CHAPTER VI

TECHNIQUE AS DISCOVERY

Pāratitācaṇḍa fuses clarity, beauty, and truth in his poems as found in his mentor’s poetry (594). Mark Schorer in “Technique as discovery” substitutes technique for beauty, and subject matter for truth (387). A few narrative techniques adopted by Mckay and Pāratitācaṇḍa are compared in this chapter.

PATHETIC FALLACY

John Ruskin, who valued truth as a primary artistic criterion, coined the phrase pathetic fallacy to denote the attribution of human feelings to natural objects. According to the Dictionary of World Literature, pathetic fallacy is a type of personification, and the “usual meaning of the two terms that Ruskin wrings to special use makes many suppose that he is condemning, where he but characterizes.”

The DWLT observes that all the feelings attributed to nature produce in us a falseness in all our impressions of external things and hence the phrase pathetic fallacy.
In ancient Tamil poetics, such a personification known as *tarkurippēram* is included in the catalogue of *anikal-* embellishments.

In "Beneath the Yampy Shade", McKay describes two young Jamaican lovers and breaks the narration to introduce a pathetic fallacy:

De cockstones raise deir droopin' heads
To view her pretty feet.
De skellions trimble in deir beds,
Dey grudge our lub so sweet — *(DP 1:103)*

Here the human feelings attributed to cockstones (French beans), and skellions (non-bulbing onions) increase the amorous passion of the lovers and reveal the Jamaican poet's attitude towards nature.

In "My Mountain Home", the poet reiterates his longing to return home where his "wild ferns grow" and "weep" for him on Dawkin's Hill (125).

While describing the meeting of two lovers in another poem, the poet attributes human qualities to a petchary, a grey king-bird, which "laughs" and seems to guess the fate of the affair (73). In the end the lady deserts her lover to marry another man "wid a rile o' money" (73). In these poems, pathetic fallacy has been employed to involve nature in the personal feelings of man, such as love and longing for home.
In *Kuṭumpa Viṭakku*, a middle class housewife goes to the seashore and hears from the sea a revolutionary song and a slogan for the long life of people in equality (*PTK* 300). The description of stars as boils of the sky which spends the day looking at the hard labour of toilers has already been cited in the fourth chapter. The flow of river is described in another poem thus: Mother River marches, jingles on seeing the joy of children, and blesses the world to prosper (425).

The sun offers his golden light as his gift to a housewife who wakes up early and draws a beautiful *kōlam* (an artistic pattern drawn with rice powder) in front of her house (*PTK* 286). In *Iruṇṭa Viṭu*, the sun trembles on seeing an ugly *kōlam* drawn by a lazy, illiterate housewife (392). In *Tamilacciyan Katti* (Sword of Tamil Lady), nature weeps when a woman is raped (865).

From these examples it can be concluded that McKay uses the pathetic fallacy to highlight some personal emotions like love, while Pāratitācān employs it to illuminate certain public affairs like revolution, equality, plight of the proletariat, universal prosperity, evils of illiteracy, merits of literacy, and the plight of women.
EXTENDED IMAGE

Epic poets like Homer, Virgil, and Milton have successfully employed extended images to enhance the ceremonial quality of their styles, by developing the vehicle of the image far beyond its specific points of parallel to the tenor.

McKay uses this technique effectively in his standard English poems, but not in dialect verse. There are several references to trees in his poems. But the image of a tree becomes an extended image in "Like a Strong Tree", where the narrator expresses his ardent desire to live "in rich imperial growth":

Like a strong tree that in the virgin earth
Sends far its roots through rock and loam and clay,
And proudly thrives in rain or time of dearth,
When dry waves scare the rain-come sprites away;

(SP 45)

Two extended images found in "The Harlem Dancer" have already been cited in the third chapter. Observes McLeod: "Of McKay's lyrics many readers find this the most pleasing because of the extended metaphor of the 'proudly swaying palm', in the storm and the implicit superiority of the apparently inferior" (Masterpieces 429).
The evolution of an extended image can be found in "A Red flower". In the first stanza it is introduced:

Your lips are like a southern lily red,
Wet with soft rain-kisses of the night,
In which the brown bee buries deep its head,
When still the dawn's a silver sea of light

The single bee in the first stanza multiplies in the fourth:

Brown bees that murmur sounds of music rare,
That softly fall upon the languorous breeze
Wafting them gently on the quiet air
Among untended avenues of trees. (SP 94)

The conclusion of the poem expresses an erotic desire: "O were I hovering, a bee, to probe / Deep down within your scented heart, fair flower" (94).

