CHAPTER VI

STYLE

Edmund Burke

There is always a distinction between prose and mere writing. "The writing of English means the expression of ideas in non-metrical language which is grammatically and syntactically correct. English prose means the arrangement of the writing by such technical means as will convey to a reader not only an idea with its imagination or emotional accompaniment, but will do this as its author wishes. In other words, by the principles of prose mere writing is elevated to an art".  

English prose developed gradually from the days of Alfred the Great of England. But English prose written up to the end of the Middle Ages was different from modern English prose whose vocabulary and syntax are different from those of Old and Middle English. Modern English prose began to develop with the introduction of printing (1476) by William Caxton (1421 - 91) who was a translator from the French and
who wrote a confident, smooth prose. 3 "In the Sixteenth and early Seventeenth Centuries, there was a steady and rapid expansion of prose. Prose was used for the first time for a wide variety of purposes. There were still translations and sermons, but also histories, criticism, character sketches, travel books, fictional narratives (if not yet novels) and, of course, plays". 4

Sentence structure in the Sixteenth Century also offered fine possibilities to the able, and problems to those who lacked a sense of proportion and restraint. The Renaissance made Classical Latin authors better known and modes of good style were found in two Roman authors of the first century A.D., Cicero and Seneca. Cicero, a politician and philosopher was an orator. His elegant, elaborate, beautifully formed sentences had been studied and imitated, since the Renaissance, wherever Latin had been taught. 5 In the period between the accession of King James I in 1603 and the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1660, many distinguished English prose writers created different styles. 6 Milton's Areopagitica (1644) and Hobbes' Leviathan (1651) are noted works in prose.
The Eighteenth Century was called the age of prose and its great prose writers had their marked individual style, though often with a curious similarity of rhythm. Edmund Burke (1729-97), Edward Gibbon (1739-94) and Samuel Johnson (1709-84) were the masters of English prose of the period. Referring to Burke, Boulton says that he had an individual style.

Before making an analytical study of the English prose of Edmund Burke, a brief account of the broad classifications of prose works by specialists in the field can be given here. Discussing various kinds of discourse in their *Modern Rhetoric*, Brooks and Warren say, "The four kinds of discourse are exposition, description, narration and argument. We should perhaps add a fifth, persuasion - which is, however, closely related to argument". According to them, in exposition the intention is to explain something, in description, the intention is to make the reader as vividly aware as possible of what the writer has perceived through his senses (or in imagination), and in narration, the intention is to present an event to
the reader - what happened and how it happened. "The other two kinds of discourse are persuasion and argument. But both persuasion and argument aim at convincing somebody. The difference is in the methods used. In persuasion, the intention is to use emotional appeals, involving the necessary minimum of logic and emphasizing the sense of common ground, to bring about a change of attitude, point of view, or feelings. In argument, the main intention is to use logic as a means of bringing about the change". 11 From the above classification it cannot be inferred that one kind of discourse does not have certain features of the other kind of discourse. But the leading features must be taken into consideration for deciding the kind of discourse to which a work belongs. For example, a novel may include exposition, description, or argument but it will always be an example of narration. 12

When we assess Burke's political speeches and writings in the light of the classification made above it is clear that his prose belongs to the category of persuasion as the intention of his speeches and writings has been mostly to make emotional appeals to bring about a change of attitude or point of view or feelings.
Most of his speeches and writings have been emotional appeals to win over the listeners or readers to his point of view. To achieve the emotional appeal and persuasive force Burke often employed rhetorical devices both in his speeches and writings. Peter Westland in his *Literary Appreciation* observes, "Even when Burke was deliberately writing what was to be read and not heard, he often used rhetoric as his medium, addressing himself not to the readers but to an imaginary audience".  
Conveying the idea that Burke's speeches and writings were alike, Hazlitt says, "Burke's writings are better than his speeches, and indeed his speeches are writings".  

To make an analytical study of Burke's prose style the conventional method is followed here. According to the Dictionary of Literary Terms edited by J.A. Cuddom, "the analysis and assessment of style involves examination of a writer's choice of words, his figure of speech, the devices (Rhetoric and otherwise), the shape of his sentences (whether they are loose or periodic or balanced) and the shape of his paragraphs".  
With reference to these aspects Burke's prose style is studied here. Unity, coherence and emphasis, which are the important elements in the construction of sentences and paragraphs, will be
looked into and necessary comments made. The other aspects of language, namely, phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicology, which belong to stylistics and prose rhythm do not come under the purview of the present study. Marjorie Boulton also says, "This [study of prose rhythm] is not often done in criticism and is not often necessary...". Not recommending analysis of prose rhythm she further says, "Very close analysis of prose rhythm is not recommended as a habitual exercise, any more than it is desirable always to scan a poem when we read it... rhythm is not the whole of artistry in prose".

Choice of Diction

Speaking about Burke's vocabulary, Oliver Elton says, "His store of actual words, his draft on the dictionary, seems to be larger than that of any contemporary. The learned and Latin element is strong; but it is held in check by the need of speaking to a public audience, and it does not as it does with Johnson, constitute a manner".

