

TENSE AND ASPECT IN THE  
VĒTALAPANCAVINŚATI,  
A WORK OF LATE CLASSICAL SANSKRIT

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**TENSE AND ASPECT**  
**IN THE *VETĀLAPAÑCAVIÑŚATI*,**  
**A WORK OF LATE CLASSICAL SANSKRIT**

**BY**

**© SARAH RANSOM ROSE**

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## ABSTRACT

The loss of many of the finite verbal forms of Sanskrit between the Vedic period (1200-700 B.C.) and the Classical period (400-1700 A.D.) has been well documented (Burrow 1955; Taraporewala 1967; Pap 1990; Masica 1991). By the Classical period, the three finite past tenses, the aorist, perfect and imperfect, had "fallen together" and were being used interchangeably to relate past events (Taraporewala 1967:76; Misra 1968:62; Whitney 1889/1967:201).

This thesis investigated verbal forms of a text of late Classical Sanskrit, the *Vetālapañcaviṅśati*, 'Twenty Five Tales of a Demon', with a view to discovering some of the directions taken in the post-Vedic process of "rebuilding" the verbal system.

Jambhaladatta's version of the *Vetālapañcaviṅśati* was found to contain two systems used to indicate past events: the 'archaic' (including the aorist, imperfect and perfect) and the 'innovative' (including the P-oriented participle *-ta* and the A-oriented participle *-tavat*). The three 'old' tenses showed no significant semantic differences, consistent with their acknowledged "collapse", although the perfect did show a discourse function of indicating "finality". The P-oriented *-ta* participle was used three times as often as the A-oriented *-tavat* participle, indicating that in the 'new' system, the syntactic shift from A- to P-orientation (as in Hock 1986) was well underway.

The Historical Present, consistent with its function in all periods of the language, was heavily used for the "lively" narration of past events, both as a main verb, and as the auxiliary component of analytic forms.

The 'new' system also showed numerous analytic aspectual forms. To indicate imperfective aspect, constructions involving the present participle plus auxiliaries  $\sqrt{sthā}$  'to stand',  $\sqrt{ās}$  'to stay, sit', and  $\sqrt{vīdyate}$  <  $\sqrt{vid}$  'to find' were used extensively. The auxiliary  $\sqrt{vīdyate}$  was noted to be a recategorized middle voice verb, with features of both A- and P-orientation. Retrospective aspect was regularly indicated by constructions involving the PPP combined with the auxiliary  $\sqrt{as}$  'to be'; this construction was especially common in direct speech.

The increase in analytic forms, clearly marked for imperfective aspect, was considered to be a strategy to redress an imbalance in the 'old' system of preterite tenses where imperfective aspect was under represented.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
AB	Āitareya-Brāhmana
ABL	Ablative (case)
ABS	Absolutive
ACC	Accusative (case)
AOR	Aorist (tense)
DAT	Dative (case)
DU	Dual (number)
F	Feminine (gender)
FUT	Future (tense)
GEN	Genitive (case)
GERVE	Gerundive
HP	Historical present
IE	Indo-European
IMPERF	Imperfect (tense)
IMP	Imperative (mood)
INS	Instrumental (case)
LOC	Locative (case)
MS	Māitrāyaṇī-Saṁhitā
M	Masculine (gender)
MIA	Middle Indo-Aryan
MID	Middle (voice)( <i>āmanepada</i> )
N	Neuter (gender)
NP	Narrative Present
OIA	Old Indo-Aryan
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
PI	Plural (number)
PAP	Past Active Participle
PART	Participle (Present, unless otherwise stated)
PASS	Passive
PPP	Past Passive/Perfective Participle
PRT	Particle
PERF	Perfect (tense)
PRES	Present (tense)
QUOT	Quotative Particle
RV	RgVeda
S	Singular (number)
VA	Verbal Adjective

## A NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTION

With apologies to *pandits* who find *any* transliteration of *Devanāgarī* an abomination: *Na hi pūtam syād goksīram śvadntau dhrtam*, 'let not cow's milk be polluted by being put into a dog's skin', below is a clarification of some of the symbols I have used in this thesis.

Because this work involves extensive quotation from Emeneau's edition of the *Vetālapañcaviṅśati*, I have followed the transcription system which he employs (although I acknowledge that this system is not up to date as far as *anusvāra* and the velar nasal are concerned). Thus, retroflex consonants are transcribed with a subscript dot:

t, th, d, dh, n, ṣ

Also transcribed with a subscript dot is the syllabic liquid r:

ṛ (as in *mṛtā*)

and *visarga*

ḥ (as in *gataḥ*)

ś represents the palatal sibilant (as in *veśyā*)

s represents the dental sibilant (as in *sahasā*)

c represents the voiceless palatal affricate (as in *catvārah*)

j represents the voiced palatal affricate (as in *rājā*)

All stops can be aspirated: kh; gh; ch; jh; ṭh; ḍh; th; dh; ph; bh. These aspirated segments are considered single consonants.

The nasal series is transcribed as follows:

velar ñ (as in *Anaṅgasenā*)

palatal ñ (as in *pañca*)

dental n (as in *bhavān*)

bilabial m (as in *mayā*)

Following Emeneau, *anusvāra* is transcribed as an **m** with a **superscript dot** (as in *vanamī*, *samīketasthānam*), whereas nasalization is indicated with an **n** with a superscript dot (as in *prāñās*, or in the title of the work *Vetālapañcaviṅśati*). (See Cardona 1988:xxiii; also Monier-Williams 1899/1993:xxxvi, 1014, who refers to the latter as "true" *anusvāra*.)

The double apostrophe (") is used to indicate the elision of a **long** vowel after a homorganic vowel (long or short) as in *atra āgataḥ asti > atrā "gato 'sti*). When parsing quotations from Emeneau's text, *sandhi* is left intact and not dissolved.

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**Chapter 1**

**INTRODUCTION**

**1. 0 Preamble**

"At some time in the second millennium B.C., probably comparatively early in the millennium, a band or bands of speakers of an Indo-European language, later to be called Sanskrit, entered India over the northwest passages" (Emeneau 1980:85). The descendants of these early invaders provided humanity with its first and, arguably, its most comprehensive and elegant treatise on grammar, a huge corpus of poetry, drama and prose, all composed in a language whose "wonderful structure" has been the passion, delight and challenge of linguists for three thousand years.

Despite Pāṇini's best efforts to maintain the language of the Vedas intact, for that was indeed his express purpose (Mitra 1966:17), 'Sanskrit' did change over the centuries. The language of Late Classical Sanskrit, used in Medieval India during the period in which the *Vetālapañcaviṅśati* was written, has been dubbed variously a "less correct form of Sanskrit", "Prakrit in disguise" (Burrow 1955:354), "simplified" Sanskrit (Murti 1984:57), or even "depraved" (Whitney 1889/1967:xv). The category of the dual had been lost, and the active/middle distinction in voice diathesis had been downgraded to the extent that an Epic poet, in search of a rhyme, could often choose either voice willy-nilly, with no change in



meaning (Paranjape:personal communication).<sup>1</sup> Masica (1991:262) refers to the "almost complete destruction" of the old tense system. The wealth of Vedic (1200-700 B.C.) finite verbal forms (19) had been eroded to a mere nine in the classical (400-1700 A.D.) period. Of these, the three active 'preterite' tenses, the aorist, perfect and imperfect, had "fallen together"<sup>2</sup> and were used interchangeably, with no semantic distinctions (Pap 1990:29; Taraporewala 1967:76; Misra 1968:62; Whitney 1889/1967:201).

This thesis discusses, with specific reference to the *Vetālapañcavirīṣati*, a work of late Classical Sanskrit, certain of the non-finite participial and periphrastic constructions which arose to fill the void left by the loss of the finite preterite tenses. Because the discussion centers on the categories of tense and aspect, a brief definition of these terms is given as introduction and background.

### 1.1 Definition of 'tense', 'aspect' and 'Aktionsart'.

Very few fields of linguistic enquiry generate as much controversy and confusion as the categories of 'tense' and 'aspect'. I assume for the purpose of this work extremely broad

---

1

"Nevertheless", cautions Speijer (1886/1980:237), "the original difference between active and medial is not lost. Not only the grammarians, who have invented the terms *parasmai padam* and *ātmane padam*, but the language itself shows, it is well aware of it." That this is the case will be seen in the discussion of auxiliary verb *vidyate* in §4.

2

This is a *functional* "falling together"; *morphologically*, these categories "remain distinct: ...this is also true for Old Irish and Tocharian, but here the grammarians lump the two together solely on functional grounds as preterites, whereas in Latin and Germanic there is much morphological conflation as well" (Kerns and Schwartz 1972:16).

working definitions of these terms, following the work of Comrie (1976), Dahl (1985), Maslov (1985), and Hewson and Bubenik (1997).

### 1. 1. 1 Tense

Whereas both *tense* and *aspect* refer to the general idea of time, they

give concrete expression to this idea in different ways. Tense meanings express this general idea as a localisation of the action in time, primarily by its orientation in relation to the moment of speech...Tense meanings are essentially deictic, concerned with orientation in time (Maslov 1985:2-3).

Depending on language specific divisions of 'time', tense systems can be ternary, the "commonest" according to Comrie (1976:2), dividing 'time' into past, present and future, (such as Latin or French) or binary, dividing 'time' into past and non-past, which latter category includes, as in English, both present and future (Sweet 1892). Many Bantu languages divide the 'basic' time frames yet again into *degrees* of 'past-ness' or 'future-ness': KiSukuma, a Bantu language of the Southern Lake Victoria Region<sup>3</sup>, distinguishes a near, middle and far past:

Far Past	Middle Past	Near Past
ḍṣágṣlā	ḍṣàgólilē	ḍṣàgólāgā <sup>4</sup>
'We bought'	'We bought'	'We just bought'
(many years ago)	(just a few days ago)	(a few hours ago)

---

<sup>3</sup>

With over 2,000,000 speakers, making it the largest in Tanzania (Nurse:personal communication).

<sup>4</sup>

Data from Balla Masele.

### 1. 1. 2 Aspect

Aspect, on the other hand, does not have a deictic or localising function. It refers not to an *external* temporal designation, but rather to a description of the *internal* constitution of an event: in broad terms whether the event is ongoing (progressive or **imperfective** aspect) either in the past, present or future, (i.e., **He was writing** a letter when I entered; **While cutting** his toenails, he answers the phone; She **will be sewing** when you arrive) or completed (perfective aspect), again, regardless of the 'time' frame: (i.e., **Having written** the letter, he left/leaves/will leave the building)(Sweet 1892:101). The distinction between these two types of action is conceptualized both by Saussure (1916/1959:117) and by Murti (1984: 264) in terms of 'point' (perfective) as opposed to 'line' (imperfective). Others try to capture the distinction by the use of film metaphors: "perfectives photograph, while imperfectives film" (Poldauf and Šprunk 1968:213, quoted in Chatterjee 1988:23).

There is a third important type of aspect, to be discussed at greater length in Chapter Five, §5.1.1-2, which Comrie refers to as Perfect, but which, in order to avoid confusion between Perfect and Perfective, I will henceforward refer to as retrospective, after Hewson and Bubenik (1997:14). Unlike the other two aspects which we have mentioned, the retrospective "tells us nothing directly about the situation in itself, but rather relates some state to a preceding situation...[it] indicates the continuing present relevance of a past situation" (Comrie 1976:52). The retrospective is most naturally translated by an English perfect, or a

stative present<sup>5</sup>. Thus we have the three-way opposition, familiar from those IE languages which distinguish imperfect, aorist and perfect (such as Ancient Greek):

IMPERFECTIVE:	(imperfect)	égraphon tèn epistolèn	'I <b>was writing</b> the letter.'
PERFECTIVE:	(aorist)	égrapsa tèn epistolèn	'I <b>wrote</b> the letter.'
RETROSPECTIVE:	(perfect)	gégrapha tèn epistolèn	'I <b>have written</b> the letter.'

(See Hewson and Bubenik 1997:33).

There is, Comrie notes (1976:63-4) "a more natural relationship between perfect [retrospective] and perfective than between perfect [retrospective] and imperfective...[it] looks at a situation in terms of its consequence, and, while it is possible for an incomplete situation to have consequences, much more likely that consequences will be consequences of a situation that has been brought to completion."

Whereas a verbal form may carry only **one** tense marking (may, of necessity refer to only **one** time frame), it may be marked for **several** aspects (may view the internal constituency of the actions in several ways **simultaneously**). Green refers (1987:262) to the "bewildering array of progressive aspect forms" found in this example from a Spanish newspaper:

*el buque ha estado siendo construido* 'the ship has been being built'

Morphosyntactically, aspect may be either:

---

5

Compare Swahili, where the prefix *-me-* marks retrospective aspect. The statement *a-me-choka* may be translated literally as 'He has got tired' or, 'He is tired' (Stative). Similarly: *a-me-fika*, 'He has come/arrived' or, 'He is here.'

i. synthetic, "where there is only a single word which has both tense and aspect, the latter being marked by suffixation, as in Classical Latin" (Hewson and Bubenik 1997:14), where, for instance, the *-v-* (phonological *:-u-*) in such forms as *amāvī amāveram, amāverō* marks retrospective aspect, or :

ii. analytic, "where there is an auxiliary which carries the tense marker, to which the lexical verb (in an appropriate aspectual form) is dependent, as in English *I have spoken*." (Hewson and Bubenik 1997:14).<sup>7</sup>

Scholars debate the historical primacy of tense and/or aspect, with Szemerényi (1969: 169) taking the self-admittedly "unorthodox" view that "the earliest opposition in (P)IE was between present and preterite, and therefore aspect arose secondarily". Kuryłowicz (1964: 130ff) represents the more commonly accepted opinion: "The Indo-European verbal system was based on the contrast of aspects. Expression of tense was notoriously posterior to this opposition." More of this will be said below (§1.4).

Finally, we may note that aspectual distinctions are perceived by many scholars as being more fundamental and basic to a system of verbal representation than are those of tense: Givón (1982) notes that several languages, such as Biblical Hebrew and Creoles, get along quite well with *only* aspectual distinctions. Some authors (Masica 1991:262) have suggested

---

<sup>7</sup>

There is much cross-lingual evidence that synchronically synthetic forms *were* once analytic: i.e., developed from what was originally a parataxis of independent morphemes via processes of phonological decay and subsequent cliticization. (See Moshi (1994:129) for evidence from KiVunjo-Chaga; Givón (1971,1982); also see chapter 5, §5.1.2 for evidence from Sanskrit and Māhārāṣṭrī.)

that this primacy may be reflected iconically in the relative positioning of morphological markers, with aspect markers closer to the root of the finite verb than are the (often peripheral) markers indicating tense. This remains an area of possible further research.

### 1. 1. 3 *Aktionsart*

A third category of what Rohrer (1977:3) calls "*die zentralen Kategorien des Verbs*" is *Aktionsart* - a German word meaning, literally, 'action-type'. I follow Comrie (1976:70) in considering *Aktionsart* to be primarily a lexical, as opposed to a grammatical, phenomenon. Some verbs, for example, are *inherently* perfective or imperfective, their grammatical category determined by "the kind of event that is represented by the lexeme" (Hewson and Bubenik 1997:16). Thus, such verbs as 'drink', 'talk' or 'carry' have typically imperfective *Aktionsart*, whereas verbs such as 'give', 'be born', 'score' are, by the nature of the events they describe, typically perfective. The two categories interact so extensively, however, that "there is no accepted demonstration of a borderline between aspect and *Aktionsart*" (Chatterjee 1988:25; see also Lyons 1977, Volume II:706)

### 1. 1. 4 Tense, Aspect and *Aktionsart* in Sanskrit

Classical Sanskrit, like Latin, followed a ternary division of 'time' into: present (Latin *praesens* 'being before' our eyes; Sanskrit *vartamāna-kāla* 'existing-time'), past (*praeteritum* 'gone by'; Sanskrit *bhūta-kāla* 'been-time') or future (*futurum* 'that which is to be'; Sanskrit *bhaviṣyat-kāla* 'to be-time'). Which of the three time frames is being referred to is clearly

marked on Sanskrit finite verbs by means of inflectional affixes. For example,

PRESENT	<i>rāmaḥ kṛtām karoti</i>	'Rāma <b>makes</b> a mat.'
PAST	<i>rāmaḥ kṛtām akarot/cakāra/akārṣī</i>	'Rāma <b>made</b> a mat.'
	imperfect/perfect/aorist	
FUTURE	<i>rāmaḥ kṛtām karisyati</i>	'Rāma <b>will make</b> a mat.'

Whereas in the Classical language, a preterite event could be described indiscriminately by the use of any of the 'past tenses' (as in the examples above), in the Vedic language (as will be discussed in Chapter 2) the three past tenses indicated, according to Pāṇini (to be discussed in Chapter 2), and much as in the Bantu data above, **degrees** of past time. Beginning in the Late Vedic period and continuing with increasing frequency into the later language, such as will be seen in my corpus, past events were described by the use of non-finite forms, such as the participles in *-ta* and *-tavat*. This was indeed their traditional function, as indicated by Pāṇini (1.1.26), who describes the suffixes *-ta* and *-tavat* as *nisthā* (*bhūte*) "occurring after a verbal root when the action denoted is in the past" (3.2.102).

According to some scholars, the participle in *-ta*, discussed extensively below (§1.2.1) and in Chapter 4, was **originally** used for indicating not preterite *tense* but perfective and retrospective *aspect*. Anderson (1977) considers this participle with a "clear perfective sense" to have been the source of the IA ergative construction. This is also the contention of Trask (1979), discussed below. Although scholars are strongly divided on the nature of the *-ta* participle, all agree on its typological importance. Several of the more significant of these differing theoretical perspectives are discussed briefly below.

## 1. 2 Typological Effects of the Loss of the Preterite Tenses

The loss of the three active preterite tenses had a profound effect on the typology of the language:

When a language loses...an inflected perfect, it is plausible to suggest that the scope of the original passive may expand to fill the gap...In the case of the perfect, the periphrastic form which was employed was that based on the verbal adjective or participle in *-ta*. The adjectival sense of this form is quite close to the sense of a perfective;...in the case of the intransitive verb, the corresponding adjectival form in *-ta* has simply this perfective sense...In the case of a transitive verb, the adjectival form is passive...[and]...could be accompanied by a complement in the instrumental...from the earliest attested period of the language (Anderson 1977:332).

### 1. 2. 1 Verbal Adjectives in *-ta* and *-na*

These verbal adjectives, which, as Bloch (1965:253) notes had a long history of being employed as active perfects, provided "just the right morphological characteristics for an ergative pattern, but of course in Sanskrit the construction is a derived passive one" whose derivational relationship has become "opaque" because the corresponding active forms have "atrophied" and, consequently, "there ceases to be any reason not simply to treat the (original) passive directly as an active form, albeit with complex morphology" (Anderson 1977:336). It is this passive "ancestry", as Masica notes (1991:341), which accounts for many of the form's characteristics in daughter languages such as: "verb agreement (with the Patient in Hindi and the languages west of it),...the special marking of the Agent (a vestige of the old Instrumental.), and restriction to the Perfective."

Thus we get a pattern of so-called "split ergativity" (as described by, among others,



Comrie 1978:351; Andersen 1991:102; Klaiman 1991:129; Estival and Myhill 1988:478). 'Non-perfective' tenses, as Masica (1991:343) notes, maintain their nominative/accusative case marking. This is consistent with Dixon's (1979:95) observation that "...the ergative marking is ALWAYS found either in past tense or in perfect aspect." As Trask notes (1979:395 and references therein), it is a short jump from perfect(ive) **aspect** to past **tense**: "the development of a perfective aspect into a past tense is a natural one which is widely attested." However, to call this form a "past tense" (though many have done so), is, according to Masica (1991:289,341) "inaccurate":

... "Simple" Perfectives may usually refer to the past, because what is completed (or more exactly, can be "viewed as a whole") is usually past, but they are not *specified* as Past.