Pāratitācan has also effectively employed several extended images. In Kuṭumpa Viḷaktu, for instance, the male protagonist is compared to an ancient Pāntiyan monarch — a patron of chaste Tamil who reigned in glory and passed away (PTK 289).

In another poem, the archetypal valour that rises up in a Tamil peasant's heart on hearing the news of Hitler's
their nature: Edward Knowell, Brainworm, George Downright, Wellbred, Justice Clement, Roger Formal, and Andrew Undershaft.

Manu prescribes some guidelines for caste-based naming. A “pirāmaṇaṇ” should add the suffix “carman” to show his superiority, a “cattiriyan”. “varman” to denote strength, a “vaiciyan”, “pupati” to mark prosperity, and a “cūttiran” “tācan” to reveal slavery (Tamilnāṭan 30).

Pāratitācaṇ has given his reasons for choosing his pen-name, since it may be interpreted either as the “slave” or “follower” of Pāratiyār. In fact, he was criticized for adopting such a name when he came under the influence of the Dravidian movement. To that he answered that very did Pāratiyār oppose casteism and by adopting that name he desired Tamil poets to write poems like his mentor on such themes in a simple style (qtd. in Mannar Mannan 97).

When Pāratitācaṇ began his poetic career, he was a government employee and the code of conduct did not allow him to publish poems in magazines; besides, he was a supporter of Gandhiji and an active participant in the Indian freedom movement. So he had to adopt several pen-names such as kirukkan, kiṉṭalkāran, etc to conceal his identity (Ilaṅkō 34).
McKay also used several pseudonyms for various reasons during his early literary career but gave them up later and used his own name. His early pen-name, Eli Edwards, was an "abbreviated, masculinized version of his mother's maiden name Hannah Ann Elizabeth Edwards (Cooper Rebel 26) and two of his sonnets were published under that *nom de plume*. McKay, then a waiter in a women's club, explained that he was a good enough waiter and did not "care to be discovered as a poet" there (*Long Way* 26).

Tyrone Tillery, however, gives another reason for that pseudonym and says that McKay, a published writer of some note in his native land, was fearful of rejection by American publishers. McKay signed most of his letters to Braithwaite written between 1916 and 1919 as "Rhonda Hope" (32). While in England, McKay had to face legal uncertainties and tension. There was a time-honoured tradition of using pseudonyms among European radicals. Many of his poems published in *Dreadnought* could be characterized as proletarian doggerel only. So he acknowledged only a few as his own. For his articles published in that journal, he used the names: Hugh Hope, E. Edwards, C E Edwards, Ness Edward, and Leon Lopez

Obviously, Pāratitācan's pen-names reflect his zeal for reforms in society and poetic style, and those of McKay reveal his personal affiliations.
The significance Pāratītācān attaches to names is obvious in a few of his characters. The lover in the cāral poem, for instance, is named Kuppan— a popular name of the common man in Tamil. The poet who champions the cause of the common man of this century, performs a hat trick when he names two more lovers in two different poems Kuppan and Cuppan (163, 125). In another poem a housewife, dull indeed is named "Maṇṇāṅkaṭṭi" (698), while her husband’s paramour calls herself "Ponnāṅkaṭṭi" (a bar of gold) (707). But in Amaiti, the protagonist who champions the cause of the poor and sacrifices his life also bears the name “Maṇṇāṅkaṭṭi”. This name, associated with the poor lower castes in Tamilnadu, is used in a derogatory sense by all. As though to point out that only deeds, and not birth-based caste, affix some significance to names, Pāratītācān suffixes this epilogue to Amaiti: Maṇṇāṅkaṭṭi embraced by the poor is “Ponnāṅkaṭṭi” (32).

In some instances, names also indicate the character of persons. In Pāṇṭiyān Paricū, the villain is named “Narakkaṇṇan” (Fox-eyed man), while the hero is “Vēlaṇ” (Lancer), and the heroine “Aṇṇam” (Swan). To ridicule a greedy astrologer-priest, a long funny name is given to him which literally means a stark like priest with eczema (PTK 699).

