ANALYTIC ASPECTUAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN THE *VETĀLAPAÑCAVIṂŚATI*, A WORK OF LATE CLASSICAL SANSKRIT

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ABSTRACT

This paper investigates verbal forms of a text of late Classical Sanskrit, the Vetālapañcaviṃśati, *'Twenty Five Tales of a Demon', with a view to discovering some of the directions taken following the loss of many of the finite verbal forms in the post-Vedic period. Consistent with the acknowledged central importance of aspectual distinctions to a verbal system, rebuilding strategies evidenced in this text include a preponderance of analytic aspectual forms (participle plus auxiliary). To indicate imperfective (continuous) aspect, constructions involving the present participle plus auxiliaries √sthā 'to stand',√ās 'to stay, sit', and* vidyate>√vid *'to find' were used extensively. The auxiliary* vidyate *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 √as 'to be'; this construction was especially common in direct speech.[*]*

1. INTRODUCTION

The collapse of the Old Indo-Aryan verbal system 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, formally and functionally distinct in the Vedic period, had 'fallen together' both semantically and functionally and were being used interchangeably to relate past perfective events (Misra 1968: 62; Whitney 1889/1967: 201). Constructions which arose to take the place of the defunct past tenses manifested two important, and undoubtedly related, characteristics: they were often analytic (two-word) constructions (participle + aux) as opposed to the earlier synthetic (one-word) forms, and they showed overt marking for aspectual distinctions. This is consistent with Masica's (1991: 262) observation[1] that the post-Vedic rebuilding process:

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[*]   The symbol √ indicates a root form; the symbol = attached to a form indicates a clitic.

[1]   Following Lienhard (1961: 27).

... 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).

In this paper, I discuss four of the analytic aspectual constructions in use in the Late Classical period, specifically in the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, 'Twenty-five Tales of a Demon', a work composed by a Brahmin named Jambhaladatte sometime during the 15th century (Emeneau 1934: xi).

1.1. Aspect vs. tense

I assume for the purpose of this paper extremely broad working definitions of tense and aspect, following the work of Comrie (1976), Dahl (1985), Maslov (1985), and Hewson & Bubenik (1997). I consider tense to be a deictic category which may of necessity be marked only once on a verbal form. Aspect, on the other hand, has no deictic or localizing function. It refers 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, or completed (perfective aspect), again, regardless of the 'time' frame.[2]

A third important type of aspect which Comrie refers to as Perfect, I will refer to as retrospective, after Hewson & Bubenik (1997: 14), in order to avoid confusion with similar usages such as 'perfect aspect', or with what is often referred to as the 'English perfect', or simply as the 'perfect'. Unlike the other two aspects, 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. 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 epistolén
                                  'I was writing the letter.'

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2   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 & Šprunk 1968: 213, quoted in Chatterjee 1988: 23).

PERFECTIVE: (aorist)   égrapsa tèn epistolḗn
                                     'I wrote the letter.'

RETROSPECTIVE: (perfect)   gégrapha tèn epistolḗn
                                     'I have written the letter.'

<div align="right">(See Hewson & Bubenik 1997:33).</div>

The three-way aspectual split may be represented by the following diagram:

$$|----------A--------B\,|\,C$$
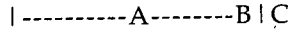
where position A represents the action *in mediās rēs* (imperfective), B the completed action (perfective) and C the completed action, but from an external position, looking back (retrospective).

Whereas perfective aspect was well represented in the 'old' IA system by the aorist, and retrospective aspect by the perfect, imperfective aspect as a category was underrepresented in the Vedic verbal system (Rose 1997). That being the case, directions taken in the rebuilding might be expected to have taken steps to redress that imbalance. As I will illustrate with examples from a text of Late Classical Sanskrit, this was indeed the case.

1.2. 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 1978:11).

The four verbs which are used in this capacity in the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati* are √*as* 'to be' (retrospective aspect), √*sthā* 'to stay' and √*ās* 'to sit, stay' (imperfective aspect), and *vidyate* 'to be' (imperfective aspect). These are employed in what I term 'serial constructions',[3] 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[4] allowed such items (Murti 1984: 272, Taraporewala 1967: 72).