Thus, he goes on to say, although this form: "may be marked for Aspect (or unmarked altogether), it is unmarked (=unspecified) for Tense."

Not all scholars accept the interpretation of the participle in *-ta* as passive, however. Debrunner (1954) notes that the lack of voice contrast in the *-ta* participle construction allows either an active reading (*pāah-*'having drunk') or a passive one (*pāah-*'having been drunk'). Furthermore, because the participle is formed directly from the root, and not from a tense stem, as are other participles, it can have either past or present tense value.<sup>8</sup>

Klaiman (1978) insists that the various theories, such as those of Comrie (1978), and Anderson (1977) described above, all of which consider the *-ta* participle to have been the

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<sup>8</sup> However, it must be noted that this "present tense" value would be a retrospective present: a present situation which results from a previous activity.

passive source of the IA ergative construction, have it all "backwards". The *-ta* participle, she claims, was always ergative, not passive. Furthermore "the finite passive arose in part due to the prior existence of an ergative construction, not the other way around" (Klaiman 1978:205). An ergative language, according to Dixon (1979), treats an intransitive subject in a manner identical to a transitive object, and differently from a transitive subject. Under this criterion, only the *-ta* participle, Klaiman (1978:206) insists, and not the finite passive in *-ya* can be properly identified as 'ergative':

the *-ta* participle indexes intransitive subject and transitive patient; however, it does not typically index transitive agent...On the other hand, the *-ya*-construction indexes transitive patient...but not transitive agent...or intransitive subject.

Anticipating counter-arguments that it is impossible for a language of a nominative/accusative typology to be called ergative, she insists that Sanskrit has from the beginning contained an "ergative subpart", the only difference being the frequency with which this type of construction occurs at various stages of the language:

Whereas in early Old IA...the ergative past participial construction is an optional and minor pattern, by Middle IA...it became the past tense construction par excellence, leading to its use as a base of the past tense in New IA...(Klaiman 1978:207).

Hock (1986) insists that neither the passive-origin theory, such as espoused by Anderson, nor Klaiman's ergative-origin hypothesis is "fully adequate"; rather, he says (1986:25) that, "the modern ergative constructions reflect BOTH OLDER ERGATIVES AND OLDER PASSIVES" (emphasis in the original). Although he considers Klaiman's analysis "on the right track", he

disagrees that the passive was an innovation. Of the three P(atient)-oriented constructions which he discusses--the *-ta* participle, the *-ya* passive, and the gerundive--he considers only the latter an innovation (although "firmly established even in Early Vedic"), with the other two being both "of IE origin".

The two non-finite members of the P-oriented triad also agree in permitting not only the instrumental but genitive as agent case (see below), and, in the early language, dative for the gerundive.

Although in the earlier stages, the three constructions showed strong **potential** for divergent behaviour, subsequent developments resulted in the opposite effect: by the time of Vedic prose, the dative disappears in its agent-marking capacity with gerundives, and the instrumental wins out over the genitive as the case of choice for agent marking. Also at this stage, both the passive and the gerundive develop an "impersonal" type of construction, with the gerundives in the vanguard of that development. Agent demotion in passives, Hock suggests, is a secondary generalization of demotions of this type.

Thus, in Vedic prose, a clear convergence in syntactic behaviour between the two non-finite constructions and the finite passive may be observed. The *-ta* participle, closer in syntactic behaviour to the finite passives, became in the Classical language (during the MIA period) the unmarked past tense, with the passive (and gerundive) being reserved for more "specialized functions", such as indicating deference and polite intercourse. The *-ta* participle also eventually ousted its active (A-oriented) counterpart, the participle in *-tavanti*, as the past tense of choice.

The triad also converged in another crucial syntactic change: Hock notes that, in the later language, from Vedic prose on, a major typological switch took place from subject-oriented syntax to agent-oriented syntax. This switch had repercussions in both word order and in changing patterns of control of absolutes, which will be significant for our description of the auxiliary *vidyate*, itself a form in transition from an original passive sense ('is found') to a copular sense as a recategorized middle ('is/exists'). Its surface subject, which controls absolute formation, has properties of **both** agent and patient.

Bubenik (1995) maintains, very much in keeping with current cognitive linguistic theory, that it is impossible to appreciate the meaning, function and significance of the *-ta* participle at any stage of the language, and its relationship to other forms, without considering its place in the **system** of verbal contrasts.

The "optionality" of the use of the participial construction (*tena kṛtām*) in the early language is a consequence of there being many other strategies for expressing past perfective events: by an active construction using the asigmatic or sigmatic aorist, *ākaraṭ*, or *ākāṛṣṭī*, 'he made', or the perfect *cakāra* 'he has made', or by a finite passive construction using the aorist *ākāri* 'it was made' or a perfect *cakre* 'it has been made'. Typological changes, however, such as the gradual disappearance of the active finite forms for the expression of past events, had profound effects on the systemic value of the *-ta* participle and its increased use.

Like Hock, Bubenik sees the *-ta* participle as possessing features of both passive and ergative construction: which feature may be described as predominant depends always upon what systemic contrasts the language possesses at any given stage. He agrees with Hock's

(1986:25) judgment that it is the critical shared feature of "P-orientation" which is important, not the issue of whether a construction is viewed as ergative or passive. As long as there is no *morphological* contrast between the ergative and the passive construction, nothing is gained by calling the "passive" construction with *kr̥tā* (*tena kr̥tām* 'done by him') in Vedic Sanskrit (OIA) ergative. Both Vedic (and Classical) Sanskrit were of nominative/accusative typology (not ergative/absolutive). As long as the finite forms of the active aorist and perfect were available, the construction with *kr̥tā* was clearly passive:

- (1) *yēnemā viśvā cyāvanā kr̥tāni* (passive)  
*yó dāsam̐ varṇam ādharam̐ gūhākah̐* (active aorist)  
 'By whom all things here have been made unstable, who has made the Dāsa colour and has made it disappear.'(RV ii.12.4)

OIA, then, possessed a rich system of forms with no gaps in either active or passive voice for the expression of temporal and aspectual contrasts. The *-ta* participle was, at this stage, only one strategy among many for the expression of past events.

Once the active forms have been lost during the MIA period, however, the motivation to consider such expressions as *tena kr̥tām* as passive disappears, and the construction with *kr̥ta* may be called ergative. Unlike the speaker of Vedic who had the choice of a passive (*yēna imā...kr̥tāni*) and the active (*yah...ākah̐*), the speaker of MIA (Classical Sanskrit) could only use the erstwhile passive construction for the narration of past events. As we have said above, at this point (MIA and early NIA), it was impossible to distinguish, on morphological grounds, between the passive and the ergative constructions. Consequently:

in the absence of any active/passive contrast we are entitled to treat this construction as syntactically ambiguous between passive and the incipient ergative (Bubenik 1995:51).

Syntactic and pragmatic alternations allow us, therefore, to interpret the construction such as *tena kada* as either 'he [has] made it' (ergative interpretation), or 'it [was] made by him' ('be'-passive), although the language was still, at this stage, of nominative/accusative typology.

This ambiguity was not fully eliminated until as late as the Early NIA period, when the new passive construction (with the auxiliary *jānā* 'go') was established. From that point onwards, the construction with *kiyā* (<*krta*) could legitimately be called ergative. The following Hindi examples also show differential marking: the ergative with postposition =*ne* and the passive with =*se* (where = indicates clitic boundary):

- |     |           |             |                                    |                                 |
|-----|-----------|-------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (2) | <i>us</i> | = <i>ne</i> | <i>kiyā</i> (< <i>tena krtam</i> ) | 's/he did it'                   |
|     |           | ERG         |                                    |                                 |
|     | <i>us</i> | = <i>ne</i> | <i>kiyā hai</i>                    | 's/he has done it'              |
|     |           | ERG         |                                    |                                 |
|     | <i>us</i> | = <i>se</i> | <i>kiyā gayā</i>                   | '[it] was done by him/her'      |
|     |           | INS         |                                    |                                 |
|     | <i>us</i> | = <i>se</i> | <i>kiyā gayā hai</i>               | '[it] has been done by him/her' |
|     |           | INS         |                                    |                                 |

### 1. 2. 2 Participles in -*tavant*

In the system of participles, the systemic changes were equally profound. The Old Indo-Aryan participial system included, in the Present system, a triad of voice contrasts, active, mediopassive and passive, and binary contrasts in the Aorist, Perfect and Future systems.

The loss of mediopassive participles and the demise of active participles of the aorist and the perfect (*kr-ánt* and *cakrvā́is*), resulted, in the later language, in a straightforward binary opposition, such as is seen in my corpus, between the active participle in *-tavant* and its passive counterpart, the participle in *-ta*.

Mishra (1982:302) indicates that "the proto-type of the past active participles in *-ta-vat* occurs (first of all) in AV [Atharva-Veda]: अशितवत् *as-i-tā-vat* (having eaten). Through [the] Brāhmaras they grow in number, and become quite frequent later." Use of the participle in *-tavant* was at the early stage of the language "fairly limited" (Goldman and Sutherland 1987:180; Whitney 1889/1967:344-5),<sup>9</sup> presumably because of the wealth of alternative active forms available. However, once the active aorist and perfect participles were lost, the *-tavant* construction was ready to 'step in' to replace the moribund forms. Rebuilt on the basis of the *-ta* participle<sup>10</sup>, the form adds to the (transitive or intransitive) stem the possessivizing suffix *-vant*.<sup>11</sup> The addition of this suffix has the effect of 'activating' the construction. It thus provided an alternative (voice) strategy for the relation of past tense events. Typologically,

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9

As it was in Pali (Mayrhofer 1951:173-4).

10

Whose very productivity may have undermined the successful establishment of its active derivative. See Klaiman (1978:210-1) for this argument.

11

*Āśva-vant* 'possessing horses', *putrā-vant* 'having a son'; similar formations exist in Hittite, *caššu-want* 'possessing strength', 'strong, healthy', and in Avestan, *zasta-vant* 'having hands'. The past, active meaning of the combined suffix (*-ta+ -vant*) results from the abstract 'possession' of the perfective verbal activity: *gata+vant* (Lit. 'He possesses goneness') > 'He is/has gone'.

this A-oriented participle could be viewed as an attempt to preserve the nominative/accusative typology of the Vedic language (Bubenik:personal communication).

This active counterpart to the verbal adjective in *-ta* is, according to Anderson (1977:337) "...one further construction which has been shown to be a possible source for newly-created perfects". Via the possessivizing suffix *-vat*, it had, as Masica (1991:269) notes, exactly the correct aspectual "basic distinctions" already "built in" to its suffixal morphology.

"Constructions expressing possession have been repeatedly employed as auxiliaries when a perfect is required" (Anderson 1977:337). A "remarkable number of languages", including English, Latin and Celtic, employ a possessive verbal form ('to have') as an auxiliary. Anderson (1973:34) notes "the parallelism between the expression of possession and acquisition and the representation of the semantic distinctions associated with perfect aspect." The development is from a construction such as "I have the house painted" to "I have painted the house".

...the completion of an action is denoted in such a manner that he who has performed an action is designated as the possessor of what has been done; since e.g. *uktavan asmi*, literally "*dicto praeditus sum*", signifies "*dictum habeo*," "I have said"(...). The modern mode, therefore, of expressing the completion of an action was, in a measure, prepared by the Sanskrit; for the suffix *vat* (in the strong cases *vat*) forms possessives (Bopp 1856:728).

Elegantly put, but not so! Hittite probably more accurately can claim that distinction: the *hark*-auxiliary form (cognate with Latin *arceō* 'enclose' and Greek *arkéō* 'defend, assist') is identified by Benveniste (1962) as:

a 'parfait', i.e. a 'forme temporelle périphrastique' (p.42) expressing a 'temps passé' (p.41), in opposition to the simple preterite (p.63). He remarks: 'La



periphrase met au compte de l'agent et en quelque sorte comme sa possession ("avoir") le procès accompli' (p.62). (quoted in Boley 1984:9).

Sanskrit had no independent lexical item which meant 'to have'. Very early constructions, with the subject in the genitive, expressed a 'past tense'/perfective aspect by indicating this 'ownership' of verbal activity. Thus the Vedic sentence *indrasya kṛtam* (RV viii.66.9), literally 'done of Indra' can be translated as 'Indra did (it)'. This type of construction, which Pirejko (1979:483) calls the "passive possessive", is truly ancient, even predating the construction with the subject in the instrumental (Debrunner 1954:583) as an indicator of tense/aspect. Similar constructions are attested in Old Persian (Pirejko 1979:482) *ima tya manā kartam* [*astiy*] 'this is what was my done/done by me',<sup>12</sup> Old Armenian *nora ē gorceal* 'he has done/did it', and Latin *eius est factum* 'he did it'.

Referring to the hypothetical state of affairs in the "earliest period" of the language, Schmalstieg (1980:183) maintains that:

...the subject of the old non-diathectic verbs (which became perfect or middle)

12

Hock (written communication) notes that constructions of this sort are clearly found in Vedic Prose: "such genitival agents are especially frequent when the *-ta* participle is used in a stative/noneventive (nonpast) value and is accompanied by a form of the verb 'to be'". While Pāṇini (2.3.67) states that with certain verbs (denoting 'reverence', 'wishing' and 'perception' (3.2.188)), constructions involving the *-ta* participle and a genitive *kartr* indicate *vartamāne*, i.e. 'current time', the examples used by the commentators (Sharma 1995:166) *rājñāni matah* 'approved by kings', *rājñāni pūjitaḥ* 'honoured by kings', are clearly stative, retrospective presents, with the genitive 'agent' the instigator or generator of the 'honoured' or 'approved' state.

Other clearly retrospective forms involving the *-ta* suffix also have the designation *vartamāne*: *rakṣita* 'protected', *lipta* 'smeared', *juṣṭa* 'pleased'. Thus it is clear that Pāṇini's designation *vartamāne* 'current time' includes the aspectual category of retrospective, stative present.

was originally in the genitive (=ergative) case...Now we have already seen sentences of the type (4) \**bhr-to g<sup>o</sup>ow-as* 'the ox's carrying.' At the earliest date this denoted only the completed action and...[later]...became preterite...

Such "passive participle constructions the agent of which is in genitive case, and which agree in case, number and gender with the recipient" have, as Schmalstieg (1980:176) notes, "almost an 'ergative' appearance".

Indeed, Trask (1979:398) suggests that in languages such as Sanskrit which do not possess a lexical verb 'to have', constructions of this type may very well be correlated with the development of ergative typology:

Stative deverbal adjectives have been integrated into the inflectional systems of the modern Romance and Germanic languages by means of predications which originally had possessive force. The general line of development was from constructions like *I have a window broken* to *I have broken a window*, with the reanalysis of the stative as active and of the possessor as agent. This did not result in ergativity, because the existence of the verb *have* meant that the possessor went into the nominative case and remained there when it was reinterpreted as agent. Now in a language lacking a verb *have*, possessive predications are commonly made by putting the possessor into an oblique case—most often the dative, locative or genitive—carrying an overt mark...reinterpretation of such a possessor as an agent would automatically bring about ergative case-marking...with the agent overtly marked, the patient unmarked, the verb agreeing with the patient in number and gender but not in person, the verb not agreeing with the agent at all, and the whole thing confined to the perfect and all without the aid of a passive construction of the type *The window was broken by me*.

The lack of a verb 'to have', then, may be seen as resulting in two 'strategies' for the description of past events—one A-oriented (the participles in *-tavant*), and one P-oriented (the participles in *-ta*), with the P-oriented strategy eventually winning out.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>

Pāli offers two further pieces of evidence of the 'struggle' between the P-oriented and A-

### 1. 2. 3 Periphrastic Forms Expressing Aspect

With the nearly total demise of the 'old' Sanskrit verbal tense system, rebuilding was in order. Masica (1991:262) follows Lienhard (1961:27) in observing that this rebuilding:

...proceeded *first* (that is, in the Early NIA period) by establishing *aspectual distinctions*, to which the refinements of tense (and mood) were only later added. This accords with what is known of such processes in the context of pidgins and Creoles (Bickerton 1981), child language (Ferreiro 1971), and early Indo-European itself (Kuryłowicz 1964).<sup>14</sup>

As noted above (§1.0), there is a perception among many scholars that the movement away from the wealth of finite verbal forms of the Vedic period, to the use of non-finite participial, passive and periphrastic forms of the Classical and Later Period, involved a somehow less complicated "simplification" and "popularization" of verbal forms (Burrow 1955:354; Murti 1984:57; Pap 1990:30; Deshpande 1993). In this connection, it is intriguing to note the results of several studies cited by Dik (1987:53-84), which indicate that periphrastic forms are somehow "*plus commode à manier*" (Meillet 1909:155), being "morphologically more perspicuous" (Dik 1987:78) and thus occur earlier, and are much

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oriented syntax. In addition to relics of the PAP suffix *-tavant* which appear in Early MIA, e.g. *bhuttavant* (< OIA *bhuk-ta-vant*) 'who has eaten', there appears yet another 'possessive' PAP suffix in *-tāvin*, e.g. *bhuttāvin* 'who has eaten' (Mayrhofer 1951:173-4).

As well, in Pāli, absolutes started being formed from the present stem (vs. the bare root of the PPP in Sanskrit). The contrast may be seen in this data from Mayrhofer (1951:179):

Pāli	Sanskrit	
<i>suṅ-itvā</i>	<i>śru-tvā</i>	'having heard'
<i>piv-itvā</i>	<i>pī-tvā</i>	'having drunk'

<sup>14</sup>

Full references: Bickerton (1981:283-4); Ferreiro (1971:39); Kuryłowicz (1964:130ff).

more common, than the simple past tenses in the early speech of Dutch and German children.<sup>15</sup> Similar results were found in the speech patterns of foreign workers learning Dutch (Dik 1987:78-81).

Use of the non-finite 'tenses', i.e., the participles in *-ta* and *-tavant*, as well as the periphrastic aspectual constructions, will be discussed in the relevant sections below (Chapters 4 and 5, respectively). In order to get a full perspective, however, on the developments which took place after the 'demise' of the finite preterite tenses, let us first be clear on what went before.

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<sup>15</sup>

Thus, children are far more likely to employ the periphrastic *Der Hund hat gebellt* 'the dog has barked' than the non-periphrastic "simple Past" form *Der Hund bellte* 'the dog barked', which latter appears only "very late" in the speech of children, and is of "rare occurrence" afterwards (Dik 1987:78).

## Chapter 2

### THE PRETERITE TENSES

#### 2.0 Diachrony

But if it is asked, whether the Sanskrit has, from the oldest antiquity, employed its three past tenses without syntactical distinction, and uselessly expended its formative power in producing them; or whether the usage of the language has, in the course of time, dropped the finer degrees of signification, by which they might have been distinguished; I think I must decide for the latter... (Bopp 1856:729).

There were indeed "finer degrees of signification" apparent in the past tenses as used in Vedic literature, which usages were themselves reflections of earlier distinctions employed in the proto-language. Whereas a comprehensive description of these developmental stages is beyond the scope of this work, a brief overview is essential to a clearer understanding of the original usages of these tenses.

#### 2.1 The First Diachronic Stratum- Early Aspectual Distinctions

Many scholars identify the earliest IE diachronic stratum (represented by the injunctive) as modal (Hoffmann 1967:178ff; Kerns and Schwartz 1972:4; Lehmann 1993:178). Although it is claimed that such forms "expressed an action irrespective of tense/aspect" (Hewson and Bubenik (1997:46) i.e., were not marked for tense or aspect, there seems to have been a distinction in *Aktionsart* here: roots used in these early modal forms, and which later became aorists, were of a punctual, telic nature (Boley 1984:96; Murti 1984:269; Gonda 1956:44). On the other hand, roots used in present forms tended to be iterative, durative, atelic, reflecting *their* respective origins:

Ancient peoples, Gonda says (1956:25-6), regarded time, not as we do,..."as a stream or straight line, as a regular succession of single, unique, and irrevocable moments", but rather as "duration or as periodic recurrence, conceiving it as a cycle, as something that can return." Thus the iconic feature of reduplication, originally characteristic of both the present (ex. *dadāmi-* also via *\*-sk*) and the perfect, probably first imitated the iterativity of natural processes<sup>16</sup>.