Writing on choice of Diction Hugh Jarrett in his How to write English says, "The principles governing the
choice of words in English are three:

(1) Be as brief and simple as the meaning allows. Prefer short words to long, and single words to elaborate phrases....

(2) Prefer words that are precise to vague and general words; and therefore use concrete rather than abstract words.

(3) Prefer familiar words to far-fetched and unfamiliar ones. 20

Burke certainly followed the above principles in his choice of words and his various oft-quoted statements stand as evidence to this. Referring to Burke's mastery over Diction, V. Venkata Subbiah says, "He [Burke] could surprise you by clothing his ideas in words which gave them a validity beyond the events that provoked them. In that way, he has given us innumerable aphorisms like:—'Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom' and 'A great Empire and little minds go ill together'". 21

In the words of Hazlitt, "Burke was not a verbose writer. If he sometimes multiplies words, it is not for want of ideas, but because there are no words that fully express his ideas, and he tries to do it as well as he can by different ones." 22 An example could be cited from
Burke's speeches on American Taxation: "Do you mean to tax America and to draw a productive revenue from there? If you do, speak out; name, fix, ascertain this revenue; settle its quantity; define its objects; provide for its collection; and then fight when you have something to fight for". 23 Speaking about the favourite epithets of Burke E.J. Payne in his introduction to Burke: Selected Works says, "The favourite epithet of Shakespeare is "Sweet"; that of Milton, 'Bright'; that of Taylor, 'eternal'. That of Burke takes several forms, the chief being 'great', 'noble', 'manly' and liberal". 24

Referring to rhetorical devices (figures of speech) Marjorie Boulton in her The Anatomy of Prose says "Rhetorical devices (the figures of speech) are justifiable when they make truth plainer, arouse desirable emotions and help good purposes...." 25 She says that in the Eighteenth Century rhetoric, which seemed to be in part a natural, spontaneous impulse, came back into favour with great emotional speakers like Burke and Sheridan who were celebrated for their eloquence in public debate. 26 Referring to Burke's use of figures, Elton says, "He [Burke] commands all the devices of the schools; but antithesis, repetition, apostrophe and the rest, do not
produce a mechanical effect. For Burke they are, in Coleridge's phrase, the 'offspring of passion' and with it they subside".27

Burke is capable of creating very effective images through metaphor and simile in his writings. Lamenting over the death of his son Burke says,

The storm has gone over me, and I lie like one of those old oaks which the late hurricane has scattered about me. I am torn up by the roots, and lie prostrate on the earth... I am alone. I have none to meet my enemies in the gate. I lie in an inverted order. Those who ought to have succeeded me have gone before me. They who should have been to me as posterity are in the place of ancestors.28

"Burke draws metaphors, from various sources, for example, the technical language of law, astronomy, art, sport, medicine, chemistry, navigation and other forms of human activity".29

Burke's power of sarcastic ridicule is well revealed when he refers to Bedford (who objected to granting pension to him) in his, A Letter to a Noble Lord, in these
words: "I was not, like his grace of Bedford, swaddled and rocked, and dandled into a legislator". 30

"Burke was also a mastmaster in the deft use of all the weapons in the rhetoricians' armour. Antithesis which operates by creating a balance between equal and opposite forces was a versatile instrument in Burke's hands. 'They who are too weak to contribute to your prosperity may be strong enough to complete your ruin' is an example which illustrates how this device can give point and vivacity to expression. Epigrams and periodic sentences, irony, sarcasm, and other figures of speech enliven his pages and lend a charm to his prose style. The description of the tax on tea as 'quiddity, a phantom', etc., is an example of scorn and sarcasm, while his reference to the circular letter of Lord Hillsborough as a canonical book of ministerial scripture is a masterpiece of hitting sarcasm. Epigrams and periodic sentences can be seen everywhere in his speeches as pebbles on the beach". 31

Rhetorical question which is one of the rhetorical devices, is also very effectively used by Edmund Burke in his speeches and writings. To cite a few examples,

When they [Americans] bear burthens of
unlimited monopoly, will you bring them to bear the burdens of unlimited revenue too? ³²

When this child [America] of our wishes to assimilate to its parent and to reflect with a true filial resemblance the beauteous countenance of British liberty, are we to turn to them the shameful parts of our constitution? are we to give them our weakness for their strength? Our opprobrium for their glory? and the slough of slavery, which we are not able to work off, to serve them for their freedom? ³³

Sentence Structure

Burke used periodic and balanced sentences as the effective devices for his persuasive prose. While in a periodic sentence the parts are so arranged that the meaning and interest are kept in suspense till the close, in the balanced sentences contrasted ideas are expressed in like construction. ³⁴

Any good sentence must stand the test of three principles, namely Unity, Coherence and Emphasis. Unity means that a sentence should contain any one main thought and Coherence means that parts of a sentence should be
arranged in logical order. In every sentence emphasis is necessary so that the sentence may serve its full effect. The best means of securing it, is to place the important part of the sentence at the beginning or at the end. Sometimes the effect may be secured by dividing the emphasis between both ends of the sentence. No good sentence can be written without observing the requirements of the above three principles.

