the intervocalic and final position, it is replaced by (P) sound in Tamil.

- | English | Jaffna Tamil |
|----------------|---------------------|
| • Carbon | carpan |
| • Lab | læp |

7. The velar voiced stop (G) in English is pronounced as velar unvoiced stop (K).

- | English | Jaffna Tamil |
|----------------|---------------------|
| • Gate | ke:tu |
| • Glass | kila:su |
| • Garage | kara:tfu |
| • Cigarette | si:kkirettu |
| • Plug | pilAkku |
| • Jug | d3akku |
| • Bag | væ:kku |

(G) In final position becomes (K) and followed by a vowel sound, usually (U).

8. Alveolar fricative (d) in English is realized as (y).

- | English | Jaffna Tamil |
|----------------|---------------------|
| • Jam | yæ:m |

- Jack yæ:k

9. (t), (p), (d), (g) in final position in English are always followed by a vowel sound (u)

English	Jaffna Tamil
• Cement	simentu
• Scent	sentu
• Shirt	sə:ttu
• Lamp	la:mpu
• Bulb	valpu
• Cup	kAppu
• Bag	bæ:kku/ væ:kku
• Nud	nattu
• Road	ro:ttu

10. In the following examples [r] in the final position in English is pronounced as (l) in Tamil, by most of the monolinguals. This tendency of pronouncing can be explained as follows.

English	Jaffna Tamil
• Carrier	kærial
• Barrier	bærial

In Tamil, two forms of the same word like 'panthal' and 'panthar' (Roof of a shed), and 'sa:mpal' and 'sa:mpar' (ash) are in usage. The familiarity with these dual forms of the same word may have induced Tamils to give such identical sounds to the words 'carrier' and 'barrier'.

11. (T) Followed by a consonant in English is dropped in Tamil.

English	Jaffna Tamil
• Train	rein
• Travel	rævæl
• Traffic	rævik

Most of the English borrowings are used in their assimilated forms and used by both the bilinguals and monolinguals. Because of the difference of the sound systems of English and Tamil, the English borrowings are adapted to the Tamil phonological system and conveniently pronounced. The monolinguals use the assimilated forms of borrowings without knowing that they are of English origin. The assimilated borrowings are much helpful in using them in speech.

CHAPTER 5

BORROWINGS VERSUS THEIR TRANSLATED FORMS

The History, the types and the benefits of translations are briefly taken into account initially in this chapter. Because an immediate need for the creation of technical terms in Tamil is felt and in order to create technical terms, a good knowledge of translation skills is indispensable. The necessity for getting Tamil translated forms for the English borrowings is realized since the use of translated forms is preferred to that of English borrowings especially in Tamil literary texts.

History of Translation

The sign language including facial expressions and gestures was the very first means of communication of man. Speech and written form of language developed after that. Following the advent of written form of language, the task of translation has been carried out to date. Since the written form of language is said to have a history of nearly five thousand years, the process of translation too can be believed to have undergone the same length of time.

There was great enthusiasm in translating literature in Greek and Latin. Homer's Odeysey was translated for the first time from Greek into Latin, by Livius Andoniyus in 250 BC. Latin writers showed more interest in translation. Particularly Carttalus, Cisaro and some others translated many masterpieces from Greek into Latin. After the establishment of the Roman Empire, several works were translated from Greek into Latin. Following the educational development in Arabia in the 8th and 9th centuries, much of Greek literature like the work of Arisotolle, Plato and Hipokritos was translated into Arabic

The 12th century was significant as it is in this century there were good impetuses for the pursuits in translation. In 1494 and 1536, William Tydales translated the New Testament into English. In 1536 he translated New Testament from Greek and the Old Testament from Hebrew into English. In the 16th century Bible was translated into many European languages. By 1541 Bible was translated into English, Dutch, German and French and Erasmus was mainly behind this effort. George Chapman embarked on the task of translating several of the Homer's works into English in 1590. Between 1614 and 1616 he brought out a translated volume in English, comprising the complete work of Homer. Denham and Cowley were notable contemporary translators of George Chapman. (Sivasanmugam and Thayalan, 1986).

In the beginning of the 16th century, the French scholars like Jaques and Dolet presented more elaborative explanation about translation than the English. Between 1647 and 1656 Hobbes D Avenant, James Howel and John Evenly contributed much in translating

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Dr. V. Suntharesan, Ph.D.

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popular works in other languages into French. Shernurne and Fanshawe published translation volumes titled “poems and Translation” and selected parts of Horace”, in 1650 and 1652 respectively (Sivasanmugam and Thayalan, 1989).

In the latter part of the 17th century, Andrew Lefevere began compiling data in German regarding translation. Some others who were notably engaged in translation at that time included Hoby, North, Floria and Phoilemon Holund.

The art of translation flourished in the 18th century. A translator’s function was regarded to be similar to that of a painter or an imitator in this century, since a translator was expected to bring out the exact facts from the source language into the target language. It was thoroughly acknowledged in the 18th century that the spirit in the source language should be well reflected in the target language.

Much explanation in translation was given in the 19th century and the explanation was based on the principles and norms already put forward. When many works of German literature was translated into English in 1809, much controversy regarding translation arose. There were differences of opinion as to whether the art of translation was creative skills or mechanical skills. A number of people were keenly involved in translation in the 19th century and Newman Caryle and William Morris were remarkable among them.

The discipline of translation developed steadily in the 20th century. Taylorian was mainly behind this development. The talk which he delivered in 1931 was very remarkable as it vividly illustrates the procedures to be involved in translation. His talk suggested tactics to overcome many practical difficulties. There is a rapid progress in translation in many countries in the world, particularly in Japan, France and Russia.

Types of Translation

The major types of translation are Literal, Faithful, Idiomatic, Loose, and Free. (Mohamud Sherriff, 1999, P.8)

1. Literal

This is the word to word direct translation which doesn’t undergo any change in the original form. This kind of translation is said to be effective since the concept to be conveyed cannot be brought out clearly. Korunets remarks thus.

“Hence literal translation has some restriction in its employment and does always help convey the lexical meanings of words (morphemes, words groups) having identical lingual form in the language and in the target language.”

2. Faithful

This kind of translation is more effective than the literal translation. Faithful translation is free from word to word translation and sufficient effort is made bringing out the overall concept.

3. Idiomatic

The idiomatic words of the source language become the idiomatic words of the target language, in this kind of translation. (Parthsarathy, 1986, P 61- 72)

4. **Loose**

A good extent of freedom is allowed to the translator. As a result of it, sentence structure of wrong order may occur.

5. **Free**

The translator pays much attention to the hard portion of the source materials in order to bring out the essence. This kind of translation is desirable when translating classical literatures, without ruining the central theme of the source materials, idiomatic words, proverbs etc are modified according to the target language (Parthsarathy, 1986, P 61- 72).

In addition to the above stated translations, other two types of translations namely (1) Transcreation and (2) Popular translation are recommended.

Creative works like poetry are preferably transcreated.

Popular Translation

Popular translation is needed for translating news items to be published in newspapers. The literacy of an average person is taken into consideration and the news is either elaborated or reduced accordingly. The translator uses his own style and structure while maintaining the accuracy of the theme of the news.

Adoption

Adoption does not come under the category of translation. The theme of the source material is extracted and the translator takes liberty in producing events, characters plot etc.

In addition to the above translation methods, the following methods are suggested by Sellamuttu (1987). The following is about instrumentality while the preceding is about process.

1. Human Translation

This method involves entirely the human efforts.

2. Human assisted Machine translation

This method of translation is carried out by machines with the assistance of humans.

3. Computer assisted Human Translation

In this translation, the translator is assisted by a computer.

4. Pure Machine Translation

The translation is purely done by machines.

In case of the second method of the above stated translation, machines are inevitably assisted by man at certain instances, when translating from one language into another. This

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kind of translation has been in effect for over 25 years. This translation seems very useful in translating several literary works found in foreign languages and translating equipment manuals which are essentially needed owing to labor diversification.

As the 3rd type of translation is concerned, technical terms of literary and technical terms of literary and technical discipline are stored in the computer and they are made available to the translator together with their respective target language terms, when required.

The third type of translation, the pure machine translation is of two major divisions viz. 1. The Interlingua method of machine Translation and (2) the Intermediate language based machine Translation.

The first division is associated with two languages which have close affinity in grammar and semantics. The second division is used when two language are grammatically and structurally entirely different.

In the second division of translation, the terms in the source language are translated into the intermediate language and then into the target language.

Translation of Poetry

The translation of poetry involves greater efforts and intelligence. Therefore it is suggested that poetry should be translated by poets.

“It has been said that translator of poetry are also poets in the new language”. (Chellappan.1982)

Srinivasa Iyankar commented thus on poetical translation (1977).

“Poetry by its very nature is untranslatable. Ideas can be translated from language to language with the magic of phrase and incensory music competent translation can, however play the good broker between the poet and the reader, and surpassing the mere prose of statement can give intimations of the poet’s sovereign utterance. Good translation can create trust and it can stimulate intrest.”

Panduranga Rao viewed thus (1985),

“It is true that in poetry certain expressions do not lend themselves to translation as they not only communicate ideas but generate an emotional background and an explicate feeling in the receptive minds and hearts of the readers.”

In India, around seven hundred poetical work s have been translated into Tamil from Arab, English, Hindi, Greek, Gujarat, Sinhala, Chinese, Telugu, Bulgarian, Persian, polish, Marathi, Russian, Latin, Bengal and Sanskrit, so far. (Mohamud Sheriff, 1977, P 30).

Among the works translated from Tamil into other languages Thirukkural is prominent. There are 122 versions of Thirukkural in 25 languages. In English itself there are 49 Versions of translations of Thirukural. (Sivakamy1983)

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Next to Thirukkural, poems of Bharathy, a popular Tamil poet in Tamil Nadu, India gains the majority of translation in other languages. In English, there are more than 15 versions of translation of Bharathy's poems. (Subramaniam 1983).

Several works of epics and myths, religious oriented materials and Vedic scripts were translated from Sanskrit into Tamil. Next to Sanskrit, a good number of English verses were translated into Tamil. In the North Indian languages, from Bengal many works of Rabindra Nath Tagoor were translated into Tamil. (Subramaniam 1983).

Thirukkural

The foreign missionaries who arrived in Tamil Nadu., India to propagate their religion learnt Tamil and translated Thirukkural into English. Rev. G.V. Pope, Rev. W.H Drew and Rev. F.N. Ellis were remarkable among them.

The following are the remarks of Pope on the purpose of translating Thirukkural (1979 P XIII-XV).

“It is primarily intended to make classical Tamil easier to English students, while to native students, it may afforded means for a, more comprehensive and fruitful study of their greatest classic author, who has sung of so many topics, coontinnngens Cunctalepore, touching all things with poetic grace.”

“That this publication may be useful in promoting the real study of Tamil, and so help those who go to South India as officers of Govt. or as missionaries, better to understand the mind of the people among whom live and work is my one desire in sending it forth.”

“The whole difficulty of the translator's task lies in the fact that it is, as a rule, impossible to render exhaustively both the denotative and the expressive functions of poetic text and therefore semantic losses are virtually inevitable in poetic translation.” (Shveitser 1985, P. 145).

“At its best particular synthesis of conflict and complicity between a poem and its translation into another poem creates the impression of a ‘third language’ or a medium of communicative energy which somehow reconciles both language in a tongue deeper, more comprehensive than either.” (Chellappan 1982, P 29)

Benefits of Translation

The Benefits of Translation are classified into six kinds. (Sivakamy, 1983).

A translation brings enrichment to the target language as it creates new words and produces new reading materials in this language.

The translations of classic literature result into the comparative study of literature. The transitions, culture and civilization of an ethnic group can be studied.

Unique features of the source language and the scholarly capacities of the author can be learnt.

The translation of materials in Science and medicine provides information about the progress achieved in the said discipline and thus knowledge is imparted widely.