Thus, via *Aktionsart*, we have an early distinction of perfective (represented by the injunctive/aorist) vs. imperfective (represented by the present), which accords with Kuryłowicz's observation (1964:130) that the first oppositions in PIE. were, indeed, aspectual. Events are visualized as:

taking place, happening, going on, or developing and coming into existence, or as completed, finished, having reached a definite goal, and so on. What is viewed...is the 'configuration' of the events...Hence the prevalence of aspectual categories...(Gonda 1956:32).

## 2.2 The Second Diachronic Stratum- Introduction of Tense Distinctions

Tense distinctions, introduced at a later stage, and most likely originally 'deictic' (Shields 1992:17ff), deriving from adverbial sources (Anderson 1973:41; Schmalstieg 1980), located events as being near, 'here and now' (= via *\*-i*) (Shields 1992:25; Lehmann 1974:189; Watkins

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<sup>16</sup>

For a thorough and insightful description in support of this idea of time as recurrent, imitative of nature's cycles and sounds, see Emeneau (1980:250). Also see Elizarenkova (1995:7,10ff) who notes that this world view was very much a part of the mind-set of the Vedic R̥ṣis: "The Vedic model of the universe is cosmos oriented...The life of an Aryan is related to the structures of space and time through the law of universal circulation (*ṛtā*)...The basic mode of orientation is the circle."

1962:102) or far (via \*e-... "an old adverbial prefix which is temporal denoting remoteness of time (a = yonder)" (Murti 1984:265; Burrow 1955:303); \*e- = not here and now (Shields 1992:26-7). The original usages were intended to distinguish **degrees** of remoteness. Again, from Gonda (1956:28-29):

From various idioms it appears that, temporally as well as spatially, the main distinction often is between the near and the far, between the here-and-now, or here or now, and the not-here, there, or not-now and the not here-and-now... Thus the prime distinctions will be in terms of relative distance of events from the moment of speech, as judged by personal witness. Thus the most recent events will be those that have been witnessed by the speaker.

### 2. 2. 1 The Aorist

In the Vedic language, that distinction belongs to the aorist. This "extremely common" form, termed *adyatanabhūe luī*, "of today" by the grammarians, was reserved for events that were just completed in the very recent past, (Mishra 1982:277; Vasu 1891/1980:453-4) often "on the same day" (Gonda 1975:71; Jani 1977:14-15), and very likely within the certain knowledge of the speaker (Whitney 1889/1967:329). These events could be so recent, in fact, as to be almost a present:

- (3) *putrasya nāma grhṇāti* (present) *prajāṃ evaṃ samatanī* (aorist)  
'He gives his son a name, he thus extends his race.' (MS, quoted in Taraporewala 1967:76)

Such very recent events were often rendered as an English perfect:

The aorist of the older language has the value of a proper "perfect": that is, it signifies something past which is viewed as completed with reference to the present; and it requires accordingly to be rendered by our tense made with the auxiliary *have*. In general it indicates what has just taken place (Whitney 1889/1967:329).

This distinction between the aorist, reserved for very recent events, and the perfect and imperfect, used for the narration of relatively more remote events, was especially common in the language of the Brāhmanas. Speijer (1886/1980:253) comments that the contrast in use between what he calls the "historical tenses" (the imperfect and the perfect) and the aorist, especially in direct speech, is "so striking there that it cannot possibly be overlooked by anybody who peruses these writings":

- (4) *tam̐ ho 'vāca* (perfect): *apatsata* (aorist) *vā asya dantāḥ*  
 '[then] he said to him: "Truly, his teeth have dropped out."'(AB vii.14.5)

Whitney (1889/1967:329) remarks that any violation of this distinction "is very rare, and is to be regarded as either due to corruption of text or indicative of a late origin."

### 2. 2. 2 The Imperfect

The 'imperfect', called the *anadyatanabhūte lañ*, 'not of today' (Pānini 3.2.110,111), was used to describe events which, "though *not* witnessed by the speaker, *could have been* within the range of sight" (Gonda 1975:161; Boley 1984:94; Vasu 1980:454).<sup>17</sup> "This distinction of the Imperfect and the Aorist", says Taraporewala (1967:75) "was strictly observed in the

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<sup>17</sup>

Such distinctions are often useful in establishing historical chronology. Scharfe (1977:153) notes that the dating of Patañjali's work was so accomplished: "Patañjali must have composed his work sometime around 150 B. C. because of several references to historical events of his time. Kātyāyana..had postulated the use of the imperfect suffixes for something the speaker did not witness though he could perhaps have done so and which is commonly known. Patañjali...illustrates this amendment with two sentences: *arunad Yavanah Sāketam* "The Greeks besieged Saketa (=Ayodhyā/ Oudh)" and *arunad Yavano Madhyamikām* "The Greeks besieged Madhyamikā (Chittor)."



Vedic period":

- (5) *yám āichāma* (imperfect) *mānasā sò 'yám āgāt* (aorist)  
'Whom we wished for in our minds has now come.' (RV x.53.1)

In the later language, however, these distinctions had been lost, and the two forms, formally so similar (i.e., both possessing secondary endings and the augment prefix, and on occasion, showing identical forms), had fallen together. Burrow claims that this formative ambiguity is evidence of "the close relation between the aorist and the present systems...certain types of aorist stem are identical in form with certain types of present stem. This is so with the root aorist (*ākar*, etc.), which is formed like the imperfect of the root class (*āhan*, etc.),..." (Burrow 1955:295; also Whitney 1889/1967:297).

It is important to note here that the Sanskrit imperfect was so named by Western grammarians solely on the basis of its similarity in form to imperfects in "other Indo-European languages, notably Greek...it is important to realize that in sense it normally has no progressive or durative implications (he was doing, he used to do, etc). Such implications tend, even in past time, to be expressed...by the present tense" (often with *sma*) (Coulson 1989:223).<sup>19</sup> There is much support for Coulson on this contentious point of the non-aspectual character of the Sanskrit imperfect: Speijer 1886/1980:244; Goldman and Sutherland 1987:131; Taraporewala 1967:70; Macdonell 1916/1975:312; Whitney 1889/1967:201,227,278; Jasanoff 1978:15.

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<sup>19</sup>

Several examples of this usage (Pāṇini 3.2.118 *laṭ sme*), all in direct speech, are found in Story 21, page 120.

### 2. 2. 3 The Perfect

It is between the "perfect" and the rest of the conjugation that we have clearly the most ancient and fundamental division in the Indo-European system" (Burrow 1955:294). The perfect, one of the "more ancient verbal forms" was, in origin "a special kind of present tense, not a preterite form, and in such cases it is normally to be translated by the English present" (Burrow 1955:297).<sup>20</sup> Burrow uses this example: *nā śrāmyanti nā vi muñcanti éte váyo nā paptuh* (perfect), 'They do not become weary or stop, they fly like birds.'

Jespersen (1924) agrees that: "The perfect...is itself a kind of present tense, and serves to connect the present time with the past...[it] looks upon the present state as a result of what has happened before."

The development of the perfect from a type of resultative "present" to a "preterite" took place, according to Burrow (1955:297) in two stages, both represented in the Vedic literature. The first stage concentrated almost exclusively on the present/resultative (retrospective) condition, seeing a present **state** as a result of an action which had already taken place. Burrow comments (1955:297) that "since a state is normally the result of a preceding process, it was natural that the perfect should be used to express the fact that such an action had already taken place". He gives as an example of this usage:

- (6) *yát sīm āgās cakrṃā* (perfect) *tát su mṛṣatu*  
'Whatever sin we have committed, let him forgive that.' (RV i.179.5)

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<sup>20</sup>

Indeed, Bloomfield and Edgerton (1930:14) declare that some variant Vedic perfects can be said "with almost mathematical certainty" to "have no preterite value whatever".

At this stage, the difference in meaning between this use and the aorist:

remains clear, because the aorist is confined to those actions which have taken place in the immediate past, while the perfect indicates completion of the action regardless of the precise time. The final step [in the development process] takes place when the preterital sense acquired by the perfect in contexts like these becomes the **predominant** sense, with the result that the perfect becomes a tense of narrative with a meaning that does not differ materially from that of the imperfect (Burrow 1955:297)<sup>21</sup>:

(7) *āhan* (imperfect) *āhim ānv apās tatarda* (perfect).

'(Indra) slew the dragon, he penetrated to the waters' (RV i.32.1)<sup>22</sup>

Murti concurs (1984:271) that the perfect "originally had no special sense. But later on (independent from the present/aorist system and possessing a special set of personal endings) it was associated with the distant past." Thus, the grammarians referred to this form as

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I agree with Burrow's evolutionary timetable, but suspect that the process might have more probably proceeded as follows: Reduplication, originally a shared constituent of the present and perfect (Hewson and Bubenik 1997:46), came to be a feature predominately associated with the perfect. The 'series', 'iterative' aspect of the perfect, iconically represented by this feature, allows the 'series' of events to be extended indefinitely into the past: we may have been sinning for a **very** long time. Thus, inevitably, the perfect allowed for description of **remote** events, so far removed from the 'now' that they could not be documented. The perfect, consequently, as Renou (1925) pointed out, was often used for general statements, permanently established or "quasi-cosmic" facts. The imperfect, on the other hand, was used for the description of the mythic events, legends and legendary allusions pertaining to the Vedic deities. Such narratives, unlike the events described by the perfect, imply, "some precision in time statements" (Bloomfield and Edgerton 1930:140). Boley (1984:94-5) has a slightly different perspective: she claims that the more "remote" nature of the perfect made it suitable for the description of divine events or acts, with the actions of humans described using other tenses (aorist or imperfect).

22

Note the difference in Aktionsart, however: it seems to be consistent with the choice of perfect for verbs involving processes.

*parokṣabhūte lit:* not witnessed (Pāṇini 3.2.115). It was used to refer to events "which are out of sight, out of the domain of observation of the speaker/author" (Boley 1984:94). Grammarians insisted that this tense should, in fact, not be used "to describe events within the personal experience of the speaker. In consequence, the first and second person forms are not at all common..."(Coulson 1989:244). Commentators on Pāṇini (3.2.115) are quite precise about the time frame to which this tense may refer: the perfect refers to actions located in a past "beyond the sensory perception of the speaker. Thus [it] could refer to a time-frame encompassing time immemorial to the last minute of the third quarter of the last night" (Sharma 1995:421-2).<sup>23</sup>

Notwithstanding all that has been said concerning the temporal nature of the perfect in the Vedic system, one must never lose sight of the "fundamentally" retrospective/stative nature of this form (Burrow 1955:296-7): regardless of how far in the past the *events* described may have happened, the *results* of those events may often be seen in the present.

#### 2. 2. 4 The Pluperfect

The Vedic language possessed a 'pluperfect' form, but it received rare use and quickly died out of the language. Anteriority then, as in the Classical language, was commonly expressed by the absolutive, an indeclinable participle, located prior to (left of) the main verb, used to mark dependent clauses (Goldman and Sutherland 1987:182), whose sense is generally that

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<sup>23</sup>

Because this tense is used to refer to events which the speaker has not personally witnessed, it often has inferential connotations, as in this example from a commentary on Pāṇini 3.2.122 (Sharma 1995:426): *ūsur iha purā chātrāṇi (LIT)* 'I hear that the students lived here earlier.'

of action preceding the main verb (Coulson 1989:81; Speijer 1886/1980:297). Since it is indeclinable, and thus not subject to agreement of any kind, there arose a potential for ambiguity surrounding referentiality (Gonda 1975:180ff). Generally, the subject of the absolutive and of the finite verb were the same...but not always (Speijer 1886/1980:297). As we noted above, changing patterns of absolutive control often accompanied (or signalled) profound typological change, an example of which is described in §5.4.

### **2. 2. 5 The Historical Present**

One last usage, although not a past tense *per se*, deserves to be mentioned in this section. The present tense was used "at all periods of the language...of past events to add liveliness to the narrative" (Bloomfield and Edgerton 1930:142; also Whitney 1889/1967:278; Speijer 1886/1980:244).

**Chapter 3**  
**THE CORPUS**

**3.0 Introduction**

With this summary as background, let us turn now to the *Vetālapañcaviṅśati* itself. Again, a few words of introduction are in order. The *Vetālapañcaviṅśati* was, as were the other works of Classical Sanskrit, including the great epics, the product of a strong oral tradition.<sup>24</sup> As such, it is subject to entirely different "dynamics and organization" than are modern narratives.

For instance, the 'linear' organization of plot that we are used to: the introduction, building to a climax, and eventual *dénouement*, is foreign to oral cultures and "essentially artificial." As Ong says (1981:13), an "episodic structure was the only way and the totally natural way of handling lengthy narrative." The style of narration which the *Vetālapañcaviṅśati* so cleverly uses, i.e. the "insertion of a number of different stories within the framework of a single narrative", a format so similar to that of Arabian Nights, was in fact "borrowed from India by the neighbouring Oriental peoples of Persia and Arabia who employed it in composing independent works." (Macdonell 1900/1968:368)

Macdonell (1900/1968:375) succinctly describes the framework of what he calls these "pretty and ingenious fairy tales" and I quote the passage in its entirety:

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<sup>24</sup>

Writing was a secondary development to oral transmission and was "merely tolerated" by conservative brahmins (Van de Walle 1993:18; see also Jani 1976:246).

King Vikrama of Ujjayini is directed by an ascetic to take down from a tree and convey a corpse, without uttering a single word, to a spot in a graveyard where certain rites for the attainment of highly magical powers are to take place. As the king is carrying the corpse along on his shoulders, a Vetāla, which has entered it begins to speak and tells him a fairy tale. On the king inadvertently replying to a question, the corpse at once disappears and is found hanging on the tree again. The king goes back to fetch it, and the same process is repeated till the Vetāla has told twenty-five tales. Each of these is so constructed as to end in a subtle problem, on which the king is asked to express his opinion.

There are five versions of these tales extant in the Sanskrit literature. Jambhaladatta's version is the only one written almost entirely in prose.<sup>25</sup> As far as is known, this was Jambhaladatta's sole literary effort, and was probably composed sometime during the 15th century (Emeneau 1934:xi).

Emeneau's rather harsh judgement on the style notes that it is :

strictly narrative. As such it makes little claim to ornateness and is at times monotonously bald and undistinguished. Attempts at ornament which do appear are almost invariably epithets. One of these, *trailokyamohanīākṛti*, is repeated so frequently when a young woman has to be characterized, that it becomes ludicrous (xix).

"On the whole", Emeneau concedes, the language of this version is "good Sanskrit". He notes that Jambhaladatta shows his knowledge of the grammars by the use of several rare verbal forms, such as the reduplicated aorist *adīdapat* (page 6, line 4), *ajjīvat*, (page 28, line 3) "also a grammarian's form", and *apaptat* (page 72, line 12) "which Whitney records only

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<sup>25</sup>

All references to the *Vetālapañcavīsati* are from Emeneau (1934/1967).

for the Vedic literature".<sup>26</sup> This agrees with Goldman's comment that the use of the aorist "in the classical language is restricted largely to pieces and passages in which the author wishes to show his command of obscure forms" (1987:331).

### 3.1 Tense Usage

Each story can be divided into three parts:

1. an introduction, narrated by the *Vetāla*, which sets the scene. This consists of the first three or four sentences of each tale. The most common tenses used are the three 'old' preterite tenses: the **imperfect**, **perfect** and **aorist**.

2. the story proper, containing inter-tale narration and dialogue between characters. In-tale narrative tenses include the **present**, for both present and past events, the two 'new' participial tenses (**PPP** and **PAP**) for 'past' events narrated by the story-teller, and occasionally, the **perfect**, **imperfect** and **aorist**, whose functions as past tenses differ slightly vis-a-vis their discourse use. Dialogue between characters is mostly modal, showing a high percentage of **gerundives** and **imperatives**. **Present** and **future** tenses occur frequently.

3. a closing paragraph where the *Vetāla* demands the king's opinion concerning the 'subtle problem' proposed by the story. **Imperatives** and the **present** tense predominate.

To carry out this type of discourse analysis, I 'colour coded' tense usages on copies of

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<sup>26</sup>

The present author also noted several rare passive aorists: *akāri* (page 102, line 6; page 134, line 8; page 138, line 6).



the text: pink for perfect, blue for imperfect, purple for aorist, green for present, yellow for participles, orange for imperatives. The split in tense usage is so distinct between the sections, that it is possible to identify which section of the story one is viewing simply by noting the colour system.

### 3.2 The *Vetālapañcaviṅśati* in the Tradition of Oral Narrative

As noted above (§3.1.1), the introductory sentences make heavy, almost exclusive,<sup>27</sup> use of the 'old' preterite tenses: the imperfect, perfect and the occasional aorist. Why this should be so is no great mystery:

All narrative, says Ong (1981:13), "is fundamentally retrospective." Of all verbal genres, "narration has the most evident and straightforward relationship to memory." For the poet/narrator of an oral tradition this memory is "curiously public". It taps into the collective memory of the audience by the repetition of "themes and formulas that he has heard other singers sing." For the narrator in an oral tradition, as Peabody says, referring to Greek epos:

the true 'thought' or content...dwells in the remembered traditional formulaic and stanzaic patterns rather than in the conscious intentions of the singer to organize or 'plot' the narrative a certain way (1975:172).

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<sup>27</sup>

By "exclusive" I do not mean to imply that the 'old' past tenses appear **only** in the Introduction (they are in fact used regularly in the stories proper, in nearly equal proportions with the 'new' participial tenses)—rather that in the Introductory sentences of each story, the percentage of old to new uses is higher than anywhere else in the narrative. Verbs such as *abhū*, *adā*, *abhavat*, *agamat*, *abravī*, *akarot*, *babhūva*, *tasthau* occur again and again with an almost stylized regularity in the beginning sentences of nearly every story. This is consistent with the scene setting strategy of the writer: a device to create a "once upon a time" mood.

The language used to set the scene for each "episode", then, will be of this evocative type: it will repeat in the ancient tenses, the oft-heard formulae of tale telling: "once upon a time" words, if you will, which will inevitably transport the hearer to the realm where s/he has been countless times before.

### 3. 2. 1 The Introductory Paragraphs

The introduction to Story 15, page 90, is typical of this type of 'formulaic' usage. The reader will note that the repetition involves not only the same tenses, but even the same verbs:

- (8) *deva, ratnāvātīnāma nagarīpurā "sī* (imperfect). *tatra candraprabho nāma rājā babhūva* (perfect). *tasya rājye devasvāmīnāma vipras tasthau* (perfect). *tasya putro harisvāmī nāmā 'bhavat* (imperfect).

'Your majesty, there was formerly a city called Ratnāvātī. In it there lived a king named Candraprabha. In his kingdom there was a brahman named Devasvāmin. He had a son named Harisvāmin.'

Again, from Story 3, page 30:

- (9) *asti* (present) *bhāgīrathīparisare sakalamahīmaṇḍalālamikābhūṣitamī pātālīputranāma nagaram. tatra sakalaguṇasamīpanno vikramakeśarī rājā babhūva* (perfect). *parākrāmakesarī nāma tasya putro 'bhavat* (imperfect)...*tasya yuvarājasya...vidagdhnābhīdhānaḥ pañjarasthaḥ krīḍāsūkas tasthau* (perfect).

There is near the Ganges a city named Pāliputra, adorned with all ornaments of the whole circle of the world. There a king Vikramakeśarin lived, endowed with all good qualities. His son was called Parākramesarin...The prince had a pet parrot in a cage Vidagdha by name...'

From Story 1, page 14:

- (10) *asti* (present) *tridivatarāginī vārānasī tatra pratāpamukūto nāma rājā babhūva* (perfect). *tasya mahādevī somaprabhā nāma. tasyām anena rājñā vajramukūto nāma tanayaḥ samutpāditaḥ* (PPP) *tasya vajramukūtasya prāṅsamahsakhā sāgareśvarasya sām̐dhivigrahikasya tanayo buddhisārīro babhūva* (perfect). *tena mitravareṇa saha...kālān̐ nayamānas tasthau* (perfect auxiliary).