The periodic and balanced sentences which Burke has used in abundance in his speeches and writings clearly show that Burke has strictly observed the above three principles. To substantiate the above statement a few examples of Periodic and Balanced sentences are cited.

**Periodic Sentences:**

Invention is exhausted; reason is fatigued; experience has given judgement; but obstinacy is not yet conquered.

It is indeed a tax of sophistry, a tax of pedantry, a tax of disputation, a tax of war and rebellion, a tax for anything but benefit to the imposers or satisfaction to the subject.

**Balanced Sentences:**

That [the age] of sophisters, economists,
and calculators has succeeded; and the glory of Europe is extinguished for ever. 38

Atheists are not our preachers; madmen are not our law givers. 39

Paragraph structure

The paragraph structure may be remarkably variable, from the brief statements of Bacon to the massive architecture shown by writers like Thackeray. 40 Underneath its variety however, are discernible the same principles, unity, coherence, and emphasis which govern the sentence. 41

Peter Westland, defining unity and coherence in the paragraph structure, says "In the paragraph unity requires that there shall be only one main theme and one main idea. This idea is usually placed, in the topic sentence, either at the beginning or end of the paragraph. At the beginning, it allows the reader to grasp it and relate the rest of the paragraph to it. At the end, it comes after suspense of some kind. Every thought in the paragraph must develop this main idea and every significance shown must be in keeping with its theme as they appear in the Topic Sentence.... Coherence means, as in the case of a sentence, that every part of a paragraph must lead
on to the next in such a way that the relationship between the parts, as well as between them and the topic sentence, shall be clear. Coherence may be secured by various methods such as inversion, repetition, or a suitable use of conjunctions, adverbs, or relative pronouns.

Regarding emphasis in paragraph, topic sentence should not be mistaken as the sentence indicating emphasis. In fact emphasis may rightly be placed not on the main idea but on one connected with it. Discussing the principle of emphasis Brooks and Warren mention a few methods that are employed to give emphasis. They say that through flat statement, or through putting the matter in the first or last place in a paragraph, through observing proportion (i.e. most important matter should receive the fullest treatment) and through minor devices like repetition, and short or isolated paragraph, emphasis could be achieved. They also caution that not all short paragraphs are in themselves emphatic and the content and the phrasing of the short paragraph must make it appear worthy of special presentation and if many paragraphs are short, all emphasis disappears.

Burke observed all the three principles namely, unity, coherence and emphasis in his paragraphs. His
celebrated speeches and writings bear witness to this. A few examples are cited here.

First, Sir, permit me to observe that the use of force alone is but temporary. It may subdue for a moment; but it does not remove the necessity of subduing again; and a nation is not governed which is perpetually to be conquered.45

My next objection is, its (force's) uncertainty. Terror is not always the effect of force; and an armament is not a victory. If you do not succeed, you are without resource; for, conciliation failing, force remains; but force failing no further hope of reconciliation is left. Power and authority are sometimes bought by kindness, but they can never be begged as alms by an impoverished and defeated violence.46

You will observe that, from Magna Carta to the Declaration of Rights it has been the uniform policy of our constitution of claim and assert our liberties as an entailed inheritance derived to us from our forefathers, and to be transmitted to our posterity; as an estate especially belonging to the people of this Kingdom without any reference whatever to any other more general or prior right. By this means our constitution preserves
a unity in so great a diversity of its parts. we have an inheritable crown; an inheritable peerage; and a house of Commons and a people inheriting privileges, franchises, and libertise, from a long line of ancestors.\(^{47}\)

Burke's style is what his choice of words, his rhetorical devices his sentence and paragraph structure have made it to be. Discussing style in general K.R.\(\text{Srinivasa Iyengar}\) and \(\text{Froma Nandakumar}\) say, "Socrates says 'as a man is, so is his speech'. Gibbon's' style is the image of character'; Schopenhauer's style is the physiognamy of the mind'; and Longinus' 'Elevation of style is the echo of a great soul' are among the notable affirmations that connect with Buffor's (The style is the man).\(^ {48}\) True to these dictums, Burke's style, reflecting his personality, is distinctive and individual.