The translation of materials in the discipline of Arts may lead to culture infusion.

One can gather information about the achievement of internationally renowned men in their respective pursuits, through works of translations.

The multifarious benefits of translation can be summarized through the view of Jespersen, on language.

“Language is not an end in itself, just as little as railway tracks: it is way of connection between souls, a means of communication. The highest purpose in the teaching of language may perhaps be said to be the access to the best thoughts and institutions of a foreign nation, its literature, culture in short, the spirit of the nation widest sense of the world.” (Mohamud Sheriff, 1997, P. 14)

Prerequisite for a translator

A translator should be equally competent in both source language and target language.

Maharajan, in his series of essays on “Translation of Shakespeare into Tamil-some problems” stated as follows (1976).

Firstly the translator should have enjoyed voraciously all the fine features of Tamil literature.

Secondly he should have thoroughly acquainted himself with the poetic skills of Shakespeare and English literature.

Thirdly he should identify himself with the characters of Shakespeare.

Further the translator should possess the ability in grasping the meaning of words and phrases in context so as to bring out the original idea lying in the source material.

Another vital factor affecting the process and result of translation is the personality of translator himself as one of the participants in the interlingual communicative action. (Sellamuthu, 1987)

According to Benjamin Jovet, “All translation is a compromise the effect to be literal and the effect to be idiomatic” (Mohamud Sheriff. 1997, P. 20).

Translation of Literary Words - International Words

Since most of the literary words are international ones, it's always advisable to categorize them before translating. For example, words like chemistry, biology, mathematics, physics and astronomy are in usage in various developed languages. Similarly words in the discipline of Arts, like theatre, play, tragedy and melodrama are in global usage. Words like democracy, parliament, franchise, bill and politics are of politics.

The technological advancement in the 20th century has resulted in several new words like Computer, robot, radar and television.

The discipline of physical education has provided words Cricket, Hockey, Semi final etc.

Because of the common food habits, words like tea, coffee, chocolate, etc. have been widely introduced in the day-to-day speech of nations.

On the basis of the examples shown above, it may be decided as which words are to be translated and which ones translated.

Technical Words

The technical words in Tamil are inadequate. The attempts to create terminologies have been unsatisfactory. It's deplorable that Tamil has failed to keep pace with English and other languages in producing technical words. Since most of the technical terms in Tamil are translations, a single English word may have more than one translated forms. This situation, in turn, creates the need of selecting the most suitable form.

Difficulties in Translation

Social Habits

Not only languages but various cultures and civilizations are also involved in translations and therefore the translator should possess a good knowledge of such cultures and civilizations, since a part of the purpose of translation is to propagate traditions and norms.

Folklore songs

Recently the insertion of folklore songs then and there in creative works has become popular and this trend is welcome among readers. However translating such folklore songs from one language into another is indeed a task which requires additional care.

Proverbs

Proverbs are powerful expressions reflecting the history, heritage and traditions of a country or an ethnic group. Proverbs are said to be the base for the emergence of folklore. Thus quoting proverbs in literature is indispensable. The word to word translation of proverbs

from one language into another would result into absurdity. Translation should be carried out so as to bring out the social consciousness of the community from which it emerges.

Direct translation of a proverb does not give the right message always and therefore the use of an equivalent proverb in the target language is preferable. Some examples of equivalent English and Tamil proverbs appear below.

- Empty Vessel makes sound – niraikutam ṭalamap: ṭu
- Strike while the iron is hot – ka:ttula po: ṭe tu :ttikol
- Haste is waste – paṭara: ṭa ka :tiam siṭara: ṭu
- Little strokes fell great oaks – ati me:l ati vaṭṭa:l ammium nahatum

Jokes

Bringing out the essence of jokes or humorous expression from one language into another through translation cannot be always successful. Jokes are characteristic of the traditions and customary practices of the respective languages and therefore the implied idea of some jokes cannot be made clear through tradition.

For example, the expression “sinna vi:tu” in Tamil is associated with the practice of adultery, and the direct translation :Small house” would not reflect the hidden message.

Abbreviations

Some phrases are used in abbreviations for convenience. However no uniformity is adopted in using the English abbreviations in Tamil. Both translation and transliteration of the same English abbreviations are found used in Tamil.

Examples: - SAARC
 - BBC
 - UNO

Pun

Every language has pun. Puns are frequently found in Tamil poetry and a translator intending to translate Tamil poetry is expected to be well versed with it.

Transliteration

In transliteration, a word of a language is written using the alphabet of another language. In reading materials, transliterated forms are given in parentheses to facilitate the comprehension of readers. Transliteration is not new to Tamil, since Tolkapiar, the grammarian prescribes rules to transcribe foreign words in Tamil.

All the foreign words of various branches of knowledge which are introduced in one language are impossible to be translated, and therefore transliteration can be in usage as

an interim arrangement. Unless an essentially organized structure is followed for transliteration, it will lead to a lot of complexities. Several words associated with military profession are transliterated due to clarity and ease in comprehension.

Examples: General, Lieutenant, Brigadier, Major, Captain, Corporal, Sergeant, Colonel.

According to Valarmathy, following situations demand transliteration. (1987, P 173-174.)

1. Difficulty in translating words from the situations demand into the target language.
2. Names of books or new inventions in the source language may demand transliteration in the target language.
3. Names of books or new inventions in the source language may demand transliterations in the target language.
4. The absence of the sound of the source language in the target language may require transliteration.
5. Place names and names of persons should be transliterated.

Problems in creating technical terms in Tamil

Tamil is a language which has rich grammar and literature and as a result, a number of technical terms in these two disciplines are found in it. No attempt has been made so far to include all these words to bring them out in the form of a dictionary. Philosophical and religious terms have also found their way into Tamil.

“In compliance with the rules of “:thatsamam” and “thatpavam”, words from other languages, chiefly pali and Sanskrit were either borrowed or translated and used in Tamil. The text “Nannu:l” prescribes rules for translating Sanskrit words into Tamil. Today a large number of European words have penetrated into Tamil. However no effort has been taken so far to transliterate them properly. The necessity for a standard system of transliteration has been realized because day by day several technical terms of science and technology continue to enter into Tamil.

A literary discipline may have both verbal units as well as non verbal units. The non verbal units such as formula, equation and symbol needn’t be Tamilized. They can be used in their original form.

e.g: HCl
 $C+O_2=CO_2$

Acronyms and abbreviations too needn’t be Tamilized.

e.g: - AIDS, LASER, etc

- UNESCO, ASSRC, BBC etc

The anthropological study was primarily introduced by the British in 1830s in Tamil Nadu in India and in Sri Lanka. A book entitled “Palakanitham” was published in 1849 in Sri Lanka. In 1855 a book of Algebra entitled “Iyatkanitham” was released in Tamil. In the same year another book of Algebra “Veesakanitham” was published. Subsequently in 1850s, great achievements were recorded in Sri Lanka. (Rama Sundaram 1993)

In 1948, Dr. Samuel Fish Green, an American physician arrived in Sri Lanka and contributed to a great extent by translating some European medical literature. He suggested some rules for the creation of technical terms also.

The English books translated into Tamil by him include ‘Anatomy’, ‘physiology’, and ‘Hygiene’, ‘Midwifery’, ‘Human Anatomy’, ‘The principles and Practice of Medicine’, ‘The Science and Art of Surgery’ and ‘Chemistry’.

The following are his works on technical terms.

1. Materia Medica and terms.
2. Midwifery
3. Diseases of Women and Children
4. Medical Jurisprudence.

(Ramasundaram, 1993, P.112).

According to Dr. Green, the technical terms should preferably be Tamil and if they are not available in Tamil, borrowings can be sought from Sanskrit or English. (Ramasundaram, 1993).

While many individual scholars in India showed interest in formulating technical terms, a committee known as Vernacular Scientific Term Committee was formed by the Madras Government for the Creation of technical terms .P.V Manikanayakar, a member of the committee created more than two hundred technical terms, the majority of which are from Tamil. In 1955, a list of technical terms including the official terms used in government departments, names of designations etc was released in Sri Lanka. (Ramasundaram, 1993).

Almost all those who were engaged in the task of making technical terms were of the view that these terms should be purely Tamil. In a seminar organized by the ‘Madras Tamil Sangam’ in 1934, in India, this view was stressed. In 1938, a list of 10,000 terms was released in Madras and Saint Vipulananda assisted in this work. The majority of these words are Tamil.

P.V Manikanayakar, K. Subramania Pillai and Arai Thurai Samipillai were some of those actively involved in this pursuit and they agreed that all technical terms should be purely Tamil and no addition of Sanskrit words is allowed. When Tamil words are not available, English words could be Tamilized. (Ramasundaram, 1993).

General suggestions made were that the use of internationally used technical terms should be encouraged and the Tamilization of them should be maximized. The Tamil words used should be as familiar as possible to people of all literary level. Whenever Tamil words are introduced, English equivalents should be given in brackets.

In international Tamil Conferences, the necessity for the creation of technical term was continuously emphasized.

Lack of Uniformity

Since technical terms are created not by a single authoritative body of experts, but by various groups at various times for different purposes, with the involvement of manifold rules, there is a lack of uniformity in their formulation. Further Complexity is added as the task of creation technical terms is carried out in various countries where Tamil is spoken and no coordination is found among those who are engaged in such task. As a result, more than one technical term are created for the same concept.

Standardization of Technical Terms

Standardization is indispensable to overcome the problem of having more than one technical term for a single concept. Ambiguity in meaning can be eliminated and precisions and clarity can be maintained through standardization. Standardized technical terms should reflect the expected meaning content with appropriateness.

Prerequisite for Standardization

All the available technical terms should be codified before standardization. After grouping them according to their discipline with their meaning written against each word, the link between each word and its meaning should be analyzed. The principles should be devised for the final task and experts may involve in the process of standardization, on principles agreed.

Eugene Worster an Austrian engineer derived some principles on the creation of technical terms in his book, “International Standardization of Technical Terminology”, written in 1931. Since then many organizations have vigorously engaged in producing technical terminology. In 1951, the international organization of standardization of technical terminology was established. The secretariat of this organization is functioning in Vienna. Workshops on the standardization of technical terminology were held in Tanjore Tamil University in 1983 and in 1984 and more than 30,000 technical terms were standardized. In 1984 a seminar on the standardization of medical technical terminology was also held and 5000 medical words were standardized.

Principles for Standardization of Technical Terms

1. Appropriateness and Efficiency

When there is more than one technical term for a single concept, a good choice should be made out of them

2. Adaptability

It is the acceptance of the word which is in more usage than the others. The greater usage of a word indicated the general acceptance of it in the society.

3. Economy and Simplicity

The standardized word is expected to be of simplicity and economy.

For example, the word ‘Mincaram’ has been reduced to ‘Min’ and compounded with other words according to needs.

4. Uniformity

Uniformity should be maintained at maximum level when standardizing the technical terms of the same category.

The word ‘Tele’ refers to remoteness and uniformity can be observed in the following set of terms.

English	Tamil
• Telephone	ṭolaipē:si
• Telescope	ṭolaino:kki
• Television	ṭolaika:tci

Followings are examples for the difficulty in maintaining uniformity in some technical words.

English	Tamil
• Civil dress	sa: ṭa:tana utai
• Civil rights	kutiyiyæl utimai
• Civil disobedience	satta maruppu

Purity of Language

It has been generally expected that technical terms should be Tamil, as far as Tamil language is concerned and suggested that foreign words particularly the Sanskrit ones should be eliminated. The European language experts do not advocate this view but these languages are allowed to receive words mutually from one another since they have close link among them.

Preservation of Technical Terms

The technical terms which have been formulated so far should be collected and documented.

A bureau of standardization of Tamil Technical Terms should be established. The bureau should comprise experts of various branches of studies including Medicine, Engineering etc and linguistic and language scholars.