'There is a city Benares which is on the Heavenly river. There a king lived named Pratāpamukūta. His chief queen was named Somaprabhā. She bore that king a son named Vajramukūta. That Vajramukūta had a friend who was dear to him as his life, Buddhisārīra, the son of Sāgareśvara, the minister of peace and war. With that excellent friend he continually passed the time...'

The verb-initial, present tense *asti* here is a marked usage. In texts where the "unmarked" word order is verb final, "verb-initial sentences were found in special contexts, where their purpose was to achieve some 'dramatic' effect"<sup>28</sup> (Luraghi 1990:114). Verb fronting as a

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<sup>28</sup>

In early PIE and Hittite, verb initial was also a marked order, but with a different meaning: verb fronting was a pragmatic device connected to the "illocutionary force of the sentence"...and "with adversativity" (Luraghi 1990:112) - hence its 'unmarked' use in imperatives.

means of foregrounding "is a phenomenon documented across different languages", including Latin, and early Germanic narratives, where initial verbs are "typical of lively narratives" and used..."for dramatic effects" (Hopper 1975:52).

### 3. 2. 2 The Historical Present as a Narrative Tense

Similar remarks can be made of the employment here of the present tense: this is the usage often termed the 'HISTORICAL PRESENT' which is used in narratives to:

enhance the dramatic effect of a story by making addressees feel as if they were present at the time of the experience...[its use]...renders the past more vivid by shifting events out of their original (past) time frame and into that of the act of narration (present). Past events "come alive" with the HP because it is formally identical to the tense used to mark situations as cotemporal with the speaker's now...[it is used]...(across languages) as a "dramatic present" or "past more vivid" (Fleischman 1990:75).

Fleischman makes a subtle distinction between the 'HISTORICAL PRESENT' (HP) which she calls "a cultivated feature of planned written narratives" (1990:367) and the 'NARRATIVE PRESENT' (NP) which is "exclusively a phenomenon of orally performed narratives, where it occurs in alternation with the PAST" and is perceived as reflective of the spontaneity of speech and conversation: of the way people really think and talk (1990:79). "These [usages-i.e. of HP and NP] contrast according to the type of narrative text in which they occur and according to their distribution in the text."

This seems to be the case in the *Vetālapañcavīsati*: in the introductory paragraph where the tense usage is structured and deliberately planned for effect, the HP appears, as above.

In the body of the text, however, where characters speak and interact, the narrative tense use will reflect the same naturalness and spontaneity: there will be tense switching between the NP and the PAST. "In the sphere of the thought of the ancient Indian poets", notes Gonda (1956:39-40), "the difference between present and past time often was not essential; it could even be absent."<sup>29</sup> Thus, I disagree with Dahl (1985) that the present (as used in this corpus), represents an "unmarked" tense, one which is used because it provides "minimal reference to time." It may, however, be what Kiparsky (1968) calls a "neutral" tense, as this would accord with its roots in the oral culture (Fleischman 1990:78). In any case, as Coulson comments (1989:223), "the use of the present as an ordinary past narrative tense...is not characteristic of good Classical writers." Apparently, as Coulson's remarks indicate, part of the process of transition from orality to written work was the realization on the part of the author that he must choose his tenses with a deliberation antithetical to the spontaneity of speech. Structured writing imposes certain formal constraints on expression (including tense selection - hence the appearance of certain tenses specifically for literature), of which speech is relatively free.

### 3. 2. 3 The Concluding Paragraph

The concluding paragraph is even more repetitive and formulaic than the introduction. This is the point in each story where the *Vetāla* challenges the beleaguered king to solve the dilemma posed in the tale. Understandably, they are contentious exchanges: the *Vetāla* is

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<sup>29</sup>

Bloomfield and Edgerton (1930:141) note that the deeds of the Vedic deities, "habitual performances of mythic character...easily reproduce themselves in the present".

belligerent and aggressive in demanding an answer, and the king is weary, and fed up with the demon's endless thwarting of his goal, hence the preponderance of 'rude' imperatives. Present tense usage, as above, is in keeping with the lively nature of the exchange. The perfect, true to its regular role (see below, §3.4.1), brings things to a close. Two examples will suffice to make the point:

From Story 16, page 98:

- (11) *vadatu* (imperative) *deva. cauravipranarendrānām madhye kas tasya pitā bhavati* (present) *rājā vadati* (present): *śṛṇu* (imperative) *re vetāla. caura eva tasya pitā bhavati* (present) *nrpatāv iti vādini vetālah śiṅśapāvṛkṣe punar lalāga* (perfect).

"Let your majesty speak. Of the thief, the brahman, and the king which is his father?" The king said: "Listen, goblin. The thief and he alone is his father." As the king was saying this, the goblin hung again on the śiṅśapā tree.'

From Story 22, page 132:

- (12) *vetālo vadati* (present): *vadatu* (imperative) *deva. kāmikalpalatāyā mahatī buddhiḥ kim vā mūladevasya. rājā vadati* (present): *śṛṇu* (imperative) *re vetāla. mūladevo mahān dhūrtah sarvatro 'tṛannabuddhitvāt. iti rājānam vañcayitvā vetālah śiṅśapāvṛkṣe punar lalāga* (perfect).

'The goblin said: "Let your majesty speak. Did Kāmikalpalatā or Mūladeva show more ready wit?" The king replied: "Listen, goblin. Mūladeva was the greatest deceiver because his wit was more ready at all times. Thus having deceived the king, the goblin hung again on the śiṅśapā tree.'

The underlined phrase, 'the goblin hung again on the *śiṅśapā* tree' ends every single story: things are literally and figuratively back where they started. This repetition again is pragmatically motivated: it is a

strategy of text structure characteristic of traditional oral storytelling. In oral cultures, the unfolding of narratives is not so much linear as circular: oral narrators frequently return to events previously narrated...(Fleischman 1990:13)<sup>30</sup>

### 3.3 In-Tale Pragmatic Use of the 'Old' Preterite Tenses

#### 3.3.1 The Perfect

Although semantically, the active preterite tenses have "fallen together" and are being used "interchangeably", pragmatic usage, at least in this corpus, seems to show some variability. Unlike the imperfect and the aorist, which appear to have no discernable discourse function, the perfect appears as an 'in-tale' narrative tense in a consistent context with relative frequency, and with a clear function: it usually appears at the end of a paragraph, or, as above (§3.2.3), at the end of each tale, as a sort of summary or transition tense. It thus represents a break in the discourse continuity. Givón (1977:200) notes a similar function of the perfect in Biblical Hebrew, as do Li and Thompson (1982:37) for the perfect marker *le* in Mandarin Chinese. *Le* is, in their words, "a mark of finality." This function is maintained **both** with the

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<sup>30</sup>

This is a method of organizing discourse whose roots lie here, in the cultural tradition of orality, but which continues to this day in modern Indo-Aryan languages. Van de Walle (1993:19-20) quotes the work of Kachru (1982), Pandharipande (1982) and Gumperz and Roberts (1991) showing that in recent studies comparing the interactive styles of Indian and English speakers: "...Whereas English speakers are used to an orderly, linear approach, the Indians will ...present their message in a circular fashion..."

finite perfect, and in analytic constructions, when the perfect tense of the auxiliary verb is used (cf. Chapter 5). Quite possibly, the perfect's former role as the tense used for the description of remote or "permanently established" facts makes it especially suitable for this pragmatic function of representing the 'last word'.

### 3. 3. 2 The Aorist

The relatively rare aorist usages in the tales themselves (often what appear to be a few 'token' usages per story) most often occur when describing the actions of old or venerable (high status) personages. Such usages are probably in keeping with the aorist's own venerable history as a Vedic tense: it doubtless possessed a certain *cachet* which made it especially suitable for such associations. Its linking with the past may also account for its use with 'cliché' expressions such as *pañcatvam agā̃* = 'he died' (Lit: 'He went back to the five elements.')

much as we still say 'He gave up the ghost.'

Story 21, page 108:

- (13) ... *pañcatvam*                      *agamat*.  
 five-elements+ACC/N/S    go+AOR/3/S  
 'He...died.'

Story 12, page 76:

- (14) ... *paralokam*                      *agā̃*  
 far-world+ACC/M/S            go+AOR/3/S  
 'He...died.' (Lit: 'He went to the far place.')



Story 21, page 110:

- (15) ...*pitā*                      *lokāntaram*                      *agamat*.  
...father+NOM/M/S              next-world+ACC/N/S              go+AOR/3/S  
'...father died.' (Lit: 'The father went to the next world.')

Story 1, page 16 (An old woman is speaking):

- (16) *tayā*              *bhaginyā*              *saha*              *kalaham*              *akāṣam*  
that+INS/F/S              sister+INS/F/S              with              quarrel+ACC/N/S              do+AOR/1/S  
'I **had** a quarrel with my sister.'

Story 1, page 18:

- (17) *tato*              *vr̥ddhā*...              *adāt*  
then              old+NOM/F/S              give+AOR/3/S  
'Then...the old woman **gave**...'

Story 13, page 82:

- (18) *vr̥ddhabrah̥maṇah*              *svagrhami*              *agamat*  
old-brahman+NOM/M/S              own-home+ACC/N/S              go+AOR/3/S  
'An old brahman **went** home.'

King's actions often merit aorist uses:

Introductory Story, page 12:

- (19) *tato*              *rājā*              *krpāṇena*              *dviraṭikāni*  
then              king+NOM/M/S              sword+INS/M/S              sharp-blow+ACC/F/S



### 3. 3. 3 The Imperfect.

The imperfect receives the most usage in the tales of the three 'old' preterite tenses (closely followed by the perfect), although its appearance is restricted to only a few 'stock' verbs, most often *abhavat*, *akarot* and *abravī*. It is conceivable that its former role as the primary tense of narration allows it to resist the usurpation of this function by the two non-finite participial tenses. These imperfects do not seem to have any special use or discourse function, such as the perfect showed, with the possible exception of *abravī* which appears in company of *brūe* (present tense, middle voice) and *vadati* (present tense, active voice) as the three verbs most used to introduce direct speech. It is not the tense, though, which is remarkable about *abravī*, but rather the fact that it is the only heavily used saying verb which almost invariably occurs with an accusative noun phrase. On these grounds, it could be perceived as more direct, more **transitive**, than the other saying verbs. There appears to be a *trend* toward the use of *abravī* to introduce utterances of 'lower status' characters: women, merchants, thieves, magicians, servants. When a king, minister, yogi or brahmin speaks, the utterance is usually introduced by one of the other verbs: *brūe* or *vadati*. This would accord with my contention (Rose: in preparation) that transitivity, directness, was a negatively perceived interactive feature, associated with rudeness and lack of *éclat* or sophistication (Gonda 1956:37).<sup>31</sup> Middle voice *brūe* often occurs in the context of 'reply' and would as

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<sup>31</sup>

The avoidance of transitivity--action-oriented syntax--in polite social intercourse (see Van de Walle:1993) was paralleled by a switch in the religious sphere from a (Vedic) world view which asserted the primacy of *dharmā* (right action) as the principle which sustained and held the universe together, to one (during the period of the Brāhmanas and the Upanishads (800-

such be consistent with the expression of mutuality--the semantic domain of middle voice (Klaiman 1988:33ff, Kemmer 1993).

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600 B. C.)) which saw action as a source of bondage, and thus to be avoided. During this later period, "Ritual action, which grounded moral, social and political action for the Vedic people, was now displaced from the epistemological and social center of life" (Koller 1990:86). Only through non-action could one gain liberation from the ever turning wheel of existence.

## NON-FINITE (PARTICIPIAL) NARRATIVE TENSES

4.0 The Participles in *-ta* and *-tavant*

As mentioned above, Pāṇini (1.1.26) describes the suffixes *-ta* and *-tavant* as *niṣṭhā* (*bhūae*) "occurring after a verbal root when the action denoted is in the past" (3.2.102). The *-ta* suffix is said (3.4.70) to denote either *bhāva* 'root sense' (event *qua* event) or *karman* 'object', while suffix *-tavant* denotes *kartr* 'agent' (3.4.67). Thus (after Sharma 1995:412):

- (23) *kṛtam* 'that which has already been done'  
*kṛtavān* 'he did...'  
*bhuktam* 'that which has already been consumed'  
*bhuktavān* 'he ate...'

4.1 The Participle in *-ta* (PPP)<sup>33</sup>

The P-oriented participle in *-ta* was undoubtedly the most productive of the forms which replaced the defunct finite past tenses for the purpose of narrating past events:

First, being perceived of as a more economical and elegant way to integrate subordinate information into the matrix, VAs [PPPs] tend to replace the more complicated subordinate clauses with finite verb forms and subordinators. Second, they gradually absorb the functions of the finite preterites (Van de Walle 1991:382).

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<sup>33</sup>

In making reference to the participle in *-ta* as used in the corpus, I will henceforth refer to it as PPP to distinguish it from the PAP (Past Active Participle). The abbreviated form allows the reader to interpret the ambiguous middle P: as 'passive' or 'perfect(ive)' as the context warrants.

Goldman and Sutherland (1987:167) suggest a possible rationale for the increasing popularity of these forms. Sanskrit, they note, "shows a marked proclivity for nominalization - the substitution of nominal forms for finite verbal forms...through the use of a variety of declinable...words derived from verbal roots." The dual nature of these participles, "adjectival in form but verbal in function", allows for the replacement of entire clauses by a single word. This feature of the participles makes them great favourites, Goldman and Sutherland note, with "beginning students..., as, through their use, [students] are frequently able to substitute an easily declinable adjective for a possibly obscure and almost certainly forgotten finite verb." A similar motivation could certainly have been at work in the Classical times: according to Burrow: "by such devices the wealth of the Pāṇinean verbal morphology can be mostly ignored, and this simplified Sanskrit was understandably popular" (1955:354).

#### 4. 1. 1 Formation

The PPP is formed by adding the suffix *-ta* (e.g. *śru-ta* 'heard') *-ita* (e.g. *paṭh-ita* 'read') or *-na* (e.g. *chin-na* 'cut' < *chid-na*) to the (usually) 'weak' form (= zero-grade) of the verbal root. Its meaning and application depend on certain factors, i.e. the transitivity of the verbal root and the placement of the participle. If they are formed from transitive roots, the nouns they modify are the direct objects (*karman*) of the action of the verbal root, and appear in the nominative case. The *kartr* (agent) will appear in the instrumental, as in (24) and (25):

(24) *tat*                      *pustakam*                      *na*                      *mayā*                      *paṭhitam*  
that+NOM/N/S      book+NOM/N/S      NEG                      I+INS                      read+PPP+NOM/N/S

'That book [is/was] not **read** by me.'

'I did not **read** the book.'

- (25) *evam*      *mayā*      *śrutam*  
thus      I+INS      **hear+PPP+NOM/N/S**  
'Thus I have **heard**.'

If the participle is formed from an intransitive root, the resulting form indicates that the nouns modified are the agents/subjects (*kartr̥s*) of the verbal root; Pāṇini (3.4.72) states that suffix *-ta* indicates *kartr̥* with verbs of motion, and certain other verbs such as *sthā* 'to stand' and *ās* 'to sit, stay'<sup>34</sup>, as in examples (26) and (27). The usage is clearly intransitive, rather than passive (Speijer 1886/1980:280). The action usually takes place in the past (especially with verbs of motion):

- (26) *rāmo*                      *vanam*                      *gataḥ;*  
Rāma+NOM/M/S      forest+ACC/N/S      **go+PPP+NOM/M/S**  
*Sītā*                      *api*                      *tatra*      *gatā*  
Sītā+NOM/F/S      PRT                      there      **go+PPP+NOM/F/S**  
'Rāma **went** to the forest; Sītā **went** there also.'

However, the participle can simply describe a state (retrospective aspect) with no particular reference to time (Goldman and Sutherland 1987:168; Whitney 1889/1967:340) as in (27), or be used as an attributive adjective, as in (28):

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<sup>34</sup>

See Sharma (1995:642) for a complete list.

(27) *bhavo*                      *munayo*                      *vane*  
 many+NOM/M/PL    sages+NOM/M/PL    forest+LOC/N/S  
*sthitāḥ*  
 stay+PPP+NOM/M/PL  
 'Many sages [are/were] **located** in the forest.'

(28) *tyaktāṁ*                      *kanyāṁ*                      *paśyāmi*  
 abandon+PPP+ACC/F/S    girl+ACC/F/S            see+PRES/1/S  
 'I see the **abandoned** girl.'

As we mentioned earlier, participles can be ambiguous as to orientation (A- or P-): *pāṅah* and *bhuktāḥ*, for instance can mean either 'having drunk' or 'having been drunk' / 'having eaten' or 'having been eaten' (Andersen 1991:95ff; Schmalstieg 1980:172ff; Speijer 1886/1980:280). The context usually clarifies such ambiguities.

As is clear from the above examples, the 'past passive' participle is neither necessarily past, nor passive (though it can be both). Two very important features of this construction have been mentioned in the introductory section but deserve reiteration:

1. these participles are marked for aspect (perfective or retrospective), but not necessarily tense. The event described is marked as "completed, regardless of the tense of the clause in which it appears" (Goldman and Sutherland 1987:168) (i.e. 'read/heard' is the issue, not 'is/was').

2. the sentence is not necessarily passive, but it allows for either active or passive interpretation (cf. example 24) depending on whether one is dealing with Vedic or Classical



Sanskrit. During the MIA period, the active interpretation is a direct consequence of the disappearance of the active finite preterites. Goldman and Sutherland (1987:47) comment that it was because of constructions such as this that the category of 'voice' had become very much a non-issue in Classical Sanskrit.

#### 4. 1. 2 Examples of the PPP as a Narrative Past Tense.

The PPP is used in all capacities described above in the *Vetālapañcavirīsati*, both to describe past events (usually verbs of motion - coming and going) or states. Although this P-oriented participle receives considerably more usage than its A-oriented counterpart for the description of past events (in a ratio of approximately 3:1), it does not receive the heavy usage that Whitney describes. Calling the *Vetālapañcavirīsati* an "extreme case of such usages", he claims (1889/1967:362) that in this text, the participle in *-ta* is used for the expression of past events **ninety** percent of the time.<sup>35</sup>

Where in the examples it is relevant or of special interest, absolutive control will be noted. As I indicated above (page v), because I am quoting directly from Emeneau's transliteration, *sandhi* will be left as it appears in his text, and not dissolved.

Story 1, page 16 (dialogue/character narration)(absolutive controlled by *putrah*):

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Even granting that Whitney would obviously have been using a different edition of the *Vetālapañcavirīsati* as his source, his statistics seem quite exaggerated. My evidence indicates that *-ta* participles account overall for approximately thirty percent of expressions of past events, although individual stories may show higher percentages. (See APPENDIX 1).

- (29) *putro me dyūtakārah sarvasvamī*  
 son+NOM/M/S I+GEN gambling-addicted+NOM/M/S all-own+ACC/N/S  
*vinastamī krtvā palāyitah*  
 be-lost+PPP+ACC/N/S do+ABS flee+PPP+NOM/M/S  
 'My son, who is addicted to gambling, **lost** all my property and **ran away**.'

Story 2, page 28 (in-tale narration):

- (30) *brāhmanyā krandan kumāro*  
 brahman-wife+INS/F/S cry+PART+NOM/M/S boy+NOM/M/S  
*'gnau prakṣiptah*  
 fire+LOC/M/S throw+PPP+NOM/M/S  
 'The brahman's wife **threw** the crying boy into the fire.' (Lit: 'The boy  
 [was] thrown into the fire by the brahmin's wife.')

Story 7, page 56 (in-tale narration)(absolute controlled by *rājā*):

- (31) *iti śrutvā rājā vismitah*  
 QUOT hear+ABS king+NOM/M/S astonish+PPP+NOM/M/S  
*sattvasīlasam ippamī gataḥ*  
 Sattvasīla-presence+ACC/N/S go+PPP+NOM/M/S  
 'When the king heard this, he **was astonished** and **went** to Sattvasīla.'

