## ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF CEYLON

## SIGIRI GRAFFITI

BEING SINHALESE VERSES OF THE EIGHTH, NINTH
AND TENTH CENTURIES

BY

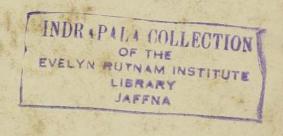
## S. PARANAVITANA

C.B.E., Ph.D. (Lugd.), Hon. D.Litt. (Ceylon)

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VOLUME I
(INTRODUCTION AND PLATES)





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## PREFACE

This book was written under conditions little conducive to literary or scientific endeavour—amidst the administrative demands on the time of an Archaeological Commissioner of Ceylon, insistent on matters of the moment and overriding the invitation from the relics of the past to probe into their secrets. No effort, however, has been spared, even at the expense of the time taken in the production of the book, to ensure that the material presented therein to students of Ceylon's language and culture is as reliable as it is humanly possible to make it.

Epigraphy, perhaps, surpasses all other branches of antiquarian research in the pitfalls that await the unwary seeker after historical truth and, in this respect, the documents which form the subject of this book, by their very nature, must be considered an extreme case. I have always been conscious of this; but I cannot say that I have successfully avoided all these pitfalls, the treacherous nature of which is that their existence is unknown to one who pursues a hitherto untrodden path of historical or linguistic investigation. I feel confident, however, that among the seven centuries of Sinhalese verse that I have recovered from the oblivion in which they had remained for over a millennium, those of which the text will have to be radically altered on the evidence contained on the gallery wall at Sigiri will not amount to more than a score. A plentiful crop of emendations based on preconceived notions may well be expected; but with such I have no concern.

All necessary aids are furnished to the student desirous of verifying for himself the accuracy of the reading of any of the graffiti contained in this work. Each graffito is introduced to the reader by its position on the gallery wall being indicated, i.e. the distance from the topmost riser of the first flight of steps as one approaches the gallery and the height above the floor level. The base of the gallery wall being not in a straight line, slight differences may be possible in measuring the same spot twice. The number and length of the lines comprising each graffito, the size of the letters and the state of preservation, given in the case of each document, will be further aids to its identification.

Such scholars as are not in a position to pay a visit to Sigiri, but are nevertheless desirous of examining these graffiti, would no doubt have welcomed it if facsimiles of all the documents had been given in this publication. But the cost of its production had to be kept within a certain limit, and this ideal has been beyond achievement. Reproductions, however, will be found of about a half of the total number of the graffiti. All those documents referred to in the Introduction in discussing the palaeography have been included; it is hoped that they will enable the scholars interested to gain a clear idea of the script, of the idiosyncrasies of the ancient scribblers, and also of the difficulties that had to be surmounted in the decipherment of these graffiti. As they are of various sizes and shapes, the arrangement of the graffiti according to the numerical order would have resulted in wastage of valuable space. They have, therefore, been arranged, for the most part, with the economizing of space as the main consideration. The list given on pp. ix–xii will, however, enable the reader to locate readily any graffiti in which he is interested in the plates.

The system of transliteration adopted in this work is the same as that in the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*. The aim of this transliteration being to represent the symbols of the Sinhalese script with equivalents in Roman, with the necessary diacritical marks, and not to exceed the phonetic accuracy achieved in that script, the fact that the nasal is only half pronounced in the consonantal groups ng, nd, nd, and mb is not indicated. The reasons for this procedure have been given in the Preface to the third volume of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*. A short vertical stroke placed at the top of a consonant, to its right, indicates that the h which follows has to be pronounced separately, and that it should not be taken as indicating that the preceding consonant is aspirated.  $Vid^4he$ , for example, is the transliteration of  $\mathbb{SC} \otimes \mathbb{S}$  and not  $\mathbb{SS} \otimes \mathbb{S}$ , as it might have been taken to be if it had been written as vidhe.

The readings based on conjecture are given in parentheses; where such restorations are beyond reasonable doubt, from the context or by analogy with words and phrases in well-preserved documents, they are enclosed within square brackets. An asterisk attached to a letter within square brackets indicates that it had been left out in the original. Possible variant readings and other matters pertaining

#### PREFACE

to textual criticism, which are not indicated by these conventions, are given in notes attached to the text.

The translations of the verses do not aim at literary quality; they attempt to give as exact a version as is possible in English of the old Sinhalese. Where it has been found necessary to deviate from a literal version, the latter has been furnished in a note. It has not been the aim, however, to render a Sinhalese word consistently by the same English equivalent wherever it occurs. The word sita, for example, has been translated as 'mind', 'heart', or 'desire' as demanded by the context. The words in parentheses have been introduced to make the translation intelligible, where the equivalents of the Sinhalese words in themselves are inadequate to convey, in English, the meaning of the original. It has not been considered necessary to differentiate in the translation those parts of the text of which the reading is more or less conjectural.

The notes attached to the translation deal mainly with the structure of the sentence in the original, where this is not reflected in the translation, the conceit which lies at the base of a verse, or suggested meanings which are not obvious. Where the Sinhalese word in the original represented by a particular word or phrase in the translation is not obvious, or where the interpretation needs comment, the word is given in a note so that the reader may refer to it in the Glossary. Matters dealing with palaeography, grammar, prosody, &c., have received general treatment in the Introduction.

The Glossary, combined with an Index, gives, in concise form, all the data relied upon in the interpretation of the texts, and has been so prepared as to meet the needs of those whose main concern is the understanding of the graffiti, as well as of others who would refer to it for words occurring in these documents, in the course of their linguistic studies. Those who are not well versed in old Sinhalese will experience considerable difficulty in referring many of the inflected forms occurring in our graffiti to their nominal stems or verbal roots; and, for the benefit of such students, every inflected form is included in the Glossary, with its grammatical analysis. A research scholar who may wish to refer to the Glossary for a word he is interested in, will most probably do so with the stem or the verbal root in his mind; every root or stem of which inflected forms occur in our graffiti has been given a place, therefore, in the Glossary. The inflected forms are given under the stem or root where this could be done without violating the alphabetical arrangement. Where, due to the alphabetical arrangement, an inflected form is separated from its root or stem, reference to it is made in the article dealing with the root or stem.

The Glossary, in support of the interpretation of the words adopted in the translation, gives the etymology of each stem or root, quotes references to identical or similar forms from literary works or the modern language, and furnishes a concordance by means of the Index.

As regards etymology, I have given the equivalent to the Sinhalese in Sanskrit, the norm of Indo-Aryan speech. Pāli and the various Prakrits have been appealed to only where the origin of an old Sinhalese word cannot be explained from Sanskrit, or when an intermediate form is necessary to make a suggested etymology convincing. The purpose of this Glossary being to facilitate the understanding of the graffiti, and to establish the meanings of words adopted in the translation, it has not been considered necessary to burden it with parallel forms from the modern Indo-Aryan languages. Those who take delight in seeing Sinhalese words, ancient or modern, in the company of their distant cousins, can easily realize their purpose with the help of a well-known Dictionary.

References to literature have been given in numerous instances where the interpretation does not stand in need of such support. This has been done to help the student decide what words—stems as well as inflected forms—are peculiar to these graffiti. Such references cannot be made exhaustive without combing the entire Sinhalese literature, as well as the living speech of today, with this particular end in view. The references to literature, particularly those regarding certain compound words, will also direct the student's attention to parallelisms in thought between some of our graffiti and certain passages of old Sinhalese poetry which have not been referred to in the relevant section of the Introduction.

With regard to the Index, all the occurrences of a word are registered where these do not exceed ten. In words occurring more often, the references are limited to this number, but the total number of occurrences is given within square brackets.

I have also endeavoured to draw the attention of the student to the many variant forms of a word. This, however, has been no easy task. The numerous variant forms of dig-äs, ran-van, helillambu, and such other words, are as bewildering to a systematizer as the ever changing moods of the 'long-eyed

#### PREFACE

ones', 'golden-coloured ones', and 'fair damsels' are said to have been to those who composed these verses and scribbled them on the gallery wall.

It would not be surprising if some inconsistencies should be detected in the various sections of a work of which the preparation has spread over so many years, and of which the proof-reading has had to be done in instalments. An alteration, due to a change of view, effected in one place, necessitates alterations in a number of other places and, in this matter, I may not have been always successful in practising 'the leonine observation' (simhāvalokana), i.e. looking forward, behind, and sideways, at one and the same time, with which, according to ancient Sinhalese critics, a man of letters must be endowed. Should the reader, therefore, detect a disagreement between the texts or the translation and the Glossary, with regard to the form or meaning of a particular word, the Glossary should be taken as giving the final view of the author.

Though these seven centuries of old Sinhalese verse may not merit the high praise bestowed by Bāṇa on an anthology of similar extent in another language, I now launch them on their course, after having had them constantly in my thoughts for so many years, with the hope that sahṛdayas may not be wanting who would find among them not a few subhāṣitas.

The rubbings of the graffiti, on which the readings are based and which are reproduced in the Plates, have been prepared by Messrs. W. Samarakon and T. K. Jayasundara. Mr. L. K. Karunaratna is responsible for the arrangement of the plates; the figures illustrating the section on Palaeography in the Introduction have also been drawn by him. The typing of the manuscript, which was of a very arduous and complicated nature, particularly that of the Glossary–Index, was mainly the work of Mr. D. S. Gunatilaka, who also relieved me of the tedious task of checking the references in the Index.

Dr. C. E. Godakumbure read through sections 110–365 of the Introduction, and made a number of useful suggestions. I am indebted to Mr. Martin Wickramasinghe, M.B.E., for referring me to some of the authorities utilized in the section of the Introduction dealing with the literary quality of the documents; I have also derived benefit by discussing with him a number of points relating to literary criticism. I am grateful to Bhadanta Sorata Nāyaka Thera for giving me references to words from the yet unpublished volume of his monumental Dictionary of the Sinhalese language—references which proved to be a welcome addition to my own collection. Mr. John M. Seneviratna, O.B.E., who took a keen interest in the progress of this undertaking, very generously offered his help and read through the proofs of almost the entire work, removing many a blemish which might otherwise have passed unnoticed. Valuable assistance was also rendered by Mr. W. S. Karunaratna in proof-reading, and Mr. D. T. Devendra has been very helpful in deciding points of style and presentation whenever I had been in doubt concerning them. Some notes on place-names, kindly supplied to me by Mr. C. W. Nicholas, have been helpful in the preparation of Appendix C.

The publication of this book would not have been possible but for the financial provision made for the purpose through the interest taken in it by the Honourable Mr. C. W. W. Kannangara, when he was Minister of Education. The Honourable Mr. E. A. Nugawela and the Honourable Mr. M. D. Banda, who, one after the other, succeeded to that high office, Mr. L. J. de S. Seneviratne and Mr. R. H. Wickramasinghe, as Permanent Secretary to the Minister of Education, took all necessary measures to sustain that financial provision. To all of them I express my grateful thanks.

Finally, I must express my obligation to the authorities of the Oxford University Press for the excellent format in which this publication is presented to the scholarly world, and in particular to Dr. John P. Naish, the specialist reader, for drawing my attention to a number of slips and errors which had escaped my notice and for very numerous and valuable suggestions on matters of style which undoubtedly have improved the quality of the work.

S. PARANAVITANA

COLOMBO July 30, 1954

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338	L & LV	499	XLII
340	L	501 506	XLVIII
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## ABBREVIATIONS

a.	= adjective	dupl.	= duplicated
abl.	= ablative	E.Bv.	= Eļu Bodhivamsa, edited by Bhadanta Kalukoňdayāve Paññāsekhara Thera,
abs.	= absolutive		Colombo, 1928
acc.	= accusative	e.f.	= earlier form
adj.	= adjective or adjectival	E.I.	= Epigraphia Indica
adv.	= adverb or adverbial		. = Epigraphia Zeylanica
A.I.C.	= Müller, Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon, London, 1883	Esl.	= Elu Saňdäs-Lakuna, (1) edited by
AMg.	$= Ardha-M\bar{a}gadh\bar{\imath}$	List.	Bhadanta Śrī Ñāṇāvāsa Sthavira,
Amv.	= Amāvatura, (1) edited by Richard de		Colombo, 1921; (2) edited by Bhadanta
Amo.	Silva, Colombo, 1912; (2) edited by		Sorata Nāyaka Thera, Colombo, 1935
	Bhadanta Sorata Nāyaka Thera,	etym.	= etymology or etymologically
	Colombo, 1948	E.Z. or $I$	EZ. = Epigraphia Zeylanica
A.R.	= Annual Report	f.	= feminine
A.S.I.	= Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, In- scription Register	fr.	= from
100		fut.	= future
A.S.C.	= Archaeological Survey of Ceylon	gd.	= gerund
Bga.	= Buduguṇa-Alamkāra, edited by Sir D. B. Jayatilaka, Colombo, 1926	gdv.	= gerundive
Bs.	= Butsarana, edited by Bhadanta Sorata	gen.	= genitive
	Nāyaka Thera, Colombo, 1931	Gk.	= Guttila Kāvya, edited by Pandit Baţuvantuḍāve, Colombo, 1923
	S.= Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London	Gs.	= Girā Sandēsa, edited by T. Sugatapāla, Alutgama, B.E. 2468 (1925)
C.A. &	L.R. = Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register	G.S.L.	= Geiger, Grammar of the Sinhalese Language, Colombo, 1938
cd.	= compound	hon.	= honorific
cf.	= compare	Hs.	= Hamsa Sandēsa, edited by Bhadanta Śrī
C.J.Sc.	= Ceylon Journal of Science, Section G, Archaeology, Ethnology, &c.	,	Dharmārāma Nāyaka Thera, Colombo,
comp.	= composite verb	Hsk.	= Heranasikha, edited by Bhadanta Vima-
cond.	= conditional mood		labuddhi Thera, Colombo, 1911
cs.	= causative	imp.	= imperative
Cv.	= Cūlavamsa, edited by Wilhelm Geiger,	ind.	= indicative
	P.T.S., London, Vol. I (1925), II (1927)	indec.	= indeclinable
dat.	= dative	indef.	= indefinite
Dds.	= Daļadāsirita, edited by Bhadanta Sorata	inf.	= infinitive or infinitively
	Nāyaka Thera, Colombo, 1950	inst.	= instrumental
der.	= derivative	inter.	= interrogative
Dhag.	= Dhampiyā-aṭuvā-gäṭapadaya, edited by Sir D. B. Jayatilaka, Colombo, 1932	Intr.	= Introduction
Dhan	= Dharmapradīpikā of Guruļugōmi, edited	Jag.	= Jātaka-aṭuvā-gäṭapadaya, edited by Sir D. B. Jayatilaka, Colombo, 1943
Dhpr.	by Bhadanta Śrī Dharmārāma Nāyaka	ND AS	
	Thera, Colombo, 1938	J.K.A.S	S., C.B. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch
dist.	= district	Js.	= Jānakīharaṇa-sanne, edited by Bhadanta
Dj.	= Dasajātaka Kathāvastuva, edited by		K. Dharmārāma Sthavira, 1891.
000	Bhadanta Guṇānanda Thera, Colombo,	Kj.	= Kusajātaka Kāvya of Alagiyavanna,
D	1928		edited by Makuludūve Piyaratana Thera, Colombo, 1936
Ds.	= Daļadāsirita, see Dds.		, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,

#### ABBREVIATIONS

	ABBREVI	ATION	S
Kskh.	= Kāvyaśekhara of Śrī Rāhula, edited by Bhadanta Dharmārāma Nāyaka Thera,	Pn.	= Purāṇa Nāmāvaliya, edited by H. Jaya- tilaka, Colombo, 1923
**	Colombo, 1915	pot.	= potential
Ksm.	= Kavsiļumiņa, (1) edited with old para- phrase by Bhadanta Madugalle Sid-	Ppj.	= Pansiya-panas-jātakaya, Vidyālamkāra Press, Colombo
	dhattha Nāyaka Thera, Govt. Press,	pprt.	= present participle
	Colombo, 1926; (2) edited with commentary by Bhadanta Sorata Nāyaka	pr.	= present
	Thera, Colombo, 1946	pred.	= predicate, predicatively •
Kss.	= Kudusika-sanne, edited by H. Śrī	prn.	= pronoun
	Sumangala Mahā-sthavira, Colombo,	prov.	= province
	1928.	prt.	= preterite
Kvp.	= Kankhāvitaranī-piṭapota, edited by	pt.	= participle
	Bhadanta Kalukoňdayāve Paññāśe- khara Thera, Colombo, 1936	Pv.	= Pūjāvalī, 36th Chapter, edited by Bha-
1.f.	= later form		danta Mābōpiṭiye Medhaṅkara Thera,
lit.			Colombo, 1932
loc.	= literally = locative	ref.	= reflexive
L.S.S.		refl.	= reflexive
L.S.S.	= Geiger, Litteratur und Sprache der Sinhalesen, Strassburg, 1900	rel.	= relative
M.	= Māgadhī	Rm.	= Ruvanmala and Piyummala, edited by Pandit Baṭuvantuḍāve, Colombo, 1892
m.	= masculine	S.	= Sinhalese
Mbg.	= Mahābodhivamsa - granthipada - vivara-	s.	= substantive
	naya, edited by Bhadanta Dharmārāma Nāyaka Thera, Colombo, 1910	s.a.	= same as
Mdv.	= Muvadevdāvata, edited by Vēragama	Sbl.	= Siyabaslakara, edited by Bhadanta
Mid.	Baṇḍāra, Colombo, 1921  = Middle		Polvatte Śrī Sudarśi Mahā Thera, Colombo, 1927
Mod.	= Modern	Sdsg.	= Sidat-Sangarā, edited with commentary
mon.	= monastery		by Bhadanta Śrī Dharmārāma Nāyaka Thera, Colombo, 1943
Mrt.	= Marāṭhī	Sdv.	= Sasadāvata, with old paraphrase, edited
Ms.	= Mayūra Sandēsa, edited by Bhadanta Välipaṭanvila Dīpaṅkara Thera,		by Bhadanta A. Dhammapāla Thera, Colombo, 1925
Mv.	Colombo, 1923	Sec.	= Section
WO.	= Mahāvamsa, edited by Wilhelm Geiger, P.T.S., London, 1908	sin.	= singular
n.	= neuter	Skt.	= Sanskrit
neg.	= negative	Sls.	= Sälalihini Sandēsa, edited with old
nm.	= numeral		paraphrase by Bhadanta K. Śrī Dhar- mārāma Nāyaka Thera, Colombo, 1925
Nom.	= nominal verb	Sp.	= Samantapāsādikā, P.T.S. Edition, Lon-
nom.	= nominative		don, 1924-47
op.	= optative	Srvl.	= Saddharmmaratnāvalī, revised and
orth.	= orthographical		edited by Robert Batuvantudāve.
P.	= Pāli		Colombo, 1925
p.	= past	st.	= stem
Pbs.	= Pärakumbāsirita, edited by D. G.	Svv.	= sub voce
per.	Abhayagunaratna, Colombo, 1922		= Sikhavaļanda-vinisa, edited by Sir D. B. Jayatilaka, Colombo, 1924
pers.	= periphrastic = personal	T.	= Tamil
Pkt.	= Prākrit	Thv.	= Thūpavamsa (Sinhalese) edited by
pl.	= plural		Bhadanta Välivitiye Dhammaratana Thera, Colombo, 1889
P.L.L.		Ts.	= Tisara Sandēsa, (1) edited by L. M.
The color	= Geiger, Pali Language and Literature, Calcutta, 1943		Leelasena, Ambalangoda, 1923; (2)
pln.	= pleonastic		edited by Sir D. B. Jayatilaka, Colombo,
4	The state of the s		1935

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#### ABBREVIATIONS

Uj.	= Ummagga Jātaka, edited by D. H. S. Abayaratna, Colombo, 1928	vn.	= verbal noun = vocative
v.	= village	Vsmg.	= Visuddhimagga, with old paraphrase,
var.	= variant form		edited by M. Dharmaratna, Colombo,
vb.	= verb		1890
Vds.	= Vesaturudā-sanne, edited by D. E.	Yr.	= Yogaratnākaraya, edited by K. A.
1911	Hettiaracci, Colombo, 1950		Perera, 1930.

## INTRODUCTION

### I. SIGIRI, ITS HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION

- 1. The rugged mass of granite forming the rock of Sīgiri¹ rises, with unscalable, precipitous sides, to a height of 1,193 feet above mean sea-level—nearly 600 feet above the surrounding plain. In the fifth century, in consequence of a series of violent and brutally cruel deeds which disgraced the domestic life of the princes then ruling Ceylon, this rock suddenly became the focal point of the Island's political life, only to revert to its former obscurity after a brief, though splendid, period of eighteen years. Monumental remains of unusual interest to be seen today on the summit, as well as at the foot of the rock, bear testimony to the royal splendour which was once manifested on or around it. The history relating to Sīgiri, as narrated in the chronicles,² is briefly thus:
- 2. Dhātusena, who ascended the throne of Anurādhapura in or about 456 A.D., had two sons, one named Moggallāna, born of the anointed queen, and the other, Kassapa, by a consort of lesser rank. He also had a 'charming daughter, who was as dear to him as his life'. This princess was given in marriage to the sister's son of Dhātusena, who held the office of senāpati (commander-in-chief). Without any fault on her part, she was on one occasion severely whipped on her thighs by her husband. Dhātusena saw her with blood-stained garments and, in his rage at the brutal treatment meted out to his favourite daughter, had the senāpati's mother, his own sister, burnt to death, naked. The senāpati, who now was the aggrieved party, resolved to avenge his mother, and plotted with Kassapa to bring about Dhātusena's downfall. They undermined the loyalty of the people towards their sovereign, seized power, and kept the king a prisoner. The rightful prince, Moggallāna, escaped to India. The senāpati, having persuaded Kassapa that Dhātusena had concealed his treasures for the benefit of the exiled prince, received orders to have the king put to death. Dhātusena thus ended his days by being walled up in a room.
- 3. Kassapa, though he was firmly established on the throne, lived in fear of the day of reckoning—the return of Moggallāna with military aid from India. He, therefore, wished to build for himself a stronghold where he could hold out against adversaries in times of danger, and found Sīgiri to be a suitable place for this purpose. He cleared the land round about the rock which 'was difficult of ascent for human beings', 'surrounded it with a wall and constructed stair-case houses in the form of lions'. It was this last-named detail which gave the rock the name that it bears to this day. 'He collected treasures and kept them well protected and for the (riches) kept by him he set guards in different places. Then he built there a fine palace, worthy to behold, like another Ālakamandā, and dwelt there like (the god) Kuvera.'3
- 4. After Kassapa had reigned for eighteen years, Moggallāna returned with an army from India. Kassapa, confident of victory, went out with his own forces to meet Moggallāna on the battlefield; but a trivial incident decided the day against him. Mounted on his elephant, he was manœuvring for position in the course of the battle; and, coming to a swampy ground, he turned the elephant so as to avoid this obstacle. His army, however, mistook this movement for a retreat, lost their morale, broke ranks and fled in disorder. Kassapa, who found himself almost alone facing his enemies, realized that all was lost and, rather than fall into the hands of his brother, from whom he had no right to expect any mercy, cut his own throat with his dagger, 'raised the knife on high and stuck it in the sheath'.

Moggallāna, having regained the throne, took up his residence at the ancient royal seat, Anurādhapura, for he had no inclination to continue the policy or preserve the works of his brother who had so grievously wronged him and his father. He, therefore, converted the palace on the summit of Sīgiri rock into a monastery, but the Buddhist Church itself evidently had no great love for the place, for it is not mentioned afterwards as having had anything to do with religion.

- 5. About a century after the close of the reign of Moggallana, Sigiri is again mentioned in the
- <sup>1</sup> Sīgiri is in the Ināmaluve Kōraļē of the Mātalē District, and the road to it branches off from the Kandy-Trincomalee trunk road between its 50th and 51st mile-posts.
- <sup>2</sup> For the history of Sīgiri, as narrated in the chronicles, see *Cūlavamsa* (Geiger's translation), chap. 38, vv. 80–115, and chap. 39, vv. 1–43.
  - <sup>3</sup> Cūļavamsa, Geiger's translation, Part I, p. 42.

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chronicles as the scene of the tragic end of a prince. Samphatissa, who came to the throne in or about 606 A.D., had an adversary in the person of Moggallana, the general of his predecessor. Due to the treachery of his own general, Samghatissa was at last defeated on the battlefield, and fled for his life, accompanied by one of his sons and a faithful minister. In the garb of Buddhist monks, they wended their way to Rohana; but at Minnēri they were recognized and captured by Moggallāna's men. Moggallana, on being informed of this, ordered the royal fugitive and his son to be taken to Sigiri and decapitated. The faithful minister was to be sent to him alive. The young prince begged of the executioners to be beheaded first, so that he might be spared the agony of seeing his father's end. Thus, at Sīgiri, Samghatissa and his son had to bow their heads before the axe of the executioner. The faithful minister refused to remain alive, and lay prostrate, holding his dead master's feet, so that Moggallana's men had perforce to cut off his head, too.1

- 6. Moggallana, the third of that name to hold the sceptre at Anuradhapura, was himself deprived of the sovereignty by Silāmeghavanna and, while fleeing for his life, was overtaken and slain by the foe in the vicinity of Sīgiri.2 Thereafter, Sīgiri is never mentioned in the historical writings of Ceylon. An inscription of the tenth century informs us that a territorial division of that period was named after Sīgiri.3 The irrigation reservoir, which adjoins the rock, no doubt continued to function up to the time when these districts began to be depopulated and given up to the jungle and the wild beast, i.e. about the thirteenth century. From that period up to the nineteenth century, when ancient sites in Ceylon began to attract attention, a long night of five centuries of oblivion descended not only over Sīgiri but also over the whole of the ancient Rājaraṭṭha.
- 7. The rediscovery of Sigiri in modern times followed close upon those momentous revelations which, in the first decades of the nineteenth century, contributed so much to a proper understanding and appreciation, by the learned men in Europe, of a great culture, its history, languages, religions, philosophies, and art—the decipherment of the Brāhmī script by Prinsep, the discovery and study of the Buddhist Sanskrit literature of Nepal by Hodgson, and of the Pali chronicles and religious texts of Ceylon by Turnour. The honour of having first visited Sīgiri in modern times, studying its significance for the history of Ceylon and bringing it to the notice of the learned world, belongs to Major Forbes. In his very informative book, Eleven Years in Ceylon,4 he has given us a fascinating account of two visits he paid to Sigiri in 1831 and 1833, from which we can form for ourselves a picture of the place as it was over a century ago.
- 8. Major Forbes, however, was not equal to the task of climbing to the summit of Sīgiri rock. That feat was first accomplished in modern times by two Englishmen, A. Y. Adams and J. Bailey, in 1853. Sir James Emerson Tennent, in his well-known work, has described Sīgiri at some length, and has recounted its history.5 T. W. Rhys Davids, who was later to acquire a world-wide reputation as the greatest Pali scholar of his time, and the ablest interpreter of Buddhism, and who had then just relinquished a post in the Ceylon Civil Service, contributed, in 1875, a very important paper on Sīgiri to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.6 In this paper, a fairly detailed account of the rock and the ruins that were then visible is followed by the text and translation of that portion of the Cūlavamsa which deals with the history of Sīgiri. Notes on a number of relevant topics are also included. Rhys Davids appears to have been the first to draw particular attention to the paintings of Sīgiri.
- 9. In 1876 there appeared in the same Journal another account of Sigiri by T. H. Blakesley of the Public Works Department.7 To a general description of the rock and the remains below—the ramparts, the moats, and the sites within the walls-Blakesley has appended the first published survey plan of Sīgiri and its environs. These features of the paper have not become out of date even today; but the historical references of Blakesley are erroneous. He has apparently confused Sīgiri with Sagiri (Mihintale), and has connected with the rock fortress a number of kings of earlier and later date, including Parākramabāhu the Great, who had nothing to do with it. In 1891, at the instance of Governor Sir A. H. Gordon, A. Murray of the Public Works Department, working under very trying

torical and Topographical, London, 1860, vol. i, pp.

389-93.

6 'Sigiri, the Lion Rock near Pulastipura, Ceylon',

7 'On the Ruins of Sigiri in Ceylon', J.R.A.S., New Series, vol. viii, pp. 53-62.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cūļavamsa, chap. 44, vv. 1-43.

Ibid., vv. 44 ff.

<sup>3</sup> EZ., vol. iv, p. 179.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> London, Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ceylon, An Account of the Island, Physical, His-

conditions, made copies in pastel of thirteen of the painted figures in the cavity on the western face

- 10. In the meantime, in 1890, the interest evinced among European savants in the antiquarian researches of a few enthusiastic pioneers led the Colonial Government of Ceylon to institute a separate department for more systematic and sustained work in this field. One of the first tasks undertaken by H. C. P. Bell, who was selected from the Civil Service to guide the destinies of this new department, was the surveying, clearing, excavation, and conservation of the historical relics of Sigiri. In 1894, with the aid of ladders made of jungle wood, Bell made an ascent to the top of the rock, and satisfied himself that, beneath the forest trees and dense undergrowth, there were important structural remains to be brought to light by excavation.
- 11. More secure means of access to the summit were, however, necessary before work on a considerable scale could be undertaken. This was provided by the Public Works Department in the shape of iron ladders and railings, and the work of excavating the remains of Kassapa's palace was started in 1895. The work of excavation was continued throughout the dry season of that year, in spite of innumerable difficulties which would have forced a man of lesser energy and enthusiasm to admit defeat—difficulties caused by the want of proper communications to the place, the physical hardships entailed in the daily climb to such an eerie height, the lack of a suitable supply of drinking-water, the unwillingness of the local populace to take part in the work, malaria and other diseases which sapped the health and energy of the workmen, the terrific heat on the exposed rock, furious gales, swarms of hornets which often attacked the labourers, and last, but not least, the superstitious fears of the men engaged in the work. The results obtained in 1895 encouraged Bell to continue the work during the next two years and, by the end of 1897, practically all the buried remains of monuments on the summit of the rock had been uncovered.
- 12. Bell's work in 1898 led to a discovery which, in a remarkable way, testifies to the accuracy of the description of Sīgiri in the chronicle. The earlier writers, including Rhys Davids, were inclined to treat with scorn the explanation of the name Sīgiri (P. Sīhagiri) as given in the chronicle, for they could not discover at the place even a single example of a sculptured figure of a lion, so common on other ancient sites in Ceylon. Learned explanations were given of the name, and the gullibility of the natives was duly scoffed at. Bell, however, in that year excavated a mound on the terrace to which the lower section of the gallery leads, and discovered the remains of a gigantic brick-built figure of a lion. Through the body of this was carried a zigzag staircase, which led to the upper sections of the gallery. Here, then, was the Lion Staircase-house which gave Sīgiri its name.
- 13. The paintings in the cavity on the western face of the rock received Bell's earnest attention and care. His native assistant, Muhandiram D. A. L. Perera, working under almost unbelievable difficulties, made faithful and excellent copies in oil of all the paintings. Good photographs were secured of them and they were protected by wire netting. Bell's enthusiasm for discovering ancient paintings made him scale the forbidding eastern face of the rock up to a long cavern very close to the top—a point of the rock probably untrodden before by human feet. In this hazardous undertaking, as Bell himself has generously admitted, it was an unnamed villager, 'a brave Sinhalese lad', who had the nerve to lead the way and first set foot in that precarious position for the archaeologist to follow with confidence.
- 14. The work at Sigiri was continued during the succeeding years. The general clearing of the site, its detailed survey, the repairs to the gallery and retaining walls, the bridging of the gaps in the gallery by means of iron work, the rebuilding of the flights of steps and their side walls, the exploration of the remains at the foot of the rock, the copying and decipherment of inscriptions, and other matters calculated to give the student of history a comprehensive idea of the fortress and its environs received Bell's attention.<sup>2</sup>
- 15. Much of Bell's conservation and restoration work at Sigiri can be criticized today on aesthetic grounds, but one must not forget the conditions under which he had to work. Moreover, the technique

pp. 4-9; 1900, pp. 13-14; 1901, pp. 13-14; 1902, pp. 11-12; 1903, p. 33; 1904, p. 7; 1905, pp. 7-19, 53-5; 1906, p. 24; 1907, p. 25; 1908, p. 12; 1909, p. 20; 1910-11, p. 41; and 1191-12, p. 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> J.R.A.S., C.B., vol. xiv, p. 248. <sup>2</sup> For Bell's accounts of his works at Sīgiri, see J.R.A.S., C.B., vol. iv, pp. 44–58, 242–60, and vol. xv, pp. 93–130; A.S.C.A.R. for 1895, pp. 10–12; 1896, pp. 9–11; 1897, pp. 13–15; 1898, pp. 6–10; 1899,

of conserving ancient monuments had not, at that time, attained the perfection that it has today. By his sustained work at Sīgiri, Bell has earned the undying gratitude of all students of Sinhalese history and culture. This work he carried out at great risk to his own health, with no desire or expectation of gaining any personal advantage, but impelled by a pure love for the advancement of knowledge, making himself liable to be misunderstood and found fault with by the very people who stood to be benefited by his labours. The joys and thrills of discovery he no doubt considered to be enough recompense.

16. Bell's successors in office have maintained the place in good condition, so that no irreparable damage has been caused to the monuments brought to light by him. The safety of the paintings has been ensured, and one or two of the ladies therein, who evinced a desire to leave their abode of centuries, have been persuaded to remain in the company of their friends. During the last five years Sīgiri has been receiving more and more attention from the Archaeological Department. The conservation has been taken in hand of the remains uncovered on the summit half a century ago, and the defences of the city—the ramparts, gates, and moats—are being cleared and conserved. A circular motor drive has been completed, enabling the visitor to visualize the plan of the city. The place is becoming increasingly popular with students, sightseers, and holiday makers. Most visitors from abroad do not consider themselves as having seen Ceylon adequately if they have failed to visit Sīgiri. Its importance to the student of history, who wishes to gain a proper understanding and appreciation of the skill which the ancient Sinhalese possessed in art, architecture, and engineering, is universally admitted. The present work, it is hoped, will give Sīgiri an equal importance in the study of their poetry and literature, too.

17. In the foregoing paragraphs, reference has incidentally been made to the more outstanding features of Sīgiri. It will, however, be necessary, for a proper appreciation of the documents which form the subject of this work, to give a succinct description of the place as it is today.

There are walled-in areas, roughly rectangular on plan, to the east as well as to the west of the rock. The ramparts running east to west of the walled-in area to the east strike the rock, so that its declivity served the purpose of a wall on the western side of the quadrangle. The earthen ramparts on this side still stand to an average height of 20 feet. The moats which lined the ramparts on this side have become silted up to a great extent, and no evidence of brick or stone masonry has been found on the ramparts themselves. The area within the walls to the east of the rock is featureless, but one cannot definitely say that there are no remains of ancient structures, for no excavations have yet been undertaken there.

- 18. Of the walled-in area to the west of the rock, the rampart on the northern side is 720 yards in length, that on the southern side 620 yards and on the western side 816 yards. On the eastern side, the walls encounter the base of the rock at distances of 75 yards and 95 yards, respectively, from the north-eastern and south-eastern corners. The moat bordering the outer side of the rampart here extends to a total length of just over 1½ miles, and is 82 feet in breadth at the top. Its sides are faced with blocks of granite along its entire length. On the rampart side, this stone revetment rises vertically from the bottom of the moat to a height of 13 feet, while on the opposite side it is twice receded so as to form two ledges on the bank. This arrangement reduces the breadth of the moat at the bottom to 72 feet.
- 19. The earthern ramparts here are, on an average, 29 feet in height. Above the earthwork rose a wall, built of rough-hewn blocks of granite and faced with brick. Of this wall there are now but few traces; its original height cannot therefore be ascertained. Running parallel to the moat and the rampart there was, on the western side, an outer wall of brick, 7 feet in thickness at its base. This outer wall extends for 550 feet on the northern side and 480 feet on the southern, and ends on both sides at outcrops of gneiss, which run across the moat and help to keep the water at different levels according to the contour of the ground.
- 20. The ramparts on the northern and southern sides were pierced by gateways. The entrance to the walled-in area on the western side appears to have been through a drawbridge. The rampart at this point drops down by a series of terraces almost to the level of the natural ground, and the moat is narrowed to about 10 feet by three successive projections on the rampart side and two on the opposite side.
- 21. Within the area so strongly fortified, in extent about 110 acres, there are the sites and meagre remains of five edifices, each of which was enclosed by a broad moat. Thick walls encompassed these

  1 A.S.C.A.R. for 1940-5, p. 28.

and the buildings so protected appear to have been pleasure pavilions. The face of the rock rises precipitously on the east, almost from the level of the surrounding plain, but on the west the ground gradually rises and meets the vertical face of the rock some 330 feet below the summit. The sloping ground here had been made into a number of spacious terraces, the retaining walls of which, while serving their proper function, must have also been a factor in the defensive scheme. Boulders of grotesque and fantastic shapes, some of them of immense size, appearing as if they had been thrown up by some seismic convulsion during a remote geological epoch, lie scattered in this area in picturesque confusion. The rock-shelters formed by the overhanging sides of these boulders had, in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era, served as the abodes of Buddhist anchorites, as is indicated by Brāhmī inscriptions incised below their drip-ledges.

- 22. Almost every boulder in this area, not excluding those with caves, had been made use of as bases for structures, the precise nature of which cannot be determined today. The grooves chiselled on these boulders to hold the brickwork indicate that they had been utilized for such purposes. On the top of one boulder is a cistern, partly excavated and partly built up. An adjoining rock, which in fact is a part of the boulder with the cistern, split by natural causes and fallen down, has a magnificent throne carved on it.
- 23. A flight of stone steps, now restored, with flanking brick walls, starts at a point 267 feet to the east of the cistern rock; another similar flight starts at a point 744 feet to the north of the starting-point of the former. Ascending in stages, both these flights of steps converge at a point from which the western face of the rock rises vertically from the acclivity. From here starts that feature of the fortress of Sigiri which concerns us most from the point of view of our documents—the pathway or gallery which, skirting the steep face of the rock on its western and northern sides, provided an easy means of access to the seemingly inaccessible summit and the palace built thereon.
- 24. Some kind of ornamental structure—a gateway, perhaps—appears to have marked the beginning of the pathway; restoration work effected four decades ago has, however, obscured its original design. Just at the point where the two flights of steps converge, the contour line drops and proceeds for about 400 feet on a lower level until the north-western corner of the rock is reached. The pathway on the western side thus appears like a gallery resting on the vertical rock face, at an average height of 60 feet above the ground.
- 25. The gallery on the western side rests for the most part on a concavity of the rock wall. Ledges were cut on the lower portion of the concave rock face and bricks laid on them to serve as a foundation for further courses of brick masonry which were keyed to the rock by means of grooves chiselled on its face. This method of building was continued to a height sufficient to obtain the required breadth of the pathway—an average of 7 feet. The floor of the pathway was paved with smoothly chiselled slabs of limestone, and a wall, averaging  $9\frac{1}{2}$  feet in height, was constructed at its edge to impart a sense of security to persons standing on it.
- 26. The wall is finished with a moulded cornice at the top. Its lines do not proceed straight, but curve in such a manner that they blend with the rugged outlines of the rock behind it. The parapet wall of the gallery was coated, outside as well as inside, with lime plaster; the inner face was so highly polished that even today, after the lapse of fifteen centuries, one sees one's reflection in it. It has, for this reason, been referred to, during at least a thousand years—as will become evident in the sequel—by a Sinhalese word meaning Mirror Wall. The base line of the gallery wall, as seen from outside, has a continuous upward gradient; but, in the gallery itself, one walks on a level floor, the ascent being provided for by flights of steps, varying considerably in height, placed at suitable intervals.
- 27. From the floor of the gallery on the western side of the rock one gets a glimpse of another of Sīgiri's attractions—that which, in the opinion of many, alone makes a visit to the place well worth while. I refer to the remnants of paintings in a cavity some 42 feet above the floor of the gallery. A winding staircase, recently installed, gives access to this cavity—the fresco pocket as it is usually called. In ancient days, however, there was no means of access to the place where the paintings are now preserved. The paintings which one sees today consist of twenty-one figures of females, cut off below the waist by clouds, some grouped in pairs, others standing singly. They are profusely bejewelled; some are of a fair complexion while others are dark in colour. Those of the first category are nude above the waist, the rest have the 'breast band'. Some of the figures are holding trays of flowers in their hands; the others are either holding flowers or scattering them.

- 28. The vast majority of our documents have the paintings, or more particularly the ladies represented therein, as the subject. The ancients, therefore, are in accord with the moderns in the estimation of these works of art and the distinction which they confer on Sīgiri. As will be shown in the sequel, these documents help us to arrive at the conclusion that the figures in the cavity are but a small fraction of a large number of similar figures which adorned the western face of the rock. Only those in the cavity have escaped the ravages of time, as they were adequately sheltered from the elements. Patches of lime plaster, still adhering to it here and there, indicate that the rugged face of the cliff was not left bare. An artistic evaluation of these paintings and a discussion of their iconography of the identity of these female figures are topics which cannot be touched upon here. Such light as is shed on these matters by the documents will be noted in the section of the introduction dealing with the subject-matter of the graffiti.<sup>1</sup>
- 29. Proceeding along the gallery to the north-west corner of the rock, one notices that the height of the gallery from the ground level diminishes and that the rock face becomes perpendicular. From the point where the corner is turned, the pathway ran for 96 feet on the top of a high platform built from ground-level. While the gallery on the western face has been preserved due to its being protected from the elements by the overhanging rock, the pathway here has been washed down by the monsoon rains of fifteen centuries. The visitor today has to cross the gap thus caused along an iron bridge.
- 30. The ascent along the northern face of the rock is through a steep flight of steps, laid on masonry resting on the sloping ground, which hugs the rock face at its base. This flight of steps leads one to a spacious terrace, the sides of which are held by retaining walls of stone, faced with brick and continued in brick as parapet walls enclosing the area.
- 31. When one stands on this terrace, facing southwards, the summit of the rock confronts him as if nature herself had set a limit forbidding puny man to proceed farther. When one looks down from the eastern edge of the terrace at the point of its meeting with the rock, a fearsome abyss meets his eye; above, the rock face rises perpendicularly to a height of 83 feet from the ground of the terrace. Above that point the rock face ascends in an incline up to the summit, and it was not possible for the pathway to have been constructed in the same manner as was done on the western face. How to continue the pathway up to that point was the problem which the architect-engineers of old had to solve. The king's orders to build the palace on the summit were no doubt imperative, and his engineers were not men to be thwarted by any obstacle set up by nature. They solved their problem so admirably that, when their task was accomplished, the result appeared as it were a song of triumph solidified into brick masonry, and imparted to the rock the distinctive appellation by which it was to be known throughout the subsequent ages.
- 32. The ancient engineer-architects built against the rock a colossal figure of the forepart of a lion, lying down on its paws, showing the mighty beast as emerging from the bowels of the towering rock. A zigzag stairway, broken by level spaces at intervals, was constructed inside the body of this brick and mortar king of beasts. Of this extraordinary, one may even say bizarre, creation very little now remains to give one an idea of the impression it created on the minds of those who saw it when it was entire. The immense claws which are still preserved make one certain about the original character of the now shapeless mass of brickwork, and the grooves incised on the rock face, to which the courses of masonry were keyed, help one to reconstruct the outlines of the figure to some extent. Two stages of the interior stairway, with an intervening landing, are still in position.
- 33. Ascending the staircase and emerging from the body of the Lion, one would have found himself in ancient days on the pathway constructed on the sloping northern face of the rock, forming the last lap of the ascent. The ledges and grooves on the rock indicate that the construction of the pathway here was on lines similar to those of the preserved portion on the western side. There was, however, no overhanging rock to protect it here, and it has completely succumbed to the ravages of time, without leaving even a single brick in position. The pathway, when it was entire, would have enabled even delicately brought up ladies of the royal household to ascend to the summit of the forbidding rock without undue fatigue and with a perfect feeling of security.
- 34. The scene which presented itself to one who arrived on the rock's summit, after proceeding along so unique an approach, must have been striking in the extreme; but there is very little data from which we can reconstruct it today, even in our imagination. The entire area on the summit, nearly

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For a description of the paintings, see Bell's A.S.C.A.R. for 1905, pp. 16-17.

three acres, is covered by the remains of a large building complex—the Palace of Kassapa—which, until Bell exhumed them over half a century ago, were buried under the debris formed by the collapse of the upper parts of the structures. The rock surface being uneven, the area was designed into a number of terraces, varying in dimensions and height, and flights of stone steps led from one terrace to the other. The retaining walls of some of these terraces, faced with brick and originally plastered with stucco, attain impressive heights. The walls, which were free-standing, are still preserved in places to a height of over 10 feet, and retain details of their architectural ornamentation.

- 35. Two rock-cut cisterns, one measuring 17 feet 3 inches by 14 feet 9 inches and 4 feet in depth, and the other 10 feet by 10 feet 6 inches and 8 feet deep, stored rain-water which it was necessary to preserve for drinking purposes. A large bath, the four sides of which measure  $87\frac{1}{2}$  feet,  $65\frac{1}{2}$  feet, 92 feet, and 70 feet respectively, and which is  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet in depth, with its sides faced with stone or brick, was one of the attractions of the palace. A chastely moulded throne has been chiselled out of the living rock at one place; there are indications that it was in a pavilion, the sockets in which its wooden pillars were planted being still visible. Lines of ledges and grooves incised on the very brink of the rock indicate that the outer wall of the palace continued the vertical line of the rock face. The palace itself would thus have appeared, when seen from below, as organically one with the rock, or as if it had been hoisted up by some miracle together with the ground on which it was erected.
- 36. The hundreds of limestone slabs used in the pavement and flights of steps had all to be transported from a considerable distance and hauled up the steep side of the rock. They are not pieces hewn out of the great rock, which is of gneiss. The quantity of brick in the fragments of walls still preserved is immense; a much greater quantity must have fallen down the rock sides when the building collapsed. A large quantity of timber must have been used in the doors, pillars, and roofs. How all this material was taken to the summit of a rock, virtually unscalable, baffles the imagination.
- 37. From the ruins of the palace at the summit one sees to the south what is left of the old reservoir of Sīgiri. The dam of earthwork of this artificial lake, which originally must have covered nearly 2,000 acres, starts from the very base of Sīgiri rock at its south-eastern corner and ends against a rocky hill lower in altitude than Sīgiri, which is known as Māpāgala. The name signifies that the abode of the heir-apparent was located on it. Running round its base is a retaining wall of cyclopean masonry. The dam of the reservoir is continued for nearly 2 miles beyond Māpāgala, and the volume of water brought to it from its own catchment area was augmented by diverting to it a stream which has its sources in the hills, some 10 miles away from Sīgiri. In ancient days, when this lake was full, Sīgiri, seen from the south and east, must have appeared as if it had emerged with its palace from the waters of the enormous reservoir. The contrast afforded by the solid mass of bare rock at the far end of an extensive sheet of water must have contributed, with the greenery of the surrounding land-scape, to form a picture which, once seen, would have been impressed indelibly on one's mind.<sup>1</sup>

#### II. THE DOCUMENTS AND THEIR DECIPHERMENT

- 38. 'The insatiate itch of scribbling' on monuments is not a characteristic peculiar to the sightseer of today. There is ample evidence that, in ancient times, too, there were men who sought immortality by this means. A classic example is that of the Greek mercenaries in Egypt, who left a record of their visit to Abu Simbel by carving their names on the colossal rock-cut statue of Rameses II—an act of vandalism which has furnished modern scholars with the earliest dated specimen of the Greek script.<sup>2</sup>
- 39. At Sigiri, the polished surface of the gallery wall looks as if it had been specially provided for visitors to indulge in this craving. Scribbling thereon can be done with much greater ease than on rock, using any sort of sharp-pointed implement that is handy; moreover, one's name incised thereon has a very good chance of being preserved, even better than a scribbling on a stone. After the place had been made accessible to sightseers through Bell's efforts, many visitors during the early years of this century had made use of the gallery wall for the purpose of a visitors' book; and, with the increase
- <sup>1</sup> Extensive remains have been uncovered in the walled-in area to the west of the rock since the above account was written. For the significance of the palace and other features of Sigiri, see my paper, 'Sigiri, the

Abode of a God-king' in J.R.A.S., C.B., Centenary Volume, 1950, pp. 162-84.

<sup>2</sup> Cambridge Ancient History, vol. iii, p. 301; vol. iv, p. 87; Isaac Taylor, The Alphabet, vol. ii, pp. 5 ff.

in the number of people who visit Sīgiri nowadays, there would have been very little left of the original plaster of the Mirror Wall today, had not guards been stationed at the entrance to the gallery to prevent such vandalism.

- 40. The visitor to Sīgiri, while admiring the polished plaster of the Mirror Wall, will see much evidence of these modern vandals whose ignoble names, in English or Sinhalese, or merely initials thereof, have been carved, very often with the date on which they disfigured a unique work of antiquity. He will also notice many other scribblings which, even after a cursory examination, will reveal themselves as not of recent origin. This latter class of scribbling can be readily recognized as old by the fact that the writing has weathered considerably. The script, too, is not one which is familiar to him. The visitor may recognize a few letters here and there as identical with, or closely resembling, the Sinhalese script of today; but he will not be able to read in full any of these scribblings, which evidently are not by modern hands.
- 41. Another difference between the scribblings of old and those of today will be readily noticed. Modern vandals have written their names, or initials, as conspicuously as possible, incising the letters to a considerable depth, so that they stare one in the eye. The scribblings of the ancients, on the other hand, are generally scratched on the surface, the letters being of very small size. They seem to have realized that, in scribbling on the Mirror Wall, they were doing something not quite desirable and, if they did so due to an urge which they could not resist, they have, however, been careful not to cause more disfigurement than was unavoidable. Another aspect of the old scribblings which will strike the visitor if he compares them with the new is that most of the former, evidently, contain too many letters to be taken as bare names.
- 42. These graffiti—as we may call the ancient scribblings on the gallery wall—were noticed for the first time by Bell, who, in spite of his preoccupation with the exploration, excavation, and conservation of numerous ancient monuments in the Island, devoted some time to their study. It is to Bell's credit that he realized the great importance that these graffiti have for the student of Sinhalese philology and palaeography. 'Despite their brevity and ephemeral import', says Bell, 'they merit careful study, no less on epigraphical than linguistic grounds, providing, as they do, a valuable field of research into the gradual mutation and development of the Sinhalese script and language from archaic and obsolete characters and word-forms.'
- 43. Bell recognized that the earliest of these graffiti date, palaeographically, from about the sixth century. He also rightly concluded that the greater number of these records belong to about the tenth century. He was, however, not quite correct in his statement that there are as many records of the eleventh century as of the preceding one. This is due to the reason that the evolution of the Sinhalese script was not correctly understood in 1905, when Bell wrote—his '10th and 11th centuries' should be '8th and 9th centuries'. Bell was also mistaken in his opinion that records as late as the fifteenth century are to be found on the gallery wall.<sup>2</sup>
- 44. With regard to the character of the graffiti, Bell has rightly surmised that in them the visitors of old had recorded their 'impressions of the place'. He also recognized that among the graffiti are 'not a few homely stanzas, to the pedant "so sweetly mawkish and so smoothly dull" '. After reading these stanzas as embodied in the present work, those who are conversant with Sinhalese poetry would, I think, be inclined to hold that, with regard to the literary quality of their compositions, Bell has been somewhat unjust to the ancient scribblers. Bell has also not been happy with the graffito that he selected as an example of a verse, for what he has given as a metrical composition is, in fact, the second half of a verse combined with a prose passage. The 'verse', thus composed, has been interpreted by Bell as 'a scathing reproof' directed at the 'miserable poetasters' who disfigured the wall with their

The king in whose reign the document is dated must therefore be Bhuvanekabāhu I. This king, according to the chronicle, reigned for only eleven years. The explanation, perhaps, is that he reigned for eleven full years and a few odd months, and that the graffito belongs to the last days of his rule. Another possibility is that, in the interregnum of about three years which followed the death of Bhuvanekabāhu I, documents continued to be dated from the year of his accession.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 'Inscriptions on Gallery Wall, Sigiri-Gala', A.S.C.A.R. for 1905, pp. 53-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> A graffito dated in the 12th year of a Bhuvanekabāhu is ascribed by Bell to the reign of the fourth king of that name, presumably because none of the first three Bhuvanekabāhus, according to the chronicles, did enjoy a reign extending to twelve years. The script of the graffito in question is definitely too early for the fourteenth century, the time of Bhuvanekabāhu IV. It is of the twelfth or thirteenth century.

'trivial verse in common style'. The correct reading and interpretation of this stanza, included as No. 246 of the present work, will show that its subject-matter is of an altogether different character.

- 45. The texts of the graffiti in characters of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries included in Bell's account of them are on the whole correct. The graffiti datable during these centuries are generally in characters of about an inch in their average size and, being well preserved, are easy to read. Their interpretation, too, presents no difficulties, for they usually consist of the name, sometimes with the place of residence and other details, of some individual who states that he came and saw Sīgiri on a specified date, given in the years of the reigning sovereign. Apart from the date, they generally do not contain anything of interest. From the point of view of the philologist, they are of little or no importance.
- 46. John Still, who was Bell's assistant for some time, and Ayrton, who succeeded Bell, appear to have taken some interest in these graffiti. Eye-copies of some of these graffiti, prepared by Still, were found among the records of the Archaeological Department. Neither of these archaeologists, however, can be said to have made any headway in their decipherment or interpretation.
- 47. It was in 1928 that the present writer examined these documents for the first time. Three days spent at the spot in studying the graffiti convinced him that the many hundreds of records dating from the eighth to the tenth century, scratched on the wall, are even more important for a study of the historical development of the Sinhalese language than Bell took them to be. He was also able to discern that the majority of the graffiti in the script of these periods were in verse, and that many of these compositions were of a high standard of literary quality—some of them comparable as poetry, in their own way, to the best in the classical Sinhalese literature. He also found that there were, among these metrical compositions of about the ninth century, some quatrains which are rhymed—a fact of considerable significance to the student of Sinhalese literature, for the view which prevailed among scholars at that time was that rhymed stanzas were of later date than blank verse (gi).
- 48. Those three days spent in 1928, examining the scribblings on the Mirror Wall at Sīgiri, made something else also quite clear to the writer—that there were difficulties, almost insuperable, to be grappled with by anyone who should undertake the task of deciphering and interpreting these records. Some aspects of these difficulties have been touched upon by Bell in the following words: 'But the task of deciphering the vast majority of these graffiti is rendered extremely difficult, in as much as (unlike the modern vandal, striving commonly to spoil as much wall space as possible with ignoble name and date) the native "scribe", albeit with more sense of propriety, usually left his record neatly inscribed by *ulkaṭuvak* (metal style), in ordinary manuscript size, now weathered and blurred by age.'
- 49. In many of the graffiti, the size of the individual letters is even smaller than that in the average palm-leaf manuscript, and it is the sharpness of the point of the stylus and the extraordinary adhesive properties of the lime plaster, which made such diminutive lettering possible on a wall. It is the sheltered position of the wall itself which has preserved the writing in a condition clear enough to be recognized as such. In many graffiti, the incision is as sharp as on a metal plate; but the lime plaster is obviously not of equal adhesive quality everywhere, and some of the scribblers appear to have used a stylus whose point was not so sharp as that of the others. In some of the graffiti, therefore, the incision of the letters does not give as clear a definition of their outline as one would desire. The preservation of the plaster is not also of a uniformly satisfactory nature throughout the wall. In some places patches of the surface have flaked away; a kind of moss has disfigured the surface in others. This type of weathering has affected the legibility of a number of graffiti, and it requires much concentrated examination to make out the letters in such places. In many instances the letters had first been drawn with some kind of red ink on the plaster, and incised over afterwards. Such incisions on lines drawn with ink had often been hastily and carelessly executed; and, in a rubbing, only the incised letters would appear.
- 50. Innumerable adventitious scratches have invaded the writing. One graffito has very often been written over another. The discrimination of the writing in such cases requires careful and patient examination of the wall itself. Modern scribblings have disfigured, or irretrievably damaged, many of these graffiti. In recent years an attempt was made by the Archaeological Department, by applying a coating of yellow ochre, to conceal the scars made on the wall by modern scribblers. This has resulted in hiding from view quite a number of the graffiti; it is necessary to wash away the coating of yellow ochre to reveal the old writing. Much care has to be exercised in doing this so that the old writing shall not be made still more obscure during this process of recovering it.

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- 51. While the incision of the letters has been done to a satisfactory depth in many of the graffiti, in others the letters have been scratched very superficially. There is inequality in this respect at times in one and the same graffito, the manner of writing usually deteriorating towards the end of a record. The result is that a satisfactory reproduction of what is preserved on the wall by means of pencil rubbings is not possible in the case of every graffito. The decipherment of these records cannot therefore be effected solely in the study, with the help of rubbings. The readings based on such reproductions have to be checked or supplemented by examining the actual writing as preserved on the wall itself. The blurred or faintly incised graffiti can be satisfactorily examined only when the sunlight falls on the gallery wall; due to the restricted space between it and the rock face, this happens for only a few hours of the day. It does not happen at all on cloudy or rainy days. The graffiti being scratched at various heights from the floor, one has to strain one's eye and neck in order to examine them, so that the concentrated study of the records from the wall itself cannot be carried out for many hours at a time.
- 52. These graffiti being scribbled on the wall by different people at different times, without the necessity to conform to a set scheme in the disposition of the writing, one record is very often found to overlap another. The space between two different records is at times less than that between two portions of the same record. Unfinished records and fragments encroach into the province of those which are well preserved. A line of writing belonging to one record often strikes another which was already there, and the record is continued in a second line. It therefore requires much judgement and discrimination to determine what exactly pertains to a particular record in certain cases. Our guides in such instances are the handwriting and the general sense of the document.
- 53. The palaeographical difficulties that one encounters in the decipherment of these records are also numerous. The Sinhalese script of the ninth century is fairly well known from stone inscriptions, a good number of which have been critically edited and published. The majority of these graffiti, however, must be assigned palaeographically to a period earlier than this by about a century, and the script of the eighth century, which is not well represented in stone inscriptions hitherto published, can generally be taken as differing little from that of the ninth. Some of these documents, however, exhibit forms of letters not found in lithic records, and in such cases their precise value has to be determined by examining the various contexts in which they occur.
- 54. Lithic records, as a rule, have been engraved with care, due attention being paid to uniformity in the shape of the letters. These documents, on the other hand, have been scribbled by different individuals, and uniformity in the script cannot be expected in them. Some of the graffiti, it must be admitted, have been indited with great pains and are of calligraphic quality. Others are written in a slovenly manner, individual letters being often malformed. Moreover, writing on plaster must have been not easy to many, and their hands must have faltered, giving rise to forms of letters which were not intentional. Individual idiosyncrasies have also to be taken into account, and one has often to familiarize oneself with the peculiarities of a particular graffito, in the same manner as one does with regard to a particular person's handwriting. When one considers how difficult it is at times to read a carelessly written manuscript, even though it be in a language and a script in daily use, one can appreciate the difficulties that can ensue from careless writing when dealing with a script and a language of a thousand years ago.
- 55. In the medieval Sinhalese script, there are some letters which differ little in form from certain others; and, in the case of these, the identity of the individual letter cannot be determined without being certain of the word in which it occurs, particularly so where the writing is carelessly done or has been badly preserved. And one cannot very often be certain about the word itself without reference to the sentence of which it forms a part. But our documents, sharing this characteristic with all Sinhalese manuscripts, do not separate one word from another. It is a part of the task of deciphering the documents to divide a string of letters so as to form a number of words giving a connected sense. It is not always that this division can be effected in one manner only. The decipherer, by various methods, has to guess what the writer intended to convey to the reader.
- 56. Some of these graffiti have a short sentence in prose, preceding or following the verse. Very often some space is left between the prose and the verse; or the differentiation is effected by some other device. In some records, however, there is nothing to indicate where the prose ends and the verse begins or vice versa. It is very seldom that the metrical line of a stanza forms a separate line of

writing. The prose and the whole of a stanza are in many cases contained in one single line of writing. At times a graffito in verse may comprise several lines of writing, but such fortuitous arrangements have no bearing whatever on the separation of the record into its metrical lines. The division of a record into a number of lines in most cases has been determined merely by convenience. The writer took his stand at a particular point, started to write his verse and continued the line so far as he could conveniently stretch his hand, and began a second line or a third guided solely by this consideration. The recognition that a document is in verse does not, therefore, depend on the outward form of its execution. Poetry, these writers may have argued, is not poetry if it has to depend on such adventitious aid as the manner of its writing for its recognition. A woman is not a woman if she has to depend mainly on attire for her femininity.

- 57. From the foregoing remarks it will be clear that in the case of these records reading is synonymous with interpretation, which also presents peculiar difficulties. Many of these documents are older in date than the oldest literary work in Sinhalese now extant. It is, therefore, natural to come across in them words not found in literary works; other words are more archaic in form than any found in literature. The meaning of a word inferred from the context has to be assured by quoting its occurrence in literary works. The want<sup>1</sup> of a scientific lexicon of the Sinhalese language, and of indexes to the early texts, makes this task of ascertaining the meaning of obscure words in our graffiti doubly difficult.
- 58. The language of the stone inscriptions of the period, though helpful in the interpretation of these records, is obviously of a character differing from that of our graffiti. The documents engraved on stone are of a legal nature, and their formal phraseology must obviously be quite unsuited to the spontaneous expression of the feelings of visitors to Sīgiri in olden days that one naturally anticipates in documents of this nature. Though one may expect certain common ideas in the verses written on one theme, the documents, being written by various individuals, are disconnected. The aid to interpretation supplied by sequence of thought in a single document is thus lacking here. Being verses intended to be poetry, one may expect therein certain tricks of expression, witticisms, and allusions which would have been quite obvious to the people of those days, but would naturally be obscure to us today. It is also not unnatural to expect, in informal records of this nature, colloquial expressions current at that time which would not have found a place in literary works or formal documents, such as are the majority of stone inscriptions.
- 59. The metre of the stanzas is an aid to the ascertainment of the correct reading in many places; but, more often than not, the metre itself has to be guessed at by the aid of the reading. In dealing with documents of this nature, it is very easy to go astray by preconceived notions due to one's reading of literature. The reading has, therefore, to be checked repeatedly with what is actually to be found on the wall, which at times is not so satisfying as a construction based partly on what one thinks it should be. It is with much regret that I have had to discard the tentative readings of some graffiti based on the rubbings after checking them with the actuality on the wall.
- 60. After his first introduction to these graffiti in 1928, the writer spent a great deal of time, on various occasions, in their examination and study. Administrative and literary work of a more urgent character did not permit him to devote his time exclusively to this study alone for any prolonged and continuous period. At first the task of deciphering these graffiti appeared to be a hopeless one. The reading of some and the interpretation of others continued to baffle him for long. Concentrated study gradually solved the difficulties one by one. A word which is obscure in one context explains itself in another. It was, therefore, considered not the best method to deal with a single document thoroughly before attempting the study of another. An imperfectly preserved document has, at times, given the clue to the interpretation of a word which is obscure in another which is well preserved. The whole range of the extant ancient Sinhalese literature—particularly such poetic works as the Kavsiļumiņa, Sasadāvata, Muvadevdāvata, and Elu Saňdäs-lakuṇa, that mine of lexicographical information, the Dampiyā-aṭuvā-sannaya, and the old lexicon Ruvanmala—were studied anew, with the particular purpose of discovering clues to the interpretation of our graffiti. The spoken language of today was also investigated with the same end in view.
  - 61. When he first undertook the study of these graffiti, the writer would have congratulated himself
- <sup>1</sup> It is gratifying to note here that this long-felt want will soon be supplied by Bhadanta Sorata, the foremost Sinhalese scholar of the present generation.

if he had succeeded in deciphering only a hundred of these old verses. It took him above five years to achieve this result, and even then he was not quite satisfied with his texts. By this time he was familiar with the script, and was generally at home in the language of these graffiti. By 1937 he had gained enough confidence in the results of his study to publish something of them for the consideration of scholars. He accordingly contributed a brief note on the Sigiri graffiti to the Introduction to the *Annual Bibliography of the Kern Institute of Leiden* for 1937 (pp. 34–37), and a paper of much greater length to the *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (vol. xxxiv, pp. 309–49). These two publications created some interest, but not to the extent of stimulating any scholar in Ceylon to engage in the decipherment and study of these graffiti.

62. In the paper contributed to the Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have been included the texts, admittedly tentative, of 41 stanzas from among these graffiti. Some of these have been found unsatisfactory and have been amended in the present work. It is, however, gratifying that so much of these texts can still be considered as valid after an intensive study of the documents. When the above paper was being written, it was the writer's hope to be able to recover from oblivion 200 of these medieval Sinhalese stanzas. Before the paper was published he had, however, succeeded in deciphering over 350 of them. The number of verses deciphered gradually increased, and fresh decipherments usually helped to amend the texts of those tentatively read. They also clarified doubtful points in the interpretation, and indicated the manner in which the lacunae of these documents which were not complete could be filled. The final score has risen to 685 graffiti, comprising 708 verses. The first objective of a śataka has grown into a sapta-śatī.

63. Apart from these more or less complete graffiti, there are numerous fragments all over the wall. Some have become fragments as a result of the damage sustained by them in course of time. Others have never been completed. There are instances in which a visitor of olden days had started to indite a verse on the gallery wall with great promise, but was not able to complete it. Others had failed in their attempts in one place, but have achieved better results in another. There are also scores of names scribbled on the wall without any verses appended to them; as also are short sentences in prose.

64. There are, as already noticed, a few graffiti of about the fifth century, in scripts resembling that of the Vessagiri Rock Inscriptions, published in the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, vol. iii, pp. 128 ff., and of the records engraved on the steps of the so-called Burrows' Pavilion at Anuradhapura (*Epigraphia Zeylanica*, vol. iv, pp. 136 ff.). It has not yet been possible to decipher any of these, the earliest records left on the gallery wall. There are also a few graffiti in Sanskrit, some in the Nāgarī script of about the ninth century, and others in scripts that were in vogue in Ceylon or South India in the seventh or eighth century. About half a dozen graffiti in Tamil found on the wall date from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The graffiti in the Sinhalese script of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries have already been referred to. These documents are not without interest, but are in no way comparable in their appeal to the graffiti in verse datable in the eighth to tenth centuries, to which this work is devoted.

#### III. ORTHOGRAPHICAL

65. Bell states that these documents are bristling with clerical errors, adding to the difficulties which stand in the way of their decipherment. As a matter of fact, however, these documents do not exhibit clerical errors in a greater proportion than, for instance, any average hand-written document. It is, of course, very easy to see clerical errors when one deals with an unfamiliar language. Every detail that does not conform to what one considers to be normal can be stigmatized as a 'clerical error'. Similarly, it is easy to dismiss as a 'clerical error' what one does not understand. It is natural for one to attribute to another the difficulties that one experiences, and the ancient scribblers cannot protest when they are accused of having perpetrated 'clerical errors'. If we compare the language of these documents with that of Sinhalese classics, one can, of course, compile a very impressive list of 'errors'. On the other hand, if one of these scribblers could have seen a passage from the classics, he, on his part, would have pointed out an equally damaging number of 'errors'. What we must class as errors must be those which would have been treated as such by the contemporaries of those who wrote down these verses on the gallery wall.

- 66. Omissions have in many cases been detected by the writers themselves and made good by writing, below the line, the letters which had been left out inadvertently. Nos. 75 and 309 afford examples. The particular point at which the letters have been omitted is usually indicated by means of a cross. In a few documents several letters have been written twice over, e.g. Nos. 161, 216, 226, and 227. It is possible that, in some of these cases, the extra syllables written by error were scratched out, but that the scratching has been blurred by the passage of time. Omissions not detected by the writers themselves are few.
- 67. The general practice in Sinhalese has been, as it is today, to indicate a consonant which is not vocalized by attaching the virāma sign to it, and not, as in Sanskrit, to have recourse to a conjoint consonant. Our documents, as a rule, conform to this practice. Examples can be found in every document which uses a script containing the virāma. There are, however, not an inconsiderable number of cases in which conjoint consonants are found in genuine Sinhalese words. Examples are: එවැවෙනන් (No. 29), ගනනා (No. 176), අවතන් (No. 236), නවතන් (No. 279), මහෙත (Nos. 290 and 301), අවතන් (No. 322), අවත්ය (No. 323), නවතන් (No. 664), යෙනෙනා (No. 664), and මතෙන (No. 678) which, respectively, should have normally been written as එවැන්නෙන්, ගන්නා, අවත්නන්, නවත්නන්, මන්නෙ, අවත්නන්, අවත්රය, නවත්නන්, යෙන්නො, and මත්නෙ. In some cases an unvocalized consonant at the end of a word forms a nexus with the first consonant of the following word. In No. 80, for example, ජනි is written for ජන්වී, in No. 370 තවකුත් has to be broken into two words තවන් and දන්, and in No. 556 මෙනෙනා stands for මෙන් නො.
- 68. The conjoint consonants ng, nd, nd, and mb are of common occurrence in these graffiti. Both the consonantal symbols are fully represented in mb. These symbols, respectively, would have been used in the script of the period for writing Sanskrit words like  $Gang\bar{a}$ , danda, manda, and nimba, where both consonants are pronounced with equal emphasis. This is apparent from the fact that the symbol for  $nd\bar{a}$  of  $n\bar{a}$  occurring in a graffito embodying a Sanskrit verse is the same (apart from the  $\bar{i}$ - $m\bar{a}$ tr $\bar{a}$ ) as that for nda in the word beyanda occurring in so many graffiti. In our documents, however, when these conjoint consonants occur in genuine Sinhalese words, as a rule, the nasal is not fully pronounced; this is made clear by a study of the metre. In such cases we have the half-nasal, a feature peculiar to Sinhalese. Its phonological aspects will be dealt with below (§§ 205 ff.). In our documents we do not find, as we do in the script of a later period, a separate symbol to indicate the nexus of which the nasal is not fully pronounced.
- 69. There are, however, rare instances in our graffiti where the nasal in such conjoint consonants should be fully pronounced to satisfy the requirements of the metre. Examples are: ම නිබ්බයා of No. 8, ඇන් of No. 131, මන්බයා of No. 81, හැහාක් of No. 264, වන්ම of No. 134, ඉහ of No. 278, and මනුකට of No. 317. In No. 100, however, the word mindibi is written මින්දිබ් as also in No. 592. In No. 471 the word is similarly written, but the n, distinctly written with a virāma attached to it, is not fully pronounced.
- 70. Consonants, when coming together in Sanskrit tatsamas, are written conjointly, as is the practice in writing that language. Such words are very rare in our documents, if we do not take into account the mangala words śrī and svasti, often found at the beginning of documents. They occur in a few proper names in prose passages prefixed to verses: බම්මේම තා in No. 94, මෙම නීම in No. 194, සහිතිවම්ම in No. 615, and සහ ලෙවැම් in No. 609 exhaust the list of such words. Different is the treatment of a Sanskrit tatsama, which should have been written with a conjoint consonant when it occurs in the body of a verse; janmayehi in No. 678, for instance, is written සහිමයෙහි. It has evidently been Sinhalized. Svasti in No. 357 is written at the end of the document. In many documents the two ligatures forming this word are written together as a monogram, so that the i-sign, which should be restricted to the second ligature, takes in its sweep the first as well.
- 71. Y and yi are interchangeable; so are v and vu. Examples are: seyi for sey (No. 15), mayi for may (No. 21), disey for diseyi (No. 50), lay for layi (No. 113), labay for labayi (No. 262), sanahay for sanahayi (No. 554), meseyi for mesey (No. 32), adavayi for adavay (No. 75), balayi for balay (No. 94), karayi, tabayi, meyi, and mayi for karay, tabay, mey, and may, janav for janavu (No. 165), sov for sovu (No. 365). In these instances we have perhaps a phonological, instead of an orthographical, feature (see § 282 below).
- 72. The length of the vowels e and o, whether occurring initially or medially, is never shown graphically in these documents. The metre, however, is decisive that, unlike the usage in Sanskrit and

Pāli, these two vowels are usually short. In some places they have to be pronounced long to satisfy the requirements of the metre. See Nos. 114, 159, 251, and 278. The medial vowel signs for i and u, shown graphically as long, have often to be read as short; compare, for example, Nos. 113, 118, 144, 317, and 337. Rare is the occurrence of an a written short to be pronounced long or vice versa. In No. 338 the medial vowel sign for  $\bar{a}$  has to be ignored in the reading; in No. 159 the medial vowel sign for  $\bar{a}$  is wanting. These two may well be counted as clerical errors. So is perhaps the medial  $\bar{a}$ , in the word  $m\bar{a}$  of No. 338, which has to be pronounced short.

73. The virāma is not marked at all in some documents. This may be an orthographical peculiarity, for in No. 506 a conjoint consonant indicates that an n is not vocalized. In a few documents, though the virāma is marked, a final consonant to which it is attached has to be read, for metrical reasons, together with the vowel at the beginning of the next word: asadun ature (No. 181), kiyat ek (No. 220), daham ättan (No. 302) are examples. Quite strange, according to later standards of orthography, is the attaching of the virāma to a nexus. This, however, is quite a normal way of writing in our documents, sand (No. 175), kand (No. 482) are examples. The attaching of a virāma to a nexus indicating a duplicated consonant, e.g. asarann (No. 104) and patt (No. 228), appears at first sight to be due to a clerical error; but we have perhaps to deal in such cases with a phonological peculiarity. For other examples of this feature, see Nos. 175, 379, and 678.

74. A vowel in the form in which it occurs initially is an unusual feature in the middle of a word in Sinhalese writings; but an example of this is furnished by No. 165: යන්නලින්.

#### IV. PALAEOGRAPHY

75. It is mainly the evidence of the script which enables us to ascribe the majority of the graffiti on the gallery wall—those included in the present work—to the period between the eighth and tenth centuries. The palaeography of the documents, therefore, merits consideration in some detail. Written by hundreds of different hands at different times, there are infinite variations in small details in one and the same letter forthcoming in these documents, and it is impossible to take into account all of them in any discussion of the palaeography. Some of these variations in the forms of the letters may not, indeed, be palaeographical; they may be malformations or individual idiosyncrasies. If the same malformation occurs in the writing of a sufficiently large number of people, it then ceases to be a malformation and becomes of palaeographical import. In spite of these variations the script of one period exhibits enough uniformity to distinguish it from that of another.

76. The documents that can be assigned on palaeographical grounds to the tenth century are few. The scripts of these conform generally in type to that in the 'Vessagiri' slab inscription of Mahinda IV.<sup>1</sup> The test letters are ka and sa. The first has its vertical aspect subordinated to the horizontal, and differs very little in form from the modern ka. The second, also resembling the modern type, has developed an acute angle at the top of its left half. In the case of ka, the Ambagamuva inscription<sup>2</sup> indicates that its earlier form, which emphasizes the vertical aspect, continued in use among more conservative scribes up to the close of the eleventh century or later, but the forms of other letters would be collateral evidence to ascribe to its correct period a document with an archaism in the form of this letter.

77. Those graffiti ascribed to the ninth century—much more numerous than those pertaining to the tenth—exhibit a type of script generally resembling that in the numerous pillar inscriptions of the reigns of Udaya I and Kassapa IV.<sup>3</sup> But there are many graffiti whose script exhibits forms of letters much more archaic in appearance than the corresponding forms in stone inscriptions of the ninth century. There are, in fact, certain forms in our graffiti which are practically identical with those that were in current use in the second or third century and which, if we were to judge them singly by the degree of evolution undergone by them, could be attributed to the fourth or fifth century. But the script of the graffiti in question cannot, as a whole, be of so early a date; for, side by side with these archaic forms, there are others which definitely represent a later stage in the process of evolution.

78. When the script of the seventh or eighth century is compared with that of the third or fourth, it will be noticed that the principal directions in which development has taken place are (1) the avoid-

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<sup>1</sup> EZ., vol. i, pp. 29–38, pl. 9. <sup>2</sup> Ibid., vol. ii, pp. 202–18, pl. 31.
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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> For example, see *EZ*., vol. i, pls. 20, 21, and 26, vol. ii, pls. 1, 3, and 4, and vol. iii, pls. 5 and 32.

ance of straight horizontal lines and angles, particularly right angles, and (2) the replacement of the short horizontal bar at the top of the left limb by a hook. In conformity with these tendencies, one and the same letter shows, in our graffiti, innumerable forms which had come into being in the process of evolution. We shall, in the succeeding paragraphs, take each letter and arrange, as far as possible, its variant forms found in our graffiti in the sequence of its evolution; but there are numerous forms which cannot be fitted into an evolutionary sequence. Obviously, there were in use, at one and the

4	4	M	4	4	И	V)	4	29	y
15	19	30	34	76	79	84	88	96	106
y	4	4	Ŋ	21	4	4	41	4	N
120	134	134	143	194	209	222	303	335	348
4	4	y	4	M	4	M.	2)	4)	4
362	365	372	377	462	477	484	513	578	613
4	4	201	y	Y	3	y	Y	Y	4
615	634	2	11	43	61	75	100	130	297
Y	M	8	2/	4	N	M	M	भ	4
301	326	354	375	29	118	135	144	346	386

Fig. 1. Forms of a

same time, numerous forms of a particular letter, of which one only was the basis of the subsequent evolution.

79. The different forms of a found in our graffiti, as tabulated in Fig. 1, would show that this letter, more than any other, had given rise during this period to forms which had no bearing on its subsequent evolution. A of the second century A.D. comprised two distinct parts, a straight vertical line on the right, to which were joined two curved strokes on the left. The vertical line on the right, which was a feature of this letter in its earliest form known to us, i.e. in the third century B.C., has remained unaltered in many of its forms occurring in our graffiti. Even the modern type of this letter appears to retain this vertical line, with only a knot added to it at the top. The development of the letter in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, however, shows us that the straight line of the modern type is not due to the corresponding feature of the Brāhmī a remaining unaltered. The types of a occurring in graffiti numbered 15, 30, 34, 76, 79, 84, 88, 96, 106, 120, 134, 143, 194, 209, 222, 303, 335, 348, 365, 372, 377, 462, 477, 484, 513, 578, 613, 615, and 634 retain the vertical stroke more or less unaltered. As early as the fifth century, as illustrated by the inscription of Khudda-Pārinda, I the left half of a had become a single curved stroke joined to the vertical stroke on the right by a slanting line. It is this development which has given rise to the various forms of the a in our graffiti, so far as the left limb of the letter is concerned. In the types of a in Nos. 134, 348, &c., the left limb of the letter avoids angularities; but, in many others, as for example of the type in Nos. 76, 130, 346, &c., the left half is formed of two strokes joined to form a sharp angle. The junction of the left half of the letter with the sloping line, which connects it with the vertical stroke, forms a sharp angle in

<sup>1</sup> EZ., vol. iv, pp. 111-15, pl. 11.

many, e.g. in Nos. 19, 346, &c., while in others a loop or a knot has developed at this point, most pronouncedly in the a of No. 15.

80. The hook, which is a characteristic feature at the upper extremities of the letters during this period, is found in most types of a, but in many it is wanting; see, for example, Nos. 43 and 362. The left half of a in Nos. 88, 326, and 386 has become highly cursive. The development of the right half of the letter is towards the duplication of the vertical line by curving it at its tail end and continuing



Fig. 3. Forms of u

it upwards. The various stages of this development are illustrated by the forms of a occurring in Nos. 2, 11, 43, 61, 75, 130, 346, &c. The various developments in the form of the letter are partly due to its being written without stopping the hand after starting the letter at the left-hand top. The forms of a in Nos. 29, 135, 144, and 386, however, go counter to the main tendency. In these, the bottom of the right half is open, so that there are two parallel vertical strokes hanging down from the slanting line, which extends rightwards. In the majority of the forms of a, the right half extends vertically far below the left half. In Nos. 79, 84, and 348 the two halves, more or less exactly, extend downwards to the same level.

- 81. The variant forms of *i* found in our documents are included in Fig. 2. The three horizontal strokes which constituted this letter in the second century had been reduced to two, that on the left being eliminated. The other two have undergone development by being transformed into spirals. The two strokes had then merged together, the lower portion becoming gradually attenuated. Of the ten forms of this letter given above, all but the first represent links in the chain of evolution which has given rise to the modern type. The exception, occurring in graffito No. 84, represents a development which has had no influence in the evolution of the modern form of the letter.
- 82. The various forms of u given in Fig. 3 are all due to the main tendencies at work in the shaping of the Sinhalese script during the centuries which preceded the eighth. The vertical stroke and the horizontal joining together to form a right angle had developed into one single curved stroke, and the short horizontal bar at the top of the straight vertical line had become a hook which does not appear in the forms of u seen in Nos. 124 and 610. In the form occurring in No. 39, a tail has developed

at the base. The vertical aspect is generally emphasized; the form in No. 463, however, has come a long way to approach the modern aspect of the letter.

83. The various types of e found in our graffiti (Fig. 4) are due to the rounding of the angles of the triangle which constituted this letter in the earliest form of the Brāhmī script. The letter, after this development, began to be written at the middle of the left side, was continued downwards, turned to the right, then upwards and was curved down to meet the point at which the writing started. By

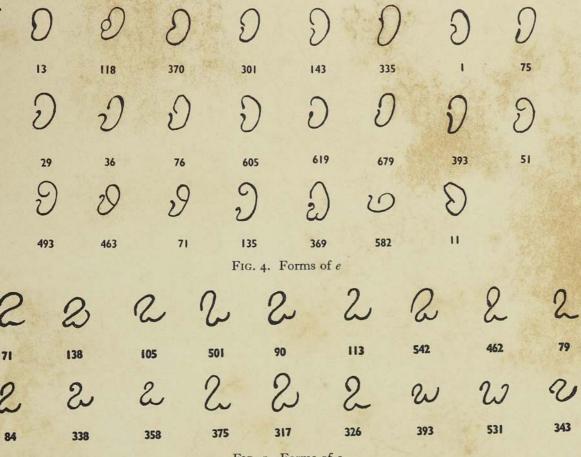


Fig. 5. Forms of o

degrees the letter opened at this point, where it developed a hook, and the end of the stroke was curved. The different forms of the letter exhibit these developments in varying degrees. In the form occurring in No. 71, the right side of the letter, instead of curving down and coming to meet its starting-point, is returned to meet the almost vertical right limb. The hook at the starting-point has had special development in the forms occurring in Nos. 29 and 118. In the form found in No. 582, the right half of the letter is of the same height as the left. In the e of No. 369, the base line has been sharply dented in.

84. The forms of o found in our graffiti (Fig. 5) have diverged very much from that which this letter had in the script of the early centuries of the Christian era, but it is evident that they are developed from the form which occurs in a Vessagiri record of about the sixth century. The kinship of the modern type to the average form of o occurring in our graffiti is obvious. The o in No. 531 can very well be mistaken for an e.

85. Apart from the curving of the cross-bar, certain forms of ka (Fig. 6) occurring in these records appear even more archaic than the forms of that letter found in inscriptions of the second or third century. Witness, for example, the forms of ka in Nos. 30, 72, 301, and 350. The development of the vertical portion of this letter runs parallel to that of the right limb of a. In both cases the single vertical stroke had become two, merging together at the base. Of ka, as of a, there are types of which the two verticals do not come together at the base, e.g. in Nos. 35, 76, 135, and 144. The curved cross-bar has been joined to the vertical on the left, so as to enable the whole letter to be written without stopping the hand. It is the subordination of the vertical aspect to the horizontal which

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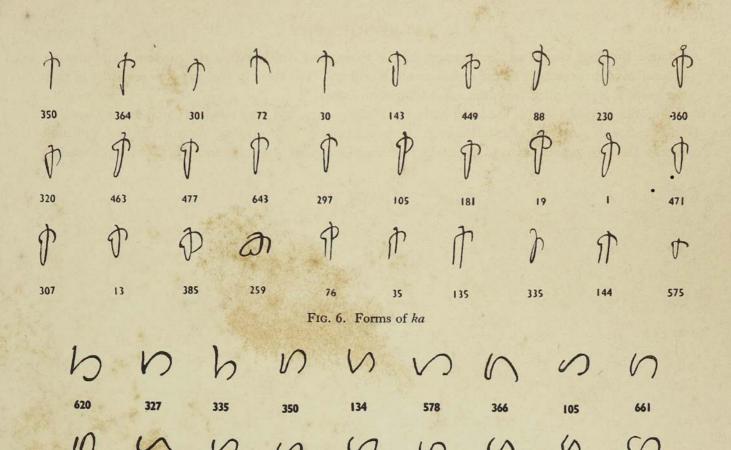


Fig. 7. Forms of ga



Fig. 8. Forms of ja

decided the later course of development of the letter, and which makes the modern ka appear so dissimilar to its prototype of the eighth or ninth century. The form in No. 575 is noteworthy in that the vertical is suspended from the curved horizontal stroke.

86. The development of the letter ka in the Sinhalese script is very similar to that in the Grantha. In the case of ga, the similarity between the two scripts is even greater. As in Grantha, so in Sinhalese, the serif at the left-hand extremity has turned upwards. In many forms of this letter found in

(.	- (	C	0	0	U	U	U	U	7
484	279	84	357	144	269	371	560	62	118
7	1	7	h	4	h	کہ	ん	h	2
482	615	525	113	11	134	327	335	317	339
2	Tu	7	2	2	4	$\omega$	w	2	2)
147	317	39	413	477	198	72	124	360	58
2	2	$\omega$	$\omega$	Cu	a	4	4	۵,	4
375	120	385	100	394	566	609	632	529	463

Fig. 9. Forms of ta

our graffiti (see Fig. 7), however, as in Nos. 105, 327, and 661, the right half of the letter preserves in full its second-century form. The newly developed appendage on the left is subordinated in these to the original form of the letter; but, in others, as in Nos. 39, 181, &c., both parts have been equalized, while in the forms occurring in Nos. 310, 592, &c., the newly developed portion on the left is more prominent than the feature to which it was originally an adjunct. A short horizontal stroke has been added at the head of the left half in the forms found in Nos. 317, 350, and 592. In No. 335 the left half is an almost vertical straight line. Certain forms of ga can hardly be distinguished from ha.

87. When the various forms of ja forthcoming in our graffiti (see Fig. 8) are compared with the standard form of that letter during the first two centuries of the present era, the development, it will be seen, had been on the following lines: the vertical stroke and the two horizontal strokes extending to the right and joining it at right angles at its two extremities have together developed into a curved stroke, almost semicircular, and the middle horizontal bar had been transferred to the lower right-hand extremity in the form of a stroke turning upwards. In the simplest forms there is no hook at the upper extremity, while in others more developed there is a pronounced curve towards the left. The general preference for curvilinear shapes is exemplified by the majority of forms; but in the types of ja occurring in Nos. 72, 124, 109, and 609 the angular aspect is emphasized. The forms of this letter in Nos. 51, 61, 130, and 392 emphasize horizontality. The forms in Nos. 64, 495, and 628 are of a cursive character.

88. Some types of ta (see Fig. 9) found in our graffiti are almost identical in form with the ta in the early Brāhmī script. See, for example, ta in No. 484—a semicircle open towards the right. The development which decided the evolution of the letter has been the extension of the lower end of the semicircle to the right and then upwards, the upper end at the same time shifting downwards to the left. The letter thus retained its semicircular form, more or less, but opened upwards. This is the standard type of ta in the inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries. There has, however, been another line of development of which no traces are found in the script after the ninth century, but to which are due the majority of the forms of ta in Fig. 9. The lower end of the semicircle in the archaic form of

ta, after having been turned upwards, has been abruptly turned downwards and extended to the right, causing an angular dent in the stroke. The earlier semicircle open to the right is preserved with a tail attached to its lower end. The varying proportions of the two parts forming the letter and slight changes in the directions of the curves and angles give rise to numerous forms. In this development, the upper half of the semicircle generally remained stable, but where it has shifted its position downwards to the left, the resulting form of ta is identical with the normal type of ya during this period,

		2	h	2	2	2	W		
		393	301	32	331	371	222		
		W	$\omega$	w	2	ಬ			
		470	358	135	502	357			
				FIG. 10. F	forms of da				
2	(m)	20	2	20	~	3	000	3	27
605	375	297	34	2	181	222	578	574	106
3	20	m	m	$\sim$	m	m	33	3	$\alpha$
134	121	99 -	39	551	566	363	88	632	627
m	<u></u>	m	ണ	an	m	m	9	~	
61	370	92	75	19	527	619	118	3	
		-135		Fig. 11. F	orms of na				

e.g. ta in Nos. 72 and 124. In No. 394 occurs a type of ta with the stroke twice dented in. A short horizontal bar has been added to the upper extremity of the letter in some types; compare, for example, Nos. 118, 317, 335, and 339. In others a hook has been developed at this position, as in Nos. 58, 360, and 375.

89. The normal development of da (see Fig. 10) from the type that was current in the early Christian centuries, and which has given rise to its present form, is the same as the second development of ta. Some of the resultant forms found in our documents approached the sa very closely, e.g. the da in Nos. 135 and 358. The form of da in No. 393 is a simplification of the type in vogue in the early centuries of the Christian era. Of the da in No. 357, the hook at the upper extremity has had a special development.

90. The forms of na occurring in our documents (see Fig. 11) hardly retain any features which connect them with their prototype of the early Christian centuries. The intermediate form through which the evolution can be established has been pointed out in EZ., vol. iii, p. 174. Two types of na can be identified in these graffiti as well as in the stone inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries. Of these, the type which represents an earlier phase in the evolution consists of two strokes curved upwards, joined together by a short horizontal base line. The other type is formed of three such curves joined together. Variant forms in each of these two types are due to inequalities in the proportions of the constituent parts. The left-hand extremity has, in some types, developed into a spiral or a circle. In others a loop has developed at the points where the various parts of the letter join together, e.g. na in No. 19. The na of No. 527 differs from the others in being bipartite. If we place side by side

the types occurring in Nos. 627, 297, 34, and 134 to form a sequence, the development of the second type from the first will become quite obvious.

91. The various types of ta and da (Figs. 12 and 13) are all due to the tendencies ruling the development of the Sinhalese script in the medieval period referred to in § 78. The looped form of ta had developed about the third century, and the forms of that letter occurring in Nos. 19 and 264 hardly differ from the form found in some records of the third century. The hook at the top is hardly notice-

	9	0	<b>)</b>	9	0)	0	0	0		
	230	19		527	51	264	335	181		
	0	0		0	0	め	0	n		
	463	10		75	76	88	39	92		
	5	8	)	9	0)	0	01			
	634	220		136 Fig. 1	450 2. Form	143 as of <i>ta</i>	144			
5	3	5	3	3		}	3	3	3	}
44	15	51	126	575		271	79	619	181	19
3	3	3	3	2		2	3	{	3	3
105	120	136	379	362		357	643	10	233	679
3	3	3	3	2	>	3	5	い	2,	3
560	75	92	477	610	0	525	526	135	681	194
				Fig. 1	3. Form	s of da				

able or altogether absent in the ta of Nos. 10, 19, 51, 264, 450, and 634, while it is much in evidence in Nos. 76 and 144. The form of ta in No. 634 is very cursive, and the letter can be easily mistaken for a na. The various types of da can be classified into two categories: those which emphasize the vertical aspect and the horizontal aspect respectively. The da in No. 271 is a vertical stroke with a slight leftward dent, while that in No. 135 has so emphasized the horizontal aspect that the letter approximates to a ha. The top is without a hook in many types, e.g. those in Nos. 51 and 379, while in da occurring in Nos. 75, 92, 357, &c., the top is given a broad curve leftwards. The lower end of the letter is curved leftwards in the da of No. 619, while in No. 643 this part is written with a pronounced flourish. An acute angle has developed in the middle of the letter in the forms occurring in Nos. 357, 362, 379, &c., instead of the curve in other types.

92. The development of na (see Fig. 14) which determined its evolution, giving rise to its modern form, is noticed in inscriptions attributable to the seventh century. This is formed by writing the horizontal base line of the early form of the letter joined to the vertical stroke by a loop. Such looped forms of na are found, for example, in Nos. 120 and 144. But the great majority of the types of na forthcoming in our documents do not exhibit the loop, evidently as the result of a conscious attempt to avoid confusion of ta with na. The right limb of the letter branches from the vertical stroke, which

generally slants to the right and is dented, close to its centre. Simplification has given rise to the types in Nos. 32 and 128, in which the letter comprises a straight line slanting to the right, from which branches out another straight line at an angle of about 45 degrees. The top of the letter is without the hook in many examples, e.g. Nos. 79 and 128. The two halves of the letter generally extend to the same level at the base; in some types the right half is extended down, as in Nos. 32 and 527, while in others it does not come down to the same level as the left half. The cursive type of na in No. 44 is noteworthy.

												•
7	7	1	)	カ	7		h	h	K		み	·h
125	128	32		527	u	7	79	100	335	•	463	578
カ	カ	1		n	1	7	ろ	h	2	)	n	70
300	303	122		62	8	38	1	222	61		44	61
2	2	7	)	3	)	7	7	8	es.	7	m	b
143	30	11		230		15	120	135	44		92	144
					Fig.	14. For	ms of n	ıa				
		U	U		U	U		U	U	2		
	*	10	643		616	30		39	143	627		
		υ	U		2	S		J	v	U		
		302	306		366	369		46	83	135		
					Fig. 1	5. For	ms of p	a				

In No. 92 the letter has assumed a pronounced horizontality. Of the na in No. 30, the lower part of the vertical stroke combines with the right wing of the letter to form a semicircle.

- 93. The form of pa in No. 10 hardly differs from this letter in the inscriptions of the second century. The other forms (see Fig. 12) are mainly due to the angles being curved. Of the pa in No. 135, a hook has been developed at the top on the right side as well as on the left; in others the hook is found only on the left limb. The cursive form in No. 46, the curl at the left-hand top of pa in No. 306, and the leftward slant of the right half in No. 366 are other noteworthy points.
- 94. The forms of ba occurring in our graffiti (see Fig 16) hardly show any evidence of their evolution from the square form of this letter in the Brāhmī script. The development must be assumed as due to the denting in of the two vertical lines of the Brāhmī form. The writing of the letter was begun at the middle of the left side and finished in one operation. The form in No. 39, for example, seems to have come into being by this process of evolution. Variants of this type are very numerous. The lower half of the right side was opened, e.g. see the ba of Nos. 51 and 100. The starting-point on the left gradually tended to come lower, while the right-hand extremity of the letter was correspondingly raised, giving it a horizontal instead of a vertical emphasis, e.g. compare ba in Nos. 44, 58, 463 and 75. The connexion of the last with the modern form of the letter is evident. The numerous variant forms are due to the relative size and directions of the upper and lower halves in relation to one another, the development of a small circle at the starting-point (No. 373), the denting in of a stroke (No. 540), and such other tendencies, being mostly due to individual idiosyncrasies. Certain earlier forms of ba in our graffiti (No. 132) can be hardly distinguished from somewhat later forms of ma (No. 632).
  - 95. The development of the second century ma into the forms found in our graffiti (see Fig. 17),

as well as in the stone inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries, was conditioned by the closing in of its top. The upper, like the lower half of the letter, thus constituted a triangle. Some forms of ma in our graffiti, e.g. in Nos. 30 and 372, still retain the triangle in the lower portion, but the upper portion has developed almost into a circle and overshadows the other in size. In the standard type during this period, the two triangles have developed into circles of equal size, giving the letter a resemblance to the modern Arabic numeral for 8. The variant forms are due to the varying proportions

8.	8	8	8	8	8	8	S	S	8
39	292	52	58	345	372	471	484	132	130
8	8	5	5	S	2	5	S	S	S
181	76	30	43	51	64	99	100	109	463
5	2	2	5	2	5	a	9	n	W
373	540	560	615	71	624	449	335	44	75
				Fig. 16. F	orms of ba				
8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
30	372	19	76	75	382	32	210	230	364
8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
109	134	11	136	560	51	143	190	508	92
8	8	3	3	2	3	5	8	3	S
96	249	274	326	424	578	632	540	135	144

Fig. 17. Forms of ma

of the two parts, and the deviations from the circular form of each. The left side of the upper half gradually opened, paving the way for subsequent developments which resulted in the modern form of the letter. Among unusual forms of ma, the letters in Nos. 96 and 424 are noteworthy for the incipient circle at the starting-point. That in No. 30 has the top stroke dented in.

96. Many types of ya occurring in our graffiti (see Fig. 18) have developed from its second-century prototype, due to the circumstance that the letter was written starting with its central vertical stroke and continuing the hand first leftwards and then rightwards to form the semicircular stroke at the base. In the forms of ya occurring in Nos. 32, 71, 88, 109, 465, &c., the lower curved stroke has not been continued to the left of the vertical stroke, the two meeting at a point. This type of ya differs very little from the form of that letter occurring in the Vessagiri record of circa fifth century. In the types of ya found in Nos. 51, 92, 130, &c., the vertical stroke is turned leftwards, and then taken towards the right by forming a loop. In other types, as for instance in Nos. 223 and 230, the middle vertical stroke is turned leftwards, and the right half of the base stroke is written in a second operation, but is attached to the former. In the types occurring in Nos. 549 and 575, the right-hand stroke is not joined to that on the left. The vertical stroke has generally a rightward slant and is curved; it has developed a

<sup>1</sup> EZ., vol. iv, pl. 11.

hook at the top in most instances and, in one or two types, there is a small circle in that position. Usually, the stroke on the left is overshadowed by that on the right, but the opposite tendency is instanced by the ya in No. 620. All these types of ya, though very common in our graffiti as well as in the stone epigraphs of the ninth and tenth centuries, had no effect on its subsequent evolution. The form which prevailed was one evolved from the second-century prototype by writing it starting at the extremity on the left, and completing the curved stroke at the base after having taken the vertical stroke also

W	w	W	25	V	2)	21	2	2	2
1	130	43	92	32	370	71	109	465	620
2	$\omega$	2	w	D	2	$\omega$	23	12	٧
627	96	106	522	223	230	529	549	575	106
V	W	w	w	w	w	w	W	W	W
88	19	632	n	29	353	592	620	100	51
				FIG. 18. 1	Forms of ya				
,									
1		7	)	7	J		}	)	9
566	136	7	30	)	15	32	61	566	612
566	136	7 370	30	7	15		61	566	612
566	1	7 370 ] 392	30	1	15	32	J		U
d	J	J	J	J	J	32	92	3	612
d	J	J	J	J	J	32	J		U
d	J	J	J	J	J	32	J	3	U

in its stride by changing the direction of the hand upwards. The symbol thus formed consisted of two semicircular strokes, open upwards, and joined together, one to the right of the other; see the *ya* in Nos. 51 and 100. An incipient loop has developed in No. 592 at the point where the two semicircles meet, and the top of the right limb has curved down leftwards.

- 97. The development of ra (see Fig. 19) is paralleled by that of the vertical strokes of the letters a and ka. We have thus types of ra consisting of a single vertical stroke, and also two parallel vertical strokes joined together, or open, at the bottom.
- 98. In the evolution of all the different types of *la* in our documents (see Fig. 20), the right-hand stroke of the second-century form of that letter has been curved leftwards, downwards, and finally towards the right. In the *la* occurring in Nos. 19 and 335, one can easily recognize the normal second-century form of the letter in spite of the flourish; but, in other examples, the flourish is so prominent that what was at one time the main feature of the letter has sunk into insignificance and gradually become ignored altogether. Some of the more developed forms of *la* occurring in our documents, e.g. in Nos. 144 and 609, differ very little from the modern type.
- 99. The form of va occurring in graffito No. 643 is identical with the second-century form of that letter, but for the absence of the short horizontal bar at the top. The forms of va in Nos. 616 and 624

(see Fig. 21) have an incipient loop at the top instead of the short vertical stroke. The circular portion of the letter gradually became pear-shaped, and a small hook or loop developed at the top. The sub-

	0	(2)	(2)	0	0	0	@	(2)	
	19	262	679	109	1	609	335	596	
	0	0	C	0	C	0	0	0	
	249	106	222	302	51	88	76	105	
	C	6	C	C	C	0	0	C	
	52	75	135	615	122	144	61	115	
				Fig. 20.	Forms of la				
0	0	0	0	0	0	8	Ö	S	Ò
643	64	61	35	222	51	616	624	525	120
0	()	0	2):	8	8	2	2	2	2
644	100	105	109	194	65	75	410	233	346
5	2	2	5	S	8	0	S	0	v
627	582	90	62	19	1	92	15	32	144
				FIG. 21.	Forms of va				
W	$\omega$	W	ಬ	W	W	W	W	W	ω
105	76	- 10	83	106	120	134	525	61	477
W	w	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
327	540	143	122	560	19	51	541	75	1
W	w	w	w	W	2	W	W	W	2
39	615	644	144	208	230	92	135	115	627
				FIG. 22.	Forms of sa				

sequent development of the letter has been conditioned by the opening of its top, at first but slightly but gradually becoming wider and wider.

100. The types of sa (see Fig. 22) occurring in our documents have been developed from the symbol for that letter in the Brāhmī, as it has been in the Grantha script, by the combination of the left-hand vertical with the left end of the old side-limb, and of the right end of the side-limb with the base

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stroke. This development had already taken place in Ceylon by the sixth century. The variations within this type, which was the basis of the subsequent evolution of the letter, are little more than individual idiosyncrasies. The sa in No. 105 is reminiscent of the Brāhmī symbol of the second century. The two limbs of the letter, in some types, join together at a point little higher than the base line; see, for example, the sa in Nos. 540 and 541. In others the junction of the two limbs forms a vertical, varying in height in relation to the other strokes, till it is continued, as in Nos. 39 and 560,

5	S	S	S	5	S	S	S
93	52	32	75	326	484	, II	144
5	S	S	S	S	S	21	S
230	292	37	39	634	76	134	19
S	S	S	S	S	25	es	w)
11	1	221	222	273	300	535	363

Fig. 23. Forms of ha

to the same level as the tops of the side strokes. In the sa of No. 144, the right hand vertical is curved leftwards at the top. In a few types the junction of the horizontal and vertical parts of the left limb has been formed into an acute angle slightly raised above the base of the letter. This form indicated the manner of its subsequent evolution. The hook at the beginning of the left limb is common to all but a few types, but that at the extremity of the right limb, an essential feature of the sa from the tenth century up to modern times, is found only in a few rare instances, e.g. in No. 39. In No. 135 the extremity of the right wing curves inwards.

101. All forms of ha occurring in our records (see Fig. 23) can easily be recognized as derived from the symbol for that letter in the Brāhmī of the first or second century by the operation of the normal tendencies which modified the Sinhalese alphabet of medieval times. In the vast majority of forms the right limb is kept subordinate to the left; but the subsequent evolution of the letter was decided by the equalization of the two. This has already been effected at the date of the more recent of our graffiti. In the ha of No. 634 the right limb has even outstripped the left in size. The types with no hook at the top of the left limb have to be taken as earlier in date than those which have developed this feature. The ha in No. 363 has its base line dented in. The more developed forms of ha have become almost identical with the ga of the same period.

102. The letter *la* occurring in our records (see Fig. 24), when compared with its prototype of the early Christian centuries, shows that the lower limb had developed at the expense of the upper. The manner in which the upper limb has developed in the *la* of Nos. 30, 46, 84, 221, 509, 545, and 644 is particularly worthy of note. The lower limb of *la* in Nos. 410 and 411 extends horizontally towards the right. This letter in No. 346 is of a cursive type. We have thus dealt in the foregoing paragraphs with all the letters of the Elu alphabet occurring in these graffiti. The letters required for Sanskrit and Pali occur very rarely. One of the commonest of these is the *śa* occurring in the ubiquitous *mangala* word *Śrī*. *Dha* and *ṣa* also occur in one or two documents. In the evolution of these letters the Sinhalese script has generally fallen into line with the Grantha. The *anusvāra*, in its solitary occurrence (No. 44), is a dot placed above the line. The *visarga*, occurring only once (No. 396), consists of two small circles, one below the other.

103. (a) The medial vowel signs in the Brāhmī script are short horizontal or vertical strokes, attached, with the exception of that for o, to the consonantal symbol. As early as the second or third century A.D., these straight strokes, except the *u-mātrā*, had become curved, and the process continued up to the period of our graffiti. With a few exceptions the stroke indicating the medial vowel is attached to the consonantal symbol in the script of the graffiti attributed to the eighth or ninth century. As

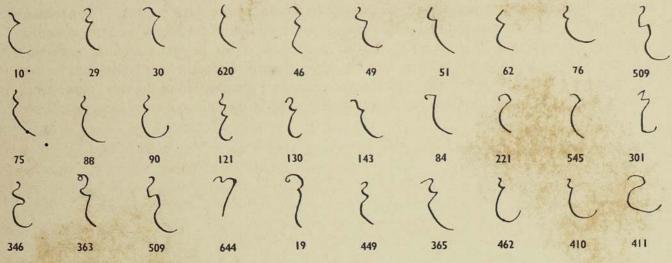


Fig. 24. Forms of la

2)	d	0	87	3)	n	y,			
19	124	327	477	46	39	233			
8	8	0	0	0	0)	w	रि	3	09
34	124	370	525	365	233	643	1	143	297
34	P								
1	560			0				щ	
24	3	7	7	4	7	5		9	n
165	484	320	191	126	340	216	99	13	610
2		w		¥	y	b	Y	y	4
1	7	11-	9	L	J	h	h	h	4
64	371	285	126	233	173	29	100	130	319
y	y	4	ž,	4	of	5	n	9	2
	0	0.	U	181	83	309	610	574	130
93	375	81	615		a race and	21	۸		
9	1	(	{	71	G	GO	67		
449	275	205	410	545	13	316	118		
1									

Fig. 25. Medial vowel signs attached to consonants:  $\bar{a}$ , i,  $\bar{\imath}$ , u,  $\bar{u}^{\scriptscriptstyle \rm I}$ 

The symbols in Fig. 25 are: Row 1,  $y\bar{a}$ ,  $v\bar{a}$ ,  $r\bar{a}$ ,  $m\bar{a}$ , Row 5, du, nu, yu, lu, yu, yu, ru, yyu, yu, yu

examples of the detached medial stroke may be cited  $y\bar{a}$  in No. 39,  $d\bar{a}$  in No. 46, and pe in No. 143. The  $\ddot{a}$  sign has never been attached to the consonant.

- (b) The curved stroke which forms the medial sign for  $\bar{a}$  extends downwards on the right of the consonantal symbol (see Fig. 25). It generally starts from the top of the right limb of a letter; but, in rare cases, is attached to the lower half of a vertical stroke, as for instance in  $\bar{a}$  of No. 233.
- (c) The curved stroke which indicates a medial *i* is invariably placed above the consonantal symbol. Its usual direction appears to be from left to right, as in *ni* of No. 1, but the opposite way of writing is not infrequent, e.g. vi of No. 34. In pi of No. 124 the medial *i*-stroke starts from the top of the left side of the letter, is carried to the right and returns leftwards. Very often the *i*-stroke is a continuation of the right limb of a consonantal symbol. In li occurring in Nos. 233, 297, 365, and 525, the right-hand extremity is extended leftwards above the main body of the letter, while in li of No. 370 it is extended to the right. The left vertical of ra is extended rightwards over the top to form the *i*-sign in No. 560. The mode of attaching the *i*-sign to the ga and ha of No. 643 is quite unusual. It extends from the bottom of the right limb, and goes upwards and turns to the left. The extremity of the *i*-stroke is curled to indicate the length; but, as we have remarked in dealing with orthography, the long and short *i*-mātrās have been used somewhat promiscuously in these documents.
- (d) The development of the *u-mātrā* up to the tenth century (see Fig. 25) was parallel to that of the vertical strokes in a and ka and the letter ra. In many instances the medial u-sign is a simple vertical stroke extending downwards; see, for example, su of No. 165, nu of Nos. 191 and 320, and du of No. 484. In point of evolution this u-stroke is even more archaic than that appearing in many records of the first and second centuries, in which the u-mātrā is curved leftwards at its end and turns upwards. This paved the way for the formation of two parallel vertical strokes hanging down from the main body of the letter. Different stages in this evolution are illustrated by nu of No. 340, yu of No. 93, su of No. 13, and hu of No. 99. Very often the vertical stroke describes a circle at the bottom and turns rightwards; see, for example, yu of No. 375 and ju of No. 319. In others the left-hand vertical stroke crosses the right-hand one by forming a loop, and ends by being curved downwards; see, for example, yu of Nos. 81 and 181. A curved stroke is added to the right of the vertical stroke in Nos. 100 and 130. A stroke resembling an ā-mātrā is attached to the main body of the letter, in addition to the vertical stroke, in the yu of Nos. 126 and 285. The two parallel strokes, instead of being joined together at the bottom, are open in some cases; compare lu of No. 126, yu of No. 285, and nu of No. 371. When the main body of the consonantal symbol itself constitutes a vertical stroke, the attaching of another vertical stroke indicating the medial u to it would not have sufficiently differentiated the latter. In such cases the u-mātrā is a curved stroke attached to the vertical stroke towards its lower extremity; compare, for example, ru of No. 29. In the letters ga and ta, of which the right limb has a downward course, the u-mātrā, written in continuation of the main body of the consonant, curves rightwards, as in tu (No. 83) and gu (No. 309). But in nu and hu, the u- $m\bar{a}tr\bar{a}$  is the downward vertical stroke or developments from it. In gu of No. 449, to the extremity of the u-mātrā is attached a short vertical stroke. The medial u is indicated in la by curling the lower extremity of the letter, or by attaching to it a short straight or curved stroke turned upwards (see lu of Nos. 275, 205, and 410). The long u-mātrā is indicated by attaching a downward stroke ending in a curve or spiral at base to the usual short u-stroke; compare  $l\bar{u}$  of No. 13,  $v\bar{u}$  of No. 118, and  $b\bar{u}$  of No. 316. In some cases the length is graphically shown, but is not pronounced.
- (e) The short horizontal stroke attached to the left-hand side of a letter to indicate the medial e had, by the time of our graffiti, become a curved stroke, in shape like a horn; hence the name kombu by which it is usually designated. Some of the less-developed forms of the e-mātrā found in our records do, in fact, merit that name on account of their shape; the more-developed forms therein, and still less the modern e-mātrā, hardly justify the name. The e-stroke is usually attached to the top of the left side, often eliminating the hook, e.g. see be of No. 32 and ne of No. 370; but, in the ke of No. 615, the e-mātrā is attached to the hook. In some letters, for instance, ye of Nos. 274 and 664, the e-mātrā is attached not to the left-hand stroke but to the middle vertical. In some the direction of the e-symbol has turned downwards. In the only instance of an ai-mātrā (mai of No. 194), it consists, as in the modern script, of two e-mātrās; but, differing from the modern practice, one is written below the other. The medial o is indicated by attaching the e-mātrā to the left and the ā-mātrā to the right of the consonantal symbol. The resulting formation is often cursive and profoundly affects the

appearance of the main consonantal symbol. See, for instance, no of No. 46, po of No. 64, and yo of No. 678.

(f) The ä-mātrā first appears in the Sinhalese script at the time of the earlier of our documents. There are many among them in which the ä-mātrā does not occur at places where, on the analogy of later documents, we should expect it. In its earliest form it is a semi-circular stroke curving downwards, resembling the left half of the more common symbol for ya, placed directly above the consonantal

2.	67	7	8	5	3	3	رس	3	Ru
32	370	615	32	2	75	32	535	633	471
9	ಯ	68							
274	664	194							
m	3	w	3	3	اررى				
46	64	64	301	678	216				
.55	0	S	ŭ	25	ガ	25	S	2	8,
124	345	76	10	61	370	301	317	65	39
2	7	y	2/"	N.	V"	2)"			
317	221	75	316	46	274	449			
y	भू	4			*/				
100	198	404							
Ō	U	$\bar{\omega}$	5	声	5	5	h	2	8
293	292	292	117	22	121	165	484	610	83
2	55	0/	0	0	0	0			
83	83	118	170	191	253	90			

Fig. 26. Medial vowels signs: e, o,  $\ddot{a}$  and  $\ddot{a}$ , duplication symbol and  $vir\bar{a}ma^{T}$ 

symbol to which it refers. The identical symbol is found placed above the syllable yu in a number of documents (see Nos. 40, 100, 177, 198, 292, and 615). In these the symbol, being the half of a ya in form, probably indicates a half-pronounced y. Its use has been extended, as for instance in No. 404, to indicate the half-pronounced v as well. The phonetic significance of the adoption of this symbol to indicate the ä-sound will be discussed below in § 155. The ä-symbol in its earliest form is found, for instance, in Nos. 10, 76, 124, and 345. The position of the symbol gradually moved rightwards, until it came to occupy a position to the right of the consonantal symbol. The shape of the symbol, too, gradually changed until it became a short diagonal stroke slightly dented leftward. The various

The symbols of Fig. 26 are: Row 1, se, ne, ke, me, mä; Row 5, bä, kä, ä, ä, pä, tā; Row 6, yyu, yyu, vvu; Row 7, l, p, y, n, k, n, n, n, y, b; Row 8, y, y, l, l, l, l, l.

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be, le, ne, ne, de, se; Row 2, ye, ye, mai; Row 3, no, po, ho, to, yo, no; Row 4, gä, lä, gä, pä, nä, nä, tä, gä, jä,

stages in the evolution of the  $\ddot{a}$ -symbol are illustrated in Fig. 26, Rows 4 and 5. The long  $\ddot{a}$  is indicated by the repetition of the stroke of the short  $\ddot{a}$ , one placed to the right of the other.

104. The virāma symbol, too, first comes into general use in the Sinhalese script during the period during which the earlier of our graffiti were scribbled on the gallery wall. Some of the earlier documents do not show the virāma at all. In Nos. 22, 117, 121, 292, and 293 (Fig. 26, Row 7), the virāma is a short horizontal stroke placed above the consonantal symbol. No stone inscriptions so far

25	6	ans	2	$\gamma$	70	62	3	3	. 2
75	35	147	381	652	46	354	10	365	302
3	3	3	3	m	2	7	3	3	3
615	28	58	124	285	290	292	582	615	32
3	3	3	3	3	3	m	m	3	3
370	81	541	302	525	15	19	29	150	94
82	89	28	889,	88	my.	uz	y	G	5
75	105	588	94	615	75	643	75	51	122
				Fig. 27. I	igatures				

discovered exhibit this peculiarity. As a rule the virāma is a vertical stroke of rightward slant, with a slight convexity in many instances, attached to the top of the letter. Sometimes it is attached to the right-hand side, e.g. y of No. 83, sometimes at the middle, e.g. y in No. 610. In some places it is attached to a vertical limb on the left, e.g. n of Nos. 165 and 484. When the right-hand side of a letter consists of a vertical stroke with an upward direction, the virāma is written in continuation of this, its junction with the main body of the letter being indicated in some instances by a slight dent leftwards. Compare l in Nos. 118, 170, 191, and 253. In the l's of Nos. 90 and 253, the virāma stroke is attached to the horizontal base which, for this reason, does not curve upwards as usual.

105. In ligatures the general practice of the period was, as it was also in early Brāhmī, to write below the first the second of the two consonants coming together. The modern practice is to write the two consonants side by side, attached together. That this usage was beginning in the period of our documents is seen by some ligatures, such as mbu in No. 105 and mbi in No. 75. In mbu of No. 588 the bu is a subscript. In the more recent method the forms of both consonants are preserved in full, but in the other, one or the other has suffered considerable mutilation. The table of ligatures in our graffiti, given in Fig. 27, shows the manner in which this mutilation has taken place in the different combinations. A letter which in a ligature differs considerably from its form when single is ra. Compare, for instance, the ubiquitous ligature  $\hat{S}r\bar{\imath}$ , or  $tr\bar{\imath}$  (No. 285) for the form which this letter assumes when it is the second member in a consonantal group, with rmma (No. 94) and rtti (No. 615) where it is the first. This superscript r is interesting as illustrating the origin of the repha in the modern script.

106. How far does the palaeographical evidence help us to assign the documents roughly to a particular period? It is reasonable to assume that a document which exhibits forms of letters representing a prior stage in the evolutionary process is earlier in date than one which has forms of a subsequent stage. We cannot, however, apply such a general rule without regard to the particular features of each case. Some of our documents, as we have already remarked, contain forms of certain letters which, taken alone, might well be attributed to the second or third century. But the same document

ṇại, ṇḍa, ṇḍī, ṇḍe, tta, tta, tta; Row 2, rtti, nda, nda, nd, nda, nde, nde, nda, nda, nde; Row 3, nda, nda, nda, nda

rmma, sva, stu, sv, śrī, śri. The virāma signs of ligatures have generally been omitted.

which shows a very archaic form of one letter often exhibits much more developed forms of others. The date to be assigned must therefore be decided by taking into account the forms of the letters in a given document as a whole.

ro7. We may consider the development of the vertical stroke in a and ka, the letter ra and the medial u-sign. It must, of course, be admitted that the single vertical stroke represents an earlier stage of evolution than the two parallel strokes, whether closed or open at the base. A document which shows

11	1 11	7 7 7 a 6 c	1	)	)) ))	1)	11 71	7	7
a', b	a 2 b	a 6 c	4	5	a 6	7	a b	9	10
		9	9	9	G	6 6	R	9	9
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	/8	19	20
1	1		0	0	0	0	0	0	0
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
0	0	0	0	8	0	?	०२	7	112
3/	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40

Fig. 28. Punctuation symbols

the latter development, however, is not necessarily earlier in date than that which shows these letters with a single vertical stroke, for in one and the same document we, at times, come across both the methods of writing these letters. Compare, for example, Nos. 147, 76, and 81. In medieval stone inscriptions, too, we come across the same promiscuousness in using more developed forms side by side with those of an earlier evolutionary stage, see, for example, the Gärandigala and the Rāssahela records. It is thus clear that the same writer, while adopting developed forms of certain letters, preferred the archaic forms of others. This individual preference for archaic forms, when more-developed forms were already in use, may have been even more thorough-going in the case of other writers. In short, the coming into vogue of a new form did not mean the simultaneous disappearance of the old. The same may be demonstrated of the older and the later forms of other letters, too, for instance ta, ba, and va.

108. This existence, side by side, of earlier and later forms is quite natural in letters which had been undergoing an evolutionary process at the hands of scribes for over a thousand years. We may be on safer ground if we take as a chronological index a symbol which, in the period of our graffiti, had no long history behind it; and such a symbol is that used to indicate the ä-sound. Our documents exhibit three different stages in the evolution of this symbol (see above,  $\S 103 f$ ); in the earliest stage the ä-sign is placed above the consonant, in the third to the right of it, and in the second in a position intermediate between the two. We may assume that the development of the symbol was rapid after it had found a place in the script, for the scribes must have experimented with its use. Now, when we examine the datable stone inscriptions between the fifth and ninth centuries, we find that the  $\ddot{a}$ -sign is already seen in the third stage in the Gärandigala rock inscription,3 which there is good reason to assign to the reign of Kassapa III (circa A.D. 732-8). In the Rāssahela record4 of Prince Dāṭhāsiva (circa 767), too, this symbol shows the same degree of development. A considerable number of our documents, on the other hand, have the ä-symbol in the earliest stage of its evolution. Comparing them with the two stone inscriptions above referred to, it is, I think, reasonable to ascribe them to the first half of the eighth century, and those in which the ä-sign is in its second phase to the second half of the same century. The documents which do not show the ä-sign at all must, on a priori grounds, be considered earlier than those in which it occurs; but we must not overlook the possibility that some writers were

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> EZ., vol. iii, pl. 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> EZ., vol. iii, pl. 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibid., vol. iv, pl. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., vol. iv, pl. 18.

not ready to welcome this new arrival to the script. Some of the documents which do not use the ä-sign may, therefore, be of the same period as those which show it in its earliest phase. In the two stone inscriptions attributed to the eighth century noticed above, the virāma symbol is in general use. Those of our documents which do not show this symbol must, therefore, be attributed to the same period as these two epigraphs, or even some decades earlier. In assigning some of our records to the first or second half of the eighth century, I have, while giving due weight to the forms of the letters in general, taken as the test the occurrence or the absence of the virāma symbol and the asign and the various stages of evolution of the latter. In assigning a document to the ninth or the tenth century, the comparison of its script with that of the numerous dated epigraphs of these two epochs has been the criterion.

109. In our documents are found a considerable number of symbols used for purposes of punctuation—to separate the verse section of a document from the prose, to separate one line of a verse from another, or to mark the end of the document. These are shown in Text-fig. 28. The symbols which are basically the same, but show slight variations due to different hands, have been grouped together under one number, but all the various forms are shown. None of these punctuation symbols occur in the stone inscriptions of the eighth to tenth centuries. Symbol No. 34 is found in the Potgul Vihāra inscription of Candravatī, consort of Parākramabāhu I (A.D. 1152–86).

## V. GRAMMAR

## (A) THE ALPHABET

## (i) General Remarks

110. The alphabet used in our graffiti which are datable in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries is identical with that which the Sidat-sangarā (Sdsg) gives as appropriate for use in Eļu,² the genuine Sinhalese language. There is only one document (No. 367) in which a letter foreign to the Eļu alphabet is found in a verse. In the oft-recurring mangala words Śrī and svasti, and a few proper names which are in their Sanskrit forms, are also found letters not recognized by the Sdsg. This alphabet comprises five vowels, twelve consonants, four semi-vowels, one sibilant, one aspirate, one lingual, and the anusvāra, as given below in the above order in the modern Sinhalese script as well as in the Roman transliteration:

- 111. As in all other alphabets which trace their origin to the ancient Brāhmī script of India, the vowel a is taken as inherent in every consonant. The other vowels, when they occur medially, are indicated by a particular stroke attached to the consonant. It is only when they occur initially that the vowels are written with the symbols which are appropriate to them as given above. When a consonant is not followed by a vowel, a vertical stroke (the *virāma* in Sanskrit, but referred to as al<sup>3</sup> in Sinhalese) is attached to it.
- 112. The Sdsg. enumerates the long vowels as separate letters, and justifies the procedure by quoting words from literary works as well as from the common speech, containing long vowels initially or medially. The need felt for a special justification of the inclusion of long vowels, and the actual words used by the author of the Sdsg.,<sup>4</sup> indicate that long vowels were not admitted as separate letters in the grammars which existed before his time. This point gains significance when we consider that, in the
  - <sup>1</sup> EZ., vol. ii, p. 241.
- <sup>2</sup> Eļu or Heļu, derived from Skt. Simhala, P. Sīhaļa, is the Sinhalese name of the Sinhalese language. At present its use is restricted to the language of poetry, which does not usually admit Sanskrit tatsamas containing letters foreign to the alphabet of the Sdsg. Sinhalese prose of the last thousand years has had increasing recourse to Sanskrit tatsamas; and, in the terminology of popular grammars, this mixed literary language is considered to be one distinct from Eļu. But
- the *Elu Bodhi-vamsa* and the *Elu Attanagalu-vamsa*, two well-known Sinhalese classics, bristle with Sanskrit *tatsamas* of all sorts.
- <sup>3</sup> This is the same as Pāṇini's pratyāhāra, hal, which comprises all consonants.
- <sup>4</sup> Guru pasa da . . . mehi bindu da rusi, 'The five long vowels and the bindu (anusvāra) are accepted here, i.e. in the grammar' (Sdsg., Dhammārāma's edition, Colombo, 1943, pp. 9–10).

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Sinhalese inscriptions during the period of more than five hundred years before the eighth century, a long vowel is never met with. In the documents with which we are concerned here, the long  $\bar{a}$  is represented in writing both initially and medially. The long  $\bar{\imath}$  and  $\bar{\imath}$  do not occur initially, but are found medially. The metre shows that e and o were in places pronounced long initially as well as medially, but the writing does not differentiate a long e or o from the short.

113. These graffiti furnish us with only one example (No. 44) of the use of the anusvāra standing alone. The half-nasal, however, is very common in such words as nāngi, hangnā, &c. Just as it does in the case of the long vowels, the Sdsg. indulges in special pleading for the admission of the anusvāra into the Elu alphabet and, in conformity with this, the Sinhalese inscriptions for about a thousand years from the third century B.C. do not show the anusvāra at all.

# (ii) Ä—The so-called 'Umlaut'

114. The great majority of the documents dealt with in this volume contain the vowel a in the modified form—ä—which is referred to by certain philologists as the umlaut. In quite a considerable number of these graffiti the vowel e occurs where the ä should come according to standard literary usage. It has been shown above that the symbol used to represent this ä occurs in three different forms, or rather positions, in documents which cannot have been far removed from each other in date, indicating that the usage of ä had not yet been standardized. In fact, our documents belong to a period when the symbol for ä had not long been in use in the Sinhalese script. For nearly a thousand years from the date of the earliest specimen of Sinhalese yet known to us, the script of the language does not exhibit the ä which, during the last thousand years or more, has remained one of the main characteristics that distinguish the vocal system of this speech from that of every other of the sister Indo-Aryan tongues. It may be assumed that the pronunciation of  $\ddot{a}$  in the seventh or eighth century, when it was graphically represented for the first time, was the same as it is today. The sound, when short, is similar to that of a in the English word 'cat'; when long, to that of a in 'ran'. The e in Bengali ek and ek-ta is often pronounced like Sinhalese ä. This, however, is not a widespread phenomenon in that language, the script of which has no special device to represent the sound. Tamil, the Dravidian language with which Sinhalese has had intimate contact all through its existence, has nothing to correspond to this  $\ddot{a}$  in its phonetic system. In the Sinhalese language, as it is actually spoken today, and in all its different stages known to us from literature, the occurrence of the  $\ddot{a}$  is widespread, and plays an important part in its morphology. Certain modern grammarians would give the status of an independent vowel to the  $\ddot{a}$ ; but the Sdsg. treats it as an augmentation in quantity of a by the fraction of a mātrā.1 The proper understanding of the nature of this vowel sound and its origin has no little bearing on the study of Sinhalese phonology, and we are therefore justified in discussing it in some detail in dealing with documents among which, perhaps, may be found its earliest occurrence so far known. In order that the question may be discussed in all its implications, the illustrations are not confined to words occurring in these graffiti, but have also been drawn from the literature as well as from the living speech of today.

115. The late Professor Wilhelm Geiger who, by his lifelong labours for the study and interpretation of the history and languages of Ceylon, has earned the gratitude of all lovers of the ancient culture of the Island, has devoted considerable space in his *Grammar of the Sinhalese Language*<sup>2</sup> to the discussion of the origin and character of this vowel, and his conclusions on this subject have found general acceptance in academic circles. My own investigation of this subject has led me to conclusions which differ fundamentally from those arrived at by that distinguished scholar. It is therefore necessary, before giving my own views on the subject, to state Geiger's views on  $\ddot{a}$ —which he calls umlaut—and to give the reasons why they must be treated as untenable. Geiger's general conclusions on this phonological feature are thus summarized in Rule 12 of his Grammar: 'What we call "umlaut" is the influence of the vowel i (e) or of y on a, u, o of the preceding syllable. To the a, u, o, an epenthetic i is added:  $a^i$ ,  $u^i$ ,  $o^i$ , and these sounds are then transformed into  $\ddot{a}$ ,  $\ddot{u}$ ,  $\ddot{o}$ . The vowels  $\ddot{u}$ ,  $\ddot{o}$  become i, e

Examples drawn from the graffiti will be indicated by the number of the graffito in which each occurs given in parenthesis.

