

description of structure and usages of absolutes attested in the Jātākā tales with illustrations.

5 Chapter - Complex predicates

5.1 Vector verbs

This sub topic includes general remarks on vector verbs, the definitions given by scholars on the topic, a brief history of the development of the vector verbs in Sinhalese, the distribution of vector verbs in Sinhalese and detailed description of structure and usages of vector verbs attested in the Jātākā tales with illustrations.

5.2 Conjunct verbs

This sub topic includes general remarks on conjunct verbs, the definitions given by scholars, a brief history of the development of the conjunct verbs up to classical Sinhalese, the distribution of conjunct verbs in Sinhalese and the detailed description of structure and usages of conjunct verbs attested in the Jātākā tales with illustrations.

2. Chapter - Tense, Aspect and Mood in Sinhalese

2.1. Tense in Sinhalese

The old Indo-Aryan language Sanskrit has special/modified tenses and general/unmodified tenses (Muller 1866:192) or eight tenses with four way systems (Whitney 1962:201-202). Middle Indo-Aryan language Pāli has four special and four general tenses (Frankfurter 1883:53, Muller 1884:96, Minayeff 1990:112). But the New Indo Aryan language such as Sinhalese has only two way system of tense (Gair 1970:33, Comrie 1987:49, Masica 1991:284). The future tense which was an important feature of Old Indo Aryan disappeared in Sinhalese (Geiger 1938:133). Only the past and the non-past distinction remain. According to traditional grammar there are three tenses (past, present and future) in Sinhalese (Alwis 1852:55-57). But functionally, present and future overlap (Paranavitana 1956a:cxxxviii-ix, Comrie 1987:44). Therefore these two tenses are treated as non-past (Munidasa 1958:234, 1999:4, Comrie 1987:44).

2.1.1. Past tense

The organization of this sub-topic is as given below.

2.1.1.1 includes general remarks on past verbs. This is followed by a brief history of the development of the past verbs in classical Sinhalese in 2.1.1.2. The different types of verbal paradigms are mentioned under the 2.1.1.3. The morphophonemic rules which are identified in the formation of past verbs are given in 2.1.1.4. A detailed description of structure and usages of past verbs attested in the Jātākā tales with illustrations includes in 2.1.1.5.

2.1.1.1. General remarks

- i. The formation of past verbal forms is more complex than the non-past verbal formations. The suffixes which connect with the past verbs mostly undergo several changes because of phonetic processes. These include lengthening, shortening, syncope, apocope, augment, substitution, umlaut, assimilation of vowels, and gemination of intervocalic consonants.
- ii. The plural verbal forms in the past show agreement for singular subject of feminine gender. It is a rule of traditional standard grammar in Sinhalese. This agreement occurs only with the past plural verbs but not with the present or the future plural forms (see 2.1.2.2.1.i).

- iii. The verbal forms of Sinhalese do not show agreement for gender except the past and the future forms of III.SG. (PRES., PST/FUT. III.PL., & I.II.SG. & PL. in Sinhalese do not show agreement for gender.)
- iv. The past participle forms are normally used as past verbs in III.SG. and PL. with or without particle. They imply singular meaning without particle and plural meaning with particle. Here the particle is ‘-hə’.
1. baṭə ‘descend-III.PST.SG.’ (P.400⁶) (bas-ə > baṭ-ə)
 2. baṭəhə ‘descend-III.PST.PL.’ (P. 325²⁵) (bas-ə-hə > baṭ-ə-hə)
 3. haḷə ‘release-III.PST.SG.’ (P. 376⁸) (harə > haḷə)
 4. haḷəhə ‘give up-III.PST.PL.’ (P. 283²⁸) (harə-hə > haḷə-hə)

2.1.1.2. A brief history of the development of the past verbs

- i. There are some forms of paradigm in Sigiri graffiti which observe the conjugation pattern of past verbs in the Medieval Sinhalese era. The verbal forms in the past tense active voice are mentioned below (Paranavitana 1956a/1956b).

| | Singular | Plural |
|------------|---|--|
| I | bəlimi (No.577), bəlīmi ‘look’ (No.286), lītim ‘write’ (No.92), keḷem ‘do’ (No.75) | bəlīmo (1956a:cxxxiv), bəlummo (No.636), bəlūmo ‘look’ (No.560), jatmo (No.68), jattəmo (No.250), jatumaha (No.5), jattəmahaha ‘know’ (No.338) |
| II | vihi ‘become’ (No.542), avəhi ‘come’ (No.475) | vuyuvəhə ‘become’ (No.415), giyəhu ‘go’ (No.664) |
| III | bəlī ‘look’ (No.167), viyi (No.653), vuyu (No.625), vū ‘become’ (No.558), dat (No.611), datə (No.363), datu ‘know’ (No.574), keḷe (No.50), keḷei (1956a:cxxxiv), keḷeyi ‘do’ (1956a:cxxxiv) | bəliyo ‘look’ (No.31), vū ‘become’ (No.558), kəḷəhu ‘do’ (No.570), jattəyuhu ‘know’ (No.253) |

Table 2.1 Past verbs in Sigiri graffiti

- ii. The past forms which belong to Medieval Sinhalese era are found in inscriptions pointing out the gradual development of the language. Some of them are

mentioned below. *dunmāhā* ‘grant-I.PST.PL.’ is found in Raṃbāvēṇā pillar inscription of king Ab^hāyā Salāmevan (880-891 A. D.) (Wickramasinghe 1912:174D¹⁶), *tābāvēvūhā* ‘enact-III.PST.CAUS.PL.’ is seen in Anurād^hāpura slab inscription of king Kassāpā-V (929-39 A. D.) (ibid 47¹⁴), *hindvūmāhā* ‘set up-I.PST.PL.’ is used in Kirigallāvēṇā pillar inscription of king Udāyā-I (952-63 A. D.) (Wickramasinghe 1928:4D⁴⁻⁵), and *dunmo* ‘give-I.PST.PL.’ is found in inscription written on stone canoe in 10th c. A. D. (Wickramasinghe 1933:132⁶). The above forms and the Jātākā forms mostly use the same suffixes to build the past verbal forms. We found several usages which have past suffixes with future meaning in inscriptions. *meyāṭ ākulā kālā kenek raṭā vāssan kālā akusal gattāhā* ‘those who violate this shall take (upon themselves) the sins committed by (all) the inhabitants of the land’ is found in the inscription on stone canoe written in 10th c. A. D. (Wickramasinghe 1933:132⁶⁻⁹), *meyāṭ avul kālā kenek kavuḍu balu vūvāhāyi* ‘Whoever commits infringement of this (edict) shall be (born) a crow or a dog (in the future birth)’ is seen in Raṃbāvēṇā slab inscription written by Mahindā-IV (1026-42 A. D.) (Wickramasinghe 1928:68³⁹), and *meṭā virudd^hāyāk kālāmo nam tunuruvan āgnā mākuvamhā, narākāyen muktā novūvamhā* ‘Were we to do anything contrary to this (agreement), we shall be as if we had transgressed the command of the Three Gems. We shall (also) never be delivered from hell’ is stated in Saṅgamu Vihārā rock inscription of kings Gajābāhu-II (1137-53 A. D.) and Parākrāmābāhu-I (1153-86 A. D.) (Wickramasinghe 1934:7¹²⁻¹⁴). The verbs such as *gattāhā* ‘take-III.PST.PL.’ (Aməramōli 1961:130¹⁹) (gan-ā-hā > gat-ā-hā > gatt-āhā), and *vūvāhā* ‘be-III.PST.PL.’ (ibid 228⁶) (vā-ūvā-hā) which are mentioned in inscriptions and Jātākā tales have same grammatical features. But they give different meanings according to context. Some other past forms used in inscriptions which are not found in Jātākā tales are as follows: *mākuvamhā* ‘transgress-I.PST.PL.’ and *vūvamhā* ‘be-I.PST.PL.’ are past forms but used to convey future happening. The other inscriptions that convey the aforesaid idea normally use the imperative, optative or future verbs. The examples are given below. *kavuḍu balu vānu* ‘be a dog or a crow’ ‘be-II.IMP.SG.’ is used in Kirigallāvēṇā pillar inscription of king Udāyā-I (952-63 A. D.) (Wickramasinghe 1928:4D¹²), *kavuḍu balu vetvā* ‘may they become crows or dogs (in their future births)’

‘become-III.PRES.OPT.PL.’ is found in Morəgodə pillar inscription of king Kassəpə-IV (963-80 A. D.) (Wickramasinghe 1912:205D²¹⁻²²), and *maha mete budurədayehi nūpədanāhə* ‘They will not be born in the kingdom of the Great Maitrēyə the Budd^hə’ (generate-III.FUT.PL.) is seen in Eppāvələ inscription written in 10th c. A. D. (Wickramasinghe 1933:190²⁰⁻²¹). It is easy to identify the evolution of past verbs in Sinhalese because above forms are listed chronologically.

- iii. The Sidat Saṅgəṛāvə mentions several suffixes to conjugate the past verbal forms (Alwis 1852:55-57). They are as follows:

| | Singular | Plural |
|------------|-----------------|---|
| I | -em, -mi | -mu |
| II | -ehi | -ehu |
| III | -ē, -i, -ī, -u | -ū, -ūha, -ūhu, -ō, -hə, -hu, -un, -unhə, -unhu |

Table 2.2 Past suffixes used in Sidat Saṅgəṛāvə

- iv. According to Geiger there are two stems namely present stem and preterite stem in Sinhalese. “(The preterite stem) ends in ‘u’ in conj.-I, in ‘i’ in conj.-II, in ‘uṇu’ in conj.-III. eg. *bælu* ‘look’, *bædi* ‘fry’, *penuṇu* ‘appear’ ” (Geiger 1938:134).
- v. Past suffixes and D^hātu gaṇə (verbal groups) that have been given by Munidasa are mentioned below (Munidasa 1999:12).

| D^hātu gaṇə | Singular | Plural |
|------------------------------|-----------------|---------------|
| <i>balə</i> ‘look’ | -ī | -ū |
| <i>bamə</i> ‘rotate’ | -ī | -ū |
| <i>baṇə</i> ‘speak’ | -ī | -ū |
| <i>pihiṭə</i> ‘establish’ | -i | -i |
| <i>rak</i> ‘protect’ | -i | -i |
| <i>bas</i> ‘get down’ | -i | -u |

Table 2.3 D^hātu gaṇə and past suffixes

2.1.1.3. Different types of verbal paradigms of past

Several suffixes which are used to form past verbs in Sinhalese are mentioned here according to the examples quoted from Jātākā tales.

2.1.1.3.1. Suffixes used to form past active verbs

| | Singular | Plural |
|------------|--|---|
| I | -imi, -inimi, -īmi, -ūyemi, -emi, -mi | -amhə, -imhə, -umhə, -ūmhə, -mhə |
| II | -ūvehi, -ehi | -hu(yə) |
| III | -ūvā(yə), -ē(yə), -ə -ā(yə), i(yə), -ī(yə), -iyē(yə), -uṇē(yə), -u(yə), -uvə, -ūyē(yə) | -ūvā(hə), -ūvāhu(yə), -ō(yə), -hə, -āhə, -āhu(yə), -iyāhu(yə), -uṇā(yə), -uṇāhu(yə), -u(yə), -ū(yə), -ū(hə) |

Table 2.4 Past suffixes used in Jātākā tales

2.1.1.3.2. Paradigm of past active forms

| | Singular | | Plural |
|---|---|---|---|
| | I | | I |
| 1 | diṭimi ‘see’ (P. 166 ³²) (dis-imi > diṭ-imi) | 1 | kə[amhə ‘do’ (P. 159 ¹⁹) (kərə-amhə > kə[ə-amhə) |
| 2 | vəḍḍinimi ‘grow’ (P. 167 ²¹) (vaḍḍ-inimi > vāḍḍ-inimi) | 2 | dakimhə ‘see’ (P.163 ¹⁴) (dak-imhə) |
| 3 | bālīmi ‘look’ (P. 161 ³¹) (balā-īmi > bālā-īmi) | 3 | ke[umhə ‘play’ (P. 151 ³) (ke[ə-umhə) |
| 4 | vūyemi ‘be’ (P. 157 ¹) (və-ūyemi) | 4 | vūmhə ‘be’ (P. 173 ⁴) (və-ūmhə) |
| 5 | kə[emi~ke[emi ‘do’ (P. 279 ³⁰) (P. 279 ²⁵) (kərə-emi > kə[ə-emi / kərə-emi > kə[ə-emi > ke[e-emi) | 5 | āmhə ‘come’ (P. 139 ²¹) (e-mhə > ā-mhə) |
| 6 | datmi ‘know’ (P. 131 ³⁶) (dan-mi > dat-mi) | | |

| II | | II | |
|------------|---|------------|---|
| 1 | vūvehi ‘be’ (P. 26 ¹¹) (və-ūvehi) | 1 | kə[ə]huyə ‘do’ (P. 21 ¹⁰) (kərə-hu-yə > kə[ə]-huyə) |
| 2 | ke[ə]hi ‘do’ (P. 13 ³⁵) (kərə-ehi > kə[ə]-ehi > kə[ə]hi > ke[ə]hi) | | |
| III | | III | |
| 1 | kə[ə]yā ‘do-F.’ (P. 153 ⁹) (kərə-ā-yə > kə[ə]-āyā) | 1 | kə[ə]hə ‘do’ (P. 223 ²²) (kərə-āhə > kə[ə]-āhə) |
| 2 | viyā ‘be’ (P. 143 ³⁰) (və-i-yə) | 2 | kə[ə]huyə ‘do’ (P. 201 ³²) (kərə-āhu-yə > kə[ə]-āhuyə) |
| 3 | bændīyā ‘tie-F.’ (P. 153 ⁵) (bañdā-ī-yə > bæñdā-īyā) | 3 | ke[ə]iyāhuyə ‘play’ (P. 151 ⁴) (ke[ə]-iyāhu-yə) |
| 4 | ke[ə]iyēyā ‘play’ (P. 151 ²) (ke[ə]-iyē-yā) | 4 | miduñāyā ¹ ‘release’ (P. 165 ²⁵) (mudə-uñā-yə > midə-uñāyā) |
| 5 | səñgəvunēyā ‘hide’ (P. 153 ¹⁴) (sañgə-uñē-yā > səñgə-uñēyā > səñgə-v-uñēyā) | 5 | nikmuñāhuyā ² ‘leave’ (P. 176 ¹⁷) (nikum-uñāhu-yə > nikm-uñāhuyā) |
| 6 | æñduyā ‘cry’ (P. 167 ¹) (añdā-u-yə > æñdā-uyā) | 6 | dattuyā ‘know’ (P. 148 ⁴¹) (dan-u-yə > dat-uyā > datt-uyā) |
| 7 | vuvā ‘be-F’ (P. 381 ³⁹) (və-uvā) | 7 | illūyā ‘request’ (P. 163 ³⁰) (illā-ū-yā) |
| 8 | visūyēyā ‘live’ (P. 152 ³⁴) (vasə-ūyē-yā > vas-ūyēyā > vis-ūyēyā) | 8 | tubūhā ‘keep’ (P. 136 ³¹) (tabə-ū-hā > tubə-ūhā) |
| 9 | yavūvāyā ‘send-F.’ (P. 156 ¹⁸) (yavə-ūvā-yā) | 9 | vūvāhā ‘be’ (P. 228 ⁶) (və-ūvā-hā) |
| 10 | upannēyā ‘born’ (P. 141 ²⁸) (upədā- ē-yā > upan-ēyā > upann-ēyā) | 10 | vūvāhuyā ‘be’ (P. 160 ¹⁵) (və-ūvāhu-yā) |
| 11 | (pa[ʈ]an) gatā ‘start-M.’ (P. 153 ⁶) (gan-ə > gat-ə) | 11 | giyōyā ‘go’ (P. 309 ⁵) (yā-ō-yā > gi-ōyā > gi-y-ōyā) |
| | | 12 | kə[ə]hə ‘do’ (P. 292 ¹²) (kərə-hə > kə[ə]-hə) |

Table 2.5 Past verbs used in Jātəkə tales

2.1.1.3.3. Suffixes used to form past passive verbs

| | Singular | Plural |
|------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| I | -emi | -umhə |
| II | -ehi | Suffixes not attested |
| III | -i, -ī, -ī(yə), -ē(yə), -ø | -āhu(yə), -hə, PST.PTCPL. HON.PTCLE. |

Table 2.6 Past passive suffixes used in Jātəkə tales

2.1.1.3.4. Paradigm of past passive forms

| | Singular | | Plural |
|---|---|---|---|
| | I | | I |
| 1 | (kərənə) laddemi ‘do’ (P. 154 ¹⁸) (labə-emi > ladə-emi > laddə-emi) | 1 | (pəharənə) ladumhə ‘beat’ (P. 30 ²⁷) (labə-umhə > ladə-umhə) |
| | II | | II |
| 1 | (kərənə) laddehi ‘do’ (P. 161 ³⁶) (labə-ehi > ladə-ehi > laddə-ehi) | | Forms not attested |
| | III | | III |
| 1 | (dakvənə) ladi ‘point out’ (P. 344 ²⁸) (labə-i > ladə-i) | 1 | (pamuṇuvənə) laddāhuyə ‘reach’ (P. 124 ²⁶) (labə-āhu-yə > ladə-āhuyə > laddə-āhuyə) |
| 2 | (denə) ladī ‘give’ (P. 27 ²) (labə-ī > ladə-ī) | 2 | (vadārənə) ladəhə ‘preach’ (P. 9 ¹⁶⁻¹⁷) (labə-hə > ladə-hə) |
| 3 | (harənə) laddīyə ‘abandon-F.’ (P. 292 ¹⁴) (labə-ī-yə > ladə-īyə > laddə-īyə) | 3 | (pavərənə) ladə sēkə ‘invite’ (P. 255 ³⁰) (labə-ø > ladə) (ladə- PST.PTCPL+ HON.PTCLE.) |
| 4 | (labənə) laddēyə ‘get-M.’ (P. 266 ¹⁴) (labə-ē-yə > ladə-ēyə > laddə-ēyə) | | |
| 5 | (daknā) ladə ‘see’ (P. 149 ¹⁹) (labə-ø > ladə) | | |

Table 2.7 Past passive verbs used in Jātəkə tales

2.1.1.3.5. Paradigm of past causative verbs

| | | Singular | | Plural |
|------------|---|---|---|---|
| I | 1 | genvīmi ‘bring’ (P. 338 ¹⁵) (gen-və-īmi) | | Forms not attested |
| II | 1 | Forms not attested | | Forms not attested |
| III | 1 | kəṛəṇvūyēyā ‘do’ (P. 74 ²⁵) (kəṛə-və-ū-ē-yā > kəṛəṇvū- ēyā > kəṛəṇvū-y-ēyā) | 1 | devuyā ‘give’ (P. 163 ³¹) (de-və-u-yā) |
| | | | 2 | vəñḍəṇvūyā ‘worship’ (P. 255 ³⁴) (vañḍə-və-ū-yā > vəñḍə-və-ūyā) |
| | 2 | yəṇvīyā ‘send’ (P. 373 ⁹) (yavə-ī-yā > yəṇvə-īyā) | 3 | kəṛəṇvūhā ‘do’ (P. 275 ⁷) (kəṛə-və-ū-hā) |
| | | | 4 | kəṛəṇvūvāhuyā ‘do’ (P. 156 ³) (kəṛə-və-ū-āhu-yā > kəṛəṇvū-v-āhuyā) |
| | | | 5 | deṇvāhuyā ‘give’ (P. 227 ⁸) (de-və-āhu-yā > de-ṇvə-āhuyā) |
| | | | 6 | deveṇvāhuyā ‘give’ (P. 227 ⁶) (de-və-və-āhu-yā > de-vəṇvə-āhuyā > de-veṇvə-āhuyā) |

Table 2.8 Past causative verbs used in Jātākā tales

2.1.1.4. Morphophonemic rules for the derivation of past verbal forms in the Jātākā text

These morphophonemic rules can be posited in the formation of past verbal forms in Sinhalese.