Story 7, page 56 (in-tale narration):

(In this case, the controller of the absolute, 'she', and the instrumental 'subject' of *abhihitam* are recoverable from the context only.)

- (32) *gatvā sarvam abhihitam*  
 go+ABS all+NOM/N/S tell+PPP+NOM/N/S

'She went and **told** her the whole matter.'

Story 7, page 58 (in-tale narration):

- (33) *tato nṛpatinide sāt sā kanyā*  
then king-command+ABL/M/S that+NOM/F/S girl+NOM/F/S  
*sattvaśīlam anugatā*  
Sattvaśīla+ACC/M/S follow+ PPP+NOM/F/S  
'Then at the king's command the girl **followed** Sattvaśīla.'

Story 10, page 66 (introduction):

- (34) *tasya... lāvanyavatī ca tanayā*  
that+GEN/M/S... Lāvanyavatī +NOM/F/S and daughter+NOM/F/S  
*bhūā*  
be+PPP+NOM/F/S  
'..and he **had** a daughter named Lāvanyavatī.' (Lit: 'of him **was** a daughter')

Story 10, page 68 (in-tale narration):

- (35) *kāmapīḍito 'pi katham api svagrham*  
love-smite+PPP+NOM/M/S PRT somehow own-home+ACC/N/S  
*gataḥ*  
go+PPP+NOM/M/S  
'Though he was love-smitten, he managed to **get** to his own house.'

Story 13, page 80 (dialogue/narration by character)(absolute controlled by *sakhyas*):

- (36) *sakhyas ca sarvās tām*  
attendant+NOM/F/PL and all+NOM/F/PL that+ACC/F/S

*apahāya*                      *palāyitāh*  
 abandon+ABS      flee+PPP+NOM/F/PL  
 '..and all her attendants abandoned her and **fled**.'

Story 14, page 90 (in-tale narration):

(37) *unmādayantī*                      *mrtā*  
 Unmādayantī +NOM/F/S      die+PPP+NOM/F/S  
 'Unmādayantī **died**.'

Story 21, page 112 (in-tale narration)(absolute controlled by *tayā*):

(38) *ity*              *uktvā*              *tayā*                      *prasthāpitaḥ*  
 QUOT      say+ABS      that+INS/F/S      dispatch+ PPP+NOM/M/S  
 'Saying this, she **sent** him off.'  
 (Lit: 'When she had said this, by her he was caused to be set out.')

Story 21, page 120 (dialogue/narration by character):

(39) *maraṇasamaye*              *tatra*              *sarastīre*                      *mayai*  
 death-time+LOC/M/S      there      lakeshore+LOC/M/S      I+INS  
 '*kā*                      *cakravākī*                      *dr̥stā*  
 one+NOM/F/S      cakravāka-hen+NOM/F/S      see+PPP+NOM/F/S  
 'At the time of death, there on the shore of the lake I **saw** a cakravāka hen.'

Story 21, page 124 (in-tale narration):

(40) *tatas*              *tāni*                      *ratnāni*                      *kanakadattāya*  
 then      that+NOM/N/PL      jewel+NOM/N/PL      Kanakadatta+DAT/M/S

*rājñā*                      *dattāni*  
king+INS/M/S      give+PPP+NOM/N/PL  
'Then the king gave those jewels to Kanakadatta.'

Story 23, page 135-6 (in-tale narration):

(41) *athai 'kadā...*      *vidyādharaḥ*                      *tayā*                      *saha*  
then once...      Vidyādhara+NOM/M/S      that+INS/F/S with  
*militaḥ*  
meet+PPP+NOM/M/S  
'One day Vidyādhara...met her.'

Story 23, page 136 (in-tale narration)(absolutives controlled by Kharjūrajañgha) :

(42) *kharjūrajañgha*                      *āgatyā*                      *khāditam*  
Kharjūrajañgha+NOM/M/S      come+ABS      eat+PPP+ACC/M/S  
*imañ*                      *nāvā*                      *nijasthānam*                      *āgataḥ*  
this+ACC/M/S      lead+ABS      home+ACC/N/S                      come+ PPP+NOM/M/S  
'Kharjūrajañgha came and ate him and went back to his own abode.'

## 4.2 THE PARTICIPLE IN *-tavant* (THE PAST ACTIVE PARTICIPLE) (PAP)

### 4.2.1 Formation

This participle is formed by the addition of the declinable possessivizing suffix *-vant* to the participle in *-ta*, transitive or intransitive roots. The sense, thus, as indicated in the Introduction (§1.2.2) is of 'ownership' of the verbal activity, a common method of expressing perfectivity. This participle is part of a trend, much in evidence during the classical times, toward tense/aspect

marking on the right, versus the 'old' way of leftwards tense/aspect distinctions (e.g., the augmented  $\alpha$ -, and reduplication – both leftwards phenomena). Although the leftwards located *-ta* participle still carries part of the aspectual load (indicating either retrospective or perfective aspect), subject agreement is triggered by the rightwards element *-vant/vatī*.

Although the Past Active Participle (henceforth PAP) shows greater lexical variety in the corpus than did the 'plain' PPP, usage is somewhat restricted: as I noted above, it occurs only thirty percent as often as its passive counterpart for the narration of past events. There is again a trend, and I emphasize that this is only a trend, not an exclusive usage, for these forms to be used to describe the activities of female characters. The only (albeit slightly far-fetched) explanation for this might be the perceived semantic association of females with *possessions* or *ownership* in general, with "the world of attachments" (female principle = *prakṛti*, 'substance') acknowledged to be the only sphere of life where "she would play any role at all" (Pandharipande 1988:272).

I think it also important to mention some critical differences between these *-tavant* participle and the adjectival participles in *-ta*. Although it is hypothetically possible for the *-tavant* suffix to be declined in all three genders, because of the semantics of *-vant*, high on the animacy cline, usages tend to be confined to human subjects.

As indicated above, as a consequence of the addition of the *-vant* suffix, the 'passive' nature of the PPP is over-ruled: usages are always 'active'. Since the *-tavant* suffix designates *kartr* 'agent' (Pāṇini 3.4.67), the subjects of these participles appear invariably in the **nominative** case. Non-instrumental agent 'subjects', such as in the construction with the *-ta* participle, appear with this form.

#### 4. 2. 2 Examples of the PAP as a Narrative Past Tense

Story 1, page 14 (in-tale narration):

- (43) *atrā 'ntare*                      *tat*                      *sarovaramī*  
then interior+LOC/N/S      that+ACC/N/S      fine-lake+ACC/N/S  
*snātum*      *ekā*                      *karyā..*                      *samāgatavatī*  
bathe+INF      one+NOM/F/S      girl+NOM/F/S      come+PAP+NOM/F/S  
'In the meantime a girl...came [in] to that fine lake to bathe.'

Story 1, page 14 (in-tale narration):

- (44) *sā*                      *'pi... svābhiprāyam*                      *upāyena*  
that+NOM/F/S      PRT... own-feelings+ACC/N/S      artifice+INS/M/S  
*darśitavatī*  
show+PAP+NOM/F/S  
'She let [him] see her feelings by means of an artifice.'

Story 1, page 18 (in-tale narration):

- (45) *tataḥ padmāvati..*                      *tasyā*                      *vadanamī*  
then Padmāvati+NOM/F/S...      that+GEN/F/S      face+ACC/N/S  
*nijadaśabhir*                      *aṅgulībhir*                      *añkitavatī*  
own-ten+INS/F/PL      finger+INS/F/PL      mark+PAP+NOM/F/S  
'Then Padmāvati marked [the old woman's] face...with her own ten fingers.'

Story 1, page 18 (in-tale narration):

- (46) *tataḥ kruddhā*                      *sā*                      *tasyā*                      *vadane*  
then angry+NOM/F/S      that+NOM/F/S      that+GEN/F/S      face+/LOC/N/S

*'nīgulitrayena*                      *kuṅkumamī*                      *dattavatī..*  
 three-fingers+INS/N/S    saffron+ACC/N/S                      **put**+PAP+NOM/F/S  
*tato*    *rudatī*                                      *sā*                                      *gṛham*                                      *āgatyā*  
 then    weep+PART+NOM/F/S    that+NOM/F/S                      home+ACC/N/S                      come+ABS  
*tasyās*                                      *cestāmi*                                      *tayoh*                                      *kathitavatī*  
 that+GEN/F/S                      activity+ACC/F/S                      that+GEN/DU                      **relate**+PAP+NOM/F/S  
 'Then angrily Padmāvati **put** saffron on her [an old woman's] cheek with three fingers. Weeping, she [the old woman] returned home and **related** to them what Padmāvati had done.'

Story 1, page 18 (dialogue/character narration):

- (47) ...*tenā*                      "*tmano*                      '*dya*                      '*rtukālatāmi*  
 that+INS/N/S    self+GEN/M/S                      today                      menstruation-time+ACC/F/S  
*jñāpitavatī*  
**inform**+PAP+NOM/F/S  
 'Thereby she **informed** [us] that today is the time of her menstruation.'

Story 1, page 20 (in-tale narration):

- (48) *tato*    *mahatā*                                      "*dareṇa*                                      *viśasahitadravyamī*  
 then    large+INS/M/S                      respect+INS/M/S                      poisoned-food+ACC/N/S  
*buddhiśarīrāya*                                      *prasthāpitavatī*  
 Buddhiśarīra+DAT/M/S                      **send off**+PAP+NOM/F/S  
 'Then with a large show of respect, she **sent** to Buddhiśarīra poisoned food.'

Story 1, page 22 (in-tale narration):

- (49) *vajramukuto*                                      '*pi*    *tat*                                      *sarvamī*  
 Vajramukuta+NOM/M/S                      PRT    that+ACC/N/S                      all+ACC/N/S



*samācaritavān*

act+PAP+NOM/M/S

'Vajramukūṭa then **carried out** all [that plan].'

Story 10, page 70 (absolutive controlled by *iyam*):

- (50) *athā 'to gatvā samīketasthānam iyam*  
then there go+ABS appointment-place+ACC/N/S this+NOM/F/S  
*prāptavātī*  
reach+PAP+NOM/F/S

'Then going further, she **reached** the rendezvous.'

For interest's sake, and by way of comparison, let us look at how this construction would appear had the PPP been used, rather than the PAP:

- (51) *athā 'to gatvā samīketasthānam anayā*  
then there go+ABS appointment-place+NOM/N/S this+INS/F/S  
*prāptam*  
reach+PPP+NOM/N/S

The translation would be the same, via the ergative construction, but whereas the subject of (50) is nominative (since *-tavant* indicates *kartr*), in (51) the suffix *-ta* indicates *karman*. Consequently, nominative is assigned to *samīketasthānam* 'rendezvous', and by Pāṇini's *anabhihite* rule (2.3.18) (Sharma 1995:125-6), instrumental is assigned to the agent of the reaching, *anayā* 'she' (Lit: 'by her'). The absolutive *gatvā* in **both cases** is controlled by the same element: expressed by the nominative case in the A-oriented construction in (50) and by the instrumental case in the P-oriented construction in (51). It will be observed that there

is as well a subtle semantic nuance depending on the participle selected: with the PPP the emphasis is on the completed verbal activity itself<sup>36</sup>, whereas with the PAP, the focus seems to be on the *doer* rather than the *done*. This change is reflected in the change in marking, as above (§4.2.1).

Story 10, page 68 (in-tale narration):

- (52) *kānapīḍitah*                      *kandarpas*                      *tasyāḥ*  
 lovestrike+PPP+NOM/M/S    Kandarpa+NOM/M/S    that+F/S/GEN  
*stanopari*    *hastam*                      *prasāritavān*  
 breast-over    hand+ACC/M/S    stretch+PAP+NOM/M/S  
 'Kandarpa...was smitten with love and **stretched forth** his hand to her breast.'

Story 10, page 70 (in-tale narration):

- (53) *anenā*                      'pi                      *tyaktā*                      *svāminah*  
 this+INS/M/S    PRT                      release+PPP+NOM/F/S    husband+GEN/M/S  
*śrīyām*                      *āgatavatī*  
 bed+ACC/F/S                      go+PAP+NOM  
 'Released by him too, she **went** to her husband's bed.'

Story 14, page 86 (dialogue/direct speech):

- (54) *mahyam*                      *rājā*                      *svecchayā*                      *dattavān*  
 I+DAT                      king+M/S/NOM    own-will+INS/F/S    give+PAP+NOM/M/S  
 'The king **gave** [her] to me of his own free will.'

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<sup>36</sup>

Ergative constructions tend to "enhance" perfectivity (Bubenik: personal communication).

Story 14, page 88 (in-tale narration):

- (55) *tato rājā tān na nīlavān.*  
then king+NOM/M/S that+ACC/F/S NEG lead+PAP+NOM/M/S  
*ato ratnadattah senānīranadhavalāya*  
then Ratnadatta+NOM/M/S general-Ranadhavala+DAT/M/S  
*dattavān*  
give+PAP+NOM/M/S  
'Hence the king **did** not **marry** her. Ratnadatta then **gave** [her] to the general Ranadhavala.'

Story 14, page 88 (in-tale narration/direct speech):

- (56) *tado 'nmādayantī manase 'ti*  
then Unmādayantī+NOM/F/S mind+LOC/N/S QUOT  
*cintavatī.. rājā mān na*  
think+PAP+NOM/F/S... king+NOM/M/S I+ACC NEG  
*nīlavān*  
lead+PAP+NOM/M/S  
'Unmādayantī **thought** thus in her mind: "[This is the] king [who].. **did** not **marry** me.'"

Story 21, page 124 (in-tale narration/direct speech):

- (57) *sā jānismarā 'pi*  
that+NOM/F/S previous-life-remembering+NOM/F/S PRT  
*katham kanakadattam na jñāvatī*  
how Kanakadatta+ACC/M/S NEG know+PAP+NOM/F/S  
'[Why], though she remembered her previous existences, **did** she not **remember** Kanakadatta.?'

Story 21, page 124 (concluding paragraph/direct speech):

- (58) ...*nijapatim*                      *vismrtavatī*  
own-husband+ACC/M/S    forget+PAP+NOM/F/S  
'She **forgot** her own husband.'

Occasionally, the *-vant* suffix is semantically foregrounded and the sense is of 'possession' of the perfective verbal activity, rather than past time, and is best rendered in translation as an English perfect.<sup>37</sup> This happens regularly in direct speech, as these next two examples show:

Story 7, page 56 (dialogue/direct speech):

- (59) *aham*                      *ātmānam*                      *niveditavatī*  
I+NOM                      self+ACC/M/S                      present+PAP+NOM/F/S  
'I **have presented** myself.'

Story 7, page 56 (dialogue/direct speech):

- (60) *mahyam*                      *ātmānam*                      *yadi*    *bhavatī*                      *dattavatī*  
I+DAT                      self+ACC/M/S    if    lady+NOM/F/S                      give+PAP+NOM/F/S  
'If you **have given** yourself to me...'

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<sup>37</sup>

In examples such as this, the *-vant* morpheme *could* be considered almost as an auxiliary, in the sense that it substitutes for 'have', as we noted above, a lexical item which Sanskrit did not possess. Thus, *gatavatī* > 'She possesses/has gone-ness' = 'She has gone/she went'. The form might thus be viewed as far more derivational than inflectional.

Recall that this type of event in direct speech (expressed by an English perfect aspectual auxiliary *has/have*) was rendered in the early language by the aorist, as in example (5), repeated here as (61):

(61) *tam̐ ho 'vāca* (perfect): *apatsata* (aorist) *vā asya dantāḥ*  
..[then] he said to him: "Truly, his teeth have dropped out"

Speijer (1886/1980:252) distinguishes between this type of past fact, which he terms the "actual" past, "events so recent as not to have lost their actuality at the time of their being related", and events that are more remote from the moment of speaking, which he terms the "historical" past. He indicates that for expressing the latter, "the four past tenses are used almost promiscuously, and the historical present may be added to them as a fifth" (1886/1980:246). The "actual" past, however, is far more restricted. These very recent events, the type of event which is rendered by an English perfect, such as "I have done" or "I have seen the man" may **only** be expressed "by the aorist or the participle" (1886/1980:252).

The loss of the aorist, then, would conceivably further restrict the available means for the expression of these events. Consequently, it might be expected that in the Classical language other means might be found, or other uses expand, to fill this gap. As we shall see in the following section, such was indeed the case. The periphrastic construction involving the PPP and auxiliary verb *√as* ('to be') was used regularly in direct speech in the *Vetālapañcaviṁśati* in this capacity.

## CHAPTER 5

### ASPECTUAL DISTINCTIONS USING PERIPHRASTIC PREDICATION

#### 5.0 Analytic Aspectual Constructions

"There is a small set of aux verbs which develop into highly specific tense/aspect/modality markers" (Givón 1979:221). These helping verbs "place the situation described in a certain time (tense), ascribe a temporal contour to it (aspect), and assess its reality (modality)" (Steele 1978:7-47).

The four verbs which are used in this capacity in the *Vetālapañcaviñśati* are *√as* 'to be', (retrospective aspect, in concert with the PPP), *√sthā* 'to stay' and *√ās* 'to sit, stay' (imperfective aspect), and *vidyate* 'to be'<sup>38</sup> (imperfective aspect). These are employed in what I term "serial constructions",<sup>39</sup> for they involve an invariant word order, viz. (participle plus auxiliary) with no intervening sentential items. This was not always the case. Earlier periphrastic perfect forms<sup>40</sup> allowed such items (Murti 1984:272, Taraporewala 1967:72).

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<sup>38</sup>

Speyer [=Speijer] (1896/1974:46) lists *vidyate*, in that form, in company with roots *sthā*, *ās*, and *vr̥* as an auxiliary verb used with the present participle. The form and meaning of *vidyate* is discussed at length in §5.4.0

<sup>39</sup>

See Givón 1991:83 (d).

<sup>40</sup>

Sanskrit possessed two other types of periphrastic predication: 1. the periphrastic perfect, exceedingly rare in the Veda, but increasingly more common in Classical literature, where auxiliaries *√as*, *√bhū*, or *√kr* are used. These forms, with auxiliary *√as* only, are ubiquitous in the *Vetālapañcaviñśati*- and 2. the periphrastic future, of which no examples were in evidence in this corpus. Both were made up of "a fixed nominal and a variable verb form" (Goldman and Sutherland 1987:287).



2. Present participle plus auxiliary  $\sqrt{sth\bar{a}}$  ('to stand, stay, remain')

(indicating **imperfective** aspect, used as an in-tale narrative tense)

*anubhavanis*                      *tisthati*

**enjoy**+PART+NOM/M/S    **stay**+PRES/3/S

'He continually enjoyed.'

3. Present participle plus auxiliary  $\sqrt{\bar{a}s}$  ('to sit, stay, remain')

(complex use: **imperfective** aspect/discourse)

*gacchantī*                      *āste*

**go**+PART+NOM/F/S    **stay**+PRES/3/S/MID

'She continually went.'

4. Present participle plus auxiliary *vidyate* ('to be, exist' >  $\sqrt{vid}$  'to find')

(indicating **imperfective** aspect, complex in-tale discourse use)

*gacchantī*                      *vidyate*

**go**+PART+NOM/F/S    **find**+PASS+PRES/3/S/Medio-Passive

'She was going along the road.'

The auxiliary verbs in these constructions convey **both** aspect (via *Aktionsart*: the lexical meaning of the verb: 'stay' is inherently imperfective) and tense. The (leftwards) main lexical (non-finite) verbal element conveys *only* aspect.