Dictionaries of standardized technical terms should be published by the bureau and text books should follow these dictionaries for the inclusion of technical words in them.

Communicative capacity of Technical Terms and Modernization

Language is a symbolic system which fulfils the communicative needs of a society. A language has the capacity to perform a number of social tasks. But languages differ from each other in the manner in which they perform such tasks. For a better contribution of a language in its social task, the language should be developed. A language can be developed by improving its vocabulary and grammatical and literary resources. In order to make a language to be self sufficient and effective in its use, language planning is necessary. Weinstein (1980) stated that language planning is the planned change in the language use of a society and this change would contribute to solving the problems faced in communication. It's also recognized that the role of languages and language planning are significant for the development of a nation.

In countries where there is a multiethnic environment, languages are classified and used based on their specific assignments. Hence all the languages may not be used in all circumstances. That's why a particular language is chosen as the national languages in developed countries and it is used in all circumstances (Coulms Florium, 1989). Likewise the colonial nations used to use their own languages for communicative needs. Scholars like Ferguson, Haugen and Fishman establish that language development could be achieved only through Language planning. (Ramamoorthy,1933).

Modernization

Modernization plays an important role in language development. Ferguson, (1968) stated that modernization is the modification of a language to keep pace with the capacity of other languages in their language use, in view of the changes to be brought in the language usage according to modern improvements. According to Ferguson, modernization can take place at two stages.

1. Expansion of vocabulary
2. Creation of structures

Today because of the rapid progress in science and technology, new concepts and ideas emerge. In the effort of interpreting these new concepts and ideas, new technical terms are produced. In this matter, a language gets modernized.

Haugen Eind (1986) divided language development into 4 stages: 1 Choice 2. Design 3. Expansion and 4. Social adaptation. Ferguson relates his view on modernization with expansion.

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Modernization implies not only the addition of vocabulary but grammatical innovation also. Simplification, through which the language elements are made easy for understanding in communication, is also a part of modernization.

Modernization includes expansion and simplification of language elements when using a language in new disciplines and when expressing new ideas.

The role of language elements is very important for effective communication. There are two ways which can be followed in modernizing a language. They are (1) borrowing elements from other languages (2) modifying its own language elements by some means and increasing the language effectiveness.

In south Indian languages, modernization occurs through borrowing from English loan blend, translation, meaning extension etc (Krishnamoorthy, 1984).

The Role of Dictionary in Language Modernization

Modernization in any language can be explained in terms of three aspects. First an understanding of the distinction between modernization and Westernization may be beneficial in this context. Modernization of Tamil does not imply that Tamil should resemble English. It does not follow that English should be regarded as a model and all its elements should be transferred to Tamil. Due to contact between Tamil and English, there is more possibility for mutual borrowings and mutual translation.

One of the aspects of modernization is the instruction of technology in language. Technical equipment such as Typewriter, Computer, Fax and E- mail are helpful in communication beyond space and time, in increasing the speed and of language conveyance and in storing information. This equipment assists in utilizing the language resource fully and efficiently.

The second aspect is the expansion of language resource. It is functional in creating new words, new styles and new expressions. These features provide heterogeneity to a language. New language disciplines like scientific technical term and legal terms and journalistic style and administrative language style and short story form and Advertisement form have come into being in Tamil. Due to their presence, there have been changes in the structure and grammar of the language. New phonemes, new phrases and new rhetoric have appeared in the language.

The third aspect of modernization is the changes in the semantic structure which are supposed to bring out new social values. As a result for example, in Tamil, words like “ampattan” and “vanna:n” referring to “Barber” and “Dhoby” in English respectively have come to be replaced by words “muti tituṭ tuvo:r and “sælævai ṭolila:li”. In this example the first pair is on caste division, but the second pair is formed on account of the labor type. Tradition and modernity are maintained by the usage of “kanakkuppilai” (Accounts clerk) in traditional business centers and “kanakka:lar” in modern business complexes. Words like “minsa:tam” and “minalai” referring to electricity and electric wave in English which are

associated with human inventions, have been derived from the word “minnal” referring to lightning in English which denotes a natural phenomenon. (Annamalai, 1993).

The recent publication of a Dictionary titled “Griyavin Thatkala Tamil Akarathy” has compiled with words of current innovation and newly formed concepts in Tamil. Lexical meanings according to the current usage have been provided in this dictionary. The elimination of slang and old words is a significant feature of this dictionary. The functional aspect of Tamil has been brought out by giving denomination to words, such as Sri Lankan word, extinct word etc. The meaning divisions and boundaries indicate the meaning extension and change of the present day Tamil.

The above said dictionary points out the norms of the modern Tamil, indirectly. Definition of meanings in contexts with clues is a remarkable feature. Precise meaning is given for new concepts like existentialism, women’s right etc. Thus the dictionary serves as a good source to assess the extent of modernization in Tamil and to instill the newly arrived elements.

It is a list showing some English borrowings with their commonly accepted translated forms.

TRANSLATED FORMS

Borrowings

- Accountant
- Aero plane
- Agent
- Airport
- Army
- Arrest
- Bathroom
- Bicycle
- Bill
- Bishop
- Black market
- Blade
- Boarding
- Bomb
- Bomber
- Bulb
- Calendar
- Camera
- Camp
- Campus

Tamil translations

kanakka:lar
a:hayavima:nam
muhavar
vimanatālam
padæyinar
kaitu
kuliya:arai
tuvitjakkaravAnti
ciddai
pe:ta:yar
karuppu cantai
cavara alahu
vtituṭi
kuntu
kuntu vimanam
minkumil
na:dka:tti
puhaipada katuvi
muha:m
vala:ham

• Cancer	puttuno:i
• Certificate	tata: tatappattitam
• Chalk	venkatti
• Cheque	ka:so:lai
• Christmas	nattar
• Church	tə:va:layam
• Clerk	eluṭuvinaiyar
• Coil	curul
• College	kallu:ti
• Commission	a:naikkulu
• Computer	kanani
• Copy	piraṭi
• Court	ni:timanru
• Cricket	tudupa:ttam
• Cross	ciluvai
• Curfew	u:tadaṅku
• Current	minnᵀ:ttam
• Customs	cuṅka atika:ti
• Diary	na:dkurippu
• Divorce	viva:hatattu
• Election	te:rṭal
• Engine	iyantiram
• Entry	muraippa:du
• Fan	minviciri
• Flask	veppakuduvai
• Generator	minpirappa:ki
• Identity card	
• Identity Card	adayala attai
• Iron	istirikkai
• Helicopter	ilaṅku vanurtti
• Lavatory	malasalaku:tam
• Machine	iyanthiram
• Manager	muha:maiya:lar
• Muscle	tasaikal
• Nurse	ta:ti
• Office	ka:tiya:layam
• Overseer	ᵀ:vasiyar
• Packet	poti
• Paper	ka:hitam

• Pass	anumatipattitam
• Passport	kadavuci:ttu
• Pencil	elutuko:l
• Pension	ᱵ:ivu:tiyam
• Photo	puhaipadam
• Radio	va:noli
• Report	arikkai
• Station	nilaiyam
• Strike	ve:lainittam
• Switch	a:li
• Television	tᱵlaika:dcī
• Train	puhaiyiratam
• Type	taddaccu
• Video	ᱵlippativu

Due to the continuous increase of English borrowings in Tamil and the number of Tamil literacy publications including school and tertiary level institutional text books which require technical terms, a great difficulty arises in getting Tamil translated form for all the necessary English borrowings. Since there is no adequate resource personnel to undertake the task of translation material producers are forced to use the English borrowings either in their transliterated forms or assimilated forms in their works.

CHAPTER 6

BORROWINGS FROM ENGLISH IN THE MODERN TAMIL LITERATURE AND TAMIL LEXICONS

In the previous chapters of this dissertation, the use of English borrowings in the speech of Tamils has discussed. This chapter is devoted to analyse the feature and functions of English borrowings in Tamil writings. A few examples of English borrowings from fiction, poetry and drama in Tamil written from 1980 up to date and a Tamil Lexicon titled “Kriyaa:vin tatka:laṭ Tamil Akara:ti” have been selected for discussion in this chapter. During the recent past, particularly from 1980 to date, the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka has been severe and as a result a large number of English words associated with warfare like Shell, Sentry, Camp, Bunker, and Rekey etc have become borrowings in Jaffna Tamil as Jaffna, in Sri Lanka has been the central place of confrontations between Tamil militants and State forces. Besides the authors of the selected writings are natives of Jaffna and it is assumed that their writings would reflect the culture of the Jaffna Tamil society and inevitably bear evidence of the use of English borrowings in this society.

Although the chief lexicographers of the Tamil lexicon which has been selected for discussion in this chapter are Indian scholars, a Sri Lankan Tamil scholar Dr.M.A Nuhman has also contributed as an assistant lexicographer in completing this lexicon. Besides it is the only one Tamil lexicon which contains some English borrowings found in Indian as well as in Sri Lankan Tamil.

An attempt has been made initially to assess the impact of English on Tamil writings. Particularly the impact of English on Tamil literary traditions and the subsequent changes have been discussed.

Cultural Supremacy of English

The political and administrative system of the British in Sri Lanka was more direct than it was in India. The impact of English education changed the ethos of the two national languages Sinhala and Tamil, of the country. Changes in the syntactic structure, new idioms and typically Western literary forms are evident of the impact of English education on these languages. The linguistic and literary attempts of the native scholars to maintain the tradition and the individuality of the age old literary tradition were the outcome of the intensity of the impact.

The political importance of the English education is not the only factor which influenced its impact on the literary activities. The cultural supremacy of the English language due to the political dominance of its users in the West also played a vital role in this respect. Though English was imposed in Sri Lanka as a language of administration and education, a tradition of intellectual inquiry and search for social truths accompanied it. In fact English came as the language of the West and the chief agent of Westernization.

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English gained its pre-eminence as a world language as a result of industrialization and modernization in Great Britain. Further as it was the language of the natives of English and the USA, it has expressed the scientific and the technological innovations and the subsequent socio economic and cultural aspirations and struggles. Consequently English became a language which could be well suited to the changes occurring at national as well as international level in various disciplines of knowledge and social aspects.

Thus owing to the social experience of the English languages, many non- European countries were persuaded to recognize English as their 2nd language.

However certain factors with regard to the attitudes of the natives of Sri Lanka restricted its acculturation, in terms of its areas of influence and the extent of its penetration into the culture and thought of the people.

Nationalist Educational Movement and English

The Nationalist Educational Movement started by Arumuga Navalar and later supported through the contribution of Anagarika Dharmapala and Colonel Olcott and Sideek Lebbe Araby Pasha emphasized that English should be used as a medium for educational purpose but not as a cultural system. The outcome of this movement was positive. The intellectual and social experiences acquired through English were exercised to modify the native age-old traditions. English was used such in a manner to suit the native environment. In this situation it was hard to find a creative writer in English among the native Sri Lankans because the members of the traditionally privilege communities were extremely concerned of their own religious values and social traditions. Creative writing in English can be possible unless the writer emerges from an environment which has no any inhibitions against thinking and feeling in English. In case of the popular Sri Lankan writer Alagu Subramaniam who contributed to English literature had a Methodist background and lived in England for a considerable time.

As far as Tamil is concerned, adapting English to the native culture had much positive impacts on Tamil literature. New ideas and concepts introduced through English in fact influenced the Tamil literature and enriched its potential and literary experiments and adaptations were carried out successfully in Tamil literature.

The Educational system which prevailed in the early 20th century in Sri Lanka did not allow the native students to imbue with English tradition thoroughly. The student was exposed to English language and literature only after he had completed his primary education in the national languages for 3 to 5 years. The awareness and practice of traditional culture at home and the emphasis on the native cultural values at school level induced the student to acquire the English knowledge in terms of his own culture. However the secondary education and higher education provided through the English medium made the natives realize the importance of English to adapt to the modern life. It led to the influence over the spirit of the national languages. Consequently the English novel and the English short story led to the emergence of Sinhala and Tamil novels and short stories.