<sup>2</sup> Geiger, G.S.L., p. 18.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Äp ä matasin väḍiyen mat-väḍi nam, 'The ä in äp, &c., is an example of augmentation of quantity for i has been augmented by a fraction of a mātrā', (Sdsg., Dhammārāma's edition, Colombo, 1943, p. 188).

in Sinhalese. Thus Sinhalese ä, i, e exactly correspond to the three umlaut vowels in modern German: vater, pl. väter; mutter, pl. mütter; sohn, pl. söhne.'1

116. The formulation of this theory is evidently due to the observation of the circumstance that, in a large number of instances where \(\bar{a}\) occurs in a modern Sinhalese word, it represents an Old Indian or Middle Indian a which is followed immediately by a syllable containing the vowel i or the semivowel y; e.g. S. äti for Skt. asti, P. atthi; S. häki for Skt. śakya. Geiger apparently sees no difference between this i (or y) and the e which gives rise to the umlaut vowels in German, and comes to the conclusion that the S. ä is the same as the German umlaut ä, though the sound which the S. ä represents is not exactly the same as that of the German  $\ddot{a}$ . Having satisfied himself that the S.  $\ddot{a}$  is an 'umlaut', he is not content until he has placed the Sinhalese language on all fours with the German in this respect, and posits the hypothetical existence, at some time in Sinhalese, of the umlaut vowels ü and ö. That there are, in the living Sinhalese language, no sounds corresponding to those of the German ü and ö, that there are no special devices to represent such sounds in the Sinhalese of today, nor have there been any in the past, whereas the ä has been graphically represented in the script for over a thousand years, that there is absolutely no difference in the pronunciation of the i and e, which are supposed to be due to umlaut, from that of the ordinary i and e, are not obstacles in his path in the formulation of his theory of 'umlaut'. It will be shown below (§ 256) that the examples given by Geiger for the so-called umlaut i are really cases of progressive vowel assimilation. The change of o to e, when followed by a syllable containing i, will also be discussed below (§ 368) and sufficient reason will be given to reject the theory of umlaut with regard to that.

117. As evidence for the former existence of the hypothetical  $\ddot{u}$ , which is said to have given rise to the 'umlaut' i, Geiger gives the following reasons (G.S.L., p. 26):

- (1) Alternative forms like *kiliți* and *kiluțu* can be understood only by postulating an intermediate form with  $\ddot{u}$ , in this instance *kilüțu*.
- (2) For words like bun (P. bhinna), sun (P. chinna), dun (P. dinna), and musu, muhu (P. missa), it is necessary to suppose the prototypes \*bün, \*sün, \*dün, \*müsü.
- (3) For the doublets ik or uk, ucchu occurs in Prakrit and Pāli but Sanskrit has ikṣu. Here, too, an intermediate form ük has to be assumed.
- (4) The ending of the pr. ph. -ita has become u or i. This difference becomes intelligible if it be assumed that the ending was first  $*\ddot{u}$  and that the  $*\ddot{u}$  was afterwards differentiated to u, i, probably in accordance with the character of the neighbouring sounds.
- (5) A, when reduced, can become either i or u. This can be understood if it be assumed that the a was originally reduced to  $\ddot{u}$ .
- (6) I, after having caused the umlaut, frequently changes to u.
- (7) The pronunciation of *i* as well as of *u* seems to have approached to *ü* very early. This appears from spellings like *biku* or *buku* for P. *bhikkhu* in Brāhmī inscriptions of the second and third century (*EZ*., vol. i, pp. 69, 211, 255).

118. In none of the above cases is it necessary to postulate an  $\ddot{u}$  in order to explain the phonological problems involved; they can be adequately explained without invoking sounds, for the existence of which there is no authority in the spoken Sinhalese of today, or in any written document known to us.

- (1) Kiliţi is easily derived from Skt. klisţa, P. kiliţtha, with the aid of regressive vowel-assimilation. Kiluţu goes back to a form of the word to which the pleonastic -ka had been added. For kiliţthaka becoming kiliţu, compare Skt. campaka becoming sapu. The phonological process by which such changes occur will be fully explained below (see §§ 90 ff.). From kiliţu the further change to kiluţu is due to vowel-assimilation.
- (2) Here, too, the explanation is the same as in (1). The inscriptions of the second and third centuries furnish us with numerous examples of the pleonastic -ka being added to forms like dina (P. dinna) and bina (P. bhinna). The form missaka occurs in Pāli. The old Sinhalese dinaka would give us the form dinu, on the analogy of Skt. campaka becoming sapu. By regressive vowel-assimilation this would assume the form dunu. The elision of the final vowel (see § 278 below) would result in the form dun.
- (3) That Skt. ikṣu occurs as ucchu in Pāli and in the known Prakrit dialects does not necessarily imply that there were no dialectical forms of this word in which the i of its Old Indian stage

<sup>1</sup> Geiger, G.S.L., p. 18.

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was preserved. The S. ik has preserved the i in the Old Indian form of this word, while uk goes back to a Middle Indian form in which the i had changed to u. The doublet ik, uk, therefore, if it proves anything, proves the composite character of the Sinhalese language, and not the hypothetical existence of an  $\ddot{u}$ .

- (4) The same explanation applies to (4) as to (1) and (2).
- (5) The reasons why a is sometimes 'reduced' to i and sometimes to u will be explained in §§ 191 ff. below.
- (6) The change of *i* to *u*, after it had caused the umlaut, is satisfactorily explained by the reasons given for (1) and (2).
- (7) The alternative forms biku and buku (P. bhikkhu) need not suggest that i and u approached in early times to a hypothetical ü. Biku is regularly derived from the Middle Indian bhikkhu and needs no comment. Buku is the result of progressive vowel-assimilation. There are other examples of vowel-assimilation in the early Sinhalese inscriptions; e.g. piti for pati (in senapiti for Skt. senāpati), gamini for gamani (Skt. grāmanī), and karihi for kariha (P. karīsa). If we take it that the change of biku into buku was due to the fact that there was a vowel which was neither i nor u, but partook the qualities of both, we must likewise conclude that the change of pati to piti was due to the existence of a vowel which was a cross between a and i. No such suggestion has ever been made.

119. Having disposed of the 'umlaut' i and e, we may come back to ä. According to Geiger it is only in heavy syllables that the a becomes  $\ddot{a}$ , when followed by an i in the next syllable. When an a in a light syllable is followed in the next by an i, regressive vowel-assimilation takes place. But there are many instances in which vowel-assimilation takes place in heavy syllables followed by an i in the next; e.g. himi (No. 309) for Skt. svāmin, pariji for P. pārājikā, sakviti for Skt. cakravartin, sirit for P. cāritta, and virit for P. vāritta. On the other hand, there are also numerous instances where an a in a light syllable followed by an i in the next has become ä, e.g. gähävi (No. 100) for P. gahapati, pärahära for Skt. parihāra, äni for Skt. anīka, mäna for Skt. mani (existing side by side with mini and mänik for Skt. mānikya), nävum for Skt. navīna, pärahana for P. parissāvana, sudäti for Skt. sudatī, gonäs for Skt. gopānasī, sāma for Skt. śamī. It will, however, become apparent in the course of this study that, in almost all these instances, the i in the next syllable is not the real cause for the modification of a to  $\ddot{a}$ . The number of instances in which an a in an originally heavy syllable followed by an iin the next has become  $\ddot{a}$  is far greater than that of those in which this phonetic feature occurs in light syllables. Similarly, in the vast majority of cases, an a in a light syllable is assimilated with the vowel in the next, when the vowel happens to be i. But, in the early Sinhalese documents represented by the Brāhmī inscriptions, long vowels are extremely rare, and conjoint consonants, which make a syllable with a short vowel heavy, are almost non-existent. Thus the Skt. vāpī, which in the ninth century had become väva, occurs in the Brāhmī inscriptions as vapi or vavi, and Skt. nāsti, from which comes näti, occurs in a third-century inscription as nati. It is not the Old Indian forms of these words which were in current use and became gradually transformed; but the forms which were current in the early centuries of the present era. Geiger, therefore, concludes that the long vowels and conjoint consonants, though not actually shown in the writing, existed in the speech, and the words written as vavi and nati, for example, would have been pronounced as vāvi and natti. For an examination of this theory of Geiger and other philologists, see below, §§ 216 ff.

120. Geiger's rule on 'umlaut', which we have quoted in § 115, implies that the a in a heavy syllable is modified directly to  $\ddot{a}$  by the influence of the i in the next syllable. But the evidence of the inscriptions of the fourth to sixth centuries is against such a conclusion. The Skt.  $v\bar{a}p\bar{i}$ , which in the earliest Brāhmī inscriptions is found as  $vapi^{\bar{i}}$  and becomes  $vavi^{\bar{i}}$  in the first century, occurs as  $veva^{\bar{i}}$  in the fifth century before it assumes the form  $v\bar{a}va^{\bar{i}}$  or  $v\bar{a}^{\bar{i}}$  in the eighth and ninth centuries. Similarly, P. vaddhi (Skt. vrddhi), to which goes back the classical S.  $v\bar{a}da$ , is found in the form vedha in an inscription of the fourth century. These facts are fatal to Geiger's theory of 'umlaut'. Undeterred, however, Geiger has arbitrarily ruled: 'It would be erroneous to assume that the umlaut of a was originally e and later  $\ddot{a}$ . The e in the examples quoted above represents a new sound which came into

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<sup>1</sup> A.I.C., No. 1.

<sup>2</sup> EZ., vol. iii, p. 165.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., vol. iv, p. 123.
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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 33 (vava). <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 18.

use  $(\ddot{a})$ , but for which no symbol existed in the script.' It would certainly be erroneous if one were to assume an e in these or any other words. But the readings of these words are not due to any assumption; they have been read as engraved on the stone many centuries ago. The e- $m\bar{a}tr\bar{a}s$  of the consonantal symbols in these words are of the same form as that of others where the e is beyond question. On the other hand, it is Geiger's statement that the medial vowel of these syllables is an  $\ddot{a}$ , which is an assumption or at best an inference based on certain premisses, the validity of which it is our purpose to examine.

121. While admitting the reasonableness of the view that some time must elapse between the first coming into being of a new sound in a language, and the adoption of a device to represent it in writing, one may pertinently ask why it was that the new sound resulting from the modification of the vowel a was represented by the symbol for e. If there was no symbol yet adopted to represent it in the script of the time, why was it not represented by that for the vowel a, of which it was a modification? Why was e favoured in preference to i, u, or o? If the symbol for e was made to perform double duties because the people of the time were incapable of agreeing on a stroke to be attached to a consonant to represent a peculiar vowel sound, this extra burden on e ought to have been removed after a way had been found to indicate it in writing. If, therefore, the words in which  $\ddot{a}$  occurs in a subsequent stage are found to have been written with an e in place of  $\ddot{a}$  even after the invention of a device to represent the new sound graphically, we must necessarily conclude that the change of a by the influence of i was at first to e, and that this e subsequently changed to  $\ddot{a}$ .

122. Now, as has been already stated, the majority of the graffiti embodied in this volume are written in a script which had a separate symbol for the  $\ddot{a}$  occurring in general conformity with the usage in the literary language. On the other hand, there is a not inconsiderable number of graffiti whose script does not appear to show an appreciably earlier stage of development in other respects when compared with the first class of documents, in which the  $\ddot{a}$ -sign does not occur at all, but shows an e where an  $\ddot{a}$  is to be expected on etymological grounds. In some documents the  $vir\bar{a}ma$  and the  $\ddot{a}$ -sign are both absent; in others the  $vir\bar{a}ma$  is found but the e occurs in place of  $\ddot{a}$ , while there are other graffiti in which the  $vir\bar{a}ma$  is absent while the  $\ddot{a}$ -sign is shown. This state of affairs indicates a time when these innovations in the script, the  $vir\bar{a}ma$  and the  $\ddot{a}$ -sign, had not become standardized. We may also conclude that this irregularity in writing truly reflects the unstandardized state which also existed in the spoken language of the time.

123. There are several graffiti in which certain words show the e in place of the later  $\ddot{a}$ , while other words contain the  $\ddot{a}$  in conformity with the usage in literature. For example, graffito No. 136 reads:

Pota D[e]vu gī Siva yi sivipata tepula rahasa belum nättan Geheni gaye ta ke nam beyadahi adahagata siṭuvayi

In this stanza belum and geheni are the equivalents of bälum and gähäni in the literary works. But nättan is written with the ä in conformity with the usage in literature. We may quote more documents:

No. 286: [Sā]tākalu ge vasana Vajur Agboymi
Gal-mundun nägī bälīmi beyandä mā sit
Repe dun magul keļemi sī-himiyā bäläni vī

No. 301: Sangamu Kelvaļa-arama-vesi Narisi
[V]ey da ek-tänin no tor vä kaṇa[k] sey davas
Risi [seyi bala] mey beyand hi ran-vanun ature
Matte gīyäṭ gī

No. 395: Hämä jene ran-vanun dut[mo] yi boru kiyati [ba](s)
(He) no kiyä heyni sov kot hiri vä[ti] bevin (no) basi[yi] vay

In No. 286 the word *repe* stands for *räpä* in the literary works; but *nägī bälīmi* and *bälāni* are written with ä. In No. 301 vesi stands for the later form väsi; but it occurs side by side with tänin, vä, and gīyäṭ, written with the ä-sign. In No. 395 bevin for the standard form bävin occurs along with hämä, kiyä, and väṭi. Graffiti numbered 102, 187, 210, 220, 254, 269, 273, 325, 361, 457, 464, 511, 578,

<sup>1</sup> G.S.L., vol. i, part 1, p. xxviii.

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585, and 627 can also be quoted as further examples. With regard to none of these documents can it be stated that the e is written in place of  $\ddot{a}$  due to the reason that the script had no separate symbol to represent the latter sound, for the  $\ddot{a}$  actually occurs in all of them. The words must have been written with an e as they were actually pronounced with an e in place of the later  $\ddot{a}$ . If the e-sound was pronounced for the later  $\ddot{a}$  in the eighth century or thereabouts, there is no reason why it was not so in a still earlier period, i.e. the fifth century when, according to Geiger, words such as veva and vedha, though graphically shown as such, were pronounced  $v\ddot{a}va$  and  $v\ddot{a}dha$ .

124. In the inscriptions of about the fifth century, side by side with such forms as veva, vedha, peni which Geiger would have us read as väva, vädha, and päni, there also occurs the word peta (EZ., vol. iii, p. 122). This word is equivalent to P. patti 'sharing of merit', and its etymological position is exactly parallel to that of veva, &c. Just as is the case with these words, peta is derived from a prototype in which the first syllable—a heavy one—is followed by another containing an i. If veva found in an inscription of the fifth century has to be read as väva, peta in a record of the same period would have to be read as päta. But the word is still in use, in the spoken as well as in the literary forms of the language, and is pronounced pet, for instance in the compound pin-pet. If it was already pronounced pät in the fifth century, how is one to explain the modern pet which, but for the elision of the final vowel, is identical with the form as written in the fifth-century inscription? Is it not more reasonable, therefore, to read these words as they are written down in the inscriptions and accept what is evident, i.e. that a in these words originally changed to e by the influence of the i in the following syllable, and that the ä found in place of e in a later stage of the language represents a further phonetic development?

125. It is not only in *peta* that the *e* due to the so-called umlaut has remained without further change. Among numerous parallel instances the following may be cited: *veṇaja* (No. 24) for Skt. *vāṇija*, sevata (No. 41) for Skt. sapatnī, veļa (No. 325) for Skt. āvalī, peļa for P. pāļī, deļum for Skt. dāḍima, seta for Skt. śānti, and geḍi for Skt. and P. gaṇḍī. It is strange that Geiger, who would change the *e* to ä in words like veva occurring in the inscriptions, permits the existence of words like veṇaja, &c., given above and admits them as one type of 'umlaut'. If the *e* in a word like *peļa* found in the modern language need not be amended to ä, what necessity is there to do so in veva and similar forms occurring in old documents?

i. In the case of these words, the change of e to ä did not result in the earlier forms with e going out of vogue. This circumstance is another reason for concluding that the e represented an earlier stage in the evolution of ä. Our graffiti contain numerous such forms, for instance: ge (No. 161) and gä (No. 331), digesi (No. 625) and digäsi (No. 505), pevijan (No. 7) and pävijjan (No. 200). The following may be cited from literary works: me (Dhag., p. 1) and mä (Dhag., p. 1), väl and vel (Rm., v. 140) from P. vālikā, mesi (Ksm., v. 409) and mäsi (Ksm., v. 290), deduru and däduru (Rm., v. 151) from Skt. dardura, mahalēnā (E. Bv., p. 219) and mahalāṇa (Pbs., v. 27) from Skt. mahā-lekha-nātha, gandev (Jag., p. 15) and gandāv (Dhag., p. 210) from Skt. gandharva. The word leṇa, derived from P. leṇa, is often pronounced today as läṇa by the average man.

127. That the *e* in the earlier forms like *veva* changes subsequently to  $\ddot{a}$  is supported by the fact that  $\ddot{a}$  in a considerable number of words represents an original *e*, and not an *a* modified by the influence of *i*. The words  $m\ddot{a}$ ,  $mahal\ddot{a}na$ , and  $l\ddot{a}na$ , cited in the previous paragraph, are examples of this, too. Other examples are  $v\ddot{a}lla$  for Skt.  $vel\ddot{a}$ ,  $V\ddot{a}d\ddot{a}h\ddot{a}$  for P. and Skt. Videha,  $g\ddot{a}h\ddot{a}ni$  or  $g\ddot{a}ni$  for Skt.  $gehin\bar{i}$ .

128. E is often pronounced as  $\ddot{a}$  in the modern colloquial language. The form  $l\ddot{a}na$  cited above is an example. The normal pronunciation of this word is lena as it is found in literary usage, but villagers often pronounce the word as if it were  $l\ddot{a}na$ . In this connexion it may also be interesting to note that Sinhalese people educated in English, when they are not careful about their pronunciation, utter words like 'met', &c., as if they were 'mat', &c.

129. Geiger, in his definition of 'umlaut', says that a is modified to  $\ddot{a}$  by the addition of an epenthetic i. When a is immediately followed by i, the euphonic rule in Indo-Aryan is for both to coalesce to e. The e found in words like veva is therefore the result of a normal phonetic development.

130. What has been stated in the foregoing paragraphs is sufficient, I think, to dispose of Geiger's contention that the sound \(\bar{a}\) developed in the Sinhalese language so early as the third century and that

it was graphically represented by e. We have therefore to conclude that, in a large number of instances where  $\ddot{a}$  occurs in the modern language, its place was occupied by an e at an earlier date. This change of a to e is first noticed in an inscription of the reign of Sirinaga I (circa A.D. 189-208). It is not possible to determine exactly the time when the e so originated began to be turned into  $\ddot{a}$ . Forms with e were still the rule in the time of Moggallana II (A.D. 542-61), as the Nilagama Rock Inscription (EZ., vol. iii, pp. 285-96) testifies. The ä-symbol is met with in the Gärandigala Inscription (ibid., pp. 195-9) of the reign of Kassapa III (A.D. 710-17). The ä sound must, therefore, have been first evolved some time during the period of less than two centuries between the dates of these two inscriptions. There is also reason to conjecture that the period of its first appearance was closer to the earlier of these two dates than to the later. For the ä-symbol met with in the Gärandigala Inscription is in the third stage of its development, two earlier stages being known in records which cannot be precisely dated (see above, § 103 f). The earliest stage is met with in some of our graffiti as well as in two short records, one from Mädagama in the Kurunāgala District, and the other from Mihintale (EZ., vol. iv, pp. 144 and 146); the second stage is known from these graffiti (see above, § 103 f). It is likely that the new symbol for ä rapidly underwent change after its first introduction, for scribes would have experimented more readily with a newly invented device than with one which had already become established in usage. The sound itself may well have existed in the language for a considerable time before the invention of a device to represent it graphically. Everything considered, the seventh century seems to be the period during which the  $\ddot{a}$  was first evolved.

131. We may now examine the process by which the sound e has changed to  $\ddot{a}$ . It has been noted above that it is by the addition of an epenthetic vowel, i, that the original a turns itself into e. To take an example, vavi of the second century became veva by the vowel i of the second syllable being added to a of the first by means of epenthesis, the two coalescing to become e. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that the e underwent further change by the repetition of the same process. This supposition is confirmed by an examination of the manner in which words ending in e are joined together in euphonic combination with those beginning with e. These combinations show us what happens when the vowel e is followed immediately by e in Sinhalese. I give below some examples occurring in the language from the tenth century up to the modern period:

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de+ata=data; de+aka=daka

de+amuna=damuna; e+ata=ata

me+ata=mata; de+agasav=dagasav
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132. These examples demonstrate that, in Sinhalese, when e is followed by a, the two together coalesce to become  $\bar{a}$ . In order to comprehend clearly the working of this phonetic process, it is necessary to add a few words about the rules of euphonic combination in Sinhalese. These rules, which do not appear to have engaged the attention of philologists who have examined the Sinhalese language, constitute the major part of its phonology. In the various changes which the words of the language have undergone in the course of the centuries, two vowels have often come together by the dropping of a weak consonant, or by epenthesis due to the tendency to speak fast, and the natural result of mispronunciation by uneducated people. Unlike Mahārāṣṭrī and many other Indian Prakrits, the Sinhalese, throughout its history, has had an aversion to hiatus; it is extremely rare to find a word in which two vowels come together. The hiatus is often avoided by the introduction of a v, v, or very rarely an r between the two consecutive vowels. This, as a general rule, occurs when the hiatus is due to the dropping of a weak consonant. When this does not happen, the adjoining vowels coalesce in accordance with sandhi rules; and these rules, so far as they apply to Sinhalese, are the same as they are in Old Indian in similar circumstances, with the exception that in many Sinhalese words, as in Pāli and Prakrit, one of the two contiguous vowels gives place to the other.2 To substantiate our statement that the rules of sandhi follow those of Old Indian in similar circumstances, we may cite some examples. When two homogeneous simple vowels come together, they coalesce and become long.3 To illustrate this rule the word pāļa from Skt. prakata may be cited. Its Prakrit form is pāada;

earlier date.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This record, from Periyakadu Vihāra in the Hiriyāla Hatpattu, has not yet been published. The word which shows this phonetic development is *peteya*, equivalent to *pati* (P. *patti*) in inscriptions of a slightly

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Forms like *halīśā* and *lāṅgalīśā* prove that this process was not entirely unknown in Sanskrit.

<sup>3</sup> Pāṇini's rule VI, 1, 102: Akaḥ savarņe dīrghaḥ.

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but in Sinhalese we find that the two a's which became contiguous by the dropping of the consonant k have coalesced to form the long  $\bar{a}$ . The S. dihi becoming  $d\bar{\imath}$ , muhuṇa, muṇa, lehe,  $l\bar{e}$ , boho,  $b\bar{o}$  are further examples.

•133. For the rule that a or  $\bar{a}$  coalesces with a following simple liquid vowel to guna, the change of a to e when the epenthetic i is added to it is an example. When a is followed by an u, the two coalesce to o as happens in Sanskrit, raja-kula becoming radol in Sinhalese when the two vowels are brought together by the dropping of k. Similarly, P. Sumana-kūṭa becomes Samanoļa.

134. With these examples before us, it may be reasonable to conjecture that the phonological process which ensues when e is followed by a is also the same as that in Old Indian in similar circumstances. In Sanskrit the euphonic combination of e + a follows two divergent procedures, one applicable to external sandhi, the other to internal. In external sandhi, that is to say, when a word ending in e is followed by another beginning with a, the a is elided, e.g. te + atra becomes te'tra. It is evident that this process has not taken place in the instances in Sinhalese where an e is followed by an a. We may therefore consider what happens when e is followed by a in internal sandhi, that is in the middle of a word. The e is then changed to ay and the semi-vowel coalesces with the vowel which follows, ne + ati, for example, becomes nayati. Assuming that the same process takes place in Sinhalese, a combination like de + ata would, in the first instance, resolve itself into day + ata, but the resulting semi-vowel has not coalesced with the a which follows, as would happen in Sanskrit. The semivowel has dropped but it has changed the preceding vowel a to  $\ddot{a}$ . De + ata would thus stand as  $d\ddot{a} + ata$ . Further phonetic processes are necessary before the two words can coalesce to form a sound which is in conformity with the genius of the Sinhalese language. A which follows ä is assimilated with the latter, and the two homogeneous vowels thus coming together coalesce into a long vowel, giving us the form  $d\bar{a}ta$ . It will be seen from this example that the cause of the change of a to  $\ddot{a}$  is the semi-vowel y. The vowel i, which has been taken by Geiger to be its cause, is not the immediate but a remote one. It only changes a to e, giving room for the later phonetic process to take place.

135. It may be assumed that the same process occurs when a form like veda becomes väda by the influence of the epenthetic vowel added to e, as takes place in de + ata combining into  $d\bar{a}ta$ . But there is some difference. In de + ata the vowel a was strong enough to transform e into ay, and remain to undergo further processes by the influence of the  $\ddot{a}$  which has been given birth to by ay. But in a case like veda the epenthetic vowel is not strong enough to remain after changing the e to ay. This difference is no doubt due to the degree of distinctness in the pronunciation of the a. In de + ata the vowel a, being the first letter of a distinctive word, was fully pronounced; but the epenthetic vowel a added to e in veda is a mere reflection of that in the second syllable, and was never pronounced distinctly in speech. As soon as it came into being, it gave rise to the phonetic process detailed above, and itself ceased to be. In Sanskrit the transformation of e into ay is caused not only by an a which follows it but also by another vowel. Similarly, in Sinhalese phonology, too, e is made to undergo this process by the addition of the epenthetical vowel i as well as a. The fifth-century peni<sup>3</sup> is found in the later language as  $p\ddot{a}ni$ , the transformation of e to ay and then to  $\ddot{a}$  being caused by the vowel i in the second syllable. In some words the i in the last syllable has dropped, e.g. dän from P. dāni. The dropping of this vowel i must have taken place after it had transformed the a in the previous syllable, first to e and then to  $\ddot{a}$ , through ay.

136. In this change of e to ay and then to  $\ddot{a}$ , we have an interesting example of the resurgence of speech-habits of the remote past of a people which had been dormant for a long period, but which had been prevented from having full play as it went counter to other speech-habits, subsequently acquired, which were in full force at the time. The result has been something not exactly corresponding to either of the speech-habits. This is not a solitary example of the phenomenon. What happens when case-endings beginning with  $\bar{a}$  are added to the stems of Sinhalese nouns ending in i and u affords us a striking parallel. When the nominative singular termination  $-\bar{a}$  is added to such stems as  $v\ddot{a}d\dot{a}$  or ratu, we get the forms  $v\ddot{a}dd\bar{a}$  and  $ratt\bar{a}$ . The usual procedure in euphonic combinations in Sinhalese, when an i or u is followed by an a, is either the elision of the first vowel or the addition of the semi-vowels y after i and v after u. In forms like  $v\ddot{a}dd\bar{a}$  and  $ratt\bar{a}$  a different process has taken place, which can be

combination of dena and kalhi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The word *denāl-hi*, occurring in the 'Vessagiri' Slab Inscription of Mahinda IV (*EZ.*, vol. i, p. 33) can accordingly be taken as a result of the euphonic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Pāṇini's rule VI, 1, 80: Ād guṇaḥ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> EZ., vol. iii, p. 178.

explained by the invocation of the rules which apply in Sanskrit in similar cases. I or u followed by any vowel but itself is respectively changed to y or v in Sanskrit. Applying this rule,  $v\ddot{a}d\dot{i}+\ddot{a}$  would result in  $v\ddot{a}d\dot{y}$  and  $v\ddot{a}u+\ddot{a}$  in  $v\ddot{a}u+\ddot{a}u$ . But the resulting combinations of consonants are not in keeping with the character of the Sinhalese language, and they have, therefore, been assimilated exactly as would have happened in the Middle Indian stage. These forms, like  $v\ddot{a}dd\bar{a}u$  and  $v\ddot{a}u$  and  $v\ddot{a}u$  have thus occasioned the coming together of two consonants without an intervening vowel, a feature which was avoided in the early period of the development of the language. It is, of course, true that the intermediate stages envisaged in the change of  $v\ddot{a}d\dot{a}+\bar{a}u$  to  $v\ddot{a}dd\bar{a}u$  and  $v\ddot{a}u$  and  $v\ddot{a}u$  as well as that of  $v\ddot{a}u$  are nowhere found. Perhaps these stages were never represented in the spoken language. They were repugnant to the character of the language, and before the sounds were uttered they had to be transformed so as to be in keeping with the speech-habits which were current. When newly adopted Sanskrit  $v\ddot{a}u$  are nowhere founds are pronounced today by the Sinhalese people in accordance with their own phonology, many complex changes of a similar nature take place without any of the intermediate stages being registered in the spoken word. It is not difficult to imagine that similar processes took place in the past.

137. The change of e to ay is also observable in Sinhalese in various periods of its history in a few instances where, however, phonological processes other than the development of the vowel  $\ddot{a}$  have taken place. In a Brāhmī inscription of the reign of Mahācūlī Mahātissa¹ (circa 77–63 B.C.), we come across the word kataya which, as is evident from the context, has the meaning 'for the purpose of'. The word, therefore, is etymologically traceable to Skt. kpte. Here the e has been transformed to aya. The genitive singular of the pronoun of the first person in classical Sinhalese is  $m\bar{a}$ ; that of the second person is  $t\bar{a}$ . These two words are found in documents of the eighth to tenth centuries, including our graffiti, as maya and may and ma

138. In the early period of the Sinhalese language, represented by the Brāhmī inscriptions, the termination of the nominative singular is generally e. In the classical language, however, the usual termination is  $-\bar{a}$ , though -e had not altogether become obsolete. Geiger is of opinion that this termination  $-\bar{a}$  is that of the oblique case 'which was also used for the direct case to distinguish it from the stem form' (G.S.L., § 95. 1). It is, however, clear from the phonological feature noticed above that  $-\bar{a}$ , the termination of the nominative singular, is a development of the earlier -e through \*-aya. The dropping of the y has caused the two homogeneous vowels to coalesce into a long  $\bar{a}$ . The preterite forms used predicatively end in -e in the classical period; but, in the modern language, they invariably end in -ā. Giyē (Skt. gataḥ) of the classical idiom is at present giyā. The phonological process here is the same as that in the termination for the nominative singular. Likewise, verbal forms such as yana-vā (he goes), kana-vā (he eats), &c., which are so common in the modern colloquial language, go back to an earlier yana ve (is one who goes) and kana ve (is one who eats). The change of e to  $\bar{a}$  through \*aya is exemplified by these instances also. In some of the examples quoted above, the transmutation of the e to aya is apparently due to an epenthetic a which has been reflected from the syllable which follows. In others which are monosyllabic or in which the syllable which follows does not show an a, the insertion of the epenthetic vowel at the end is due to intonation. In speaking Sinhalese the general tendency is to intonate as if there were an a at the end of a word or of a sentence, even if such an a does not actually exist. When the e has thus been resolved to ay, and after it has become aya due to the epenthetic a which has not dropped, the y has dropped and the two vowels have coalesced to  $\bar{a}$ .

139. It may be objected that the change of e to ay is hypothetical and that the transformation of the latter to \(\bar{a}\) cannot therefore be substantiated. To this it may be replied that precisely the same phonological process has taken place in words where we actually have ay followed by a. We have, for instance, Skt. \(Udaya\) changing to S. \(Ud\bar{a}\), Skt. \(niraya\) to S. \(nir\bar{a}\), Skt. \(Vijaya\) to S. \(Vid\bar{a}\). \(Vid\bar{a}\). \(Aya\) (Skt. \(Arya\)),

<sup>1</sup> J.R.A.S., C.B., vol. xxxvi, p. 66.

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which, in the Brāhmī inscriptions, is the title of royal princes, is found in the eighth and the ninth centuries as  $\bar{a}$ - $p\bar{a}$ , with the addition of the honorific suffix  $p\bar{a}$  (Skt.  $p\bar{a}da$ ). In all these instances an a followed by a y has been transformed in the first instance to  $\ddot{a}$  which has coalesced with the following vowel, after assimilation, to form  $\ddot{a}$ . Side by side with the forms  $Ud\ddot{a}$  and  $nir\ddot{a}$ , we also have  $Ud\ddot{a}$  and  $nar\ddot{a}$ , which are due to the dropping of the y and the coalescing of the two contiguous a's.  $\ddot{A}$  in the instances quoted above is thus shown to be a result of the retention of y.

- 140. The transformation undergone by certain loan-words from Sanskrit containing a consonantal group, of which the second is y, is also illuminating for the character of  $\ddot{a}$ . In the tenth-century inscriptions we have forms like  $ann\ddot{a}ya$  for Skt.  $any\ddot{a}ya$ ,  $v\ddot{a}p\ddot{a}ra$  for Skt.  $vy\ddot{a}p\ddot{a}ra$ ,  $v\ddot{a}vasth\ddot{a}$  for Skt.  $vy\ddot{a}vasth\ddot{a}$ , and, in the modern language, we come across forms such as  $v\ddot{a}yama$  for Skt.  $vy\ddot{a}y\ddot{a}ma$ ,  $v\ddot{a}karana$  for Skt.  $vy\ddot{a}karana$ ,  $b\ddot{a}vah\bar{a}ra$  for Skt.  $byavah\bar{a}ra$ . In all these words the y in the consonantal group has disappeared, and the vowel a which follows has been transformed to  $\ddot{a}$  if the original a was short and  $\ddot{a}$  if it was long. It is therefore clear that the transformation of a or  $\ddot{a}$  to  $\ddot{a}$  or  $\ddot{a}$  in these instances is due to the y which has disappeared. Its disappearance is due in reality to its being merged in the vowel a and modifying its character. In  $ann\ddot{a}ya$  we find the doubling of the consonant n.
- 141. The y which was instrumental in the transformation of a to \(\alpha\) appears to have been indistinctly pronounced. This becomes apparent when we examine certain words with \(\alpha\) occurring in the tenth-century inscriptions. In the 'Jetavan\(\alpha\) Jab Inscription of Kassapa V (EZ., vol. i, pp. 43-46) we get such forms as \(harrow{a}\) in the words as \(diya\) yutu, \(milay\) with words as \(diya\) yutu, \(vailandiy\) yutu, \(dah\) with able tablets of Mahinda IV \((ibid., pp. 84-90)\) occur such words as \(diya\) yutu, \(vailandiy\) yutu, \(dah\) with able to forms must originally have been \(harrow{a}\) in yutu, \(milayata\), \(diya\) yutu, \(vaij\) in the latter forms in literary works as well as in the spoken language of the present day. Now, if a phrase like \(diya\) yutu is pronounced by the average Sinhalese man of today in a natural manner, without any effort being made to enunciate each letter separately, an indistinctly pronounced \(y\) is introduced between the two syllables \(ya\) and \(yu\). The actual pronunciation is \(diya^{y}yutu\). In the other words given in the above group, too, the case is the same. It is this indistinctly pronounced \(y\) which has attached itself to the preceding vowel \(a\) and has transformed it into \(\alpha\) in the forms of these words appearing in the tenth-century records.
- 142. That there is something of the y-sound in  $\ddot{a}$  is also proved by the transformation which the word  $g\ddot{a}mbura$  (Skt.  $g\bar{a}mbh\bar{\imath}rya$ ) occurring in literary works has undergone in the modern colloquial speech. In many parts of the Island this word is pronounced  $ja\ddot{m}bura$  by people who do not care to appear as learned. What has actually happened is that the consonant g has been palatalized by the indistinct g in  $\ddot{a}$  being emphasized and getting itself attached to that consonant. The removal of the g-element in g has caused it to revert to its original form of g.
- 143. Thus it is clear that, in a large number of instances, the  $\ddot{a}$  is caused by an indistinctly pronounced y being attached to the vowel a. The standard form of Geiger's 'umlaut' is due to this cause. But there are numerous instances in which a becomes  $\ddot{a}$  without the influence of an e or y in the following syllable, which, according to Geiger, is the cause of the 'umlaut'. These forms which do not admit of being explained by his theory are called by him cases of 'spontaneous umlaut' (G.S.L., § 31). If Geiger's theory is adopted, they have to be treated as exceptions to his rule. But the exceptions are so numerous as to bring the rule itself into disrepute. It would, I think, be not surprising if the 'spontaneous' cases of 'umlaut' were found to exceed in number those which come into being in accordance with the general rule. Geiger considers the opinion expressed by Helmer Smith, that in such cases 'the umlaut stem' is taken from the inflexion where the 'umlaut' is, is justified. For instance, tän or täna (Skt. sthāna) is taken to be due to the inflected form tän-hi, where the vowel a of the first syllable in the locative form tan-hi is supposed to have been changed to  $\ddot{a}$  by the influence of the i in the locative termination -hi which forms the second syllable. As Geiger himself admits, this explanation would be satisfactory only in those cases like tan and tän where doublets exist, but would break down against adjectives with the 'spontaneous umlaut' which have lost the inflexion at an early date. It is true that the vowel in the first syllable of the stem is often changed by that of the inflexion, but this change is restricted to the inflected form, the stem remaining unchanged, as is proved by compounds. The word duk, for instance, assumes the form dikin with the addition of the instrumental termination -in, but the stem has never become dik; it remains duk whenever it is the first member of a compound.

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When the real nature of the cause of a becoming  $\ddot{a}$  is understood, as will be shown presently, there are no 'spontaneous' examples which cannot be explained by the general rule, and for this purpose it becomes necessary for us to examine those words in which  $\ddot{a}$  has developed due to causes other than an  $\dot{i}$  or  $\dot{y}$  in the syllable which follows that with a.

144. We first take into consideration a fairly numerous class of words in which a palatal consonant has been changed into the corresponding dental, and the vowel a which was attached to the palatal has been changed to ä. To quote some examples, we have säḍol for Skt. caṇḍāla, sävu for Skt. cāṇa, säṇa for P. chaṇa (Skt. kṣaṇa), saňdäs for Skt. chandas, däla for Skt. jāla, däduru for P. jajjara (Skt. jarjjara), dängum for Skt. jangama, näna for P. ñāṇa (Skt. jñāna), päna for P. pañha (Skt. praśna), säka for Skt. śamkā, sära for Skt. śara, sät for Skt. śastra, ähäṭu for Skt. aśvattha, and hutäs for Skt. hutāśa.

145. The influence of the palatal consonant in the transformation of a to  $\ddot{a}$  in these instances is evident, but on a closer examination it will be found that ultimately the cause of  $\ddot{a}$  is here, too, a y indistinctly pronounced. It is well known that a dental followed by y in the Old Indian stage is changed to a palatal in the Middle Indian, e.g. Skt. adya is ajja in Pāli and Prakrit, anya is  $a\tilde{n}\tilde{n}a$ . Some element of the y may, therefore, be considered inherent in the palatal. An interesting example in this connexion is the word  $sava\tilde{n}uta$  occurring in the metrical inscription from Kirinda, where the syllable  $\tilde{n}u$  is actually written nyu. When a palatal, in its turn, has been changed into a dental, the y-element in it has not been altogether elided in many cases. It has attached itself to the nearest vowel a, transforming the latter to  $\ddot{a}$ . In  $sa\tilde{n}d\ddot{a}s$  quoted above, the y-element has affected not the vowel which immediately follows it but the next. In the cases where the palatal is the last syllable, the vowel affected is the one which precedes it and not that which follows it, as in  $p\ddot{a}na$  for Skt.  $praj\tilde{n}a$ , P.  $pa\tilde{n}a$ . These examples can also be explained by assuming that the  $\ddot{a}$  has later changed its position.

146. The palatal consonant concerned is śa in many cases. This consonant disappeared from genuine Sinhalese some time after the beginning of the present era, i.e. long before that phonetic development which resulted in 'umlaut' started on its course. The words in which ä has developed by the influence of this palatal sibilant have therefore to be taken as having been adopted into the Sinhalese language from Sanskrit at a date after the development of ä. In fact, none of the examples quoted above has been found in the earliest stage of the language. In this connexion it may be interesting to note that the palatal sibilant in Sanskrit loan-words is more often than not pronounced as sä by the average Sinhalese man of today, and that it was so for some centuries before. Sakra, for instance, is pronounced säkkara and śani is säni. So much so that in manuscripts written by ordinary scribes a century or so ago, the symbol for the palatal sibilant is often used in writing the syllable sä in genuine Sinhalese words. Säţa (Skt. ṣaṣṭi), for example, is found in documents as śaṭa 🖘 .

147. There are several classes of words in which  $\ddot{a}$  is apparently caused by a coalescing with indistinctly pronounced semi-vowels and consonants. In order to investigate the manner in which one of these letters appears to be indistinctly pronounced after an a, we will take a word in which the 'umlaut' is taken to have been effected 'spontaneously'. We have, in literary Sinhalese, the form Vähäp for P. Vasabha, Skt. Vrsabha. In second-century inscriptions this proper name is found in the form Vahaba. The dropping of the final vowel and the change of b to p are phonetic features with which we are not concerned here, but the change of a to  $\ddot{a}$  in the first and second syllables cannot be explained by Geiger's general rule for 'umlaut'. The theory that the stem has been affected by an inflected form is not applicable to this instance, for no case termination with an i or e can be added to it. These case terminations belong to the instrumental or locative, and it is a rule in Sinhalese that proper nouns are not inflected in these cases (see below, § 329), the relation being expressed by postpositions added to the genitive. The  $\ddot{a}$  is therefore due to other causes. There is a marked tendency in Sinhalese to drop intervocalic aspirates as well as semi-vowels and other weak consonants. If the word Vahaba were pronounced fast, it would naturally result in Vāba. But it has been considered necessary to preserve the syllable ha intact (see below, § 190), and for this purpose it must be articulated with emphasis, or, in other words, stressed. If we utter the word in that manner the h would be duplicated, but the pronunciation of the first h is not so distinct as that of the second. There is only a

In colloquial Sinhalese the Skt.  $lajj\bar{a}$  is pronounced changed to  $\ddot{a}$  while the palatal remains unchanged.  $l\ddot{a}jj\bar{a}$ , where the a preceding the palatal has been changed to  $\ddot{a}$  while the palatal remains unchanged.  $^2$   $\mathcal{J}.R.A.S.$ , C.B., vol. xxxvi, p. 61, n. 4.

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vague suggestion of the h following the a of the syllable Va. And it is this indistinctly pronounced h which appears to attach itself to the preceding a and transform it to  $\ddot{a}$ . The a in the second syllable has been affected by assimilation. In  $b\ddot{a}v$  for Skt.  $bh\bar{a}va$  and  $\ddot{a}lup$  for Skt.  $\ddot{a}l\ddot{a}pa$ , the semi-vowels v and l, respectively, appear to have had the same effect as h has had in  $V\ddot{a}h\ddot{a}p$ . I now give further examples of  $\ddot{a}$  apparently due to the indistinctly pronounced r, l, v, and h caused by accentuation and duplication:

- (a) A before a duplicated r: bäri for Skt. bhāra (cf. siri-bäri in Jānakīharaṇa Sanne, ad i. 51), gäraṇḍi for garaṇḍi, pärahana for Skt. pariśrāvaṇa, härava for Skt. srāva. In these examples the a in bäri may be caused by an i, if we take the word to be derived from bharita. In pärahana the a may also be due to h, which in that case must have affected the a in the syllable ra and changed the vowel of the preceding syllable by assimilation.
- (b) Ä apparently caused by an indistinctly pronounced l: älup from Skt. ālāpa, äl from P. alla, däli from Skt. dala, älavun from Skt. ālapana, älup from Skt. alpa, käbäli from Skt. kabala, käkulu from Skt. kalikā (by metathesis through an assumed form \*käluku).
- (c) Ä apparently caused by an indistinctly pronounced v:  $b\ddot{a}v$  or  $b\ddot{a}va$  from Skt.  $bh\bar{a}va$ ,  $r\ddot{a}v$  from Skt.  $r\ddot{a}va$ ,  $n\ddot{a}v$  for P.  $n\bar{a}v\bar{a}$ , Skt. nau,  $s\ddot{a}ma$  for Skt. sarvva (with the change of v to m),  $d\ddot{a}v$  for Skt. dhava,  $s\ddot{a}b\ddot{a}va$  for Skt. sad- $bh\bar{a}va$ ,  $m\ddot{a}nava$  for P.  $man\bar{a}pa$ ,  $r\ddot{a}kaval$  for earlier rakaval (Skt.  $raks\bar{a}+p\bar{a}la$  or  $raks\bar{a}pana$ ),  $\ddot{a}vini$  for Skt.  $\bar{a}pana$ ,  $r\ddot{a}vula$  for earlier raval caused by metathesis from varal,  $n\ddot{a}vun$  for  $nav\bar{n}na$ ,  $s\ddot{a}vul$  for Tamil  $s\ddot{a}val$ ,  $gand\ddot{a}v$  for Skt. gandharvva, and  $h\ddot{a}vi$  for Skt.  $bh\bar{a}va$ .
- (d) Ä apparently caused by an indistinctly pronounced s: äs for Skt. aśra or amsa (cf. hataräs for Skt. caturaśra and bera-äs, 'the face of a drum'), mäsi for Skt. marṣa, väsi for Skt. varṣa, käs for Skt. kānkṣā, piritäs for Skt. paritrāsa.
- (e) Ä caused by an indistinctly pronounced h: pähä for Skt. prabhā, Vähäp for P. Vasabha, Skt. Vṛṣabha, rähä for Skt. rasa, sädähä for Skt. śraddhā, P. saddhā, mā (contracted from an earlier \*mähä for Skt. māṣa), rähäni for Skt. roṣaṇa, gähäṭa for Skt. kaṣṭa, dähän for Skt. dhyāna, rähäna for Skt. raśanā, dähäṭi for P. danta-kaṭṭha.
- 148. It will be seen from an examination of the above examples that the semi-vowel, sibilant, or aspirate which duplicates itself and apparently gives rise to the indistinctly pronounced letter which changes a to  $\ddot{a}$  may be of a secondary character. As happens in words where the  $\ddot{a}$  is formed by what Geiger considers to be the standard 'umlaut', it can affect the vowels of the preceding or following syllables, and in some cases the  $\ddot{a}$  in the syllable, where it had originally come into being, may change or drop after having affected the vowel in an adjacent syllable.
- 149. There are numerous instances in which mutae also appear to have the same effect on a preceding a. In näkät for Skt. nakṣatra, pärakum for Skt. parākrama, täk for Skt. takra, käkuļu for P. kakkaļa, säka for Skt. śamkā, äka for Skt. amka, &c., the k, undergoing the phonetic process described above, has apparently changed the a to ä. In änga for Skt. anga, g has apparently performed a similar function. For d can be cited the examples mädi for Skt. mandūka, gädubu for Skt. gadrabha, gädavil for Skt. gandūpada, äligäradi for Skt. alagarda, säda for Skt. canda, sädol for Skt. candāla, and dädi for Skt. drdha. In ätuma for Skt. ātman, t appears to have the same effect as d in däduru (variant form deduru) for Skt. darddura. For n, the examples tän for Skt. sthāna and uvaṭān for Skt. garbha, and for ma, dala-bāma for Skt. jala-bhrama.
- 150. In these classes of words I have purposely stated that an indistinctly articulated semi-vowel or consonant seems to coalesce with the preceding a, and to give rise to the ä. The causes of the duplication of the semi-vowel or the consonant are examined in detail below (§§ 250 and 305). It is, however, more reasonable to take it that the duplicated consonant does not directly give rise to ä, but at first changes the a to e. The change of a to e before a double consonant is a feature already noticed in the Middle Indian stage. Cf. P. pheggu for Skt. phalgu (Geiger, Pali Literature and Language, English translation, p. 65). This view gains strength from the occurrence of the forms tena side by side with täna for \*tana (Skt. sthāna), gaňdev and gaňdäv, me and mä, mesi and mäsi, &c. We have therefore to assume that forms like bäva, Vähäp, däla, &c., existed in the forms of \*beva, \*Vehep, \*dela, &c., in an earlier period. The form bevin for bävin actually occurs in our graffiti. In these classes of words, too,

the  $\ddot{a}$  can thus accordingly be taken as a further change from e, through the process explained above, and the immediate cause of  $\ddot{a}$  is again the indistinctly pronounced y. Thus there is only one cause for the  $\ddot{a}$ , i.e. the vowel a being augmented by y indistinctly pronounced, and there are no 'spontaneous' cases arising without any cause.

- 151. When the change of a to  $\ddot{a}$  is understood in this manner, the examples we have cited above (§ 119) as exceptions to Geiger's rule, that the umlaut of a takes place only in a heavy syllable followed by i in the next syllable, may be explained otherwise. The  $\ddot{a}$  of  $g\ddot{a}h\ddot{a}vi$  is not due to the i in the form gahapati, but is due to the fact that h following a was duplicated to prevent its elision.
- 152. The duplication of certain consonants in the actual pronunciation of words to which we have referred above is not audible enough to be shown in writing. It does not, therefore, occur in written documents of the present day or in literary works. But it seems to have been noticed in a certain stage of the development of the language and graphically shown in writing, and the period when it was so indicated was precisely that during which the  $\ddot{a}$  was becoming a regular phonetic feature of the language. In some of our graffiti we find certain words spelt with double consonants where the later literary usage had only one (see above, § 73). For instance, the word an (Skt. anya) is spelt ann and van (Skt. varnna) as vann. Such cases are too numerous to be dismissed as clerical errors. Orthographically there are two ways of representing the double n in the examples cited above. In the former case a virāma sign has been attached to the ligature nna; in the latter the two consonants have been separately written with a  $vir\bar{a}ma$  sign attached to each. The a preceding the double n has not yet changed to e or  $\ddot{a}$ . When the duplicated consonant was distinctly pronounced, the change of a to  $\ddot{a}$ did not take place. It is only when the first of the two consonants is indistinctly pronounced that it affects the preceding a, eventually transforming the latter to ä. It is significant that the word vann, which is spelt with a double n in one of the Sigiri graffiti, occurs in others in the form  $v\ddot{a}ni$ , where the a has changed to ä. Väni is of common occurrence in Sinhalese literature and is still in use.
- 153. An examination of the earliest form of the symbol by which  $\ddot{a}$  was represented in the script may not be without value in an investigation into the character and origin of this phonetic feature. When it becomes necessary to adopt a device for a sound which is newly developed in a language, or for which its script has as yet no form of graphic representation, it is a priori unreasonable to think that a symbol would be invented for it arbitrarily. Such a symbol might have been borrowed from another script if the sound to be represented was itself due to the influence of the language written in that script. In the case of  $\ddot{a}$ , however, the sound is not found in any language with which it was historically possible for the Sinhalese to have had contact at the period when it first comes within our ken. On the other hand, we have shown above that its origin was due to natural development within the language itself. No variety of script, other than Sinhalese, known in ancient Ceylon had a special symbol for the sound, and the suggestion that the  $\ddot{a}$ -sign was borrowed has therefore to be ruled out.
- 154. The other *a priori* probability is that the new symbol was a modification of an already existing symbol which represented a sound of a related character. If it can be shown, therefore, that the earliest form of the  $\ddot{a}$ -symbol was developed from a form which then existed either by the process of adding to it or by mutilating it, we may reasonably infer that the  $\ddot{a}$ -sound was cognate in character to the sound which the latter symbol represented, or at least that the literati of the time thought it to be so.
- 155. The earliest form of the  $\ddot{a}$ -symbol and its later developments have been noticed in § 103 and text-fig. 25. This symbol has, for the first time, been noticed by me in dealing with two short records, one from Mädagama in the Kuruṇāgala District and the other on the pavement of the Ambasthala Dāgāba at Mihintale (EZ., vol. iv, pp. 143-8). When dealing with these inscriptions I was not quite certain that the symbol represented  $\ddot{a}$ , the reason for the doubt being that it was used not only with syllables where the  $\ddot{a}$  is expected on the analogy of later forms, but also in connexion with the syllable yu. My subsequent study of the graffiti, wherein the symbol occurs in numerous documents, has now made it clear that, wherever it is placed above an a or a consonantal symbol to which no other medial vowel sign is attached, it always corresponds to the  $\ddot{a}$ -sign of the later script, and it occurs where etymologically an  $\ddot{a}$  would be expected. But the symbol in question is also sometimes found placed above the syllable yu. How then is this same symbol appropriate for use as the  $\ddot{a}$ -sign as well as for attachment to the syllable yu? To give a satisfactory answer to this question it is necessary to examine the words in which the symbol is placed above yu. In the Mihintale inscription referred to above, the symbol occurs above yu in the word daruyun, and in the graffiti in such words as oyun and

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nuyun. In two of these words, the syllable yu follows an u in the previous one. In such a position the natural tendency is for the y to drop or to be changed to v. At the stage in which we find the forms daruyun and nuyun, it seems to have been considered necessary to preserve the y in these words (see below, § 180) and for this purpose it was necessary to pronounce the y with special stress. The result must have been the virtual duplication of the y. The words must actually have been pronounced as  $daru^yyun$  and  $o^yyun$  and  $nu^yyun$ . The symbol  $\circ$  when it is placed above the syllable yu must therefore be taken as representing this half-articulated y. This supposition becomes certain when we find that the symbol itself is half of that for ya in the script of that period, which was  $\omega$ .

156. Now we have shown above that, where an  $\ddot{a}$  occurs in a word, it had originated from an indistinctly pronounced y being attached to the vowel a. What would have been more natural therefore than to represent the  $\ddot{a}$ -sound which had newly developed at that time by placing half of the symbol for ya above the vowel a? The literati of the time would have watched its growth and were no doubt aware of its character which had not yet been obscured by the passage of time. Thus the new symbol is seen to represent the same sound in both sets of circumstances in which it is found. In course of time the symbol was restricted in use to represent the  $\ddot{a}$ , and its use to indicate an indefinitely pronounced y in other places was given up.

157. In summing up the result of our investigation, we may state that the  $\ddot{a}$  is a modification of a due to its being augmented by a weakly articulated y. We have thus arrived at the same conclusion about the character of  $\ddot{a}$  as the author of the Sdsg., who does not enumerate  $\ddot{a}$  as a separate vowel, but states that it is a augmented by a fraction of a mātrā. A vowel-less consonant is reckoned by grammarians in India and, following them, by those of Ceylon, as half a mātrā, and the consonantal element which is added to the a to transform it into  $\ddot{a}$  is even less than this quantity. The author of the Sdsg., who lived towards the close of the thirteenth century, had predecessors in Sinhalese grammatical studies. He refers to his work as meant for beginners, implying that there existed at the time more elaborate treatises for the benefit of advanced students. A Sinhalese grammar called Saddalakkhaṇa (Sada-lakuṇu) is referred to in the Kāvyaśekhara, and we learn from the colophon to the Rasavāhinī that this grammar was the work of Vedeha-thera who flourished in the twelfth century. There is no reason to assume that it was only in the twelfth or the thirteenth century that the Sinhalese people took to a study of the grammar of their language. Already in the tenth century rhetoric (alamkāra-śāstra) was studied in Sinhalese, and there is yet extant a translation into Sinhalese verse of Dandin's Kāvyādarśa, known as Siyabas-lakara. In this text reference is made to a work on Sinhalese metre written by an author named Kalyāṇamitra, presumably a Buddhist monk, who was a member of the Abhayagiri fraternity. The work must have been written some time before the tenth century for it to have been accepted as an authority at that date. The study of metre (chandas) and rhetoric (alamkāra) is preceded by that of grammar in the system of Indian education on which, of course, that of ancient Ceylon was modelled; it is, in fact, difficult to imagine that prosody could be studied without a knowledge of grammar and phonetics. We can therefore be fairly certain that there were grammatical works on the Sinhalese language in the later Anuradhapura period which are no longer extant. The author of the Sdsg., therefore, has probably not given his own opinion about the character of ä, but that expressed by grammarians who flourished long before his time. These grammarians lived at a time which was not far removed from that in which the ä was evolved, and they would have had better opportunities to evaluate its character than any modern investigator, however scientific his methods may be. The opinion expressed by the author of the Sdsg. regarding the nature of ä should not therefore be lightly dismissed, as many people of Ceylon today, who are anxious to be counted among the 'scientific'—whatever that term may mean—are too often apt to do.

It is generally held by Sinhalese scholars that the Sdsg. is identical with the Sada-lakunu (Sadda-lakkhana) of Vedeha-thera. The Sdsg. itself does not name its author, nor is there any tradition regarding him. Vedeha-thera and Dīpankara were both pupils of the same teacher, Ānanda, and I have shown elsewhere ('Negapatam and Theravāda Buddhism in

South India', Journal of the Greater India Society, vol. xi, pp. 17-25) that Dīpankara, also known as Buddhappiya, could not have flourished later than the twelfth century. It therefore follows that the author of the Sdsg. was not Vedeha-thera, and that the latter's Sada-lakuņu was another work not identical with the Sdsg.

### (B) PHONOLOGY

### (i) General Remarks

158. All the principal phonological changes which the standard Sinhalese language of literary works exhibits when compared with the Old Indian from which it is derived, and those which distinguish that speech from the sister Indo-Aryan languages, are represented in these graffiti. As in the case of the vowel sound  $\ddot{a}$ , some of these most significant phonological processes seem to have first occurred in the language at a date not very much anterior to that of these documents. As will be seen in the following paragraphs, our graffiti, for the first time, furnish us with data which enable us to arrive at reasoned conclusions about the nature of some of these phonological processes and their history. Before discussing these in detail, it is necessary, I think, to state, in brief, the general principles underlying my approach to the subject, which differs in many respects from those of others who have concerned themselves with it.

159. What is generally meant by phonology in the study of an Indo-Aryan vernacular is the ascertaining of the equivalents in Old Indian (i.e. Sanskrit, in most cases) of words which are found in current use in the spoken or written language, and the recording of the changes that are apparent when the later form is compared with the earlier. Analogical forms are quoted from this Prakrit or that, and parallel words in related languages are marshalled in formidable array. The phonological rules deduced very often depend on the etymology accepted as satisfying, and the etymology, in its turn, depends on the phonological rules which have been considered to be valid. Many of these phonological rules are based on data gathered from literary Prakrits, whose connexion with the languages now spoken, or the dialects found in inscriptions, is often obscure. The various phonological changes noticed when a modern form of speech is compared with the Old Indian are treated together, no distinction being made between the different periods during which the language was affected by these—a consideration which is of great import when some particular phonological process overrides another which is also possible. These shortcomings are inevitable when one studies a language like Sina or Lahnda, of which only the modern form is known, or, to a lesser extent, in the case of Hindi or Bengali, for which the documentary evidence does not go very far. There is, however, no reason why the same methods should be applied to Sinhalese, specimens of which are available to the student for every century beginning from the third before the present era right up to modern times. It is true that the material available for certain periods is not so rich as for others, and that many of the documents have yet to be published. Phonological rules, therefore, have had to be formulated, without taking these into account, by comparing the language of a considerably later period with the Old and Middle Indian forms. These rules have been of great value to the student of the language in helping him to understand many of its aspects, but that is no reason why one, in studying documents of the earlier periods, should distort them whenever they seem to go against any of these rules deduced after an examination of insufficient data. In my study of the phonology of these graffiti I have not allowed myself to be hampered by any assumed obligation to preserve the sanctity of these rules at the expense of the documents studied.

160. Sinhalese being an Indo-Aryan language, it has been assumed that the phonetic processes noticed in the Prakrits must have taken place at certain intermediate stages in this language also. If, for example, a sound undergoes a particular change in a given set of circumstances in Saurasenī, the same change, it is assumed, must have taken place in Sinhalese in the same circumstances. It is not taken into account that the Sinhalese language had separated itself from the main group of Indo-Aryan languages many centuries before the time when the distinctive features of the Prakrits were evolved, and had led its own life without having any intimate contact with other languages of the family to which it belonged. A solid block of Dravidian-speaking people separated the Sinhalese from the Aryan-speaking races of India. When, therefore, an Old Sinhalese document shows a phonetic development foreign to Saurasenī or Mahārāṣṭrī, I do not see any necessity to alter that document in conformity with these Prakrits. What we should be concerned with is not to produce an artificial family resemblance, but to ascertain the distinctive character of the Sinhalese language; and, for this, the language should be taken for study exactly as it is now, and was of old; not as it is assumed to have been. I do not, of course, minimize the importance of comparative study and the light which is often

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thrown on the history of a Sinhalese word by parallel forms in the literary Prakrits and the modern Indo-Aryan languages; but I do maintain that the most essential material for the study of Sinhalese phonology is found in Sinhalese itself, throughout the various stages of its known history of twenty-two.centuries.

161. It is very often found necessary to posit a number of hypothetical intermediate forms in order to connect a Sinhalese word with its Old Indian prototype, and it is in coining these hypothetical forms that the influence of Prakrit studies has left its impress on the study of Sinhalese phonology. But the inscriptions have proved that some at least of these hypothetical forms had no actual existence in the Sinhalese language. We may quote two examples to substantiate this statement. It has been claimed that Skt. bhūta assumed the form vū in Sinhalese through an intermediate \*vūa which has evidently been coined on the analogy of Mahārāṣṭrī.¹ But our graffiti (see No. 68) enable us to learn that the earlier form of vū was vuyu; the phonetic development was thus actually quite different from that suggested by the positing of the hypothetical form \*vūa.² Geiger assures us that the S. neraļu comes from Skt. \*nārikela through many hypothetical forms, of which \*nākiļera is one;³ but a Mihintale inscription of the first century furnishes us with the form nādira which is obviously the prototype of neraļu.⁴ These instances alone suffice to show that phonetic theories based mainly on a study of the literary Prakrits do not always, as a matter of course, hold good for Sinhalese.

162. These hypothetical intermediate forms are generally coined on the assumption that words, in changing into new forms, take the direct and the shortest possible route from one phonological stage to another; and some philologists claim that they can demarcate this route for the words in one language, after having studied the course taken by words in another belonging to the same family. By a study of the various stages in the etymology of a word, as shown by actual examples occurring in records of different periods, it can be shown that many words in the Sinhalese language, in the process of their evolution, have followed somewhat tortuous paths; there has been progression as well as retrogression. Many examples will be found in the sequel to substantiate this statement. The position taken by most philologists in hypothecating intermediate forms is not unlike that of a detective shadowing a wanted man, who, having known his quarry to have been in London on a particular day and finding the latter at Marseilles a month later, should assume that the wanted man must have been active in Paris during the period which intervened. There is no reason to exclude the possibility that the man whom the detective was following arrived at Marseilles from London via Algiers. Intermediate forms, however, are required very often to convince one of a proposed etymology; and, when these are not actually forthcoming, it becomes necessary to assume them. I have limited myself to such hypothetical forms as can be formed on the analogy of words actually found in Sinhalese during the stage to which such forms refer.

163. Phonological study affecting vowels is generally dealt with separately from that referring to consonants; but such a classification must be considered as due purely to practical reasons. Vowels have no existence in a language apart from consonants, and consonants would be impotent without vowels. The fate of consonants in a word has, therefore, much to do with the behaviour of vowels, and consonants are made or marred by the influence of the vowels with which they come in contact. To elaborate on the phonology of vowels alone in a language is like writing a history of women, ignoring the existence of men. In the ensuing paragraphs we shall deal with a phonological topic which is concerned equally with vowels and with consonants.

#### (ii) Two Tendencies, mutually contradictory, noticed in Sinhalese Phonology

164. 'Sinhalese vocalism is extremely complicated and there still remain many details which are not explained by the rules quoted above.' So confesses Geiger towards the conclusion of his investigation into the phonology of the vowels in the Sinhalese language (G.S.L., § 31). If the vowels in Sinhalese are not amenable to the rules promulgated by Geiger to regulate their behaviour, the consonants are hardly more law-abiding. It behoves the student of the Sinhalese language, therefore, to consider whether this lawlessness frequently exhibited by the consonants as well as the vowels is due to some innate depravity of theirs, or to the inadequacy of the laws in question. My study of the Sinhalese

<sup>4</sup> A.S.I., No. 20, Müller's text of this inscription is full of errors. The passage in question reads: nāḍira arabe eke, 'one grove of cocoa palms'.

<sup>1</sup> B.S.O.S., vol. xi, p. 830.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See below, § 271.

<sup>3</sup> G.S.L., § 2.

language, in all its phases, including the living speech of today, has made it clear to me that the apparent complications in its phonology are due to not taking into account two tendencies, mutually contradictory, lying at the root of all the multifarious changes which the words have undergone.

165. Of these two, the one aims at the simplification of words, avoiding harsh or difficult sound combinations, so that they may be pronounced with the least effort and as fast as possible. Philologists have paid due attention to this tendency, and most of the phonetic rules propounded by them are based on it. As the vast majority of the people speaking a language do not care how they pronounce its words, so long as they make themselves understood by their fellows, this tendency, no doubt, gave rise to most of the phonetic developments within a language. As it has no aversion to change and, in fact, welcomes it if it results in convenience and brevity in expressing one's thoughts, I propose to call it the progressive tendency. But this progressive tendency does not seem to have had things its own way all the time. There must have been people who attached importance to the correct use of words, i.e. to the way in which they had been used in the past. These, no doubt, belonged to the upper classes of society who would have naturally desired to show their superiority in the manner of their speech. When this superiority was not manifested by the use, complete or partial, of a culture language distinct from the current colloquial speech, it must have been expressed by the avoidance of words which the lower classes had adopted, following the progressive tendency. When a language possesses a written literature, there is always a class of men who devote their time to its study, and the manner of their speech would naturally be influenced by the usages of the past. They would naturally be opposed to the progressive tendency in speech, and their influence with those in power would have given them, in the evolution of the natural speech, an importance far beyond that warranted by their numbers. The influence of such literati would have been greater at certain periods than during others. Periods of settled social order and peace would find them wielding much influence, while they would go under in troubled times. It would be the usages of these literati which would find their way into documents set up by order of kings and nobles, or the dignitaries of religion. A new period of peace and settled social order, following one of political convulsions, would find a new set of literati who accepted usages not tolerated by their predecessors. The developments in phonology which are due to reaction against the progressive tendency will be referred to hereafter as due to the conservative tendency.

166. It may be objected that such a conservative tendency would not have left any impress on the language, for it is concerned with preserving things as they are and evolution is always connected with change. If the literati alone had been interested in preserving the correct form of speech, the conservative tendency might not have left any traceable evidence in the language. But there must have been, at all times, as we find today, a large class of men who were themselves not literati but were as anxious as any to show their respectability by avoiding modes of expression resorted to by the masses. Men of this class are not always certain of the correct use of words and, in trying to avoid what are considered to be erroneous, use forms which themselves deviate from the accepted norm.

167. Moreover, change is not counteracted by sitting still. When a new form of a word is introduced into the common speech, the opposition may not be quite effective if it is confined merely to using the older form in preference to the new. The particular sound which has been affected by the change may be given greater emphasis in pronunciation, so as to avoid the natural tendency to the change in speech, and this may lead to a change in an opposite direction in place of the natural development which is countered. The effort to resist change may thus result, not in preserving things as they were, but in introducing change in the opposite direction. The reaction against a change may be more noticeable when it makes its first appearance. In some cases the reaction may succeed in its purpose and the new tendencies may be stillborn. In others the change may prevail against all reactions and establish itself as the norm, suppressing all that has been manifested by the reactions, while instances may be found where change and counter-change have both left their impress on the speech, though not to the same degree.

168. Thus, a phonetic change newly introduced need not result in the sudden disappearance everywhere of the form which it supplanted. There was no dictator who, on pain of death, prohibited, for instance, the use of s, and enjoined that h should be substituted for it. The new form, the old form, as well as a third caused by the reaction to the new, could have existed in use, side by side, among various classes of people. And it is not necessary to postulate loans to explain the variant forms. The

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position in language may find an analogy in the change of fashion in dress. The adoption of Western attire by a large number of Sinhalese during the British régime did not result in the extinction of the old native style, while the reaction to it has given rise to a third sartorial mode which is different from both

169. The reaction against a new phonological change may manifest itself on its first appearance, or after it has been operating for a considerable time. The effect of the reaction, if successful, may be more apparent in the language than that of the change which caused it. When the reaction has not been able to affect the course of the new change to any appreciable extent, the impress left by it on the language will not be much in evidence. When the reaction does not appear close in time to the introduction of a phonological change, there may not be a clear conception of what is to be preserved, and it would thus give rise to the linguistic phenomenon well known as false restoration, which should thus be considered as one aspect of the two opposing tendencies with which we are dealing here.

170. We now proceed to illustrate, with examples drawn mainly from our graffiti, the manner in which these two opposing tendencies have been at work in some important phonological developments which the Sinhalese language has undergone. The simplification of the Indo-Aryan speech due to the progressive tendency, which took place before the Sinhalese language started on its individual career, is exemplified by certain of the phonological changes noticed in Pāli and in the Prakrits. Among such changes, which took place after the Sinhalese speech had been transplanted in Ceylon and which gave the language exemplified in these graffiti its particular physiognomy, those which tended most to the causing of phonetic decay are: (1) vowel assimilation, (2) the dropping of intervocalic consonants, and (3) the euphonic combination of vowels brought together by the operation of (2). When Skt. kathita assumes the form kī (No. 27) in the Sinhalese of the eighth century, all these processes had taken place one after the other. Pā (No. 130) is derived from Skt. prāsāda by the operation of (2) and (3). In these words the progressive tendency has operated without any hindrance. As other examples we may quote:  $s\bar{a}$  (No. 192),  $l\bar{\imath}$  (No. 35),  $\bar{a}$  (No. 125),  $l\bar{o}$  (No. 277),  $r\bar{\imath}$  (No. 204), and  $m\bar{e}$ , which stand respectively for P. chāta, Skt. likhita, Skt. āgata, Skt. loka, Skt. rūpa, and Skt. megha. Had the phonetic processes exemplified in the words above quoted worked with equal efficiency everywhere, a good proportion of the stems in the Sinhalese language would have been reduced to monosyllables, and words of different etymology and meaning would have assumed identical forms, making it extremely difficult to express one's ideas without giving rise to ambiguity. It might then have been necessary to evolve a system of tones, as in certain languages, to indicate the exact meaning of a particular word which, in form, did not differ from many other words of different connotation. Those who admire the expressiveness and lucidity of the Elu language, the exactness with which ideas can be expressed in it and its mellifluous and harmonious cadences, will no doubt be thankful that the language was not brought to the condition imagined in the previous sentence by the unhampered operation of the progressive tendency. On the other hand, had there been no progressive tendency at all, there would have been no alternative for the language but to become fossilized.

171. In order to illustrate in what direction the opposite or conservative tendency has been working, we now proceed to examine the phonological development of certain other words occurring in our graffiti. Take, for example, paṇayu (No. 61), which is the same as Skt. praṇaya. If the intervocalic y of this word had dropped, and had given room for the two a's thus brought together to coalesce and become  $\bar{a}$ —changes which are to be expected on the analogy of the examples quoted in the preceding paragraph—the word would have become paṇā. There is also a word paṇā which mean 'comb' and the Ruvanmala (v. 520) actually states that the word has two meanings, 'love' and 'comb'. We can well imagine how the working of this phonological law would have embarrassed the young men of those days, who no doubt had often to use the word in addressing the persons whose affection they desired to win. Many of them would thus have preferred a form which did not also mean 'comb'; hence we have paṇaya (No. 383). It is, however, going against natural laws to arrest the change into paṇā and the only alternative left was to alter the conditions which caused that change. It is the occurrence of two homogeneous vowels in contiguous syllables, and their impelling urge to be united, which caused y to drop; if the y is to be preserved, it must be by so altering the word that the two contiguous syllables had dissimilar vowels. Thus we have panayu. The conservative tendency did indeed check the working of the progressive tendency; but it did not succeed in preserving the status quo.

172. The word panayu has had no further history, but examples are not lacking to show that the

arrest of the progressive tendency by the intervention of its opposite does not mean that matters are settled for all time. The form resulting from the intervention of the conservative tendency may be acted upon and modified by the other. To illustrate this we now take the forms derived from the Skt. nayana, 'eye', found in our graffiti and in Sinhalese literature. On the analogy of paṇaya becoming paṇayu, nayana should become \*nayuna or \*nayun by the action of the conservative tendency, without the intervention of which the word would have become \*nāna or \*nān. These forms, \*nayuna, \*nayun, \*nāna, and \*nān, are not met with anywhere, and must be considered as mere possibilities. The form occurring frequently in our documents is nuyun, which presupposes \*nayun. But the progressive tendency has come in, and, by causing vowel assimilation to take place, had once more set the word on the path to phonetic decay. The tendency for nuyun would have been to change further to  $n\bar{u}n$  by the dropping of the y to allow the two homogeneous short vowels to coalesce into one long vowel. The word must have been preserved in the form nuyun, during the period covered by these documents, with some effort on the part of the literati (see § 304 b below). There is no evidence that it actually took the form of \*nūn, but nuyun does not occur in the literature. The form occurring there is nuvan which is found in only two documents (Nos. 252 and 346) among these graffiti. The form nuvan is due to y being substituted by v (see below, § 301 i), the influence of which changes the a of the preceding syllable to u. In navar (No. 46) for Skt. nagara, too, we have an example of the hiatus-filling y being changed to v, giving rise to the form occurring in literature and in the present-day speech as nuvara. Had the y not been changed to v, the development would have been \*navara > \*nāra > \*nār > \*nar. The form naru in place-names (No. 233) goes back to nagaraka through \*nayaraya > \*nayarayu > \*nāruyu > \*nārū.

173. The development of ambu and abu from Skt.  $ambik\bar{a}$  also illustrates the conservative tendency working in opposition to the progressive. An earlier stage of abu is preserved in abuyu (No. 272). The elision of y brought together the two u's which coalesced to  $\bar{u}$ , resulting in  $*ab\bar{u}$ , and the shortening of the long vowel (see below, § 275 a) gives us the final form abu.  $Ambik\bar{a}$ , in arriving at abuyu, must have passed through the intermediate stages \*abaka and \*abaya. The last is identical in form with that of a well-known masculine proper name, and here the conservative tendency stepped in and altered the further operation of the progressive tendency which would have given us  $*ab\bar{a}$ . The contraction of the two homogeneous vowels in \*abaya is countered by the alteration of the second a to u, but the progressive tendency does not admit defeat, comes into the fray armed with the weapon of vowel-assimilation, and transforms \*abayu into abuyu.

174. The change of Skt. campaka to Sinh. sapu (No. 210) is also illuminating in this respect. By having the conjoint consonants made single (§ 285 b), by the elision of k, the insertion of the hiatus-filler y, and the change of c to s—all phonetic laws in wide operation during the earlier phase of the Sinhalese language—campaka would become \*sapaya. With the exception of introducing y to fill the hiatus, all the changes which the word is inferred to have undergone so far are those brought in by the progressive tendency. Had the same tendency been allowed to operate unhampered, y would have dropped and caused the a's of the second and third syllables to coalesce into  $\bar{a}$ . We should then have had the form \*sapa\$, causing ambiguity by its identity in form with the absolutive of the root sapa 'to chew' or 'to bite'. But the development of the word in that possible direction was averted by the intervention of the conservative tendency with the weapon of vowel-dissimilation (\*sapayu). The progressive tendency retaliates with vowel-assimilation, gives rise to \*sapuyu, and holds the field till the word assumes the form sapu through an intermediate \*sapū.

175. The change of Skt. lambaka to S. labu (No. 331), and of gopaka to govu (No. 173), is similar to that of campaka to sapu. In literature as well as in the modern speech, there is a numerous class of words which show the same development; witness, for example, Skt. kantaka > S. katu, P. māļaka > S. maļu, Skt. dandaka > S. dandu, Skt. jīraka > S. duru, and Skt. pālaka > S. palu. Some etymologists explain these forms by saying that the suffix ka becomes u. But the last syllable need not necessarily be ka to result in a similar evolution. The conditions necessary for the appearance of u in the final syllable are for that syllable to have a weak consonant (not necessarily y) liable to drop and also for the preceding syllable to have an a. Compare the evolution of tamuru (No. 4) from Skt. tāmarasa (through the intermediate forms \*tamaraha, \*tamarahu, \*tamaruhu, and \*tamurū, danavu (No. 522) from Skt. janapada (\*janavaya > \*janavayu > \*danavuyu > and \*danavū, and kapu (No. 275) from Skt. karpāsa (P. kappāsa > \*kapaha > \*kapahu > \*kapuhu > \*kapū). In the last example,

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the unhampered operation of the progressive tendency would have given us \*kapā from \*kapaha, making the word identical with the absolutive of the root kapa 'to cut'.

176. The necessity to avoid ambiguity is one of the factors which enables the conservative tendency to prevail over its opponent. The development of the genitive singular termination in Sinhalese affords another proof of this. In the Brāhmī inscriptions of the early centuries of the present era, the genitive termination is -ha (Skt. sya, P. and Pkt. ssa). Witness the form maharajaha in the Thūpārāma slab inscription of Gajabāhu I.1 The working of the progressive tendency would have caused the elision of h in this termination, in the case of a-stems, and the genitive singular of such words would be expressed by the lengthening of the final vowel of the stem. In fact, there are numerous words in which this development has actually taken place, and  $-\bar{a}$  is one of the suffixes of the genitive singular recognized by the Sdsg. Rajaha of the earlier Brāhmī inscriptions would thus assume the form rajā or radā; this form in fact actually occurs in the language. In the meantime, the nominative singular termination of the early Brāhmī inscriptions, which was e, had assumed the form  $\bar{a}$  by a different phonological process (see above, §§ 134 ff.). Two important case-endings which have a great bearing on the expression of one's ideas in an exact manner had thus become identical in form by the working of the progressive tendency. The opponent takes the field, wields the weapon of vowel-dissimilation and rescues h from its impending fate. We thus have forms like rajahu, in which the descent of the genitive termination from the aristocratic ancestry of Skt. sya is quite patent. The working of the progressive tendency has obscured this respectable lineage to such an extent in words like rajā (nom. sing.) that it can only be established after laborious search in ancient documents.

177. The u at the end of verbal nouns like baṇanu (No. 432), hindinu (No. 263), senu (No. 616), and venu (No. 491) has also been caused by the working of the conservative tendency. These and such-like forms go back to Sanskrit primary derivatives with the suffix -ana. In the early Sinhalese language, as exemplified by the Brāhmī inscriptions, such forms are often found with the pleonastic -ka added to them, e.g. karanaka.<sup>2</sup> The elision of the k in the last syllable, with the addition of the hiatus-filler y, would give us \*karanaya, which would result in the form karanā by the unhampered action of the progressive tendency. The opposite tendency coming into action would result in \*karanayu > \*karanuyu > \*karanā and finally karanu. The language has preserved forms due to both these tendencies with a differentiation in meaning.

178. Preterite forms like gulu (No. 92), särahū (No. 28), beluyū (No. 210), bälū (No. 154), dun (No. 26), and bun (No. 444) owe their u to the same conservative tendency. The prototypes of these forms are also found in Sinhalese documents of the early centuries, with the addition of the pleonastic -ka, e.g. dinaka³ (P. dinna). After dinaka had been changed to \*dinaya by the working of phonological rules noted above, the next stage of the word would have been \*dinā if the progressive tendency had not been checked. Such a form would have given rise to ambiguity side by side with dinā, the absolutive of the root dina 'to conquer'. The conservative tendency thus finds an opportunity, and changes the vowel a of the last syllable to u. \*Dinayu > \*dinuyu > \*dinū > dunū and \*dunu would thus arise successively. The last form with the elision of the final vowel results in that which is preserved in our documents as well as in literature. The form beluyu, which is found in one document (No. 210), while the others have bälu, is of particular interest in reconstructing the process of development in these and similar words. From the Middle Indian bhālita the process should have been \*balita > \*belaya > \*belayu and beluyu. The intermediate forms like \*karanuyu and \*dinuyu which we have posited are supported by the actual occurrence of a form like beluyu.

179. The examples so far quoted represent u as the vowel by means of which dissimilation is effected in order to prevent the euphonic combination of two a's, occurring in two consecutive syllables, separated by a weak consonant. The vowel i also is often made use of for the same purpose. Siya (No. 44) from Skt. śata is an example. The elision of the intervocalic t and the filling in of the hiatus by y would make this word saya, a form found in a Brāhmī inscription of about the fourth century as sayaka (Skt. śataka). The next stage in phonetic decay would result in  $s\bar{a}$ , a consummation which was thought undesirable, and was prevented by the intervention of the conservative tendency. Diya (No. 627) for Skt. jagat and diya (No. 602) for P. daka are other examples. Siyal (No. 69) from Skt.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> EZ., vol. iii, p. 116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> EZ., vol. i, p. 256.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> EZ., vol. iii, p. 165.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register, vol. iii, p. 206. Bell reads tisayaka and translates as 'thirty'. The correct reading is tesayaka 'three hundred'.

sakala would have been sāl (\*sayala being the intermediate form) had the progressive tendency not been checked. As examples for this process outside our documents may be quoted: niya for Skt. nakha, kiyata for P. kakaca, piyasa for Skt. pradeśa (e in the second syllable being assimilated with a that precedes and follows it, see below, § 261), piya for Skt. pāda, riya for Skt. ratha, biya for Skt. bhaya, &c.

180. In all the instances quoted in the foregoing paragraph, it is in the first of the two consecutive syllables with a that i has been substituted. Where the a changes to u, it occurs in the second syllable, as we have seen in panayu and other examples. There are, however, some words, such as guvana from Skt. gagana, muvara from Skt. makara, pavura from Skt. prākāra, ruvan from Skt. ratna, P. ratana, nuvara from Skt. nagara, which apparently are evidence against this being taken as a general proposition. I am, however, inclined to the view that the a in these instances changes to u by the influence of the v which has been substituted for y, the hiatus-filler (see § 301 i, below). The form guyuna (No. 356) occurring in one of our verses indicates that the hiatus-filler had originally been y and not v; in nuvan an original y has been changed to v. Navar (No. 46) proves that the change of y to v has taken place before any change in the vowels had been effected. Side by side with ruvan (= P. ratana 'jewel') we have riyan (= P. ratana 'cubit'). The proper name Riyana Miya (> Skt. Ratna-madhu) (No. 120) shows that the Skt. ratna has had the development riyan, in addition to ruvan. It may be connected with a form \*rayana which existed before the v replaced the y as the hiatus-filler. Examples like nugi (No. 592) for Skt. anugatā, danavi for Skt. janapada (which exists side by side with janavu), and paravi for Skt. pārāpata appear to indicate that a becomes i at the end of a word as well. But this is due to assimilation and the contraction of the two adjoining syllables. Taking the example nugi from skt. anugatā, the development may be taken to have been as follows: anugata > \*anugaya > \*anugiya > \*nugiyi > \*nugi > nugi. The vowel which is altered by the conservative tendency to prevent -gaya being contracted to  $-g\bar{a}$  is the first of the two a's in the last two syllables. The rest of the development of the word is due to the progressive tendency taking the upper hand again. Pahayin, in which the second syllable has its a changed to i, is the result of a different process (see below, §§ 191 ff.). When we say that a changes to i in the first syllable, what we mean is not necessarily the first syllable of a word, but the first of the two consecutive syllables with the same vowel. If the word is bisyllabic, this happens to be the first syllable of the word itself; but, in those of more than two syllables, it may be the second or the third syllable in a word.

by a weak consonant, also give rise to the phenomenon noticed in the examples cited in the foregoing paragraphs. Buhund (No. 129) which occurs in literature as buhunaṇi (with the addition of the diminutive suffix -ṇi) may serve as an illustration. We may, for our present purpose, ignore d in the last syllable, the origin of which will be dealt with elsewhere (see § 305 g) as well as ṇi in the literary form, and take the word as buhun or buhuna. It is derived from Skt. bhaginī and, according to the phonetic processes repeatedly seen working in the previous examples, may be taken as having gone through the forms \*bayini\* and \*biyini. The last would contract to \*bīni\* from which, by means of false restoration, we have bihini; a form actually met with in literature. But the conservative tendency stepped in at the stage \*biyini\* to arrest further decay and changed it to \*biyuni\* which, by vowel-assimilation, has assumed the form \*buyunu. The conservative tendency could not further affect its normal course of change to \*būnu. False restoration gives the form \*buhunu\* and the elision of the final vowel buhun.

182.  $P\bar{u}$  (No. 556) from Skt.  $p\bar{i}ta$  is also due to the alternate working of the two tendencies.  $P\bar{i}ta$  at different stages would have been \*piya and \*piyi. The urge to check its further change to \*pi would result in \*piyu which, by vowel-assimilation, becomes puyu, a form actually found in our records (No. 477).  $P\bar{u}$  is the natural development from puyu. In miyulu for Skt. mithilā and tiyuņu for Skt. tīkṣṇa, P. tikhiṇa—words occurring in literature—we have forms not far removed from the stage resulting from the action of the conservative tendency, the opposite tendency having changed them but little. Mithilā would have become \*miyila; but, before it changed further to \*mīla, the conservative force transformed the i to u in the second of the two consecutive syllables with homogeneous vowels. We should then have had \*miyula and the opposite force has only been able to effect vowel-assimilation. This example should make it easier to understand the more complicated processes of phonetic change which buhun and  $p\bar{u}$  have undergone.

183. In  $d\bar{u}$  from Skt. duhitr, P. dhītu, the process of development would have been the same as in  $p\bar{u}$ , if we take it to have come in lineal succession from jita occurring in some of the earliest Brāhmī

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inscriptions of Ceylon. It is, however, possible to argue that  $d\bar{u}$  goes back not to jita of the Brāhmī inscriptions, but to a form in which the u of the first syllable in the Sanskrit form was preserved.  $D\bar{u}$  (variant form  $j\bar{u}$  in No. 466), which is derived from Skt.  $dv\bar{\imath}pa$ , P.  $d\bar{\imath}pa$ , has been developed from divi (No. 293) by the successive actions of the conservative and the progressive forces. In order to arrest the further development of divi to  $*d\bar{\imath}$ , which is identical in form with a word of different origin meaning 'curd' (Skt. dadhi), the conservative tendency changed i of the second syllable to u, giving us divu, a form found in literary works. Vowel assimilation would make it \*duvu; the elision of v and the euphonic combination of the two a's thus confronted would result in  $d\bar{u}$ .

184. The second of two i's, occurring in consecutive syllables, separated by a r or l—consonants which are not liable to drop out in an intervocalic position—is at times affected in the manner described above. We have kiliți side by side with kiluțu, and S. kiruļu corresponds to Skt. kirīța. The vowels in these cases are changed thus in order to arrest the tendency which r and l sometimes exhibit to disappear through the phonological process known as syncope. There are instances in which r or lbetween two homogeneous vowels gets itself joined to the consonant in the preceding syllable by forcing out the intervening vowel. In an inscription of the fifth century, we come across the form jitra, which obviously stands for jitara (daughter, Skt. duhitr) as proved by the context. In modern usage we get Prākrama for Parākrama, pravēņi for paraveņi, and prameśvarī for parameśvarī. On the analogy of these forms, it is reasonable to assume that kiliți at one time was pronounced as kliți by the illiterate or the pedantic, and \*kirili, the natural development from Skt. kirīta, as krili. It was evidently to counteract the possibilities of such pronunciation, so repugnant to the usual modes of Sinhalese speech, that conservative forces applied the very efficient corrective of vowel-dissimilation, and gave rise to the forms kilitu and kirula. Thus it is not necessary, as Geiger has done, to presuppose a word like \*kīriṭa in Middle Indian to explain kiruļa, or to assume that the pronunciation of i did not differ very much in early days from that of u to explain the doublets kiliți and kiluțu.

185. The course taken in Sinhalese by Skt.  $duk\bar{u}la$  exemplifies the intervention of the conservative tendency to arrest phonetic decay when two u's in consecutive syllables incline to coalesce, following the elision of the weak consonant which separates them. In spoken Sinhalese today we have  $d\bar{u}l$  (with a secondary meaning), which is derived from Skt.  $duk\bar{u}la$  through the intermediate form \*duyul. The literary form duhul is a false restoration from  $d\bar{u}l$ . When the word was already in the stage \*duyul, vowel-dissimilation was effected in order to arrest its further course to  $d\bar{u}l$ ; thus we have the form diyul, which is met with in an inscription of the tenth century. It is to i that the u is changed when dissimilation takes place. S. siyum from P. sukhuma, Skt.  $s\bar{u}ksma$ , was formed in the same manner as diyul, when the word had assumed the form \*suyum. Here the effort of the conservative tendency has been successful, for we do not possess a form  $s\bar{u}m$ , which would have been the ultimate end of P. sukhuma in Sinhalese, had the progressive forces been allowed unhampered activity. The case was quite different with the course taken by Skt.  $duk\bar{u}la$ . The conservative tendency was not idle, but its activity was not powerful enough to prevent the coming into being of  $d\bar{u}l$ .

would have resulted from vowel-assimilation: pakhuma > \*payuma > \*puyuma. At this stage the conservative force asserted itself and, with the aid of vowel-dissimilation, prevented the change of the word to pūm; thus we have piyum (piyuman, gen. pl. in No. 114). The derivation of piyum (No. 484) from Skt. padma, P. paduma would require a similar intermediate stage. In the case of this word, the progressive tendency asserted itself once again, and gave rise to pūm through \*piyim. But literary usage looked askance at pūm, which is known to occur only once in a tenth-century document. Piyum got itself well established in literature. Miyur (No. 558) from Skt. madhura is parallel to piyum in its development: madhura > \*mayura > \*muyura > miyur. Here, too, the conservative tendency failed in its ultimate purpose of arresting phonetic decay. What it effected was to make the phonetic decay take a different course. The i which supplanted u in the first syllable so as to have two different vowels in the two syllables asserted its predominance over the whole word to form \*miyiri which contracted to mīri. False restoration from mīri has given us mihiri (No. 613). The derivation of mī (No. 360) from Skt. madhu also exemplifies the working at cross-purposes of the two opposite tendencies. The progressive tendency unhampered would in turn give rise to \*mayu and \*muyu. Before

<sup>1</sup> EZ., vol. iii, p. 125.

<sup>3</sup> EZ., vol. iv, p. 60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> EZ., vol. iii, p. 222.

it could take the word to its goal of  $*m\bar{u}$ , the conservative tendency intervened and attempted to arrest its course by effecting the dissimilation of vowels; thus would have resulted \*miyu. The opposite tendency appropriated this form and worked on it until we get  $m\bar{t}$  through the intermediate form miyi (No. 565).

187. If the examples cited in the two preceding paragraphs were taken by themselves without any reference to other words showing phonological processes related to those illustrated by them, one might contend that the change of u to i in the words was due to the influence of the y which follows it. No such contention, however, is possible in the case of u changing into i illustrated by kihumu (No. 582) derived from Skt. kusuma. The ubiquitous substitution of h in place of s would give us \*kuhuma from kusuma and vowel-assimilation would result in \*kuhumu. The elision of the intervocalic h and the euphonic combination of the two u's brought together would then have taken this word to the point at which the progressive forces aimed: \*kūmu. But this was prevented successfully by the conservative forces which made use of vowel-dissimilation. The corresponding form occurring in literature is kisum where the original s is preserved, but vowel-dissimilation has taken place. If the s is not a learned restoration, it is an interesting example to show that the conservative tendency at times has recourse to precautionary measures even before the opposite tendency comes into the fore to create conditions leading to phonetic decay.

188. No examples are available of words with the vowel e in two consecutive syllables in which the phonological process discussed above has taken place. The word pehe (in the compound pehe-vas), equivalent to P. uposatha, can be cited as an example of a word wherein one of the o's occurring in two consecutive syllables has been changed by the intervention of the conservative tendency. The word which is common as the equivalent of P. uposatha is poho, which is liable to further contraction to  $p\bar{o}$ ; witness  $p\bar{o}ya$  in current speech. At that stage the desire to arrest its further decay could have given rise to the form pohe by vowel-dissimilation. This form, by vowel-assimilation, would give us pehe, which has been further contracted to  $p\bar{e}$ . Here, too, the progressive tendency has achieved its purpose in spite of the intervention of its opponent, but by arriving at a goal different from the one which it aimed at to begin with. melek, which exists side by side with molok (Skt. mrdu + ka), has also been the result of the intervention of the conservative tendency to prevent the arising of melok by means of syncope.

189. In some words the phonological process described above has taken place together with other processes, so that the course of evolution is not quite clear at first sight. Take, for example, polo (No. 445) which is derived from Skt. pṛthvī, P. paṭhavī. The process of evolution apparently started with the assimilation of i in the third syllable to a in the two preceding syllables (see § 276 c, below). With de-aspiration, and the change of t to l through d, we should get the form \*palava. The course of phonetic decay, if unchecked, would have given us \*paļā, but such a consummation was avoided by the intervention of the conservative tendency which caused the dissimilation of a in the last syllable, giving rise to \*palavu. By epenthesis (see below, § 277 e) an u has been added to the first syllable and euphonic combination has made a + u into o. We should then expect to have \*polavu. But the o newly developed in the first syllable has been able to override the vowels in the next two syllables, thus creating the form \*polovo. The elision of v and the combination of the two o's thus brought together would result in polō; the shortening of the final vowel giving us the form found in the record. When the word reached the stage polavu, its course seems to have bifurcated, in one direction taking the course suggested above and in the other having the final vowel dropped (see below, § 278 a) after it had reached the stage \*polovu and resulting in polov, a form occurring in tenth-century inscriptions (EZ., vol. i, p. 46).

190. When two consecutive syllables have the vowel a in both, and when the two a's are separated by a weak consonant, the conservative tendency, in its attempt to arrest phonetic decay, does not always resort to the expedient of dissimilating the vowel in the second syllable. Vahaba is not made \*Vahuba in order to prevent its being contracted to  $*V\bar{a}ba$ , niraya does not become \*nirayu, paha does not become \*pahu, and bava does not become bavu. In these and other similar instances it is the consonant of the second syllable which is affected and not the vowel. We have seen above (§§ 147 ff.) that this development leads to the origin of  $\ddot{a}$  in a large number of words. Thus the so-called umlaut can be considered as partly due to the conflict between the progressive and the conservative tendencies. Why the conservative tendency resorts to the use of one weapon in some cases, while in others it makes

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use of another in similar cases is a question worth investigating. Perhaps there was some circumstance which made the two cases not quite identical in spite of their apparent similarity.

191. There are also many words in which the a changes to u in the second syllable or the third, though the change is not necessitated by the conditions postulated in § 171 above. Among such words occurring in our graffiti, the following may be cited as examples: kasun (No. 15) for Skt. kāñcana, komuļ (No. 103) for Skt. komala, nevesun (No. 165) for Skt. nivesana, agura (No. 341) for Skt. angāra, atur (No. 386) for Skt. antara, ambura (No. 514) for Skt. ambara, pokuņa (No. 556) for Skt. puṣkaraṇi, and yovun (No. 478) for Skt. yauvana. Many examples can also be quoted from the literature, and from the spoken language of today, for this phonological development, for instance, sasuna for Skt. śāsana, baňduna for Skt. bhājana, bamuņu for Skt. brāhmaṇa, kaňdura for Skt. kandara, aňdun for Skt. añjana, nadun for Skt. nandana. In our documents, however, there are not a few forms in which this phonological development had not yet taken place where it ought to have done so on the analogy of corresponding words in the literature. We have, for example, pokana (No. 151) for Skt. puṣkaraṇī side by side with pokuna, yovana (No. 152) for Skt. yauvana, pokar (No. 303) for Skt. puskara, tamar (No. 501) for Skt. tāmarasa, sayar (No. 613) and sayara (No. 630) for Skt. sāgara, upala (No. 655) for Skt. utpala. These forms occur in later literature, respectively, as pokuṇa, yovun, pokuru, tamburu, sayuru, and upul. It is, therefore, clear that this phonological development had not yet gained full extension at the time when these graffiti were written. Of some examples we find variant forms where the a, instead of changing to u, has dropped. In our documents there is nevesna (No. 56) side by side with nevesun, and dutven (No. 438) instead of the literary form dutuven; in literary works sasun and sasna are both admissible. It will be obvious that the forms in which the a has been elided are instances of phonetic decay, i.e. where the progressive tendency has been active. Conversely, the forms where the syllable has been preserved in its entirety, but by changing the a to u, have to be taken as due to the working of the conservative tendency. This conclusion gains support from the consideration that the change of a to u in this class of words, and the elision of a in a medial or final syllable, are phonological processes which become evident in the language at about the same time, i.e. in the period of our graffiti or a century or so before their time. The Nāgirikanda inscription of Kumāradāsa (circa 510-19),1 for instance, has Bamaṇa, not Bamuṇu, for Skt. Brāhmaṇa. We may, therefore, conclude that, when the progressive tendency invented a new weapon with which to gain its objective, its opponent was not slow in evolving an effective counter-weapon. The forms in which the a has been elided are far less numerous than those in which the a has been changed to u. In this phonological feature, therefore, we have an instance where the conservative tendency has, on the whole, scored a success against its opponent.

192. Where it has been found necessary to change the vowel a in the circumstances detailed in the foregoing paragraph, it is changed to i and not to u when the consonant in the syllable concerned is y. When it has been found necessary to prevent ayaha (No. 79) from becoming ayha (No. 101), the form adopted for the purpose was ayiha (No. 530). Pahayin (No. 411), which occurs side by side with pahayun (No. 322), is the result of the effort to preserve the vowel in the second syllable.

193. According to Geiger,<sup>2</sup> the phonological phenomenon which we have discussed is the reduction of a to i or u. Having observed that in most instances where the a is 'reduced', the syllable in the corresponding Sanskrit word is a light one preceded by a long one, he arrives at the conclusion that the change is due to the length (or the accent) of the preceding syllable, and proceeds to coin hypothetical words in Middle Indian (such as  $*k\bar{i}rita$ ) where the facts go against his theory. This point will be fully investigated in our refutation of the theory of Geiger and a number of other distinguished scholars, that long vowels existed in Sinhalese words up to about the fifth century, in syllables where their Sanskrit equivalents had the same. The purpose of the change of a to u being what we have pointed out above, it may be questioned whether 'reduction' is an appropriate term for the process.

194. When one carefully examines the examples cited to illustrate the phonological processes dealt with in the preceding paragraphs, a noteworthy difference in the methods of operation of the two opposing tendencies, where vocalism is concerned, is brought into relief. The progressive tendency operates with the elements which are found within a word. It may cause a weak vowel, or a vowel in a weak position, to lose its identity in that of its stronger neighbour. It may make a strong vowel a weak one, e.g. a long vowel may be shortened. It may cause a weak consonant to drop, bringing two homogeneous vowels together, and these two may coalesce according to the rules of euphonic

<sup>1</sup> EZ., vol. iv, pp. 115-28.

combination. It may even cause a vowel to drop. All these methods of operation of the progressive tendency can, therefore, be explained by examining the word itself in its various stages. These tactics are adequate enough for the progressive tendency to prevail over its opponent, and the conservative tendency is brought to a point where utter defeat stares it in the face. But it does not succumb even when brought to such desperate straits. If the resources found within the word itself are not sufficient for it to fight its rival with, it has no hesitation in soliciting external aid. When two homogeneous vowels, for example, are on the point of embracing each other by liquidating a weak consonant which stands in their way, the conservative tendency does not scruple to bring an outsider and substitute it in place of one of those vowels (cf. the word panayu). Thus the introduction of a foreign element into the vocal system of a word is invariably the work of the conservative tendency. For a time it serves the conservative tendency quite faithfully, and guards a weak consonant against the depredations of the progressive tendency. For this it has necessarily to be entrenched in a strong position (to be a stressed syllable most likely). But rarely is it content to restrict its strength to the purposes for which it was installed. It embarks on a career of aggrandisement, and vanquishes its weak neighbours (cf. abuyu or miyi). In so doing it plays false to the conservative tendency which installed it in its strong position, and becomes an ally of the progressive tendency which is not slow to exploit the advantage thus gained (abu, mī serve as examples). The bringing in of a foreign element to aid it very often confers only a temporary advantage to the conservative tendency, and the progressive tendency ultimately gains its objective of simplifying a word in spite of the foreign element, or rather with its aid. What the foreign element does effect is to make the progressive tendency travel along a road different from that which it intended at first to take. (The goal \*aba is abandoned and abu aimed at and reached.)

195. The conservative tendency itself has no objection, if necessary, to substituting a different vowel in place of the original one. How can it be said then that it dislikes change? Its principal aim is not the preservation of a minor detail like the vowel in a particular syllable, but to counteract the main purpose of its opponent. This is phonetic decay, manifested in its acutest form by the reduction of the number of syllables in a word. So the first object of the conservative tendency is to see that a word does not diminish in the number of its syllables due to the changes which it undergoes. So long as this main aim is achieved, it does not matter to it whether a particular vowel or a consonant has been altered in the fray. This leads us to an important difference between the course which phonological changes have taken in Sinhalese, and that which has occurred in Pāli and in Middle Indian Prakrits in general. In Pali as well as in the Prakrits, what is considered important is to preserve the number of morae in a word in spite of the changes which it undergoes. Early Sinhalese (assuming that it is read as written in the inscriptions, as will be established in the sequel) does not concern itself with preserving the number of morae in a word. On the other hand, it was considered important to preserve a word without any loss in the number of its syllables. Old Indian vihāra, when it becomes vihara in Old Sinhalese, has lost one mora, but the number of syllables remains the same. P. and Pkt. jinna has the same number of morae (three) as the Skt. jīrnna, but jina, occurring in the Brāhmī inscriptions of Ceylon, has only two morae and two syllables. This duty of preserving the number of syllables in a word, the conservative tendency accomplished with fair success up to about the eighth century, when its opponent proved too powerful for it.

196. During the early phase of the language, phonetic changes such as vowel-assimilation, which were due to the activity of the progressive tendency, did not generally tend to reduce the number of syllables in a word. The two tendencies, therefore, then fought on other issues. But when, with the dropping of intervocalic consonants and the euphonic combination of vowels brought together, the progressive tendency began to play havoc with the number of syllables in a word, this important matter became the main issue in the struggle between the two forces.

197. In our study of the struggle between the progressive and conservative tendencies, we have so far detailed the manner in which the vowel system has been buffeted this way and that by these two forces. In particular, we have seen how the progressive tendency worked to unite two kindred vowels in adjoining positions brought together by the dropping of a weak consonant, and how the conservative tendency strove, very often in vain, to prevent this. It is the dropping of a weak consonant in an intervocalic position (see below, § 292) which prepared the ground for this conflict. Was the conservative

<sup>1</sup> See the section on the Law of Mora in Geiger's P.L.L., pp. 63-65.

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tendency idle while this position was being brought about? In order to give a satisfactory reply to this question it is necessary to trace the history of this phonological change from the earliest times at which we can recognize it. The dropping of a weak consonant in an intervocalic position is exemplified in Pāli, and it may be assumed that this phonological process was not unknown to the oldest Sinhalese, though the meagre linguistic material in the early inscriptions has not yet furnished us with an example. Forms like padițita (Skt. pratisthita), sporadically met with in early Sinhalese inscriptions, show that surds were being softened into sonants before they finally dropped.

made to avert it? The word badakarika³ (for Skt. bhāndāgārika), found in documents of the earliest period, shows us that it was not idle, and that effective measures had been taken to counteract this particular phonetic change. Surds and sonants of the guttural and dental classes being liable to drop, the weakness would have been more noticeable in the sonants than in the surds, for the surds are softened to sonants before they finally drop. In order to prevent a sonant from dropping, it would be necessary to pronounce it with more than usual emphasis. The outcome would be the change of the sonant to a surd. Thus we get badakarika for badagarika by the intervention of the conservative tendency. In the earliest phase of the language we thus observe the softening of the surd to a sonant and the hardening of the sonant to a surd; the dropping of both sonants and surds of the guttural and dental classes may be presumed from the reaction against it. These three phonetic changes are not represented by any large number of examples in the early phase of the language. The norm then was to retain the surds and sonants of the two classes as they were in the Old Indian. But the ground was being prepared for the important phonetic change—the dropping of intervocalic weak consonants—which was one of the prime factors which gave the medieval Sinhalese language its physiognomy.

199. In the period from the first to the fourth century, forms in which an intervocalic weak consonant has dropped become fairly common. Witness, for example, sayaka for sataka,<sup>4</sup> niyama for Skt. nigama,<sup>5</sup> &c. Far more numerous are words affected by the opposite tendency: Naka for Skt. Nāga,<sup>6</sup> pata for Skt. pāda,<sup>7</sup> Sirimeka for Skt. Śrīmegha,<sup>8</sup> pohotakara for P. uposathaghara,<sup>9</sup> patangala for P. padhāna-sālā,<sup>10</sup> &c. The conservative tendency has obviously put up, during these centuries, a vigorous fight against disruptive forces, and met with no small amount of success. It is with regard to the phonetic change exemplified by words like Naka that many philologists who have investigated the historical development of the language have been led astray. What Geiger has to say of it is characteristic:

'The beginning of a change may be first recognized in the spelling with k in Naka for n. propr.  $N\bar{a}ga$ , Nakara for nagara, Yaku rice gruel for  $y\bar{a}gu$ , meka cloud for megha in the n. propr. Sirimeghavanna... Their strange orthography seems to prove that at that time the pronunciation of intervocalic g had become uncertain. The stone-cutters tried to retain the more archaic pronunciation by exaggerating it and spelling the unvoiced muta instead of the voiced one. It is doubtless that the k never had historical value, for it would be contradictory to the whole line of the phonological development'  $(G.S.L., \S 41)$ .

What Geiger says is, in plain words, that in a word like nakara occurring in an old Sinhalese record, the k was not actually pronounced as such, though it is found engraved on the stone.

200. If the epithet 'strange' is applied to the spelling of the word with a k, as an argument against its acceptance as genuine, many a verbal form, about whose genuineness Geiger has no doubts, can be similarly treated as of no account philologically. To say that it would be contradictory to the whole line of phonological development is tantamount to a refusal to accept as genuine any word in old Sinhalese documents which does not conform to the rules laid down for it by a partial examination of the evidence. If what we have so far stated has any validity, there have been not one whole line of phonological development in Sinhalese, but two parallel lines of development, one of which is in a constant state of opposition to the other. When this fact is properly grasped, forms like nakara cease to be strange, and are seen to arise in obedience to natural laws just as much as those like niyama for Skt. nigama, with regard to the legitimacy of which the philologists have no doubts.

201. Forms parallel to those which Geiger proposes to banish from the old Sinhalese language,

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<sup>1</sup> Geiger, P.L.L., § 36.

<sup>2</sup> See C. J. Sc., Sec. G, vol. ii, p. 150. In the text of the Gōṇavatta inscription given here, the reading padiți should be corrected to padițite.

E. Z., vol. i, p. 145.

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4 C.A. ℰ L.R., vol. iii, p. 206.

5 E. Z., vol. iii, p. 177.

6 Ibid., p. 155.

7 In the compound pata-gaḍa, ibid., p. 215.

9 Ibid., p. 165.

8 Ibid., p. 177.

10 Ibid., vol. i, p. 69.
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on account of their strangeness, are, in fact, not unknown in certain Prakrits.<sup>1</sup> In Pāli the position with regard to the surds and sonants of the guttural and dental classes is not unlike that in the earliest phase of the Sinhalese language. In the vast majority of cases these sounds are preserved exactly as in Old Indian. In a few instances the surd is softened,<sup>2</sup> while in a few others it has dropped.<sup>3</sup> The opposite tendency to harden the sonants into surds is also noticed in some words.<sup>4</sup> These three lines of development which differ from the norm have been taken by Geiger to be dialectic in character. But if we admit the interplay of the two opposing forces, the progressive and the conservative, in the evolution of speech during the Middle Indian stage, too, these deviations from the norm need not be taken as due to the intrusion of a foreign element, and they do not prove the 'mixed character' of Pāli more than that of any other language.

202. The echoes of the battle which the conservative tendency waged with the progressive over the fate of the weak consonants had died down by the time of our graffiti. Though, in this struggle, success accompanied the conservative tendency in the earlier phase, its opponent seems to have gained the upper hand some time after the fifth century, and the vast majority of these weak consonants in intervocalic positions had been subdued. The forms to which the conservative tendency gave rise in this struggle had passed out of vogue. Our documents show hardly any forms like nakara. A few words reminiscent of the contest do, however, exist: dik (No. 193) for P. and Pkt. digha, Skt. dirgha, lata (No. 293) and lat (No. 460) for Skt. labdha, ak (in nätak, No. 129) for agga, valakana (No. 645) for Skt. vilamghana. These forms do not, however, appear to be due to the activity of the conservative tendency on behalf of intervocalic surds and sonants of the guttural and dental classes, for in them the single consonant represents an original nexus. They, therefore, must be taken as representing a new phase of the old struggle resumed in different circumstances.

203. Another device adopted by the conservative tendency to prevent the dropping of weak intervocalic consonants, of which evidence is forthcoming in our documents for the first time, has been more efficacious than that of hardening the sonants into surds, and has succeeded in preserving these consonants, up to our own day, in certain words. Take, for example, kumund (No. 249) from Skt. kumuda. This word was probably adopted into the Sinhalese language by poets at a comparatively late date, but once it was adopted it was liable to undergo the normal phonetic changes as would any other word. If the progressive tendency had been able to work unhampered on it, the intervocalic d would have dropped and the word would have become \*kumu, through \*kumuya > \*kumuyu > \*kumū. But this was not allowed to take place, the preventive measure being to add the nasal of its class before d. Here the nasal is fully pronounced as the final vowel has dropped; but where the final vowel is preserved, the nasal is only half pronounced: kumuňda, without altering the number of morae in the word. On this aspect of phonology, more anon.

204. Two parallels to this example may be taken from the literature. In niyanga, from Skt. nidāgha, one of the two weak consonants liable to drop has actually done so; had the other, too, dropped,5 the resultant form would have been  $*niy\bar{a}$ , which would have been identical with the Sinhalese word derived from Skt. nyāya. If ambiguity was to be avoided, the second consonant liable to drop had to be preserved, and the method adopted to effect this was the same as in kumund, i.e. the nasal corresponding to g had been added before it. Here the conservative tendency has achieved a lasting success. The Skt. phalaka 'shield' is palanga in Sinhalese. Here the k has been softened in preparation for its liquidation. Had it eventually dropped, and the two a's thus brought together become euphonically united, the word would have assumed the form \*palā, differing in no way from palā 'green leaves'. It certainly would not have raised the morale of a warrior if he had constantly to refer to an important part of his accoutrement—one that often stood between life and death—by a word which even remotely suggested 'green leaf'. What if he had to use the very same word? Here, at least, was a phonological matter which was important enough to receive the serious consideration of top-ranking military leaders. If there was any occasion on which the intervention of the conservative tendency had justification, this certainly was it. And intervene it did; the remedy by which it gave long life to g being as simple as it was efficacious—just a tincture of the nasal of its own class.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See, for instance, R. Pischel, Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen, §§ 190 and 191.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Geiger, P.L.L., § 38.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., § 36.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., § 39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Where both consonants in two consecutive syllables are liable to drop, that in the second has actually remained stable for some time.

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205. These examples lead us to the important phonological phenomenon known as the half-nasal in Sinhalese—a feature which has been a characteristic of the language for over a thousand years, and which distinguishes it from the neighbouring Dravidian tongues, as well as from the living Indo-Aryan languages of North India. A feature resembling the half-nasal of Sinhalese is not unknown in Hindi and other Aryan languages of North India, but it is of a different character and its use is not so widespread as that of the half-nasal in Sinhalese, which contains many hundreds of words where one of the consonants g, d, d, or b has a tinge of its corresponding nasal prefixed to it. The vowel preceding this nasalized consonant is generally short, and the nasal element is never stressed so much as to make the syllable preceding it a heavy one. Angana, kanda, mundun, kumbur are examples from our graffiti. Ganga, pandera, bandun, and Bamba (corresponding, respectively, to Skt. Ganga, pundarīka, bhājana, and Brahmā) are examples from literature. The spoken language of today is so permeated with them that it is not necessary to quote examples. In our graffiti the half-nasal and the consonant following it are written as if both were fully pronounced; but the metre shows that the nasal was not fully pronounced (see above, § 68). In manuscripts of a later date these four consonants with the half-nasal are written differently from corresponding groups of conjoint consonants occurring in Sanskrit tatsamas, where both consonants are fully pronounced.

which had a consonantal group with a nasal. Angana, for instance, is Skt. anganā, kanda is Skt. kānda, nirindu is Skt. narendra, and ambara is Skt. ambara. It is, therefore, quite natural to conclude that the half-nasal of these words is a remnant of the full-nasal in their Old Indian prototypes. But, even in the oldest Sinhalese inscriptions (third century B.C.), the double consonant in such words has been reduced to a single consonant by the loss of the nasal. Skt. or P. sangha, for instance, is saga in the Brāhmī inscriptions, whereas the form occurring in the ninth-century inscriptions is sang or sanga, as it is also in literary works and in the modern language. In these circumstances the seeming explanation offered is that, though the inscriptions exhibit forms like saga, the actual pronunciation at the time was sanga. And the 'stone-cutter', once again, is accused of having indited words in a manner different from that in which they were actually pronounced.

207. But the facts of the language are often so perverse as to run contrary to the most plausible theories of philologists. In this matter of the half-nasal there are a large number of words of which the prototypes do not contain a nasal at all in the relevant syllable. In addition to the instances quoted above, we may cite the following examples from our graffiti: mundalind (No. 28) = Skt. mucalinda, mang (No. 35) = Skt. mārga, samund (No. 86) and muhunda (No. 427) = Skt. samudra, pelembi (No. 100) and pelembu (No. 113) = Skt. pralobhita, mundun (No. 286) = Skt. murdhan, pulundu (No. 345) = Skt. pralubdha, kumbur (No. 605) = Skt. urvarā, Kimbulā (No. 620) = Skt. Kapila, and sinind (No. 645) = Skt. snigdha. Many other examples of this nature may be found in Geiger's G.S.L., § 71. Geiger's method of dealing with these inconvenient forms is as summary as it is with words like nakara. He dismisses them after having labelled them as 'spontaneous'. The label implies that the phonetic feature, so far as these forms are concerned, has had no cause for its origin. If it can originate in so many examples for no cause whatever, why is it necessary to seek a cause for its origin in other examples - a necessity which has led to old documents being 'corrected'? If on the other hand the 'spontaneous' cases of nasalization do actually have a cause for their origin, cannot that cause also hold good in all cases? In examining the words kumund, niyanga, and palanga, it has been found that the so-called spontaneous nasalization of d and g in these words is a result of the conservative tendency intervening to prevent the elision of these consonants in weak positions.

208. An examination of the 'spontaneous' cases of nasalization discloses the fact that it is not only to prevent the dropping of mutes of the guttural and dental classes that the conservative tendency intervenes, armed with the weapon of nasalization. It also does so to prevent changes occurring in other consonants. In *pelembi* and *Kimbul* its intervention had for its aim the prevention of the change of b to v (see below, § 294 a)—a change pregnant with further possibilities of phonetic decay. So with *kumbur*. In *mudalind* the d which has been prevented from elision by the nasalization is one derived from c. Usually a d of this origin does not drop. Compare  $p\ddot{a}dum$  for Skt.  $pr\bar{a}c\bar{i}na$ . In  $ma\ddot{n}ga$ , samund,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> John Beames, Comparative Grammar of the Modern Indo-Aryan Languages of India, vol. i, pp. <sup>2</sup> For the etymology of this word, see below, § 301 g. 254 ff., and Kellogg, A Grammar of the Hindi Language,

muhund, muňdun, puluňdu, and sinind, the g and d which have been nasalized, though they occupied an intervocalic position immediately before nasalization, go back to conjoint consonants in Sanskrit. The necessity for nasalization arose because intervocalic consonants of this origin had also become liable to further phonetic changes by the period when our documents were being written (see below,  $\S$  305 a).

209. This leads us to the numerous class of words in which the nasalized consonant represents a conjoint consonant in Sanskrit, of which the first is a nasal, e.g. sanga. The nasal element in such words is taken to be a direct descendant of the nasal in the corresponding Sanskrit forms, in spite of the fact that, for nearly a thousand years from the third century B.C., they are found in lithic records without the nasal, e.g. saga. The position of the philologists, who would amend this saga into sanga because the later form is sanga, is that a sound element found in the later stage of a word must also have existed in its earlier stage. Their standpoint is not unlike that of the Sānkhya philosophers who maintained that the effect must exist in the cause, e.g. the cloth, or rather clothness, in the thread.<sup>1</sup> But we have seen above from numerous examples that certain conditions give rise to a sound element which did not exist before in a word. Given the necessary conditions, there is no reason why the nasal element may not have originated in forms like saga without any connexion with the nasal in their prototypes of a remote past. And these conditions are the same as those which gave rise to the nasal in words like kumund and niyanga, the prototypes of which had no nasal at all. It will be shown later that single consonants due to the simplification of conjoint consonants of Old Indian are not ordinarily liable to drop or undergo changes as are the single consonants in intervocalic positions which occupied a similar position in the Old Indian stage. But in the period of our graffiti and later, we do find some words which are exceptions to this rule (see below, § 305 a). These indicate that the progressive tendency had begun the attack on such words, too, which till then had been considered unassailable. Had this attempt of the progressive tendency been allowed to proceed very far, the phonetic decay in the language would have assumed serious proportions. The conservative tendency intervened and effectively checked the danger by reinforcing with a nasal the consonants liable to change or elision. To illustrate with an example: we have kevuļu derived from Skt. kaivartta, P. kevaṭṭa. According to Geiger's rules, the development of this word ought to have stopped at kevuțu.2 The t had not only changed to d but continued farther and assumed the form of l. On this analogy, Skt. khanda, not being satisfied with remaining kada, could have become \*kala. Perhaps the spoken language of the time did show such forms and kevuļu and other forms given in § 244 are a few relics of a state of things which was not uncommon at one time. But kada (from Skt. khanda) has not been allowed to become \*kaļa. On the other hand, we have kanda, the d being nasalized by the intervention of the conservative tendency.

210. The manner in which the half-nasal is written in our records would indicate that, when the consonant was originally reinforced, it was with a full-nasal; but that the genius of the language refused to have it as such and could accommodate only a tinge of it. The insertion of the full-nasal would also have had the effect of adding to the number of morae in the word. But it appears to have been a rule that no foreign element introduced into a word by the conservative tendency was allowed to add to the sum-total of the morae which the word had before being so strengthened. Another significant feature in the Sinhalese language has thus been proved to be due to the conflict between the progressive and conservative tendencies.

211. I have purposely kept to the last a word, constantly in the mouth of the average Sinhalese villager, which is germane to this discussion of the inter-play of the progressive and conservative tendencies over the fate of weak consonants in intervocalic positions. As found in literary works, this word is spelt ya-gadā, ya being derived from Skt. ayas and gadā a tatsama. The hybrid compound means 'iron club', in particular the weapon of Nīla, the hero of the Gajabāhu cycle of legends so popular with the Sinhalese villager. But, when the villager pronounces this word in an unaffected manner, he does not say ya-gadā but yakaňdā. The first of the two phonetic changes noticed in this pronunciation is exactly parallel to that in nakara for Skt. nagara, and other such forms in the lithic records. In the case of yakaňdā, the k cannot be dismissed as of no historical (i.e. real) value, for the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For a refutation of this Sāmkhya doctrine, see <sup>2</sup> Geiger, in order to explain kevuļu, coins a Middle Indian \*kevaṭa (G.S.L., § 11).

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word is so pronounced by hundreds of villagers in various parts of the island. Anyone is at liberty to test it by listening to the speech of the villagers. And the evidence of the ear must be conclusive in a matter dealing with sounds. In a case like this the philologist to whom theories are more important than facts is distinctly at a disadvantage. In dealing with old lithic documents he can always lay the blame on the 'stone-cutter' when they go against his theories; and the 'stone-cutter' does not protest. But even the humblest of the villagers, living today, is definitely vocal; a charge against him by a philologist similar to those made against the 'stone-cutters' of old is capable of investigation. In the word yagadā the consonants in the second and third syllables are both liable to drop. If they had actually suffered elision the word would have become  $y\bar{a}$ , hardly suitable in its sound effect for the deadly weapon of Nīla. Be that as it may, the word has never assumed that form. The g in the second syllable has been saved from extinction by being hardened to k, exactly as in forms like Naka occurring in early Brāhmī inscriptions. The dropping of d in the third syllable has been prevented by its nasalization, exactly in the manner we have seen in examples like kumund. The preservation of the consonants in these two syllables has also saved the vowels associated with them. The conservative tendency has been at work on the word.

212. What we have so far discussed is the operation of the phonological processes (2) and (3) mentioned in § 170 above, on the side of the progressive tendency, and the reactions brought about by the working of these processes due to the intervention of the conservative tendency. We have also seen that vowel-assimilation works in conjunction with (2) and that vowel dissimilation is an ally of its opposite. The type of vowel-assimilation of which we have taken note belongs to a later phase of the language, i.e. to the period of our documents. Vowel-assimilation, however, has been evident in the language from the earliest period of which we have any knowledge. It is, in fact, a phonological change which paved the way for others which came about later (see § 263 below) and has remained throughout, being one of the principal instruments of the progressive tendency. In the earliest period, however, it does not appear to have caused any violent reactions in the opposite direction. The opposition to it was confined to the preservation of forms as they were. The conservative tendency was apparently conscious of its own strength and remained unmoved, contemptuous of the newcomer, which furtively assailed it. The reaction in the form of vowel-dissimilation appears first not in words which have been affected by assimilation but in those which originally had i's in both syllables: sari for siri and gari for giri. This change has no doubt been effected to prevent the occurrence of syncope (see above, § 184).

213. The opposing tendencies have also been at work with regard to other phonological processes; they will be noticed in their proper places when these processes are discussed (see § 263 below). What we have given above is, I think, sufficient to establish that the conservative tendency has been at work in opposition to the progressive in bringing about many of the important changes which the phonology of the language has undergone, and that any rules framed without due regard being paid to both of these two contradictory forces are bound to leave many things unexplained. Many phonological changes which look unnatural and strange, not to say inexplicable, will easily fit themselves to their places and lose their strangeness and unnaturalness when these basic principles underlying the phonetic changes in the language are properly grasped.

# (iii) Shortening of Long Vowels and Related Phonological Processes

214. Vowels which are long in the Old Indian and Middle Indian stages are found shortened in the language represented in our graffiti; e.g. Skt.  $r\bar{a}jan$  is raj, Skt.  $d\bar{\iota}rgha$  is dig, and Skt.  $d\bar{\iota}ra$  is dur. Long vowels found in words such as  $p\bar{a}$ ,  $g\bar{\iota}$ , and  $r\bar{\iota}$  (corresponding, respectively, to Skt.  $p\bar{a}da$ ,  $g\bar{\iota}ta$ , and  $r\bar{\iota}pa$ ) are not due to the preservation of the vowel in the first syllable of the words in their Old Indian stage, as might appear at first sight, but are due to the working of the law by which two similar vowels, brought in contact within a word by the dropping of a weak consonant, coalesce and form the corresponding long vowel (see §§ 270–1). Philologists who have studied the Sinhalese language have formed various misconceptions with regard to the period during which long vowels were shortened in Sinhalese, and many phonological theories have been made to depend on such misunderstandings of the facts. It has therefore become necessary for us to examine the theories put forward by these philologists on this matter, and to study the problem of the shortening of long vowels in Sinhalese

from the earliest period for which documents are available up to the time of our graffiti. As a syllable is reckoned to be heavy not only on account of the length of the vowel, but also due to a nexus or an anusvāra following it, the period during which double consonants were made single and the anusvāra disappeared in Sinhalese has also to be considered in this connexion.

