Some Notes on Geiger's Grammar of the Sinhalese Language

WILHELM Geiger's *Grammar of the Sinhalese Language* was a unique contribution to the linguistic studies of the Sinhalese language, in particular, and to linguistics in general. It is but natural that a pioneer work such as Geiger's should leave room for a great deal of further research. The following are a few observations on some of his findings.

I. While discussing the inflexion of nouns which denote inanimate objects (§ 107. 3) Geiger notes :

" The suffix of Singular Locative and Genitive is *-ehi*, also contracted to *-ē*. I do not believe that we are allowed to compare it with Pali *-(a)mhi* (< *Sk. -smin* in the pronominal inflexion). Prakrit has *-(a)ṃmi* or *-(a)mmi*, and in Sinhalese we should expect *-am* for *-amhi*. Cf. *gim* heat < *gimha*. It is, therefore, more probable that the locative of *-as* stems (Pk. P. Sk. *manasi*) was generalized in Sinhalese." Thus, Geiger seems to think that the Locative ending *-ehi* of Sinhalese had no connection with the Old Indian pronominal ending *-smin*, for in that case, according to him, we should have had in Sinhalese an ending in *-m-*, and not in *-h-*, and that, therefore, *-ehi* of Sinhalese is a generalization of the Locative of Sanskrit *-as* stems. This view does not seem

ite tenable because Geiger takes into consideration only the possibility -smin developing into -mmi and -mmi, and not its development, as Z. Wickremasinghe too has pointed out (*Epigraphia Zeylanica* I, p. 58), g. -msi (Pischel—*Grammatik der Prakrit Sprächen*, § 366 a), Ś. -ssim el § 425, 426, 428, 430, 433), and Mg. -ŝsim (Pischel § 425, 426, 428), e of which would in the next stage develop into -si and subsequently e to -hi[1] as is noted frequently in Sinhalese Prakrit. The Locative ng -si occurs in the Asokan inscriptions at Kalsi, Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, although it has not been noticed in any Sinhalese-Prakrit inscription published hitherto, Paranavitana (EpZ. IV, p. 120) refers to the existence of a Locative ending -si in certain Brāhmi inscriptions,[2] which in subsequent times gave rise to -hi.

Now some explanation is necessary as to the initial -e of the ending -ehi. Double endings are a common phenomenon in MI., e.g., M. -āo, Ś. -ādo, P. -āto of the Ablative Singular < Sk. -āt + -taḥ (M. rukkhāo, Ś. rukkhādo, P. rukkhāto from the tree = Sk. vṛkṣāt); M. Ś. Amg. -chimto of Abl. Pl. < Vedic -ebhiḥ + -taḥ; and AMg. -esumto of the Abl. Pl. < Sk. -(e)ṣu + -taḥ (from among); etc. Even in Sinhalese we have double endings like -haṭa, -huṭa of the Dative Singular < P. -ssa + aṭṭham < Sk. -sya + arṭham; -anṭa, -anaṭa of the Dat. Pl. < Sk. -ānām + arṭham; -angē of the Gen. Pl. < Sk. -ānām + Gen. postpositive -gē; etc. Thus it is quite probable that the -e of -ehi was the old historical Loc. Sing. ending < P. Sk. -e, and that -ehi was a double Loc. Sing. ending.

Another explanation that may be attempted for the -e- of -ehi is that it was caused by Umlaut. The final -a of a nominal stem, when followed by -mm or -ssim or -ŝsim < -smin, could have developed an -e-, as the -a- would then be a heavy vowel followed by an -i. *Vide* Geiger § 12. 2.

An objection that may be raised to obtaining -ehi by generalizing the ending of forms like *menehi* from Sk. stems in -as is that the Loc. Sing. g -ehi occurs in Sinhalese-Prakrit in contexts much older, judging logically, than forms like *menehi*. There is strong reason to believe enehi itself is to be connected historically with MI. forms like *manaṃsi* nasmim, and not with OI. and MI. *manasi*.

In Sinhalese-Prakrit the commonest case-ending of the Loc. Sing. was g., VIHARAHI at the monastery EpZ. III, 165[1]; PAVATAHI on the rock AIC. . a; VIBAJAKAHI in the division EpZ. I, 211[3-4]; VIHIRABIJAKAHI at ijaka ib. I, 62[2]; ATARAGAGAHI in the Ataragaga (country) ib. III, 154[2]; ARAHI in the Sabbath hall ib. III, 166[3]; CATARA-DORAHI at the four

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Cf. Loc. Sing. ending-*hi* in *bhavahi, jalahi, gharahi, jammahi, sarirahi* in the sa, *Indian Linguistics*. Vol. VIII, Part I, p. 36.