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3   See Givón 1991: 83 (d).

4   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 √*kṛ* are used. These forms, with auxiliary √*as* only, are ubiquitous in the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*; 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 & Sutherland 1987: 287). As one reviewer has

The verbal phrases appear sentence final, in the typical SOV verbal position. Hittite possessed a similar type of periphrastic predicate where '... a non-finite form of the lexical main verb immediately precedes a finite form of the auxiliary verb, which, in its turn, is sentence final' (Luraghi 1990: 24). Certain predicates involved 'finite forms of motion verbs which function as indicators of tense/aspect with respect to other finite verb forms' (Luraghi 1990: 17). Predication via non-finite verb forms 'strung together and closed by a finite verb form' was also 'a prominent feature of Dravidian' (Emeneau 1980: 113). Although the use of this type of periphrastic construction became increasingly common in the Classical language, similar constructions were not unknown in the earlier language. Whitney (1889/1967: 394-5) indicates that 'even in the Veda', use of a (usually) present participle with auxiliary verbs such as √i or √car, both meaning 'to go', signalled 'continued or habitual action'. √ās and √sthā, auxiliaries which appear frequently in this corpus, were also seen in the earlier language, as in this example which Whitney quotes from the Aitareya-Brāhmana: *te 'pakramya prativāvadato 'tiṣṭhan* 'they, having gone off, kept vehemently refusing'. Note that the imperfect form of the auxiliary (*atiṣṭhan*) is used in this early form.

2. SERIAL CONSTRUCTIONS EXPRESSING ANALYTIC ASPECT

These serial constructions are of four main types in the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati* :

A. Perfect(ive) Participle Passive (henceforth PPP) plus auxiliary √as ('to be') (indicating retrospective aspect (or what Speijer calls the 'actual' past')[5], used in dialogue).

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pointed out however, the question of whether or not items may or may not intervene may very well be one of *genre*, rather than of chronology.

5   Speijer (1886/1980: 252) follows Pāṇini in distinguishing between different types of past facts: the 'actual' past describes 'events so recent as not to have lost their actuality at the time of their being related', and the 'historical past' which describes events that are more remote from the moment of speaking. 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). Actual usage in the later language would not necessarily reflect this Pāṇinian restriction.

(1)   āgato   'smi
        come+ PPP+NOM/M/S   be+PRES/1/S
        'I have come.'

B. Present participle plus auxiliary √sthā ('to stand, stay, remain')
    (indicating imperfective aspect, used as an in-tale narrative tense).

(2)   anubhavaṃs   tiṣṭhati
        enjoy+PART+NOM/M/S   stay+PRES/3/S
        'He *continually* enjoyed.'

C. Present participle plus auxiliary √ās ('to sit, stay, remain')
    (imperfective aspect/discourse).

(3)   gacchantī   āste
        go+PART+NOM/F/S stay+PRES/3/S/MID
        'She *continually* went.'

D. Present participle plus auxiliary *vidyate* ('to be, exist'> √vid 'to
    find') (indicating imperfective aspect, complex in-tale discourse
    use).

(4)   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 imperfec-
tive) and tense. The (leftwards) main lexical (non-finite) verbal element
conveys only aspect.

2.1. PPP plus 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. For example: *unmādayantī mṛtā*
'Unmādayanti died;' *ity uktvā calitaḥ* '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.'[6] Breunis
notes that, in Hindi, the PPPs are:

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6   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 interest-
    ing discussion of the differing theoretical approaches of Sanskrit grammari-
    ans to the inclusion of √as 'to be' in deriving nominal sentences of the type

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 supportive 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 of existential verbs which does not escape Luraghi (1990: 24) who notes, referring to the development of Hittite √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^Hi.A LUGAL ^uru Hatti kuit UL kuiski **panza esta**, 'Since no king **had ever gone** (*panza esta*) to these countries'

Secondly, the use of √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 *prīto 'smi* 'I am pleased', or *baddho 'smi* 'I am bound'.[7]

Thirdly, the serial construction PPP plus auxiliary √as represents a marked form: its usage indicates retrospective aspect (or, later, as in Hindi, perfect tense). Breunis says (1990: 142) '...the construction with the copula is marked in relation to the nominal sentence, because the former is

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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).