- 215. In the earliest specimens of the Sinhalese language available to us, i.e. in the Brāhmī inscriptions of the third century B.C., the shortening of long vowels has been consistently carried out, with a few rare exceptions to be noted below: raja, for instance, stands for Skt. rājan and gamaṇi for Skt. grāmaṇī. And this shortening of long vowels corresponds to the state of phonological development which we find in the earliest extant literary works in verse, dating from the tenth century, in which the pronunciation is not a matter for speculation, for the metre clearly indicates where a vowel is short and where it is long. But some philologists insist that the vowels in the Sinhalese Brāhmī inscriptions were actually pronounced long where they were so in Old or Middle Indian, though, for some unexplained reason, the documents themselves do not differentiate the long vowels from the short. The grounds on which they have come to this conclusion may best be given in the words of Geiger; others who have dealt with the subject have merely restated Geiger, amplified or modified his views; but have not supplied any additional evidence to support the theory. In his G.S.L., § 8, Geiger states:
- (b) 'In the Brāhmī inscriptions long vowels occur but exceptionally. But here the shortening of the vowels is merely graphical. The spelling is, e.g. agata present = P.  $\bar{a}gata$ ; anagata future = P.  $an\bar{a}gata$ ; vapi or vavi tank = P.  $v\bar{a}p\bar{i}$ ; upasikā female lay devotee = P.  $up\bar{a}sik\bar{a}$ ; vihara temple = P.  $vih\bar{a}ra$ ; visiti twenty = P.  $v\bar{i}sati$ ; mula price, money = P.  $m\bar{u}la$ , &c. Exceptions occur in the Maharatmale inscription, aic No. 6: yāku rice gruel = P.  $y\bar{a}gu$ ; in the Gallena inscription ib. No. 2:  $dev\bar{a}na^\circ = P$ .  $dev\bar{a}na\bar{m}$ , develoapsi = P. d
- (c) 'It was Wickremasinghe, E.Z., I, p. 15 sq., who, referring to the fac that short vowels also occur in Indian inscriptions, first suggested that the same spelling in Sinhalese lithic records may also be only graphical. He was, no doubt, correct. During the Proto-Sinhalese period, the vowels which were originally long are treated in one way and those which were originally short in another way:  $v\bar{a}p\bar{i}$  (inscrs. vapi) becomes  $v\bar{a}v$  (umlaut § 12 1b) but kapi monkey becomes kivi (vowel-assimilation § 19 1b),  $s\bar{i}la$  religious observance becomes sil, but tila sesame becomes tala. This clearly shows that  $v\bar{a}p\bar{i}$ ,  $s\bar{i}la$  and kapi, tila had a different pronunciation up to the Proto-Sinhalese period, the former two words being pronounced with long and the latter with short vowels.'
- 216. Before we proceed further, it is as well to take Wickremasinghe away from the arena of this discussion. Anyone who should turn over the pages of the *Ep. Zey*. referred to would discover that Wickremasinghe has, in fact, not made the suggestion credited to him. On the other hand, what he has suggested there is just the opposite of what Geiger assumes that he did. For these are his words: 'the generally accepted theory that all these peculiarities are "merely graphic and partly due to negligent spelling" is open to question when applied to Ceylon inscriptions' (*E.Z.*, vol. i, p. 15, n. 3). The peculiarities referred to include the shortening of long vowels. I, therefore, heartily concur with Geiger when he says that Wickremasinghe 'was, no doubt, correct'.
- 217. Many distinguished scholars hold the view that, in the Aśokan edicts and in other early Brāhmī inscriptions, short vowels are to be read as long, single consonants as double consonants, and that the *anusvāra*, though omitted, has to be supplied, in places where these are etymologically to be expected. So far as I am aware, this view has not been established on the basis of any conclusive evidence obtained after a thorough reasoned investigation of the orthographical, palaeographical, linguistic, and other questions that have a bearing on it. Hultzsch (*Inscriptions of Aśoka*, p. lix) argues thus:
- 'A large number of combined consonants are not preserved unchanged but have been assimilated. In later Prakrit inscriptions, as in the British Museum plates of Chārudevī and in the plates of Vijaya Devavarman (E. I, 8, 144 and 9, 57) the double consonant which is the result of such an assimilation is written in full. The inscriptions of Aśoka and of the Āndhra kings, however, express every double consonant by a single letter; e.g. aggi = Skt. agni is written agi, attha = artha becomes atha, laddha = labdha becomes ladha, gabbha = garbha becomes gabha; and nijjhatti = nidhyapti is spelt nijhati. In double nasals both ways of spelling are in use; e.g. dhamma and dhama = dharma, amna and ana = anya.'
- 218. If this is meant to establish that the words written in Aśokan inscriptions as agi, atha, ladha, gabha, nijhati, dhama, and ana were actually pronounced aggi, attha, laddha, gabha, nijjhati, dhamma, and anna, and that the evidence therefor is the occurrence, in Prakrit copper-plate inscriptions of a later date, of the double consonant unchanged, it must also be proved, for the reason to be valid, that

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the language of the relevant Aśokan edicts and that of the above-mentioned copper-plates belong to the same line of linguistic development, that is to say, that the language of the copper-plates is a direct descendant of the language of the Aśokan edicts. This has not been done and, I believe, there is no reasonable argument by means of which it can be done. For, in the centuries preceding and following the time of Aśoka, there were scores of spoken Indo-Aryan dialects in various parts of the country, and they need not all have been on the same level of phonetic development at any one given time. A phonetic change which occurred in one dialect need not necessarily have taken place in another. The double consonants could have been made single in one dialect, while another retained their use for many centuries.

meant to be read, or at least understood, by as many people as possible. For this, it was necessary to use a form of speech closest to that in the mouth of the average man. Somewhat similar is the case of the rest of the early Buddhist inscriptions. The copper-plate grants of a later day were of a different character. They were documents establishing titles to lands and were meant, if the occasion arose, to be produced in the law-courts of the time. There was no need for them to use a vulgar form of speech. They may very well have used a literary form of speech in use at a particular time over a particular area. One can also easily see that, starting from the time of Aśoka, Indian inscriptions gradually began to assume a literary character, so that after some centuries nothing but Pāṇinean Sanskrit was considered good enough for a document to be engraved on stone or copper. And it is well known that literary style often makes use of words which had been obsolete in the spoken language for many centuries. The language in a Prakrit document of a later date cannot, therefore, be used as a criterion for judging the manner in which the words occurring in Aśokan edicts were actually pronounced. Thus the only argument that has been adduced to establish that the language of the Aśokan edicts was pronounced in a manner different from that in which it is written has been found to be of no validity.

220. If the peculiarities, noted above, in the early Brāhmī inscriptions of India and Ceylon be taken as merely graphic, and long vowels, double consonants, and the anusvāra be restored in pronunciation and transliteration in accordance with the phonology of Old Indian, the language of these inscriptions would differ but little from Pali and some of the literary Prakrits. It appears, in fact, to be the desire of certain scholars to read Pāli or Prakrit into these inscriptions which prompted the view that they should be read, in certain aspects of their language, in a manner different from that in which they have actually been engraved on stone. It was the practice among some scholars in the last century to distinguish, by the name Pāli, the language of the Aśoka inscriptions and other Buddhist epigraphs of early date. In Francke's well-known work, Pali und Sanskrit, what is understood by Pāli is not so much the language of the Theravada Buddhist Canon, but that of the Aśoka inscriptions and the early Brāhmī inscriptions of India. When there is a preconception that the language of these inscriptions must be Pāli, or something very near it, the necessity to read the inscriptions in a manner different from what is actually on the stone, laid down in the directions above referred to, is perfectly understandable. No scholars today call the language of the Aśoka inscriptions Pāli, but the amendments to spelling which were adopted as a sequel to the invention of that terminology still persist. It is high time that they were given up, and that scholars began to read these inscriptions without being influenced by preconceived notions.

221. Even if it be proved, by valid arguments, that in the case of the early Brāhmī inscriptions of India, vowels shown graphically as short have in places to be pronounced as long, that single consonants have to be read as double, and that the anusvāra has to be introduced, it does not necessarily follow that the same criteria have also been proved applicable to contemporary Ceylon inscriptions. For there is no ground for the assumption that the language of the Ceylon epigraphs is the same as that of any particular region of India. There is no reason why the Sinhalese language, even in its earliest phase, should not have had its own peculiar features. What is required, when we study these documents, is not to force them, according to our preconceptions, into a Pāli or Prakrit mould, but to endeavour by all possible means to ascertain the distinctive character of the language represented by them. It is by studying them in this manner that the Sinhalese language can be given its true place in the scheme of Indo-Aryan tongues; it is also thus that we can ascertain the influence that some non-Aryan language may possibly have had in forming its character.

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, J.R.A.S. for 1870, pp. 497-503.

222. The palaeographical and orthographical aspects of the question may be dealt with before we examine it from the angle of the philologist. It is well known that in Brāhmī and the various scripts derived from it there are special devices to indicate the length of the vowels, thus differing from the Semitic and European scripts which leave the length of vowels unindicated. In the earliest form of the Brāhmī script known to us, i.e. in the edicts of Aśoka, strokes indicating long vowels form an essential feature of the writing. In many of the Aśoka edicts the long vowels are graphically shown where they would be etymologically expected. In that form of the Brāhmī script found in the earliest epigraphs of Ceylon, too, the stroke indicating that a vowel is long is not unknown, at least with regard to  $\bar{a}$ . The theory that the vowels were graphically represented as short, when they were actually pronounced long, does not therefore receive support from the possible argument that the script was defective in this respect. Conjoint consonants are of frequent occurrence in the Asokan edicts and in the other Brāhmī inscriptions of India. They also occur in inscriptions of about the first century in Ceylon, particularly in the mangala word siddham. Those who hold that single consonants had been written in place of double consonants cannot, therefore, derive any support from the argument that the script was defective. The case is similar for the anusvāra so far as the Brāhmī inscriptions of India are concerned. No certain instance of the occurrence of the anusvāra has been noticed in the early inscriptions of Ceylon, but this may just as well be due to the absence of the sound in the language as to the defectiveness of the script.

223. It may be argued that Brāhmī and its derivatives, even though they are far superior to other systems of writing, ancient as well as modern, in the matter of graphically representing the sounds of speech, are not thoroughly phonetic, and it would therefore not be a matter for surprise if certain words in the ancient inscriptions of India and Ceylon were found to be spelt in a manner somewhat different from that in which they were actually pronounced. A word may be spelt in writing in a manner different from that in which it is pronounced in speech due to either one of two possible causes. The first is that the system of writing adopted for a particular language is deficient in a symbol to represent a particular sound occurring therein. For example, even Brāhmī and the alphabets derived from it do not make a distinction in writing between the open pronunciation of a and the closed. The case of long vowels, the double consonants, and the anusvāra cannot be due to this reason, for the script had devices for representing these sounds. The second possible cause is that a word may continue to be written as it was in the past, even though the pronunciation had undergone change due to the working of phonetic laws. The divergence between spelling and pronunciation, noticed in languages like English, French, and Tibetan, is mainly due to this cause. Here the writing, as a rule, contains more than is actually necessary for the representation of sounds. The matters we have been considering cannot be due to this cause either. The case of Tamil, where the same symbol is sometimes read as a sonant and sometimes as a surd, also affords no parallel, for it is very likely that the Tamil script possesses no separate symbols for sonants for the reason that these sounds are a recent development in the language. The omission of the virāma in Hindi and some other systems of writing, too, may be due to the same cause.

224. While the vast majority of the Brāhmī inscriptions of Ceylon contain only short vowels, there are a very few records in which long vowels do occur. Geiger, in the extract quoted in § 216, has drawn attention to the words with long vowels found in the Gallena-Vihāra and Maharatmalē inscriptions. Two explanations are possible for this. The first is that long vowels actually existed in the spoken language, but the vast majority of the scribes, for some inexplicable reason, did not show the length graphically; a scribe here and there, however, thought it necessary to write down the words as they were actually pronounced. In order to make this explanation plausible, a satisfactory reason must be found to explain the fact that almost all the scribes adopted a system of writing which did not faithfully represent the words as they were spoken. We have already shown that this could not have been due to the script being defective. It is impossible to imagine that negligence was the cause; for, in that case, carefulness would have been a virtue which was almost non-existent among writers at that time. It would, moreover, have been a very methodical negligence, for they have carefully avoided all long vowels. The other possible explanation is that long vowels did not normally occur in the spoken language, but that a few of the scribes who wished to appear as more learned than their fellows did introduce them in imitation of archaic or literary forms. It must have been known to the more learned among the literati that there were long vowels in certain words during an earlier phase of the language. It is not impossible that specimens of that phase of the language in which long vowels were preserved, as

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in Old and Middle Indian, did exist in the form of ballads and songs, even if there was no written literature. The Bhikkhus were no doubt conversant with Pāli, and the many Brahmans who are mentioned in the earliest inscriptions were probably not altogether ignorant of Sanskrit. The influence of these Bhikkhus and Brahmans may also have had something to do with the appearance of forms with long vowels if the language in its spoken form had in fact lost them. That this second explanation is more plausible is shown by an inscription from Mihintale which has not been noticed by Geiger. A faulty text of this epigraph is given by Müller in his A.I.C. (No. 20). That scholar attributes the record to Śrīmeghavarnna; but, as a matter of fact, it belongs to the reign of Kuṭakanna Abhaya (circa 43-21 B.C.). Along with such forms as vāpi and gāma (Skt. vāpī and grāma), where the length of the vowel is etymologically justified, this epigraph contains the words Abāya, nakārika, hamānahā, and Cetāgiri (corresponding respectively to Skt. Abhaya, nagarī + suffix ka, śramanasya, and Caityagiri) in which the long  $\bar{a}$  is obviously due to false restoration. Neither in Skt. śramana nor in P. samana, with which hamāṇa has to be equated, is there a long vowel to be found at all; in the medieval form of the word, mahana (formed by metathesis of consonants), too, there is no long vowel. It is therefore almost certain that the word was not pronounced with a long vowel in the first century B.C. In other records of the period it occurs as hamana. Similar is the case with nakārika, Abāya, and Cetāgiri. If long vowels did actually exist in the spoken language, and if this inscription was written in conformity with the actual usage, the occurrence of these forms is inexplicable. On the other hand, if the language had lost the long vowels, these forms can easily be explained as due to pedantic restoration.

225. In all these instances where the spelling is said to have differed from the pronunciation in the oldest inscriptions, the later phonetic development is in conformity with the spelling, and not with the assumed pronunciation. Long vowels which have been written as short in the Brāhmī inscriptions are found to have been shortened by the eighth century in documents of which the pronunciation is no longer a matter for speculation. Double consonants which are written as single in the first century B.C. are also pronounced as single in the eighth century. The nasals which are omitted in the early records were also non-existent in the later language. As regards the last feature, we have, in § 205 ff. above, pointed out that the half-nasal met with in the language of the eighth or ninth century is not a direct descendant of the original nasal in the Middle Indian period. It is a suspicious circumstance that the later development of the language took precisely that line in which the scribes are said to have represented the spoken word in a different way in writing. How is it that these scribes have adopted a spelling different from the pronunciation in only such points as these where the later phonetic development was to tally with their deviation from the actual pronunciation? Did they have an uncanny knowledge of how the speech would shape in the future, and anticipate the course of events that was to take place?

226. The other possibility is equally absurd. It is that all the people suddenly began to pronounce the language in the manner in which it was written down by a few scribes, deviating from the pronunciation to which they had been used. The spelling may affect the pronunciation of a word in certain circumstances; but such instances are not a very common feature in languages. On the other hand, the phonetic changes which we are now discussing are thoroughgoing ones in the Sinhalese language, and for such changes to have taken place merely due to the vagaries of a few scribes would indicate that the latter dominated the speech to a degree unheard of elsewhere. Even in the case of such languages as Tibetan, French, and English-languages whose usages have been standardized by men of letters—the phonetic development has not been in accordance with, but often contrary to, the methods of spelling adopted by scribes. It is, therefore, difficult to imagine that the scribes of early Ceylon exerted an influence on the development of the language such as their counterparts had not done anywhere else in the world.

227. The weightiest argument that has been adduced in support of the theory that long vowels and conjoint consonants existed in the Sinhalese of the Brāhmī inscriptions, in spite of the fact that they are not graphically represented, is that syllables which are heavy in the Old and Middle Indian stages undergo a phonetic development quite different from that which takes place in light syllables, and that the phonetic development of conjoint consonants is not the same as that of single consonants. These phonetic developments took place at a period considerably later than that of the Brāhmī inscriptions. It has, therefore, been inferred, with seeming justification, that the difference

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in pronunciation was preserved in the speech up to the time during which the phonetic developments in question took place.

228. Let us first examine the case for long vowels in order to ascertain whether this argument is valid. We have already, in § 215, quoted Geiger's argument wherein he points out that Skt.  $v\bar{a}p\bar{\imath}$  (in inscriptions vapi) becomes  $v\bar{a}v$  while kapi becomes kivi, and  $s\bar{\imath}la$  becomes sil while tila becomes tala, and draws the perfectly justifiable inference that a and i, respectively, of vapi and sila had a different pronunciation from those of kapi and tila up to what is called the proto-Sinhalese period. Where, however, his argument is fallacious is in the further inference that this difference in pronunciation during the period of the Brāhmī inscriptions was that, in one case, the vowel was long, while in the others it was short. For this second inference to be valid, it must be proved that the length is the only difference which exists in the pronunciation of vowels. Until this is done, the second inference of Geiger remains but one among a number of possible conclusions. Geiger's position in this argument is like that of a man who, having seen smoke emanating from a place, arrives at the valid inference that there must be fire at that place; but does not stop at that and further concludes that the fire is from burning straw. It is not only from burning straw that smoke with fire can arise.

229. In order to ascertain what differences other than length there could have been in the pronunciation of vowels during the period of the early Brāhmī inscriptions, it is necessary for us to examine the conditions which give rise to vowel-assimilation (as in kivi for kapi) and the so-called umlaut (really the epenthesis of vowels, see §§ 131 ff.). Geiger, agreeing with Helmer Smith, lays down the rule that 'umlaut' is confined to originally heavy syllables with an a when followed by a syllable with i, and that vowel-assimilation takes place if the first syllable is light (G.S.L., §§ 12 and 18). There are, however, numerous examples in which vowel-assimilation and not 'umlaut' takes place in an originally heavy syllable followed by i in the next. The form Devanipiya for P. Devanapiya is found in an unpublished inscription from Mihintale, datable in the first or second century. Skt. cāritra is sirit in Sinhalese and not särit, svāmin is himi and not hämi, vāritra is varit or virit and not värit, cakravarttin is sak-viti not sakväti, P. pārājikā is S. pariji, not paräji, Skt. jānāmi is janimi (No. 599), janim (No. 164) or danimi, not janämi, janäm, danäm, in Sinhalese. Verbal forms similar to the last example, going back to forms in Old Indian where the suffix -mi follows a long syllable, are very numerous in Sinhalese. They cannot be explained away by saying that such words are formed in Sinhalese by adding the suffix to the root, for the roots and suffixes are abstractions of grammarians; and the average man, in his speech, was generally unconscious of their existence. He spoke, as he still does, in words and sentences, and it is the way in which he spoke that gave rise to phonological changes and not the analysis of the speech by grammarians. If, therefore, we grant that the Old Indian terminations of the present tense are preserved in Sinhalese verbal forms like janimi, we have also to accept the fact that forms like Skt. jānāmi did undergo the usual phonological changes which stem forms were admittedly subjected to. In some instances, regressive vowel-assimilation has taken place instead of the 'umlaut' when an a in a heavy syllable is followed by a syllable with i. Skt. vitasti is viyata in Sinhalese and not viyäta, P. samghāṭi is sangaļa, not sangaļa, P. pannatti is panata, not panata, Skt. rājadhāni is rajadahan, not rajadāhān, P. pāricchatta is parasatu, not pärisatu, Skt. cakra-pāņi is sak-paṇa, not sak-paṇi.2 In others, an a in a heavy syllable remains unchanged, even though there is an i in the next syllable; S. kasī for P. kāsika, S. savi for Skt. śakti, S. pandi for Skt. pandita, and S. yami for Skt. yāmi.

230. If the 'umlaut' in  $v\ddot{a}v$  is due to the  $\bar{a}$  in the first syllable being preserved up to the 'proto-Sinhalese' period, it must necessarily follow that the  $\bar{a}$  in the above examples, which has not undergone a similar phonetic change, was not long during the period in question. But the contention of Geiger and others is that long vowels were preserved up to about the fifth century as they were in the Middle Indian period. They do not admit that some long vowels were shortened while others remained unchanged. It may also be observed that the examples quoted to illustrate the rules on vowel-assimilation and 'umlaut' are, with a few exceptions, bisyllabic words of which the syllable containing the  $\bar{a}$  is the first one. Hardly any example of a word in the Middle Indian or Old Indian stage containing a syllable with a long  $\bar{a}$  in the middle, followed by an i in the next syllable, has been

vocabulary of poets and should find no place in a philological discussion, we would point to Skt. kapi > S. kiviemployed by Geiger as an example of vowel-assimilation.

There is a from sämi with a specialized meaning: 'husband.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> If it be objected that this word belongs to the

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compared with its derivative in Sinhalese. When philologists promulgate rules in this manner, concerning themselves only with the beginnings of words, the result is a plentiful crop of illegitimate forms (euphemistically referred to as 'spontaneous').

- 231. It is, however, not in the middle of a word only that an  $\tilde{a}$  in an originally heavy syllable followed by an i in the next undergoes vowel-assimilation instead of 'umlaut'. Of the examples quoted above, himi from Skt. svāmin is significant. This form due to vowel-assimilation means 'lord', 'master', &c. There exists another form, sämi, also derived from Skt. svāmin, which is restricted in meaning to 'husband', where not only has 'umlaut' taken place, but also the s in the first syllable has remained unchanged. In the Old Sinhalese derivative from Skt. svāmin which gave rise to sāmi, the whole of the first syllable must have been pronounced with particular emphasis, so that the vowel has been able to resist the influence of i in the second syllable, and the consonant has succeeded in preserving itself without undergoing the common change to h. To presume that this was due to the vowel being pronounced as long does not account for the preservation of the consonant. We must, therefore, in this instance, find a difference in pronunciation of the vowel which has nothing to do with its length. We shall find this difference if we assume that the first syllable was accented when the equivalent of Skt. svāmin in the most ancient form of Sinhalese was specialized in meaning to 'husband', and that the second syllable was accented when the meaning was 'lord', 'master', &c.1 Many languages, including Sanskrit and English, afford examples of words identical in form being differently accented in order to indicate differences in meaning.
- 232. If the above be taken as a satisfactory explanation of the development in Sinhalese, in two different ways, of Skt. svāmin, there is no reason why the same explanation should not be considered satisfactory for the different developments of a in vapi and kapi. Such an explanation would obviate the necessity of reading the old documents in a manner different from that in which they are writtenfor which, as we have seen above, there is no justification on a priori grounds. If we accept that it is the accent which determines whether vowel-assimilation takes places in preference to epenthesis ('umlaut'), then this assumption would also make the rules thoroughgoing, giving rise to no illegitimate forms, for the accent of the vowels is not such a constant factor as their length. That the accent is an important factor in phonological development is admitted by all philologists. Geiger in his G.S.L. (§§ 22-31) discusses the accent of old Sinhalese at considerable length; but invariably he assumes the accent when the syllable has a long vowel. This need not necessarily be so. There are many examples in Sanskrit and other Indian languages where a syllable with a short vowel is accented. The only satisfactory manner of deducing the accent in the ancient form of the language is by examining the later phonological development of words.
- 233. In spite of the fact that Geiger's rules on 'umlaut' and vowel-assimilation are based on the theory of long vowels being preserved in the Sinhalese language up to the 'proto-Sinhalese' period, he is constrained to admit the influence of the accent in these phonological changes. 'I am inclined to believe that even the umlaut and vowel-assimilation are closely connected with the accent' (G.S.L., § 31). His theories on umlaut and vowel-assimilation, however, have been built up without any consideration of the accent, and even though he admits its influence in the above words, he has not considered it necessary to modify the views which he had arrived at without a study of the accent. If vowel-assimilation does not take place in vapi due to the first syllable being accented, as Geiger admits here, there is no need to assume another reason, i.e. the preservation of the long vowel, for the same effect. The vowels in the Brāhmī inscriptions may, therefore, be pronounced short, as they are graphically shown, and 'umlaut' may yet take place. In a word like  $v\bar{a}p\bar{i}$ , the a of the first syllable was not only long, but was also accented in the Middle Indian stage. In the earliest form of Sinhalese known to us, the vowel is definitely shown as shortened, but the accent could have remained, and influenced the later development of the word.
- 234. The manner in which 'umlaut' and vowel-assimilation have been dealt with by Geiger gives one the impression that these two phonological changes took place at one and the same time. Vowelassimilation could, one is given to understand, appropriate only certain types of words, while 'umlaut'

a in all the syllables of the second member of the compound.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Skt. svāmin has also developed in a manner first. This may perhaps be due to the occurrence of different from either of the directions noted above. In the compound word sam-daru (svāmi-dāraka), i in the second syllable has been assimilated to a in the

asserted its authority over another type. A historical study of the language, however, enables us to recognize that vowel-assimilation began its career in the Sinhalese language several centuries before 'umlaut' is met with. Examples of vowel-assimilation occur in documents datable in the second century B.C., for instance an inscription of Saddhātissa (137-119 B.C.) contains the form piti for Skt. pati in the compound senapiti.1 As has been stated in § 130, the earliest document in which 'umlaut' has been met with belongs to the third century. If vapi, for instance, changed into \*vipi as pati did to piti, there would have been no opportunity for the phonetic change which resulted in the development of ä. The correct method of formulating the problem, therefore, is to enquire first why the a remained unchanged in certain words when followed by an i in the next syllable, while it changed to i in others. Why, for example, did vapi remain as such for several centuries while pati had meanwhile become piti? Normally, it is the vowel in the second syllable which influences that of the first; for the vowel in the first syllable to resist this influence, it must receive some additions to its normal strength. This addition to its strength may be due to its length or to the accent, and we have seen above that it is more reasonable to assume the stress as the cause rather than the length. In pati, presumably, the a was not accented; and, therefore, went under in its encounter with the i of the next syllable. In  $vapi\ a$  was accented, and could therefore resist the influence of i for several centuries, and preserve its own form unaltered. But the influence of i did have its effect, though not so far as to obliterate the a altogether. It had eventually to coalesce with i and become e. This may perhaps indicate a weakening of the original accent which had resisted the influence of i. Vowel-assimilation and epenthesis (the so-called umlaut) are thus seen to be different aspects of the same phonetic process which was working steadily throughout the centuries. Geiger, therefore, is not correct when he, in explaining the process of 'umlaut', says: 'The accented heavy syllable was strengthened by an epenthetic vowel if an i followed it' (G.S.L., § 31). If the syllable was accented as well as heavy, it had sufficient strength in itself and stood in no need of being added to by an epenthetic vowel.

235. The occurrence of epenthesis instead of vowel-assimilation can thus be satisfactorily explained without having recourse to the expedient of restoring long vowels to the language of the early Brāhmī inscriptions. The different developments of śīla and tila can also be satisfactorily explained by assuming that the first syllable of one word was accented, while that of the other was not. If the first syllable of \*śila was accented, though the vowel itself was not long, the second syllable would have been but indistinctly pronounced and its vowel would naturally have tended to drop. If, on the other hand, the second syllable was accented and therefore stronger, not only would the vowel of that syllable have been preserved, but it could also have influenced that of the preceding syllable. This is exactly what has happened in tila changing to tala. The same process has taken place when Skt. śilā became S. sala (No. 270); it is not necessary to assume that the long vowel was preserved up to the 'proto-Sinhalese period', for in tila > tala, the same change has taken place without a long vowel in the second syllable.

236. The hypothesis that vowels which were long in the Middle Indian stage remained long in Sinhalese up to some time after the fourth century has also been supported by calling in evidence a class of words which show the change of a or i to u (the so-called reduction) in a syllable coming after one which was originally heavy. This change of a or i to u is taken to be due to the accent in the preceding syllable and the accent in its turn is assumed to be due to the length of the vowel. The change of a to u which takes place when Skt.  $s\bar{a}gara$  becomes sayura in Sinhalese is, for instance, believed to be due to the accented long vowel in the first syllable; the long vowel, therefore, is assumed to have been preserved up to the time during which the change of a to u took place. Geiger is so convinced of the accuracy of this theory that he has adjusted the Middle Indian language in such a manner as to make sure that some inconvenient words which refuse to fall into line may not do violence to it. He has called into being  $*k\bar{a}pata$  and  $*k\bar{t}rita$  to account for S. kavulu and kirulu, respectively  $(G.S.L., \S\S 23 \, \text{ff.})$ .

237. Kavuļu and kiruļu are not the only forms for which starred Middle Indian words have to be coined as prototypes if this theory of long vowels giving rise to the 'reduction' of a is to be maintained. Yanayuna (No. 234) 'of those who go' is obviously derived from the genitive plural of Skt. yāna (going) to which the suffix -ka has been appended—yanakānām. The reduction here has taken place in a heavy syllable following a light one. Giyayun (No. 130) 'of those who went' is derived from the

<sup>1</sup> See A.S.C.A.R. for 1940-5, p. 40 and Pl. xiv.

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genitive plural of Skt. gata to which the suffix -ka had been added—gatakānām. Here, too, the reduction is in a syllable which has no heavy syllable preceding it. Forms of this type are fairly numerous in our graffiti, and they are the prototypes of such forms as yanavun, giyavun, &c., which are quite common in the later language. The words guyun and nuyun (see § 180) can also be cited as evidence against Geiger's theory.

238. If the length of the vowel in the preceding syllable is the cause of the 'reduction' of a to u, this length ought to have been preserved in the words concerned up to the time during which the 'reduction' took place. There are, in our graffiti, many such words still in the stage before the a was 'reduced' to u. Witness, for example, sayar (No. 613) and sayara (No. 630) < Skt. sāgara, pokaṇa (No. 151) < P. pokkharaṇī, pokar (No. 303) < Skt. puṣkara, tamar (No. 501) < Skt. tāmarasa, upala (No. 655) < Skt. utpala. The later stages of these words, respectively, are, sayura or sayuru, pokuṇu, pokuru, tamburu, and upul. If Geiger's theory were valid, the above words in our graffiti should be pronounced as sāyar, sāyara, pōkaṇa or pokkaṇa, pōkar or pokkar, tāmar, and ūpala or uppala. These words occur in metrical compositions, and the length of the vowel can be ascertained with certainty. The metre requires that the vowels should be pronounced as they are written; it would be violated if the words were pronounced in the manner suggested above, as is necessary to substantiate Geiger's theory, which thus breaks down on its impact with them.

239. The real causes of the so-called reduction of a or i to u have been explained in §§ 191–3. One of these causes is the intervention of the conservative tendency to prevent the dropping of a vowel and the reduction of the number of syllables in a word. The dropping of the vowel, as we have seen in the case of sil (Skt. sila), may be due to the accent in the preceding syllable. Geiger, therefore, is right when he takes the 'reduction' as being caused by the accent, but there is no reason for the assumption that the vowel of the accented syllable was also long. A syllable may be accented, but may have a short vowel. As in the case of the so-called 'umlaut', the phonological processes can be satisfactorily explained as due to the accent without assuming long vowels. Thus the philological reasons adduced to support the theory of long vowels in the language of the Brāhmī inscriptions have been found to be invalid.

240. It may, however, be questioned why the conservative tendency did not intervene and prevent the development of such words as kanaka, tilaka, &c., of which the first syllable is short, to kanā, talā, &c., in the same manner as it, for example, did intervene to counteract the possible change of campaka to \*sapā. In fact, neither the literary language nor the modern spoken dialect can show any instance in which the phonological processes exemplified in campaka becoming \*sapā had taken place in a word of which the first syllable was not heavy. This thoroughgoing distinction in the phonological changes undergone by these two classes of words can be adduced as evidence to support the theory that long vowels and conjoint consonants were preserved up to the time when the phonological process which Geiger calls the reduction of a to u was taking place. But paṇayu, preserved in our graffiti, is evidence that the first stage in this phonological process, as we have explained it, had taken place in words which contained no heavy syllable. For the phonological process to have completed its course it was necessary for the u in the last syllable, the result of vowel-dissimilation, to prevail over the a of the preceding syllable. But this a has successfully resisted being assimilated to the u of the next syllable. We have to assume that it was in a strong position, i.e. it was stressed. In the Sinhalese forms of words like campaka, immediately before this phonological process came into play, it was the first syllable, originally a heavy one, which was accented; the second was not, and therefore succumbed to the attacks of the u in the last syllable introduced by the conservative tendency. In the intermediate forms of kanaka, &c., the first syllable, an originally light one, was not accented. The second syllable must be inferred to have been accented, and its vowel could not only maintain itself but could also dispose of the intruder in the last syllable and allow the development of the word as if the conservative tendency had not intervened at all. The different fortunes undergone by these two classes of words can thus be satisfactorily explained by assuming the influence of the accent without recourse to the theory of heavy syllables.

241. The forms pokaṇa, pokur, and upala, cited above, also indicate that double consonants were not preserved in the language up to the time at which the a in these words was changed to u. For the double consonant would have made the preceding syllable a heavy one with two mātrās and thus would have gone against the metre. Double consonants corresponding to those in Middle Indian have, however, been inferred in the early phase of the Sinhalese language, not only from the modifications

in the vowel system presumed to have been caused by the heaviness of the syllable preceding a nexus, but also from the subsequent changes which the consonants themselves have undergone. Double consonants within a word do not normally undergo the change to which single consonants between vowels are liable. As Geiger has pointed out, Skt. śata becomes siya in Sinhalese, while Skt. sapta is sata, although both are written sata in the early inscriptions. It has therefore been inferred, quite reasonably as it would appear, that sata 'seven' was pronounced satta up to the time in which the intervocalic t was elided in Sinhalese.

242. This distinction to which Geiger has drawn attention is not, however, a thoroughgoing one, for there are numerous words in Sinhalese in which a double consonant has undergone the same changes as a single intervocalic consonant. Skt.  $p\bar{a}tra$ , which is patta in Pāli and Prakrit, has become  $p\bar{a}$  in Sinhalese, Skt.  $m\bar{u}tra$  is  $m\bar{u}$  and Skt.  $s\bar{u}tra$  is  $s\bar{u}$  or  $h\bar{u}$ . Geiger derives these forms from Middle Indian \* $p\bar{a}ta$ , \* $m\bar{u}ta$ , and \* $s\bar{u}ta$ , and refers to corresponding forms in Ardha-Māgadhī, also pointing out that all these words have to deal with the suffix -tra ( $-tr\bar{i}$ ) (G.S.L., § 11). Sinhalese, however, refuses to fall into line all along with Ardha-Māgadhī in this respect, for while Skt. gotra,  $g\bar{a}tra$ , and  $m\bar{a}tra$  are, respectively, goya,  $g\bar{a}ya$ , and  $m\bar{a}ya$  in AMg., they occur in Sinhalese as got, gat, and mat. Cf. also Skt. netra > S. net, Skt.  $k\bar{s}etra > S.$  ket, Skt. tantra > S. tat side by side with Skt.  $d\bar{a}tr\bar{i} > S.$   $d\bar{a}$ , Skt.  $r\bar{a}tr\bar{i} > S.$   $r\bar{a}$ , &c. These examples serve to emphasize that the truth about Sinhalese phonology cannot be ascertained by comparing it with any particular Prakrit.

243. As early as the Middle Indian stage, groups of consonants had not only been assimilated, but had in some words been reduced to single consonants. Skt. dainstrā is dāṭhā in Pāli, sūkṣma is sukhuma, pakṣma is pakhuma, tīkṣṇa is tikhiṇa, veṣṭhana is veṭhana, and lākṣā is lākhā. The S. situm, piyum, tiyuṇu, veṭana, and lā go back to forms in which, as in Pāli, the double consonants had been reduced to single ones. Skt. dīrgha, which in Pāli is dīgha, is diga in Sinhalese, showing that the latter does not always agree even with Pāli. Sinhalese obviously followed an independent course of its own.

244. There are also other words in which a double consonant in Middle Indian undergoes changes in Sinhalese similar to those to which single consonants between vowels are liable: Skt. istaka, P. itthaka is ulu in Sinhalese, Skt. āsanna is asal and Skt. kaivartta, P. kevaṭṭa, is kevuļu. A simple rule that single consonants in early Sinhalese documents have to be duplicated on the analogy of Middle Indian will therefore not meet the situation. The matter is still more complicated by the fact that there are many words (see next paragraph) in which an original single consonant has been preserved without undergoing the changes to which such are normally due. If the preservation of -t- in a word like sata is due to its being pronounced as -tta-, this would also mean that the preservation of consonants which were originally single must have been due to their being duplicated in the earliest phase of the Sinhalese language. The ascertaining of the correct pronunciation of an ancient Sinhalese document would thus need not only a knowledge of Indo-Aryan of pre-Sinhalese times, but also familiarity with the subsequent evolution of the language. A modern philologist may succeed in doing this after referring to various dictionaries, vocabularies, grammars, &c., taking some months over the task; but we must remember that these documents were engraved on stone, not for philologists to exercise their brains over them, but for the average man of those days to read and understand them. He is dead and gone ages ago, and his position in this matter has thus received no consideration. For him to read and understand these documents, he must have been able to pronounce them correctly. He no doubt knew nothing about the earlier stages of Indo-Aryan and had probably not heard of Ardha-Māgadhī or Paiśācī. Still less could he have any presentiment of what the Sinhalese language would be like a thousand years after his death. He had to read the documents as they were written down on stone, and if the actual pronunciation of the words before him on the stone differed in so many respects from the manner in which they were graphically represented, it would have been necessary to ascertain from actual speech the manner in which every combination of letters had to be pronounced in a particular context. The position would have been almost as bad as that of spelling in English or Tibetan—but without the historical justifications which make the English and Tibetan people cling to their inconvenient methods of orthography.

245. As we have already mentioned in the previous paragraph, there are a not inconsiderable number of words in which an intervocalic consonant has not undergone the change to which it might be supposed to be liable. Skt. *Vaišākha* is *Vesak* in Sinhalese; the intervocalic *k* has not dropped. Similarly

<sup>1</sup> Pischel, Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen, para. 78.

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Skt. Bhaga is S. Bak, Skt. mṛduka is molok, P. nikāya is nakā, P. garuke is gorok, Skt. sakhi is siki, sikhā is saka (No. 685), śīkara is sikira (No. 558), mūka is mukan (No. 260), stuti is tuti (No. 568), ādara is adara (No. 79), udaya is udā (No. 86), pradeśa is pedes (No. 462), aparādha is varada, pīṭha is puṭu, P. pați is pați, Skt. eka is ek and aneka is anek. The fact that Skt. eka is ekka in many Prakrits does not affect the argument, for it only shows that the factors which tended to preserve these intervocalic consonants unchanged had also operated in lines of development of the Indo-Aryan other than Sinhalese. Some of the examples cited above may be objected to on the ground that they are loanwords; but no such objection can be raised to the majority of them. They are genuine Sinhalese words. The forms derived from Skt. Vaiśākha, being the name of a month and of a popular Buddhist festival, must have been constantly in the mouths of the people. The form Vesaka is found in an inscription of the reign of Mahāsena (circa A.D. 274-301) and Vesak occurs in literary works of different periods. If there was any word which ought to have been subject to the normal laws of phonetic development, it is this. If this form be called a loan-word, the Sinhalese language itself has to be called a loan-language. The preservation of the k in such a word must be due to the working of normal phonetic laws, just as much as is the dropping of k in other words. If there is a reason for the preservation of an intervocalic consonant in Vesak and other words—as certainly there must be—why should not the same hold valid for the preservation of single consonants in words like sata (Skt. sapta), assuming that they are to be read as graphically shown in the Brāhmī inscriptions? We must therefore find out this reason.

246. It may perhaps be conceded that the pronunciation of Sinhalese today would throw as much light on the manner in which that language was spoken in the past as would the ways of Ardha-Māgadhī speech. Should we, acting on this principle, listen to Vesak being pronounced by the average Sinhalese man today, we should hear that the second syllable of the word is accented. If we assume that the accent in this word was on the second syllable even in the early centuries of the present era, we shall understand why the k has remained without being elided. If we pronounce the word Vesaka with the accent on the second syllable, we shall become aware that the voice which has been stressed or raised to a high pitch in uttering the syllable sa cannot be brought down before the k also is uttered. After that the pronunciation of the last vowel of the word is on a low pitch. These circumstances satisfactorily explain why the k of the third syllable is preserved while the vowel drops. An accented syllable may thus be instrumental in preserving the consonant in the next syllable. If sata, derived from Skt. sapta, is assumed to have been pronounced during the early phase of the Sinhalese language with the accent on the first syllable, the consonant of the second syllable will be preserved due to that reason while its vowel may drop. It is therefore not necessary to assume that the word was actually pronounced satta though written sata. The preservation of the consonant representing a double consonant in the Middle Indian stage can be explained in every word in this manner when the syllable preceding it is assumed to have been accented during the early phase of the language.

247. In bisyllabic words of which neither syllable was specially stressed in pronunciation, or in which the accent was equally distributed, weak consonants in intervocalic positions would have dropped. Thus the g in  $n\bar{a}ga$  drops, giving rise to  $n\bar{a}$ . Similarly, the d of  $p\bar{a}da$  is not preserved, since the first syllable was not accented. The different developments of the words  $p\bar{a}tra$  and  $g\bar{a}tra$  may also be satisfactorily explained by the theory which assumes the accent to have played a part in phonetic changes. These two words would have been pata and gata in the first century, but the accent was equally distributed in the first while it was on the first syllable in gata. The t of pata therefore dropped, giving rise to paya and  $p\bar{a}$ ; t remained of gata while the final a dropped. These examples will suffice to show that, while the accent was very often on a syllable which was originally heavy, it was not necessarily so in all cases, as Geiger assumes.

248. If the accent on the preceding syllable was the cause for the preservation of a consonant which represented an original double consonant, it would follow that the shifting of the accent would make such a consonant undergo the normal changes. Words like uļu, kevuļu, and asal, where original st, rtt, and nn have been changed respectively to l, l, and l, may have assumed their forms due to the shifting of the accent. Skt. sy is generally preserved as s in Sinhalese, we therefore find the form Tis or Tisā representing Skt. Tiṣya. But Tissa-vāpī has become Tihava. This may be due to the loss of the accent in the first syllable. The development of the half-nasal some time before the date of our

<sup>1</sup> See EZ., vol. iii, p. 179, n. 3.

graffiti is the result of the intervention of the conservative tendency to arrest the changes to which certain consonants become liable by the shifting of the accent. Where the nasal was not admissible, the consonant was duplicated; but as this was against the general character of the language, the duplication was an indistinct one, just sufficient to affect the preceding vowel. This gave rise to  $\ddot{a}$  in certain words like  $n\ddot{a}k\ddot{a}t$  (see § 150).

249. Many phonological developments in the language, of which evidence is seen for the first time in these graffiti, are thus due to changes effected at this time in the accentuation which prevailed during the earlier period.

250. The hypothesis that a consonant, preserved without undergoing further change due to the influence of the accent on the syllable which precedes it, would become liable to the normal changes with the shifting or the loss of the accent, would also satisfactorily explain the change of n to n in certain words. Words like kaṇa, vaṇa, puṇa, puṇi, pariveṇiya, corresponding to Skt. karṇa, vaṇa, pūrṇa, punya, and P. pārivenika, are found in Brāhmī inscriptions up to the fifth century with the n as in Sanskrit or Pāli. In inscriptions later than the sixth century, as well as in literary works, these words are found with a dental n in place of the cerebral.<sup>2</sup> In our graffiti, too, there are a number of words in which the n has become n; e.g. arana (No. 15) for Skt. aranya, pin for Skt. punya, van (No. 83) for Skt. varna, rakaneya (No. 88) for rakṣanīya, tun (No. 118) for Skt. trīni, piriven (No. 270) for P. parivena, kana (No. 142) for Skt. kṣana, gona (No. 681) for Pkt. gona side by side with gona (No. 272). N is liable to be changed to l just as n occasionally changes to l, witness Ravulu for Skt. Rāvaṇa. If we assume that the preservation of the n in the words cited above during the early phase of the language was due to the accent on the preceding syllable, then the loss of the accent would expose the n to the change which it has undergone in Ravulu. But such a change has not taken place in those words. It is thus apparent that the conservative tendency had stepped in and taken effective measures against such a development. An obvious expedient by which a letter can be preserved without change is to stress it in pronunciation. This would result, in the case of a consonant, in its being duplicated, at least indistinctly, as we have already seen when dealing with the origin of ä. Vana, when pronounced with emphatic stress on n, would result in something like  $va^n na$ . As in the case of the half-nasal, the conservative tendency in its efforts to arrest change has here introduced a feature repugnant to the character of the language. As Geiger has already observed, Sinhalese abhors a duplicated n (G.S.L., § 57); we have  $g\ddot{a}nn\ddot{a}$  and  $b\ddot{a}nn\ddot{a}$  from ganinu and baninu. In these the duplication of the n has resulted in its being changed to n. We may therefore assume that when vana was pronounced vana a similar result ensued, giving us vanna. In course of time the duplication ceased to be emphasized and went out of vogue, but that it did exist at one time is definitely established by the occurrence of the form vann in our graffito No. 379.

251. Julius de Lanerolle has a different explanation of the change of n to n in words like vana (Skt. vana). He conjectures that, though the word vana in Brāhmī inscriptions is written with the symbol for the cerebral n, the latter had a value somewhat different from that of the same symbol in a word like ganaka (Skt. ganaka). 'This hypothetical letter,' argues de Lanerolle, 'which I would hereafter refer to as n, etymologically represented Skt. n (P. n) and n (P. n). It apparently had a different sound from that of the usual n but that sound was nevertheless nearer to n than to n, wherefore it was represented by the n symbol. In course of time this peculiar sound gradually moved away from the sound of n and approximated to that of n until it finally merged itself in the latter, in which position we find it ever after the 6th century.' According to this theory, the n which subsequently changes to n, and is presumed to have been a cross between the dental and the cerebral in pronunciation, was derived from the Skt. n or n in. But the change of n to n is also observed in words where the n in Sanskrit was not combined with n or n in these words unaccounted for. If the n of these words during their early stage in Sinhalese was also pronounced n then the statement that this hypothetical letter etymologically represented Skt. n or n is without foundation. If it did not, the cause given

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See EZ., vol. iii, p. 154 for kaṇa (in the proper name Kuḍa-kaṇa); ibid., p. 177 for vaṇa (in Mekavaṇa); EZ., vol. iv, p. 277 for puṇa (puṇa-masi) and ibid., p. 282, for puṇi. Pariveṇiya is found in an unpublished inscription.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Salamevan, pun, pin, and piriven in the Indexes to the various volumes of the EZ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The Uses of n, n, and l, l in Sinhalese Orthography, p. 5.

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above for the change of n to n would become inadequate. Again, if the n in a word like *gona* was pronounced n, why was the n in *Gamini* and other words not pronounced accordingly?

252. De Lanerolle argues (from the Sānkhya standpoint) that the effect must exist in the cause.  $\dot{N}$  changes to n; the dental element must therefore have been present in the cerebral, though it is written as a cerebral, and etymologically goes back to a cerebral; otherwise how could its further development have resulted in a dental? But it is nevertheless admitted that n had more of the cerebral than of the dental. Why then did the dental element wax stronger and stronger until, in the end, it had the whole letter to itself, ousting the cerebral element altogether? Again, a cause at one stage of evolution is an effect in the stage preceding it. Just as \*n is the cause of n, so rn is the cause of \*n the last being an effect at that stage. If vana must have had a dental element in its n because its derivative vana has the dental n, so also would Skt. varna require a dental element in rn for it to give rise to vana (hypothetically pronounced vana). But the pronunciation of the Skt. rn, which is not a matter for speculation, does not allow a dental element to intrude into such a position. If the dental element somehow came into being, though it did not originally exist in the Old Indian, at some period before the first century A.D., it is also possible that a dental element not present in n in the fourth century came into being between that date and the sixth century—when we have the derivative of Skt. varna written down on stone as vana. On these grounds I consider de Lanerolle's theory regarding the change of n to n unsatisfactory.

253. It might be said against us that the change of n to n is consistent in words where the n represents an original Skt. nn or n, while it is only sporadic in other cases. The change of n to n in words where the n represents an original Skt. nn also appears to be consistent. If, as we have suggested, the accent had something to do with this change of n to n, the consistent manner in which the n representing a Skt. nn changes to n is easily explained. We have also conjectured, agreeing with Geiger, that the accent often is found in syllables which were originally heavy. The combination nn would make the syllable preceding it a heavy one, which would in the later stage of the language have been an accented syllable. The n following such a syllable would behave consistently, whereas in other places it would not do so due to the fact that the accented syllable was not always the one which preceded it.

254. What has been said above with regard to words which originally had combined consonants applies also, mutatis mutandis, to words which contained an anusvāra or a nasal in the Middle Indian stage. From what is stated in §§ 207 ff., it will become clear that the half-nasal often found before a voiced muta is not a survival of an original full-nasal. It is also not necessary to assume a nasal in order to make a syllable heavy to explain the 'reduction' of a to u. There is no need, as Geiger has done (G.S.L., § 37), to read havajara in the Labuäṭa-bäňdi-gala inscription (EZ., vol. iii, p. 253) as hamvajara in order to explain the vowel u in the later form of the word, havurudu. Havajara, after becoming havaraja by metathesis of consonants, is liable to have the vowel in the second syllable dropped on account of the accent on the first syllable. It is to avert this that a has been changed to u by the intervention of the conservative tendency.

255. Thus, in every case where it has been proposed to read the Brāhmī inscriptions in a manner different from that in which they are written, in order to explain later phonological developments, the latter can be much more satisfactorily explained if we read the inscriptions as the scribes have written them down, admitting of course the possibility of an occasional clerical error. The exhortation to see things as they are, and not in accordance with the construction that the mind imposes on them, made for a far nobler purpose, may thus have application even on the lower plane of philology.

## (iv) Vowel-assimilation and Epenthesis

256. 'Vowel-assimilation', says Geiger,<sup>2</sup> 'occurs in light syllables which are influenced by the vowel of the following syllable. The second syllable may be heavy or light.' According to this definition, which has obviously been formulated after a comparison of the Sinhalese language of a date later than the ninth century with Old and Middle Indian, no vowel-assimilation takes place in heavy syllables due to the influence of the vowel of the following syllable. The vowel of a syllable does not become assimilated to that of the syllable which precedes it; i.e. assimilation of vowels is always regressive, never progressive. This definition is obviously so framed in order to make room for Geiger's theories

<sup>1</sup> Skt. Drastavyam bhūtato bhūtam, P. yathā bhūtam passati or pajānāti.

<sup>2</sup> G.S.L., § 18.

of 'umlaut' and 'vowel-levelling'. We have, in §§ 114 ff., exposed the fallacies of Geiger's theory of 'umlaut'; his views on vowel-levelling will be dealt with in §§ 260 and 261. The restriction of vowelassimilation to light syllables, evidently done with an eye on the definition of 'umlaut', is nullified by the occurrence, in the language, of a number of words where vowel-assimilation and not 'umlaut' has taken place in an originally heavy syllable with a. A number of examples have been cited in § 231. In Skt. śren $\bar{i} > S$ . hini, ini, an e in a heavy syllable has been assimilated with i in the following; similarly o has been assimilated with i in Skt. śron $\bar{i} > S$ . ina. We have purposely avoided citing examples in which u in a heavy syllable is assimilated to i in the syllable which follows, as in Skt.  $s\bar{u}c\bar{i} > S$ . idi (hidi) and Skt. musti > S. miti. For these, according to Geiger, are examples of 'umlaut' u. We have, in §§ 117 and 118, examined the reasons adduced by Geiger for the assumption of an 'umlaut' u which, according to him, was originally pronounced midway between u and i and later became i; it has been established that these reasons in no way necessitate the assumption. As Geiger's dictum that vowelassimilation does not take place in heavy syllables has been found erroneous in the case of syllables with a followed by an i in the next, it may safely be assumed to be erroneous also with regard to heavy syllables with u followed by a syllable with i; Skt.  $s\bar{u}c\bar{i} > S$ . hidi, Skt. musti > S. miti and such other examples are therefore to be included under vowel-assimilation.

257. The restriction of vowel-assimilation to the regressive type, i.e. the assumption that the vowel of a syllable is not assimilated to that of the preceding syllable, has evidently been resorted to by Geiger in order to make his rule 23. 1 all embracing. This is to the effect that, by the influence of the accent in the first heavy syllable of a word, the vowel in the next syllable is elided and bisyllabic stems become monosyllabic, A form like S. kiri < Skt. kṣīra, which for all intents and purposes is an instance of progressive vowel-assimilation, is explained by him thus: the word first becomes kir by the elision of the vowel; but, at a later date, when the tendency was to allow no consonant at the end of a word, an auxiliary vowel, i, was added. This theory of Geiger, too, is against the facts of the language. As early as in the first centuries of the Christian era, the inscriptions contain forms like dini for P. dinna and karihi2 for P. karīsa. According to Geiger's theory, these two forms would first have been din and karih before they became dini and karihi. But there is no reason whatever for the assumption that the elision of vowels was a feature of the language at so early a date. This phonological change is met with for the first time in documents of about the eighth century. Among our graffiti are quite a number of documents which do not admit the elision of vowels. One of these (No. 24) contains the word nili for Skt.  $n\bar{\imath}la$  where the i of the second syllable is obviously due to vowel-assimilation. The word sihifrom Skt. simha, P. sīha, is of frequent occurrence in our graffiti. Here it cannot be said that the i of the second syllable is an auxiliary vowel; for, if so, before it was added, the word must have existed in the form sih and Geiger himself admits that h was not admitted as the final consonant of a word in Sinhalese at any stage of its evolution. The elision of the vowel of the second syllable did, of course, take place in certain words when the first syllable, an originally heavy one, was accented, e.g. sat from Skt. sattva; but this rule was not all-embracing, there were numerous words in which vowelassimilation took place in the second syllable.

258. Forms like kiri and nili (Skt. kṣīra and nīla, respectively) have therefore every justification for being treated as examples of progressive vowel-assimilation. Among such examples occurring in our graffiti may be cited: hiyil (No. 11) < Skt. śītala, kehe (No. 25) < Skt. keśa, viḷi (No. 29) < Skt. vrīḍā, lovo (No. 61) < Skt. loka, vuyu (No. 68) < Skt. bhūta, akara (No. 106) < Skt. aṅkura, muta (No. 112) < Skt. muktā, upul (No. 124) < Skt. utpala,³ geheni (No. 136) < Skt. gehinī, koho (No. 464) < P. konca, uguḷa (No. 582) < Skt. ud-ghaṭa, and dohota < do hata = Skt. dvi hasta. Suḷu < Skt. kṣudra, P. cuḷḷa, kuḷu < Skt. kūṭa are other examples. With regard to hiyil (Skt. śītala) and other forms of that type, it may be mentioned that the change of a to u in circumstances explained in § 191 has not taken place, because vowel-assimilation had already been affected. Vowel-assimilation began its career a thousand years before the phonological process of changing a to u after an accented syllable appeared in the language. It is therefore not necessary, as Geiger has done, to derive hīl (the later form of hiyil) from Skt. śiśira (G.S.L., § 74. 1).

259. Geiger himself includes under vowel-assimilation a numerous class of words such as angul <

word may also be due to the causes dealt with in §§ 191 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The change of a to u in the second syllable of this

<sup>1</sup> EZ., vol. iv, pp. 217 and 227.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibid., vol. i, p. 255.

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Skt. angula, madaţa < Skt. mañjiṣṭha, &c., in which 'the vowel of a syllable is influenced by that of the preceding one'. If he is right in admitting these words as examples of vowel-assimilation, then his definition of vowel-assimilation, which excludes the progressive type, cannot be defended. If, on the other hand, his definition is taken as being valid, then this class of words has to be left without being included in any of his categories of Sinhalese vocalism. He tries to wriggle out of this unenviable position by stating: 'they are apparently caused by the tendency to unify the vowels occurring in the same word.'

But is vowel-assimilation not due to the same tendency? If it is, what is the reason for differentiating this class of words from those which, according to Geiger, are regular instances of vowel-assimilation? Geiger admits that vowel-assimilation is due to the 'tendency to unify the vowels occurring in the same word' when he, in defining what he calls 'vowel-levelling', says that it 'rests on the same tendency of making the vowels of a word uniform as the vowel-assimilation' (G.S.L., § 21). He, therefore, going against his own definition, admits that cases in which the vowel of the second syllable is influenced by that of the first are in reality examples of vowel-assimilation. This, in effect, is an admission of the Sinhalese language, he draws far-reaching inferences based on the views formulated in that definition.

260. Certain classes of words in which the vowel of one syllable has been made uniform with that of the adjoining syllable, preceding or following, have been cited by Geiger, not as examples of vowelassimilation, but of a phonetic process which he, following O. Jespersen, refers to as 'vowel-levelling'. When balen, the instrumental singular of bala, becomes belen, Geiger does not recognize it as a case of vowel-assimilation. The phonetic process exemplified by this word is called vowel-levelling. When i in a syllable is made uniform with e of the next syllable, as happens in keles < P. kilesa, it is recognized as vowel-assimilation, but when a changes in a similar manner (balen > belen), a different term is considered necessary. The distinction is unjustifiable, and belen is as much an example of vowelassimilation as is keles. Similarly, it is vowel-assimilation that has taken place when P. bhesajja becomes S. behet. Skt. sahodara becomes S. sohoyuru and Skt. sodasa becomes S. solos. Four of the eight types (2, 4, 6, and 8) of Geiger's 'vowel-levelling' are therefore, in reality, instances of vowel-assimilation. One may, of course, admit that, in these examples, the vowels of two adjoining syllables have been made to be of the same level by bringing one vowel up or down to the level of the other. This, however, is precisely what has happened in Skt. kapi > S. kivi, which is Geiger's example for vowelassimilation. So, if balen > belen exemplifies vowel-levelling, kapi > kivi also does the same. There would be no objection if Geiger and his disciples were to take 'vowel-levelling' as a synonym of vowelassimilation, or even if they were to substitute the former term for the latter. But there certainly is no justification for distinguishing types 2, 4, 6, and 8 of Geiger's 'vowel-levelling' from vowel-assimilation.

261. Before we proceed to examine the other four types of Geiger's 'vowel-levelling', in order to demonstrate that the use of this cacophonous word is altogether unnecessary in an exposition of Sinhalese phonology, it may be pointed out that so far, in our examination of vowel-assimilation, we have pursued Geiger's own method, i.e. of comparing Sinhalese of a later day with Sanskrit, which presupposes that the manner of pronouncing the vowels in Sanskrit or Pāli governed the phonological changes which arose in the Sinhalese language. This has been done with the purpose of demonstrating that Geiger's theories, which have received academic sanction, are insufficient even according to his own method of reasoning. The distinction between the heaviness and lightness of a syllable can be taken as the deciding factor between vowel-assimilation and another phonetic process only if long vowels and conjoint consonants had been preserved in the language up to the time when these changes were taking place. It has been conclusively proved that long vowels and conjoint consonants had disappeared from the Sinhalese speech during the earliest phase of which we have any knowledge; it is therefore not the heaviness or lightness of a syllable which governs vowelassimilation. It is, as we have seen, the accent which does so. When we examine the words in which vowel-assimilation has taken place, assuming the accent in originally heavy syllables, we find that the vowel of the second syllable prevails over that of the first when neither syllable is accented, or when the second is accented; the vowel of the first syllable, when it is accented, prevails over that of the second.

262. Examples from our graffiti where the vowel of the second syllable overrides that of the first are: sisi < Skt. śaśi, pavasa < Skt. pipāsā, Saman < Skt. Sumana, pin < puṇi = Skt. puṇya, nudun < no dun, rupu < Skt. ripu, vahasa < Skt. vihāsa, risi < Skt. ruci, nevesna < Skt. nivesana, piribun < Skt. paribhinna, puludu < Skt. pralubdha, mihi < mehi, pipi < Skt. puṣpita, sala < Skt. śilā,

kipi < Skt. kupita, dasa < Skt. diśā, muru < Skt. marut, kiļi < Skt. kuṭī, savand < Skt. sugandha, gulu < Skt. gula (guḍa), piḷi < Skt. sphaṭika, dava < Skt. divā, miṭi < Skt. muṣṭi, pedes < Skt. pradeśa, sirit < Skt. caritra, nähändinä < no händinä, tunu < Skt. tanu, rese < rase (loc. sing. of rasa), saka < Skt. śikhā, and pirihas < Skt. parihāsa. Examples in which the vowel of the first syllable has prevailed over that of the second have been given in § 258. Madaṭa < Skt. mañjiṣṭha would seem to show that the same vowel in two unaccented syllables can override a vowel in an accented syllable.

263. The regressive type of vowel-assimilation, i.e. where the vowel of the second syllable overrides that of the first, appears to be far more numerous than the progressive. What happens in vowelassimilation is, presumably, that auditory impressions preserved in the storehouse of memory, when evoked by the desire to give expression to the corresponding concept, come rushing headlong without allowing time for the initial sounds to be distinctly uttered by the vocal organs and, in the case of persons whose habits of speech have not been disciplined, a sound which had not yet been distinctly uttered is stifled by another which has overtaken it. Auditory impressions registered by an accented syllable would be much more distinct than those left by an unaccented one, and are powerful enough to struggle with and overcome the sound impressions which overtake them and try to overpower them; they, at times, not being satisfied with repelling the invader, establish themselves in his domain, thus giving rise to progressive vowel-assimilation. When the vowel of the first syllable of vapi remained unchanged by the influence of the i in the second syllable, without being assimilated as had happened to a when pati became piti, it had been victorious in its defensive struggle against the forces of vowel-assimilation. When keśa became kehe, the accented vowel of the first syllable had not only defended itself successfully against the intruder, but had taken the conflict to the aggressor's own domain; and, having vanquished the latter there, had established itself in its place. But there are instances in which neither side had scored a clear victory in this struggle which, we may presume, must have been steadily going on for centuries. When vavi becomes veva, the intruding vowel i of the second syllable has not succeeded in suppressing the a of the first syllable; nor has a succeeded in repelling the invader, though it had carried the conflict to the adversary's own domain (the i of the second syllable has been changed to a). The original a of the first syllable remained side by side with the intruding i. The two eventually forgot their enmity and combined themselves into one vowel, giving rise to e. The intruding vowel which thus fails to overcome its intended victim is called an epenthetic vowel. Epenthesis, therefore, is arrested assimilation. It is the outcome of the struggle against assimilation. Here, again, we see yet another aspect of the pervading conflict of two opposing tendencies, one aiming at change and the other at preserving things as they are.

264. When the arrest of the process of vowel-assimilation is effected by epenthesis, neither of the two vowels concerned succeeds in preserving its individuality unaltered. If both vowels had remained unaltered, there would have been a hiatus; and Sinhalese hates the hiatus. The two thus coalesce into one. In veva we have seen that a and i have combined to form e. This is in perfect agreement with the rules of euphonic combination laid down for Sanskrit. Similarly, we shall see below that a + u becomes o, again following the laws of euphonic combination in Sanskrit. In dealing with the vowel  $\ddot{a}$  we have seen that e followed by e resolves itself into e0, indicating once more that the rules of euphonic combination formulated by e1 panini hold good for Sinhalese phonology. We shall, in the sequel, see that e1 confronted with another vowel follows a similar procedure.

which was possibly accented, has succeeded in overpowering the i of this middle syllable. In Skt.  $mahil\bar{a} > S$ . meheli, the a in the first syllable has been able to arrest vowel-assimilation with the support given by its kindred in the third syllable; but epenthesis has taken place. Similar is the development of Skt. vanija into S. venaja (No. 24). In Skt.  $dharan\bar{n} > S$ . derana, a in the first syllable supported by the same in the second has arrested vowel-assimilation, without, however, being able to preserve itself unaffected. Similar is the result when an i in the first syllable is followed by a in the second and the third, witness, for example, vehera for Skt.  $vin\bar{a}ra$  (No. 49),  $vin\bar{a}ra$  (No. 19), Skt.  $vin\bar{a}ra$  (No. 19), Skt.  $vin\bar{a}ra$  (No. 241), and Skt.  $vin\bar{a}ra$  (No. 92), the vowel of a syllable has been affected by that in the one following it, causing epenthesis. The force which results in regressive vowel-assimilation is sometimes so strong that even the accent in the first syllable or two similar vowels in two adjoining syllables cannot counteract it entirely. Thus we have epenthesis in

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Skt. kunda > S. kond (No. 249) and Skt.  $muh\bar{u}rta > S$ . mohota (No. 430). In boho (No. 610) for Skt. bahu and poson for Skt.  $pras\bar{u}na$ , an epenthetic u has been added after the a of the first syllable by the opposition which the latter put up against the forces of vowel-assimilation. The same has happened in tol (No. 90) if we derive it from Skt.  $t\bar{u}lu$ . In kond and mohota as well as in Skt. kundala > S. kondola > S.

266. It will be observed that the examples cited in the preceding paragraph are included in one or other of types 1, 3, 5, and 7 of Geiger's 'vowel-levelling'. In this matter, what Geiger has done is to observe a particular vowel change and to give it a name, without making an attempt to understand its exact nature. Moreover, he has taken two distinct phonological processes—epenthesis and euphonic combination of vowels—as being one and the same. Thus 'vowel-levelling' has been found to consist in reality of vowel-assimilation or epenthesis followed by euphonic combination.

267. It will be clear from the above exposition that the e in words like veva which later develops into ä (the so-called umlaut) and the e in words like meheli, derana, &c., noticed in § 265, are both of the same nature, and owe their origin to the same causes. There is no reason for assuming that the pronunciation of the one differed from that of the other. Yet the e in the latter class of words, which according to Geiger are instances of vowel-levelling, never develops into ä, while it does so in words like veva. This may be taken by some as a justification for including words like meheli, derana, &c., in a category different from that of veva, &c. Things are classified according to the state of their own nature and not by ascertaining what they would subsequently become. We classify carpenters as a separate class because they follow the profession of carpentry. We do not make a separate class of such carpenters as may one day go to jail. That the e developed into  $\ddot{a}$  in one case, while it remained stable in the other, is due to the different circumstances in which this vowel happened to be after it was brought into being by epenthesis. In  $veva > v\ddot{a}va$ , as we have shown above, the a in the second syllable appeared by epenthesis after e in the first syllable, giving rise to  $\ddot{a}$  (see § 131). In words like meheli, mehesi, &c., the vowel of the last syllable could not similarly affect the e in the first syllable, because the position of the latter was strengthened by the presence of an e in the second syllable. In words like derana, the attraction of a was towards its kindred vowel. The two a's supported each other against the possible inroads of e in the first syllable, which perhaps was accented and therefore strong. The vowels, in this manner, seem to have preserved a delicate system of balance, in which the accent must have played an important part.

268. It remains now to notice another type of words in which epenthesis plays a part. This is the so-called o-umlaut of Geiger. Skt. koti, for instance, becomes kela in Sinhalese, doni (Skt. droni) develops to deni and  $sora + \bar{\imath}$  (the feminine suffix) becomes sera. What has happened in these and similar words, which are rather numerous, is that the i in the second syllable attempts to overcome the o in the first (vowel-assimilation) but is arrested in the process and falls after o (epenthesis). O and i are joined together in euphonic combination. Just as e resolves itself to ay due to the impact of a dissimilar vowel, so does o become av in similar circumstances. The y in ay was indistinctly pronounced, but could affect the preceding a and alter its pronunciation to  $\ddot{a}$ ; but the v of av was completely elided, leaving a free to coalesce with i and become e. That the o resolves itself into av when brought into contact with a dissimilar vowel is shown by the inflected forms of certain stems ending in o. The dative singular of  $bis\bar{o}$ , formed by adding the suffix -ata, is bisavata, and from the stem  $Mah\bar{o}$  (a place-name) we get, when suffixes -a and -ata are added, the forms Mahava and Mahavata.

Thus the opposition to vowel-assimilation has given rise to some of the most far-reaching developments in Sinhalese vocalism. If there had been no vowel-assimilation there would have been no  $\ddot{a}$  in the Sinhalese language. There would also have been no  $\ddot{a}$  if vowel-assimilation had held undisputed sway.

<sup>1</sup> A form found in an inscription of the reign of Kaniṭṭha Tissa (circa A.D. 166-84) at Situlpavuva. Kojara-hala = P. kuñjara-sālā.

#### (v) Phonological Rules

269. Having thus discussed, in some detail, the more important phonological processes which have been misunderstood by philologists who have studied the Sinhalese language, I now proceed to state, in the form of rules, the phonological changes by means of which the Old Indian arrived at the linguistic stage represented by our graffiti. Naturally, only such phonological changes as are exemplified by words occurring in our graffiti will find a place here. These, however, comprise the more important phonological developments to be noticed in literary Sinhalese, and not many more would be required to make the rules embrace the whole language. The rules are arranged, as far as possible, in their proper historical sequence, but those which deal with internal sandhi, being of general application, are placed at the head. After each rule is given, in parenthesis, a number in Roman figures, by which it will be referred to later in the course of this work. The vowels and consonants are dealt with separately.

#### VOWELS

- 270. (a) Unless otherwise stated, the relevant rule out of i-iv is to be taken as operative when two vowels are brought together, within a word, by the working of any of the rules which follow them.
  - (b) Within a word, two similar vowels, short or long, coalesce into the corresponding long vowel (i).
- (c) In some compound words, of which the individual character of the constituents has been obscured, the phonological processes dealt with in Rules i-iv take place as in internal sandhi. See § 133.
- (d) Long vowels in Sinhalese, when they became a feature of the language from about the seventh century, originated by the coalescing of two short vowels. The rule, however, includes 'short or long' to account for such forms as lī1 from Skt. likhita, which first becomes līti by the elision of the consonant in the second syllable. When the t of the third syllable, too, eventually drops, the long i is confronted with the short i.
- (e) E and o are not invariably long in Sinhalese, as they are in Sanskrit. They, like the other vowels, were as a rule short in the early phase of the language; but when two short e's or o's are brought together, they coalesce into long  $\bar{e}$ 's or  $\bar{o}$ 's, just like the simple vowels. The rule, therefore, has not been restricted to simple vowels as it is in Sanskrit.
- 271. (a) Geiger and his followers admit the possibility, in Sinhalese, of two dissimilar vowels coalescing to form the long vowel of that which comes first. The evolution of S. gī (song), for example, is given as  $g\bar{\imath}ta > *giya > *giy > g\bar{\imath}$  (G.S.L., § 10). S.  $v\bar{u}$  is said to come from Skt. bhūta, through an intermediate vūa (B.S.O.A.S., vol. xi, p. 830). These philologists have attempted to make Sinhalese behave like certain Prakrits. The occurrence, in our graffiti, of the intermediate forms of these two words as giyi and vuyu definitely establishes that the old Sinhalese language had followed its own individual course in this phonological development. What happened in Sinhalese was that, by vowel-assimilation, the dissimilar vowels of the two syllables were made similar. Then the consonant between the vowels dropped, and the two similar vowels coalesced.
- (b) Geiger also assumes that forms like \*giy, \*nay are the immediate precursors of  $g\bar{\imath}$  and  $n\bar{a}$ ; indicating that, when a short vowel is followed by y, the latter drops and the vowel is lengthened. This view is not supported by the various stages of such words occurring in our graffiti. Take, for instance, the genitive singular of the second person pronoun; taya, tay, ta, and ta are the forms occurring in our graffiti. Of these, taya is clearly the earliest form in point of evolution, and ta the latest; but ta is found in a document of very archaic character, in which neither the virāma nor the ä-sign is represented in the script (No. 143). Ta definitely represents a stage subsequent to  $t\bar{a}$  of which tay would be the prototype according to Geiger. Tā and tay, however, occur in numerous documents which date after the adoption of the virāma and the ä-sign, e.g. Nos. 320 and 445. Ta which occurs in earlier documents cannot, therefore, be derived from tay in later documents. Similar is the case with the particle of comparison which occurs in the forms seya, sey, sē, and se. The most developed of these forms, se, is found in a document (No. 625) in which there is no virāma and no ä-sign, whereas seya, sey, and sē are found in graffiti written in much more developed scripts. It is, therefore, clear that
- The examples illustrating these rules have been The reader may refer to the Index-Glossary to ascertaken from the graffiti, unless otherwise stated. The reference, therefore, is not given for each example.

tain the number of the graffito in which any particular example occurs.

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taya, tay,  $t\bar{a}$ , ta, and seya, sey,  $s\bar{e}$ , se do not represent a direct line of development. Geiger's  $*giya > *giy > g\bar{\imath}$  and  $*naya > nay > n\bar{a}$  do not thus receive support from actual examples. When these words were in the stage taya, seya, \*giya, and \*naya, the development seems to have bifurcated. In one direction the final vowel dropped and gave rise to the forms tay, sey, \*giy, and \*nay which, however, do not seem to have had any further development. In the other direction the intervocalic consonant dropped, causing the vowels to coalesce, and gave rise to the forms  $t\bar{a}$ ,  $s\bar{e}$ ,  $g\bar{\imath}$ , and  $n\bar{a}$ . Shortening of the long vowel gave rise to ta and se. The words kehe and lovo preserved in our graffiti also establish that the long vowel in such words as  $k\bar{e}$  (hair) and  $l\bar{o}$  (world) is the result of the coalescing of two similar short vowels, vowel-assimilation having done away with the difference between the vowels of the two syllables.

272. (a) An a combines with the following i to become e; with u to form o (ii). See § 133.

(b) E before a dissimilar vowel becomes ay; the y, indistinctly pronounced, modifies the preceding a to  $\ddot{a}$  (iii).

See §§ 134 ff.

(c) O before a dissimilar vowel becomes a through av (iv).

See § 268. While the methods of euphonic combination in Rules i and ii are the same as in Sanskrit, there is a difference to be noted in Rules iii and iv. In internal sandhi, e becomes ay and o becomes av in Sanskrit, and the semi-vowel is joined to the following vowel. In external sandhi the semi-vowel drops, leaving the a which, however, does not join with the following vowel. Sinhalese has followed a middle course between those of external and internal sandhi as regards ay from e. As regards av from o, what happens in internal sandhi in Sinhalese is the same as what occurs in external sandhi in Sanskrit. The aversion to hiatus within a word, however, causes the a which remains when the semi-vowel is dropped to join with the vowel which follows.

273. (a) The first of two vowels coming together is often elided (v).

Examples: eno (ena + o), atina (ata + ina), malolambu (mala + olambu), helillambu (helili + ambu).

- (b) Phonetic changes which take place when a suffix follows a stem are generally in accord with the rules of external *sandhi*; in some forms of the stems e and me, however, the rules of internal *sandhi* come into play instead. Rules v and vi have application to external, as well as to internal, *sandhi*.
- (c) Inflected forms and compound words in our graffiti very often go back to similar forms of an earlier period, but there are many new forms built on analogy, in which the suffix has been abstracted and treated individually.
  - (d) A y is sometimes inserted between two vowels (vi).

Examples: sitivo (siti + o), noyek (no + ek).

- (e) 'Coming together' has to be read into this rule from the preceding.
- (f) When the first of the two vowels is u or o, a v is generally found in place of y. But forms like oyun and moyun indicate that the inserted semi-vowel (vocal glide) was originally y and that the v is a secondary development (see Rule civ).
- 274. (a) The phonetic changes formulated in Rules vii to xv, which mark the transition from the Old Indian to the Middle Indian, have been the basis for further development in Sinhalese. They had probably been already effected in the language spoken by the first immigrants to Ceylon from North India.
  - (b) The vowels r and l disappear. R is substituted by a, i, u, or ru (vii).

Examples: r becomes a in taṇ a < Skt. trṇ a, kala < Skt. krta, mala < Skt. mrta; i in piti < Skt. prṣtha, hidaya < Skt. hrdaya, diseyi < Skt. drṣyate; u in musa < Skt. mrṣā, sudusu < Skt. sadrṣa; in rutu (Skt. rtu), r has become ru. Cf. rusi for rsi in modern Sinhalese. Both these examples may be words adopted at a later date. No derivative from any Old Indian word with l is found in our graffiti or, for the matter of that, anywhere in the Sinhalese language.

<sup>1</sup> Rules vii to xiii and liv to lxxiv are based on Woolner, An Introduction to Prākrit.

(c) The dipthongs ai and au are replaced by e and o, respectively (viii).

Examples:  $sela < Skt. \, saila, \, yovun < Skt. \, yauvana$ . In the Middle Indian stage, the vowels e and o were generally long, but were short before double consonants. This distinction had no bearing on the development of Sinhalese. The operation of Rule xvi has made e and o, whether long or short in Middle Indian, follow the same course.

(d) A vowel followed by a double consonant or an anusvāra is shortened (ix).

The effect of this rule, so far as the development of Sinhalese phonology is concerned, is comprehended in that of Rule xvi; but the Rule is formulated so that the proper historical sequence of the phonetic changes may be understood. The shortening of a in Skt. mārga (S. maga), for instance, took place at an earlier stage than the corresponding change in Skt. śīla (S. sil).

(e) A sometimes changes to i or u due to the accent in the preceding syllable (x).

An epenthetic vowel is sometimes added before or after the vowel of the first syllable; the vowel so added being that of the second syllable (xi).

- (f) Rules x and xi represent phonetic changes which are only sporadic in Middle Indian, but are more widespread in Medieval Sinhalese (see Rules xix-xxxii, xxxvii). They are separately treated here, since words like mädum, tera, and pokaṇa do not go back direct to Skt. madhyama, sthavira, and puṣkaraṇī but to Middle Indian forms like P. majjhima, thera, and pokkharaṇī.
  - (g) An initial vowel is sometimes elided (xii).

Yi (Skt. iti) is already found in Prakrit and Pāli as ti; dän (Skt. idānīm) is dāni in Pāli. Cf. also pohot (Skt. upavasatha) which is posatha in Pali.

(h) Ya, not necessarily occurring after a, is sometimes reduced to i; va to u (xiii).

Examples: Olambu is derived from Skt. ava-lambita + ka, through Middle Indian olambita + ka. Aya becoming e is exemplified by lena<sup>1</sup> from Skt. layana through Middle Indian lena.

(i) A is at times added to the final consonant of a word (xiv).

Example: kima for Skt. kim. This cannot be explained in the same manner as muduna (§ 284 i). As the earliest form of the Sinhalese language had no words ending in consonants, the addition of the vowel must be presumed to have been effected in the Mid-Indian period.

(j) In putra, a of the second syllable changes to i (xv).

This is the result of *tra* in *putra* being pronounced as *tr* in the Old Indian period, by analogy with *pitr*, *mātr*, &c. *Puti* in the second-century Brāhmī inscriptions of Ceylon (*EZ*., vol. i, pp. 67, 73, 210) explains *pit* of our graffito No. 307. *Puti* > \*piti > pit.

275. With Rule xvi we begin the formulation of phonological changes concerning vowels to be observed in Sinhalese documents.

Long vowels are shortened (xvi).

The shortening of long vowels under certain conditions is to be observed in Pāli and the Prakrits (Rule ix). The early Brāhmī inscriptions of India show further advance in this direction. In the earliest available Sinhalese inscriptions, this rule had been consistently carried out. It is not possible to determine whether the shortening of all long vowels had been carried out in the language introduced into Ceylon by the earliest immigrants from India, or whether the process was carried to completion in Ceylon. The few words found in early documents which contain long vowels have been proved to be due to pedantic restoration. They, therefore, need not be taken as exceptions to this rule. The shortening takes place very often of vowels which are long as a result of the operation of Rule i.  $M\bar{a}$  becomes ma and  $t\bar{a}$  becomes ta. For a discussion of the philological problems involved in this rule, see §§ 216 ff.

- 276. (a) The vowel of an unaccented syllable is often assimilated to that of the syllable which immediately follows it, or to that of the accented syllable which immediately precedes it (xvii).
- (b) A syllable which was heavy in Middle Indian may, for the purpose of this and the following rules, be taken as accented in early Sinhalese. There are, however, exceptions to this.

<sup>1</sup> This word is not from the graffiti.

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(c) In a word of more than two syllables, the vowel of an accented syllable may be assimilated to that of two or more unaccented syllables (xviii).

For examples of vowel-assimilation and a discussion of questions relating to it, see §§ 256 ff.

277. (a) An epenthetic i is added after the a of an accented syllable, when the vowel of the following syllable is i (xix).

Examples: Skt.  $v\bar{a}p\bar{\imath} > veva$  (EZ., vol. iv, p. 123); P. patti > peta (EZ., vol. iii, p. 122).

(b) An epenthetic i is added after the a of the first syllable, even though it be not accented, if there is another syllable with a in the word, and a following syllable has i (**xx**).

Example: Skt. dharaṇī > deraṇa.1

(c) An epenthetic i is added after the a of the first syllable and an a before the i of the second syllable when the vowel of the first syllable is a and that of the second and third syllables i (**xxi**).

Example: Skt. marīcī > mereja. Cf. Skt. mahiṣī > mehesi.

(d) An epenthetic a is added before i when the vowel of the first syllable is i and that of the second syllable a (**xxii**).

Examples: Skt. vīṇā > veṇa, Skt. krīḍā > keļi.

It will be observed that in keli the vowel of the second syllable has, in addition, been assimilated to that of the first.

- (e) An epenthetic u is added after a of the first syllable when the accented second syllable has an u (**xxiii**). Example: Skt. bahu > boho; cf. Skt.  $pras\bar{u}na > poson$ .
- (f) An epenthetic a is added before u of the accented first syllable when followed by an a in the second syllable (**xxiv**).

Example: Skt. kunda > kond; cf. Skt. kundala > kondol.

- (g) A dissimilar vowel in a syllable which follows an accented syllable with e is sometimes added by epenthesis after e (xxv).
  - (h) The epenthetic vowel added by Rule xxv disappears after having resolved e to ay (xxvi).
- (i) A y, of ay originating in accordance with Rule xxvi, often indistinctly pronounced, merges with a preceding a and transforms it into  $\ddot{a}$  (xxvii).
  - (j) In meyun, &c., the semi-vowel of ay resulting from e followed by an u is elided (xxviii).

Examples: eyun > oyun > ovun; meyun > moyun > movun.

- (k) An epenthetic vowel is not added after e in the first syllable if the following syllable also contains an e, or if it is followed by two syllables each containing an a (xxix).
- (1) An epenthetic i is added after the o of an accented syllable, mostly initial, when the vowel of the second syllable is i (xxx).
  - (m) In soya, &c., ya has the same effect as i in adding an epenthetic i after o (xxxi).
- Skt.  $\dot{soka} > S$ . seva. Cf. also Skt. loka > S. lev. The intervocalic k has dropped and a y has been added. The change of y to u has been effected after the y has influenced the o in the first syllable.
- (n) The semi-vowel of av resulting from o followed by the epenthetic i is elided and the a which remains is united with i to form e (**xxxii**).
- (0) For the discussion of phonological questions involved in Rule xix and for examples see §§ 129, 131, and 264. For Rules xx-xxiv, see §§ 263-5. Rules xxv-xxvii are elaborated with examples in §§ 131-41, xxix in § 267, and xxx-xxxii in § 268.
  - 278. (a) The vowel of a syllable which follows an accented syllable is often elided (xxxiii).

Examples: mala > mal, rata > rat, neta > net.

- (b) The vowel of the final syllable in words with more than two syllables is often elided (xxxiv).
- (c) A vowel attached to h never suffers elision (xxxv).
- (d) An a (or an i) which is liable to elision after an accented syllable may change to i or u (xxxvi). See §§ 191-3 for examples.
  - <sup>1</sup> This word is not from the graffiti.

- (e) The elision of the vowels formulated in Rules xxxiii and xxxiv was not consistently carried out. Apart from those documents which belong to a time when this phonetic change had not yet begun to operate, there are, among our graffiti, many records in which forms with the vowels elided in accordance with Rules xxxiii and xxxiv are found side by side with words in which they are preserved. See, for example, graffiti Nos. 482, 346, and 106. This elision of vowels seems to have been a matter of individual preference. When, therefore, in the later language, we find words such as ata, piyuma, piyavuru, &c., in place of the at, piyum, piyovur, &c., of our graffiti, it is not necessary, as Geiger does, to assume that the final vowel is an auxiliary which has been added later. Forms with the final vowel could very well have existed side by side with those in which it had been elided, and have come to be preferred with the change of taste. If an auxiliary vowel was added at a later date when words were not allowed to end with certain consonants, it is strange that the vowel added as the auxiliary is almost invariably identical with the one which was elided at an earlier date.
- 279. (a) When two consecutive syllables have similar vowels separated by a y, v, or h, one of the vowels is often dissimilated to prevent the coalescing of the two vowels following the elision of the consonant (xxxvii).

See §§ 171 ff.

- (b) This is a general rule. The five rules which follow are concerned with the details of its working. For the elision of the consonant, see Rule cv. The contraction of the vowels takes place in accordance with Rule i.
- (c) When the dissimilation takes place of the a in the first of two consecutive syllables with similar vowels, it is changed to i: when it is the a of the second of two such syllables which is dissimilated, the change is from a to u (**xxxviii**).

See § 180.

- (d) Of two i's to be dissimilated in accordance with Rule xxxvii, the second changes to u (xxxix). See §§ 181-4.
- (e) Of two u's to be dissimilated in accordance with Rule xxxvii, the first changes to i (x1). See §§ 185-6.
- (f) Of two o's to be dissimilated in accordance with Rule xxxvii, one changes to e (xli). See § 188.
- (g) As the example available is one in which vowel-assimilation has further taken place after vowel-dissimilation, it is not possible to ascertain whether the dissimilation takes place in the first or the second of the o's in two consecutive syllables. Most likely the change takes place in the first syllable.
- (h) Dissimilation of vowels as in Rule xxxvii also takes place at times to prevent the syncope of r, l, or l (**xlii**).

See § 184.

- (i) In Middle Indian, too, there are examples for this rule: Skt. guru is garu in Pāli and in some of the Prakrits.
- (j) The vowel of a preceding or following syllable is often assimilated to the vowel resulting from dissimilation as laid down in Rule xxxvii (xliii).
- (k) An u resulting from dissimilation (Rule xxxviii) does not prevail over the a of a preceding accented syllable (xliv).

See § 240.

(l) When Rule xliii takes effect, it allows the operation of Rules cv and i, to avert which the phonological change formulated in xxxvii came into being. See § 172.

280. An a followed by y sometimes changes to i (xlv).

Example: piyov < Skt. prayoga.

An a followed by v sometimes changes to u (xlvi).

Example: navar (Skt. nagara) > nuvara. 1

<sup>1</sup> Navar is the form in our documents. Nuvara occurs in literature as well as in the spoken language of today.

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281. (a) An initial vowel is sometimes elided (xii).

Examples: nurā < Skt. anurāga, varada < Skt. aparādha, ran < Skt. araṇya, vahan < Skt. upānah, nugi < Skt. anugatā, seṇ < Skt. aśaṇi, väla < Skt. āvalī, bisari < Skt. abhisārikā, ran < Skt. hiraṇya (h being dropped), sara < Skt. apsaras, tiri < itiri (Skt. strī), ho < Skt. aśoka, pahas < Skt. apahāsa, nala < Skt. anala, neka < Skt. aneka, nuyuļa < Skt. anukūla.

- (b) It may be assumed that the initial vowel which has dropped came before an accented syllable. We have seen that the dropping of the initial vowel was already taking place in the Middle Indian stage in certain words of which the derivatives are found in Sinhalese. Of the examples given above, all taken from our graffiti, we cannot say at what period the vowel dropped, for the earlier forms of these words are not known from any of the available documents. Ya (Skt. ayas, with initial a dropped) is met with in an inscription of Śrīmeghavarnna (circa A.D. 302-29). See EZ., vol. iii, p. 177.
- 282. (a) Ya (not necessarily occurring after a) is sometimes reduced to i; va to u (samprasāraṇa) (xiii).

Words in which this phonetic change had already occurred in the Middle Indian stage have been given above. Examples in which the change has taken place later are:  $dora < Skt. dv\bar{a}ra$ , te < Skt. traya. Skt.  $dv\bar{a}ra$  must first have become \*davara by svara-bhakti. Dora is found in an inscription of about the second century (EZ., vol. iii, p. 215). Jolo from Skt.  $jv\bar{a}l\bar{a}$  and the verbal forms jolannat and jollay should also be explained under this rule.

(b) A vowel before ya or va, reduced to i and u respectively, is sometimes elided (xlvii).

Examples: hur < Skt. svara,  $h\ddot{a}ki < Skt.$   $\dot{s}akya$ . In these examples it has to be assumed that an a was introduced by svara-bhakti before ya and va, for no conjoint consonants are allowed in early Sinhalese. If Skt. svara and  $\dot{s}akya$  had changed respectively into sara and sakka in Old Sinhalese as in Middle Indian, there would have been no room for i or u to develop. The svara-bhakti vowel has subsequently been elided.

(c) An i is sometimes added to y; an u to v; not when these semi-vowels occur initially (xlviii).

Examples: ayhapat > ayihapat, sey > seyi, pavra > pavura, pav > pavu.

283. (a) A sometimes becomes e due to the influence of an adjoining palatal consonant; it becomes o when there is a labial consonant adjoining (xlix).

Examples: jena (later dena) < Skt. jana, jeti < Skt. jñata, gob < Skt. garbha, bolo < Skt. bahala, nuba < Skt. nabhas. Cf. pol for Skt. phala in the phrase mal-pol-vatu (Gk., v. 10).

(b) Metathesis of vowels takes place in a few words (1).

Examples: puvat < Skt. pravrtti, Pkt. pavutti, pevija, \*paveji < Skt. pravrajita. Cf. kimbul < Skt. kumbhīla.

(c) A becomes e before a consonant indistinctly duplicated (li).

Example: gala < gela. Such an e often changes to  $\ddot{a}$  by Rules xxv to xxvii. See §§ 150 ff. For the duplication of consonants, see Rule cix.

- (d) The vowel a is added by prothesis before a consonant representing a nexus in Old Indian (lii). Example: akmay for Skt. kṣamāpaya.
- (e) A short vowel, accented or openly pronounced, is at times lengthened (liii).

Examples: punā, sitvāma.

#### CONSONANTS

- 284. (a) Rules liv-lxxiv deal with consonant changes marking the transition from Old Indian to Middle Indian which are presupposed in Sinhalese phonology.
  - (b) The three sibilants are reduced to one, the dental s (liv).

Already in Pāli there is neither ś nor ṣ. But in Sinhalese inscriptions up to the first century A.D. the palatal ś occurs very frequently. The majority of the Brāhmī inscriptions of Ceylon contain only the palatal ś, using it in place even of the dental. The dental, however, is preferred in certain documents, while others use the two indifferently. No cerebral ṣ has been found in any Brāhmī inscription in Ceylon. Whether the documents, in this respect, reflect the actual state of the language,

is uncertain. It may be due to pedantry; it has also been suggested that it is the effect of the influence of Buddhist teachers from Magadha. To whatever cause the occurrence of s in the early Brāhmī inscriptions is due, it has had no effect on the later phonological development of the language; for after the second century the dental is the only sibilant occurring in Ceylon inscriptions until they begin to show the influence of Sanskrit. So far as the language of our graffiti is concerned, the occurrence of s in the earliest records is of no moment.

- (c) A palatal is sometimes substituted for a dental (lv).
- S. siţiyi (Skt. tişthati) goes back to a form like M. ciţthai. In the Mihintalē rock-inscription of Kuṭakaṇṇa Gāmaṇī Abhaya occurs the form cira-ciṭati = Skt. cira-sthiti.
  - (d) R occasionally changes to l, Skt. daridra > P. dalidda > dilind (lvi).
  - (e) The aspirates kh, gh, th, dh, ph, and bh between vowels are sometimes reduced to h (Ivii).

Examples:  $P\ddot{a}h\ddot{a} < \text{Skt. } prabh\bar{a}$ , muhuna < Skt. mukha, boho < Skt. bodhi. In some words it is difficult to decide whether an h is due to this rule or to false restoration in accordance with Rule cvi.

(f) A dental (in a free position or in a compound) is cerebralized under the influence of preceding r or r (lviii).

Examples: ad < P. addha < Skt. ardha; vaṭa < P. vaṭṭa < Skt. vṛṭṭa. The working of this rule in the Middle Indian stage has decided the form of many words in Sinhalese.

(g) In rare instances, d changes to l (lix).

Example: Skt. kadamba > koloba.

- (h) Y in yasti changes to l; lati (lx).
- (i) All final consonants are dropped (lxi).

Examples: mana < Skt. manas, yaha < Skt. yasas. In a few words like muduna the final consonant of the Old Indian stem is preserved in Sinhalese. This may be due to the addition of an a to the final consonant in the Middle Indian stage or to an inflected form in an oblique case, e.g. mūrdhnā (inst. sin.) being adopted as the stem form.

(j) At the beginning of a word only a single consonant can remain (lxii).

The effect of this rule is merged in that of Rule lxxv in so far as Sinhalese phonology is concerned, but it is placed here so that the historical sequence in the evolution of certain words may be properly understood. In *kana*, for instance, a group of consonants in the Old Indian stage was reduced to a single consonant before the same result became manifest in a word like *araka* where the same nexus occurs, but not initially, as in the other.

- (k) Consonant groups in the middle of a word are reduced to groups of two consisting of (1) doubled consonants, (2) mute after nasal of the same class, or (3) aspirated nasal (lxiii).
- (l) Compound consonants are assimilated, the second prevailing among equals and the stronger prevailing among unequals (lxiv).
  - (m) In descending order, the strength of the consonants is: (1) mutes, (2) nasals, (3) s, l, v, y, r, and h.
  - (n) A nasal before a mute becomes anusvāra (lxv).
  - (o) When a sibilant precedes a mute, the sibilant is assimilated and the mute aspirated (lxvi).
  - (p) When a sibilant follows the mute, they become cch (lxvii).
  - (q) Ks, however, often becomes kkha (lxviii).
  - (r) A dental is first palatalized (lxix).

The Sinhalese words  $s\ddot{a}nd\ddot{a}$  for  $sandhy\bar{a}$  and  $m\ddot{a}da$  (made in a fourth-century inscription) for madhya would seem to indicate that they are derived not from a Middle Indian  $sa\tilde{n}jh\bar{a}$  and majjha formed according to this rule but from forms in which the y had been preserved. Otherwise, the development of the  $\ddot{a}$ -vowel could not be accounted for.

- (s) In a group of nasal with sibilant, the nasal, if it precedes, becomes  $anusv\bar{a}ra$ ; when the sibilant precedes, it becomes h and the order is reversed (lxx).
  - (t) Visarga before k, kt, p, pt, or a sibilant is treated like a sibilant (lxxi).
  - (u) The consonant group mr becomes mb (lxxii).

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(v) Jña often becomes ña or nn (lxxiii).

This is an exception to Rule lxiii. S. san is derived from Skt. samjñā through a Middle Indian form like P. saññā.

- (w) When one of the two consonants is a nasal or a semi-vowel, the two may be separated by an inserted svara-bhakti vowel (lxxiv).
- 285. (a) From Rule lxxv onwards the changes which the consonants underwent in Sinhalese are dealt with, as exemplified by documents beginning with the third century B.C.
  - (b) All conjoint or double consonants become single (lxxv).

See §§ 241 ff.

(c) The anusvāra is dropped (lxxvi).

See §§ 254 ff.

286. Aspirated consonants lose their aspiration (lxxvii).

The earliest Sinhalese inscriptions, as a rule, use de-aspirated consonants in place of the aspirated; e.g. saga for Middle Indian saṃgha. But words using aspirated consonants are not uncommon in some documents, for we have forms like sagha, dhama, &c., in place of saga and dama which occur more frequently. The aspirated consonants are found sporadically in genuine Sinhalese words in documents up to the fourth century. Thereafter, the occurrence of an aspirated consonant may be taken as a sign of the influence of Sanskrit or Pāli. The state of things in the early documents with regard to aspirated consonants may be due either to the actual condition of the language, the de-aspiration of consonants not having been carried out consistently, or to learned restorations. That the latter is the more likely explanation is indicated by the occurrence of aspirated consonants in words where they, on the analogy of the Old Indian or the Middle Indian, should not occur, e.g. ghamikha in a pre-Christian Brāhmī inscription stands for Skt. grāmika. So far as the phonology of the language of our graffiti is concerned, all aspirated consonants may be taken as consistently de-aspirated.

287. An aspirated consonant is sometimes split (lxxviii).

Examples: pahas < P. phassa; dahara < Skt. dhārā; sand¹han < Skt. sandhāna; ajahas < Skt. adhyāśaya.

Geiger, after giving his own examples for this phonological feature, remarks: 'All these words, I believe, were loan words from some Prakritic dialect and more or less adopted to Sinhalese phonology. But they became current at a time when aspirates were already unknown in Ceylon so that in the loan words they were felt by the ear as two separate sounds: gh as g + h, gh as gh as gh between the ear gh as gh between gh as gh between gh as gh between gh as gh between gh and gh between gh as gh between gh and gh between gh as gh between gh and gh between gh as gh between gh and gh between gh as gh between gh and gh as gh between gh and gh between gh and gh between gh and gh are gh and gh between gh and gh between gh and gh are gh and gh and gh are gh and gh are gh and gh and gh are gh and

These remarks of Geiger are obviously based on the assumption that de-aspiration being the normal feature in Sinhalese, the splitting of the aspirate must be foreign to it, and that the two processes cannot occur at one and the same time. What is abnormal need not necessarily be foreign, and two phonological processes of different character may take place at one and the same time. For example, while the majority of the combined consonants were being assimilated, a few were being separated by a svara-bhakti vowel. The one change retained the number of syllables in the word, while the other led to easier pronunciation by the addition of a syllable. Such is the difference between the de-aspiration of aspirated consonants and their splitting. Moreover, it is hardly likely that a word like sädähä, one of Geiger's examples, could have been a loan from an unnamed Prakrit. Saddhā occurs so often in Pāli, and it would have been so constantly used by preachers in sermons, that an equivalent for it must have existed in Sinhalese from the earliest times. This phonological feature is also exemplified in an unpublished inscription from Rasnakāva in the Anurādhapura District, datable in the second century A.D. This record, in a long list of fields, includes one named Dahanakara (Skt. dhānyākara). It is most improbable that villagers of Ceylon in the second century should have ransacked the Prakrits for names to be given to their fields.

288. S is often changed to h (lxxix).

The change of s to h is evidenced in documents of the earliest period. Sinhalese seems to favour this phonological feature more than any other Indo-Aryan speech, and it is possible that it characterized

<sup>1</sup> This inscription, in a cave at Koravakgala near Situlpavuva, is as yet unpublished.

the language spoken by the North Indian immigrants who were the ancestors of the present-day Sinhalese. This phonological feature widened its scope in course of time, and many a word which was written with an s in literary works shows the h instead in the language of today. In the earliest period it was only an original s which changed to h; in later times even secondary s's (due to the operation of Rule xciii) underwent this change. It may be presumed that the s changed to h in unaccented syllables; where an s is preserved, the syllable in which it occurs may be taken as accented.

#### 289. $\tilde{N}$ changes to n (lxxx).

Examples of this change occur in the pre-Christian Brāhmī inscriptions; natika for P. natika, Skt. jnatika. The natika which changes to natika may be an original jnatika. San stands for Skt. sanijna. The natika to thus formed has remained constant for two thousand years, nati of Brāhmī inscriptions being na today. The S. an Skt. anya is to be taken as having passed through Middle Indian anna, for otherwise it is difficult to explain why the natika has not left any trace in the later form of the word, since we find changes due to its influence in words like naja, natika, natik

290. Surds of the guttural, palatal, dental, and labial classes between vowels occasionally change to their corresponding sonants (lxxxi).

#### 291. (a) Medial t, when not following an accented syllable, becomes d (lxxxii).

As all conjoint consonants had been reduced to single consonants (Rule lxxv), and as no final consonants are permitted (Rule lxi) during the stage in which *t* changes to *d*, a consonant which is not intervocalic can, therefore, occur only at the beginning of a word. Evidence of this rule first becomes apparent about the first century of the present era, or perhaps a little earlier, and its effect was thoroughgoing. The *d* resulting from this rule, however, did not remain unaltered. With regard to the accent in connexion with this rule, see § 248.

# (b) Intervocalic d, when not following an accented syllable, becomes l (lxxxiii).

292. Medial k, g, j, t, and d, when not preceded by an accented syllable, are generally dropped, the hiatus thus caused being filled with a y (lxxxiv).

Examples: soya < Skt. śoka, liyi < Skt. likhita, suva < Skt. sukha, niyam < Skt. nigama, meya < Skt. megha, hiyil < Skt. śītala, biyi < Skt. bhīti, piyum < Skt. padma, miyur < Skt. madhura.

It is in the third or fourth century that this phonological change becomes common in the language.

This word is not from the graffiti.

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Before the seventh century it had extended its scope to the fullest possible extent. Geiger is of opinion that y and v are used indifferently for the purpose of filling the hiatus; but in the early inscriptions it is always y and not v that is found to have been used for this purpose. V begins to fulfil this function only after y has begun to drop, not only in words where it had been introduced as the hiatus-filler but also in those where it was original. It is not only the y introduced to fill the hiatus that has been changed to v, but also at times an original y, as in nuvan for Skt. nayana. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the function of filling the hiatus was originally restricted to y; but that, when the y itself ceased to be stable, the conservative tendency attempted to arrest phonetic decay with the aid of v which was relatively less liable to elision than y. Words like  $nak\bar{a}$ , saka, &c., which do not drop these consonants, must be taken as retaining them with the aid of the accent in the previous syllable (see § 248). The dropping of medial j is very rare; for the early period we have Gayabahuka for  $Gajab\bar{a}huka$  in an inscription of the second century (A.I.C., No. 5). In our graffiti we have  $p\ddot{a}r\ddot{a}yu$  for Skt.  $par\ddot{a}jita$ . No instance has been found in Sinhalese of c dropping as it does in Mahārāṣṭrī.

293. G and d, instead of dropping in accordance with Rule lxxxiv, at times change to k and t respectively (lxxxv).

As stated above (§ 198) evidence of this phonetic law has been met with in pre-Christian Brāhmī inscriptions. It is a law which works on the side of reaction, and early documents up to the third century have more evidence of it than of the law in opposition to which it was evoked into being. The scribes, evidently, were more on the side of reaction than on that of 'progress'. The spoken language, we may presume, must have contained more evidence of the 'progressive' change than has crept into the documents available to us today. By the time of our graffiti the reactionary forces had been subdued and very little evidence is met with of their influence. The following, however, may be quoted: dik < Skt. dīrgha, lata < Skt. labdha, valakana < Skt. vilaighana. For a detailed discussion of the phonological questions involved, see §§ 197 ff. This law, evidently, has not yet been repealed, in spite of its reactionary character, and we come across evidence of its working now and then even in the spoken language of today. Witness, for example, Vākiri for Vāgiri (a place-name, P. Vātagiri).

294. (a) When not preceded by an accented syllable, medial p very often, and medial b occasionally, change to v (lxxxvi).

Examples:  $div < Skt. dv\bar{\imath}pa$ , kov < Skt. kopa, lavan < Skt. lapana,  $v\bar{u} < Skt. bh\bar{u}ta$ , avisara < Skt. abhisārikā, guravu < Skt. gardabha.

The change of p to v appears in documents of about the second century A.D. (Nakadiva for Nāgadīpa, EZ., vol. iv, p. 237). Examples of this change are commoner in the language than are those of the b becoming v. It may be observed that, in the examples for the change of b to v, the original Sanskrit had the aspirated letter. If it could be proved that the Sinhalese words had been derived directly from the Sanskrit forms, we might then take it that bh became mutated to v. The Skt. bh is often pronounced as v by Bengalis, while they pronounce the v as b. It is not impossible that a word like avisara is a learned adaptation directly from Skt.  $abhis\bar{a}rik\bar{a}$ , just as vijam may be directly from P. abhidhamma. The same, however, cannot be said of  $v\bar{u}$  (Skt.  $bh\bar{u}ta$ ), a word which must have been in constant use. It is, however, worthy of note that in an inscription of about the first century we find bhute with the aspirated letter. The document in question ( $\mathcal{J}.R.A.S.$ , C.B., vol. xxxvi, p. 62) has a literary flavour about it; and it is, therefore, doubtful whether it faithfully rendered the actual pronunciation of the word. If the v is really due to bh, then this fact would indicate that the use of aspirates in Sinhalese was not entirely given up until a comparatively late date.

## (b) In lava, &c., the v changes to p (lxxxvii).

Example: lapa < Skt. lava. Compare also the root sapa from Skt. carv; sapanu, Skt. carvana. These forms are possibly due to false restoration, comparable to the change of h to s in a few words, being the opposite of the widespread phonetic change noticed in Rule lxxix.

#### (c) P, in a few instances, the changes to k and k similarly to p (lxxxviii).

This is a phonological feature which has been noticed in Pāli also (see Trenckner in J.P.T.S. for 1908, p. 108). But we are not certain whether, in the examples available in Sinhalese, the change had

<sup>1</sup> The words affected by rules like this which are of into ganas as has been done by Sanskrit grammarians restricted application may be collected and classified in similar cases.

already been effected in Middle Indian. The change of k to p (or p to k, it is not certain which) is evidenced by the name 'Puḍakaṇa' in a first-century inscription for 'Kuṭakaṇṇa' of the chronicles (EZ., vol. iii, p. 156). From our documents, the change of p to k can be illustrated by kimija, which is a verbal form from a root derived from Skt.  $pra + \sqrt{muj}$ .

### (d) Instead of changing to v in accordance with Rule lxxxvi, b at times becomes p (lxxxix).

A separate rule has been considered necessary for this phonological feature, instead of including it in Rule lxxxv, for the reason that this is due to reaction against a change different from that which caused the change of g to k. Moreover, the change of b to p is noticed much later than that of g to k or d to t. Apaya for Abaya (Skt. Abhaya) is noticed in an inscription of the fourth century, while Naka for  $N\bar{a}ga$  occurs in documents of the first century. In this case, words which bear evidence of the reaction to a new change are found in available documents before examples of the change itself come within our purview. It may be that we have here an instance in which the conservative tendency had been successful, at least in the initial stages, in its endeavour to arrest change. The fact that examples of the change of b to v are not met with earlier than, or together with, evidence of the reaction against it, may also be due to the paucity of the available documents, and to the conservative character of the documents which have been preserved. The language of our graffiti bears little or no impress of this phonetic development.

### 295. (a) An initial h is occasionally dropped (xc).

Examples: ata < Skt. hasta, un for hun (the preterite of hindi 'to sit down'). This phonetic change is met with in the oldest phase of the language. A pre-Christian Brāhmī inscription ( $\mathcal{J}.R.A.S.$  for 1936, p. 446) contains the form ati-acariya for Skt.  $hasti + \bar{a}c\bar{a}rya$ . A record of Gajabāhu I (EZ., vol. iii, p. 116) contains ata for Skt. hasta. The h which drops may be either original, or secondary, due to the operation of Rule lxxix.

# (b) An h is occasionally added to the beginning of a word (xci).

Examples: hamatay < Skt. āmantrayati. S. kumbura if derived from Skt. urvarā affords another example. Urvarā > uvara > ubara > \*hubara > kubara > kumbara. This rule, which is the opposite of the preceding rule, finds examples in the Aśoka inscriptions: hevam for Skt. evam (Hultzsch, Asoka Inscriptions, p. 34).

# (c) An initial h occasionally changes to g or k (xcii).

Examples:  $gal < \text{Skt. } \dot{sil\bar{a}}, \ g\ddot{a}ti < \text{Skt. } santaka, \ kalab < \text{Skt. } \dot{salabha} \ \text{through *halaba}.$  Evidence of the change of a secondary h to g is found in the language of the second century. Patanagala in an inscription of Vasabha (EZ., vol. i, p. 69, vol. iii, pp. 105 f.) stands for P.  $padh\bar{a}nas\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ , the later form of the word being piyan-gal. The change of h to k is not met with in the early documents, but we cannot say that it was unknown at that time. In modern speech, this phonological feature is well represented. Skt.  $\dot{S}r\bar{i}$ -vardhana (proper name) has, in certain districts, been transformed into Kiri-paddana. Kiri- $h\bar{a}mi$  stands for Skt.  $\dot{S}r\bar{i}$ - $sv\bar{a}min$  and Kiri-vehera is equivalent to Skt.  $\dot{S}r\bar{i}$ - $vih\bar{a}ra$ . It will be observed that, in most of these examples, it is an original palatal  $\dot{s}$  which has first changed to h and then become g or k. Whether this fact is merely accidental or is of any phonological significance has still to be investigated. The opposite process of k becoming h or being dropped initially, as evidenced in the words havari for Skt. havari and udalu for P. havari has not come to light in our graffiti.

#### 296. C becomes s (xciii).

C in this rule, as well as in lxxxi, includes a c resulting from the operation of Rules lxxvii, lxiv, lxix and lxxv. Examples: Skt. campaka > S. sapu, Skt. candra > S. sand, Skt. ruci > S. risi. This is one of the phonetic rules the operation of which has stamped on Sinhalese its individual character and therefore deserves consideration in some detail. The change of c to s began in Sinhalese about a thousand years after the language had been transplanted in Ceylon, for in inscriptions up to the sixth or seventh century, c is preserved where it had not changed to c in accordance with Rule lxxxi. In the Nilagama inscription of Moggallāna II (circa 542–61) the c is preserved, as it is also in other undated inscriptions which, from a consideration of the script, have to be taken as somewhat later in date. In the Gärandigala inscription of Kassapa III (circa 10–17), as well as in an unpublished inscription of his

<sup>1</sup> EZ., vol. ii, pp. 285-96.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., vol. iv, pp. 195-7.

<sup>3</sup> A.S.C. Annual Report for 1940-5, para. 150.

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younger brother, Mahinda I, the c is consistently changed to s, where it had not become j. The period during which this change swept the language can be fixed within narrow limits. It had taken place not more than a century before the date of the earliest of the graffiti whose language we are examining here. Though late in making its appearance, no phonetic change in Sinhalese has been so swift and thorough in action, for it has succeeded in banishing c from the genuine Sinhalese (Elu) alphabet. Whenever a c occurs in a Sinhalese document after the eighth century it is in a Sanskrit or Pāli tatsama, or in a word introduced as a result of studied archaism, for instance in the Mannar Kacceri Pillar Inscription of Kassapa IV.<sup>2</sup>

297. This rule, naturally, had no effect on words in which the c had been already changed to j, by the working of Rule lxxxi. It is, therefore, of importance to ascertain the conditions in which a c was changed to j, and philologists who have examined Sinhalese phonology have been at considerable pains to lay down precise rules on this point. Helmer Smith, as reported by Geiger (G.S.L., Introduction, p. xliv), is of opinion that c becomes d after a vowel, which implies that conjunct consonants and anusvāra were still preserved in the language when this change took place. We have, in §§ 216 ff., given sufficient reasons to expose the error of those who see conjunct consonants and anusvāra in the early inscriptions of Ceylon. On Helmer Smith's own premisses, however, his theory of the change of c to d breaks down on its impact with words like havurudu3 (Skt. samvatsara) and leda (Skt. laksya, P. lacche) and puluvut3 (P. patipucchita).4 W. Printz (B.S.O.A.S., vol. viii, pp. 701-2) has suggested that c becomes d after a long vowel. The facts do not square with this theory, either. In vajan, vadan < Skt. vacana and kavada < Skt. kavaca, the c which has become j and subsequently d came after an original short vowel, not a long one. We, of course, do not admit that long vowels were preserved in Sinhalese up to the time that c first began changing into j, i.e. some time after the second century A.D. 298. Geiger has a different theory on the course which c took in Sinhalese. 'I venture to explain this feature', says he, 'by the supposition that the regular development c > ts > s was interrupted by the immigration into Ceylon of people who spoke an Indian dialect wherein unvoiced mutae were softened between vowels.' A phenomenon which appears later is here taken to be the regular development, and one which precedes it is called an interruption. What is the evidence that c first became ts before changing to s? That there is a sound like ts in modern Kaśmīrī, in certain circumstances in Marāṭhī, and in sub-dialects of Gujarātī, Bengali, and Pahāṛī, is no reason for the assumption that c changed to ts in Sinhalese two millennia ago. This theory of Geiger is not supported by any evidence; no wonder that it failed to convince Helmer Smith (G.S.L., Preface, p. xiii). So far back as 1900, when the study of ancient Sinhalese inscriptions had not made much progress, Geiger, in his L.S.S. (pp. 92-93), propounded the theory that Sinhalese belonged to the Western group of Indo-Aryan languages, and that Marāṭhī has the closest affinities to it among the modern Aryan languages of India. In the Introduction to A Dictionary of the Sinhalese Language, p. xxiii, he (and Jayatilaka?) cites the change of c to s as a common feature of Sinhalese and Marāṭhī, evidently in support of the theory which had been questioned by others.<sup>5</sup> But the inscriptions make it quite certain that the change

of c to s began to appear in the Sinhalese language a full thousand years after it had parted company with its sister languages of North India and the Deccan. So late a phonetic change obviously cannot be quoted as proof of the affinity of Sinhalese with another Indian language which had no contact with it at the time during which this particular phonetic change manifested itself. A theory once put forward is, however, often defended at all costs. So, even if early Sinhalese did have no fully manifested s, it was there, according to Geiger, in embryo, i.e. in the form of the hypothetical ts. Thus, against all the evidence of the early documents, the change of c to s is taken to be the regular development and the earlier change of c to j but an intruder. The scepticism of Helmer Smith about this theory has, it would seem, somewhat toned down Geiger's suppositions, for in the Preface to his Grammar, he admits the possibility that the change of c to s may be an independent development

<sup>1</sup> In colloquial Sinhalese c occurs in such words as  $v\ddot{a}ticca$ , koccara, &c., where it is the result of the palatalization of a duplicated dental.

in each of the three languages, Sinhalese, Marāṭhī, and Assamese.

- <sup>2</sup> EZ., vol. iii, p. 103.
- <sup>3</sup> These words are not from our graffiti.
- <sup>4</sup> The t in puluvut presupposes an earlier d.
- <sup>5</sup> In Marāṭhī, however, there are many words in B 597

which c is retained. Compare Mrt. car with S. hatara (Skt. catvāri) and Mrt. cand with S. haňda (Skt. candra). Any Indo-Aryan language, ancient or modern, toward which one is inclined, can be embraced as the next of kin of Sinhalese by the simple expedient of emphasizing the points of resemblance and ignoring the differences.

299. The formulation of Rule lxxxi explains our view of the conditions in which c changes to j. Geiger has rightly pointed out that initial c never changes to j. Now the initial letter of a word is generally more definitely articulated and stressed than the letters which follow. Thus the c does not change to j in a syllable which is stressed in pronunciation, i.e. accented, or which immediately follows a syllable which is accented. Before we leave this question of c, we may also note a point of detail. Geiger says that the conjunction isa, of such frequent occurrence in the medieval inscriptions, is derived not from Skt. ca but from Skt. saha. In the old language, however, saha is not used in the sense of 'and', as it is today by those in Ceylon whose Sinhalese is not native. The fact that ca in one direction changed to ja, da, and du is no obstacle to assuming that it developed in another direction in a different manner. For, in the early inscriptions, we find this conjunction as ca as well as ica. When it was spelt as ca it was taken together with the preceding word, and by the c being changed to jassumed the forms ja, ju, da, du, j, d, ud, id, &c. When a prothetic vowel i was added to it, it became ica and was treated as a word distinct from ca, and remained without being affected by Rule lxxxi so as to have its c changed to s. As for the lengthening of the final vowel, it may be pointed out that the suffix la, used as an honorific with the short a in our graffiti, has become the plural suffix in the modern language with a long  $\bar{a}$ . In both these words the lengthening of the final a is possibly due to open pronunciation.

# 300. (a) $\mathcal{J}$ often changes to d (xciv).

#### (b) D, at times, changes to j (xcv).

This obviously is the converse of the preceding rule, and may be taken as due to false restoration by the intervention of the conservative tendency. All the examples of this phonetic change occurring in our graffiti are given here:  $haja < Skt. hrdaya, hija < Skt. hrdaya, taja < Skt. stabdha, varaj < Skt. aparādha, maja < Skt. madhya, mana-jol, i.e. mana + jol < Skt. daurhrda, lajuyu < Skt. labdhaka, jūye, loc. sing. of <math>j\bar{u} < Skt. dv\bar{v}pa$ .

# 301. (a) N, in vana, &c., changes to l (xcvi).

Examples:  $asal < Skt. \bar{a}sanna$ , val < Skt. vana, palan, palanda, palanda, palanda, and palanda, participial forms from a root corresponding to  $Skt. pi-\sqrt{nah}$ . In Pali the n has already changed to l; pilandhati, &c.

### (b) L, in lalāṭa, &c., changes to n (xcvii).

This is the converse of the preceding rule.

Examples: naļala for Skt. lalāṭa and nalavaya, the absolutive of a root corresponding to Skt. lāl.

#### (c) N, in vāṇija, &c., changes to ! (xcviii).

Our graffiti do not afford examples for this rule which has been given here as it is necessary in order to understand Rule cix. From literature, the following examples are available: velanda < venada < Skt. vāṇija. Ravuļu < Skt. Rāvaṇa.

# (d) M, in $s\bar{u}ksma$ &c., changes to n (xcix).

The only example from our graffiti is sihinn for P. sukhuma (Skt. sūkṣma). Cf. Kāvyaśekhara, Canto V, v. 47, where we have kisiyan for kisi-yam. Naham can be cited as an example of the change

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of initial m to n if we equate it with Skt.  $m\bar{a}$  sma. Ananmana, perhaps, is an example of a medial m changing to n. P.  $a\tilde{n}\tilde{n}ama\tilde{n}\tilde{n}a > *anamana > anammana$ .

- (e) D, in guravu, &c., has changed to r (c).
- Examples: samahar < Skt. samarddha, guravu < Skt. gardabha (rd or rddh having earlier changed to d).
- (f) V changes occasionally to m (ci).

Examples: midi < Skt. vrddha + feminine suffix i, hämu, past participle passive of verbal root derived from Skt. carv. The etymology of these two words from our graffiti may not find universal acceptance. In literature we have examples like Vesamunu < Skt. Vaiśravaṇa; in modern speech Skt. nava is pronounced as if it were nama.

(g) V, in nava, &c., changes to b (cii).

Examples: naba < Skt. nava + ka, P. navaka, kumbur (earlier forms kubara and ubara)  $< Skt. <math>urvar\bar{a}$ .

(h) In vuno, &c., an initial v drops (ciii).

Example: Uno for vuno. In modern spoken Sinhalese, forms of the verbal root  $v\bar{u}$  like vuna and  $vun\bar{a}$  are often pronounced as una and  $un\bar{a}$ . If votunu is from Skt. vestana, the form otunu is also a result of the operation of this rule.

(i) Y, whether original or introduced to fill the hiatus, at times changes to v (civ).

Examples: nuvan < Skt. nayana, ovun < eyun.

302. (a) A y, v, or h, between two similar vowels, frequently drops, allowing the two vowels to coalesce (cv).

Examples:  $paya > p\bar{a}$  (Skt.  $p\bar{a}da$ ),  $giyi > g\bar{\imath}$  (Skt.  $g\bar{\imath}ti$ ),  $vuyu > v\bar{\imath}$  (Skt.  $bh\bar{\imath}ta$ ), lovo > lo (Skt. loka),  $sihi > s\bar{\imath}$  (Skt. simha), koho > ko (Skt.  $krau\tilde{\imath}cha$ ). Scores more can be quoted from our graffiti alone.

- (b) This phonetic change, too, like that formulated in Rule xciv, was still busily expanding its conquests at the time when our graffiti were indited, for there are many words in which it had not yet left its impress, though they could not ultimately escape its tentacles, as evidenced by their later forms occurring in literature as well as in modern speech. The effect of the change itself, as well as the reactions to it, profoundly affected the physiognomy of the language, as we have already seen in §§ 170 ff. Though it was only a century or so before the date of the earliest of our graffiti that this phonological feature became aggressive, its existence in far earlier times, even before the Sinhalese speech was introduced to the island, is borne out by indisputable evidence. It had laid its hands on the Pāli language before the Theravāda Canon was compiled, for in the place-name Kusinārā, nagaraka had become  $n\bar{a}r\bar{a}$  by the dropping of intervocalic y, which we may assume was brought in to fill the hiatus caused by the dropping of k and g. In the oldest Brāhmī inscriptions we get gapati for gahapati, where not only had the h dropped, but further, the long vowel resulting from the coalescing of the two a's had been shortened. In the Tonigala inscription of Śrimeghavarnna is found the form mi whose development we have traced in § 186, and vi where, too, the h had dropped, and the two similar vowels on either side of it had coalesced and the resulting long vowel had shortened. The Pāli word we have quoted is a place-name; the words from Ceylon inscriptions are such as would have been frequently in the mouths of the common people. They could, therefore, have undergone changes to which the language as a whole was not yet subject. Vi and mi had gone to the furthest limit of phonetic decay; they could change no further. The language, however, refuses to be static and, when forward movement is barred, the only alternative is to go backward. We have, therefore, in one of our graffiti, which is about five centuries later than the Tonigala inscription, the form miyi corresponding to mi, but representing a previous stage in the process of its evolution.
- 303. In spite of these stray examples of the activity of this phonetic rule, y (original as well as that introduced to fill the hiatus), v, and h remained generally stable up to the sixth century, as the inscriptions indicate. The effects of this process were evidently first visible on the y, for we have seen (§ 180) that an attempt was made in some words to stop the process of phonetic decay by substituting v for y. In some words such as nuvan (Skt. nayana) this expedient has achieved its purpose, for the v is seen

to be not so liable to elision as y and h are; but v also, original as well as that substituted for y, had dropped in numerous words. We have, in §§ 171 ff., discussed the measures adopted by the conservative tendency to counteract the effects of this phonetic change, and the manner in which these affected the phonology of vowels as well as of consonants.

304. (a) An h is often erroneously restored in place of a y or v which had dropped in accordance with Rule cv (cvi).

Examples: sihi < Skt. smṛti, P. sati, sihina < Skt. svapna, P. supina. The development of the second word would seem to have been \*suvina > \*sivina > sihina.

(b) A y, v, or h, instead of being dropped in accordance with Rule cv, is at times duplicated, the added semi-vowel being indistinct in articulation (cvii).

See Rule li for the effect of this phonological feature on the vowel system. For a discussion and examples see §§ 147 ff.

305. (a) A consonant which is preserved without being elided or undergoing change due to the accent on its own, or the preceding syllable, becomes liable to drop or undergo change with the loss or shifting of the accent (cviii).

Examples: kevuļ<sup>1</sup> where a t has changed to l as against vivata<sup>1</sup> where the t is preserved, asal with n changed to l as against pasan where the n is preserved. In kaṇḍ for kaṇṭha the t which is usually preserved in this word had started on the process of change and become d when further change was arrested by its nasalization. The rules which provide for the elision or change of consonants are lxxix-lxxxiii, lxxxvi, xcvi, xcvii, and xcviii. For a discussion and further examples, see §§ 248 ff.

(b) Consonants other than g, d, and b, which become liable to elision or change, may be preserved by being duplicated, the added consonant being often indistinct in articulation (cix).

For a discussion of this phonetic rule and its effect on the vowel system, see §§ 147 ff. where examples will be found. The duplication of consonants noticed in  $yanno\ (yana+o)$ ,  $enno\ (en+o)$ , yannayun, banannan, and other similar forms have perhaps to be included under this rule.

(c) The consonant of a syllable of which the vowel is elided by Rule v is often duplicated (cx).

Examples:  $n\ddot{a}ttan$  ( $n\ddot{a}ti+an$ ), helillambu (helili+ambu),  $dig\ddot{a}ssan$  ( $dig\ddot{a}si+an$ ).

It is possible that in some examples the apparent duplication is in reality assimilation as dealt with under Rule cxxiv. The development of nättan, for instance, may be Skt. nāstikānām > P. or Pkt. natthikānam > natikana > \*natiyana > \*nätiyana > \*nätiyana > nättan. See also remarks in § 136.

- (d) An n which is duplicated in accordance with Rule cix becomes n (cxi).
- See § 250 for a discussion and examples.
- (e) A g, d, d, or b, which is liable to drop or change on account of its original position or by Rule cviii, is often preserved by the addition of the nasal of its class before it (**cxii**). A nasal added in accordance with Rule cxii is indistinct in pronunciation, except when the next consonant is not vocalized (**cxiii**).

Examples: sanda (where the nasal is indistinctly pronounced) and naranind where the nasal is fully pronounced. For a discussion of the origin and nature of the half-nasal, see §§ 205 ff., where numerous examples have been given.

(f) In paland, &c., a sonant following a nasal is dropped (cxiv).

Examples: palan for \*paland < Skt. pinaddha, beyan for beyand, lamu for lambu, tam or tama for tamba (Skt.  $t\bar{a}mra$ ), nim for \*nimb < Skt. nimba. Cf. also  $mu\dot{m}$  and  $ma\dot{m}$  for Skt. mudga and  $m\bar{a}rga$ , respectively. The n in  $\ddot{a}vini$ , if the word is in fact derived from  $\ddot{a}viddha$ , may be explained by this rule.

(g) In  $\bar{a}r\bar{a}ma$ , &c., n, n, or m is replaced by the sonant of its class (cxv).

Examples:  $buhund < Skt. bhagin\bar{\imath}, aramb < Skt. \bar{a}r\bar{a}ma, munumburu^{\rm I} < manumaraka$  in inscriptions of the first to third century. Cf. also  $pandura^{\rm I}$  for P.  $pannak\bar{a}ra$ . The statement that the nasal is replaced by the sonant needs comment, for an examination of the examples would incline one to conclude that what has happened, for instance, in Skt.  $\bar{a}r\bar{a}ma$  becoming aramb, is the addition of the sonant after the nasal. In a second-century inscription, however, we get the form araba for  $\bar{a}r\bar{a}ma$  where the nasal is absent.

<sup>1</sup> These words are not from our graffiti.

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The nasal in *aramb*, therefore, is a later introduction just as it has been introduced into words like *niyañga* (Skt. *nidāgha*) where it was not present originally.

306. (a) In  $v\bar{a}la$ , &c., ra is added before an l after an accented syllable (cxvi).

Examples: varala < Skt.  $v\bar{a}la$  occurs in our graffiti. From literature may be quoted verala < Skt.  $vel\bar{a}$  and karala < Skt.  $k\bar{a}la$  (in the secondary sense of harvesting season).

(b) A y is changed to l in  $\bar{a}laya$ , &c., when there is l in the syllable immediately preceding (exvii).

Our graffiti furnish only one example of this very restricted rule: alala for Skt. ālaya. Outside of our graffiti are found the following examples: valalu for Skt. valaya and Malala for Skt. Malaya. Salelu, a word of frequent occurrence in literature in the meaning of 'a sportive youth', is also to be derived perhaps from Skt. sa-laya by this rule.

(c) In tira, &c., a t is changed to s (cxviii).

Examples: his through sis < Skt. tuccha, sira for tira (Skt. sthira), S. siţiyi developing from Skt. tiṣṭhati, Pkt. ciṭṭhai. Cf. ciṭavaya and ciṭiti in Brāhmī inscriptions. The change of d to s, noticed in S. sūdu for Skt. dyūta and āsinava in Aśoka inscriptions which most probably is the same as P. ādīnava, may also be compared with this.

- (d) In sahasra, &c., s changes to d (exix). Skt. sahasra > S. dahas.
- 307. (a) Dissimilation of consonants takes place in pippalī, &c. (cxx).

Example: tipli for Skt. pippalī.

(b) Metathesis of consonants takes place in śayana, &c. (cxxi).

Examples: maha < Skt. kṣamā (chamā > \*cama > \*sama > \*hama > maha), vahan < Skt. upānah, layu < Skt. khalu (\*kalu > \*laku > layu), taral < Skt. tulādhara (\*talahara > tarahala, tarāl), yahan < Skt. sayana, Nuyura < Skt. Anurādha, raval for varal (Skt. vāla 'hair'). The last example raval has further changed to rävula which in modern spoken Sinhalese has acquired the secondary meaning of 'beard'. Nihi is probably to be derived from Skt. snigdha by metathesis.

(c) In taram, &c., the syllable ra is lost by syncope (cxxii).

Examples: Pokuṇa for P. pokkharaṇi, natur for naratur (Skt. nirantara), tam for taram in the phrase

(d) In raj- $d\bar{u}$ , &c., of two or three consonants brought together in the middle of a word or a compound by the dropping of a vowel, one is elided (**cxxiii**).

Examples:  $raj\bar{u}$  for  $raj-d\bar{u}$  (Skt.  $r\bar{a}ja-duhitr$ ), gamo for ganmo, mahane-malak for mahanel-malak, mete-kala for meteka-kala. This last word is metakal in spoken Sinhalese today. Cf. also etakal for etek-kal, atla for at-tala, hinnan for hindnan, and Aboy for Agboy.

(e) Two consonants coming together within a word or compound are sometimes assimilated, the first generally prevailing (cxxiv).

Examples:  $attam\ (at + kam)$ ,  $paradda\ (*paradva < paradava)$ ,  $basinna\ (*basinva < basinuva)$ ,  $sittama\ (*sitvama < sit-kama < Skt.\ citra-karma)$ . This phonological process may be contrasted with the assimilation of consonants in the Middle Indian period (Rule lxiv) when the second prevailed. The Sdsg in its treatment of sandhi does not give examples of the second of two consonants prevailing in assimilation  $(para-r\bar{u})$ ; but, in one of our graffiti, we have  $pimma\ (*pinma < pinuma)$  in which the second consonant overrides the first.