Referring to Burke, his contemporary Dr.\(\text{Johnson}\) said, "He [Burke] had great variety of knowledge, store of imagery, copiousness of language".\(^ {49}\) Talking to Robertson, Dr.\(\text{Johnson}\) said, "Burke, Sir, is such a man that if you meet him for the first time in the street, where you were stopped by a drove of oxen, and you and he stopped aside to take shelter but for five minutes, he'd
talk to you in such a manner that, when you parted, you would say, this is an extraordinary man". 50

Fox said of Burke "If all the political information I have learned from books, all which I have gained from science, all which my knowledge of the world and its affair has taught me, were put in one scale, and the improvement which I have derived from my Right honourable friend's instruction and conversation in the other, I should be at a loss to decide to which to give the preference. I have learned more from my Right honourable friend than from all the men with whom I have ever conversed". 51

But Burke failed to impress upon the audience in the parliament as a speaker due to some personal short-comings. His uncouth gestures and above all his lack of humour were the obstacles to the listeners to sit through his speeches. As Goldsmith said, when Burke was refining his arguments his audience thought of dining. 52 This was because "he was something of a Romantic poet who spoke in prose. His writings exercised a powerful influence on the great writers that flourished in the succeeding ages. Scott, Wordsworth, Hazlitt, DeQuincy and Arnold came under their spell... Macaulay ever modelled
his style after Burke". Many writers have paid great tributes to Burke for his prose style. Commenting on Burke's prose Hazlitt said, "If there are greater prose writers than Burke, they either lie out of my course of study or are beyond my sphere of comprehension". Leslie Stephen says, "Considered as a master of English prose, Burke has not in my judgement been surpassed in any period of literature. Hazlitt, DeQuincy, Coleridge and Arnold have also acknowledged him as our greater English prose writer". In his The Makers of Modern Prose W.J. Dawson says, "It must be confessed that Burke had about him that grand style which, whether in life or literature, always distinguishes the really great man". J.C. Grierson in his article "Edmund Burke" says, "He [Burke] is one of the greatest minds which have concerned themselves with political topics, and, alike, the substance and form of his works have made him the only orator whose speeches have secured for themselves a permanent place in English literature beside what is greatest in our drama, our poetry and our prose".

C.N. Annadurai

In the Tamil language the development of prose
took place gradually down the centuries. In the ancient Tamil Book Tolkappiam which was written three thousand years ago a reference is made to Tamil as 'Uraviseyvel' (Prose poem different from poem which is metrical). But during the Sangam period (300 B.C. - 100 A.D.) people were much learned and they preferred to convey their thoughts through poems.

After a long interval, only at the beginning of the Eighth Century a good prose piece entitled 'Iraiyanar Kalaviyal Urav' appeared. Between Twelfth and Fifteenth Centuries a good number of commentators like Ilamnuranar, Perasiriyar, Nachinarikiniyar, Parimelalagar Senavarayar, Adiyarkunallar appeared. During the period of the later Cholas inscriptions were also made in good prose, describing the achievements of Cholas and their genealogy on the stones. This shows how Tamil prose was developing gradually.

Referring to the European influence on Tamil Development R.E. Asher says, "What is undeniable is that the advent in South India of the Europeans did make an impact on the development of Tamil writing and that this impact was felt as early as the sixteenth century. The relationship between the advancement of Tamil prose
literature and Western contacts is quite clear. Robert De Nobili, Beschi (Veerama Munivar) Ziegenbelg, Dr. G.V. Pope, Dr. Caldwell were the important persons among Christian missionaries who made invaluable contribution to the development of Tamil prose.

It was during the Twentieth Century that Tamil prose developed to an appreciable extent. Arumuga Navalar, who came from Jaffna contributed very much through his writings to the development of Tamil prose and Damodaram Pillai rendered great service to the Tamils by writing the first history of Tamils entitled, Tamils Eighteen Hundred years ago. Dr. U.V. Saminatha Iyer, rendered great service to Tamil literature by collecting and publishing a lot of ancient Tamil works. He also developed Tamil prose through his writings. "The Epithet 'Modern maker of Tamil' has been applied to Maraimalaiyadigal" for his valuable contribution. He advocated the use of pure Tamil words in writings and he himself practised it with all sincerity. His principle influenced many writers who followed him. Thiru Vi.Ka. (Thiru V. Kalyanasundaranar) has been celebrated as the father of twentieth century Tamil prose. His prose style was noted for simplicity and clarity and he wrote innumerable books on various subjects.
In the middle of the twentieth century Tamil scholars took interest to make an analytical study of Tamil prose style applying principles followed in English critical works on English prose style as models and this has paved way for the development of Tamil and research. Besides these, innumerable Tamil scholars through their speeches and writings have made very valuable contributions to the growth of Tamil prose in the present century. To this group of contributors to Tamil prose Anna also belongs. A.M. Paramasivanandam observes that the contributions of Dr. M. Varadharajan, Dr. R. P. Sethupillai, C. N. Annadurai and K. V. Jagannathan are of very great importance to the development of Tamil prose.

As the very object of Anna’s political speeches and writings was to convince and win over the audience or the readers to his point of view, his prose can be classified as persuasive discourse. His ‘Thambikku Kadithangal’ (Letters to the younger Brother) being his effective medium to propagate his political views, is in conversational style. To study Anna’s prose the same principles applied for the study of Burke’s prose
are followed here. Accordingly, the present study will discuss the choice of words, the employment of figures of speech, the sentence structure and the paragraph structure, in Anna's prose, both Tamil and English.