2.1.1.4.1. Lengthening of the first vowel of root

- i. kīyēyā ‘tell-III.PST.SG.M.’ (P. 215²) (kiyā-ē-yā > kīyā-ēyā)

2.1.1.4.2. Umlaut/fronting

- i. kāyēyā ‘eat-III.PST.SG.M.’ (P. 315⁵) (kā-ē-yā > kāy-ēyā > kāy-y-ēyā)
 ii. əsīmi ‘hear-I.PST.SG.’ (P. 344⁴) (asə-īmi > əsə-īmi)
 iii. kipuṇēyā ‘anger-III.PST.SG.M.’ (P. 324³¹) (kup-uṇē-yā > kip-uṇēyā)

2.1.1.4.3. Umlaut and Elision

- i. miduṇāyā ‘release-III.PST.PL.’ (P. 165²⁵) (mudə-uṇā-yā > midə-uṇāyā)
 ii. pidīyā ‘offer-III.PST.SG.M.’ (P. 270¹⁵) (puḍə-ī-yā > pidə-īyā)

2.1.1.4.4. Elision of the final vowel of root

- i. vuvə ‘be-III.PST.M/F.’ (P. 381³⁹) (və-uvə)
- ii. ke|iyēyə ‘play-III.PST.SG.M.’ (P. 151²) (ke|ə-iyē-yə)

2.1.1.4.5. Progressive assimilation

- i. devevvāhuyə ‘give-III.PST.CAUS.PL.’ (P. 227⁶)
(de-və-və-āhu-yə > de-vəvvə-āhuyə > de-vevvə-āhuyə)

2.1.1.4.6. Regressive assimilation

- i. ke|emi ‘do-I.PST.SG.’ (P. 279²⁵) (kərə-emi > kə|ə-emi > ke|e-emi)
- ii. duṭumhə ‘see-I.PST.PL.’ (P. 391³¹) (dis-umhə > diṭ-umhə > duṭ-umhə)

2.1.1.4.7. Augment of consonants

Several consonants such as ‘y, v, n’ and ‘t’ occurred as augments in the formation of past verbs (Munidasa 1992:41).

Some examples are found in Jātəkə tales. These are as follows:

2.1.1.4.7.1. Augment of ‘y’

- i. āyemi ‘come-I.PST.SG.’ (P. 160⁷) (e-emi > ā-emi > ā-y-emi)
Here ‘e’ becomes ‘ā’ in the past formations.
- ii. visūyēyə ‘live-III.PST.SG.M.’ (P.152³⁴)
(vasə-ū-ē-yə > vas-ū-ēyə > vis-ū-ēyə > visū-y-ēyə)

2.1.1.4.7.2. Augment of ‘v’

- i. kərəvūvāhuyə ‘do-III.PST.CAUS.PL.’ (P. 156³)
(kərə-və-ū-āhu-yə > kərə-vū-āhuyə > kərəvū-v-āhuyə)

2.1.1.4.7.3. Augment of ‘n’

- i. dunnēyə ‘give-III.PST.SG.M.’ (P. 139²⁰)
(de-ē-yə > den-ēyə > dun-ēyə > dunn-ēyə)

The gemination occurred here.

2.1.1.4.7.4. Augment of ‘t’

- i. hottēyə ‘lay-III.PST.SG.M.’ (P. 141³⁰) (ho-ē-yə > hot-ēyə > hott-ēyə)
‘The gemination is also observed here.’

2.1.1.4.8. Substitution of consonants

Several consonants are substituted with others. ‘s’ with ‘t’, ‘n, d, ṅd’ with ‘n’ and ‘r’ with ‘l’ are substituted in the formation of past verbs (Munidasa 1992:40-41).

The examples are as follows:

2.1.1.4.8.1. Substitution of ‘s’ with ‘t’

- i. diṭimi ‘see-I.PST.SG.’ (P. 166³²) (dis-imi > diṭ-imi)
- ii. duṭumhə ‘see-I.PST.PL.’ (P. 391³¹) (dis-umhə > diṭ-umhə > duṭ-umhə)

Here the regressive assimilation is also realized except the substitution of ‘s’ with ‘t’.

2.1.1.4.8.2. Substitution of ‘n’ with ‘t’

- i. datmi ‘know-I.PST.SG.’ (P. 131³⁶) (dan-mi > dat-mi)
- ii. dattēyə ‘know-III.PST.SG.’ (P. 78³) (dan-ē-yə > dat-ēyə > datt-ēyə)

The gemination occurred here.

2.1.1.4.8.3. Substitution of ‘d’ with ‘n’

- i. upanhə ‘originate-III.PST.PL.’ (P. 148⁸) (upədə-hə > upanə-hə > upan-hə)
- ii. vannēyə ‘enter-III.PST.SG.M.’ (P. 250³²) (vadə-ē-yə > vanə-ēyə > vannə-ēyə)

The gemination is also observed here.

2.1.1.4.8.4. Substitution of ‘ñd’ with ‘n’

- i. unnāhə ‘be-III.PST.PL.’ (P. 247²⁵)
(hiñdə-ā-hə > hinə-āhə > hunə-āhə > hunnə-āhə > hunn-āhə > unn-āhə)

Mostly the initial ‘h’ gets deleted in Sinhalese.

2.1.1.4.8.5. Substitution of ‘r’ with ‘ḷ’

- i. kəḷəhə ‘do-III.PST.PL.’ (P. 292¹²) (kərə-hə > kəḷə-hə)
- ii. haḷəhə ‘give up-III.PST.PL.’ (P. 283²⁸) (harə-hə > haḷə-hə)

2.1.1.5. The structure and usages of past verbs

According to the relevant text several usages are found under the past verbs. These are mentioned below with the examples.

2.1.1.5.1. Agreement of past verb with subject

This is the common usage of Sinhalese grammar in connection with the agreement of past verb with subject.

(1) *rajjuruvō...parvətə mudunətə næṅgāhə* (P. 215⁴)

| | | | |
|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| rajjuru | -ō | parvətə | mudun |
| king | HON.PL. | hill | top |

| | | | |
|------|-------|-------------|--------|
| -əʈə | naŋgə | -ā | hə |
| DAT. | climb | III.PST.PL. | PTCLE. |

‘The king climbed to the top of the hill.’

The term *rajjuruvō* ‘the king’ is honorific plural. Therefore the plural verb of past shows agreement for plural subject of honorific.

2.1.1.5.2. Adverbs of (past) time and verb with future suffix

This type of usage is very rare. It is not the common grammatical structure of Sinhalese.

(2) “esaməyehi mē temē ē praʃnəyə dannēyə” (P. 215⁴)

| | | | | | |
|----------|------|------|---------------|--------|------|
| e | samə | -ehi | mē | temē | ē |
| that | time | LOC. | this | person | that |
| praʃnə | -ə | dan | -nē | yə | |
| question | DEF. | know | III.FUT.SG.M. | PTCLE. | |

‘This person will know the question at that time.’

(This person knew the question at that time.)

In this example (2) *esaməyehi* ‘at that time’ represents the past. But here the verb *dannēyə* (dan-nē-yə) ‘will know’ is with the future suffix. According to the context it may definitely be kept in the past.

2.1.1.5.3. Agreement of past plural verb with singular feminine subject

(3) *rajəduvə...putəku...vədūhə* (P. 255²²⁻²³)

| | | | |
|--------|----------|-------------|--------|
| rajə | dū | -ə | put |
| royal | daughter | DEF. | son |
| -aku | vadə | -ū | hə |
| INDEF. | deliver | III.PST.PL. | PTCLE. |

‘The princess delivered a son.’

(4) *madridēvi...sīsannə nətivə hoṭhə* (P. 1828³⁷⁻³⁸)

madri dēvi sīsannə nə ætivə hoṭhə

Madri queen conscious NEG. have lay-III.PST.PL.

‘Queen Madri lay unconscious.’

Both the verbs *vædūhə* (III.PST.PL.) in (3) and *hoṭhə* (III.PST.PL.) in (4) show agreement for subject *rajəduvə* (III.NOM.SG.F.) and *madridēvi* (III.NOM.SG.F.) respectively. This is the style of traditional standard grammar of Sinhalese. The plural verbal forms in the past show agreement for the singular subject of feminine gender. This agreement is shown only for the past plural verbs but not for the present or the future plural forms.

2.1.2. Non-past

2.1.2.1. Present

In Sinhalese we come across many examples of verbal forms in the present tense in context where the meaning clearly refers to the future time. Therefore the demarcation between the present and future verbs in Sinhalese is indistinguishable. Sometimes the form as well as meaning is interchangeable.

The organization of this sub-topic is as given below:

2.1.2.1.1 includes the general remarks on non-past (present) verbs. This is followed by a brief history of the development of the non-past (present) verbs in classical Sinhalese in 2.1.2.1.2. The different types of verbal paradigms of non-past (present) are mentioned under the 2.1.2.1.3. The morphophonemic rules which are identified in building non-past (present) forms are given in 2.1.2.1.4. A detailed description of structure and usages of non-past (present) verbs attested in the Jātəkə tales with illustrations includes in 2.1.2.1.5.

2.1.2.1.1. General remarks

- i. The present verbal forms do not observe the gender difference in Sinhalese whereas the past and future forms do. (PST/FUT.III.SG. forms vary according to gender, see 2.1.2.2.1.i).

- ii. The morphological process of the formation of present verb is more simple when compare with past formation.
- iii. The present suffixes and D^hātu gaṇə that have been pointed out by Munidasa are mentioned below (Munidasa 1999:12). These are as follows:

| D ^h ātu gaṇə | Singular | Plural |
|---------------------------|----------|--------|
| <i>balə</i> ‘look’ | -ā | -ati |
| <i>bamə</i> ‘rotate’ | -ā | -ati |
| <i>baṇə</i> ‘speak’ | -ī | -iti |
| <i>pihiṭə</i> ‘establish’ | -ā | -ati |
| <i>rak</i> ‘protect’ | -ī | -iti |
| <i>bas</i> ‘descend’ | -ī | -iti |

Table 2.9 D^hātu gaṇə and present suffixes

2.1.2.1.2. A brief history of development of the non-past (present)

- i. There are some forms of present verbal paradigm in the Sigiri graffiti which realize the conjugation patterns of the Proto Sinhalese (4/5th-8th c. A. D.) and Medieval Sinhalese eras (8th-Middle of 13th c. A. D.) (Geiger 1938:3-4). The verbal forms in the present tense active voice are mentioned below (Paranavitana 1956b).

| | Singular | Plural |
|------------|--|---|
| I | vemi ‘become’ (No.631), janim (No.164), janimi (P.436), janəmi ‘know’ (P.436), | yamə (No.147), yamo (No.661), yamhə ‘go’ (No.412), baləma ‘look’ (No.646) |
| II | vehi ‘become’ (No.518) | vayu ‘become’ (No.96), baləvu ‘look’ (No.564) |
| III | vey (No.47), veyi ‘become’ (No.574), ye ‘go’ (No.396), ganni ‘take’ (No.618), kiyə ‘say’ (P.432) | vet ‘become’ (No.255), yati ‘go’ (No.51) |

Table 2.10 Present verbs in Sigiri graffiti

- ii. Some present verbal forms are found in earlier records which belong to Medieval Sinhalese era. The forms *pujənemi* ‘worship-I.PRES.SG.’

(Wickramasinghe 1912:46¹⁰), *siṭvāmi* ‘establish-I.PRES.SG.’ (ibid 47¹¹) are found in Anuradhāpurā slab inscription of king Kassapa-V (929-39 A. D.), *lābeyi* ‘receive-III.PRES.SG.’ (Wickramasinghe 1928:79¹⁷⁻¹⁸), *nāṅgemi* ‘climb-I.PRES.SG.’ (ibid 79¹¹) are used in slab inscription of king Niṣṣankā-Mallā (1187-96 A. D.), *parālo saturan jinamhā* ‘will conquer the enemies in the next world’ ‘conquer-I.PRES.PL.’ (ibid 89¹⁵⁻¹⁶) is seen in Polonnaruva Hæṭṭadāgē slab inscription of king Niṣṣankā-Mallā (1187-96 A. D.) and *rakumhā* ‘protect-I.PRES.PL.’ is found in Polonnaruva slab inscription of king Sāhāsā-Mallā (1200-1202 A. D.) (ibid 225A²⁸). These forms are listed chronologically to point out the gradual change of the Sinhalese language.

iii. Correspondences of Pāli and Sinhalese verbs in Jātaka tales

The records which represent the Medieval Sinhalese era (8th-Middle of 13th c. A. D.) give some evidences in connection with translation of Pāli words into Sinhalese. Pāli language has clearly differentiated two sets of verbal forms for present and future. When these forms are translated into Sinhalese sometimes there may be the shifting of time. There are some present forms of Pāli in Jātaka tales which are translated into Sinhalese as present. These forms are listed below.

| | Pāli present verb | | | Sinhalese present verb | |
|---|---------------------|-----------|---|--|-----------|
| 1 | haṅṅhāti ‘hurt’ | (III.SG.) | > | hinsānāyā kereyi (P. 541 ²⁵) | (III.SG.) |
| 2 | pasānsanti ‘praise’ | (III.PL.) | > | prāṣānsā kereti (P. 533 ³²) | (III.PL.) |

Table 2.11 Sinhalese translation of Pāli verbs found in Jātaka tales (PRES > PRES)

iv. Some future verbs of Pāli which do not correspond with the forms of Sinhalese are found. These forms realize the same grammatical features in person and number but the time period is different. The examples are given below.

| | Pāli present verb | | | Sinhalese future verb | |
|---|-----------------------|-----------|---|-----------------------------------|-----------|
| 1 | hōti ‘be’ | (III.SG.) | > | vānāyā (P. 541 ³²) | (III.SG.) |
| 2 | uppajjāti ‘originate’ | (III.SG.) | > | upādānāyā (P. 541 ³⁴) | (III.SG.) |

| | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|-----------|---|--|-----------|
| 3 | virōcēti ‘glitter’ | (III.SG.) | > | babēlannēyā (P. 541 ³³) | (III.SG.) |
| 4 | labbhēti ‘receive’ | (III.SG.) | > | lābennēyā (P. 533 ⁶) | (III.SG.) |
| 5 | vihaṇṇēti ‘regret’ | (III.SG.) | > | tāvennēyi (P. 542 ³²) | (III.SG.) |
| 6 | pacchātāpēti ‘regret’ | (III.SG.) | > | pasutāvēli bavāṭā pāmiṇnēyā (P. 542 ³⁶) | (III.SG.) |

Table 2.12 Sinhalese translation of Pāli verbs found in Jātākā tales (PRES > FUT)

- v. The Sidat Saṅgārāvā mentions several suffixes which are used in formation of present verbs in the relevant period (Alwis 1852:56-57). They are as follows:

| | Singular | Plural |
|------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| I | -m, -mi | -mu, -mō, -mhā, -mhu |
| II | -hi | -hu |
| III | -i, -ō, -ē, -ā | -at, -it, -et, -ot |

Table 2.13 Present suffixes used in Sidat Saṅgārāvā

- vi. There are different stem vowels in the present forms of three conjugations identified by Geiger: ‘a’ in conj. - I, ‘i’ in conj. - II, ‘e’ in conj. - III. eg: balā ‘look’ badi ‘fry’ pene ‘appear’ (Geiger 1938:133). The present conjugations of root balā ‘look’ are given here (Geiger 1938:143).

| | Singular | Plural |
|------------|------------------|------------------|
| I | balam, balāmi | balāmu, balāmhā |
| II | balāhi, (balāyi) | balāvu, (balāhu) |
| III | balā, balāyi | balat, balāti |

Table 2.14 Present verbs given by Geiger

2.1.2.1.3. Different types of verbal paradigms

The suffixes which are used to form the present verbs have been listed in the chart. Some examples are also given attested in the Jātākā tales.

2.1.2.1.3.1. Suffixes used to form present active verbs

| | Singular | Plural |
|------------|--|--------------------------------|
| I | -imi, -emi, -mi | -amhə, -imhə, -emhə |
| II | -annə, -annē, -innē, -u, -uvə, -evə, -ehi, -nnē, -və, -ø | -v, -vu, -hu |
| III | -ayi, -i, -e, -eyi, -ē | -at, -it, -iti, -et, -eti, -ti |

Table 2.15 Present suffixes used in Jātəkə tales

2.1.2.1.3.2. Paradigm of present active verbs

| | Singular | | Plural |
|---|---|---|--|
| | I | | I |
| 1 | danimi ‘know’ (P. 139 ²⁸) (dan-imi) | 1 | kəramhə ‘do’ (P. 207 ³⁴) (kərə-amhə) |
| 2 | keremi ‘do’ (P. 128 ⁴⁵) (kərə-emi > kər-emi > ker-emi) | 2 | ævidimhə ‘walk’ (P. 316 ³⁸) (ævidu-imhə) |
| 3 | kərəmi ‘do’ (P. 131 ³⁸) (kərə-mi) | 3 | næsemhə ‘destroy’ (P. 137 ⁴⁰) (nasə-emhə > næsə-emhə) |
| | II | | II |
| 1 | vannə ‘become’ (P. 471 ³¹) (və-annə) | 1 | vav (P. 171 ⁶) (və-v > va-v) |
| 2 | kərannē ‘do’ (P. 365 ¹²) (kərə-annē) | 2 | vavu (P. 554 ³¹) (və-vu > va-vu) |
| 3 | ke innē ‘play’ (P. 271 ⁹) (ke ə-innē) | 3 | kərəhu ‘do’ (P. 134 ⁸) (kərə-hu) |
| 4 | siṭu ‘stand’ (P.213 ³³) (siṭə-u) | | |
| 5 | piṁbuvə ‘blow’ (P. 214 ⁸) (puṁbu-uvə > piṁbi-uvə) | | |
| 6 | həsirevə ‘follow’ (P. 44 ²⁹) (hasuru-evə > həsiri-evə) | | |
| 7 | dennē ‘give’ (P. 471 ²⁴) (de-nnē) | | |
| 8 | kərəvə ‘do’ (P.133 ²⁷) (kərə-və) | | |
| 9 | ya ‘go’ (P. 203 ¹⁵) (ya-ø) | | |

| | III | | III |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | añḍayi ‘cry’ (P. 275 ⁸) (añḍə-ayi) | 1 | kərat ‘do’ (P. 159 ¹³) (kəṛə-at) |
| 2 | ve (P. 251 ¹³) (və-e) | 2 | ganit ‘take’ (P. 169 ⁶) (gan-it) |
| 3 | kereyi ‘do’ (P. 326 ³²) (kəṛə-eyi > kəṛ-eyi > kəṛ-eyi) | 3 | parəditi ‘defeat’ (P.151 ⁷) (parədə-iti) |
| 4 | vē (P. 236 ²⁹) (və-ē) | 4 | keret ‘do’ (P. 331 ³²) (kəṛə-et > kəṛ-et > kəṛ-et) |
| | | 5 | kereti ‘do’ (P. 128 ²⁰) (kəṛə-eti > kəṛ-eti > kəṛ-eti) |
| | | 6 | kəṛəti ‘do’ (P. 202 ³³) (kəṛə-ti) |

Table 2.16 Present verbs used in Jātəkə tales

2.1.2.1.3.3. Paradigm of present causative verbs

| | | Singular | | Plural |
|------------|----|---|---|--|
| I | 1. | kappəmi ‘cut’ (P. 279 ²) (kapə-və-mi > kap-və-mi > kappə-mi) | | Forms not attested |
| | 2. | kappəvəmi ‘cut’ (P. 180 ²⁴) (kapə-və-mi > kappə-vəmi) | | |
| | 3 | genvəmi ‘bring’ (P. 29 ¹) (gen-və-mi) | | |
| II | 1 | hasuruvəvə ‘play’ (P. 127 ²²) (hasuru-və-və) | | Forms not attested |
| III | | Forms not attested | 1 | devəti ‘give’ (P. 23 ³⁰) (de-və-ti) |

Table 2.17 Present causative verbs found in Jātəkə tales

2.1.2.1.4. Morphophonemic rules for the derivation of non-past (present) verbal forms in the Jātəkə text

When we examine the data it is possible to establish some rules in formation of non-past forms in Sinhalese. Here present and future forms are taken as one category and given the examples from both the sections together. These are as follows:

2.1.2.1.4.1. Shortening of the final vowel of root

- i. kami ‘eat-I.PRES.SG.’ (P. 138⁵) (kā-mi > ka-mi)
- ii. bayimi ‘fear-I.PRES.SG.’ (P. 278³⁶) (bā-imi > ba-imi > ba-y-imi)

2.1.2.1.4.2. Lengthening of the final vowel of root

- i. dē ‘give-III.PRES.SG.’ (P. 159¹⁸) (de > dē)

2.1.2.1.4.3. Umlaut/fronting

- i. rækemi ‘protect-I.PRES.SG.’ (P. 186²⁷) (rak-emi > ræk-emi)
- ii. dæneyi ‘feel-III.PRES.SG.’ (P. 270¹) (dan-eyi > dæn-eyi)

2.1.2.1.4.4. Umlaut/fronting and elision

- i. piṃbuvə ‘blow-II.PRES.SG.’ (P. 214⁸) (puṃbu-uvə > piṃbi-uvə)
- ii. pæmiṇeti ‘reach-III.PRES.PL.’ (P.162¹²) (pamuṇə-eti > pæmiṇə-eti)
- iii. pireyi ‘fill-III.PRES.SG.’ (P. 314¹³) (purə-eyi > pirə-eyi)

2.1.2.1.4.5. Elision of the final vowel of root

- i. parəditi ‘defeat-III.PRES.PL.’ (P. 151⁷) (parədə-iti)
- ii. siṭu ‘stand- II.PRES.SG.’ (P.213³³) (siṭə-u)

2.1.2.1.4.6. Regressive assimilation

- i. keret ‘do-III.PRES.PL.’ (P. 331³²) (kərə-et > kər-et > ker-et)
- ii. kereti ‘do-III.PRES.PL.’ (P. 128²⁰) (kərə-eti > kər-eti > ker-eti)

2.1.2.1.5. Structure and usages of non-past (present) in the Jātəkə text

2.1.2.1.5.1. Present verb shows agreement for nominative subject

(5) *rajjuruvō...ōhaṭə satkāṛə...kereti* (P. 218²)

rajjuru -ō ō -haṭə satkāṛə kərə -eti

King HON.PL.DEF. him DAT. hospitality do III.PRES.PL.