## 5.2 PPP with Auxiliary *√as*

There are three constructions which need to be mentioned under this heading. First, there is the 'nominal sentence' form, wherein the PPP is used by itself as a preterite predicate (as discussed above §4.1.1, 4.1.2, ex. *unmādayantī mrtā* = Unmadayanti died; *ity uktvā calitah* = Having said that, he went away). This was the most common, 'unmarked' usage, where the PPP represented "a finite verb in the past tense, that is, either a state or a condition, or an event in the past" (Breunis 1990:134). The PPP "...is a past tense when it functions as a finite verb"...it describes..."an event in the past."<sup>43</sup> Breunis notes that, in Hīndi, the PPP's are:

actually finite verb forms used to indicate a preterite, namely a momentaneous action, performed once upon a time in the past, without any necessary reference to the moment the action took place; for instance, *vah Bambāī gayā*, "he went to Bombay" (Breunis 1990:1).

Breunis calls this a "neutral" usage, but this could be problematical, especially in light of Dik's remarks (1987:58): "The copula is a semantically empty supportative verb in all its occurrences." This is certainly not true in English: consider the 'minimal pair': "The missionary is/has eaten." There is a significant, semantic difference between *copular* and *auxiliary* usages

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43

I might note here that all the examples which Speijer (1886/1980:255) lists of his "historical" past lack the copula. Deshpande (1991:38-9) offers an interesting discussion of the differing theoretical approaches of Sanskrit grammarians to the inclusion of *√as* 'to be' in deriving nominal sentence of the type *rāmaḥ gataḥ*. Kātyāyana, for instance, assumes that an underlying [*asti*] should be understood in all such sentences, with the agent *rāma* coreferential with the affix *-ti* of the finite verb. "Here the original syntactic value of the participial affix *-ta* as denoting 'agent' is not contradicted by the imputed finite verb, but remains derivationally unutilized." This analysis runs into problems, however, when the senses of the participle and the affix are in conflict, as in *rāmeṇa rāvaṇaḥ hataḥ* [*asti*] 'Rāvaṇa is killed by Rāma' (Deshpande 1991:40).

of existential verbs which seems to escape both Dik and Chomsky (1966:66). It does not escape Luraghi (1990:24) who notes, referring to the development of Hittite  $\sqrt{es-}$  as an auxiliary, that in Early Hittite,

the verb 'be' should not be taken as an auxiliary, but rather as the copula taking a participle as its Complement. Auxiliary 'be' appears only from Middle Hittite onwards. Examples are:  
(6016) *kedas=ma ANA KUR.KUR<sup>HA</sup> LUGAL<sup>um</sup> Hatti kuit UL kuiski panza esta*  
'Since no king had ever gone (*panza esta*) to these countries' <sup>44</sup>

Understanding this difference is critical to an appreciation of aspectual significance, certainly of Latin periphrastic tenses. (See below).

Secondly, the use of  $\sqrt{as}$  as a copula, with an adjective, or with a PPP as its complement, as above, referring more to the nominal, attributive, rather than the verbal, action-oriented properties of the participle, and thus often representing a state, is used in direct speech and (most often) rendered in the present tense, as in '*pr̄iḥo'smi*' = I am pleased, or '*baddho'smi*' = I am bound.<sup>45</sup>

Thirdly, the serial construction PPP plus auxiliary  $\sqrt{as}$  represents a marked form: its usage indicates retrospective aspect (or, later, as in Hindi, perfect *tense*). Breunis says (1990:142)

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<sup>44</sup>

Note tense: *panza esta* = go+ participle **be** + PAST/3/S = 'gone **was**' = '**had gone**'

<sup>45</sup>

I might note here that similar usages involving the lexical item *bhū* nearly always have an inchoative meaning, as 'he became something'. I do not include *bhū* in this discussion, for the reason that this item does not occur in aspectually significant serial constructions in this corpus.

"...the construction with the copula is marked in relation to the nominal sentence, because the former is more explicit and, as a consequence, more limited in use." Again, in Hindi, Breunis notes that the use of the PPP with a form of 'to be'..."indicates another kind of preterite, namely, an action in the past somehow connected with the present" (Breunis1990:1).

With the synthetic (aorist) form no longer available for rendering this type of event, the *analytic* strategy for the realisation of such events receives heavy use in the *Vetālapañcavirīṣati*, especially in dialogue. Note that, consistent with retrospective aspect, many of the phrases could as well be rendered by a stative present: 'I have come=I am here'.

### 5. 2. 1 Examples of Type 1 (PPP with Auxiliary √as 'to be') from the Corpus

The reader will note that the participle of the main lexical verb agrees with its subject referent in gender, number and case. The auxiliary agrees in person and number, but is only inflected in the present, most commonly, though not always, in 1st and 2nd person. All examples are in dialogue, i.e. direct speech.

Introductory Story, page 10:

(62)	<i>aḥam</i>	<i>āgato</i>	<i>'smi</i>
	I+NOM	come+PPP+NOM/M/S	be+PRES/1/S
	'I have come.'		

Story 4, page 44:

(63)	<i>tānī</i>	<i>niḥsāryā</i>	<i>"gato</i>	<i>'smi</i>
	that+ACC/F/S	turn away+ABS	come+PPP+NOM/M/S	be+PRES/1/S

'I **have** turned her away and come.'

Story 10, page 70:

- (64) *tato*      *'ham*                      *gatā*                      *'smi*  
thus      I+NOM                      go+PPP+NOM/F/S      be+PRES/1/S  
'Thus I **have** returned.'

Story 21, page 116:

- (65) *kimartham*      *āgato*                                      *'si*  
why                      come+PPP+NOM/M/S                      be+PRES/2/S  
'Why **have** you come here?'

Story 21, page 116:

- (66) *mātas,*                      *tava*                      *sevāmi*  
mother+VOC/F/S      you+GENservice+ACC/F/S  
*kartum*                      *āgato*                                      *'smi*  
do+INF                      come+PPP+NOM/M/S                      be+PRES/1/S  
'I **have** come to do you reverence.'

Story 22, page 128:

- (67) *putri,*                      *tvam*                      *īkṛsīmi*                      *dasāmi*  
daughter+VOC/F/S      you+VOC/F/S      such+ACC/F/S      state+ACC/F/S  
*kuto*      *gatā*                                      *'si*  
how      go+PPP+NOM/F/S                      be+PRES/2/S  
'Daughter, how **have** you come[or 'got'] to such a state?'



form of the word in question" (Dik 1987:54). Both the fixed word order, which Lehmann (1982) calls a further indication of grammaticalization and the operation of *sandhi*, which obfuscates the phonological discreteness between words, obviously give this process a 'kickstart': viz: *āgato'smi*.

That this process did indeed take place is indicated by Breunis (1990:184) referring to *Māhārāṣṭrī*:

In a limited number of cases, the PPP is connected to the present tense of the copula...the second person (*sī*, "you are")...is directly attached to the PPP, as a kind of suffix...

This phenomenon can also be clearly seen in Prakrit *Niya* (*kadamhi* < *kada mhi* 'I have done' not \*'I am done') and in Modern Eastern Hindi (*dekhesi* < *dekhe hasi* 'You have seen'); these examples from Bubenik (1989:395) demonstrate the "finitization" of participle by means of the (already) cliticized copula. This yoking of the (original) passive morphology and the copula allows the resulting form to be reinterpreted as retrospective aspect (i.e. 'I have done' not \*'I am done').

This is an important point to note, since, in languages with a proclivity for nominal predication, like Hittite and Sanskrit, the copula/auxiliary was often omitted, almost always in the present tense (Masica 1991:339). As noted above, its inclusion invariably denoted some nuance of tense/aspect, as in the examples quoted above, in Hittite (Luraghi 1990:24), or in the Latin passive periphrastic tenses. Thus, *amātus sum* does not mean \*'I am loved', but

rather, 'I *have been/was* loved'. The retrospective aspect (§1.1.2) results from the **interaction** of the passive participle and the existential auxiliary.

Where its inclusion in the information structure would be redundant, as in self-evident, gnomic utterances such as Sanskrit, *striyo nisargād eva paṇḍitāḥ*, 'women are naturally wise', or in Latin *omnia praeclāra rāra*, 'all that is excellent is rare', the copula may be omitted. Such universal truths are, according to Benveniste, "Tense/Aspect neutral" - I presume in the sense that their truth is not time dependent.

Gonda (1975:74), from whom the above examples are taken, notes in support of the above:

As a rule, nominal sentences are avoided if the utterance is intended to express a special modal, temporal, or affective nuance which cannot be understood by the hearer.<sup>47</sup>

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47

Schmalstieg (1980:185) quotes Shields in identifying IE root \**es* as "etymologically a pronoun". (Compare similar phenomenon in Hebrew (Li and Thompson 1977:427ff)). This referential nature would have allowed easy omission in statements with no extraneous information (i.e. tense, mood, etc.) to confer to the hearer. One can imagine a proto-utterance as \**es meln digh*='he black goat', or, more likely, \**meln digh es*. One does not say "He black goat" out of the blue. It is usually in answer to a question, such as "What/who is he?" or "What colour is the goat?" Thus, the information structure would place the salient feature first: the creature or the colour, depending on what was to be emphasized in response to the question and, since the referent has already been mentioned, and both parties were aware of who/what was under discussion, the third person pronoun/copula could easily be omitted. Third singular copulas are, in fact, the **most** likely to be omitted. In direct deixis, they would be "referentially semantically void" (Binnick 1991:244).

### 5.3 Present Participle with Auxiliary $\sqrt{sth\bar{a}}$

In addition to its use as an auxiliary,  $\sqrt{sth\bar{a}}$  maintains a "life of its own" in this corpus. It occurs as an independent verb, functioning as a lexical item, inflected in several forms, (see §5.2.1.6) though, granted, rarely in the present tense, which usage seems reserved for its auxiliary function.

The verb 'to stand' is, cross-lingually, a common auxiliary verb typically indicating imperfective/durative aspect. It can become desemanticized to the point where its use is simply copular, as in Spanish: *estaba estudiando* = 'I was studying', or as in this example from Khotanese, where it appears in a serial construction with the PPP. Emmerick (1987:289) notes that such a usage creates an unambiguous passive form, unlike the *active* result in Sanskrit (example reproduced as it appears in Emmerick):

- (71) tta tta khu ttaramdarajā (Khotanese)  
so so as of the body (Nom-Acc PlMasc)  
āchā... busta  
disease (Nom-Acc Pl Masc) know (PP Nom-AccPlMasc)  
ṣṭāre  
stand (3rd Pl.Pres)  
'They are known (Sanskrit *matāḥ*) as "body" diseases.'

I found only one example of such a copular usage:

Story 21, page 122:

- (72) *vicitradattasya kanyā mama patnīsthitā*  
'My wife **was** the daughter of Vicitradatta.'



although Bopp noted (1856:718) that "...in Sanskrit, the root  $\sqrt{sth\bar{a}}$ , 'to stand', occasionally receives the abstract meaning 'to be'."

There is little evidence that  $\sqrt{sth\bar{a}}$  has reached this stage in my corpus. I give two pieces of evidence in support of this opinion: as noted above,  $\sqrt{sth\bar{a}}$  still functions as an independent lexical item throughout the text, and, even in its capacity as an auxiliary verb, it shows remarkable vitality: it is inflected in several tenses, two voices, and three numbers, indicating strongly that its semantic force has not been abated. This being the case, the following phrases could be interpreted as being doubly marked for durativity: morphologically, via the present participle, and lexically, by the *Aktionsart* of  $\sqrt{sth\bar{a}}$ , which, after all does mean 'stay' or 'remain': obviously 'durative'. In phrases using lexical items such as *anubhū*, with its aspectually significant (iterative) prefix *anu-* ('afterward, again'), a predicate such as *anubhavaris tiṣṭhati* becomes a veritable 'soup' of durativity, doubly and triply compounding the aspectual layers. This triply marked phrase is ubiquitous in the text in this context of descriptions of sexual intercourse, to indicate 'ongoingness'—durativity. The pragmatic function is obvious.

$\sqrt{Sth\bar{a}}$ 's primary function in the verbal system, however, seems to be a true auxiliary: it 'helps' the present participle, which indicates imperfective aspect, function as a main verb, a function which, alone, it was not able to perform:

The present participle in the Classical Language was...limited...to a status in a sentence subordinate to another finite verb or its equivalent. The present participle can never substitute for the principal verb of a sentence" (Goldman and Sutherland 1987:242).

### 5. 3. 1 Examples of Type 2 (Present Participle with Auxiliary √sthā 'to stay, remain') from the Corpus

It will be noticed that, in these phrases, both members are inflected: the present participle for the nominal categories of gender, number and case, the auxiliary for the verbal categories of tense, voice, number and person. Its ability to be freely inflected gives it great flexibility in discourse usage. Discourse usage is given in parenthesis.

#### 5. 3. 1. 1. Auxiliary √sthā inflected in 'Historical present'

Story 8 page 60; story 12, page 74; Story 21, page 122 and numerous other examples:

(in-tale narrative/direct speech)

(73) *tayā saha nānāsukham anubhavaris tiṣṭhati*

(74) *tayā saha vividhasukam anubhavaris tiṣṭhati*

(75) *anayā saha... nānāsukham*  
 this+INS/F/S with manifold-pleasure+ACC/N/S  
*anubhavaris tiṣṭhati*  
 enjoy+PART+NOM/M/S stay+PRES/3/S  
 'He continually enjoyed manifold pleasures with her.'

Story 22, page 128 (in-tale narrative):

(76) *atha tayā 'naṅgasenayā saha vividhakraḍāni*  
 thus that+INS/F/S Anaṅgasenā+INS/F/S with manifold-play+ACC/F/S

*kurvānas*

*tiṣṭhati*

do+PART(MID)+NOM/M/S

stay+PRES/3/S

'Thus he **continuously enjoyed/performed** manifold amorous sports with Anaṅgasenā.'

Story 3a, page 34 (direct speech):

(77)	<i>tvām</i>	<i>eva</i>	<i>dhyāyantī</i>	<i>tiṣṭhāmi</i>
	you+ACC/S	PRT	lament+PART+NOM/F/S	stay+PRES/1/S

'I have been continually lamenting for you.'

Story 21, page 120 (direct speech, past tense via the particle *sma*):<sup>48</sup>

(78)	<i>tena</i>	<i>saha</i>	<i>nānāsukham</i>	<i>amubhavanti</i>
	that+INS/M/S	with	manifold-pleasure+ACC/N/S	enjoy+PART+NOM/F/S
	<i>tiṣṭhāmi</i>	<i>sma</i>		
	stay+PRES/1/S	PRT		

'I **continually enjoyed** all pleasures with him.'

Story 21, page 120 (direct speech):

(79)	<i>tam</i>	<i>eva</i>	<i>dhyāyantī</i>	<i>tiṣṭhāmi</i>
	that+ACC/M/S	PRT	pine+PART+NOM/F/S	stay+PRES/1/S

'I **remained pining** for him.'

<sup>48</sup>

Usually, Jambhaladatta does not use *sma* to indicate past time, preferring instead the (perhaps more "lively") Historical Present. It is possible that the inclusion of *sma* in this context denotes a subtle nuance: Pāṇini (3.2.118) states that present tense with *sma* may indicate "an action which is not current, and which was not witnessed by anyone". Thus, the speaker may be emphasizing the very private nature of their *nānāsukham*.





Story 14, page 88 (end of paragraph):

- (86) *tām eva dhyāyānis tasthau*  
that+ACC/F/S PRT pine+PART+NOM/M/S stay+PERF/3/S  
'He **continually pined** for her alone.'

Story 21, page 110 (at end of paragraph):

- (87) *te catvārah... sakalasukham*  
that+NOM/M/PL four+NOM/M/PL all-happiness+ACC/N/S  
*anubhavantas tasthuh.*  
enjoy+PART+NOM/M/PL stay+PERF/3/PL  
'Those four **continually enjoyed** all happiness.'

#### 5. 3. 1. 4 Auxiliary $\sqrt{sthā}$ inflected in the Dual:

Story 23, page 132 (in-tale narration):

- (88) *tanmātāpitarau bahu vilapantau*  
that-mother-father+NOM/DU much lament+PART+NOM/DU  
*tiṣṭhataḥ*  
stay+PRES/3/DU  
'Her mother and father **continually lamented** loudly.'

#### 5. 3. 1. 5 Auxiliary $\sqrt{sthā}$ inflected in the Middle Voice:

Introductory story, page 4 (end of paragraph-narrator's introduction to tale):

- (89) *...kālmī nayann avatiṣṭhate*  
time+ACC/M/S lead+PART+NOM/M/S remain+PRES/3/S/MID  
'...he **continually spent** the time.'

Story 3, page 30 (in-tale narration):

- (90) *priyatamayā candraprabhayā.... kālani*  
dearest+INS/F/S Candraprabhā+INS/F/S time +ACC/M/S  
*nayann avatiṣṭhate*  
**lead+PART+NOM/M/S remain+PRES/3/S/MID**  
'... he **passed** the time...with his very dear Candraprabhā.'

Story 21, page 116 (in-tale narration):

- (91) *rūpavatī.. tayā sahā 'śesālāpamī*  
Rūpavatī+NOM/F/S that+INS/F/S with all-chat+ACC/M/S  
*kurvānā 'vatiṣṭhate*  
**do+PART(MID)+NOM/F/S remain+PRES/3/S/MID**  
'Rūpavatī ... **remained conversing** ...with her.'

### 5. 3. 1. 6 *√sthā* used as a Lexical Independent Verb:

Story 4, page 40 (direct speech):

- (92) *rājaputro 'hami... tiṣṭhāmi.*  
king +NOM/M/S I+NOM **stay+PRES/1/S**  
'I, a rajput,...**stand** here.'

Story13, page 82 (direct speech):

- (93) *tiṣṭha*  
**stay+IMP/2/S**  
'Wait!'

Story 21, page 122 (narration/historical present):

- (94) ...*tatrai* 'va                    *nagare*                    *tiṣṭhātī*  
there            PRT                    city+LOC/N/S            stay+PRES/3/S  
'He **remained** there in the city.'

Story 22, page 130 (direct speech):

- (95) *kim*    *tu*    *tasyā*                    *akṛtir*                    *loke*  
but    PRT    that+GEN/F/S            disgrace+NOM/F/S            people+LOC/M/S  
*sthāsyati*  
stay+FUT/3/S  
'However, a dreadful report of her **will remain** among the people.'

Story 23, page 132 (direct speech):

- (96) *asmin*                    *deśe*                    *na*                    *sthāsvyam*  
this+LOC/M/S            place+LOC/M/S            NEG                    stay+GERVE  
'I **will not stay** in this place.' (Lit: 'It is not to be stayed [by me] in this place.')

#### 5.4 Present Participle with Auxiliary $\sqrt{\text{ās}}$

Although the lexical items  $\sqrt{\text{ās}}$  and  $\sqrt{\text{sthā}}$  can both mean 'to stay, remain', and are both employed in serial predicates, their uses are not identical. Whereas  $\sqrt{\text{sthā}}$  invariably results in imperfective aspect,  $\sqrt{\text{ās}}$  does so only occasionally. The  $\sqrt{\text{ās}}$  construction seems to have a strong discourse pragmatic function, as did the perfect usages of  $\sqrt{\text{sthā}}$ , with similar results: they are used as in-tale narrative past tenses either to summarize events (examples 97, 98) or to provide setting of scene (example 99). They move the story line along and provide



structure by thus forming a transition between events. They often occur in the context such as "One day...PPP+*āste*...then...".

One usage of *āste* by itself is copular (example101).

The form of the present participle is the same as with  $\sqrt{sthā}$ : it is inflected for person, number, case and gender. The auxiliary, however, shows none of  $\sqrt{sthā}$ 's flexibility. It appears in one form only: **stay**+PRES/3/S/MID. Therefore, for simplicity's sake in the examples which follow, only the lexical verb will appear in the gloss, with the grammatical information understood in all cases.

#### 5. 4. 1 Examples of Type 3 (Present Participle with Auxiliary $\sqrt{ās}$ ) from the Corpus

Story 4, page 42 (in-tale narrative-summary):

- (97) *evamī rājasevāmī kurvann āste*  
 thus king-service+ACC/F/S do+PART+NOM/M/S stay  
 'So he **continually did** service to the king.'