Amendment to the Educational System

The new educational system provided facilities to a larger section of population. The democratic and secular attitudes in education led to independent writing in the national languages. The expression of this class of writers in turn led to the democratization of the literary contents. The availability of educational facilities to all citizens persuaded them to read and write in an unprecedented manner.

The secularization as well as the democratization of education created the need for works in fields like Physics, Chemistry, History, and Geography etc in Tamil which were to be used as text books in schools.

What should be noted is that literary prose was in use earlier also, but a serious awareness for creating literature in prose arose following the aforesaid changes in educational system. Even today when the supremacy of prose is recognized as the vehicle of literary conveyance, there are scholars with conventional thinking and attitude who insist that creative works should be produced in verse only. Despite their narrow minded criticism, novel and short story have come to exist. The process of democratization was further escalated by the nature of the contents of novel and short stories, viz an attempt of revealing the mental conflicts of an individual who is harassed by various evil forces in the society. The earlier traditions highlighted the affairs of heroes and heroines who were peerless and privileged highly in societies. In contrast the novel and the short story centered round the innocent victims of societies and thus they became themselves great democratizing force.

Development of a New Tradition in Tamil Writings

Since drama comprises dialogues, it began to depend on prose. Drama was the first to use colloquial expressions and soon fiction too followed the usage of colloquial expressions. Many features of *Sen̄tamil* (the sanctified literary form) were replaced by new dramatic devices including the transcription of the spoken word with all its phonetic peculiarities. Language here was adopted as a reflection of the powerful social undercurrents that were transferring the life of Tamils.

Fiction grew with popularity and as a result many English translations of non- English fictions, especially Russian and French were introduced in Tamil. Readers and writers were able to detect closer affinities with certain other cultures than with English. The works of authors like Chekhov, Gorky etc. had better appeal to Tamilian sensibility than most of the English authors themselves. (Sivathampy, 1979)

The role of poetry was strongly influenced by the changes which occurred in creative literature. The impact of English poetry resulted in a gradual specialization in the context of Tamil poetry. Now the personal response of the poet to the human environment and social set up is expressed through poetry and poetry serves as a medium to bring out the innermost feelings of man. The Indian Tamil poet par excellence Bharathi undertook to bring modernity into Tamil. He brought a new dimension to the rather obliquely practiced social function of poetry.

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English and Tamil scholars

The period of Arunuga Navalar (1822-1879), a prominent Tamil scholar is of much importance in the history of the impact of English on Tamilian life in Sri Lanka. He was pleased about the use of English as a language but he eschewed English cultural traditions. Navalar profoundly used prose in his works and excluded any non-salivate influences from higher literature. His innovative trends in thinking paved the way for a new form of Sri Lankan literature.

The English school soon began to assert itself and there arose social activities and scholars like Pavalar Thuraiyappapillai in whose literary and educational efforts the imprint of English is already seen. The play titled “Cakala Duna Compannan” written by him is a Tamilised version of the English morality play. Sri Lankan Tamil novelists grew prominent at the turn of the century. Eminent personalities like Simon Casie Chetty, Sir. P. Muttukumarasamy, Sir. P. Arunachalam and Sir. P. Ramanathan translated some fine Tamil works into English to let the English know of the great cultural heritage of the Tamils. The “Arichandra Natakam”, a drama translated from Tamil into English by Sir. P. Muttukumarasamy was presented to Queen Victoria. As started earlier it was the intention of preserving the purity and distinctiveness of Tamil which caused the initial reaction to the impact of English on Tamil writings (Sivathampy, 1959).

Soon there arose a keenness to modernize the creative literature in Sri Lanka mainly due to the influence of English education. It can't be started that all who opted to indulge in modernization were English educated. Some writers being inspired by Bharathy grew anxious to introduce creative norms in Sri Lankan Tamil writing especially in fiction. It is notable that the influence of English on Tamil writing could be more observed in the works of those who were not English educated.

Modernism in Tamil Writings

As the British rule began to be identified as an imperialistic force meant to exploit the resources of the colonies including Sri Lanka, there was a change in the attitude toward English. A tendency to take only the progressive aspect of English culture developed. Consequently Russian authors and more socially conscious French, American and British authors were appreciated, by the local reading and writing population. Yet the Sri Lankan Tamil writers continued to have inspiration from English or translated works from English.

The notification of Tamil literature in a true sense began in the thirties and the forties. The features of this novel type of Tamil literature can be found in the plays written by Prof. Kanapathippillai. He has used a raw dialectical form of Sri Lankan Tamil mingled with earthiness and wit.

After Sri Lanka gained independence in 1948 and particularly after 1956, there was a change in the Sri Lankan Tamil. A need for a truly Sri Lanka Tamil literature which could express the hopes, aspirations and fears of Tamils was felt. There was a movement which demanded for Sri Lankan Tamil literature which was genuinely nationalistic in character. The

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movement was led by a dynamic group of writers called the Progressive Writers Association. This Association strongly opposed the influence of the South Indian writing, particularly the market oriented literary stuff from South India. The movement was highly influenced by Marxist ideology. The problems related to the social consciousness of the literature and the social responsibility of the writers was the main concern of the movement. In support of the movement, the American, Australian and Canadian models of creating a literary tradition depicting their own cultures and rejecting the impact of socially irrelevant work from England were brought forward. This movement was stunted in 1954 and its outcome was immense in the early sixties. (Sivathamby, 1979)

English Influence on Modern Literature

An analysis with regard to any relationship of English with this movement would be beneficial in this study because most of the writers belonging to this movement were from working class ranks and others were, of course, educated in the Tamil medium, and English is probably alien to them. The following remarks are very appropriate in this context of discussion.

“The cultural flexibility of both the creative writer and the critic has reached such a stage today that some of them use English words in Tamil writing not in the transliterated form but in the full majesty of the Roman script. The untranslatability of the word at its inevitability in the context (at least from the point of view of the writer – let us not look into his competence) indicate that English has a place in Tamil literature not enjoyed even by Sanskrit for when the Sanskritists wanted to use Sanskrit word in Tamil they used the Grantha script, never the Devanagari”. (Sivathamby, 1979, P. 60)

Sivathamby’s remarks that some of the writers use English words in their writings are disagreeable in today’s context. The situation prevailing today is much different from the situation when he made these comments. At present almost all the creative writers use English inevitably in their writings. The ever increasing scientific and technological developments, and the expansion of new disciplines of knowledge and the war situations particularly in Jaffna bring forth several hundreds of new concepts and new objects day by day. It is extremely difficult to create technical terms or find Tamil equivalents for all of them at a time. For this reason and for various other reasons which will be discussed in the followings sections in this chapter later, in almost all the creative writings in Tamil produced by Jaffna writers, the use of English words can be observed.

English Borrowings in the Modern Tamil Literature

The modern Tamil literature has the tendency of deviating from the conventional style and adopting a casual style implying the exclusion of highly literary terms belonging to the high variety of Tamil and the inclusion of plain ordinary words and phrases which are easily accessible to the average reader. This tendency can be observed in the literature publications of Jaffna Tamil writers also. The poems by the late Rudramoorthy, A. Jesurasa, E. Murugaiyan and S. Pathmanathan, short stories and novels by S. Kandasamy, Kokila

Mahendran and N. Shanmugalingam and plays by N. Sundarampillai all who are Jaffna Tamil writers can be cited in this respect. The modern Tamil literature accommodates ordinary words and phrases and English borrowings as well.

In the following section, the features and functions of English borrowings which appear in some selected fiction, poems and plays written by Jaffna Tamil writers (from 1980 to date) have been separately discussed.

English Borrowings in the Tamil Fiction

Almost in all the works of Tamil fiction which have been produced by the Jaffna Tamil writers the presence of English borrowings is a prominent feature. Some examples of English borrowings which appear in a few short stories and novels have been selected for discussion below. The English words of the borrowings are given within brackets against the borrowings.

Example -01

In the short story entitled “Mella Tamil Ini” the borrowings ‘telipo:n pu:t̪’ (telephone booth), ‘po:nko:l’ (phone call) and ‘ala:ta:m’ (Alarm) are found. As the characters that use the borrowings in this short story are illiterate, these borrowings are associated with them to maintain a natural style of conversation. As the word Alarm is concerned, its phonetically modified form “ala:ta:m” is commonly used in Tamil fiction. It can be observed that though Tamil translated forms “tolaipeiisi” and tolaipeiisi alaipu” are available for Telephone and Phone Cell, the author of the story intends to introduce the borrowings which are familiar to the average reader, through the characters. (Kandasamy, 1999, P. 92) (See appendix No. 1).

Example -02

In the short story titled “Etfankal”, the borrowings “telipo:n” (Telephone), “Pæ:ku” (Bag), “tikæt” (Ticket) and “a:mika:ta:n” (Army Soldier) have been used. The writer of this story has chosen these borrowings to maintain a casual style since these borrowings very frequently occur in the ordinary conversation of people. (Rani, 2001, P.04) (See appendix No. 2).

Further, it’s a usual feature in Tamil that ending “ka:ta:n” is added to male persons’ names of kinship or occupation. Similarly “ka:ti” goes with females. For examples, one’s uncle is sometimes referred to as ma:manka:ta:n” and aunt is “ma:mika:ti”, in Tamil. The words “ma:man” and “ma:mi” refer to uncle and aunt respectively in Tamil.

Example -03

The borrowings “tiyæ:ta:r” (Theatre) and “sinima:” (Cinema) are among some other borrowings used in this short story titled “Alaikal”. The borrowings “tiyæ:ta:r” is frequently used by monolinguals to refer to the cinema theatre as well as the operation theatre depending

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on the situation. Though the word Theatre (Cinema Theatre) has translations like “t̥iraiyarankam” and “patama:lihai” in Tamil, such translations have been deliberately avoided here. Because these two borrowings appear in a conversation between two ordinary characters in the novel and the writer of the story has used these borrowings since the translated forms are generally used in literary form of writings. . (Kandasamy,1999, P. 18) (See appendix No. 3).

Example -04

The borrowing “ko:ras” (Chorus) has been used in the novel titled “Sa:nro:n Ena k̆a :ta t̆a:l̆”, to create a sense of humor. The situations concerned in the novel is a class room and the manner by which the pupils greet their teacher collectively and tunefully has been described as they greet their teacher in chorus. (Shanmugalingam , 1993, P. 1) (See appendix No. 4).

English Borrowings in Tamil Poetry

Example -01

In the poem titled “Muham” the borrowing “vasu” (Bus) appears. Though a Tamil translated form “pe: t̆untu” is available for the English word Bus, the borrowing “vasu” has been used to rhyme with the Tamil word “va:sal” which means entrance, in the preceding line in the poem. (Jesurasa , 1984, P. 9) (See appendix No. 5).

Example -02

The borrowings “ka:r” (Car) ro:tu” (Road) and “t̆a:r” (Tar) have been used in the poem titled “kuntu:si”. Here the words “ka:r” and “t̆a:r” are used in the first and the second lines to create a rhyme effect. Though the English word Road has its Tamil equivalents “vi: t̆i”, pa: t̆ai” and sa:lai”, the word “ro:tu has been preferred to such Tamil equivalents as this borrowing is generally used in casual speech and all the lines in this poem suggest a casual tone. (Jesurasa , 1984, P. 9) (See appendix No. 6).

Example -03

In the poem titled “Na:tu katan̆uvita Nanpanuku”, the borrowing “so:pa:” (Sofa) has been used to produce a mock effect by condemning the emigrated Sri Lankans who have sought asylum in foreign countries. The asylum seekers are ridiculed as if they have neglected their native culture and indulged in the foreign culture and life with sophisticated household facilities. The word “so:pa” of course, has been used as a symbol of their indulgence in foreign culture.