‘The king treats him.’

(6) *diviyō eḷuvan kati* (P. 195²⁷)

divi -ō eḷu -an kā -ti

leopard NOM.PL. goat ACC.PL. eat III.PRES.PL.

‘The leopards eat goats.’

2.1.2.2. Future

The organization of this sub-topic is as given below.

2.1.2.2.1 includes the general remarks on non-past (future) verbs. This is followed by a brief history of the development of the non-past (future) verbs in classical Sinhalese in 2.1.2.2.2. The different types of verbal paradigms of non-past (future) are mentioned under the 2.1.2.2.3. The morphophonemic rules which are identified in building non-past (future) forms are given in 2.1.2.2.4. A detailed description of structure and usages of non-past (future) verbs attested in the Jātākā tales with illustrations includes in 2.1.2.2.5.

2.1.2.2.1. General remarks

Some scholars have identified several characteristic features of the future tense in Sinhalese language. The significant views can be summarized as follows:

- i. Generally the verbal forms of Sinhalese do not show agreement to gender. The agreement with number and person is compulsory. But the past and the future forms of III.SG. are specially marked with gender. The separate verbal form shows agreement for feminine gender and the common form agrees with either masculine or neuter. But there is a distinction of animate and inanimate. The other whole set of verbal forms (i.e. PRES. verbs, PST./FUT. III.PL. & I.II.SG. & PL.) in Sinhalese except PST./FUT.III.SG. do not show the agreement for gender.
- ii. The Sidat Saṅgārāvā (13th c. A. D.) gives some examples in connection with the future tense of Sinhalese. According to this grammar, these suffixes are used to form future verbs (Alwis 1852:56-57).

| | Singular | Plural |
|------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| I | -ennem, -ennemi | -ennemu, -ennəmō |
| II | -ennehi | -ennehu |
| III | -annē, -ennē, -onnē, -nē | -annō, -annāhu, -nāhu |

Table 2.18 Future suffixes used in Sidat Saṅgārāvā

- iii. According to Geiger the suffixes such as ‘-anə’ in conj. - I, ‘-inə’ in conj. - II and ‘-enə’ in conj. - III are used with verbal root to form the future verbs in modern Sinhalese language (Geiger 1938:148).
- iv. According to Munidasa there are no future forms in Sinhalese. It normally happens that the particle (*nipātə*) which denotes the future time is added before the present form to make future form. The adverbs of (future) time or future particle such as *matu* ‘future’, *sat vəni davəsə* ‘7th day’ can be used to form future verbs (Munidasa 1999:45).
- v. The demarcation of the future verbs in Sinhalese is not clear. Sometimes the present form of Sinhalese can be used to imply the future meaning too.
- vi. The inflected forms of the verbal noun are mainly used as future verbs in III.SG. and PL. with particle.
1. kannēyə ‘eat-III.SG.FUT.M.’ (P. 209¹²) (kā-annē-yə > ka-annēyə)
 2. damannīyə ‘put-III.FUT.SG.F.’ (P.152²⁷) (damə-annī-yə)
 3. vannōyə ‘be-III.FUT.PL.’ (P. 16⁸⁻⁹) (və-annō-yə)
 4. kəraṇṇāhə ‘do-III.FUT.PL.’ (P. 245¹⁷) (kərə-annā-hə)

2.1.2.2.2. A brief history and development of future forms

- i. The future forms found in graffiti reveal that there are no pure future forms in Sinhalese. “(the future forms) are built up by appending the personal suffixes...to the inflected forms of the verbal noun generally referred to as the present participle” (Paranavitana 1956a:cxxxvi). Some forms are mentioned below quoted from Sigiri graffiti.

| | Singular | Plural |
|------------|--|---|
| I | vannemi ‘become’ (No.536) | baṇṇannumu ‘speak’ (No.208), yannəmaḥa ‘go’ (No.180), yannəmo ‘go’ (No.647) |
| II | janəne ‘know’ (No.527) | Forms not attested |
| III | vanneyi ‘become’ (No.487), baləneyə ‘look’ (No.518) | Forms not attested |

Table 2.19 Future verbs found in Sigiri graffiti

ii. Some future forms are found on inscriptions written in Medieval Sinhalese era. Some of them are as follows: *saganneyæ* ‘protect-III.FUT.SG.’, *rakneyæ* ‘secure-III.FUT.SG.’ are found in Hæṭṭadāgē slab inscription (Wickramasinghe 1928:89²²), and *kārāneyæ* ‘do-III.FUT.SG.’ (ibid 114C²⁴), *ayādāneyæ* (request-III.FUT.SG.) (ibid 114C²⁴), *kārannāhā* ‘do-III.FUT.PL.’ (ibid 113C⁶), *dennāhā* ‘give-III.FUT.PL.’ (ibid 113C⁷), *pavatnēyæ* ‘be-III.FUT.SG.’ (ibid 113C¹⁰), *siṭṭinēyæ* ‘live-III.FUT.SG.’ (ibid 113C¹²) are found in Galpotā slab inscription of king Niṭṭāṅkā-Mallā (1187-96 A. D.). The terms *pavatneyæ* ‘endure-III.FUT.SG.’ (Wickramasinghe 1928:225A²¹⁻²²), and *vāneyæ* ‘be-III.FUT.SG.’ (ibid 225A²²) are seen in slab inscription of king Sāhāsā-Mallā (1200-1202 A. D.). Most frequently III.SG/PL. future forms are found in inscriptions. These forms are chronologically listed to point out the evolution of the Sinhalese language.

iii. Pāli future verb > Sinhalese future verb

Here Pāli future forms correspond with Sinhalese forms bearing the same properties. The examples given below are quoted from D^hampiyā Aṭṭvā Gæṭṭapadāyā (10th c. A. D.) written in Medieval Sinhalese era (Hettiaratchi 1974). The correspondences between Pāli and Sinhalese are as follows:

| | Pāli future verb | | | Sinhalese future verb | |
|---|-------------------------------------|----------|---|--------------------------------------|----------|
| 1 | vahissāmi ‘carry’ | (I.SG.) | > | usulānemi (P. 98 ²⁹) | (I.SG.) |
| 2 | paśād ^h essāmi ‘wear’ | (I.SG.) | > | paḷāṇḍānemi (P. 121 ¹⁵) | (I.SG.) |
| 3 | āharissāmi ‘bring’ | (I.SG.) | > | arānemi (P. 124 ²⁴) | (I.SG.) |
| 4 | lab ^h issāmā ‘receive’ | (I.PL.) | > | labānāmō (p. 51 ²⁶) | (I.PL.) |
| 5 | ṭ ^h apessāmi ‘keep’ | (I.SG.) | > | tabānemi (p. 205 ¹⁵) | (I.SG.) |
| 6 | upaṭṭ ^h āhissāmi ‘treat’ | (I.SG.) | > | mehe kārānemi (P.181 ¹⁷) | (I.SG.) |
| 7 | dēseyyāsi ‘preach’ | (II.SG.) | > | desnehi (p. 208 ⁸) | (II.SG.) |
| 8 | vāṇcessāmi ‘cheat’ | (I.SG.) | > | naḷānemi (p. 14 ²⁵) | (I.SG.) |

| | | | | | |
|---|------------------------|---------|---|----------------------------------|---------|
| 9 | parigaṇhissāmō ‘check’ | (I.PL.) | > | piriksənēmō (p. 5 ⁷) | (I.PL.) |
|---|------------------------|---------|---|----------------------------------|---------|

Table 2.20 Translation of Pāli future verbs into Sinhalese future verbs

All the Pāli future verbs mentioned above are translated into Sinhalese future verbs with same person, number and tense. However, some examples are found in Sinhalese against this system.

iv. **Pāli future verb > Sinhalese present verb**

Here Pāli future forms do not correspond with Sinhalese forms bearing the same properties. Person and number are same but time period is different (Hettiaratchi 1974). Some examples are given below.

| | Pāli future verb | | | Sinhalese Present verb | |
|---|----------------------------------|-----------|---|------------------------------------|-----------|
| 1 | vinā karissāti ‘give up’ | (III.SG.) | > | viyō kereyi (P. 46 ¹⁸) | (III.SG.) |
| 2 | gamissāti ‘go’ | (III.SG.) | > | yē (P. 166 ²²⁻²³) | (III.SG.) |
| 3 | paṭijaggissanti ‘maintain’ | (III.PL.) | > | piḷijaḡit (P. 171 ⁴) | (III.PL.) |
| 4 | gāhāpessanti ‘take’ | (III.PL.) | > | ganvat (p. 200 ²⁷) | (III.PL.) |
| 5 | kīḷissāmō ‘play’ | (I.PL.) | > | keḷimhō (P. 124 ⁶⁻⁷) | (I.PL.) |
| 6 | b ^h avissāti ‘be’ | (III.SG.) | > | veyi (p. 209 ¹¹) | (III.SG.) |
| 7 | paṇṇāyissat ^h ā ‘see’ | (II.PL.) | > | pānev (p. 40 ⁹) | (II.PL.) |
| 8 | carissāsi ‘walk’ | (II.SG.) | > | ævijihī (p. 214 ²³) | (II.SG.) |
| 9 | kilissanti ‘oppress’ | (III.PL.) | > | peḷet (p. 197 ¹²) | (III.PL.) |

Table 2.21 Translation of Pāli future verbs into Sinhalese present verbs

The above verbal forms of future which are found in original text of Pāli correspond to verbal forms of present in Sinhalese translation. According to the aforesaid facts the Sinhalese language does not follow the strict or stable rules in the usage of future and present forms.

2.1.2.2.3. Different types of verbal paradigms

The following forms referring to future verbs were attested in the Jātaka text. The future verbs marked with gender (feminine, masculine/neuter) in III.SG. and the other verbal forms of I.II.SG. & I.II.III.PL. remain unmarked. (See 2.1.2.2.1.i).

2.1.2.2.3.1. Suffixes used to form future active verbs

| | Singular | Plural |
|------------|---|---|
| I | -annemi, -emi, -ennemi, -nnemi | -annemu |
| II | -annehi, -ennehi(yə), -nehi | Suffixes not attested |
| III | -annī(yə), -annē(yə), -ennē(yə), -nē(yə), -nnī(yə) | -annəhə, -anāhə, -annāhə, -annāhu(yə), -annō(yə), -ennāhu(yə), -nāhu(yə) |

Table 2.22 Future suffixes used in Jātaka tales

2.1.2.2.3.2. Paradigm of future active verbs

| | Singular | | Plural |
|---|--|---|---|
| | I | | I |
| 1 | eləvannemi ‘remove’ (P.133 ²²) (eləvə-annemi) | 1 | kəṛannemu ‘do’ (P. 285 ³⁹) (kəṛə-annemu) |
| 2 | kəṛannem (P. 336 ⁷) (kəṛə-annem) | | |
| 3 | dennemi ‘give’ (P.126 ⁴⁰) (de-nnemi) | | |
| 4 | innemi ‘sit’ (P. 98 ¹⁵) (iṅḍə-emi > inə-emi > innə-emi) | | |
| | II | | II |
| 1 | labannehi ‘receive’ (P.161 ³⁵) (labə-annehi) | | |
| 2 | læbennehiyə ‘receive’ (P. 27 ²⁴) (labə-ennehi-yə > læbə-ennehiyə) | | |
| 3 | harənehi ‘give up’ (P. 12 ¹⁴) (harə-nehi) | | Forms not attested |

| | III | | III |
|---|--|---|--|
| 1 | damannīyā ‘put-F.’ (P.152 ²⁷) (damə-annī-yə) | 1 | yannəhə ‘go’ (P. 43 ⁴) (yə-annəhə) |
| 2 | eləvannēyā ‘bring’ (P.170 ³) (eləvə-annē-yə) | 2 | siṭināhə ‘stay’ (P. 46 ²⁴) (siṭə-anāhə > siṭi-anāhə) |
| 3 | ² tibennēyā ‘be’ (P.179 ³⁰) (tibə-ennē-yə) | 3 | kəṛannāhə (P. 245 ¹⁷) (kəṛə-annāhə) |
| 4 | upədənēyā ‘originate’ (P.170 ²³) (upədə-nē-yə) | 4 | damannāhuyā ‘put’ (P.150 ²²) (damə-annāhu-yə) |
| 5 | piḷipadinēyā ‘follow’ (P.161 ¹³) (piḷipadə-nē-yə > piḷipadi-nēyā) | 5 | vannō-yā ‘be’ (P. 16 ⁸⁻⁹) (və-annō-yə) |
| 6 | ævidinnīyā ‘walk’ (P.165 ⁵) (ævidu-nnī-yə > ævidi-nnīyā) | 6 | vadināhuyā ‘enter’ (P. 241 ³³) (vadə-ināhu-yə) |
| | | 7 | kipennāhuyā ‘anger’ (P.160 ³⁴) (kup-ennāhu-yə > kip-ennāhuyā) |
| | | 8 | sānāhuyā ‘plough’ (P. 164 ³⁸) (sā-nāhu-yə) |

Table 2.23 Future verbs used in Jātākā tales

2.1.2.2.4. Morphophonemic rules for the derivation of non-past (future) verbal forms in the Jātākā text

When we examine the data it is possible to establish some rules in formation of non-past forms in Sinhalese. Here present and future forms are taken as one category and given the examples from both the sections together. These are as follows:

2.1.2.2.4.1. Shortening of the final vowel of root

- i. kannēyā ‘eat-III.SG.FUT.M.’ (P. 209¹²) (kā-annē-yə > ka-annēyā)
- ii. kannāhuyā ‘eat-III.FUT.PL.’ (P. 191¹⁸) (kā-annāhu-yə > ka-annāhuyā)

2.1.2.2.4.2. Lengthening of the final vowel of root

- i. hōnēyā ‘sleep/stay-III.SG.FUT.M.’ (P. 35²⁹) (ho-nē-yə > hō-nēyā)

2.1.2.2.4.3. Umlaut/fronting

- i. pipennēyā ‘bloom-III.FUT.SG.’ (P. 143³⁷) (pup-ennē-yə > pip-ennēyā)
- ii. kipennāhuyā ‘anger-III.FUT.PL.’ (P. 160³⁴) (kup-ennāhu-yə > kip-ennāhuyā)

2.1.2.2.4.4. Umlaut and elision

- i. sãhennēyā ‘suffice-III.FUT.SG.’ (P. 4³⁷) (sāhā-ennē-yā > sãhā-ennēyā)
- ii. pæmiṇṇēyā ‘come-III.FUT.SG.M.’ (P. 140³⁸)
(pamuṇṇā-ennē-yā > pæmiṇṇā-ennēyā)

2.1.2.2.4.5. Progressive assimilation

- i. siṭṭināhā ‘stand-III.FUT.PL.M/F.’ (P. 46²⁴) (siṭṭā-nāhā > siṭṭi-nāhā)
- ii. iṇḍināhā ‘stay-III.FUT.PL.’ (P. 315²⁶) (iṇḍā-nāhā > iṇḍi-nāhā)

2.1.2.2.4.6. Substitution of ‘ñd’ with ‘n’

- i. innemi ‘sit-I.FUT.SG.M/F.’ (P. 98¹⁵) (iṇḍā-emi > inā-emi > innā-emi)

The gemination of ‘n’ is observed here.

2.1.2.2.5. Usages of non-past verbal forms (future)

According to the Jātākā tales five types of usages are identified under the future verbs. The future verbs in Sinhalese are not clearly distinguished in the classical literature. Therefore different types of verbal forms are used to indicate it. Several types which have been identified from the text are mentioned below.

2.1.2.2.5.1. Future form with future meaning

This is the common agreement of this type of sentence pattern in Sinhalese. The quotations given below are examples.

(7) *arhat mārgayā hā p^halāyā dennēyā* (P.4²)

| | | | | |
|---------------|-------|-------------|--------|--------------------|
| arhat | mārgā | -ā | hā | p ^h alā |
| enlightenment | path | DEF. | and | result |
| -ā | de | -nnē | yā | |
| DEF. | give | III.FUT.SG. | PTCLE. | |

(It) will give the path of enlightenment and result.

In this example (7) the Buddha advises to the people who haven’t got the enlightenment. Therefore the verb *dennēyā* ‘will give’ implies the sense of future.

(8) *māgē vastuvə nəsī yannēyə* (P.203¹⁻²)

mā -gē vastuvə nasə -ī yə -annē yə

I GEN. property destroy ABS. go-AUX. III.FUT.SG. PTCLE.

‘My property will destroy.’

The property which is mentioned in the sentence (8) will not be destroyed. Therefore the vector verb ‘nəsī yannēyə’ is morphologically as well as semantically future form.

(9) *nāyangē samagivīmə yahapat vannēyə* (P.183¹⁵⁻¹⁶)

nā -an -gē samagi vīmə

relative ACC.PL. GEN. unity be

yahapat və -annē yə

good be III.FUT.SG. PTCLE.

‘The unity of the relatives will be good.’

2.1.2.2.5.2. Future form with present meaning

The future form which occurred in this type implies the meaning of present. Therefore it has a function of present. The future suffix is used with verbal root to give present meaning. There is no semantic difference whether the form is in the present or the future.

(10) *ekalə ē gamə geval tisek vannēyə* (P. 81¹³)

e -kalə ē gam -ə ge

that time that village LOC. house

-val tis -ek və -annē yə

PL. thirty INDEF. be III.FUT.SG. PTCLE.

‘At that time there are 30 houses in that village.’

The verb *vannēyā* ‘will be’ (10) implies the meaning of present. The 30 houses already exist in that village. Therefore the verb *vannēyā* is future in form but present in meaning.

(11) *ohu dedenāmə rajageyā ætu|ətāmā vasannāhā* (P. 29³⁸)

| | | | | |
|---------|--------|--------|-------------|--------|
| ohu | dedenā | -mə | raja | geyā |
| they | both | EMPHR. | royal | house |
| ætu ətā | -mə | vasā | -annā | hā |
| inside | EMPHR. | live | III.FUT.PL. | PTCLE. |

‘Both of them live inside the palace.’

According to the sentence (11) both the people live inside the palace. The verb used in the text *vasannāhā* ‘will live’ shows the grammatical features of future (live-III.FUT.PL.). But according to the context it gives the meaning of present.

(12) *gæl barāvā ennēyā* (P. 6²)

| | | | | | |
|------------------|------|--------|------|-------------|--------|
| gæl | barā | -vā | e | -nnē | yā |
| bullock cart-PL. | load | EMPHR. | come | III.FUT.SG. | PTCLE. |

‘Over-loaded bullock carts move/come.’

According to the Jātākā tale (Αραηηəkā Jātākā) the verb *ennēyā* ‘will come’ (12) does not imply the meaning of future. It denotes the present action.

(13) *gautāmāyō d^harmāyā kiyannāhā* (P. 240¹⁹)

| | | | | | | |
|---------------------|---------|---------------------|------|------|-------------|--------|
| gautāmā | -ō | d ^h armā | -ā | kiyā | -annā | hā |
| Budd ^h ā | HON.PL. | doctrine | DEF. | say | III.FUT.PL. | PTCLE. |

‘The Gautama Buddha preaches the doctrine.’

According to the context the Buddha preaches the doctrine regularly. Therefore the verb *kiyannāhā* ‘will preach’ (13) does not have future meaning. It is an ongoing action.

2.1.2.2.5.3. Adverb of (future) time with future verb form

In this type the adverb of (future) time and verbal form of future are used to imply the future meaning.

(14) *setə davas...asveļendek...asun genə ennēyə* (P. 21¹⁴⁻¹⁵)

| | | | | | |
|----------|------------|-----------|---------------|--------|-------|
| setə | davas | as | veļēndə | -ek | as |
| tomorrow | day-LOC. | horse | seller | INDEF. | horse |
| -un | genə | e | -nnē | yə | |
| ACC.PL. | bring-ABS. | come-AUX. | III.FUT.SG.M. | PTCLE. | |

‘Tomorrow a horse seller will bring horses.’