(f) A word adopted from Sanskrit or Pali at a late period may undergo changes not in accord with the rules given above (cxxv).

Skt. parīksatu has become piriksayu.

- (g) A vowel or consonant in circumstances not taken into account in any of the above rules remains unchanged as in Old Indian (cxxvi).
- 308. There are, in these graffiti, a number of words in which an l occurs in place of l in their Sanskrit prototypes as they appear in dictionaries. In this connexion it should be remembered that l and d

are interchangeable in Sanskrit. Lola, for instance, may also be written loḍa and this could give rise to loḷ which is found in our graffiti. The change of ḍ to ḷ is taken into account in Rule lxxxiii, and I have not considered it necessary to give a separate rule to explain forms like loḷ. Other words in this category are: veḷa for Skt. āvalī, komuḷ for Skt. komala, giḷi for Skt. galita, yuvaḷa for Skt. yugala, kaḷa for Skt. kāla, nuyuḷa for Skt. anukūla.

309. From a study of the above rules, it will become apparent that few consonants which were in a free, i.e. intervocalic, position in the Old Indian have remained unchanged in Sinhalese. Some consonants like c and  $\tilde{n}$  have been altogether eliminated whether they stood alone or combined with another consonant. Some have been dropped in intervocalic positions and others have been changed to different consonants. A remarkable fact that emerges from this study is that the consonants which have preserved themselves comparatively unscathed are some of the nasals, n, n, and m, semi-vowels y and v, and the liquids r and l. The mutes have all undergone change. The weak have thus prevailed when the strong have gone to the wall. In the Middle Indian stage, when consonantal groups were being assimilated, it was the strong consonants that prevailed; but by sacrificing the weak consonants with which they were in association. In the Sinhalese stage, however, the strong consonants, when not provided with the support of the weak, could not weather the storm. In many cases it was their former association with the weak which enabled them to survive, for, as we have seen, it was the accent on the preceding syllable which prevented certain consonants from being elided, and this accent was due to the heaviness of the syllable in the earlier stage; this heaviness in its turn being often caused by a weak consonant which was in combination with the strong consonant of the next syllable. When this support in its turn gave way, it was again to the weak that the strong had to go in search of aid for survival, for the voiced mutes combined with the fraction of a nasal could defy subversive elements. This capacity of the weak to survive and the exposure to danger of the strong is explained by the reasons which caused the consonantal system to decay. It was the incapacity of the average man to pronounce hard sounds, or his laziness which avoided such sounds, that was at the root of phonetic decay. A strong letter like k required some effort to pronounce. He, therefore, passed it by, and the vacuum thus created was often filled in by a consonant easier to pronounce. The weaker consonants were more easily pronounced, and had therefore a greater chance of survival. We thus arrive at the paradoxical truths that, in the long run, the weak is stronger than the strong, and that the strong, when they survive, do so with the support and very often by the sacrifice of the weak. These truths one may also learn by a study of history. The great cataclysms and upheavals which have exterminated the mighty have often spared the weak;2 and the strong when deprived of the support of the weak have gradually faded away. Thus Sinhalese phonology is not a fruitless study even for the philosopher.

310. We may now pass in review the main phonological changes by which the complicated, though vivacious and expressive, sound combinations of Old Indian assumed the sweetness and simplicity. not lacking in expressiveness, of the language of our graffiti. In the transition from the Old Indian to the Middle Indian, the vowels r and l were discarded, the e and o were not always pronounced long and, most important of all, the harsh and difficult combinations of consonants were simplified by assimilation. The visarga was thrown overboard. When we get the first glimpses of what we may justifiably call Sinhalese, the language had rejected all long vowels as superfluous; even the simplest combinations of consonants had been reduced to single ones, so that no consonant unless it was initial existed in a word without having a vowel on either side of it. The usefulness of aspirates had been questioned and answered in the negative; only pedants cared for them. The anusvāra had ceased to be a feature of Sinhalese. Vowel-assimilation had already shown its ugly head; but, apart from losing their length, the vowels on the whole occupied the places they had done in Middle Indian. Disintegration began its course among the consonants by about the first century with the change of p to v, the dropping of k, g, t in medial positions, and the change of t to d which a century later became l. The effort to preserve g and d hardened them in some cases to k and t respectively, but this change availed them nothing and the dropping of these consonants proceeded apace. C was beginning to be substituted by j in certain positions. Vowel-assimilation could no longer be held in check, and its

Ralayor dalayoścaiva śasayor bavayostathā vadantyeṣām ca sāmānyam alamkāra-vido janāh.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Compare this stanza from the *Hitopadeśa*:

Tṛṇāni nonmūlayati prabhañjano mṛdūni nīcaiḥ praṇatāni sarvataḥ Samucchritānyeeva tarūn prabādhate mahān mahatyeeva karoti vikramam.

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equalizing activity was apparent in many words by about the fourth century. In the meantime, epenthesis had taken the field as a rival of vowel-assimilation, and the two between them made great inroads into the old vowel system. The change of b to v at this time brought about, as a reaction, the substitution of p for b. In spite of these changes, however, the language of the sixth century had not altered much from that of the first century, and a Sinhalese of the later date would not have experienced much difficulty in understanding a text of the earlier epoch.

371. Then followed a period of about two centuries in which the language, in common with the script, seems to have taken an erratic course. The documents of the period, which are not very many, are difficult to understand, and exhibit features which are not reflected in the later development of the language. When clearer light is available in the eighth century, i.e. in the period of our graffiti, many important innovations had been effected in the language, as well as in the script. The c had been completely swept away, its place being taken by s wherever j had not appropriated it. The vowels in medial and final positions were dropping, thus introducing into the language a character which it had not borne for over a thousand years of its existence; i.e. two consonants coming together without an intervening vowel. Habits ingrained for a millennium and more prevented the two consonants thus brought together from being shown in the manner usual in Indian scripts, i.e. by a ligature. The virāma was used not only at the end but also in the middle of a word. An attempt was made to arrest the dropping of medial vowels by changing an a or i to u. The y which had been stable during all these centuries began to drop when it came between two vowels equalized by vowel-assimilation, the two vowels then coalescing into the appropriate long vowel. Thus was introduced another feature which the language had lost a thousand years before, the long vowels. Reaction against this change introduced u or i into positions which they had not occupied before. Epenthesis extended its scope, giving rise to one of the peculiarities of Sinhalese—the  $\ddot{a}$ -vowel.  $\ddot{f}$  began to mutate into d. The shifting of the accent made more consonants liable to elision or change, and the counter-measures taken to prevent these inroads further affected the vowel system. The unvoiced mutes liable to drop or change were fortified by the nasal of the corresponding class—thus introducing another peculiar feature into Sinhalese. The combined consonants to which this feature gave rise were, however, represented in writing by the traditional method in Indian scripts, the ligature. Thus the language, at this time, presented as it were a battle-ground for contending forces, one aiming at change and the other at preserving things as far as possible without change. There were introduced into the language at this period certain features which made the Sinhalese of this time go back to modes of speech which had been given up by them for centuries, such as double consonants and long vowels. These represent a kind of reversal and can be said to have acted as a prelude to what was to happen two or three centuries later—the wholesale adoption of Sanskrit words. By the time of our graffiti the language had, in many respects, gone forward, i.e. in the direction of phonetic decay, to the utmost limit; and the only course left to it in subsequent times was to go backwards—which it did.

# (vi) External Sandhi

- 312. Internal sandhi, which takes place in the course of the various phonological changes, has been dealt with in i-iv of the phonological Rules. We have seen that, when two vowels are brought together within a word, sandhi, as a rule, takes place. The part which internal sandhi plays with regard to consonants in the phonetic development of words is illustrated by the working of Rules vi, lxxxiv, lxxxv, lxxxix, civ, cx, cxiv, and cxxiv. Sandhi plays a part in the formation of compounds, and is sometimes effected between two words coming together in a sentence. The position with regard to this external sandhi which our graffiti exhibits is very much the same as that found in literary works.
- 313. A process of sandhi which takes place when a verbal form ending in -i is followed by the particle yi—therefore to be taken as external—follows the principles of internal sandhi. This perhaps is so because the two words had so far coalesced that each word was not considered to be a separate entity by the speaker.  $Kiy\bar{\imath}$  in graffito No. 1 has to be interpreted as kiyi + yi,  $h\ddot{a}v\bar{\imath}$  in No. 97 is obviously  $h\ddot{a}vi + yi$  and benet $\bar{\imath}$  in No. 322 is beneti + yi. The phonological rules taking effect in this sandhi operation are cv and i. Though this sandhi process has not been included in the Sdsg. in its treatment of the subject, examples of it are not lacking in literature.  $Kat\bar{\imath}$  vena  $m\bar{\imath}$ yana in the Gk. (v. 162) is an example,  $kat\bar{\imath}$  being due to the joining together of kati and yi. In stanza 117 of Ms, where we read  $b\bar{a}nda$   $lat\bar{\imath}$  site in the last line,  $lat\bar{\imath}$  stands for lati + yi. In our graffiti are many examples of words joined

together in this manner, in which the long vowel resulting from the coalescing of two short vowels has in its turn been shortened. When this happens, the particle *yi* leaves no trace whatever in the sentence and the syntactical arrangement is obscured.<sup>1</sup>

314. The Sdsg. illustrates external sandhi under nine different headings. The first two are concerned with cases where the final vowel in the first word is brought together with the initial vowel of the second. When the first of the two vowels thus confronted is elided (Rule v), the combination so effected is called pera-sara-lop-saňda (= Skt.  $p\bar{u}rva$ -svara-lopa-sandhi). Some examples of this from our graffiti are: niridu = nara + idu (Skt. nara + indra), nimabi = himi + abi (Skt.  $sv\bar{a}min + ambik\bar{a}$ ), vindanadara, vindi (Skt. vindita) + anadara (Skt.  $an\bar{a}dara$ ),  $n\ddot{a}tak = n\ddot{a}ti$  (Skt.  $n\bar{a}sti$ ) + ak (Skt. agra),  $ras\ddot{a}ttak = rasa + \ddot{a}ttak$ . The cases in which the first of the two vowels (i.e. the last of the first word) prevails by the elision of the second are named para-sara-lop-saňda (= Skt. para-svara-lopa-sandhi). No clear examples of this have been noticed in our graffiti; but, when two similar vowels are joined together as in kisi + isilu = kisilu, one is at a loss to decide as to which vowel has been elided.

315. The third type, called sara-saňda (= Skt. svara-sandhi), in which the final consonant of the first word is pronounced together with the initial vowel of the second word, is the commonest. Nilupul = nil + upul, kusumatni = kusum + atni, kälumutuļa = kälum + utuļa are examples. These belong to the period when the dropping of final consonants was a feature of the language. A form like ratatini (No. 661 b), forthcoming in a document which does not exhibit unvocalized consonants, should be taken as an example of a sandhi of type 1 or 2. In Sanskrit, combinations like the above would have required no special mention, for virāma there is allowed only at the end of a sentence. In Sinhalese, however, these forms are given as a type of sandhi, as it is permissible to leave a word ending in a consonant without joining this to the vowel of the next word: e.g. rat atni (No. 353).

316. The fourth type, called Sarades-saňda (= Skt. svarādeśa-sandhi), deals with the process explained in our phonological Rule no. ii. We have seen that it plays a considerable role in phonological development, particularly when an epenthetic vowel is added in a word. This, however, is a matter of internal sandhi. No example of an external sarades-saňda has been met with in our documents. Even the examples given in the Sdsg. for this type of sandhi may not refer to developments within Sinhalese. Mehesuru, lambōrā, &c., examples given in the Sdsg., were doubtless derived from Skt. maheśvara and lambodara, in both of which the sandhi had already been effected. In compounds where this type of sandhi had been effected in Sinhalese itself, the two words have so coalesced that the individual existence of neither of them is taken into account. Cf. Samanoļa for P. Sumana-kūṭa.

317. In the fifth type, called  $Gat entsuremath{>} ades - sandda$  (= Skt.  $g\bar{a}tr\bar{a}des'a - sandhi$ ), when two consonants are brought together, the first, i.e. the last in the first word, undergoes change in accordance with the phonological Rules lxxxiv, civ, lxxxv, and lxxxix given above. The final vowel of the first word drops. Sit - var = sit + kar (Skt.  $citra - k\bar{a}ra$ ) and dik - net = dig + net (Skt.  $d\bar{i}rgha - netra$ ) are examples of this occurring in our graffiti.  $Perar\bar{u} - sanda$  (= Skt.  $p\bar{u}rva - r\bar{u}pa - sandhi$ ) deals with the assimilation of consonants, the first prevailing (Rule cxxiv) when the last consonant of the first word comes in contact with the first of that which follows. Sittam = sit + kam (Skt. citra - karma), gettam = get + kam (Skt. grantha - karma), are among the examples given by the Sdsg.; they also occur in our graffiti. The seventh type,  $Gat - akuru^2 - lop - sanda$  (= Skt.  $g\bar{a}tr\bar{a}k\bar{s}ara - lopa - sandhi$ ), is concerned with the phonetic change formulated in Rule cxiv. The half-nasal is made a full-nasal and the consonant to which it is attached is elided.  $Samboy\bar{a}$  (Skt. Samgha - bodhi) is an example from our graffiti. It is as a working of this rule that the very rare occurrences of the  $anusv\bar{a}ra$  in Elu have been brought about. That this  $anusv\bar{a}ra$  is not due to the preservation of that letter from the Middle Indian stage is conclusively proved by its occurrence in such words as mum (Skt. mudga) and mam (Skt. marga).

318. Agam-saňda (= Skt.  $\bar{a}gama$ -sandhi), the eighth type, includes words in which the introduction of a consonant is noticed between the final vowel of the first word and the first vowel of the second word (Rule vi). Sdsg., which follows the method of static analysis of the classical language, would have included naratur in our graffiti as an example of this type, taking it to be the result of ni and atur being combined in Sinhalese. But we know that, in Sanskrit, the word is nirantara, which would give rise to S. niraturu and naratur. In noyek = no (Skt. no) + ek (Skt. eka), the insertion of the consonant

being called paṇakuru (= Skt. prāṇākṣara) 'life-letter'. Cf. Tamil mey-eļuttu and uyir-eļuttu.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For example, see graffito No. 322.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Gatakuru (= Skt. gātrākṣara) meaning 'bodyletter' is the term for consonants in Sdsg., the vowels

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or rather semi-vowel y has occurred in Sinhalese. Himiyambu = himi + ambu and hindiyev = hindi + ev are further examples. The last type,  $Der\bar{u}$ -sanda (= Skt. dvi-r $\bar{u}$ pa-sandhi), joins two words by eliding the final vowel of the first word and duplicating the final consonant (Rule cx). One of the examples for this type given by the Sdsg., helillambu = helili + ambu, is a word which occurs in very many of our graffiti. Other examples from our documents are  $h\ddot{a}kk\ddot{a}$ ,  $\ddot{a}ttak$ , gattev,  $v\ddot{a}nn\ddot{a}$ ,  $dall\ddot{a}$ , and  $h\ddot{a}ll\ddot{a}$  (=  $h\ddot{a}ki + \ddot{a}$ ,  $\ddot{a}ti + ak$ , gat + ev,  $v\ddot{a}ni + \ddot{a}$ ,  $dalu + \ddot{a}$ ,  $h\ddot{a}li + \ddot{a}$ ). In  $n\ddot{a}sv\ddot{a}sey = no + asv\ddot{a}sey$ , a process of phonetic change which takes place regularly in internal sandhi has taken place here in external sandhi. But here, as well as in other such cases, the two words joined together have so coalesced into one that the separate existence of either is not present in the speaker's mind when the combined word is uttered. Compare words used in the modern language such as  $n\bar{a}v\bar{e} = no + \bar{a}v\bar{e}$ , &c.

319. Sinhalese literary usage does not insist on sandhi wherever it can be effected, even in compounds. Nil upul and nilupul (Skt. nīlotpala) are both permissible. Compare the phrases pul-nil-upul-ässan (No. 124), rata-ata (No. 187), no-ek (No. 206), diga-äsin (No. 210), rat-atani (No. 302) with other stanzas in which these very same phrases are found with sandhi effected. It was the exigencies of the metre which very often decided whether sandhi was to be effected or not. The position with regard to this in our graffiti appears to be the same as in literary works. There are, however, some words which never occur without sandhi being effected, e.g. helillambu nowhere occurs in our graffiti or in literature as helili-ambu. On the other hand, some words never coalesce.

# (C) MORPHOLOGY

# (i) Substantives

320. It is in its grammatical apparatus, i.e. in the nominal and verbal forms expressing relationship, gender, number, differentiation of action in time and modes of action, &c., that the language of our graffiti has travelled very far, even more than in phonological development, from the position occupied by its ancestor, the Old Indian, in these respects. It is not so very difficult to connect the vocabulary of this language with that of Old Indian. The connexion of minis, for instance, with Skt. manusya is pretty obvious, but it would have been quite difficult, nay, almost impossible, for any one to realize that the dative termination, -nat, in minisnat, had anything to do with Old Indian, if we had had no earlier specimens of Sinhalese in which to trace the original of this form. If one had only modern or even modern and medieval Sinhalese on which to base one's studies, one might, with justification, have concluded that, though the vocabulary of Sinhalese is Indo-Aryan in origin, its grammar, at least in some of its most important aspects, had been derived from another source.2 Fortunately, however, Sinhalese possesses a continuous series of documents from the third century B.C. up to modern times, and the intermediate forms supplied by the early documents leave us in no doubt with regard to the connexion which grammatical forms in medieval or modern Sinhalese have with Old Indian. It is the same with regard to the script. No two forms can be more dissimilar than the modern Sinhalese symbol for ka, for instance, and its counterpart in the Brāhmī script; but, when the forms of ka occurring in inscriptions of the different centuries are placed together in chronological order, it will be seen that the form which was prevalent in one period differed very little from that which was current in the period immediately preceding. The evolution becomes quite apparent. In the succeeding paragraphs an attempt will be made to trace the evolution of the grammatical forms in the language of our graffiti from those in Old Indian. A proper understanding of the phonological laws of Sinhalese is indispensable to a study of its grammatical forms.

321. The elaborate inflexional system of Old Indian had become very much simplified in the Middle Indian dialects by about the fifth century B.C., as is evidenced by the grammar of the Pāli language and that of the Aśokan edicts. This simplification went on apace in old Sinhalese, side by side with phonetic decay and, when we come to the time of our graffiti, very few of the old inflexions were represented in the language, even by forms which had been subject to phonetic change. This is more true of the noun than of the verb. But the language, at this period, could express relations between

<sup>1</sup> Such words, which never coalesce though coalescence is theoretically possible, are included in Sdsg. in a category called aviduman-vidi. Examples are suda-at and paṇḍu-ämbul which never coalesce into \*sudat and \*paṇḍambul.

<sup>2</sup> Certain scholars who have ignored inscriptions in their study of Sinhalese have, in fact, propounded the theory that Sinhalese belongs to a non-Aryan family of languages.

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various concepts by means of what remained of the old inflexional system. In our graffiti there is little evidence of the system of expressing case relationship by means of postpositions, which is a common feature of the modern Indian languages. The language had not then assumed an analytical character. Even at the present day, with the scope of postpositions very much widened, Sinhalese is not a fully analytical language; it is largely inflexional. What remained of the old inflexional system in the eighth century is still in use to denote case relationships. In this respect the language has shown very little development, apart from the devices adopted to accommodate the Sanskrit tatsamas to the Sinhalese system. The verb, as will be shown in detail later, has developed much more rapidly from the time of our graffiti up to the present day, and forms which are common in our graffiti can no longer be heard in the mouths of the people, though literary convention clings to these dead forms, keeping the living at arm's length.

322. The decay and disappearance of the greater part of the ancient inflexional system, so far as it concerned the substantives, were brought about by four different factors working independently, but towards the same end: (1) phonological change, (2) confusion in the use of gender in declensions, (3) one case made to express the relationship expressed in Old Indian by another, and (4) the restriction of the use of certain cases and the attribution of number to substantives of particular types made on logical grounds.<sup>1</sup>

323. The working of phonetic laws, in some instances, obliterated the distinction between certain case forms expressed by terminations. In Middle Indian the nom. sin. of the feminine stem  $k\bar{a}nt\bar{a}$  was  $k\bar{a}nt\bar{a}$ , the acc. sin. was  $k\bar{a}nt\bar{a}m$ ; of the neuter stem  $g\bar{a}ma$ , the nom. sin. was  $g\bar{a}mam$ , the acc. sin. being the same. Now, in the earliest form of the Sinhalese language, as we have seen above, all long vowels were shortened, the  $anusv\bar{a}ra$  was dropped, and double consonants were made single. These changes would have had the effect of making the nom. and acc. sin. forms of the stem corresponding to Skt.  $k\bar{a}nt\bar{a}$  become kata in Old Sinhalese, while the nom. and acc. sin. forms of the stem corresponding to Skt.  $gr\bar{a}ma$  became gama. The terminations of the forms kata and gama, of which the one was feminine and the other neuter, showed no difference at all in these forms, and cases are differentiated as a rule by the termination of the inflected form. It is not impossible, however, that the final a of the forms \*kata and gama in the Old Sinhalese was pronounced open in one case and closed in the other. However this may have been, when we come to our graffiti, there is no difference to be noted in the nom. and acc. sin. forms of these two stems which originally were of different genders. The neuter declension was thus being merged in the feminine, or vice versa, as one may prefer to take it, a subject to which we shall revert later.

324. This discussion leads us to the confusion of genders in declension brought about by other causes. The arbitrary distinction, which is noticed in Sanskrit, of the gender of nouns denoting objects or abstract ideas, could not possibly have been correctly used by the average man in his daily conversation, particularly if an Indo-Aryan speech had been adopted by a race which had previously been used to a different language. Pāli grammar shows that confusion had already arisen in early Buddhist times in the use of genders, and this confusion must have been intensified with the spread of Indo-Aryan languages among people of a lower culture. Early Brāhmī inscriptions of Ceylon afford examples of this. Utiya and Sivabutiya occur as the gen. sin. forms of the masculine proper names Uti (Skt. Udaya) and Śivabuti (Skt. Śivabhūti).2 The two stems had been treated as if they were feminine, the gen. sin. of a feminine proper name, for example, is Sumana-deviya (= Skt. Sumanā-devyāḥ, P. Sumanā-deviyā).3 The nom. sin. of the old Sinhalese stem corresponding to Skt. layana, P. lena, occurs in the Brāhmī inscriptions as lene, showing that the stem was treated as masculine—the termination -e, it will be pointed out below, is a development of the Old Indian -as. Corresponding to this, the plural is found in some inscriptions as lenase, the termination -se being the same as Vedic -asah. Other epigraphs, however, contain the form lenani, indicating that the stem was sometimes declined in the neuter gender. In our graffiti there are forms like gehinihu, nom. pl. of gehini (= Skt. gehini), angnu, nom. pl. of angna (= Skt. anganā), and himabiyo, nom. pl. of himabi (= Skt. svāmin + ambikā). The terminations -hu, -u, and -o, as will be shown below (§ 352 d), all go back to Vedic -āsaḥ, which

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> We have not mentioned here the loss of the dual number, for this simplification had already been effected in Middle Indian.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See EZ., vol. i, p. 144, for the form Utiya. Sivabutiya

occurs in an unpublished inscription at Rāssahela (A.S.I., No. 1560) in the Batticaloa District.

 $<sup>^3</sup>$  In an unpublished inscription (A.S.I., No. 952) at Mihintalē.

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was appropriate in the old language for the masculine pl. Here, however, its derivatives have been appended to feminine stems. The distinction has thus been lost of masculine and feminine terminations in the nom. pl. of a large class of words.

325. The inst. of the agent has altogether disappeared in the language of these graffiti. In some of the earliest Brāhmī inscriptions of about the second century B.C., the construction of a passive participle with the inst. of the agent is met with, e.g. Tiśena karapite (P. Tissena kārāpito)1 and etehi karita (P. etehi kāritain).2 But such constructions are no longer met with after the first or second century; instead of the inst. the gen. is used.3 Constructions of passive participles with the gen. are not rare in Sanskrit4 and are common in Pāli. In Sinhalese, so far as is known, the use of the inst. with passive participles was definitely given up after the second century, the gen. having become the case considered appropriate in such constructions. Thus the use of the inst. was restricted in its scope in order to be more in keeping with its nature. In another direction, however, the inst. extended its scope, being used to express the sense of the abl. No clear instance of the use of an abl. form has been met with in the Sinhalese of the Brāhmī inscriptions. The inst. in an abl. sense is met with in Vedic as well as in Epic Sanskrit; 5 Sinhalese had extended this usage until the inflexions in the abl. altogether disappeared from the language. It might be thought that the extension of the with-case to the meaning of the from-case would have caused ambiguity in speech. Examination of the actual contexts in which nouns with the same termination have been used to express the meanings of the inst. and the abl. will, however, dispel any such idea. For the verb with which the inflected noun is used clearly indicates whether the idea to be expressed is association with or parting from. In the phrase sapukasum . . . atni gat (No. 232), the verb gat makes it clear that atni expresses association with; similarly, the sentence sitin no tora ve Sihigiri (No. 70) gives rise to no ambiguity, for tora ve clearly indicates that what was meant was passing away from the mind. Further differentiation by means of the inflexion of the noun would not have made the sense any clearer. The abl. terminations of the Old and Middle Indian stages have, therefore, been allowed to drop out of use for the reason that the ablative function could very easily be taken over by the inst. terminations in addition to their own without any loss of efficiency. The change has contributed to economy in expression without loss of clearness, and the memory has been relieved of the burden of carrying the impressions of a large number of nominal forms which are not indispensable for the communication of ideas.

326. While the abl. had to retire in favour of the inst., many of the other cases, with the exception of the nom., have had their spheres of influence strictly defined. In Sanskrit almost every substantive can theoretically be declined in all the seven cases and the three numbers, thus making provision for all possible and sometimes impossible relations between concepts. If we take a modern Sinhalese grammar, too, we shall be impressed by the array of paradigms showing the forms of the substantives in nine cases and two numbers. Only a fraction of these forms, however, are inflexional. A study of the manner in which the cases are used in our graffiti, in literary works which are not too much overladen with Sanskritisms and, above all, in the modern spoken language, makes it clear that Sinhalese substantives are declined only to such an extent as is necessary to express relations between concepts which actually have to be communicated in speech and which are considered possible on logical grounds.

327. This logical distinction, according to Geiger (G.S.L., § 93), is the classification of nouns denoting animate beings and inanimate objects into two separate categories, which are treated differently in declension. The terminology adopted by Geiger is somewhat unhappy, for 'animate' and 'inanimate' are redundant. There are no inanimate beings or animate objects. Apart from this flaw in definition, which may be a minor matter, words which denote beings do not always receive the same treatment in declension. A proper name like Senal of our graffiti, or  $Kaluv\bar{a}$  in modern usage, certainly denotes a being as animate as that expressed by a word like minis; but, whereas the latter can be declined in the pl. number as well as in the sin., the former can be declined only in the sin.<sup>6</sup> Both denote beings, but the different treatment in declension must be due to a logical distinction, if the difference

<sup>6</sup> Forms like *Kaluvala* are really not plurals. The *-la* is a suffix denoting respect. *Kaluvalayi gedara* does not mean the house of many people, all of whom are named *Kaluva*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> C.J.Sc., G., vol. ii, p. 150, n. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> EZ., vol. i, p. 150.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ibid., vol. iii, p. 176.

<sup>4</sup> See Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar, § 296.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ibid., § 283 a.

in declension between minis and at is due to the one denoting a being and the other an object—also a logical distinction. The difference between Kaluvā and minis will be obvious to anyone; the one is a proper name and the other a common name, according to English usage. In Sanskrit the one is a samijāā-nāma, the other a jāti-nāma. Now these terms are included in a fivefold classification which the Sdsg. makes of substantives (sada), the five being dā (Skt. jāti), dāv (Skt. dravya), guṇa, kiriya (Skt. kriyā), and san (Skt. samijāā). The same terminology is adopted by Buddhist logicians (with nāma in place of samijāā) for their fivefold classification of concepts or thought-constructions (kalpanā, nāma-kalpanā, jāti-kalpanā, &c.). Geiger's substantives that denote 'inanimate objects' are dāv-sada of Sdsg.; guṇa-sada are adjectives; verbal nouns, referred to by Geiger as present participles and preterites, are included in the category of kiriya-sada. Each of these categories of substantives has some peculiarity or other with regard to the use of cases, as we shall presently show, and it is possibly due to this reason that the classification finds a place in the works on grammar, though Sdsg. does not explicitly mention it. The Sdsg. does not go into details on many topics; very often a bare mention is made of a subject and the student is enjoined to find for himself the details from actual literary usage. It was perhaps so with these five classes of substantives.

328. The definition of  $d\bar{a}$ -sada given in the Sdsg. is suggestive of the influence which the study of logic had on Sinhalese grammarians in former times: 'that is  $d\bar{a}$  ( $j\bar{a}ti$ ) which makes the two—the intellect and the word—prevail on different objects without differentiating.' The term can, therefore, be rendered as class names. No cow is the same as another cow, but the word 'cow' and the concept which gave rise to the word ignore the difference and treat all cows as one class. According to this definition a  $j\bar{a}ti$ -sabda need not necessarily denote a being. On this aspect of the question, more anon (see § 335).

329. Neither the inst. case (in its own sense or in the abl.) nor the loc. has application to substantives of the *jāti* and *sanijñā* classes. The reason is that, in actual speech, there is no need for such a relationship when speech is regulated by logic. A man or a horse is not used as an instrument in the same way as is an axe or a spade. If a man is made to be an instrument in some action, it means that he is made to perform the action (see section on Causative verbs). Nor is there any purpose in mentioning a movement away from a man or a horse, for the man and the horse may themselves be moving. 'In a man' also does not convey much sense for, to be intelligible, 'in a man' must refer to something in his body or in his mind, in which case one of these should be mentioned. 'Body' and 'mind' would not be *jāti*-nouns. Concepts expressed by *jāti*-names may refer to one of the class or to many; it therefore stands to reason that nouns of this category should be declined in the plural as well as in the singular in the cases which are appropriate to them. A proper name, however, refers to one person in particular. When the mind conceives of 'John', it is only of one particular 'John'; logically, therefore, a proper name should never appear in the pl. number. Even today, if we want to speak in Sinhalese of two Johns, the expression used is literally 'two John-person'.

330. Däv (Skt. dravya) is defined in Sdsg. as 'the substratum of qualities, &c.'. The substantives which denote a dravya-concept form a class according to the cases in which the corresponding word is inflected. They include the nouns which Geiger classes together as those denoting 'inanimate objects'. Words like kula (family), mula (crowd or herd), räsa (assemblage), which are declined on the same principles as kaļa (pot), pokunu (pond), and ata (hand), cannot in any way be said to denote objects. Geiger's definition has, therefore, not expressed the principle on which these substantives are classed together. The definition of dravya-nouns given in the Sdsg. fits this class quite admirably, and substantives like ata, sita, &c., should be called dravya-names. All the cases retained by Sinhalese, except the gen., are applicable to dravya-nouns. Forms given as genitives of such substantives, e.g. atehi and ate, are in reality locatives. The reason why the gen. is not applicable to these nouns is quite evident. A fruit may be located on a tree, but it cannot be taken as belonging to the tree; if so, anyone who picked a fruit, including the owner of the tree, could be convicted of the offence of stealing. The tree, with its fruit, can belong to a man; but the fruit does not belong to the tree. In this matter the character of the language seems to have undergone a change in medieval times. In Brāhmī inscriptions we get the gen. form of kula as kulaha, but no form derived from it is met with in the language after the

tion to dā-piyavi 'roots'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Sdsg., op. cit., pp. 35 f. The term sada is often used in the Sdsg. with the meaning of 'substantive'. Sada-piyavi 'nominal stems' is used in contra-distinc-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Stcherbatsky, Buddhist Logic, vol. i, p. 217.

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eighth century. Evidently, the right of private property has extended its connotation very much during the course of the centuries.

- 331. According to the definition of the Sdsg. a dravya cannot be conceived in the pl. The substratum of a quality is one. The quality is conceived as pervading the whole of the substratum; not a part thereof only. In accord with this reasoning we find that dravya-nouns are never inflected in Sinhalese in the pl. Geiger, following modern writers on Sinhalese grammar, gives the pl. forms of such names in all the cases. These forms, however, are not inflected forms. What is given as the pl. of a word like at, for instance, is the stem form in the nom. and the acc. In the other cases it has been compounded with another word, val, of unknown origin, and the inflexion is not in at, but in val. At remains uninflected in the pl. in spite of all the attempts of modern grammarians. No dravya-noun with val attached to it to give a pl. sense has been found in our graffiti.
- 332. Does a dravya-noun in the stem form stand for the pl. in the nom. and acc. cases? One way of finding an answer to this question is to ascertain whether such a form, when used as the subject in a sentence, has for its predicate a finite verb in the pl. For there must be concordance in number between the subject and predicate in a sentence. In one of our graffiti (No. 595), we have the phrase Mala-galhi hällā (hali ā). The composer of the stanza, clearly, had no intention of singling out a particular torrent of the Malaya mountain (Mala-galhi hali). It is therefore permissible to treat häli in this stanza as if it were in the pl. But the predicate, ā, is not in the pl. The same stanza contains the following sentence: gaṇanin mut kalab kaļa tamba ļa-palla pä räya. Here kalab (fire-fly) is qualified by the phrase gaṇanin mut (beyond count); it was therefore not a single fire-fly that was meant. The predicate, however, is not in the pl.; it is, as in the previous example, a passive participle or verbal noun in the stem form.
- 333. Genuine Sinhalese literary usage does not seem to have differed from our graffiti in this particular. Amāvatura, one of the earliest among the extant Sinhalese prose works—one which has not been much affected by Sanskrit literary form—has the following sentence: ohu mavukusin nikmenakalä siyalu-nuvarä āyudha dilina.² Here it is clearly not one weapon that is meant, for in the whole city there were certainly more than one; but the verbal noun used for the predicate is not in the pl. In the second chapter of the same work there is a paragraph³ containing a number of sentences in which the subject is a dravya-noun in the stem form or in the sin.; e.g. häma-satungē roga sanhindina, dev-minisungē palandanā rävu-piļirāvu dī guguļe. In one sentence only is the predicate pl., when the subject is a dravya-noun in stem form. Here, however, the subject is a dvandva compound and the predicate refers to each member of the compound separately. Syntax, therefore, gives no support to the view that pl. forms of dravya-nouns can or do exist.
- 334. By examining the modern spoken language, too, we arrive at the same conclusion. When a man today uses a phrase like *geḍi kaḍanava*, the idea in his mind is not that of plucking a plurality of nuts, but of nut-plucking in general. When the phrase *geḍiya* or *geḍiyak käḍuva* is used, the plucking of a particular nut is meant. Likewise *piyuma* is a particular lotus-flower, while *piyum* is 'lotus' in general. When a thing is meant in general, it is quite suitable that the word expressing it should be used in the stem form. The distinction made by the Sinhalese *dravya*-noun can hardly be translated into English; *gas* would usually be translated 'trees' while *gaha* is rendered 'tree'. This is due to the fact that the two languages are based on two different methods of conceiving reality; in such matters, when a sentence from one language is translated into another, the best that can be done is to give the closest approximation to the meaning of the original. The grammar of a language cannot be properly studied by translating it into another.
- 335. There are, however, instances where a dravya-noun is inflected in the gen. or in the pl. In No. 484 we have piyuman, the gen. pl. of piyum (lotus). The verse, however, speaks of lotuses seeing the bee. The lotus has thus been personified, and inflected as if it were a jāti-noun. Piyuman 'eyelids' in No. 114 will also admit of a similar explanation. Our graffiti being poetry, or at least meant to be poetry, such use of language is to be expected. Berahu in the Amāvatura passage referred to above, with the inflexion appropriate to a jāti-noun, occurs in that form since the drums have been personified. They, it is said, sounded of their own volition, and the forms of the reflexive pronoun

as soul are dravyas.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The conception of *dravya* in Indian philosophy is not exactly the same as that of matter in European thought. According to the *Nyāya-sūtra*, mind as well

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Bhadanta Sorata's edition, Colombo, 1948, p. 75.

taman and tamangē are thus used in referring to berahu. The word berahu is thus not evidence, as Geiger would have it, that this distinction is of late origin. The adoption of Sanskrit tatsamas and the imitation of Sanskrit literary forms have much obscured this classification in the inflexion of the Sinhalese noun, but the spoken language of today is at one with that of our graffiti in this respect.

336. The class of substantives called Guna-sada in Sdsg. are adjectives. As there is no distinction between the attributes and the possessor of attributes, adjectives in Sinhalese are always found compounded with the nouns they qualify. In other words, they are not inflected. Examples from our graffiti are: nil-upul, dig-äs, rat-at, yaha-dasna, &c. As in the modern language, the names of trees are treated as adjectives. Examples are sapu-kusum and  $h\bar{o}$ -dala. Adjectives are often inflected when it is the person possessing the attributes, and not the attributes themselves, that are conceived, and when the noun referring to the person is omitted as in a bahuvrīhi compound in Sanskrit. Heļillā, for example, is 'the fair one' and ran-van 'the golden-coloured one'. Cf. suddā, rattī, &c., in modern speech. In such cases it is possible that the forms go back to an adjective to which the -ka suffix had been added in early days. Secondary derivatives formed from adjectives occur in Sinhalese without any change in form, the only difference being that the final vowel is preserved in the derivative. Sunil in No. 183 has been taken as being such a secondary derivative. Yaha in the second half of No. 93 means 'goodness' or 'happiness' while yaha in the first half of the same verse means 'happy'. Cf. nila and rata in modern speech. Such secondary derivatives from adjectives are inflected in the same manner as dravya-nouns. Stems like helillā, in which an adjective is substantively used, are inflected in the masculine and feminine genders in the same way as jāti-nouns.

337. The remaining class of substantives in the Sdsg.-kiriya-sada—comprises several forms of verbal nouns, including those referred to as present participles and past passive participles which play so important a part in the construction of the Sinhalese sentence. These verbal nouns constitute two broad divisions—those which denote a person performing an action, and those which refer to an action (nomina actionis). The first of these two categories, in the Sdsg. called the arut-kiriya (= Skt. artha-kriyā), is inflected in the masculine and feminine genders in the same manner as are  $j\bar{a}ti$ -nouns. The second category—hav-kiriya (= Skt.  $bh\bar{a}va-kriy\bar{a}$ ) of the Sdsg.—receives, with regard to inflexions, the same treatment as dravya-nouns. Verbal nouns are examined in detail in §§ 502 ff.

338. Geiger's division of Sinhalese substantives into two classes denoting animates and inanimates is thus seen to be an imperfect realization of a system of logical selection by means of which the superfluities of the elaborate inflectional system of Indo-Aryan have been weeded out, leaving only just those which are necessary for the expression of ideas with efficiency. A rigorous economy seems to have operated in this selection, no wasteful nominal forms being permitted to exist. The devices which have been adopted are those by means of which communication of ideas could be effected with the minimum of effort. No two devices had been left to remain where one could efficiently function, and if one device with the help of another could carry out the function of a third device, as for instance the inst. with the aid of the verb to function in the field of the abl., that third device had been remorselessly got rid of. The inflexions which had been allowed to remain are as eloquent of the efficiency with which this economy was achieved as are the devices which had been got rid of. One cannot conceive of a more economical method of conveying the sense which is expressed by the inst. sin. of a dravya-noun, e.g. atin. The dropping of the inflexion and the substitution of a postposition or a preposition would not have improved matters. In getting rid of the superfluous inflexions of the older language, the speech of the time of our graffiti had proceeded just so far as was necessary and stopped there, for during the later centuries there were no nominal inflexions left which could be got rid of without loss of efficiency. The inflexional apparatus, together with the other devices for expressing relations which then remained in the language, was sufficient for all purposes. The adoption of certain postpositions—just beginning in the time of our graffiti—was not, as will be shown later, for the purpose of remedying a defect which was felt. The Sinhalese language at the time resembled a modern factory employing just sufficient hands to turn out the work which is expected from it, where no waste of men or material or machinery is permitted. By the loss of the greater part of the wealth of nominal inflexions in Old Indian, the Sinhalese language of the time of our graffiti had by no means been impoverished. It had only been made logical and pruned of redundances.

339. All this logical selection and classification, however, has only an indirect bearing on mor-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Gunino hi gunānām ca vyatireko na vidyate, Aśvaghosa's Buddhacarita, Canto xii, v. 78.

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phology, the proper function of which is the examination of changes which are brought about in nominal forms by inflexion where it occurs, and not to find out where it does not occur and suggest reasons for this absence of inflexion in certain words. The proper classification of nouns in morphology is therefore according to the manner in which changes occur in inflexion. Let us, therefore, on this principle, examine some words from our documents and see how they are inflected, in order to ascertain whether a classification is possible on morphological, i.e. grammatical, not logical grounds. The stem kal (damsel) is found in the nom. and acc. as kala, kal, or kalak. The stem gal (stone) in the same cases is gala, gal, or galak. Similarly, kata, kat, and katak resemble in form ata, at, and atak. Kal and kat denote, according to Geiger's terminology, 'animate beings' whereas gal and at are stems denoting 'inanimate objects'. From another point of view the first two stems are jāti-nouns while the second two are dravya-nouns. There is, however, no difference in the manner in which the two sets of words have been inflected in the cases applicable to both. Kal and kat can be inflected in the gen. as well as in the pl. of the nom. and acc. cases, e.g. kalhu, kalun, katun, &c. In the dat. sin. the terminations are alike in all: galat, atat, galata, atata; \*kalata and \*katata are not actually found, but are possible on analogy with forms like ran-vanat. A stem like raj or minis exhibits a difference. These stems of the masculine gender, as we have noted above, are not inflected in the inst. and the loc., but from feminine stems like kal and angana we get forms inflected in the loc. case, e.g. katak-hi, angane, and kalun-hi. The pronouns e and me, when inflected in the feminine gender, give rise to forms ey-hi (loc. sin.) and eyin (inst. sin.). The numeral eka in the feminine has the inst. form ekin. The pronominal form eya may mean 'of her' or 'of that thing'; similarly, meya 'of this thing' or 'of this woman'. Ekak-hat (No. 67) means 'to a certain woman'.

340. These instances clearly indicate that, in the inflexional system of the language of our graffiti, feminine stems and those which on the analogy of Sanskrit ought to be called neuter were treated alike in a number of cases common to both. This fact assumes much significance when taken together with the statement of the Sdsg. that 'there appears to be no other distinction of gender in Sinhalese apart from the masculine and the feminine'. Our graffiti—and also the most ancient poetical works if properly examined, I believe—indicate that the author of the Sdsg. had sufficient justification for this statement which has puzzled many a student of that admirable, though concise, grammatical work. What concerns the grammarian in the study of gender is not whether a word refers to a masculine or feminine being in nature, or to neither, but whether the word in its inflexion accords with others which are admittedly of the masculine or feminine gender. It was of course possible, taking words like gala, ata, &c., as the standard, to treat kala, kata, &c., as neuter, and to say that Sinhalese has only masculine and neuter, but the author of the Sdsg. preferred to favour the feminine gender. His choice, I am certain, will receive the approval of many. Moreover, words of the real feminine gender are declined in the sin. as well as in the pl.; so there was justification for including the neuter in the feminine, rather than vice versa.

341. Apart from those words such as kata and kiļi (Skt. kāntā and kuṭī), in which the feminine suffixes  $\bar{a}$  and  $\bar{i}$  have been preserved, with the appropriate phonetic changes, from the Old Indian period, there are a considerable number of new formations in which a feminine suffix has been added in Sinhalese. Such words are mainly verbal nouns (arut-kiriya of Sdsg.) and adjectives treated in declension in the manner of jāti-nouns. Yannī and rattī are examples from current Sinhalese. In the later literature, as well as in modern speech, it is the -ī suffix which is invariably made use of in such formations. In the language of our graffiti, however, as also in the earlier literature, I believe, the -a or -ā suffix is also made use of for the same purpose, though the -ī suffix occurs much more frequently. Side by side with such forms as gattī, ättī, vännī, siṭinnī, there also occur gata ('she who has taken', Skt. gṛhitā), ättayuna (women who possess), piyā (No. 309) 'beloved one', helillā 'fair one' (formed by adding the  $-\bar{a}$  suffix to helili), and yannak (No. 531) 'she who is going'. The last example is identical in form with yannak (No. 506), a verbal noun from a different root which means 'that which says'. Karannak 'what is being done' is of the same formation as yannak. Inflected forms of stems to which the feminine suffix a had been added do not thus differ from those of stems derived from nouns which were neuter in Sanskrit. A similar state of affairs will be disclosed when we examine nominal forms to which the indefinite termination has been added (see § 383). There is thus ample

Saku-sat anuseren äta da sadanaţa lingu-bē No-pänē vahara-vesesak puma-itiri-lingu deka vinā. Sdsg., op. cit., p. 59.

reason for the view of the Sdsg., at least when the classical Elu is taken into consideration, that in grammatical gender there is no other distinction than that of masculine and feminine.

- 342. It may, of course, be argued that this similarity in inflexion of Sinhalese nouns in the feminine gender with those which were originally neuter is merely an accident of phonology, and that one who would study the language from the historical standpoint should not confuse these two groups. Quite so. We must, however, not forget that the declension of nouns and pronouns of the feminine gender in the abl. and loc. cases and the use of pronominal forms, eya, meya, &c., to mean 'this thing' as well as 'this woman', have to be explained by psychological rather than phonological reasons. Moreover, to most people, the purpose of grammar is to enable them to use a language efficiently, and according to accepted standards, in the communication of ideas, and for this what matters is not how a language had come to be in a particular stage but what it is like.
- 343. While on the subject of feminine suffixes, we may note the form Dayal-mu (No. 122), used by a woman in referring to herself by name. The termination -mu in this word corresponds to -mi which is found affixed to a large number of masculine proper names, and means 'I am'. The phrase kät-duvakmu, in the Dhpr., exactly corresponds to this usage in our graffito. These two instances indicate that there is, in Sinhalese, in addition to -ā and -ī, a feminine suffix -u, just as there was a feminine -u suffix in Sanskrit. We shall see more evidence of this when we come to pronouns. In this connexion it is interesting to note that in the old Sinhalese Sanne of the Jānakī-haraṇa, a finite verb of which the subject is in the feminine gender is at times paraphrased by a Sinhalese participial form ending in -u, e.g. S. pahaļu for Skt. jaghāna (Canto VII, v. 21).<sup>2</sup>
- 344. Nominal stems, for purposes of declension, may on the basis of the reasons detailed above, be arranged in two classes, the masculine and the feminine, so far as the language of our graffiti is concerned. Within these two broad divisions the differences in inflexion may be regulated by the ending of the stem. The two nom. pl. forms dut hu and dutuvo are distinguished by the difference in the ending of the stem, the former being the result of the stem ending in a consonant, and the other of its ending in the vowel u. The nom. sin. of a feminine stem ending in i would have y inserted between the stem and the case suffix. Compare, for example, rijiyak with liyak. But the stem of a noun is a theoretical abstraction, the ending of which is determined by the phonetic changes undergone by the word in a previous stage. The language of our graffiti exhibits no uniformity with regard to the element of a noun which can be treated as the stem, for some of the phonetic processes which gave rise to the stems that can be deduced by an examination of the literary idiom had not yet exerted their full influence on the language. The dropping of medial and final vowels, for example, had not yet started on its career at the date of a number of our graffiti; we have forms like atahi and atani in some documents, while others have at hi and at ni. In one case the stem has to be treated as ending in a vowel, while in the other it has to be taken as ending in a consonant. There is also no uniformity in the selection of the case termination that is appropriate to a particular class of word. For these reasons it is not possible to attempt a systematic classification of the inflected nominal forms occurring in our graffiti under their appropriate stems. The inflected forms of some of the oft-occurring stems of different types are shown below arranged as far as possible as paradigms, from which their behaviour in inflexion can be easily deduced. All the possible inflexions of a particular stem do not, naturally, find a place in our documents, and only a few of these paradigms can be considered as complete. The inflexions of a particular stem which do not actually occur in our graffiti can be supplied on the analogy of other words which do occur, but I have not considered it necessary to do this.

#### 345. (a) Jāti-nouns of Masculine Gender:

STEM: raja, 'king	g'
Singular	Plural
Nom. raja, raj, rad	
Acc. rajak,3 raju	
Dat	
Gen. raj¹hu, raju, rajun	rajun4
I Dhamana - 1: G1	

Dharmarama's edition, Colombo, 1938, p. 299.

STEM: minis or minisa, 'man'
Singular Plural
Nom. minisa, minis, minisek³
Acc. minisak³, minisak¹hu minisun
Dat. minisnat
Gen. minisun, minisana

Centenary Volume (1950), p. 92.

- <sup>3</sup> In this and other words k, with the preceding vowel a or e, is the indefinite termination (see § 382) which is inseparably joined to the inflected form.
  - 4 Used in an honorific sense.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Compare *mahatmayo* meaning 'lady' used in Kandyan districts. This is clearly the masculine *mahatmayā* to which the -u suffix has been added. See also Dr. C. E. Godakumbure in *J.R.A.S.*, *C.B.*,

OKA	GRA	AMMAR	
STEM:	piya, 'lover'	STEM	M: sat, 'being'
Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Nom. piya, piyā		Nom. sata	sat hu, satu
Acc. piya		Acc	
Dat. piyahat	piyanaţ	Dat	satnaț
Gen. piyā	piyan	Gen	
	STEM:	himi, 'lord'	
	Singular	Plural	

Nom. himi, himiya himiyan Acc. himiyan, himiyana Gen. himiyã Voc. himi

(b) Verbal nouns (kiriya-sada) in the Masculine Gender:

STEM: giya, 'h	e who has gone'		STEM: kala, '	he who has done'
Singular	Plural	\$	Singular	Plural
Nom. giya, giye, giyeka	giyo	Nom. kaļe	, kele	kaļahu, kaļayun
Acc		Acc.		kaļavun
Dat	giyanaṭa	Dat.		
Gen. giyahu, giyahä	giyayun	Gen.	• •	kaļayun

STEM: balana, 'he who sees' STEM: yana, 'he who goes' Plural Singular Plural Singular balano Nom. balane Nom. yane, yanne yanno balanuyun Acc. yannan Acc. yannā balananața Dat. balanata Dat. yanuyunata yanayuna Gen. Gen.

# (c) Jāti-nouns in the Feminine Gender:

Stem: angana, agana or angna, 'woman'		STEM: Rata, beloved		
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Nom. an	gana, angnak <sup>1</sup>	angnu	Nom. kat, katak, kata	katun
Acc. an	gana	angnan	Acc. kat, kata	katuna
Dat.		angnanaṭa	Dat	katunaṭa
Gen.		anganan, angnan	Gen. kata	katuna
Loc. an	gane		Loc. katak hi¹	3
Voc.	•	aganini	Voc.	katni, katuni

STEM: himabi, himambi, 'lady' STEM: digäsi, 'long-eyed one' Singular Plural Plural Singular Nom. himabi himabin, himabiyo digäsin Nom. digäs, digäsi Acc. himabiyäka<sup>1</sup> Acc. digäs, digäsi digässan, digäsin himabiyanata Dat. Dat. himabiyan digäsin, digässan Gen. himambiya Gen. digäs, digäsa Voc. himabi Voc. digäsa, digäs digesina, digäsini

STEM: him	ambu, 'lady'	STEM: himiyar	mbu(i), 'lady'
Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Nom. himambu, himabu	himabuyu, himabuhu	Nom. himiyabi, himiyam- buyu, himiyambuyuk	
Acc. himabuyu	A STATE OF THE STA	Acc.	
Dat.		Dat. himiyambuyuta	
Gen. himabuyaka1	himabun, himabuyun	Gen. himiyabuyun	
Voc.	himabuni	Voc.	himiyambuyen
	T. Charles and A.		

See note 3, p. civ.

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STEM: helillambu and v Singular	Plural		Singula	W. Santa	en-coloured one' Plural
Nom. helilabiyuka <sup>1</sup> , helila-	helillabuyun	No	m. ran-van,		ran-vanu
labiyaka,¹ helilam-				ak, ran-	
buyuka, helillabu,			vanā (le	ngth metris	
helillambu A	7 7 7 7 7			ran-vanu	
Acc.	helillabuyuna, h	eļilla- Acc	. ran-vanu		ran-van, ran-vanar
Gen. helillabuyaku <sup>1</sup>	buyun	D	n constraints and man		ran-vanän
Voc. helillabu, helillamba	helillabuyun helillabiyän, helil		. ran-vanaț		rana-vananaț
A meintaon, neintamon	biyen	Voc			ran-vanan, ran-van ran-vanin
				•2	ran-vann
(d) Verbal Nouns in the		er:			
STEM: hindini, 'sh					who stands'
Singular	Plural		Singula	r	Plural
Nom. hindni	hindno, hindinno		n. <i>siṭinnī</i>		
Acc	hindnan	Acc			100
Gen	hindinayun	Gen		•	siținuvan
(e) Guṇa-nouns (adjecti	ves) declined in th	ne Feminine (	Gender:		
STEM: väni, 'r				Sтем: <i>äti</i> , 'h	naving'
Singular	Plural		Singular		Plural
Nom. vännī	vänno	Non	n. <i>ätti</i> , <i>ättī</i>		
Acc.	vännan		ätta, ättak <sup>1</sup>		ättayuna
Dat. vännat			. ättāhaţ		ättanața, ättanhaț, d
					tayunaṭa, ättayna
					The state of the s
Gen (f) Dravya-nouns, infle	Nom. at, ata	ne Gender, si M: at or ata, 'h a, atak <sup>1</sup>	100		ättan
	Nom. at, ata Acc. at, ata Inst. atni, a Dat. ataṭ	ne Gender, si M: at or ata, 'h a, atak <sup>1</sup> atnen, atin, atin	ngular only: and'		ättan
	Nom. at, ata Acc. at, ata Inst. atni, a Dat. ataṭ Loc. atä, aa	ne Gender, si M: at or ata, 'h n, atak <sup>1</sup> n ntnen, atin, atin t <sup>1</sup> hi, ata-hi	ngular only: and' a, atini, atani		ättan
(f) Dravya-nouns, infle	Nom. at, ata Acc. at, ata Inst. atni, a Dat. atat Loc. atä, at	ne Gender, si  a: at or ata, 'h  a, atak <sup>1</sup> attnen, atin, atin  t <sup>1</sup> hi, ata-hi	ngular only: and' a, atini, atani Stem: sit		ättan
(f) Dravya-nouns, infle	Nom. at, ata Acc. at, ata Inst. atni, a Dat. atat Loc. atä, an Stem: gala, 'rock gal, gala, galak <sup>1</sup>	ne Gender, si  a: at or ata, 'h  a, atak¹  atnen, atin, atin  t¹hi, ata-hi  '  No	ngular only: and' a, atini, atani STEM: sit m. sita, sit		attan
(f) Dravya-nouns, infle	Nom. at, ata Acc. at, ata Inst. atni, a Dat. ataț Loc. atä, an Stem: gala, 'rock gal, gala, galak <sup>1</sup> gal, gala, galak <sup>1</sup>	ne Gender, si  a: at or ata, 'h  a, atak <sup>1</sup> atnen, atin, atin  t <sup>1</sup> hi, ata-hi  c'  No.	ngular only: and'  a, atini, atani  STEM: sit m. sita, sit c. sita, sit	, 'mind'	attan
(f) Dravya-nouns, infler  Nom. Acc. Inst.	Nom. at, ata Acc. at, ata Inst. atni, a Dat. ataṭ Loc. atä, at STEM: gala, 'rock gal, gala, galak¹ gal, gala, galak¹ galin, galä	ne Gender, si  a: at or ata, 'h  a, atak¹  atnen, atin, atin  t'hi, ata-hi  c'  No: Acc Ins	ngular only: and'  a, atini, atani  STEM: sit  m. sita, sit c. sita, sit t. sitin, sitina	, 'mind'	attan
Nom. Acc. Inst. Dat.	Nom. at, ata Acc. at, ata Inst. atni, a Dat. ataț Loc. atä, an Stem: gala, 'rock gal, gala, galak <sup>1</sup> gal, gala, galak <sup>1</sup>	ne Gender, si  a: at or ata, 'h  a, atak¹  attnen, atin, atin  t¹hi, ata-hi  '  No  Acc  Ins  Dat	ngular only: and'  a, atini, atani  STEM: sit m. sita, sit c. sita, sit t. sitin, sitina c. sitaṭ	, 'mind'	attan
Nom. Acc. Inst. Dat. Loc.	Nom. at, ata Acc. at, ata Inst. atni, a Dat. ataț Loc. atä, an STEM: gala, 'rock gal, gala, galak <sup>1</sup> gal, gala, galak <sup>1</sup> galin, gală galața gală, gale, galhi, g	ne Gender, si  a: at or ata, 'h  a, atak¹  atnen, atin, atin  t'hi, ata-hi  '  No  Acc  Ins  Dat  älä  Loc	STEM: sit a. sita, sit b. sita, sit c. sita, sit	, 'mind'  itahi, sit'hi	
Nom. Acc. Inst. Dat. Loc. Stem: giri,	Nom. at, ata Acc. at, ata Inst. atni, a Dat. ataṭ Loc. atä, at STEM: gala, 'rock gal, gala, galak¹ gal, gala, galak¹ galin, galä galaṭa galā, gale, galhi, g 'mountain'	ne Gender, si  M: at or ata, 'h  a, atak <sup>1</sup> attnen, atin, atin  thi, ata-hi  No Acc Ins Dat älä Loc STEM: gi, 'song	STEM: sit m. sita, sit t. sitin, sitina t. sita; sitat c. site, sitä, si c. site, sitä, si	i, 'mind' itahi, sit'hi i: bit or bitu	
Nom. Acc. Inst. Dat. Loc.	Nom. at, ata Acc. at, ata Inst. atni, a Dat. ataţ Loc. atä, an STEM: gala, 'rock gal, gala, galak¹ gal, gala, galak¹ galin, galä galaţa galā, gale, galhi, g 'mountain'	ne Gender, si  a: at or ata, 'h  a, atak¹  atnen, atin, atin  t'hi, ata-hi  '  No  Acc  Ins  Dat  älä  Loc	ngular only: and'  a, atini, atani  STEM: sit  m. sita, sit c. sita, sit t. sitin, sitina c. sitat c. site, sitä, s y' STEM  Nom.	, 'mind'  itahi, sit'hi	
Nom. Acc. Inst. Dat. Loc. Stem: giri, Nom. giri	Nom. at, ata Acc. at, ata Inst. atni, a Dat. ataţ Loc. atä, an STEM: gala, 'rock gal, gala, galak¹ gal, gala, galak¹ galin, galä galaţa galā, gale, galhi, g 'mountain'	ne Gender, si  a: at or ata, 'h  a, atak¹  atnen, atin, atin  t'hi, ata-hi  '  No  Acc  Ins  Dat  älä Loc  STEM: gi, 'song  n. gī  . gīya, gīyak¹	ngular only: and'  a, atini, atani  STEM: sit  m. sita, sit c. sita, sit t. sitin, sitina c. sitat c. site, sitä, s y' STEM  Nom.	itahi, sit <sup>1</sup> hi i: bit or bitu bit, bitu bita, bitta	
Nom. Acc. Inst. Dat. Loc.  Stem: giri, Nom. giri Acc. gira Inst. girin Dat.	Nom. at, ata Acc. at, ata Inst. atni, a Dat. ataṭ Loc. atä, at  STEM: gala, 'rock gal, gala, galak¹ gal, gala, galak¹ galin, galä galaṭa galā, gale, galhi, g 'mountain'  Nor Acc Inst	ne Gender, si  a: at or ata, 'h  a, atak¹  atnen, atin, atin  t'hi, ata-hi  '  No  Acc  Ins  Dat  älä Loc  STEM: gi, 'song  n. gī  . gīya, gīyak¹	ngular only: and'  a, atini, atani  STEM: sit  m. sita, sit  t. sita, sit t. sitin, sitina t. sita c. site, sitä, s  ' STEM  Nom. Acc.	itahi, sit <sup>1</sup> hi i: bit or bitu bit, bitu bita, bitta bitni	
Nom. Acc. Inst. Dat. Loc.  Stem: giri, Nom. giri Acc. gira Inst. girin	Nom. at, ata Acc. at, ata Inst. atni, a Dat. ataṭ Loc. atä, at  STEM: gala, 'rock gal, gala, galak¹ gal, gala, galak¹ galin, galä galaṭa galā, gale, galhi, g 'mountain'  Nor Acc Inst	ne Gender, si  a: at or ata, 'h  a, atak¹  attnen, atin, atin  t¹hi, ata-hi  '  No  Acc  Ins  Dat  dälä Loc  STEM: gi, 'song  n. gī  . gīya, gīyak¹  . gīyāt	STEM: sit  a. sita, sit  b. sita, sit  c. sita, sit  c. sita, sit  c. site, sitina  c. site, sitä, s  Nom.  Acc.  Inst.  Dat.	itahi, sit <sup>1</sup> hi i: bit or bitu bit, bitu bita, bitta bitni	
Nom. Acc. Inst. Dat. Loc. Stem: giri, Nom. giri Acc. gira Inst. girin Dat. Loc. gire	Nom. at, ata Acc. at, ata Inst. atni, a Dat. ataṭ Loc. atä, ata STEM: gala, 'rock gal, gala, galak¹ galin, galä galaṭa galā, gale, galhi, g 'mountain'  Nor Acc Inst Dat. Loc	ne Gender, si  a: at or ata, 'h  a, atak¹  attnen, atin, atin  t¹hi, ata-hi  '  '  No  Acc  Ins  Dat  dala Loc  STEM: gi, 'song  n. gī  . gīya, gīyak¹   gīyāt	STEM: sit  a, atini, atani  STEM: sit  m. sita, sit  c. sita, sit  t. sitin, sitina  c. site, sitä, s  Nom.  Acc.  Inst.  Dat.  Loc.	itahi, sit'hi it bit or bitu bit, bitu bita, bitta bitni bitat bite, bit'hi	
Nom. Acc. Inst. Dat. Loc. Stem: giri, Nom. giri Acc. gira Inst. girin Dat. Loc. gire  (g) Verbal Nouns (hav-k	Nom. at, ata Acc. at, ata Inst. atni, a Dat. ata Loc. atä, at  STEM: gala, 'rock gal, gala, galak' gal, gala, galak' galin, galä galata galä, gale, galhi, g 'mountain'  Non Acc Inst Loc  iriya) treated as a	ne Gender, si  a: at or ata, 'h  a, atak¹  attnen, atin, atin  t¹hi, ata-hi  alia Loc  STEM: gi, 'song  m. gī  . gīya, gīyak¹  . gīyāt  dravya-nouns i	ngular only: and'  a, atini, atani  STEM: sit  m. sita, sit c. sita, sit t. sitin, sitina t. sitat c. site, sitä, s Nom. Acc. Inst. Dat. Loc. in inflexion:	itahi, sit <sup>1</sup> hi i: bit or bitu bit, bitu bita, bitta bitai bitat bite, bit <sup>1</sup> hi	, 'wall'
Nom. Acc. Inst. Dat. Loc. Stem: giri. Acc. gira Inst. girin Dat. Loc. gire  (g) Verbal Nouns (hav-k Stem: bälm	Nom. at, ata Acc. at, ata Inst. atni, a Dat. ataṭ Loc. atä, ata STEM: gala, 'rock gal, gala, galak¹ gal, gala, galak¹ galin, galä galaṭa galā, gale, galhi, g 'mountain'  Non Acc Inst Loc  iriya) treated as a a, 'seeing'  ST	ne Gender, si  M: at or ata, 'h  a, atak¹  attnen, atin, atin  t'hi, ata-hi  '  No  Acc  Ins  Dat  älä Loc  STEM: gi, 'song  m. gī  . gīya, gīyak¹  . gīyat  . gīyāt  . dravya-nouns in  Eravya-nouns in  Eravya-n	STEM: sit  a, atini, atani  STEM: sit  m. sita, sit  c. sita, sit  t. sitin, sitina  c. site, sitä, s  Nom.  Acc.  Inst.  Dat.  Loc.  in inflexion:  ng' STEM	itahi, sitlhi it bit or bitu bit, bitu bitai, bitta bitai bitat bite, bitlhi 2	, 'wall'
Nom. Acc. Inst. Dat. Loc. Stem: giri, Nom. giri Acc. gira Inst. girin Dat. Loc. gire  (g) Verbal Nouns (hav-k	Nom. at, ata Acc. at, ata Inst. atni, a Dat. ata Loc. atä, ata STEM: gala, 'rock gal, gala, galak¹ gal, gala, galak¹ galin, galä galaṭa galā, gale, galhi, g 'mountain'  Nor Acc Inst Loc  iriya) treated as a a, 'seeing' ST	ne Gender, si  a: at or ata, 'h  a, atak¹  attnen, atin, atin  t¹hi, ata-hi  alia Loc  STEM: gi, 'song  m. gī  . gīya, gīyak¹  . gīyāt  dravya-nouns i	STEM: sit m. sita, sit t. sitin, sitina sita; sitat c. site, sitä, si Nom. Acc. Inst. Loc. in inflexion: ng' STEM Nom.	itahi, sitlhi it bit or bitu bit, bitu bitai, bitta bitai bitat bite, bitlhi 2	, 'wall'
Nom. Acc. Inst. Dat. Loc. STEM: giri, Nom. giri Acc. gira Inst. girin Dat. Loc. gire  (g) Verbal Nouns (hav-k STEM: bälm Nom. bälma,	Nom. at, ata Acc. at, ata Inst. atni, a Dat. ata Loc. atä, an STEM: gala, 'rock gal, gala, galak¹ gal, gala, galak¹ galin, galä galaṭa galā, gale, galhi, g 'mountain'  Nor Acc Inst Dat Loc iriya) treated as a a, 'seeing' bālmek¹ Non Acc.	ne Gender, si  M: at or ata, 'h  a, atak¹  attnen, atin, atin  t'hi, ata-hi  No. Acc  Ins  Dat  älä Loc  STEM: gi, 'song  m. gī  gīya, gīyak¹  gīya, gīyak¹  gīya'  t'avya-nouns i  eravya-nouns i  eravya-nouns i  eravya-nouns i	STEM: sit  a, atini, atani  STEM: sit  m. sita, sit  c. sita, sit  t. sitin, sitina  c. site, sitä, s  Nom.  Acc.  Inst.  Dat.  Loc.  in inflexion:  ng' STEM	itahi, sithi itahi, sithi it bit or bitu bit, bitu bita, bitta bitat bite, bithi 2 : balanu, 'se	, 'wall'
Nom. Acc. Inst. Dat. Loc. STEM: giri, Nom. giri Acc. gira Inst. girin Dat. Loc. gire  (g) Verbal Nouns (hav-k STEM: bälma, Acc. bälmak Inst. bälmen Dat. bälmat	Nom. at, ata Acc. at, ata Inst. atni, a Dat. ata Loc. atä, an STEM: gala, 'rock gal, gala, galak¹ gal, gala, galak¹ galin, galä galaṭa galä, gale, galhi, g 'mountain'  Nor Acc Inst Loc iriya) treated as a a, 'seeing' bälmek¹ Non Acc Inst	ne Gender, si  M: at or ata, 'h  a, atak¹  utnen, atin, atin  t'hi, ata-hi  ''  No.  Acc  Ins  Dat  älä Loc  STEM: gi, 'song  m. gī  gīya, gīyak¹  giya, gīyak¹  t'avya-nouns i  em: vanu, 'bein  n. vanu, vanuva  vanu	ngular only: and'  STEM: sit a, atini, atani  STEM: sit m. sita, sit c. sita, sit t. sitin, sitina c. sitat c. site, sitä, s Nom. Acc. Inst. Dat. Loc. in inflexion: a Nom. Acc. Inst.	itahi, sithi itahi, sithi it bit or bitu bit, bitu bita, bitta bitni bitat bite, bithi 2 : balanu, 'se balanu	, 'wall'
Nom. Acc. Inst. Dat. Loc. STEM: giri, Nom. giri Acc. gira Inst. girin Dat. Loc. gire  (g) Verbal Nouns (hav-k STEM: bälma, Acc. bälmak Inst. bälmen	Nom. at, ata Acc. at, ata Inst. atni, a Dat. ata Loc. atä, an STEM: gala, 'rock gal, gala, galak¹ gal, gala, galak¹ galin, galä galaṭa galä, gale, galhi, g 'mountain'  Nor Acc Inst Loc iriya) treated as a a, 'seeing' bälmek¹ Non Acc Inst	ne Gender, si  A: at or ata, 'h  a, atak¹  attnen, atin, atin  thi, ata-hi  Acc  Ins  Dat  älä Loc  STEM: gi, 'song  n. gī  . gīya, gīyak¹   dravya-nouns i  rem: vanu, 'bein  n. vanu, vanuva  vanu  vanu  vannen  vannaṭ	ngular only: and'  STEM: sit a, atini, atani  STEM: sit m. sita, sit c. sita, sit t. sitin, sitina c. sitat c. site, sitä, s Nom. Acc. Inst. Dat. Loc. in inflexion: a Nom. Acc. Inst.	itahi, sithi itahi, sithi it bit or bitu bit, bitu bita, bitta bitat bite, bithi 2 : balanu, 'se	, 'wall'
Nom. Acc. Inst. Dat. Loc. STEM: giri, Nom. giri Acc. gira Inst. girin Dat. Loc. gire  (g) Verbal Nouns (hav-k STEM: bälma, Acc. bälmak Inst. bälmen Dat. bälmat	Nom. at, ata Acc. at, ata Inst. atni, a Dat. ata Loc. atä, an STEM: gala, 'rock gal, gala, galak¹ gal, gala, galak¹ galin, galä galaṭa galä, gale, galhi, g 'mountain'  Nor Acc Inst Loc  iriya) treated as a a, 'seeing' ST bälmek¹ Non cl Loc Inst Dat. Loc Loc.	ne Gender, si  A: at or ata, 'h  a, atak¹  attnen, atin, atin  thi, ata-hi  Thi, at	STEM: sit m. sita, sit t. sitin, sitina sita, sit t. s	itahi, sithi itahi, sithi it bit or bitu bit, bitu bitat bitat bite, bithi  it balanu, 'se balanu balannat	, 'wall'

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- 346. While one type of verbal noun (arut-kiriya of Sdsg.) follows the adjective in declension, the other type (hav-kiriya) follows the dravya-noun. Being a verbal noun is common to both; but this has no bearing on the cases in which they are declined. The verbal nouns ending in -ma and -li accord well with the definition of dravya-nouns given in the Sdsg. A word like bälma or tävli can be compounded with an adjective which qualifies it; but one like balannī cannot be so dealt with. Even in the modern language it is not correct to say ratu yannī; it should be yana rattī. But rasa-kävili or rasa-kävum are quite permissible. A hav-kiriya, therefore, is a substratum for qualities, &c., just as is a dravya-noun, and has been treated as such in declension.
- 347. Verbal nouns of the second type (hav-kiriya) ending with -ma have been classed as of masculine gender in the Sdsg. If we compare the nom. sin. of bälma, i.e. bälmek, with forms like minisek, we shall see that the mode of declension of this stem is the same, at least for this case, as for words which are admittedly of the masculine gender. The test for the grammatical gender of a word, so far as the Sdsg. is concerned, appears to have been the mode of inflexion in the nom. sin. There are, however, forms like bälmak, &c., to be found in literature; and, if these are not due to errors of erudite editors and ignorant copyists, the statement of the Sdsg. with regard to the gender of this type of verbal noun may be open to question. It is possible that, at least in the opinion of the Sdsg., forms like bälmak were not considered regular.
- 348. There are also some nouns of the dravya-class, of which the nom. sin. ends in -e, and which, for that reason, can be classed as of the masculine gender. In one of our documents we have gune, which agrees with the form gunek in verse 5 of the Mdv. In the spoken language of today there are numerous forms like kaļē (pot), māle (necklace), talē (blade), &c., which are analogous to gune of our graffito. These colloquial forms, however, are not considered today as quite presentable. Whenever a Sinhalese writer takes pen in hand and thinks of a pot it will appear on paper as kalaya, however often he may use the form kalē in his speech. Padaya and possibly hidaya of our documents are of the same type as modern kalaya. When nom. sin. forms ending in -ya of dravya-nouns occurring in literature or in modern speech are examined, it becomes evident that -ya is added to stems ending in -a, just as a is added to stems ending in consonants, to express the idea of the particular (sin. number according to Geiger). It may, therefore, be argued that, in a form like padaya, it was -a that was added to the stem pada, just as -a is added to at, resulting in the form ata, and that y is nothing but a hiatus-filler. Such an explanation implies that this differentiation took place only after words began to drop their final vowel in certain positions, and leaves the origin of -a indicating particularity or singularity unexplained. It is, therefore, more likely that these forms with y go back to earlier forms to which the pleonastic suffix -ka had been added. \*Guṇa-ka, for instance, can by normal phonological development become guṇaya and \*pada-ka, padaya. When words of this type are at the stage guṇaya, kalaya, padaya, &c., they are liable to undergo another phonological change, i.e. the contraction (samprasāraṇa) of ya to i, which would result in the forms gune, kale, pade, &c.
- 349. The phonological change noticed in the words cited above may explain certain verbal nouns or participles which, in form, appear to be of the masculine gender, but being used in apposition with a noun in the feminine gender, must themselves be taken as such on grounds of syntax. In No. 537, for instance, the participle forms patte, senne, and hindinne are used in apposition with li (damsel) and, at first sight, it appears as if we have to deal with an error or some unusual feature of syntax. The true explanation, however, seems to be a phonological one. If these forms go back to prototypes which had the pleonastic -ka and the feminine suffix - $\bar{a}$  added to them, the normal phonological processes would have resulted in \*pataya, \*senanaya, and \*hidinaya. The samprasāraṇa of ya to i would give \*pate, \*senane, and \*hidine from which patte, senne, and hindinne would result by other phonological processes which we have explained in their appropriate places.
- 350. Verbal nouns of the type vanu go back to primary derivatives in Sanskrit formed with the suffix -ana, e.g. karaṇa.<sup>2</sup> In early Sinhalese documents, however, forms like karana are used more in the manner of adjectives than as substantives, which they are in Sanskrit. Compare the phrase ariya-vasa karana maha-biku-sagahaṭa in the Tōṇigala inscription of Śrīmeghavarṇṇa (EZ., vol. iii, p. 178). Verbal nouns like karana are often used as adjectives in our graffiti, and also in literature

kaya (svarabhakti) > \*manike > mänike. Literally, mänike means 'jewel', i.e. 'a jewel of a woman'.

<sup>2</sup> Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, § 1150.

It is also due to phonological reasons that mänike, kaya a term of endearment or respect applied to women, ends in e, the development being mänikya > \*mani-

as well as in modern spoken Sinhalese. They have been further developed into forms like *karannā* and *karannī*, when it was necessary to use such forms in their original sense; the necessity thus arose to differentiate them in form, and this was effected by the addition of the *svārtha-taddhita* suffix -ka. Compare the phrase *karanaka koṭu* in the Burutankande inscription (*EZ.*, vol. iii, p. 182). *Karanaka* became \*karanaya by the elision of the intervocalic k and the phonological process detailed in §§ 172 ff. gave rise to *karanu*. So with forms like *balanu*, *vanu*, &c. Thus the suffix ka has had the effect of restoring a word to the status of a *dravya*-noun which, for some unknown reason, it had lost in the course of time. The part which the suffix -ka plays in modifying the meaning of other verbal nouns will be noted in § 508.

#### CASE-ENDINGS

351. We now proceed to examine the various case-terminations and, as far as possible, to ascertain their origins. The mention of the inflected forms quoted as examples of these case-endings will also give us the opportunity of taking note of types of stems which are represented only by a stray inflected form or two, and have therefore not been shown among the paradigms given above.

352. Nominative. (a) The nom. sin. of masculine as well as feminine declensions is very often the stem itself; e.g. raja, raj, situvar, giri, kata, kat, angana, angan, &c. This phenomenon is in many instances the result of the working of phonetic laws such as that concerning the dropping of final vowels.

- (b) The termination -e in the nom. sin. of certain types of nouns and its probable origin have already been dealt with in § 348. Other examples of the same type are pele (= Skt. phalam), suve (= Skt. sukham), and pade (= Skt. patham). These forms, evidently, are developed from palaya, suvaya, and padaya. The termination -e in words like dene (< Skt. janaḥ) and giye (< Skt. gataḥ) are of a different category. -e is one of the two terminations for the nom. sin. admitted in the Sdsg.; it is as short -e that the termination occurs in that grammar, but in literary works as well as in our graffiti the short -e and the long are both found. In prose works the long -e predominates, while in verse it is the metre which decides the length of this case-ending. In the early Brāhmī inscriptions, the termination -e is met with in the nom. sin., not only of stems which are masculine in Sanskrit, e.g. pute (Skt. putrah), but also of those which are neuter, e.g. lene (Skt. layanam). Nom. sin. forms which end in -ā in Skt. and Pkt., such as  $r\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ , are found to end in -e in the language of the early Brāhmī inscriptions, e.g. raje. It has been suggested that this -e ending of the nom. sin. was a Māgadhism introduced into Sinhalese by the early Buddhist missionaries. But the old Sinhalese had the -e ending in words which ended with -a in Māgadhī, whether literary or epigraphic. If borrowing is the only way of explaining similarities found in two different dialects, it is as reasonable to conclude that the Māgadhī borrowed this -etermination from the parent of Sinhalese as to say that Old Sinhalese adopted it from the other. There is, however, no reason why the same feature may not have developed independently in two different dialects. The matter is more a phonological than a morphological one; it is not that one dialect adopted a particular ending for the nom. sin., while another preferred a different one, but that a particular sound at the end of inflected forms in Old Indian changed in one way in one dialect, while it underwent a different change in another. We know that the ending of the nom. sin. in the oldest form of Indo-Aryan, i.e. Vedic Sanskrit, is -as (-ah). In most Prakrits, as well as in Pāli, the visarga with the preceding a has developed to o, whereas in Māgadhī and in Old Sinhalese it has developed to e. But this development of ah to e is not confined to Māgadhī and Sinhalese. The nom. pl. termination  $\bar{a}sah$  is found in Pāli as āse, precisely the same phonetic change that has taken place in -e developing from -as (-ah). Such words as lenase, karapitase, &c., occurring in the Brāhmī inscriptions, afford evidence to show that Pāli is paralleled by Old Sinhalese as far as the termination of the nom. pl. is concerned. But Māgadhī has followed a different course in such words. The inscription on the Piphrava relic-casket has the form Bhagavate corresponding to Skt. Bhagavatah, indicating that the development of -ah to -e was also a feature of the language of the Śākyas. It is thus not necessary to see the influence of Māgadhī on Sinhalese in the nom. sin. termination -e. The -e ending for the nom. sin. of masculine stems in the language of our graffiti as well as in literary Sinhalese may well be taken to be the same as the -e which performs a similar function in the language of the oldest Brāhmī epigraphs of Ceylon.
- (c) The other termination for the nom. sin. recognized by the Sdsg. is represented in our graffiti by a few examples, e.g. naravarā. This is not met with in the early phase of the language, and was an

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innovation introduced about the time of our graffiti. Geiger is of opinion that this -a has no phonological connexion with the -e of the early inscriptions, and takes it to be the termination of the oblique case 'which was also used for the direct case to distinguish it from the stem form'. Geiger was not aware of the phonological process in Sinhalese by which e is resolved to e0 or e1 aya—evidence for which we have given above (§§ 134 ff.). If e1 became e1 in the first instance, its further change into e2 is easily understandable. If the e3 can thus be shown as a natural development of the earlier e2, there is no need to bring it to the direct from the oblique case. There are numerous instances of earlier grammatical forms existing side by side with later ones evolved from them (see § 357), just as words can often be found in various stages of phonological development in one and the same document.

- (d) The terminations -o and -hu, recognized by the Sdsg. for the nom. pl., are exemplified in our graffiti: -o in eno, visiyo, bäliyo, pabando, himabiyo; -hu in kalahu, giyahu, kalhu, duthu. As in the case of -e, the termination -o can be either long or short, the metre being the deciding factor in verse, and literary prose favouring the long. Both these terminations, as well as a number of others occurring in our graffiti -- ā, -u, and -ha-can be traced back to the Old Indian -āsaḥ, P. -āse, which occurs, as has already been stated, in the form -ase in the oldest Brāhmī inscriptions of Ceylon. Just as the nom. sin. -e has been reduced to -i in words like puti occurring in inscriptions of about the first century, so the termination -ase had become -ahi by about the same time. An unpublished inscription of about the first century from the so-called Vessagiri Monastery at Anurādhapura, for example, has the form dinahi which, from the context, must be interpreted as the nom. pl. of the old Sinhalese equivalent of P. dinna. Vowel-assimilation would change this form to \*dinaha, and thus would arise the termination -aha, exemplified by such words as asadaha and pilipanha in our documents. When the termination was in the stage -aha, during the period when the language had no stems with final consonants, different courses of phonetic development were open to it. The intervocalic h might drop, causing the two a's to coalesce into  $\bar{a}$ . This has actually happened, for in No. 89 we have the phrase himabuhu  $m\bar{a}$ kändavanā, where kändavanā in apposition with himabuhu must be nom. pl. Its earlier form must be taken as \*kändavanaha. No-baṇanā in No. 208 is a similar form. It is in a few words only that this development has been allowed to take place. Conservative forces intervened and arrested phonetic decay by vowel-dissimilation, giving rise to -ahu of which the initial vowel coalescing with the final vowel of the stem produced -hu. Phonetic decay, however, though temporarily arrested by voweldissimilation, found a further chance for its activity and caused the elision of h in -hu, leaving the vowel u to coalesce with the final a of a-stems to form -o. Thus we have kalahu side by side with kalo. The termination -o came to be treated as independent and by analogy was transferred to stems ending in vowels other than a, giving rise to forms like himabiyo, yeheliyo, duțuvo, &c. When the h dropped in the case-termination attached to stems in which the vowel of the final syllable had been elided, the u was joined to the consonant, giving us such forms as satu (sat-hu > \*sat-u) and ran-vanu (ran-vanhu > \*ran-van-u). In a later phase of the language the consonant was doubled before the -u was attached to it, giving rise to forms such as minissu, sattu, &c., but our graffiti do not contain any forms of this type.1
- (e) There are a number of instances in our graffiti of the nom. pl. ending in -n. Henayun no benet (No. 107),  $v\bar{u}yun \dots no$  benet (No. 181), katun benet (No. 225), veti mihi devasaran, i.e. mehi devasaran veti (No. 407), dig-äsin . . . sitit (No. 514), dig-nuyunun . . . esavū (No. 533) are some examples in which a word with the case-ending -n is the subject of a sentence with a finite verb or a participle in the pl. number as the predicate. Veset gānun no-tit-vīmen (Kskh. x. 125) is a well-known example from literature. The nature and origin of this case termination (not recognized by the Sdsg.) have been misunderstood, and ancient authors who used words showing it have been 'corrected' by their modern editors. In my opinion the termination -n for the nom. pl. is as much a descendant of an Old Indian inflexion as are the other nom. case-endings which we have noted, and it has been subjected to normal phonetic changes just as the others have. We know that there are in Sanskrit a large number of stems ending in -n or -in, such as rājan, gunin, &c. The nom. pl. forms of these stems are rājānaḥ, guninaḥ, &c.; they do not differ in form from the gen. sin. In the Middle Indian period such forms had become rājāno, gunino, &c. Moreover, we find, in Prakrit and Pāli, nom. pl. forms in -no of stems which end in u and i, and which in Sanskrit were not inflected in the nom. pl. to end in -naḥ, e.g. Pkt.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Geiger's view that it is assimilation of consonants which takes place when minis-hu becomes minissu (G.S.L., § 98) is not quite correct.

aggino and vāuno as against Skt. agnayah and vāyavah, P. bhātuno as against Skt. bhrātarah. There is no reason why such forms due to false analogy should not have been current in the parent of Sinhalese. Gen. forms in -no due to false analogy are met with in the oldest Brāhmī inscriptions in Ceylon, e.g. batuno for Skt. bhrātuh and Agibutino for Skt. Agnibhūteh. That similar forms for the nom. pl. have not been actually noticed in the available documents is not evidence that they did not exist in the language of the day, for the oldest Sinhalese inscriptions, from the very nature of their contents, exhibit very few nom. pl. forms of any sort. Assuming that the prototypes of gähänun and vanun, for example, existed in the old language as \*gehinino, \*vanino, the loss of the final vowel when we come to the eighth century is paralleled by the development of raje and pute to raj and put, through raji and puti. The fact that the majority of words showing the nom. pl. -n termination are from i- or ustems also gives support to this view. The nom. pl. in -n of a-stems may well have developed on the analogy of such words as P. and Pkt. rājāno.2

(f) Nom. sin. forms like himiya contain the  $-\bar{a}$  ending subjected to the tendency in Sinhalese to shorten long vowels. The y between the stem and the case-ending is the result of the working of a well-known phonological process. In Devämi (No. 230) the final vowel of the stem has been modified to ä by the influence of -i in the next syllable. Stems with the feminine suffixes -i, -i, -a, or -u do not receive any addition to form the nom. sin. The nom. pl. of such stems usually ends in- o or -hu. The -a ending of the nom. sin. of words which were originally of the neuter gender is the last vowel of the original stem, but is found to have been treated as if it were a case-termination and transferred to stems other than those ending in-a, e.g. bitta, the nom. sin. of bitu. The duplication of the consonant noticed in the word is due to a widespread phonetic law (Rule no. cx).

353. Accusative. We have seen above that the working of the phonetic law dropping the anusvāra made the acc. sin. of many stems assume the same form as the stem itself. Thus a word is in the acc. case has often to be determined from the position which it occupies in the sentence, and not from the termination of the word itself. Stems ending in -a by far outnumber all those ending in -i, -u, &c., put together; the acc. sin. of a-stems, identical in form with the stem, has therefore given rise to the supposition that -a is the ending appropriate for the acc. sin. of other stems as well. Thus we have gira as acc. sin. of giri. In the modern language, most dravya-nouns ending in -i or -u have their acc. sin. forms terminating in -a, e.g. vatta, padiya, &c. The other terminations of the acc. case noticed in our graffiti--u and -hu in the sin., and -na, -nan, -an, and -un in the pl.—are really endings of the gen. case, for the two cases have been confused by the participial construction of the sentence which is common in Sinhalese (see § 527). The termination -nan in helillabuyunan deserves mention, for it is admitted in the Sdsg.3 also. The termination -ä in danä (No. 108), though appearing to be acc. sin., is also gen. sin. as well; -ä in moyunä which, from the context, is acc. pl., may also be regarded as gen. pl. The stem form of stems ending in consonants is often found from the context to be acc., e.g. mahanel,

354. Instrumental. In view of what has been stated in § 325, we can have inst. case-endings in the sin. only. With the exception of -a to be discussed later, all the inst. terminations noticed in our graffiiti have been developed from -ena and -nā, in such words as hastena and vārinā of Sanskrit, by the working of phonological laws such as vowel-assimilation. Very often, however, the final letter or syllable resulting from these natural phonological changes had been abstracted and applied by false analogy to words in which such changes would not have taken place. For example, we should expect the form pahasnen by the usual changes which Skt. sparśanena would undergo; but the element -nen has been wrongly separated as the case-ending and applied to a number of stems, mostly ending in consonants, giving us such forms as atnen, välänen, kinen, &c. Äsin would be the normal development of Skt. akṣiṇā through Pkt. acchinā; but -in has been taken from words like this and used in those like bara (barin). Distinctions of gender in Sanskrit have been completely ignored. It is also possible that the confusion with regard to this matter was already present in the Middle Indian period in that dialect which evolved into Sinhalese. A form like pähän would arise from an ungrammatical form \*prabhena rather than from Skt. prabhayā. If we should imagine that the ancestors of the people who colonized

In an unpublished inscription from Pilikuṭṭuva the extracts quoted at the beginning of this passage (Colombo District) which reads: Anikataśa batuno Agibutino dane agata-anagata-catudisa-sagasa.

<sup>2</sup> It is possible that the verbal forms like benet in

are gerundives and that the nominal forms henayun, &c., are in the gen. case.

<sup>3</sup> Sdsg., op. cit., p. 82.

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Ceylon spoke a language like that of Buddhist 'Sanskrit' texts, we could then easily derive from that suggested speech the various inflected forms which we actually find in Sinhalese. The inst. case-endings of various types are given below:

-n: sivin, marun, pähän, girin
-in: siṭiyini, matini
-in: siṭiyän, viyovän, kandbän
-in: abaraṇin, asalin, barin, tänin
-en: buṇūyen, belen, selen, keren, semen
-äna: bälamäna
-in: atni, siribarni, malani, sänähanı, ravalni
-in: bäläni
-nen: kinen, atnen, väḷänen

The inst. termination -ä, found in the word galä in the phrase galä kaļa tad-ļa with slight variants, is specially noteworthy. The word cannot be taken as in the loc. case, as it appears to be at first sight, for it would give no sense to say that a heart was made 'in the stone'. It must mean 'made of stone' and the case applicable is the inst. If we derive gala from Skt. śilā, the prototype of galä, taken as inst., would be śilayā which, through the hypothetical forms \*salaya, \*halaya, \*galaya, and \*galay, would account for galä.

355. Dative. Among dat. forms, which are very numerous in our graffiti, the following may be quoted as examples: singular: mat, kumat, piyahat, ran-vanat, atat; plural: minisnat, gähäninata, oyunat, sitiyanahata, mahanel-vananat. The old dat. in -aya (Skt. -āya), known from a few of the oldest Brāhmī records, went out of vogue after the first century and in its place was used the gen. followed by ataya (Skt. arthāya, P. aṭṭhāya) or aṭa (Skt. artham, P. aṭṭham). Instead of sagaya we thus get sagaha aṭaya or sagahata; in the pl. hamananaṭaya is equivalent to Skt. śramaṇānām arthāya. Aṭa, adopted as a postposition, so coalesced with the gen. form preceding it that its individuality was altogether obscured; it has been wrongly separated from the stem as -haṭa and added to gen. pl. forms ending in -na, as some of the examples given above illustrate. Having developed so early and merging itself in the gen. ending, -ṭa and -haṭa may be considered as dat. case-endings; but when -aṭa, -haṭa, or -ṭa is abstracted from a dat. form in Sinhalese, what remains is a gen.

356. (a) Genitive. Inflected forms in the gen. case, sin. as well as pl., come next to those of the nom. in the frequency of occurrence. Having had to do duty for the inst. of the agent, the acc. and the dat., in addition to its own functions, this case is of great importance in the morphology as well as in the syntax of the language. It is also to the gen. that postpositions are attached, but this is not a matter which concerns us very much in the study of our graffiti. The terminations in the masculine sin. for this case occurring in our graffiti are: (1) -ā: Mäṭiyā, janā, naravarā, piyā; (2) -hu: raj¹hu, duṭ¹hu, Budas'hu; (3) -ä: Sala Dalalahä, giyahä, Dāpulä, Mihidalä; (4) -u: Kitalu, yenayu; (5) -hi: Sirisalahi; (6) -yahu: Devalayahu. All these terminations, so dissimilar to one another, go back to a common origin—sya in Old Indian which, in Middle Indian, is -ssa. This occurs in the oldest Brāhmī inscriptions as -sa (-sa) or -ha. When the termination -ha is added to an a-stem, various phonetic changes are possible in -aha. As has happened in the case of the nom. pl. termination of identical form, it has developed in some words to  $-\bar{a}$ , e.g.  $piy\bar{a}$  and  $jan\bar{a}$ . Vowel shortening would change this to -a; but then the inflected form and the stem are both alike, and we do not speak of a case-ending in such words as tama and raja, which are found with the gen. meaning. Again, as in the case of the nom. pl. termination, vowel-dissimilation would give us -ahu or -hu, which would further develop to -u. It is noteworthy that -u resulting from the elision of h in -hu has never coalesced with a preceding a and become o in the gen. case, as has happened in the nom. Obviously, the need was felt that the two cases should not be identical in all their forms. Forms like Sivalaha, Sirisalahi, and Devalayahu indicate that, at an early stage of linguistic development, the Old Indian -sya had not only been changed to -ssa by vowel-assimilation, but had also become -saya and -siya by svara-bhakti. By the change of s to h, -saya would have become -haya; further phonetic changes which we have discussed in treating of the origin of ä would have resulted in -hä. By metathesis -haya would have become -yaha, and later changed to -yahu. The hypothetical -\*siya, following the phonetic changes exemplified in many other words, would have become -hi through \*-siyi, \*-hiyi, and -hī. Forms like Dalalahä could also be explained if -sya had become -haya.

§§ 242 ff. we have solved Geiger's difficulty regarding the change of a double ss to h.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> It is not necessary, as Geiger has done (G.S.L., §§ 95–103), to search for the origin of -ha in Brāhmī inscriptions in Māgadhī Prakrit and Apabhramsa. In

(b) As case-endings of the gen. pl. in the masculine as well as feminine declensions, we have the following:

-an: rana-vanan, piyuman -ana: minisana, himiyana -ina: var-vanina

-un: hennayun, āyun, hasun, siyotun

-una: rana-vanuna -anun: ran-vananun

These go back to Old Indian inflected forms ending in  $-\bar{a}n\bar{a}m$ ,  $-\bar{i}n\bar{a}m$ , and  $-\bar{u}n\bar{a}m$ , the vowel before n having undergone various changes according to this phonological rule or that. The example varvanina, cited above, may be a sin. form going back to Skt. vara-varninyah. The gen. sin. of i- and u-stems often ends in -n, e.g.  $rad\bar{u}n$  and  $bat\bar{i}n$ . This termination may go back to Middle Indian -no which had been introduced to certain i- and u-stems on the analogy of Sanskrit stems ending in -in. In the early Brāhmī inscriptions, there are gen. sin. forms ending in -ya; but, when we come to the period of our graffiti, phonetic decay had left no trace whatever of this termination. Skt. anganayah would have become angana in our period, so that there was no difference between the stem and the gen. sin. form of feminine nouns which originally ended in  $-\bar{a}$ . Feminine stems ending in -i add an -a to form the gen. sin.

357. (a) Locative. In the pl. the loc. occurs very rarely, and that in the feminine gender only of jāti-nouns (see § 329). The terminations noted from our graffiti are:

-hi: beyandahi, kalhi, ruvahi, sithi, athi
-ihi: beyadihi, piṭihi (piṭa)
-ī: kelī, galī, kalī
-ehi: mehi, venehi, pevehi, menehi
-e: dese, änge, site, mala-kaṇḍe, sihine, rese, pave
-ä: giri-hisä, bitä, sitä, atä, galä (gal)
-nhi (n is gen. pl.): kalunhi
-yi: yahaneyi, meyi.

(b) The loc. sin. termination -si (-si) occurs in Brāhmī inscriptions of about the second century B.C.; at a somewhat later date, i.e. circa first century A.D., it is found to have changed to -hi. There is little doubt that the termination -si of the oldest Sinhalese inscriptions is of the same origin as -si which performs the same function in the Aśokan edicts at Kalsi, Dhauli, and Jaugada. Whether this -si goes back to Skt. -smin, or whether it is a generalization of -si in such Sanskrit words as manasi, as Geiger conjectures, it is difficult to decide; but this historic case-ending still survives in the literary language of Ceylon. The termination -ihi is nothing but -hi, with the final vowel of the base assimilated to that of the case-ending. -ihi gives rise to -i by the dropping of h, and the coalescing of the two i's thus brought together. The termination -e for the loc. sin. is found as early as the third century in an inscription<sup>2</sup> from 'Vessagiri' belonging to the reign of Sirinaga II (circa 239-41). When I edited that inscription, I was of opinion that this -e was the same as the loc. sin. termination of a-stems in Sanskrit—deve, grāme, &c. I am now inclined to believe that the loc. sin. -e in Sinhalese is a later form, originating from the dropping of h in -hi, and the euphonic combination of the i which remains with the a of the base: atahi >\*atai > ate. The -e termination is still in common use in spoken Sinhalese. It is generally pronounced long today, as it is in prose; in our graffiti as well as in the poetic literature it may be long or short, the metre being the deciding factor. Similar is the case with -hi. The termination -ehi appears to be a pedantic construction by the addition of the earlier case-ending to its later derivative. Even today people may use a word with the -ē termination in speaking, e.g. gamē, but in writing they would take care to use gamehi. The termination -eyi, sporadically met with in literary works,3 too, appears to be a modification of -ehi, by the dropping of h and the introduction of y to fill the hiatus. In the feminine declension it is to the gen. pl. that -hi has been added. In the sin., however, -hi has been added to the acc. form. Thus all the loc. case-endings are found to go back to -si of the early Brāhmī inscriptions.

358. The Vocative has gained in importance in Sinhalese. While the Sanskrit grammarians notice

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<sup>1</sup> Hultzsch, Ašoka Inscriptions, pp. lxxvi, civ. <sup>2</sup> EZ., vol. iv, pp. 218 ff. <sup>3</sup> See, for example, Hamsa Sandēsa, v. 47.
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it under the nom., the Sdsg. has dealt with it as a separate case. In the sin. the stem form is often used for the voc.; in actual speech the intonation of the last syllable must have differentiated it from the nom. Examples are: sabada, asad-bada, siki, siki-sand, and mahala. In yaha-dasne and jene the voc. sin. has the e-termination; gähäviyā ends in ā and dano in o. The following are the voc. terminations in the pl. number: (1) -ani: deviyani; (2) -än: helillabiyän; (3) -in: mahanel-vanin; (4) -ina: rana-vanina; (5) -en: asad-banden, nilupul-ässen; (6) -ena: gonena; (7) -ini: ran-vanini, sabadini; (8) -ni: asadni. Most of the terminations in the pl. resemble the terminations of the inst. case; but it is very unlikely that the two cases had any connexion. Nor will it be of any use to go to the Sanskrit, Pāli, or Prakrits to find the origins of these case-endings. Most probably they are evolved from sounds actually used in calling, e.g. e, ēm, &c., similar to Skt. he.

359. We have seen above that, due to the working of phonetic laws, the inflected form in certain cases has become the same as the stem form, e.g. the gen. sin. of a-stems in the feminine gender. There are also numerous instances of the stem form being used in cases where inflected forms were possible. In the phrase baṭa tek tän in No. 127, for example, tän is in the loc. sense, though the inflected form tänhi has not been used. Similarly, nuyun kaṇḍa in No. 257 is gen. in meaning, though the word is not inflected accordingly. This peculiar feature of the Sinhalese language has been noted in the Sdsg., which includes it along with some other grammatical features, under the heading of avidumanvidi (= Skt. avidyamāna-vidhi), i.e. grammatical processes not found in Sanskrit. Perhaps the changing of the order of words in a compound (pada-perāļi) had something to do with it. However caused, this feature has been utilized to good purpose by versifiers.

360. Postpositions in lieu of, or in addition to, the inflexion of words, which are common in the later literary language, are in very little evidence in our graffiti. If we do not take into account the element ge in proper names, such as Mihidala Malun-ge Agboy, which will be dealt with later, there is only one example of the postposition ge after the gen. inflexion: hä-ge (hers) in No. 105. Keren occurs in two places used after the gen. inflexion to express the sense of the abl. in the same manner as it occurs in the later language. Kere after the gen. conveys the loc. sense in five places; it is no doubt the equivalent of kerehi which performs a similar function in standard Sinhalese. Visin, commonly used to denote the inst. of the agent in literary prose, is altogether wanting in our graffiti. Such postpositions as these, which occur after the inflexion of words in the language of our graffiti, seem to have been adopted in pursuance of that same rationalization which restricted some cases to certain classes of words. We have pointed out above (§ 329) the incongruity of speaking about something in a person. But some quality may exist or some action take place in connexion with or in the vicinity of a person. If so, this should be clearly stated, without any possibility of vagueness, as happens, for instance, in Sanskrit when the loc. called sāmīpyādhāra is used. Thus we have, in No. 243, the expression tupa kere, &c., 'they come to your side'. The ladies, who are intended here, do not come into the persons addressed but only close to them. Similarly, the expressions topa kere vī edi (No. 369) 'being arrogant with regard to you', Jet-rajūn kere vū (No. 266) 'attached to Princess Jet', mun kere sit la (No. 475) 'having set your mind on these', and ayihapat may kere nät (No. 530) 'there is no unhappiness about me', refer to actions taking place or qualities existing about persons but not in them. In most of these instances the Sanskrit would have used the loc. Here, however, the gen. with kere has been used to express the exact relationship intended. Whether this kere, which is no doubt the prototype of the later kerehi, is the loc. of kara 'hand', as it has been taken to be by some scholars, it is difficult to decide. It is not impossible that this kere is connected with Pkt. keraka (Skt. kārya), which has given rise to postpositions in North Indian languages. The contexts in which kere occurs in our graffiti would not be any obstacle to this supposition. In the phrases katak ma jana keren äjä gat 'a woman drew me out for herself from among (a host of) people' (No. 663) and himiyā keren sat-janmayehi-j viyo no-vannan väni vī (No. 678) 'she is like one who does not become separated from her lord even in seven births', keren after the gen. expresses the abl. sense. In the case of these two examples, equating keren with Skt. kara would, I believe, give better sense than equating it with Pkt. keraka. Whatever may be the origin of keren, there is no doubt that it is a dravya-noun capable of taking the inflexion of the inst.-abl. and has been subjoined to a jāti-noun when it had been found necessary to express that case-relationship in connexion with it.

361. Veta or vetä and dese have also been used in the manner of kere: rahas jivu saturan veta (No. 265), ukäṭali ma dese nät (No. 463). Kere and keren, in the same way as veta and desa, were considered

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to be separate words during this period, for in No. 678 keren begins a half verse and the word in the gen. to which it refers comes at the end of the preceding half. Such a use of keren would have been considered faulty in later times. These words had not then been reduced to the status of mere postpositions.

362. The use of ge in the word hä-ge (No. 104), and in numerous proper names, indicates that it had already by the time of our graffiti acquired an organic unity with the word in the gen. preceding it to a much greater extent than was the case with kere and keren. If our view is correct that these last two words are dravya-nouns in the loc. and abl. attached to jāti-nouns which are incapable of being inflected in these cases, then ge must also be taken to be of the same character as kere, for the word which precedes it is inflected in the gen. and another word added to express the relationship of that case would be otiose. What is required is a word after the gen. to express the meaning of the loc. Ge may therefore be equated with Skt. gehe 'in the house', i.e. 'in the place'. The change in meaning from the loc. to the gen. is a natural one: what is one's house is one's own, so the postposition ge came to denote ownership. If we assume the origin of ge to have been as indicated above, its use exactly corresponds to that of il in the declension of Tamil words. Il in Tamil means 'house' just as ge does in Sinhalese, and is used as a postposition to express the loc. meaning.

363. It will thus be seen that, in the language of our graffiti, as in early poetical works, postpositions play a very insignificant part in the expression of ideas. In later poetry they are more numerous, but not to the same extent as in prose works in which postpositions have gained an important place in grammar. If, as we have shown above, relationship between concepts could be adequately expressed by what remained of the old inflexional system, with the aid of the logical structure of the language, what was the necessity for the adoption of postpositions to such an extent as is found in the prose literature? We have noted above that the language was organized, in the period we are dealing with, in accordance with a rigid economy on a very rational basis. Perfect organization, whether of language or anything else, carries with it its own contradiction, for any kind of organization is designed to meet a particular set of circumstances, and when such circumstances alter, as alter they must, the more the organization is perfect, the greater is its liability to break down. A less-organized instrument will sometimes be better able to adapt itself to changed circumstances than a more-organized one. A language which has many superfluous features may be able to make use of them for purposes newly created and in this manner may be better able to withstand the change of circumstances than one from which all superfluities have been weeded out. And conditions may make it necessary to reintroduce such superfluities into a language. That is what happened to Sinhalese some time after the period of our graffiti.

364. When inflexions are reduced to the minimum necessary, as they are in our graffiti, and when no postpositions or prepositions are introduced, the position of a word in the sentence assumes as much importance in the expression of ideas as does its termination. It is the context which decides whether piyā, for instance, means 'the beloved' or 'of the beloved'; and it is only in the case of a language which one uses frequently in the expression of ideas that the context will readily supply the particular relationship to express which a word is used. It is only in a living language that the methods adopted in our graffiti would be effective. But the language did not remain static; phonetic decay was always active in the direction of equalization, i.e. disorganization, and nicely adjusted balances could be upset by that means. Literary compositions sometimes acquired a value transcending the time of their creation and, to people of subsequent ages who wished to understand them, the aid supplied by the context was not always obvious, and those who had to interpret these compositions of earlier times needed a device by which not only the basic idea but also the case-relationship conveyed by a word could be explained after taking it out of its context. It was necessary, for example, to explain that  $piy\bar{a}$  in one place meant 'the beloved one' and in the other 'of the beloved one'. To say that one was in the nom. while the other was in the gen. would not always have sufficed, and a direct method of stating it was clearly necessary. Thus came to be used the reflexive pronoun tema 'he himself' after the nom. sin. and ge after the gen. sin. Such a method of expressing case-relationships of words was necessary in interpreting a Pāli or Sanskrit text in Sinhalese, even more than in explaining old Sinhalese texts. There were hundreds of teachers whose duty it was to explain Pāli and Sanskrit texts to students, and this was generally done by paraphrasing them word by word. The inflexions in Pāli and Sanskrit must, therefore, find suitable expressions in Sinhalese, even though that language itself had lost most of these inflexions. Thus originated the use of such words and phrases as temē, tomō, tumū, visin, karaṇa koṭa

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gena, gē, gen, and kerehi. The writers of verses were conservative, and kept most of these at arm's length. The prose writers were different, for their work, more often than not, was to translate Pāli texts into Sinhalese, and they could not do without these extraneous aids. In course of time these prose works, which were in fact largely translations from the Pāli, set the fashion, and even when writing original works in Sinhalese, authors imitated them. The use of such words as the above came to be considered as giving a literary flavour to writings. The spoken language, which did not hanker after literary quality, had no use for most of these words. Thus has originated the peculiar circumstance that the language spoken by a villager today is more akin in structure and spirit to that of our graffiti, or a poem of the thirteenth century, than to that which one reads in a Sinhalese newspaper or hears on the radio in the course of a Sinhalese programme.

365. Ge, already found in our graffiti, acquired the status of a true postposition, for it supplied a want that was really felt. Of all the cases it was above all the gen. which had to be differentiated from the nom., for it is the juxtaposition of the direct and the indirect that makes the communication of ideas possible, and in the time of our graffiti the gen. had very often assumed the same form as that of the nom. Moreover, some words like ma, ta, and hä had become so attenuated that they could hardly express any idea with absolute clarity. Ge was thus adopted to differentiate the gen. from the nom. and forms an important feature of the living speech today. So also does gen, the postposition expressing the abl. sense, of which there is no evidence in our graffiti.

# (ii) Pronouns

366. Pronominal forms are well represented in our graffiti; in fact, these documents furnish us with the earliest detailed picture so far available of Sinhalese pronouns. As in other languages, pronominal forms had been subjected in Sinhalese to constant buffeting about in actual speech, so much so that their origin has very often become obscured during the process. Pronominal forms are few and far between in old Sinhalese inscriptions, and it is only with Middle Indian forms that we can, in many cases, compare those forthcoming in our graffiti. All the pronominal forms in these graffiti are given below, arranged, so far as possible, in the form of paradigms.

# 367. (1) The Personal Pronouns:1

First Perso	N
Singular	Plural
Nom. mama, mam	api, äpi, äp
Acc. maya, may, mayi, mā, ma	apa
Dat. mat, mata, mahat	apaṭa, apaṭ
Gen. maya, mayä, mayi, may, mā, ma	ара
Second Pers	ON
Singular	Plural

Singular	Plural
Nom. to, ti (fem.), tī (fem.)	tipi, tipa, tip, topi
Acc. ta	topa
Dat. tot, tat, tāhat, tahat, taṭa	topat, topata
Gen. taya, tayi, tay, tā, ta, tī (fem.)	tipi, tip, tupa, topa, top

### (2) Demonstrative Pronouns:

Masculine	STEM: e or he Gender	Neuter Gender
Singular	Plural	
Nom. e, he		Nom. he, e, ey
Acc. ohu	un	Acc. ey, e
Dat	oyunaṭa, unaṭ	Inst. in, eyin
Gen. oyuhu, ohu	oyuna, oyun, un	Dat. eyaṭa
		Loc. ehi

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In conformity with European grammars on Indian languages, I have treated those words which would be called pronouns in English as a separate class, though there is no morphological justification for doing so in Sinhalese. The terminology of personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, &c., is irrational. There is also no justification in Sinhalese for grouping together all those words which in Sanskrit are known as sarva-

nāma. To take an example, siyalu, which Geiger, following the Sanskrit, calls a pronoun (G.S.L., § 134. 3), is declined just like kolu or balu when treated as a jātinoun, and like polu when it is a dravya-noun. It speaks much for the grammatical acumen of the author of the Sdsg. that he has, in his treatise, refrained from using any term corresponding to 'pronoun'.

#### INTRODUCTION

#### Feminine Gender

Singular

Plural

Nom. ho, o, e oyuna
Acc. ä eyuna, oyun
Dat. eyaṭa, äyaṭ oyunaṭa

Gen. eya, eyä, hä, äya, ä, ä, e eyuna, eyun, oyuna, oyun, ovun, un

Loc. eyhi unhi

STEM: me

Masculine Gender

Feminine Gender

Singular Plural Singular Plural Nom. me mayu Nom. mo, meyi mayu, mū

Gen. . . mun Acc. meya muyun, moyuna, mun

Dat. .. muyunat, moyunata, munata, moyinata Gen. mäya, meya, mä moyun, moyuna, moyina, mun

Neuter Gender

Nom. mey, meyi Acc. meya, mey, meyi

Inst. min
Dat. meyata, meyat

Loc. mehi, meyhi, meyahi, mihi, mī

# (3) Interrogative Pronoun:

Masculine and Feminine

Neuter

Singular Plural

Nom. kā, ke kā, ke Nom. kima, kim, kuma, kum

Acc.  $\{ka, k\bar{a}\}$  ... Acc.  $\{kum, kumak\}$ 

Dat. kahaṭ, kāhaṭ .. Inst. kinen
Dat. kumat

(4) Reflexive Pronoun:

Singular Plural

Nom. teme (masculine), tomo (feminine)

Acc. Gen. tamā, taman, tama, tamana

Acc. taman, taman, tamana

Dat. tamahata, tamanahata, tamanat, tamahat

368. The other pronominal forms to be noted are: (1) yam, yamak, yam-tam, and ya, representing the base ya, the relative pronoun in Sanskrit; (2) kavar and kavara equivalent to the Sanskrit pronominal adjective katara; (3) the forms of the indefinite, kisi (Skt. kaścit) and kisi-hi; (4) ätam and ätamek (pronominal adjectives); (5) the forms of the pronominal adjective, an-an, anana, an-hi, an-haṭa, anun, annaṭ; and (6) the compound, an-kisi. The various forms of känek and kenek have also to be treated perhaps as pronouns. Ko is an interrogative adverb equivalent to Skt. kva. The demonstrative and interrogative pronouns are often used adjectivally, in which case the uninflected stems, e, me, ki, and kum, form the first element of a compound without distinction of gender and number, e.g. e-digäs, me-kal, e-ranvanun, me-galä, ki-sey, ki-seyni, ki-varaj, kum-seyin, &c. There are also instances in which an uninflected e or me comes after the substantive which it qualifies, e.g. mal-gatatni bite e (No. 489) and e-kalu eta gala me (No. 513). In No. 254 me is exclamatory. A few instances are also found in which a demonstrative pronoun used adjectivally is inflected, e.g. yeheļi kiyā mo numuta (No. 3) and balayi manga piyā vana-vū-himin men ho (No. 309). In the first example mo refers to yeheli and in the second ho to piyā (see § 529 under Syntax). O in o-tak (No. 542) is the stem of a demonstrative pronoun, regularly used in the modern language, meaning proximity to the person addressed in speech. Ara (No. 413), possibly to be connected with Skt. ārāt, indicates an object or a person away from the speaker as well as the person addressed. Ara also is used in the manner of

369. Of the pronoun of the first person the nom. mama or mam is to be derived from the gen. sin.

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of the same pronoun in Old Indian-mama. The last occurs in the same form in the Middle Indian; but, as is indicated by mamayā, the inst. sin., and mamate, the abl. sin. forms of this pronoun occurring in the Aśoka inscriptions,2 and the acc. sin. form mamain, occurring in Pāli and Prakrit, mama was regarded as the stem in the Middle Indian period. It was probably so in the Aryan speech brought to Ceylon by the original Sinhalese. As the stem form frequently stands for the nom. sin. in Old Sinhalese, the rest of the development is easy to understand. Early documents have not preserved this pronominal form, its evolution has therefore to be inferred from parallel developments in related dialects; but mama and mam (with the last m nasalized) are regularly used in modern speech as the nom. sin. of the pronoun of the first person. The nom. pl. forms, api, äpi, and äp, go back to P. and Pkt. amhe3 (Skt. asmad). The change of mha to ph in Middle Indian is evidenced by the forms aphe, apheni, aphāka, and aphesu occurring in the Aśokan edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada.4 By the loss of the aspirate, the Old Sinhalese would have had the form \*ape, which, by the reduction of e to i evidenced by the change of raje to raji, would have resulted in api. A would have changed to ä in accordance with phonological Rules xix, xxv, xxvi, and xxvii, giving rise to äpi. The elision of the final vowel (Rule xxxiii) would give rise to äp.

370. The earliest stage in the evolution of the oblique case sin. of the pronoun of the first person preserved in our graffiti is maya, from which mā and ma represent the line of development resulting in ma-gē, the common form in modern speech. Mayä, mayi, and may are parallel developments from maya, which have had no effects on the literary or the colloquial dialect of today. At first sight it would appear that maya is the same as the inst. form of this pronoun in Old Indian. Geiger, in fact, takes it to be so (G.S.L., § 128.3). It is, however, difficult to assume that the inst., which had been obliged in other places to retire in favour of the gen., prevailed in this instance over the latter. In my opinion maya is derived from the Old Indian me by the change of e to aya. In §§ 137 ff. above we have brought forward ample evidence for this phonetic change. The oblique pl. form of this pronoun, apa, can be traced back to the Old Indian asmākam, through P. amhākam, Pkt. amham, and the form aphāka in the Aśokan edicts of Dhauli and Jaugada.<sup>5</sup> De-aspiration and the shortening of the long vowel would have changed the word to \*apaka in Old Sinhalese. From the last, by the working of phonological Rules lxxxiv, cv, i, and xvi, apa would result through the intermediate forms \*apaya and \*apā. The form apa is found in a Tissamaharāma inscription of the reign of Mahānāma (circa A.D. 408-30).6

371. With regard to the pronoun of the second person, the nom. sin. to can be easily traced back to Old Indian tvam, through P. and Pkt. tuvam, the hypothetical forms to be assumed in Sinhalese being \*tuva and \*tava. The nom. pl. forms tipi, tipa, tip, and topi can all be traced back to P. and Pkt. tumbe by assuming that mh changed to ph on the analogy of the forms tupbe, tupbehi, and tupbesu occurring at Dhauli and Jaugada.7 The phonetic changes which gave rise to tipi, &c., are substantially the same as those which caused the evolution of api, &c. \*Tuphe, \*tupe, \*tupi, tipi, and tip would be in the regular line of evolution. The change of u to o in topi is no doubt due to the analogy with the gen. pl. form where it is natural, due to epenthesis, there being a in the second syllable. The a in the second syllable in the form tipa is difficult to explain. In the gen. sin. the development taya,  $t\bar{a}$ , ta corresponds to maya, mā, ma of the pronoun of the first person given above. As maya is to be equated with Old Indian me, so is taya with Old Indian te. Tayi and tay are developments from taya which have had no further repercussions. The gen. pl. forms all go back to a Middle Indian form like P. tumhākam or Pkt. tumham through one in which mh had been changed to ph as in tuphāka of the Kālinga edicts of Aśoka.8 Assuming that there was thus a form \*tupaka in Old Sinhalese, this would in turn have become \*tupaya, \*tupiya, \*tupiyi, \*tipiyi, \*tipī, tipi, and tip. In another direction the development would have been \*tupaya, \*tupā, tupa, topa, and top. The phonetic Rules to be invoked in the first line of development are: lxxxiv, xxxvii, xxxviii, xvii, cv, i, and xvi, and in the second

line of development lxxxiv, cv, i, xvi, xxiv, and ii. 372. The feminine form ti, nom. and gen. sin., is noteworthy. In Geiger's words it is 'a strange exception to the general rule in Idg. languages not to differentiate gender in the personal pronouns

1 Pischel, Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen, §§ 415 f.

5 Ibid., p. cvi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Hultzsch, Inscriptions of Aśoka, pp. lxxxviii and

<sup>3</sup> Pischel, Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen, §§ 415 f.

<sup>+</sup> Hultzsch, Inscriptions of Aśoka, p. cvi.

<sup>6</sup> Müller, A.I.C., No. 67. The text given there of this inscription needs revision.

<sup>7</sup> Hultzsch, Inscriptions of Aśoka, p. cvi.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. cvi.

of the second persons'. In our graffiti  $t\bar{\imath}$  or ti occurs fifteen times with a gen. meaning and only four times in which the context indicates the nom. It is, therefore, possible that, originally,  $t\bar{\imath}$  was of possessive meaning; if so, it could have been developed from the possessive pronoun  $tvad\bar{\imath}ya$  of Old Indian, the process of evolution being \*tadiya, \*tadiyi, \*tayiyi, \*tiyiyi,  $*t\bar{\imath}yi$ ,  $t\bar{\imath}$ . A phrase like  $t\bar{\imath}$  ata would be equivalent to  $tvad\bar{\imath}yam$  hastam in Sanskrit. It is easy to imagine how the phonetic changes which the word had undergone—if such be its real origin—could have been obscured, and the final  $\bar{\imath}$  mistaken for the feminine suffix. If this occurred as suggested above, the use of the word in the nom. and in the other cases would follow as a matter of course. The dat. sin. form tot (No. 259), side by side with the more frequent tata, tat, tat, tat, and tahat, is also noteworthy. The dat. terminations -t, -ta, -hat, and -hata are added to the gen. inflexion; in tot it is added to the nom. sin. inflexion, and has, therefore, to be treated as a grammatical irregularity. Literary usage avoids it; but, in the spoken language of today, the form used is almost always tota and not tata.

373. The stem he or e is derived from the nom. sin. of the Old Indian tad. Tena and taśa, equivalent to Skt. tena and tasya, inst. sin. and gen. sin., respectively, of tad, are met with in one of the oldest Brāhmī inscriptions of Ceylon; but such forms do not occur in documents after the beginning of the present era. The nom. sin. of tad, sas, which in euphonic combinations becomes so, and occurs regularly in Pāli and most of the Prakrits in that form, is met with in a Brāhmī inscription of about the first century A.p.² as so, in the phrase so 'ha (= Skt. so 'ham), and se. The last form accords well with the tendency in Old Sinhalese to change the o at the end of an inflected form to e (see § 351 above). Sas and so are of the masculine gender in Old and Middle Indian, but se is used in the document referred to above as the correlative of the relative pronoun ya, referring to a substantive which, on the analogy of Pāli and Sanskrit, must be taken as neuter. It is thus clear that as early as the first century A.D. the pronoun se ceased to be restricted in use to the masculine gender. The change of se to he, and thence to e, is due to the working of well-known phonological laws (Rules lxxix and xc). In conformity with the usage in the Brāhmī inscriptions to which reference has been made, he and e in our graffiti have reference to jāti-nouns as well as to dravya-nouns; that is to say, they are common to the masculine and neuter genders.

374. In the course of time the e, thus formed, came to be treated as the stem, and the case-endings abstracted from nominal inflexions were added to it to build new forms in place of the inflected forms of this demonstrative pronoun which had become obsolete. The explanation of the other forms of the stem e is, therefore, a matter of understanding the phonological processes involved. No example of the nom. pl. of e is forthcoming in our documents; but the course taken by that pronominal form could be easily inferred by studying the nom. pl. of the analogous stem me. To form the gen. sin. -hu was added to e. Rules xxv, xxvi, and xxviii changed e-hu to ohu. Oyuhu results from the addition of the termination -yahu to e, vowel-assimilation, and the working of Rule xxviii: \*eyahu > \*eyuhu > oyuhu. For the gen. pl. in the masculine as well as feminine declensions, the case-ending -un was added to e. In one direction e + un gave rise to un by the assimilation of e to u. In another direction e + una or -un resulted in eyuna or eyun by the addition of y between e and u as a vocal glide (Rule vi). Oyun and oyuna are further developments of eyun and eyuna (Rule xxviii). Ovun is the same as oyun after Rule civ had operated on it. The forms eyuna, eyun, and ovun are included in the feminine declension of e only because they occur in our documents as referring to female beings, but they are not necessarily feminine forms. The case-endings -un and -hu as we have seen had taken final form at a time not long anterior to the date of our graffiti (see §§ 356 and 311 above) and the development of these pronominal forms must therefore have occurred about the same time. The acc. forms are identical with the gen., and the dat. forms are built up by the addition of -at. These, therefore, do not require further comment.

375. In the feminine declension of he, ho results from the addition of the feminine suffix -u to he and the operation of Rules iii, xxviii, and ii. O is the further development of ho by the operation of Rule xci. It is worthy of note that e, too, is used in the feminine. This may be due to the working of the grammatical process referred to in § 352 b. The gen. sin. forms eya,  $\ddot{a}ya$ ,  $\ddot{a}$ , and  $\ddot{a}$  result when the case-ending -a (§ 356 a) is added to e by the operation of phonological Rule vi in the case of eya and of Rules vi, xxv, iii, xxvi, and xxvii in the case of  $\ddot{a}ya$ . From  $\ddot{a}ya$  by vowel-assimilation results  $\ddot{a}y\ddot{a}$ , of

The forms tasa and tena occur in an inscription at Kusalānkanda in the Batticaloa District, of which p. 445.

a faulty reading is given in Parker's Ancient Ceylon, p. 445.

2 J.R.A.S., C.B., vol. xxxvi, p. 64.

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which  $\bar{a}$  and  $\bar{a}$  are further developments. There must have been the intermediate stages \*heya, \*häya, and \*hä just as there were eya, äya, and  $\bar{a}$  resulting from the addition of -a to e. The acc. is identical in form with the gen.; the dat. and loc. forms are also from the gen. Oyuna in the nom. pl. may be taken as built on the analogy of forms noticed in § 352 e.

376. In the neuter declension the nom. sin. forms of e and he are identical with those in the masculine. The form ey is due to the elision of the final vowel in the form eya built up by adding -a to e. This termination has also been added to form the acc. In adding the termination -a as the inflexion of the nom. as well as the acc., the neuter declension of e follows the lines of the dravya-noun. The stem form is also used for both these cases. In and eyin are formed by adding the termination -in (see § 354 above) to e and by the operation of Rules v and vi, respectively. The dat. form eyata shows that there was also an acc. form eya. Ehi requires no comment.

377. The pronominal stem me goes back to ima found in some pre-Christian Brāhmī inscriptions of Ceylon, used adjectivally or in the acc. sin. Compare parumaka Tiše niyate ima vapi Acagirika-Tiša-pavatahi . . . catu-diša-šagaša (Tonigala Rock Inscription, A.I.C., No. 1). This ima is derived from Skt. imam, the acc. sin. of ayam, P. and Pkt. imam. In documents dating from the early centuries of the Christian era, ima has become me (Rule xxii) and is found used adjectivally. For the substantive use of me we have to come to our documents, where we find that the old acc. form had attained the status of a stem. In building new forms by the addition of case-endings, the stem me generally follows e. In the masculine declension the nom. sin. is the same as the stem form. The other forms preserved, the nom. pl. and the gen. pl., are identical with the corresponding feminine forms; it will therefore suffice to deal with the feminine and neuter declensions.

In the feminine declension mo is the result of the feminine suffix -u being added to me and the operation of Rules iii, xxviii, and ii. There is thus no case-ending in mo as also in ho. Meyi results from the addition of the feminine suffix -a and the operation of Rules vi, xxxiii, and xlviii. The nom. pl. mayu is the result of the addition of the termination -u (see § 351 d above) to me and the change of a to ay in accordance with Rule iii. It is worthy of note that a phonetic process which normally takes place within a word has here been effected between the stem and the suffix.  $M\bar{u}$  is a further development from mayu by vowel-assimilation and the operation of Phonetic Rules cv and i. The forms mayu and  $m\bar{u}$  and the hypothetical intermediate form \*muyu indicate the process by which the nom. pl. form of  $e-\bar{u}$  — occurring in literary works came into being. If we assume that the caseending -u was added to e, it would have given rise to \*ayu as me + u gave rise to mayu. Vowel-assimilation would have changed \*ayu to \*uyu from which, by the operation of Rules cv and i, would have arisen  $\bar{u}$ . The development of the gen. sin. forms meya, mäya, and m $\bar{a}$  is paralleled by that of eya, äya, and  $\bar{a}$  from the stem e by the addition of the case-ending -a. Similarly, the development of mun, moyuna, and moyun from me + un is analogous to the formation of un, oyuna, and oyun from the stem e. Moyina results from the elision of the medial vowel in the second syllable of moyuna; moyina being merely an orthographic peculiarity for moyna.

378. In the neuter declension of the stem me, the nom. mey and meyi result from the addition of the -a ending of dravya-nouns (see § 352 f). Me + a would result in meya and we must assume this form in the nom. to explain mey by the elision of the final vowel and meyi as due to the orthographic peculiarity of writing yi for y or vice versa (Rule xlviii). The assumption of a form meya in the nom. would make this case identical with the acc. in inflexion, just as it is in the declension of dravya-nouns. The inst. min (me + in) needs no comment. As this declension follows that of the dravya-noun, the -a of the nom. and acc. has to be taken as the suffix indicating the particular, and the dat. and loc. terminations have been added to the stem so augmented. Thus have to be explained the forms meyhi, meyahi, meyaha, and meyaa. The loc. termination added to the unaugmented stem gives rise to mehi which by vowel-assimilation becomes mihi. The operation of Rules cv and i changes mihi to  $m\bar{i}$ .