See Journal of Science IIG.: *gamaśi* in the village p. 202 No. 615, p. 203 619, p. 216 No. 681; *nagaraśi* in the town p. 204 No. 620; *gamahi* in the village B.C. — 1st c. A.D.) p. 204 No. 621.

entrances ib. III, 215⁴·⁵ ; though the double ending -ehi too has been use[d]
occasionally. e.g., AMARATANEHI at Amaratana ib. I, 69³ ; VAHERAKEHI in th[e]
monastery ib. III, 177⁴.

In Proto-Sinhalese, the endings -hi, -e and -ehi occur together with th[e]
ending -ä which was a later development of the old ending -e.³ e.g., NAKARA[?]
in (or of) the city EpZ. III, 250¹—5th c. ; PAJINA PASAHI in the Eastern quart[er]
ib. ; VEHERAHI in the monastery ib. III, 218⁴—5th c. ; MEHI (Loc. for Gen.) [?]
(lit. in) this ib. IV, 145² ; GEHI in the house ib. IV, 148¹ ; GAL-NÄVHI of (lit. i[n]
the stone-boat ib. IV, 149³; VAHERE in the monastery IV, 132-3, No. 13—6th c[.]
KASABA-GIRIYE at Kasaba-giri IV, 133, No. 4² ; ME EKA-SATAKA-KAHAVA[?]
VEDA the interest on these one hundred kahavanas III, 250—5th c. ; GAL[?]
VEHERÄ VEDA in Galavehera IV, 145¹.

When we come to mediaeval Sinhalese, we find, the old endings -hi, [?]
and -ehi still surviving, but -e fast disappearing ; the -ä which made its appea[r]-
ance towards the close of the Proto-Sinhalese period gaining in importan[ce]
and becoming more frequent ; and the old ending -ehi undergoing furth[er]
changes and becoming -eyi and ultimately -ē. Thus ratahi in the countr[y]
Dhampiyā-Atuvā-Gätapadaya (DhpAGp) 286¹¹ ; veherahi in the monaster[y]
ib. 232⁵ ; kalekhi at a time ib. 228⁶ ; gehi in the house 281²⁷ ; mägama k[?]
with regard to a woman Sikha-Valanda-Vinisa (SkhVn) p. 1. 8 ; bambay[?]
matte beyond a fathom in height ib. p. 8. 120 ; hamiyehi in the presence DhpAG[p]
93³⁴ ; no-ipädmehi in not coming into being ib. 39³³ ; vihijmehi in the relax[?]-
tion ib. 87¹⁵ = P. vossagge ; abhiyesä in the neighbourhood, in front SkhV[?]
p. 4. 62 = P. abhyäse ; sirurä in the body DhpAGp 168²⁶ ; tänä in the pla[?]
ib. 174¹⁶ ; kalaveyi on the thigh ib. 242²⁶ ; geyi in the house ib. 228⁵ ; kul[e?]
in the family ib. 71²³ ; eliyē on the threshold ib. 109¹⁵ = P. ummäre.

II. In discussing the Conditional Mood in Sinhalese, Geiger admi[ts]
(§ 152, II) that its origin and character are rather obscure. He states, in [?]
attempt to elucidate them, that the Conditional forms in Sinhalese have bo[th]
the conditional and the temporal meanings, and that as the base of the Prete-
rite forms like bäluvot of the Conditional Mood is the stem of the preteri[te]
participle, the base of the present forms like balatot should also be the prese[nt]
participle. Arguing further, he concludes that if that is correct, then t[he]
whole construction of the so-called Conditional will become comparable wi[th]
that of Locative Absolute. This is indeed a remarkable conclusion, althou[gh]
it has not been sufficiently substantiated. He does not show how bäluva-h[?]
or balatot can be compared with the Locative Absolute, and how balat can [be]
looked upon as a present participle. What is more, the explanation he h[as]
attempted for -hot, the older form of -ot, by breaking it up into hō mean[ing]
' or ' and t = da (mark of question) does not seem satisfactory.

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3. See for a discussion by Paranavitana, EpZ. IV, p. 120.