(15) *samuddəvāñijə jātəkəyehi matu pahaļə vannēyə* (P. 36¹⁰⁻¹¹)

| | | | |
|---------------|--------|-------------|--------|
| samuddəvāñijə | jātəkə | -ehi | matu |
| Samuddəvāñijə | Jātəkə | LOC. | future |
| pahaļə | və | -annē | yə |
| appear | be | III.FUT.SG. | PTCLE. |

‘(It) will appear in Samuddəvāñijə Jātəkə in future.’

The forms *setə* ‘tomorrow’ (14) and *matu* ‘future’ (15) which have been mentioned above are used in Sinhalese as adverbs of (future) time. According to the traditional grammar ‘Adverb of (future) time + present verb’ give the meaning of future (Munidasa 1999:45). If there are adverb of (future) time and verbal form of future they will imply double future meaning. Therefore the more frequent usage is ‘ADV. of FUT. + PRES.V.’. See the examples given below.

2.1.2.2.5.4. Adverb of (future) time with present verb form

In this type the adverb of (future) time and verbal form of present are used to imply the future meaning.

(16) *mam detun davəsak giyə kalə emi* (P. 122⁴²-123¹)

mam de tun davəs -ak
I two three day INDEF.
giyə kalə e -mi
go-PST.PTCPL. time come I.PRES.SG.

‘I will come after two-three days.’

(17) *satvenidā topə hā mā...yudd^{hə} kəramhə* (P. 324¹⁸⁻¹⁹)

sat veni dā topə hā mā yudd^{hə} kərə -amhə
seven th day you and I fight do I.PRES.PL.

‘You and I fight at the 7th day.’

(18) *anāgətəyehi strīhu...alaṅkārəyehi lol veti* (P. 191³⁷⁻³⁸)

anāgətə -ehi strī -hu alaṅkārə
future LOC. lady NOM.PL. ornaments
-ehi lol və -eti
LOC. lust be III.PRES.PL.

‘The ladies lust for the ornaments in future.’

(19) (*mamə*) *meyin matu ætkuṇu nokami* (P. 315⁴)

me -in matu æt kuṇu no kā -mi
this from future elephant corpses NEG. eat I.PRES.SG.

‘(I) will not eat rotten corpses of elephants hereafter.’

According to the context, these sentences give future meanings. The forms such as *detun davəsak giyə kalə* ‘after two-three days’ (16), *satvenidā* ‘7th day’ (17), *anāgətəyehi* ‘in future’ (18) and *matu* ‘future’ (19) definitely represent the future happenings. Therefore the main verbs are kept in present forms.

2.1.2.2.5.5. Present form represents the future meaning

In this type the verbal form of present implies the meaning of future. But it does not contain the grammatical features of future forms.

(20) *kæmæti paridden agəyə tabāgenə baḍu vikuṇəmi* (P. 5⁴⁻⁵)

| | | | |
|-----------|----------|------------|-----------|
| kæmæti | paridden | agəyə | tabā |
| like-ADV. | as | value-DEF. | keep-ABS. |
| genə | baḍu | vikuṇə | -mi |
| take-ABS. | good-PL. | sell | I.FUT.SG. |

‘(I) sell goods keeping the value as (I) wish.’

Before going to the market the traders plan to sell the goods at high rate. Then the verb *vikuṇəmi* ‘sell’ (20) represents the meaning of future whereas the form shows the present features (sell-I.PRES.SG).

(21) *tepi kesē mastəkəprāptə kəravdā* (P. 17¹³)

| | | | | | |
|---------|------|---------|---------|----------------|-------|
| tepi | kesē | mastəkə | prāptə | kərav | dā |
| you-PL. | how | head | acquire | do-II.PRES.PL. | QUES. |

‘How will you fulfill (it)?’

The idea mentioned here (21) is not yet fulfilled. But the present verb *kərav* ‘do’ is used to imply the meaning of future. Therefore the present verb is used to indicate the future meaning.

Summery

According to the observations noted above we can identify some characteristic features on tense in Sinhalese. The function of present and future forms overlap in Sinhalese. The distinction between past and non-past is clearly observed in Jātəkə tales. But the interesting thing is that the past and the future overlap according to the data on inscriptions. The future verbal forms of Pāli correspond to future/present verbal forms in Medieval Sinhalese language. Using the facts available in the Jātəkə text, several types of past and non-past formations as well as usages were identified.

2.2. Aspect in Sinhalese

Two aspects namely imperfective and perfective (Comrie 1987:16, Wali 2005:29) are identified in Sinhalese also. Two sub-groups can be categorized under the imperfective (progressive). They are named as present progressive and past progressive. While the future progressive forms are attested in Jātākā tales they do not have a future reading. (There are some verbal forms in Jātākā tales with future suffixes but they do not function as future verbs, see 10, 11, 12 and 13). There are two sub-groups under the perfective aspect namely present perfective and past perfective. The simultaneous aspect or contemporaneous participle is also a significant feature of Sinhalese.

2.2.1. Imperfective aspect

There are two types of imperfective aspects in Sinhalese. They are past progressive and present progressive aspects.

2.2.1.1. Past progressive aspect

The past progressive aspect of Sinhalese language is attested in the Jātākā tales. In this construction the present participle and vector verb (CP.+ AUX.) are used to imply the meaning. According to the examples mostly the verb *siṭṭa* ‘stay’ is used as explicator or auxiliary. Some examples are given below.

(22) *mugəṭṭiyā...nidāmin siṭṭiyēyā* (P. 346²⁰⁻²¹)

| | | | | | | |
|-------------|------|-------|------|-----------|---------------|--------|
| mugəṭṭi | -ā | nidā | -min | siṭṭa | -ē | yā |
| mongoose-M. | DEF. | sleep | CP. | stay-AUX. | III.PST.SG.M. | PTCLE. |

‘The mongoose was sleeping.’

The form *nidāmin* (CP.) and the verb *siṭṭiyēyā* ‘stay-III.PST.SG.’ (22) give the collective meaning ‘was sleeping’ (past progressive aspect) in the sentence. This is a sort of vector sequence in Sinhalese. All the examples given below follow the same structure.

(23) *muvek taṇə kamin siṭiyēyə* (P. 332¹²)

| | | | |
|------|-----------|---------------|--------|
| muve | -ek | taṇə | kā |
| deer | INDEF. | grass-PL. | eat |
| -min | siṭə | -ē | yə |
| CP. | stay-AUX. | III.PST.SG.M. | PTCLE. |

‘A deer was eating grasses.’

(24) *brāhməṇəyək vī^hiyehi yamin siṭiyēyə* (P. 303²⁹⁻³⁰)

| | | | | |
|----------|-----------|-------------------|--------|----|
| brāhməṇə | -ek | vī ^h i | -ehi | ya |
| Brahmin | INDEF. | road | LOC. | go |
| -min | siṭə | -ē | yə | |
| CP. | stay-AUX. | III.PST.SG.M. | PTCLE. | |

‘A Brahmin was going on the road.’

(25) *(mamə) bat demin siṭiyemi* (P. 103³¹)

| | | | | | |
|------|----------|------|------|-----------|-----------|
| mamə | bat | de | -min | siṭə | -emi |
| I | rice-PL. | give | CP. | stay-AUX. | I.PST.SG. |

‘I was giving rice.’

(26) *dad^hivāhəṇə...nāmin siṭi sēkə* (P. 373²³⁻²⁴)

| | | | | |
|--------------------------|------|------|---------------------|------------|
| dad ^h ivāhəṇə | nā | -min | siṭi | sēkə |
| Dad ^h ivāhəṇə | bath | CP. | stay-AUX.PST.PTCPL. | HON.PTCLE. |

‘(The king) Dad^hivāhəṇə was having bath.’

According to the examples mentioned above, the present participle forms *kamin* (23), *yamin* (24), *demin* (25), *nāmin* (26) and conjugated forms of root *siṭə* ‘stay’ are used to imply ‘past progressive aspect’ in Sinhalese.

2.2.1.2. Present progressive aspect

The examples for present progressive aspect are found in Jātəkə tales with the present suffix as well as future suffix. Some examples are quoted from the text representing both the types.

(27) *(api) vēfyāvə hā kat^hā kərəmin iṅdumhə* (P. 236¹⁰⁻¹¹)

| | | | | |
|------|------------|------|------------|--------------------|
| api | vēfyā | -ə | hā | kat ^h ā |
| we | prostitute | DEF. | and | talk |
| kərə | -min | iṅdə | -umhə | |
| do | CP. | stay | I.PRES.PL. | |

‘We are chatting with the prostitute.’

This (27) is the example for present progressive aspect which has present verbal form with present suffix.

(28) *topətə vū vipətə sitəmin innemi* (P. 98¹⁵)

| | | | | |
|------|-------|------|------------|-----------|
| topə | -tə | və | -ū | vipət |
| you | DAT. | be | PST.PTCPL. | disaster |
| -ə | sitə | -min | iṅdə | -emi |
| DEF. | think | CP. | stay | I.SG.FUT. |

‘I am thinking about the disaster that you faced.’

This (28) is the example for present progressive aspect which has future verbal form with future suffix. According to the story (Bakə Jātəkə) the crane is thinking about the disaster which the fish faced. Then the verb *innemi* ‘will stay’ does not have a future meaning.

(29) *asut payə...obə obā yannēyə* (P. 369³¹⁻³²)

| | | | |
|-------|-----|----------|------------|
| asu | -t | payə | obə |
| horse | too | leg-DEF. | press-ABS. |

obā yə -annē yə
 press-ABS. go III.FUT.SG. PTCLE.

‘The horse is also limping.’

In this example the ongoing action of horse is taken into account. Therefore the verb *yannēyā* ‘will go’ (29) does not represent the future meaning. However it is a sentence of present progressive aspect.

2.2.2. Perfective aspect

There are two types of perfective aspect in Sinhalese. They are past perfective aspect and present perfective aspect.

2.2.2.1. Past perfective aspect

The past perfective aspect of Sinhalese language is attested in the *Jātākā* tales. In this construction the absolutive form and vector verb (ABS. + AUX.) are used to imply the meaning. According to the examples mostly the conjugated form of *siṭṭā* ‘stay’ is used as explicators or auxiliary. Some examples of past perfective aspect which have been quoted from *Jātākā* tales are mentioned below.

(30) (*yakṣəṇīhu*)...*salpil hadā geṇə siṭiyāhuyə* (P. 247²)

| | | | | |
|-------|-----------|-------|-------------|----------|
| yakṣə | -ṇī | -hu | salpil | hadə |
| devil | F. | PL. | shop-PL. | decorate |
| -ā | geṇə | siṭṭə | -āhu | yə |
| ABS. | take-ABS. | stay | III.PST.PL. | PTCLE. |

‘The female devils had decorated the shops.’

(31) *māṇəvəkəyā*...(ācārīṇṭə) *namaskārə koṭṭə siṭiyēyā* (P. 147²⁷)

| | | | | |
|----------|------|---------|------|-----------|
| māṇəvəkə | -ā | ācārīṇ | -ṭṭə | namaskārə |
| youth | DEF. | teacher | DAT. | worship |

| | | | |
|---------|-------|---------------|--------|
| koṭṭə | siṭṭə | -ē | yə |
| do-ABS. | stay | III.PST.SG.M. | PTCLE. |

‘The youth had worshiped the teacher.’

2.2.2.2. Present perfective aspect

The relevant examples of present perfective aspect are not attested in Jātəkə tales.

2.2.3. Simultaneous aspect

The verbal form which denotes an action accompanying the one expressed by the finite verb in a sentence is referred to in the Sidat Saṅgəṛāvə by the term *Musu Kiriya* (Skt. *Mifra Kriyā*) (Paranavitana 1956:154, Geiger 1938:158). “The present continuous participle used predicatively in English, is known as Misra kriyava in Sinhalese” (Wijeratne 1955:100). Before Sigiri graffiti these verbal forms were not used commonly in Sinhalese inscriptions. Paranavitana suggests the term gerund to identify these types of verbs. (1956:154). The term contemporaneous action/participle is also used for this type of verb (Gair 2013:97). The English term gerund is not identical with this grammatical category in Sinhalese. Therefore the term simultaneous aspect is used in this research to name this category of verbs. “Simultaneity of one action with another is expressed by the use of the adverbial (invariable) form of the verb in the embedded/subordinate clause” (Pandharipande 1997:429).

2.2.3.1. General remarks

- i. Paranavitana identifies six suffixes which have been used in Sigiri graffiti to form simultaneous aspect (Paranavitana 1956:154-55). They are as follows:

‘-minə’ - *dakiminə* ‘while seeing’ (dak-minə > dak-i-minə),

‘-mini’ - *baləmini* ‘while looking’ (balə-mini),

‘-məni’ - *baləməni* ‘while looking’ (balə-məni),

‘-mni’ - *balamni* ‘while looking’ (balə-mni > bala-mni),

‘-min’ - *baləmin* ‘while looking’ (balə-min),

‘-men’ - *æsimen* ‘while hearing’ (asə-men > æsə-men > æsi-men).

Sigiri graffiti were written by the common people came from various parts of the country. Therefore they had used regional as well as spoken varieties of language. But the Sidat Saṅgārāvā uses the standard variety of Sinhalese language. So that there are limited number of suffixes.

- ii. According to traditional grammar there are three suffixes viz. ‘-*min*, -*minə*, -*mni*’ which are added to the verbal root to form simultaneous aspect (Gair 2013:97).
- iii. There is only one suffix which is used in the formation of simultaneous aspect in Jātākā tales. It is ‘-*min*’.
- iv. The doubling/reduplication of absolutes gives rise to the meaning of simultaneous aspect. eg: *balə-balā* ‘while looking’, *kapə-kapā* ‘while cutting’ (Geiger 1938:158).

The morphemes *balə-balā* and *kapə-kapā* are absolutes when they are used separately. When two morphemes are used as one unit it gives the meaning of simultaneous aspect (35, 36, 37 and 38).

- v. According to Munidasa ‘-*mini*’ is the basic suffix and ‘-*min*, -*minə*’ and ‘-*mni*’ are alternative forms of same suffix with similar meaning (Munidasa 1999:93).
 1. *baləmini* ‘while looking’ (balə-mini)
 2. *baləmin* ‘while looking’ (balə-min)
 3. *baləminə* ‘while looking’ (balə-minə)
 4. *balamni* ‘while looking’ (balə-mni > bala-mni)

2.2.3.2. A brief history of the development of simultaneous aspect

- i. The history of the suffix ‘-*min*’ goes back to Middle Indo-Aryan period. The Pāli verb realizes as P. *kurumānā* > Sin. *kəṛəmin* ‘while doing’ in Sinhalese (Paranavitana 1956:154).
- ii. The forms of simultaneous aspect in Sinhalese are found from the period of Proto-Sinhalese (4/5-8th c. A. D.). The form *bujameni* is found in Vallipuram gold-plate written in (4th c. A. D.). According to this record the oldest form of simultaneous aspect contains the suffix ‘-*meni*’. Some other suffixes are identified in the inscriptions of later period. The form *demin* ‘granting’ (Wickramasinghe 1912:25¹³) is found in slab inscription of king Dappulə-V (940-52 A. D), *vandimin* ‘worshiping’, *pudəmin* ‘making offerings’, *va[ə]ndimin* ‘using/eating’,

lamin ‘slipping (case)’ (Wickramasinghe 1928:272⁴³⁻⁴⁴) are mentioned in Galvihāra rock inscription written in the reign of king Parākkramabāhu-I (1153-86 A. D.) and *keremin* ‘is ruling (kingdom)’ (Wickramasinghe 1912:127⁴) is found in Gal Āsanā inscription of king Niṣṣankamallā (1187-96 A. D.).

- iii. There are several suffixes in Sigiri graffiti which are not found in other literary works or inscriptions. These forms are mentioned above (see 2.1.3.2.i) with the illustrations quoted from the relevant text. Among them the suffixes ‘-māni, -men’ are commonly used only in graffiti.
- iv. The suffix ‘-min’ is used in Jātākā tales and some other contemporary literature works to form simultaneous aspect. The other two main suffixes ‘-minā’ and ‘-mni’ which are given in Sidat Saṅgārāvā are not found commonly in contemporary prose literature.
- v. The summary of the suffixes used in simultaneous aspect is given below.

| Sigiri graffiti | Sidat Saṅgārāvā | Inscriptions | Jātākā tales |
|-----------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|
| -min | -min | -min | -min |
| -minā | -minā | -meni | - |
| -mni | -mni | - | - |
| -mini | - | - | - |
| -māni | - | - | - |
| -men | - | - | - |

Table 2.24 Suffixes of simultaneous aspect used in Sinhalese

2.2.3.3. Morphophonemic rules for the derivation of forms of simultaneous aspect in the Jātākā text

Some morphophonemic rules can be posited for the derivation of the forms of simultaneous aspect in Jātākā tales. These are as follows:

2.2.3.3.1. Progressive Assimilation

- i. *keḷemin* ‘while playing’ (P. 150¹⁹) (ke|ə-min > ke|e-min)

2.2.3.3.2. Regressive Assimilation

- i. *keremin* ‘while doing’ (P. 186³⁴)
(kəṛə-min > kəṛə-e-min > kəre-min > kere-min)
- ii. *yemin* ‘while going’ (P. 192³⁹) (ya-min > ya-e-min)

In reflexive voice the vowel ‘e’ is inserted between root and suffix (Munidasa 1999:92). But in active voice there is no insertion of ‘e’ between root and suffix. Examples are given below.

- i. *kəṛəmin* ‘while doing’ (P. 263²²) (kəṛə-min)
- ii. *yamin* ‘while going’ (P. 170²⁹) (ya-min)

2.2.3.3.3. Umlaut/vowel harmony

The umlaut process is common and regular in all the verbs in Sinhalese. Sometimes it is optional in simultaneous aspect. Anyway there are several forms which undergo umlaut in Jātākā tales.

- i. *dævemin* ‘while burning’ (P. 163¹¹) (davə-min > davə-e-min > dæve-min)
- ii. *iṃbimin* ‘while kissing’ (P. 286³⁸) (suṃbu-min > siṃbi-min > iṃbi-min)
- iii. *væləpemin* ‘while weeping’ (P. 276¹⁰) (valəpə-min > valəpə-e-min > væləpe-min)

There are some forms which do not follow the rule mentioned in 2.2.3.3.3. They are as follows: *valəpəmin* ‘while weeping’ (P. 258¹⁹) (valəpə-min) and *pavatvəmin* ‘while happening’ (P. 264²⁶) (pavatvə-min).

2.2.3.3.4. Shortening of last vowel of root

- i. *kamin* ‘while eating’ (P. 273²⁸) (kā-min > ka-min)

The root of *kamin* is ‘kā’. When suffix is added to these types of roots the long vowel shortens in simultaneous aspect as well as in other verbal forms (see 2.3.1.3.1).

2.2.3.3.5. Augment of ‘i’

Some groups/gaṇṇas of verbs such as *baṇṇa* ‘talk’, *rak* ‘protect’, *bas* ‘descend’ are taking the vowel ‘i’ at the end of the root to form simultaneous aspect.

- i. *vaḍimin* ‘while going-HON’ (P. 294³³) (vaḍə-min > vaḍi-min)
- ii. *viṇḍimin* ‘while feeling’ (P. 185¹⁵) (viṇḍə-min > viṇḍi-min)

iii. *rakimin* ‘while protecting’ (P. 237¹¹) (rak-min > raki-min)

2.2.3.4. Reduplication of absolutes as simultaneous aspect

The reduplication/doubling of absolute gives rise to simultaneous aspect in Sinhalese. Several types are identified according to the Jātākā tales.

2.2.3.4.1. Type 1

In this type the root of absolute is the first form of the reduplication. The second form is absolute. When two absolutes come together as reduplication, the last vowel of the first form undergoes shortening. Examples are given below.

- i. *balə-balā* ‘while seeing’ (P. 162³⁷) (balə-ā)
- ii. *kiyə-kiyā* ‘while telling’ (P. 165²⁹) (kiyə-ā)
- iii. *nidə-nidā* ‘while sleeping’ (P. 277²³) (nidə-ā)
- iv. *sitə-sitā* ‘while thinking’ (P. 276¹³) (sitə-ā)

2.2.3.4.2. Type 2

In this type the root of absolute is the last form of the reduplication. The root and absolute are identical here. When two absolutes come together as reduplication the last vowel of the first form undergoes shortening. Examples are given below.

- i. *ka-kā* ‘while eating’ (P. 116¹⁰) (kā)
- ii. *ga-gā* ‘while applying’ (P. 116²⁰) (gā)

In these examples *kā-kā* and *gā-gā* are also the correct forms. But according to the general rule of the reduplication of absolutes the first form is shortened.