Certain names in Banana Bottom are explained in the novel itself by the author. The name of Jubliee, a town,
“originated with the ardent abolitionist, who to celebrate the Declaration of Emancipation christened the mission, The Jubilee Free Church. Before, it was a nameless Quashee appendage of the Goldenrun estate” (19). While describing a picnic arranged at Table Top, the author explains the origin of that name: “So was called the plateau at the top of Banana Bottom” (63).

There are several references to Indians in Banana Bottom who worked as indentured labourers on sugar plantations. They were called coolies— which means ‘wage-earners’ in Tamil. But it was used in a derogatory sense by the whites. The South African whites, for instance, had called Gandhiji a coolie barrister. In Banana Bottom, the loin-cloth worn by the Indians is named “coolie wrapper” by the blacks in the villages, and the cloth worn by Indian women to cover their hair “coolie red”. (30)

Another woman character in that novel is named Yoni which is explained by the author in full. Yoni’s mother Lizzie who works on an estate has contacts with several Indian coolies there. Failing to identify the child’s father, she wants to give “a real uncommon name” and “Yoni” - which means “womb” is suggested by an Indian. But the village girls call her “coolie gal” since her hair is straight and firm like horse mane and they think that her father is really an Indian. But this is denied by the mother who explains that
the Indians who used to visit her house have left an impression upon her, resulting in the "miracle" of Yoni (65). These names used by McKay reveal the personal lives of the blacks and the Indians.

Certain other names of McKay's characters reveal their significance on a close study only. Felice is the black girl Jakes meets in the beginning of *Home to Harlem*. Later he loses track of her. Translated from the Spanish, her name signifies joy or happiness. If this is understood, the symbolic meaning of the novel will become clear to the reader: Jake goes in search of happiness, finds it and enjoys it for a short time, but misses it, and again goes in search of it.

McKay has named Ray after a friend. Jake names his son Ray, expresses his great desire to give him good education, and hopes that he will write poems like Ray. This shows that certain names express the hopes and aspirations of their parents. A West Indian mother follows a strange method of christening her children. She takes names from the labels of cases she comes across in the British mission where she works as a cook. Accordingly, she names her son Buchanan Malt Avis. The villagers drop Buchanan, retain Malt, but slightly modify it as Malty. His pal is named Ginger, as a tribute to his make-up. Explains McKay: "Whether you thought of ginger as a tuber in
reddish tropical soil, or as a preserved root, or as the Jamaican liquid, it reminded oddly of him" (Banjo 5)

A few characters of McKay are known by their nicknames only. A descendant of a strange Scotchman is called Crazy Bow. A piano in the school makes him crazy and he teaches himself to play it, which knocks everything else out of his head. The school master calls him "a coloured Paganini" (BB 8). Since there is no other piano in the hills, fiddle becomes his favourite instrument later. He cannot keep one for himself, but plays all the village fiddles. So the villagers accept his "harmless insanity" and call him "Crazy Bow" (6).

Another character in Banana Bottom is known only by his nickname Hopping Dick. He acquires that from his curious habit "of stepping hoppingly like a bird called Hopping Dick" (39). The only son of Malcolm Craig, the white missionary, is a crippled idiot called by natives Patou, which is indeed the dialect word for the screech owl, for he will suddenly make "an eerie noise like a screech owl"(27).

Both the poets under study have given additional importance to the names of certain characters in their works. The significance attached to such names in Paratitācan is implicit, whereas it is both implicit and explicit in McKay.
CHIAROSCURO

Chiaroscuro (CT) is a technique in which light and shade represented in painting the opposites such as brightness and gloom, hope and despair are mingled in writing (DWL 89). The development of perspective and modelling in "light and shadow" replaced the medieval "overall brightness" during the European renaissance ("Renaissance art"). Writers sometime borrow the technique and the jargon of other arts also. Accordingly, John Fletcher refers to comparable techniques adopted by Daumier the cartoonist and Swift the satirist. Flaubert is said to "zoom" on the Tetrarch's palace at the beginning of Herodias. The influence of Laurel and Hardy on Beckett's Waiting for Godot is noteworthy (Fletcher 127-28).