379. All the inflexions of the interrogative pronoun common to the masculine and feminine genders can be traced back to Old Indian forms.  $K\bar{a}$  is evolved from the Old Indian kas in the same way as the Old Indian nom. sin. termination -as became  $-\bar{a}$  in Sinhalese (see above, § 351 b); kas, ko, ke,  $k\bar{a}$ . Ke is thus the earlier stage of this evolution. The forms  $k\bar{a}$  and ke are both used as the subjects of finite verbs in the pl. (see Nos. 216 and 255). If they were taken for that reason to be pl. forms, then ke would

 $<sup>^{\</sup>text{I}}$   $\bar{U}$  is now used as sin., by the process of the honorific pl. developing into the reverse of honorific.

be identical with the nom. pl. of the interrogative pronoun in Sanskrit and  $k\bar{a}$  is a further development from it analogous to  $t\bar{a}$  from Skt. te (see § 371). If, on the other hand, one should find it difficult to believe that a pronominal form could remain unaltered in form and meaning from the Old Indian period up to that of medieval Sinhalese, then these two forms may be taken as really sin. in number, their agreement with a finite verb in the pl. being analogous to ayek and kenek (also in the sin. number) having a verb in the pl. for the predicate. The forms given under the neuter declension of this pronoun belong to three different stems, kim, kum, and ki. Ki and kim are different forms of the Old Indian kim, the one having preserved the final m, with the addition of the vowel a in the earlier stage, and the other having elided it. The nom. and acc. forms consist of the base and the -a suffix denoting the particular, and the indefinite suffix, or without either. There is really no case-ending in these forms. In the inst. form kinen, the case-ending -nen (§ 354) has been added to the base. The gen.  $\sin k\bar{a}$  is derived from Old Indian kasya, the process of evolution being kassa, \*kasa, \*kaha,  $k\bar{a}$ . In compound words like ki-sey and kum-sey also, the two stems ki and kum are preserved. In medieval Sinhalese, therefore, all the three forms of the Old Indian interrogative base, ka, ki, and ku, are found in the masculine and neuter declensions.

380. The stem of the reflexive pronoun has to be equated with Vedic tman rather than with Skt.  $\bar{a}tman$ . Evidence of this pronoun is met with in the Brāhmī inscriptions dating from the early centuries of the present era: e.g. tumaha, gen.  $\sin$ . With the exception of the gen.  $\sin$ . tamana and taman, all the forms of this pronoun had been newly built up by the addition of Sinhalese case-endings to the stem. The masculine nom.  $\sin$ . teme results from the case-ending -e being added to tama and the corresponding feminine form tomo is tama + u. The gen.  $\sin$ .  $tam\bar{a}$  is  $tama + \bar{a}$ . tamana and tamana which, from the contexts in which they occur, appear to be common to singular and plural, must be traced back to the Old Indian tmanah ( $\bar{a}tmanah$ ) when they are of the  $\sin$ . number; when pl. to  $tman\bar{a}m$  ( $\bar{a}tman\bar{a}m$ ). The forms of the stem yam, corresponding to that of the relative pronoun in Old Indian, are used very often in the documents as indefinite pronouns. In a Brāhmī inscription of about the first century A.D., ya is found as a relative pronoun with a noun neuter in Pāli as its correlative. The distinction of gender, therefore, was being confused at an early date. ya in ya in the inscription referred to. The forms of yam forthcoming in our graffiti are all of the femine-neuter declension; in literature, however, forms in the masculine declension, e.g. yamek, are often met with.

381. The form nuba (No. 339), which (with the half-nasal attached to b) together with its variant umba is often used in the later language as a substitute for forms derived from the stem ta, occurs but once in our graffiti. Its origin is obscure; if a conjecture may be hazarded, it may be taken as derived from Skt.  $bhav\bar{a}n$  by having the vowel a added to the final consonant and by metathesis: \*bavan > \*navaba > nuba. Umba, which does not occur in our graffiti, can be traced to the same source and derived by the elision of the final consonant and metathesis:  $bhav\bar{a}n > *bava > *vaba > *vuba > *vuba > *vumba > umba$ . Numba or nuba started its career as a highly respectable word, for it is used in addressing the Buddha. Its use was resorted to at a time when the notion that it is disrespectful to use the forms of the stem ta in addressing superiors or equals was gaining ground; but after some time, it also went the way of the word which it had supplanted, so that it is now used in addressing inferiors only. The democratic government of the day has expressly forbidden its use in official conversation and writing. On the other hand, oba, appearing to be of the same origin as umba (\*vuba > \*voba > oba), is deemed to be of aristocratic quality. Some words, like some men, have all the luck!

# (iii) The Indefinite Termination

382. The differentiation of the definite and indefinite conceptions of persons or things is morphologically shown in the language of our graffiti in the same manner as in the classical literary idiom and in the living speech of today. The substantive in the stem form, or with the normal inflexions, is definite in sense; the suffix -ka or -k, appended after the case-termination in the nom. and acc., and between the stem and the case-termination in the inst. (abl.), dat., gen., and loc., expresses the indefinite sense. This indefinite suffix occurs as -ka in those documents which have no virāma in their script; one cannot be certain whether this is purely a graphical peculiarity or is due to the phonetic law

<sup>1</sup> EZ., vol. iv, p. 227. 
<sup>2</sup> J.R.A.S., C.B., vol. xxxvi, p. 64.

regarding the dropping of final or medial vowels (Rule xxxiii) having not yet started on its course. The differentiation of the indefinite is, of course, restricted to the sin. number.

- 383. In addition to inflected forms with the indefinite suffix occurring in some of the paradigms given above, further examples are cited here from which the forms in the different genders and cases can be studied:
  - (1) Nom.: basak (No. 1), gīyak (No. 1), maraṇek (No. 12), ran-vanak (No. 13), helilabuyuka (No. 30), ambuyuk (No. 42), viyaruyak (No. 68), maraṇak (No. 92), minisek (No. 240), yannak (No. 561), katak (No. 351), patak (No. 579).
  - (2) Acc.: minisak (No. 22), kusumaka (No. 30), hamuyuk (No. 93), värällak (No. 221), mukannāk (No. 264), hängāk (No. 264), himambuyuk (No. 317), varek (No. 495).
  - (3) Inst.: netakin (No. 182).
  - (4) Dat.: kiliyakata (No. 151).
  - (5) Gen.: helillabuyaku (No. 21), liyaka (No. 223), paluṭaka (No. 373), minisaklhu (in acc. sense, No. 64).
  - (6) Loc.: doraka (No. 151), vareka (No. 612), täneka (No. 615), keliyeka (No. 638), katakhi (No. 306).
- 384. The distinction between the masculine and feminine genders is not obscured by the addition of the indefinite termination; compare, for instance, minisek 'a man' with katak 'a woman'. Dravyanouns in the nom. and acc. do not differ from those of the feminine gender (see § 341 above). Of stems in the masculine gender, the nom. is well differentiated from the acc.; compare, for instance, minisek (nom.) with minisak (acc.). The forms värällek and varek, which are dravya-nouns in the acc., deserve notice. These may be compared with nom. sin. forms of dravya-nouns ending in -e, the nature of which we have discussed in § 348. In form there is no distinction between the nom. and acc. of dravya-nouns; it is the context alone which decides what the case is.
- 385. Neither in the Old Indian nor in the Middle Indian is there any morphological distinction of the indefinite idea resembling what we have detailed above. The Dravidian languages, too, show no such feature. Sinhalese documents of periods anterior to our graffiti do not afford evidence of the indefinite suffix; at least, no feature has been recognized as such in them. This morphological feature, therefore, comes into our ken in its fully developed form in the language of our graffiti, and has remained virtually the same up to our times. The material to explain its origin is thus lacking; one is restricted to theory and conjecture. Geiger's view is that the indefinite suffix is a result of the numeral ek, 'one', added after the substantive, coalescing with it (G.S.L., § 117). Minisek, for example, is minis + ek. Expressions like ek giyak (No. 1) and an-ek-tän-eka (No. 615) can be satisfactorily explained on Geiger's hypothesis. It is, however, somewhat difficult to explain how the e had been completely eliminated in such words as gähäniyak, helillabuyaku, ambuyuk, hamuyuk, &c. Gähäni + ek would, under normal phonetic rules, develop to gähäniyek. A possible explanation is that ek added to words like gune, ending in -e, where the coalescing of the two e's and the formation of the word gunek is quite natural, was treated as a suffix after the numeral character of ek was forgotten, and was abstracted and added to other words. The addition of the numeral ek after the substantive has not been normal in the language subsequent to the time of our graffiti. Geiger has not explained why the indefinite termination comes after the inflexion in the nom. and acc., whereas it is added between the stem and the case-ending in other cases. Geiger's theory, therefore, cannot be taken as definitely established; but no other more convincing explanation of the origin of the indefinite suffix occurs to me.
- 386. Whatever the origin of the indefinite suffix -k may be, the manner in which the morphological differentiation of the definite and the indefinite was carried out in Sinhalese, when the need for it was felt, affords us another instance of the economy which pervades the structure of the language, and to which attention has already been drawn. When words have to be classified in relation to the concept of the definite and the indefinite, it is into two classes and two classes only that they fall. If one of these classes was recognizable by a distinguishing mark, then the absence of this mark would show that we had to deal with a member of the other class. If the two classes were each separately labelled with different distinguishing marks, then confusion would arise when a word not having either of these marks was met with. The attaching of a distinguishing mark to one category alone would thus amply suffice to differentiate the two concepts and, in pursuance of that rigid economy, it is to the less

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numerous class that the distinguishing mark has been appended, for the indefinite is restricted to the sin. number, while the definite has application to the pl. as well.

# (iv) Numerals

387. Ordinal numerals do not occur in these graffiti; cardinals, too, are not of frequent occurrence. In the few instances where the latter do occur, their usage in the language of our documents follows the same lines as in the literary idiom. The numerals may be used adjectivally or substantively. In the former case the numeral forms a compound with the substantive which it qualifies, and is not inflected; in the latter case the numeral may be inflected. Witness, for example, *de-at* and *ura-dek\hi*. When the numeral is used as a substantive, the word to which it refers may be joined together with it in a compound as in *ura-dek\hi*, or may be in the gen. as in *pan-siyak aignan*.

388. Gender is distinguished in the inflexion of eka or ek, 'one'. Ekat (No. 223), eka (No. 354), ekin (No. 13), ekni (No. 267), and ekak-hat refer to females, but identical forms may be used in referring to things. Here, too, we have an instance of the merging together of the feminine and neuter genders. Eknat (No. 463) and ekun (No. 591) are of the masculine gender; these two forms are of the sin. number, though apparently pl. by their terminations. Other numeral forms are deka 'two', tun 'three', satar 'four', pan 'five', sat 'seven', dasa 'ten', siya 'hundred', dahas or jahas 'thousand', and suyuhas 'hundred thousand'. Tun, satar, pan, sat, and dahas have been noticed only as the first members of compounds, i.e. used adjectivally.

389. In the few instances where we have inflected forms of numerals, they have in declension followed the dravya-nouns. When the numeral is used adjectivally, the substantive which forms the second member of the compound may be inflected in the pl., e.g. de-bāyo, tun-janamo. Forms like dek'hi and siyak indicate that, as in the literary dialect and the modern speech, the Sinhalese numeral in our documents, too, was, as a rule, inflected in the sin. only. When a number is conceived, even though it may be a plurality, it is conceived as one entity, and the Sinhalese usage is paralleled by such expressions in English as 'a dozen', 'a score', 'a thousand', &c. In Sinhalese, however, the usage is consistent, and not irregular as in English. Even when many groups of thousands or hundreds are conceived, the numerals are not used in the pl. Instead, we have today dahas-ganan and siya-ganan 'thousand-numbers' and 'hundred-numbers'. An exception to this rule occurring in our graffiti is suyuhassan (No. 595), in which the numeral for a hundred thousand is used in the gen. pl. Similar usage is sporadically met with in old literature, but never in the modern language.

390. The following may be classed as numeral adverbs: ek-van 'intensely', ek-se 'of one manner', detā 'doubly', detā detā 'repeatedly'. The phrase ekin ekin (No. 564) means 'one by one'.

# (v) The Honorific, Diminutive, and Other Suffixes attached to Stems

391. There are, in our graffiti, a number of words of which the stem has been augmented by the addition of a suffix which is sometimes honorific in meaning, sometimes dimunitive, but is often of merely pleonastic character, and does not alter or add to the meaning of the stem to which it is added. Such words occurring in our documents are given below so that the significance of these suffixes may be understood by examining them.

392. Äpāṇan. This is the gen. of äpā or āpā which, as we have pointed out elsewhere (Ep. Zey., vol. iii, p. 82), is derived from Skt. ārya-pāda, and was used in medieval Ceylon as the official title of royal princes who stood in the direct line of succession to the throne. Between the stem äpā or āpā and the case-ending -an there is the element -n or -aṇa. Mahāpāṇan (No. 469) is similar to äpāṇan. In kamuṇan (No. 375) the suffix -n intervenes between the stem kamu, which can be equated with P. kammika, and the case-ending -an. In both these instances the context makes it clear that the suffix is honorific in meaning. The first two examples are used in referring to princes to whom a respectful mode of address would naturally be used. The second, kamuṇan, is used by certain apprentices in referring to their master, where, too, a form indicating respect is needed. In the literary language there are numerous examples of words, like rajāṇan, siṭāṇan, &c., in which the suffix -ṇa or -āṇa has been added to the stem, always in an honorific sense. In literature we also meet forms in which the suffix -āṇa has been further developed by the addition of the feminine suffix, sometimes resulting in -äṇi. Cf. the forms duvaṇi, nāgaṇi, buhunāṇi, &c. Such forms in which there is also the notion of endearment are

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not met with in our graffiti. The stems to which this suffix is added are inflected only in the pl. number—the honorific.

393. The suffix -n or -na has also been added to stems with no honorific meaning, and with no recognizable effect on the meaning; the purpose apparently being—if there was a purpose at all—to make the word more impressive, if not expressive, by adding to its length. In the example muhun 'face', we can recognize the simple stem as muhu derived from Skt. mukha (Rules lvii and xvii). The addition of the suffix -n or -na does not, in any way, qualify the meaning of 'face' which muhu alone might have conveyed. But this simple form of the stem occurs nowhere in literature; nor does it occur in the spoken language of today, which uses the form muhuna or mūna. A parallel development, muva, without the suffix -n or -na, occurs, however, in literature. The loc. sin. form munihi (No. 518) shows that the word muhun or muhuna has been contracted to form the stem muna. Muhan (No. 170) is but a variant form of muhun. In these and other similar examples to be quoted later, the suffix -na may perhaps be taken as expressing familiarity. Another word from our graffiti showing the suffix -na is lenäsi (No. 152). From the context in which this word occurs, it must be taken as referring, in a complimentary manner, to the ladies depicted on the Sīgiri rock. Its occurrence corresponds to that of the word mīläsi 'deer-eyed one'. Lenäsi, therefore, is interpreted as synonymous with mīläsi by equating le with Skt. lohita (rohita) 'the red deer'. Asi, of course, means 'eyed one'; na has, therefore, to be accounted for, and I take it to be the same suffix as occurs in muhun. Words with this suffix are numerous in literature, as well as in the spoken language of today. To quote two examples, pahana 'light or 'lamp' is paha (Skt. prabhā) with the addition of -na, and rähāṇa 'rope or 'cord' is rähā (Skt. raśmi, P. ramsi) and -na.

394. Paluţa in the compound labu-paluţa evidently means fruit; the essential part of the word, therefore, is pala (Skt. phala). Ţa must then be taken, with the preceding vowel, as a suffix of very much the same character as ṇa in the preceding examples. Paluţa (No. 373) may mean 'a little fruit', and the suffix -ṭa may be taken as diminutive in sense. Migāṭi (No. 518) appears from the context to mean 'deer'. In that case miga can easily be equated with P. miga, Skt. mrga. -ṭi must then be treated as a suffix of the same character as -ṭa in paluṭa. The ä in the second syllable is due to i in the third. In the literary idiom and in spoken Sinhalese today, there are numerous words to which a suffix -ṭa, -ṭi, or -ṭu has been added. The consonant ṭ seems to be the essential element of this suffix; the vowel added to it may vary. The preceding vowel may also change in accordance with various phonetic rules. As examples outside our graffiti may be cited pāṭa 'colour' (pā = paha, Skt. prabhā), kahaṭa 'astringent' (kaha = Skt. kaṣāya), iraṭa 'stalk of a coco-nut leaf' (ira means line), ingaṭi 'waist' (inga without ṭi also has the same meaning), ihaṭi 'upper part' (iha = isa, Skt. sīrṣa, 'head'), pālāṭi 'plant' (pāla, possibly equivalent to Skt. pravāla, 'sprout', means 'plant'), araṭu 'hard wood' (ara = hara, Skt. sāra), and lāṭu, 'gum' or 'wax' (lā = Skt. lākṣā).

395. Miyeļandi in No. 381 is used in addressing the 'golden-coloured ones' in the Sīgiri paintings. From the context it appears to be a term of endearment. I equate miye with Skt. madhu 'honey', and la is Sinhalese for heart, occurring so often in our verses. Miyeļa would thus mean 'honey-heart', the same as 'sweet-heart' in English. We are then left with the element -ndi to be accounted for. It would suit admirably to take it as a suffix of endearment—a suffix in common use today without distinction of gender in such words as ammandi 'dear mother', māmandi 'dear uncle', putandi (voc. putanda) 'dear son', &c. Suffixes of which the essential part is d with different vowels and with or without the nasal element are attached to words in the modern language in the same manner as -ta, &c., in the examples cited in the foregoing paragraph. Examples are: luhundu 'short' or 'light' (luhu = Skt. laghu), kavudu, 'crow' (kā = Skt. kāka, v being the hiatus-filler introduced after the k in the second syllable was elided), lehendi 'louse' (lehe = Skt. likṣā). The introduction of the half-nasal in these suffixes is in accordance with phonological Rules exii and exiii.

396. The words miyuläsi, mīläsi, mīläs, and miläs are of frequent occurrence in our graffiti with the meaning of 'deer-eyed one'. Miyu, mī, and mi can easily be recognized as representing Skt. mṛga or P. miga; äsi and äs represent Skt. akṣi. The la or l which comes between these two words is obviously a suffix of the same character as na in muhuṇa. The suffix -la or -l is also frequently added to proper names, evidently to indicate respect, e.g. Mihidala (Mihida = P. Mahinda), Nāl (Na = Skt. Nāga), Deval (Deva = Skt. Deva), Vijurala (Vijura = Skt. Vajra), and Kital (Kita = Skt. Kīrtti) (see § 684 below). We also meet with the same suffix in modern usage, e.g. āraccila. Whether the pl.

suffix -la, attached to certain classes of nouns in the modern language, has anything to do with this suffix is not quite certain.

397. In pänittak (No. 190) 'a small quantity of water', the suffix -iti is clearly diminutive in meaning. The duplication of t when the indefinite suffix follows is in accord with phonological Rule cx. In literary works we come across analogous forms such as kändittak (Ppj., p. 1605) 'a small quantity of ricegruel' and singitta or singittak 'a little bit' (Thv., p. 185). The form diyattak (Srvl., p. 503), 'a small quantity of water', is evidence to show that the vowel before -ti need not necessarily be i.

398. Suffixes of the type mentioned above are common in the Aryan languages spoken in North India. Moreover, as in Sinhalese, the large majority of them have t, d, or l as their main element, the vowel preceding it or following it being different (Beames, Comp. Grammar, vol. ii, pp. 115 ff.). The majority of these suffixes in the North Indian languages are diminutive in meaning, but, as Beames remarks, 'in many cases the terminations in themselves are absolutely meaningless, and incapable of being solemnly and scientifically traced back to the ancient languages'. It is possible that in Sinhalese, as in these kindred tongues, suffixes of this type were first used to form diminutives which later extended in meaning as words of endearment, or lost the special significance which the suffix was meant to convey. In all languages the diminutive is used as a term of endearment. We have in Sinhalese the phrase ambu singitti 'little wife' (Thv., p. 41) in an endearing context. From endearment to respect is an imperceptible change of meaning.<sup>1</sup>

399. It is unlikely that these suffixes were borrowed by one language from another. In the various dialects of Middle Indian, such suffixes must have been in common use in the mouths of the people, though naturally literary form did not consider them as quite respectable. The ancestor of the Sinhalese language, before it parted company from the common stock, must have contained words with such suffixes, and their use has been continued, subject to normal phonetic changes, up to the present day. Hence the occurrence of the suffix -di or its equivalent, for example, in Sindhī, Marāṭhī, Hindī, and in Sinhalese with the same or a similar meaning. It would, therefore, not be surprising to find such forms even in literary Prakrits. To quote one example, the form maścalī occurs in the Māgadhī of Śakuntalā for Skt. matsya, and it is to a form with a suffix containing l added to the Middle Indian form of Skt. matsya that the word for 'fish' in many modern Indian languages as well as in Sinhalese has to be traced back. Cf. Gujarātī māchalī, Hindī machalī, and S. mālu (Pischel, Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen, § 233).

# (vi) Nominal Compounds

400. The Sinhalese language of the period of our graffiti possessed the power of combining two or more words into one, which it no doubt inherited from the Old Indian, and which it has retained up to the present. Sinhalese never carried this power to such extraordinary, even absurd, lengths as did the classical Sanskrit and, in the nature of the compounds and the frequency and the manner in which they are used, our documents fall into line with the preserved literary works of a somewhat later period.

401. Compounds are of different types. The old Sinhalese grammarians, whose views have been preserved to us in the Sdsg., have on the whole followed the methods of Sanskrit grammarians in the classification of compounds, but with some important differences. The nomenclature in Sinhalese is not borrowed from the Pāṇinean system, and is more indicative of the reasons for the classification; an example is not adopted, as in Sanskrit, as the name of a whole type. The six classes of compounds of the Sanskrit grammarians have been reduced to five by including the dvigu in the karmadhāraya. In this last respect the methods of old Sinhalese grammarians are in accord with those of European scholars who have dealt with Sanskrit grammar, and afford evidence that, however much they were influenced in their literary style by the masterpieces of Sanskrit, the Sinhalese scholars of old did not always leave their thinking to be done for them by others, as the 'scientific' students of Sinhalese in Ceylon are apt to do today. In quoting examples of compounds occurring in our graffiti, we may, therefore, arrange them according to the classification in the Sdsg.

402. The first class of compounds in the Sdsg. is called aviya-samas (= Skt. avyaya-samāsa), and is the same as the avyayī-bhāva of Sanskrit grammarians. It is a descriptive determinative compound of which the first member, being an adverb, particle, or preposition, qualifies the second. Examples from our graffiti are: surat (Skt. surakta), suvanda (Skt. sugandha), sunil (Skt. sunīla), supasan (Skt. supra-

The Tsar of Russia was, for example, referred to by his people by a word which meant 'little father'.

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sanna), surusnā (Skt. su-ruci), sulabä (Skt. sulabhya), susädi (Skt. susajjita), duduţ (Skt. durdṛṣṭa), anadara (Skt. anādara), aniyā (Skt. anyāya), anis (Skt. anitya), anurā (Skt. anurāga), nuyuļa (Skt. anukūla), palaba (Skt. pralamba), pavatnā (Skt. pravarttana), pulundu (Skt. pralabdha), noyek (Skt. aneka), no-sand¹han, no-jat, no-daham, no-kaļa, no-asala, &c., in which no is used in the same manner as a (an) in Sanskrit. Some of the examples quoted above are derived from words which had already been in use as compounds in Old or Middle Indian before they were adopted by the Sinhalese. The examples given for this class in the Sdsg. indicate that the aviya-samas of Sinhalese is not exactly the same as the Sanskrit avyayī-bhāva, for, unlike the latter, an aviya-samas need not be restricted to use as an adverb in the acc. neuter; suvanda, for instance, may be inflected, e.g. suvanden, inst. sin.

403. The second class of compounds in Sdsg. is vibat-samas (= Skt. vibhakti-samāsa), which is the same as the tat-paruṣa class of Pāṇini. The name adopted by the Sinhalese grammarian is explained by the circumstance that, in a compound of this class, the syntactical relation of the first member to the second on which it depends is that of an attribute in an oblique case. This class may be referred to as dependent determinatives. Examples are: minis-piya1 'haunt of men', mada-dora 'entrance to an open pavilion', mala-dam 'garland of flowers', attam 'wielding of weapons', ya-dam 'chain of iron', bit-sittama 'painting on the wall', sarā-siri 'splendour of autumn', tī-kaļa 'done by thee', beyand-kisa 'the interior of the hill-side', gal-ägani 'from the summit of the rock', at-yugala 'pair of hands', at-pāsalakuna 'signals from hands and feet', risi-sey 'the manner of (one's) desire', kes-mal 'flowers in the hair', gī-rasa 'the sweetness of the song', mini-mutu 'freed from bondage', i.e. fully blown, said of a flower. In such words as suridu (Skt. surendra), nirindu (Skt. narendra), sad-madala (Skt. candramaṇḍala), mal-dam (Skt. mālā-dāma), giri-raj (Skt. giri-rāja), girida (Skt. girīndra), udayag (Skt. udayāgra), sisi-räs (Skt. śaśi-raśmi), &c., the formation of the compound could have been adopted into Sinhalese from Sanskrit or Pāli. In the vast majority of examples of this class of compounds in our graffiti, as is also the case indeed in the spoken language, the syntactical relation of the first word to the second is that of the gen. In ya-dam it is that of the inst., in bit-sittama and kes-mal of the loc., and in mini-mutu of the abl. Most of the examples given in the Sdsg. to illustrate the syntactical relation expressed by other cases have an artificial or pedantic air about them. In naranind, though the word is to be treated as a compound, it is the inflected form, not the stem, which has been joined with the following word.

404. The third class of compounds in the Sdsg., called vesesun-samas (= Skt. višeṣaṇa-samāsa), corresponds to the karma-dhāraya class of Pāṇini. The name is self-explanatory; it is a compound of which the first member describes the second. Compounds of this class may, therefore, be referred to as descriptive determinatives. This is the most numerous of all classes of compounds to be met with in our graffiti, as it is also in literary works. The following examples may be quoted: nil-upul 'blue water-lily', helillambu 'fair damsel', narisi 'man-lion', i.e. Lion-like Man, a proper name',2 surat-at 'exceedingly rosy hand', pul-piyum 'fully blown lotus', dur-katar 'remote wilderness', varangana 'noble woman', mulu-lov 'entire world', gähäni-liya 'woman creeper, i.e. a slender woman', dig-äs 'long eye', sunil-kiyambu 'exceedingly dark tresses', bämä-säv 'brow-bow, i.e. bow-like brow', minimuyun 'jewel (like) eyes', sit-sayura 'thought ocean, i.e. the sea of (troubled) thoughts', dev-asara 'heavenly nymph', vil-ambu 'lake lady, i.e. the lake compared to a woman', de-ata 'two hands', tunlakun 'three characteristics', sivu-pada 'four-line stanza', sat-janma 'seven births'. From examples like bämä-säv and mini-nuyun, it will be noticed that metaphors are invariably set out in the form of a compound of this class. It is, therefore, natural that this type of compound should be common in poetical literature. Examples of the type de-ata would have been dvigu, according to the nomenclature of Sanskrit grammarians.

405. An-arut-samas (= Skt. anyārtha-samāsa) is the name given by the Sdsg. for the fourth class of compounds. It is the same as bahu-vrīhi of Sanskrit grammarians. The Sinhalese name is explained as indicating that compounds of this class mean an entity other than that expressed by any of the constituent words taken in itself. Thus, the compound dig-net does not mean 'long' (dig) nor 'eyes' (net) but a woman possessing long eyes. Such words are possessive compounds. Examples are very numerous in our graffiti; to quote a few: vanavū-himi 'a woman whose husband is separated', piribun-

<sup>2</sup> These three examples occurring in our graffiti are

the first three examples in the Sdsg. for this class of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See glossary for the etymology of the words the first the separately and their Sanskrit equivalents.

pagā 'a damsel whose courage has been shattered', malayuna-div-oṭa 'a damsel with parched tongue and lips', pin-bara 'one possessing a store of merit', dig-äs '(woman) possessing long eyes', mal-baňdu 'she who is like a flower', guṇa-muhund 'he who is like unto an ocean of virtue', ru-sayar 'an ocean of beauty', vara-van 'noble-coloured', ran-van 'golden-coloured one', mahanel-van 'lily-coloured one'.

406. The fifth class of compounds in the Sdsg., da-arut-samas (= Skt. cārtha-samāsa), is the same as the dvandva of Sanskrit grammarians. They are co-ordinative compounds. Examples are: at-pā 'hands and feet' (Skt. hasta-pāda), dava-räy (Skt. divā-rātrī) 'day and night', mala-akara 'flowers and tender shoots', kumbur-väv 'fields and tanks'. Such compounds may be of the sin. number if the objects expressed by the words in the compound are meant as a group, or of the pl. number if they are meant to be taken separately. Our graffiti do not furnish any examples of the second category.

407. A compound of one or other of these classes is sometimes joined with another word to form a compound of a different class. For example, in *pul-nil-upul-ässan*, *pul-nil-upul* is a compound of the third type which has been extended into one of the fourth type by the addition of *ässan*. In versification the natural order of words in a compound is at times transposed, for the sake of rhythm and other reasons. This is known as *pada-peräli* 'metathesis of words'.

# (vii) Secondary Derivatives

408. The secondary derivatives in Old Indian, which formed a part of the stock of words in Sinhalese, had so undergone phonetic changes that the suffixes by means of which they had originally been formed are, by the time of our graffiti, hardly recognizable and had, with rare exceptions, ceased to play any part in modifying words so as to affect their meanings. In diri, for example, from Skt. dhairya, the -yā suffix has affected the phonetic development, but can hardly be said to have preserved itself. The few which can be recognized as suffixes are generally in learned words which formed no part of the spoken language. Thus, for instance, the suffix -muva, equivalent to Skt. -maya 'made of', occurring in the word paļa-muva (Skt. pravālamaya), may be due to a later adaptation from Sanskrit. Another suffix forming secondary derivatives in Sanskrit which can be recognized in our graffiti is -vat. In la-vat (No. 531) the suffix seems to have been added in Sinhalese, for a Skt. word hṛdaya-vat can hardly be assumed.

409. There are quite a number of words in which an -a suffix changes an adjective into a dravyanoun, in the manner of the -ya suffix in Sanskrit. We have, in our graffiti, the word dilind, meaning 'poor', but in No. 240 occurs dilindin which is evidently the inst. of a stem dilinda 'poverty'. It can be taken that dilind is from Old Indian daridra, while dilinda is from Old Indian daridrya. Kurura in No. 320 is similarly from kraurya and saļa in No. 545 from śāṭhya. Dasu (No. 157), sirä (No. 169), serin (No. 363), isirä (No. 449), tada (No. 487), and dädi, from the contexts in which they occur, can be equated respectively with Skt. dāsya, sthairya, caurya, aiśvarya, sthābdhya, and dārḍhya. Yaha occurs frequently in our documents as an adjective meaning 'good' or 'happy', but yähäyen (No. 230) means 'happiness' and must be considered as evolved from a secondary derivative yaśasya. Bisäriya (No. 111) and visärabi (No. 363) are not from Skt. abhisāra and viśrambha, but from their derivatives with a suffix meaning 'state of'. Adjectives ending in a consonant or a vowel other than a are, as a rule, converted to dravya-nouns by the suffix -a which thus has the same function as the suffix '-ness' in English. Molok, for instance, is 'soft' but moloka (molokak and molokin) is 'softness'. This suffix -a may be the remnant of an original -ka or -ya. In sunil (No. 188) we have an example of a secondary derivative without any change in the primary word. Such words are taken note of in the Sdsg. and the process is called abē-uvasara (= Skt. abhedopacāra). A trace of the -in suffix is noted in panayiyan (No. 397) (acc. pl. of panayi) which can be equated with Skt. pranayin. The word, however, is clearly a learned one. The suffix  $-t\bar{a}$  is found in  $dut-t\bar{a}$  (No. 216) 'the fact of having seen'. For adverbial suffixes, see §§ 515 and 516.

410. The formation of secondary derivatives by suffixes, however, is not a prominent characteristic of the Sinhalese language, which prefers instead to add a word giving the required meaning and form a compound. Equivalent to Skt. mahattva, for instance, we have mahat-bav in which bav is the same as Skt. bhāva. In pin-ättan, ļa-ättan, &c., ättan (= Skt. astika) has been preferred to the suffix -vat. Of the suffixes forming secondary derivatives noticed in Old Indian, it is -ka which has played the most important role in the development of the Sinhalese language.

<sup>1</sup> See Dhammārāma's edition, p. 176.

# (viii) The Verb

# (a) GENERAL REMARKS

411. In the conjugation of verbal roots to express distinctions of voice, tense, mood, and person, the Sinhalese language of our graffiti shows a divergence from its source—the Old Indian—even greater than it does in the declension of nominal stems. Apart from the disintegration caused by phonological changes, there had taken place, as early as in the Middle Indian period, a simplification of the verbal system by the discarding of much of the wealth of perfects, imperfects, aorists, &c., of the early stage. This process went on apace even after the Sinhalese language was transplanted into Ceylon. Some of the older forms were altogether discarded as unnecessary in the expression of ideas; new formations were substituted, at times, in place of those which had gone out of vogue, but such new formations were invariably based on materials from the old stock which were thus made to perform functions not associated with them in the older language. The development of the verbal system at times ran parallel to that in other allied languages; but, more frequently, as will be shown in the sequel, Sinhalese in this respect followed a course peculiar to itself. This process of selection and formation had all but reached its goal by the time of our graffiti; finality had almost been reached as to what voices, tenses, moods, and persons were to be distinguished. The changes which took place in the Sinhalese verbal system after the date of our graffiti, so far as the literary idiom is concerned, were mainly in the phonological sphere, or were due to a misunderstanding of the syntactical position. The colloquial language of today, however, has gone further still in discarding needless refinements.

412. Of verbal forms, there is great variety in our documents. Therein occur almost all the forms expressing various distinctions in voice, tense, mood, and person, as well as the different types of action nouns, to be met with in literature, or their prototypes. In addition, there are some verbal forms of types which have failed to win for themselves a place in literature, but are common in the spoken language of today (§§ 450 and 496). By an examination of the contexts in which verbal forms of different types occur and by comparing them with identical or similar forms in literary works, or in the living language of today, it is possible to ascertain the precise distinction of voice, tense, mood, &c., expressed by them, and thus to determine the correct terminology to be adopted in referring to particular classes of verbal forms in our graffiti. In the case of some of the verbal forms occurring in our graffiti, we are fortunate to find, in the Brāhmī inscriptions of Ceylon, the earlier stage, or stages, of their development, which are invaluable in tracing them back to their Middle Indian or Old Indian prototypes. In the case of others, however, the evolutionary process can only be inferred by connecting our forms with those in Middle Indian across a wide gap of over a millennium.

# (b) VOICE

- 413. I begin the investigation of the verb in these documents by examining the distinction of voice. For this purpose, a number of verbal forms from our graffiti will be compared with identical or analogous forms in literature and the spoken language of today, i.e. in contexts in which there is no doubt with regard to the meaning as it affects the distinction of voice. The conclusions thus arrived at from the actual usage, written as well as spoken, will be compared with the grammatical theory concerning the question expounded by scholars of former times who studied the language which they themselves spoke, and finally with the theories of modern western scholars who have examined Sinhalese with the aid of all the resources of comparative philology.
- 414. The second half of our graffito No. 347 reads: vahavami da kum-seyin no jäney digäsa varvan (in what manner shall I sustain myself is not known, O long-eyed one of beautiful complexion). In this sentence, the phrase vahavami da kum-seyin is its logical subject, but is also the grammatical object of jäney. As a parallel we may quote two lines from Gk. (v. 189): guruvūyen tamā däneyi mohu sip taramā (as I am myself the teacher, the extent of this person's proficiency in the arts becomes known). Jäney of our graffito is an orthographic variant of jäneyi, and the j can change to d (Rule xciv); the form däneyi of the Gk., therefore, is identical with jäney of our graffito. As in our document, so also in the poem, the word which can be taken as the grammatical subject of däneyi expresses that on which the action denoted by the verb is exercised. The equivalent in the modern spoken language of jäney

and däneyi would be dänena va; this verbal form is used today precisely in the same manner as in our graffito and in the poem from which we have quoted. In a sentence like maṭa ē-bava dänena va (that fact becomes known to me), ē-bava is the logical subject but can also be taken as the grammatical object. In contrast to this may be compared aho janim mam pirijun sey Sihigiri moyun¹ (alas! I know the manner in which Sihigiri has been ruined by these) in which the subject and the object have both been expressed. The act of cognition is performed here by a person and the object of the cognition is also stated. A sentence like this from a literary work is: caṇḍālayā dā-gāba sandhiya daniyi² (the out-caste knows the joint of the stūpa). An an example of a modern colloquial expression, we may quote ē-bava mama danna va 'I know that fact'. It is clear that the second set of examples has the verb in the active voice. The verb in the first set of examples cannot, however, be taken by contrast to be in the passive voice, for in that case the agent would have to be expressed in the instrumental or genitive case.

415. Further we may quote from graffito No. 574 the sentence siyi ve-j mäkey dayendili (a drawing on water becomes obliterated even when it becomes a furrow, i.e. a line). Mäkey here is phonologically the same as mäkeyi or mäke of literary usage and, in the Kskh. (xiii. 7), we read liyak rū-siru äti mäke nugunen mīṭa säka näti (a woman endowed with beauty gets obliterated by her lack of virtue; there is no doubt about this). The equivalent modern expression is mäkena va. The verb mäkey of our graffito and mäke of the Kskh. expresses the idea of a thing or a person becoming obliterated; not someone else obliterating it or him. Dayendili is the logical subject of the predicate mäkey, grammatically it can also be the object. The case is similar with liyak in the extract from the Kskh. If the idea to be expressed is the obliteration of a person or a thing due to outside agency, the verbal form to be used is makayi instead of mäkey or mäkē; in modern colloquial usage, makanava. In No. 303 we read mahanel-van gähäni no me beneyi anna hay yam-tam (the lily-coloured woman speaks not to another, of whatever sort he be). Here, it is not the speaking of anything in particular that the writer wished to express. What form this same verb takes when the idea to be conveyed is of speaking something in particular, and not merely of the general act of speaking, can be seen from another example. No. 350 says: baṇay ä visi mala keļi (the flower cast by her speaks of dalliance). The same distinction in meaning between beneyi and banayi is observed in literary works. In the Amv. (p. 56) occurs the sentence: kāla-yukta-vū pramāṇa-yukta-vū arthavat-tepul beneyi (words full of meaning, seasonable as well as reasoned, become spoken). In this sentence the logical subject, tepul, is grammatically the object of beneyi. In Bs. (p. 200) occurs dän mā hā sama koṭa kumaṭa baṇayi da, in which sentence the subject is to be understood as a word meaning 'he' and the object is the phrase sama kota. In the sentence from No. 251, no kellan vīyin kiyay a sikäre-y kimä (as they are not young girls, what becomes remembered by having said that), the position of kimä is the same as that of the subject in previous examples. On the other hand, in the sentence karayi o sala munihi (518 b), o is the subject of karayi while sala is its object. This is paralleled by two sentences from the Amv. (p. 30): mavun maranu ādi satara kam kayin käreyi and eka mārga-cetanāvek häma akusal nasā rāt kereyi. In the first of these two sentences, the use of käreyi is similar to that of kärey in our graffito quoted above. In the second, kereyi, which is equivalent to karayi of graffito 518 b, has a subject as well as an object.

416. From an examination of the sentences cited above from our graffiti as well as from literature, it will be clear that the verbal forms daniyi, makayi, banayi, and karayi (kereyi)<sup>3</sup> are in the active voice. Jäney (däney), mäkey (mäkē), beneyi, and kärey (käreyi), while not being in the active voice, are also not in the passive. The actions expressed by these verbal forms have effect on the logical subject; they are therefore equivalent in usage to those verbal forms in Sanskrit classed by Pāṇini as ātmane pada, i.e. 'reflexive voice' or 'middle voice'.

417. As further examples of verbal forms of the reflexive voice in the different tenses and persons of the indicative mood occurring in our graffiti are given the following, of which the etymology and meaning can be understood by referring to the Glossary or to the texts themselves: disey (No. 50), vähävet (No. 65), päney (No. 83), nāsväseyi (No. 93), deney (No. 102), jänenney (No. 148), niyaleya (No. 172), genet (No. 181), häjavey (No. 200), gänveyi (No. 228), hejevi (No. 262), asväsey (No. 263), sitey (No. 358), rende (No. 399), täveyi (No. 405), sive (No. 442), ädet (No. 463), näme (No. 470), seleti (No. 473), sitenne (No. 478), hejeyi (No. 529), ele (No. 540), peleyi (No. 549), mirikeyi (No. 549),

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Graffito No. 164. <sup>2</sup> Saddharmālankāra, p. 630. has been changed to e by the influence of i in the third (Rule xix).

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vid'he (No. 582), häväle (No. 628). We may also quote a few more examples from literary works: Ē-vässehi tememha yi sitūvo temeti (Amv. 25), eyin ō-haṭa nidi no risiyeyi (Amv. 67), suṭanga hamana kala atu säleyi (Amv. 29), riyasäri-ādīhu . . . silpayehi phala mema janmayehi läbeti (Amv. 72), his sat-kaḍak vä päleyi (Amv. 95), kandul-äli vähē netin (Kskh. x. 143), vehesunu Siri Veṇ-ura väsä . . . vataṭa sänahē mohouratala väsä (Kskh. i. 10), piyum no pipe da mē ge-digu-vila (Gk. 364).

418. The distinction between the active and the reflexive voices is a pervading one in the verb of the Sinhalese language as it is spoken today, and the proper understanding of this distinction is necessary in order to appreciate the usage in literature. With regard to a language like Sinhalese, it is in fact the unconscious discrimination of the different shades of meaning expressed by different forms of the verb in actual speech that ultimately lies at the root of the understanding of grammatical distinctions found in its earlier literature. A few words, therefore, on the details of the usage in the spoken Sinhalese of today will not be out of place here. Whether a verb has the distinction of the active and middle voices is determined solely by its meaning. As a general rule, the transitive verbs are more prone to this distinction than the intransitive, but there are many exceptions. A verb like hitina va 'stands' has only one voice, for the act of standing can have effect on the one who performs it and on no one else. In form, however, the verb is of the active voice, though it is reflexive in meaning. The verb bona va 'to drink' is transitive, but it is not capable of forming the middle voice, for one drinks for one's self only; there is no drinking for the benefit of another. In this, too, the form is of the active voice though the sense is different. In väțena va 'falls', for instance, which has only the conjugation of the middle voice, there is no active form. Kana va 'eats' like bona va has only one voice and that active. Almost every verb can, in modern Sinhalese, assume the causative form; then, even those verbs which have no distinction of active and middle voices in the indicative mood can be conjugated in both voices. Bona va, for instance, becomes povana va in the causative (see below, § 451), of which the middle voice is pevena va 'becomes drunk'; the causative of kana va is kavana va, of which the reflexive form is kävena va. Väțena va becomes vațavana va (active) and väțavena va (middle) in the causative. Of hițina va, the corresponding forms are hițavana va and hițavena va.

419. Causative forms in the reflexive or middle voice occurring in our graffiti are found among the examples already quoted: vähävet, häjavey, gänveyi. The distinction of the active and reflexive is also made in other verbal forms in the Optative Mood, in the Conditional Mood, in the Absolutive (Gerund I), in the Gerund (Gerund II), in the Verbal Noun of Perfected Action (past participle passive or preterite), in the Verbal Noun of Continuing Action (present participle), and in the Gerundive. These reflexive forms will be noticed and discussed in the sections dealing with each of the above aspects of the verb.

420. Various forms of the reflexive voice are noticed in the Sdsg.1 under its treatment of the passive voice (kam-kiriya = Skt. karma-kriyā). The first example given for the passive voice in Sdsg., it will be shown below, is the reflexive form of the verbal noun of perfected action, the second example  $v\ddot{a}s\ddot{e}$ is of the same type as mäke noticed above. The third example, mävenne, it will be shown, is the reflexive form of the verbal noun of continuing action. The Sdsg. states that another class of verbs which it calls nitätin säpayena katu arut (of the meaning in which the agency is effected without effort) is formed exactly in the same manner as that termed 'passive'. To illustrate this latter class, the author of the Sdsg. gives only a bare verbal form, not a complete sentence, to explain its use. We are, therefore, unable to determine whether he had in view any syntactical difference in these two classes of verbs. On the other hand, the sentences given as examples in the Sdsg. to illustrate the verbs in the passive voice require a somewhat forced or artificial analysis if we are to take them as being in the passive construction. They might equally well be illustrations of the verb called nitätin säpayena katu arut, which does not differ in any way from what we have above called the Reflexive Voice. The Sdsg. also illustrates by a sentence a verb called tema katu tema kam (lit. the subject itself, the object itself, i.e. a verb of which the grammatical subject is the logical object). In the sentence quoted, kusul tema biňdē 'the vessel becomes broken by itself', the verbal form binde is, morphologically as well as syntactically, of the same type as what we have given above as examples of the reflexive voice. The descriptive terms nitätin säpayena katuarut and tema katu tema kam of the Sdsg. might equally well apply to the reflexive voice. The forms called passive in the Sdsg., which morphologically and syntactically hardly differ from the other two types, may also be taken as being really of the reflexive voice. The nomenclature

followed by the author of the Sdsg. in this matter was perhaps dictated by the grammatical system of which he was an adherent.

421. Geiger does not leave even as much room as does the Sdsg. for the admission of the reflexive voice into a study of the Sinhalese language. For he asserts: 'In Sinhalese, there is no more difference between the active and the middle voices' (G.S.L., § 136). How does this authority, then, explain the difference, for instance, between nagayi 'he raises' or 'he hoists' and nägeyi 'he rises', which are forms of a root admitted by Geiger himself to be derived from Sanskrit as well as Pāli langh? Nagayi and nägeyi are both of the third person, of the singular number, of the present tense, of the indicative mood, and both are traceable in their origin to the same root in Old Indian. What is the further factor which causes a distinction of meaning between nagayi and nägeyi—a distinction which anybody who can converse in Sinhalese or can understand a conversation carried on in that language will recognize without any difficulty to be that, in the case of the first verbal form, the effect of the action is on an entity other than the subject while in the case of the other the subject itself is affected by the action? This is the distinction expressed by Sanskrit grammarians in the terms parasmai pada 'word for another' and ātmane pada 'word for one's self'. Geiger, however, takes nagayi to be a verb altogether different from nägeyi, the first being from the stem naga belonging to what Geiger calls Conjugation I and the second from a stem näge belonging to a so-called Conjugation II. If it is justifiable to take nägeyi as a verb distinct from nagayi, why should not one take namvayi (the causative form of nagayi) to be a verb different from nagayi, or karavayi to be different from karayi, and thus add to the classes of conjugations in the language? Geiger's comprehension of Sinhalese was obviously adequate enough to recognize the causative, but not the reflexive, meaning of the verb.

422. This leads us to Geiger's classification of the Sinhalese verbs in three conjugations. The verbs included in Conjugation III are all forms of the reflexive voice and also possess active forms which Geiger includes in Conjugation I. Thus the stem äkile of the so-called third conjugation is the reflexive of akula, däme of dama, pire of pura, vide of vidi, mäde of madi, mäde of madi, ikme of ikma, kipe of kopa, &c. There are also verbs included in this conjugation of which only reflexive forms are to be expected in accordance with the meaning, e.g. ride and pipe. Geiger, in fact, has recognized that verbs of this so-called Conjugation III 'sometimes assume reflexive or passive meaning', but has failed to appreciate the significance of the fact. There is no justification for treating the forms in the reflexive voice of a verb as a conjugation distinct from the forms in the active voice of the same verb. In Geiger's Conjugation II, there are also included verbs of which the active voice is treated separately as belonging to Conjugation I, e.g. naga (I) and näge (II). Apart from this distinction, which can afford no basis for his classification into separate classes of conjugation, the only other ground on which the classification has been effected is the termination of what can be taken as the root2 of Sinhalese verbs. Kapa of the first conjugation, for instance, ends in a, while vidi of the second ends in i. These different terminations are due to different phonetic changes which the verbal forms had undergone in the process of their evolution, and are more a matter of phonology than of morphology. There are no grounds for classifying the roots of verbs into different classes of conjugations in Sinhalese as such grounds do indeed exist in Sanskrit. It is more reasonable to assume that in Sinhalese the verb has been reduced to one conjugation.

423. If it be sought to justify Geiger's statement that there is no distinction of the active and middle voices in Sinhalese by pointing to the large mass of Sanskrit ātmane pada forms which have left no trace whatever in the Sinhalese language, it may be replied that, on the same grounds, the Optative Mood must be considered as non-existent in Sinhalese, for the optative forms of Sinhalese cannot be traced back to corresponding forms in Sanskrit, but are new formations. A grammatical distinction may be the same in one language as in another syntactically, though not morphologically. We can, however, go further and prove that the forms in the reflexive voice of the Sinhalese verbs in the present tense are etymologically identical with corresponding forms in Sanskrit just as much as are the forms in the active voice. Take, for instance, the active and reflexive forms in the third person singular,

to which the suffix -na is added to form the verbal noun of continuing action (present participle) in the active voice. Thus karana 'doing' is formed by adding na to the root kara 'to do' and ganna is formed in the same way from the root gan.

<sup>1</sup> G.S.L., §§ 140 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Roots may be nothing more than abstractions of grammarians without actual existence as such in a language as it is spoken. But, for practical purposes, it is necessary to recognize them. So far as Sinhalese is concerned, the root may be regarded as the element

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present tense, of the Sinhalese verbal root 'to know', daniyi and däneyi, which we have referred to above. The corresponding forms in Sanskrit are  $j\bar{a}n\bar{a}ti$  and  $j\bar{a}n\bar{t}te$ . It will be admitted that the Sinhalese verbal form in the active voice is a development from the corresponding Sanskrit by the shortening of long vowels, vowel-assimilation, dropping of t, the introduction of y to fill the hiatus, and the change of j to d:  $j\bar{a}n\bar{a}ti > *janati > *janiti > janiyi > daniyi$  (Rules xvi, xvii, lxxxiv, xciv). Similarly,  $j\bar{a}n\bar{t}te$  can develop to  $d\bar{a}neyi$  by the shortening of long vowels, epenthesis, vowel-assimilation, the dropping of t, the introduction of the hiatus filler y, the change of j to d, and the dropping of the final vowel, together with the euphonic changes of vowels which result from these operations. The intermediate forms are  $j\bar{a}n\bar{t}te > *janite > *jenite > *jenite > *jeniye > *jäneye > jäney > däneyi$ . The Phonetic Rules which come into play are Nos. xvi, xix, lxxxiv, xxv, xxvi, xvii, xlviii, and xciv.

- 424. When the phonetic changes involved in these two derivations are properly understood, it is not difficult, for instance, to connect the active and reflexive forms of the Sinhalese root laba, labayi, and läbeyi, respectively, with Skt. labhati and labhate, and the corresponding plural forms labat and läbet with Skt. labhanti and labhante. Similarly, the active forms pisayi, pisat and the reflexive forms päseyi, päset of the Sinhalese root pisa can be connected with the corresponding Skt. pacati, pacanti and pacate, pacante. The vowel ä in the first syllable of reflexive forms in Sinhalese can thus be explained as due to the e in the last syllable of corresponding forms in Sanskrit, which, by vowel assimilation, had been shifted to the preceding syllable or syllables and developed further to ä. As was to be expected, the distinctions of form between various conjugational classes of Sanskrit had been obliterated in Sinhalese, and the forms in the third person, which are the most frequent, have in many cases influenced the forms in the other two persons. It is only the present tense which can show development from corresponding Sanskrit forms. In this, however, the reflexive does not differ from the active voice. In the past and future tenses (if a future tense be admitted) and in many other forms, the Sinhalese verb, in the active as well as in the reflexive voice, had parted company from the Old Indian, relying on new formations. There are thus etymological as well as semantic and morphological reasons for admitting a reflexive voice in the Sinhalese verb.
- 425. We have, therefore, evidence that the reflexive voice, which is a characteristic of the Sinhalese language of today, was a distinction observed in speech as well as in writing for over a thousand years from the date of the earliest of our graffiti—the eighth century. No verbal form in the reflexive voice has been recognized as such in any Sinhalese document of earlier date; but the old Brāhmī inscriptions of Ceylon have not yet been exhaustively studied. Even if the earlier documents which are now available should be shown not to contain any verbal forms of the reflexive voice, that fact would afford no support for an argument that this grammatical feature was not a characteristic of the language of that period, for the subject-matter of these documents does not require the use of reflexive forms. On the other hand, if it be admitted that the reflexive forms of the present tense are etymologically connected with the corresponding forms in Sanskrit, this can only be accounted for by the assumption that this grammatical feature has continued to be a characteristic of the Sinhalese verb right through the history of the language. It is thus a remarkable fact that the reflexive voice (ātmane pada), which is all but lost in most of the Prakrits and shows little trace, if any, in the modern Aryan languages of India, has not only been fully preserved semantically in Sinhalese, but that it has also been extended to spheres in which it had no place in Sanskrit, for example, the absolutive (see below, §§ 486 ff.).
- 426. The morphological distinction of the reflexive voice has endowed the Sinhalese language with the power to express with one verbal root ideas for which two different verbal roots or composite verbs are employed in many other languages. The root mara, for example, in the active voice is marayi (marana va in the spoken language), which means 'he kills'; in the reflexive voice the same root is märeyi (märena va) 'he dies'. Similarly, pisayi (pisana va) means 'he cooks' and päseyi 'it becomes ripened or matured'; tabayi (tabana va) means 'he places' and tibeyi (tibena va) 'there is'. Forms like these may easily be mistaken as forms of different verbs by those who can understand Sinhalese only by translating it into English or German. In addition to the distinction of active and reflexive being expressed morphologically in the manner shown above, the language of our graffiti, agreeing with the literary idiom and modern usage, occasionally uses composite verbs to express the reflexive meaning. Such composite verbs will be noticed in § 501.

427. As a rule, it can be stated that, when a root is conjugated in the reflexive voice, the vowel in the last syllable becomes e; the vowel in the first syllable changes to e or  $\ddot{a}$  if it happens to be a, to i

if it is u, to e if it is o. If the vowel in the first syllable is i or e, it remains unaltered. Compare, for example, näse (No. 494) from the root nasa, käpeyi from the root kapa, pireyi from root pura, divi (absolutive, No. 438) from root duva, peveyi from root bo, sitey (No. 358) from root sita, bindeyi from root binde, peleyi (No. 549) from root pela, and veleyi from root vela. In verbal roots of more than two syllables, the vowel in the first syllable at times remains unaltered, that in the second changing from a to ä, e.g. asväsey (No. 263).

# (c) PASSIVE VOICE

428. (a) If the verbal forms given as kam-kiriya in the Sdsg. be accepted as being in the passive voice, we may give as such the following examples from our graffiti: kiyavina (No. 629), rijini (No. 652), kere (No. 658), pähädini (No. 674), and pänini (No. 35).

(b) Periphrastic Passive. In literature, more particularly in the prose works, the passive is expressed in a periphrastic manner, i.e. by adding a form of the root laba to the verbal noun of continuing action (present participle). See Geiger, G.S.L., § 155. Such forms are rare in the earlier literature, but the lithic inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries furnish us with some examples (E.Z., vol. ii, pp. 24 and 48). The following examples of the periphrastic passive occur in our graffiti: dena labaya (No. 342), situvanā lada (No. 423), pisa-lad (No. 477), and at vana lada (No. 643). The periphrastic passive is thus seen to be an old feature of the language which has gained increasing popularity among writers during the course of the centuries, though the spoken language has no need of it.

# (d) INDICATIVE MOOD—PRESENT TENSE

429. The forms in the present tense of the indicative mood of a number of verbal roots, occurring in our graffiti, are given below. There are only a few verbs of which a fairly full paradigm can be prepared by means of forms actually found in our graffiti. Most verbs are represented by one form or two. Of the reflexive voice, forms of the first and second person occur very rarely; none such figure in the paradigms given below.

Ve <sup>1</sup> 'to become'		Bala	Bala 'to look'	
Act	ive Voice		Active Voice	
Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	
I. vemi		- I	balamaha	
2. vehi	vayu		balamha	
3. veyi, vey	vet	2. balahi	balayu	
			balavu	
Reflex	xive Voice	3. balayi	balat	
3. veye, veya	vet	Fan	'to know'	
			ve Voice	
77		1. janim	janmo	
	'to go'	janimi	janma	
The reserver.	ve Voice	janami	janamaha	
1. yami	yama, yamo	2. janhi	Januaria.	
	yamha		kive Voice	
2. yahi		2. jänhi	vive voice	
3. ye	yati, yat	3. jäney	***	
D d		3. Juney	****	
	kive Voice	ve Voice Kiya 'to say'		
1. yem, yemi	yemu		Active Voice	
	yemo	I	kiyamo	
	yema	2. kiyahi		
3. ye	yeti, yet yet <sup>1</sup> ha	3. kiya	kiyat, kiyati	
	yerna	Kar	a 'to do'	
			Active Voice	
Gan 'to take'		I	karamo	
Activ	ve Voice	3. karayi		
I. ganimi		Reflex	tive Voice	
3. ganiyi		3. kereyi, kerey		
ganni		boro		
<sup>1</sup> The	Sdsg. gives this root as	vū. See, however, footnote 2,	p. cxxx.	

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430. When one compares the verbal forms in the foregoing paradigms with corresponding Sanskrit forms, it becomes quite evident that, in the conjugation of the present tense of the indicative mood, Sinhalese has preserved the terminations of the Old Indian. Identical or similar forms occur in literature; they are still in use in the written language, but the colloquial language uses other forms built up from verbal nouns in their place. As the written language has persistently adhered to these archaic verbal forms, it is not possible to determine at what date they had become obsolete in the spoken language. It may, however, be permissible to assume that during the period of our graffiti these forms were also in vogue in the spoken language.

- 431. With regard to the verb ve 'to become', it may be observed that semantically all its forms are reflexive; but those given as of the active voice can be clearly traced etymologically to forms of the active voice in Sanskrit. It is worthy of note that, while in Pāli, in most Prakrits, and in the modern Aryan languages of India, the bh in forms of the root  $bh\bar{u}$  of Old Indian had changed to h, it had become v in Sinhalese. We may, therefore, assume that in Old Sinhalese the form corresponding to P. hoti and Pkt. hoi, was \*voti which later would have become \*voyi. In accordance with Phonetic Rules xxx and xxxii, the o in the first syllable would have changed to e when there was i in the second. The forms vemi, vehi, and veti (vet) can also be accounted for in the same way; e could have been introduced by false analogy in places where there was no i in the second syllable. The second person plural vayu can be traced to Skt. bhavatha, the preservation of a in the first syllable being due to the influence of the a in the other two syllables. The intermediate form vayu had the a in the second syllable changed to u in accordance with the process detailed in §§ 171 ff. The phonological connexion of veye and veya with Skt. bhavate (Rules lxxviii, lxxxvi, lxxxiv, xvii, cv, and xvi) and vet with Skt. bhavante (Rules lxxv, lxxviii, lxxxvi, xvii, cv, xvi, and xxxiii) is not difficult to comprehend. The working of phonological processes has obliterated the distinction between the active and reflexive forms of the root ya in the third person singular; ye in the active voice is a further development of yayi (Rules xix, ii, xvii, cvi, xvi). The forms kereyi, &c., given as reflexive forms of the root kara, can also be taken as a further development from the active forms due to the working of Phonetic Rules (xix, ii, and xvii). The other verbal forms in the above paradigms can also be traced back to the corresponding forms in Old Indian with the aid of the relevant Phonetic Rules.
- 432. The various terminations in verbal forms of the same voice, person, and number are in origin the same, the differences being due to the different phonetic changes to which they had been subjected. Of the forms of the active voice, the termination -mi of the first person singular is identical with that in Old Indian. In forms like janim the final vowel has been elided. The terminations -mo, -maha, -mha, and -ma noticed in the first person plural all go back to Old Indian -mas. It is remarkable that in words like janmo this termination has remained so late in Sinhalese at the stage it had reached in the Middle Indian period without undergoing those changes which the terminations of the nominative singular and plural were subject to. Forms like balamaha, balamha would indicate that the visarga of these in the Old Indian period had been pronounced ha, as in fact it is pronounced today by the Brahmins of Drāvida and Mahārāṣṭra. The Sdsg. gives the terminations -mu and -mhu also for the first person plural. Of these -mhu is a natural development of -mha. The termination -mu could have developed from -maha by the working of Phonetic Rules xxxvii, xxxviii, xliii, cv, xvi. There is only one verbal form with the termination -mu in our graffiti, i.e. kelimu in No. 145; but this does not appear from the context to be in the indicative mood. Such forms are still in frequent use in the spoken language, e.g. yamu, karamu which, however, do not mean 'we go' and 'we do', but 'let us go' and 'let us do'. This interpretation fits in perfectly with the context in which kelimu occurs in our graffiti, and accordingly forms like it which are found in the literature and in the modern spoken language should be considered semantically as imperatives.
- 433. The termination -hi of the second person singular is easily recognized as being the same as -si in Sanskrit. The corresponding plural given in the Sdsg., -hu, has not been found in our documents; what we get instead is -yu, which, as has been pointed out above, may be derived from Skt. -tha. The -hu of the Sdsg. may be due to false restoration after the y had suffered elision, and the two similar vowels had coalesced (Rules cv and cvi). Or, the y might have been changed to h on the analogy of the termination in the singular. If the latter suggestion is acceptable, it would also explain the termination -yi of the second person singular at times met with in literary works—in this instance the h of hi being changed on the analogy of yu in the plural termination.

434. The commonest termination of the third person singular, -yi, will be easily recognized as Skt. -ti and other terminations of this person and number are all derived from -yi. Ganni (No. 28), a form which occurs in literary works, see, for example, Amv. (p. 45), is developed from ganiyi by the elision of the vowel of the second syllable and the assimilation of the two consonants thus brought together. Janni is a form similarly developed from janiyi (Amv., p. 120). Kiyā is the same as kiyayi; i in the third syllable has been assimilated to a in the second, the third syllable has dropped, and the two a's thus brought together have coalesced (Rules xvii and cv). In vana (No. 161), which obviously is the same as vanayi, the  $\bar{a}$  so formed has been shortened. Forms of the type  $kiy\bar{a}$  are not rare in literary works. Of the terminations of the third person singular given in the Sdeg.  $-\bar{a}$  is one. Of the other three,  $-\bar{e}$ , it will be seen, belongs to the passive voice. The termination -i results by the dropping of y in -yi; pavati is from pavatiyi through pavatī. The example bo given for the termination -o is from boyi through \*boyo and  $b\bar{o}$ . The development is a result of vowel-assimilation. De results from deyi by a similar process. Compare also biye which ends in -e. What have been taken as terminations indicating person and number by the Sdsg. are, in the case of -e and -o, nothing but the last vowel of the root in which the actual terminations had been merged by the working of phonetic processes. The terminations -ati and -at of the third person plural are from Skt. -anti. Vowel-assimilation has taken place in the syllable preceding the termination in many cases, e.g. hindit (No. 635), and the final vowel has dropped in some, as in kiyat.

435. With regard to the terminations of the reflexive voice, we have already dealt with those of the third person. The forms of the first and second persons, where these exist in the reflexive voice, have been built up by the addition of the personal endings to the root as modified for the third person. In the case of yemi, yem, yeti, and yet, which have been given as forms in the reflexive voice, it is also not impossible that they are really of the active voice and that the change of the vowel in the first syllable is due to the influence of i in the second which has subsequently dropped. Yemu, yemo, and yema cannot, however, be explained in this wise. Forms such as yetha might, it would seem, have originated on the analogy of balamha, &c., in the first person plural.

#### (e) INDICATIVE MOOD-PAST TENSE

436. Representative verbal forms which, according to the *Sdsg*. as well as to modern grammarians, are in the past tense of the indicative mood, occurring in our graffiti, are given below, arranged as paradigms. The incidence of these forms is such that it is not possible to complete a full paradigm of even one verb. Forms preserved by one verb, however, will help us to understand the corresponding forms in other verbs.

Ac	tive	Vo	ice

Ve 'to become'		Dan 'to know'	
Singular	Plural	1. datimi	datmo
I		3. data, dat	
2. vihi	vuyuvaha	datu	
3. <i>vuyu</i> , <i>vū</i>			
viyi, vī	ชนี		
		Kara 'to do	
Ya 't	to go'i	1. keļem keļemi	kaļamo
1. giyemi		3. keley, kele	
2. giye	giyo, giyahu	keļeyi	kaļahu
		unione estate in the	
Bala 'to look at'		E 'to come'2	
1. bälimi	bälumo	Singular	Plural
bälīmi	bälūmo	1. ayimi, āmi, ami	•.•
	bälimo	2. avahi	
3. bäli	bäliyo	3. āye, aye	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Of this verb, the present tense is from one root, Skt. yā, while the past is from another, Skt. gam.
<sup>2</sup> Forms like ayimi, too, though considered to be the

past tense of e, are in fact from a totally different root, Skt.  $\bar{a}$ - $\sqrt{gam}$ , of which only the past tense occurs.

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Kiya 'to say'		Gan 'to take'	
ı. kimi	kimo	1. gatimi, gatmi	gatmo
2. kihi		3. gati, gata	
3. <i>kī</i>		gat	
Jan 'to	o know'		
1. jatim	jatmo	Liya 'to writ	
jatmi	jattamo	1. lītimi, lītim	līmo
jatimi	jatumaha	liyimi, līmi	
	jattamaha	limi	1
3. jata	jattayuhu	3. līyi, lī	līvo

437. Unlike those of the present tense, the verbal forms given above cannot be traced back to past indicative forms in Old Indian or Middle Indian. The singular and plural forms of the third person of certain verbs, such as keļe, giye, kaļahu, giyahu, &c., do not differ from the singular and plural of the nominative declension of verbal nouns derived from the same roots (see above, § 345. 2). This gives us a clue to the origin of the verbal forms in the past tense of the indicative mood in Sinhalese. Kaļa and giya, whether declined as nouns or conjugated as verbs, are derived respectively from Skt. kṛta and gata, which are verbal nouns indicating perfected action, referred to generally as past participles passive, or preterites. Similarly, vuyu above is equivalent to Skt. bhūta, aye to Skt. āgata, kī to Skt. kathita, bäli to Pkt. bhālita, jata and data to Skt. jñāta, gat to Skt. gṛhīta, and liyi to Skt. likhita. Just as case-terminations are appended to these stems when treated as nouns, the personal endings are appended when they are used as verbs. In the case of the third person, very often it is only the context which decides whether a form like  $v\bar{u}$  or give is to be taken as a verb. There, however, arises no such ambiguity with regard to the first and second persons. The terminations mi, mo, hi, &c., also occur in the present and, as we have seen above, go back to verbal terminations in Old Indian. It is therefore possible to take it that, in the past tense, the terminations had been supplied on the analogy of the present tense.

438. These terminations are also added to nouns, mostly proper names, e.g. Dayalmi, denamo, &c. In the contexts in which such forms occur, e.g. Dayalmi mam, no jatmi (where mama is understood), &c., a verbal form is necessary in addition to the nominal forms if the sentence is to make an assertion. It is therefore reasonable to assume that -mi, -mo, -hi, &c., represent forms of the verb 'to be' in Old Indian, asmi, smah, asi, &c., respectively. Giyemi would thus be equivalent to Skt. gato 'smi, P. gato 'mhi, avahi to Skt. āgato 'si, kīmo to kathitāḥ smaḥ, and vuyuvaha to Skt. bhūtāḥ stha. In pursuance of that economy which pervades the language, to which we have drawn attention above more than once, this differentiation is done only in two persons, the third person almost always being left without the copula, but a verbal form corresponding to asti has to be understood. In Sanskrit, too, asti is very often left to be understood in such cases. It follows from this argument that, in places where y or yi comes after the third person singular or plural, kele-y or keleyi, it has to be taken as a form of the verb 'to be', equivalent to Skt. asti, P. and Pkt. atthi. With regard to the derivation of yi from Skt. asti, P. or Pkt. atthi, which would have been \*ati in Old Sinhalese (nati equivalent to Skt. nāsti, P. natthi actually occurs in a Brāhmī inscription), see Phonetic Rules Nos. lxvi, lxxv, lxxvii, cviii, lxxxiv, xii. The stems from which these verbal forms are built are derived from the form which the verbal noun had taken in the Old Indian or Middle Indian stage. The root meaning 'to do' is kara in Sinhalese, but kaļa goes back to Skt. kṛta; similarly dat goes back to Skt. jñāta. As we have noted elsewhere, of certain roots, only the verbal noun and the forms of the past tense built up from it are preserved; no verbal forms in the present tense have survived. For instance, while we have forms like giyemi, there is none in Sinhalese corresponding to Skt. gacchāmi, forms of the root, yā, e.g. yami, being used instead. Verbal forms of the second person singular as well as plural are rare in our documents. The formation of the verbal noun which is at the base of these forms of the past tense, its nature and functions and its history, will be dealt with in the appropriate sections (§§ 509 ff.). Verbal forms of the reflexive voice in the past tense are not very many in our graffiti. Pähädini, pänini, kärune, vunā, uno are examples. They are formed by the addition of the appropriate terminations to the reflexive form of the verbal noun in question. The process by which the reflexive form of this verbal noun is built up will be dealt with in § 512.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the grammatical maxim asti bhavatyor adhyāhāraḥ.

439. Though the verbal forms of the past tense noticed above are new formations in Sinhalese, there appear to be certain others which can be traced back directly to verbal forms of similar character in Middle Indian, i.e. to forms of the aorist in which the augment has been dropped. Such verbal forms are very common in Pāli. Visi (resided in), for instance, can be derived from P. vasī or some other similar form in a Prakrit dialect. The verbal noun of the root is found in Sinhalese as visū and there are forms of the past tense built up from it such as visuye, visuvo, visuvemi, &c. Similarly, bäli may be taken as derived from an aorist form without the augment, while bälu is certainly derived from the verbal noun. Musi can be equated with P. muñci, nävati with P. nivatti, bini with P. bhaṇī, nämī with P. nami, kändavī with kandāpayi, pirivi with pūrayī, nivi with P. nibbāpayī. Similar forms are frequently met with in the older literature. Very often, a Sinhalese form derived from the verbal noun of perfected action in the Old Indian and from an aorist in the Middle Indian would have assumed identical form due to the working of phonetic laws; bini, for instance, might be derived either from Middle Indian bhanita or from bhanī. The verbal form äsīmi (third person singular äsī) might equally well be derived from the aorist form in the Middle Indian, e.g. P. assosim, assosi. If so, the forms of the present tense asayi, asami, &c., have to be taken as built up on the analogy of the past tense. In this way the Skt. root śru has become asa in Sinhalese.<sup>2</sup>

440. The variant forms in the terminations are due to the different workings of phonetic processes, mostly vowel-assimilation, vowel-dissimilation, duplication of intervocalic consonants liable to elision and the dropping of the final vowel. The terminations of the first and second persons have been explained above. The differentiation of the past from the present tense which the Sdsg makes by assuming the vowels i before -mi and -m in the singular, and the vowel u before -mu, -mo, -mha and -mhu in the plural, of the first person in the past tense, is quite arbitrary, and not supported by the actual verbal forms occurring in our graffiti or in literature. In the third person singular, the termination -e is really the nominative singular. The terminations -i and -u given in the Sdsg are the final vowels of the crude form of the verbal noun; -i is appropriate to verbal forms derived from a orists in Middle Indian. The terminations of the third person plural as given in the Sdsg.,  $-\bar{u}$ , -u, -o, -un, are also in reality those of the nominative plural; -ha and -hu may be forms of the verb 'to be' (see § 438), corresponding to y and yi after the singular, as in kele-y or kele-yi.

# (f) INDICATIVE MOOD—FUTURE TENSE

441. Verbal forms of the type miyanemi, yannamo (first person singular and plural), vanneyi (third person singular), which Geiger, in agreement with the author of the Sdsg., takes to be of the future tense of the indicative mood, are not rare in our documents. These forms, as Geiger has pointed out, are built up by appending the personal suffixes, or more accurately the appropriate forms of the verb 'to be', to the inflected forms of the verbal noun generally referred to as the present participle. How such verbal nouns are declined in the manner of substantives is shown in § 345. The forms of the nominative are identical with those of the third person and, in the case of these, it is the context alone which decides whether a form like balanne has to be taken as a noun or as a verb. In the case of the first person, e.g. sahannemi, banannamo, and the second person, of which forms are not represented in our documents, the terminations leave no room for doubt that we are dealing with verbal forms.

442. The formation, functions, and history of the verbal nouns which are at the base of the forms quoted above will be examined in §§ 507 ff.; it may be stated here that yanne, for instance, when it is a substantive, means 'goer' or 'one who goes'. In usage, therefore, this verbal noun exactly corresponds in meaning to the Sanskrit nomen agentis formed by the suffix tr, of which the Sinhalese has preserved no traces excepting in a few words in which the suffix is not recognized as such. Skt. kartā, for instance, should be translated into Sinhalese by karanne if the older classical idiom is to be followed, or karannā according to later usage; S. yanne is equivalent to Skt. yātā or gantā. Sinhalese verbal forms classed as of the future tense in the Sdsg., therefore, exactly correspond, in the manner of their formation, to the periphrastic future in Sanskrit, which consists of a form of the verbal noun with the suffix -tr to which is added a form of the verb 'to be'. S. yannemi is literally Skt. yātā 'smi, yanne is yātā. Exactly as in Sanskrit, the copula or the form of the verb 'to be' is omitted in the third person. We have seen above that, in building up the verbal forms of the past tense, the Sinhalese has merely extended the principle of the Sanskrit periphrastic future to another tense, and with the aid of a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Geiger, P.L.L., p. 190.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For Geiger's explanation see G.S.L., § 141.

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different verbal noun. In miyanemi the n is not duplicated, whereas it is so in sahannemi. These verbal forms with the duplicated n have to be considered as a later stage in their evolution; forms with the single n represent an earlier stage, but not necessarily of an earlier absolute date. The duplication of the intervocalic n took place in order to prevent its change (Rule cix).

- 443. Thus far we have been quite happy with our future. It is found to have affinities with a grammatical form of ancient lineage in Sanskrit<sup>1</sup> and, with regard to its functions, there is a measure of agreement between the grammatical authority which has enjoyed the undisputed allegiance of the Sinhalese for seven centuries and the modern authority on Sinhalese commanding the highest respect in academic circles—a happy circumstance which does not occur very often. It thus seems that we have nothing more to do about it. If we, however, act in accordance with the excellent maxim of the Sdsg., that the final arbiter on grammar is authoritative usage, and investigate the manner in which such forms as those quoted in the preceding paragraph have been actually used in our graffiti and in literary works of the highest standing, there is, nevertheless, reason for our equanimity of mind with regard to the future being somewhat disturbed.
- 444. (a) Let us therefore examine some of the contexts in which verbal forms to be treated as of the future tense according to Geiger and the Sdsg. are found in our graffiti. In molokak viya pahannemi (No. 304) 'I shall be gratified should there arise any tenderness in you', pahannemi obviously refers to the future, for the stanza complains of the hardness of the lady to whom it is addressed, and tenderness is a state yet to arise in her. In the phrase pavehi ā kenek matu me janane (No. 527), janane refers to the future since the word matu is used in the sentence, but the verbal form janane has something of the imperative sense in it (see § 464 below). In digäsni kum kot sahannemi (No. 123), the verbal form may be taken as future, for it may refer to a becoming which had not yet taken place at the time of speaking. On the other hand, in the sentence väni vä tama das vī äti da sita tada vanne yi (No. 487) 'though it is as if one has become a slave (to her, her) heart becomes hard', there is obviously no sense of the future in vanne yi, for the state existing in the mind of the speaker is contrasted with that in the lady spoken about. Both states are referred to as coexisting. Similarly, in saga-van beyand ā kala vannemi balay sita tos (No. 536) 'when I am come to the rock-side which is like unto heaven, I, having looked at it, become pleased of mind', vannemi does not refer to a future happening, for the speaker had already looked at the scene and had become susceptible to its reactions. In eta magā digās balane ya (No. 518) 'when I come, the long-eyed one observes and looks at me', balane clearly refers to what was actually happening at the time of speaking; it is difficult to prove a reference here to a future happening. When the ladies in the Sigiri painting are made to say baṇavata no me baṇannumu hida gala keleyin Sigiri (No. 208) 'we do not speak when you speak to us, for our hearts had been turned into stone at Sigiri', they speak of the condition existing at that time, and it is difficult to imagine that they are speaking of what they will refrain from doing in the future. Again in no-vi sihi yannamaha (No. 180) 'we go away, you being not remembered' and ävid yannamo asadin (No. 647) 'O faithless ones, having come here, we go away', the context appears to be clear on the point that the speakers utter the words whilst going away.
- (b) On the other hand, in the sentence piya-pahasa me digäsa sandehi lat vemi suvapat (No. 536) 'when I obtain the sweet embraces of this long-eyed one, I shall become happy', the state of being happy will occur only when the favour of the lady spoken about shall have been obtained; the speaker clearly had not yet obtained it at the time of speaking. He therefore refers to a becoming in the future. This is a place where the future tense ought to have been used; but what we find is vemi, a verbal form in the present tense. From the examples we have examined, we find that verbal forms accepted as of the future tense by grammarians have been used in some contexts with the meaning of the future clearly indicated; in others, such forms have been used in contexts where their interpretation as indicating future action is hardly necessary. There is also at least one example where a verbal form of the present tense is used when the action expressed is one that had not yet begun.
- 445. We now proceed to examine the literary usage with regard to this matter, taking first the *Dhag.*, a text not far removed in date from, and representing a stage of development of, the language almost the same as in the majority of our documents. Moreover, the *Dhag.* being concerned with giving the Sinhalese equivalents of words selected from a Pāli text, the grammatical significance of the Sinhalese word can be compared with that of the Pāli, concerning which we are on firm ground. Geiger

(G.S.L., § 149. 3) has quoted three examples from this text, which are future forms according to the Sdsg., given as equivalents of similar Pāli forms. I may quote some more: P. titikhhissam = S. sahanem (p. 74), P. vahissāmi = S. usulanemi (p. 98), P. mūlam karissāmi = S. vat upayanem (p. 98), P. tvam kim karissasi = S. tepi kum karannohu (p. 113), P. pasādhessāmi = S. palandanem (p. 121), P. sattham āharissāmi = S. sät aranem (p. 124), P. pariganhissāmi nam ti = S. piriksanamha mohu yi (p. 134), P. upaṭṭhahissāmi = S. mehe karanem (p. 181). In the above examples, a Pāli word in the future tense is paraphrased by a Sinhalese word which is of the type called future in Sdsg. It is, however, significant that, after giving the literal meaning of P. sattham āharissāmi as sät aranem, where the Sinhalese equivalent of the future form of the Pāli agrees with the future form in Sinhalese as laid down by the grammarians, the author of the Dhag. also gives a freer rendering of explanatory character, which reads sätin pähärä piyami yū sē yi. Here the verbal form is not of the future tense according to the grammarians, but is of the present tense.

446. On the other hand, there are in *Dhag*. examples of a future tense form in Pāli being paraphrased by a present tense form in Sinhalese. To give a few examples: P. vinā karissati = S. viyo kereyi (p. 46), P. gamissati = S. yē (p. 166), P. paṭijaggissanti = S. piṭijagit (p. 171), P. pasāressāmi = S. paharam (p. 11), P. attham karissāmi = S. hiya keremi (p. 14), P. kēṭissāmi = S. keṭimha (p. 124). In the Padasādhana-sannaya, a Sinhalese paraphrase of a Pāli grammar, P. karissāmi is rendered into Sinhalese by keremi (p. 268), P. bhikkhissāmi by S. bhikṣā keremi, i.e. forms in the future tense in Pāli are equated with present tense forms in Sinhalese. In the Sinhalese paraphrase of the Jānakīharaṇa, a Sanskrit poem, we find similar irregularities. In the following examples Sanskrit verbal forms of future tense are rendered into Sinhalese by forms which, according to the Sdsg., are of that tense: Skt. yāsyati = S. yannē (Canto IV, v. 28), Skt. dāsyasi = S. dennehi (X. 89). On the other hand, Sinhalese forms accepted as belonging to the future tense are used as equivalents of present tense forms in Sanskrit, e.g. Skt. nātti = S. no kanne (IV. 26), Skt. yāti = S. päminenne (VI. 27), Skt. karosi = S. karannehi (I. 83).

447. In literary works of a character more original than these paraphrases of Sanskrit and Pāli texts, we come across examples of verbal forms in the present tense in contexts where the meaning clearly refers to the future. In the Srvl. (p. 49) we read behedak kerem dä yi vicāļōya. Here a physician asks from a person suffering from an eye disease whether he should treat the latter. The reference clearly is to an action not yet started at the time of the conversation referred to. Again, on the same page, we read näti karavā lūvot . . . mama numbaṭa das vemi. Here, too, the speaker undertakes to become the physician's slave in the event of the eye disease being cured. As this cure had not yet been effected, the becoming a slave was an action yet to take place; a future form is needed according to the rules of grammarians, but a verb in the present tense is used instead. In the Kskh. (X. 105), we read manga ränduna ada tō nasi, geta giya ambuva nasi. This occurs in a prophecy made by a deity, and refers to what will happen in the future in a certain eventuality, and not to any action takingplace at the time of speaking. The verbal forms used, however, are of the present tense, the first nasi being a contracted form of nasihi and the second of nasiyi. Again, in the Gk. (v. 193), is the sentence silpa sat-veni davasa dakvami. The character who speaks in this verse promises to do a certain thing on the seventh day from that on which he is speaking. The action referred to is not one which has already begun, it should therefore have been expressed by the future tense, but the verb used is in the present tense.

448. How are we to explain this state of affairs with regard to the future tense of verbs, in which the usage in our graffiti seems to be not very different from that in the literary works? We are perhaps not justified in drawing any final conclusions from the instances quoted above, without making a more detailed examination of literary works of different periods—a task for which this is clearly not the place; but I venture to draw these inferences from the facts given above. That the Sdsg. quoted examples of the type yannemi, karanne, &c., as verbal forms of the future tense is sufficient proof that they were taken as such in his time, if not by all learned men of the day, at least by a considerable number of them. Here, however, the judgement of the Sdsg. is evidently not based on conclusions arrived at by any thorough examination of literary usage, and the position is far too generalized. It is possible that verbal forms built up on the verbal noun in -na did not originally express the future tense, but were used indiscriminately to denote future actions as well as present. This supposition is in accord with the known etymology of such words. Verbal forms of the present tense were also

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employed to denote future action. This means that there was really no distinction between the present and the future in the conjugation of the Sinhalese verb, just as is the case in the spoken language today. The grammarians, however, on the analogy of Pāli and Sanskrit, considered that the distinction of the three tenses must be a necessary feature in every language, and made the forms of the verbal noun in -na specialize in this sense, influenced perhaps by the formation of the periphrastic future in Sanskrit and Pāli. No doubt, many writers of the time accepted this theory of the grammarians, and tried to conform to it. The inherited tendencies of the language, however, proved too strong for them as well as for the grammarians, as they will undoubtedly prove for those who today are striving to model Sinhalese on Bengali or English. The spoken language went on its way, ignoring the systematizers, but the written literature reflects their efforts in numerous places, in varying degrees in different authors. This explanation presupposes that the grammarians had been at work on the language, if not at the date of our graffiti, at least as early as the time of the *Dhag*.

449. Another satisfactory explanation is also possible from a standpoint diametrically opposed to that taken in the preceding paragraph. It is possible that verbal forms built up from the verbal noun in -na were originally indicative of the future—a conjecture which gains support from the examination of the contexts in which this verbal noun occurs in the early Brāhmī inscriptions of Ceylon. In the phrase ato-vasahi . . . ariya-vasa karana maha biku-sagahata, occurring in the Tonigala inscription of Srīmeghavarṇa, karana obviously does not refer to an action which was going on at the time of the drafting of that record, or even at the time of its engraving. It refers to an action which would have taken place at a specified future occasion. In the Habarana inscription, jaganaka, in the phrase gahacetahi jaganaka hamananataya, also refers to an action conceived as that which would take place after the time at which the document was drafted.<sup>2</sup> The author of the Sdsg., when he gives the forms of the future tense in the indicative mood, may very well be referring to what was valid during a period much anterior to his own, i.e. he was simply repeating what earlier authorities had said. In the course of time, however, the verbal noun in -na and forms based on it came to assume the meaning of the present, without, however, making the forms conforming to the older usage obsolete. Thus we have, in one and the same author, evidence for both usages. When a verbal form like karanne came to be treated as indicative of the present, it was but natural to use in its stead present tense forms like karayi.

450. In our documents, however, there are a few verbal forms of a different type regarding which there is no doubt that they refer to action in the future. I refer to kiyavi (No. 75), evi (No. 465), and yavi (No. 543). There is no doubt that the phrase tā kiyavi guṇa e-naravarā means 'the virtues of that king will be related by you', evi he means 'he will come', and taman divi yavi 'their lives will go away'. It is also certain that these forms correspond to kiyāvi, ēvi, and yāvi in modern colloquial speech. Such verbal forms ending in -vi are frequently used in the modern spoken language when it is necessary to refer to an action that will take place in the future, e.g. vähi vahīvi 'it will rain', gaha väṭēvi 'the tree will fall down', eyā heṭa ēvi 'he will come tomorrow'. So far as the modern spoken language is concerned, forms of this type can fairly be called the only future forms existing in it. But, so far as I am aware, these forms have not succeeded in gaining an entry into literary works, and have not been taken notice of in the Sdsg. Modern writers on Sinhalese grammar, too, have shown an aristocratic attitude to such plebeian forms to a degree even greater than did the author of the Sdsg.<sup>3</sup> The occurrence of forms like kiyavi in our graffiti is proof that these plebeian forms, constantly in the mouths of the people, are not words of yesterday, but are possessed of a lineage of high antiquity. I trace them back to gerundives in Old Indian ending in -tavya. Yavi, for instance, is yātavya 'should go'. If a person 'should go', it is but natural to presume that he 'will go'. It is quite in accordance with this etymology that forms like yāvi are not used in the modern language in connexion with the first person. For there is some element of doubt in the meaning of the gerundive of the Old Indian. And when one speaks of one's own self, one should not be in doubt. Such verbal forms have no distinction of person and number in modern usage. The part played by the gerundive in the formation of other moods will be discussed in §§ 465 and 466, and the traces of the gerundive itself in its own meaning, forthcoming in our graffiti, will be examined in §§ 497 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ep. Zey., vol. iii, p. 178. <sup>2</sup> A.I.C., No. 61. 'take according to usage', is comprehensive enough to <sup>3</sup> The basic rule of the Sdsg., vaharanuseren sapayā include such forms.

### (g) CAUSATIVE VERBS

451. Another distinction which every Sinhalese verb expresses by its own form, and not by means of the syntax or by being compounded with some other word, is the difference between an action effected by the agent himself and that mediated by the instrumentality of another person. In the latter case, the causative form of the verb must be employed. This pervading distinction, characteristic of the language as it is spoken today, had already established itself, it seems, long before the time of our graffiti. From the point of view of Sinhalese, forgetting for the moment its historical evolution, it can be said that the causative is formed by adding -va between what can be taken as the verbal root and the suffixes denoting person and number; thus karavaya (No. 352) 'having caused to be done' is the causative form of karay1 (No. 393) 'having done', both from the root kara 'to do'. The verbal root with the element -va added to it can be conjugated in all the voices, moods, tenses, and persons applicable to the simple root. This suffix -va indicates the causative in the language of our graffiti and in literary works extant of all periods, as well as in the modern spoken language; it is also found performing the same function in Sinhalese documents as early as the second century. Compare, for instance, the verbal form paharavaya in an inscription of Vasabha (circa A.D. 66-110).2 In the earliest Sinhalese documents, however, the causative is formed by -pa, of which -va is the development by the working of Phonetic Rule No. lxxxvi. These early forms make it obvious that -va of the Sinhalese causative mood is derived from the causative sign with p appended to roots in final a in Old Indian (Skt. dāpayati = S. devayi). In Pāli the formative element -paya or -pe is restricted to roots in a; so in Prakrit is the use of ve which corresponds to P. -paya or -pe. In Sinhalese, however, this has been generalized, and has become the causative sign for all verbs.

452. Some types of causative forms occurring in our graffiti are as follows: vahavam, vahavamha, siţvay (active voice, first and third person), vähävey or vähäveyi, vähävet (reflexive voice, third person singular and plural, present tense), bänavi, karavuye, pirivi, kiyävūha (active voice, third person singular and plural, past tense). The causatives in verbal forms other than the indicative mood will be noticed when each of them is considered separately in its turn in the sequel. The meaning of a verb is slightly modified at times in the causative; bana, for instance, means 'to speak', but various forms of banava, such as banavata and banavanno, appear, from the context, to have the meaning 'to call'. Vaha means 'to bear up' but vähävet may be interpreted as 'endure themselves'. In the modern language dakina va means 'he sees', but dakkana va, i.e. dakvana va, has the meaning 'he drives (a bull, car, &c.)', i.e. 'he makes one to see, or points out the way'. In certain verbs the connexion between the causative form and the corresponding form in the simple indicative mood is not quite obvious in the past tense; for instance, one may not at once recognize that karavuye is the causative of kele. This is due to the fact that kele is built up from a verbal noun which had already assumed its form in Old Indian, while the causative form goes back to its prototype in Middle Indian. In piribun (No. 184) there is no morphological sign of the causative, but the context in which the word is used indicates that it had that meaning. This also is derived from a verbal noun which had already assumed its character and form in Old Indian, i.e. paribhinna. Kenda-no-vana (No. 254) is an interesting form; the negative participle no has been inserted between the root and the causative sign. Perhaps this is due to erroneously taking -vana as a verbal noun (present participle) formed from the root ve 'to become'.

453. As pointed out by the Sdsg., an intransitive verb when used in the causative becomes a transitive verb. For this rule we can give the following example from our graffiti. In the sentence nana sitvind a situvay (No. 541), situvay is a causative form from the intransitive root siti; but it has an object, sit-vindi. A parallel may be quoted from the spoken language of today: nāna va 'to bathe' is an intransitive verb, e.g. mama nāna va 'I bathe'. When this same verb is in the causative, it becomes transitive, e.g. mama lamaya nāvana va 'I bathe the child'. In this way the Sinhalese usage is more rigorous and exact than the usage, for instance, in English, where there is ambiguity in the verb 'bathe' when taken out of its context in a sentence. The Sdsg. also lays down that a transitive verb, when in the causative form, has more than one object; the particle lava being used after the word which expresses

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In this verbal form the final vowel has dropped, while it is retained in *karavaya*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ep. Zey., vol. i, p. 69.

<sup>3</sup> Compare, for example, karapitaśe (P. kārāpita) in

the Periyapuliyankulama Cave Inscription, A.S.C.A.R. for 1905, p. 45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Akam sakam vē piyadum lada visāhi (Sdsg., op. cit., p. 149).

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the actual agent who in fact is the person directed. One example of this can be quoted from our graffiti: ohu lavay anek täneka galak bindvayu (No. 615). In this sentence, according to the Sdsg., ohu and galak are both objects of the causative verbal form bindvayu. In actual fact, however, lavā (earlier form lavay, as it occurs in our graffito) is itself a causative absolutive verbal form and ohu in this sentence is the object of lavā, while galak is the object of bindvayu. The literal translation of the above sentence should be 'set him (to do it) and cause a stone to be broken in another place'. The justification for this rule of the Sdsg. is that the verbal character of lavā (lavay) had been forgotten at an early date, and that it is treated for all practical purposes as a particle.

454. The vowel in the syllable of the root preceding the causative sign often undergoes phonetic changes, e.g. sitvay and situvay from the root siti; but, in the period of our graffiti, it appears to have been considered imperative to preserve the causative sign intact without allowing it to be subjected to phonetic changes. So far as I have been able to ascertain, the position is also the same with regard to this matter in the classical language. In the spoken language of today, however, while the tendency to preserve the -va is definitely noticeable, there are numerous examples in which v has been assimilated to the preceding consonant, e.g. riddana and dakkana for the earlier ridavana and dakvana.

455. One cannot, of course, expect to find in our graffiti examples to illustrate all the ramifications of the causative verb of the time. For the matter of that, no literary work, whatever its length, can include all the possible verbal forms in an inflexional language, such as Sinhalese undoubtedly has remained to a great measure up to the present. It is only by an examination of the living speech that this can be done; and this is beyond the scope of our present enquiry. It may, however, be not altogether out of place here to draw attention to some glaring errors of Geiger with regard to the causative in Sinhalese. Geiger says that it is not every verb which forms a causative, and includes the whole of his Class III conjugation among those which have no causative. As we have pointed out above, what he calls a separate class of verbs are in fact the reflexive stems of certain roots. The causative must obviously be formed in the active voice from the primary root and not from the stem of the reflexive voice. Examine, for example, what he takes as the stem of a separate verb in Conjugation III, made. The root is mada, which is conjugated in the active voice as (1) madimi, madimo, (2) madihi, madihu, (3) madiyi and madit. In the reflexive voice it is conjugated as mädemi, mädemo, mädehi, mädehu, mädeyi, and mädet. The causative, if active, will be conjugated as madavayi, &c. But this is not all: even what he takes as the stem of Conjugation III, which in his opinion has no causative, has in fact causative forms in actual use in the mouths of the people, e.g. mädavena; it can therefore be regularly conjugated in the causative as mädavemi, &c.

456. In such verbs it is the root to which the causative sign has been added that is modified to form the stem of the reflexive voice. Thus, many roots have four different stems in conjugation, e.g. dama, damava, däme, and dämave. Very often phonetic changes have obscured the process, for instance the form damavayi is actually pronounced dammayi and dämaveyi as dämmeyi. The subject is so complicated that, for one who is not able to converse in Sinhalese, it is quite impossible to comprehend all its details. It is, therefore, no wonder that Geiger has failed to understand it. As a matter of fact, it can be stated that every Sinhalese root is potentially capable of developing causative forms, but in actual practice jarring sounds are avoided by the dropping of the causative sign -va when the root itself has va as its final syllable; or rather, the two va's coming one after the other are contracted for euphonic reasons. Thus, a Sinhalese speaker would hardly use such a form as \*tavavanava. Geiger has included certain forms as double causatives because he has not understood the phonetic changes involved in them. Addavana, for instance, is taken as a double causative because, according to him, the causative sign -va has been added to addana which itself is causative. Both these forms are derived from adavana. The dropping of the vowel in the second syllable gave rise to advana, which by the assimilation of consonants became addana. In another direction, the -d- in the second syllable was duplicated to avert its elision (Phonetic Rule cix) and gave rise to addavana.

#### (h) IMPERATIVE MOOD

457. Various types of verbal forms in the imperative mood, found in our documents, are given below: Type 1: Identical in form with the verbal root or stem. Examples: bala, baṇa, kiya, va, yā, ya, jan, asa, hadahava, vada, gan.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Buhu-kam sakam piyadum ladahaṭa lavā hā vē (Sdsg., op. cit., p. 149).

- Type 2: Formed by adding -hi to the verbal root or stem. Examples: balahi, dehi, yahi.
- Type 3: Formed by adding -va. Examples: sahava, deva, yava, kiyava.
- Type 4: This adds the termination -u to the verbal root or stem which at times undergoes phonetic changes. Examples: janu, daku, hangu, hidu, pavatu, ganu, ayu, kiyu, ganū (length of u metris causa), elavanu, basu.
- Type 5: Adds -ga to type 1 or 4. Examples: jahaga, kiyaga, ganuga, dahaga.
- Type 6: Adds -yu to the verbal root or stem. Examples: vasayu, piriksayu, balayu, banayu, situyu, vayu, bandvayu, bindvayu.
- Type 7: Formed by adding -vu or -v to the verbal root or stem. Examples: balavu, paharavu, salav, devu, erev, sitav.
- Type 8: Adds -ne, -nne, or -nnä to the root or stem. Examples: yane, janane, balane, lanne, balanne, yanne, asvasannä.
- Type 9: Formed by adding -nu to the root or stem. Examples: yanu, lanu, karanu.
- Type 10: Has the termination -na or -n added to the root or stem. Examples: vana, van, balan, yan, tepalan, nävaten, asan, kiyan, patan, mahavan.

The solitary example kärä may be included in a Type 11.

458. In  $y\bar{a}$  (root ya) the length of the vowel is due perhaps to open pronunciation and the form may not be considered as differing from the root for this reason. Jan and gan are liable to be confused with forms of Type 10, but imperative forms of Type 10, e.g. yan, have an extra element added to the root, whereas jan and gan do not differ from the root (see above, § 457). Hadahava can also be mistaken to be of Type 3, but the -va is not the termination of the imperative, but the sign of the causative, the root being hadaha; thus hadahava does not differ in form from the stem. Ayu and kiyu, if we go by the terminal syllable, can be included in Type 6; the roots, however, are not a and ki. In situyu, the vowel in the last syllable of the root, siti, has been assimilated to that in the next. In bandvayu and bindvayu, the half-nasal has been restored to full and the final vowel of the root elided (banda or bandi and bindi). Salav can be treated as an orthographic variant of salavu. Nävaten is of the reflexive voice; the corresponding form in the active voice would have been navatin.

459. The Sdsg. states that the imperative in Sinhalese may refer to the present or the future, but without any morphological differentiation. The usage in our documents agrees with this. It also states that the imperative is concerned with the second person as well as the third. It definitely excludes the first person. We have suggested above (§433) that the verbal form kelimu in our graffiti and similar forms found in the literature as well as in modern speech have perhaps to be treated as imperatives. The Sdsg., however, probably on logical grounds, does not admit them to be imperatives, but treats them as of the indicative mood. One does not, he might have argued, command one's own self. Morphologically there is no distinction between the second and the third person in the imperative mood. There are, of course, numerous contexts in which some person or persons are addressed in the vocative case and an entreaty made or a command given, e.g. mahavan helillambiyen (No. 75 b) 'do forgive us, O fair damsels'. In all such cases, however, one has to understand 'you' or 'thou'.

460. Though not taken into account in the Sdsg., the imperative mood has the distinction of number in Sinhalese. Of the types given above, I to 5 appear to be of the singular number, 6 and 7 of the plural. Imperatives of the other types appear to be without distinction of number. There are, however, examples of an imperative form of a type taken to be in the singular used after the vocative plural, e.g. beyadahi rana-vanini no baṇa (No. 128). In this sentence it is natural to assume that baṇa is plural; or, if singular, wrongly used here, as the persons to whom the request is made are addressed in the plural. If the reading baṇa is not to be amended by assuming that a letter is missing after ṇa, we may explain the form by taking it that each 'golden-coloured one' is entreated individually, though they are addressed collectively.

461. Now to deal with these various types historically: the use of the verbal root or stem as the imperative mood is not altogether an innovation in Sinhalese. We know that, in certain classes of roots in Sanskrit and Pāli, the imperative form in the second person singular of the active voice does not differ from the present stem. The second person singular of the imperative mood of the root  $bh\bar{u}$ ,

<sup>1</sup> Vatman anā rū no ven vä hota anadarin Adarin ho ta an sabadahaṭa vidahan vidi nam (Sdsg., op. cit., p. 151.) GRAMMAR cxliii

for instance, is bhava, which is also the present stem. Labha is the second person singular of the imperative mood in Pāli of the root labh, the present stem of which is labha. As we have shown above, the imperative forms in Sinhalese, which are the same as the stem, are in the second person singular. What has happened in Sinhalese is that a feature peculiar to a few classes of roots in Old Indian has been extended to others. The tendency to reduce all verbs to one type was already noticeable in the Middle Indian period. The forms of the second type, e.g. balahi, can also be traced back to prototypes in Old Indian and Middle Indian. In Pāli, for instance, labhāhi is used as the second person singular of the imperative mood side by side with labha. In Sanskrit, too, there are forms like krīnīhi, which are built up by adding -hi to the present stem of the root, in the second person singular of the imperative mood. Imperatives which are formed by adding -va to the verbal stem are taken by Geiger to be of the plural number, and are derived from second person plural forms in Pāli ending in -tha, e.g. marava is equated with P. māretha (G.S.L., § 168. 6). The use of imperatives in -va in the singular number is very much more frequent than their use in the plural; the latter can be explained in the same way as the use of bana in the sentence rana-vanini no bana quoted above. Geiger's assumption that the imperatives in -va are developed from corresponding forms in -ga is also without justification. He has adduced no evidence in support of his assumption that a form like kiyaga, for instance, belongs to an earlier stage of linguistic development than kiyava. The explanation of forms like kiyaga (Type 5) will be given below. In my opinion, the element -va in imperatives like deva is itself the imperative form of the root ve 'to become', and was added to those forms which did not differ from the stem. It was probably realized that a form like de or bana was not sufficiently differentiated morphologically to express the required distinction of mood, and thus the imperative form of ve was added to make the meaning quite clear. When we come to deal with the optative mood, we shall meet with an analogous use of a form of the root ve. Forms of Type 4 are, in my opinion, a further development from Type 3, due to normal phonological processes. Janu, for instance, is evolved from janava; -va is contracted to -u (phonological Rule xiii). Daku is from daki-va which, by the elision of the vowel in the second syllable (Rule xxxiii) and the samprasāraņa of -va, gives rise to the shorter form. Similarly hangu, hidu, pavatu, and ganu are from hanga-va, hidi-va, pavati-va, and gan-va. Ayu is from e-va. -va after it is contracted to -u causes the preceding e to be resolved to ay (Rule iii). Kiyu is from kiyava, through kiyau.

462. With regard to imperatives of Type 5, though Geiger takes them to be earlier forms of those ending in -va, he does not make any attempt to explain the element -ga in them. A distinction to which the Sdsg. pointedly draws attention in its definition of the imperative mood puts us on the right track in our search for the origin of -ga. An imperative, according to the Sdsg., not only indicates tense and person, but also whether the verbal form expresses a courteous request or one lacking in courtesy (anadarin hota adarin ho)—an imperious command or a humble prayer. The same form of the imperative obviously is not suitable for addressing our equals or inferiors as well as our superiors. One would today find oneself in trouble if one were not mindful of the varying types of imperative used when carrying on a conversation in Sinhalese. With these facts in mind, let us examine one of the imperatives in -ga found in our graffiti. In No. 610 we read kiyaga siki-sanda, &c., in which a friend is addressed in a very respectful manner with the honorific sanda. In keeping with this form of respectful address we must also assume that the imperative kiyaga, by which he is besought to do something, is a courteous form of the imperative. It would eminently suit this interpretation if we should take -ga (or -aga, for the initial a can coalesce with the preceding vowel) to be the same as Skt. anga, a particle meaning 'pray' used in exhortations. Kiyaga thus would mean 'say, pray' or 'say, please' and is really an imperative verbal form with a particle joined to it.

463. Imperatives of Type 6, which are plural, I take to be connected etymologically with corresponding forms in Old Indian. Vasayu, for instance, is the same as Skt. vasata. The dropping of -t- and the introduction of -y- would result in vasaya (Rule lxxxiv). The dissimilation of the final vowel is in accord with Rules xxxvii and xxxviii following the process explained in detail in §§ 171 ff. Similarly, vayu can be traced back to Skt. bhavata. Here, as elsewhere, the tendency to reduce the different classes of verbal roots in Old Indian to one type is clearly evident. Imperatives of Type 7 are evolved from those of Type 6. Balavu, for instance, is the same as balayu; the -y- has changed to -v-(Rule civ). The dropping of the final vowel gives rise to a form like salav (for salavu). It may even be explained as nothing more than an orthographical peculiarity (see§ 71). Geiger's attempt to connect

imperatives ending in -vu with second person plural forms of the present tense of the active voice in the indicative mood is a mere guess without any basis in linguistic data.

464. The necessity to express one's desire to have a thing done, without seeming to order others about, must have exercised the minds of people in earlier times as it certainly does today, and must have had some influence on the development of grammatical forms. It is, in my opinion, this necessity which gave rise to imperatives of Types 8 to 10. It follows that, to begin with, these did not have the character of imperatives. Those verbal forms which, for centuries past, had been imperatives, must have gradually acquired a bad odour which could not be totally effaced even by association with a word meaning 'pray' or 'please'. Some form of expression had therefore to be found which did not need the imperative at all. The gerundive, the use of which in its original meaning is exemplified in our graffiti (see below, §§ 497-9), was found suitable for this purpose. With it one can express one's desire to have a thing done without directly giving a command. Instead of saying 'you do this' one can, with the gerundive, say 'this should be done'. Forms like janane, balanne, &c., which are imperative in meaning, can be derived from gerundives formed with the suffix -anīya. In Sanskrit this suffix was added to a particular class of roots only, 1 but it is not difficult to imagine that, in spoken dialects which were the precursors of the languages now current, the suffix -aniya was generalized and added to roots which, according to Pāṇini, should form their gerundives with the aid of the suffix -tavya. The suffix -anīya becomes -neyya in Pāli; an ungrammatical form like \*jānanīya (for the correct jñātavya) would have become jananeya in Old Sinhalese, which, by the normal phonological processes (Rules xvii, cv, i, xvi), can result in the janane of our documents. Similarly, Skt. yānīya, through the Middle Indian \*yāneyya, could have become \*yaneya and yanne in Sinhalese. For the duplication of -n- see Phonetic Rule No. cix. Forms ending in -nu can also be derived from gerundives in -anīya in Old Indian. Skt. karanīya, for instance, is karaneyya in Pāli. In Old Sinhalese this would have been \*karaneya. e in the third syllable would have become assimilated to a in accordance with Rule xvii and the word would have taken the form \*karaṇaya. At that stage it was possible for it to have developed to \*karana, but the phonological process which we have detailed in §§ 171 ff. stepped in and transformed it to karanu through \*karanayu, \*karanuyu, and \*karanu. For the change of n to n see § 250 and Rule cxi.

465. Imperative forms like *karanu* have thus nothing to do with verbal nouns (wrongly called infinitives) of the same form, for the derivation of which see §§ 350 and 508. It is accident which has led these two to assume identical forms. Forms in -ä, like *asvasannä*, are due to the final -e being changed to -ä. Modern forms like *yanna*, enna, &c., are from *yanne*, enne, &c., by vowel assimilation. Imperatives of the type *karanu* and *yanu* are due to the intervention of what we have called the conservative tendency when their prototypes stood as \*karaṇaya and \*yanaya. Many imperative forms have developed without the intervention of the conservative tendency, under the influence of its opposite, the progressive tendency. Thus \*yanaya has become yan through \*yanā and \*yana; karaṇaya has become karan through \*karaṇā and \*karana. The form vana is from vanaya (Ep. Zey., vol. iii, p. 178) through \*vanā. Imperatives of Type 10 are the result of this phonological process working on gerundives. The rare imperative form kärä (Type 11) is possibly to be connected with Skt. kāraya (phonological Rules xvi, cix, xxvii, xvii, cv, i, xvi); the causative character of the prototype is not preserved in the derived form.

466. The negative particle no can be prefixed to any imperative form; examples are very common in our graffiti: no yan (No. 196), no bala (No. 523), no van (No. 304), &c. They need no comment. The prohibitive form of exhortation in No. 39 a is, however, of great interest; for in the sentence epa unhi tabanna äsi we have the earliest known instance of the use of what has now, in effect, become the prohibitive particle in Sinhalese. The expression tabanna epa (for the words have to be so taken in prose order) may be heard in ordinary conversation among the Sinhalese today, and exactly corresponds to such homely phrases as yanna epa, enna epa, karanna epa, &c.² Tabanna in our graffiti and yanna, enna, karanna, &c., used in such phrases appear to be accusative forms of the verbal noun in -nu (see above, § 345 g) and epa has thus to be taken as a verbal form in the imperative mood.³ Geiger

<sup>1</sup> Whitney, A Sanskrit Grammar, § 965.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Epa is usually written with a long  $\bar{a}$  in the second syllable. The actual pronunciation in the mouths of the people does not justify this.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The forms *kiyan-ţa* and *maran-ţa*, which Geiger has given as examples of so-called infinitives used with *epa*, are only used by 'educated' people and can hardly be called Sinhalese.

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takes it to be e paha 'that aside'; but the syntactical arrangement which is assumed by such an interpretation is foreign to Sinhalese, though it may be appropriate to Tamil. I would take epa to be equivalent to Skt.  $h\bar{a}paya$  (\*hapaya > \*hapā > \*hepa > epa) 'avoid'. Tabanna epa would thus mean, literally, 'avoid placing' and karanna epa 'avoid doing'.

# (i) OPTATIVE MOOD

467. Verbal forms in the optative mood are not many in our graffiti. Examples are akamayavaya, akmayvayu, balatvay, and dakimva. It may also be possible to take the first two as of the imperative mood. In literary works the optative form is the present tense of the indicative mood with the addition of the element  $-v\bar{a}$ . Causative and reflexive, in addition to active, forms of this mood occur in the language, though examples of these are not forthcoming in our graffiti. The termination -va of dakimva, occurring in one of our graffiti, is a further development of  $-v\bar{a}$  which itself is evolved from vaya. The termination vay in balatvay is a parallel development from vaya and is not the precursor of  $-v\bar{a}$ . -vayresults from the elision of the vowel and  $-v\bar{a}$  from the elision of the semi-vowel of the second syllable of -vaya. If akmayvayu be taken as an optative form, the u of the final syllable may be explained as due to phonological Rules xxxvii and xxxviii. Optative forms ending in -vaya have been found in an inscription which, on palaeographic grounds, is attributable to about the sixth century: pala savasatanata vayavaya (Ep. Zey., vol. iv, p. 132). Vayavaya in this extract is equivalent to vēvā in the literary idiom. That the element vaya forming the second half of the word has undergone a phonetic development different from that which the same in the first half had been subjected to is perhaps to be explained as caused by the stress. -vaya which developed to  $-v\bar{a}$  is clearly a form of the verb 'to become', Skt. bhū. I take it to be equivalent to Skt. bhūyāt, the third person singular of bhū in the precative. An optative form like dakimva, therefore, when analysed, would literally mean 'be (it that) I see' and balatvay 'be (it that) they see'. In the sentence vahay avujni may vet vay 'may they come soon and become close to me', -vay appears to have been used as a verbal form complete in itself in the optative meaning. It was, however, generally regarded as the optative suffix and was even added to its own self, as in vayavaya.

468. As the Sdsg. points out, certain imperative verbs are optative in sense. Among the imperative forms given above, pavatu in pavatu vā-dahasak ek davasak se menehi mā (No. 135) 'may you remain in my mind for a thousand years as if it were one day', is clearly optative in meaning though etymologically it may be taken as an imperative form. The name for this mood is āsī-kiriya (=Skt. āśiṣ-kriyā) in the Sdsg., for which benedictive would be the exact equivalent in English; but these verbal forms are valedictive as well as benedictive: e.g. miyemvā 'may I die' which also furnishes us with an example of an optative verbal form in the reflexive. Perhaps precative would be a better term than optative, but I have adhered to the nomenclature that is now in use.

# (j) CONDITIONAL MOOD

469. Asabahav-kiriya (= Skt. asambhāvya-kriyā, i.e. a verb denoting an action on which no reliance can be placed) is the term by which the Sdsg. refers to what is called the conditional mood in modern grammars on Sinhalese.<sup>2</sup> According to the definition in the Sdsg., it has no distinction of person or tense, and is used to express the idea that the action denoted has an element of uncertainty or is conditioned by the temporal relation. The distinguishing mark of a verbal form of this type according to the Sdsg. is the termination -ta. It is the verbal form in a conditional clause which in English would begin with 'if' or 'when', the idea of uncertainty or conditioning in time being expressed not by a separate particle or noun but by an inflexion of the verbal form. In our graffiti the use of verbal forms of this class in such contexts is the general rule, as it is also in the earlier poetic literature; in the prose literature, however, a more analytical method of expression is resorted to. In the spoken language the scope of the conditional mood has been somewhat narrowed down by the restriction of the temporal meaning to perfected action and that, too, in certain contexts only. In our documents the conditional mood comes alone or followed by hota or its equivalents (mostly in the meaning of uncertainty). Sometimes the particle ja (da, ta, or t) also follows a verbal form in the conditional mood. I first quote examples

<sup>1</sup> Mehi kisi vidi āsi-gäb (Sdsg., p. 153).

Arutä kal-arutä hota kiriy-asabahav nam

<sup>2</sup> Tekala-tesada-rū no ven vä hota aniyam

(Sdsg., p. 158.)

in which a verbal form in the conditional mood stands by itself without a particle. Baṇaṭa: āyunnahaṭ no baṇaṭa 'when you do not speak to those who are come' (No. 10); eta: däkä mese vī mehi eta matu beyand mā (No. 548) 'having seen (them) when I am coming to the summit of the hill-side here, it became like this'; balaṭa: mal gat ata balaṭa ke da moyun no das vano (No. 188) 'who are they that do not become slaves of these (damsels) when they look at their hand in which flowers are taken'; balaṭ: balaṭ pāney äṭi pilibib matu dasa-dese (No. 83) 'when one looks, the pictures which are above become apparent in the ten directions'; kiraṭ: kiraṭ la saga tula (No. 115) 'when heaven is being weighed by placing it in a balance'; kiyaṭ: e pin-bara kiyaṭ ek käneknaṭ ek hasnak (No. 220) 'when that fortunate one utters one message to one person'; mala: mala himi äṭni gänä mal (No. 283) 'as there are flowers taken in the hand when their lord is dead'; kaṭa: kaṭa pun-sandā udāye (No. 86) 'when the full moon has accomplished its rising'; ava: täveyi hada ava rana-vanan atare (No. 405) 'my heart becomes afflicted when I am come in the midst of the golden-coloured ones'.

470. In examining the examples quoted above, it will be noticed that all these verbal forms in the conditional mood—banata, eta, balata, balat, kirat, kiyat, mala, kala, and ava—express conditioning by the factor of time, and that the idea of uncertainty is not prominent. In the last example, ava may be having something of the meaning of doubt. When one action is dependent on another as affected by the factor of time, an element of doubt is implicit, even though it may not be explicitly stated, and the transference in meaning to doubt is easily understandable. It should, however, be emphasized that, in our graffiti, a verbal form in the conditional mood, standing by itself without one of the particles referred to above, does not have the idea of uncertainty as the meaning intended to be expressed. On these grounds we can conclude that 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. The examples quoted above fall into two categories. Baṇata, eta, balata, balat, kirat, and kiyat refer to action which is still continuing, while the other three forms, mala, kala, and ava, indicate action which has been perfected. The forms in the first category terminate in -ta or t, the distinguishing mark of the optative mood according to the Sdsg., while those in the second category, for the most part, do not differ in form from the verbal noun indicating perfected action—the preterite or past participle passive as it is often called. In the earlier graffiti the verbal forms of the first category invariably end in -ta; but when the phonetic process of dropping the final vowel came into play (Rules xxxiii and xxxiv) many of them were affected by it. The result was that, morphologically, the conditional mood expressing continuous action, e.g. kiyat (earlier kiyata), became identical with the third person plural of the present tense, e.g. kiyat (earlier kiyati). Our documents use these forms indiscriminately so that it is often only by the context that we are able to recognize the conditional mood of continuing action. Authors of literary works, on the other hand, realized the necessity of differentiation, and never admitted a verbal form in the conditional mood in which the final vowel had been elided.

471. It will also be apparent that the examples given above correspond, as Geiger has pointed out (G.S.L., § 151, II), to the construction called the locative absolute which is common in Sanskrit, I Pāli, and Prakrit. Mā eta, for instance, exactly corresponds to mayi āyante in Pāli or mayi āyati in Sanskrit; pin-bara kiyat would be puñña-bhāre kathente in Pāli and punya-bhāre kathayati in Sanskrit; maļa himi is the same as P. mate sāmini or Skt. mrte svāmini. Not only is there correspondence from the syntactical point of view; the verbal form which is taken to be the conditional mood in Sinhalese is also the present or past participle of the Old Indian and Middle Indian periods, with the phonological changes one would expect it to have undergone. The forms of the Sinhalese conditional mood ending in -ta or -t are thus seen to be the equivalents of the locative singular of the present participle in -nt of Sanskrit, Pāli, and Prakrit. Phonetic changes have done away with all traces of the locative termination. In certain instances, however, the difference in form between the conditional mood and the stem form of the corresponding verbal noun in Sinhalese is due to this reason. The verbal noun in Sinhalese equivalent to Skt. agata is a, but the corresponding conditional mood in one of the examples quoted above is ava, the difference being due to the locative termination in the latter having undergone the usual phonetic changes. The case is similar between bälu and bäluva. As the agent of the action expressed by most of such verbal forms is a person, and as nouns indicating persons cannot be declined in the locative case in Sinhalese, it is the genitive and not the locative which is

<sup>1</sup> See Whitney, A Sanskrit Grammar, § 303.

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used in such constructions in this language. That the conditional mood has no distinction of person and tense is also proof that, in reality, it is a participial and not a verbal form. There are examples where the participle is found inflected in the locative case: compare manā ek-kenek naţ-hi (No. 385) 'when one who is desirable is ruined'. The form nat-hi in this sentence might also have appeared as nata (Skt. nașțe). In däțä (No. 120), which is interpreted as being equivalent to Skt. dṛṣṭe, the ä in the first syllable is due to e in the second syllable during an earlier stage of the word being transferred by vowel assimilation to the first.

472. When the noun accompanying the participle in the absolute construction is not one denoting a person, the necessity to have it in the genitive no longer holds good and it is in the locative as in Sanskrit, e.g. nivase in gata mayi nivase (No. 498). As in Sanskrit, the noun may be wanting, e.g. balat päney, &c., in the examples quoted above. The noun may also be replaced by an adverb; e.g. me-se yata du (No. 553). The participle ja (Skt. ca) or one of its later forms often comes after the verbal form in the conditional mood (really the participle form), but its effect is rather on the structure of the sentence as a whole and not on the verbal form itself, just in the same manner as when ja and its variants come after an absolutive or a preterite form. Compare, for example, vasat-uj metek kalhi (No. 22), biņūva-t keļiyen (No. 39), näta ja (No. 333), me-se yata du (No. 553), in which this particle occurs after the conditional mood, with däkä-j topa sunil mahanel-kälum bälmak (No. 246), where the particle comes after the absolutive, dasan mini-tarin alu ja (No. 52), where it comes after a preterite form, and basina mena beluyū vu ja (No. 210), where it comes after a finite verb. Geiger is therefore hardly correct when he says that the conditional mood acquires a concessive meaning when this particle is added (G.S.L., § 152, II. 2).

473. The meaning of this verbal form which, as we have seen, originated as one denoting conditioning by time, appears to be definitely affected when hota, hot, ot, or hotin (all variants of the same word) are added to it. Agreeing with the usage of literary works, a clause ending with such a verbal form is generally equivalent to one beginning with 'if' in English. For example, puruju eya mala hota has to be translated 'if she, the one to whom one is used, were to die' (No. 158), ta sit'hi vättāk jatahot 'if what is in your mind be known' (No. 150), avud bäluyot tā 'if you came and saw' (No. 75), and basa veyi lada hotin risi 'your speech, if obtained, would be desirable' (No. 491). In these the original meaning of being conditioned by time has changed to one tinged with uncertainty. But it does not appear as if hota and hotin had originally been added to the verbal form for the express purpose of effecting this change in meaning. For, in our graffiti, there is an example of a verbal form with hota denoting a temporal meaning: maga balat-hot siyalle (No. 323) 'when all are looking towards the road'. It, therefore, appears that verbal forms of this class, whether standing alone, or with hota or hotin, gradually underwent a semantic change in certain contexts, and that the latter type was specialized at a later date to indicate the meaning of uncertainty.

474. With regard to the origin of hota and hotin, which for all practical purposes had become particles by the time of our graffiti, Geiger's view that hot is the particle ho with the addition of t (= Skt. ca) is altogether untenable. For hota occurs in an inscription2 as early as the reign of Kaniṭṭha Tissa (circa A.D. 166-84): nava kama nati hota 'should there be no new works'. There is no evidence that the particle ca had changed its form to t by that time. In fact, there were three intermediate forms ja, da, and d—between ca and t, and the particle had by that time not even changed to ja; it occurs as ca in this very inscription. Another theory is that hot should be traced back to a Middle Indian form equivalent to Pkt. honte. Phonetically as well as semantically this derivation is attractive at first sight; but we have to explain not only hot but also hotin, and no satisfactory explanation is forthcoming as to how hot, equivalent to Pkt. honte, came to assume the form hotin.

475. I propose to equate hota and hotin, respectively, with P. hutvā and hutvāna, absolutive forms of the verb 'to become' (Skt. bhūtvā). Phonologically this derivation of hota and hotin presents no difficulties. In the case of the former evolving from hutvā, the Rules which come into operation are lxiii, lxxv, xxiv, and xxxiii; hotin is paralleled by gosin, &c., see below, § 490. A semantic change has also to be presupposed if this derivation is to be accepted as tenable. A phrase like nava kama nati hota would literally mean '(it) having become (that there) is no new work', i.e. 'there being no new work';

the facts of the Sinhalese language.

The Sdsg., so as to be in conformity with the Sanskrit grammarians, holds the noun in association with the participle to be in the locative case. This is against of this record has not yet been published.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> At Mīnvila in the Tamankaduva District. The text

basa lada hotin would similarly mean 'the word having become received', i.e. 'the word being received'. The change in meaning of such phrases to 'if there be no new work' and 'if word be received' is quite natural and is easily understandable. Should this etymology of hota and hotin be accepted, it would mean that the verbal forms associated with them need not be taken as derived from original participial forms in an absolute construction, for P. hutvā or hutvāna and Skt. bhūtvā can hardly follow a locative absolute. On the other hand, they must be traced back to verbal nouns (preterites) in the nominative case. Lada hotin, for instance, cannot be Skt. labdhe bhūtvā but should be labdham bhūtvā or labdho bhūtvā. In vuyu ja hotina Kasuba kalī (No. 625) and in numerous other instances, hota or hotin follows a verbal form which cannot be taken as the conditional mood. This must have been vuva in the example quoted. There is, in the vast majority of instances, no difference whatever in form between the conditional mood of the perfect tense and the verbal noun of the perfect tense (preterite); mala, for instance, can be translated in different contexts as 'if he were dead' or 'dead'. There is thus no difficulty caused by taking it that the verbal form to which hota or hotin is attached is a verbal noun (preterite or past participle passive). Nor is there any difficulty with regard to the interpretation of the conditional mood with hota denoting continuing action. In presuming that the conditional mood is equivalent to the absolute construction in Old and Middle Indian, karata in a phrase like karata hot has to be equated with the locative singular of the present participle of the root kar; according to the etymology of hota that we have suggested, it has to be equated with the nominative singular of the same present participle. If the one is possible, there is no reason why the other should not be so, too.

476. Hot often becomes ot by the dropping of h, and is inseparably united with the verbal form in the conditional mood which it follows, e.g. bäluyot (No. 75) which is bäluvot in the spoken language of today. Forms of this type, avot, giyot, sitiyot, etot, &c., are very common in the modern speech. Hota, hot, and hotin, however, do not in our documents necessarily follow the verbal forms to which they refer; the two may be separated by a particle. Compare, for example, vuyu ja hotina (No. 625) and näta ja hot asväsilī (No. 333). Such constructions are not met with in literary works and are unknown in the modern language. There are, in our graffiti, examples of a more analytical mode of expression, not necessitating the use of the conditional mood, when conditioning by the factor of time is to be expressed. Compare, for example, la no vähäve ta me bälu kala (No. 202) and mana kā no gannī layu bälū sändä Sihigiri (No. 154) in which bälu kala and bälū sändä are analytical modes of expressing the idea conveyed by the verbal form bäluva. Such methods are the rule in prose literature as well as in the modern speech. The meaning of the conditional mood is expressed in a few places by a verbal noun of perfected action followed by the participle ma (= Skt. eva), e.g.  $\bar{a}$  ma in No. 35. This is equivalent to āva ma in modern usage. Such forms, e.g. giyā ma, kāva ma, däkka ma, are frequent in the mouths of the people today. The particle me also can be used after the conditional mood referring to continuing action, e.g. dakut me (No. 110) and banavat me (No. 305). The particle me has the effect of stressing the fact that the action expressed by the finite verb immediately follows that denoted by the verb in the conditional mood.

477. As examples of causative forms in the conditional mood may be given hadavata (No. 85) and banavata (No. 71). Vina (No. 101) and beneta (No. 163) are verbal forms of the reflexive voice in the conditional mood. Hekita (No. 274) is noteworthy as it shows that heki 'to be able', which in the later language was used only as a particle, is here used as a verb. Sitiya (No. 34) differs from the normal preterite form of this root which is sitū; on the analogy of the latter, the conditional mood should have been situva. A preterite form siti, however, is not impossible from the Middle Indian cintita. The conditional mood is at times followed by a word like manā or yehe, e.g. bana-manā (No. 363); cf. kiva yeheki in Sdsg. (p. 159). Sometimes the conditional mood terminates in yä: e.g. siṭiyä (No. 231).

478. According to the Sdsg., verbal forms like sitiyä and däkka, followed by häki 'to be able', have also to be considered as in the conditional mood. If we follow the Sdsg. in this, verbal forms in the phrases biniya no heyi (No. 199), biniya no heyen (No. 203), yata no haymo (No. 424), bäliyä no hi (No. 117), in which heyi, heyen, haymo, and hi are all taken as being forms of a verbal root equivalent to Skt. śak 'to be able', are in the conditional mood. But none of these verbal forms convey either the sense of uncertainty or that of being conditioned by time, which are the essential characteristics of this mood. Semantically, therefore, there is hardly any reason for including these forms in the conditional mood. The Sdsg. is guarded when it mentions these forms in treating of asabahav-kiriya.

<sup>1</sup> Asabahavhi rusi pasa yedena sē salasanu. (Sdsg., op. cit., p. 159.)

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What it actually says is that the same suffixes as are appropriate to the conditional mood should also be applied in such places. It is also not possible to take it that the verbal forms in the phrases given above are derived from a participial form in the locative absolute. Biniya no  $h\bar{i}$  'not being able to speak' must, in that case, be equated with Skt. bhanite na śaktvā; a construction like this is hardly possible in Old or Middle Indian. Forms of the verb meaning 'to be able' also occur in association with verbal forms which do not have the termination of the conditional mood. Compare, for example, no  $h\bar{i}$  bala (No. 637), no  $h\bar{i}$   $\bar{a}$ , i.e.  $\bar{a}$  no  $h\bar{i}$  (No. 680), taba no-hi (No. 682), and no-yayahana (No. 246). This set of phrases hardly differs from that in which a form of the verb meaning 'to be able' follows a verbal form which in its outward appearance does not differ from the conditional mood. It is, therefore, possible that the two types of verbal forms associated with a verb meaning 'to be able 'are of the same origin, but have assumed different aspects due to different phonetic processes to which they have been subjected.