7   The issue of the 'marked' nature of the presence or absence of the copula as it relates to the grammatical category of person will not be discussed here, although it should be briefly noted that in some cases the inclusion of √as with first and second person could arguably indicate emphasis, as in *āgato 'smi* 'I (not somebody else) came/have come.'

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 receives heavy use in the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati* , 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' meaning 'I am here':

(5)   aham   āgato   'smi
         I+NOM   come+PPP+NOM/M/S   be+PRES/1/S
         'I have come.'   [Introductory Story, p. 10][8]

(6)   tena   bhāgyodayena   tvam   atrā
         that+INS/M/S   good-fortune-dawn+INS/M/S   you+NOM/S   here

         "nīto   'si
         lead+PPP+NOM/M/S   be+PRES/2/S
         'You have been brought here by that good fortune.'   [Story 25, p. 150]

As Staal (1967: 29-30) notes, this (serial) arrangement amounts to a 'kind of suffixation', thus preparing the way for the subsequent cliticization and eventual grammaticalization of the auxiliary. This process involves a 'concurrent weakening of both the meaning and the 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 *sandhi* phenomenon, 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 (*si*, 'you are')... is directly attached to the PPP, as a kind of suffix.

This phenomenon can be clearly seen in Prakrit Niya (*kadamhi< kada mhi* 'I have done') and in Modern Eastern Hindi (*dekhesi< dekhe hasi* 'You have seen'), in these examples from Bubenik (1989: 395) which describe the 'finitization' of a 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'

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

not *'I am done'), an important distinction, certainly for the Latin passive periphrastic tenses. Thus, *amātus sum* does not mean *'I am loved', but rather, 'I have been/was loved'. The retrospective/perfective aspect results from the interaction of the passive participle and the existential auxiliary.

2.2.   Present participle plus auxiliary √*sthā*

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.' I found only one example of such a copular usage: *vicitradattasya kanyā mama patnī sthitā* 'My wife was the daughter of Vicitradatta.' (Story 21, p. 122), although Bopp noted (1856: 718) that '...in Sanskrit, the root √*sthā*, 'to stand', occasionally receives the abstract meaning 'to be'.'

There is little evidence that √*sthā* has reached this stage in the *Vetālapañcavimśati* . Unlike the other auxiliaries, √*sthā* still regularly functions as an independent lexical item throughout the text, as can be seen in examples (7) and (8).

2.2.1.   √*sthā* used as a lexical (independent) verb

(7)   rājaputro   'ham   tiṣṭhāmi.
            king +NOM/M/S   I+NOM   stay+PRES/1/S
            'I, a rajput,... stand here.'   [Story 4, p. 40]

(8)   kiṃ   tu   tasyā   akīrtir   loke
            but   PRT   that+GEN/F/S   disgrace+NOM/F/S   people+LOC/M/S

            sthāsyati   [Story 22, page 130]
            stay+FUT/3/S
            'However, a dreadful report of her will remain among the people.'

Even in its capacity as an auxiliary verb, √*sthā* shows remarkable vitality: it is inflected in several tenses (examples (12), (13), (14)), two voices, and three numbers, indicating strongly that its semantic force has not abated. This being the case, examples such as (9), (10) and (11) could be interpreted as being doubly marked for durativity: morphologically, via the present participle, and lexically, by the *Aktionsart* of √*sthā*, 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-[9] ('afterward, again'), a predicate such as *anubhavaṃs 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.

√*Sthā*'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 & Sutherland 1987: 242).