2.2.3.4.3. Type 3

In this type the verbal root and absolute are identical. Here *pisə* is verbal root as well as absolute in Sinhalese. The verbal roots *viñdə* ‘feel’ also behaves in this manner.

- i. *pisə-pisə* ‘while removing/rubbing’ (P. 174¹⁷) (pisə-ø)

2.2.3.4.4. Type 4

This type is different from type 3 (Root + Root / Absolutive + Absolutive). In this construction only the absolutive occurs in reduplication. The verbal root and absolutive are not identical.

- i. *mæñḍə-mæñḍə* ‘while crushing’ (P. 283⁵) (mañḍə-ə)
- ii. *gæṭi-gæṭi* ‘while crashing’ (P. 290⁵) (gaṭə-i)
- iii. *levə-levə* ‘while licking’ (P. 342²) (lov-ə)
- iv. *koṭə-koṭə* ‘while doing’ (P. 357²⁸) (kəṛə-ə)

2.2.3.5. Structure and usages of simultaneous aspect in Jātəkə text

Several types of usages are identified according to the data attested in Jātəkə tales.

2.2.3.5.1. Common usage of Simultaneous aspect

The use of suffix ‘-min’ at the end of the root is the common method of forming the simultaneous aspect in Sinhalese. Examples are as follows:

(32) *væñḍiri... paḷəñḍəṇāṇə rakimin uyənehi unnīyə* (P. 237¹¹⁻¹²)

| | | | | | |
|---------|--------|-----------|---------------|---------|------|
| vāṇḍuru | -i | paḷəñḍəṇā | -ə | rak | -min |
| monkey | DEF.F. | ornament | DEF. | protect | CP. |
| uyən | -ehi | hiñḍə | -nī | yə | |
| garden | LOC. | be | III.PST.SG.F. | PTCLE. | |

‘The (she) monkey was there in the garden while protecting the ornament.’

(33) *ē hast^{hi}irājəyā...vevləmin...vəgəyən divannēyə* (P. 262¹⁻³)

| | | | | | |
|------|--------------------|-------|---------------|--------|--|
| ē | hast ^{hi} | -rājə | -ā | vevlə | |
| that | elephant | king | DEF. | shiver | |
| -min | vəgəyən | duvə | -annē | yə | |
| CP. | fast | run | III.FUT.SG.M. | PTCLE. | |

‘That giant elephant will run fast while shivering.’

(34) *kuləputrəyek...mahahañđin hañđəmin...palā giyēyə* (P. 261¹³⁻¹⁶)

| | | | | | |
|--------|-------|--------|-------|---------------|--------|
| kulə | putrə | -ek | maha | hañđə | -in |
| family | son | INDEF. | great | voice | INSTR. |
| hañđə | -min | palā | yə | -ē | yə |
| cry | CP. | remove | go | III.PST.SG.M. | PTCLE. |

‘A man fled while crying loudly.’

2.2.3.5.2. Simultaneous aspect with doubling of absolutes

The absolutive forms with reduplication occur in this construction. Examples are given below quoted from Jātəkə tales.

(35) *ē kumārəyō...marəñə b^hayin añđə añđā yati* (P. 178³⁷⁻³⁸)

| | | | | | |
|------|--------|---------|--------|--------------------|--------------|
| ē | kumārə | -ō | marəñə | b ^h ayə | -in |
| that | prince | HON.PL. | death | fear | INSTR. |
| añđə | -ə | añđə | -ā | ya | -ti |
| cry | ABS. | cry | ABS. | go | III.PRES.PL. |

‘That prince goes while crying with fear of death.’

(36) *kapuṭvā...keñdiri ga gā vədəhottēyə* (P. 116¹⁹⁻²⁰)

| | | | |
|------------|------------|-------------------|------------|
| kapuṭu | -ā | keñdiri | gā |
| crow | DEF. | groan | apply-ABS. |
| gā | vadə | hottē | yə |
| apply-ABS. | enter-ABS. | lay-III.PST.SG.M. | PTCLE. |

‘The crow lay while groaning.’

(37) *māṇəvəkəyā nidi pisə pisə...darəmiṭiyak...e[ūyēyə* (P. 174¹⁷⁻²¹)

| | | | | |
|----------|--------|--------|--------------------|-------------|
| māṇəvəkə | -ā | nidi | pisə | pisə |
| boy | DEF. | sleep | remove-ABS. | remove-ABS. |
| darə | miṭi | -ak | e[ūyē | yə |
| firewood | bundle | INDEF. | keep-III.PST.SG.M. | PTCLE. |

‘The boy kept the bundle of firewood while rubbing the eyes.’

(38) *saməharə kenek pənə pənə naṭəti* (P. 212³⁹)

| | | | |
|----------|------------|-------|------------------|
| saməharə | kenek | pan | -ə |
| some | person-PL. | leap | ABS. |
| pan | -ə | naṭə | -ti |
| leap | ABS. | dance | III.PRES.PL.M/F. |

‘Some people dance while leaping.’

Summery

Two aspects namely imperfective (present progressive and past progressive aspects) and perfective (present perfective and past perfective aspects) are described in this section with illustrations. While the future progressive forms are attested in Jātəkə tales they do not have a future reading. (There are some verbal forms in Jātəkə tales with future suffixes but they do not function as future verbs). The simultaneous aspect or contemporaneous participle is also illustrated here with examples.

Notes:

¹*miduṇāyā* ‘release’. This verbal form is normally realized as III.PST.SG.F. in literary Sinhalese. But this form (*miduṇā*) is used as III.PST.SG/PL. in spoken or colloquial Sinhalese with particle *yā*. According to the context here it is used as III.PST.PL. form.

²*tibennēyā* ‘be’. Although Munidasa does not mention the root *tibā* ‘be/stay’ in his *Kriyā Vivarṇayā* (He uses only the root *tabā* ‘keep’ 1999:151-52.) according to the usages of *Jātākā* tales there is such type of root. The root *tibā* ‘be/stay’ is intransitive and *tabā* ‘keep’ is transitive.

³*nikmuṇāhuyā* ‘leave’. (*nikum-uṇāhu-yā* > *nikm-uṇāhuyā*). Here the syncope or deletion of middle vowel is found (Munidasa 1999:42).

2.3. Mood in Sinhalese

Among New Indo-Aryan languages Marathi has indicative, conditional, subjunctive, imperative, and infinitive moods (Navalkar 1880:92-93). Hindi has four moods namely indicative, subjunctive, imperative and infinitive (Kellogg 1938:221). There are several moods in Sinhalese (Geiger 1938:133, Wijeratne 1955:98-99, Gurusinghe 1962:31, 61). Among them indicative, imperative, optative and conditional are more prominent (see 2.3.1, 2.3.2, and 2.3.3). The subjunctive mood disappeared in Sinhalese although it was an important feature of Old Indo-Aryan (Geiger 1938:133).

2.3.1. Imperative Mood - Structure and Usages

Introduction

This sub-section will focus on the imperative forms and their usages in classical Sinhalese era. The historical and sociolinguistic background will be included where relevant.

The imperative mood is traditionally named *Vidi Kiriya* (Skt. *Vidhi Kriyā*) in Sidat Saṅgārāvā. It defines the imperative mood as follows. “When the verb either in the present or future tense expresses an order or entreaty with reference to the 2nd or 3rd person, it is in the imperative” (Alwis 1852:60). The imperative form expresses advice, exhortation or benediction other than the command (Navalkar 1880:95). When compare with Sanskrit and Pāli the Sinhalese language has different types of forms to address the people who belong to various social categories such as superior, equal and inferior. There were only few hierarchical forms which are represented imperatives in ancient periods of Sinhalese language. But in later periods, many forms as well as periphrastic usages can be identified (see 2.3.1.5).

The organization of this sub-section is as given below.

2.3.1.1 includes general remarks on imperative mood. This is followed by a brief history of the development of the imperative forms in classical Sinhalese in 2.3.1.2. The morphophonemic rules which are identified in formation of these verbal forms are given in 2.3.1.3. Sub-section 2.3.1.4 contains the detailed description of structure and usages of imperative forms attested in the *Jātākā* tales with illustrations. The

sociolinguistic view and hierarchical structure of the use of imperative forms in Sinhalese is given in 2.3.1.5.

2.3.1.1. General remarks

- i. According to Sidat Saṅgērāvə the imperative verb has three features. It occurs either in present or future tense, it has polite-impolite (entreaty-order) distinction (see 2.3.1.5), and it observes only in the 2nd and the 3rd persons (Alwis 1852:60). The above observations and the modern linguistic features in connection with the imperatives are mostly same. According to the scholars the imperative is definitely in the present tense (Stevenson 1854:106) or in the future tense (Palmer 1986:112). Basically the imperative is in the 2nd person (Stevenson 1854:106). But the 1st and the 3rd person imperatives are also possible in the languages (Palmer 1986:109, Pandharipande 1997:60, Dhongde 2009:98). The optative as well as imperative forms overlap in languages. “mehi kisi vidi āsi gæbə” ‘here some imperatives have an embedded benedictive sense’ (Gair 2013:91). “The third person imperative has the sense of what we may call jussive. It is mainly used to express a good wish, a blessing or even a curse” (Pandharipande 1997:204).
- ii. The polite-impolite distinction is also one of the main features of imperatives in Sinhalese (Meegaskumbura 1990:170), (see 2.3.1.5).
- iii. Sanskrit and Pāli have full paradigm of imperative forms for all three persons; 1st, 2nd, and 3rd (Kale 2004:335). According to traditional grammar of Sinhalese, the usages of imperative are found only in two persons namely 2nd and 3rd (Gair 2013:90). Some scholars identify 1st person imperative forms as hortative imperatives (Geiger 1938:150, Gunasekara 1962:184) or permissive imperatives (Pandharipande 1997:203).
- iv. The basic imperative form is bare or uninflected one (Whitney 1962:213, Palmer 1986:108, Masica 1991:260, Pandharipande 1997:43). It is also common in Sinhalese language (Geiger 1938:149). The usage of bare root as imperative is not an innovation in Sinhalese. It is a common feature in Sanskrit, Pāli and in other Indo-Aryan languages as well (Stevenson 1854:106, Parānavitana 1956:142).
- v. The imperative verbs show number distinction in Sinhalese only in the case of the *inferior* category. The other categories, namely *superior* and *equal*, do not conjugate their paradigms in the singular (see 2.3.1.5).

- vi. The hierarchical structure of *superior*, *equal* and *inferior* usages of imperative is one of the significant features in Sinhalese language (see 2.3.1.5).

2.3.1.2. A brief history of the development of imperative form

There are many inscriptions (from 3rd c. B. C.), graffiti (around 7th-9th c. A. D.) and literary works (10th c. A. D. onwards) which represented Prakrit, Proto, Mediaeval and Modern eras in Sinhalese (Geiger 1938:2-7). Some of the imperative forms observed in the sources mentioned above are as follows.

2.3.1.2.1. Imperative forms in Sigiri graffiti

Several types of imperative forms which were used in 7th-9th c. A. D. are observed in the Sigiri graffiti. These graffiti were written by the common people from various communities in society. Therefore the original forms which were used in that period are preserved. The examples below are quoted from Sigiri graffiti (Paranavitana 1962:141-42).

- i. Identical in form with the verbal root or stem. *balə* ‘see’ (balə-ø)
- ii. Formed by adding ‘-hi’ to verbal root or stem. *baləhi* ‘see’ (balə-hi)
- iii. Formed by adding ‘-və’. *kiyəvə* ‘tell’ (kiyə-və)
- iv. Formed by adding ‘-u’. *ganu* ‘take’ (gan-u)
- v. Adds ‘-gə’ to type 1 or 4. *kiyəgə* ‘tell’ (kiyə-gə)
- vi. Adds ‘-yu’ to the verbal root or stem. *baləyu* ‘see’ (balə-yu)
- vii. Formed by adding ‘-vu’ or ‘-v’ to the verbal root or stem.
balavu ‘see’, (balə-vu > bala-vu), *sitav* ‘think’ (sitə-v > sita-v)
- viii. Adds ‘-ne, -nne’ or ‘-nnæ’ to the root or stem.
baləne ‘see’ (balə-ne), *balanne* ‘see’ (balə-nne > bala-nne),
asvasannæ ‘console’ (asvasə-nnæ > asvasa-nnæ)
- ix. Formed by adding ‘-nu’ to the root or stem. *yanu* ‘go’ (ya-nu)
- x. Adding ‘-nə’ or ‘-n’ to the root or stem.
vənə ‘be’ (və-nə), *van* ‘be’ (və-n > van)
- xi. Solitary example. *kæræ* ‘do’ (kərə-æ > kærə-æ)

2.3.1.2.2. The imperative suffixes in Sidat Saṅgērāvə

The Sidat Saṅgērāvə states six suffixes which are used to form the imperative verbs. This grammar was written by representing the contemporary literature of Sinhalese. But all the suffixes observed in the literature of this period are not found in Sidat Saṅgērāvə. The suffixes provided by this grammar are as follows (Gair 2013:90):

| Singular | Plural |
|----------|--------|
| -ə | -avu |
| -e | -u |
| -anne | |
| -annæ | |

Table 2.25 Suffixes mentioned in Sidat Saṅgērāvə

2.3.1.2.3. Imperative suffixes in Jātəkə tales

There are several imperative suffixes in the Jātəkə text. These are ‘-və, -uvə, -evə, -u, -annə, -annē, -innē, -nnē, -hu, -v’ and ‘-vu’. The verbal root itself is used as imperative in Sinhalese. Some examples are as follows:

2.3.1.2.3.1. ‘-və’

- i. *baləvə* ‘look-II.SG.’ (P. 202¹⁰) (balə-və)
- ii. *va|akvə* ‘prevent-II.SG.’ (P. 119¹⁶) (va|əkə-və > va|ak-və)
- iii. *alləvə~alvə* ‘catch-II.SG.’ (P. 219²⁸) (P. 235⁶) (allə-və)

2.3.1.2.3.2. ‘-uvə’

- i. *danuvə* ‘know-II.SG.’ (P. 51²⁷) (dan-uvə)
- ii. *piṁbuvə* ‘blow-II.SG.’ (P. 214⁸) (puṁbu-uvə > piṁbi-uvə)
(‘u’ > ‘i’ because of umlaut)
- iii. *hiṅduvə* ‘sit-II.SG.’ (P. 110¹⁸) (hiṅdə-uvə)

2.3.1.2.3.3. ‘-evə’

- i. *həsirevə* ‘follow-II.SG.’ (P. 44²⁹) (hasuru-evə > həsiri-evə)
(‘a’ > ‘æ’ because of umlaut)
- ii. *kipevə* ‘anger-II.SG.’ (P. 88³¹) (kup-evə > kip-evə) (‘u’ > ‘i’ because of umlaut)

iii. *nikmevə* ‘go-II.SG.’ (P. 227¹⁷) (nikum-evə > nikm-evə) (Munidasa 1999:42)

2.3.1.2.3.4. ‘-u’

- i. *siṭu* ‘stay-II.SG.’ (P. 213³³) (siṭə-u)
- ii. *hiñdu* ‘sit-II.SG.’ (P. 213³⁴) (hiñdə-u)

2.3.1.2.3.5. ‘-annə’

- i. *vannə* ‘be-II.SG.’ (P. 471³¹) (və-annə)

2.3.1.2.3.6. ‘-annē’

- i. *kəranṇē* ‘do-II.SG.’ (P. 365¹²) (kəṛə-annē)

2.3.1.2.3.7. ‘-innē’

- i. *keḷinnē* ‘play-II.SG.’ (P. 271⁹) (keḷə-innē)

2.3.1.2.3.8. ‘-nnē’

- i. *dennē* ‘give-II.SG.’ (P. 471²⁴) (de-nnē)
- ii. *ennē* ‘come-II.SG.’ (P. 299¹³) (e-nnē)

2.3.1.2.3.9. ‘-hu’

- i. *kəṛəhu* ‘do-II.PL.’ (P. 134⁸) (kəṛə-hu)

2.3.1.2.3.10. ‘-v’

- i. *vav* ‘be-II.PL.’ (P. 171⁶) (və-v)
- ii. *kərav* ‘do-II.PL.’ (P. 529³⁵) (kəṛə-v)

2.3.1.2.3.11. ‘-vu’

- i. *asavu* ‘hear-II.PL.’ (P. 10¹¹) (asə-vu)
- ii. *vavu* ‘be-II.PL.’ (P. 554³¹) (və-vu)

The imperative suffixes which were mentioned above are presented below in tabular form.

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|-----------------|---------------|
| 1 | -və | -hu |
| 2 | -uvə | -v |
| 3 | -evə | -vu |
| 4 | -u | |
| 5 | -annə | |

| | | |
|---|-------|--|
| 6 | -annē | |
| 7 | -innē | |
| 8 | -nnē | |

Table 2.26 Suffixes found in Jātākā tales

The suffixes ‘-və, -uvə, -evə’, ‘-annē, -innē, -nnē’ and ‘-v, -vu’ may be morphophonemic variants of the imperative suffixes.

2.3.1.2.4. Verbal root as imperative form

Sometimes the verbal root is used as imperative form in Sinhalese without any change. Some examples are given below (see 2.3.1.1.iv).

- i. *ya* ‘go-II.SG.’ (P. 203¹⁵) (ya-∅)
- ii. *mavə* ‘create-II.SG.’ (P. 171³¹) (mavə-∅)

It may be noted that we were not able to identify the roots of the forms mentioned below which are found in Jātākā tales.

- (a) *varə* (P. 137¹³), *varevu* (P. 109³⁵), *varevə* (P. 101²⁶) ‘come-II.SG.’
- (b) *varō* ‘come-II.PL.’ (P. 181²⁴)

According to the context, first three forms are singular and only the last form is plural. Generally the imperative forms with suffix ‘-vu’ such as *asavu* ‘hear-II.PL.’ (P. 10¹¹) (asə-vu), *vavu* ‘be-II.PL.’ (P. 554³¹) (və-vu) are used as plural in Sinhalese. But the form *varevu* ‘come’ (P. 109³⁵) is used as II.SG.

Munidasa claims the above mentioned forms as ‘vocative particles’ (*āmantrəṇārt^hə nipātə*) (1958:299), but the particles do not have declension. However, above mentioned four declinable forms are found in Jātākā text. Therefore, the name ‘vocative particles’ is not a suitable term for these forms.

2.3.1.3. Morphophonemic rules for the derivation of imperative forms in the Jātākā text

According to the verbs attested in the Jātākā tales, the following morphophonemic rules can be posited for imperative forms in Sinhalese.

2.3.1.3.1. Shortening of the last vowel of root

- i. *kavə* ‘eat-II.SG.’ (P. 6²⁷) (kā-və)
- ii. *bavə* ‘dismay-II.SG.’ (P. 176²⁵) (bā-və)
- iii. *davə* ‘burn-II.SG.’ (P. 154⁹) (dā-və)

According to the data, most of the monosyllabic roots are observed under the shortening of the last vowel of the stem.

2.3.1.3.2. Deletion of the last vowel of root

- i. *paduvə* ‘ride-II.SG.’ (P. 7³¹) (padə-uvə)
- ii. *hiñdu* ‘sit-II.SG.’ (P. 213³⁴) (hiñdə-u)
- iii. *siṭu* ‘stand-II.SG.’ (P.213³³) (siṭə-u)

2.3.1.3.3. Umlaut/vowel harmony/fronting

According to the forms attested in the Jātəkə tales, the following umlaut rules can be identified.

- (a) ‘a’ > ‘æ’
 - (b) ‘u’ > ‘i’
- i. *hæsirevə* ‘follow-II.SG.’ (P. 44²⁹) (hasuru-evə > hæsiri-evə)
 - ii. *piṁbuvə* ‘blow-II.SG.’ (P. 214⁸) (puṁbu-uvə > piṁbi-uvə)
 - iii. *kipevə* ‘anger-II.SG.’ (P. 88³¹) (kup-evə > kip-evə)

Alternations

Some forms are used with the same semantic value in some usages of Middle Sinhalese language. Therefore these forms are morphologically different but semantically identical.

alləvə~alvə ‘catch-II.SG.’ (P. 219²⁸), (P. 235⁶) (allə-və)

2.3.1.4. Structure and usages of imperative mood in the Jātəkə text

2.3.1.4.1. Types of agreement of imperative

In the Jātəkə tales, the imperative verb shows three types of agreements. Some of them do not follow the standard grammatical structure of Sinhalese. These types are elaborated with examples.

2.3.1.4.1.1. Singular verb shows singular agreement

According to the standard grammar of Sinhalese the verb agrees with 2nd person singular subject.