479. In contexts like these it is the so-called infinitive in -tum which would be appropriate in Sanskrit, Pāli, or Prakrit. I therefore take it that in a phrase like biniya no heyi, biniya is derived from Old Indian bhanitum. The phonetic processes which come into play during the evolution of bhanitum into biniya are those embodied in Rules lxi, lxxvii, xvii, lxxxiv, xlv, and xvii. The preservation of the intervocalic t in forms like yata, if this is in fact derived from yātum, is in accord with Rule lxxxiv, and is also found in the conditional mood derived from an old participial form. Yata no haymo thus would be equivalent to Skt. yātum na śaknumah. Similarly, yā in yā no hī can be equated with Skt. yātum, taba in taba no hi with Skt. sthāpitum, ā in ā no hī with Skt. āgantum or etum, bäliya with Pkt. bhālitum, and yaya in the phrase no yaya hana with Skt. yātum. In miya risi (No. 406) and bala manā (No. 476), miya and bala have perhaps to be equated with the corresponding infinitive forms in Old Indian. If this derivation be found acceptable, we have in such forms the only trace in Sinhalese of the so-called infinitive in -tum which is such a common feature in Sanskrit. Verbal forms like biniya no hī are found in literary works, but are obsolete in the current speech; but we have expressions like yata häki corresponding to yata no haymo of our graffito. Verbal forms classed together under asabahavkiriya in the Sdsg. are thus seen to be of heterogeneous origin. They have, obviously, been classed together mainly because of the similarity or identity of their functions, and in some cases simply because of the identity in termination with that which is the sign of the asabahav-kiriya (conditional mood).

479. (a) A verbal form in the conditional mood with a temporal meaning is sometimes duplicated, indicating that the action expressed comes into being gradually or repeatedly; see, for example, dakut dakut in No. 138. Compare also yat yat in Bga., v. 504.

# (k) ABSOLUTIVE

480. The verbal form which denotes an action preceding that which is signified by the finite verb of a sentence is referred to by the term pera-kiriya (= Skt. pūrva-kriyā) 'the preceding action' in the Sdsg. This corresponds, in etymology as well as meaning, to the so-called gerund, usually formed by the suffix -tvā or -ya in Sanskrit. As the term gerund is also applied to the accompanying action, thus giving rise to confusion, and as this verbal form hardly corresponds in its functions to those which are called gerunds in European languages, I have preferred the term 'absolutive' by which some eminent writers on the grammar of Indian languages have referred to forms corresponding to the so-called gerund of Sanskrit. There may be more than one clause ending in an absolutive in one and the same sentence. As in literary works, so in our graffiti, absolutives are among the commonest of verbal forms; they are met with in documents from a date as early as the beginning of the present era, and the evolutions of their forms can be studied with considerable accuracy and detail from the data so furnished. Absolutives of the causative mood which can be recognized by -va coming after the root are not infrequent; so are those of the reflexive voice.

481. Apart from what may be called 'irregular' forms to be noticed later, the vast majority of absolutive forms in the standard literary idiom can be divided into three classes: (1) those which end in  $-\bar{a}$ , (2) those which end in  $-\bar{a}$ , and (3) those which end in  $-\bar{i}$ . Our graffiti contain absolutive forms of all these three classes. In addition, there are preserved in them forms of earlier stages through which the absolutives of the first and second classes came to assume the form standardized in literature, as well as their further developments by the shortening of the final vowel. Such absolutives in -a are

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For instance, Pischel, Grammatik, § 578, and Hultzsch in Inscriptions of Asoka, p. lxix.

found in the literary language, too, very often with -lā affixed to them. Absolutive forms ending in -ay also belong to the line of evolution of the first category. Those ending in -ayi are but a different mode of spelling those in -ay. The following examples may be given of the various classes:

- I (a) duvaya, ajavaya, asaya, banaya, tabaya, namaya, balaya, nivaya, karavaya.
- I (b) balay, toray, tabay, had hay, kiyay, arbay, piyay, paharay, lavay, sitay, patay.
- I (c) ad'hayi, ajavayi, kiyayi, situvayi, karayi, tabayi, asayi, balayi.
- I (d) dinā, purā, polobā, adavā, puravā, kiyā, balā, andvā, tabā, pavasā, randvā, takā, sisā, bā, navatā.
- I (e) gasa, bala, pihira-la, adha, vela, jaha, navata, pisa, ga, hija, usula.
- II (a) banaya.
- II (b) karay, navatayi.
- II (c) vesa, deka, gene, hinde, miye, siţa, hida.
- II (d) genä, päräjä, bäsä, bänä, vä, däkä, näsä, häjinä, väsä, sevä, änä, kärä, nävätä, äjä, gänä, mäḍä-lä, siṭä, gälä, upadä.
- II (e) näga, gäna, däka-la, täpa.
- $II(f) \ddot{a}d.$
- III (a) viyi, gälä-viyi.
- III (b) negī, jenī, hejī, sedi, negi.
- III (c) säjī, nägī, hī, dī, vī, rändī, tibī, nävatī, vähävī, igilī.
- III (d) nägi, päni, väți, siți, ävili, däpi, vi.
- 482. Geiger attempts to schematize the formation of the absolutive (which, according to his terminology, is Gerund II) following his classification of the Sinhalese verb into three conjugations. It is, in fact, the only even seemingly possible justification of this classification, for the verbal stems of no single one of Geiger's classes show any peculiarities which differentiate them from any other class in the conjugation of the present tense, future tense, &c. Even in this matter of the absolutive, Geiger does not seem to have made any thorough investigation before he formulated his theory. According to him, verbal stems of the first conjugation should form the absolutive in  $-\bar{a}$  and those of the second in -a. The third conjugation of Geiger, as we have already pointed out above, is mostly the reflexive voice of verbal stems which in the active voice are conjugated differently. It is not surprising that they should form their absolutives in a manner different from that employed in the active voice. We shall revert to this later.
- 483. With regard to the distinction which he wants to draw between the so-called first conjugation and the second, if we base our argument on the forms in the modern spoken language, as Geiger has done, we shall find that the vast majority of the verbal stems which have the absolutive in  $-\bar{a}$  also have it in -a. Balā, for instance, is also used as bala with the addition of -la; so with kapa-la, liya-la, kava-la, gota-la, &c. Such forms occurring with -la affixed to them are actually found singly in our graffiti, e.g. bala, usula, &c. The absolutive forms which Geiger gives as ending in a short a, e.g. däka, usually occur in our graffiti as well as in the earlier literary works with the vowel ä in the final syllable—däkä. Even this is not a feature regular enough to justify a schematic treatment of the absolutives. The absolutive of the verbal stem kära is commonly found as kärä in our graffiti, in the ninth- and tenthcentury inscriptions, and in the earlier literature. But the absolutive form karā is met with in an inscription of the tenth century (Ep. Zey., vol. i, p. 222) and it is this, with its final vowel shortened, which occurs in the later literature and in modern language as kara, e.g. kara-la, kara-gat, kara-dena, &c. On the analogy of this, we may assume that all or most absolutives which ended in  $-\bar{a}$  in the earlier period had also variants with final -ä, e.g. gänä - gänā, dänä - dänā, väsä - väsā, bäsä - bäsā, &c. In fact such forms with the  $-\bar{a}$  in the final syllable have been made use of by poets to satisfy metrical requirements not attainable by the use of the standard forms. They should not be treated as due to poetic licence, but as forms which can be justified phonologically (sada-dahamin). We have the absolutive galā from the stem gala 'to flow', but gaļa 'to fall', which has also to be included in Geiger's Conjugation I, has gälä as its absolutive. Geiger, therefore, in classifying the absolutives into three classes according to three conjugations, has been guided by the forms in the literature of a certain period only, ignoring the evidence of the preceding as well as the succeeding periods. Moreover, there are absolutives which do not conform to any of these three types; if the verbal stems are to be classified into conjugations,

In later Sinhalese writings there are unwieldy sentences with a long succession of clauses ending in absolutives and a finite verb at the close.

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according to the manner in which the absolutive is formed, there should be more than three classes.

484. The different forms of the absolutive which we come across in documents of the period of our graffiti and in later literature, which in turn give us the basis of different forms found in the language of today, are, in fact, due to the working of various phonological processes on corresponding forms which the early Sinhalese language had inherited from its Middle Indian predecessor. Fortunately, absolutive forms are common enough in the early Brāhmī inscriptions and, when we trace their history up to the time of our graffiti, we can easily understand the manner in which the variant forms came into being. It is, of course, not possible here to examine all the absolutive forms which occur in the early inscriptions. We shall take from the Brāhmī inscriptions the prototypes of two of the representative forms in our graffiti: kaḍaya¹ and kariya,² the prototypes of kaḍā and kärä in our graffiti. Both these forms go back to absolutives constructed with the suffix -ya in Old Indian-\*khandya and \*kārya—a circumstance to which we shall return later. Apart from the loss of the aspirate and the simplification of the nd into d in the first word (Rules lxxvii and lxxv), both these forms in the Brāhmī inscriptions are due to the working of svarabhakti, but in the first case the svarabhakti vowel had been a, in the second i. These different influences to which the two words had been subjected in this early period determined their subsequent course of evolution. Kadaya remained in that same form up to the time when the language developed the phonological feature of dropping the intervocalic y, a process which gave rise to the form kaḍā (Rules cv and i). Kariya must have been subject to phonetic change at an earlier period. We do not possess the intermediate forms of this particular word, but we can determine its course by the analogy of ganiya3 (Pkt. ganhiya) of which the intermediate forms genaya, geniya,4 geneya,5 and gena6 are known. Epenthesis had taken place, as is to be expected, when a in the first syllable is followed by i in the second (Rule xix); kariya would, on this analogy, have developed to \*keraya. In the period when the intervocalic y was dropping out, the words genaya and \*keraya with e in the first syllable seem to have been able to resist that process; but instead the final vowel suffered elision and the y coalescing with the preceding a gave rise to ä. Thus we have genä, gänä, and kärä. Karaya itself, instead of dropping the intervocalic y, dropped the final a, giving rise to karay which might also have developed to karä and kärä. Whether an absolutive ends in -ā or -ä in the period of our graffiti is determined by the question whether the intervocalic y of the final vowel dropped in the preceding stage of the development of the word, and it is mostly in the case of those forms which in the early centuries of the Christian era or before had introduced the svarabhakti vowel i that the final vowel disappeared. On the analogy of these instances, we can conjecture the course taken by the absolutive form mädä, for instance, to have been \*mardya > \*madiya > \*medaya > \*maday > mädä and tabā as \*sthāpya > \*tapaya > \*tabaya > tabā.

485. In addition to the direct line of evolution of the absolutive forms of Types I and II, there have been other collateral developments, of which examples are not found in the literary idiom or the modern speech. Examples given as Type I (b) above, balay, &c., indicate that the elision of the final vowel had taken place very frequently even in this class. A form like balay should not be taken as the earlier form of  $bal\bar{a}$ , for in our graffiti the further development  $bal\bar{a}>bala$  occurs in documents which, on palaeographic grounds, should be assigned to a very early date. Type I (c), kiyayi, for example, hardly differs from I (b); yi for y is a detail of orthography (§ 71). Absolutives of Type I (e), with short final a, e.g. bala, which are now in common use, but not alone, had been evolved at the earliest date to which our graffiti can possibly be referred, though the literature of a much later date had standardized the earlier form with the long  $-\bar{a}$  at the end. Type II (a) is the same as Type I (a) which does not differ from the form in the Brāhmī inscriptions. Baṇaya, for instance, does not differ in form from balaya; but the former developed to baṇa, for there is no \*baṇa, while the latter became bala. This example would seem to show that kärä also might have evolved from karaya as well as from kariya. In the second stage of Type II have been included karay and navatayi (navatay)—forms from which result absolutives in  $-\ddot{a}$  without the -i in the preceding syllable; from the latter we have  $n\ddot{a}v\ddot{a}t\ddot{a}$ . In another line of development  $navat\bar{a}$  must be included in Type I (d). Types II (c) and (d) are from

the Vilacci Korale, Anuradhapura District.

- <sup>3</sup> See below, § 487.
- <sup>4</sup> Habarana Rock-inscription, A.I.C., No. 61.
- 5 Ep. Zey., vol. iii, p. 250.
- 6 Ibid., p. 178.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In an inscription of Kanittha Tissa (*circa* A.D. 166–84) yet unpublished, from Minvila in the Tamankaduva District. See above, p. cxlvii, n. 2.

District. See above, p. cxlvii, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> In an unpublished inscription of the reign of Vasabha (*circa* A.D. 66–110) from Sinna-āṇḍiyāgala in

early forms with the svarabhakti vowel i, but due to different modes of the working of epenthesis. II (c) has a in the second syllable; or it may be that vesa, deka, &c., have to be explained by intermediate forms \*vasiya > \*vesaya > \*vesa > vesa and dakiya > \*dekaya > \*deka > deka. The standard forms of Type II are genä, &c., of which the evolution has been detailed at length. Forms in Type II (e) are a further development from II (c) by the change of e to  $\ddot{a}$  (Phonetic Rules xxv-xxvii). The solitary example given as Type II (f) may have developed from II (e) by the elision of the final vowel; but a different explanation is also possible (see below, § 489).

486. The vast majority of the absolutives ending in -ī are reflexive in meaning, and have a corresponding active form. Nägī, for instance, means 'having ascended or climbed', i.e. 'having raised oneself'; nagay (nangay or naga), on the other hand, means 'having raised'. The difference in meaning of the two words will become apparent if the two contexts in which the two forms occur be examined; cf. e.g. surat-at nangay osäriye lay (No. 113) with gal-mundun nägī bälīmi (No. 286). As the absolutives (gerunds) in Sanskrit, Pāli, and Prakrit are hardly found in the reflexive voice, it may be possible to take it that reflexive forms of the absolutive are built up in Sinhalese from verbal forms which originally were not of that category. If one were to pursue this line of thought, it would be possible to assume that the absolutives of reflexive meaning like nägī, jänī, &c., have been formed by adding vī 'having become', the absolutive of  $v\bar{u}$ , to verbal nouns of perfected action (preterites or past participles passive). Thus nägī is nägi vī 'having become one who has ascended', jänī is jäni vī 'having become one who has known', &c. But absolutives ending in -i are not all of reflexive meaning, there are also a number of verbal stems, mostly monosyllabic, ending in e or o, which are conjugated in one voice only, not reflexive in meaning in many cases, having absolutive forms in -ī, e.g. dī 'having given' from the root de, hī 'having fallen down' from the root he, sī 'having smiled' from the root se, and bī 'having drunk' from the root bo. Of these,  $d\bar{i}$  at least is not reflexive in meaning; it is not possible to give to one's own self. That would be taking and not giving. We must, therefore, seek an origin for these absolutives which will hold good for those which are reflexive in meaning as well as for others which are not so. 487. In my opinion, absolutives in -ī, found in Sinhalese, are to be traced back to such forms with

the suffix -tvī in Vedic. Though absolutives in -tvī, which are commoner in the Rig Veda than those in -tvā, are not found in the later Vedic literature or in classical Sanskrit, they were not unknown in Middle Indian dialects, for in the Shāhbāzgarhī edict of Aśoka are found tithiti and vijiniti of which the termination -ti is to be equated with Vedic -tvī.2 From the early Brāhmī inscriptions of Ceylon can be quoted at least one example of an absolutive form in -ti (Vedic -tvī). This is in an inscription of about the second century, as yet unpublished, from a place named Rasnakāva in the Anurādhapura District. The relevant passage runs: biku-sagaha atani catalasa kavana gati tumaha sana pati dini 'having taken forty kahāpaṇas from the community of bhikkhus, the shares belonging to him were given'. In a similar passage in the same inscription, ganiya is substituted for gati: biku sagaha tini sați kavana ganiya tumaha sanaya pati . . . dini 'having taken sixty-three kahāpaṇas from the community of bhikkhus, the shares belonging to him were given'. In both these passages the subjectmatter is the transfer of shares in a piece of land to the sangha for money received. It is therefore clear that gati and ganiya (Pkt. ganhiya) have the same meaning. There is no doubt that ganiya is an absolutive; gati must also be the same. If we treat gati as an absolutive, -ti must be taken as derived from -tvī. Gati, however, did not give rise to any forms found in the later language; it is ganiya which was the basis for subsequent development. There is, however, no reason to assume that there were no other forms in -ti from which were evolved absolutives in  $\bar{i}$  found in the later language. Neither in Vedic nor in the other dialects where -tvī or its derived forms are found, is there evidence to show that this termination was restricted in use to denote a reflexive meaning. But it is not impossible, if absolutives in -ti existed in the language side by side with other forms, that the former class was selected to perform a specialized function when the need to differentiate the reflexive meaning in the absolutives was felt. In order to explain the detailed process of evolution, we take  $v\bar{i}$  'having become', which according to this hypothesis would have to be derived from Old Indian \*bhūtvī, the intermediate stages to be posited being \*buti > \*vuti > \*viti > viyi, the last of which is actually found in our graffiti. The dropping of a consonant, in this case t, which is the result of the simplification of a double consonant,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A few instances, however, occur in Sanskrit and Prakrit of the absolutive having a passive meaning. See A. B. Keith in J.R.A.S. for 1906, p. 693, "The

Use of the Gerund as Passive in Sanskrit', and Pischel's Materialien zur Kentniss des Apabhramsa, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Hultzsch, Inscriptions of Aśoka, p. xcvii.

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is paralleled in many examples (see § 248 above). Similarly, di can be traced back to Old Indian \*datvī, hī to Old Indian \*hitvī, and so on.

488. Absolutive forms of Types I and II go back to corresponding forms in Old Indian with the suffix -ya, as will become evident when the words whose history we have traced shall be examined in detail. It is well known that, in Sanskrit, the suffix -ya is added to a root compounded with a prepositional prefix while -tvā is added to simple roots. This no doubt reflected the usage among educated men which the grammarians standardized, but exceptions are found not only in the works of great writers but also in the epics. In Prakrit there are numerous examples in which this rule has been disregarded. The Middle Indian dialect which was the ancestor of Sinhalese seems to have gone much further in this respect than the literary Prakrits, for the absolutive forms in Sinhalese which can be traced back to corresponding forms in -tvā in the Old Indian are very rare, koṭa from kṛtvā being one of the few examples which, I believe, do not exceed half a dozen in the whole language. The precursor of Sinhalese, therefore, formed the vast majority of its absolutives by adding the suffix -ya to the root, whether it was simple or not. This fact may be as important in investigations into the origin of the Sinhalese language as the phonetic peculiarities which a word or two may share with corresponding words in this Prakrit or that.

489. Among the absolutives which are not included in any of the three main types given above, there are also some which can be traced back to forms in Old Indian with the suffix -ya. In these, however, the subsequent development has been due to the assimilation of consonants in the last syllable, instead of svarabhakti. Among such absolutives the rich crop of variant forms aväj, avuja, avuju, avuj, avuda, avudu, avud, ävij, ävida, ävid, ävit, avujini, avudin, and ada has originated from Old Indian āpadya, which in Prakrit and Pāli is āpajja. In Old Sinhalese the forms would have been \*apaja and \*avaja. From the last, the permutations and combinations of a number of possible phonetic processes have given rise to most of the above forms. Ayuta, ayut, and ayutin are to be connected with Old Indian āgatya. Aj 'having drawn' may be also taken as due to this process, Old Indian añjya having developed to aja, āja, and āj, but the variant form ājā seems to indicate that svarabhakti had also taken place: \*ajaya > \*ajay > \*aja > \*äjä. Hija is derived from \*sīdya by the process of the assimilation of consonants; hij and id, if they are in fact absolutives, may be further developments of hija. See, however, § 485 above.

490. Of absolutives to be traced back to forms in -tvā, koṭa has already been noted. Mut (Skt. muktvā) is another. Gos has to be equated with an ungrammatical form \*gacchvā in Old Indian, instead of the regular gantvā. There are also a few absolutives which end in -in, -ina, -ini, or -ni, e.g. gosin (earlier form gosina), ladin, avujin, avujini, avudini, gosni, ayutin to which also must be added hotin (§ 474). Corresponding to gosin and ladin we have in Pāli gantvāna and laddhāna. The Sinhalese absolutives ending in -in, &c., can very well be derived from Middle Indian forms similar to P. gantvāna and laddhāna, the change of a to i in the second or third syllable being due to the working of Phonetic Rule xxxvi. The termination -in or -ini in avudin, ayutin, avujini, &c., must have been added on the analogy of gosin to forms which are already absolutives without it. There is another possible explanation of the termination -in, -ina, or -ini. The suffix -tvīnam has been mentioned by the grammarians as of Vedic usage.² It has never been found to occur, but the grammarians must have had authority for it in the literature now lost. If forms with that suffix continued in use in spoken dialects, we can imagine \*labdhvīnami\* in place of labdhvā; ladin could easily have developed from \*labdhvīnami\*.

491. Words which by origin were absolutives have sometimes acquired a secondary meaning and have become, to all intents and purposes, particles or adverbs. Among such occurring in our graffiti may be mentioned: numuta, i.e. na muta (Skt. na muktvā), original meaning (1) 'not having allowed to depart', secondary meaning (2) 'incessantly'; tabay (Old Indian \*sthāpya), (1) 'having placed', (2) 'apart from'; navata, nāvāta, navatayi, and other variant forms (Skt. nivartya), (1) 'having stopped', (2) 'again'; ärä (Old Indian \*hārya), (1) 'having let go', (2) 'excepting'; mut (Skt. muktvā), (1) 'having allowed to depart', (2) 'apart from'; gänä (Pkt. ganhiya), (1) 'having taken', (2) 'about'; sand'haya, sand'hay (Skt. sandhāya), (1) 'having put together', (2) 'on account of'. To this list may also be added lavay and hotina, the functions of which have already been discussed.

492. To almost every absolutive in the modern language can be added -la (usually written  $l\bar{a}$  but hardly long in actual pronunciation); its use is also common in literary works mostly of a later period,

<sup>1</sup> Pischel, Grammatik, § 578.

<sup>2</sup> Whitney, A Sanskrit Grammar, § 993, e.

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generally with long  $\bar{a}$ . The use of this adjunct of the absolutive had already begun in the period of our graffiti, but had not become widespread, for it occurs only thrice:  $n\ddot{a}ga$ -la, pihira-la, and  $d\ddot{a}ka$ -la. If this la is itself the absolutive of the verbal root la 'to put' or 'to place', as is generally accepted, it is noteworthy that its form occurring in our graffiti is identical with that in current use today; while the literature of a considerably later date has standardized a form of an earlier stage of evolution. Absolutive forms are often compounded with forms of the roots ya, gan, la, pa, and de. For the details, see under Composite Verbs, § 501. They are also at times duplicated to express an accompanying action, e.g.  $p\ddot{a}mi$   $p\ddot{a}n\bar{i}$ , kiya kiyay, asa  $as\ddot{a}$ ,  $d\ddot{a}k\ddot{a}$   $d\ddot{a}k\ddot{a}$ ,  $b\ddot{a}sa$   $b\ddot{a}sa$ . When an absolutive form is repeated for this purpose, it will be seen that -y of the first, if it ended with that syllable, is dropped. If the absolutive ends with  $-\bar{a}$  or  $-\bar{i}$  the long vowel is shortened; but in those which end in  $\ddot{a}$  no change takes place.

### (l) GERUND

493. The Sinhalese verbal form which denotes an action accompanying the one expressed by the finite verb in a sentence is referred to in the Sdsg. by the term musu-kiriya (= Skt. miśra-kriyā 'mixed action'). Its distinguishing mark, according to the Sdsg., is the termination -min, -mina, or -mni. I refer to it by the term gerund, not so much because that term is appropriate for it either on considerations of its history or on account of its functions, but solely for reasons of convenience, for it is so referred to in standard works on Sinhalese grammar. Our graffiti furnish us with numerous examples of this verbal form, not only of the three types instanced in the Sdsg., but also of a number of other types. No certain examples of this verbal form have been noticed in Sinhalese documents of a date anterior to that of our graffiti.<sup>2</sup> That, however, is no reason for assuming that it is an innovation in the language of the time of our graffiti, for the phraseology of the earlier documents is of such a character as does not necessitate its use. Examples of the various types of gerunds in our graffiti are given below:

- I. dakimina, janamina
- II. balamini, hindimini, vayamini, yamini
- III. balamani
- IV. balamni, yemni, pähäyamni, gumamni
- V. vemin, balamin, kelimin, yamin, avehimin, dakamin, sitmin, yemin, sitimin, simin, paturvamin, basimin, redemin, tavamin
- VI. äsimen, binimen, sitmen.

494. The type formed by the duplication of the absolutive has already been noted. Verbal forms of this class occur also in the causative mood; they occur in the reflexive, too, though the examples given above do not include any such. They are of the same form for all tenses and persons, these distinctions being expressed by the finite verbs associated with them. With regard to the origin of these forms, a possible explanation is that they are to be traced back to the middle participle forms with the suffix -mana in Old and Middle Indian. Thus S. karamina can phonologically be equated with P. kurumāna by vowel-assimilation and the operation of the phonetic process embodied in Rule xxxvi. Similarly, basimina can be equated with Skt. bhramsamāna; others too can be connected with the corresponding equivalents in Sanskrit. Against this, it can be pointed out that verbal forms in -min, &c., of Sinhalese are not always of the middle voice; those in the active voice, in fact, predominate. Though a semantic change is this respect is not difficult to imagine, I am inclined to agree with Geiger that 'this gerund in -min is the instrumental case of a verbal noun in -ma which is clearly connected with that in -ima' (G.S.L., § 156). With regard to this hypothesis of Geiger, the forms äsimen, binimen, and sitmen occurring in our graffiti are of particular significance. Äsimen, for instance, is actually the instrumental case of the verbal noun  $\ddot{a}s\bar{i}ma$ , the shortening of the vowel i in the second syllable being due to metrical considerations. As usual in verbal nouns of this type, the a in the first syllable of the stem has changed to ä. When we examine the context in which this form occurs ayuna avehimin pasin äsimen binimen beyand hi ran-vanun bälimi sit se manā koṭ (No. 321)—we see that avehimin, äsimen, and binimen are all used to indicate actions which accompanied the action expressed by the finite verb bälimi. The form of avehimin leaves us in no doubt as to its being a gerund; äsimen

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Gerund I, according to Geiger, G.S.L., § 156.

the Vallipuram gold-plate inscription is a verbal form of this type. See EZ., vol. iv, pp. 230-1 and 237.

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and binimen, which have the same function in the syntax, have thus to be taken as gerunds, pasin äsimen bälimi means 'I looked (at them) asking questions' just as much as a phrase yamin bälimi would mean 'I looked (at them), while going'.

495. Geiger, however, has pointed out that the verbal noun in -īma as a rule changes the a in the first syllable of the stem to  $\ddot{a}$ , while this does not happen in gerunds. This is no reason against Geiger's theory which on semantic grounds seems quite possible; for the instrumental case which assumed the character of a gerund need not necessarily be taken as formed from the verbal noun by adding the case-ending after the latter had assumed the form in which it is found in literature. The gerund balamin, I for instance, could have been evolving at the same time as the verbal noun, too, was taking shape. And the same phonetic laws which applied to one development need not necessarily have taken effect in the other as well. There is ample evidence to support the assumption that differentiation in meaning has determined the course taken by phonological development. In this connexion it is necessary for us to ascertain the origin of the verbal noun in -īma, e.g. bälīma. In my opinion, this type of verbal stem is to be traced back to the derivative noun-stem in  $\bar{a}$ , in the accusative, prefixed to the perfect tense of an auxiliary verb in order to make the periphrastic perfect in Old Indian. The S. kirīma, for instance, is to be equated with Skt. kārayām in kārayāmāsa.<sup>2</sup> The accusative in Old Indian has become the stem in Sinhalese just as it has happened in the interrogative kuma and the indefinite yam. The i or ä in the first syllable of the Sinhalese verbal noun is due to the influence of ya. The final consonant, instead of being dropped, has been preserved by the addition of a vowel. For this, compare above, § 284 (i). The development may be hypothetically posited as \*karayama > \*karayima > \*kiriyima > kirīma. In S. bälīma it would have been \*balayama > \*baliyima > \*beliyima > \*bäliyima > bälīma. Even when the word has retained its character of verbal noun, there has been development in two directions. We have kärum and bälum also in place of kirīma and bälīma. It would appear therefore that there has been another parallel development, also accompanied by a change of meaning. In the case of a gerund form the development can be surmised as \*balayamena > balamina, &c. The difference in development was due to the contraction of ya before it had exerted its influence on the preceding vowel. Noteworthy also is sitmen, which is not different from the instrumental of the verbal noun sitma. Paturvamin (No. 460) in the context in which it occurs gives better sense to the sentence if interpreted in the original character of the instrumental of the verbal noun rather than in its secondary development as a gerund.

496. In the earlier poetical works, as in our graffiti, there are various types of gerunds, but in the later literature, particularly in prose, the gerund has been standardized to the type in -min. In the spoken language of today, the gerund in -min, though not unknown, does not occur frequently. In its place occurs a verbal form in -am, e.g. balam innava 'remains watching, i.e. looking at'. The occurrence in No. 109 of balam (balam sitiyayun vänno) proves that forms of this type are not of recent coinage. The form in the mouths of the people today is identical with that of more than a thousand years ago, except for the final nasal being changed to the anusvāra. It is very unlikely that balam is a further development of balamin, though in meaning there is no difference between the two forms. I would trace back forms like this to the nominative singular of the present participle ending in -ant or -āna in Old Indian. Balam would thus have to be equated with bhālam, bhālayam, or bhālana in Prakrit. If the nominative singular of the participle in-ant be preferred as being the original form, then the final consonant in the Old Indian form had been changed to m, and the vowel a added. When the language began to drop final vowels, the consonant again remained alone. But if the form is derived from participles in  $-\bar{a}na$ , what has taken place is the change of n to m and the elision of the final vowel at a later stage. Patam in No. 129 is also a gerund similar in origin to balam. The gerund is often interchangeable with the absolutive; bala sițina, for instance, might be used for balamin sițina. In literature there are numerous instances of the use of the gerund in a place where the absolutive might have been employed; compare, for instance, xii. 62 of the Kāvyaśekhara where gevamin, balamin, and dakimin refer to preceding action, not to accompanying action.

by the finite verb. An expression like *balamin siţina*, however, indicates that 'looking' and 'standing' are in this case co-terminous.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> It is not quite correct to translate a gerund in -min, as Geiger has done, by attaching 'while' to it, for instance, balamin 'while looking'. This type of translation would indicate that the action expressed by the gerund had a longer duration than that expressed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Whitney, A Sanskrit Grammar, § 1070, a.

#### (m) GERUNDIVES

497. Verbal forms in our graffiti, expressing a future meaning, derived from Old Indian gerundives in -tavya, and imperative forms to be traced back to Old Indian gerundives in -anīya have already been noted (see above, § 450). There are also, in our documents, a fairly numerous class of verbal forms which can be taken as gerundives used more or less with their original connotation. As the occurrence of this verbal form in Sinhalese has not been previously noticed, it is necessary to quote some of the contexts in which such forms actually occur. Take, for instance, the sentence nava-bagla-sand dut minisak'hu no vajanneyi (No. 64). If we take vajanneyi in this sentence as a verbal form recognized by grammarians in Sinhalese, it can only be taken as the nominative singular of the verbal noun in -na (vajanne) followed by a form of the verb 'to be' (yi) used as a copula. In the case of such an interpretation, the syntactical arrangement of the sentence would be defective without another word in the nominative singular in apposition to vajanne. Minisak'hu obviously cannot be taken as performing this function, for it is in the genitive case. On the other hand, if vajanneyi be interpreted as one word, equivalent to Skt. varjanīya, the syntax presents no difficulties, the genitive case being used in such positions in participial constructions. Again, in the sentence savanihi rakaneya sihi la (No. 88), sihi rakaneya exactly corresponds to the expression sati rakkhanīyā in Pāli. In an kum kiyanney (No. 269), if we do not take kiyanney as being a gerundive, the interpretation of kiyanne as nominative singular of the verbal noun makes the construction of the sentence defective. Other examples which can, in a similar way, be taken as gerundives are: karanne (No. 42), kiyanneyi (No. 154), danney (No. 193), tabaneyi (No. 240 b), kiyanneya (No. 255), karaneya (No. 307), yavaneya (No. 387), balanney (No. 461), kiyanney (No. 463), vanneyi (No. 470), danvanneyi (No. 519), kiyaneya (No. 527), and balaneya (No. 548).

498. It will be noticed that all these forms go back to Old Indian gerundives in -anīya, which in Middle Indian changed to -neya or -neyya, e.g. karaneyya and āhuneyya in Pāli. Forms like karaneya and balaneya in our graffiti can be easily explained by comparing them with corresponding forms in Pāli. The change of n to n, the elision of a in the final syllable ya, or its change to i and the duplication of the consonant in the penultimate syllable are due to phonological processes which have been explained above (Rules cxi, xxxiii, xlviii, and cix). These gerundives in Sinhalese make no distinction of number and person. Gerundives of the type given above are not unknown in literary works, though they have not been recognized as such. In the sentence mā hā samaga yanne (Amv., p. 39), yanne, according to the context, means 'should go' and must be taken as a gerundive. The form balanneya in the phrase kudā tamak balanneya (Amv., p. 54) has also to be taken as a gerundive, for it cannot be taken to be the nominative singular of the verbal noun in -na. The form laganeya occurring in v. 106 of the Ksm. is clearly equivalent to Skt. langhanīya and is, therefore, a gerundive, though the old scholiast and the modern editors have explained it differently. In the Dhpr. there are many verbal forms which the context requires should be treated as gerundives, e.g. hinduneya and situneya on p. 64. In some places, in our graffiti as well as in literary works, the context is not decisive enough to determine whether a gerundive or a verbal noun of the type referred to followed by the copula ya, y, or yi, is meant.

499. Gerundives going back to corresponding forms with -tavya in Old Indian are not common in our documents. One example is vetī in the sentence sit vämen mā piribun käneknaṭa yahak vetī (No. 184). Vetī in this context is clearly not a verbal form in the indicative mood, for it does not agree in number with the word yahak which is the only word that can be taken as its subject. It has to be taken as a gerundive and translated 'should become'. Vetī of this passage has to be equated with Skt. bhavitavya; at one stage of its evolution it must have stood as \*vetivi. The preservation of the -t- is due to reasons explained in §§ 246 ff. Verbal forms of this type are not rare in literary works. Eti in Gk., v. 165, may be quoted as an example.

# (n) MISCELLANEOUS VERBAL FORMS

500. (a) There is no intensive conjugation as such in Sinhalese; but certain verbal roots go back to the reduplicated form of the intensive in Old Indian. Stray forms going back to intensives are also found in our graffiti. *Tatanu* (No. 88) is a verbal noun formed from a root equivalent to the intensive

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form of Skt. tan. Dujula, the prototype of didul in literary works (Gk., v. 23), may be equated with Skt.  $j\bar{a}jvala$ , and is thus derived from the intensive form of the Skt. root jval.

- (b) Certain adjectival forms expressing the desire for a particular action are formed in Sinhalese by adding ați (= Skt. arthī) to a verbal form. Kiyäviți (No. 339), for instance, means 'desirous of saying' and is formed by adding ați to kiyävi, and pähärāți 'desirous of striking' is pähära + ați. Kiyavi and pähära may be taken as going back to verbal nouns in Old Indian formed by the suffix -a; pähäräți, for instance, being equivalent to Skt. prahārārthī. The ä in kiyäviți and pähäräți is due to the influence of i in ati.
- (c) Examples of denominative verbal forms in our graffiti are sukanu 'become happy' (No. 320) and melekenney 'softens' (No. 592); bara-lu 'laden with' (No. 349) may also be of this category. The first two examples may be explained as formed by adding the verb 'to become' to the noun or adjective. Sukanu may be a contraction of suka vanu and melekenney of melek venney. It is also not impossible that these forms have developed from regular denominative forms in Old Indian.
- (d) It is possible that verbal forms like yedeya (No. 102), eya (No. 279), peneya (No. 326), and veya (No. 483) are etymologically to be connected with optative or potential forms in Middle Indian. Yedeya, for instance, may be equated with P. yunjeyya and peneya with P. paññāyeyya.

# (o) COMPOSITE VERBS

501. The types of composite verbs occurring in our graffiti are illustrated in the following examples: I. Väräja giva (No. 122), siti giva (No. 495), divi giva (No. 498), vī giva (No. 568). II. mesī gata in däkä gata mana mesī mā (No. 168), adaha gata (No. 136), näga gan (No. 169), siți gata (No. 209), ar gat (No. 274), balay gata (No. 288), lay gannā (No. 306), bala gana (No. 310), vala lay genä (No. 312), vī gat (No. 597), dī gata (No. 59), äda gata (No. 66), bala gata (No. 661). III. näga la (No. 15), bänä lan (No. 52), rava la (No. 193), bänä lata (No. 193), giyi layimo (No. 210), tana li (No. 232), karava lī (No. 352), liyā da la (No. 355), bändä lannā (No. 371), gänä liyi (No. 372), liyā liyi (No. 425), siṭvay lī in lī sihigiri siṭvay (No. 428), koṭa lī (No. 641). IV. daha pāma (No. 274), ela pan (No. 465), liya piye (No. 543). In all these examples the action to be expressed is in the absolutive, while the finite verb or participle which follows it expresses a certain modification in the sense. The auxiliary verbs ya (past tense, giya) 'to go' and gan 'to take' emphasize the reflexive character of the preceding absolutive. The auxiliary verbs la 'to place', 'to put' and pa 'to show' either emphasize the transitive character of the principal verb or are merely periphrastic. The absolutive form of the verb la used as an auxiliary has, as has been shown above (§ 492), become the mark of the absolutive; similarly the imperative form of the auxiliary verb pa (e.g. ela pan) has in the modern language been reduced to the character of a suffix indicating the imperative mood. In some of the examples given above, the absolutive is separated from the auxiliary verb by another word. In the phrase di kese lami (No. 293), the adverb kese comes between di and lami. An absolutive followed immediately by a finite verb, e.g. gala basi, need not be taken as a composite verb.

#### (p) VERBAL NOUNS

502. In the language of our graffiti, as indeed also in that of Sinhalese literary works and in the current speech, two types of verbal nouns play an important role in morphology. As will be seen later, they have an important bearing on the syntax as well. Of these two, the first, usually referred to as the present participle, is formed by adding the suffix -na to the verbal root and goes back to primary derivatives in Old Indian formed by the suffix -ana. The second, referred to by some writers as the past participle passive and by others as the preterite participle, is derived from the so-called passive participle in -ta, -na, or -ita of the Old Indian. These two types of verbal nouns occur in early Sinhalese documents—those of the second type being common in the earliest Brāhmī inscriptions and those of the first occurring in documents as early as the second century—and their evolution can be studied in considerable detail.

503. As primary derivatives, in their stem form, both these types of verbal nouns are frequently used as words qualifying a person or thing. Used in this manner, they are, for all practical purposes,

- 1 Whitney, A Sanskrit Grammar, § 1150.
- <sup>2</sup> EZ., vol. i, p. 149.

- <sup>3</sup> Geiger, G.S.L., § 138.
- 4 Whitney, A Sanskrit Grammar, §§ 952-8.

to be treated as adjectives (guna-sada). Compare, for example, gala yana minisun (No. 495) and balana risi vī topa (No. 579) for the so-called present participle and pin kaļa kal (No. 385 a) and galā kaļa tada la (No. 158) for the preterite. The adjective (guna-sada) does not change its stem form when used attributively, but shows distinction of gender and is inflected in the appropriate cases and numbers when used relatively to denote a person possessing the attribute which it expresses (see above, §§ 337 f.). In like manner these two types of verbal nouns, when used attributively, are in their stem forms, but are declined in the cases applicable, both in the singular and the plural, when they indicate the person in whom or a thing in which the action expressed by them appears. Examples of such inflected forms for the so-called present participle are: eno, yanayun, yanno, sitannā, gannānaṭ, vasannayuhaṭ, jannahun, hindinayun, yanan, pavatnan, yanne, yannaun, bananan, yennahu, kiyavannek, sitinuhu, enne, namadinnat, siținuvan, siținni, &c. Preterite forms with nominal inflexions may be exemplified by: giyo, nägiyun, duṭuyayuna, duṭvan, bäliyo, visiyo, kalavun, rändavuye, duṭun, siṭiyayun, pavattavinayuhu, giye, gattī, päländi, gattahu, liviyek, kaļavan, &c. The capacity shown by these verbal nouns to express the person or thing in which the action appears is comparable to that which the possessive compounds have of expressing a person or thing possessing the attributes indicated by the component words. Kala, for instance, meaning 'done', may also indicate 'he who has done' or 'that which is done' just as bahu-vrīhi 'much rice' expresses the meaning of 'a person possessing much rice'. These two classes of verbal nouns, expressing the person or thing in which the action appears, with a form of the verb 'to be' added to them, are used, for all practical purposes, as verbal forms, the so-called present participle doing duty to express continuous action whether referring to the present or the future (see §§ 442 ff. above) and the preterite to indicate the forms of the past tense (see above, § 437).

504. Both these types of verbal nouns are often used in the manner of infinitives, to indicate the action expressed by the verbal root; they are then declined on the pattern of dravya-nouns (see above, §§ 337 and 347). Examples for the first type are: vane, adane, baṇanā, tabanna, balanaṭa, saranaṭ, näsennaṭ, dilenu, karannak, kiyavannak, senu, vanu, balanu, &c. It is the verbal noun of this type ending in -nu and its dative case which is usually referred to as the infinitive in Sinhalese (Geiger, G.S.L., § 159). For preterites being used in the above manner, examples are: giye (No. 373), nägiye (No. 372), meleyin (No. 18), keleyin (No. 40), kalā (No. 250), diṭiyā (No. 39), &c.

505. It is not only in taking the dative of the first type of these two verbal nouns to be an infinitive that the adoption of a grammatical terminology invented for another language has led modern students of Sinhalese to incorrect conclusions with regard to them. What is referred to as the present participle is not restricted in its use to indicate an action in present time (above, §§ 441 ff.). It may refer to an action not yet begun. What is indicated by it is continuous or imperfect action whether in the present or in the future. Similarly, what is referred to as the past participle passive is not necessarily passive in usage. It is perhaps used in an active sense in as many contexts as it is in the passive. Karay sas giya raja (No. 620) and Piyal bäli avuj beyand hi pul-nil-upul-ässan (No. 124) are two contexts from our documents in which the so-called passive participle is used in an active sense. In the earliest Sinhalese documents this so-called passive participle is used in the active as well as in the passive meaning. In the phrase etehi karita Arita-maha-gama (Ep. Zey., vol. i, p. 152) karita is used in a passive sense. In parumaka Tise niyate ima vapi,2 niyate is active in meaning. Verbal nouns called past participle passives are regularly formed from intransitive roots; they cannot be used in a passive sense. What this form actually indicates is that the action has been perfected, and it may refer to the agent who performed that action or to the entity acted upon. It is this meaning of perfected action that is emphasized in the definition given by Pāṇini3 of the forms built by adding the suffix -ta, &c., to the root—the so-called passive participle—and not the active or passive meaning. It is also not legitimate to refer to this action noun as 'past', for a perfected action may be conceived as existing in the present. Pāṇini's rule ktasya ca vartamāne (II. 3. 67) recognizes this fact.

506. In contrast to modern grammarians of Sinhalese, whose notions about the functions of these two verbal nouns are somewhat hazy, the author of the Sdsg. had a clear conception of them. In its eighth chapter dealing with primary and secondary derivatives, the Sdsg. enumerates examples of both these types of verbal nouns as expressing the agent as well as the entity affected by an action.<sup>4</sup>

I For the traces of the so-called infinitive in -tum of Old Indian, see above, § 479. The idea of the infinitive is expressed in Sinhalese by the verbal nouns in -nu, -ma, and -li, the hav-kiriya of the Sdsg.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Müller, A.I.C., No. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Kta-ktavatū nisthā (Pāṇini, I. 1. 26).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Kam-katu-karu-dekata sama-pasin nipan (Sdsg., op. cit., p. 169).

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In the chapter on gender (the second), it deals with the use of these two verbal nouns as substantives and distinguishes their functions of indicating the person in which the action appears (arut-kiriya) and the action expressed by the verbal root (hav-kiriya). In the seventh chapter on the verb the part they play in the conjugation is dealt with, but it clearly indicates that the same forms, when they are participles, do not express tense but gender and case relations. Having thus discussed the characteristics which are common to these two types of verbal nouns, we now proceed to notice those points which are peculiar to each.

# (q) THE VERBAL NOUN OF CONTINUING ACTION (PRESENT PARTICIPLE)

507. From what has been said above, it will be clear that the appropriate term for the first of these two types of verbal nouns is that of continuing action; but, for the sake of convenience, the term in common use has generally been resorted to in this work. When we compare forms such as karana, yana, and hindina with their Old Indian prototypes karana, yāna, and sīdana, it will be noticed that verbal nouns of this type have undergone relatively little phonetic change and, in studying the Sinhalese language without reference to its sources, it may be stated as a rule that they are formed by adding the suffix -na to the verbal root. Conversely, in order to determine the root of a verb, the most convenient method is to subtract the element -na from this type of verbal noun in the active voice. The reflexive voice is indicated in this class of verbal noun in the same manner as it is in the conjugation of the present tense (see above, § 427); e.g. nägena. It should, however, be noted that the suffix -na of this verbal noun has always the dental n even in words like karana where, following an r, the Old Indian prototypes had the corresponding cerebral. This may be due to generalization on the analogy of the vast majority of these verbal nouns, such as yana, ena, &c., in which the dental n is etymologically correct, or the change of n to n in karana, harnā, &c., may be due to the working of phonological Rules cix and cx. Where a primary derivative of Old Indian in -ana has assumed the character of a noun pure and simple without the suggestion of a verbal character, the cerebral n due to the influence of the preceding r is preserved; compare, for example, marana 'death' with maranā 'killing' occurring in one and the same document (No. 23).

508. When this verbal noun is inflected, either in the meaning of the person in whom the action appears or in that of the action expressed by the verbal root, the n is very often duplicated; this is the rule in the literary dialect. In our documents, however, there are numerous forms in which the n has not been so duplicated. Compare, for instance, yano and eno with yanno and enno. This duplication of n is in accordance with phonological Rule No. cix. Geiger is of opinion that the final a of the Old Indian suffix -ana must have been dropped in the period when the dropping of the final vowel became a feature in Sinhalese and that the a in words like karana is a remnant of the suffix -ka which is usually found appended to verbal nouns of this type in the Brāhmī inscriptions (G.S.L., § 137). Against this view, it should be pointed out that not a single example of a verbal noun of this type with the final a elided has actually been met with. On the other hand, the primary derivatives of Old Indian in -ana, which have assumed the character of nouns without a participial connotation, are found in our documents with the final vowel elided, e.g. yahan from Skt. sayana. Cf. also mahan from Skt. sramana. It may, therefore, be presumed that the phonetic rule of dropping the final vowel excludes verbal nouns of this type. The operation of phonetic rules is very often guided by semantic considerations. The long ā in such forms as karanā, hindnā, paradnā, rusnā, &c., which are used attributively, is due to the suffix -ka, the two a's having coalesced after the elision of k. The part played by this suffix in the formation of such forms as yanu and karanu has been dealt with in § 350

### (r) THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE

509. The term preterite participle, adopted by Geiger, is more in keeping with the origin and functions of the verbal noun indicating perfected action than the term past participle passive, and I have accordingly adopted that term in this work. No general rule can be given of the manner in which preterites are formed from the verbal root. Even in Old Indian, preterites are formed with more than one suffix, e.g. -ta, -na, and -ita, and various phonetic changes occur when the suffix and the root

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Sada-dahamin arut-kiriya sada vata kal no äräbä pasa ladin lingu-vibat bejē (Sdsg., op. cit., p. 146).

are combined. All these variant forms in the Old and Middle Indian stages have undergone further development in Sinhalese, the result being that preterites very often differ greatly from their verbal roots and are of varied types. A fairly numerous type comprises those derived from Old Indian or Middle Indian forms in -ita, e.g. biṇi (Skt. bhaṇita), hindi (Mid. I. sīdita), nägi (Skt. laṅghita), disi (Skt. darśita), bäli (Pkt. bhālita), pähädi (Skt. prasādita), ayädi (Skt. āyācita), nävati (Skt. nivarttita), pävati (Skt. pravartita), &c. Some Sinhalese preterite forms derived from those in -ita in Old or Middle Indian end in -u. This, as has been explained above (§ 178), is due to the suffix -ka appended to them in the early period. Examples are: lägu (Skt. laṅghita + ka), särahu (Skt. saṅracita + ka), busu (Skt. bhraṁsita + ka), gulu (Skt. galita + ka), patu (Skt. prārthita + ka), situ (Skt. cintita + ka), bälu (P. bhālita + ka), vusu (Skt. vasita + ka), gäsu (Skt. gharṣita + ka), liyu (Skt. likhita + ka). In both these types the final vowel, i or u, may be long or short, the metre being the deciding factor.

510. Preterite forms in Old Indian, which were formed with the suffix -ta, with a consonant liable to drop in the second syllable and with homogeneous vowels in all the syllables, have been reduced to monosyllabic forms in Sinhalese. The same result has been effected in others with vowels which are not homogeneous by the aid of vowel assimilation. Examples are: ā (Skt. āgata), vū (Skt. bhūta), kī (Skt. kathita), lī (Skt. likhita), gī (Skt. gīta), pū (Skt. prahita). In preterites which go back to forms in Old Indian where the suffix -ta is conjoint with the final consonant of the root, k, p, n, &c., the t is preserved in Sinhalese, with or without the final vowel; e.g. kat (Skt. kānta), pat (Skt. prāpta). In gat (Skt. grhīta) and dat (Skt. jñāta) the t of the final syllable has been preserved without the aid afforded by its being in a nexus. Preterites of roots with r or r have the consonant of the suffix -ta cerebralized, first to d and subsequently to l; e.g. kala for Skt. krta, mala for Skt. mrta, ala for Skt. āhrta. Where the t had changed to t in Old Indian by being joined to the cerebral s, it is so preserved in Sinhalese, with or without the final vowel. The final u in some Sinhalese preterite forms of this type may be due to the suffix -ka. Examples are: dut or duțu, dit or diți for Skt. drșta, naț for Skt. nașța, baț or bața for Skt. bhrasta. Where the t had become dh in a nexus in Old Indian, it has been de-aspirated and so preserved in the language of our graffiti, e.g. lada or lad for Skt. labdha, bada or bad for Skt. baddha. In preterites going back to forms in -na in Old or Middle Indian, the n is preserved in our graffiti, with or without the vowel. Examples are: dun (P. and Pkt. dinna + ka), bunu or bun (Skt. bhinna + ka), hun or un (P. and Skt. sanna), dini (P. or Pkt. dinna), upan (Skt. utpanna), piribun (Skt. paribhinna), pasan (Skt. prasanna), pun (Skt. pūrnna). The change of the vowel in the first syllable to u has been explained in § 178. Where the n has been cerebralized in Old or Middle Indian, it had reverted to the dental as explained in § 250.

511. Many preterites have, for all practical purposes, become adjectives in our graffiti as well as in the later language; their verbal characteristics being altogether ignored. Pasan (Skt. prasanna) and satut (Skt. santuṣṭa) are examples. Almost invariably, such forms are those derived from prototypes in -ta or -na. In many instances, when a preterite has assumed the character of an adjective, a variant form, generally going back to a prototype in -ita, functions in the capacity of a participle, e.g. pähädi (Skt. prasādita) in place of pasan or pahan. In Sanskrit, too, many preterite forms had assumed the character of adjectives for all practical purposes, e.g. rakta. This process has been continued in Sinhalese. In some verbs the older preterite form going back to a prototype in -ta exists side by side with one derived from an Old or Middle Indian form in -ita, e.g. kaļa (Skt. kṛta) and käru¹ (P. kārita). These younger forms generally go back to causatives, but their causative character is hardly apparent in the contexts in which they occur. Preterites can regularly be formed from the causative form of any verbal root, e.g. karayu and karavuye.

512. In the reflexive voice the preterite is formed by the suffix -na or -nu, the vowel of the preceding syllable being changed to u. The n of the suffix is usually cerebral, but the dental also occurs. The final vowel is at times elided. Examples from our graffiti are huna 'fallen down', kipinu 'angered', hun 'fallen', malayuna 'parched', välanduna 'become attached', äluna 'attached', ävunu 'become entangled', liyuna 'become loosened', heguna 'become felt', vähuna 'poured down', kärune 'become done'. Forms of this type are commoner in the later language than in our graffiti. As there is no distinction of the reflexive voice in preterite forms in Old Indian or Middle Indian, the suffix -na of these forms cannot be derived from one with similar functions in those sources. In pirihin, from Skt.

reflexive voice in Sinhalese, takes similar forms to belong to his so-called Conjugation III.

<sup>1</sup> EZ., vol. iii, p. 227.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Geiger, who has not realized the existence of the

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parihīṇa, the final n belongs to a different category and has no connexion with the -na of the forms given above. In all probability the termination -na and its variants in these forms is an innovation in Sinhalese, as much as is the distinction of the reflexive voice in such verbal nouns. With regard to the origin of these reflexive preterite forms, I am inclined to the view that they are due to the preterite form of the verb 'to become'—vuna or una—which is inherently reflexive in meaning, being added to the regular form of the preterite. Thus, välanduna is välandi (P. valañjita) + una, vähuna is vähi (Skt. varṣita) + una, kipinu is kipi (Skt. kupita) + una, and so on. Already in our graffiti we have a form of the verb to be—uno—in which the initial v has dropped. The change of the vowel in the syllable preceding the suffix -na or -nu is thus explained. It is, however, necessary to explain the element na, nu, na, or nu in the preterite of the verb 'to become'. In my opinion, this is the same pleonastic suffix as that found in such words as muhuna, rähäna, &c., which we have noted in § 393 above.

# (s) VERBAL NOUNS IN -ma AND -li

513. There are two other types of verbal nouns, of common occurrence in our graffiti, which are infinitival in meaning, i.e. they indicate the action expressed by the verbal root. One of these two types is formed by the termination -ma and the other by -li; in both types the a of the first syllable of the root is changed to ä. Verbal nouns of these two types are not only of frequent occurrence in literary works, but are also common in the spoken language of today. The following examples may be quoted from our documents: I. Verbal Noun in -m or -ma: bälum, bäluma, bälma, däkuma, dimen (dima), vimen (vima), kälum, sälma, sitma, belum, särhima, situma, äluma, välambīma, pimma, beluma, väyme (väyma). II. Verbal Noun in -li: sitivili, ukäṭāli, tāvli, asväsili, dāpilla (dāpili), kāļākirli, vāṭli, hindili. In conjugation, both these types of verbal nouns conform to the dravya-noun.

514. The probable origin of the verbal noun in -m or -ma has been discussed in § 495. That in -li, in my opinion, is evolved from the primary derivatives in Old Indian in -ana, to which had been added the suffix -ka.  $T\ddot{a}vli$ , for instance, has to be traced back to tapana-ka and  $d\ddot{a}pili$  to jalpana-ka. Two factors had been decisive in the phonetic development of this verbal noun: the change of n to l and the influence of the y which had been introduced to fill in the hiatus caused by the dropping of k. It is this y which changed the a in the preceding syllable to i; the latter, in its turn, changed the a in the first syllable to  $\ddot{a}$ . The course of development of  $t\ddot{a}vli$ , for instance, would have been  $*tapanaka > tavanaya > *tavalaya > *tavaliyi > *t\ddot{a}vili > t\ddot{a}vili > t\ddot{a}vili$ . The phonological rules which come into play are xvi, lxxxvi, lxxxvi, lxxvi, xvi, xvi, xvi, xvi, xvi, xvv-xxvii, cv, i, and xvi. We have seen above that the verbal noun in -nu, which in meaning is identical with that in -li, has a similar origin, the primary derivative in -ana + ka. The working of different phonological processes gave to originally identical forms diversified aspects in which their common origin can hardly be recognized. It is at first sight difficult to believe that tavanu as well as  $t\ddot{a}vili$  originates from Skt. tapana + ka.

# (ix) Indeclinables

# (a) ADVERBS

515. Just as Sinhalese, as early as in the period of our graffiti, had almost lost the capacity to form secondary derivatives by means of suffixes (above, § 410), so it does not show any propensity to form adverbs from nouns, pronouns, or adjectives with the aid of suffixes. In our documents, however, there are a few adverbs which can be taken as formed with the aid of suffixes. Detā, which means 'exceedingly' (lit. 'doubly'), is evidently formed by adding the suffix -tā to de 'two'. The word is repeated to intensify its meaning: detā detā (No. 142). The suffix -tā in this word is of uncertain origin, but may be of the same character as -tā in duṭ-tāyen (No. 216). In itā, too, tā may be treated as an adverb-forming suffix, the element i representing Skt. ati. The element -oba in moba, momba, and anoba may also be taken as a suffix by origin. The analogous koba, found in literary works, is presumably from Skt. kva. The interrogative character of the initial k was always recognized, and oba was extracted from it, treated as a separate word or suffix, and added to me and an, giving us moba (here) and anoba (elsewhere). Oba, however, is declined as a substantive, the dative form obaṭ occurring in our graffiti. The adverb ko is derived from Skt. kva and its suffix has had no independent existence in Sinhalese.

516. The recognized manner of forming adverbs from adjectives, pronouns, or nouns in Sinhalese y

is by compounding them with a word meaning 'like', &c. This is so in the language of our graffiti. The words so added in our graffiti are sey (variants seya, seyi, se) and van (variant vana). Examples of adverbs so formed are: ke-se, me-se, me-seyi, ki-sey, risi-sey, ek-vana, ek-van, tara-vana, risi-van, and mulā-vana. Sey and vana are substantives, for we have forms like seyin and vanin (instr.). In ek-desi 'definitely' (Skt. eka-deśena), desi is compounded with ek to form an adverb. The absolutive form of the verb 'to do'—kot—also converts an adjective into an adverb, e.g. manā-kot.

517. The case forms of certain words are used adverbially in our graffiti. Such are the instrumental forms mulullen (No. 275) 'entirely', bohoyen (No. 539) 'excessively', and varajekni (No. 539) 'erroneously', the locative forms pere (No. 51) 'formerly' and yehe (No. 605) 'happily', and the accusative forms, not distinguishable from the stem, niband (No. 478) 'incessantly', bera (No. 585) 'frightfully', palamu (No. 634) 'before', pahala (No. 682) 'openly', tad (No. 194) 'in a hard manner', and niti (No. 590) 'always'. Instrumental forms are used adverbially in literary works; but a similar use of the accusative, which is common in Sanskrit, is not the rule in standard literary usage in Sinhalese. The adjectives must either be in the instrumental or a word like se must be added to them. Adjectives in the accusative used as adverbs have, however, been stereotyped in some instances and now exist in the language as adverbs pure and simple, e.g. nibanda and niti.

518. The absolutives of certain verbal roots have been atrophied into particles; in § 491 above are given some examples of such words occurring in our graffiti. Among these examples navata 'again' and numuta 'incessantly' are adverbs by function. Other adverbs of similar origin are: navatayi (No. 530) 'again', lit. 'having stopped', and vahay (No. 426) 'soon', lit. 'having forsaken'. With regard to the last example, it may be pointed out that when a person is asked to come forsaking what he is occupied in, it necessarily means that he is asked to come immediately. The change in meaning thus becomes intelligible.

#### (b) PARTICLES

519. There also occur, in our graffiti, a considerable number of adverbial, conjunctive, and other particles, of which some are derived from words of similar character in Old and Middle Indian, occasionally with a change in meaning; some are stereotyped nominal or verbal forms of more recent origin. Of others, the origin is obscure, but they may also be stereotyped nominal or verbal forms. Of these particles, me, mä, nu, layu, vay, kira, nama, and nam are assertive or emphatic in meaning; no, ne, na, and nä are negatives; epa and naham are prohibitives; kima, kim, ja, ju, da, du, jo, do, jo-ho, and dä are negative particles; seya, sey, se, seyin, bandu, vana, väni, van, mene, mena, meni, men, eva, evu, ev, hav, lesi, koṭa, and aga are particles of comparison; ara, ar, veta, yomu, kara, kere, and vet are particles of place or direction; puna, punā, piļi, and dän are particles of time; iti, udak, seda are particles of manner, in which category may also be included sey, seyin, seya, se, seyi, vana, väni, and van which have been given as particles of comparison. Conjunctive particles are: ja, da, t, d, udu, du, ud, layu, yi, yä, nam, haya, and hay. Other particles not included in any of the above categories are: tak, tek, tāk, taka, tā, toro, tor, onä, la, lu, vat, nana, sā, and äti (enough). For the etymology of these particles, where it can be ascertained, for their meanings and the contexts in which they occur, reference may be made to the Glossary-Index. The following are interjections found in these graffiti: a, ā, are, ahay, aho, os, hay, and hā. Mey in No. 461, which is a pronominal form, is used as an exclamatory word and may therefore be taken as a particle.

520. The prepositions (Skt. upasarga) have no independent existence in the language of our graffiti. Long before the date of these records, these prepositions had become organically one with the nominal or verbal forms with which they are combined and, having undergone the normal phonological changes, had become in many instances hardly recognizable. In some words like *surat* and *dudut*, the preposition and the nominal or verbal form may be taken apart, but in others like *nugi* the two are inseparably connected. The prepositions do not play any appreciable part in the formative apparatus of the language.

#### (D) SYNTAX

521. An exhaustive study of the syntax of the graffiti is not intended to be undertaken here. There are, however, certain syntactical questions of which a clarification is needed for the correct interpretation of these documents. It is, in many instances, a proper appreciation of the syntactical position which decides whether a particular word has to be treated as a noun or a verb and whether a noun

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is in the nominative or in an oblique case. At times, morphology alone is indecisive in such matters in Sinhalese. An understanding of the structure of the sentence is of the utmost importance in linguistic studies; so far as Sinhalese is concerned, however, most of its students seem to be content to apply to it the notions formed during their studies of other languages.

# (i) The Three Constructions

522. It is hardly necessary to state that the main component parts of a sentence indicate respectively an agent who performs an action, an entity affected by such action, and the action itself. In conceiving the set of ideas to be formulated in a sentence, prominence may be given by the human mind to one or the other of these three factors. In some cases an action may occur without any entity, other than the agent, being affected by it. When the agent is conceived as the prominent factor, the word expressing the agent is used as the subject of the sentence, which thus is of the active construction. When the entity affected by the action is conceived to be the factor to be emphasized, it then becomes the subject and the sentence will be in the passive construction, which, it will be obvious, is only possible where transitive verbs are concerned. These two constructions, of course, are well known. English, for instance, has a marked predilection for the active construction while in classical Sanskrit the passive construction is more favoured. There is, however, a third possibility in formulating a sentence, i.e. to treat the action as the factor to be emphasized and to use the word expressing it as the subject. Constructions of this type are very rare, if they exist at all, in English, but are not unknown to Sanskrit, e.g. mayā atra ciram sthitam. In Sinhalese, as early as in our graffiti, this third method of constructing a sentence has acquired great favour; in the spoken language of today, as will be shown below, it is very common.

523. As examples of sentences in the active construction, which are very common in our graffiti, we may quote no ganiyi sag mene may (No. 249 b) 'Heaven does not captivate my heart', aho janim mam pirijun sey Sihigiri moyun (No. 164) 'Alas! I know the manner in which Sihigiri has been ruined by these people', and yet dano galin basimin (No. 670) 'people go away descending from the rock'. In the third example the verb is intransitive; in the other two, transitive. For the passive construction we may quote the following examples: ävid suve lada apa Sihigiri katun aturehi (No. 180) 'having come into the midst of the ladies of Sihigiri, happiness was obtained by us', nättak no kī mā (No. 368) 'it is not a falsehood that has been uttered by me', yana ma at vana lada kima (No. 643) 'what has been obtained by me, going away'. Passive constructions, however, are not very common in our documents and many sentences which at first sight appear to be such may with greater justification be included in the third category.

524. Examples of the third type of construction are: siţine siki ay mā taman mana annaţ dī (No. 535), no dī mā ā mana mā (No. 139), beyand hi ran-vanu biņiya no heyen ma no biņiye (No. 203), biyapat vä apa beyanda nägiye (No. 372). In all these sentences the subject is a verbal noun in the nominative case, either of the type usually called the present participle, or the preterite, denoting the action expressed by the verbal root and not a person or thing in which the action appears. A clear distinction, therefore, is made in such sentences as to whether the action which is denoted by the subject in the nominative case is already complete or is still continuing. In the first of the four examples quoted, the subject of the sentence is the verbal noun sitine, and in the last nägiye, both in the nominative singular. The actual agent in the first sentence is denoted by  $m\bar{a}$  and that of the last sentence by apa; both these forms are in the genitive case. A literal translation into English of the first sentence would be: 'O friend, of me who am come, (there is) the standing, having given my own mind to others'. As far as it is possible to express it in English, the literal translation of the last is: 'having been frightened, (there is) of us (the fact of having) climbed the mountain side'. In both the sentences a form of the verb 'to be' has to be understood as the predicate which makes the assertion. The form of the verb 'to be' or rather 'to become' is stated in many examples; for instance, Sihigiri a ve mā (No. 510) 'my (having) come to Sihigiri, is', ma gos no lada ve tā lada (No. 443) 'what was not obtained by me, having gone, is obtained by you'. In the above examples the verbal noun is inflected; there are instances where it is in the stem form; witness, for example, sithi kälabim venu (No. 416) 'in the mind agitation becomes'.

525. The type of construction which we have discussed in the above paragraph has been noted in the Sdsg. by the term hav- $piy\bar{o}$  (= Skt.  $bh\bar{a}va$ -prayoga); but the real purport of the grammarian's aphorism

Dā-pada akam vata katu-hav-piyō vanuyē Katu kam yi sav-piyō saha-kam-ganehi vanuyē (Sdsg., p. 136.)

with regard to this has not been understood by his commentators. It is true that the reference to hav- $piy\bar{o}$  does not occur in the section dealing with syntax, but in the seventh chapter in aphorisms discussing transitive and intransitive verbs. In this connexion the Sdsg says that, of intransitive verbs, there is the active formulation (katu- $piy\bar{o})$  and the hav- $piy\bar{o}$ , while transitive verbs have the passive formulation in addition to these two. The aphorism has been understood as referring to the formation of active, passive, and participial verbal forms, but verbal forms themselves imply their use in sentences. Moreover, the term  $piy\bar{o}$  (Skt. prayoga), used by the Sdsg in this connexion, meaning 'formulation', is more appropriate to a discussion of syntax than to morphology. The two types of verbal nouns used as the subject in constructions of the kind discussed above are referred to in the Sdsg as hav-kiriya (= Skt.  $bh\bar{a}va$ - $kriy\bar{a}$ ). Hav- $piy\bar{o}$  (= Skt.  $bh\bar{a}va$ -prayoga), therefore, is an appropriate term for a construction in which the hav-kiriya is emphasized as the subject of the sentence. 'Infinitival Construction' would be an appropriate rendering into English of the term 'hav- $piy\bar{o}$ '; but I use 'impersonal construction' as the latter term is used with reference to analogous constructions in Sanskrit.

526. According to the Sdsg., the impersonal construction of the sentence is possible with a transitive verb as well as with an intransitive. When an action-noun from a transitive root forms the subject of a sentence, being in the nominative case, as in the example apa beyanda nägiye, or in the stem form, the object also may be in the nominative case. Such a sentence may, therefore, be taken as being in the passive construction as well as in the impersonal. Grammarians have preferred to treat them as being in the passive construction. It is perhaps to avoid this ambiguity that the periphrastic form of passive construction, with a form of the verb laba after the action-noun, has been adopted. A few examples of this periphrastic passive construction occur in our documents (see § 428 b), but it is not common in the earlier poetical literature. In prose works, however, this construction is much in vogue. We have seen above that, in the case of verbal forms taken to be passive in the Sdsg., there is more reason to take them as of the reflexive voice (above, §§ 414 ff.). There are, however, very many examples of the impersonal construction with transitive verbs, which cannot be mistaken as passive constructions, for, in these, the action-noun only is in the nominative case, or in the stem form. The agent and the object are both expressed by words in the genitive case. An example is bäli vi da me tā netakin devasaran men hindiyan (No. 572). When the action is taken to be the factor to be emphasized in a sentence, the agent and the object both become mere attributes of the action.

# (ii) Participial Construction of Sentences

527. When they are used to indicate the thing in which or person in whom the action exists, i.e. when they are, in the terminology of the Sdsg., used as arut-kiriya (= Skt. artha-kriyā), the two types of action-nouns known as the preterite and the present participle have also an important part to play in syntax. We have shown above that what are taken as verbal forms of the past tense in the indicative mood are such preterites in the nominative case with the appropriate form of the verb 'to be' subjoined in the first and second persons. Similarly, what are taken as verbal forms in the future tense are formed in the same way from inflected forms of the so-called present participle. Apart from these forms, of which the participial character is to a great extent obscured, sentences in our graffiti are formed by positing as the predicate an action-noun functioning in its participial character, either in the nominative case or in the stem form. The subject may be a substantive or a participial form agreeing in person and number with the predicate. The copula—a form of the verb 'to be' or 'to become' is often left out to be understood. The following sentences may be given as examples: kanda no kala vena ran-van (No. 84) 'did not the golden-coloured one break the flute to pieces?', lit., 'is not the golden-coloured (damsel), one who has made the flute broken to pieces?' In such forms, as in kala in this sentence, gender is clearly shown, indicating that they are essentially nouns. Sam-vanak la may gata (No. 230) 'a dark-coloured damsel captivated my heart', lit., 'a dark-coloured damsel is one who has captivated my heart'. In this sentence, too, gata has to be treated as in the feminine gender. Mana gattī mulullen (No. 313) '(she) captivated my heart entirely', lit., 'she is one who has entirely captivated my heart'. Ran-van rähä jattayuhu (No. 253) 'the golden-coloured (damsels) knew the taste', lit., 'the golden-coloured (damsels) are those who have known the taste'. Malahu kalahu da (No. 570) 'did he who died do this?' (the plural is honorific), lit., 'was he who is dead one who has done?' Turu gaļ (No. 595) 'trees fell', lit., 'trees are those which are fallen'. Kat lī beyand haļ (No. 340)

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'the dear damsel left the mountain side', lit., 'the dear damsel is one who has left the mountain side'. In the last two examples the action-nouns are in their stem forms. Sentences of this type are also formed by positing substantives as subject as well as predicate, e.g. ho viyuruyak no ve da, 'is she not a demented one?' (No. 68). When the action-noun in such sentences as the above is one from a transitive root, the object is taken by the Sdsg. to be in the nominative case.<sup>1</sup> In the ultimate analysis there is no real difference in the construction of the sentences which are here referred to as of participial construction and those with a verbal form taken by the Sdsg. to be of the past tense or future tense in the indicative mood. The so-called verbal forms and the participles are essentially nouns, and it is the copula—the form of the verb 'to be' or 'to become'—whether actually forthcoming or left out to be understood, which makes the assertion necessary to form a sentence.

# (iii) The Order of Words

528. Our documents being in verse, they very often deviate from the natural order of words in the sentence, for reasons of metre, rhythm, &c. The majority of prose passages which occur therein are hardly more than labels. The few prose passages of considerable length that are forthcoming, together with such verses as those in which there does not appear to be much transposition of words, help us to determine that, in the language of our graffiti, the order of the words in the sentence is very much the same as it is in Sinhalese literature, which corresponds to that in Sanskrit. The subject comes first, then the object, and last of all the predicate. Attributary words and phrases as a rule precede that which is qualified. The normal order of words in a sentence is exemplified by the following prose: Nārāyaṇā nam Mārā nam de-bāyo ran-vanu balannaṭa ā sada me satar-padaya līvo (No. 558) In literary works the agent expressed by the genitive case in passive constructions generally takes the place of the subject in the nominative case as the first part of the sentence, but in the following prose passage from our graffiti the object in the nominative with its attribute is placed first: me kava Mit-batīn e sittama sihi vi eta äsi vi (No. 473). This may be contrasted with Dayal-batī liyu me de-kavi (No. 122). In some sentences the object comes last and the predicate follows the subject; e.g. Agbohimi līmi gī (No. 410).

529. Adjectives and participles when used as attributes, whether singly, in compounds, or coming at the end of a phrase, are usually not inflected, e.g. len-äsi yovanak (No. 152), giri-hisä hindi digäs (No. 476), sunil-mahanel-kälum bälmak (No. 246), &c. But there are not a few instances in which adjectives as well as participles are inflected when they are attributively used. For example, lalayun . . . varanganan in No. 192, ran-vanän kellan in No. 470, miyuläsiyan harannan in No. 176, mā banduvan ti bäluvan in No. 460, topa vanavū-himin in No. 596 and mun mana ne hädi yannan in No. 504. The demonstrative pronouns also, when attributively used, are not inflected as a rule, e.g. me kata (No. 603), e digäsi (No. 241), &c.; there are, however, a few instances in which they are in their inflected forms. Compare, for example, yeheli kiyā mo numuta (No. 3) where mo, nominative singular, is attributively used referring to yeheli, and balayi manga piyā vana-vū-himin men ho (No. 309) in which ho (nom. sing.) qualifies pivā. These two correspond, respectively, to Skt. eṣā sakhī and sā priyā. Similar usage, with the attributes inflected, is not wanting in literary works; compare, for example, Gk., v. 348, and the sixth chapter of the Sdsg. which deals with the various methods of using attributary words and phrases. In this connexion the construction of the sentence in bisariye vasäriyuna kaluna gäninayuna sada (No. 111) and tabay pili-bib raju yihi giyayun no jat sey kim (No. 130) may also be noted. Gäninayuna and giyayuna in these two contexts would normally have been uninflected, but they are here in the genitive plural. In the second example, giyayun is in the honorific plural while raju, which it refers to, is in the singular. Kaluna gäninayuna sada is, in meaning, the same as kaluna gänina sada and raju giyayun is raju giya. A parallel construction from a literary work is ovun yanavun däka in the Amv., p. 39.

### (iv) Subordinate Clauses

530. Subordinate clauses qualifying the subject or object, which, in most other Aryan languages, are introduced by a relative pronoun, are, in Sinhalese, phrases ending in the so-called present participle

1 Arut-kiriyanen vut kam (Sdsg., p. 182).

or the preterite participle. These two action-nouns, in this manner, play a very important role in syntax. This characteristic feature of Sinhalese, in which it resembles Tamil and other Dravidian languages, had developed long before the time of our graffiti. In this particular function, these two types of action-nouns are essentially adjectives. They, however, not only possess the capacity to transmute an action into a quality and to attach themselves as attributives to nouns, but are also able to sum up the conditions—time, place, manner, &c.—of the action which is turned into an attribute. A phrase or clause ending in one of these two types of participles is thus equivalent to an adjectival compound in Sanskrit—but one which is loosely knit with inflected forms occurring in the middle. Participial clauses of this nature occur in almost every stanza among our graffiti; it is sufficient, therefore, to give only a few illustrations: Himabi me bitehi visu (No. 116) 'the lady who remained on this wall'; sapu-kusum surat-atni gat helilabiyuka (No. 119) 'a fair damsel who has taken sapu flowers in her exceedingly rosy hand'; liya mal-känak gat dili atni lobanā sey (No. 233) 'the damsel who in her beautiful hand has enticingly taken a spray of flowers'; pini-gata rata-mahanelahi (No. 228) 'of a red lily which has taken on dew'; ma sit lak vana sey (No. 364) 'in a manner in which my heart becomes the target'; meyaṭa ena mada-nala (No. 382) 'the gentle breeze which comes to this'.

531. In prose the participle invariably comes at the end of the clause immediately preceding the noun which it qualifies; but in metrical compositions, as will be noticed in a number of the examples quoted above, this natural order is not adhered to, for various reasons: for emphasizing a particular word, or for the sake of rhythm or rhyme. This at times gives rise to ambiguity in interpretation. To quote an example from literature, vv. 28 to 38 in the fifth canto of the Kskh. comprise a string of participial clauses all qualifying the word sarasavi-maduva in v. 39. But the participles, in some of the clauses, are not at the end, and have therefore been taken by commentators as referring to other words, making it necessary to assume that the word äti is to be understood to join such clauses to the word which they qualify.

532. In comparing this participial construction in Sinhalese and the Dravidian languages with that using the relative pronoun, for instance, in English, it may be pointed out that in the latter it is possible to say 'the man who is rich' in place of 'the rich man'. In cases like this, few will maintain that the use of the relative pronoun indicates any appreciable difference in meaning. In Sinhalese and Tamil such expressions as 'the man who is rich' do not occur at all; what we get is the equivalent of 'the rich man'. In English, too, though it is not incorrect to use a phrase like 'the man who is rich', what is generally done is to use the adjective—the attributive word denoting a quality—in the same manner as in Sinhalese or Tamil. Similarly, it is possible to say 'a dead man' or 'the man who is dead', the faded flower' or 'the flower which is faded', where a past participle is used in the manner of an adjective just as in Sinhalese or Tamil. But this use has not gone very far in English; it is only in the case of verbs which are of a reflexive character that the past participle is capable of being used in such a manner. The present participle can also in English be used in a few instances in the manner of an adjective in compounds. Witness, for instance, such words as 'sitting room' and 'boarding house' in which these words are used precisely as similar words are used in Sinhalese or Tamil. In English, however, such use of the participles is not very widespread. In other words, the structure of the English language, while admitting quality as an attribute—witness the use of adjectives as in Sinhalese and Tamil—does not as a rule give an opportunity for action, perfect or continuing, to be conceived as an attribute. In expressions like 'the man who has been to prison' or 'the man who is running' the action performed by the man or that which he is performing is not taken in English to be an attribute of his, while in the Sinhalese and Tamil modes of expressing the same meanings it is taken as such. On the other hand, words such as 'rarified', 'sanctified', 'terrifying', 'stupefying', which are used attributively, admit the possibility of action being conceived as an attribute.

533. When we say 'the rich man', the mind conceives the attribute and the possessor of the attribute in one single act of cognition; but the expression 'the man who is rich' suggests two separate acts of cognition. Similarly, the English expression 'the man who is running' is the result of not cognizing the 'man' and his attribute of 'running' in one single mental operation. The Sinhalese and Tamil modes of expression, with the participle functioning as an adjective, and the words expressing the time, place, manner, &c., of the action, joined as it were in one compound, are a result of the ability in the speakers of these languages to conceive not only an entity and its attributes of action, but also other factors relating to the action, in one mental operation. The analytical method of expression

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resulting from the use of the relative pronoun is like using a series of simple equations, while the participial construction of Sinhalese and Tamil resembles a pair of simultaneous equations. The latter, with the significance attached to the place of the participle, can also be compared to the decimal system of notation, while the former, in its analytical character, is not unlike the Roman system.

534. Sentences constructed with the Sinhalese equivalent of what is called the relative pronoun in Old and Middle Indian are not altogether wanting in our graffiti; they are found in literary works, too. For examples, in pere yam häjin nam ma pahanij nam alalä mā e yat me et (No. 251), yam is equivalent to yam in Sanskrit, and e is used in the manner of a correlative. In dilindin sitat yam isi isini topa no me yat hot (No. 240), isi is qualified by yam; but, instead of the correlative, the word isi itself is repeated. In the sentence ho yam desekä mā tomo bäli (No. 305) there is neither the correlative e nor a substantive, and the sentence has to be understood by supplying e desa before bäli. The pronoun yam, unlike the relative pronoun in European languages, has not the power to join the clause in which it occurs to the rest of the sentence. For this purpose the particle nam is usually made use of, as in the first example quoted above. Neither in meaning nor in function does the pronoun yam in Sinhalese exactly correspond to the relative pronoun in European languages. It is used substantively as well as adjectivally, and does not express the relationship between the word to which it refers and another word or phrase which follows. What yam is actually used for is to state some action, quality, &c., in an indefinite way, the presence of which in a particular person or thing is later affirmed. In my opinion the use of yad in Sanskrit is also similar and does not exactly correspond to that of the relative pronoun in English or Latin. It is, therefore, not quite correct to say that the relative which Old Indian used with frequency has been lost in Sinhalese. What has happened is that the older way of expressing thoughts, as in the sentence quoted in this paragraph, has been almost given up in Sinhalese.

535. Subordinate clauses not only end in participles, but also in absolutives, gerunds, and verbal forms in the conditional mood. The nature of such clauses will become evident from the functions of these verbal forms which have already been discussed. Thus, in Sinhalese, even a complex sentence often contains only one verbal form in the indicative mood. A concessive clause, however, often contains a verbal form in the indicative mood and is joined to the principal clause of the sentence, not with the aid of a verbal form in the conditional mood, but with the conjunction -j, ja, ju, -d, da, or du, all variant forms derived from Skt. ca. This conjunction corresponds in its function to that of api in Sanskrit. Examples of such sentences are: mana ma niyali ja kata digat dī yanuyunaṭa nagaya ma dasa vadayi äsa (No. 374); no läbi ju vajanak me ata neta balata sit äti men (No. 559); balanu tabay davas yā no hä vī da lada räyu (No. 375); dakina risi tubuhi da tā diṭi sey tos vanuva näti (No. 500); mīläsi basak no me dun vey du dun sey (No. 329). Sentences of this type of construction are quite numerous in our graffiti; for other examples see Nos. 130, 132, 172, 207, and 349. An interrogative clause may also contain a verbal form in the indicative mood, e.g. mene mayi ke-banda heji kele varanana ā nu bālamata (No. 345). It will be noticed that in this clause the interrogative particle da is wanting. According to standard usage, the particle da (Skt. and P. uda) and the verbal form yat 'if it is to be said' should have come after kele in the above sentence. There are numerous examples in our graffiti in which an interrogative clause or even a sentence is formulated without the particle da, e.g. veta kā visiyo (No. 31), mana kā no ganni (No. 154), and muyuna asarā yi kā siti (No. 427). In later literature, particularly in prose and in the modern spoken language, an interrogative sentence or clause necessarily ends in the particle da. This interrogative particle invariably comes at the end of the sentence or the clause in prose; but our documents which are in verse do not necessarily observe this rule, e.g. kenek da e kavek hinde lī (No. 492), which in prose order would have been kenek hinde lī e kavek da.

536. The construction of the Sinhalese sentence resembles that of the Sanskrit in that there is no oratio obliqua. The exact words of the speaker are quoted and joined to the rest of the sentence by the particle yi (Skt. iti). The thoughts, intentions, wishes, knowledge, &c., are similarly quoted as if one had uttered them. The following examples of this type of construction may be cited from our graffiti: näsä para lovo yemi vayi raja moyunä ajavaya . . . giyeka (No. 61), piribun sanā bala yi ta asa li ud¹hur layi (No. 222), baṇana seyi mä karamo ya yi beyandahi arana seyi kiyayi (No. 348), kī yamo me davas ta gī läsi no yi keļi mā (No. 369), yamha yi heļillabu giye (No. 373), hämä jena ranvanun duṭmo yi boru kiyati bas (No. 395). A direct quotation summed up by the particle yi often gives

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This particle serves the purpose of the mark of interrogation used in writing European languages.

the reason for what is stated in the rest of the sentence which follows it. Meyat ävij giyak no badaha yi nagina biyen (No. 405) and siki-sanda buṇa biṇi yi epa un-hi tabanna äsi (No. 39 a) are examples. A phrase or a whole sentence summed up by yi is often the object of a verbal form. Examples are: muyuna asarä yi kā siti (No. 427), taman divi yavi yi pavasā (No. 543), dedī taman ran-vanun dakut me ļa sihil ve yī (No. 528), siti tamā tabayi miyanemi yi vī kaṇa topa (No. 578), and puvutin asay gos mey kum ha yi Sihigiri (No. 511). A whole sentence with a verb in the indicative mood summed up by yi may also be the subject of a complex sentence. In no dāṭā ye yi no he dā (No. 120), no dāṭā ye yi is the subject of he. The particle yi in sentences like the above often coalesces with the last syllable of the preceding word by the dropping of the y; its presence is indicated by the length of the vowel in such syllables. Thus, in ek gīyak kiyī mā (No. 1), kiyī stands for kiyi yi. Sometimes the particle yi is omitted after a direct quotation: in yehen vasamo āp kiva yehe yi (No. 266) the interpretation of the sentence requires the insertion of yi after āp. Vi or vī takes the place of yi in some places; e.g. no dakmo manā minisak vī pav vasanney top (No. 22), rana-vana mese kī vi sita no bāliyo da koṭa ās tada (No. 31), and sasara katara bava minis-piya no sulabā bava no kisi vi jannahun āti (No. 99). This vi may be the absolutive of the verb 'to become' or the preterite of the verb 'to state'.

537. An example of a sentence containing a clause in parenthesis with a verb in the indicative mood is furnished by No. 224: no dunnahu yehehi rähä ek basak ve sanā. A phrase or clause ending in an absolutive is at times the subject of a sentence; e.g. mayi äti polobā (No. 194), mā dag koṭ tibi (No. 199), basa tepalay äti (No. 214), jänä nätte yi (No. 481), apa gähäni vī ne (No. 504), äya nuyuṭa vī näti (No. 582). Similar usage of the absolutive is forthcoming in the colloquial speech of today. Compare, for instance, an expression like gaha väṭi-la tiyenava. A clause with an absolutive in the reflexive voice has at times the value of a conditional clause. For instance, in tama-haṭa kaṭa sene tibī (No. 553), tibī is equivalent to tibeddī in the modern language, meaning 'while it is there', and in kaṭa vi sabā vī (No. 630) vī is equivalent in meaning to a form in the conditional mood. This way of using vī lends point to our suggestion that hota and hotin are in origin absolutive forms of the verb 'to become' (see above, § 475).

## (v) Concord

538. The rules of concord in person and number are generally the same as in Sanskrit; but the use of the stem form in place of inflected forms, particularly in the nominative singular, makes these less rigid, e.g. mīläs mana häji unno (No. 534) where mīläs agreeing with unno must be taken to be nominative plural, but the stem form is used instead. Compare also sata yano yi (No. 452). The stem form in the nominative singular is represented by many examples, compare raj . . . giye (No. 270). Certain words, collective or indefinite in meaning, while being in the nominative singular, agree with a verb in the plural; e.g. hämä jene . . . boru kiyati (No. 395), jene kihu (No. 402), ätamek kiyat (No. 292), jene ada bala yeti (No. 641). There are, however, examples of the plural form used, e.g. dano et (No. 468). When a participial form is used as the predicate, it is generally made in literary works to agree in gender with the subject. Examples of this from our graffiti have been given above (§ 527); but there are cases in which this is not so. Mo kele yi (No. 108) and ho kele (No. 166) are examples. Constructions like this justify the Sdsg. when the latter takes such forms as verbs and not participles (arut-kiriya). In ridiyak . . . veseyi (No. 410), veseyi being a verbal form, the construction needs no comment. The notion that a subject in the feminine must necessarily have, as its predicate, a participle agreeing with it in gender-though conforming to the practice of the authors of a later date-is due to a misunderstanding of grammar.

539. When a verbal form with the personal ending is the predicate, the pronouns of the first and second persons are often omitted when they are the subject of the sentence; e.g. āmi däkä aturen no me bäṇā ran-vanun hun (No. 512), yamo himambiya no buṇiyen (No. 273), yahi da me-väni ru-sayarena (No. 630). But the personal pronoun is often expressed: aho janim mam (No. 164), muļā no vī ke-seyi balamaha api me sela nägi (No. 646). The pronoun api 'we' in many contexts need not refer to any persons other than the speaker. In No. 453, for instance, the writer starts by using a verbal form in the first person plural, bälumo, but in the next sentence uses the singular mā: beyand bälumo yahapat vara sinā mā dasa. In the spoken language of today also, api is frequently used in referring to one's own self.

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540. A form of the verb 'to be' or 'to become' is used as the copula joining the subject and the predicate agreeing in number and person. This verbal form, yi, which is equivalent to Skt. asti, shows no distinction of number and person; compare, for example, sita tada vanne yi (No. 487) with sata yano yi (No. 452). Äti (Skt. asti) and näti or näta (Skt. nāsti) are similarly used without distinction of number: e kalhi näta la-pabando (No. 76), jene äta (No. 518 a), jannahun äta (No. 99), and sey äta pavatnan (No. 133) may be compared. The verb 'to become', however, when functioning as the copula, shows distinction of number and person in our documents. It is noteworthy that in the sentence veti senno tipi beyandahi (No. 497), veti (third person) is used in reference to a subject in the second person. Here the copula agrees not with the subject, but with the predicate. These points with regard to the use of the copula in our documents are suggestive of the manner in which the construction of the sentence in the spoken language of today came into being. Even in our documents the character of yi as a form of the verb 'to be' was becoming obscured and it has in some places been treated as a mere particle indicating the close of the sentence, e.g. in vidīmaha yi in No. 221. A form of the verb 'to become', ve, took the place of yi as the copula and this in turn lost the distinction of number and person. In course of time ve changed to  $v\bar{a}$  (see above, § 138) and is now used very frequently in participial constructions such as mama yana  $v\bar{a}$  and api yano  $v\bar{a}$ . Vowel-assimilation in changing the plural termination o has further tended to obscure distinctions, and in speech we have api yana va as well as api yano va. Yana and yano are forms of the verbal noun of continuing action indicating the person in whom the action exists (arut-kiriya), and with api the predicate must originally have been yano.

541. When the speaker refers to himself in the first person but at the same time wishes to give his name, the personal termination is added to the name as it is to the verbal, or rather the participial form used as the predicate, e.g. Mahanā-pava-veherā vasana Daļameyami badmi (No. 427). As has been shown above (§ 438), the termination mi in the predicate is really a form of the verb 'to be' (Skt. asmi). It is so in the proper name, too. In reality, therefore, there are two different sentences in the example given above and in other sentences of that nature. This type of construction is common also in the language of the stone inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries, and is analogous to the usage in Tamil epigraphs (Ep. Zey., vol. iv, p. 211, n. 3). There are instances in which the personal termination is added to the name only and not to the verb: Mihidalmi San-lad-kumburen mehi ā daväsā me gī (No. 441) and Pot-devmi me gī (No. 356) are examples. Conversely, the name is given without the personal termination which is added to the predicate: Agbo-māḍabiyan ge Vīrāmkurā nama me kī dāpilla hay vidīmaha yi (No. 221). Here the speaker uses a plural verb referring to himself. In some places the construction is normal in the third person: Hisānili me lī (No. 343).

### (vi) Uses of Cases

542. Some observations on the uses of cases in our documents are given in the following paragraphs. The use of the nominative case has already been referred to in dealing with concord and the structure of the sentence. With regard to the accusative, in addition to the normal uses into which it is not necessary to go in detail, the following are noteworthy: (1) The place at which one has arrived: arana avuj (No. 15) 'having come to the forest', gira näga-la (No. 15) 'having ascended the rock'. In standard usage it is the dative which is appropriate in such places; our graffiti also afford examples of this usage, e.g. ā sita tut no vi meyat (No. 390), meyat ävij (No. 405). The time of duration is in the accusative: pavatu vā-dahasak (No. 135) 'may you endure for a thousand years'. The person to whom one speaks: katun ma benet 'the ladies speak to me' (No. 225). In such contexts, however, it is commoner to have the person spoken to expressed by a word in the genitive case followed by the particle hay (hā), e.g. helilabiyuka ma hay no me bunu (No. 119) 'a fair damsel did not speak to me'. A person looked at is indicated by a word in the accusative: e.g. an no balat (No. 101) '(they) do not look at others', yeheli bala (No. 640) 'having looked at the confidante'. The standard usage is to have the word denoting the person looked at in the genitive followed by desa 'in the direction'. Such examples, too, are not wanting in our graffiti: digäsin no balay desa (No. 552). The place slept upon when it is the ground is in the accusative: hovit bimā (No. 251). The adverbial use of the accusative has already been noted (\$ 517)

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543. The adverbial use of the instrumental has already been dealt with (see above, § 517). The instrumental is used to indicate the cause: raj miyā giye me himabuyun no buņūyen (No. 2) 'it is because these ladies did not speak that the king died', ma no keleyin taman pin dän mata topa nu-dun basa (No. 40) 'by reason of my not having committed good deeds, a word has not been given me by you now'. The direction by which one comes is indicated by the instrumental in me desa asalin meya ada (No. 7) 'having come to this by the vicinity of this side'. Accompaniment is also expressed by this case: gäyumni ta väyime (No. 289) 'in your playing music accompanied by singing'. The place on which something is kept is at times expressed by a word in the instrumental instead of one in the locative: e-tek tänin ändili andvā tabay (No. 482) 'having caused pictures to be painted and kept them in so many places'. This use in our graffiti is interesting as it is still found in ordinary speech, e.g. bimin tiyā pan 'place it on the ground'. The instrumental may also mean 'in the form of', e.g. maha-sit da sittamin situvay (No. 541) 'depicts in the form of a picture even the very soul'. With a gerundive, the substantive of the predicate agrees with the subject in the instrumental: vareka kaṇasvalu vare vanney atni risi (No. 612) 'he who is despondent at one time will become one who has achieved his desire at another time'. As jāti-nouns are not declined in the instrumental in Sinhalese, kaṇasvalu in the genitive agrees with risi atni in the instrumental.

544. In addition to its ordinary meaning of recipient of a gift, the dative is used in the following senses in our documents: On account of: e maļa tad-ļa-āttaynaṭ (No. 10) 'he died on account of the hard-hearted ones'; for the sake of: vāṭi miyat piyahaṭ (No. 131) 'when they, having fallen down, are dying for the sake of their lover'; a thing which causes fright: e-vāni dāyākaṭa biye (No. 58) 'he fears a thing like that'; the place of going to: to gosin āya nevesnaṭa (No. 134) 'you, having gone to her abode'; one spoken to: oyunaṭa kiyanneya (No. 255) 'it should be said to them'; one to whom an injury is caused: aṅgnanaṭa pahas 'caused insult to the women'.

545. In addition to the normal adjectival use of the genitive which does not need comment, and its use in the passive and the impersonal constructions of sentences, which has already been dealt with (above, § 524), the following points with regard to its use are worthy of note: The genitive is used with particles of comparison such as väni and bandu: e.g. hennayun väni (No. 20), topa banduhu (No. 69). In certain contexts sey also governs the genitive: e.g. galä kaļa tada-ļa-āttan sey (No. 319). The manner in which the genitive came to be appropriate in such contexts is made clear in passages where väni is used as a substantive, e.g. ran-vanu giri-hisni hennayun vänno (No. 300) 'the goldencoloured ones are of the manner of those falling down from the top of the rock'. It is the genitive which is used with the particle hay and its equivalents (= Skt. sākam) which correspond in meaning to Skt. saha; e.g. benet selen ayun hay (450 a), ayuyun hay tī kala kima da (No. 384), topa haya no banana seyi (No. 570), ta hayi ta yat yami (No. 352). According to the Sdsg., it is the agentive case (katu-vibat) which is used with  $h\bar{a}$ . This injunction is designed to bring Sinhalese usage into line with the practice in Sanskrit, where it is the third (instrumental-agentive) case with which the particle saha is used. As we have noted above, the instrumental or agentive has been dropped in Sinhalese, the genitive taking over its functions. It is also the genitive which is used with a verbal form in the conditional mood, e.g. maļa oyuhu (No. 570), eta gähänihu (No. 335), &c. As explained already (§ 471), the verbal form in the conditional mood in such instances is a participle in the absolute construction, and in Old and Middle Indian the noun which accompanies the participle is in the locative case. Sinhalese having no locative forms of jāti-nouns (denoting persons), the genitive is used instead. The word expressing a group is in the genitive when one is to be selected from them, e.g. avan ko ja (No. 161), digäsin ekak (No. 220). This use, however, may not be the one referred to as nidarun-arut in the Sdsg., because the selection is not due to the pre-eminence of the selected in some quality, action, &c.

546. In the following passages the locative is used in a manner somewhat different from its standard usage in literary works. The time of duration: me-tek kalhi vasat uj (No. 22); the place of going or coming to: yahi an-kisi tänek'hi (No. 184), pasehi eta (No. 281), mala-akare eta (No. 580); the object of looking at: mala-kande bala siți (No. 354); the reason for anger: äs-sälme kipi (No. 114). With bandu, the particle of comparison, the locative is used in nim patek'hi bandu (No. 394); elsewhere the genitive is used in such contexts, but in this instance the genitive is ruled out because patek is a dravya-noun which is not declined in that case. Tol'hi päräyu (No. 394) is of the same significance, though the literal meaning is 'defeated' and not 'comparable to', as in the case of bandu. In absolute constructions,

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when the noun which accompanies the participle is not one denoting a person, it is in the locative, examples being: kaļa pun-sandā udāye (No. 86), kadabe miņimusi sanda (No. 550), mayi nivase gata (No. 498). In the second example the meaning of the participle is given in a more analytic manner, but the accompanying noun (kadabe) is in the locative. In the third example, while the participle is a transitive verb and the construction passive, the subject is in the genitive, the object is in the locative. In ek-kenek nat-hi (No. 385) the participle preserves the locative ending.

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- 547. Written by various hands at different times, these documents cannot be expected to show uniformity with regard to their language. It is, therefore, not always possible to classify them chronologically by taking the stage of linguistic development as the criterion. A document which exhibits an earlier stage in a particular aspect of phonological evolution may reasonably be taken as earlier in date than one in which a later stage of the same is exemplified. Instances, however, are not rare of documents which, while exhibiting an earlier phase of evolution in one phonological aspect, contain evidence of a later phase in another.
- 548. For example, a word of which the medial or final vowel has dropped is in a relatively later stage of evolution than one in which the vowels in these positions are preserved, and a document which exhibits the first phonetic feature must be taken as later in date, on this account, than one which exemplifies the second. If we proceed to date by this criterion, No. 268, in which not a single vowel is elided, must be earlier than No. 590, which has words like *sittama* where a medial vowel has dropped. But No. 590 must be pronounced earlier in date if the evolution of the genitive singular of the pronoun of the first person be taken as the test. For, in No. 590, we have the form maya, whereas No. 268 has ma, which is evolved from the former by the dropping of y, the coalescing of the two a's thus brought together, and the shortening of the resulting  $\bar{a}$ .
- 549. Again, words which contain e in place of later  $\ddot{a}$  should be taken as representing a stage of linguistic evolution earlier than that of those exhibiting  $\ddot{a}$  in corresponding positions. Applying this test, No. 16, which has the form sebavina and vesa for the later säbavina and väsa, must be treated as earlier in date than those documents which contain the vowel  $\ddot{a}$ . But this document also contains the form vi, which is derived from Old Indian  $bh\bar{u}ta$  through the intermediate forms viyi and  $v\bar{v}$ . It is by the dropping of v of viyi and the coalescing of the two vi is thus brought together that vi is evolved. vi is the result of the shortening of the vowel vi. vi is the forms vi and vi in the form vi i
- 550. To follow another line of phonological development, we have seen that j changes to d in Sinhalese. Words in which the j is preserved represent an earlier stage of linguistic evolution when compared with those in which it has changed to d. By this test No. 482 must be taken as earlier in date than No. 498; for, in the former, we have the form jivi (Skt. javita) against divi in the latter. But No 482 has the verbal form  $v\bar{i}$ , which represents a later stage of development than viyi found in No. 498; if we take this as the criterion, the position arrived at by a consideration of the forms of divi and jivi has to be reversed.
- 551. In one and the same document are often found forms exemplifying two different stages of phonological evolution. No. 627, for instance, contains maja, in which the j is preserved, side by side with diya, in which that letter has changed to d. Inconsistencies of this type can be shown from a number of other documents. It is, therefore, clear that phonological changes were not always carried through consistently. While some literati preferred forms in which such changes had taken place, others favoured more archaic forms. Phonological changes may also have been operative in certain words, while they exerted no influence on others. Some of the phonological features noted above, e.g. e instead of  $\ddot{a}$ , and the retention of the medial and final vowels, may be explained away by certain

philologists as orthographical peculiarities; such a procedure, however, is not possible in the case of the change of the j to d and the coalescing of similar vowels brought together by the elision of a weak consonant.

552. On the other hand, in the majority of our documents, an earlier or a later stage in the evolution of one phonetic feature is supported by a similar stage in the development of another. Take, for instance, No. 625, which shows no  $\ddot{a}$ , but has e instead. The relatively early period to which this document can be assigned on this account is also supported by the fact that it contains no word of which a final or a medial vowel has dropped. It also contains forms in which weak consonants are preserved, arresting the process of the coalescing of similar vowels in contiguous syllables, e.g. vuyu, the precursor of the forms  $v\bar{u}$  and vu. On the other hand, there are forms  $kal\bar{i}$  and  $gal\bar{i}$  for \*kalahi and \*galahi, which show greater advance in phonetic decay in this respect. The balance of probabilities is that this document is among the earliest of our graffiti-a conclusion supported also by the palaeographic evidence. Similar conclusions can be drawn by examining the stage of linguistic development shown in Nos. 16, 68, 90, and 629. In No. 50 the incidence of the vowel ä suggests a later date which is supported by other phonological features such as the dropping of medial and final vowels, the change of j to d, &c.

553. Making due allowance for individual idiosyncracies, we can, therefore, draw conclusions from the stage of linguistic development reached as to whether a particular document among our graffiti is of a relatively earlier stage than another. Such a conclusion, arrived at by a consideration of the linguistic evidence, becomes all the more probable when palaeographic considerations point to the same result. Documents which show e in places where there is  $\ddot{a}$  according to the classical usage, which contain no words with the medial and final vowels elided, which exhibit forms like seya, maya, taya, viyi, vuyu, and liyi, and which retain the j without changing it to d, are attributed to the eighth century. Those which exhibit all these features are taken to be of the first half of that century, while those which show development in the first two phonological features are assigned to the second half. Documents which show \(\alpha\) in accordance with the usage in literary works, which contain forms with the medial or final vowel elided, which show the coalescing of two similar vowels in contiguous syllables and the dropping of weak consonants, and those exemplifying the change of j to d, are taken to belong to the ninth century.

554. The few documents which, on palaeographic grounds, have been ascribed to the tenth century, do not exhibit any particular traits of linguistic development differentiating them from those which are written in characters attributable to the preceding century. For example, Nos. 144 and 256, which contain a form of k more developed than the forms of that letter found in datable documents of the ninth century and have, on these and other palaeographic grounds, to be attributed to the tenth, do not exhibit any linguistic developments not noticed in documents which, from their script, can be taken as a century earlier in date. The phonological features characteristic of the documents of the tenth century had already been evolved during the earlier stage.

555. Among extant literary documents, there are three of which the language may be compared with that of our graffiti—the Dhampiyā-aṭuvā-gäṭapadaya of Kassapa V (Dhag.), Siyabaslakara (Sbl.) of the tenth century, and Sikhavalanda with its commentary or vinisa (Svv.), which seems to be somewhat later in date than the other two. The numerous lithic records of the ninth and tenth centuries, particularly the edicts attributed to Mahinda IV at Mihintale<sup>1</sup> and the Abhayagiri Vihāra,<sup>2</sup> the edicts of Kassapa V at Abhayagiri Vihāra3 and of Mahinda IV at Isurumuņi,4 and the Inscription of Udā Mahayā from Puliyankulama,5 also furnish us with data by means of which we can judge the age of our graffiti. Like our graffiti, the Dhag. and the epigraphic documents noted above contain an admixture of linguistic forms in different stages of development. But those among our graffiti attributed to the eighth century represent a stage in the development of the Sinhalese language which is anterior to that in any of the literary and epigraphic documents noted above. All of them are subsequent to the establishment of  $\ddot{a}$  as a characteristic feature of the Sinhalese language, and words showing ein place of  $\ddot{a}$  in the standard literary idiom are very few in them. All of these documents, literary and epigraphic, represent a stage in which the dropping of the medial and final vowels is the norm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> EZ., vol. i, pp. 75-113. <sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 213-41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 41-57.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 29–38.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., pp. 182-90.

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The graffiti attributed to the ninth century represent very much the same stage of linguistic evolution as the *Dhag*.; but the script in which they are written is decisively more archaic in form than that in the lithic records of Kassapa V, the author of that text. This is in accord with the circumstance that those of our graffiti attributable on palaeographical grounds to the tenth century hardly show any linguistic features which distinguish them from those written in the ninth-century script.

556. Our graffiti being in verse, the comparison of their language with that of the earliest of the preserved Sinhalese literary work in verse is important. This is the Siyabaslakara<sup>1</sup> (Sbl.), which, according to its colophon,<sup>2</sup> is the work of a king who had the throne-name Salamevan and whose personal name Sen (Sena) seems to be suggested. If, as is generally accepted, this king is the same as Sena I, the work is of the ninth century; but there is no mention in historical works that this monarch had distinguished himself as a literary man. There is, therefore, the possibility that this work is by Sena III whom the Cūlavamsa<sup>3</sup> eulogizes as a poet. It is therefore likely that the later in date among our graffiti were scribbled on the gallery wall in times close to the era of the royal author. In some of our graffiti are certain peculiar words and phrases which are also met with in the Sbl. Similarly, other words and phrases of common occurrence in our graffiti are met with in the Ksm. and in the verses cited as examples in the Esl. Some of our graffiti, e.g. Nos. 33, 36, 490, and 491, as far as their language is concerned, might have been abstracted from the Sbl. or, for the matter of that, from the Ksm.

557. There is, however, one linguistic feature in which the vast majority of our graffiti differ from the Sbl. or Ksm. Agreeing with the epigraphic documents of the ninth and tenth centuries, many of our graffiti exhibit unvocalized consonants in medial and final positions in a word, and among such consonants are g, j, t, d, n, d, b, y, r, and l. The use of these consonants without being vocalized is repugnant to literary usage, particularly at the end of a word-a characteristic which modern spoken Sinhalese also shares. The Sbl. falls into line with the other literary works in this respect, and its language, therefore, bears a physiognomy quite different from that of the majority of our graffiti and the lithic records of the ninth and tenth centuries. According to our observations on this phonetic feature (above, § 278), forms in which medial and final vowels are elided need not necessarily be earlier than those in which vowels are preserved (not reintroduced) in similar positions. The Sbl., therefore, on linguistic grounds, need not necessarily be later than such documents as, for example, our graffito numbered 322. In graffiti written in the same type of script, there are forms with medial and final vowels as well as those in which the vowels in such positions had been elided. Compare, for example, Nos. 556, 339, 268, and 5 with Nos. 76, 246, 462, and 484. Nos. 205 and 648 can, judging by the stage of linguistic evolution represented, be taken as belonging to the thirteenth century or even a later period, if we assume that the poetical works of these periods truly reflect the current language of the times in which they were produced.

558. It must also be borne in mind that the elision of vowels represents a relatively later period of linguistic development than does that of their retention. Taking this phonological feature as the criterion, it is not impossible to argue that the language of the Sinhalese poetical literature dating from the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries exhibits a stage of evolution earlier than that in the inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries. Such a conclusion is not so absurd as would appear on the face of it. For these poems of the twelfth to fifteenth centuries were not written in the language which was current in their time. Had we been reduced to the necessity of fixing the relative dates of the Sasadavata (Sdv.) and the Ruvannala (Rm.) by the evidence of the language alone, it would not have been possible for us to determine that the former dates from the early decades of the thirteenth century, while the latter belongs to the middle of the fifteenth. For there is no difference in the language of these two works, so far as phonological and grammatical evolution is concerned. We might have had to ascribe both of them to the same period and, if we had had evidence that the Rm. was of the fifteenth century, we might have been driven to the conclusion that the Sdv. was also of that date. Again, these two works exhibit the same stage of linguistic development as the Ksm. of the late thirteenth century and the Sbl. The case is not different with regard to prose works having literary pretensions. An unwary university student, trained on scientific lines, if given selected passages from the Sinhalese Upāsaka Janālankāra of the eighteenth century and the Pūjāvalī of the thirteenth, might not recognize that a period of five centuries separates the one from the other.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Edited by Polvatte Bhadanta Śrī Sudarśī, Alut-

Pähäyu vas sesat kis niriňdu keļē Salamevan.

<sup>3</sup> Chap. 54, v. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Sirimat sen viyat mini-räsni kiruļu me sat

559. It is evident, therefore, that the extant literary works dating from the thirteenth century and later, more particularly the poems, were written in a language which imitated earlier models which are now lost. These poems were addressed to a limited circle of literary men and women, and even those select individuals at times needed a word-to-word paraphrase in order to understand them. The living speech of the time in which a particular poem was written must have necessarily exerted a considerable influence on its vocabulary; but, in grammar and orthography, forms considered to be the standard had to be followed. The language of the inscriptions, which were meant to be understood by the multitude, will not have been so much bound by accepted standards as the literary works. It would, therefore, be natural to find in inscriptions of a given date linguistic forms of a stage of evolution later than those found in literary works belonging to a subsequent date.

560. The composers of the verses written on the Sigiri gallery wall could not all have had the same preference in the matter of language. Some, no doubt, were particular about conforming to standard literary usage; and to them we must attribute those verses whose diction and language are the same as, or similar to, those of *Sbl.*, *Ksm.*, and other works of that type. Those which exhibit grammatical forms not noticed in literary works, but which are found in inscriptions of the eighth to tenth centuries, are probably by authors who were not much concerned with conforming to literary standards.

561. The particular period during which this literary style was evolved cannot be definitely determined in the absence of the early literature. The fact that the language of the standard works does not favour the dropping of medial and final vowels to such an extent as do the inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries would indicate a period earlier than that of these records. On the other hand, a later period is suggested by the circumstance that the classical idiom has carried the phonetic change of j to d very much farther than has the language of the ninth-century inscriptions and the majority of our graffiti. For the literary works of a particular period to be accepted as the norm by succeeding generations, they must have exhibited exceptional merit. And the reputation of twelve great poets who flourished in the reign of Aggabodhi I (circa A.D. 564–97) was so well established that even the Cūlavamsa, which does not normally concern itself with literary matters, has noticed them in dealing with that reign. The Sinhalese historical works mention these poets by name. But, if the few stone inscriptions that can be ascribed to the sixth and seventh centuries can be taken as indicating the character of the literary language which was current in that period, the earliest of the graffiti included in the present volume exhibit phonological characteristics, such as the change of c to s, which had not developed by the time of Aggabodhi X.

562. In the case of the Sbl. it is also possible that the orthographical and grammatical variations between that work on the one hand, and the majority of our graffiti and the tenth century inscriptions on the other, are at least partly due to the standardization of its language at the hands of commentators and scribes. If this work, for instance, had originally contained forms like sand, beyand, &c., the scribes of later generations, to whom such forms were not familiar, may very well have omitted the virāma in copying the text, giving rise to the regular classical forms sanda, beyanda, &c. These forms could also have been introduced into the text through the intermediary of generations of teachers who expounded this treatise to their pupils.

563. Our graffiti also contain grammatical forms which, from the point of view of historical evolution, represent a stage later than the corresponding forms in the prose works of the thirteenth century and after. Absolutive forms ending in a, such as bala, &c. (see § 488 above), are obviously later than corresponding forms ending in  $\bar{a}$ . But the literary idiom of prose works of even the present day almost invariably uses forms ending in  $\bar{a}$ , e.g.  $bal\bar{a}$ . Here, again, we find our documents to be more in contact with the living language. Such is also the conclusion to be drawn from the use of grammatical forms (see §§ 450 and 496) which are to be found in the modern colloquial language but have failed to find a place in literary works.

564. The subject-matter of a literary work or a document has a great bearing on the nature of its language, particularly the vocabulary. The different aspect which our documents present when compared with inscriptions and literary works of approximately the same date must, in some measure, be due to this reason. For instance, in Svv., a textbook meant to be used in monastic schools, a woman is always a māgam 'mother'. This word never occurs in our documents. To the people who scribbled

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cūļavamsa, chap. 42, v. 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Pūjāvalī, 34th chapter, edited by M. Medhankara Thera, p. 19.

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verses on the gallery wall, including even the monks, women were 'long-eyed ones' (dig-net and its variants), 'deer-eyed ones' (mīlās), 'fair damsel' (helillambu), and a host of other such words suggestive of love and romance. The word isā, which is so common in inscriptions embodying legal documents dating from about the eighth to the fourteenth centuries, also does not appear in any of our graffiti. In the formulation of the sentence, too, the subject-matter plays a part. In legal edicts the sentence is long and involved in construction, the entire document being a single sentence in many cases. The sentence is brief in our graffiti, as it must necessarily be completed in a short verse. The licence allowed to poets to deviate from the grammatical order of words in prose is freely made use of in the graffiti.

565. There are hardly any Sanskrit tatsamas containing sounds foreign to genuine Sinhalese. In the verses there is only one example of a word with an aspirate letter-madhura in No. 367. In the few instances of Sanskrit tatsamas with combined consonants, the first consonant is written with a virāma attached to it, e.g. janma in No. 678. There are, however, many words, containing no sounds foreign to Sinhalese, which are identical in form here and in Sanskrit. Rasa in No. 206 can be treated as a tatsama, for rähä (No. 253) is the form which had developed in Sinhalese undergoing the normal phonological changes. Some proper names, such as Kīrtti-Varmma, Śrī Harṣa, Dharmmānvito, are in the Sanskrit forms. From these, it is evident that Sanskrit had already begun to exert its influence on Sinhalese. Certain words, though they are in genuine Sinhalese form, are obviously derived from Sanskrit literary works. Var-van (Skt. vara-varninī) in No. 347, suvasuhä (Skt. suvarcasā) in No. 444, and varanana (Skt. varānanā) in No. 345, for example, are unlikely to have been words current in the living language of the day, and indicate that some of the literati of the period had read Sanskrit poems. The writers of our graffiti in which these words occur need not themselves have known Sanskrit. They may well have adopted these words from literary works popular at the time, whose authors might have adopted them from Sanskrit. Just as we find in later Sinhalese poetical works, such words adopted from Sanskrit have been Sinhalized as if they had undergone the normal phonological changes by being in use for a considerable period. Etymology, evidently, was a subject of study among literary men of those days. Hardly any influence of Pāli is evident in the language of the graffiti; that of Tamil is altogether absent.

#### VII. PROSODY

566. In studying the form—apart from the content—of the verses which we have recovered from the Gallery Wall at Sīgiri, it is essential for us to know what the rules and canons of versification were to which their authors considered it necessary to conform, and this is made possible by the favourable circumstance that an old treatise, dealing exclusively with traditional Sinhalese prosody, has continued to be a subject of study among the literati up to our own day. This is the *Eļu Saňdās-lakuṇa* (*Esl.*)¹ of Bhadra-sthavira, which is as authoritative on the topics it deals with as the *Sidat-saňgarā* is on questions regarding the grammar of classical Sinhalese. The precise date of this work on Sinhalese prosody has not been ascertained; but, from internal evidence, it is reasonable to conclude that it is of about the same period as the *Sdsg.*, i.e. the thirteenth century. Not only has the author of the *Esl.* expounded the general principles of versification, but he has also defined the characteristics of no less than ninety-four different metres in Sinhalese, naming them and illustrating them by examples.

567. The Esl. is some five centuries later in date than the earlier of our graffiti, but it was not the first treatise of its kind in Sinhalese. The Siyabaslakara (Sbl.) of the tenth century, almost contemporaneous with the later in date among our graffiti, refers to works on prosody which existed at that

<sup>1</sup> Though the name of this text is adopted as it is generally current among scholars today, *Eļu* (Sinhalese) is hardly necessary in the title, for there is no question of its author dealing with the prosody of Sanskrit or Tamil. Moreover, if *Kskh*. ii. 38 be taken as containing a punning allusion to this text, as is generally admitted, the title is *Sandäs-lakuna* (Skt. *Chandolakṣana*), with no *Eļu* prefixed to it. This work has been printed several times, but no critical text, based on a collation of all the available manuscripts, has yet appeared. This is much to be regretted, for large portions of the text, as found in printed editions, are manifestly corrupt. The aphoristic verses dealing with

prosody in general, and the definitions and names of metres, are on the whole reliable, but the stanzas given as examples, among which are many of high literary merit, evidently extracted from poems no longer extant, are often so corrupt as to be unintelligible. These evidently contain the earliest specimens of Sinhalese versification preserved in literary works, certain words and expressions in them finding their echo in our graffiti. A critical edition of the *Elu Saňdäs-lakuṇa* is, therefore, a desideratum. The editions utilized here are those by Välitara Śrī Jñānāvāsa Sthavira (Sevyaśrī Press, Colombo, 1921) and by Väliviṭiye Sorata Nāyaka Thera (Mahābodhi Press, Colombo, 1945) respectively.



time,<sup>1</sup> and gives the names of several metres which are also noticed in the *Esl*. It is, therefore, reasonable to conclude that the system expounded by Bhadra in the *Esl*. was one that had been handed down through several centuries, and that the names of the metres are not of his coinage, but go back to considerably earlier times. Two of the names of metres in the *Esl*. are also referred to in our graffiti. On these grounds it is legitimate to infer that the ideas on prosody on which the verses of our graffiti are based were substantially the same as those which are expounded in the *Esl*. We are thus on firm ground when we examine the metres of the Sīgiri verses with the *Esl*. as our guide.

568. From the exposition of Sinhalese prosody in the Esl. as well as by an examination of the extant poetical literature, it becomes evident that Sinhalese versification is based mainly on the number of syllabic instants ( $m\bar{a}tr\bar{a}$ ) in a line, and not on the position of long and short syllables, as is the rule in the vast majority of metres in classical Sanskrit. To use the terminology of the Sanskrit chandasśāstra, Sinhalese prosody is essentially a mātrā-chandas, not a gaṇa-chandas. The Esl., it is true, expounds Pingala's system of ganas (metrical feet) and makes use of them in the definition of quite a number of metres. But such metres, in which the position of light and heavy syllables is fixed, occur very seldom in literature, and bear the stamp of artificiality. So far as our graffiti are concerned, there is not a single verse among them of which the metrical scheme requires the presence of a heavy syllable in a particular place. In being a mātrā-chandas, the system of Sinhalese prosody falls into line with that of the literary Prākrits. Among the individual metres, however, there are very few which are identical in construction with those found in the Prākrits.2 The system of Sinhalese prosody, therefore, has an individuality of its own; though, as is natural, there are many points in which it shows affinity with that of Sanskrit, or of the popular dialects of India. This individuality extends also to the names of the metres. There is only one, the Totaka, which in name as well as in form exactly corresponds to the metre of the same name in Sanskrit.3 Sinhalese men of letters of former times had evidently studied the metrical system of their language without being unduly influenced by the impressive façade of Pingala and other writers on chandas in Sanskrit.

569. According to the treatment of the subject in the Esl., and also to the tradition among men of letters, Sinhalese metres fall into three broad divisions. In the first category are included different types of couplets in which there is no rhyme and, in the second, quatrains of various sorts in which the four lines must rhyme together at the end. Rhyme in the middle of a line is optional. The third category is a mixture of the other two, and is not represented by a single example in our graffiti. In fact, it is only in the class of poems called Sandeśas (Message Poems, in imitation of Kālidāsa's Meghadūta) that examples of the third category (sähäli) are found.

570. Quatrains as a class are referred to in the *Esl.* as *sivu-pada* (Skt. *catuṣpadī*)—a term (sīpada) which is familiar even to the illiterate villager of today. In the introductory prose passages appended to three of the quatrains included in our graffiti, they are referred to as *satar-pada*, which is of the same meaning as *sivu-pada* (*sivu* and *satar* both mean 'four', *pada* is 'line'). The nomenclature that was current in the time of our graffiti (eighth to ninth century) is thus found to tally with that of the Esl. so far as this type of metrical composition is concerned. With regard to the first category of Sinhalese metrical compositions (the couplets), however, there is no accord as regards nomenclature between Esl. and the writers of our verses. The Esl. uses the term  $g\bar{\imath}$  (Skt.  $g\bar{\imath}ti$ ) to distinguish the couplets from quatrains, and this usage prevails among Sinhalese scholars up to this day. In our graffiti, too, there are scores of introductory prose passages in which couplets are referred to by the term  $g\bar{\imath}$ . But the term is not restricted in use to couplets. In Nos. 320 and 627, the introductory prose passages refer to quatrains as  $g\bar{\imath}$ . To the writers of Sīgiri verses, therefore, the rhymed quatrains as well as the unrhymed couplets were  $g\bar{\imath}$ . This is in accord with the usage in Sanskrit works on prosody, in which  $g\bar{\imath}ti$  is the term used for metrical compositions in which it is the number of syllabic instants in a line, and not the position of light and heavy syllables, that is taken into account. And, as we have seen,

are also found in Sanskrit works on *chandas*; but the parallelism does not go beyond the name. *Uvadā* (Graffito No. 625) is etymologically Skt. *Upajāti*, but the Sinhalese metre has nothing in common with the Sanskrit metre of that name.

4 See, however, the remarks in § 610.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Sbl., Chap. I, vv. 15–18. The names of the types of metrical composition given here may be compared with those in the Esl., vv. 8–10.

with those in the Esl., vv. 8-10.

<sup>2</sup> The metre called Pede (= Skt. Padaka) in the Esl. (represented by our graffito No. 51) is found in the Apabhramsa verses contained in Act IV of some manuscripts of the Vikramorvasīya, which are generally considered to be spurious.

<sup>3</sup> There are some names of Sinhalese metres which

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Compare Esl., v. 5, which has Gī-sivupada-lakunu dekin vädē at-saňda. The section on couplets ends with the notice: gī-lakunu nimi.

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the quatrains as well as the couplets in Sinhalese poetry are composed on the same principle; they are of the mātrā-chandas. In modern usage quatrains are often referred to as kavi (Skt. kāvya), and this term is not applied to couplets. In our graffiti, however, kavi is applicable to couplets as well as quatrains. In No. 627, for example, a four-lined verse is called a kavi (as well as a gī), whereas No. 652 refers to a couplet by the same term. The etymology of the word kavi justifies the manner of its use in our graffiti; for a couplet can be as much poetry (kāvya) as a quatrain.

571. What then was the generic name for couplets at the time when our graffiti were written, if it was not gī? The graffiti themselves do not afford the reply to this question. The Girā Sandēsa (v. 109), enumerating different types of metrical compositions recited by people foregathered at a wayside resting place, couples depada with sivupada. The last, as we have seen, are the four-line rhymed stanzas, the second category of Sinhalese metrical compositions. In literature the other class of metrical compositions, which are numerous enough to form a category to take its place by the side of the sivupada, are those which are now referred to as  $g\bar{\imath}$ . The inference, therefore, seems legitimate that  $g\bar{\imath}$ , before they came to be known by that term as a class, were referred to as depada (Skt. dvipadī). The Esl., however, can be quoted as evidence against such an inference. In defining the various gī-metres, this text gives the number of syllabic instants comprising a quarter of a stanza, just as it does in the case of sivupada. Though the author of the Esl. refrains from using the term pada (line) in the definitions enumerating the number of syllabic instants in a quarter of each type of gī, the use of the word pada in the stanza<sup>1</sup> describing the characteristics of Sandahaṭa-gī is conclusive that, for him, a gī, too, comprised four pādas.2 Against such an objection, it may be pointed out that to treat a gī as consisting of four pādas would stultify the author's whole intention in referring to another class of compositions as sivupada or satara-pada. A sivu-pada must have been so-called because it consisted of four metrical lines, in contrast to another class which was not formed of that particular number of lines.

572. If a quarter of a  $g\bar{\imath}$  is to be treated as a metrical line, its end must coincide with the end of a word. A line of a verse cannot end in the middle of a word. There are, however, numerous examples, in our graffiti, of what are  $g\bar{\imath}$  according to the nomenclature of the Esl., of which the first or the third quarter ends in the middle of a word. Take, for example, graffito No. 106, which reads:

Sala-talahi huṇa-akara seyna layu [tubu] sit Muḷā ve mene maya beyadahi rana-vanäna duṭuyen

In this stanza, the first quarter, which should have nine syllabic instants according to the definition of the *Esl.*, ends with ka in the middle of the word akara, and the third quarter of ten syllabic instants closes with ya of the word beyadahi. Similarly, there are other examples which require the breaking of stem and suffix if the quarter verse is to be treated as a separate metrical line. Compare, for example, graffito No. 50:

Topa nuyuna-miṇi-viṭni vämhena pähä disey No keļe taman temam e in danim topa sura bava

In No. 242, the first quarter breaks a compound:

Tamā me tama-haṭa no-rusnāk no kere-j balaya Gat beyand¹hi siṭi tamā ambuyuk may maha-nelin

Similar compositions are found in Nos. 43, 56, 68, 84, 94, 107, 567, and numerous other examples. Verses of the same character are not lacking in literary works, too. In v. 706 of the *Rm*., the first quarter ends with *ya* of *piya-vura*, thus dividing the compound, and in *Ksm*., Canto IV, v. 1, the first quarter ends with *m* of *sädum-ni*, separating suffix from stem.<sup>3</sup> In Canto II, v. 48, of the same poem, the first *pāda* ends with *da* of *no-danuva*. These examples prove that, among the writers of

- Peden pede piriyata akuru dähä pada nänge nam Bahal-mat pere lakunu danu Sandahata he mesē (Esl., v. 22).
- <sup>2</sup> The convention among scholars today is to treat them as such, and a  $g\bar{\imath}$  in modern printed texts is divided into four lines.
- <sup>3</sup> This is according to the *editio princeps* of the poem by Madugalle Siddhattha Thera. In the edition of Bhadanta Sorata, who has satisfactorily explained many passages which had hitherto been obscure, both in the

text as well as in the commentary of this poem, the learned editor has, in order to conform to the existing notions of the character of  $g\bar{\imath}$ , amended the readings so that the first quarter ends with a word. It has, however, not been stated that this has been effected on the authority of manuscripts. In the earlier editions of Sinhalese poems in  $g\bar{\imath}$  metres, there were to be found many such examples, but recent editors have 'corrected' such places so that every quarter of a  $g\bar{\imath}$  ends with a word

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our graffiti, the stanza now known as  $g\bar{i}$  was not thought of as consisting of four lines. Such was also the view of the authors of the earliest poems still extant.

573. The Esl. itself contains other statements which imply that its  $g\bar{\imath}$  consisted of two metrical lines (pada) only. The metre called Sitili- $g\bar{\imath}$  is defined as formed of the first line of a  $g\bar{\imath}$  and two lines having the characteristics of sivupada. In the example given, the first  $g\bar{\imath}$  line is the first half of a  $g\bar{\imath}$  and not the first quarter. A  $g\bar{\imath}$ , therefore, must be taken as having two lines only. In the ode called Dasapada-sähälla, there are ten metrical lines, eight of which are of the sivupada type, and the other two of the  $g\bar{\imath}$ . Each of the  $g\bar{\imath}$  lines is the first half of a  $g\bar{\imath}$  stanza. If a  $g\bar{\imath}$  be taken as consisting of four lines, a Dasapada-sähälla would consist of twelve lines, a Dolospada-sähälla fourteen lines, a Tuduspada-sähälla sixteen lines, and so on. The names of these odes would thus be contradicted by their meaning. On this reasoning also, a  $g\bar{\imath}$  must be treated as formed of two and only two metrical lines.