[?] Prakrit grammarians, while describing the Conditional Mood,⁴ lay
[?] its terminations for all persons and numbers, the present participial
[?]-nta and -mäna and the terminations -jja and -jjä, particularly of the
[?]/ho = Sk. √bhū. A Conditional form with any one of the above
[?]ations may be preceded by jai = Sk. yadi, or may be accompanied by
[?]liary verb like √as, or may stand alone. e.g., jai hojja vannanijjo
[?](or you or I) been praiseworthy, Hemacandra 8-3-179 ; hojja na samjä
[?]ä nisä if there was no evening and no night, Kumārapāla-Carita V 105 ;
[?]vesanto had you placed = Sk. yadi nyavesayisyah Hemacandra 8-3-180 ;
[?]ggä gharu entu if (he) had returned home defeated = Sk. yadi bhagnah
[?]aisyat ib. 8-4-351 ; datthum tumamti hontam jai had (I) been there (or
[?] myself) in order to see you, Setubandha XI, 80. Thus it will be seen
[?] the old conjugational forms of the Conditional Mood died away,
[?] other later devices were adopted to convey that sense. Of them all,
[?]esent participle in -nta and the Optative forms hojja and hojjä were
[?]ost important in late Prakrit. Of those again, the present participle
[?] seems to have been, by far the commonest. The Sinhalese -hot and
[?]of the Conditional forms may be explained either through Pk. hojja or
[?] Had -hot and -hota developed from hojja or hojjä there should have
[?]n Sinhalese, an intermediate form hoj or hodu. As no such form has
[?]oticed so far, it is probable that honta is the source of -hot and -hota.

[?] MI. it was not essential that the Conditional form in -nta should always
[?]in the Locative case. But as the Conditional forms, in Sinhalese, con-
[?]both the conditional and the temporal meanings, there seems to have
[?]practice, in the Sinhalese-Prakrit, to use the preterite participle or the
[?]t participle in -nta with another present participle of an auxiliary verb,
[?]Locative Absolute construction. Thus giya-hot and karat-l ot may be
[?]d to MI. gate honte* and karante (or karonte or karente) honte.* In certain
[?]the participle of the auxiliary verb does not seem to have been used,
[?]sed, it dropped quite early—particularly in the temporal sense and
[?]a conditional form had been obtained from a root meaning ' to be,'
[?]come, ' etc. Thus e.g., " . . . " yi gata if taken as . . . , DhpAGp 92²³ ;
[?]if it be so, ib. 92¹⁵ ; adarin hota anadarin hota whether it be with respect
[?]out respect (Sidat-Sangarāva, Ed. Dharmārāma, p. 151) ; davin namin
[?]ether it be after a root or a nominal stem, ib. p. 10 ; yodata if used or
[?]er used, ib. p. 132 ; hiru hat-vata as the sun sets, ib. p. 50 ; padata
[?]ta when a thing has to be stated, ib. p. 73. Although Geiger is doubtful
[?] II, 1) whether the forms ending in -at in the Conditional forms like
[?]-hot, karat-hct, etc. are present participles, there will be no room left
[?]bt if the whole expression is viewed in the light of the MI. usage. More-
[?]esent participles in -at are preserved in Sinhalese in certain stray forms

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See Sadbhāsā-candrikā, 2-4-41, and Prākrta-Vyākaranam of Hemacandra, 8-3-

like *vadata-varā* the best of sayers or exponents, Brhaspati, Siya-Bas-Lak
228 = Sk. *vadatām-varaḥ*. As Geiger himself has noted, forms like *bala*
and *bäluvot* are mere developments of older forms like *balata-hot* and *bālu*
hot.

III. While discussing Gerund I ending in *-min* (§ 156. 1), Geiger say
" This gerund in *-min* is the instrumental case of a verbal noun in *-ma* whi
is closely connected with the more modern formations in *-īma*, *-uma* : *bālīm*
bāluma." Besides this gerund in *-min*, the author of the Sidat-Sangarā
mentions two others ending in *-mina* and *-mni*. Of them, *-mina* preserv
in mediaeval Sinhalese and in a few other later works, probably for reaso
of metre, rhythm, etc., is the same as *-min*, with the final vowel still preserve
The final *-in* of the ending *-min* has apparently led Geiger to think that th
gerund has had its origin in the Instrumental case of a verbal noun in *-m*

Of the suffixes of the present participle, *-nta*, *-māna* and *-mīṇa* (Pisch
§ 562) found in MI., *-nta* has given rise to a participle in *-t*, as was noted abov
-māna is found preserved in a few adjectival forms which were originally prese
participles. *e.g.*, *divaman* and *dīmanu* living, alive = P. *jīvamāna* ; *vatma*
and *vatman* existing, present = P. *vattamāna*, Sk. *vartamāna* ; *sikman* trainin
oneself, esp. with reference to a young woman undergoing a probationar
course of training in order to become a nun = P. *sikkhamāna*, *sobaman* shinin
beautiful = P. *śobhamāna*. Sk. *śobhamāna* ; *vaḍaman* growing, increasing i
vaḍaman sẽyehi with growing shade, as the shadows lengthen, when evenin
draws near = P. *vaḍḍhamānaka-cchāyāya*, etc. *-mīṇa* evidently gave rise t
the present gerunds in *-mina* and *-min*. When there is a participle ending i
-mīṇa in MI., there is no necessity to resort to the nominal inflexion, fo
explaining another participle in *-min* in Sinhalese.

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