(39) *embā dēvīni, no hañḍəvə* (P. 243²⁵⁻²⁶)

| | | | | | |
|-----------------|-------|------|------|-------|---------|
| embā | dēvī | -ni | no | hañḍə | -və |
| dear-VOC.PTCLE. | queen | VOC. | NEG. | cry | IMP.SG. |

‘Dear queen, (you) don’t cry.’

(40) *pinvat puruṣəyə, mē magin yavə* (P. 176³²⁻³³)

| | | | | | | | |
|--------|--------|------|------|------|--------|----|---------|
| pinvat | puruṣə | -ə | mē | magə | -in | ya | -və |
| dear | man | VOC. | this | way | INSTR. | go | IMP.SG. |

‘Dear man, (you) go by this way.’

(41) *kapuvə, narəkesə udurā mā atlehi tabəvə* (P. 33¹)

| | | | | | |
|--------|------|-----------|------|---------|------|
| kapu | -ə | narəkes | -ə | udurə | -ā |
| barber | VOC. | grey hair | DEF. | remove | ABS. |
| mā | atlə | -ehi | tabə | -və | |
| I-GEN. | palm | LOC. | keep | IMP.SG. | |

‘Dear barber, having removed the grey hair and keep on my palm.’

2.3.1.4.1.2. Plural verb shows plural agreement

According to the standard grammar of Sinhalese the verb agrees with 2nd person plural subject.

(42) *tepi saṅgrāmə yōd^həyō nam no vav* (P. 17⁵⁻⁶)

| | | | | | | | |
|---------|----------|--------------------|-----|--------|------|----|---------|
| tepi | saṅgrāmə | yōd ^h ə | -ō | nam | no | və | -v |
| you-PL. | war-ADJ. | giant | PL. | EMPHR. | NEG. | be | IMP.PL. |

‘You don’t become warriors.’

(43) *esē vī nam mahaṇeni asavu* (P. 10¹¹)

e sē vī nam mahaṇə -eni asə -vu
that like be-PST.PTCPL. EMPHR. monk VOC.PL. hear IMP.PL.

‘Then (you) hear monks.’

2.3.1.4.1.3. Plural verb shows singular agreement

This type of sentence pattern is ungrammatical in standard Sinhalese language. But these types of sentences are attested in *Jātəkə* tales frequently.

(44) *tepi hāmə denə mə me tən -hi iṅḍə -uvə* (P. 227²⁶)

tepi hāmə denə mə me tən -hi iṅḍə -uvə
you-PL. all people EMPHR. this place LOC. stay IMP.SG.

‘All of you stay here.’

The pronoun *tepi* (you-II.PL.) is plural. But the verb *iṅḍə* (stay-II.IMP.SG.) (44) is singular. However this construction would be ungrammatical in any standard grammar of Sinhalese.

(45) *svāmiṭṭrəyə, tepi parvətəyehi vasəvə...vanəyen no basuvə* (P. 46¹⁹⁻²¹)

svāmiṭṭrə -ə tepi parvətə -ehi vasə
husband VOC. you-PL. hill LOC. live
-və vanə -en no bas -uvə
IMP.SG. forest ABL. NEG. come down IMP.SG.

‘Dear husband you live on the hill, do not come down from the forest.’

(46) *tepi...āfrəmə prādēḷyak mavə* (P. 171²⁹⁻³¹)

tepi āfrəmə prādēḷyak -ak mavə
you-PL. monastery place INDEF. create-IMP.SG.

‘You create a monastery.’

In 44, 45, 46 *tepi* is II.PL. pronominal form and *iñḍuvə*, *vasəvə*, *basuvə*, and *maṅvə* are II.SG. imperative forms. This would be treated as ungrammatical in standard grammar of Sinhalese. We have to add suffix ‘-v’ or ‘-vu’ instead of ‘-və’ at the end of above mentioned roots to construct grammatical sentences.

We can also interpret the above agreement in another way. According to the context, the pronominal form *tepi* (you-II.PL.) is used for one person in 45 and 46. Although the agreement is ungrammatical the sentence is semantically correct. Therefore, we can observe that the singular verb shows agreement for the plural subject in the literature of medieval period.

2.3.1.4.2. Imperative forms with honorific terms

Some honorific particles such as *sēkva/sēkvā*, *məṅəvə*, *yahapəṭə/yāpəṭə* which are used with main verb are found in the Jātəkə tales. These forms more frequently occur with periphrastic usages. When these types of particles used after the main verbs in the function of imperative they give the meaning of optative (Pandharipande 1997:204).

2.3.1.4.2.1. Use of *sēkva/sēkvā*

The honorific particle *sēkva/sēkvā* is used with present participle to end the sentence. This form is used only with superior category (Buddh^hə, monk, king or socially recognized people). The form *sēkva* is used only with bound morpheme whereas *sēkvā* occurs with either bound or free morpheme.

(47) *paṅḍitəyan vahansē avut mā genə yanə sēkvayi* (P. 156¹⁷)

| | | | | |
|-----------|----------------|------------|-----------|----|
| paṅḍitə | -an | vahansē | avut | mā |
| scholar | OBL.PL. | HON.N. | come-ABS. | me |
| genə | yanə | sēkva | -yi | |
| take-ABS. | go-PRES.PTCPL. | HON.PTCLE. | PTCLE. | |

‘May the scholar come and carry me.’

(48) *rajjuruvan vahansē suk^hī suvə pat venə sēkvāyi* (P. 320³²)

| | | | | |
|---------|----------------|------------|--------------------|--------|
| rajjuru | -an | vahansē | suk ^h ī | suvə |
| king | OBL.PL. | HON.N. | pleasure | health |
| pat | venə | sēkvā | -yi | |
| reach | be-PRES.PTCPL. | HON.PTCLE. | PTCLE. | |

‘May the king get good health.’

2.3.1.4.2.2. Use of *mænəvə*

The honorific particle *mænəvə* is also used at the end of the sentence with the meaning of *good/befitting*.

(49) *svāmīn vahansə, metænəʔə avə mænəvə* (P. 133¹⁶)

| | | | |
|--------------|------------------|--------|-------|
| svāmīn | vahansə | me | tənə |
| monk-OBL.PL. | HON.VOC. | this | place |
| -ʔə | avə | mænəvə | |
| DAT. | come-PRES.PTCPL. | good | |

‘Dear monk, (please) come here.’

(50) *gautəməyeni, ... napuru vastrəyan damā puvə mænəvə* (P. 222²⁰⁻²¹)

| | | | |
|---------------------|----------|-------------------|--------|
| gautəmə | -eni | napuru | vastrə |
| Budd ^h ə | VOC. | bad-ADJ. | cloth |
| -an | damā | puvə | mænəvə |
| OBL.PL. | put-ABS. | leave-PRES.PTCPL. | good |

‘Buddha, (please) throw away bad cloths.’

(51) *nuṃbə vahansē...geyak illā gatə mænəvə* (P. 163²⁸⁻²⁹)

| | | | |
|---------------|---------|------------------|--------|
| nuṃbə | vahansē | gē | -ak |
| you (husband) | HON.N. | house | INDEF. |
| illə | -ā | gatə | mænəvə |
| request | ABS. | take-PRES.PTCPL. | good |

‘You (please) request a house.’

2.3.1.4.2.3. The particle *mænəvə* with *vadā]ə*

The form *vadā]ə* has two functions. The first one is to play a role of verb. The second one is to function as pseudo honorific particle without specific meaning. Therefore this form is homophony in Sinhalese. The form *vadā]ə* is derived from the verbal root of *vadārə* ‘say/preach’ (*vadārə* > *vadā]ə*, here ‘r’ > ‘l’). It comes under the grammatical category of past participle. But here it occurs in the construction of periphrastic imperative. Therefore it definitely implies the future meaning. Two functions of the form *vadā]ə* are as follows:

(a) *vadā]ə* as a verbal form

(b) *vadā]ə* as a pseudo particle

(52) *budurajāṇan vahansə, svapṇəyehi vipākə vadā]ə mænəvə* (P. 189¹²⁻¹³)

| | | | | |
|--------------------|------|------------|----------|----------|
| budu | rajə | -āṇə | -an | vahansə |
| Budd ^{hə} | king | HON.PTCLE. | OBL.PL. | HON.VOC. |
| svapṇə | -ehi | vipākə | vadā]ə | mænəvə |
| dream | GEN. | result-PL. | say-HON. | good |

‘Budd^{hə}, (you) (please) say the results of the dream.’

Here (52) the combination of *vadā]ə* and *mænəvə* occur in the periphrastic usage of imperative.

(53) *maharajjuruvan vahansə, nuṃbə vahansē nobā vadā|ə mænəvə* (P. 188²²⁻²³)

| | | | | |
|------------|--------|---------|------------|--------|
| maha | rajuru | -an | vahansə | nuṃbə |
| great-ADJ. | king | OBL.PL. | HON.VOC. | you |
| vahansē | no | bā | vadā ə | mænəvə |
| HON.NOM. | NEG. | dismay | HON.PTCLE. | good |

‘Emperor, (you) don’t be afraid (please).’

(54) *maharajə, nuṃbə vahansē mā rakṣā koṭə vadā|ə mænəvə* (P. 31⁶⁻⁷)

| | | | | |
|------------|-----------|------------|----------|----|
| maha | rajə | nuṃbə | vahansē | mā |
| great-ADJ. | king-VOC. | you | HON.NOM. | me |
| rakṣā | koṭə | vadā ə | mænəvə | |
| protect | do-ABS. | HON.PTCLE. | good | |

‘Emperor, (you) protect me (please).’

The form *vadā|ə* found in *nobā vadā|ə mænəvə* (53) and *rakṣā koṭə vadā|ə mænəvə* (54) does not give any specific meaning to the sentence. It plays the role of a pseudo particle. Some other examples are given below.

(55) *ærə vadā|ə mænəvə* (P.345³³)

| | | |
|--------------|------------|--------|
| ærə | vadā ə | mænəvə |
| release-ABS. | HON.PTCLE. | good |

‘(Please) (you) release.’

(56) *balā vadā|ə mænəvə* (P. 266¹⁶)

| | | |
|----------|------------|--------|
| balā | vadā ə | mænəvə |
| see-ABS. | HON.PTCLE. | Good |

‘(Please) (you) see.’

(57) *pirinivan pǣ vadā|ə mænəvə* (P. 242³²)

pirinivan pǣ vadā|ə mænəvə

death-HON. show-ABS. HON.PTCLE. good

‘(Please) (you) die.’

(58) *sōkə koʃə vadā|ə mænəvə* (P. 280²¹)

sōkə koʃə vadā|ə mænəvə

regret do-ABS. HON.PTCLE. good

‘(Please) (you) regret.’

(59) *anub^havə koʃə vadā|ə mænəvə* (P. 249⁸)

anub^havə koʃə vadā|ə mænəvə

eat-HON. do-ABS. HON.PTCLE. good

‘(Please) (you) eat.’

2.3.1.4.2.4. Use of *yahapətə/yāpətə*

This honorific particle is used to end the sentence with the meaning of *good/befitting*. (*yahapətə* > *ya-a-pətə* > *yā-pətə*). The usage of this form is identical with *mænəvə*.

(60) (*nuṃbə vahansē*) *vəḍiyot yahapətə* (P. 318²⁹)

(nuṃbə) (vahansē) vəḍə -ot yahapətə

you (king) HON.N. go-HON. EMPHR. good

‘(Please) you go.’

(61) *svāmīni, ivāsā vadārannē yahapətə* (P. 318⁴⁰)

svāmī -ni ivāsā vadārannē yahapətə

Budd^{hə} VOC. tolerate HON.PRES.PTCPL. good

‘Budd^{hə} (please) tolerate.’

(62) (*dēvəyan vahansə*) *vəḍəsiṭinē yāpətə* (P. 364³⁷)

dēvə -an vahansə vəḍəsiṭinē yāpətə

god (king) OBL.PL. HON.N.VOC. sit-HON.PRES.PTCPL. good

‘King, (please) sit down.’

2.3.1.4.3. Imperatives with vector verbs

The imperative forms with vector verbs such as *piyə/piyəvə* ‘leave’, *ganulganuvə* ‘take’, and *lavə* ‘put’ are found in Jātəkə tales. The complete description is provided in the chapter of complex predicate (see 5.1).

2.3.1.5. Sociolinguistic background and hierarchical structure of imperative verbs

Sri Lankan society is broadly divided into two groups namely secular/layperson (Skt. *grhast^{hə}* > Sin. *gihī*) and mendicant/clergy (Skt. *pravrajitə* > Sin. *pævidi*). Because of this situation the Sinhalese language shows very significant usages such as polite : impolite and formal : informal distinction among Indo-Aryan languages (Fairbanks & Misra 1966:19, Meegaskumbura 1990:170). Buddhism is the main factor for this differentiation.

2.3.1.5.1. Layperson and religious/royal usages of imperative verbs

There are some imperative forms morphologically different but semantically identical in Sinhalese. The words in column ‘A’ are used for common people and those in ‘B’ are used for Buddhist monks, royal family members and the people of higher social status (Table 2.25). According to the grammar the honorific verbal forms, either singular or plural, are used as plural in Sinhalese language.

| | A - Layperson | | B - Religious/Royal |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | <i>kavə</i> ‘eat-II.SG.’ (P. 6 ²⁷) (kā-və > ka-və) | 1 | <i>anub^havə koṭə vadāḷə mænəvə</i> (P. 249 ⁸) eat do-ABS. PTCLE.good > ‘eat/utilize’ (Royal) |
| 2 | <i>bovə</i> ‘drink-II.SG.’ (P. 58 ³⁵) (po-və > bo-və, p > b) | | |
| 1 | <i>yavə</i> ‘go-II.SG.’ (P. 176 ³³) (ya-və) | 1 | <i>væḍiyot yahapətə</i> (P. 318 ²⁹) (Religious) come/go-HON.good > ‘come/go’ (vadə-ot > væḍi-ot > væḍi-y-ot) |
| 2 | <i>nikmevə</i> ‘go-II.SG.’ (P.227 ¹⁷) (nikum-evə > nikm-evə) | 2 | <i>væḍiyə mænəvə</i> (P. 180 ²) (Religious) come/go-HON.good > ‘come/go’ |
| 3 | <i>evə</i> ‘come-II.SG.’ (P. 199 ³⁷) (e-və) | 3 | <i>vaḍinē yahapətə</i> (P. 392 ¹⁷) (Religious) come/go-HON.good > ‘come/go’ |
| 4 | <i>varə</i> ‘come-II.SG.’ (P. 137 ¹³) | | |
| 1 | <i>kiyəvə</i> ‘tell-II.SG.’ (P. 139 ²⁷) (kiyə-və) | 1 | <i>vadāḷə mænəvə</i> (P. 189 ¹³) (Religious) preach-HON.good > ‘preach’ |
| | | 2 | <i>dakvā vadāḷot yahapətə</i> (P. 270 ³) show-ABS. preach-HON.good > ‘preach’ (Religious) |
| 1 | <i>vasəvə</i> ‘live-II.SG.’ (P. 183 ¹⁶) (vasə-və) | 1 | <i>væḍəsiṭinē yāpətə</i> (P. 364 ³⁷) (Royal) sit-HON.PRES.PTCPL.good > ‘sit’ |
| 2 | <i>siṭu</i> ‘stay-II.SG.’ (P. 213 ³³) (siṭə-u) | 2 | <i>vasannē yahapətə</i> (P. 316 ³⁹) (Religious) |
| 3 | <i>hiñdu</i> ‘sit-II.SG.’ (P.213 ³⁴) (hiñdə-u) | | |
| 4 | <i>iñdivə</i> ‘sit down-II-SG.’ (P. 227 ²⁶) (iñdə-uvə) | | |
| | Forms not attested | 1 | <i>pirinivan pāvə mænəvə</i> (P. 242 ³⁴) death-HON. show good > ‘die’ (Religious) |
| | | 2 | <i>pirinivan pā vadāḷə mænəvə</i> (P. 242 ³²) death-HON.show |

| | | | |
|--|--|--|---------------------------------------|
| | | | HON.PTCLE.good > ‘die’ (Religious) |
|--|--|--|---------------------------------------|

Table 2.27 Layperson and religious/royal usages of imperative verbs

Examples illustrating the verbal forms listed in Table 2.25 are given below. Morphologically different verbal forms are given for both categories labeled as column ‘A’ and ‘B’ which show semantically identical status in Sinhalese language.

(63) *topi kavə, bovə* (P. 58³⁵)

topi k̄ā -və po -və
 you-PL. eat IMP.SG. drink IMP.SG.

‘You eat and drink.’

(64) *nuṁbə vahansē...anub^havə koṭə vadā|ə mænəvə* (P. 2497⁷⁻⁸)

nuṁbə vahansē anub^havə koṭə vadā|ə mænəvə
 You (king) HON.N. eat do-ABS. PTCLE. good

‘King (please) utilize (it).’

The forms *kavə* ‘eat’ and *bovə* ‘drink’ (63) are used for common people whereas the form *anub^havə koṭə vadā|ə mænəvə* ‘utilize/eat/drink’ (64) is used for religious/royal category. The superior category has only one form for both eating/drinking (utilizing) but equal and inferior categories have two forms for both the functions.

(65) *puruṣəyə, mē maṅgin yavə* (P. 176³²⁻³³)

puruṣə -yə mē maṅgə -in ya -və
 man VOC. this road INSTR. go IMP.SG.

‘Man, go this way.’

(66) *tepi evə* (P. 199³⁷)

tepi e -və

you-PL. come IMP.SG.

‘You come.’

(67) *tō varə* (P. 137¹³)

tō varə

you-SG. come-IMP.SG.

‘You come.’

(68) (*nuṁbə vahansē*) *vəḍiyot yahapətə* (P. 318²⁹)

(nuṁbə) (vahansē) vaḍə -ot yahapətə

you (king) HON.N. go-HON. EMPHR. good

‘(Please) you go.’

(69) *svāmīni vəḍiyə mænəvə* (P. 180²)

svāmī -ni vəḍiyə mænəvə

lord (hermit) VOC. go-HON. good

‘Hermit (please) (you) go.’

The forms *yavə* ‘go’ (65), *evə/varə* ‘come’ (66-67) are used with inferior category and *vəḍiyot yahapətə* (68), *vəḍiyə mænəvə* (69) are used with superior or religious/royal category. There are two separate verbal roots in the inferior category to denote the actions *ya* ‘go’, *e* ‘come’ but only one honorific root i.e. *vaḍə* is used for both the functions in the superior category. Therefore the Sinhalese speaker has to choose the verbal forms of *vaḍə* according to the context.

(70) *tepi kiyəvə* (P. 139²⁷)

tepi kiyə -və

you-PL. tell IMP.SG.

‘You tell.’

(71) *budurajāṇan vahansə, vadā]ə mænəvə* (P. 189¹²⁻¹³)

budu rajə -āṇə -an

Budd^{hə} king HON.PTCLE. OBL.PL.

vahansə vadā]ə mænəvə

HON.VOC. preach-HON. good

‘Budd^{hə}, (please) preach.’

The verbal roots *kiyə* ‘tell/say’ (70) and *vadārə* ‘preach’ (71) are semantically same but morphologically different. The form *kiyəvə* is used with equal and inferior category whereas *vadā]ə mænəvə* is used only with superior category.

(72) (*tepi*) *vasəvə* (P. 183¹⁶)

tepi vasə -və

you-PL. live IMP.SG.

‘You live.’

(73) *siṭu kāləkanniyə hiṅdu kāləkanniyə* (P. 213³³⁻³⁴)

siṭə -u kāləkanni -ə

stand IMP.SG. miserable person VOC.

hiṅdə -u kāləkanni -ə

sit down IMP.SG. miserable person VOC.

‘Miserable person, stand; miserable person, sit down.’

(74) (*dēvāyan vahansə*) *væḍasiṭinē yāpətə* (P. 364³⁷)

dēvə -an vahansə væḍasiṭinē yāpətə

god (king) OBL.PL. HON.VOC. sit-HON.PRES.PTCPL. good

‘King, (please) sit down.’

There are three distinctive roots namely *vasə* ‘live’ (72), *siṭə* ‘stand’ and *hiṇḍəliṇḍə* ‘sit down’ (73) for equal and inferior categories whereas only one root *væḍasiṭə* (74) for the functions of ‘live’, ‘stand’ and ‘sit down’ in the category of superior.