2.2.2. Auxiliary √*sthā* inflected in the 'Historical Present'

(9)   anayā   saha...   nānāsukham
         this+INS/F/S   with   manifold-pleasure+ACC/N/S

         anubhavaṃs   tiṣṭhati
         enjoy+PART+NOM/M/S   stay+PRES/3/S
         'He continually enjoyed manifold pleasures with her.'   [Story 21, p. 122]

(10)   tena   saha   nānāsukham
         that+INS/M/S   with   manifold-pleasure+ACC/N/S

         anubhavantī   tiṣṭhāmi   sma
         enjoy+PART+NOM/F/S   stay+PRES/1/S   PRT
         'I continually enjoyed all pleasures with him.'
                         [Story 21, p. 120 – past tense via the particle *sma*]:[10]

(11)   tvām   eva   dhyāyantī   tiṣṭhāmi
         you+ACC/S   PRT   lament+PART+NOM/F/S   stay+PRES/1/S
         'I have been continually lamenting for you.'   [Story 3a, p. 34]

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9   Despite the lexicalized meaning of *anubhū* as 'observe, experience', the etymology of prefix *anu-* clearly indicates the notion of repetition, and, as is well known, etymology is never far from the Brahmin mind (cf. Scharfe 1977: 122, 157).

10   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*.

2.2.3. Auxiliary √*sthā* inflected in the Future

(12)   ahaṃ śivasevāṃ   kurvatī   sthāsyāmi
          I+NOM śiva-homage+ACC/F/S do+PART+NOM/F/S stay+FUT/1/S
          'I shall continually do homage to Śiva.'   [Story 22, page 126]

2.2.4. Auxiliary √*sthā* inflected in the Perfect

(13)   tena   mitravareṇa   saha...   kālaṃ
          that+INS/M/S   friend-good+INS/M/S with...   time+ACC/M/S

          nayamānas   tasthau
          pass+PART(MID)+NOM/M/S   stay+PERF/3/S
          'With that excellent friend, he continually passed the time.'
                                      [Story 1, p. 14 (end of paragraph)]

(14)   tām   eva   dhyāyaṃs   tasthau
          that+ACC/F/S PRT   pine+PART+NOM/M/S   stay+PERF/3/S
          'He continually pined for her alone.' [Story 14, p. 88 (end of paragraph)]

The use of the perfect tense of the auxiliary verb locates the imperfective event in the past. This is the only one of the 'old' past tenses to be so used: neither the imperfect **anubhavaṃs atiṣṭhat*) nor the aorist (**anubhavaṃs asthāt*) appears as an auxiliary in these constructions. The discourse/pragmatic function of this periphrastic predicate, with the auxiliary inflected in the perfect, is the same as the one of the discourse usages of the 'old' perfect tense, described by Rose (1997: 40ff): it is used as a scene setting, summarizing, and/or topic shifting device—a break in the discourse continuity. Givón (1977: 200) notes a similar function of the perfect in Biblical Hebrew, as do Li & Thompson (1982: 37) for the perfect marker *le* in Mandarin Chinese. *Le* is, in their words, 'a mark of finality.' In keeping with this function, it typically appears at, or near, the end of the paragraph, where it supplies the 'last word', as exemplified in examples (13) and (14) above.

2.3. Present participle plus auxiliary √*ās*

Although the lexical items √*ās* and √*sthā* can both mean 'to stay, remain', and are both employed in serial predicates, their uses are not identical. Whereas √*sthā* invariably results in imperfective aspect, √*ās* does so only occasionally. The √*ās* construction seems to have a strong discourse pragmatic function, as did the perfect usages of √*sthā*, with similar results: they are used as in-tale narrative past tenses either to summarize events as illustrated in the following example:

(15)   evaṃ   rājasevāṃ   kurvann   āste
           thus   king-service+ACC/F/S   do+PART+NOM/M/S stay
           'So he continually did service to the king.'   [Story 4, page 42]

or to provide setting of scene:

(16)   śvetapaṭo..   pitur   ādeśāt
           śvetapaa+NOM/M/S   father+GEN/M/S command+ABL/M/S

           svadeśam   gacchann   āste
           own-country+ACC/M/S   go+PART+NOM/M/S stay
           'Śvetapaṭa,... at his father's command was going to his own country.'
                                               [Story 8, page 60]

They are often used to 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...'.