The acquaintance of the poets under study with the art of painting is well documented in their biographies and literary works. McKay has posed naked for a painter during his expatriate years in Europe. Images from the world of painting are found in his poems. In "Heritage", he says, "I have no tinted thought to paint you true" (SP 29). He also makes a specific reference to Goya, a Spanish painter known for his realistic portraits and etchings filled with mordant social satires, in his description of Barcelona: "The creatures of the shadows of the walls, / Gray like the savage caricatures of Goya" (SP 85). Pāratitācan was an amateur painter and there are several references in his
biographies to the sketches drawn by him (Mannar Mannan 420-23, Ponnaṭiyān 77-80). His description of a roadside painter has already been cited in the preceding chapters.

The CT can be traced in the works of the poets under study. McKay paints Barcelona thus: “Watching until the tender twilight hours, / Its motion cradling soft a silver fleet. / Or far descend from underneath the stars” (SP 85). These references to “The tender twilight hours”, “a silver fleet”, and “the shadows of the walls” and “gray” form a chiaroscuro effect.

So it can be concluded that both the poets under comparison were familiar with painters and their art.

In “Spring in New Hampshire”, already mentioned in the fourth chapter, the poet regrets:

Too wonderful the April night,
Too faintly sweet the first May flowers,
The stars too gloriously bright,
For me to spend the evening hours
When fields are fresh and streams are leaping
Wearied, exhausted, dully sleeping (SP 15)

The picture of the black prostitutes of Harlem, already mentioned in the preceding chapter, is painted thus: “Ah,
little dark girls who in slippered feet / Go prowling through the night from street to street", until "the silver break" (SP 60).

In the first poem the tired window cleaner who spends the evening hours indoors gets some relief from the monotony of his work when he thinks of the night and the stars. In the second poem, the narrator expresses his sympathy for the black girls who are destined to walk the streets from dusk to dawn. The CT is used in these poems to portray black life outdoors and indoors.

The CT is also used to reveal the racial attitudes of the poet. Addressing the white fiends, the narrator asks whether he is "...not Afric's son / Black of that black land where 'black deeds are done". But the Almighty draws his soul from the darkness and says "Even thou shalt be a light ... / To show thy little lamp: go forth, go forth" (SP 38)

Dawn does not always bring hope for the blacks, as evidenced in a lynching incident already cited in the preceding chapters. The light and the shadow in the description of the scene enhances the tragic appeal. A "bright and solitary star" hung all night "pitifully o'er the swinging char". After dawn "the mixed crowds came to view / The ghastly body swaying in the sun" (SP 37)

Africa, wrongly labelled by white historians as the dark continent, shines in its primitive and pristine glory
"The sun sought her "dim bed and brought forth light."
When all the world was young in pregnant night her "slaves toiled" at her "monumental best" (SP 40).
This sonnet begins and ends with the sun while darkness is sandwiched between them.

McKay does not stop with painting a picture of Harlem alone. His ideal of universal brotherhood is brought to light in "In Bondage", in which he expresses his desire to wander in distant fields "where man, and bird, and beast lives (sic) leisurely". Life, in spite of the wars, will remain "like the eternal stars, / when all that shines to-day is drift and dust" (SP 39). But the poet regrets that he is bound with other blacks in their "mean graves" (39). Here wars and graves stand for darkness and gloom between which life shines like the eternal stars. McKay's anti-war propaganda is painted using the light and shadow technique.

McKay has used the CT to enhance the nostalgic appeal of some poems. For instance, "When dawn comes to the city" has a pattern of repetition. The references to the "dull stars" in the first stanza which became "dying stars" in the third have already been made in an earlier chapter.

The lines in the third stanza are repeated in the fifth without any change and in the last lines of both the poet expresses the hope "There would I be at dawn" (SP 62-63). Repetition here produces the effect of refrain and signifies
the poet’s optimism which is highlighted by the CT. In “I know My Soul” (SP 56) also, the CT is used to emphasize the poet’s optimism.

In another nature poem, McKay asks the Spanish Needle, the dear plant of his childhood: “In your far-off sunny south land / Do you dream of me to-night?” (SP 24). Here the CT highlights nostalgia and pathetic fallacy.

While analysing Pāratiyār’s “Olīyum Iruḷum”, N. Cupramanian refers to the use of light and darkness by mystics to express their spiritual joy and despair and observes that the poet “transcendentalises the all pervading sunlight and attributes it to the omnipresence of god” (112). But Pāratitācan does not attribute any spiritual connotation to light and darkness in his poems.