2.3.1.5.2. Hierarchical structure of superior, equal and inferior usages

2.3.1.5.2.1. Verbal components

Some verbs are used in the classical period of Sinhalese according to the superior, equal and inferior status of the addressee or hierarchical structures of the society. There are two separate sets of verbs which are semantically same but morphologically distinct. These forms are listed in Table 2.26.

| | Singular | | Plural |
|---|--|---|--|
| | Superior | | Superior |
| 1 | <i>vaḷəṇḍəvə</i> ¹ (P. 229 ¹) (vaḷəṇḍə-və) ‘eat/drink-HON.’ | 1 | <i>genə yanə sēkva</i> (P. 156 ¹⁷) take go HON.PTCLE. > ‘carry’ |
| 2 | <i>piḷiganvə</i> ² ‘give-HON.’ (P. 134 ³⁴) (piḷigan-və) | 2 | <i>suvə pat venə sēkvā</i> (P. 320 ³²) health reach be HON.PTCLE. > ‘have good health’ |
| 3 | <i>sətəpevə</i> ³ ‘sleep-HON.’ (P. 489 ¹⁰) (satəpə-evə > sətəpə-evə) | 3 | <i>vasannē yahapətə</i> (P. 316 ³⁹) live good > ‘live’ (vasə-annē) |
| | | 4 | <i>væḍiyə mænəvə</i> (P. 180 ²) come-HON. good > ‘come’ (vaḍə-iyə > væḍə-iyə) |
| | | 5 | <i>væḍasiṭinē yāpətə</i> (P. 364 ³⁷) sit- HON. good > ‘sit’ (væḍasiṭə-inē) |

| Equal | | Equal | |
|-----------------|--|-----------------|---|
| 1 | <i>vannə</i> ‘be’ (P. 471 ³¹) (və-annə) | | Forms not attested |
| Inferior | | Inferior | |
| 1 | <i>ya</i> ‘go’ (P. 203 ¹⁵) (ya-ø) | 1 | <i>kərav</i> ‘do’ (P. 529 ³⁵) (kərə-v) |
| 2 | <i>baləvə</i> ‘see’ (P. 202 ¹⁰) (balə-və) | 2 | <i>asavu</i> ‘hear’ (P. 10 ¹¹) (asə-vu) |
| 3 | <i>poṽā lavə</i> (P. 70 ⁷) (po-və-ā lavə) drink-CAUS.ABS. put > ‘drink’ | | |
| 4 | <i>pəhærə piyə</i> (P. 153 ⁸) hit leave > ‘hit’ (paharə piyə > pəhærə piyə) <i>nasā</i> | | |
| 5 | <i>piyəvə</i> (P. 185 ²⁴) (nasə-ā piyə-və) destroy-ABS. leave > ‘destroy’ | | |
| 6 | <i>dænə ganuvə</i> (P. 32 ³) dan-ə gan-uvə > dæn-ə ganuvə) know-ABS. take > ‘know’ | | |
| 7 | <i>varə</i> ‘come’ (P. 115 ³⁵) | | |

Table 2.28 Superior, equal and inferior usages

Mostly the plural forms occur as periphrastic usages in the superior category. There are a few singular forms also in the superior category found in Sinhalese (see note - 2). The nominal forms of superior category are basically plural or honorific plural (sometimes the honorific plural nouns grammatically show the ‘singular’ but semantically show the ‘plural’).

(The verbal forms mentioned in Table 2.28 show agreement for pronominal components listed in the note - 1)

Note-1

Pronominal components

The verbal forms mentioned in Table 2.28 show agreement for these pronominal forms listed in Table 2.29.

| | Singular | Plural |
|-----------------|--|---|
| Superior | (Forms are not possible) | <i>nuṁbā vahanse</i> ‘you-HON.’ (P. 203 ²⁹) <i>svāmīn vahansə</i> ‘you-HON.’ (P. 133 ¹⁶) |
| Equal | <i>(nuṁbə)</i> (P. 471 ³⁰) ‘you’ | Forms not attested |
| Inferior | <i>tō</i> (P. 214 ⁸) ‘you.M.’ <i>to</i> (P. 176 ²⁵) ‘you.M.’ <i>tī</i> (1556 ²) ‘you.F.’ | <i>topi</i> (P. 51 ²⁷) ‘you.M/F.’ <i>tepi</i> (P. 229 ²⁶) ‘you.M/F.’ |

Table 2.29 Pronominal components

Only the nominal forms of superior plural, equal singular, inferior singular and plural are found in Jātākə tales. However the nominal forms of equal plural category are not found. The superior singular forms are not possible in Sinhalese.

Note -2

*va|əṅḍəvə*¹ - The subject of this honorific imperative verb *va|əṅḍəvə* ‘eat/drink’ is *mahaṇeni (tepi)*. According to the context, the Buddha imposed some rules for the monks. Therefore, hierarchically upper level person of superior category uses the honorific form to the hierarchically lower level person of same category as command.

*pi|iganvə*² - The subject of this verb is *tō* ‘you’. If someone offers something to monks (*b^hikṣu sang^həyā vahansētə* - monk group HON.N.DAT.) then s/he will use the relevant verbal form for that task. Therefore, the verb is used in honorific form. The verb *devə* (give-II.SG.IMP.) is used in common instead of *pi|iganvə*.

*sətəpevə*³ - The king is saying this to his daughter. (But at that time the king’s daughter was not there. Even though another person is acting the role of daughter the king has to use the form of honorific.)

2.3.2. Optative Mood - Structure and Usages

Introduction

The optative mood is traditionally named *āsi kiriyə* in Sidat Saṅgārāvə. It defines the optative mood as follows: “When the verb in any of the three persons expresses a wholesome wish, in future, and which is not realized, at the time expressed it is in the optative or benedictive mood. It obtains the termination -vā” (Alwis 1852:61). It is named *āṭīrvāda kriyā* in Sanskrit (Wijeratne 1955:98, Parānavitana 1956:145). According to Munidasa there is only addition of ‘-vā’ to the present form to build the optative verb in Sinhalese. Therefore, he refuses such type of verbal category in Sinhalese language (1999:51). Parānavitana suggests the term *precativ mood* instead of optative mood in his works (1956:145).

The optative forms in Sinhalese have not undergone considerable change in the history of the language. Largely the same phonemic and structural value continues in all the stages in evolution of Sinhalese language after Proto Sinhalese era (Parānavitana 1956:145).

This sub-section of optative mood is organized as follows:

2.3.2.1 includes general remarks on optative mood. This is followed by a brief history of the development of the optative mood in classical Sinhalese in 2.3.2.2. The detailed description of structure and usages of optative forms with illustrations contains in 2.3.2.3.

2.3.2.1. General remarks

- i. The optative forms in Sinhalese are formed by adding ‘-vā’ to the present form. According to the Sidat Saṅgārāvə the suffix ‘-vā’ is added immediately after the present form to build these types of verbs (Alwis 1852:61).
- ii. Optative mood expresses a *wish* or *desire* and always implies futurity (Gunasekara 1962:182). According to this definition the ideas of the speaker always fulfill in the future. Hence this mood always represents the future time or sense of future.
- iii. The optative forms with causative suffixes are also found in Sinhalese. Even though the causative suffix ‘-və’~‘-va’ and optative suffix ‘-va’~‘-vā’ are identical in form they differ in function. This matter will be discussed with illustrations in this sub-section (see 2.3.2.3.3).

iv. Reflexive optative forms are observed in Sinhalese. However, the reflexive forms of optative are not common in Sinhalese literature. But some forms are found in Jātākā tales.

miyemvā rækemvā (P. 1558³⁰⁻³¹) (I.PRES.SG.) ‘may I die or protect’

v. Passive construction of the optative verbs is also possible. This forms are rare in Jātākā tales.

rakṣā kerēvā (P.139²⁶⁻²⁷) (kərə-ē-vā > kerə-ē-vā)

(protection do-III.PRES.PASS.SG.OPT.) ‘may be protected’

vi. Optative verbs are used with honorific forms in Sinhalese.

(75) *vahansē bohōkalak jīvat vənə sēkvayi* (P.326⁶⁻⁷)

| | | | |
|----------------|------------|-------------|--------|
| vahansē | bohō | kalak | jīvat |
| Buddha | much | time-INDEF. | life |
| vənə | sēk | -va | yi |
| be-PRES.PTCPL. | HON.PTCLE. | OPT. | PTCLE. |

‘Buddha, (you) may live long time.’

The imperative honorific particle *sēkvā* is used with the meaning of optative (75). Sometimes the imperative forms are used with the sense of optative (Paranavitana 1956:145, Pandharipande 1997:204). (See 2.3.1.1.i).

2.3.2.2. A brief history of the development of the optative mood

i. The ancient forms of optative are observed in the inscriptions of Prakrit Sinhalese era (200 B.C - 4/5th c. A.D.) (Geiger 1938:1). The usage *ved^hə vayu* (Wickramasinghe 1933:122³) (Skt. - *b^havətu*, Pāli - *hōtu/b^hōtu/b^havətu*, Sin. - *vayu*) (ibid 126) ‘may increase [in prosperity]’ is found in Ruvanvælisæyē pillar inscription written in 388-418 A.D. The form *anumovətu* is observed in the same inscription (ibid 122³) with the great influence of Pāli language (Pāli - *anumōdātu*, Sin.- *anumovətu*) (ibid 126). The optative suffix ‘-vay’ is found in the later period which is named as Mediaeval Sinhalese (8th c. A. D. - middle of 13th c. A. D.) in Gærəñḍigalə rock inscription written in 8th c. A. D. *budenā bat no læbet(vay) para danmāye balu kavuḍu vetvay* (Wickramasinghe 1933:198B³⁻⁵) ‘may they not receive food to eat; may they be born as dogs and crows in their next birth’ (ibid

199). The optative suffix ‘-vā’ was attested in 9th c. A. D. in Morəgodə pillar inscription also. *kavuḍu balu vetvā* (və-et-vā) (Wickramasinghe 1912:205D²¹⁻²²) ‘(may they) become crows or dogs’ (ibid 207).

- ii. According to Paranavitana, many examples of the optative mood are not observed in Sigiri graffiti (written from 7th - 9th c. A. D.). However he identifies four suffixes in Sinhalese which are used to make optative verbs in the graffiti. They are as follows: ‘-va, -vay, -vayu’ and ‘-vayə’ (Paranavitana 1956:145).

| | Singular | Plural |
|------------|--|---|
| I | <i>dakimva</i> ‘may see’ (dak-im-va) | Forms not attested |
| II | Forms not attested | Forms not attested |
| III | <i>akmayvayu</i> * ‘may pass’ (akma-y-vayu) <i>vayəvayə</i> * ‘may be’ (va-yə-vayə) | <i>balatvay</i> ‘may look’ (balə-t-vay) |

Table 2.30 Optative forms found in Sigiri graffiti

*(It was difficult to analyze the morphological forms such as *akmayvayu*, *vayəvayə* because these usages were rare.)

According to aforesaid observations the gradual development of optative forms is clear. All the possible optative suffixes are found in inscriptions as well as in the literature. However, some suffixes are more common in graffiti. The graffiti were written by common people from various social groups of the society. The attested forms may be from spoken as well as written usages.

- iii. According to the Sidat Saṅgəṛāvə the following examples can be provided to show the formation of optative verbs (Alwis 1852:61):

| | Singular |
|------------|--|
| I | <i>vemvā</i> ‘may be’ (və-em-vā) |
| II | <i>vəjəṃbehivā</i> ‘may live’ (vəjəṃbə-ehi-vā) |
| III | <i>isbēvā</i> ‘may dwell’ (isuṃbu-ē-vā) |

Table 2.31 Optative forms found in Sidat Saṅgəṛāvə

- iv. Geiger mentions possible paradigm of optative forms in his grammar. He further describes the alternative optative forms occurring in Sinhalese (Geiger 1938:151-152).

| | Singular | Plural |
|------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| I | <i>balamvā</i> ‘look’ (balə-am-vā) | <i>balāmōvā</i> ‘look’ (balə-mō-vā) |
| II | <i>balāhivā</i> ‘look’ (balə-hi-vā) | <i>balāhuvā</i> ‘look’ (balə-hu-vā) |
| III | <i>balayivā</i> ‘look’ (balə-yi-vā) | <i>balatvā</i> ‘look’ (balə-t-vā) |

Table 2.32 Examples given by Geiger

2.3.2.3. Structure and usages of optative mood in the Jātākə text

Only the suffix ‘-vā’ is used to make the optative forms in Jātākə tales. Sometimes the form ‘-va’ with shortened vowel is also used in some instances. Although the suffix ‘-vā’ (with long ‘ā’) is used with separate verb, the suffix ‘-va’ (with short ‘a’) occurs only with morphophonemic change or Sandhi. Examples are as follows:

vēvā ~ *vēvayi* ‘be-III.OPT.SG.’ (P. 86³⁸) (P. 255²⁰) (və-ē-vā)

sēkvā ~ *sēkvayi* (HON.PTCLE.) (P. 320³²) (P. 326⁷)

2.3.2.3.1. Paradigm of optative forms occurs in the Jātākə tales

| | Singular | Plural |
|------------|--|--|
| I | <i>vemvā</i> ‘be’ (P.257 ⁹) (və-em-vā) | Forms not attested |
| II | Forms not attested | Forms not attested |
| III | <i>vēvā</i> ‘be’ (P. 86 ³⁸) (və-ē-vā) | <i>vetvā</i> ‘be’ (P. 350 ²³) (və-et-vā) |

Table 2.33 Optative paradigm in the Jātākə tales

The optative forms occur in I.PL., II.SG. & PL. could not be found in Jātākə text.

2.3.2.3.2. Types of optative mood

Two types of optative forms (benedictive and vituperative) are observed in traditional grammar whereas four types were identified in the Jātākā tales. They are as follows:

2.3.2.3.2.1. Benedictive (blessing/wishing)

If someone wishes another person any kind of good condition it will be expressed by the benedictive. Only good wishes are referred to here. Some examples are given below quoted from the Jātākā tales.

(76) *rajjuruvan vahansē suk^hī suvapat venā sēkvā* (P. 320³²⁻³³)

| | | | | |
|---------|---------|------------|--------------------|--------|
| rajjuru | -an | vahansē | suk ^h ī | suvə |
| king | OBL.PL. | HON.N. | pleasure | health |
| pat | venā | sēk | -vā | yi |
| reach | be | HON.PTCLE. | OPT. | PTCLE. |

‘May the king have good health. (May the king live long.)’

The compound or conjunct verb *suvapat venā sēkvā* is used in the context of honor to the king. These types of forms are used only with superior category or higher standard people (Budd^hā, monks, kings etc.) of the society. The forms of this category can be used either as optative or as imperative. “The interesting property of the optative is that when the optative verb takes a third person subject it can function as an imperative, although it is generally interpreted as a polite suggestion and not a direct command” (Pandharipande 1997:46). There are three honorific particles namely *sēkvā*, *mænāvi*, *yahapati* which are used with imperative and optative in Sinhalese. The form *sēkvā* occurs in both the moods whereas *mænāvi*, *yahapati* occur only with imperative (see 2.3.1.4.2). Addition of suffix ‘-vā’ to the end of *mænāvi* and *yahapati* are not acceptable in Sinhalese grammar.

(77) *suppəvāsā suvəpat vėvayi nirōgə vėvayi* (P. 255¹⁹⁻²⁰)

| | | | | | |
|-----------|---------|-----------------|-----------------|--------|--------|
| suppəvāsā | suvə | pat | vė | -va | -yi |
| Suppəvāsā | health | reach | be-III.PRES.SG. | OPT. | PTCLE. |
| nī | rōgə | vė | -va | -yi | |
| NEG. | disease | be-III.PRES.SG. | OPT. | PTCLE. | |

‘May Suppəvāsā become healthy and free of disease.’

The optative form *vėvayi* occurs in morphophonemic change. Therefore the shortened form of optative *vėva* and particle *yi* are used (see 75, 77, 78).

(78) *siyəlu satvəyō suvəpat vetvayi* (P. 350²⁰⁻²¹)

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------|-------|-----|--------|-------|----|--------------|------|--------|
| siyəlu | satvə | -ō | suvə | pat | və | -et | -va | -yi |
| all | being | PL. | health | reach | be | III.PRES.PL. | OPT. | PTCLE. |

‘May all beings become healthy.’

2.3.2.3.2.2. Vituperative (reproaching/censuring)

If someone wishes ill to the other person it will be expressed by the vituperative. When people are fighting or arguing each other then they use bad words as well as this type of reproaching or censuring. Only bad wishes are referred to here.

(79) *manuṣyayō ōhaṭə nindā vėvayi kīvāhuyə* (P. 86¹⁴)

| | | | | | |
|--------------|------|--------|-------|-------------|--------|
| manuṣyə | -ō | ō | -haṭə | nindā | və |
| man | PL. | he | DAT. | criticism | be |
| -ē | -va | -yi | kī | -āhu | -yə |
| III.PRES.SG. | OPT. | PTCLE. | say | III.PST.PL. | PTCLE. |

‘People said (that) may criticism go to him.’

(80) *ahitə adəhas æti satvəyō pahavetvā* (P. 396²²⁻²³)

| | | | | |
|------|-------|----------|--------------|--------|
| a | -hitə | adəhas | æti | satvə |
| NEG. | good | idea-PL. | have | person |
| -ō | paha | və | -et | -vā |
| PL. | leave | be | III.PRES.PL. | OPT. |

‘May the people who have bad ideas leave.’

2.3.2.3.2.3. Precative (declaring)

If someone declares any kind of idea it will be expressed by the declaring. It happens when someone expresses his idea without special wishing or censuring. Only general ideas can be conveyed in this manner. Some quotations from the Jātākə text are given below:

(81) *mē ladəru...ahashi siṭvayi* (P. 30⁴¹ & 31¹⁻²)

| | | | | | | |
|------|-----------|------|------|-------------------|------|--------|
| mē | ladəru | ahas | -hi | siṭ | -va | -yi |
| this | baby-DEF. | sky | LOC. | stay-III.PRES.SG. | OPT. | PTCLE. |

‘This baby may stay in the sky.’

(82) *metæn paṭan farəyen muvəku no viditvayi* (P. 43²⁸⁻²⁹)

| | | | | | |
|------------|------|-------|--------------|--------|--------|
| me | tæn | paṭan | farə | -en | muve |
| this | time | from | arrow | INSTR. | deer |
| -aku | no | vidə | -it | -va | -yi |
| ACC.INDEF. | NEG. | shoot | III.PRES.PL. | OPT. | PTCLE. |

‘From now, (they) may not shoot a deer with an arrow.’

(83) *epaməṇakmə rakṣā kerēvā* (P. 139²⁶⁻²⁷)

e paməṇak -mə rakṣā kərə -ē -vā
that amount EMPHR. protection do III.PRES.SG. OPT.

‘May (he) protect only that much.’

2.3.2.3.2.4. Desirous (liking)

If someone wishes something for one’s own self it will be expressed by this type of the optative mood.

(84) *mē temə maṭə svāmi vēvā* (P. 86³⁸)

mē temə ma -ṭə svāmi və -ē -vā
this person-DEF. I DAT. husband-DEF. be III.PRES.SG. OPT.

‘May he become my husband.’

(85) *lāb^hīn aturehi agrə vemvayi* (P.257⁹)

lāb^hī -in aturu -ehi agrə və -em -va -yi
receiver PL.ACC. among LOC. first be I.PRES.SG. OPT. PTCLE.

‘May (I) become the first among the receivers.’

(86) *maṭə kisi antərāvak no vēvayi* (P. 304²⁴)

ma -ṭə kisi antərā -ak no və -ē -va -yi
I DAT. any obstacle SG.INDEF. NEG. be III.PRES.SG. OPT. PTCLE.

‘May no obstacle befall me.’

2.3.2.3.3. Optative verbs with causative meaning

The optative form is used with the meaning of causative. The verb *devatva* (de-və-at-va-yi) (give-III.PRES.CAUS.PL.) contains the causative suffix ‘-və’ and the optative suffix ‘-va’ respectively. The two morphemes (causative suffix ‘-və’ and optative suffix ‘-va’) are identical in form but different in function. The causative

marker occurs between stem and suffix whereas the optative marker occurs only in the final position of the verb in finite verb formation.

(87) *kosol rajjuruvō rājyāyā hō devatvayi* (P. 129²⁵⁻²⁶)

| | | | | | |
|-------|---------|--------------|---------|--------|----|
| kosol | rajjuru | -ō | rājyā | -ā | hō |
| Kosol | king | HON.PL. | kingdom | DEF. | or |
| de | -vā | -at | -va | -yi | |
| give | CAUS. | III.PRES.PL. | OPT. | PTCLE. | |

‘May king Kosol cause to give the kingdom.’

2.3.2.3.4. Optative verbs with imperative honorific particle

The imperative honorific particle *sēkva* is used with the meaning of optative. When optative forms use with the superior forms of imperatives they have the illocutionary force of imperatives (see 2.3.1.4.2).