Story 6, page 52 (in-tale narrative):

- (98) *harisvāmī ca rājasthānamī gacchann*  
 Harisvāmī+NOM/M/S and king-place+ACC/N/S go+PART+NOM/M/S  
*āste*  
 stay  
 'Harisvāmin **was going** to the king's palace.'

Story 8, page 60 (in-tale narrative):

- (99) *śvetapato.. pitur ādeśāt*  
Śvetapata+NOM/M/S father+GEN/M/S command+ABL/M/S  
*svadeśāmi gacchann āste*  
own-country+ACC/M/S go+PART+NOM/M/S stay  
'Śvetapata,...at his father's command **was going** to his own country.'

Story 11, page 74 (in-tale narrative):

- (100) *...rājā krīdann āste*  
king +NOM/M/S play+PART+NOM/M/S stay  
'The king **engaged in** amorous sport.'

Story 21, page 122 (direct speech):

- (101) *mama puṣkarāvātī nāma nagarī*  
I+GEN Puṣkarāvātī+NOM/F/S name+NOM/N/S city+NOM/F/S  
*'ndrasyā 'marāvātī 'vā "ste*  
Indra+GEN/M/S Amarāvātī+NOM/F/S PRT stay  
'My city of Puṣkarāvātī is like Indra's Amarāvātī.'

Example (102) is the only example of  $\sqrt{\text{āś}}$  whose lexical meaning is still intact:

Story 8, page 58 (direct speech):

- (102) *pracaṇḍasiṅho mahārājah svagrham*  
Pracaṇḍasiṅha+NOM/M/S great-king+NOM/M/S own-home+ACC/N/S  
*vihāyā "ste*  
leave-behind+ABS stay  
'The great king Pracaṇḍasiṅha has abandoned his home and **stays** here.'

## 5. 5 Present Participle with Auxiliary *vidyate*

### 5. 5. 0 Background

The weakening of meaning involved in the auxiliary grammaticalization process is very clearly in evidence with *vidyate*. It is undoubtedly the most "semantically bleached" of the auxiliary verbs used in serial constructions in the *Vetālapañcaviṣāti*. Indeed, determining the exact meaning and form of this auxiliary is not a straightforward task. *Vidyate* is, as well, significant from a typological point of view. Therefore, a further investigation into the origin of the root(s) of this form, and some discussion of its possible interpretations, is necessary.

Pāṇini's catalogue of verbs, the *dhātupāṭha*, recognizes four different *vid-* roots :

1. one belonging to class II-55 (*ad*-class) and meaning 'to know, learn, understand, perceive' (*jñāne*) (Pāṇini 1.2.8; 3.1.38; 3.2.61). This is probably the original and most common meaning of the root.

2. one belonging to class VI-138 (*nud*-class) and meaning 'to find, discover, obtain' (*lābhe*) (Pāṇini 7.2.68). This meaning, according to Whitney (1885/1963:160; also see Monier-Williams (1899/1993:964)) was "originally the same with the first meaning. In some of their meanings, the two are so close together as hardly to be separable; and there are instances, from the Veda down, of exchanges of form between them."<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>49</sup>

Whitney (1889/1967:103) describes roots *vid-* 'to know' and *vid-* 'to find' as:  
root forms held apart by a well established discordance of inflection and meaning which are yet probably different sides of one root...In many such cases it is doubtful whether we ought to acknowledge two roots or only one; and no absolute rule of distinction can be laid down and maintained.

3. one belonging to class VII-13 (*rudh*-class) and meaning 'to consider as, or take for' (*vicāraṇe*) (Pāṇini 3.2.61; 8.2.56).

4. one belonging to class IV-62 (*div*-class) and meaning 'to be, exist' (*sattāyām*) (Pāṇini 3.2.61).

How are we to determine which of these four possible roots is the source of *vidyate*? Many of the distinctions in meaning of the various roots are based on the 'glosses' for each root, such as appear above (*jñāne*, *sattāyām* etc.). However, as Cardona (1976:240) notes, this may not be as reliable a guide as one would wish. Many scholars, ancient and modern, disputed whether such meaning entries were originally included in Pāṇini's *dhātupāṭha*: many insist that these were post-Pāṇini additions (see Cardona 1976 and references therein). Cardona (1976:162) describes arguments that they should be included as "not convincing". Indeed, he insists (1988:99), "it is pretty certain...that the *dhātupāṭha* in the form known to the earliest Pāṇinīyas...did not contain these glosses." Nevertheless, as he points out, Pāṇini did recognize homophonous bases whose meanings clearly differed, and whose various manifestations were thus assigned to different *gaṇas* (conjugational classes of verbs). He cites *vid-* as one of the clearest examples of this:

*vidá* 'know' belongs to the second major group (*vétti / véda*), *vida* 'be, occur' to the fourth major group (*vidyate*, with a high pitched base vowel), and *vid* 'find' is included in the sixth major group...(*vindáti*, *vindáte*, pass. *vidyáte*) (1988:125)

It should be noted, however, that, with the possible exception of the fourth class,<sup>50</sup> *meaning* is not a criterion for assignment to a particular class; such allocations are based on the manner in which individual verbs form their present stems. This feature, what Whitney terms "their most conspicuous difference", is, consequently, the basis of their principal classification:

a verb is said to be of this or that conjugation, or class, according to the way in which its present-stem is made and inflected (1889/1967:601).

Cardona notes (1988:126) that within each major group, verbs are further arranged according to three criteria: whether they may be inflected with *parasmaipada* suffixes, *āmanepada* suffixes, or both; whether their bases contain high or low pitched vowels (*udāta* or *anudāta*), and "whether they have final sounds in common."

The active/middle distinction may indeed be helpful in determining which of the homophonous *vid*-roots is intended: this is the solution which Sharma (1995:650-1) adopts in determining which root is the one described in Pāṇini (3.4.83):

How do we know that the specified root is not the one that means 'to exist' (*sattā*), 'to think' (*vicāra*), or 'to gain' (*lābha*)? We know this from the fact that roots with the first two meanings do not allow active (*parasmaipada*) endings.

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<sup>50</sup>

According to Whitney (1889/1967:761), the fourth is "the only...class...which shows any tendency toward a restriction to a certain variety of meaning." Included in class four are many so-called 'psych' verbs, intransitive verbs, and verbs of state such as *krūdh-ya* 'be angry', *kūp-ya* 'be angry', *klām-ya* 'be weary', *ksudh-ya* 'be hungry', *muh-ya* 'be confused', *tis-ya* 'be pleased', *tāp-ya* 'be hot', *hr̥ṣ-ya* 'rejoices'.

Another possible 'diagnostic tool' is the accent, in the early language a reliable guide to the differentiation between *āmanepada* forms of class IV and the passive (Burrow 1955:329; Mishra 1982:115). Macdonell (1910/1975:332ff) notes that although all members of the fourth class show the pre-desinential suffix *-ya-*, they may nevertheless be described (at least in the Vedic language) as falling into two distinct groups: some 70 or so roots with an **unaccented** suffix, having transitive (*parasmaipada* suffixes) or intransitive/stative meaning (*āmanepada* suffixes); the remaining 80 or so, with an **accented** suffix, having a distinctly passive meaning (all with *āmanepada* suffixes). Macdonell locates *vidyāte* in this latter (suffixally accented (passive)) group, but notes that, "the inflexion is identical with that of the radically accented *-ya-* class in the middle, differing from it in accent only". Often it is **only** the position of the accent which determines differences in meaning between the two sub-groups: intransitive *mūcyate* 'gets loose' vs. passive *mūcyāte* 'is released' (Burrow 1955:329ff; Mishra 1982:114). To add to the confusion, this accent "occasionally fluctuates". Macdonell (1910/1975:331) notes further that verbs in this group, although they may be passives in form are often "not so in sense", citing *dhriyāte* 'is steadfast' as an example.

Group four verbs, with middle voice marking, are thus formally **highly** ambiguous, even with the accent, between the intransitive/stative and the passive reading. Once the accent is lost, and they become formally identical, it is easy to see how the **semantic** ambiguity may be similarly increased: does *vidyate* mean 'is found' (passive-*lābhe*) or 'be/occur' (intransitive-*sattāyām*)?

Regrettably, for our purposes, this critical suprasegmental feature had ceased to be distinctive in Sanskrit, even in Pāṇinian times, and certainly by the time of the composition of this corpus. Thus, whereas the accent would once have given us sound evidence in determining whether we were dealing with a passive form of either 'to know' or 'to find' (as *vidyāte* in the examples from Cardona, above) or an *āīmanepada* form of 'to be' (as *vidyate*), the later language has lost this important contrastive feature.

Whereas Whitney (1885/1963:159) lists the accentless *vidyate* as a passive for 'to know', Monier-Williams (1899/1993:965), Whitney (1885/1963:160) and Macdonell (1954/1976:282) seem to favour 'find' as the source, all three listing the form with the accent, viz. *vidyāte*. Monier-Williams notes that the literal meaning of this root had been extended, even in the Vedic language, to include a figurative, copular sense of 'to exist, be', and especially "in later language", the accentless *vidyate* was used to mean 'there is, there exists'. He lists the form *vidyamāna* as meaning either 'being found' or 'existent, existing'.

It is quite possible that by the time of the composition of my corpus, the combination of the semantic 'bleaching' trend, already clearly underway in Pāṇini's time,<sup>51</sup> and the loss of the accent, combine and conspire to render the diachronic origin of *vidyate* virtually irrelevant. The historical relationship between the original *literal* sense of any of the roots would very likely have been lost, leaving only metaphorical, figurative sense of *sattāyām*. In other words,

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<sup>51</sup>

See for example Pāṇini 3.3.146, where a word with the signification of 'existence' may be *asti*, *bhavati*, or *vidyate* (Sharma 1995:568-9).

"*vidyate* has been restructured as a separate root with its own inflection and meaning ('to be')" (Hock:written communication).<sup>52</sup>

Nevertheless, I find it difficult to believe that Jambhaladatta, as an educated Brahmin, knowledgeable in *vyākaraṇa* and *nirukta* and the subtleties thereof, would have been unaware that historically, the construction with *vidyate* was analyzable in terms of its root *vid* 'to find' (*lābhe*) and grammatical morphology (derivational suffix *-ya* and *āmanepada* endings *-te*). His choice of this particular lexical item, apparently a great favourite of his, may have been quite deliberate: chosen *because* it is ambiguous—allowing sometimes one, sometimes the other meaning to be foregrounded. This ambiguity allows *vidyate* to function somewhat as an 'evidential' auxiliary. Recall (§2.2) that observation of activity was an important factor in the description of events distributed on the time line: remote events, for instance, were described as *parokṣa* 'not witnessed'. This auxiliary could convey immediacy and 'liveliness'—a sense of 'being there', as it were, by indicating that the subject 'is found' performing the activity indicated by the accompanying present participle.

Usage in the *Vetālapañcavīsati* does indeed give strong support to the interpretation of *vidyate* as a "restructured" existential (copula) verb. The form occurs thirty times in the text,

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<sup>52</sup>

Identifying *vidyate* in this manner has consequences that are semantically, syntactically and stylistically advantageous, as we shall see in the discussions that follow. Certainly from a semantic standpoint it makes more sense for copular verbs to be construed as *āmanepada* rather than as *parasmaipada*: Could one 'be' for someone else? Thus, in copular *vidyate*, semantics and morphology are felicitously aligned in a one-to-one relationship, much as in Modern Greek, where the verb 'to be' has been 'reassigned' from active to middle voice: Ancient Greek *eimi* 'I am' (active)> Modern Greek *eimai* /*ime*/ 'I am' (middle).



interestingly, most often in the three stories "which are found in no other Sanskrit version of the *Vetālapañcavinsīti*" (Emeneau 1934/1967:xv), and are thus deemed to be Jambhaladatta's own compositions: Stories 21 (four uses), 22 (five uses) and 23 (six uses). The *sattāyām* sense seems clearly intended in the cases, discussed below, where *vidyate* is used as an auxiliary verb, and in the majority of its usages as a main, finite verb, often in identical contexts to other existential verbs. Only one usage (example (118)) seems to reflect more the sense of *lābhe*.

Because of the various acknowledged ambiguities, both formal and semantic, involved with *vidyate*, the problem arises as to how to best gloss this form so as to capture its complex character. We cannot gloss it as an *āmanepada* form of *vid* 'to find', which would, of course be *vindāte* (plural *vindānte*). Glossing it as a passive may reflect its diachronic origins, but synchronically, would not be completely accurate, for it fails to convey the form's "reanalysed" character. Furthermore, were *vidyate* to be construed as a passive, i.e. as a *karmāṇi prayoga* of one of the *vid-* roots, we might quite logically expect to find an agentive phrase collocated with the form somewhere in the text, and we do not. We must acknowledge that, in the absence of the accent, the form is truly ambiguous.

I have therefore taken a compromise position in glossing *vidyate* as **find+PRES/3/S/Medio-Passive**, which I hope acknowledges both its historical and synchronic significance. Such a designation is clearly consistent with that given the form ('Pass. or *Ā.*') by Monier-Williams (1899/1993:965), Whitney, and Macdonell, as above. Furthermore, since all occurrences (save one) are formally identical, i.e., appear in third person singular, present

tense form, for simplicity's sake only the lexical gloss will appear, with all other information (**find**+PRES/3/S/Medio-Passive) to be understood.

The ambiguous *formal* character of *vidyate* allows for equally ambiguous semantic readings. For interpretation of the latter, following in the spirit of Pāṇini and the Pāṇinīyas, I will gloss *vidyate* as 'is' when I feel it is to be interpreted as *sattāyām*, and as 'find' in the single case where a more 'concrete' *lābhe* sense seems to be indicated.

### 5. 5. 1 Examples of *vidyate* as a Main Lexical Verb used in the Sense *sattāyām*

In the introduction to nearly every story, a phrase appears referring to the children, or wives, which the main character in that particular tale has. In the vast majority of the stories, the narrator uses one of the three 'old' past tenses, as in examples (103), (104) and (105).

(103) Story 3, page 30:

<i>parākramakeśarī</i>	<i>nāma</i>	<i>tasya</i>
Parākramakeśarī+NOM/M/S	name+NOM/N/S	that+GEN/M/S
<i>putro</i>	<i>'bhavat</i>	
son+NOM/M/S	be+IMPERF/3/S	

'He had a son named Parākramakeśarī.' (Lit: of him was a son..)

(104) Story 3a. page 32:

<i>tasya</i>	<i>putro</i>	<i>dhanadatto</i>	<i>'bhū</i>
that+GEN/M/S	son+NOM/M/S	Dhanadatta+NOM/M/S	be+AOR/3/S

'He had a son Dhanadatta.'

(105) Story 5, page 46:

*tasya*                      *trayaḥ*                      *putrā*                      *babhūvuh*  
that+GEN/M/S      three+NOM/M/PL      son+NOM/M/PL      be+PERF/PL/S  
'He had three sons.'

*Vidyate* appears in an identical context to the above tense forms of the copula:

(106) Story 2, page 26:

*tasya*                      *mandāravatī*                      *nāma*  
that+GEN/M/S      Mandāravatī+NOM/F/S                      name+NOM/N/S  
*kanyā*                      *vidyate*  
daughter+NOM/F/S                      is  
'He had a daughter named Mandāravatī.'

*Vidyate* is being used in (106) with past value in this context. This is, of course, to be construed as in Whitney (1889/1967:278), present used for "past action in lively narration".

The following examples also involve constructions of a possessive genitive plus *vidyate*.

All appear in direct speech:

(107) Story 3, page 30:

...*tasyās*                      *candraprabhāyah*                      *krīḍāparā* ...  
that+GEN/F/S      Candraprabhā+GEN/F/S                      pet-hen-myna+NOM/F/S  
*vidyate*  
is  
'...this Candraprabhā has a pet hen-myna.' (Lit: 'of Candraprabhā is a pet hen-myna.')

(108) Story 21, page 114:

<i>mamai</i>	' <i>ṣā</i>	<i>pratijñā</i>	<i>vidyate</i>
I+GEN	this+NOM/F/S	vow+NOM/F/S	is
'I have taken a vow to this effect.' (Lit: of me is a vow...)			

In all examples of this type of construction, the experiencer-possessor (logical subject) is marked with the genitive, and the grammatical subject, the (typically) animate being possessed, appears in the nominative case. This type of construction is extremely common both in Sanskrit and in South Asian languages in general, often indicating "inalienable possession", as in Hindi (Kachru 1969).

Compare, for interest sake, a similar construction from Manipuri in these examples from Chelliah (1990:200) (her examples 13 and 14):

- |          |                                 |    |                               |
|----------|---------------------------------|----|-------------------------------|
| (109) a. | ram-gi famli -əmə ləy           | b. | ram-gi makut -əmə ləy         |
|          | Ram-gen family-one be           |    | Ram-gen hand -one be          |
|          | 'Ram has a family.'             |    | 'Ram has a hand.'             |
|          | 'There exists a family of Ram.' |    | 'There exists a hand of Ram.' |

Chelliah's remarks following these examples are relevant to our interpretation of *vidyate* as an existential verb, and its **discourse** use in this construction:

The first free translation provided here is the one given by informants. However, since the experiencer-possessor in these constructions is not a subject, the second free translation of (13,14) provided seems to best reflect the actual syntactic bracketing obtained by these constructions. In other words, these constructions report states of being and do not express possession.

Verma (1990:89) notes that a similar distinction (as to whether the construction in the genitive denotes 'possession' vs. 'state of being') may also be seen in Hindi, where (110a) (his example 4a) denotes possession, and (110b) (his example 4b), "state of things in one's personal situation".<sup>53</sup>

- (110) a.        **mere**        ek laRkaa        hai  
                  **I-gen.obl.**    a    son            is 'I have a son'
- b.        **meraa**        ek laRkaa        hai (jo...)  
                  **I-gen.**        a    son            is (who...) 'There is a son of mine (who...)'

As can be seen in Verma's examples, the latter construction is used when further narrative is to follow. Since this existential construction 'feeds into' subsequent description, its use can be seen as a stylistic device for moving the narrative along. This would be consistent with the discourse usages of *vidyate* in "lively narrative", above.

The foregoing remarks are also relevant in determining the syntactic status of the nominal items in these types of constructions. Whether the genitive noun phrase is to be construed as a subject, or not, is an extremely controversial topic, a full discussion of which is far beyond the scope of the present work.<sup>54</sup> These concerns have significance for what follows in my discussion, however, and consequently merit a brief elaboration.

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<sup>53</sup>

I have reproduced Verma's examples as they appear. See the cited source for details concerning the transcription and glossing systems employed.

<sup>54</sup>

See Verma and Mohanan 1990; Hock 1991b for insightful discussions of many of the issues involved.

According to Hock (1991b), not only do genitive noun phrases in these constructions in Sanskrit exhibit important subject properties, such as appearing in clause-initial position, they also can manifest "features of agenthood" such as control of absolutes. These possessor noun phrases:

have the same semantic/pragmatic prominence in their clauses as the subjects of English 'have'-constructions", [therefore]...we may tentatively conclude that the possessor NPs are in fact '**possessive agents**' (Hock 1991b:63).

These constructions, then, are highly significant from a typological standpoint as part of a larger typological switch, mentioned in the introduction (described in Hock 1986), from subject-oriented syntax in the early language (Vedic *mantras* and *yajus*) to agent-oriented (beginning with Vedic Prose and continuing on). Hock (1986) notes that, while in Early Vedic, the surface subject normally appears as the first constituent in P-oriented constructions, the later language shows an agent in that position. Thus:

...in the later language the agents of "P-oriented" constructions are treated exactly like the subject/agents of active constructions; the notion subject has been replaced by the notion agent (Hock 1986:21).

Recall that this switch was reflected in both word order and in altered patterns of absolute control: in the earlier language, the surface subject controlled absolutes, while in the later language, this control is exercised by the agent (as in examples (38) and (51)).