In the same poem, the borrowing “sel” (Shell) has been used to describe the disasters caused by the ongoing civil war in Sri Lanka. Since there is no Tamil translation for this borrowing and as the people in Jaffna are well familiarized with this borrowing, the same is used in this poem. (Sayipiriyana, 1992, P. 9) (See appendix No. 7).

Example -04

In the poem titled “padaiyal” the borrowings “keiku” (Cake), “sæ:nvitfu” (Sandwich) and “kAtlætu” (Cutlet) have been included to create a ridiculing effect. The poem is intended to ridicule the natives of Jaffna who attempt to adopt the foreign culture by entertaining hosts with foreign food items at traditional ceremonies. (Sokalingam, 1982, P. IV) (See appendix No. 8).

English Borrowings in Tamil Plays

Example -01

In the play titled “Na:lai Nalla Na:l”, the borrowings “ma:ster” (Master) and “puro:kar” (Broker) are found among some other English borrowings. The characters which use these borrowings in a conversation are depicted as uneducated, ordinary persons. The borrowing “ma:star” is very frequently used by Jaffna Tamil monolinguals to refer to a male teacher. The Tamil equivalents “guru”. “a:sitiyar” and “upa: tiya:yar” etc. are generally used in literary form of speech and writing. These are not used in casual dialogues. Similarly the word “puro:kar”, a totally assimilated form of the English word Broker is used to refer to especially a marriage broker in the Jaffna social environment. The Tamil equivalent “tatakar” for Broker is found in the literary form of writing only. Due to the familiarity of the ordinary people with the above mentioned borrowings and as the situation of the play is reflected through means of a dialogue, these borrowings have been selected by the writer of this play. (Sivapalan, 2001, P. 03) (See appendix No. 9).

Example -02

The borrowings “keitu” (Gate), “pilsu” (Pill) and “seitfu” (Church) are some of the English borrowings found in the play titled, “Ni: Seiṭa Na:takame”. The Tamil equivalents and translations patalai, ma: tirai or marunṭu kulisai and t̪ə:va:layam are respectively available for these borrowings. But in the Jaffna spoken Tamil, in consideration of the economy of effort, these borrowings are generally used. Both Tamil monolinguals and bilinguals in Tamil and English use these borrowings in their day- to-day casual speech.

The characters which use the above borrowings in this play are depicted as illiterate ordinary people and thus the writer has chosen these borrowings to impress the readers with a familiar, casual environment. (Shanmugalingam, 2002, P. 5,6,13) (See appendix No. 10, 11, and 12).

Example -03

The borrowings “tiusan” (Tuition) and “pa:su” (pass) are in vast usage among the monolinguals in Jaffna today. The student population is much higher than before and almost all the students attend private tuition classes in Jaffna. The performance of the students in school examinations and public examinations like G.C.E (O/L) & G.C.E (A/L) examinations

is very often discussed by parents with great keenness and the borrowings “pa:su” (pass) and “peil” (fail) are very common in the speech of Jaffna Tamil monolinguals.

In the play titled “kita:ṭayin” vətəna mara”, these borrowings “tiusan” and “pa:su” found among some other borrowings are used in a dialogue between two characters who are uneducated parents, in the play. (Sivapalan, P. 2001, P. 54) (See appendix No. 13).

The Emergence of a Group of New Anti-Purist Writers

One factor worked against the Tamil purist movement started by S. Vedachchalampillai in Thanjavur district, India about the 1950s. In India as well as in Sri Lanka, due to post- Independence problems, conditions were created for the emergence of a group of writers who belonged to traditionally oppressed sections of Tamil society. Many of them were impressed by Marxist- Communist ideals which provided them with a broad world view and also the confidence to express their thoughts and feelings freely, to struggle against oppression. Though their educational level was low, they ushered in new experiences, and visions into fiction, poetry and drama. They scorned “Correct” Tamil taught at school and ignored pure Tamil (Kalaisapathy, 1986, P. 21).

Elements such as regional and social dialecticisms, colloquialisms, neologisms etc. which were considered to be incorrect or unacceptable in writings earlier, have become very vital to a writer nowadays, since these elements constitute the basis of important ingredients for his literary communication. During the two decades modern Tamil writers waged incessant struggles to overcome languages barriers and to use what they call ‘living language’. The modern Tamil writers in Sri Lanka during the course of the last two decades produced new variety of writing in which many novel features have been introduced. Since the writers became acquainted with new areas of social and personal experiences, and extended the range of portrayal of emotions and psychological state of characters, their linguistic scope too broadened. They attempt to produce works which could be read and understood by ordinary people. It was Subramaniya Bharathi (1882-1921), the greatest Tamil poet of the modern age in India who properly introduced modernism. In the preface to “Paanchali Chapatham” (1910), he wrote:

“He who produces an epic in simple style and diction, easily understandable metres and popular tunes will be infusing a new life into our language. The meaning must be crystal clear even to the neo- literates; at the same time, the poem must not be wanting in the graces and refinements that are expected of an epic” (Kalaisapathy, K. 1986, P. 43).

Many Sri Lankan modern writers followed the literary style of Subramaniya Bharathy. Novelists like Daniel, S. Ganeshalingam, S. Yohanathan and Benedict Balan to mention only a few have utilized the day-to-day spoken Tamil of ordinary people in their creations.

A new variety of poetry called “puṭu kaviṭai” (New Poetry) is very popular in Jaffna nowadays. The following remarks by kailasapathy on New Poetry are notable.

“Perhaps the one single important features of the ‘new poetry’ is psychologism. The individualized inner experiences of the poets find their expressions in their (often fragmentary) poems. What sometimes jars or disconcerts readers (who are unilingual) of these poems is their betrayal of excessive imitation of the avant-garde poetry in other parts of the world. These poets also have a weakness for using English words, often unwarranted in their poems”... (Kalaisapathy, K. 1986, P. 47).

It is quite evident from the above remarks that English words probably English borrowings are used in poetry in the present day. In the view of Kailasapathy, the use of English words in poems shows the weakness of poets. He seems to hold this view because he is an admirer of traditional poetry and he himself admitted it when he commented thus. “I myself do not approve of everything said and done under the banner of ‘New Poetry. Personally I prefer rhyme and metre, and I have expressed my penchant for them in my Critical writings” (Kalaisapathy, K. 1986, P. 46).

The use of English words in poems does not show the weakness of the poet, but in fact, it reflects the artistic devices of the poet in making this poems impressive among readers.

As a curious phenomenon Westernization is more evident in recent Tamil writing in Jaffna. It is curious because one may have expected that the gradual decline of English education in Sri Lanka and the increasing use of national languages for official purposes, a more inward literary climate would emerge. Such tendencies of Westernization should be considered in terms problems connected with emigration, brain –drain etc. The reference of foreign countries and foreign practice in the Tamil fiction is but another aspect of the migratory inclinations of certain of people in the society. There is a real connection between certain ideas about literature and the role of the writer and social factors.

Western Influence in Tamil Writings

The modern writers introduced new genres and experimented with western literary modes. They focused on a new literary language which could bridge the divisions that existed between the traditional literature and western, mainly English influences. Because English influences became to dominate over the experiences and way of life of the natives. They attempted to create a literary language to express their experiences of the changing trend of social and intellectual world. Their works of course reached out to the large middle-class reading public. The growing awareness of the socialist atmosphere of the sixties made literature to seriously focus on social and political issues. In today’s context, social relevance is the most important issue. Almost all literary works, be they poetry, fiction or drama concern themselves with political and social issues (Obeyesekes, R, 1981, P. 57). The writers of the early 20th century were concerned with social issues, but the people in that period did not bother much about social issues. But today both creative writers and the public are concerned with social and political issues.

As far as the modern Tamil writings are concerned, the replacement of words and phrases which were quite unfamiliar to the average reader, by plain and ordinary words and phrases including English borrowings which have become very vital elements of the day-to-day expressions of the public is skillfully carried out by writers. This feature of the modern Tamil literature in fact makes the message to be conveyed through such writings sound and forceful.

English Borrowings in the Tamil Lexicon

Some of the English borrowings found in the Indian Tamil and Sri Lankan Tamil have been included in the Tamil lexicon titled “kriyavin Tarkala Tamil Akarati” (Subramanian, 1992). (See list A).

The prominent feature of the borrowings found in this lexicon is their total assimilation into Tamil. For example the English word court has become a borrowing in its assimilated form as “ko:tu” in the Sri Lankan Tamil. Similarly words like Hurricane, Cholera and Receipt are borrowings in their assimilated forms as “atikan”, “ka:lata:” and “rasi: tu” respectively both in the Indian and Sri Lankan Tamil. Since the borrowings found in this lexicon are vastly and very frequently used by both monolinguals and bilinguals, they have been totally assimilated.

Among the borrowings incorporated in the lexicon, three are indicated as Sri Lankan borrowings. Of these three, except the borrowing “ko:tu” (Law court) the other two borrowings. “tei” (Tea) and “la:mpu” are found in their hybridized forms as “teiṭanni:r” (a drink of tea) and “la:mpənnai” (Kerosene oil) respectively.

Though only three of the borrowings are indicated as usages in Sri Lanka, all the English borrowings found in this lexicon are borrowings in Sri Lanka also.

LIST A

English Borrowings in “Kriyavin Tarkala Tamil Akarati”

English	Borrowings
• Hurricane	atikan
• Aluminum	aluminiam
• Amen	a:men
• Islam	isla:m
• Will	uyil
• Vote	o:tu
• Catholicism	kaṭ to:likam
• Coffee	ka:pi
• Compound	ka:mpavuntu
• Colony	ka:lani

• Cholera	ka:lata:
• Christianity	kiriṭavam
• Christ	kiristu
• Court	ko:tu (Sri Lankan usage)
• Chutney	catni
• Sherbet	carpaṭ
• Saloon	calu:n
• Cinema	cinema:
• Scent	cent
• Cycle	caikil
• Soda	co:ta:
• Tumbler	ṭamlar
• Dozen	tad ₃ an
• Doctor	ta:ktar
• Dollar	ta:klar
• Trunk	titaṇu
• Tin	tin
• Drawer	tita:yar
• Tea	ti:
• Teacher	ti:tṭar
• Dupe	tu:b
• Tar	ṭa:r
• Tea	ṭei (Sri Lankan usage)
• Protein	putaṭam
• Bourgeois	pu:rva:
• Bible	paiple
• Button	poṭṭa:n
• Police	po:li:s
• Marxism	ma:rkxiam
• Mile	mayil
• Minor	mainar
• Receipt	rasi: ṭu
• Rubber	rappar
• Rail	rayil
• Rose	ro:sa:
• Rowdy	ravuti
• Lantern	la:nṭar
• Lamp	la:mpu (Sri Lankan usage)
• Bank	vanki
• Hall	ha:l

Summary

Modern literature in Tamil produced by writers who are natives of Jaffna contain English borrowings amply, as the modern era witnesses the advent of new concepts of diverse branches of knowledge and the introduction of new articles as a result of vast development in science, technology, trade, communication etc at international level. The developments in these fields have caused a sort of dramatic, revolutionary changes in the life style of people which in turn has modified sharply the creative thinking as well as the style of criticism.

The presence of English borrowings enriches the contents of literature by providing it with novel dimensions that may appeal to the minds of the reader and serve as a device to convey ideas with striking effects. Further the modern literary works in Tamil produced by Jaffna writers provide documentary evidence for the influence of English borrowings in the social interaction of Jaffna Tamils.

The modern Tamil literature free from literary terms of high variety Tamil but inclusive of ordinary words and phrases and borrowings accessible to the average reader marks the changing trend of literary tradition from classic into modernism. Modernism in literature gives awareness to the reader about social surrounding. The presence of English borrowings is an inevitable feature in modern Tamil literature of Jaffna in the sense that it grafts some new variety of elements onto the existing tradition.