While employing the CT to portray the plight of workers, Pāratitācan mixes another shade of darkness—the colours of caste system. He also goes back to the primitive days and asks a rhetorical question:

Who turned topsy-turvey
The past darkness of the world
And made the world
Beautiful and comfortable?
Had the present day four colour been there
Only darkness would have advanced (141)

In another song the poet praises unions and says that new demands will fill the heart like the rising moon "Even those penury afflicted / And fallen into pits dark and deep / Unions could light their hearts" (Murukan 212)

In "Penñukku Niti" (Justice for Women) Pāratitācan advises unmarried women to visit the sea shore in the evening and also villages on the banks of a mighty river where the morning sun sheds light (188)

In "Tirāviţar Tiruppāţal" (Holy song of the Dravidians), the CT is used to rouse the feelings of Tamils to oppose linguistic domination. Darkness is compared to a crow's neck and the spreading of light is described as follows. The sun melts gold and spreads it across the wide sky. The intermingling of light and darkness is portrayed thus. Like golden thread through blue robe / The young sun is making beautiful things / Spreading rays through darkness (731)

In "Putuneri kāṭṭiya Pulavan" (Scholar who showed new direction), Pāratitācan gives a short history of Tamil literature before the advent of Pāratiyār and describes him as the moon that came singing to awaken the people long asleep (588).
The other poems in which the CT is used may be divided into poems on love and nature. In a love song lovers meet in a dark place, where the lover poses a riddle: Why does the moon shine in the invading darkness? The lady answers that there is not even a bit of moon in the sky. Then he kisses her cool face (775). In "Purāṭcik kavi" the lover states that he was in the dark and the light of her beauty struck him like a thousand milky moons (138).

While describing sun-set, several Tamil poets observe that the sun falls into the western sea. But Pāratītāçān writes that this world falls slowly into the dark black sea. But the darkness which hides the picturesque scenes in four directions cannot hide the beautiful damsel who shines in his mind. Finally, the poet avers that external darkness is conquered by the luminous lady—the personification of poetry who transcends his power of composition (167-68).

In another poem, a lover who sees the world, the sky, and the directions growing dusky asks: "Did the darkness intense then burst into laughter? / And are you O moon a pearl dazzling this laughter issued" (Murukan 234). In yet another poem, the morning is described as the "Blue jewelled dark morning" and the gradual appearance of light is linked with creativity: The morning blossomed and poetry blossomed (596).
As in architecture, the intensity of light in literature may be linked with the climate. McKay once met Bernard Shaw and listened to his enthusiastic appraisal of the architechtonic beauty of cathedrals. He was familiar with the cathedrals in Europe and he has written a poem on St Isaac's Church, Petrograd \((SP \ 84)\). But he deviates from the European tradition and adopts the CT in his poetry though he has chosen the sonnet form from Europe. The reason for this may be traced to his Jamaican origin and his nostalgia for his tropical nativity.

The darkest patch in McKay's poetry is "The Desolate City" in which he says that his spirit is a pestilential city. There are "ebon-gloom" and "jet-gloom" patches. Even the "green-eyed moths of curious design / With gold-black wings" are "rarely silver dotted" \((SP \ 5^c)\).

Pāratitācan mixes light and shade even in his darkest patch Iru'[a Vītu. McKay deals with a personal problem in his darkest patch, whereas Pāratitācan analyses a social problem—the gloomy ignorance of the common folks. In the works of both the poets the interplay of light and shadow reveals unfamiliar aspects of familiar objects.
Poets conscious of their art and artistic techniques are careful in their choice of form and words and oppose any external interference. McKay's angry reaction to Alain Locke's editorial arrogance, and Páratitán's refusal to follow the dictates of an editor have been analysed elsewhere in this dissertation.

When McKay started writing his American poems, he was not affected by new poetry and new criticism. He dropped the use of dialect altogether, adopted standard English, and chose the traditional sonnet form. In an age of stylistic experiments and innovations, he clung devotedly to conventional forms. Through these older forms, as Cooper has pointed out, "he conveyed a startlingly bitter and essentially modern message of despair, alienation and rebellion" (*Passion* 8).