*Vidyate* figures prominently in a construction from the *Vetālapañcavīsati* which Hock (1986) identifies as an exception to a significant aspect of this trend toward agent (vs. subject)



which is controlled, as in Hock's example, by the (ambiguously oriented) surface subject of *vidyate*.<sup>55</sup>

It is clear from the foregoing that correct interpretation of sentences involving *vidyate* depends crucially on whether we put more emphasis on the syntactic or the morphological aspects of the phenomena.

This is certainly the case in the next three examples, where wrongly construing *vidyate* as a passive could lead to a misreading of these sentences. If in these examples, *vidyate* were to be construed as the *karmanī prayoga* form of 'to find', then nominative case would indicate *karman*, the item 'found', and the noun marked with instrumental could quite possibly be construed as the *kartr*, resulting in the reading '\*The demoness (NOM) was found by the harlot-form (INS)=\*The harlot-form found the demoness'. This is clearly not what is intended. Rather, the instrumental is to be construed in the Pāṇinian sense (1.4.42), and in concert with the *sattāyām* reading, as the "most effective means" by which her existence is manifested.

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We noted above that the existential sense, rare in the early language, increased steadily into the Classical language. By implication, this increase would have been paralleled by a **decrease** in the passive usages (its diachronic origins, as Hock notes, gradually becoming less and less accessible). How the *vidyate* construction 'behaves' syntactically, then (whether its surface subject does or does not manifest absolutive control, for instance), may quite possibly allow us to determine how far along a particular usage is in the restructuring process—essentially, how 'old' it is. Since the example he cites is taken from Story 23, one of Jambhaladatta's own constructions, it would obviously be of later origin than most of the others tales in the collection. It is therefore quite likely that very little of the passive sense would remain in this usage at all, and the surface subject of the fully restructured *āmanepada* verb, *rākṣasī* has lost nearly all its patient status, and, though not fully an agent, is 'agentive' enough to control absolutive formation. Under this analysis, the behaviour of the subject of *vidyate*, rather than being an "exception" actually *supports* Hock's theory.



(112) Story 23, page 136:

*rāksasī*                      *veśyārūpeṇa*                      *vidyate*  
demoness+NOM/F/S    harlot-form+INS/N/S                      is  
'An ogress is here in the form of a harlot.'

(113) Story 23, page 134:

*mama pitā*                      *kumbhīrārūpeṇa*                      *mātā*  
I+GEN father+NOM/M/S    crocodile-form+INS/N/S    mother+NOM/F/S  
*jalaukārūpeṇa*                      *vidyate*  
leech-form+INS/N/S    is  
'My father **appears** in the form of a crocodile, and my mother in that of a leech.'

The next five examples of *vidyate* used as a main verb all contain a locative phrase describing where the subject 'is'/is found'. On the argument that the inclusion of the actual place renders the denotatum of the verb somehow more concrete, more literal, we may say that in the usages which follow much of the literal (*lābhe*) meaning of the root still hovers: the actual place where the subject 'is found' is named. Recall that *vidyate* has been restructured as a member of the fourth (-ya) group of verbs, a group which contains, as we noted above, a significant number of stative-intransitives. Middle voice inflection, "a feature often associated with stativity or intransitivity" Hock (1990:125), may have, as Whitney (1889/1967:200) notes, a strong reflexive sense (also Lehmann 1974:98). In these usages, then, the 'extended' copular meaning of *vidyate* may be understood somewhat in the sense of

German *sich befinden* 'find oneself' = 'exist, be'<sup>56</sup> as in *er befindet sich dort* 'he is there' (Lit: 'He finds himself there'), or French *se trouver*: *La maison se trouve dans la rue* 'The house is on the street' (Lit: 'The house finds itself on the street.')

(114) Story 1, pages 22-23:

<i>sa</i>	<i>yogī</i>	<i>śmaśāne</i>	<i>vidyate</i>
that+NOM/M/S	yogi+NOM/M/S	cemetery+LOC/N/S	is

'The ascetic is in the cemetery.'

(115) Story 3, page 30:

<i>yuvarājasya</i>	<i>krīdāśūko</i>	<i>yatra</i>	<i>śayanāgāre</i>
prince+GEN/M/S	play-parrot+NOM/M/S	where	bed-chamber+LOC/N/S
<i>suvarṇapañjarastho</i>	<i>'pi</i>	<i>vidyate</i>	
gold-cage-standing+NOM/M/S	PRT	is	

'In the same place in the bed-chamber where the prince's pet parrot was in a golden cage...'

(116) Story 21, page 112:

<i>kusumapurānagare...</i>	<i>veśyā</i>	<i>vidyate</i>
Kusumapura-city+LOC/N/S...	harlot+NOM/F/S	is

'In the city of Kusumapura...there is a harlot.'

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<sup>56</sup>

Notice that this expression may be used when the place named is actual, as above, or figurative: *er befindet sich im Irrtum* 'he is wrong' (Lit: 'He is in error').

(117) Story 21, page 116:

*nagaraikānte*                      *śivāyatane...*                      *tapasvinī...*  
city-one-end+LOC/N/S      Śivā-temple+LOC/N/S      ascetic+NOM/F/S  
*vidyate*

is

'In an isolated part of the city in a temple of Śivā...there is...a female ascetic.'

### 5. 5. 2 Example of *vidyate* as a Main Lexical Verb used in the Sense *lābhe*

Since all preceding examples show a singular subject, *vidyate* invariably appears in the same present tense, third person singular form. In the only case where we see what could be interpreted as an inflected form of *vidyate*, as in (118) below, Emeneau opts for the literal meaning of 'to find':

(118) Introductory Story, page 6-8:

*...na...*                      *ratnāni*                      *vidyante*  
...not                      jewels+NOM/N/PL                      find+PRES/3/PL/Medio-Passive  
'...jewels are not found...'

We could argue, however, that because of the ambiguity of the form, Emeneau could just as well have rendered the phrase 'jewels do not exist' or 'there are no jewels', especially since Monier-Williams (1899/1993:965) notes that, with *na*, the figurative existential sense, 'there is', is clearly preferred.

### 5. 5. 3 Examples of Type 4 (Present Participle with Auxiliary *vidyate*) from the Corpus

Jambhaladatta's use of the 'frozen' present tense form of *vidyate* has some pleasant pragmatic and stylistic consequences. As can be seen in the examples which follow, the present participle followed by auxiliary *vidyate* always appears in in-tale narration **between** preterite tenses and forms, and is invariably translated by Emeneau as a past (continuous) tense. The use of the 'historical' present in this context may be seen as a deliberate stylistic choice on the author's part: the copular usage, in combination with the continuous aspect indicated by the present participle, forms a lively narrative 'bridge' between a previous event described by an absolute, (an event completed by the time of the participle-plus-*vidyate* construction, often translated as a pluperfect), and that described by a (usually punctual) past tense form: either a PPP or a Past Active Participle (PAP). Thus we get the structure flow (in translation) **PLUPERFECT> IMPERFECTIVE> PAST (PUNCTUAL)**. The use of the historical present form may be seen as reinforcing this 'bridging' strategy, adding immediacy to the narrative, hurrying it along from one event to another. In my examples, where it is relevant, I have included the surrounding verbal forms, so that the reader may note this process.

This particular type of narrative sequence also makes heavy use of temporal adverbials and conjunctions, many of which I have also included where possible. Thus, in Hinrich's terms, as quoted by Binnick (1991:406-7) "adverbials as well as tenses enter into the system of event structures", and acting in concert, bind narrative events together.

Since all usages are copular (i. e. *sattāyām*), present tense, third person singular, this information will also not be given and is to be assumed by default, as above. Note that it is always the surface subject of *vidyate* (in middle voice with features of both agent and patient) that controls the absolutive.

(119) Story 14, page 88:

<i>athai</i>	<i>'kadā..</i>	<i>rājā</i>	<i>paurajanān</i>	<i>vihāya...</i>
then	once	king+NOM/M/S	townsfolk+ACC/M/PL	leave+ABS
<i>krīdān</i>	<i>kurvan</i>		<i>vidyate.</i>	<i>tado</i>
game+ACC/F/S	do+PART+NOM/M/S		be	then
<i>'nmādayantī</i>		<i>cintavatī</i>		
Unmādayantī +NOM/F/S		think+PAP/F/S		

'One day...the king absented himself from the townsfolk and **was playing about**...Then Unmādayantī thought...'

(120) Story 16, page 96:

<i>...duhitaram</i>	<i>ādāya</i>	<i>rātrau</i>	
...daughter+ACC/F/S	take+ABS	night+LOC/F/S	
<i>gacchantī</i>	<i>vidyate.</i>	<i>anantarani...</i>	<i>caurah...</i>
go+PART+NOM/F/S	be	after	thief+NOM/M/S

*'bravā.*  
say+IMPERF/3/S

'She took her daughter and **was just going off** at night...when...a thief..said...'



(124) Story 22, page 126:

*tatra gatvā śivasevām ācarantī vidyate.*  
there go+ABS Śiva-homage+ACC/F/S do+PART+NOM/F/S be.  
*tatas tasyā mahatī siddhir bhūā*  
then that+GEN/F/S great+NOM/F/S power+NOM/F/S be+PPP+NOM/F/S  
'(She) went there and **continually did** homage to Śiva. Then she obtained **great** power.'

(125) Story 23, page 136:

*tadā sā.. atisundarami dr̥ṣṭvā tena*  
then that+NOM/F/S very-handsome+ACC/M/S see+ABS that+INS/M/S  
*samam kṛṅantī vidyate. atha.. dinam*  
with **play**+PART+NOM/F/S **be** then day+ACC/N/S  
*ekam nā "gataḥ.*  
one+ACC/N/S NEG go+PPP+NOM/M/S  
'She, seeing that (he) was very handsome, **had intercourse** with him  
continually. Then...one day he did not go.'

(126) Story 23, page 136:

*anena vidhinā kālam*  
this+INS/M/S manner+INS/M/S time+ACC/M/S  
*nayamāno vidyate*  
lead+PART(MID)+NOM/M/S **be**  
'In that way he **spent** some time.'

## CHAPTER 6

### SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

In this thesis I have described and enumerated examples of verbal forms, both finite and non-finite, synthetic and analytic, which are used to narrate past events in the *Vetālapañcavirśati*, a work of Late Classical Sanskrit. This investigation yielded certain facts:

The three finite preterite tenses, the aorist, imperfect and perfect, which were categorially distinct during the Vedic period, were used virtually interchangeably in this corpus to relate past events, consistent with the acknowledged semantic collapse of these three forms in the post-Vedic period. Although they were used in nearly equal proportions with the 'new' participial tenses, they appear in a stylized and somewhat repetitive and restricted context within the tales themselves, although they showed heavy use in the introductory paragraph of each story. This usage was considered to reflect such "themes and formulas" as are common in setting the scene for oral narratives.

The perfect alone showed some independent pragmatic function: it was used as a summarizing and transition tense, both in its capacity as a finite verb and as the auxiliary component of non-finite analytic constructions. This finding accorded well with that of Givón (1977), who noted such a role for the perfect in Biblical Hebrew and with those of Li and Thompson (1982), who record a similar function for the perfect marker *le* in Mandarin Chinese. I suggest that the former function of the perfect as the tense for describing remote



events or "permanently established" facts allows it to be used in this capacity -- as the 'last word', so to speak.

Past imperfective events were expressed by combining the present (imperfective) participle with the auxiliary *tisthati*, either in the present (historical present), which could be accompanied by the particle *sma*, or in the perfect *tasthau* (as in *anubhavantas tasthuh* 'They continually enjoyed'). Neither the imperfect form (*\*kurvaris atisthat*, which is found in earlier works, see footnote 41) nor the aorist form (*\*kurvaris asthāt*, which is found in Pāli (Mayrhofer 1951)) of any auxiliary verb was so used.

The Historical Present was commonly used, in approximately twenty-five percent of cases, as a vehicle for lively narration of past events, consistent with its acknowledged use in this capacity "throughout all periods of the language" (Bloomfield and Edgerton 1930:142). Both main verbs and the auxiliary component of analytic constructions (*vidyate, tisthati*) showed this discourse function.

Two non-finite forms were used to relate past (perfective/retrospective) events, the P-oriented PPP and the A-oriented PAP. The former is based on the OIA *-ta* participle, and considered to be of critical importance in the development of ergative typology, and in the switch, described by Hock (1986), from subject-oriented to agent-oriented syntax.

The rise of this form was a direct consequence of the 'atrophy' of the three synthetic forms. As Bubenik (1994:103) notes:

The speakers of Old Indo-Aryan could choose among the active imperfect, perfect and aorist for the narration of past imperfective and perfective actions. The non-finite passive construction *tena kṛtām* (by him made) was only an

alternative way of saying 'he made' (*cakāra* or *ākārsat*) in Old Indo-Aryan, whereas in Middle Indo-Aryan *tena kata* became the only way of saying it.

In the absence of the active-passive contrast, the construction with the *-ta* participle became syntactically ambiguous between the passive and ergative. Much of this ambiguity is clearly evident in this corpus: the distinction is not yet anchored in morphology, as it would later be in Hindi.

The second non-finite form used to relate past events was the PAP construction. Although it is based on the PPP, it is 'activated' by the possessivizing suffix *-vant* and is clearly interpreted as an active form, with its agent/subject in the nominative case.

Although I dispute Whitney's claim that the *-ta* participle was used in ninety percent of cases for the description of past events, and suggest the more conservative thirty percent overall, it is nevertheless clear that the P-oriented participle in *-ta* is clearly preferred by Jambhaladatta over the A-oriented participle in *-tavant*. It is approximately three times as common as the A-oriented *-tavant* participle for the narration of past events in this corpus. The aspectual ambiguity of the *-ta* participle (retrospective/perfective) was reflected also in a certain amount of functional overlap in the aspectual nature of the *-ta* and *-tavant* participles as used by Jambhaladatta: while primarily used to indicate perfectivity (past tense), both participles showed secondary manifestations of retrospective/stative aspect.

Although the imperfective, perfective and retrospective aspects were well represented by the participles in the 'old' system, *kurvant* (imperfective) *krant* (perfective) *cakvāris* (retrospective), and the contrast imperfective vs. perfective/retrospective in the new system,

*kurvant* (imperfective) vs. *krta* (*vant*) (perfective/retrospective), the same cannot be said of imperfective aspect in the 'old' system of past finite forms. Noting the *communis opinio* that the Sanskrit synthetic imperfect did **not** convey imperfective aspect (Speijer 1886/1980:244; Goldman and Sutherland 1987:131; Taraporewala 1967:70; Macdonell 1916/1975:312; Whitney 1889/1967:201,227,278; Jasanoff 1978:15), I suggested that the rebuilding process sought to redress this state of affairs by the increased use of periphrastic forms which were **overtly** marked for imperfective aspect.

Imperfective/continuous events in this corpus are, with few exceptions, rendered by the use of analytic constructions, consisting of a present participle and postverbal auxiliary. Three auxiliary verbs were used in these analytic constructions:  $\sqrt{sthā}$  'stay',  $\sqrt{ās}$  'stay, sit', and *vidyate*  $\gt \sqrt{vid}$  'find', in various stages of semantic bleaching, with  $\sqrt{vid}$  the most bleached,  $\sqrt{sthā}$  the least. *Vidyate* was noted to be significant from a typological standpoint as a reanalyzed middle voice verb (with features of both A- and P-orientation) whose 'subject', either oblique (genitive) in possessive/existential constructions, or nominative in periphrastic constructions, controlled absolutive formation.

The periphrastic construction consisting of the PPP and auxiliary  $\sqrt{as}$  'to be' was used in most cases to convey retrospective aspect. It was used in direct speech in the function of the 'old' aorist (Whitney 1889/1967:201) for the description of recent events.

In systemic terms, Jambhaladatta's 'idiolect'/artistic dialect as used in this corpus may be portrayed as consisting of two systems: the system of 'old' finite forms, the imperfect, aorist and perfect, which generally refer to past time events, and the 'new' system of (A- and P-

oriented) participial analytic forms, which I indicate is heavily skewed to the expression of overt aspectual distinctions.

As well as indicating the essential role that aspect plays in a verbal system, this increased use of analytic forms to indicate aspectual distinctions accords well with the universal trend toward analyticity, a tendency clearly indicated by Hewson and Bubenik's (1997) extensive cross-linguistic study of a wide range of data drawn from numerous Indo-European languages. Given that analytic constructions are, by definition, "morphologically more perspicuous", and further acknowledging the primacy of aspectual over tense distinctions, as evidenced both in language acquisition studies, and in studies such as this which describe the rebuilding of verbal systems, the suggestion could be made that analytic constructions are preferred over synthetic verbal forms **because** they more clearly and adequately convey these critical aspectual distinctions. There is, quite simply, more morphological *substance* to make such distinctions clear. The increasing use of analytic forms could be seen as a strategy to overcome what could be perceived as a 'deficiency' in the old finite system, and to incorporate clearly marked imperfective aspect into the verbal paradigm.

In order to thoroughly address some of the important theoretical issues raised in this thesis, a much larger and more varied corpus would be required. Works ranging over a more extensive time period, and employing different literary styles, would need to be consulted. It is my hope, however, that the present study has shed a considerable amount of light on the issues of tense and aspect in this one work of Late Classical Sanskrit.

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## APPENDIX 1

FORMS USED FOR THE EXPRESSION OF PAST EVENTS<sup>57</sup>

	PARTICIPLES		FINITE TENSES		TOTAL	% ta	% new	% old	% HP
	ta	tavant	'old'	HP					
Story 1	21	12	27	17	77	27	43	35	22
Story 2	10	4	8	9	31	32	45	26	29
Story 3a	6	2	16	5	29	21	28	55	17
Story 3b	9	5	13	6	33	27	42	39	18
Story 4	12	2	14	13	41	29	34	34	32
Story 5	7	0	5	10	22	32	32	23	45
Story 6	6	4	13	8	31	19	32	42	26
Story 7	4	6	18	8	36	11	28	50	22
Story 8	2	1	10	8	21	10	14	48	38
Story 9	1	2	4	7	14	7	21	29	50
Story 10	8	5	18	7	38	21	34	47	18
Story 11	2	1	10	4	17	12	18	59	24
Story 12	4	1	13	4	22	18	23	59	18
Story 13	19	4	26	14	63	30	37	41	22
Story 14	5	6	11	3	25	20	44	44	12
Story 15	5	3	20	7	35	14	23	57	20
Story 16	8	7	14	10	39	21	38	36	26
Story 17	10	0	15	16	41	24	24	37	39
Story 18	2	1	7	6	16	13	19	44	38
Story 19	4	1	7	5	17	24	29	41	29
Story 20	2	3	5	3	13	15	38	38	23
Story 21	60	9	37	41	147	41	47	25	28
Story 22	33	9	22	21	85	39	49	26	25
Story 23	25	3	18	15	61	41	46	30	25
Story 24	12	3	9	10	34	35	44	26	29
Story 25	28	2	30	4	64	44	47	47	6
TOTALS	305	96	390	261	1052	29%	38%	37%	25%

Percentage of past events described with *-ta* participles = 28.99%

Percentage of past events described using the *-tavant* participles = 9.13 %

Percentage of past events described with 'new' participial tenses = 38.12%

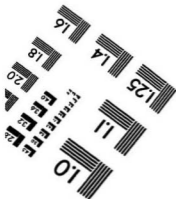
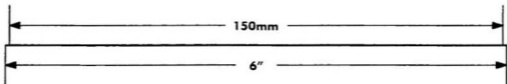
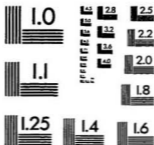
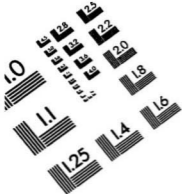
Percentage of past events described with 'old' finite narrative tenses = 37.07%

Percentage of past events described with Historical Present = 24.80%

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There is a certain amount of judgment exercised in forms included. Only main verbs which clearly represent past events are enumerated. No auxiliary components of aspectual periphrastic constructions are included.

# TEST TARGET (QA-3)



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1653 East Main Street  
Rochester, NY 14609 USA  
Phone: 716/482-0300  
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