Choice of Diction

Anna was a great lover of words. In his Tamil writings and speeches he used some of those words which had fallen into disuse. So also he coined new words with the help of old literary words and used them in appropriate places. To cite an example,

*Why should there be a monastery for the rich and old religious head? Why Kamandalam? (a jug with sacred water) Why auricular pendant? Why a beautiful girl by his side? Should he loose self control in the infatuation of love of the girl and take alcoholic drinks?

The words சூரம்பழ் ('Selvilli' meaning girl), தையால் ('Thaiyal' meaning girl) and மையால் ('Maiyal' meaning infatuation of love) which were used in old literatures
were used by Anna appropriately in the example cited.

To create the desired effect in the minds of the readers regarding the problems discussed Anna used simple words. Referring to the indifferent attitude of the Parliament regarding the assurance\(^7_5\) that English would continue as long as the Non-Hindi speaking people wished it to continue, he said,

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மராயியலண் மாரியலண் பெரும் பார்வன் முச்சைத் தனித்தென்று தனித்தென்று முக்கேர் சிற்று?.

உட்காய முக்கேர் சிற்று?.

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Maraimalayan, a biographer of Anna says that it was Anna who first made the chaste and beautiful Tamil words familiar even to the people who were in the remote villages.\(^7_7\)

* We ask China whether it was right on their part to throw to the winds the Panchasheela principles finalised at Bandung conference.

** But here something is being done to violate Pandit Nehru's assurance given in the Parliament; is it right?
Though Anna occasionally used Vadamozhi (Sanskrit) words (which, as said by himself, he had to use inevitably owing to the influence of 'Manipravalanadai' on him during his student days)\(^7\), generally, he wanted to use good Tamil words. He introduced many pure Tamil words which had been in common use earlier.\(^8\) To cite a few examples,

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vadamoli words</th>
<th>Tamil words</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Namaskaram</td>
<td>Vanakkam</td>
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<td>Ganam</td>
<td>Manbumigu</td>
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<td>Kariyatharisi</td>
<td>Seyalar</td>
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<td>Upanyasam</td>
<td>Sorpolivu</td>
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<td>Abetchagar</td>
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<td>Thavasi</td>
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<td>Lok Sabha</td>
<td>Nadamandram</td>
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Anna was fond of using the word '\textit{Thalaimuthu}',\(^9\)
(‘Nānarintha Varayil’) 'to my knowledge' in the course of his speeches. This shows the inherent humility which was in him.

Anna's English speeches reveal that he was as proficient in using the English language very effectively, as he was in Tamil.

In his choice of Diction Anna adhered to the principle of preferring short words to long, concrete to abstract, and familiar to the far-fetched and unfamiliar one. The following sentence shows that his use of short and familiar words give all the force necessary to the ideas that the sentences were intended to convey:

This country consists, as the late Prime Minister has stated in this very august House, of different ethnic elements and different linguistic groups. It is only unity within this diversity that we should arrive at, and not by destroying the fine niceties of this diversity, mistaking uniformity for unity. May I ask members of this House and the Prime Minister whether language alone is the cementing force needed for the unity of this country? Is it language
alone that stands as a handicap to the unity? Certainly not. There are regional imbalances, there are regional leanings, there are linguistic leanings. All these things have got to be bridged if you want to have a sort of unity without uniformity for this country.

Rhetorical devices (Figures of Speech)

Anna's use of figures of speech in his speeches and writings add beauty and force to his Tamil and English Prose.

Referring to rich men who always think about themselves and never look at others' sufferings Anna says,

* People who are in a state of having acquired wealth and lost virtues are like mercury coated glass.

At the Budget Session, as a member of the opposite party in Tamil Nadu Assembly, referring to the grant of relief from taxation in the Budget under discussion, while there were heavy taxation on earlier occasions, he said,
Anna meant by 'Adiyāl' (Adiyāl meaning a blow) the heavy taxation and by 'Thalumbu' (Thalumbu meaning a scar) the permanent suffering of the people caused by heavy taxation.

By employing similes and metaphors in appropriate places Anna added beauty and force to his English speeches in the Parliament. Criticising Government's failure to prevent the increase in the number of wealthy people he says,

We find more and more cadillacs and more and more bungalows and more and more business houses. 84

The words 'Cadillacs', 'Bungalows' and 'Business houses' stand for the rich people.

* The reason for the Finance Minister's gesture of not levying taxes, is in my opinion to avoid another blow on the scar which was caused by the earlier blows and which is still fresh.
Charging that the administration in Delhi remained unconcerned with the suffering of the poor and was satisfied with entertaining foreigners at the capital, he says:

There is no sense in relying on Delhi and sitting idle at home. In Delhi there flows not only the Jamuna, but also the rivers of wine and liquor. Friends from abroad, coming to Delhi close their eyes in amazement and wonder whether they are in the Indian capital or in their own city of Paris or London.