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CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSION

After the colonial power to the hands of the British in 1796 much importance was given for imparting English knowledge among Sri Lankan natives. English was made the medium of instruction in government schools and even private schools were established to provide English education. English became the state language and soon grew to be a prestige language. English used by the Sri Lankans gained a unique status due to its distinct features and was popularly known as the Sri Lankan English.

The contact between English and Tamil, one of the national languages of Sri Lanka and the subsequent development of bilingualism led to the borrowing of many English words into Tamil. The verbal interaction between bilinguals and monolinguals in various contexts led to the infiltration of English words into the speech of Tamil monolinguals.

The difference in the sound systems and the number of phonemes of English and Tamil is the main cause of assimilation of English words in the speech of Tamils. Particularly the Tamil monolinguals that are not conscious of the origin or source of the English words use them conveniently in assimilated forms.

Though equivalent Tamil terms have been made available for some English technical terms, the English terms are preferred in the casual speech of Tamils because of their popularity. The translated or the transliterated forms of English words are used in written texts.

An acute decline of English bilingualism can be observed in Jaffna at present, particularly following the introduction of mother tongue as the medium of instruction in government schools and other higher educational institutions in 1945. There are still other factors contributing to the negligence toward English. The residents of Jaffna do not have the access to have a good exposure to English. Due to political, socio economic and cultural factors tourist, industrial, trade and cultural activities have been paralyzed. Improper transport service hinders free contacts with those residing outside the peninsula. This kind of obscured and culturally confined surrounding in Jaffna turns out to be shutters against the English oriented world.

The patriotic feeling of the Tamils too has caused some restriction on the use of English. There have been campaigns insisting on the use of Tamil technical terms possibly for all general concepts and familiar objects.

Also a lack of interest can be observed among the people of Jaffna in appreciating the English programs delivered by the electronic media such as radio and television and the press media. Indifference to English programs and materials may be attributed to lack of English proficiency.

Nevertheless the availability of several hundred household articles, electronic equipment, consumable goods etc. which arrive at the market as new products daily cause numerous English terms to infiltrate into spoken and written Tamil. During business transactions and bargain in Trade centre, financial institutions like banks and normal social interactions, the mixing of many English words can be observed.

The economy in usage and the assimilation of such English words and perhaps the unavailability of Tamil equivalent terms induce people to mix them. There are instances when speakers attempt to use English terms with prestige motive in exposing themselves as educated ones so as to establish social identity.

The writers of modern Tamil literature attempt to introduce new genres and adopt western literary modes in their works. They intend to bridge the divisions that exist between the themes, language and style of the traditional literature and the western, mainly the English influences that are becoming increasingly a part of the experience and way of life. To achieve this target, they concentrate on a new literary language which is flexible enough to express the experiences of the changing trend of social and intellectual set up and which can be reach out to a wide middle class reading public which is eager for reading material but not intellectually competent enough to read classic literature. Today social relevance has become a vital issue. Almost all works on literature whether fiction, poetry or drama seriously focus on political and social issues and themes.

The use of English borrowings as part of the English influence over the social and political experiences of people has become inevitable in the modern Tamil literature produced especially by Jaffna writers, since the ethnic crisis and the related issues have become intense in Jaffna. The use of English borrowings is adopted as a literary device to stress ideas and create effects of humor, mockery, ridicule etc, Further the unavailability of Tamil equivalents or translations and in case of certain borrowings the greater familiarity of people with the language of these borrowings make writers choose borrowings in their works. The presence of English borrowings in the modern Tamil literature contributes, of course, toward the success of the writer in conveying the theme.

The penetration of English words has indeed enriched and expanded the Jaffna Tamil vocabulary. The presence of English words has facilitated one's expression of ideas with ease and effect.

It is also encouraging to note that today a greater emphasis is laid on the production of technical terminology in Tamil. Vast attempts are made in India and Sri Lanka in this regard. Coexistence of English terms and Tamil terminology will be further addition to the Tamil vocabulary. The state should take initiative to produce resource personnel who are specialized in Translation. Glossaries should be designed and made available to students and professionals concerned. Separate glossaries for subjects such as Geography, History, Economics, Sociology, Philosophy, Psychology, Religion, Science etc should be made available.

Particular attention should be paid to produce a set of uniform technical terms at least in the academic discipline to avoid confusion caused by the presence of different Tamil translation for the same English term. Besides, in some texts Tamil translations and in some other texts transliterations are used for the same English terms. Therefore it is essential to decide whether an English term, be it a borrowed word or not, should be used in its transliterated form or it should be replaced by a Tamil translation. In deciding it, the economy of effort in pronunciation, appropriate meaning expression etc, should be taken into consideration.

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APPENDIX -1

மெல்லத் தமிழ் இனி...!

இறும்புதெய்தினால். அத்துடன் கடிதம் வருவதும் அருகிப்போயிற்று.

இதனிடையில் இங்கேதான் எத்தனை பிரளயங்கள்! 'சூரியப்பிரகாசம்', 'முன்னேறிப்பாய்ச்சல்' 'சூரியக்கதிர்', 'வெற்றிஉறுதி'.... வன்னிக்குடம் பெயர்வுமீளக்குடியமர்வு...என்று நாடு இப்போது வழமைக்குத் திரும்பிவிட்டதாக ஒரு மாயத் தோற்றம் மூன்று நாட்களுக்கு ஒரு தடைவை அணைந்து அணைந்து ஒளிரும் மின்சாரம் ஆடிக்கொருமுறை அமாவாசைக்கொருமுறை நடைபெறும் கப்பல் சேவை, இரணைத்தீவு பிராந்தியத்தில் அந்தரத்தில் தரித்து நிற்கும் விமான சேவை... இத்தியாதி இத்தியாதி... நாடு வழமைக்குத் திரும்பி விட்டதாகப் பீற்றிக் கொள்வதில் மட்டும் ஒன்றும் குறைச்சல் இல்லை.

ஆனால் ஒன்று, தடுக்கி விழுந்தால் 'டெலிபோன் பூத்தில்' தான் முட்டிக்கொள்ளும் அளவுக்கு ஆங்காங்கே தொலைத்தொடர்பு நிலையங்கள் முளைத்துவிட்டன. இத்தனைக்கும் முன்பு கொழும்புக்கோ பின்பு யாழ்ப்பாணத்திற்கோ சென்று ஒரு 'போன்கோல்' எடுக்க முயற்சிக்கவில்லை. ஆசை ஆரைத்தான் விட்டது? இப்போது காலடியில் டெலிபோன் பூத் கிடக்க இத்தனை நாள் அவள் இதயத்தில் உறங்கிக் கிடந்த ஆவல் கிளர்ந்தெழ... நாளை எப்படியும் மகனோடு போனில் பேச வேண்டும் என்று புருஷனை நச்சரித்து முடிவாக்கியும் விட்டாள். எத்தனை நேரம் விழித்திருந்தோம் எப்போது தூங்கினோம் என்று எதுவுமே தெரியாது அவளுக்கு. 'அலராம்' கூட வைக்காமல் 'சடக்' கென்று நாலு மணிக்கே விழிப்புக்கண்டுவிட்டது. வாரிச் சுருட்டிக்கொண்டு எழுந்தாள் சீதா. மளமள வென்று காலைக் கடன்களை முடித்து தேநீர் தயாரித்து கணவனுக்கும் கொடுத்து தானும் ஒரு மிடறு.

APPENDIX -2

எச்சங்கள்....

ராணி சீதரன்

கடல் மகளுக்கு வகிட்டுத்து இரண்டு புறமும் வெண்பூக்களைச்சூட்டி விட்டது போல 'சிறி ஓவ் நிங்கோ' கப்பல் வெண்பூரைகளைச் சிந்திக்கொண்டு அந்த அமைதியான இரவில் பயணித்துக் கொண்டிருந்தது. திருகோணமலையிலிருந்து யாழ்ப்பாணம் செல்லும் கப்பலிற்கு அனுமதிச்சீட்டு பெறும் வரை எத்தனை கட்டடங்களைத் தாண்ட வேண்டியிருக்கின்றது. என்பதை நினைத்தபோது பத்து வருடங்கள் பிறந்த மண்ணை மறந்திருந்ததிலும் நியாயம் இருக்கிறது என மனதை தேற்றிக்கொண்டேன். காலையில் திருகோணமலை பஸ்ஸில் ஏறினால் மதிய உணவு யாழ்ப்பாணத்தில் சாப்பிடக் கூடிய வகையில் போக்குவரத்தும் நாட்டுநிலையும் இருந்த நிலைமாறி, இன்ற சனம் நாய்ப்பாப்பாடு படுவதோடு ஒரு பகலையும் ஒரு இரவையும் கப்பல் பயணம் விழுங்கி விடுகிறது. பொழுது கொஞ்சம் கொஞ்சமாக புலரத் தொடங்க கப்பலும் காங்கேசன்துறை முகத்தை நெருங்கிக்கொண்டிருந்தது.

“முதலில் ஆம்பிளயனைக் கொண்டு 'பாக்' குகளை இறக்குவார்கள். பிறகுதான் நாங்கள் இறங்கலாம்”. என்னை அவசரப்பட்ட வேண்டாம் என்பது போல பக்கத்திலிருந்தவர் அந்தத்தகவலைச் சொன்னார்.

“விசுவத்தனையோனே, பத்து வருஷத்திற்கு பிறகு வருகிறேன். உனது தேர்த்திருவிழாவை பார்க்க வைத்துவிடு”. நான் முருகனை மனமாற வேண்டியிருந்தாலும் கூட, தங்கை “அக்கா கப்பல் நேரத்திற்கு வராது. தேர் பார்க்கிற ஆசையை விட்டுப்போட்டு வாங்கோ” நேற்று

உறுதியாக **ரெலிபோனில்** சொன்னது மனதில் உறுத்திக் கொண்டிருந்தது. ஆனாலும் போய்ச்சேருவேன் என்ற நம்பிக்கை குறையவில்லை 'பாக்' குகளை எடுத்துக்கொண்டு ஒவ்வொருவரும் வரிசையாகப் போய்நின்றார்கள்.

இராணுவத்தினரின் **பஸ்** வந்து நின்றது. வரிசையிலும் தள்ளப்படத் தொடங்கினார்கள். **'பாக்'** குகள் ஏற்றியபிறகு **'ரிக்கர்'** எழுதுபவர் வந்து 'பாக்' ஒவ்வொன்றுக்கும் நாற்பது ரூபா ஆளுக்கு நாற்பது எனக் கட்டணத்தை அறிவிட்டார்.

கப்பலில் ஏறியதிலிருந்து வீடு போய்ச் சேரும்வரை காசால் விசுக்கிக் கொண்டுதான் போக வேண்டும். பட்டி அடைத்தது போல 'பஸ்' வண்டிக்குள் இடிபட்டு மூச்சுத்திணறி பட்ட அவஸ்தைகளுக்குள்,

'ஏன் தூக்கிப்பாக்கிறியள் **ஆமிக்காரன்** இறக்கிவைச்சு சாத்து சாத்தப்போறன். ஒருவர் செய்யும் பிழைக்கு எல்லாரும் தண்டனை அனுபவிக்க வேணும்” காலைப் பொழுதில் அருகில் நின்றவருக்கு ஞானம் பிறந்து அதனால் வாயைத் திறந்து உபதேசம் செய்கிறார்.

'குப்' பென்று முக்கிலே வந்தடித்த அந்த மணத்திலே கொஞ்நேரம் சுவாசிக்க மறந்து நிற்கிறேன். பஸ்ஸில் இரண்டு பக்கமும் நீலத் திரையால் மறைக்கப்பட்டதன் காரணத்

APPENDIX -3

“என்ன இருந்தாலும் நான் செய்தது குற்றம்தான், அவரை அப்படிப்பேசியிருக்கக் கூடாது” தனிமையின் வேதனையில் மனதில் ஒரு மன்றம் எழுப்பி, பொங்கி வரும் எண்ணப் போராட்டங்களை வாதப் பிரதிவாதங்களாக்கி, தனக்கொரு நீதி வழங்குவதுடன் சமாதானம் தேடிக் கொள்ள முயற்சிக்கிறாள் பேதை. கண்கெட்ட பின் சூரிய நமஸ்காரமா?