574. The Esl. takes note of a class of metrical compositions called depada. Two lines of any sivupada metre, according to the Esl., form a depada. Such a definition, by the fact of its over-simplification, fails to win confidence; and, moreover, hardly agrees with the literary tradition embodied in Sanskrit works on chandas about the character of dvi-pada verses. Apart from the examples given to suit this general definition, the Esl. also explains a number of depada metres, the examples given for which, however, have more of the character of sivupada with lines of unequal length. The portions of these verses which end in rhyme have every right to be treated as separate lines and, if we take them as such, they are sivupada, not depada. That it was, at one time, the accepted convention to treat rhyme as marking the end of a metrical line is patent from the examples given in the Esl. for Sähäli odes of twelve, fourteen, sixteen, and eighteen lines. It is only when we take every metrical passage ending in a rhyme as a separate line that the names of these odes can be justified. Otherwise, they remain Dasapada-sähäli. The examples given as depada in the Esl. have been so treated because the author, misled by the practice that was in vogue in his time of having rhymes in the middle of a line, as well as at the end, mistook two separate lines for one.

575. In the third chapter of the Sbl. are given examples of different types of yamaka compositions, most of which are in Yāgī and other metres, classified under the category of  $g\bar{\imath}$  in the Esl. These compositions, for the purposes of the yamaka, have to be treated as stanzas of four lines, and, in the definitions of these yamakas, the Sbl. calls them Piyum of four lines.2 We shall, in conformity with the current usage, call them gī. Again, in explaining the blemish called hun-pada-siňdum (in Skt. yatibhraṣṭa, non-observance of caesura), the Sbl. defines this blemish as the violation of the rules with regard to the caesura in Piyum stanzas as laid down in the metrical treatise called Siyabasa.3 From these references it becomes evident that, in the view of the Sbl., a composition of the gī class according to our current usage, when it had to be treated as of four lines, was known by the distinctive name of Piyum. It follows that a  $g\bar{i}$  was not normally considered as having four lines. The observance of the caesura was also obligatory only when a composition of this class was treated as a Piyum. Against the conclusion that  $g\bar{i}$  was originally a depada can be cited the enumeration of the various types of metrical compositions in the Sbl. which include Piyum, Gī, Depada, Satarapada, &c.4 According to this, Gī and Piyum were categories distinct from Depada as well as from Sivupada. The Esl. does not include Piyum in its enumeration of the various types of metrical compositions; in it, Piyum is the name of a distinctive gī metre.5 It is possible that the Siyabasa, referred to in the Sbl., attempted a schematization of the current practices in a manner somewhat different from that which we find in the Esl., that the writers of our graffiti were not aware of it, and that the later poets did not adopt these schematizations in toto.

576. The evidence available on the point that we have been discussing is thus somewhat conflicting, but we may be justified in arriving at the following tentative conclusions: the term  $g\bar{\imath}$ , at the time of our graffiti, was not restricted in its application to that class of compositions called  $g\bar{\imath}$  in Esl. A sivupada, too, was then called a  $g\bar{\imath}$ . The term depada most probably was then applied to the type of compositions later called  $g\bar{\imath}$  to differentiate them as a class from sivupada. When stanzas of this type were taken as of four lines, for purposes of śabdālamkāra, they were designated piyum. In course of

pada piyum.

Giya mul-pada hā sivu-pada-lakuņu depedek Sitili giya veyi dannē nidasun nam ehi mesē.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Sbl., Chap. III, vv. 349, 356, 360, 361, and 371. The expressions used are piyum-siyuru-pada and siyuru-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Sbl., Chap. III, v. 383. My interpretation of this verse differs somewhat from that of the old paraphrase.

<sup>4</sup> Sbl., Chap. I, v. 16.

<sup>5</sup> Esl., vv. 8 ff.

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time, however, the term  $g\bar{i}$  was restricted in application to this type of composition, a sivupada not being taken to be a gī. When the term depada ceased to have application to what later came to be specialized as  $g\bar{i}$ , the fact that they were formed of only two metrical lines was not emphasized and, in defining them, writers on prosody gave the number of syllabic instants comprised in a quarter of the verse, just as they did in defining sivupada. The first and third quarters of a gī, however, only take separately that part of the first and second lines ending with yati. That is the reason why, in our graffiti, as well as in early poems, the ends of the quarters of such stanzas do not always coincide with the end of a word. A yati in Sinhalese versification (see below, § 601) may come in the middle of a word. The method adopted by the writers on prosody may be purely a matter of convenience, and perhaps due to the confusion of pāda (meaning quarter) with pada, a metrical line. This confusion is quite natural because a quarter of a stanza in Sanskrit as well as in Sinhalese is also a metrical line. To take the  $g\bar{i}$  as consisting of two lines only is also in accord with the conventions of Sanskrit prosody, for in the gīti metres such as Āryā, the metrical scheme takes into account the half verse and not the quarter. Though these two-line stanzas ceased to be known as depada, a knowledge of that term continued to exist among men of letters, and writers on prosody had to define it and give examples. They simply took the term to mean two lines of a sivupada and also included in that category certain types of verses which they misunderstood as consisting of two, instead of four, lines.1

577. The earliest extant poetical works are composed in two-line stanzas  $(g\bar{\imath})$ ; the earliest poem in sivupada dates from the fourteenth century.<sup>2</sup> These facts had given rise to a notion among certain Sinhalese scholars that sivupada were introduced at a late period. Examples of sivupada, however, are found in the Sdsg. and, as we have seen, the longest section of the Esl. deals with them. Some of the examples of sivupada contained in the Esl. are couched in very archaic language, and look as if they had been extracted from poems of considerable length written entirely in that form of metrical composition. The presence of sivupada among our graffiti now proves that they existed side by side with  $g\bar{\imath}$  or depada as early as the eighth century. But the two-line stanza definitely enjoyed greater popular favour at that time. We have, in our collection, 687 two-line stanzas as against 21 sivupada. After the thirteenth century, literary taste veered round in favour of sivupada to the almost total exclusion, at certain periods, of  $g\bar{\imath}$ .

578. The Esl. notices twelve different types of  $g\bar{\imath}$ , of which ten are represented among our graffiti. The most numerous, by far exceeding in number all the other types put together, is what may be called the standard  $g\bar{\imath}$ , which is also the commonest in literary works. Difference of opinion, however, is possible with regard to the name by which this metre ought to be referred to, for the names and definitions of two different  $g\bar{\imath}$  metres in the Esl. may equally apply to it. The very first metre explained in the Esl. corresponds to that of the most numerous class of stanzas in our graffiti. Its name is simply  $G\bar{\imath}$ , i.e. its distinctive name is identical with that of the class. It is explained as comprised of 20 syllabic instants in the first half and 22 in the second, the odd  $p\bar{a}das$  consisting of 9 and 11 respectively. From this it is to be inferred that each of the even  $p\bar{a}das$  consists of 11  $m\bar{a}tr\bar{a}s$ . The scheme, therefore, is 9, 11:11, 11 syllabic instants. There is another metre, named Y $\bar{a}g\bar{\imath}$ , which, according to the explanation in the Esl., is built up of 9 and 11  $m\bar{a}tr\bar{a}s$  respectively in the odd  $p\bar{a}das$ , and 11  $m\bar{a}tr\bar{a}s$  in each of the even  $p\bar{a}das$ . Its scheme also is, therefore, 9, 11:11, 11.

579. Bhadanta Sorata, in his edition of the *Esl.* (op. cit.), has expressed the opinion that the expression *luhu-bahalin baňduyē* in the definition of the Yāgī distinguishes that metre from Gī. The literal meaning, in fact the obvious meaning, of *luhu-bahalin baňduyē* is 'composed of forty-two light syllables'; but it has hitherto been taken by Sinhalese scholars to mean forty-two *mātrās*, a light syllable being

- <sup>1</sup> In view of what has been written above, the texts of  $g\bar{\imath}$  are transcribed by me in two lines.
- <sup>2</sup> This is the *Mayūra Sandeša*, which dates from the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu V (A.D. 1357–75). In this poem, too,  $g\bar{\imath}$  stanzas are not altogether absent.
- <sup>3</sup> This number is made up without taking into account the Dakuņu-tohal-gī, Vam-tohal-gī, and Saňdahaṭa-gī, which are given as the names of metres in the *Esl*. The characteristics by which these so-called metres have to be distinguished, as they are defined in the *Esl*., are not concerned with prosody but with external ornament (śabdālamkāra). They have been included in the ex-

position of metres because the author of the Esl. did not quite understand the functions of a metrician. Vam-tohal and Dakuṇu-tohal are Kārikās and the example given for Saňdahaṭa is a Yāgī (or Gī). The two  $g\bar{\imath}$  metres of the Esl. not exemplified in our graffiti do not occur in the extant literature either.

- 4 Neven ärin vasam yati pera-aḍehi visi-mat Pasaḍehi devisi-matnen Gī vē lakuņu he mesē (Esl., v. 11).
- <sup>5</sup> Nav≥ekoļos vasamā ekoļos bāgin semehi Luhu-bahaļin baňduyē Yāgī yā mē nidasun (Esl., v. 17).

one mātrā. This interpretation has been favoured, in preference to the more obvious one, for the reason that the example given for the Yagi in the Esl. itself, as it appeared in the earlier printed editions which no doubt copied the manuscripts, is not composed solely of light syllables. It has a number of heavy syllables. The example, as it appears in Bhadanta Sorata's edition, conforms to his interpretation of the definition, and also gives better sense than in the form it appears in in previous editions. But we are not informed whether Bhadanta Sorata had manuscript authority for the readings he has adopted. A phrase similar to luhu-bahalin in the definition of the Yagi also occurs in the definition of the Duvangagi in all editions of the Esl. except that of Bhadanta Sorata. This is luhu-sivalnen 'with forty-four light syllables or mātrās'. But the example, in this case, too, contains long syllables. Bhadanta Sorata gets over this obstacle to his theory by adopting a different reading: sivu-hal matin. Again, we are not informed whether there is manuscript authority for the reading.<sup>1</sup>

580. But the greatest obstacle to assuming, with Bhadanta Sorata, that the Yagī should consist of light syllables only is the old paraphrase (sanne) of the Sälalihini-sandēśa, which states<sup>2</sup> categorically that the first stanza of that poem is a Yāgī. This stanza, of which the text is well preserved, reads:

Särada sulakaļ akuru miyuru tepalen randanā

Raja-kula-rahasä mäti-niya siyan-ihi Säla-lihini-sanda.

It will be observed that this stanza contains two heavy syllables which have not stood in the way of the commentator when he expressed his opinion that it is Yagī. The author of the Saļalihiņi-sandēśasanne is proclaimed by his work to have been an erudite scholar. He has quoted from Sanskrit poems which are no longer extant, even in India. He must, therefore, have lived at a time when the torch of learning was burning brightly in this island, which has never been the case since the arrival of the Portuguese. His date must, therefore, be not far removed from that of Śrī Rāhula, the actual author of the poem, i.e. the fifteenth century. Possibly he was himself a contemporary of Śrī Rāhula. Sinhalese literary traditions must have been preserved unbroken from the time when the Esl. was composed up to that of the author of the Sälalihini-sandēśa-sanne, and he must have known whether the Yāgī was considered in his time, or in the centuries preceding him, to consist of light syllables only. Evidently it was not so. And in a matter of literary convention like the name of a metre, it is the accepted usage among men of letters that is decisive.

581. If there was no tradition among Sinhalese literary men that a Yāgī stanza should have only light syllables, how did the author of the Esl. come to use the expression luhu-bahalin banduyē in the definition of that metre? In dealing with phonology (§§ 215 ff.) we have pointed out that, at a period not long anterior to that of our graffiti, the Sinhalese language did not in fact possess long vowels or conjoint consonants; there was thus, at that time, no possibility of a heavy syllable occurring in a stanza unless indeed the one at the close of a line was occasionally treated as such. In fact, there are a number of stanzas in our graffiti in which there is not a single heavy syllable. Before long vowels developed and the elision of medial or final vowels began to take place some time before the date of our graffiti, every syllable in a stanza would have been a light one; mora and syllable would have been synonymous. If a metre corresponding to the Yagi existed at that time, too, as is most likely, and if the definition in the Esl. was framed having such verses in view, or was based on a definition framed by an earlier writer who was familiar with verses composed in a language which had no long vowels and conjoint consonants, the phrase luhu-bahalin baňduyē becomes quite understandable. So also, in that case, is the similar expression in the definition of Duvangagī.

582. If the Yagi metre be taken as consisting of light syllables only, as Bhadanta Sorata would have us do, there would be very few examples of it anywhere in the extant Sinhalese poetical works. The vast majority of the stanzas among our graffiti which we have taken to be Yāgī would then have to be taken as in the Gi metre. In that case the examples of Yagi among our graffiti would be limited to Nos. 5, 24, 38, 85, 111, 166, 354, 383, and 399-nine in all. I have, however, not followed Bhadanta Sorata in this respect, and I have taken this metre of forty-two mātrās to be Yāgī, ignoring altogether the existence of any metre called Gī. It will be observed that  $g\bar{i}$  is the generic name of a number of metres, and it is quite possible that the author of the Esl. began this section by giving a definition of the commonest, i.e. the standard, type of gī under its generic name, and dealt with it again later under its own

<sup>2</sup> Säļalihiņi Sandēśa, with the old paraphrase, edited

<sup>1</sup> The few extant manuscripts of this text are said by Bhadanta Dhammārāma (Śrī Lankodaya Press), Colombo, 1925, p. 3.

to be hopelessly corrupt.

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distinctive name. Taking the Yāgī, without any restriction to light syllables, to be composed of forty-two morae, there are 403 stanzas of that metre among our graffiti—more than half the total. They are: Nos. 1, 3, 4–10, 14, 16–22, 24–29, 31, 33, 38–40, 43, 48, 52, 54–56, 60–63, 66, 69, 70, 74, 76, 77, 80–83, 85, 86, 88–91, 95, 96, 99, 104, 105, 114, 117, 122 b, 125–7, 131–3, 135, 136, 139, 140, 142, 145, 150, 151, 153, 155–7, 160, 162, 164–8, 171, 172, 174–7, 180 a & b, 182–4, 186, 187, 189, 190, 193, 195, 196, 199, 201, 202, 204, 206–12, 214, 215, 217, 219 b, 220, 222, 224, 225, 226, 228, 231 b, 232–5, 238–40, 242–4, 247, 248, 252–8, 260, 261, 265, 266, 270, 273, 274, 278, 279, 281–4, 288, 291–3, 295, 298, 301, 304, 305, 307, 308, 311, 312, 314, 318, 319, 322, 323, 325, 329–32, 336, 341, 342, 349, 353, 354, 356, 357 a, 359, 360, 362–4, 368–71, 374, 375, 378, 379, 382, 383, 387–90, 391, 399, 400, 402, 403, 405, 407, 408, 411, 412, 418, 420, 423, 425, 427, 429, 431, 433–43, 445–8, 451, 454, 455, 457–61, 464, 465 a, 467–9, 472, 473 a & b, 475, 478, 480, 481, 482, 485, 487–501, 503, 505, 507, 508, 510–12, 514, 515, 518 a, 519–21, 523, 524, 526, 528, 531, 533, 534, 535 a & b, 536, 538, 540, 541–8, 550, 553 a & b, 554, 555, 557, 559, 563, 566, 568, 570–3, 577, 580, 581, 583–5, 587–94, 596–602, 604–8, 610–14, 617, 622, 623, 626, 630, 631, 636–42, 644–8, 650, 651, 653–60, 661 b, 662, 664–71, 673, 675–8 a, 679, 682–5.

583. In point of frequency, Kavgī, with eighty-six examples, takes the second place in our graffiti. As defined in the Esl., a Kavgī stanza has forty morae, nine in the first quarter, ten each in the second and third, and eleven in the fourth, i.e. nineteen morae in the first line and twenty-one morae in the second with yati after the ninth mora in the first line and the tenth in the second. Examples of Kavgī in our graffiti are: Nos. 2, 32, 34, 46, 47, 49, 50, 59, 67, 68, 87 b, 106-9, 111, 115, 118, 120, 122 a, 137, 141, 147, 149, 152, 178, 188, 203, 218, 227, 245, 251 a, 259, 267, 268, 269, 271, 272, 275, 276, 277, 280, 290, 294, 296, 315, 317, 324, 326, 328, 344, 346, 351, 365, 366, 367, 376, 380, 381, 396, 398, 404, 406, 409, 414, 421, 422, 424, 456, 476, 484, 517, 518 b, 525, 551, 576, 579, 603, 618, 632,

635, 649, 652, 663, and 674.

584. Duvangagī, which runs close to Kavgī to take the third place among our graffiti in the frequency of occurrence, differs from the Yāgī (or Gī) in having thirteen syllabic instants in the fourth quarter. For the rest it is identical with the Yāgī. The following verses are in this metre: Nos. 35, 41, 42 a & b, 57, 58, 65, 73, 102, 110, 113, 116, 124, 130, 134, 146, 148, 154, 161, 181, 194, 216, 223, 231 a, 236, 237, 241, 262, 302, 333, 334, 337, 338 a, 343, 348, 355 a & b, 358 a, 372, 373, 377, 395, 397, 401, 416, 432, 450 b, 462, 465 b, 470, 477, 483, 506, 516, 532, 537, 539, 540, 561, 565, 569, 574, 575, 586, 615, 616, 620, 621, 633, 634, 643, 672, 681 a & b.

585. The metre named Yongī, according to the *Esl.*, should have in its first quarter eight morae, eleven in the second, ten in the third, and eleven in the fourth. The first line of this stanza should thus have nineteen  $m\bar{a}tr\bar{a}s$  and the second twenty-one  $m\bar{a}tr\bar{a}s$ , forty in all. Of this metre there are thirty-seven examples in our graffiti, namely, Nos. 30, 53, 72, 94, 119, 128, 129, 144, 163, 200, 229, 263, 264, 286, 287, 309, 313, 316, 321, 335, 347, 352, 385 a & b, 386, 415, 417, 419, 452, 453, 474, 479, 509, 513, 564, 628, 680.

586. Bamaragī resembles the Yongī in the first three quarters, in the fourth it should have thirteen morae instead of the eleven in the Yongī. There are twenty-eight stanzas of the Bamaragī metre among our graffiti, namely, Nos. 71, 84, 87 a, 92, 123, 138, 170, 173, 197, 198, 219 a, 221, 249 b, 297, 338 b,

350 a & b, 358 b, 384, 393, 471, 486, 504, 529, 530, 567, 578, and 624.

587. Umatugī, as defined in the *Esl.*, should contain nine morae in each of the first and third quarters and ten morae in each of the second and fourth. The stanza is thus composed of two equal halves. Umatugī stanzas found in our graffiti are Nos. 11, 79, 213, 251 b, 361, 466, 502, 522, 552, 562, and 619—in all eleven examples. Of the metre named Matvalagī there are two examples, Nos. 143 and 289. In this metre the first three quarters contain eight morae each and the last quarter thirteen morae. Of the metre named Piyum, there is only one example, No. 93. It is built, according to the *Esl.*, of eight morae in each of the odd pādas, eleven in the second, and thirteen in the fourth. These metres are very rare, if they occur at all, in the existing poetical works.

588. I have taken Nos. 12 and 246 as being in the Kārikāgī metre which, too, is not common in literature. It is defined as having eight morae in the first  $p\bar{a}da$ , eleven in the second, nine in the third, and fourteen in the fourth. In addition, its forty-one morae should be formed of twenty-five light syllables and eight heavy ones. The two stanzas among our graffiti which have been taken to be Kārikāgī, however, do not show its required distribution of quantity among light and heavy syllables as laid down in the Esl.

589. It will be observed that the difference between some of the  $g\bar{\imath}$  metres given above is very slight. The Kavg $\bar{\imath}$ , for instance, has only one  $m\bar{a}tr\bar{a}$  less than the Y $\bar{a}g\bar{\imath}$  in each line, and the Yong $\bar{\imath}$  one  $m\bar{a}tr\bar{a}$  in excess of the Kavg $\bar{\imath}$  in the first  $p\bar{a}da$  and one  $m\bar{a}tr\bar{a}$  less in the second, the total being the same in both. Palaeographically, certain letters in our graffiti can be read as long or short, the lengths of e and o being not shown graphically and the  $m\bar{a}tr\bar{a}s$  for  $\bar{\imath}$  and  $\bar{u}$  standing very often for the corresponding short vowels (see § 72). Etymologically, too, it is permissible to have long or short vowels in certain grammatical forms:  $n\bar{a}g\bar{\imath}$  and  $n\bar{a}gi$ ,  $b\bar{a}l\bar{u}$  and  $b\bar{a}lu$ , for example, being both permissible. The lengthening of a vowel,  $metris\ causa$ , is often resorted to by Sinhalese poets. In these circumstances it is often difficult to decide the metre in which some of our poets meant to compose their verses.

590. There are not less than thirty-eight couplets among our graffiti which do not conform to any of the  $g\bar{\imath}$  metres noticed in the Esl. Errors on the part of the writers are not to be ruled out altogether in the case of these verses, but some of these metres are also met with in literature. As the Esl is silent about them, it is impossible to refer to them by names. All such  $g\bar{\imath}$  metres not forthcoming in the Esl are tabulated below, adopting the method of the Esl in giving the number of morae of a quarter-verse separately and referring to each by an arbitrary number. Examples of each of these metres forthcoming in our graffiti are given in parenthesis.

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A1: 8, 8; 9, 10 (310).
                                   A2: 8, 9; 9, 13 (36).
A3: 8, 9; 10, 13 (101).
                                   A4: 8, 12; 9, 11 (75 a).
A5: 8, 12; 11, 11 (169).
                                   A6: 8, 12; 11, 12 (303).
A7: 8, 13; 10, 11 (756).
                                   A8: 9, 9; 9, 11 (413).
A9: 9, 9; 9, 14 (230).
                                   A10: 9, 9; 10, 12 (463 a).
A11: 9, 10; 8, 11 (121).
                                   A12: 9, 10; 9, 13 (100).
A13: 9, 10; 10, 13 (444, 179).
                                  A14: 9, 10; 10, 14 (392).
A15: 9, 10; 11, 11 (327).
                                  A16: 9, 11; 9, 11 (64, 97, 158, 159, 191, 299, 339, 428, 609).
A17: 9, 12; 9, 14 (45).
                                  A18: 9, 12; 11, 11 (345).
A19: 9, 12; 11, 12 (15).
                                  A20: 9, 13; 9, 13 (112).
A21: 10, 10; 9, 11 (78).
                                   A22: 10, 10; 10, 11 (300).
A23: 10, 10; 10, 12 (410).
                                  A24: 10, 11; 9, 12 (13).
A25: 10, 11; 10, 10 (285).
                                  A26: 10, 11; 10, 11 (463 b).
A27: 10, 11; 11, 11 (192, 549).
                                  A28: 10, 12; 10, 12 (678 b).
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591. Of these, A16, which is represented in our graffiti by nine examples, also occurs in the Ksm. (v. 121), Sdv. (v. 271), and Rm. (v. 710). A5 is the same metre as Ksm., v. 22, and Mdv., v. 19. A7 occurs in Rm., v. 708, A12 in Ksm., v. 19, A15 in Ksm., v. 97, A17 in Ksm., v. 71, A19 in Ksm., v. 163, A22 in Ksm., vv. 89 and 149, A23 in Ksm., vv. 20 and 161, and Mdv., v. 101, A26 in Ksm., v. 204, Sdv., v. 230, and Mdv., v. 19, A27 in Ksm., vv. 81 and 156, and A28 in Ksm., v. 1.2 Some more of these nameless metres would probably be met with in literature if a thorough search were to be made. 592. The test by which we have to decide whether these verses not conforming to any metre explained in the Esl. were or were not due to the lack of metrical skill on the part of their composers is whether they can be recited rhythmically, as can those which are admittedly in poetic form. And for this an examination of the basic principles underlying Sinhalese versification is necessary. The Esl. contents itself with giving the number of morae in each of the pādas of a gī. If this were indeed the only aim which the versifier should have in view so far as prosody is concerned, the composing of Sinhalese gī could be effected with extreme ease. That the number of morae is not the only prosodial requirement in a gī becomes apparent from the fact that words within a pāda are very often transposed against the

normal order (see above, § 564) when this change is not necessitated by considerations affecting the

sense, such as the emphasis on a particular word. To quote two examples, the fourth  $p\bar{a}da$  of No. 648

1 Yati-hēni kisi guru luhu vē luhu du guru vē
Pada-lakuņehi du guru luhu pirihē väde vadut hē

1925); Muvadevdāvata edited by Vēroseve B. 15

'For the sake of caesura, a certain heavy syllable may become light and a light syllable heavy. In the scansion of a line, too, when there is a purpose, a heavy syllable may become light and a light one heavy' (Esl., v. 4).

<sup>2</sup> The editions of these poems quoted are: Kavsilumina, edited by Bhadanta Madugalle Siddhattha Thera (Colombo, 1926); Sasadāvata with old paraphrase edited by A. Dhammapāla-sāmi (Colombo, 1925); Muvadevdāvata, edited by Vēragama Baṇḍāra (Colombo, 1921); Ruvanmala, edited by Baṭuvantudāve Guru (Colombo, 1892). In the more recent editions, e.g. the Ksm. edited by Bhadanta Sorata Thera, almost every verse has been made to conform to a metre in the Esl. But the readings in the earlier editions are very often supported by the old paraphrase (sanna).

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reads: mana taļā pirivī no da, and the first pāda of No. 484, äsīmi dun hasun. The normal order of words in the first extract would be mana taļā no pirivī da, and in the second dun hasun äsīmi; the requirements with regard to the number of morae in the pāda would have been equally well satisfied if the words had been used in this manner without transposing any of them. The phrase mana taļā no pirivī da embodies eleven morae just as does the poet's mana taļā pirivī no da. Dun hasun äsīmi does not differ from äsīmi dun hasun in the number of morae, i.e. nine. Apart from this identity of quantity, the manner in which our poets have used the words is much more pleasing to the ear than it would be if they had been in their normal order. By the side of mana taļā pirivī no da, which has a mellifluous rhythm, mana taļā no pirivī da has a jarring effect. Dun hasun äsīmi does not captivate the ear by its sound combination, whereas äsīmi dun hasun does so.

593. When we examine the reason why the words as they are found in our verses are satisfying to the ear, while their normal grammatical order is not so, we find that when one recites the last  $p\bar{a}da$  of No. 648, mana talā pirivī no da, its eleven morae are broken up in the order: 2, 3, 2, 2, 2, mana | talā | piri | vī | no da. Had it been mana talā no pirivī da, the breaking up would have been 2, 3, 3, 3 or 2, 3, 1, 2, 2, 1—not resulting in a harmonious sound combination. Similarly, äsīmi dun hasun, as used by the poet, easily breaks up into 3, 3, 3, äsī | mi dun | hasun, whereas the words in normal grammatical order, dun hasun äsīmi, would have to be broken up into 2, 3, 3, 1, dun | hasun | äsī | mi, not resulting in a harmonious sequence. The rhythm that we find in No. 648 d is 2, 3, 2, 2, 2; in No. 484 it is 3, 3, 3. Now let us take two gī verses from literature, the opening verse of the Sdsg. and Ksm. iv. 39, and see how the rhythm of these two Yāgī is built up:

If we examine more verses from literature and from our graffiti, we shall find that the quantitative rhythm in Sinhalese versification in  $g\bar{\imath}$  as well as in sivupada is built up of sets of twos alternating with threes. There are a few sivupada metres, like Peda (Padaka), to be noticed later, in which we find twos without threes intervening, but this very often creates a monotonous effect.

594. The number of morae in one  $p\bar{a}da$  of a  $g\bar{i}$  can be broken up into sets of twos and threes in many different ways, and the total number of morae in a pāda is the result of adding these constituent parts. The rhythm is based on the  $p\bar{a}da$ , but that of an even  $p\bar{a}da$  must take into consideration the rhythm of the odd  $p\bar{a}da$  which precedes it. A  $p\bar{a}da$  is that much of a  $g\bar{i}$  which can be recited without pausing for breath (yati), and the end of the line of half-verse constitutes a complete rest, coinciding, as a rule, with the completion of a sentence or a part thereof. The rhythm of one  $p\bar{a}da$  of a  $g\bar{i}$  in a particular metre need not necessarily be the same as that of the corresponding  $p\bar{a}da$  of another  $g\bar{i}$  in the same metre. What is required is that the rhythm should be such that the pause for breath occurs after the same number of morae in both. In the same  $g\bar{i}$ , the rhythm of one  $p\bar{a}da$  need not be identical with the others which precede or follow it. In length, too, it will have been noted, the four pādas of a  $g\bar{i}$ , or even the two lines, are not always identical. This irregularity is the keynote of the  $g\bar{i}$  metres, but it is an irregularity which should create a pleasing sound effect. No rules have been laid downor at least such rules have not been preserved—regulating the details of the rhythm which is based on quantity, but the test of a poet's skill would have been judged by his ability in handling it so as to please his audience. The poets in early days were also musicians, and they will have played a tune or an air on the drum or the  $v\bar{i}n\bar{a}$  before supplying the words to suit it. The more popular of such

the two systems consist? It may be answered that theirs is derived from song, ours from the dance or the march. That both are based on the numbers 2 and 3, but that they add and we multiply in order to form combinations of these' (Music of Hindosthan, p. 217).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Speaking of rhythm in Indian music, Fox Strangways states: 'Indian rhythm, thus, moves in  $\bar{a}vards$ , broken up into  $vibh\bar{a}gs$ , each of which contains one or more  $t\bar{a}ls$ . We can equally say of ours that it moves in sections broken up into bars each of which contains one or more beats. In what does the difference between

tunes, and the verses composed in conformity with them, will have been crystallized into the metres found in literary works now extant and taken note of in treatises on prosody; but the possible varieties of rhythm were infinite, and we shall therefore not be surprised if we find that poets have made use of forms with which we are not familiar in the existing literature.