The 'rivers of wine and liquor' stand for the innumerable dinner and entertainment programmes held at the capital, with total indifference to the conditions of the poverty-striken people in the country.

Referring to the unsympathetic attitude of the then Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, M. Bhaktavatsalam, to the Anti-Hindi agitation in Tamil Nadu, Anna in the Rajya Sabha said,

Mr. Bhaktavatsalam stood like a rock indeed, immovable, not moving, with no feelings, he was stony, he stood like a rock when all around him there was weeping and wailing and shooting, when widows wept for their fallen
husbands, when mothers wept for their sons who were shot down dead. 86

Anna used rhetorical questions very effectively both in his Tamil and English speeches. To cite a few examples,

* The Queen rules over England today. The communist party there in its meeting has passed a resolution demanding the abolition of the rule by the Queen. They enjoy the Democratic liberty to the extent that they could assemble in the meeting place in front of the Queen's palace itself and speak for the abolition of the rule by the Queen. What Democratic liberty that is not found in other countries, have you given to us?
Pleading for lifting Emergency and the D.I.R.,
he said in the Rajya Sabha:

Have we not seen the whole nation
rising as one man forgetting all
differences of opinion, giving up
even agitations, when this country
was confronted with danger? Why
are they apprehensive of their own
people? Why should they distrust
the people of the land when they
demonstrated amply and nobly that
they can stand up if this country
is confronted with danger? 89

Speaking on the language issue Anna said,

May I ask members of this House and
the Prime Minister whether language
alone is the cementing force needed
for the unity of this country? Is
it language alone that stands as a
handicap to that unity? 90

** When the Maharastrians clamoured for the grant
of a separate state for them did Pandit Nehru readily
agree to grant? When the Andhras agitated for the
formation of Andhra separate from Tamil Nadu, did he
say 'yes' and did he readily grant the separate state?
Anna apparently meant that there were other factors like economic imbalances between Northern and Southern States which should be first remedied for shedding of fear and suspicion and moving towards national unity.

Sentence Structure

Anna's study of the masters of English prose enabled him to employ periodic and balanced sentences, which are the essential constituents of the persuasive discourse, in his political speeches and writings which were intended to propagate the principles for which his party stood.

Periodic Sentences

* In our country we divide the people not only into two categories the politically experienced and the politically inexperienced or to put it in pure Tamil, the intelligent and ignorant, but it is also regarded that there is a category totally devoid of sense.
Balanced Sentences

* There is no hammer to break a rock. Just like using one's hand as a hammer and breaking a rock by hitting it by hand, unmindful of the bleeding, the Kazhagam front has achieved success against the despotic Congress, despite lack of adequate facilities.

** While boiling milk we restrict the fire; while boiling the pulse we kindle the fire.

*** Fowls are covered with a basket; calves are tied with a rope.

Anna's introduction of periodic and balanced sentences in his English speech in the Rajya Sabha also add vigour to them. To cite a few examples,
Periodic Sentences

Be fine in your feeling, be golden in your heart and be statesmanlike at every step you take, because one step faultily taken by you will create a conflagration in this country.95

But when the people find the taxes mounting, the prices soaring, unemployment growing larger and larger in dimension, when they find that the present state of the Government is such that they cannot even provide the necessities of life, how do you expect the people to be enthusiastic about the plans?96

Balanced Sentence

I point out, Sir, that the strength of the Congress does not lie in itself; the strength of the Congress lies in the weakness of the opposition parties.97

The P.S.P. argues for restricting the communists; the communists argue for restricting the Jana Sangh.98

The above examples also show that the principles of unity, coherence and emphasis have also been observed by Anna in both his Tamil and English sentences.
Paragraph Structure

Anna observed the principles of unity, coherence and emphasis in the construction of his paragraphs in his speeches and writings, both in Tamil and English. A few paragraphs both in Tamil and English are cited as illustrations,

* The more water is added to the milk the more it gets adulterated. If we look at it, it appears as white as milk. But the true nature of it is revealed when it is boiled on the oven. Water will evaporate and milk only will remain. That will be the fate of the Congress. If there is defeat in the election it will be the end of it; the privileged rich the eyewinking aristocrats and the well groomed moneyed men would disappear leaving the Congress. The residue in the Congress will only be its loyal workers and pure Congress men.
Examples from his English speeches:

The language clause introduced in the constitution, though it may be an agreed solution was at best a compromise and in all compromises we have got every legitimate right for a reappraisal and rethinking. My friend was saying that as far as Hindi was concerned it was a settled fact that Hindi is to become the official language in 1965 and nobody could question it. No, Sir, that is not the case, because our
constitution is flexible, our political system is democratic and we have got every right to amend the constitution. 101

Opposing the Constitution Amendment Bill, 1963, which was intended to make any political party ineligible to contest the elections, if it pleaded for secession, Anna said,

I would appeal to the sponsor of this motion to drop it in the name of democracy, in the name of political decency, in the name of having abiding faith in the ability of the people to eschew evil. And if he is not able to free himself from the temptation completely, let me at least request him to defer consideration of this measure till the period of stresses and strains is over; controversies should be kept in the background. And if the sponsor of the measure is not able to comply even with that request, Madam Deputy Chairman, please allow me to register my protest against the ruling party's methods moves and measures. 102

By his distinctive choice of diction, his employment of figures of speech and his sentence and
paragraph structures, Anna has introduced a style which is unique. Dr. M. Ramalingam in his *Puthiya Urainadai* (New prose style) refers to Anna's Prose style as unique. 103

This unique prose style found in his speeches and writings won the admiration of great speakers, political leaders, writers and scholars.