அன்றிரவு யோசெப் சாப்பாட்டிற்கு அமர்ந்தபோது, வட்டிலில் இட்ட சோற்றில் அவனுக்குப் பிடித்தமான சுறாமீன் குழம்பை ஊற்றியவளின் வாய் சும்மா இருந்திருக்கக் கூடாதா?

“கேட்டியளே! இண்டைக்கு சென்றல் தியேட்டரிலை புதுப்படமாம். ‘பணமா பாசமா’ ஓடுது”.

“ஓட்டன் அதுக்கென்ன இப்ப” உற்சாகமின்றி மொழிந்தான் யோசெப்.

அவனிருத்த பதிலில் பிலோமினாவின் முகம் சுவையுள்ள சோற்றை உண்ணும் போது, முரசில் மீன் முள்ளாக் குத்திய மாதிரி பல கோணங்களில் நொருங்கி நெளிந்து சுண்டி விட்டது. இருந்தாலும் சுதாகரித்துக் கொண்டு “படத்திற்கு போகலாமா என்றுதான் கேட்கிறன்” என்று ஒரு வித அதிகாரமும் உரிமையும் இழையோடக் கேட்டாள் பிலோமினா.

யோசப்பிற்கு சினிமா கேளிக்கைகளில் நாட்டம் இல்லை. எப்போதாவது இருந்தாற்போல் போவதுண்டு. அதுவும் பிலோமினாவின் நச்சரிப்பிற்காக. இன்று அவனுக்கு சரியான களைப்பு வேறு- மறுத்து விட்டான்.

“ஏன் நீங்களும் வாங்கோவன். நல்ல படமாம்! அந்த ‘எலந்தைப்பழம்’ பாட்டிற்காக எத்தனை முறை வேணுமானாலும் பார்க்கலாமாம்” என்றால் பிலோமினா ஆர்வத்துடன்.

“இப்ப படம் பார்க்காமல் என்ன குறைந்து விட்டது?”

“ஒன்றும் குறையல. எல்லாம் நிறைஞ்சிருக்கு.

APPENDIX -4

மணி அடித்து ஓய்கின்றது, நீண்ட நேரமாக பெய்து கொண்டிருக்கும் மழை இன்னும் ஓய்வதாயில்லை. காற்றின் வேகமும் குறைவதாயில்லை. மழையோசையை மிஞ்சி ஒலித்த மாணவரின் சத்தம் மட்டும் ஊய்கின்றது. முண்டியடித்து தங்கள் தங்கள் இடங்களில் இடங்களில் அமர்ந்து கொள்கின்றனர். ஆனாலும் ஆறேழு பேராக ஒரு வாங்கில் இடிபடும் வழமையான நெருக்கடி இன்றில்லை.

“என்ன இவ்வளவு பேர்தானா... மிச்ச ஆக்கள் எல்லாம் மழையில் கரைஞ்சிட்டாங்களா...” எனக் கேட்டபடி வகுப்பினுள் நுழைகின்றார் ஆசிரியர்.

“குட்மோனிங் சேர்” என்ற கோரஸ் என்று சுருதி குறைந்து ஒலிக்கின்றது.

“புதுப்பாடம் துவங்க வேணும். எல்லோரும் கண்டிப்பாக வரவேண்டும் என்று கடைசி வகுப்பில் சொன்னேன்... இல்லையா” எனச் சற்றுக் கோபத்துடன் கேட்டார் ஆசிரியர். எல்லா மாணவர்களும் ஒரே நேரத்தில் தலையாட்டுகின்றனர்.

“இவ்வளவு பேருடன் புதுப்பாடம் இன்று துவங்க முடியாது... இதற்கு முன் படித்தவற்றில் விளங்காத பகுதிகளைக் கேளுங்கள்...” என்று ஆசிரியர் சொன்னது தான் தாமதம், “புயல் வருகுதாம் சேர்” என்றான் ஒருவன்.

“அது பயங்கரமான வேகத்துடன் வருவதாக ரேடியோ சொன்னது சேர்” என்றான் இன்னொருவன். சரி சரி சத்தம் போட்டு அடுத்த

APPENDIX -5

ஏக்கம்

நான் வரண்டு கிடக்கிறேன்,
மழை பொழியப் பயிர் சிலிர்க்கும்
வளம் நிறைந்த வயலென்றால்
பொங்கும்.....
மகிழ்ச்சிதான்....!

முகம்

மென்முகத்துச் சிறு சோகம்
காண்பதற்கு எனக்கா வல்,
உன்னுடைய கடை வாசல்,
தரிப்பிடத்து *வசு வந்தால்
என்னுடைய தலை நீண்டு
உன்னிடத்தைத் தான் தேடி,
கன்னந்தனைக் கண்டுவிட்டால்
என்னுடைய வெறு நெஞ்சம்
முகத்தால் நிரம்பி விடும்!

*வசு – பஸ்

APPENDIX -6

குண்டுசி!

கார் ஓடும் *கோல்ஹோட்டில்
தாருருகி ஓடுகிற-
மதியத்தில்,
குறுக்கு மறுக்கான
கூட்டத்தில் போகையிலே
செருப்பறுந்து, போச்சுது...!
'ச்சீ... சனியன்
அறுந்து போச்சுதே
என்னண்டு போறதெண்டு'
குழம்பி நிற்கையிலே,
நீதந்த குண்டுசி...!
குத்தி ஒருபடியாய்
மேல் நடந்து போனேன், நாம்
தோழா! என்னன்றி
உந்தனுக்கும்,
உன்னுடைய ஊசிக்கும்!

*Galle Road

பெருமிதம்

என்னுடைய வாழ்வுக்...
காலத்து ஒருநாளில்,
சந்திரனில் முதல் மனிதன்
காலடியை எடுத்து வைத்தான்!
நீண்டு..., மிக நீண்ட
அண்ட வெளிச்ச சூனியத்துச்
சுற்றுகின்ற கிரகத்தில்
மனிதத் தடம் பதியத்,
தொடங்கியதோர்
யுகத்தின் முதல் நாளில்,
நானும் வாழ்ந்திருந்தேன்!

APPENDIX -7

நாடு கடந்து விட்ட நண்பனுக்க...

-செ. சாயிப்பிரியன்-

அன்பின் நண்பா!
அகதி என்ற பெயருடன்
அடுக்கு மமாடியில் வாழ்வனே!
கூவி வரும் ஷெல்கள்
குண்டுச் சத்தங்களைத் தவிர்த்து
இதமான வாழ்வுக்காய் நீ
இம்மண்ணை விட்டுச் சென்று விட்டாய்.
இங்கு

ஆளே விறைத்துப் போகும்
அளவற்ற குளிரிலும்
மனமாற்றம் தருகின்ற
மதுப்புட்டிகளிலும்
சோபா மெத்தைகளிலும்
சொகுசான சுகங்களிலும்
ஊரென்றும் உறவென்றும்
உடன்பிறப்பென்றும் இல்லாது
இயந்திரத்தோடு இயந்திரமாய்
இதயமற்று வாழ்வதிலும்
மழலையாய் நீ தவழ்ந்த
மண்ணை மறந்திருப்பாய்!

இங்கு
கூவி வரும் ஷெல்கள் குறையவில்லை
குண்டுச் சத்தங்கள் இன்னும் ஓயவில்லை
எங்கள் வீடுகள் யாவும்
எதிரியவும் பிடிக்குள்
எமது வரவை எதிர்பார்த்து
ஏங்கித் தவிக்கின்றன.
நாங்கள் ஓடிவிளையாட
நாகழுத்தர் வீடு இப்போ

APPENDIX -8

படையல்

கேக்கும் பற்றிசும்
சான்ட்விச்சும் கட்லெற்றும்
புதிய பலகாரங்கள்
இனிய சுவை உண்டு
விரும்பிய பலர் உண்கிறார்கள்
சாமர்த்தியச் சடங்கு
திருமணம் திவசத்திற்கு மட்டும்
வடையோடு அரியதரம்
சிப்பி பயற்றும் பணியாரம்
இவற்றைத் தயாரித்து பரிமாறுதலே
தங்கள் பண்பாடு என்று
காட்டியும் சுவைத்தும்
சந்தோஷப்படும் இனம்
எங்கள் தமிழினம்!
பாரதிக்கு நூற்றாண்டு விழா

APPENDIX -9

குணம் : ஆளின்ர நிலை இப்ப என்னமாதிரி...

சோமு : ஆஸ்ப்பத்திரியில சேர்த்தாச்சு எண்ட நிம்மதிதான்... அங்கால விதி எப்பிடியோ...

பூரணி : ஏனண்ணை... ஏனாம் அந்தப் பிள்ளை இப்பிடி...

சோமு : என்ன செய்யிறது... வாழவேண்டிய வயசில வந்த துணைய பறி குடுத்திட்டு... வாறவை போறவையின்ர வாயள் வேற சும்மா கிடந்தா தானே... எல்லாம் சேர்ந்ததிலே மன விரக்திதான்...

குணம் : பூரணி வேற என்னவெல்லாமோ சொன்னாள்... தங்கச்சியாற்ற சம்பந் விசயமா...

சோமு : ஓமெண்டு சொல்லுங்களன்... நீங்கள் கைவிட்ட கணக்கா வேறொரு பகுதியும் வந்து இந்தா தானெண்டிட்டு மெல்ல விலகியிற்று...

குணம் : ஏனாம்...

சோமு : ஏனெண்டா... நீங்கள் சொன்ன காரணம்தான்... புருசனை இழந்ததொண்டு வீட்டுக்க இருக்க போயிற்றா எல்லாம் பெரிய பொறுப்பாய் போயிடும்...

குணம் : இதெல்லாம் ஏன் சோமு இந்தப்பிள்ளையின்ர காதில விழவேணும்...

சோமு : இந்தப்பிள்ளை என்ன பால்குடியா மாஸ்ரர் ஒண்டும் விழங்காமல் இருக்கிறதுக்கு அதோட நாங்களென்ன எல்லாத்திலும் நாகரீகமாகவா நடந்து கொள்கிறம்...

குணம் : ஏன் சோமு நான் உன்னட்ட சொன்னன் தானே... இதுதான் காரணமெண்டு அங்க சொல்லாத எண்டு...

சோமு : நானெண்டால் சத்தியமாச் சொல்லயில்லை மாஸ்ரர்... ஊர் வாயை மூடமுடியுமா?... ஏதோ எப்பிடியோ கசிஞ்சிட்டுது... பிறகு வந்தவை வஞ்சகமில்லாம புரோக்கரிட்ட நேரடியாச் சொல்லிப்போட்டினம்... வாழ்விழந்து ஒண்டு வீட்டுக்க வயது போன தாய்... இதெல்லாம் பெருஞ்சுமையெண்டினமாம்.... பின்ன அந்தப் பிள்ளை தன்ர சுமையைக் குறைக்கப்பாத்திருக்கு...

APPENDIX -10

‘நீ செய்த நாடகமே’

பாடல்

தாமே தமக்குச் சுற்றமும்
தாமே தமக்கு விதிவகையும்
யாம் ஆர் எமது ஆர் பாசம் ஆர்
என்ன மாயம் இவை போகக்
கோமான் பண்டைத் தொண்டனொடும்
அவன் தன் குறிப்பே குறிக் கொண்டு
போம் ஆறு அமைமின் பொய் நீங்கிப்
புயங்கன் ஆள்வான் பொன் அடிக்கே.