The form of the present participle is the same as with √*sthā*: it is inflected for person, number, case and gender. The auxiliary, however, shows none of √*sthā*'s flexibility. The following example is the only example of √*ās* whose lexical meaning is still intact:

(17)   pracaṇḍasiṃho   mahārājaḥ
           Pracaṇḍasiṃha+NOM/M/S   great-king+NOM/M/S

           svagṛham   vihāyā   'ste
           own-home+ACC/N/S   leave-behind+ABS stay
           'The great king Pracaṇḍasiṃha has abandoned
           his home and stays here.'   [Story 8, page 58]

2.4.   Present participle plus auxiliary *vidyate*

2.4.0.   Background

The weakening of meaning involved in the auxiliary grammaticalization process is clearly in evidence with *vidyate*. It is undoubtedly the most semantically bleached of the auxiliary verbs used in serial constructions in the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati* . 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, 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 *dhātuphāṭha*, recognizes four different *vid-* roots :

i.   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.

ii. one belonging to class VI-138 (*tud*-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.'[11]

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

iv. 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 *dhātuphāṭha*: 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 *dhātuphāṭha* 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 (*vídyate*, with a high pitched base vowel), and *vidḷ* 'find' is included in the sixth major group... (*vindáti, vindáte*, pass. *vidyáte*) (1988: 125)

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11   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.

It should be noted, however, that, with the possible exception of the fourth class,[12] *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, *ātmanepada* suffixes, or both; whether their bases contain high or low pitched vowels (*udātta* or *anudātta*), 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.

Another possible 'diagnostic tool' could be the accent, in the early language a reliable guide to the differentiation between *ātmanepada* 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 predesinential 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 (*ātmanepada* suffixes); the remaining 80 or so, with an accented suffix, having a distinctly passive meaning (all with *ātmanepada* suffixes). Macdonell locates *vidyáte* 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 de-

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12 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 *krúdh-ya* 'be angry', *kúp-ya* 'be angry', *klám-ya* 'be weary', *kṣudh-ya* 'be hungry', *muh-ya* 'be confused', *túṣ-ya* 'be pleased', *táp-ya* 'is hot', *hṛṣ-ya* 'rejoices'.

termines differences in meaning between the two sub-groups: intransitive *múcyate* 'gets loose' vs. passive *mucyáte* '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 *dhriyáte* 'is steadfast' as an example.

Verbs of the fourth class, 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 Pāninian times, and certainly by the time of the composition of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati* . 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 *vidyáte* in the examples from Cardona, above) or an *ātmanepada* form of 'to be' (as *vídyate*), 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) and Macdonell (1954/1976: 282) seem to favour 'find' as the source, both listing the form with the accent, viz. *vidyáte*. 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 the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati* , the combination of the semantic 'bleaching' trend, already clearly underway in Pānini's time,[13] 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 the metaphorical, figurative sense of *sattāyām.* In other words, *'vidyate* has

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

been restructured as a separate root with its own inflection and meaning ('to be')' (Hock: written communication).[14]

Usage in the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati* does indeed give strong support to the interpretation of *vidyate* as a 'restructured' existential (copula) verb. The form occurs thirty times in the text, interestingly, most often in the three stories 'which are found in no other Sanskrit version of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati* (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.[15]

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 *ātmanepada* form of *vid* 'to find', which would, of course be *vindáte* (plural *vindante*). 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, clearly in evidence in examples

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14 Neverthless, 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 *ātmanepada* 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. According to the grammarians, 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.

15 I might note that from a semantic standpoint it makes more sense for copular verbs to be construed as *ātmanepada* 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 *eimì* 'I am' (active)> Modern Greek *eímai* 'I am' (middle).

where it is collocated with absolutives (see for instance, examples 25 and 26 below). Furthermore, were *vidyate* to be construed as a passive, i.e., as a *karmaṇi 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.

In the examples which follow, I have chosen to gloss *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. 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.