Sir A. Ramasamy Mudaliar after listening to Anna's speeches said,

Annadurai, you alone will be my successor in the art of speaking in English. 104

Praising Anna, Rajaji said to the audience,

You listened to my speech first and then you listened to the speech of Sir A. Ramasamy Mudaliar, who is noted for his oratorical talents but Annadurai in his speech has excelled both of us. 105

The political leaders who were close associates of Anna have paid great tributes to him. Kalaignar M. Karunanidhi says

We are those who have derived immense gratification from the profound ideas
swirling and speeding along like waterfalls - not merely in Anna's Tamil speeches but in his English eloquence too.\textsuperscript{106}

Navalar V.R. Nedunchezhian says,

Anna set the tone for parliamentary debates at a high level where members found themselves free from party prejudices and predilections. It was not mere eloquence that attracted them. It was not mere diction but his dignity that earned their respect. Soon he came to be regarded as a leader of all India stature whose opinions on matters of public importance were listened to with attention and avidity.\textsuperscript{107}

Prof. K. Anbazhagan in his article "Anna - Our Beloved Leader" says,

Anna has been acknowledged as the morning star of Renaissance in Tamil language and literature.... It has been an accepted fact that in public speaking, debate or oratory he has won the unique honour of holding the first rank in Tamil Nadu. Even in the Legislature he has been noted for his high standard of discussion and has won a unique name of being the leader
of the party. As a speaker, writer, policy maker, party organiser and as an actor or dramatist he has no parallel in Tamil Nadu.  

A. Maraimalayan in his Perarignar Annavin Peruvazhvu pays tributes to Anna and mentions incidents which won him many laurels. He remarks that Anna won the admiration of the members of Parliament in his maiden speech as Burke did through his maiden speech in British Parliament.  

Anna introduced alliteration in his speech and he was called Alliteration Anna. In Tamil Nadu it was the first time people bought tickets to hear Anna's speeches in the D.M.K. Conference. To test his ability to speak extempore he was invited to give a talk at Annamalai University and just five minutes before he was scheduled to speak, the topic was announced as 'Artoram' (River side). Anna won the admiration of the audience by making a good speech. So also in a college in Madras he was asked to give a talk on 'No Topic' and he also did well. Referring to the occasion, when the title 'Arignar', was conferred on Anna, Maraimalaiyan says that Kalki Krishnamoorthy conferred the title of 'Arignar' on Anna appreciating his high intellectual calibre, which enabled him to
talk on different subjects without advance preparation, at a meeting which was presided over by Kalki, when the speakers invited to speak on those subjects could not turn up. Kalki conferred the title at the meeting itself and Anna from that day was known as 'Arignar Anna'.

On the day of the death of Anna, in The Hindu dated 3.2.1969 the Editor said, "An orator, persuasive writer, and astute politician, fast maturing into statesman, he was above all a nonconformist. Schooled in the social reform movement of his mentor E.V.Ramasamy Naicker, he spent all his life protesting against the decay that he and his followers believed had enveloped the once great Tamils. The meteoric rise of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam which he headed, from what appeared to be a communal mass movement to a potent political party that could ride to power in the state in the course of just three General Elections is surely a tribute to his leadership in the face of heavy odds. If ever a leader in this part of the country could be described as truly charismatic, it was Mr. Annadurai whose speeches cast a spell on the thousands of his followers who flocked to hear him and worshipped him as their guide, philosopher and friend, long before there was even a
remote possibility of his holding the reins of power".\textsuperscript{114}

V. Perumal, in his \textit{Glimpses of Tamil Culture} pays a fitting tribute to Anna: "It is undeniable truth that Mr. Annadurai was the father and pioneer in Tamil. He was a fluent orator of a high calibre capable of speaking on any extempore topic and holding the audience spell bound... Statistical evidences show that Mr. Annadurai stood first among the Indian leaders in attracting the largest audience. It should be mentioned that he was equally proficient and well in eloquence in English".\textsuperscript{115}