-திருவாசகம்- யாத்திரைப் பத்து-3-

பாடல் முடிவடைய கனகசபை- கமலம் இடது புறத்ததால் மேடைப்படிகளில் ஏறிவருவர். இடது கோடியில் இருக்கும் அழகானந்தைக் கண்டதும்.

கனக : என்ன விசேஷம்? புனைகதை எழுத்தாளர் அழகானந்தத்தார் இண்டைக்கு வெள்ளனவே வீதிக்கு வந்திட்டார்?

அழகா : வாழ்க்கையே புனைகதையாய்ப் போனதும், எழுத்தாளன் வீதிக்கு வந்திட்டான். தலை எழுத்து வெற்றி கண்டிட்டு.

கனக : சலிப்பு வேண்டாம் அழகானந்தம்!

விசாலா : கண்படக்கூடாது! கனகசபையாரும் கமலாக்காவும் குடுத்துவைச்சனிங்கள்!

கமல : நாங்கள் குடுக்கவும் இல்லை வைக்கவுமில்லை.

கனக : வச்சுக்குடுக்கவுமில்லை, விசாலாட்சி!(சிரிக்கியார்)

கனகசபை : கமலம் தங்கள் வீட்டுக்குள் செல்கின்றனர். படித்துக்கொண்டிருங்க கபிலன் இவர்களைக் கண்டுவிட்டு

கபிலன் : அக்கா ஆறு மணியாச்சது!

கவிதா : பாட்டாவும் பாட்டியும் வீதி உலாப் போய் வந்தால், கேற்றடியில் கால் வைக்க ஆறு மணிஅடிக்கும்.

கனக : கவிதா நேரம் பவித்திரமானது! கபிலன் இன்னும் அரை மணித்தியாலம் இருக்கு, படிப்பு முடிச்சுக் கதையள் கதைக்க!

கபிலன் : எங்கட பாட்டா “டைம்கீப்பரா” இருந்தவரா?!

கனக : மனிசனாய்ப் பிறந்தவன் எதிலும் ‘டைம்கீப்’ பண்ணவேணும்!

கவிதா : அப்பிடி எண்டா?

கனக : காலம் கணிச்சு வாழவேணும்! காலத்தை அறிஞ்சும் வாழவேணும்! அது முடியாத போது தானே காலமாகி விடவேணும்!

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Dr. V. Suntharesan, Ph.D.

Impact of Borrowings from English on Jaffna Tamil

-கனகசபை சிரித்துக் கொண்டு அமர்கின்றார். காயத்திரி மூவருக்கும் தேநீர் பரிமாறுகிறார். கமலம் முன்னமே உள்ளே சென்றவர், கையில் தனது தேநீருடன் வந்து அமர்கிறார். கதிர்காமநாதனும் தேநீர் பருகியவாறு வருகிறார்.

கபிலன் : அப்பாவும், அம்மாவும் ஏன் 'வோக்கிங்' போறதில்லை

APPENDIX -11

காயத்திரி : நாங்கள் 'வேக்கிங் பீப்பிள்' ஆனபடியால் தேவை இல்லை!

கதிர் : நான் இன்னும் பத்து வருஷத்துக்கு நடக்கத் தேவையில்லை!

கவிதா : ஏனப்பா?

கதிர் : எனக்கு இப்ப 50 வயது. அறுவது வரை இங்க இருந்து கச்சேரிக்கு சயிக்கிள் மிதிக்கிறது போதாதா?

கனக : நொண்டிக்கழுதைக்கு சறுக்கினது சாட்டு!

கவிதா : பாட்டா, அப்பாவை கழுதை என்கிறார்!

கபிலன் : திருவன் வளத்த குதிரையைப் போல, அக்காதும் பெண்டு நினைச்சுத் தாடியைப் பிடிக்கிறா!

கமல : இன்னும் நாலு மாதத்தில கவிதாவுக்கு 'கம்பஸ்' கடைசிச் சோதனை நடக்கும் அதோட படிப்பும் முடியும்.

கபிலன் : அக்காவுக்கு இனிக் கலியாணம் பேசவேணும் எண்டு பாட்டி சொல்லாமல்ச் சொல்கிறார்.

கவிதா : ஓ , இவளுக்குத்தான் எல்லாம் விளங்கும்!

காயத்திரி : எதையும் செய்து முடிக்கிற காலத்தில் செய்து முடிக்கத்தானே வேணும்.

கதிர் : செய்வம் இப்ப என்ன அவசரம்

காயத்திரி : இருவத்திமுண்டு வயசாகிது

கனக : ஆகட்டும், சோதனை முடியட்டும்! என்ன காயத்திரி?

காயத்திரி : ஓம் மாமா!

கபிலன் : அக்கா! பாட்டாவில கோவமா?

இந்தச் சறிய பகிடிக்கும் இக்குடும்பம் சிரித்து மகிழ்கிறது. அடுத்து இவர்கள் தத்தம் அலுவல்களில் அமைதியாக ஈடுபடுகின்றனர். உள்ளே செல்பவர் சென்று விடுவர். சதாசிவத்தை மனைவி சரஸ்வதி கையில் பிடித்து அழைத்து வந்து அசனத்தில் இருத்துவார்.

சரஸ் : இந்தாங்கோ! இந்த 'பில்சை' விழுங்குங்கோ

சதாசி : என்னது?

சரஸ் : முட்டுக்குளிசை!

சதாசி : தந்திட்டுப் போம்! நான் விழுங்கிறன்.

சரஸ் : விழுங்கிறெண்டு சொல்லி, இவ்வளவு நாளும், நான் தந்திட்டு போக, மருந்தை யன்னலுக்கு வெளியாலை எறிஞ்சு போட்டு, சுடு தண்ணியை மட்டும் மடக்கெண்டு குடிக்கிறீங்கள்.

சதாசி : (சிரிக்கிறார்)

சரஸ் : சிரிக்கிறார் கள்ளன்! ஆவெண்ணுங்கோ வாயை!

அவர் குழந்தை போல வாயைத்திறக்க, சரஸ்வதி மருந்தை ஊட்டுகிறார்.

APPENDIX -12

மரங்கள் அப்பிடி இல்லை. எனக்கும் பாப்பாவுக்கும் மூண்டு வயது தான் வித்தியாசம்!

ராஜா : எனக்கு இருபத்தி நாலாகியும் ஒண்டும் இன்னம் அருளுதில்லை!

பரா : எனக்கு இருபத்தைஞ்சு ஆச்சு, பாப்பாவுக்கு இருபத்தெட்டு, நாங்கள் மரிபண்ணேக்க.

ராஜா : எங்க மம்மி, கலியாணம் நடந்தது?

பரா : முதல்ல 'சேச்சிலை' கெபிடிச்சது! பிறகு எங்கடை வீட்டிலை, ஹிண்டு வெடிங்!

ராஜா : 'சேச்சிலை' கெபிடிச்சு, வீட்டில கால் பிடிச்சு அம்மி மிதிச்சது! உங்களுக்கு ரெண்டு கலியாணம்!

பரா : ஓம்!! ரெண்டு வெடிங் (F) போட்டோசும் இருந்தது எங்கடை பழைய வீட்டிலை வெஷ் அடிச்சதால கூரை பிஞ்சு, வீடு நனைஞ்சு, படமெல்லாம் பழுதாப்போச்சு.

விசாலா : (தன்பாட்டில்) பதினைஞ்சு வருஷமா என்ர மனிசன் பாடாக் கிடந்தது! பாக்காத பரியாரமில்லை! கடைசிலை சன்னதியிலை கொண்டு போய் வச்சிருந்தனான் கடவுள் விட்ட வழி எண்டு! அங்க நாலு வருஷம்! கந்தனும் கண்ணை மூட, அவரும் முடிவிட்டார்! கொண்டு போய் கடற்கரையில் எரிச்சுப்போட்டு நான் அநாதையா வீட்டை வந்தனான். என்ன இருந்தாலும் கஞ்சியோ கூழோ!பிச்சையோ! பருக்கையோ! புருஷன் பிள்ளையோட கூட இருந்து குடிக்கிறது போல வருமே! இம்...!!

பரா : படத்திலை நான் நல்ல வடிவு! பப்பாவுந்தான்!

ராஜா : இப்பவும் நீங்க வடிவுதானே மம்மி!

பரா : எனக்கு எழுவது வயதுதானே! எண்பது வயதுக்குப் பிறகும் மினிஸ்டர், பிறெசிடென்ட் எண்டு வேலை பாக்கினம், போகமனமில்லாமல்!

ராஜா : மம்மி! நான் போயிட்டு வாரன்.

பரா : எங்க ராஜன்?

ராஜா : வயோதிபர் இல்லத்துக்கு

பரா : வயோதிபர் இல்லமா?! ஆ..! (F) போர்த ஏஜட்! பாவம் அதுகள்! வயது போன சனங்கள்! சரியா 'ஓல்ட்' ஆக்கள் தான் அங்க இருப்பினம். அந்த வயது வரைக்கும் நான் இருக்கக் கூடாது எண்டுதான் ஆண்டவரை பிறே பண்ணிறனான்.

ராஜா : மம்மிக்கு எவ்வளவு வயதிருக்கு, வசதி இருக்கு! நான் வாறன் மம்மி

பரா : ஓம் மகன்!

-ராஜன் வெளியேறுகிறான். அவ்வேளைகனகசபை வீட்டில் சதாசிவம், கபிலன் இருவரும் கதைக்கிறார்கள். சதாசிவம் அமர்ந்திருக்கிறார். கபிலன் எதையோ சுவைத்தவாறு வருகிறான்.

APPENDIX -13

கிட்டாதாயின் வெட்டென மற

பாத்திரங்கள் : தம்பையா சரசு (தம்பதியர்)

மணியம் (தம்பையாவின் நண்பன்)

குமார் (தம்பையாவின் மகன்)

கண்ணன் (குமரின் நண்பன்)

காட்சி – 01

தம்பை : இவன் குமார் எங்கயப்பா போயிற்றான்...

சரசு : பிள்ளை வெள்ளணத்தோட ரயூசன் எண்டெல்லோ போனவன்

தம்பை : கண்டறியாத ஒரு ரியூசன்... படிப்பு ஏறுதோ இல்லையோ ரியூசனுக்குப் போறது இப்ப ஒரு பெசனாப் போச்சு..

சரசு : அவனும் பிள்ளை கஸ்டப்படுறான்... ஒண்டும் சரிவந்ததாகக் காணயில்லை... நானும் எல்லாக் கோயிலுக்கும் நேத்தி வைச்சுப் போட்டிருக்கிறன்.

தம்பை : இஞ்ச பார்... நீதான் அவனைக் கெடுத்துக் கொண்டு போறாயெண்டு நான் சொல்லுறன்... ஒரு தரம்... ரெண்டு தரம் ...சரி மூண்டாம் முறையும் பாத்தாச்சு... மொத்தமா பாஸ் பண்ணின பாடம் முறைக்கு மூண்டைத்தாண்டயில்லை... இதுக்கு பிறகும் ரியூசனென்டா...

சரசு : இன்னொரு முறை எடுப்பமெண்டு சொல்லுறான்..

தம்பை : அவன் சொல்லுவான் தானேயப்பா.. சுகமான சீவியமல்லா இது...இன்னும் ஒரு முறையென்ன ஒம்பது முறையெண்டாலும் பெடியன் ஒ.எல் சோதினையை எடு எண்டு சொன்னா எடுத்துக்கொண்டுதானிருப்பான்... ரெண்டாம் முறை சோதனை மறு மொழி வந்த கையோட சொன்னான் ஆளை ஏதாவது தொழில் துறையைப் பார்த்து இறக்குவமெண்டு... ஆத்தையும் மகனுமாச் சேர்ந்து கொண்டு மறுத்துப் போட்டியள்... அப்ப நான் சொன்னபடி கேட்டிருந்தா இண்டைக்கு ரெண்டு வருஷ தொழில் அனுபவமாய் இருக்கும்...