The sonnet was peculiarly adaptable to McKay's taste and ability. The poet's talent was diversified, but this form with its rise and fall seemed quite the thing for the thought he wished to convey. "America", "If We Must Die" and "The Lynching" are the sonnets that bear out this idea. McKay attempted to portray the spirit of the modern blacks in a lofty manner. Showing no self-indulgence, he instinctively sought the discipline of the sonnet. The classical form is effectively used to heighten rather than
mitigate the intensity of expression. "Harlem Shadows" can be cited as the example of a sonnet in which fierce emotions are expressed directly. The street walkers in this poem are not figures of contempt or reproach but metaphors of the black condition. McKay freed black poetry from the confines of the grand style, and democratized it by making common man the object of poetic concern, though he used the traditional sonnet form.

Like McKay, Pāratitācan also used traditional verse forms like venpā, āciriyappā, kalippā, viruttam, and folk forms like cintu.

During the active period of Pāratitācan's poetic career, poets like Nā. Piccamūrți were also active in Tamil Putukkavitai iyakkam, (verse-libre movement). But Pāratitācan was not affected or influenced by that movement since he believed that Tamil poems should be written according to the rules of prosody. He even started teaching Tamil prosody through his magazine Kuyil.

Āciriyappā with flexible rules regarding the length and number of lines, alliteration, rhyme etc., which may be equated with the blank verse, was used effectively by Pāratitācan in books like Iruṇṭa Viṭu, and Kutumpa Viḻakkku. But later when he re-created classics like Maṇimēkalai and Cilappatikāram, as Maṇimēkalai Venpā and Kannaki Puraṭcik Kāppiyam he used venpā and viruttam. Since
*venpā* is a rigid verse form like sonnet. *Pāratitācaха* has given commentaries on his poems in *Maṇimēkalai Venpā*. In his foreword to that book, he says that it is not possible to write that work in simple style to the extent desired because of the *venpā* metre chosen by him. Although *venpā* has only four lines, the poet's commentaries run to several lines, which are used to propagate his principles of rationalism. His commentary on *Amutacurapi* can be taken as an instance.

The myth of *Amutacurapi* is found in the ancient Tamil classic *Maṇimēkalai* which describes it as an inexhaustible source of food used by Maṇimēkalai for feeding the poor *Pāratitācaха*, who supported the rising spirit of democracy and rationalism. He wanted to do away with the idea of divinity attached to charity and introduce societal participation. So, in *Maṇimēkalai Venpā*, he says that people used to offer food in *Amutacurapi* which was then distributed by Maṇimēkalai to the poor. This point is elaborated by the poet in his commentary that it is not true to say that *Amutacurapi* is an inexhaustible source of food. The legendary vessel with supernatural powers has been turned into a collection pot in accordance with the ideals of rationalism propagated by the poet (112).

McKay's *Songs of Jamaica* and *Constab Ballads* contain footnotes and comments, mostly in the form of
Poets in Harlem and Tamilnadu tried to establish their racial identities even while responding to experimentation in verse. Charles T. Davis says that the black poets "accepted the revolution in American verse occurring after 1912 (the date of the founding of *Poetry: A Magazine of Verse*) more gradually and selectively, partially because of their preoccupation with blackness" (24-25). Pāratiyār was influenced by Whitman and wrote vacana kavi, prose verse *Putukkavitai iyaikkam*, was active in Tamilnadu when Pāratitācaṅ wrote his epics in traditional forms, but he was not influenced by that because of his preoccupation with the Pure-Tamil movement.

Black poets of the Harlem renaissance were criticized for choosing conventional verse forms though their themes were revolutionary.

McKay has chosen the sonnet form, and his mastery of the sonnet is a thing of beauty, and in "If We Must Die", one can see that beauty at work. This Western form was introduced to Tamil in 1901, when V.K. Cūrya Nārāyaṇa Cāstiriyār published forty-one Tamil sonnets along with their English translations by Rev. G.U. Pope under the title *Tanip Pācurat Tokai*. Pāratiyār also has written a few sonnets in Tamil. Although Pāratitācaṅ has not written sonnets, he has composed an epic in venpā metre during his last period.
Both the poets under study chose classical forms though they were well exposed to modern experiments in verse forms, since they loved the discipline of traditional prosody. Further, McKay was preoccupied with blackness, whereas Pāratitācan was engaged in the Pure Tamil movement.