He further says, "He [\textit{Anna}] was an excellent writer of essays, short stories, plays, novels, film scripts, and tit-bits. His speeches and writings are characterised by beauty of expression, clarity of thought, brevity in diction, simplicity of style, intelligibility of language, sublimity of idea, nobility of purpose, velocity of appeal, modernity of approach, rationality in content, catholicity in character and universality in outlook. Euphonic alliteration and rhymes, appropriate and arresting similar humorous anecdotes and above all revolutionary thought are the special features of his
speeches and writings. From the point of view of the history of Tamil Literature and culture, the contribution of Mr.C.N.Annadurai can be considered as a significant Renaissance. His literary and intellectual contribution is a landmark in the history of Tamil culture.\textsuperscript{116}

V.Perumal remarks that Anna was a Statesman among Statesman and a scholar\textsuperscript{117} among statesman. He says that it is a matter of profound pleasure to record that the Yale University in U.S.A. has honoured Mr.C.N.Annadurai by conferring on him the Chubb Fellowship.\textsuperscript{118}

Dr.R.E.Asher (University of Edinburgh, Scotland) commenting on Anna's Tamil style and English style in his article "The Versatility of CNA", says, "To hear him [Anna] speak in public is an essential part of the education of anyone who is interested in understanding something about modern Tamil and in learning what the Tamil language is capable of. It is impossible to have any acquaintance with Tamil and Tamil Nadu for long without being aware of this. But what many of us who had been taught by our Tamil friends to appreciate the linguistic talents of Arignar Anna were not aware of, was his quite extraordinary mastery of English. Then came the second
International Conference - Seminar of Tamil studies, at the concluding session of which we were privileged to hear the Chief Minister speak in English. After this no delegate to the conference could fail to understand how he has gained such a following through his speeches in mother tongue. For this was a great performance, mingling humour with sentiment, wit with profundity in a way that no native speaker of English present on the occasion could have surpassed, or even equalled. Nor should the technical mastery displayed make us forget either the moderation of the views expressed or the sincerity with which they were put forward. There was no sign of the "extremist" that C.N.A. used occasionally to be reputed to be.119

Continuing further Dr.R.E.Asher says, "The essential feature of C.N.A.'s Tamil style, in fact, is his use of words and constructions that are appropriate for the context and for the occasion.... Anyone with sense of occasion must accept that nowadays formal speech before an audience demands the use of what, for want of a better description, one must call "pure" Tamil. It is part of the greatness of C.N.A. as a creative user of Tamil that he has appreciated this,
whilst at the same time acknowledging that there are contexts where this formal style would be entirely inappropriate.... Mr. Annadurai is an outstanding administrator and statesman. To achieve this standing and at the same time to make a contribution to one's literature (and C.N.A.'s speeches, as well as his more obviously "literary" endeavours, are an important contribution to Tamil literature) is very rare. There have, it is true, been examples in Britain, of Prime Ministers making a name for themselves as writers too (one thinks of Benjamin Disraeli and Winston Churchill among others) and there is the very special case of Jawaharlal Nehru in India. But such are few - and must commonly have mastered but one language". 120

Conclusion

The prose of both Edmund Burke and C.N. Annadurai belongs to the category of persuasive discourse, making emotional appeal with a view to winning over the audience or the reader, to the Speaker's point of view. In their choice of Diction they are significantly similar. They have never failed to put the right
word in the right place, which is quite essential for a good style. Both have employed rhetorical devices very skilfully. Their speeches and writings abound in similes and metaphors and rhetorical questions which give a picturesque impression of the points discussed to the readers and spectators. Both Burke and Anna very efficiently used periodic and balanced sentences which add great vigour to their persuasive prose. Unity, coherence and emphasis, the essential features of sentence and paragraph structures, have been admirably attended to by both Burke and Anna in the sentences and paragraphs of their prose. Both Burke and Anna through their distinctive choice of Diction, employment of figures of speech and other rhetorical devices and sentence and paragraph structures have introduced an individual and unique style in their respective languages, namely English and Tamil. Anna is also equally proficient in English as his Rajya Sabha speeches bear witness to it.
Certain English sentences of Anna clearly show that he had studied Burke with great devotion. Burke's sentence structures had so influenced Anna that he also used such types of sentences in his speeches. To cite an example, speaking in the Rajya Sabha opposing the Amendment Bill, 1963 intended to make any political party pleading for secession, ineligible to contest the election, Anna said,

Finally, I would appeal to the sponsor of this motion to drop it in the name of democracy, in the name of political decency, in the name of having abiding faith in the ability of the people to eschew evil.121

An example from Burke's speech would testify to the above observation. Making an appeal to the House of Lords in the impeachment of Warren Hastings, Burke said,

I impeach Warren Hastings Esq., of high crimes and misdemeanours. I impeach him in the name of the commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, whose parliamentary trust he has betrayed. I impeach him in the name of all the commons of Great Britain, whose national character he had dishonoured.
I impeach him in the name of the people in India, whose laws, rights and liberties he has subverted, whose properties he has destroyed, whose country he has laid waste and desolate. I impeach him in the name and by virtue of those eternal laws of justice which he has violated. I impeach him in the name of human nature itself, which he has cruelly outraged, injured and oppressed in both sexes, in every age, rank, situation and condition of life.
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