(88) *budu rajāṇan vahansē bohō kal jīvat vānā sēkvayi* (P. 326⁶⁻⁷)

| | | | | | |
|---------------------|-------|------------|------------|---------|-----------|
| budu | rajā | -āṇ- | -an | vahansē | bohō |
| Budd ^h ə | king | HON.PTCLE. | ACC.PL. | HON.N. | very-ADJ. |
| kal | jīvat | vānā | sēk | -va | -yi |
| time | live | be | HON.PTCLE. | OPT. | PTCLE. |

‘Budd^hə, may (you) live long.’

(89) *rājyāyā gannā sēkvayi* (P. 129²⁸)

| | | | | | | |
|---------|------|------|-------------|------------|------|--------|
| rājyā | -ā | gan | -ā | sēk | -va | -yi |
| kingdom | DEF. | take | PRES.PTCPL. | HON.PTCLE. | OPT. | PTCLE. |

‘May (you) take the kingdom.’

Summary

The history and the usages of the optative mood were discussed according to data of the Jātākā tales. Traditionally established two types of usages of optative mood extended up to four types. Optative with causative forms and honorific particles were described with illustrations.

2.3.3. Conditional Mood - Structure and Usages

Introduction

The conditional mood is traditionally named *Asabahav Kiriya* (Skt. *Asambhāvya Kriyā*) in Sidat Saṅgerāvə. This mood is defined as follows: “When there is a hypothetical/contingent or temporal sense in the three tenses and three persons with no distinction in form, the verb is called conditional” (Gair 2013:95). According to this definition there are two types of conditional forms. They are hypothetical (contingent) type (*aniyam arutə*) and temporal type (*kal arutə*). (A special note has been given at the end of this sub section). “The conditional mood states a fact conditionally or expresses uncertainty...Both present and the past forms of verbs in this mood are strictly in future. In this mood generally tense, number and person are left indefinite” (Gunasekara 1962:184-5). There are numerous inscriptions (from 3rd c. B. C.), graffiti (around 7th-9th c. A. D.) poems such as *Siyəbaslakərə*, *Muvədevdāvətə*, *Sasədāvətə*, *Kavsiḷumiṇə* and prose such as *D^hampiyā Aṭuvā Gæṭəpadəyə*, *Sik^həvaḷəṇḍə hā Sik^həvaḷəṇḍə Vinisə*, *D^harmaprədīpikā*, *Amāvaturə*, *Butsarəṇə* ect. (from 10th c. A. D. onwards) before above mentioned grammar work. Therefore the usages of the conditional mood can be clearly identified by the help of the literature.

This sub-section on conditional mood is organized as follows:

2.3.3.1 includes general remarks on conditional mood. This is followed by a brief history of the development of the conditional mood in 2.3.3.2. A detailed description of structure and usages of conditional mood with illustrations contains in 2.3.3.3.

2.3.3.1. General remarks

Some general features can be identified in connection with the conditional mood. These are as follows:

- i. In Sigiri graffiti the particles ‘*hotə*, *hot*, *ot*’ and ‘*hotin*’ are used for the conditional mood (Paranavitana 1956:147). The suffixes are generally not used in Sinhalese to make conditional forms. (However above mentioned particles such as ‘*hotə*, *hot*’ and ‘*hotin*’ are used as suffixes with a deletion of initial segment ‘*h*’ in the morphophonemic changes). Only one example is there in graffiti *avə* ‘if/when come’ which represents condition as well as time period (Paranavitana 1956:146).

- ii. According to Sidat Saṅgārāvə the conditional mood in Sinhalese has no distinction in person and tense (Alwis 1852:62-63).
- iii. In Jātəkə tales, two suffixes (-ot, -otin) and three particles (hot, nam, də) are observed which occur in conditional mood.
- iv. According to Geiger, there are some conjugated forms under the present and preterite tenses as given below (1938:152).

(a) Present tense

balətə (balə-tə) / *balətət* (balə-tat) / *balətot* (balə-tot) ‘if one looks’

(b) Preterite tense

bəluvə (balə-u-ə > bələ-u-ə > bəlu-v-ə) /

bəluvat (balə-u-at > bələ-u-at > bəlu-v-at)

bəluvot (balə-u-ot > bələ-u-ot > bəlu-v-ot)

bəluvōtin (balə-u-ōtin > bələ-u-ōtin > bəlu-v-ōtin) ‘if one has looked’.

According to the above examples, the same form is used for all persons, genders, voices as well as both the numbers.

- v. Munidasa points out some suffixes and particles which are used to make conditional forms. These are as follows:

Suffixes: *-tu, -tə, -ə, -iyə*

Particles: *du, hot, hotin, hotini, hotinə, hæki, yutu* (1999:101-104).

Although Munidasa claims these as particles most of them such as ‘*hot, hotin, hotini, hotinə*’ are used as suffixes in the morphophonemic change or Sand^hi (see 2.3.3.3.1). Gunasekara points out extra two particles namely ‘*nam*’ and ‘*namut*’ other than the above mentioned instances (1962:185). These suffixes and particles mentioned above are listed below in tabular forms.

| Conditional mood | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------|--|
| | Jātəkə tales | Other literature |
| Suffixes | -ot, -otin | -ə, -at, -ot, -otini, -otinə, ōtin, -tu, -tə, -iyə |
| Particles | hot, nam, də | hot, hotə, hotin, hotini, hotinə, du, hæki, yutu, nam, namut |

Table 2.34 Suffixes and particles of conditional mood

2.3.3.2. A brief history of the development of the conditional mood

There is no separate suffix in ancient Sinhalese to build the conditional forms. The forms which denoted the time period (in English ‘when’) were used for conditionals in later time. “The verbal forms in the conditional mood in Sinhalese did originally indicate conditioning by time, and that the conditioning by uncertainty is a secondary development” (Paranavitana 1956:146). In the Sigiri graffiti the form *avə* has two meanings. ‘when I come/if I come’. One represents time and the other, uncertainty (ibid 146). The same form is used in both the cases and gets meaning contextually.

In the history of Sinhalese language the conditional forms are used as separate verbs as well as periphrastic usages. When they become verbs they appear as past participle or present participle forms. If there are periphrastic usages then the particles ‘*hotə, hot, ot, hotin*’ etc. are used after the participial form. *maḷəhotə* (if died), *jatəhot* (if knew), *bəluḷyot* (if saw), and *ladəhotin* (if obtained) are the examples from Sigiri graffiti (Paranavitana 1956:147). There are particles ‘*hot/hotə*’ in ancient inscriptions written in Prakrit, Proto and Mediaeval periods of Sinhalese. It is found in king Kanittḥə Tissə’s period (2nd c. A. D.) as *navə kamə nati hotə* ‘should there be no new works’ (Paranavitana 1962:227). Some other examples quoted from inscriptions are also mentioned below. *nisid-hot* (10th c. A. D.) ‘if appointed’ (Wickramasinghe 1912:92A²⁴⁻²⁵), *det-hot* (12th c. A. D.) ‘if given’ (Wickramasinghe 1928:271²⁸), *unudu nətə-hot* (12th c. A. D.) ‘if there is also no such person’ (ibid 161B⁵⁻⁶) and *ovunudu nətə-hot* (12th c. A. D.) ‘if there are no (princes)’ (ibid 114C²⁰). Sometimes it is possible to express the meaning of conditional mood without *hot/hotə*. i.e. *biṇuvəmanā karuṇak ətə* (12th c. A. D.) ‘if there be a matter which needs talking’ (ibid 272⁴⁶), *unudu nətə* (12th c. A. D.) ‘if there are no (queens)’ (ibid 114²⁰).

Geiger proposes that the form *hot* was derived from Prakrit *honte* whereas Paranavitana derives it from Pāli *hutvā* > *hot*, *hutvānə* > *hotin* or Skt. *bḥūtvā* (Paranavitana 1956:147).

2.3.3.3. Structure and usages of conditional mood in the Jātəkə text

There are two clauses -subordinate clause and main clause- in this type of sentences. The subjects of the subordinate and main clauses are in accusative and

nominative cases respectively. In the Jātəkə tales the suffixes ‘-ot’ and ‘-otin’ and particles ‘hot, nam’ and ‘də’ are used to form conditionals in Sinhalese.

2.3.3.3.1. Use of suffixes ‘-ot, -ōtin’ and particle ‘-hot’

The suffixes ‘-ot’ and ‘-ōtin’ basically occur in morphophonemic change or Sand^{hi}. The particles ‘(h)ot, (h)ōtin’ are observed as ‘-ot’ in 90, 91, 92 and as ‘-ōtin’ in 93 after dropping initial ‘h’. Sometimes the form remains unchanged (94).

- i. giyot ‘go-COND.’ (P. 11¹¹) (yə-ot > gi-ot > gi-y-ot)
- ii. piruvot ‘practice-COND.’ (P. 366³⁶) (piruvə-ot)
- iii. ærəpūvot ‘take-leave-COND.’ (P. 11¹) (ærə-puvə-hot > ærəpūvə-ot)
- iv. yavvōtin ‘send-COND.’ (P. 221³³) (ya-və-hotin > ya-v-və-ōtin)
- v. pæmiṇiyə hot ‘reach-COND.’ (P. 317¹⁸) (pamuṇə-iyə hot > pæmiṇiyə hot)

(90) *topə avīryəvə giyot api siyallō mə nasumhə* (P. 11¹¹)

| | | | | | |
|-------------|--------|-------------|--------|---------------|------------|
| topə | a | -vīryə | və | giyə | -ot |
| you-PL.ACC. | NEG. | effort-DEF. | EMPHR. | go-PST.PTCPL. | COND. |
| api | siyalu | -ō | mə | nasə | -umhə |
| we | all | PL. | EMPHR. | destroy | I.PRES.PL. |

‘If you do not make efforts, we all (will) destroy.’

In this example (90) the subordinate and main clauses are *topə avīryəvə giyot* and *api siyallō mə nasumhə* respectively. According to traditional grammar *topə* is in accusative case and *api siyallō* is in nominative case.

(91) *(tā) mahaṇədam piruvot divyāṅgəṇāvan dækkə hækkə* (P. 366³⁵⁻³⁶)

| | | | | | |
|----------|---------|---------------|----------|-------|--------|
| (tā) | mahaṇə | dam | purə | -ot | divyə |
| you-ACC. | monk | tradition-PL. | practice | COND. | heaven |
| angəṇā | -an | dak | -ə | hæki | -ə |
| lady | PL.ACC. | see | INF. | can | PTCLE. |

‘If (you) practise the traditions of monk, you will be able to see goddesses.’

(92) *mā vīryā ærəpūvot siyallō mā nasiti* (P. 11¹⁻²)

| | | | | | |
|---------------|--------------|------------|-------------|--------------|--|
| <i>mā</i> | <i>vīryā</i> | <i>ærə</i> | <i>pūvə</i> | <i>-ot</i> | |
| me | effort-DEF. | take | leave-AUX. | COND. | |
| <i>siyalu</i> | <i>-ō</i> | <i>mə</i> | <i>nasə</i> | <i>-ti</i> | |
| all | PL. | EMPHR. | destroy | III.PRES.PL. | |

‘If I give up the effort, all (will) destroy.’

(93) *vastrāyan...anikakhu atə yavvōtin ohu...ærəganiti* (P. 221³²⁻³³)

| | | | | | |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|------------|-------------|--------------|
| <i>vastrə</i> | <i>-an</i> | <i>anikak</i> | <i>-hu</i> | <i>atə</i> | <i>ya</i> |
| cloth | PL. | another | ACC. | hand-INSTR. | send |
| <i>-və</i> | <i>-hotin</i> | <i>ohu</i> | <i>ærə</i> | <i>gan</i> | <i>-iti</i> |
| CAUS. | COND. | he-NOM. | take | take-AUX. | III.PRES.PL. |

‘If clothes are caused to be sent by another person, he will take it.’

(94) *kumārəyō...rājyayəṭə pəmiṇiyə hot bohō anart^{hə} kərannēyā* (P. 317¹⁷⁻¹⁸)

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|-------------|--------------|-------------------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|
| <i>kumārə</i> | <i>-ō</i> | <i>rājyā</i> | <i>-ə</i> | <i>-ṭə</i> | <i>pamuṇə</i> | <i>-iyə</i> |
| prince | PL. | kingdom | DEF. | DAT. | reach | PST.PTCPL. |
| -hot | <i>bohō</i> | <i>an-</i> | <i>art^{hə}</i> | <i>kərə</i> | <i>-annē</i> | <i>yə</i> |
| COND. | lot | NEG. | justice-PL. | do | III.FUT.SG.M. | PTCLE. |

‘If (he) gets the kingdom, (he) will do a lot of injustice.’

2.3.3.3.2. Use of ‘nam’ after the verb

The particle ‘*nam*’ is used after the verb of conditional clause to form this type of sentence in Sinhalese. This form is found in earlier inscriptions also. *samu diyəyutu nan* ‘if permission be given’ (The particles *nam~nan*) (Wickramasinghe 1928:271). In Sinhalese the particle ‘*nam*’ plays a role of emphasizing. It occurs as a conditional particle in these examples.

(95) *maṅḡul...asu ladim nam yudd^hə koṭə jayə genə demi* (P. 64²⁵⁻²⁶)

| | | | | |
|------------|--------------|-----------|-------------|---------------------|
| maṅḡul | asu | ladim | nam | yudd ^h ə |
| auspicious | horse-ACC. | receive | COND.PTCLE. | war |
| koṭə | jayə | genə | de | -mi |
| do-ABS. | victory-DEF. | take-ABS. | give-AUX. | I.PRES.SG. |

‘If (I) received the royal horse, (I) (will) fight and conquer.’

(96) *varṣāvə yaṭimiyərə vasī nam uḍattəṭə no vasnēyə* (P. 193²⁶)

| | | | | | |
|--------|---------|-------|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| varṣā | -ə | yaṭi | miyərə | vasī | nam |
| rain | DEF.SG. | below | dike-LOC. | rain | COND.PTCLE. |
| uḍattə | -ṭə | no | vas | -nē | yə |
| above | DAT. | NEG. | rain | III.FUT.SG. | PTCLE. |

‘If it rains below the dike, it will not rain above (the dike).’

2.3.3.3.3. Use of ‘də’ after the verb

The particle ‘*də*’ is used with verb to express the conditional type in Sinhalese. The particle ‘*də*’ has same function as ‘*nam*’ (see 95, 96). The basic function of the particle ‘*də*’ is that of a question marker as well as a conjunction in Sinhalese. But here (97) it occurs as a conditional particle.

(97) *yam siṭu kenek dan dennē də un...parīkṣā kərəvuvə mænəvə* (P. 205¹³⁻¹⁵)

| | | | | | | |
|---------|----------|---------|---------------|------|--------|------------|
| yam | siṭu | -āṇə | kenek | dan | dennē | də |
| any | nobleman | HON.PL. | person-INDEF. | alms | give | COND.PTCLE |
| un | parīkṣā | kərə | -və | -uvə | mænəvə | |
| he-ACC. | check | do | CAUS. | IMP. | good | |

‘If any nobleman gives alms befitting to get him checked.’

Summary

According to the data of Jātākā tales there are two types of clauses -main clause and subordinate clause- in the sentence of conditional mood. The main clause depends on the subordinate clause. Early stages of Sinhalese language basically had separate verb form for conditionals but in this era (Middle Sinhalese Era) the periphrastic usages are very common.

However, the suffixes (-ə, -at, -ot, -otin, -otini, -otinə, ōtin, -tu, -tə, -iyə) and particles (*də, hot, hotə, hotin, hotini, hotinə, du, hæki, yutu, nam, namut*) are used to make conditional forms in inscriptions, graffiti, Jātākā tales as well as in prose and poems in Sinhalese language.

Note:

i. Temporal Type (Kālārt^{hə} Asamb^{hā}vyə)

According to the traditional grammar the conditional sentences are divided into two types (Gair 2013:94). They are as follows:

i.i. Conditional type (aniyam arutə - Aniyəmārt^{hə} Asamb^{hā}vyə)

i.ii. Temporal type (kal arutə - Kālārt^{hə} Asamb^{hā}vyə)

The second type of sentences is not treated as conditional in modern linguistics.

There are two types of clauses -main clause and subordinate clause- in every sentence of conditional type. The temporal type is also a category of conditional mood. It has two clauses and the subordinate clause depends on the main clause. Early ages of Sinhalese language had separate verb form for conditionals but in this era (Middle Sinhalese era) the periphrastic usages were very common. Therefore the particles '*kalhi/kalə/sañdə*' are used with verb as periphrastic terms of temporal type. The suffixes '*-ddī, -dī*', and '*-t*' are found in Jātākā tales.

i.ii.i. Use of suffix ‘-ddī’

1. *un bimə kaṇaddī... temē nægī giyēyā* (P.271²²)

| | | | | |
|---------------|------------|-------------|--------|------|
| un | bimə | kaṇə | -ddī | temē |
| he-ACC. | earth-DEF. | dig | COND. | it |
| nægī | yə | -ē | yə | |
| stand up-ABS. | go | III.PST.SG. | PTCLE. | |

‘While he (Brahmin) was digging the earth it (jackal) went.’

Here *un bimə kaṇaddī* is subordinate clause and *temē nægī giyēyā* is main clause. According to this type of sentences ‘*the structure of conditional*’ is there. But it mainly based on the ‘*time*’. Therefore this type is named ‘*temporal*’

i.ii.ii. Use of suffix ‘-dī’

1. *rajjuruvō d^harməyā asəmin siṭiyādī mə klēḥyō prāhīṇə vūhə* (P. 171⁹⁻¹⁰)

| | | | | | | | |
|---------|------------|---------------------|---------|------|-------------|--------|-------|
| rajjuru | -ō | d ^h armə | -ə | asə | -min | siṭiyə | -dī |
| king | HON.PL. | doctrine | DEF. | hear | CP. | sit | COND. |
| mə | klēḥə | -ō | prāhīṇə | və | -ū | hə | |
| EMPHR. | defilement | NOM.PL. | remove | be | III.PST.PL. | PTCLE. | |

‘While the king was hearing the doctrine the defilements removed.’

i.ii.iii. Use of ‘-t’

1. *esē vat mā...rajəhaṭə kəḷə vīryā nopeneyi* (P. 65¹⁶⁻¹⁷)

| | | | | | | |
|------|---------------|-------------|-------|-----|--------------|--|
| e | sē | və | -t | mā | rajə | |
| that | like | become | COND. | me | king | |
| haṭə | kəḷə | vīryə | no | pen | -eyi | |
| DAT. | do-PST. PTCL. | effort-DEF. | NEG. | see | III.PRES.SG. | |

‘When (it) becomes like that, the effort which I have done for the king is not seen.’

i.ii.iv. Use of verb with doubling

The doubling or reduplication of verb gives rise to temporal type. Both the forms are identical and have the grammatical features of present tense, third person, active voice and plural.

1. *mē niyāyen kal yat yat goyā itā mahat viyā* (P. 305²⁵⁻²⁶)

| | | | | | | | |
|--------|--------|--------|-------|--------|---------------|--------|-------|
| mē | niyā | -en | kal | ya | -t | ya | -t |
| this | manner | INSTR. | time | go | COND. | go | COND. |
| goyi | -ā | itā | mahat | və | -i | yə | |
| iguana | DEF. | very | big | become | III.PST.SG.M. | PTCLE. | |

‘While the time was passing in this manner, the iguana became fat.’

i.ii.v. Use of ‘kalhi / kalə / sañdə’ ‘time’

1. *sorəhu...tamā dinənə kalhi ke[imañdullə nobiñdinēyā* (P. 229¹⁶⁻¹⁷)

| | | | | | | |
|---------|---------|------|--------|---------------|--------|---|
| sorə | -hu | tamā | dinənə | kalhi | ke[| i |
| thief | NOM.SG. | self | win | time- COND. | sport | |
| mañdulu | -ə | no | biñdə | -nē | yə | |
| circle | DEF. | NEG. | break | III.FUT. SG.M | PTCLE. | |

‘When the thief himself wins he will not break the dice board.’

2. *yakun palāgiyā kalə...epavat kīhə* (P. 295¹⁻⁵)

| | | | | | | | | |
|-------|---------|-------|------|------------|------|--------|-----|-------------|
| yak | -un | palā | giyā | kalə | e | pavat | kī | hə |
| devil | PL.ACC. | leave | go | time-COND. | that | matter | say | III.PST.PL. |

‘When devils went out (they) said that matter.’

3. *ē afvācārī...saturu senəṅgə mad^hyəyətə van saṅdə* (P. 65²)

ē afvə ācārī saturu senəṅgə mad^hyəyə -tə van saṅdə

that horse teacher enemy people among DAT. enter time-COND.

‘When that horse-keeper entered to the gang of enemies...’

The usages of temporal type of conditional mood are discussed according to the data attested in the Jātəkə tales. There are only three suffixes ‘-*ddī*, -*dī*’ and ‘-*t*’ and three additional particles (‘*kalhi*, *kalə*, *saṅdə*’) in temporal type.