595. Just as it is among our graffiti, so in literature, too, the Yāgī is the commonest of metres of this type, and one is so familiar with its harmonious tones that one unconsciously tries to reproduce them even in reciting a  $g\bar{\imath}$  of different type and then finds it unsatisfying. In examining the rhythm of the unfamiliar metres, we must therefore approach the task without being influenced by the rhythm of the Yāgī and other familiar types of  $g\bar{\imath}$ . Bearing these points in mind, we may proceed to elucidate the rhythm in some of those  $g\bar{\imath}$  verses which are not in metres noticed in the Esl.

```
A1: 3, 2, 3 | 2, 3, 3 | 2, 2, 2, 3 | 2, 2, 2, 2 |
A2: 3, 3, 2 / 2, 3, 2, 2 // 2, 3, 2, 2 / 2, 2, 2, 3, 2, 2 //
A3: 2, 2, 2, 2 | 2, 3, 2, 2 | 2, 2, 2, 2, 2 | 2, 2, 2, 3, 2, 2 |
A4: 3, 3, 2 / 2, 2, 3, 3, 2 // 3, 2, 2, 2 / 3, 3, 3, 2 //
A5: 3, 3, 2 / 2, 2, 3, 2, 3 // 2, 2, 2, 3, 2 / 3, 2, 2, 2, 2 //
A6: 3, 3, 2 | 3, 2, 2, 2, 3 | 2, 2, 2, 3, 2 | 3, 3, 2, 2, 2 |
A7: 2, 2, 2, 2 | 2, 2, 2, 3, 2, 2 | 3, 3, 2, 2 | 2, 2, 3, 2, 2 |
A8: 2, 2, 3, 2 / 2, 3, 2, 2 // 3, 2, 2, 2 / 2, 2, 2, 2, 3 //
A9: 3, 3, 3 / 3, 2, 2, 2 // 2, 2, 2, 3 / 2, 3, 2, 2, 3, 2 //
A10: 2, 3, 2, 2 / 2, 3, 2, 2 // 2, 3, 3, 2 / 3, 2, 2, 3, 2 //
A11: 3, 2, 2, 2 | 2, 2, 2, 2, 2 | 3, 3, 2 | 2, 2, 2, 2, 3 |
A12: 2, 2, 3, 2 / 3, 3, 2, 2 // 2, 2, 2, 3 / 3, 3, 2, 3, 2 //
A13: 3, 3, 3 / 3, 3, 2, 2 // 2, 2, 2, 2, 2 / 2, 2, 3, 2, 2, 2 // (444)
      3, 3, 3 | 3, 3, 2, 2 | | 3, 2, 3, 2 | 3, 3, 3, 2, 2 | | (179)
A14: 2, 2, 2, 3 / 2, 2, 2, 2, 2 // 2, 2, 2, 2, 2 / 2, 3, 2, 2, 3, 2 //
A15: 2, 2, 3, 2 | 3, 2, 2, 2, 2 | 3, 3, 2, 3 | 2, 2, 3, 2, 2 |
A16: 2, 2, 2, 3 / 3, 3, 2, 3 // 2, 2, 3, 2 / 2, 3, 2, 2, 2 // (64)
      2, 2, 2, 3 | 2, 2, 3, 2, 2 | 2, 2, 2, 3 | 2, 2, 2, 2, 3 | (97)
      3, 2, 2, 2 / 3, 2, 2, 2, 2 // 2, 3, 2, 2 / 3, 2, 2, 2, 2 // (191)
      2, 2, 2, 3 | 3, 2, 2, 2, 2 | 2, 2, 2, 3 | 2, 2, 3, 2, 2 | (299)
      2, 2, 3, 2 | 3, 2, 2, 2, 2 | 2, 2, 3, 2 | 3, 2, 2, 2, 2 | (389)
      2, 2, 2, 3 | 2, 3, 2, 2, 2 | 2, 2, 3, 2 | 2, 2, 3, 2, 2 | (428)
A17: 3, 2, 2, 2 / 3, 3, 2, 2, 2 // 2, 2, 3, 2 / 3, 2, 2, 3, 2, 2 //
A18: 2, 3, 2, 2 | 2, 2, 2, 3, 3 | 2, 2, 3, 2, 2 | 2, 2, 3, 2, 2 |
A19: 3, 3, 3 / 2, 3, 2, 3, 2 // 2, 2, 2, 2, 3 / 3, 2, 3, 2, 2 //
A20: 2, 3, 2, 2 | 3, 3, 3, 2, 2 | 2, 2, 2, 3, 2 | 2, 3, 2, 2, 2 |
A21: 2, 2, 3, 3 / 2, 2, 2, 2, 2 // 2, 2, 3, 2 / 2, 2, 2, 3, 2 //
A22: 2, 2, 3, 3 | 3, 2, 3, 2 | 3, 3, 2, 2 | 3, 3, 2, 2 | /
A23: 3, 3, 2, 2 | 2, 2, 2, 2, 2 | 2, 3, 2, 2 | 3, 3, 3, 3 |/
A24: 3, 2, 2, 3 / 2, 2, 3, 2, 2 // 3, 3, 3 / 2, 2, 2, 3, 3 //
A25: 3, 2, 3, 2 | 3, 3, 2, 3 | 3, 2, 3, 2 | 2, 2, 2, 2, 2 |
A26: 2, 3, 3, 2 / 2, 2, 3, 2, 2 // 3, 3, 2, 2 / 2, 2, 3, 2, 2 //
A27: 2, 2, 3, 3 | 3, 2, 2, 2, 2 | 3, 2, 2, 2, 2 | 2, 2, 2, 3, 2 |
A28: 2, 3, 3, 2 / 2, 2, 3, 2, 3 // 2, 3, 2, 3 / 3, 3, 2, 2, 2 //
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596. Those  $g\bar{\imath}$  verses among our graffiti which are not in any of the metres in the Esl., can be easily recited and even sung to music, I believe, if their rhythm is taken to be such as given above. When a  $g\bar{\imath}$  stanza found in a literary work does not conform to a metre in the Esl., that in itself is no evidence that its text is corrupt. Does not the Esl. itself say that the metres it has taken into account are only a few among innumerable possibilities? Perhaps I have myself been too arbitrary in allowing a word to straddle the  $p\bar{\imath}da$  and in reading a vowel as long or short against the orthography in order to make certain stanzas conform to a metre named in the Esl., and some of the verses given as Yāgī, Kavgī, Yongī, &c., may in actual fact be in hitherto unknown metres.

<sup>1</sup> Keļa-suvahas virit Saňdas lakuņu Eļuvē E baňdut hot kiviyaran no-virit namä yi ko virit Äta hotudu ruvan gana-aňdurē koṭārē Rivi-rasin≥asak daknē palaṭa näta itiriyan (Esl., vv. 115, 117).

'There are millions and myriads of metres conform-

ing to prosody in Sinhalese. Should poets compose in them, what metre is not a metre?... In the darkness of the treasure-chamber there are innumerable gems. One sees a few of them by means of intruding rays of the sun, the others are not visible.'

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597. It will be observed that the rhythm of the  $p\bar{a}da$  of a  $g\bar{\imath}$  does not necessarily depend on the number of morae. The variations in rhythm depend mainly on the occurrence of long syllables and vowel-less consonants which make the preceding vowel long. In that phase of the language which contained no long vowels or conjoint consonants, the stress laid on a particular syllable had possibly a bearing on the rhythm. Another point that is worthy of note with regard to these  $g\bar{\imath}$  metres is that in the Ksm. it is not considered necessary to have all the stanzas of the same canto in one metre, barring of course the last, as is required of a  $mah\bar{a}k\bar{a}vya$  according to the theory on poetics. Perhaps there was no clear-cut distinction between a Yāgī and a Yongī or Kavgī, as exists in Sanskrit, for example, between an Upajāti and a Vasantatilakā.

598. Though the Sinhalese  $g\bar{\imath}$  metres agree with those of Prākrit in being based on the principle of the number of morae in a  $p\bar{a}da$ , there is hardly any metre in Sinhalese which is identical with any known in Prākrit. The Prākrit Dohā<sup>1</sup> bears indeed a certain resemblance to the Sinhalese Duvangagī. The second half of the Duvangagī (11+13) is a half of the Dohā (13+11), with the position of the two  $p\bar{a}das$  being reversed. It is noteworthy that, in Sinhalese prosody, the second  $p\bar{a}da$  of a half-verse is normally longer than the first. The first  $p\bar{a}da$  is generally the shortest and the last the longest. The Prākrit metre called Rasikā,<sup>2</sup> with six lines of eleven morae, all light syllables, has some affinities with Sinhalese prosody, but the resemblance is in the  $p\bar{a}da$  and not in the stanza taken as a whole.

599. The Yāgī, the commonest stanza among the  $g\bar{i}$  metres, has eleven morae in three of its  $p\bar{a}das$ . The other varieties of  $g\bar{i}$  also contain  $p\bar{a}das$  with eleven morae. This preponderance of the number eleven in the gi metres may not be without significance for the historical evolution of this form of Sinhalese versification. A stanza with eleven syllables to the line is the normal metrical form in the Avesta. In the Rg-veda, too, the eleven-syllabled metre called Tristubh occurs very frequently. Classical Sanskrit literature is replete with forms of Tristubh—Indra-vajrā, Upendra-vajrā, Upajāti, &c. If the early Sinhalese people used a metre of eleven syllables, the peculiar phonetic developments which the language underwent would have made the eleven syllables synonymous with eleven morae. Up to a time of about two centuries before the date of our graffiti, the Sinhalese language had no long vowels or conjoint consonants (see above, § 311).3 The prosody of old Indian based on syllables (akṣara-chandas) could thus have transformed itself, due to phonetic developments within the language itself, to one based on morae (mātrā-chandas). The development of long vowels and the elision of vowels did not affect prosody at all, for a long vowel was equivalent to two short vowels, and the reduction of the number of syllables by the elision of vowels did not reduce the number of morae. Sihi becoming sī or yaha becoming yā did not alter the prosodial value of the word; similarly, ran-van has four morae, just like rana-vana, in spite of the dropping of two a's. The reintroduction of long vowels and heavy syllables, however, paved the way for metrical possibilities which were made use of by the poets. The Esl. explains a number of metres in which the position of long syllables is fixed, and the Totaka metre was adopted from Sanskrit. Such metres, however, could be but sparingly used, for the nature of Sinhalese, with its predominance of short syllables, makes the akṣara- or gaṇachandas unsuited for it. If the pādas of the Yāgī with eleven morae be taken as having developed from Tristubh, the first pāda of nine morae may be explained as an evidence of that irregularity which we noticed in the rhythm of Sinhalese  $g\bar{i}$  metres, a result no doubt of a conscious effort to avoid monotony.

600. We now come to the *sivupadas* (*satar-pada* is the term in the graffiti) which, as the name implies, consist of four lines. They are, as a rule, of equal length, i.e. contain each the same number of morae, and rhyme at the end. The rhythm which, as in the case of  $g\bar{\imath}$ , is based on twos and threes, need not be identical in every line. Of the *sivupada* metres explained in the *Esl.*, eleven are represented in our graffiti, one by six examples and the others by one each. I take them in the order in which they occur in the *Esl.*, beginning with the shortest.

<sup>1</sup> Prākṛta-paingalam, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1902, p. 168. <sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 247.

<sup>3</sup> Many who are familiar with Sanskrit and Pāli verses, or even with modern Sinhalese, may find it difficult to realize that a stanza can be composed without any long vowels at all. But a stanza with no heavy syllables can be very charming. Read, for example, the following Prākrit stanza in the Rasikā metre:

Vimuha calia raṇa acalu pariharia haa gaa balu

Halahalia malaa-nibaha jasu jasa tihuana piai Banarasi narabai lulia saala ubari jasa phuria

(Prākṛta Paingalam, op. cit., p. 148.) In Sinhalese poems also, even after the language had developed heavy syllables, there are many stanzas in which light syllables preponderate. In the Girāsandēsa, the first ten-lined ode, containing 170 syllables in all, has only seven heavy syllables, lines 1, 2, 3, 5, and 6 being composed solely of short syllables.

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601. The metre named Kaňda (= Skt. Skandha¹ or Khañjā), represented by our No. 205, has ten morae in a line. Nos. 103 and 625 are in the Yonmatväla metre which, according to the Esl., should have ten morae in a line and in addition a heavy syllable at the end. Precisely the same definition is given in the Esl. of a metre named Uvadā (= Skt. Upajāti)² and it is, therefore, difficult to prefer one name to the other. Nos. 103 and 625 can also be taken as of the Vasat (= Skt. Vasanta) metre which should have twelve morae to the line and pause for breath after the sixth mātrā. In the text, I have given No. 527 as in the Miṇimal (= Skt. Maṇimālā) metre, a line of which comprises fourteen morae with a pause after the eighth. In order to take this stanza as being in this metre, the final syllable of each line must be taken as short. It could, however, also be taken as being long, for the length of e is not marked in our graffiti. In that case the verse would have fifteen morae to a line and could be scanned to suit the Sadol-keļi (= Skt. Śārdūla-krīḍā) metre, which has the yati after the tenth mātrā. If this verse is in the Miṇimal metre, its first line has to be broken up as: ma lada ran-vanun | gala | balanne.

602. The metre named Pede (= Skt. Padaka), in which is the quatrain contained in No. 51, is common in literature. It seems to have been a favourite of the sixteenth century poet, Alagiyavanna; many stanzas in this metre are to be met with in the Gk., too (fifteenth century). A line in this metre consists of sixteen morae with pauses for breath (yati) after every four morae. In the example for this metre given in the Esl., the yati coincides with the end of a word and is, therefore, a real caesura, but in our No. 51, if we are to break the lines one and three to sets of four morae, we have to pause at the middle of a word: dakut nä/mī sita and säbava ra/jek no vi. Perhaps we have here an irregularity which has been intentionally introduced, for binary rhythm resulting from yati after every four syllables tends to be monotonous, particularly when there is a long stretch of stanzas in this metre in a poem. If we, therefore, take the first line of our verse as dakut | nämī | sita | gata neta | gata kata, the ternary rhythm at the beginning would introduce a pleasing irregularity. So in line 3. In literary works, too, stanzas in this metre composed on similar lines are not infrequent. Compare, for example,

E mā | sat hu | e-na|daṭa asa|mānaya Tamā | nāda | mihi|rä yi yana | mānaya (Gk., v. 298).

603. The rhymed quatrains in graffiti numbered 23, 320, 357, 394, 560, and 595 are in a metre which, making allowance for an occasional irregularity, contains eighteen mātrās in each line, and I have taken them to be in the Samudurugos (= Skt. Samudra-ghoṣa) metre, the only one with that number of morae to the line given in the Esl. which does not take into account the position of heavy syllables. This, like the Padaka, is a metre which is of frequent occurrence in Sinhalese poetry, it being the predominant form in the Sandesa poems of the fifteenth century. According to the Esl., this metre should have yati after ten and eight mātrās; but in the six examples of the eighteen-mātrā stanzas forthcoming in our graffiti, there are only a few pādas which can be scanned to conform with the scheme. In the poems, too, a Samudurugos with a pause after the tenth mātrā occurs very seldom. The injunction of the Esl. with regard to the yati of the Samudurugos metre, if that text had in view the stanzas held to be in that metre by Sinhalese scholars, seems therefore to be without justification. In our graffiti the rhythm of one line is rarely the same as that of another in a Samudurugos stanza; only the number of morae is the same. It is, therefore, likely that considerable latitude was allowed to poets in this respect at the time of our graffiti, and that an attempt was made by theorists to introduce uniformity, but the poets paid no heed to it. In one of the stanzas taken as being in the Samudurugos metre (No. 394), the first line has a mātrā in excess.

604. No. 627 is in the Naranga-ranga metre, a pāda of which consists of nineteen morae broken by yati into nine and ten. Our stanza, however, does not easily lend itself to be scanned in accordance with this scheme. The first, third, and fourth pādas would flow smoothly if the yati be after ten instead of nine; the second accords well with the scheme of the Esl. No. 582 has twenty morae in

A Prākrit metre called Khandhaa (= Skt. Skandhaka) seems to be identical in name; but it is of a totally different nature from our Kaňda (see *Prākṛta-painga-lam*, op. cit., p. 129).

<sup>2</sup> Dasa-mat gurin baňduyē Yon-matväla ya he mesē (Esl., v. 48). Dasa-mat gurin baňduyē Uvadā namā yi dannē (Esl., v. 49). Bhadanta Sorata is of opinion that Yonmatväla should have yamaka at the beginning of the second and third pādas. This is so in the example given in the Esl., but yamaka is a matter of śabdālamkāra, not of prosody. Our Uvadā (Upajāti) has nothing in common but the name with the metre bearing that appellation in Sanskrit.

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one pāda and has, therefore, to be taken as in the Viyan (= Skt. Vitāna) metre. The Esl. says nothing about the yati in this metre, but the twenty morae in a pāda of our stanza can be conveniently broken into four sets of five, the rhythm moving by twos and threes. The stanza of No. 661 a has twenty-two mātrās to the line. It lends itself to being recited with yati after every six morae, leaving four morae at the end. There is, however, no such scheme in the Esl. This authority, on the other hand, enjoins yati with ten, six, and six in the stanza of twenty-two morae named Kusumsiringara (= Skt. Kusumaśṛṅgāra). Our stanza, with some difficulty, can be fitted into this scheme. The Esl., however, gives another stanza of twenty-two morae in which the yati is not laid down. Stanza No. 661 may, therefore, be in this metre, called Digōvili. No. 558, of twenty-two mātrās to the line, has also to be called Digōvili, though its rhythm is different from that of the other. The longest stanza in our anthology is No. 249 a. It can be read so as to give twenty-three morae in each pada. The Esl. has a sivupada of which each pāda has twenty-three morae. It is called Digahuru and is said to have yati after eight, six, and nine morae. Our stanza does not readily lend itself to be fitted into this scheme of yati, but if the number of morae alone is taken into account, it may all the same be an example of the Digahuru metre. At the period of our graffiti, uniformity in the scheme of yati does not seem to have been insisted upon in all the four pādas. Within a given number of morae, considerable latitude was allowed to the poets in the rhythm, which decided the point at which a pause was made for breath.

605. No. 340 is in a metre called Gajagāmi (= Skt. Gajagāmī). It has eight  $m\bar{a}tr\bar{a}s$  in the first  $p\bar{a}da$  and eleven in each of the other three  $p\bar{a}das$ . It, therefore, differs from the Yāgī (or Gī) by having one  $m\bar{a}tr\bar{a}$  less in the first  $p\bar{a}da$  and, in its composition, belongs to the  $g\bar{i}$  class of metres. But, unlike a  $g\bar{i}$ , its four  $p\bar{a}das$  end in the same rhyme and it has been included among the sivupada metres in the Esl., in the class named Pihiți which should contain eight or nine  $m\bar{a}tr\bar{a}s$  in a  $p\bar{a}da$ . The inclusion of this metre among the sivupada would naturally be taken as evidence that the rhyme indicated the end of a line; hence, having four lines, it could not be considered as a  $g\bar{i}$ . A metre of the same type as Gajagāmi is represented by Nos. 306 and 430. It has nine  $m\bar{a}tr\bar{a}s$  in each of its odd  $p\bar{a}das$ , eleven in the second  $p\bar{a}da$ , and fourteen in the fourth. It is rhymed. Though the Esl. makes no reference to it, verses in this metre are very common in poems of the fifteenth century and later. The majority of verses in the Kskh., Gk., and Kj. are in this metre. It is predominant in ballads and folk poetry. In fact, it is as common in Sinhalese poetry as is the sloka in Sanskrit. Like the sloka, its rhythm makes it eminently suitable for narrative. Its occurrence among our graffiti indicates that it is an old form, and not an invention of later poets as one might otherwise conclude from the fact that it has found no place in the Esl. Being nameless, I refer to it as metre B1.

606. No. 44 is in an irregular metre (B2) which does not conform to any noticed in the *Esl*. It can be taken as consisting of twenty-three  $m\bar{a}tr\bar{a}s$  in each of the  $p\bar{a}das$ , save the second which counts only eighteen  $m\bar{a}tr\bar{a}s$ . It is possible that a word or two has been left out by an error of the writer; but it gives good sense as it is written down. Even if we assume that there is an omission in the second line, the other three lines cannot be read to conform to the scheme of yati in the metres of twenty-three syllables in the *Esl*. Our stanza seems to require pauses for breath after every six  $m\bar{a}tr\bar{a}s$ , leaving five at the end of a line. No. 449 is a stanza with twenty-three morae to a line. Of the metres in the *Esl*., the Digahuru has this number of morae in a line, but the scheme of yati, i.e. eight, six, nine, does not fit in with our stanza. I refer to the metre of this stanza as B3.

607. The examination of these two and other *sivupada* among our graffiti leads us to the conclusion that, in the eighth and ninth centuries, the lines of a quatrain were not required to be uniform with regard to the exact point at which there should be pause for breath (yati). What mattered, as a rule, was the number of morae in a line, within which a certain amount of latitude was allowed to poets. This asymmetry, which we have noticed to a greater degree in the  $g\bar{i}$  metres, was characteristic of the art and architecture of the period, too. Later theorists schematized and regularized the practice, just as artists of the later period preferred a rigid formalism.

608. The rhyme in these *sivupada* is formed by having the same syllable at the end of every line. Rhyming two by two or in alternate lines is not found in our stanzas, neither is it in Sinhalese poetical works. Rhyme in one or more places in the middle of a line, or at the beginning, is not met with in these *sivupada*. The occurrence of the syllable na or  $n\bar{a}$  in the middle of the lines of No. 357 b is too irregular to be taken as an example of rhyme in the middle. If it had been the practice in the period of our graffiti to have rhyme only at the end of the line, the number of rhymes in a piece of poetry

would have been the same as the number of lines. Hence the inclusion of Gajagämi among the sivupada in the Esl. That rhyme was originally restricted to the end of a metrical line is apparent from the manner in which it is referred to in the Esl. and other literary works in Sinhalese. There is no single word to indicate rhyme, but it is referred to as elisama, i.e. equal eli. Eli, therefore, by itself does not mean 'rhyme'. The word, I believe, means 'end', being derived from Skt. koti. The change of t to l (Phonological Rules lxxxii and lxxxiii) needs no comment. The change of o in the first syllable to e by the influence of the i in the second is exemplified by many words such as deni (P. doni), and the elision of initial h developed from k is paralleled by udalu (P. kuddāla).

609. The length of the vowel of a syllable is immaterial for the purpose of rhyme; in No. 205, for instance, asiri of line 3 rhymes with sirī of line 1. Forms which cannot be easily justified grammatically have been resorted to for purposes of rhyme. Dasu and hisu in lines 3 and 4 of No. 44 are used to make those lines rhyme with the other two lines of which the last word is pasu. If this necessity had not been present, das and his would have been used. Similarly, in No. 527, the instrumental singular form säbävine stands for säbävin. The e is added only to make the rhyme and for no other reason. Similar practices are very common in Sinhalese versification. In some stanzas an  $\bar{a}$  is added to the rhyming word. See, for example, ek-vanā and salaminā in No. 394, tanā and attaminā in No. 357 b, and  $bas\bar{a}$ ,  $vilas\bar{a}$ ,  $yas\bar{a}$ , and  $dahas\bar{a}$  in No. 627. In some of these instances the  $\bar{a}$  may have been added to make a word rhyme with another in which the  $\bar{a}$  is justified grammatically, e.g. salamin has been written as salamin $\bar{a}$  in No. 394 in order to make the word rhyme with  $n\bar{a}$ . In No. 627, however, each of the four words ending the four lines has an extra  $\bar{a}$  added to it;  $vilas\bar{a}$ ,  $bas\bar{a}$ ,  $yas\bar{a}$ , and  $dahas\bar{a}$ could have been written vilasa, basa, yasa, and dahasa and the rhyming could have been effected without the aid of an element which has no grammatical significance. In Sinhalese literary works, too, there are numerous examples of sivupada in which syllables like  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{e}$ ,  $y\bar{a}$ , and  $h\bar{a}$  occur at the end of a line without any grammatical necessity. Take, for instance, Kskh. i. 128:

> Pähädum ranga vannamin»udulāhā Sivu-sas nimaham yutu nimalāhā Sitiyam vana mē rasa-tepalāhā Elavī savanā saba siyalāhā

In this quatrain, the syllable  $h\bar{a}$  is required neither for the rhyme nor for the grammar. The meaning would be as efficiently expressed and the rhyming equally well effected if we should eliminate the syllable  $h\bar{a}$  at the end of each line. It is also hardly possible that this device was resorted to in order to get the required number of morae in each line; the author of the Kskh. had sufficient command of the language to have been able to satisfy a metrical scheme without the aid of purposeless syllables. The purpose of these endings must, therefore, be something other than rhyme and grammar. In my opinion, they are interjections of the same category as the stobhas in Sāman chants, which Fox Strangways considers to be analogous to the jubilations in songs of medieval Europe.

610. In addition to the two classes of metrical compositions,  $g\bar{\imath}$  and sivupada, the Esl. treats of a third class which is a mixture of the two. A type of ode of this class, formed by combining  $g\bar{\imath}$  and sivupada lines in various ways, is called  $s\ddot{a}h\ddot{a}li$ . The Sbl., too, includes  $s\ddot{a}h\ddot{a}li$  in an enumeration of different types of metrical composition in Sinhalese.<sup>4</sup> In our graffito No. 504,  $s\ddot{a}h\ddot{a}li$  along with  $g\bar{\imath}$  is mentioned as having been composed in honour of the women by the visitors to Sīgiri in those days. Among the seven hundred stanzas that we have deciphered, there is, however, not a single example which corresponds to the description given in the Esl. of the metrical form called  $s\ddot{a}h\ddot{a}li$ . It is, however, not impossible that the conception of  $s\ddot{a}h\ddot{a}li$  in the eighth and ninth centuries differed from that which prevailed at the time when the Esl. was written. Among our graffiti are several in which a  $g\bar{\imath}$  follows a sivupada or vice versa. If the two are to be taken together, these graffiti may perhaps represent a kind of strophic metre which was known as  $s\ddot{a}h\ddot{a}li$ . In No. 249 a sivupada is followed by a  $g\bar{\imath}$ ; so in No. 661. The  $g\bar{\imath}$  comes first and the sivupada follows in No. 357. In the various types of  $s\ddot{a}h\ddot{a}li$  given in the Esl., half of a  $g\bar{\imath}$  is repeatedly followed by half of a sivupada and a full sivupada comes at the end.

611. There are numerous instances in our verses of the lengthening of a short syllable or the shortening of a long syllable to satisfy metrical requirements. Sihigirī in Nos. 28 and 42, äsī in No. 42, sasirī

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Present-day writers use eli in that sense.

<sup>3</sup> Music of Hindosthan, p. 255.

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in No. 62,  $vuy\bar{u}$  in No. 93,  $bim\bar{a}$  in No. 251,  $katak^ih\bar{u}$  in No. 306,  $avalek^ih\bar{u}$  in No. 525 are examples of the lengthening of short vowels. Some of these, however, like  $vuy\bar{u}$ , represent an earlier stage in phonetic development. For the opposite process, di (No. 42), hamu-vuyek (No. 118), and gi (No. 245) are examples. The last syllable of a  $p\bar{a}da$  may be optionally treated as long, even if it is not actually so. In the recitation of verse the last syllable of a line is generally pronounced with a drawl. The nasal combined with g, d, d, or b does not affect the quantity of the preceding syllable; bandu (No. 460), for instance, counts as two  $m\bar{a}tr\bar{a}s$  and not three. The few instances in which the nasal has quantitative value have been noticed in § 69 above.

612. Thus the prosody of our verses, while being consistent in the main with that expounded in the Esl., shows also certain divergences from it. When judged according to the conceptions regarding prosody ruling among Sinhalese scholars today, which are based on the Esl. interpreted in the light of Sanskrit prosodial theories, our stanzas may, in many places, show irregularities; but, if we deduce from the stanzas themselves the conceptions which were then ruling among the literati, and judge these compositions accordingly, the writers whose efforts are before us should, on the whole, be pronounced to have exhibited metrical skill of no mean order.

# VIII. THE LITERARY QUALITY OF THE DOCUMENTS

613. We now proceed to consider whether the verses scribbled on the gallery wall have any literary value, apart from grammatical correctness and conformity to metrical standards; and, if so, what estimate we can form of them in this respect. Some of the verses are referred to, by their authors, as *kavi*, i.e. poetry; those which were not so designated specifically were also doubtless meant to be such. The question we have to decide, therefore, is whether these scribblers of a thousand years ago achieved their aim of composing poetry. This leads us to the consideration of what poetry is—what these scribblers meant by the term *kavi*.

614. Before attempting to answer this question, it is as well to draw attention to some of the impediments which stand in our way of appreciating these verses from the literary point of view. To begin with, there is the difficulty caused by the unfamiliar language, for even those who are well versed in old Sinhalese will find in these verses many a word which they have not met with elsewhere, phrase-ology with which they are not acquainted, and grammatical forms diverging from what they accept as the norm. He who would judge these verses as literature must, therefore, make himself acquainted with their language so that he may not have to pause at every turn for the meaning of a particular word, the significance of a phrase, or the understanding of the syntax. If the idea conveyed by a particular verse does not flash into the mind of the reader simultaneously with the utterance of the words, the aesthetic enjoyment that he would otherwise derive will be impaired to that extent.

615. These verses were composed on a particular occasion, in circumstances of a peculiar nature, and were addressed to an audience who were in a certain frame of mind. What was considered effective and striking in such circumstances will cease to be so under different conditions. Certain allusions, and the particular associations evoked by certain words, on which the effectiveness of a verse depended, would have been obvious to those to whom the verses were originally addressed. They are lost on us today when we read the verses and, to this extent, many of the verses must have lost their point. No one has given the least thought to them for over a thousand years since they were indited on the wall. In such circumstances there is always room for doubt whether we have correctly gauged the writer's mind. Even in the case of poetical works of a past era, which have continued to be the subject of study, there still remain many passages with regard to which we cannot say without doubt that we have correctly grasped the poet's intentions. It is also not impossible that some of the composers meant their verses to be interpreted in more than one way, and we may not be having at our disposal all the data necessary in order to comprehend their full significance.

616. The number of people who will ever develop the ability to read and understand the Sinhalese language of the eighth century being extremely small, the majority of those taking an interest in these graffiti will have to depend on translations. The effectiveness of these verses—as indeed of any poetical composition—depends not only on their sense but also on the sound; this latter cannot be reproduced in a translation into another language, even though to modern Sinhalese. It would, of course, be

possible to adopt the appropriate rhythm and metre in the language into which the translation is made, so as to preserve the spirit of the original. In this case, however, the result would be a new piece of poetry in that language. The words of two well-known writers on aesthetics may not be inapposite in this connexion: 'If we take from a poem its metre, its rhythm, and its words, poetical thought does not, as some opine, remain behind; there remains nothing. Poetry is born as those words, that rhythm and that metre' (Croce). 'In great poetry it is the formal music that makes the miracle. The poet expresses in verbal form an emotion but distantly related to the words set down' (Clive Bell).<sup>2</sup>

617. No doubt the persons who composed verses and scribbled them on the gallery wall at Sīgiri were acquainted to some degree with such poetical literature as existed at the time in their language. They also must have had their favourite authors, as all of us do have, and when they themselves tried their hands at composing poetry, they must have consciously or unconsciously followed these as models, not only as regards form but, to some extent, in the thought also. Quite a number of our authors must thus have produced their efforts without giving any thought to theories on poetry. But the question is worth raising whether there existed, among the literary men of those days, rules and conventions with regard to the content of poetry, in accordance with which they expected their work to be judged. We have already referred, in more than one place, to the Siyabaslakara, a work on poetics (being an adaptation into Sinhalese of Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarśa) which dates from the tenth century. The possibility cannot be ruled out that the authors of the later in date among our verses were acquainted with that text. But the nature of the subject-matter of our verses and their briefness make it difficult to determine whether the doctrines on poetics expounded in the Sbl. had in fact really influenced our poets.

618. Poetics as a discipline was certainly not introduced for the first time among Sinhalese men of letters by the publication of the Sbl. That text itself furnishes us with evidence for this conclusion. The author, in verse 3, states that his work is designed to benefit two classes of students—those who are not conversant with Sanskrit and those not familiar with earlier works on the subject. In verse 2 of the Sbl. its author pays his homage to the originators of the science, mythical as well as historical. In the latter category are included Dandin, whose work he adapted and translated, and Vāmana, who belonged to the same school as Dandin. Now it is well known that to Vāmana as well as to Dandin poetics was alamkāra (S. lakara), although the Kāvyādarśa, in its second verse, uses the term kāvyalakṣaṇa, and the very name Siyabaslakara shows that its author, too, accepted this position. But, in the verse under reference, they are called Masters of kav-lakunu (Skt. kāvya-lakṣana). This term continued to be used in Ceylon with reference to poetics, side by side with lakara, up to the fifteenth century, for a short tract, dating from that period, which gives elementary knowledge of use to versifiers, is called Kav-lakunu-mina. Kāvya-lakṣaṇa, it has been pointed out by Dr. V. Raghavan, was one of the names by which the science of poetics is referred to in Sanskrit literature, and the fact that Bharata deals at great length with laksanas of a poem, including among them much of the topics dealt with under alamkāras4 by later writers, would signify that kāvya-lakṣaṇa was a name for poetics earlier than alamkāra.

619. The poetic figure, called  $utprek_s\bar{a}$  in the  $K\bar{a}vy\bar{a}darsa$  and other Sanskrit works on Alamkāra, is referred to as ayala-sit in the Sbl,5 whereas the later Sdsg. knows it as  $up\bar{e}$ , a term derived from that in the  $K\bar{a}vy\bar{a}darsa$ . That the author of the Sbl. adopted for this figure a name which is not derived from that occurring in the text he was translating, indicates that the term ayala-sit was too well known in his time to be ignored. If there was a native name for this poetic figure, others which are commoner must also have had such names in use among men of letters. The term uba-bas, used in the Sdsg for dialogue, cannot be traced back to the name of any poetic figure used in Sanskrit. All this evidence points to the conclusion that, even before the translation of the  $K\bar{a}vy\bar{a}darsa$  into Sinhalese sometime in the tenth century, poetics was a subject of study among Sinhalese men of letters, and the system that was in vogue among them was a phase of that science earlier than that designated the Alamkāra, probably introduced from India and naturalized in Ceylon. Some at least of the writers of our graffiti must have been included among the cultured of their day, and were probably grounded in this discipline. But the extent to which they were influenced by these theoretical studies we cannot gauge

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1 Croce, The Essence of Aesthetics, p 44.
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<sup>3</sup> Some Concepts of the Alanikāra-śāstra (Adyar, 1942), p. 264.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Clive Bell, Art, p. 158.

with certainty, for we are in the dark with regard to the scope of the science of poetics as it was known in Ceylon before the Sbl.

620. To set up a criterion by which to judge our verses in accord with the system of poetics which, we have inferred, was the subject of study in Ceylon during the eighth to tenth centuries is, therefore, even less possible than to estimate them with the aid of the Sbl. It is not impossible that some of the Sanskrit works on Alamkāra, earlier in date than the eighth century, were known in Ceylon, and such evidence as is furnished by our documents of the knowledge which their authors had of these authorities will be noticed in the sequel. But our verses as a whole do not indicate that the Sanskrit Alamkāra had much sway over the Sinhalese poets of those days.

621. In these circumstances the best possible course for us is to deduce, as we have done to some extent in studying their grammar and their prosody, a standard of judgement from the verses themselves. In pursuing such a course on a matter dealing with literary criticism, we act on the sound dictum of Manzoni, according to whom every composition 'offers to any one who wishes to examine it the principles necessary to form a judgement of it'. 'These principles may be obtained by asking three questions: What was the author's intention? Was the intention reasonable? Has the author carried it out? In other words: discover the purpose; judge its worth; criticize the technique.'

622. The purpose of our authors is self-evident; it is to give expression to the feelings aroused in them when they saw that unique work of human ingenuity, the rock-fortress of Sīgiri, and those exquisite paintings which adorned the rock-side, of which even the remnants that we possess today have the power to send lovers of art into ecstasy. The purpose of our authors is, therefore, as worthy of a poet as Kālidāsa's when he wrote his Meghadūta, or Keats's when he wrote his Ode to a Grecian Urn, or Gray's when he burst into song and gave us his Elegy in a Country Churchyard. The third question, whether our authors have carried out their purpose, cannot be answered so simply. In fact, it is on our answer to this question that the estimate we are attempting to form of the poetic worth of these verses will depend. We are thus led to criticize their technique at some length, from which it will be possible for us to obtain some idea of what they held to be essential in poetry.

623. In judging the technique, the first thing that strikes one is that the vast majority of these versifiers had considered it necessary to compress their emotions into one single couplet. It might be argued that the emotions evoked by such a sight as Sīgiri, even in its present condition, demand more effusiveness. It was certainly not due to our versifiers exhausting all their creative literary talent after composing a single couplet that they attempted no more. A man who can compose one good stanza can as well compose a dozen of them. It seems, therefore, to have been a condition laid down that our versifiers should say something striking and poetic in one single couplet. Perhaps it was considered more difficult to be effective with a single couplet than with a dozen or a score of them. A limitation appears thus to have been imposed on poets who wished to exhibit their talents at Sīgiri. 'Severe limitations concentrate and intensify the artist's energies.'2

624. Stanzas like those we are dealing with, in which a poet expresses his thoughts or feelings in a concentrated form, but none the less succeeds in his purpose of stimulating aesthetic pleasure, are as a class referred to as muktaka (free verse) by writers on Indian poetics. And a single muktaka stanza, according to these theorists, can be equal in worth to a long composition in verse, provided it is replete with that quality of poetry which causes aesthetic enjoyment. It is indeed extremely difficult for a poet to achieve success in this genre, for he has to do so without the aid of the interest created in the reader by the plot, the story, the characters, and the inter-relation of the parts in a poem of greater length. In a muktaka a poet must have recourse to a variety of expedients in order to gain the attention of his audience, and to win their applause. A successful writer of such muktaka verses must indeed be a master of his art. Says Ānandavardhana, the elaborator of the Dhvani (suggestion) theory of Sanskrit poetics: 'Poets are found who infuse into a single muktaka as much of rasa as into an entire poem. For example, the muktakas of the poet Amaruka, effusing the erotic sentiment, are well-known to be each in itself equivalent to a complete poem.' As Abhinavagupta puts it, a muktaka is that by which the enjoyment of aesthetic pleasure is caused without depending

muktakāḥ śṛṅgāra-rasasyandinaḥ prabandhāyamānāḥ prasiddhā eva (Dhvanyāloka of Ānandavardhana, with the Commentary of Abhinavagupta (Kāvyamālā Series), Nirṇaya-sāgar Press, Bombay, 1935, p. 275).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Abercrombie, Principles of Literary Criticism, p. 152.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Clive Bell, Art, p. 64.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Muktakeşu hi prabandheşv-iva rasa-bandhābhiniveśinah kavayo drśyante. Yathā hy Amarukasya kaver

on what has been said before, and what is yet to be said. In such a position the poet has to depend on his power of suggestion, and this is the test of a great poet (mahākavi). 'The fame of being a great poet is earned just by the possession of that talent of composing poetry enlivened by the suggested sense.'2 There are numerous verses among our graffiti which are full of suggested meaning and, according to this criterion, their authors deserve the epithet at least of kavi if not that of mahā-kavi.

625. Purporting to be the spontaneous expressions of individual emotion, these verses, according to the terminology of European literary criticism, are lyrical in character. And, in the opinion of many competent aestheticians, poetry is basically lyrical, as is indeed all art. The words of Croce are apposite in this connexion: 'Epic and lyric, or drama and lyric, are scholastic divisions of the indivisible; art is always lyrical.'3 'Artistic intuition, then, is always lyrical intuition.'4 Reading almost like a paraphrase of Anandavardhana's statement quoted above are Croce's words: 'A little piece of poetry is aesthetically equal to a poem.'5

626. We are in a position to determine what our authors themselves, or at least some of them, considered to be the content of poetry, for among the graffiti are a few verses in which other compositions are criticized. Moreover, the criticism, though brief, is such that it indicates the theory on which it is based. For instance, graffito No. 492 reads: 'Though he thought of this composition (of poetry), is that a poem which a certain person sat there and wrote? When he looked at this, did he not write empty songs? (Poetry) was composed by him, (taking things) as (they) appear when one looks at (them)'. The writer of this verse, which is the earliest example of what may be called literary criticism that we have in Sinhalese, has preferred to remain anonymous; it is, however, significant that he characterizes the composition that he criticizes as an 'empty song' and questions whether it is poetry. In his opinion, therefore, the verse criticized is devoid of something, the presence of which alone entitles a composition to be called poetry. What this something is we shall be able to infer when we examine the implication of his other criticism that, in the composition which is not poetry, things are merely described as they are.

627. The opinions of our authors with regard to compositions which are not mere descriptions of things as seen may be gathered from a number of other graffiti. Referring obviously to one of the numerous verses in which the eyes of the damsels in the painting are compared to blue water-lilies, graffito No. 191 says: 'They who compared your eyes to a pair of blue water-lilies-they indeed are thinkers; but they grasp little out of the abundance of your splendour.' Graffito No. 407 says: 'He, having seen the golden-coloured ones, thought that there are nymphs here. Should there be any here who think, the deer-eyed one is just as they think her to be.' Again, the writer of verse in graffito No. 130, having recorded his conceit, says: 'I am Friar Sirinā. . . . I thought thus'.

628. In these and in a number of other graffiti, 'thinking' obviously does not mean exact thinking or logical reasoning.6 The writers have used the word as referring not to the reasoning powers of the human mind, but to the imaginative faculty. It is imagination, therefore, which imparts to a composition the poetic quality. Thus the anonymous Sinhalese critic of the ninth century seems to have held an opinion which is substantially the same as that expressed by the English poet Coleridge a thousand years later. 'Images, however beautiful, however faithfully copied from nature, and as accurately represented in words, do not of themselves characterize the poet. They become proofs of original genius only so far as they are modified by a predominant passion, or by associated thoughts or images awakened by that passion.'7

629. These ancient visitors to Sīgiri, having seen figures of beautiful women in the paintings, have modified their mental images of them in accordance with the passion or thought predominant in them at the time and composed verses expressive of their state of mind. Many are the examples from our graffiti which can be quoted to illustrate this statement. I content myself with only one (No. 104). 'By means of the splendour of the mountain side, I saw the manner in which nymphs stood in heaven.

- 1 Pūrvāpara-nirapekṣeṇāpi hi yena rasa-carvaṇā kriyate tad-eva muktakam (ibid., p. 275).
- <sup>2</sup> Pratīyamānānuprāņita-kāvya-nirmāņa-nipuņapratibhā-bhājanatvenaiva mahākavi-vyapadeśo bhavati (ibid., p. 16).

  - oid., p. 16).

    3 The Essence of Aesthetics, p. 30.

    5 Ibid., p. 59.
- 6 'In literature there is no such thing as pure thought; in literature thought is always the handmaid

of emotion. . . . It is not the less real for that, of course, but it is of a peculiar kind, and needs to be mediated in a peculiar way. But the thought of which we are talking when we speak of it as predominant or subordinate in a work of literature has nothing to do with the pure thought of the logician, the scientist or the mathematician' (Middleton Murry, Problem of Style, p. 73).

<sup>7</sup> Biographia Literaria, quoted in J. Middleton Murry's The Problem of Style, p. 40.

My hand jumped up with the desire of grasping their girdle in dalliance.' The writer of this verse, by the use of the word *rasan*, gives rise to a string of associated thoughts indicating his passion. This and other verses of a similar nature, according to Coleridge's dictum, can with reason be taken as poetry, and poetry of a high order.

630. But imagination, by itself, does not seem to have been considered as the sole mark of good poetry. For the writer of graffito No. 69 says, as if he were bringing a mild charge against the women in the paintings, that they made so many of the visitors to Sīgiri speak just as they thought, i.e. imagined. In No. 495 b another critic, finding fault with the composition of one of his companions, says these words: 'purporting to be poetry, he wrote (what is in his own) mind—what has come to his mind (merely) because life continues to exist in him.' What comes into our minds for the mere reason that we are alive, that is, just idle fancy, cannot also be poetry. Our graffiti do not contain any suggestion as to how imagination has to be shaped or restrained in poetry, but a reference to four different classes of poets found in the Aiguttara Nikāya gives us a clue. This text, being one of the canonical works of Pāli Buddhism, must have been widely studied by the Buddhists of Ceylon during the period of our graffiti, and what it says must have been held as authoritative, for the classification of poets into four groups is attributed to the Buddha himself. A classification implies a theory; and the theory that we deduce from it is perhaps the earliest on poetics that can be culled from any literature.

631. The four classes of poets, according to the Aiguttara Nikāya, are cintā-kavi, suta-kavi, attha-kavi, and paṭibhāṇa-kavi.² The text itself does not explain these terms, nor does it afford any clue as to what it exactly meant by them. Buddhaghosa's explanations of the terms³ are meagre and not convincing. We have therefore to ascertain the significance of the terms by studying their etymology, a method frequently resorted to in the explanation of Buddhist terminology. In similar lists occurring in Buddhist texts, the various classes are arranged in the ascending order of merit, and we may assume that it is so in this case, too. From the Buddhist point of view, what is most conducive to the realization of the Ultimate Truth has the greatest value. We may, on this principle, take it that cintā-kavi is the poet whose composition is least valuable in this respect, and paṭibhāṇa-kavi the closest to the ideal. This inference is strengthened by the fact that paṭibhāṇa is the fourth and the highest of the methods of realization often associated with the attainment of sainthood.

632. Cintā means 'thought'. As the word sitana, etymologically connected with cintā, is used in our graffiti to denote imagination, it is permissible to take it that cintā also has the same meaning in this passage. A cintā-kavi may thus be rendered 'imaginative poet'. To use a term familiar in European literary criticism, we may say a 'romantic poet'. As imagination, in some degree or form, is essential in any type of poetry, the other three classes of poets, too, must be assumed to possess this characteristic, though not in so predominant a degree as does a cintā-kavi. When we class human beings as children, youths, middle-aged, and old, the bodily and mental faculties present in childhood are assumed to be continued to the other stages, though in a modified form. The suta-kavi, attha-kavi, and paṭibhāṇa-kavi may, therefore, be taken as possessing cintā, but modified by suta, attha, and paṭibhāṇa respectively.

633. Suta (lit. 'what is heard') means 'learning', and a suta-kavi is a poet whose imagination is restrained by his learning. A poet who is fond of mythological allusions, who strives to make his work conform to the models of the past, whose ideas and imagery owe much to poets of old, may be called a suta-kavi. In European terminology he is a classicist. Attha is external object; an attha-kavi, therefore, is a poet whose ideas and imagery are derived from nature. He may be called an objective poet. Paṭibhāṇa (lit. 'flashing towards') may be rendered into English by 'intuition'. A paṭibhāṇa-kavi is a poet whose imagination is controlled by his 'intuition'. The compositions of a poet of this type may contain more about the real nature of the world than those of the poets of the other three categories. He, therefore, from a Buddhist point of view, represents the highest type of poet. In European terminology he is a subjective poet. The theory according to which poets are classified in the Aṅguttara

<sup>2</sup> Anguttara Nikāya, P.T.S. Edition, vol. ii, p. 230.

Manoratha-pūraņī, vol. iii, p. 211.

onymous with cintā, supports this conclusion. See Visuddhimagga, P.T.S. Edition, vol. ii, p. 463.

<sup>5</sup> 'Artha-kavi' also occurs in a classification of poets given in Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāmsā*, G.O.S. Edition, p. 18. The term is not explained, but the example of a composition by an *artha-kavi* given by Rājaśekhara is in accord with the above interpretation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> It is generally accepted that the *Anguttara Nikāya* was known as a compilation in the third century B.C. The particular passage quoted has been commented upon by Buddhaghosa in the fifth century A.D.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Buddhaghosa's definition of cetanā, almost syn-

Nikāya, it will thus be observed, is one which requires the freedom of the poet's imagination to be balanced by responsibility engendered by his learning, his observations of the external world, or his own intuitions.

634. If it be considered admissible to judge our verses by such a theory of poetry, Nos. 147 and 372 can be quoted as examples of the compositions of a cintā-kavi, Nos. 28 and 652 of a suta-kavi, Nos. 334 and 605 of an attha-kavi, and Nos. 99 and 118 of a paṭibhāṇa-kavi. The metrical form of the couplet in which the vast majority of our poets clothed their flights of imagination imposed a severe restraint on them, and this restraint has to be classed as one due to respect for learning. For our poets were not inventive where metre was concerned, and utilized forms that were handed down by tradition, a knowledge of which they must have acquired as a part of their education.

635. We do not know what particular verse was condemned as an 'empty song', by the critic who wrote No. 492, for the reason that things are described therein as seen. Such writings, according to the terminology of the Sanskrit alamkārikas, would be svabhāvokti, 'natural description'. The following may be classed in this category: 'Having inclined (herself to) (one) side and keeping one hand close to the other, one golden coloured (damsel) stands on the peak, looking at a flower taken in her hand' (No. 354). 'One damsel, having her hair fallen loose in the middle of the forehead entwined by locks, going downwards by a side from the direction of this wall, conveys a garland of flowers and presents it' (No. 355 b). 'Observing those who came here, asking questions (of them) and speaking (to them), I looked well at the golden-coloured ones on the mountain side according to my desire' (No. 321). Even in these the figures in the paintings are referred to as women of flesh and blood and, to that extent at least, they cannot be called natural descriptions. In Nos. 354 and 355 b, quoted above, there is perhaps a suggestion of symbolic meaning in referring to the flowers held in the hands of the women. If so they are, in the estimation of the most authoritative Sanskrit theorists, poetry of the highest order.

636. The writer of the verse which has been criticized as an empty song and others who wrote verses of that type would not have accepted them as such. In their own estimate, their compositions must no doubt have been classed as poetry. It seems, therefore, that among the literary men of the period of our graffiti, there were two divergent views with regard to svabhāvokti: some did not admit them as poetry, while others did so. This is also the position that we find among the writers on Indian poetics who flourished during this period, or in the two or three centuries preceding it. Daṇḍin, for instance, admitted svabhāvokti (also called jāti) as a poetic figure, while Bhāmaha did not.<sup>2</sup> To him all poetic figures must have the characteristic of vakrokti 'indirect or crooked speech', while unadorned description is mere vārtā 'reporting'. Some writers, however, reckon vārtā also as a poetic figure. Bāṇa refers contemptuously to poets who can do nothing more than compose jāti—as numerous a breed as dogs who bark in every house. But Mahimbhaṭṭa has a spirited defence of svabhāvokti. To him it is description bringing out the very soul (sva-lakṣana 'the thing-in-itself') of an object which the intuition of the poet grasps.

637. We can also form an idea about that something, the lack of which makes a composition an 'empty song', if we examine a statement in one of our graffiti extolling the painter who executed the frescoes of Sīgiri. No. 541 states that the artist fixes the diverse feelings in the mind of the person he paints. The word translated as 'feelings', sit-vindi, may also mean what the mind has experienced. There would be many among modern writers on aesthetics who would agree with the old-time scribbler of Sīgiri that art is concerned with feelings. But they would say that the artist, be he painter or poet, communicates or expresses, not fixes, the feelings. The expression used by our poet, when taken in conjunction with Buddhist metaphysics and psychology, can very well form the basis for a theory of aesthetics, but a detailed discussion of this would take us far away from our present objective.

638. No. 150 also speaks of the 'fixing' of feelings. In that verse there is no specific mention of painting; but, even if the reference is in fact to painting, we may justifiably identify the function of that art with that of poetry. For the two arts have much in common and the view crystallized in Sanskrit as well as Sinhalese appears to have been the same as that of the Greek poet-philosopher,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For the salutary restraint which metre imposes on a poet, see E. F. Carrit, An Introduction to Aesthetics, p. 112.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For a detailed discussion of the place of svabhāvokti in Sanskrit poetics, see V. Raghavan, Some Concepts of the Alamkāra-śāstra, pp. 92-116.

Simonides, who is reported to have said that painting is dumb poetry and poetry is speaking painting.<sup>1</sup> The word for poetic description in Sanskrit as well as in Sinhalese etymologically means 'colouring', and in our graffito No. 161 the word used in the sense of 'depicting pictorially' is the same as that which means describing poetically. Moreover, the function of all art is aesthetically the same; we may therefore conclude that, in the opinion of some at least of our poets, what poetry does is the fixing of human feelings.

639. A feeling, emotion, mood, or a mental state (Skt. bhāva), which by nature is of a fleeting character, when it becomes more or less enduring, is a rasa, i.e. that which causes aesthetic pleasure (āsvāda). Nāṭya Śāstra, the encyclopaedic work on dramaturgy in Sanskrit, ascribed to the mythical sage Bharata, defines a rasa as sthāyī-bhāva,² i.e. a mood which is staying or enduring. The expression sit-vindi of the graffito referred to above has the same significance as the Skt. bhāva, and the verb siṭuvayi, which we have translated as 'fixes', comes from the same root as sthāyin. The compound sita-vāṭi in graffito No. 339 is the same as Skt. citta-vṛṭti (mental state) occurring frequently as a technical term in Abhinavagupta's exposition of Bharata's rasa-theory of poetics.³

640. The word rasa itself occurs more than once in our graffiti. No. 556 speaks of rasa in songs (gī-rasa), i.e. of poetry. No. 206 refers to the painting of pictures so as to contain rasa. In No. 164 we read of persons possessing rasa. Nos. 356 and 517 describe rasa being engendered by looking at a beautiful object. 'O deer-eyed ones, it is not enough, I trow, even if your beauty of form be brought together and drunk (by one). This rasa which has come into being increases the hunger for it. What has been only half eaten increases the hunger (all the more)' (No. 517). Rasa-vadan (No. 657) and rasättak (Nos. 302, 380) refer to speech enlivened by rasa. The verse numbered 613 requests visitors to get themselves immersed in the rasa that is of Sīgiri.

641. From these references we glean that rasa may be contained in a picture as well as in a piece of poetry or song. This justifies our procedure in making use of a statement referring to painting in order to infer the ideas entertained about poetry by the writers of our verses. Rasa is engendered in the mind of the spectator when he sees a beautiful object in the external world. But not in everyone's mind, for there are people who are particularly gifted with the capacity to enjoy rasa, which, therefore, is both objective and subjective. It is this possession of rasa in one's mental make-up that enables one to appreciate a picture, or derive pleasure from the reading of a poem. But a poet must be more sensitive to the beauties of the external world than the average man. One who is not so can in no wise be called a poet. This is tellingly expressed in graffito No. 473 which has been written in reproof of a former visitor to Sigiri who, in his verse, has stated that he was not moved when he saw the paintings. 'They whose minds have not been captivated when they looked at this—should they be called poets? It has been said that their eyes move a little when a cord is pulled from a distance.' What is meant by this writer is that one who is insensitive to such beautiful things as the Sigiri paintings is a puppet—not a poet. He has no soul.

642. In the terminology of the Sanskrit Alamkāra-śāstra, soulful persons who themselves derive pleasure from seeing beautiful objects and are also capable of communicating this to others are called sa-hṛdayas 'those with a heart'. As Abhinavagupta puts it, 'what is of paramount importance is a soul (lit. heart) gifted with an abundance of unsullied intuition'. 'They, in the flower of whose mind, expanded by the study and practice of poetry, there is the ability of becoming one with that which is to be described, whose hearts enjoy the experience of being spoken to—they are the sa-hṛdayas.' To be endowed with such feeling for the beautiful in Nature or Art, one must have the vāsanā (lit. 'perfume'—latent impressions left in the mind by previous experience of that nature, not limited, according to systems of Indian philosophy, to the present existence. One may, therefore, be born with this gift, or it may be acquired as a result of education and training. The word ļa-ätta in No. 236 exactly

See Plutarch, Q. Conv. 9. 15. 2; and Plato, Gorgias, 450 B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Sthāyyeva tu raso bhavet. Nāṭya Śāstra (Kāvyamāla Series, Bombay, 1943), p. 122. The term sthāyī-bhāva is often translated as 'permanent mood'; but this does not correctly interpret the psychological basis of the rasa-theory. The phrase siṭinā bāv by which the Sbl. (iii. 387) translates sthāyī-bhāva proves that, in the tenth century, 'enduring mood' was how Sinhalese

scholars understood the term. Compare siţinā of the Sbl. with siţuvay of the graffito under discussion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Abhinava-bhāratī, G.O.S. Edition, pp. 334.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Adhikārī cātra vimala-pratibhāna-śālī hṛdayaḥ (S. K. De, Studies in the History of Sanskrit Poetics, vol. ii, p. 169). Yeṣām kāvyānuśīlanābhyāsa-vaśād viśadī-bhūte mano-mukure varṇṇanīya tanmayī-bhavana-yogyatā te hṛdaya-samvāda-bhājaḥ sa-hṛdayāḥ (Dhvanyāloka, op. cit., p. 13).

corresponds in meaning to Skt. sa-hṛdaya, but the reference is to a person who feels love in his heart. It is, however, not impossible that there is also the suggested meaning of 'one capable of appreciating poetry' in this verse.

643. There is, therefore, evidence for concluding that, in the opinion of some of the poets who have left us their compositions on the Sīgiri gallery wall, the content of poetry is rasa. And it is the lack of this which would justify the stigmatizing of a verse as 'empty'. Such is also the view of many authoritative exponents of poetics in Sanskrit. Viśvanātha, for instance, in his Sāhitya-darpaṇa,¹ defines poetry as 'a saying of which the soul is rasa'. Viśvanātha, it is true, belongs to a date later than that of our graffiti, but earlier writers have laid no less emphasis on the function of rasa in poetry. Bharata says that rasas should be scattered abundantly in poetry as if they were flowers.² Daṇḍin, whose exposition of poetics has shown a leaning towards figures of speech (alaṅkāras), says that the latter themselves serve to 'sprinkle rasa' on the subject-matter of the poem.³ Moreover, in his definition of a mahā-kāvya, he says that a poem claiming that epithet should, among other qualities, be pervaded all through with rasa and bhāva.⁴ Bhāmaha says very much the same.

644. We have, by examining certain statements in our graffiti, inferred that according to them it is imagination or thought (cintā) that goes to make poetry. Should this be regarded as a theory on the nature of poetry which is inconsistent with that which makes rasa the essence of poetry? Graffito No. 395 contains a statement which, if properly understood, would, in my opinion, reconcile these two seemingly contradictory theories. The first half of the verse in this graffito has been translated: "We saw the golden-coloured ones", thus every one utters false words.' The word translated as 'false' is boru which has that meaning in the modern language. But it cannot be said that those who in their compositions boasted of having seen the golden-coloured ones were in fact telling lies. They had seen figures of women of fair complexion painted on the rock-side, and addressed verses to them as if they were addressing beautiful women of flesh and blood. They had, of course, not stated the actuality of what they had seen. Instead, they had described what they imagined themselves to have seen and had given expression to the emotions aroused in them as a consequence. The word boru, by which this procedure has been characterized, may not, in the ninth century, have had so depreciatory a meaning as is attached to it in the modern language. 'Imaginary' is the meaning demanded by the context, if we do not interpret the graffito as stating that people boasted of having seen the golden-coloured ones without having seen the figures in the paintings. Such an interpretation is not feasible, for there is no reason why visitors to Sigiri in ancient times, who proceeded as far as the gallery, should not have seen the paintings, which were then not restricted to a cavity at a considerable height from the floor of the gallery.

645. It thus becomes necessary for us to investigate the etymology of the word boru which, in my opinion, is a compound of bo (Skt. bahu 'many') and  $r\bar{u}$  (Skt.  $r\bar{u}pa$  'form' or 'image'). The etymological meaning of the word, therefore, is 'manifold image' or 'multiple image'. How such an etymology is appropriate to a word which, in the ninth century, seems to have expressed the meaning 'imaginary' can be understood by means of a statement in the  $N\bar{a}tya$   $S\bar{a}stra$  describing the process of the manifestation of rasa. 'Of all (the moods or mental states, i.e.  $bh\bar{a}va$ ) which have come into being together, that of which the image becomes manifold should be considered as the enduring (mood)—rasa.'5 Daṇḍin, too, explains that the feeling of love (rati) is transformed into the erotic sentiment ( $sring\bar{a}rarasa$ ) 'by being united with the multiplicity of images'.6 In the complex process of the working of the mind, various moods arise in close proximity to one another, each one associated with a mental image. That one which makes the greatest impression on the mind, due to the character of the external object which gives rise to it, overpowers the other moods and repeatedly comes into being in successive moments of consciousness. This is due to the mind attributing universal qualities such as 'good', 'pleasant', &c., to the external object which makes the impression in the stream of consciousness, coming to a conclusion or forming a judgement and taking a stand on that judgement.7

646. The various images which come into being in succession to the image produced by the contact

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Vākyam rasātmakam kāvyam (Sāhitya-darpaṇa, Nirṇaya-sāgara Press, Bombay, 1822, p. 21).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Puṣpāvakīrṇāḥ kartavyāḥ kāvyeṣu hi rasā budhaiḥ (Nātya Śāstra, op. cit., p. 134).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Kāmam sarvo 'pyalamkāro rasam arthe niṣiñcati (Kāvyādarśa, i. 64). <sup>4</sup> Kāvyādarśa, i. 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Sarveṣām samavetānām rūpam yasya bhaved bahu sa mantavyo rasah sthāyī (Nāṭya Śāstra, op. cit., p. 134).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ratiḥ śrɨngāratām gatā rūpa-bāhulya yogena (Kāvyādarśa, ii. 281).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Abhinandati abhivadati ajjhosāya tiṭṭhati (Saṃyutta Nikāya, P.T.S. Edition, vol. iv, p. 36).

of the consciousness with an object of the external world are not based on reality, but on the first mental image and, in this process, the subsequent images arising in the mind may differ in varying degrees from the image produced by contact with reality. This process of multiplication of images, being due to a judgement, and the stand taken thereon, is associated with volition and is what is called 'imagination', and the Sinhalese word boru, if it is interpreted as meaning 'multiplicity of images', can appropriately denote it. The semantic change into 'false' is easily understood. An analogous instance is the word keppa (derived from Skt. kalpa) which, in the modern colloquial language, has the meaning 'falsehood', but from its etymology must have originally meant 'fiction', i.e. 'mental constructions'. It will thus be seen that in the genesis of rasa which, according to many theorists, is the content or 'soul' of poetry, imagination plays a vital role.

647. If we accept the doctrine that the content of poetry is *rasa*, which is brought about by the activity of the imagination, what we have to do in considering whether our verses deserve to be called poetry and, if so, what estimate we have to form of them as such, is to ascertain whether those who composed them have succeeded in expressing and communicating to the reader the appropriate *rasa* or *rasas*, and the manner in which they have accomplished this. At the sight of Sīgiri in ancient days, even more than today, the beholder must have been struck with wonder and amazement, and anyone composing a verse with this feeling uppermost in his mind must delineate the *adbhuta-rasa*. No. 433, which states that the mind does not believe what the eye says after having seen Sīgiri, No. 652 which expresses the conceit that Sīgiri relieves the burden of Mount Meru, No. 28 which says that Sīgiri is like Mount Mudalind come down to earth, and a number of other verses, such as Nos. 560, 115, 447, 169, and 205, can be said to have very effectively communicated the sentiment of wonder (*adbhuta-rasa*).

648. In the minds of those visitors who considered the paintings as the sight at Sīgiri, the women depicted therein have given rise to various fancies connected with the different aspects of love, and the compositions embodying these thoughts are examples of the erotic sentiment (sṛṇgāra-rasa). The vast majority of our verses are devoted to this sentiment in both its aspects, love in union or in separation. Examples may be picked out almost at random. Others who have imagined the women as grieving for their lord who had departed from this world have written verses embodying the pathetic sentiment (karuṇa-rasa) which, in the opinion of many competent critics, is the sweetest of all. Examples are Nos. 340, 430, 93, 124, 247, and 309. Those verses, for instance Nos. 133, 138, 143, and 39, which have witty sayings calculated to cause laughter, are examples of the hāsya-rasa.

649. Those verses which object to or are antagonistic to the women in the paintings, casting suspicion on their character, or which deal in general terms about the fatal consequences of attachment to women, are calculated to arouse in the minds of the readers a feeling of revulsion (Skt. nirvidā, P. nibbidā) which develops to the śānta-rasa (tranquillity). Among this class of verses are found not a few observations of a gnomic or philosophical character—'a criticism of life', which, according to Mathew Arnold, is what 'poetry is at bottom'. 'Pleasure is the path to pain' (No. 525); 'your secrets will run to your enemies if you speak a word as it comes to your tongue, even in secret to a trusted friend' (No. 265); 'men who praise women are like unto those who, having warmed themselves at a fire, place that fire on their heads' (No. 672); 'to have one's mind enthralled by a beautiful woman is like placing on one's head a jewelled elephant-goad' (No. 306); 'when a thing is taken excessively that has been taken wrongly' (No. 539) are a few of such 'criticisms of life', mostly at the expense of women.

650. The situation in which our verses were composed naturally did not encourage the depiction of other rasas like the vīra 'heroic', bhayānaka 'fearful', &c., but a careful examination of the verses might also reveal rasas other than those exemplified above. On the whole, our verses are not devoid of rasa in some degree or other and, to that extent, they can be called poetry.

651. Now this rasa—that almost indefinable something from which pleasure is derived in poetry—is communicated, according to the *dhvani* school of Sanskrit poetics, not so much by what is explicitly stated, as by what is suggested.<sup>2</sup> This theory of Indian literary critics finds confirmation in the opinions expressed by modern English authorities on the subject. Abercrombie, for instance, says:

'Literary art, therefore, will always be in some degree suggestion; and the height of literary art is to make

<sup>1</sup> The word bahurū in bahurū-kōļam (Lōvāḍa-saṅgarā, v. 51) can also be equated with Skt. bahu and rūpa. Bahuru (Kuśajātaka, v. 81), the name applied in Sinhalese to the dance of Siva, is of similar etymology.

The dance of Siva, according to the philosophy behind this etymology, is no other than the sublime imagination which creates the world.

<sup>2</sup> S. K. De, Indian Poetics, vol. ii, pp. 208 ff.

the power of suggestion in language as commanding, as far-reaching, as vivid, as subtle as possible. This power of suggestion supplements whatever language gives merely by being plainly understood; and what it gives in this way is by no means confined to its syntax. But, for conveying the finest and, perhaps, the most individual qualities of his imagination, the author must rely on his reader's ability to respond to what his language can only suggest.'

652. To our poets who had to express their thoughts within the narrow compass of a couplet, it was a prime necessity to suggest more than their actual words directly express. And numerous are the examples which can be quoted to illustrate how our poets have made use of the power of suggestion which is inherent in language. Graffito No. 183, for example, states: 'Is the lovely blue of the flower not enough that there should be a looking at it with one's own eyes. (So thinking, as it were), one damsel dropped down the flowers which were clinging to her two breasts, while people were going towards the rock.' Here, what the words actually say is not what the poet wanted his readers to understand. The reason why the women dropped down flowers from their breasts when men passed along does not require much guessing for it to become apparent. It was a love message. Again, the fact that the lady's blue eyes surpassed the beauty of the flower is not directly stated, but is left to be inferred from the conceit that she was looking at it in order to intensify its colour.

653. In No. 644 the expression 'the damsel who has returned after seeing heaven' leads to the suggestion that she did not remain in heaven as she found it unsatisfying. But she had decided to remain at Sīgiri which, therefore, excels heaven in splendour. In No. 681 b, professedly written by a woman replying to her husband who had boasted of his gallantry, the sense suggested by the words 'the yoke having dropped, the bull who ran away and stood on the road feels "I shall dance"; but, is there no catching of bulls by men' is clear enough from the context. In No. 3 the lady in the painting is asked why she remains adorned; the reply is that her confidante had said that someone resembling her lord had been seen. The suggestion is that the confidante mistook one of the visitors to Sīgiri, probably the poet himself, for the husband of the lady, i.e. King Kassapa. In a number of other instances we have, in the notes attached to the translations, pointed out suggested meanings made use of particularly when the poet wished to say something flattering of himself. One should not, of course, say anything in praise of one's own self. Perhaps many of the unexpressed ideas which the poets wished us to understand will for ever remain obscure, but those which are obvious are enough to prove that these writers were alive to the possibilities of the power of suggestion in literary art. The dhvani theory was perhaps not unknown to the literati of Ceylon in those days.

654. According to one view, the essence of the poetic rasa is camat-kāra,² surprise. It is the absence of this quality which makes a poem dull and, as T. S. Eliot well puts it, 'the worst fault that poetry can commit is to be dull'.³ Our poets seem to have been conscious of this fact. Harping as they were on the same theme, it was difficult to avoid saying the same as had been said by so many others before. But each writer has striven to show some individuality, something different from others, in his composition. A characteristic turn of phrase here, a touch of irony there, introduces an element of surprise into what would otherwise have been a dull statement, and gives it a distinct literary flavour.

655. Various are the devices which our authors have adopted to achieve this end. These can generally be classed under one or both of two categories: (i) the arrangement of the subject-matter of their thought so as to be striking, and (ii) the choice of appropriate words and phrases in which to express the same. We may cite these two examples. Two poets impress on us the uniqueness of Sīgiri in two different ways: 'Abandon these (melancholy) thoughts. What else is there to be said by me in composing a verse. The splendour of heaven does not hold me. Ascend Sīgiri thyself' (No. 167). Our indifference is taken away by a series of rapier thrusts, as it were. 'When I, having looked at a king of mountains like this, comparable to Heaven which has come down to this Island of Laṅkā, tell that I have seen it with my own eyes, the mind entertains a sense of deception' (No. 433). It is hard to believe that there can be a spectacle like Sīgiri. We hear the applause to these in another verse. 'The matter has been well spoken by you inducing people to see the illustrious Sīgiri—a name unique in the whole country—and so as to make them remember what has been seen there' (No. 62).

656. In order to secure attention, the writers of our verses have sometimes put their ideas in the form of riddles (No. 310) which would doubtless have been easily solved in those days. They have

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Abercrombie, Principles of Literary Criticism, p. 39. <sup>3</sup> T. S. Eliot, The Use of Poetry and the Use of Passe sāras camat-kāraḥ (Sāhityadarpaṇa, op. cit., Criticism, p. 52. p. 78).

adopted the form of friendly banter between visitors or witty sallies followed by equally witty retorts. They have incorporated many a bon mot and expressive epigram with which cultured people of those days no doubt spiced their conversation. 'Even though you speak in jest, speak the truth' (No. 396); 'I have known the truth, that has been my crime' (No. 204); 'In the mind of a bird whose wings have been clipped away, the world is one house' (No. 500) are examples of such sayings made use of by our poets. The Sinhalese language of this period, as indeed does Elu in general, excels even Latin in its suitability for epigrammatic verse, and our graffiti furnish us with many examples.

657. The presence of rasa in poetry is the factor which, according to Dandin, imparts to it the quality of sweetness (mādhurya). Some writers on poetics have also recognized a madhura-rasa,2 and the Sinhalese equivalent of this word, mihiri-rese, occurs in graffito No. 613, used, however, in reference to Sigiri or the paintings and not to poems. An important factor contributing to the quality of mādhurya, according to Dandin, is the absence of what is grāmya, i.e. vulgar, coarse, or insipid.3 The language of the poet should not be that of the uncultivated man of the village, but of the refined dweller in the town. Our poets seem to have taken particular care to avoid vulgarity and coarseness. There are, in fact, among our graffiti, several scathing reproofs of those who have committed lapses in this matter. No. 100 appears to have been written to protest against the lack of taste of the person who wrote No. 138, in which the breasts of the women are referred to in a somewhat coarse manner. No. 282 seems to have been composed with the special object of illustrating this blemish in poetry. In the first half of this stanza, a lady is made to say 'without fear, look at my waist'. This, obviously, is coarse in sentiment;4 the second half of the stanza contains a strong condemnation of the person who was thus guilty of bad taste and calls him a gähäviyā 'boor', the word used in No. 100 also to characterize a person lacking in taste. Gähävi is equivalent to P. gahapati 'house-holder', which originally had no pejorative meaning. As used in these and other contexts in our verses, it indicates an uncultured or dense person, very much like the French bourgeois of Molière's play.

658. Verses in graffiti Nos. 245 and 246, the results of a competition in composing poems, also serve to illustrate the importance attached by these versifiers to good taste. The first of these two is coarse in sentiment, whereas the second, that which bore away the palm, on the other hand, is more delicate in feeling and expression. On the whole our poets have exhibited good taste and refinement and have avoided the coarse and vulgar both in sense and in vocabulary. Though not given to prudery, they do not refer to the physical aspects of love between the sexes in which Sanskrit erotic poetry revels. They had ample opportunities to make their compositions exciting in this manner if they had wished to do so, and the commendable restraint displayed by them is eloquent of their refinement of mind, as well as of the good standards of taste which prevailed in the society in which they moved.

659. As there is reason to assume that *rasa* was taken as the content of poetry by our poets, figures of speech (*alamkāras*) which loom so large in Indian (as well as Sinhalese) text-books on poetics, and the illustration of which seems to have been the main purpose of poets at certain periods in India and Ceylon, play but a minor role in the verses that we are considering. Even according to Daṇḍin, one of the earliest exponents of *alamkāra*, the purpose of figures of speech is but to heighten the *rasa*. Whether they were aware of them or not, our scribblers appear to have put into practice the sound principles laid down by Ānandavardhana with regard to the use of figures of speech. Figures should be employed with discrimination, i.e. they must be ancillary to the main theme which must always be kept in view, and the figure employed must be in accordance with the requirements of the principal idea. They must not be too elaborated or overworked.<sup>5</sup> Very few among those who wrote verses on the gallery wall have violated these salutary maxims with regard to figures of speech.

660. As is to be expected, simile  $(upam\bar{a})$  is the commonest figure in our verses. Similes which formed the stock-in-trade of every poet in India and Ceylon occur often; for example, the face of a beautiful woman is compared to the moon (No. 394), her teeth to pearls (No. 648), and her hair to dark clouds (No. 331). Less hackneyed are the comparisons of a woman's eyebrows to nimba-leaves (No. 394), her lips to  $n\bar{a}$  buds (No. 394), her hand to a pendant of flowers (No. 105), and her eyes to jewel lamps (No. 50). Refreshing are the comparisons due to the poet's own observation of nature or taken from the current language of the average man. To quote a few examples, the smile of a woman,

1 Kāvyādarša, i. 51.

<sup>2</sup> V. Raghavan, The Number of Rasas, pp. 129 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Kāvyādarśa, i. 62.

<sup>4</sup> Kaţī 'waist' is also a grāmya word in Sanskrit. See

Sāhityadarpaṇa (op. cit.), p. 382, and Kāvya-prakāśa (Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta), p. 202.

<sup>5</sup> V. Raghavan, Some Concepts of the Alamkāra-śāstra,

p. 64.

exhibiting her teeth, is like the rows of seeds of water-melon—a simile still in common use among the Sinhalese villagers (No. 357); sweet speech is as exhilarating as a cup of wine (No. 627); a fair damsel standing by the side of a dark one is like a väṭakoļu flower entangled in a nilkaṭaroļu (No. 334) or an äsel flower in the vicinity of a blue water-lily (No. 583); desire arises in the hearts of men just as the weeds i-taṇa and hiri grow in the beds of tanks and in fields (No. 605); love that is not requited is like a sprout that has fallen on a rock (No. 106); affection won after great effort is compared to water obtained after blasting a rock (No. 190). Many of these similes also occur in the form of metaphors. In addition, we have others like lake-lady (No. 543), eye-arrow (No. 291), &c., which are also found in literary works. Such similes and metaphors, easily understood by the people who led lives not divorced from Nature, and couched in a language which did not show great deviation from every-day speech, would have been very effective in arousing the appropriate emotion in the minds of those who listened to these verses recited aloud, probably to the accompaniment of music, in the romantic setting of Sīgiri.

661. Among other figures of speech well known in Sanskrit poetics resorted to by our poets are utprekṣā (Nos. 147, 153, and 109), arthāntaranyāsa (Nos. 86, 341, and 415), virodha (Nos. 103, 375, and 487), ākṣepa (No. 177), and atiśayokti (No. 652). It might not be impossible to find quite a number of the lesser known figures, too, in our graffiti; but whether the writers themselves were aware of their existence is another matter. A favourite rhetorical device adopted by our writers is the form of the dialogue, usually consisting of a question and a reply, explicitly stating or subtly suggesting the idea which the poet intended to express. For example, see Nos. 320, 352, 423, 443, 451, 468, 474, 476, and 531. In fact, this rhetorical device seems to have been very much in vogue among Sinhalese poets of former times, for the Sdsg., in its very sketchy treatment of poetic figures, which ignores so many alamkāras well known in Sanskrit, finds a place for the dialogue and calls it uba-bas (= Skt. ubhavabhāṣā). Authoritative Sanskrit writers on poetics do not recognize such an alamkāra; but the Alamkārasarvasva calls it vakrokti, which is a general name for all figures of speech barring natural description. In the extant Sinhalese poetic literature, which is dominated by Sanskrit theories, this figure occurs very rarely. We may also mention here a few riddles (Nos. 379 and 310) and instances of samasyāpūrana (Nos. 245 and 246), i.e. writing a verse embodying a given line, to be found among our graffiti. There are several verses which end in the same refrain, e.g. beyadahi ran-vanun ature in Nos. 101, 161, 170, 201, 232, 301, 404, 410, &c.

662. Very few among our poets have exhibited a fondness for śabdālankāras (embellishment of sound). There are several verses in which the same syllable or consonant, generally of some pleasing sound such as ta or na, is repeated in close proximity, a literary device referred to as anuprāsa by Sanskrit writers. Compare the following lines:

Dakut nämī sita gata neta gata kata (No. 51).

Kumund pini-bind sand merejin jat varaj näta (No. 177).

No läbi ju vajanak me ata neta balata sit äti men (No. 559).

Nägī däkä kā no vi tada vata vata muļā kata (No. 598).

Tara vata vata tamā sita danga lī no da beyand hi me (No. 598).

Ninabu sunil kiyambu heliḷḷambu lambu sit may (No. 380).

Keren sat-janmayehi-j viyo no vennan väni vī (No. 678 a).

In some verses a number of syllables are repeated, but forming words of different meaning: e.g. äsīmi dun hasun hasun seyin vil duṭ (No. 484) and mana maya namaya (No. 166). In No. 72 line 1 has nägī, while line 3 matches it by nä gī. In No. 200 nuyun-mahanel occurs in the third as well as the fourth pāda with no difference in meaning. In No. 265 basak ā jiv kīhota is counterpoised by rahas jivu saturan veta, jiv in the first place meaning 'tongue' while jivu means 'ran'. In No. 474 the second half of the verse is a repetition, but for one word, of the first half; here, too, there appears to be no difference in sense. Pleasing sound effects and collocations of consonants are not rare, but we are not certain whether these have been deliberately designed, or are the accidental results of a proper choice of words.

663. In regard to the form of these verses, the technicalities of metre have been dealt with in the preceding section. The unnamed critic, whose words were the starting-point in our inquiry into the poetical content of these verses, has also given us a clue about form. The word he uses (No. 492) to

1 Sidat Sangarā, op. cit., p. 212.

denote a metrical composition is *gettama*, which, etymologically, means 'knitting'. It may be noted that the Sanskrit word *grantha*, meaning 'verse', 'book', &c., is from the root *granth*, from which is derived the Sinhalese verbal root of *gettama*. The conception of poetical composition as knitting is not unknown to writers on Sanskrit poetics. Rājaśekhara quotes a verse of his wife, Avanti-sundarī, which may be rendered thus: 'The qualities (*guṇa*) and embellishments (*alaṃkāra*), style (*rīti*) and diction (*ukti*), sound and sense—the manner in which these are knit together, by which the discerning derive pleasure—that, for me, is maturity of expression.' When this knitting together of the various elements, which go to the making of a piece of poetry, is effected by a master hand, it imparts to the whole an ineffable quality which defies analysis. 'The speaker may be there, the sense and the sound may be there, the sentiment may be there, yet there is that without which the honey of words does not flow.'2 It is worthy of note that this same expression with regard to poetic form resorted to by the nameless Sinhalese critic of the ninth century is made use of by one of the foremost English literary critics of the present day. Says I. A. Richards: 'It is this knitting together of the parts of the poem which explains the mnemonic power of verse.'3

664. Just as, in a piece of knitting, every thread must contribute to the making of the pattern, and the introduction of anything extra would not only mar the pattern but also produce a looseness in the knitting, making the result unsuitable for the intended purpose, so in a poetical composition every element must be contributory to its structure and the introduction of unnecessary elements will weaken that structure. Our verses, as a rule, conform to these requirements in all respects. Every word in these verses has a certain function to fulfil, and the substitution of a different term in place of any word that has actually been used will detract from the effectiveness of a verse. They rarely contain purposeless adjectives which we often find in verses of a later date, introduced there as padding to fill in the metrical scheme. Our verses have just what is necessary to express the idea which the writer wished to convey; unnecessary words or adornments, which are out of place, are not permitted to blur the outline of the body, i.e. the form of the poetry. Our versifiers in these matters seem to have had a natural feeling for what is appropriate (aucitya). This quality of being well-knit also imparts to the individual compositions that unity in variety which all good works of art must possess. Thus we find in them 'clearness, simplicity, and brevity—conditions mastered not by mechanical exercises, but by the education of taste'.<sup>4</sup>

665. There appears to have been an accepted poetic diction to which the majority of our authors conformed. A certain type of vocabulary had established itself as appropriate to poetry (above, § 564) and certain words and phrases had become favourites with poets because of their expressiveness. In this respect, the majority of our graffiti may be taken as reflecting the tone of the literature of that period, now lost. This poetic diction appears to have been very much the same as is met with in classical Sinhalese poems still in existence, and thus is explained the occurrence of phraseology common to our verses and to such poems as the Sasadāvata, the Kavsiļumiņa, and the Guttilakāvya. The expression väla-bib-van-lavan in No. 617 reappears in Ksm., v. 209, as vala-bimbu-van-lavan, and with pul-nil-upul-ässan of No. 124, compare pul-nilupuläsiyō in Gk., v. 348. But in the period of our graffiti the language of poetry does not seem to have differed so much from that of prose as it has done from the twelfth century up to modern times, when there have in fact been two different dialects for verse and prose respectively, the one called Elu, pure Sinhalese, reserved for poetry, and the other, containing Sanskrit tatsamas to a greater or a lesser degree, considered appropriate for prose. Such prose passages as we find among our graffiti, apart from their being in prose form, do not differ linguistically from the verses.

666. In some verses, on the other hand, we can detect a plain, conversational type of language. This is characteristic of those verses which embody friendly banter between two persons or witty sallies and retorts. See, for example, Nos. 120, 234, 260, and 289. But, whenever our authors express themselves on a high emotional pitch, they resort to a more elevated type of language, approximating to that of poems like the *Kavsilumina*. In this, as in similar matters, a certain appropriateness (aucitya) seems to have been recognized among our authors.

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Guṇālamkāra-rītyukti-śabdārtha-grathana-kramaḥ
Svadate sudhiyām yena vākya-pākaḥ sa mām prati
Kāvyamīmāmsā (G.O.S. Edition, 1934, p. 20).
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<sup>2</sup> Sati vaktari satyarthe sabde sati rase sati

Asti tan na vinā yena parisravati vām madhu (ibid., p. 20).

<sup>3</sup> I. A. Richards, *Principles of Literary Criticism*, p. 140. <sup>4</sup> Tolstoy, *What is Art?*, chapter xix.

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667. They seem to have given considerable thought to this polish and refinement in composition. The apparent lack of art in many of the verses is no doubt the result of studied attempts at concealing art. The many unsuccessful efforts which appear on the gallery wall are evidence that the subtleties with regard to the appropriate arrangement of the subject-matter, the selection of the most expressive and stimulating words and phrases and pleasing sound effects, have engaged the attention of our versifiers. In No. 512 we have an interesting example of an exercise aimed at helping the writer to find the most appropriate manner of expressing the idea which he had in his mind or showing how the same idea could be expressed in different ways by two poets. The second half of the verse expresses the same ideas as in the first; but in the choice of words and in the presentation of the idea it is yet decidedly superior.

668. Now if it is necessary for us to give an opinion on the question raised at the beginning of the section, it would be as follows: Written by various people in different stations of life, these verses do not exhibit a uniform literary quality. We need not be surprised if we find among them verses which are jejune, insipid, or dull and which deserve the description of 'empty song', applied to the composition which our critic disapproved. On the other hand, a large proportion among our verses deserve to be called poetry, and poetry of a high order at that. The number of subhāṣitas among our verses is not small. There are compositions of which no poet need be ashamed, the literary value of which is not totally lost even in a word by word translation into a foreign language. We quote three of them: 'The gentle breeze blew-(the breeze) which is wet with cool dew drops-bringing with it fragrant perfume; in spring time, the jasmine and the water-lily, being adorned with flowers, shone all over. Leaving it aside, my mind was agitated on seeing the golden-coloured ones and, being shot at, whilst going, by their side-long glances, I became prostrate on the slope of the rock' (No. 249). 'The intoxicated bee, having been excessively greedy of the flower, became entrapped and (thinking) that the filament of the flower brought it to grief, bit it, humming (the while). Clusters of white water-lilies, having encountered the beams of the autumnal moon, become expanded. (But) she has not become well disposed; so we go away, having not become like that' (No. 582). 'The wind blew. Thousands and hundreds of thousands of trees, which had put forth buds, fell down. The curlew uttered shrieks. Torrents came forth on the Malaya Mountain. The night was made (to be) of the glow of tender copper(-coloured) leaves by fire-flies beyond count. O long-eyed one, the message given by youwhat sustenance does it bring'? (No. 595). When one reads verses of this nature written by casual sightseers, one realizes the magnitude of the loss suffered by the Sinhalese language through the total disappearance of what was considered by our authors to be the literary product of their age.

669. 'People who produce the nectar of speech, Rohana mountain which produces gems and the Ocean which produces pearls—these are nowhere found together, but in the Island of the Simhalas.' Many among the verses scribbled on the gallery wall of Sīgiri will bear witness to the first member of the unique Triad associated with Ceylon in this eulogy of the island. And the untutored peasant of the present day has not altogether lost that characteristic of his ancestors which earned for them the above encomium from such a discerning critic as the North Indian Rājaśekhara, who flourished about the same time as the writers of our verses.

# IX. THE SUBJECT-MATTER OF THE DOCUMENTS

670. From what has been said in the previous section about the literary character of these documents, one would hardly expect to find in them such information as is usually valued by archaeologists and historians who study the records of the past. Had the authors of these documents made them a source for the political, economic, or social conditions of the times in which they lived, they would have failed in their avowed purpose of writing poetry. In their subject-matter these documents, for the most part, are concerned with airy nothings—the varied paths along which the imagination of our authors travelled when they saw Sīgiri and its marvels. That does not, however, mean that these airy nothings should not be of interest to those concerned with the study of the past. In certain ways they are more eloquent than solid facts.

<sup>2</sup> Janas ca vāk-sudhā-sūtir maņi-sūtis ca Rohaņaḥ

Nānyatra Simhala-dvīpān muktā-sūtiś ca sāgaraḥ (Bālarāmāyaṇa, Act X, v. 49).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Āmi däkä aturen no me bänä ran-vanun hun Pem-vajan no viyin ami digäsin ature ada lada.

671. Being inspired by Sīgiri, our verses must have some aspect of the place as their subject-matter, or some memories or emotions evoked by the sight, expressed directly or indirectly. Otherwise their authors would have made themselves liable to the criticism of inappropriateness in the subject-matter—to use their own language, that their verses were not *tan-visi* (No. 213). A classification of our documents in accordance with their subject-matter, however, is a task of some difficulty, for a verse often embodies more than one conceit, or expresses complex imagery.

672. The natural starting-point for us is provided by those verses which are concerned with describing Sīgiri in general, without concentrating on any particular aspect of it. We have already (§ 647 above) given some examples of the expressions of wonder and amazement caused by the sight of Sīgiri. A simple statement of what one poet saw at Sīgiri is contained in No. 205: 'We saw at Sigiri the king of lions whose fame and splendour have spread over the whole world, and the wonderful damsels with eyes (like) blue lilies.' Some poets assert that Sīgiri will never be forgotten (Nos. 54 and 55). Looking at Sīgiri, the beholder is impatient with the movement of his own eyelids, for it momentarily interferes with the sight (No. 114). If one were to weigh Heaven, it is Sīgiri alone that can be considered as worthy of occupying the scales with it (No. 115). Sīgiri unites separated lovers (No. 154). The sight of Sīgiri is so exciting that it makes the hair on one's body stand on end (No. 256). Sīgiri satisfies all that one has longed and wished for (No. 260); it captivates one's mind (No. 316). What is to be seen there is unbelievable: 'What I said is the truth, see for yourself' (No. 365). The sights of the place call one again and again to it (No. 550).

673. But unanimous approbation, even Sīgiri has failed to win. One visitor questions how people had been taken in by Sīgiri, for, wherever he went about, he was troubled by a certain type of creepers, perhaps thorny, and he found no comfort because he was irritated by this physical inconvenience (No. 127). Another was not enamoured of the damsels, about whom we shall have much to say in the sequel; for him such women could also be found in other places (No. 94). But such unfavourable opinions have not gone unchallenged (Nos. 390 and 615). Most visitors, however, did not consider them worth the refuting, and these solitary discordant notes struck by one or two people have been drowned in the general chorus of praise.

674. The verses written by some of the visitors tell us about their manner of coming to the place and how they enjoyed themselves there, as a picnic party would do today. The approach to the rock in those days was not easy. The visitors had to creep through the jungle with difficulty (No. 15), and in the ascent they were troubled by gusts of wind (Nos. 117, 644). Some had climbed at early dawn (No. 4); others, having climbed towards the close of the day, had remained to see the place in the moonlight (No. 279). There was, apparently, much camaraderie among the visitors, exchange of opinion, and jovial fellowship (No. 321). Even trivial details in the behaviour of visitors to such a place are alluded to. One visitor, for instance, climbs up and gives his friend an encouraging signal (No. 137). Those who had accomplished the ascent with no difficulty give their comrades lagging behind words of encouragement (No. 7). Visitors seem to have come in large numbers and there was crowding together at the sights (No. 174). Some complain that those who had already climbed up do not get down to give room to others (No. 57); they are not satisfied with seeing the sights once and look at the lion, for instance, a hundred thousand times, so as to fix things in their memory (No. 162). Ancient visitors to Sigiri were not deterred by the difficult ascent, 'those who fell down on the way did not remain', but evidently got up none the worse for the mishap and proceeded to their destination (No. 509). Some boasted of seeing the sights of Sīgiri, even without the trouble of climbing (No. 590).

675. As it is today, so in the ninth century, the only way to the summit was through the gallery; 'from whatever direction one has come this is the road and there is no other' (No. 35). The gallery wall is referred to in several stanzas by the name which it bears even now—the Mirror Wall.<sup>1</sup> One poet imagines that it was made of moonstone, a gem supposed to be formed from the congelation of the moon's rays and to dissolve under the influence of its light (No. 511). One visitor says that those who go away without seeing the Mirror Wall have not seen Sīgiri at all (No. 593). To some, the Mirror Wall was preferable to the women; 'we were different, we looked at the Mirror Wall and obtained satisfaction' (No. 398). The verse in graffito No. 425 was addressed 'to the Mirror Wall and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Käṭa-pat-pavura. The word ādarśa-bhitti, occurinto Sinhalese by this term in the old Sinhalese pararing in the Jānakīharaṇa (Canto I, v. 6), is rendered phrase.

a deer-eyed one'. The Mirror Wall and a damsel in the painting are coupled together in an elaborate conceit in No. 680: 'The fair damsel, (thinking) whether the shining wall is a mirror, is coming hither; but, it is as if she has tarried, unable to come, (being burdened) with (the weight) of her dark tresses.'

676. The figure of the Lion at Sīgiri, from which the rock has received its name, must have presented a wonderful and awe-inspiring spectacle in the ninth century. It has, however, not furnished inspiration to many of our poets; hardly a dozen verses refer to it. As in No. 205, 'His Lordship the Lion' shares honours with the damsels in a few more verses. In the opinion of the author of No. 45, the Lion was all that was to be seen at Sīgiri. Having seen that, he had no desire for the women. No. 476 is also in the same strain. The Lion, it appears, stood there to prevent people from crowding together and to impress Sīgiri on one's memory (No. 174). A diametrically opposite view is that the Lion does not remain in one's memory when the damsels are seen (No. 476). The vast majority of these ancient visitors to Sīgiri preferred Beauty to the Beast. Those who did not altogether ignore him at times made odious comparisons which would have sent His Lordship into a rage if only he could have heard them. One poet, for instance, as if to aggravate the slight offered to King Lion, makes a lady in the painting ask the question whether it is natural for the visitors to ignore His Majesty and crowd round her. The reply from the visitors is that the lady herself was to blame for this conduct of theirs.

677. The palace on the summit of the rock—at least what remained of it in the eighth and ninth centuries—is the theme of a few verses. To one visitor the palace was so alluring a sight that he was certain that, even if he had eyes as numerous as the stars, he could never see too much of it (No. 156). Another says that, having seen the damsels, he is also going to see the mansion in which they lived happily (No. 376). Another visitor was unable to climb to the summit; not having seen the mansion in which the ladies resided, nothing else at Sīgiri will remain in his mind (No. 637). One poet makes the ladies in the painting say that King Kassapa, having resided in a foreign country, has come back again (a misconception due evidently to their having mistaken the poet himself for that monarch) to see the mansion in which he had once resided (No. 165). The palace, most probably, was in a ruined condition at that time, for No. 71 refers to a ruined wall on the summit of the rock. This graffito would have us believe that there were paintings on the wall of the palace at the summit.

678. To the vast majority of our poets, the great sight at Sīgiri was the paintings which, in their days, were not confined to a cavity at a considerable height from the floor of the gallery. In a number of verses reference is made to 'five hundred golden-coloured ones', whereas at present we have only twenty-two figures of women in the Sīgiri paintings, fair as well as dark. The number, no doubt, is a conventional exaggeration, but our verses do in fact refer to figures of women which are no longer to be seen. No. 19 describes a lady holding a vīṇā in her hand; so also does No. 84. The lady described in No. 201 held aśoka buds in both her hands. There are no figures answering to these descriptions among the existing paintings. In those days people evidently could touch the paintings as they proceeded along the gallery, for there are two verses (Nos. 676 and 677) which exhort the visitors not to do so. No. 35, which apologizes to the women for intruding, pertinently says that there was no other path for the visitors to go by. This implies that, while one went along the gallery, one could in those days see paintings of women. This is not so now. Nos. 73 and 309 would indicate that the paintings were already beginning to peel off at that time, while No. 76 has recorded the fact that the pigments were losing their brilliancy.

679. The vast majority of our poets addressed the figures in the paintings as if they were in the presence of women of flesh and blood. Otherwise they would not have been poets. In so referring to the paintings, they were indirectly paying a high tribute to the painter who created them. The writer of No. 192 asks how the painter, having seen the lightning-like damsels, could assuage the affliction within him. By his cunning work with colours, the painter gives existence to beings, but he cannot give them a heart (No. 67). The painter is so clever that, having looked at a single strand of hair, he could depict the very feelings of his subject (No. 541). This idea is ridiculed in No. 150. The ability of the painter to express the very soul of a person is cleverly expressed together with a compliment to the women in No. 161: 'Lest this painter depict (them), I came here having kept my thoughts behind. Where are those who do not know this among (the people) who are come to the midst of the golden-coloured ones on the mountain side?'

680. Many are the verses which refer to the charms of the women painted on the rock side. They are referred to as ones with eyes like blue water-lilies (No. 124), deer-eyed ones (No. 288), long-eyed

ones (No. 260), fair damsels (No. 380) and a variety of other imaginative epithets. They made people indifferent to the pleasures of Heaven (No. 44). Their gentle smile imprisons one (No. 481). They brighten, with their radiance, the rock on which they remain (No. 347). They incessantly console the hearts of men who see them (No. 386). They are possessed of slender limbs which captivate the hearts of men (No. 401). They incited feelings of love in the hearts of men and gave them the bliss of union with beloved ones (No. 460). They are not subject to old age, disease, and death, i.e. they remain eternally young (No. 549).

681. Particular aspects of their beauty are extolled in many verses. The gentle loving eyes, the beautiful dark tresses laden with flowers, the pearl-like teeth, eyebrows like nim leaves, lips like the fruit of the bimba creeper, or coral, the tender breasts like swans, the slender waist, the alluring hands, have each been selected for glorification according to the preference of a particular individual: 'The beautifully blue eyebrows, the swan-like breasts, a slender waist, the lips which are as if they have been made of coral—all these, in truth, exhibited as if the Goddess of Beauty herself stood before one's face' (No. 90). 'Who are they that do not, even like myself, become happy by having seen (those) rosy palms, (that) rounded shoulder, that golden necklace, (those) copper-hued lips and those long eyes' (No. 216). 'The fair damsel who stood with a garland of flowers in her hand consoles one's heart with her gentle look' (No. 554). The gestures of the women, captivating the heart of the beholders, are also noticed. One writer imagines, for instance, that the lady in the painting 'raised her rosy hand and placed it on her robe' (No. 105).

682. Other poets, not content with describing the charms of the women, bewail that they have been captivated by these sirens. A typical verse is No. 327: 'Having seen a golden-coloured long-eyed one on the mountain side—one who has refreshingly placed sweet-scented flowers enveloping her breast-band—my mind has been disturbed.' The writer of graffito No. 32 suggestingly queries why sleep did not come to him after he had seen these women. One is frank enough to admit that the homely virtues of his own spouse have ceased to appeal to him after he had seen the fashionable attire of the enchantresses on the mountain side (No. 53). The surge of love when one sees these beauties is as natural as the swelling of the ocean when the moon is up (No. 86). Another questions why this lady, whose various charms remind him of different aspects of the cooling water-melon, causes the glowing of his heart (No. 103). With the arrow of her glance she shot at another poet so as to find the target—his heart (No. 364). 'When the face of the damsel becomes hard, who does not get bewildered? When her face is radiant, was not one's mind enchained on the mountain side?' (No. 598). Many are those who bemoan that they have become slaves of the women on the rock side (No. 638). One's better judgement is no proof against the wiles of these creatures. 'Even those who knew that the damsels were not loving . . . have been captivated by them. How is that?' (No. 637).

683. Though so enticing, the women are hard of heart: this is an oft-recurring complaint of many of our poets. They have a ready reason for this hardness of heart of women so alluring and gentle-looking. Residing as they do on a rock, their hearts have turned into stone (No. 207). One poet bewails: 'I came here not knowing that she has a heart as hard as a stone' (No. 523). This characteristic of the ladies is so strong that their lover of former days departed from this world for that very reason (No. 10). Even the charms of poetry and song are not potent enough to melt their hearts (No. 210). The very fact that the ladies have flowers in their hands, while their former lover is dead, is taken as a proof of this quality of theirs (No. 353). Some maintain that the hardness is feigned as is the manner of women: 'Ladies, though loving, at times remain as if they are hard of heart' (No. 603). One convincingly asks whether she would have worn a blue *täli* if she was really so. Though there were thus a few who wished to explain away the seeming hardness of the women, the majority seem to have remained unconvinced by these arguments.

684. Due to their hardness of heart is also the fact that they remain silent—a trait which has earned for them the epithet of dumb ones (No. 343). Many are the stanzas devoted to this topic treated from various points of view. But their silence does not in any way minimize their enticing qualities (No. 14). One poet makes a complaint that it is unreasonable of the ladies to exercise their charms and captivate the minds of the visitors and then to remain silent (No. 119). Merely seeing their beauty is not so satisfying as hearing a word spoken by the ladies (No. 149). One writer vows that he will not go away until he hears a word from the ladies (No. 163). Others reflect on the fact that even without speech she is sufficiently dangerous (No. 452). A young novice, befitting his vocation,

beseeches the ladies not to speak, for already he is suffering from indifference to religious discipline; and, if he heard them speaking, the results would be disastrous (No. 128). A certain person imagines that, though the ladies remained silent when he came, they spoke to others (No. 189). Some have adopted various stratagems to make the ladies speak. Riddles are addressed to them (No. 379). One says that their remaining silent makes them liable to be misunderstood. Another is eloquent on the dangers of being melancholy (No. 148).

685. In the view of many of our poets, the ladies, though they do not actually speak, are eloquent enough. They prefer to say it with flowers. 'This damsel, like unto a tender bud, in fact spoke with the tender leaves and flowers in her hand; it is therefore an untrue word that has been said: "The ladies do not speak" (No. 187). To one poet the flowers cast down by her spoke of dalliance (No. 350). Some imagine that she is actually beckoning by means of flowers (No. 329). This view, reasonable as it looks, did not prevent others from speculating on the reason why the women remain silent. The view held by many was that they do not speak due to grief as their lord, the king, had departed this life. Typical of the class is No. 19: 'She, the golden-coloured damsel, who (wears) a golden chain on her breast and has taken a lute in her hand, does not speak to any one else whomsoever as the king died at that time.' Some are ironical about their being silent because of grief, for they do not seem any the worse in their attire, expression, &c., for being separated from their lover (No. 143). On this supposition one admits that, if the ladies actually did speak to the visitors, they would not be virtuous women (No. 203). Another imagines that the king, in fact, has ordered them not to speak in his absence (No. 570). A different point of view is that the king made no such order, but that the ladies had so far not seen anyone equal to their former lord (No. 619).

686. The opinion that the ladies do not speak because of their grief has led some poets to write verses describing the condition of a woman separated from her lover. Some of the most poetic among our graffiti belong to this category. A good example is No. 93: 'Her mind does not find consolation even in a good thing, whatever (it may be). "The happiness that was, will it ever come to be again", so (thinking) she eagerly snatches at anything which comes in front of (her) eyes.' A very graphic description of a woman pining in grief is No. 340: 'The lovely woman who in her walk shows agitation of mind, whose lean face (exhibits) grief and burning of heart, herself left the mountain side, having rained tears from her eyes.' Another poet writes in the same strain: 'Having caused her eyes to be filled with tears, this exiled one looks at the road. Apart from the love made again and again by those, like myself, who have seen her, she does not appear to have known (any other)' (No. 389). Many are the stanzas which imagine the painted figures to be those of women hurling themselves down from the rock in grief. 'As the king indeed died, the golden-coloured ones on the mountain side, being unable to sustain their hearts through grief, are as if they are hurling themselves down from the summit of the rock' (No. 300). Some hurled themselves down, while others are looking at the road for his return (No. 309). The ladies are advised by one poet not to grieve for ever: 'Your swimming in the ocean of despondency without setting a limit to it is like the journey of the blind man on the back of the lame one' (No. 596). A lady is made to say in one verse: 'People who have come to this, may you think of the dreadful ocean of my grief-of me, the target of your amour' (No. 613). Several verses are written depicting the ladies as trying to take their own lives, but being prevented from doing so by their friends (No. 634).

687. Some are frankly cynical about this grief of the women. A poet pertinently asks why they do not hurl themselves down if they wished to do so, for there is none who prevents them (No. 510). Another says bluntly that the ladies' grief is feigned (No. 143). A powerful argument of those who take this point of view is that the women hold flowers in their hands. 'Alas! when he died you did not forsake the garlands of flowers which were placed in your hands' (No. 326). Once the view is rejected that it is not due to faithfulness to their lover of old that they remain on the rock, it is an easy step to suggest most unworthy motives for the presence of the women at such a place. Some cast aspersions on their character by sly suggestions, while others are quite outspoken. No. 537 says: 'Has she come here to the top out of grief? She stands smiling at this and that.' An ungallant poet complains that, though he addressed verses to her, she stands looking towards the road and significantly remarks 'we have known her livelihood of old' (No. 251). The implication is that she desires something more substantial than poetry in return for her favours. The knowledge that the women were of lewd character, however, did not prevent men from being enslaved by them. A poet without

self-control thus moans: 'Though the clandestine love affairs of hers are well known and though she did not speak frankly, she nevertheless captivated one's heart' (No. 231 b). Some assume the role of their legitimate lover and complain of their behaviour in his presence: 'She who was my former love does not welcome me now, and another is coming from her' (No. 251 a). Numerous are the verses referring to the women by the abusive epithets of asad (faithless one) and shameless ones (vili-nättan). They are in one stanza referred to as lewd women going to an assignment to meet a lover.

688. Gallant and chivalrous individuals who took up cudgels on behalf of the ladies were not wanting. 'Having ascended here, you should not show anger towards the ladies who have been beloved by me. Though it may be said that their beauty is not desirable (enough, they are) not lewd women for companionship for a while' (No. 308). One exhorts his companions not to say hard words to them (No. 155). Another says that their silence is due to the fact that the visitors have nothing but harsh things to say of them (No. 542). Excuses are found for the apparently damaging evidence against them with regard to their character-that they have not discarded their ornaments, are carrying flowers even when their lover is no more, and remain in a place so unsuitable for young women of virtuous character. The flowers can be easily explained away: 'She has merely taken in her hand the flowers which dropped down when she loosened her hair as her lord died' (No. 33). A lady herself is made to give a satisfactory explanation to those who suspect her character for remaining on the rock: 'From the wind there was obstruction; the hair on the fore-head was blown to the back; the garland of flowers was taken up and scattered by it. Having become frightened, we climbed up the mountain side' (No. 372). One poet, curiously enough a monk, suggests that the women appear to some in this unfavourable light because of their own distorted vision: 'Ill-seen, honey is but the flowing out from the flower; a precious treasure ill-seen is comparable to what has been dropped in a cess-pit' (No. 565).

689. Perhaps it was the conviction that the women were wanting in virtue which prompted some visitors in those ancient times to write verses stating that they rejected them. 'Leaving aside my becoming a slave of them, I will not even go near those like the lily-coloured ones' (No. 571), says one writer. One visitor has thus warned his companion: 'O friend, that discarded scum of a lily-coloured one is not (suitable for) companionship' (No. 456). Doubts, however, have been expressed whether such professions of rejection of the women were sincere. 'Is it (really) after having discarded the golden-coloured one that it was said (by you) "I discarded her and came away so as to teach (her) a lesson"? (No. 85) asks one visitor of a boastful companion.

690. From such observations about the women of Sigiri to the condemnation of womankind in general is an easy step. 'To have one's mind ensnared, being attached to her, by a damsel who is winsome on account of her radiant smile and who is pleasing, is (like unto) taking the jewelled hook of an elephant driver and placing it on one's (own) head' (No. 306). These are evidently the words of a convinced misogynist. The fate of the amorous man in the snares of an enchantress is compared to that of the bee imprisoned in a lotus flower (No. 582). The correct attitude for one who has adopted the religious life when he is in front of such temptation is expressed by a novice: 'Place the wakefulness of mind in the door of hearing and guard it' (No. 88). Even more philosophical in tone are the reflections in Nos. 525 and 99. The king is said to have been ruined on account of these women, and the same fate will overtake those who go after them now (No. 494). To another wise man of those times, to praise women is like taking the fire on to one's head after having warmed oneself at it (No. 672). According to this view, there is nothing wrong in warming oneself at the fire.

691. Warnings such as these have generally gone unheeded. The young bloods who visited Sīgiri a thousand years ago were not concerned much about the dangers of getting entangled with women; on the other hand, they worried themselves a great deal about ways of winning their favour. The cautious ones naturally expressed alarm at the impetuosity of youth, as, for instance, in No. 605: 'Even though (they) say "Remain in happiness" and even when knowing people see it as (a matter for) caution, he is as if he goes (at it) in the manner of *i-taṇa* and *hir* (coming) out of fields and lakes.' The passion for them is intensified when jealousy takes a hand: 'When this golden-coloured one comes into memory—and if others were to come to this (drawn to it) by its loveliness—one's mind came to it with the force of a cascade which poured down, having been drawn out from a reservoir' (No. 602).

692. Many are those who humble themselves before the ladies and strive by all manner of eloquence to soften their hearts. They beseech them just to give one glance (No. 375). They beg them not to say 'go away' (No. 578). They are eager to take her hand: 'Without being able to take the flower of

your hand in my own hand, satisfaction did not come to me by seeing the blue water-lilies of your eyes' (No. 409). Some assure the women that, by giving their hearts to the supplicant, no mental anguish will ever come to them (No. 294). Some flatter the women and imagine that this has been successful (No. 332). Songs are supposed to be efficacious in winning the favour of the women, but a verse put into the mouth of a lady makes her say that she cares more for rum and molasses than their poor efforts in versification (No. 272). In another verse a lady is made to say that, if the young man desired to win her, he should come in the proper way and be betrothed by tying a *täli* (No. 219). But the surest way, it seems, to win the favour of women was to kneel down before them: 'Sweet embraces belong to him who bows down on his knees' (No. 535). The stanza goes on, however, to suggest that such prostrations may be insincere.

693. Some poets have endeavoured to win the hearts of the damsels by addressing love letters to them (No. 269). In one verse, a cloud is requested to take a message to a pining woman (No. 134)—the same motive as in Kālidāsa's great poem, *Meghadūta*. The women are imagined as sending messages in return: 'The message given by you satisfies my heart' (No. 484). A very elaborate verse describing the rainy season, when the pangs of love are felt most severely, ends by lamenting that the message sent by the beloved was unsatisfying (No. 595). The lady, when she receives a letter from one who is not in her favour, does not even look at it but passes it on to her confidante (No. 640).

694. These efforts to gain the affection of the damsels are said at times to have been successful: 'The damsel (who wears) a golden chain on her breast, as she has accepted the song which is like nectar, has taken her stand on this mountain side, having made it her abode, giving expression to the fact that her heart has become rejoiced' (No. 209). At times the lady requires the pleading of her confidante on behalf of the suitor (No. 274). Often, the women are angry and a song is necessary to mollify them: 'Though there be no fault which has, verily, been committed, it transpired thus, O ladies. For the sake of the abundant splendour of this spray of flowers with which (I) adorned (you), pray stretch your hand towards the flowering branch' (No. 338). In other cases the anger of the lady is due to a fault of her swain, but she is forgiving: 'she did not definitely take into consideration the great fault of mine' (No. 66). The lady, though wronged and angry, weeps out of affection (No. 464), but at times she finds it difficult to forgive and forget (No. 70).

poet. Women are inscrutable; he who knows what is passing in their minds can know the very source of consciousness (No. 150). They are contrary in their behaviour: 'A golden-coloured one, while going about giving her hand in the manner of those remaining in love, cast (her) eye in my direction, as soon as I saw her, as if she were hard of heart' (No. 110). She entices people but does not speak (No. 119). The ladies speak as if they are pleased, but did not accept the supplicant definitely (No. 225). Addressing a lady, one poet says: 'You have the appearance of smiling, but your hardness of heart comes to the fore' (No. 415). The eye of the lady expresses hardness of heart, but she has a gentle smile (No. 470). Women conceal their affectionate feelings by an appearance of being hard (No. 603). Fickleness, however, is not an exclusively female characteristic, and it was given to a woman to point out its existence in men as well. In reply to a poet who preferred the charms of the lake to those of the beauties, a poetess exclaims: 'Whatever thing came into being of the Lake Lady, we do not know why this (stanza) was written down here by these persons, after having themselves proclaimed that their life would pass away (if they failed to win the affection of the damsels)' (No. 543).

696. This leads us to the question as to how the women who wrote poetry on the gallery wall looked at the enchantresses about whom their menfolk raved so much. One poetess, admitting that the women on the mountain side were attractive, accuses them of not possessing a loving heart (No. 87). No. 122 b expresses the same sentiment. Another expressed her anger by stating that she had no song for them (No. 41). The writer of No. 152 explicitly says that they aroused her anger. One lady has very forcibly expressed her disgust at the conduct of the men. 'Are we not women that you composed yāgī and sähäli, having looked at these women who, by reason of separation from their lovers, go away without having their minds attracted by you' (No. 504). Another, however, did not mind her man amusing himself with the women on the rock, for she was confident of her own ability to have him noosed whenever she felt that he had gone too far (No. 681). The writer of No. 41 saw the ladies in the painting as her rivals, but there was at least one woman who was prepared to see them as desperately sorrowing for their dead lord.

697. It will have been noticed that many of the verses refer to the ladies as golden-coloured ones. In the Sīgiri paintings still extant, there are figures of yellow complexion side by side with those of dark hue. The latter receive the epithet of 'lily-coloured ones'. The young men who visited Sīgiri in the eighth and ninth centuries had a decided predilection for the golden-coloured ones. Gentlemen, no doubt, preferred blondes even in those days. But the lily-coloured ones were not without admirers. The writer of No. 449, for instance, describes their charms in detail and joins issue with those who called them faithless ones. This is paralleled by No. 357, wherein the allurements of the golden-coloured ones are celebrated. In fact, there seems to have been a somewhat lively controversy about the rival attractions of the two types of beauties, about the outcome of which it is wise not to be too curious. But there appears to have been a view current that a poor man ought to be content with a lily-coloured one (No. 196)—which view the lily-coloured ones themselves would undoubtedly have spurned with chagrin. Some made no invidious distinctions, and impartially admired both types of beauties. A lily-coloured one is compared to a nil-kaṭaroļu near a väṭakoļu flower (No. 334), or an äseļ in proximity to a blue water-lily.

698. Reference has been made above to a number of verses in which the women in the paintings are taken to be the wives of King Kassapa. This idea has such imaginative possibilities that it has been played upon in a variety of ways. Surprise is expressed at the king's stupidity in having left such beautiful women to be gazed upon by the multitude (No. 578). It is, however, for having left these paintings on the rock that the king comes in for a meed of praise: 'In this manner, that king had these women painted and resided (here). If (you) come and look at them, the virtues of that king will be spoken of by you' (No. 75). The women are imagined as waiting for his return; they are told that this is a vain hope (No. 184) and advised to seek for support elsewhere. They are also told of stratagems by which they could hasten his return; one way is by letting him know that his race has become extinct (No. 465). In their eagerness for the king's return, the ladies see him in the persons of the visitors to Sīgiri, thus giving the poets an opportunity of indirectly flattering themselves. 'Is it not as if our lord has returned to the palace he formerly resided in?' one of the ladies is made to say by a poet (No. 165). The hardness of heart of the ladies is ascribed by one poet to this reason, for she apparently did not show tenderness to him who abandoned them in that position and went away (No. 527).

699. But the theory that the Sigiri paintings represent the wives of Kassapa was not universally held. Just as it is among the antiquaries of today, it had to contend, in the ninth century, with another which maintained that the figures were those of apsarases. A conclusive argument (on the poetical plane) for this theory is that the damsels do not move their eyelids (No. 50). This theory gave one poet an opportunity of self-laudation. The scene at Sīgiri, when he visited the place, appeared to him as if the gods had come accompanied by the nymphs to see its wonders (No. 144). One poet has a powerful argument against those who take the figures to be human. 'Had they been women, would they not have spoken?' (No. 68). There is indeed no answer to that. Speaking about the identity of the ladies, two verses (Nos. 68 and 410) have a reference to them as washerwomen—one for, and the other against, the view. But how such a view originated, it is difficult to imagine; nothing, however, is impossible where poets are concerned. The same line of thought has made the visitors of that age speculate on the reason why such beautiful creatures were wasting their charms. A very plausible theory is that the lady has performed meritorious deeds-how can she be so beautiful otherwise?but without faith. The result is that she does not kindle the fire of love in the hearts of men and keeps her heart within herself (No. 95). Another viewpoint (No. 262) was that a saintly person had cursed them for trying to exercise their charms on him—the usual experience of apsarases. But such views did not remain uncontradicted (No. 97).

700. The ladies are often the subject of friendly raillery and chaff among visitors. Sometimes, as, for instance, in Nos. 70 and 661, a witticism and the retort thereto are incorporated in the same verse. In other instances two stanzas are devoted, one to the quip and the other to the riposte. An interesting example of this second type of jesting, in which each participant stands for the honour of his province, is afforded by Nos. 566 and 629. A visitor from the Southern Country wished to enjoy a joke at the expense of one from Ruhuṇa, and said: 'A person from Ruhuṇa came (here) as if he were pleased to look at (this). Why does he who (thus) came (here), go away, having got the proud ones offended?' The Ruhuṇa man was equal to the occasion. His retort is: 'It has been related how a

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person came from Ruhuna. Listen to it, O friend. When he goes (away) having given up the disdainful ones (who are) here, envious people say that (he) goes (away), having offended (them).'

701. Stanzas of philosophical or gnomic character, and those embodying moral maxims, have been incidentally referred to in other connexions. There are some of this type which do not obviously have any reference to Sīgiri, but in the context in which they were uttered, their bearing on Sīgiri must have been obvious. Take, for instance, No. 265, which says: 'Even when conversing in secret, in the company of a trustful and sincere person, if one spoke what came to one's tongue, one's secret ran away to one's enemies.' This must no doubt have been a warning to those who uttered their inmost feelings in the presence of the women.

702. The verses which have a bearing on literary criticism have been referred to above (§ 626 ff.). It was not everyone who could compose poetry; but the very expression of this inability has resulted in poetry in No. 405: 'I am apprehensive with the fear arising from (the charge) "he has not been able to compose a stanza (even) after having come here". My heart becomes tormented when (I am) come to the midst of the golden -coloured ones.' One visitor says in a verse that he could not present a verse to the lady but instead gave his heart (No. 519). Lack of skill, evidently, did not prevent people from seeking fame as poets; but in those days some value appears to have been attached to honesty in literary pursuits, for one visitor took upon himself the unenviable task of detecting literary frauds: 'As I, who was seated, stood up and observed at every song, I know certainly that he, as he does not know (how to compose) songs, did not write one' (No. 290). When so many were able to excel in poetry, it is no wonder that a superior type of person preferred prose: 'I am Budal, I came in company and saw Sihigiri. Many people who saw (Sihigiri) have written verses. I therefore did not write one.'

703. Such are some of the paths taken by the imagination of the visitors to Sīgiri in the eighth and ninth centuries. To pass them in review exhaustively would mean referring to the great majority of the verses, and this obviously cannot be attempted here. At Sīgiri, particularly when they stood before the paintings, our poets have imagined various situations in actual life, according to their experience and temperament, sometimes even rising to philosophical heights, and these stanzas reflect not only their intensity of feeling, but also the joy of life which evidently was overflowing in most of them.

#### THE AUTHORS

704. Of no less than 357 of our verses, i.e. a little over half of the total, the names of the persons who composed and wrote them on the gallery wall have been recorded. In some instances the name, though recorded, has become indecipherable. Of well over 300 verses, the authors have preferred anonymity. There is no uniformity with regard to the manner in which the writers of the verses have appended their names to their compositions. In some the name precedes, while in others it follows, the verse. In many it is the bare name with the verbal form mi ('I am') attached to it. In others the name is in the genitive form followed by the word  $g\bar{i}$ , or one of its variants, meaning 'song'. The words  $me \ g\bar{i} \ l\bar{i}mi$  or  $me \ g\bar{i} \ badmi$  often follow the name and the verb mi. In some others a fairly long sentence is devoted to the purpose, the full name and style of the author being given together with some reference to the circumstances in which the verse was written. In Nos. 104 and 307 the writer's name is incorporated into the verse itself, while allusion is made to the author's name in Nos. 310 and 338 b. An unusual procedure has been adopted in No. 444; the name of the author precedes the verse, but the name of the place he hailed from has been recorded after the verse. This, perhaps, has to be treated as the supplying of an omission.

705. The personal name is sometimes a compound one, e.g. Kit Agbo. In many cases a place-name is attached to the personal name in the manner of a surname; but, unlike English surnames, it precedes the personal name, e.g. Siripiți Saman. In others, the place-name is joined to the personal name by the word väsi 'resident of', ā 'who come from', or some such word or phrase. A word signifying an occupation, trade, profession, &c., is at times prefixed to a personal name just in the same manner as a place-name, e.g. Veṇaj Kitalu (Kitalu, the merchant). Titles indicating social rank, &c., come after the personal name, e.g. Nāl-himi. There are not a few instances in which the relationship of the writer to some individual is also given. The alphabetical list of authors given in Appendix A

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Budalmi siyo vä āmi Sihigiri bälīmi bälu bälū boho janā gī lī luyen no līmi (J.R.A.S., C.B., vol. xxxiv, p. 335, n. 2).

will enable those interested in such details to study further idiosyncrasies with regard to nomenclature exhibited by our authors.

706. In the list are a number of royal names, figuring either as authors themselves or as the personages to whose establishment belonged the writers of some of the verses. If we could identify these royal personages with certainty, we should be furnished with a chronological sheet-anchor to which could be related, by a comparison of the degree of development in the script, those documents—the vast majority—written by persons who are not likely to have left an imprint on history. Moreover, a literary effort by one who has played a part in history has always a peculiar fascination. If the reading of the introductory prose passage in No. 667 be acceptable, the verse in that graffito has to be taken as a composition of a king named Udaya who had the throne-name of Sirisangbo. There were two kings named Udaya in the tenth century who were entitled to this throne-name, I but our graffito is in a script which exhibits an earlier phase in the evolution of the Sinhalese alphabet than that found in the known records of Udaya III or IV.<sup>2</sup> Udaya II was an Abhāsalamevan, not a Sirisangbo; therefore, if graffito No. 667 refers to a Sirisangbo Udā, that king must be Udaya I (circa 787–92 A.D.) who, according to the order of succession, was entitled to this viruda. But, unfortunately, the preservation of this graffito is not in such a satisfactory condition that such a far-reaching conclusion can be safely based on its text.

707. No. 143, attested by its script and language to be one of the earliest of the graffiti included in this volume, is stated to be a song of His Majesty (maparuma gī). Unfortunately, however, the personal name has not been recorded of this ruler who did not consider it as derogatory to his dignity to have been included among the scribblers. At that time, of course, his personal name would have been a superfluity, for nobody would have mistaken his poem for that of anyone else when such an epithet followed the song. The king and his courtiers evidently did not think of those who would come in the future. Otherwise, they would have reflected on the fact that the uniqueness which he enjoyed was not for all time and that, for future generations, he would be but one among a host of maparumas (Their Majesties). In close proximity to this graffito, however, there are two stanzas by two retainers of a prince named Mihidala (Mahinda) and the signature of a prince Kasabal (Kassapa) who has promised, but not given us, a song. If this proximity justifies the assumption that all these graffiti were written on the same occasion, then the two princes may have been sons of the unnamed king. And Manavamma (circa 668-703 A.D.) was the only king of the seventh to ninth centuries who, according to the chronicles, had two sons named Mahinda and Kassapa (both of whom, at different periods, exercised sovereign power). If the Gärandigala Inscription3 is of Kassapa III (circa 710-17 A.D.), as has been inferred, there can be no palaeographical objection to taking the graffito in question as dating from the reign of Manayamma.

708. The author of the two verses in graffito No. 463, though not a royal personage, may be considered here, for there is reason to believe that he flourished in or close to the reign of Mānavamma. This personage, Riyandaļa the scribe, introduces himself as the founder of Uturoļa-pirivena. Now a monastic institution of this name is listed in the Pūjāvalī<sup>4</sup> as well as in the Daļadāsirita,<sup>5</sup> among the foundations which owed their origin to the munificence of Mānavamma. The chronicles, written long afterwards, might very well have given the king the credit for a work which, in a contemporary document, is attributed to one of his subjects. Religious foundations of a particular reign could easily have been credited, by later generations, to the king himself, for the names of other personages would certainly have been forgotten sooner than the memory of the king. Riyandaļa (= P. Ratanadāṭha or Hatthadāṭha) was the name of an adventurer who occupied the throne for a short time before Mānavamma's accession. This fact would make it likely that the name was fashionable at the time. This graffito, which can thus be taken as dating back to the period of Mānavamma, is not in the earliest stage of the script or the language that is represented in our documents. If the above arguments have any

the Cūļavamsa, part i, p. 126, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> EZ., vol. iii, pp. 195-9.

<sup>5</sup> Edited by Bhadanta Sorata Thera, Colombo, 1950, p. 42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Sirisangbo Udā of the Badulla Pillar Inscription (EZ., vol. iii, pp. 71–100, who has been identified as Udaya IV (circa 942–50 A.D.) and Udaya III (circa 930–3 A.D.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Wickremasinghe's chronological table (EZ., vol. iii, p. 18) refers to Udaya I as Dappula II. Udaya I, II, and III of his table should, therefore, be Udaya II, III, and IV respectively. See Geiger's translation of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> A Contribution to the History of Ceylon, translated from *Pūjāvaliya*, by B. Guṇaśekara, Mudaliyar, Colombo, 1895, p. 30.

weight, there is, therefore, the possibility that some of our authors belonged to dates earlier than the reign of Manavamma.

709. The names of princes occurring in our documents are Mihidala or Mihindal (= P. Mahinda), Kasabal (= P. Kassapa), and Dāpul (P. Dappula). No. 469 refers to Mahinda as mahāpāṇan (P. mahādipāda). Documents numbered 53, 119, and 640 refer to a prince Mahinda by the epithet of āpā or one of its variant forms (= P. ādipāda); No. 320 refers to Kasabal and No. 46 to Dāpuļ by the same epithet. Mahapā, with its variant forms, was the title, in medieval times, of the heir-apparent, and āpā and its variants designated the heir-presumptive. It is not impossible, therefore, that these princes were, in due course, elevated to the throne. Palaeographically, the documents in which these princes are named should be of a date earlier than the reigns of Mahinda IV (circa 954-70 A.D.), Dappula IV (circa 918 A.D.), and Kassapa IV (circa 891-908 A.D.). If these princes came to occupy the throne subsequent to their visit to Sīgiri, Kasabal can be taken as Kassapa III (circa 710-17 A.D.), Mihidal as Mahinda III (circa 792-6 A.D.), and Dāpuļ as Dappula II (circa 807-23 A.D.). The writer of No. 63 describes himself as residing (i.e. serving) in the house of King Sen (Sena), which monarch may be taken as Sena I (circa 826-46 A.D.) or Sena II (circa 846-80 A.D.). No. 266 mentions a princess named Jet (= P. Jetthā) whom we have no means of identifying. Sagal-räjna (Queen Samghā) of No. 504 was probably Samgha, the consort of Sena II and mother of Kassapa V (circa 908-18 A.D.), who is referred to in inscriptions as well as in the Cūlavamsa as the twice anointed (de-bisev).<sup>2</sup>

710. No. 627 eulogizes a king named Aboy (P. Aggabodhi). There is no means of deciding which Aggabodhi of the nine kings who bore that name is referred to in this poem. The last king who bore this name ascended the throne in or about the year 823. The author of No. 615, Kīrttivarmman, and Vajravarmman who has left a Sanskrit stanza on the gallery wall, were perhaps of royal stock, for their names end in -varmman. We cannot thus be absolutely certain of the identity of any of the royal personages figuring in our graffiti, but the names are those which were common in the period from the seventh to the tenth century. The epithet Baṇḍi, prefixed to the personal name of Prince Dāpuļ, is noteworthy. No. 652 refers to a Pāṇḍi-raj, i.e. Pāṇḍya king. The Kiribat-vehera pillar inscription<sup>5</sup> names Pāṇḍi-rad Dāpuļā as one of the officers who promulgated that edict. It is likely that, in both these cases, 'Pāṇḍya-King' was a title borne by a Sinhalese noble.

711. Among the high dignitaries who figure among our authors is a Chief Secretary (mahale in No. 621), whose verse, however is the same as that of a Professor (ädur, No. 231 a). At this distance of time, it is impossible to decide which of the two the plagiarist was. It would, however, be unsafe to conclude hastily that it was the Chief Secretary. The authors of Nos. 221, 391, 464, 470, and 570 held the office of mādabi, which meant either a 'governor' or 'a customs-house officer'. The writer of No. 570 was, in addition to being a mādabi, the superintendent of the slaves of the Pāṇḍya king (Pāṇḍi-rajun-dāśa-adhikāra). What this latter title precisely meant we are not in a position to determine. The writer of No. 49 held the office of niyam-jet in a monastic establishment—an office which, as we learn from the tablets ascribed to Mahinda IV, existed in the great medieval vihāra at Mihintale.7 Niyam, probably, is the same as P. niyāmaka without the suffix -ka, and jeṭ is P. jeṭṭhaka. The title may roughly be translated as 'controller'. Pasak-kämi is another official title in our documents (No. 315) which is also found in the Mihintale tablets.8 What the duties of this officer were we are not in a position to determine. Ol-kamana in No. 375 is obviously the same as ol-kämi of the Mihintale tablets,9 but neither of the two contexts in which the word occurs furnishes enough evidence to conclude what of signifies. Vednā (No. 172) and raj-ved (No. 502) were no doubt titles held by royal physicians.

712. The title payamul-leydaru has been translated as 'Private Secretary'. Paya-mul is the same as P. pāda-mūlika, which means, literally, 'sitting at one's foot'. Daru 'son' in ley-daru has the same connotation as pulle in such Tamil words as kanaka-pulle. Ley is equivalent to P. and Skt. lekhaka 'writer'. The whole phrase thus would literally mean 'the writer son at one's feet'. Laya (No. 19), le (No. 463), le-daru (No. 527), and ley-daru are all variant forms meaning 'scribe', 'writer', or 'clerk'.

For the titles,  $\bar{a}p\bar{a}$ , mahap $\bar{a}$ , and their variants, see EZ., vol. iii, pp. 82–83.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See EZ., vol. ii, pp. 30 and 32, and Cūļavamsa, chap. 52, vv. 11 and 37.

<sup>3</sup> See India Antiqua, p. 264.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See *Manusmṛti*, chap. 2, v. 32, and Kullūkabhaṭṭa's Commentary thereon.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> EZ., vol. i, p. 161.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., vol. iii, p. 256.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., vol. i, p. 101, n. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 101, n. 6.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., pp. 95 and 108, n. 11.

Pota (No. 136) may be equated with P. potthakin and translated as 'keeper of books'. Arakele is probably equivalent to aräki-le, aräkkan being an official title of common occurrence in the lithic inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries.2 The word may be equated with Skt. ārakṣaka and interpreted as 'a police officer'. Kätiri (No. 557) is probably derived from Skt. kṣattṛ 'chamberlain'. This title also occurs in the name of an officer figuring in the Vēvälkäṭiya slab-inscription of the tenth century.3 Yahan-govu (Nos. 173 and 210) can mean 'the keeper of elephants' as well as 'the guard of the bed-chamber', for yahan can be equated with Skt. śayana as well as yāna. The latter word, originally meaning 'vehicle', has come to signify 'an elephant', the vehicle par excellence; compare Tamil yānai. Tiṇḍi of No. 92 also appears to be the name of an office, but of what nature we cannot say. A merchant (venada, No. 24), a teacher or professor (ädur, No. 231), an archer (dunuve, No. 261), a worker in metal (kabara, No. 381), a sword-bearer (asigi, No. 185), and a palace guard or some other kind of military officer (balat, No. 12) are also among those who desired fame as poets. It is rather curious that, among so many hundreds who professed to write poetry, there are only two who have the epithet kivi (poet) prefixed to their names. It is to the same name, Mihidala, that we have the epithet prefixed in Nos. 473 and 521; we are therefore not certain whether we have one individual or two claiming the title of 'poet'. Assuming that there were two separate individuals, we are also not certain whether the title was self-assumed or granted by a learned academy of those days. However this may be, had the word kivi not been prefixed to the name, their compositions, in themselves, would not have indicated that they had earned distinction in the art of poetry.

713. The words that I have taken as indicating official titles generally precede the personal name. Äpā, mahapā, and māḍabi, however, come after the personal name. Also coming after the personal name are the epithets him, bata, and mala, which appear to have indicated social rank. Himi is Skt. svāmin, and I have translated it as 'Lord'. The title, most probably, was applied to those who, like the barons of feudal Europe, were entitled to the overlordship of villages. The wife of a himi was called himiyambu, for instance, Nal Himiyambu was the wife of Mahamet-himi (No. 543). The term, therefore, must have definitely indicated social status. We are not certain of the precise distinction between himi and bata; the latter, as it is always followed by the verbal form mi (I am), has its final vowel changed to i, e.g. Sang-batimi in No. 357. This tends to confuse the term with its feminine form bati, which occurs alone in No. 87 as the name of a woman and in No. 122 as the second member of a feminine personal name, Dayal-batī. Bata or bati in masculine names is most probably equivalent to Skt. bhartr and is akin to modern Bandara and Banda. According to this derivation, the feminine form Batī would mean 'lady'. In the feminine names, Siva-kala and Geya-kala, the second member may be a courtesy title, corresponding in meaning to Skt. kāntā. Mala is the same as Skt. malla, and may have been borne by persons who followed the military profession. Women who have left their compositions on the gallery wall can be recognized by himiyambu and batī coming after their personal names as well as by the statement that the author was the wife (abu) of a person named, as for instance in No. 247.

714. In a number of names the relationship of the individual to another person is indicated by the word ge, e.g. Neliyä väsi Kasäba-himiyan ge Sivmi. The element ge in this and a number of other names may be taken as the word meaning 'house', derived from Skt. geha, or the genitive postposition (see above, § 362) which itself, most probably, has a similar derivation. In any case, there is little doubt that, in names such as the one cited above, we have the prototypes of modern Sinhalese genames. The full name and style of the writer of No. 464, Sen-māḍabiyan gehi Satamuṇe de-paya lat Vajurā Daymi, is interesting in this connexion. Here, the locative form gehi 'in the house' occurs in place of the usual ge, supplying us with the evidence that ge means 'of the house of'. If ge in such names be taken as the genitive postposition, it is interesting to compare it with von of German and de of French family names. Similar is the style Sātā-kalu ge vasana Vajur Agboy (No. 286), where we have ge vasana 'who resided in the house of', instead of ge or gehi in other contexts. As the house in this instance is that of a lady (kalu), it is clear that Vajur Agboy had contracted a binna marriage which made it obligatory for the husband to reside with the family of the wife. The writer of No. 154, too, had probably contracted a binna marriage, for he particularly informs us that he was the husband of Lady Geya (Geya-kala-sämi).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Compare the title *ādipotthakin* attached to the name of a minister, *Cūļavamsa*, chap. 72, v. 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> EZ., vol. ii, pp 20, 24, and 25.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., vol. i, p. 251.

715. There are only four instances (Nos. 307, 557, 600, and 626) in which the father's name in the genitive, followed by put 'son', precedes or follows the personal name. In the Brāhmī inscriptions of the early period, i.e. third century B.C. to first century A.D., the form X son of Y was very common. The change in the method of nomenclature to what may be termed gē-names perhaps indicates a development in the social organization—the weakening of the patriarchal character of society which seems to have prevailed in the early period.

716. Clerics are well represented among our authors. As a rule they can be recognized by the term pävij or one of its variant forms which is appended after their personal names, e.g. Sirinā-pävij (No. 136). The epithet bata is sometimes attached to the names of clerics; witness, for example, Samanala-bata (or bati) who was a resident of Mānāpav-piriyena. The title tera (P. thera) occurs but twice (Nos. 224 and 461) in the name of a religieux. This rare occurrence of the title indicates that, in the times of our graffiti, it still preserved its original significance of 'Elder', and was not used, as it is today, to denote anyone who had donned the yellow robe. The name Kudugat Sirinā-terun (No. 224) indicates that the ancient practice of referring to theras by a title formed of the particular section of the scriptures they were specialists in, was current in this period, too. This dignitary also had a clerk in his employ. The novices are called heran (P. sāmanera), for example, in No. 88. The names of clerics occurring in our graffiti indicate that the present practice of adopting a new name on entering the Order was not considered essential at that period. Just as the honorific bata or bati was common to the laity as well as to the clerics, one of the latter, in the tenth century, could have borne a name by which he was known before he entered the Order. The clerics also, at that time, did not follow the practice now prevailing of prefixing the name of the birth-place to the personal name. On the other hand, this was then a practice which was very common among the laity from whom it must have been adopted by their spiritual mentors. Sen-pävij (No. 270) is the name of a cleric; the same personal name (without pävij, of course, but with a place-name prefixed to it) occurs in No. 198 as the name of a layman: Maganavä Sen.

717. Had these holy men not taken the precaution of appending their names to their compositions, we might, in most cases, not have suspected that the Order to which they belonged could boast of men with literary abilities. For it is very rarely that the subject-matter of their verses proclaims them to be the compositions of those who had adopted the religious life. Most of these clerics had entered into the spirit of the occasion, and addressed the ladies in a manner which was far from sermonizing. One of them, for instance, addressing a lady in the painting, expounds the doctrine that an occasional lapse from virtue in one who is generally of good conduct may be condoned (No. 574). He, at least, like his progressive brethren of today, does not appear to have attached much importance to the exhortation of the Buddha to be afraid of minor offences (anu-mattesu vajjesu bhaya-dassāvī). To compose a verse embodying the erotic sentiment was, in their estimation, a very venal offence, if offence it was at all. The novices who wrote verses on the gallery wall, however, have shown an earnestness about their vocation often wanting in the words of their elders; see, for example, No. 88.

(see Nos. 361, 343, 345, and 605) the names, though almost all are traceable to Sanskrit or Pāli,¹ are in their native forms. The name which is Kaśyapa in Sanskrit was, among the Sinhalese of the eighth to tenth centuries, Kasub, Kasaba, or Kasabal; Sanskrit Kīrti was Kit, Kiti, Kital, or Kitala and Skt. Mahendra was Mihid, Mihind, Mihidal, or Mihindala. The Sinhalese of those days had evidently not yet developed that characteristic which distinguishes them today, and of which the first manifestations are noticeable in the Polonnaruva epoch—a partiality towards names of exotic origin. The examples quoted above show that it was a very common practice in those days to add the suffix -la or -l to a personal name. The form Midel, which occurs in the Pūjāvalī and Nikāya-Sanigraha, of the name given in the Cūļavanisa as Mahinda, is thus explained. This -la, in my opinion, is the same as that which we find today in such forms as Āraccila; it is not unconnected perhaps with the modern plural suffix -la. In Sinhalese, a suffix denoting the plural number could have developed into an honorific, for the honorific plural is a widespread feature of the language. 'Anang-raj' of No. 138 and 'Dharmmānvito' of No. 94 are no doubt noms de plume. Such appears to be the case with 'Harṣadeva' of No. 659 also. This writer must have heard of the Indian royal poet of that name.

719. Appendix C gives all the place-names in our records, together with references to the same or

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The names in these may also be of Sanskritic origin, though the etymology is not obvious.

similar names in the chronicles, Pāli commentaries, and inscriptions. The identification of the places referred to in these names cannot be effected with certainty, for there is always the possibility that two different places had the same name. The name 'Siripiți', for instance, is the same as 'Hiripițiya' in present-day Sinhalese, but the people of modern Hiripițiya in the Hiriyāļa Hatpattu of the Kurunāgala District cannot possibly establish a claim that the medieval poet who wrote the verse in No. 36 hailed from their township. Such, perhaps, is also the case with the possible identity of Väligam of our graffito No. 410 with the well-known Väligama in the Mātara District. There are references to large territorial divisions, Ruhuṇa, Dakuṇ-pasa, Utur-pasa, Padi-pasa, Ambgam-kuḷi, &c. It is worthy of note that, when a person recorded that he came from Ruhuṇa, he rarely specified the particular village he belonged to. It was perhaps felt that a village at such a distance would not have been well known at Sīgiri, and that its specific mention would have served very little purpose.

720. In some instances, in addition to the name of the town or village, the writers have mentioned the institution, generally a religious one, with which they were connected, e.g. the writer of No. 170 informs us that he came from Anuru-mahapā in Māgama. On the other hand, the writer of No. 130, while stating that he was a resident of Taralpā-piriven, has not considered it necessary to say where that institution was. A place about the identity of which there can be no doubt is Mahagama, P. Mahāgāma, the modern Tissamahārāma. Mahapaṭan-jūva (No. 627) (the Island of the Great Port) is probably the modern island of Mannar, and Polonaru (No. 233) the medieval Polonnaru. Kivisi (Nos. 574 and 562) appears to be the same as modern Kibissa, a village about two miles from Sīgiri, which seems to bear a name by which it was known at least a thousand years ago. The monastery in the vicinity of Sīgiri, Mahanāpavu-vehera<sup>1</sup> (now called Rāmakālē), had inmates who could write poetry (see Nos. 427 and 565).

721. It will thus be seen that the authors of our verses not only belonged to various stations in social life, but also hailed from places far distant from one another. A question that might arise is whether it was sightseeing alone that drew them to Sīgiri. In this connexion it may perhaps be not too far-fetched to mention that, in ancient India, the practice prevailed of holding festivities on the summits of rocks. In such festivities, called giragga-samajja, there was much merry-making, dancing, and singing. There may even have been theatrical performances of some sort. Could the writers of our stanzas have visited Sīgiri to attend a festival corresponding to the old giragga-samajja, probably celebrated annually? The information supplied incidentally by some of our verses, for instance No. 174, that in those days visitors came to Sīgiri in large crowds, is not inconsistent with such a surmise.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A.S.C.A.R. for 1811–12, p. 108. Mānāpavu is equivalent to P. Mahānāga-pabbata, not Mahānāma-pabbata as Bell has taken it to be.

<sup>2</sup> See the Commentary on the *Dhammapada*, P.T.S. Edition, vol. i, pp. 73–74.

## APPENDIX A

#### LIST OF AUTHORS

The element taken for alphabetical arrangement is the personal name. When the personal name is a composite one, e.g. Kit Agboy, the two names have been treated as a unit. Place-names, titles of offices, &c., which precede the personal name, have been given after the personal name, and have not been taken into account for the alphabetical arrangement. The name occurring as Siripiti Saman is given in the list as Saman, Siripiti, and Veṇaja Kitalu as Kitalu, Veṇaja. Bata, pāvij, himi, and similar titles attached to the personal name have been treated as integral parts of the name. For the significance of such titles, see Glossary. The Skt. or P. equivalent of a personal name is given within square brackets at the first occurrence in the alphabetical arrangement. In the case of variant forms, reference is made to the form occurring first, e.g., Agboy [s.a. Agbo] indicating that 'Agboy' is Agrabodhi in Skt. and Aggabodhi in P., just as 'Agbo' is. The letter f. follows the names ascertained to be feminine. For the element l, la, or lu in some names, see Introduction, § 716.

Agala- (or Agal-) bati, Utura-pasa-(or Utur-pas-) väsi, 276, 450a. [Aga = Skt. Agni, P. Aggi.] Agbo [Skt. Agrabodhi, P. Aggabodhi] -ädur, Kalapiţä-kuliyehi, Agbo, Kobala, 184. Agbo, Dunuvāgamu, 514. Agbo, Vednā . . . . . , 172. Agboy [s.a. Agbo], 231b (s.a. Agboädur), 334, 483. Agboy, Uturpas-väsi, 141. Agboy, Magun, 326. Agboy, Ruhun, 370. Agboy, Māgalamb Mihidalamalun ge, 532. Agboyā [s.a. Agbo], 54. Agboyi [s.a. Agbo], Malvatumaṇḍalen ā, 553b. Agboyi Sen, 313. Agboy-himi, 4. Agbohi [s.a. Agbo], Bijervatu-kuliye, Agbo-himi, Väligam-väsi, 410. Ataväsi-tun-jana (the three apprentices of), Dunaturā-Nāveher-Ābohi Nilal oļ-kamuņan, 375. At-kit [Skt. Apta-kīrtti], 376. Ananda [Skt., P. Ānanda] -pāvija, Ranahala-pirivena-väsi, 310. Anurā [Skt. Anurādha], 337. Abay [Skt., P. Abhaya], Potdala Senal-himiyan-ge, 422. Aboyi [s.a. Agbo] Dalameyi, Talaboya Mihindala-malun put, 626. Avuli, 361. Ät, Giri, 113 Ujala [Skt. Ujjvala], 465a. Uda [Skt. Udaya] -bati, Badagiri, Udā [Skt. Udaya]- maharaj, Sirisangbo Abā, 667. See Masiv. Upatis [Skt. Upatisya, P. Upatissa] -pävija, Ruhuņin ā, 348. Ojal, Ojala [Skt. Ujjvala], 358 a & b.

Kannā [Skt. Karnna or Kṛṣṇa], 99.

Kasaba [Skt. Kāśyapa, P. Kassapa],

Kamala-bata, 571.

Buyuru, Gäduba-vana-väsi Senahimiyan-ge, 187. Kasabal [s.a. Kasaba], 182. Kasabal, Dunuvāgama, 503. Kasabala [s.a. Kasaba], 31. Kasub [s.a. Kasaba], Tindī, 92. Kasub-pävij, 314. Kaļi [= Skt. Kāla-ka], 179. Kali, Sen-rajagehi väsi, 63. Kali Kasabal, 401. Kit [Skt. Kīrtti, P. Kitti], 251, 468, 537, 607, 611. Kit, Vāla, 97. Kit Agbo [P. Kittaggabodhi], 100. Kit Agboy, 685. Kit Agboyi, Budgamiye väsi, 551. Kital [s.a. Kit], 365, 414, 546, 598. Kital, Pasak-kämi, 315. Kital, Päļapasa Äbalavä-väsi, 206. Kital, Bähiļi-vatu-gamin ā Methimiyange, 387. Kitala [s.a. Kit], 336. Kitala, Mahanā-vuten ā, 555. Kitala, Sapugasa-väțiye yahanagovu, 210. Kitalu [s.a. Kit], Ruhunin ā, 34. Kitalu, Venaja, 24. Kital-bata, 237, 515. Kital-himi, 52. Kiti [s.a. Kit], 525, 549. Kiti Kasubu-himi, Maha-a . . . . . väsi, 61. Kiti, Kiti Mugalana-malana ge, 32. Kiti, Tambagolu, Siddat-māḍabiyange, 391. Kit Kottā [= Skt. Kīrtti-ketu], 229. Kit Dev [= Skt. Kīrtti-deva], 246. Kit-mey [= Skt. Kīrtti-megha], 234. Kit Samboy [= Skt. Kīrtti Samghabodhi], 44. Kit-sen [Skt. Kīrtti-sena] -pavij, 359. Kimbula [Skt., P. Kapila], Mahavalhi Daļamey-sura kalu vasana, 620. Kimbula, Sammandu, 633. Kīrtti-varmma, Skt., 615. Kumāra Kasaba [P. Kumāra Kas-

Kotala-mala [Skt. Kuntala-malla], 569. Kottā [Skt. Ketu], 299. Kola, 480. Gunākara [Skt.], Uturpas Ambgamkuli, 288. Goväd [= Skt. Go-vrddhi], 502. Jivi [Skt. Jīvita], 273 Jet [Skt. Jyestha, P. Jettha], 245. Jet-mala, Polonaruyen ā, 233. Jețalu [s.a. Jeț], Väligam-väsi, 613. Tiya, Serittagama, 196. Tisa [Skt. Tiṣya, P. Tissa], Potaki Venada, 16. Tisa, Yahalā, 292. Tisa-himi, 47. Tisā-himiyambu, f., Jeț-rajūn kere vū Kitagbo-himi ambu, 266. Tis [s.a. Tisa] -pävija, Kivisi, 574. Tili-mala, Ruhuņin ā, 123. Dayal [Skt. Dayālu], 389, 392, f., 458, 459. Dayal-bata, Atuļaviți-perivenä-väsi, 506. Dayal-bata, Däkiņi-giri-veherin ā, 590. Dayal-batī, f., 122. Daham-senal [Skt. Dharmma-sena] -pävij, Mānā-pirivana-väsi, 189. Dal [P. Dāṭha], Mīd halu, 140. Dala [s.a. Dal], 406. Dala, Atalagam . . . . . Daļa, Malvatu-kuļiyā, 680. Daļanā [P. Dāṭhānāga], Jivitoṭaväsi, 665. Dalameya Dāţhāmegha], [P. Mahanā - pava - veharā vasana, Dalameyi [s.a. Dalameya], 622. Daļamey-bata, Mahanā-pavu veherā vasana, 565 (s.a. Dalameya of No. Daļamesarā [= P. Dāṭhāmeghissara], Mahaval, 623. Dalal [s.a. Dal], Galnaru, 328. Daļala [s.a. Daļ], Meyivana Tabarasala-malana ge, 280.

Konotal, 605.

sapa], 238.

Daļa-siv [P. Dāṭhāsīva], Ruhuṇin ā, 26. Daļa-siva [s.a. Daļa-siv], 30, 465b. Daļa-siva, Ätavaka Daļa-sivahimiyan ge, 583. Daļa-sival [s.a. Daļa-siv] -pāvija, Parangamhi väsi, 101. Dala-sivala [s.a. Dala-siv], 121, 296. Daļa-siva-himi, Sigamhi väsi, 81. Daļa-siv-pāvij, Salagala-pirivenväsi, 454. Dalasen [P. Dāṭhāsena] -pävij, 228. [Mahavala-väsi], Dalasen-pävija 333. Dāpul [P. Dappula;  $d\tilde{a} = \text{Skt., P.}$ dhātu and puļa = Skt., P. pallava, cf. P. Dāṭhappabhūti], Siripuren ā, 536. Dāpuļ, Huṇanaru-bim-väsi, 112. Dāpuļa [s.a. Dāpuļ], 322. Dāpuļa, Yahagamu, 25. Dāpula, Ruhunin ā, 444. Dāpul-āpā, Baṇḍī, 46. Dīvändama [Skt. Jayavardhana] Upatis, 643. Dev [Skt. Deva], Pot, 356. Deval [s.a. Dev], Galaboy, 678a. Devala [s.a. Dev], Golagamu, 442. Devala, Jetagala-väsi Boyagothimiyan ge, 223. Devala, Malvatu-mandalen ā, 553. Devala, Labu, 366. Devala, Senbo, 5. Deval-jețu, 384. Deval-bata, Kabal-nā-pā-pirivanväsi, 602. Deval-mal, 225. Devā, f. [P. Devā], Mahamata ambu, 152. Devä [s.a. Dev], Kokelä, Pesili Kitala-mala ge ...., 230. Devu [s.a. Dev], Pota, 136. Devu, Rajalā, 303. Dev-pävij, Sen-pavu, 347. Dev Vajara [= Skt. Deva Vajra], 321. Dharmmānvito [Skt.], 94. Nakka [Skt. P. Naga] -māḍambiyā, Pāṇḍi-rajun dāśa-adhikāri, 652. Nada [Skt. P. Nanda] -mal, 235. Nand [s.a. Nada], Ruhunin ā, 125. Narasihi [Skt. Narasimha], Dīgalu Dalamey-himiyan ge, 462. Narisi [Skt. Narasimha], Sangamu Kelvala-arama-vesi, 301. Nā [Skt. P. Nāga] -mala, Budasmalun ge, 165. Nārāyaņa [Skt.], Balaluvāņa-väsi, 215. Nārāyaṇā, 558 (in collaboration with Mārā). Nāl [Skt. P. Nāga], Mahapaṭanjūye, 627. Nāl, Rakavāņā, 193. Nāl, Lam-janav, 165 (s.a. Nā-mala). Nāl-bata, 608. Nāl-himi, 93, 95.

Nāl-himiyambu, f.,

himiyā abu, 543.

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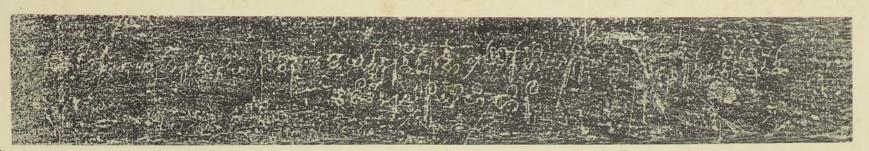
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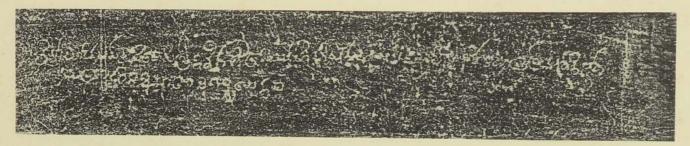
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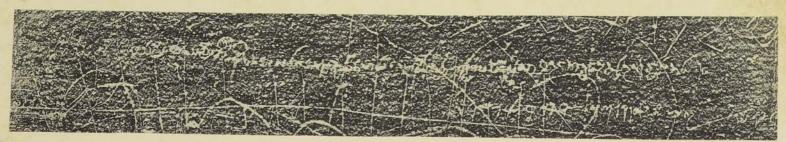
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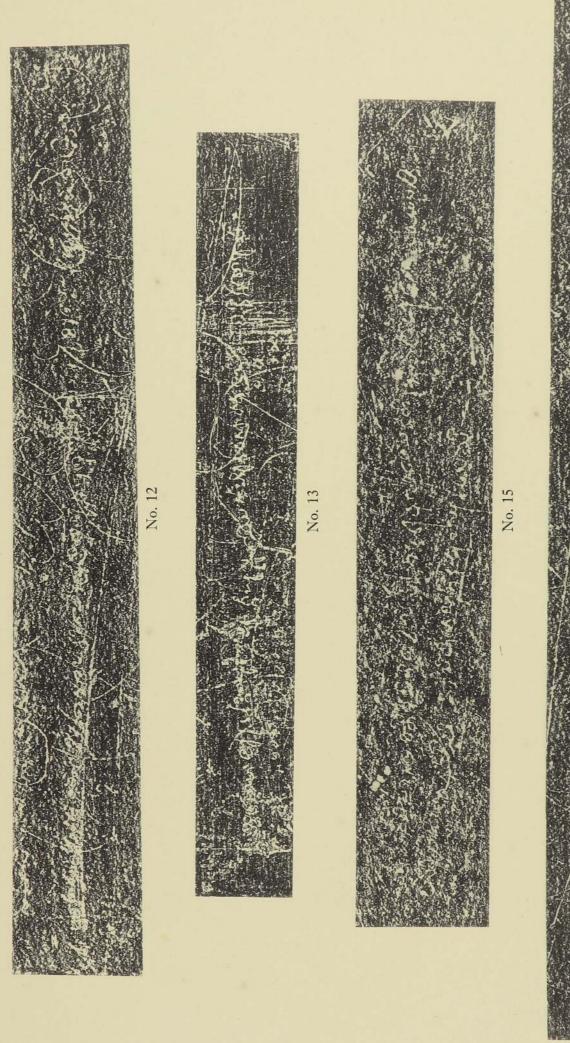
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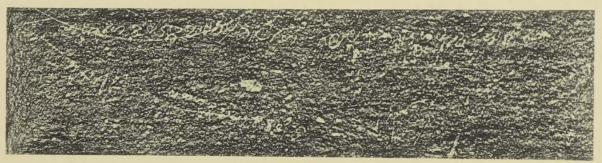
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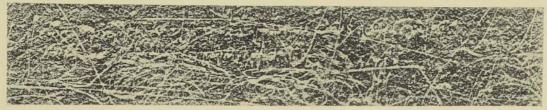
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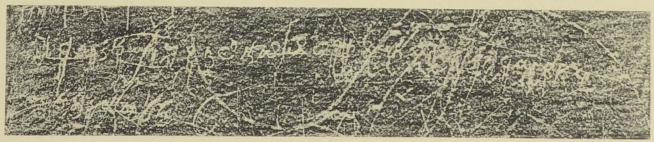
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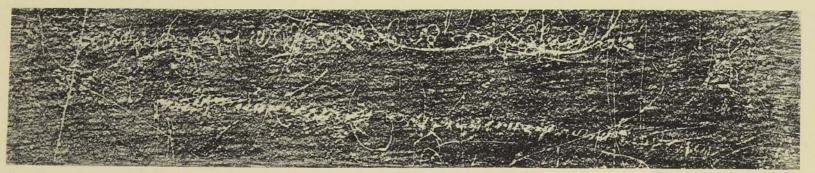
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No. 36



No. 37



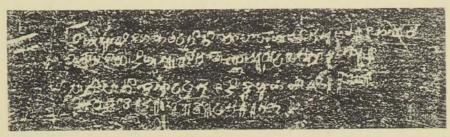
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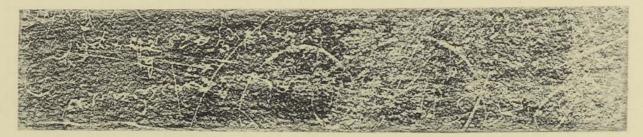
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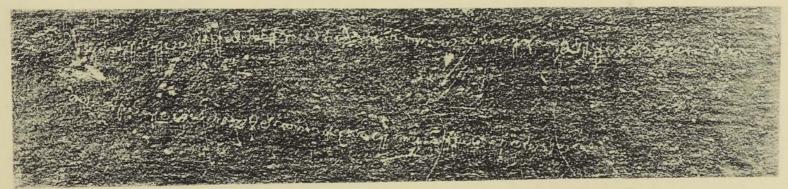
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No. 42



No. 43



No. 44



No. 46



No. 53



No. 52



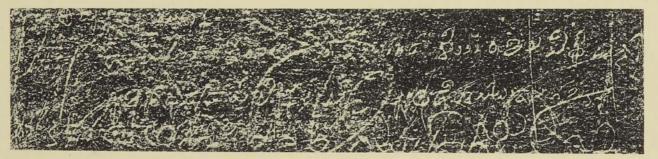
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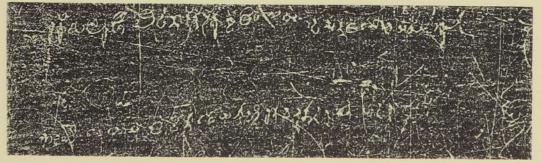
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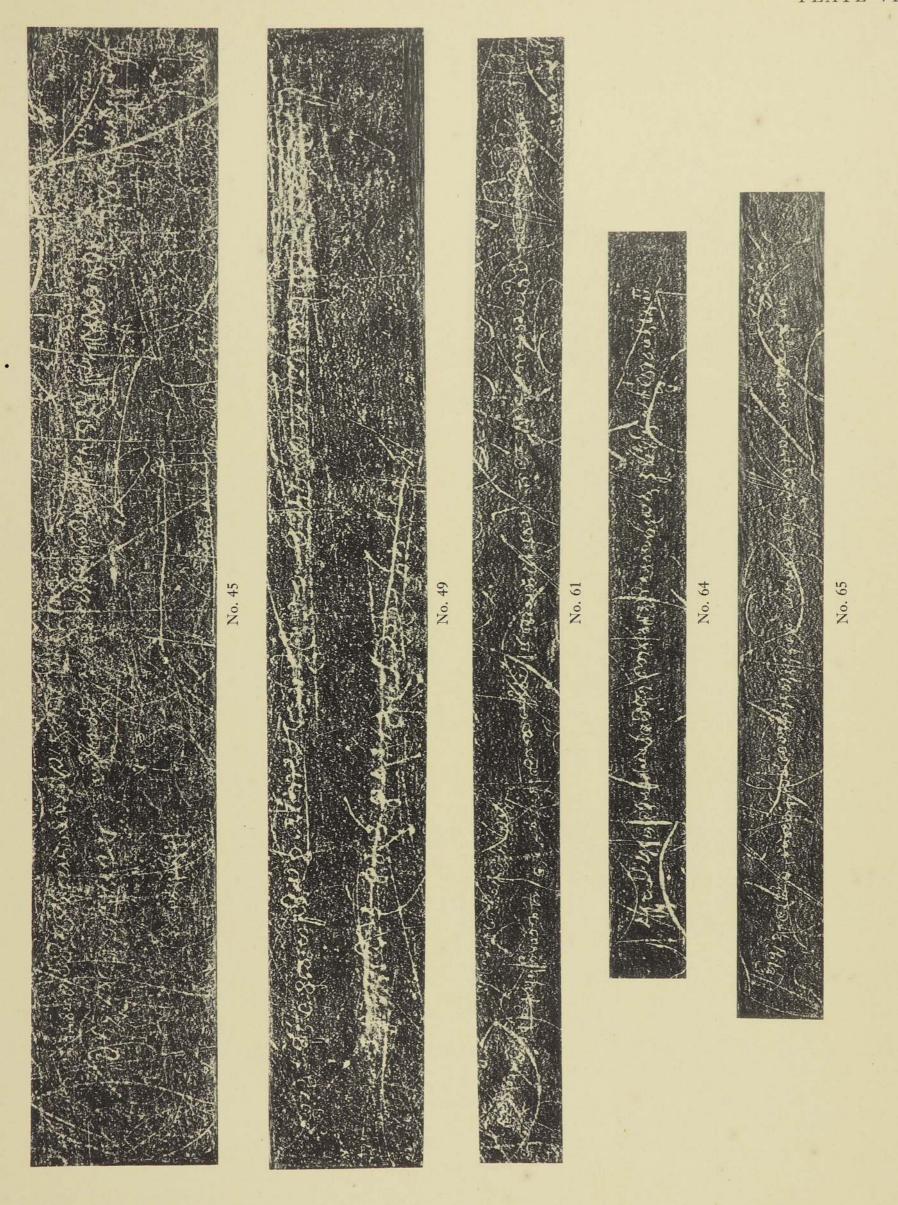
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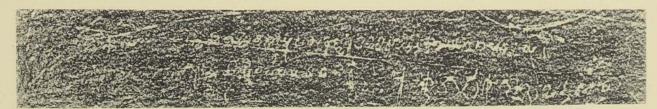
No. 58



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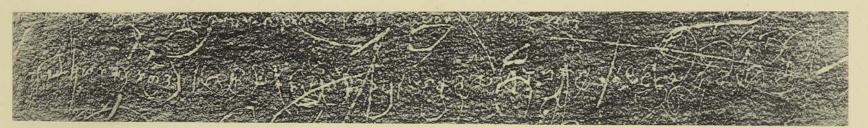
No. 59



No. 62



No. 63



No. 66



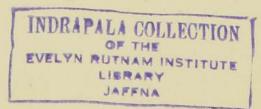
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No. 69



No. 70

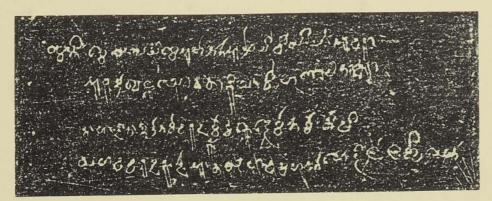




No. 71



No. 72



No. 75



No. 76



No. 77



No. 78



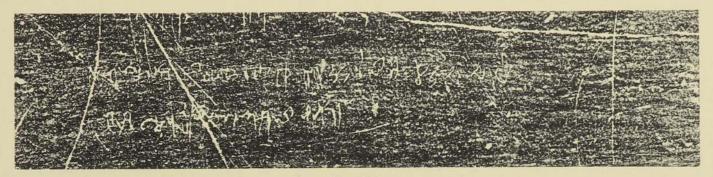
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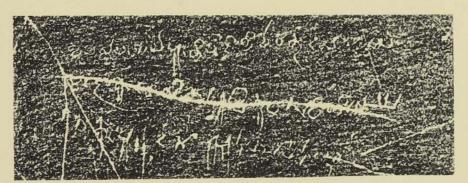
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No. 81



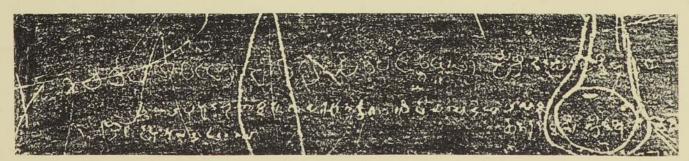
No. 82



No. 83



No. 85



No. 86



No. 88



No. 89



No. 90



No. 91



No. 92



No. 93



No. 94



No. 95



No. 96



No. 97



No. 98



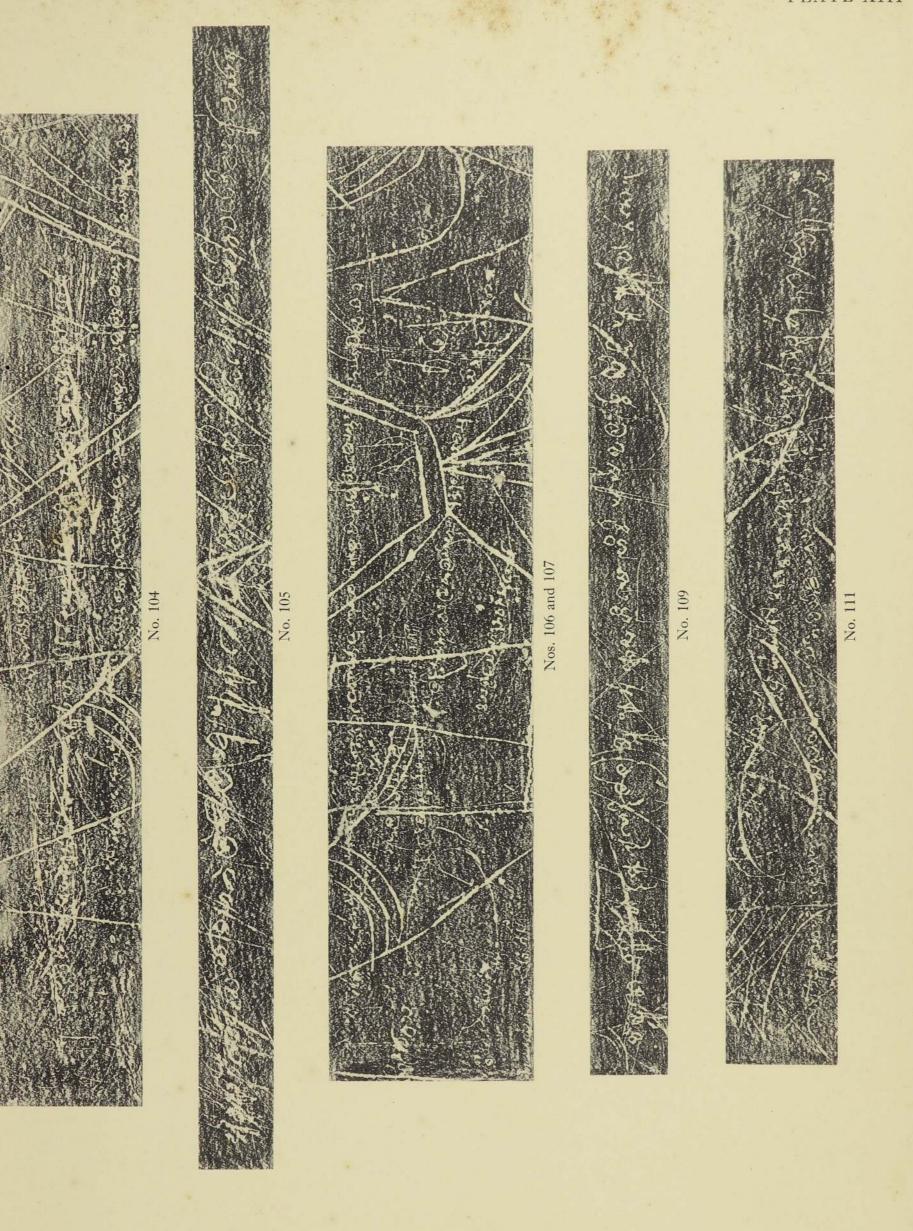
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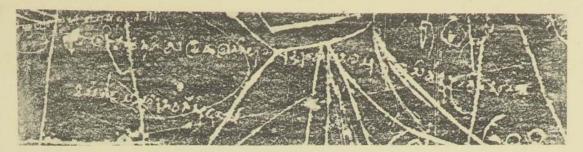
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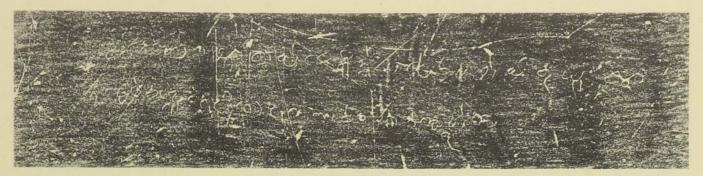
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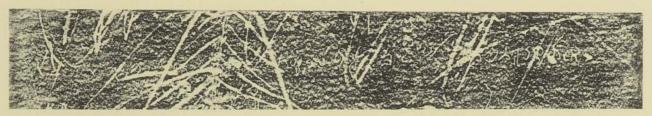
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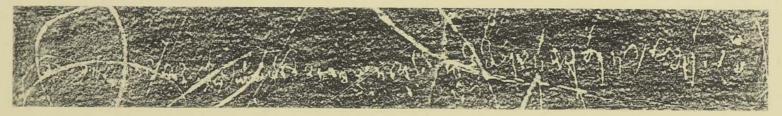
No. 106



No. 108



No. 110



No. 114



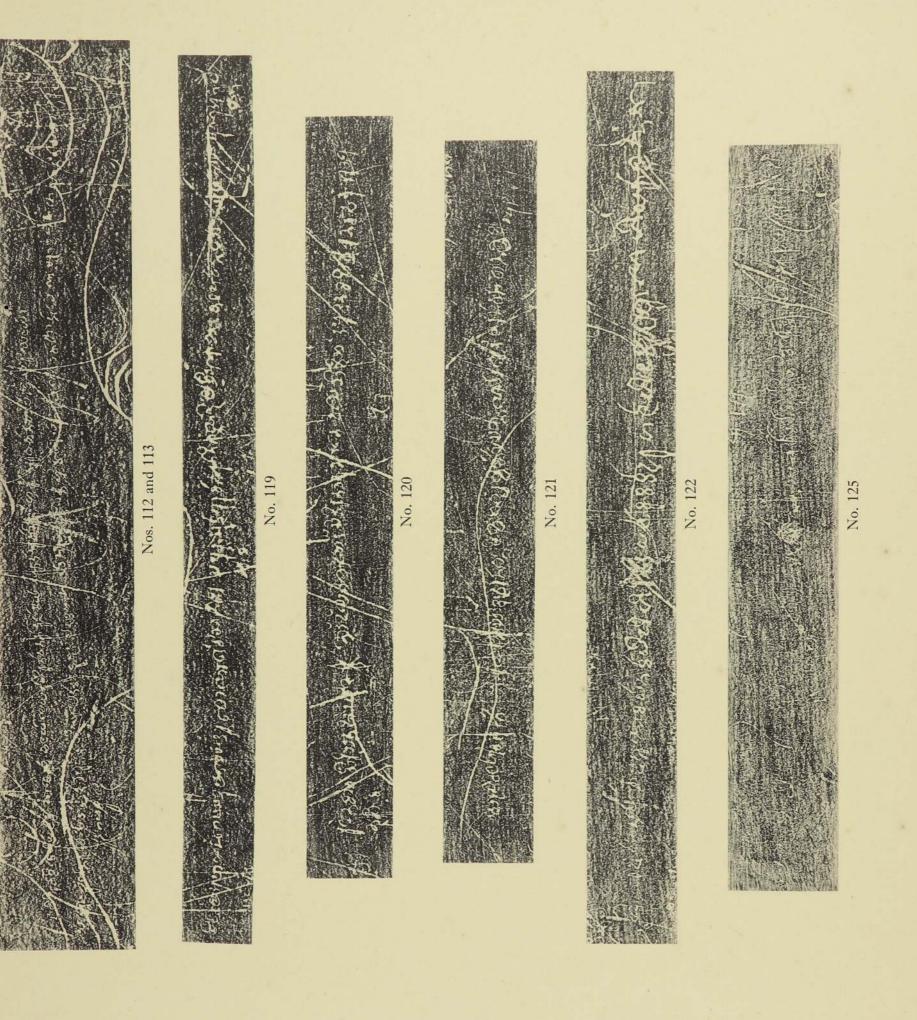
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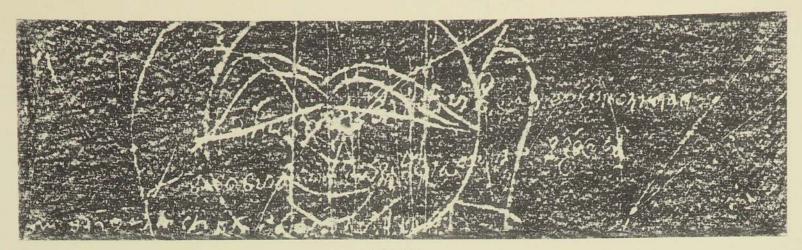


No. 116



No. 117





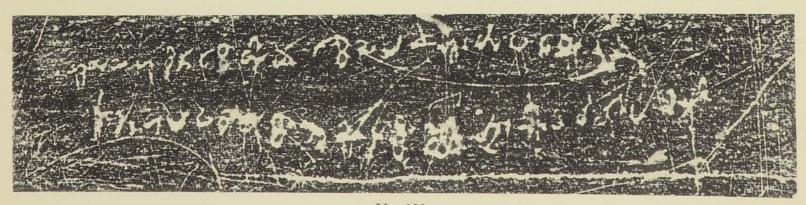
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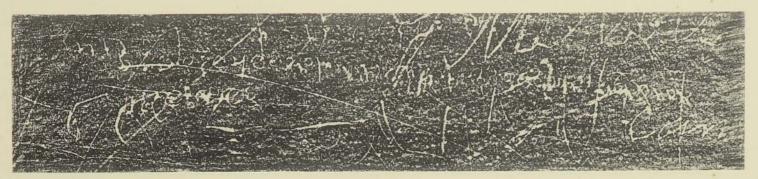
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No. 133



No. 132



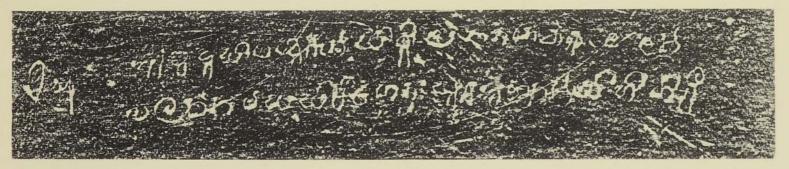
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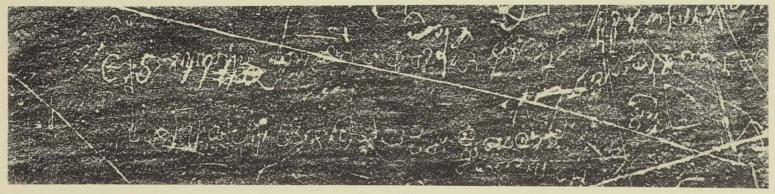
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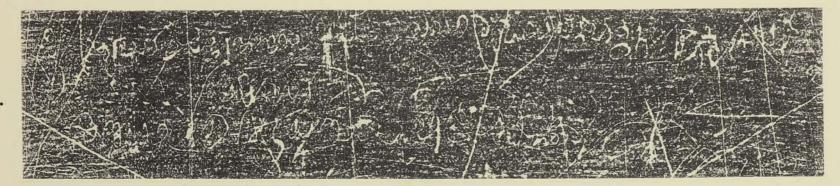
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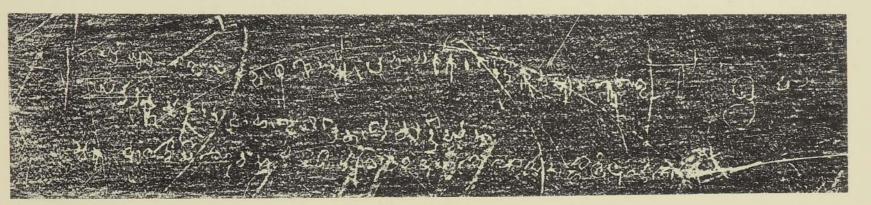
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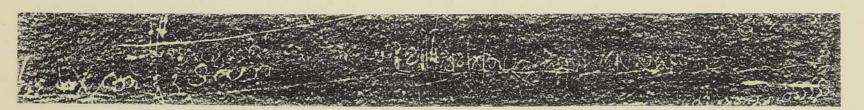
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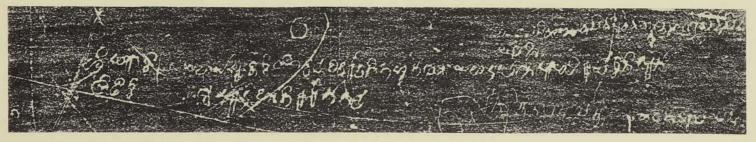
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No. 142



No. 145



No. 146



No. 127



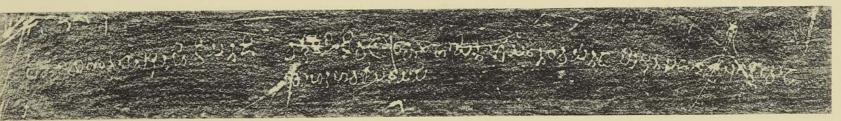
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No. 130



No. 131



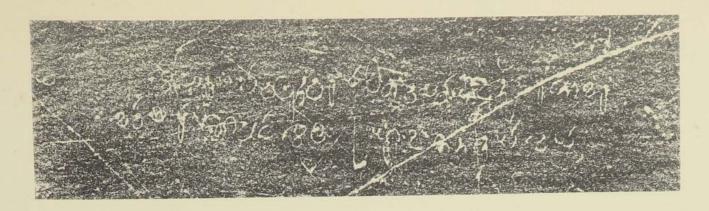
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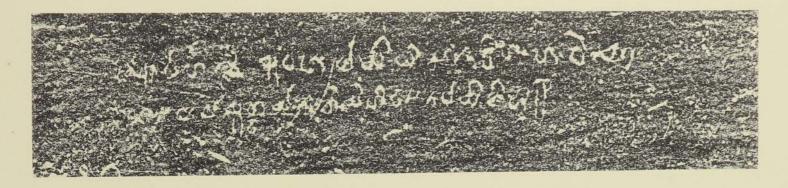
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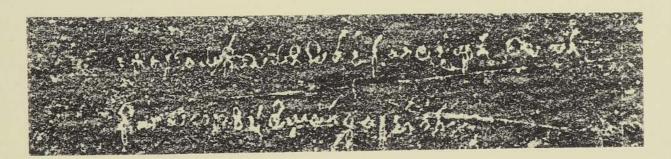
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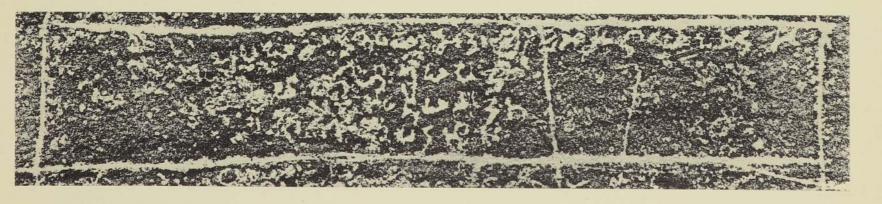
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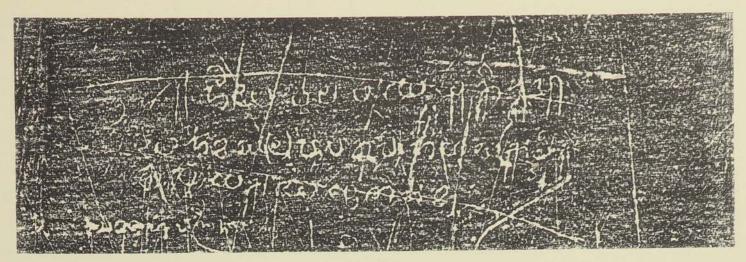
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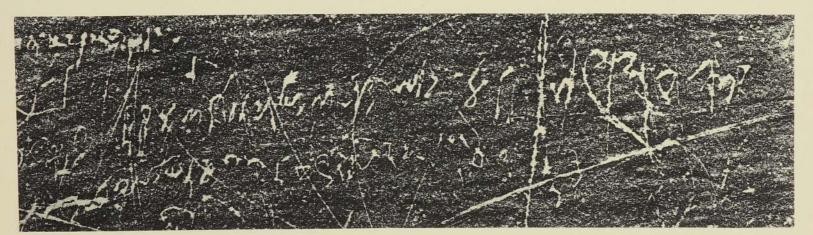
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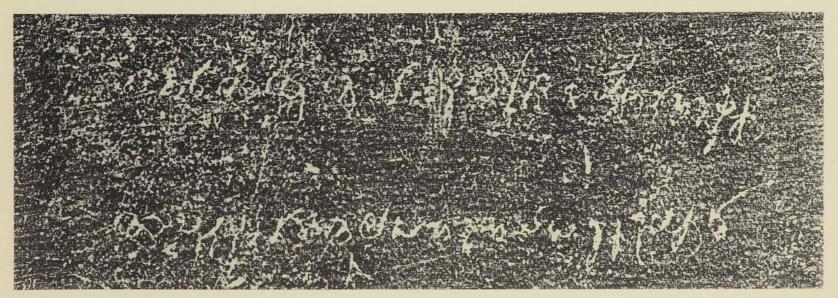
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No. 150



No. 156



No. 191



No. 147



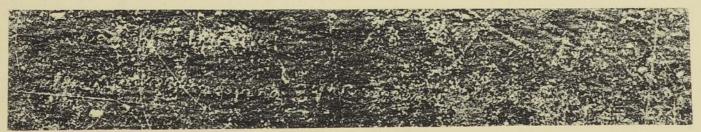
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No. 161



No. 175



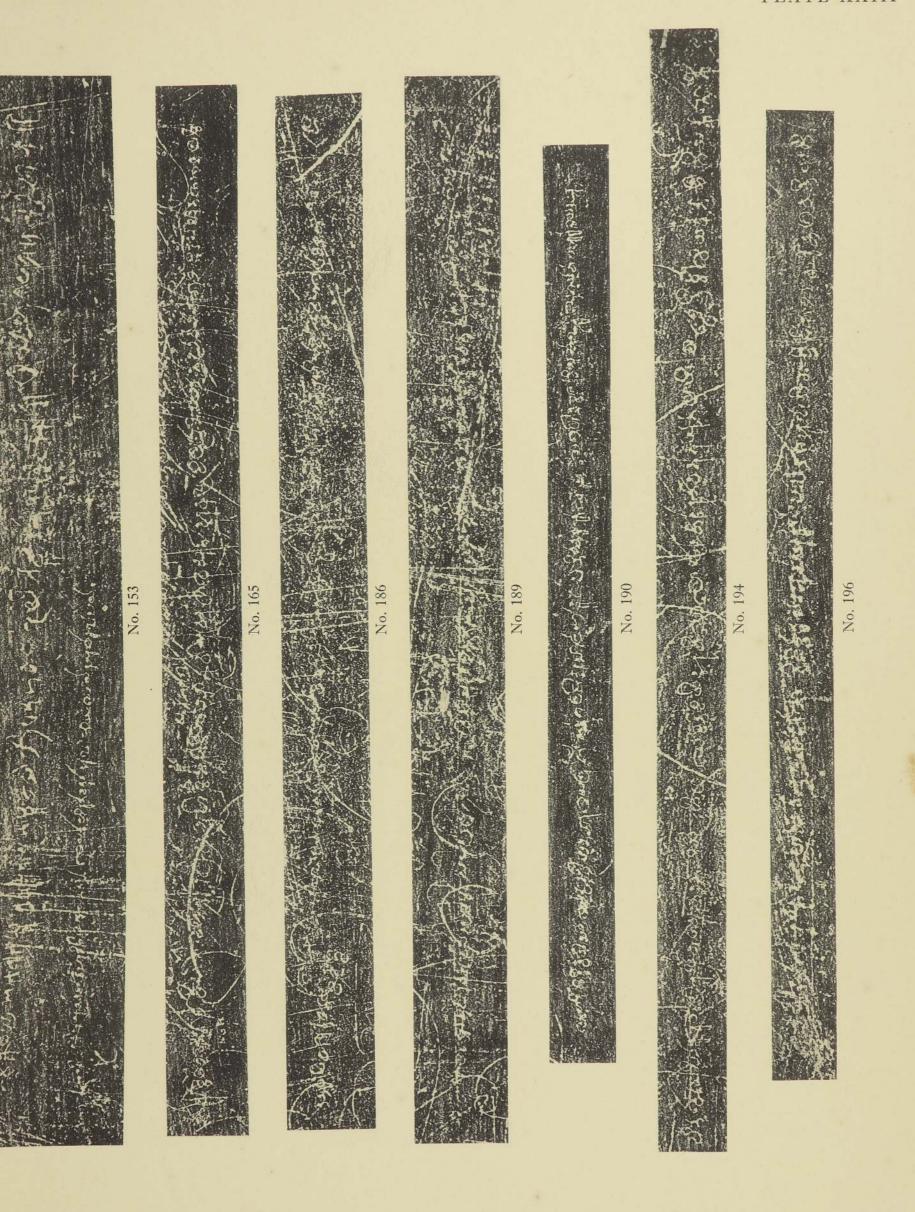
No. 177



No. 178



No. 138





No. 166



No. 169



No. 182



No. 183



No. 187



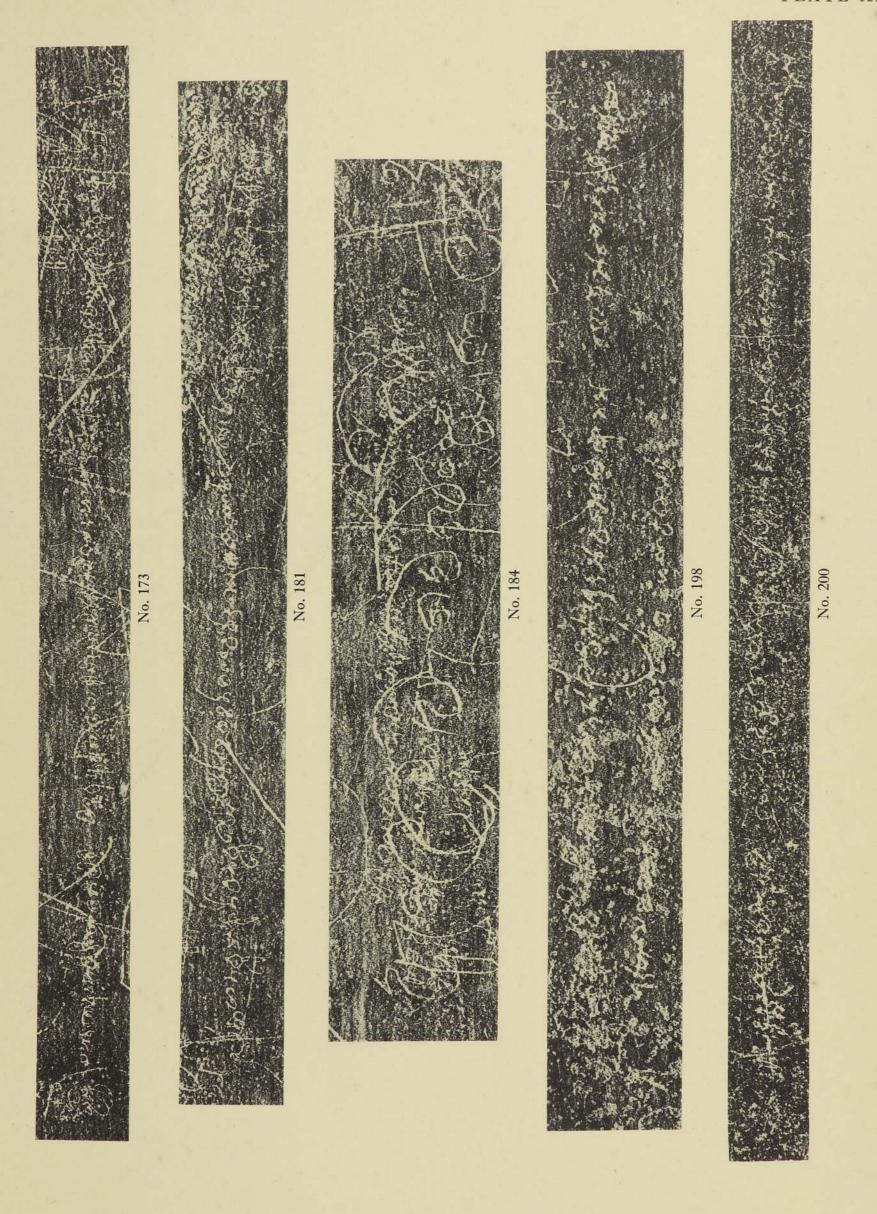
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No. 193

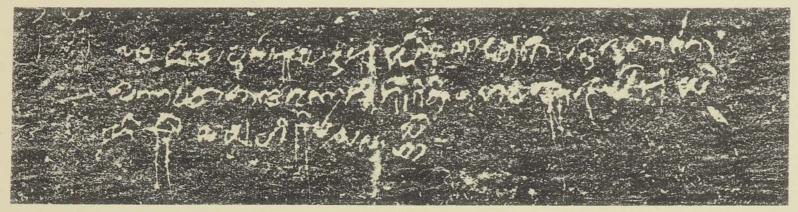


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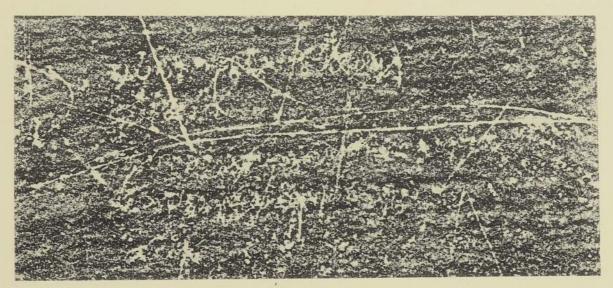




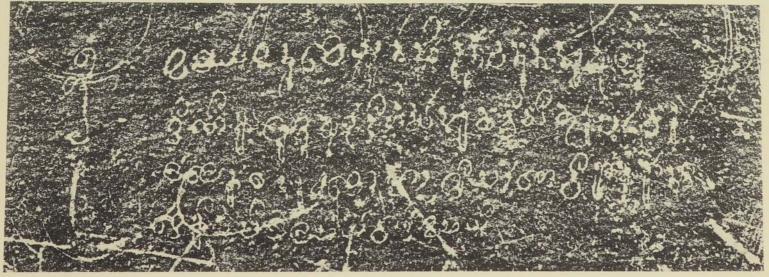
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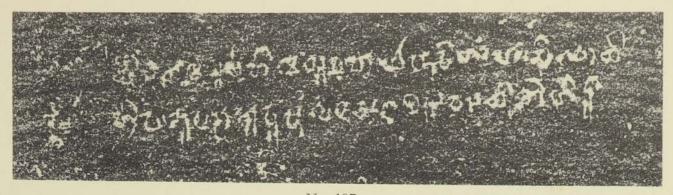
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No. 214



No. 221



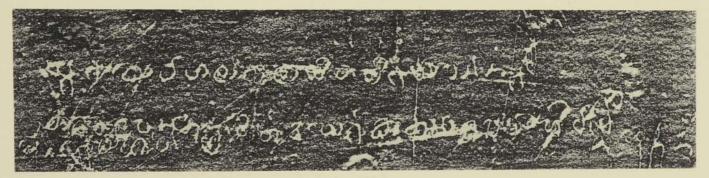
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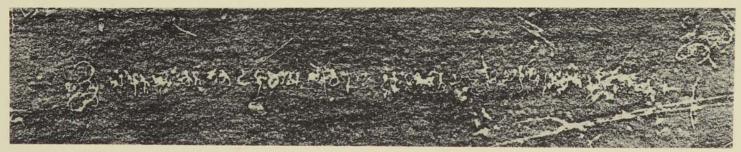
No. 253



No. 256



No. 259



No. 268



No. 224



No. 229



No. 232



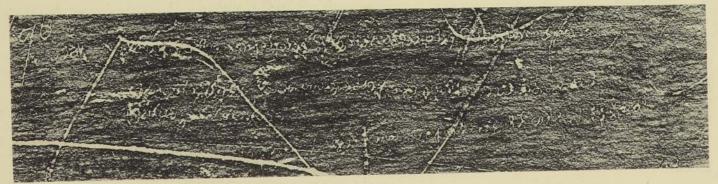
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No. 238



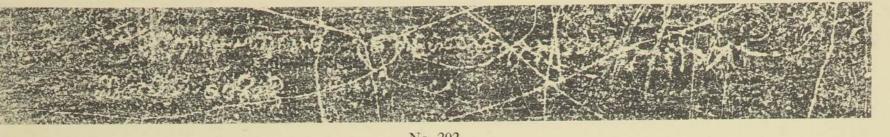
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No. 240



No. 245



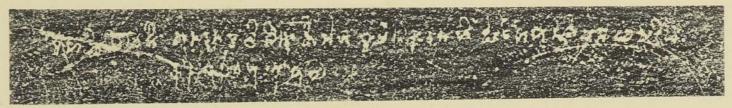
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No. 204



No. 205



No. 209



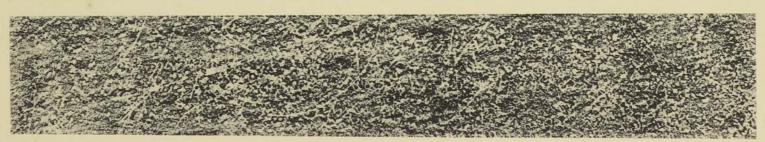
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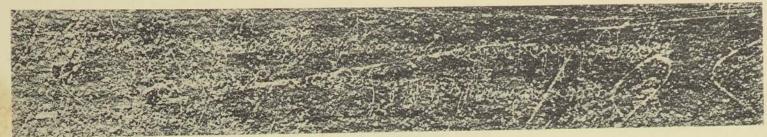
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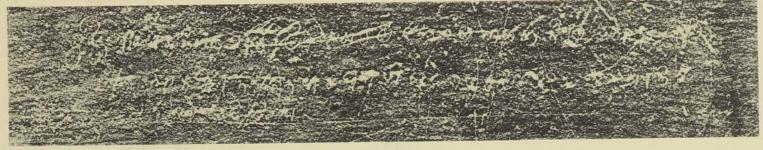
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No. 219



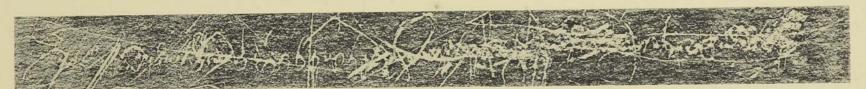
No. 222



No. 223



No. 244



No. 257



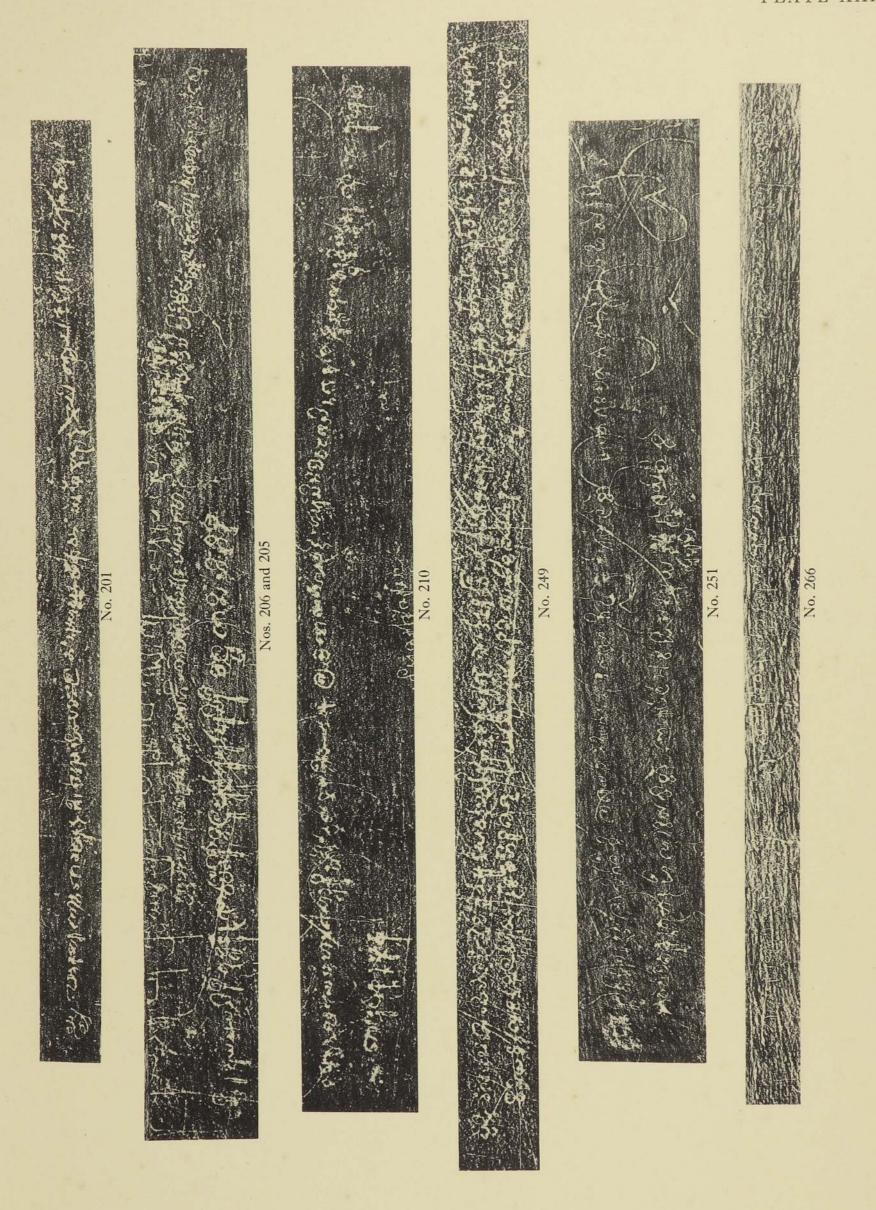
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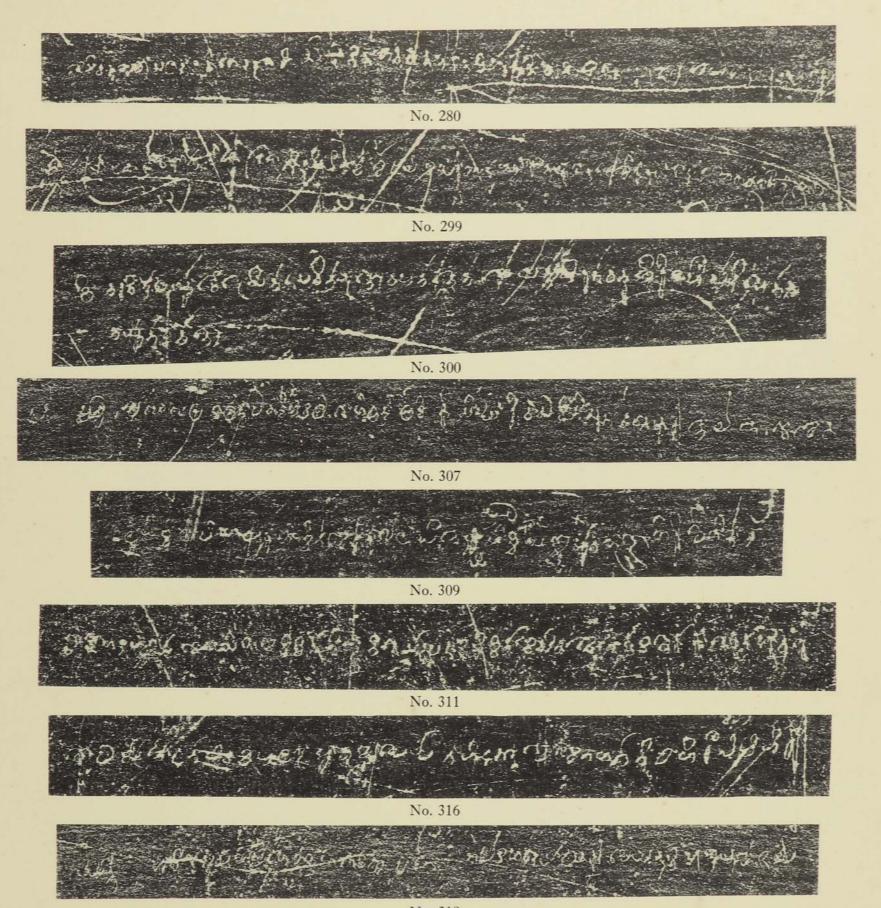
No. 269



No. 271



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No. 318



No. 274



No. 282



No. 286



No. 295



No. 302



No. 320



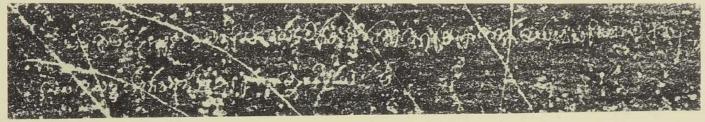
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No. 290



No. 293



No. 301



No. 303



No. 325



No. 327



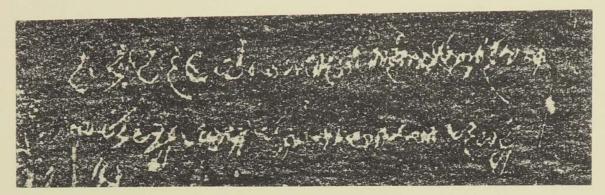
No. 304



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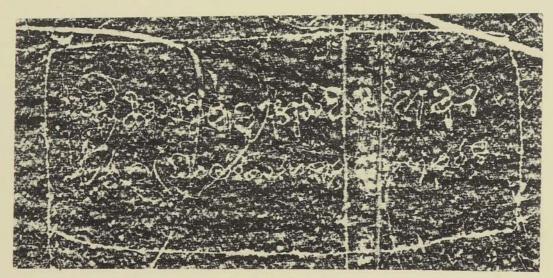
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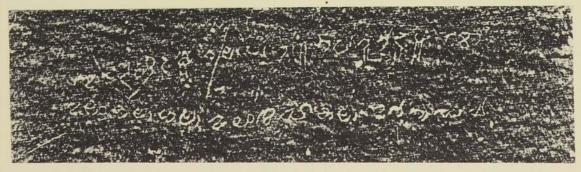
No. 312



No. 321



No. 360



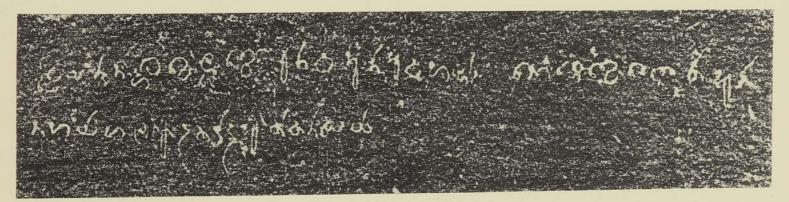
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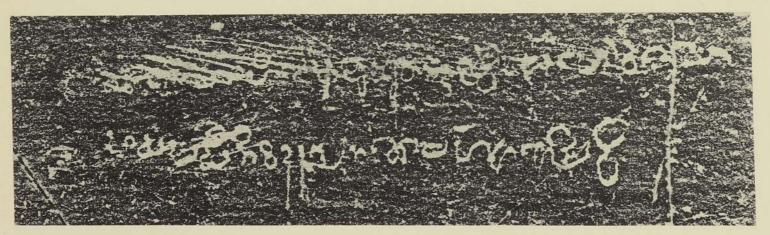
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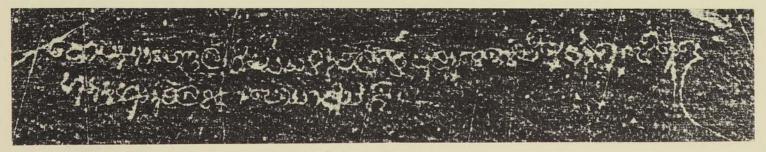
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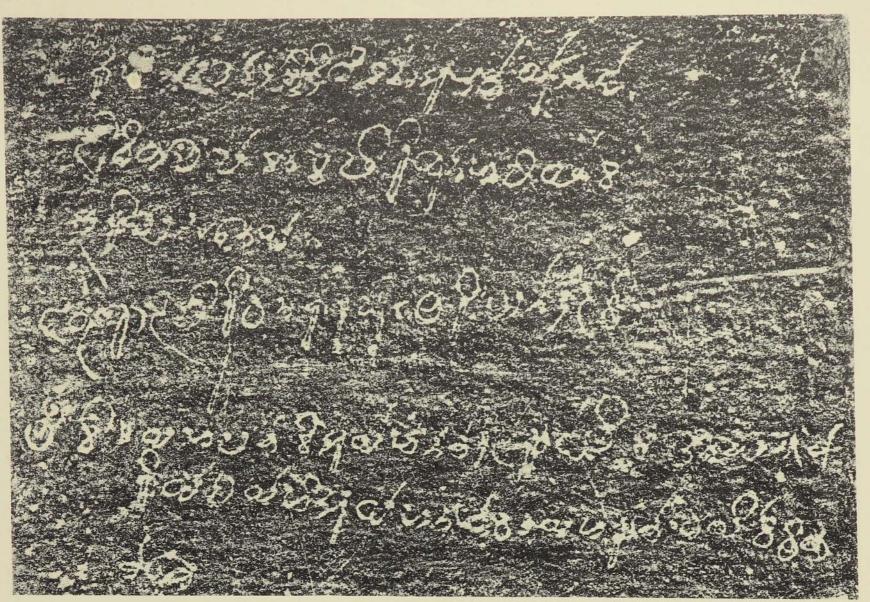
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No. 628



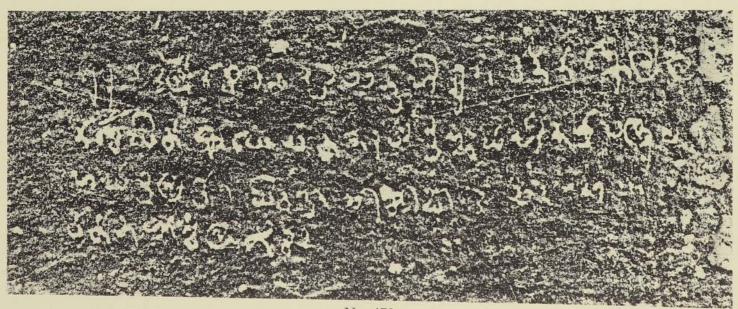
No. 345



No. 463



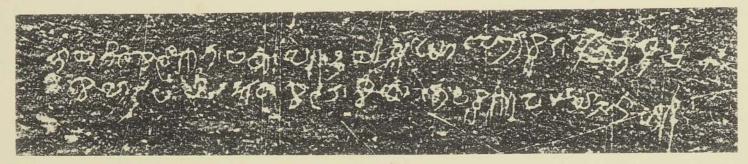
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No. 470



No. 331



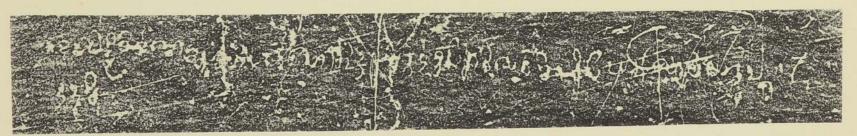
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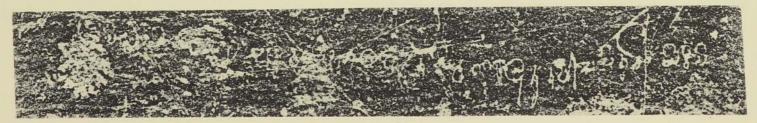
No. 361



No. 393



No. 406



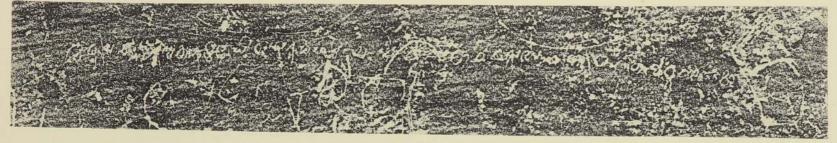
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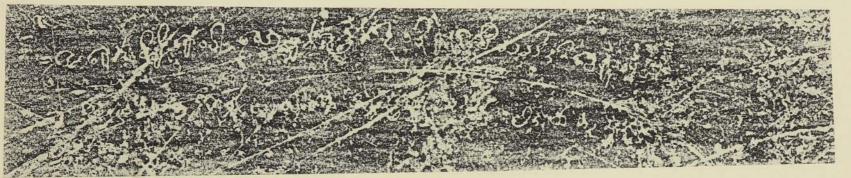
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No. 493



No. 542



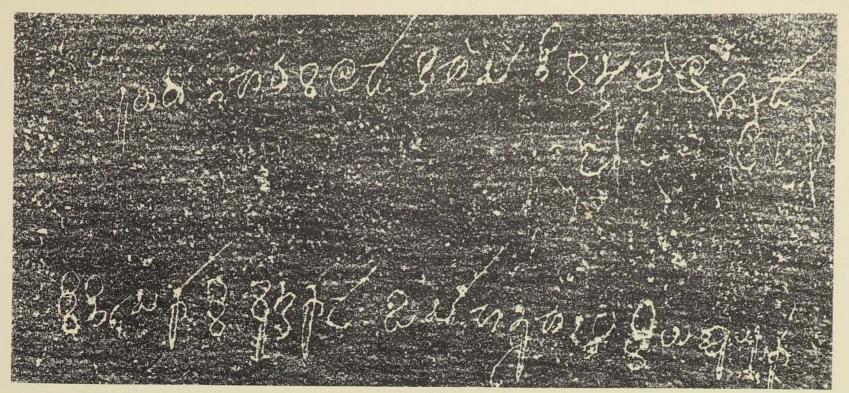
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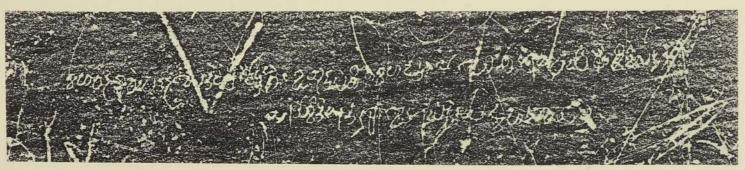
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No. 579



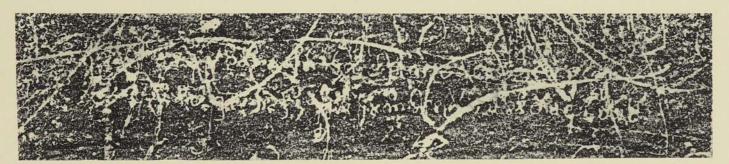
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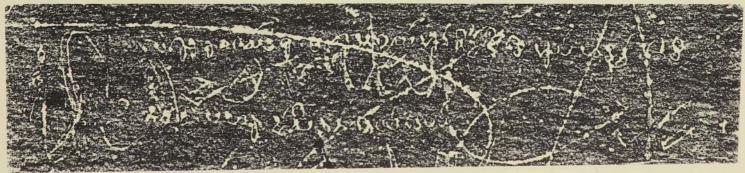
No. 333



No. 532



No. 557



No. 612



No. 314



No. 397



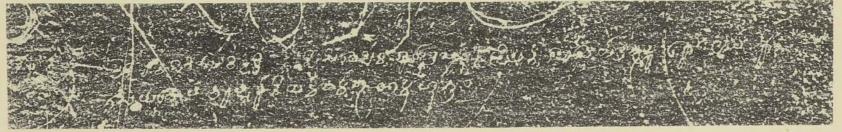
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No. 523



No. 526



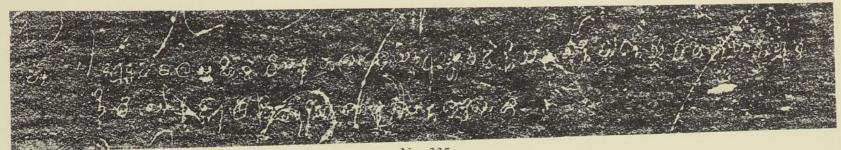
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No. 605



No. 276



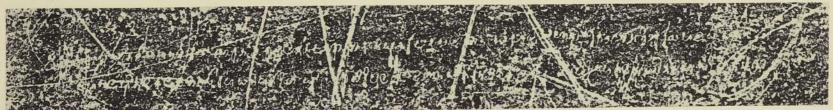
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No. 515



No. 522



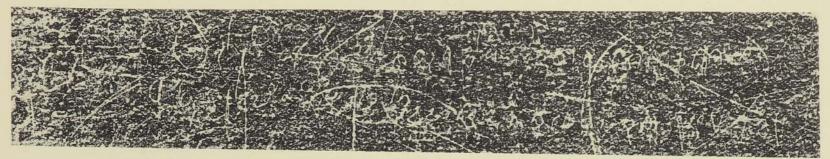
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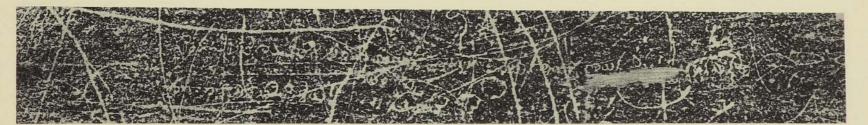
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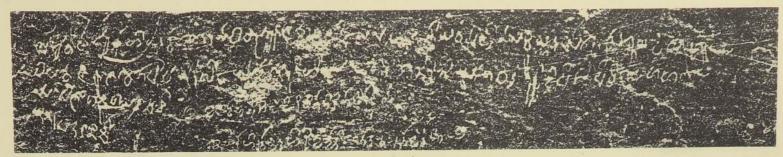
No. 534



No. 569



No. 510



No. 495



No. 527



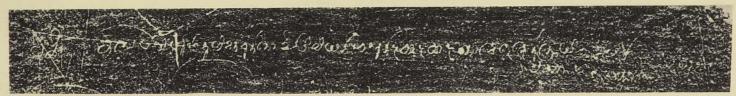
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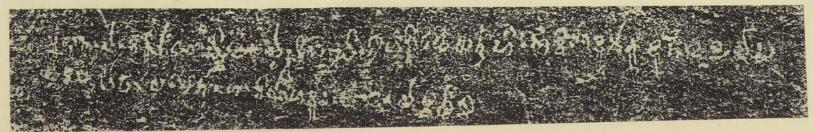
No. 570



No. 585



No. 592



No. 675



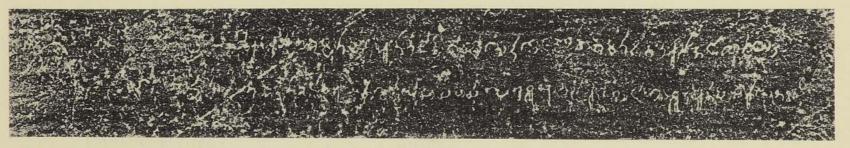
No. 288



Nos. 400 and 401



No. 531



No. 535



No. 484



No. 606



No. 596



No. 575



No. 553



No. 508



No. 370



No. 362



No. 357



No. 356



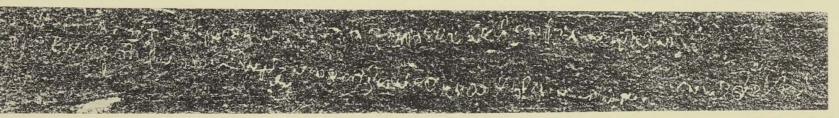
No. 366



No. 506



No. 517



No. 518



No. 530



No. 566



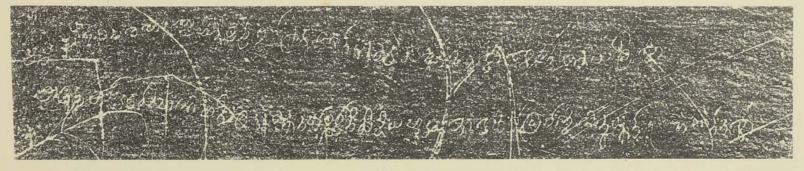
No. 516



No. 369



No. 373



No. 375



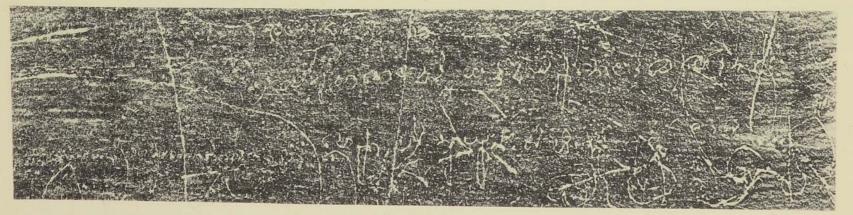
No. 405



No. 410



Nos. 415 and 416



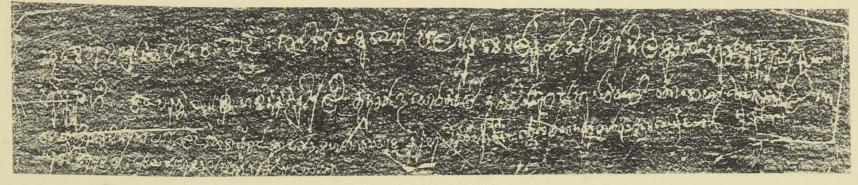
No. 609



No. 250



No. 310



Nos. 337, 338 and 340



No. 392



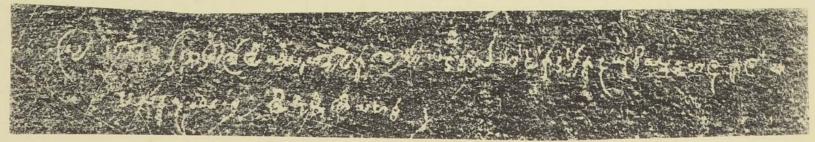
No. 488



No. 578



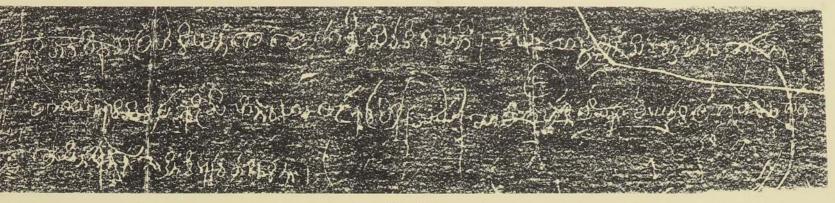
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No. 679



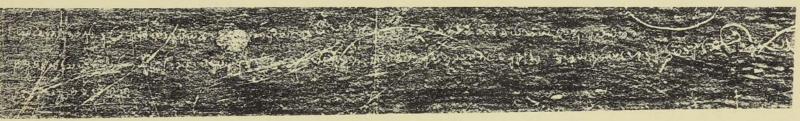
No. 258



No. 350



No. 384



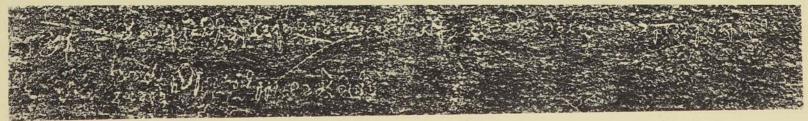
Nos. 394 and 395



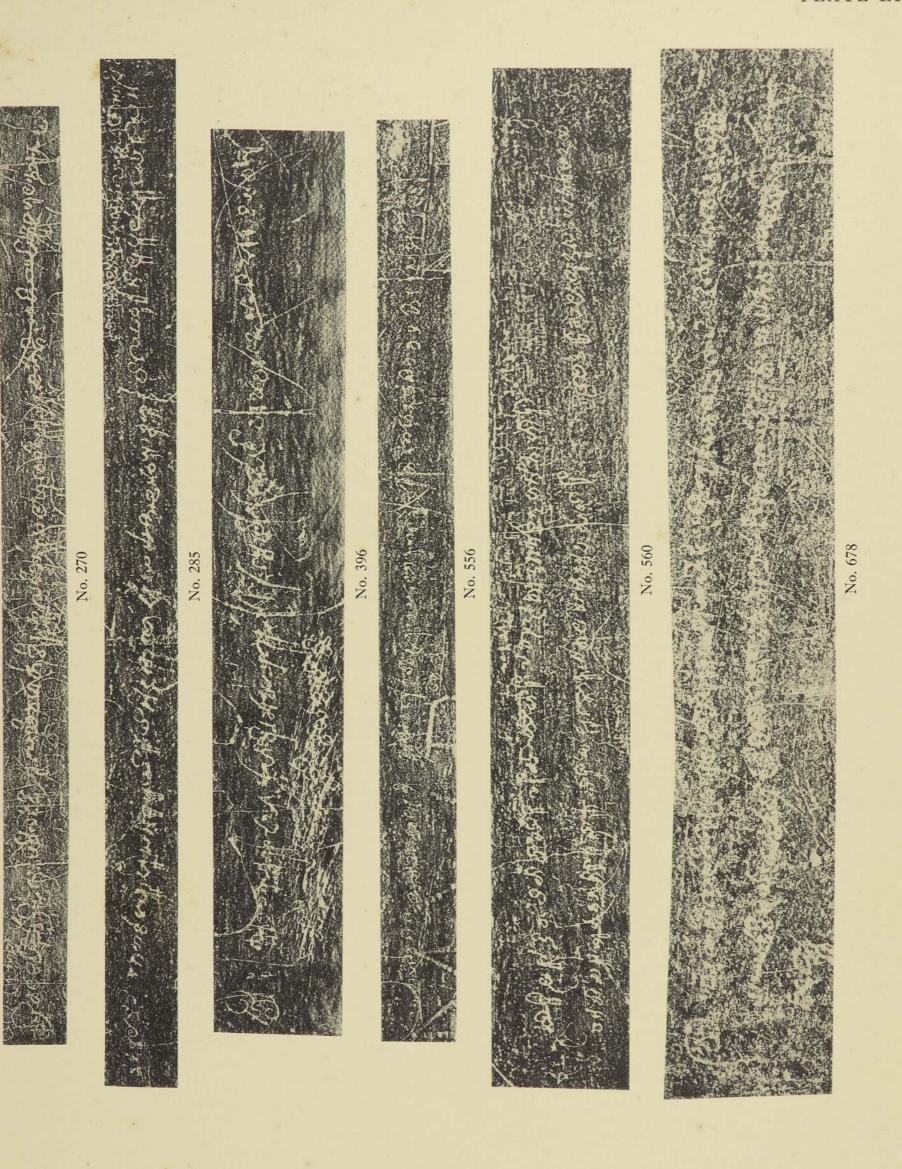
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No. 525



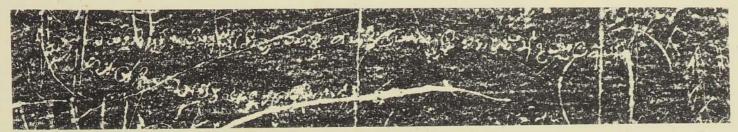
No. 529



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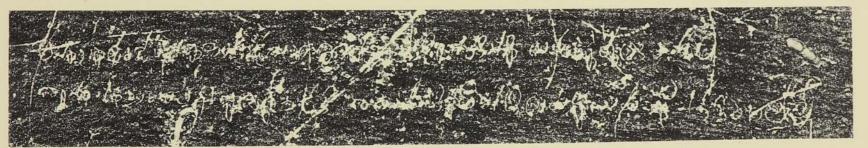
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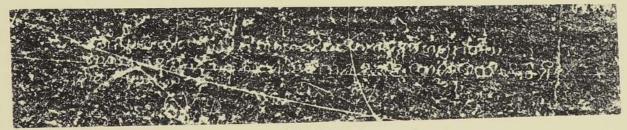
No. 359



No. 365



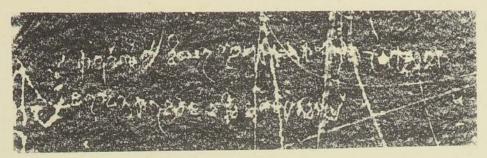
No. 385



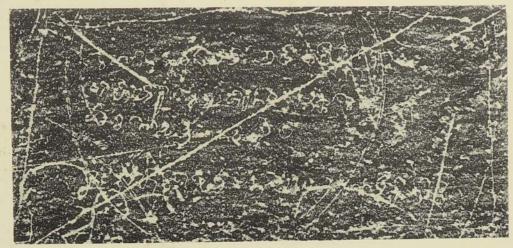
No. 388



No. 424



No. 381



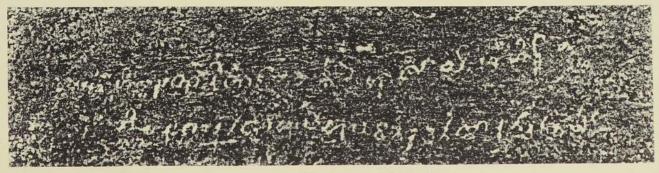
No. 391



No. 413



No. 499



No. 519