2.4.1. 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 (18) and (19):

(18)   parākramakeśarī   nāma   tasya
         Parākramakeśarī+NOM/M/S   name+NOM/N/S   that+GEN/M/S

         putro   'bhavat
         son+NOM/M/S   be+IMPERF/3/S
         'He had a son named Parākramakeśarī.' (literally, of him was a son)
                                                                [Story 3, page 30]

(19)   tasya   putro   dhanadatto   'bhūt
         that+GEN/M/S son+NOM/M/S   Dhanadatta+NOM/M/S   be+AOR/3/S
         'He had a son Dhanadatta.'   [Story 3a. page 32]

Vidyate appears in an identical context to the above copula verbs, as in (20):

(20)   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.'   [Story 2, page 26]

The following examples illustrate constructions involving a possessive genitive plus *vidyate*, constructions which are quite common in the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati* :

(21)   ... tasyāś   candraprabhāyaḥ   krīḍāparā ...   vidyate
              that+GEN/F/S Candraprabhā+GEN/F/S   pet-hen-myna+NOM/F/S is
              '..this Candraprabhā has a pet hen-myna' (Lit:'of C. is a pet hen-myna')
                                                                    [Story 3, page30]

(22)   mamai   'ṣā   pratijñā   vidyate
              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')[Story 21, page 114]

In all examples of this type of construction, the experiencer-possessor (logical subject) is marked with the genitive, and the grammatical subject, the 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):

(23) 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 con-
> structions 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 (24a) (his example 4a) denotes possession, and (24b) (his example (4b), 'state of things in one's personal situation':

(24) 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.[16] These concerns have significance for what follows in our discussion, however, and consequently merit a brief elaboration.

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 absolutives. 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 (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).

This switch was reflected in both word order and in altered patterns of absolutive control. In the earlier language, the surface subject controlled absolutive formation, while in the later language, this control is exercised by the agent, as in (25):

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[16] See Verma & Mohanan 1990; Hock 1991b for insightful discussions of many of the issues involved.

(25)   maraṇasamaye   tatra sarastir e   mayai
        death-time+LOC/M/S   there lakeshore+LOC/M/S   I+INS

        'kā   cakravāki   dṛṣṭā
        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 120]

Vidyate figures prominently in a construction from the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati* which Hock (1986) identifies as an exception to a significant aspect of this trend toward agent (vs. subject) control of absolutives. In the following example (his example (14)), it is the surface subject (*rākṣa sī*) of a 'P-oriented' construction (*vidyate*) which controls the absolutives *ālokya, prakupya, bhūtvā:*

(26)   tadā rākṣasī nijakāntayā saha ramamāṇam ālokya prakupya
             S   Abs.   Abs.

        tatraiva bhramarī bhūtvā puṣpaghrāṇasya vyājena vidyate
                            Abs.   Pass.
                                                        (Vetāla. 136.3-5)
        'then the ogress, seeing him dallying with his own wife, becoming an-
        gry, immediately becoming a bee, is found=IS as if drawn by the smell
        of a blossom'

While *vidyate* may be formally passive in this example, (implying, to my mind the *lābhe* sense), the syntactic behaviour of the sentence may only be explained under the *sattāyām* reading: 'That is, semantic, rather than purely formal-syntactic factors seem to govern absolutive control' (Hock 1986: 23). Of course, the argument could be made that, once the copular (intransitive/ *ātmanepada*) sense is adopted, this construction is no longer properly described as 'P-oriented'—its P-oriented status is no longer syn-chronically accessible or relevant. In other words, this is not an exception to agent control of absolutives: under the copular (*ātmanepada*) reading of *vidyate*, the agent and the patient may be perceived as one and the same person. The passive construction ('is found') may be P-oriented, but the restructured *ātmanepada* (copular) manifestation of *vidyate* is at the very least neutral as to orientation (i.e., neither active nor passive, but middle). It will be noted that all cases cited of *vidyate* used as an auxiliary verb in-volve a collocated absolutive, which is controlled, as in Hock's example, by the (ambiguously oriented) surface subject of *vidyate*.

It might be noted that the existential sense of *vidyate*, rare as I have noted 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 *ātmanepada* verb, *rākṣasī*, has lost nearly all its patient status, and, though not fully an agent, is 'agentive' enough to control absolutive formation.[17]

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 the case in the next example, where wrongly construing *vidyate* as a passive could lead to a misreading of these sentences. If in the examples, *vidyate* were to be construed as the *karmaṇi 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 *kartṛ*, resulting in the reading *'The demoness (NOM) was found by the harlot-form (INS)', meaning *'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:

(27)   rākṣasī   veśyārūpeṇa   vidyate
         demoness+NOM/F/S   harlot-form+INS/N/S   is
         'An ogress is here in the form of a harlot.'   [Story 23, page 136]

Several examples of *vidyate* used as a main verb contain a locative phrase describing where the subject 'is' or '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.

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[17] Under this analysis, the behaviour of the subject of *vidyate*, rather than being an 'exception' actually *supports* Hock's theory.

Middle voice inflection, 'a feature often associated with stativeness or intransitivity' (Hock 1990: 125), may have, as Whitney (1889/1967: 200) notes, a strong reflexive sense (also Lehmann 1974: 98). In these usages (exemplified in (28) and (29), then, the 'extended' copular meaning of *vidyate* may be understood somewhat in the sense of German *sich befinden* 'find oneself' or 'exist, be'[18] as in *er befindet sich dort* 'he is there' (literally 'He finds himself there'), or French *se trouve*, as in *La maison se trouve dans la rue* 'The house is on the street' (literally 'The house finds itself on the street').

(28)　　sa　　　　　　yogī　　　　　　śmaśāne　　　　　vidyate
　　　　that+NOM/M/S　yogi+NOM/M/S　cemetery+LOC/N/S　is
　　　　'The ascetic is in the cemetery.'　　　　　　　[Story 1, pp. 22-23]

(29)　　kusumapuranagare...　　　vesyā　　　　　vidyate
　　　　Kusumapura-city+LOC/N/S...　harlot+NOM/F/S　is
　　　　'In the city of Kusumapura...there is a harlot.'　　[Story 21, p. 112]

2.4.2. Example of *vidyate* as a main lexical verb used in the sense *lābhe*

Only a single example of *vidyate* as a main lexical verb used in the sense *lābhe* exists in the text—it is also the only example where the form of the verb deviates from the 'frozen' 3rd singular form:

(30)　　...na...　　ratnāni　　　　　vidyante
　　　　...not　　jewels+NOM/N/PL　find+PRES/3/PL/Medio-Passive
　　　　'...jewels are not found...'　　　　　　[Introductory Story, p. 6-8]

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.

2.4.3. The use of *vidyate* as a stylistic device

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

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18 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' (literally 'He is in error').

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 absolutive, (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.

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.

In the following examples, note that it is the surface subject of *vidyate* (in middle voice with features of both agent and patient) that controls the absolutive:

(31) athai 'kadā... rājā   paurajanān   vihāya...
      then once   king+NOM/M/S townsfolk+ACC/M/PL leave+ABS

      krīḍāṃ   kurvan   vidyate. tado
      game+ACC/F/S   do+PART+NOM/M/S   be   then

      'nmādayantī   cintavatī
      Unmādayantī+NOM/F/S think+PAP/F/S
      'One day... the king absented himself from the townsfolk and was playing about... Then Unmādayantī thought...'   [Story 14, page 88]

(32) ...duhitaram   ādāya   rātrau   gacchantī
      ...daughter+ACC/F/S take+ABS   night+LOC/F/S go+PART+NOM/F/S

      vidyate.   anantaram...   caurah...   'bravīt.
      be   after   thief+NOM/M/S say+IMPERF/3/S
      'She took her daughter and was just going off at night..when..a thief..said.'   [Story 16, page 96]

(33)   tadā sā...   atisundara   dṛṣṭvā   tena
         then that+NOM/F/S   very-handsome+ACC/M/S   see+ABS   that+INS/M/S

         samaṃ   krīḍantī   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...   [Story 23, page 136]

3. CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

Although the perfective and retrospective aspects were well repre-
sented in the 'old' (Vedic) and 'new' (Classical) systems, both by synthetic
finite and participial forms, the 'old' Sanskrit synthetic imperfect, despite
the name[19], did not convey imperfective aspect (Speijer 1886/1980: 244;
Goldman & Sutherland 1987: 131; Taraporewala 1967: 70; Macdonell
1916/1975: 312; Whitney 1889/1967: 201, 227, 278). Consistent with the ac-
knowledged importance of aspectual distinctions to a verbal system, I sug-
gest that the rebuilding process sought to redress this state of affairs by the
increased use of periphrastic forms overtly marked for imperfective as-
pect.

Imperfective/continuous events in the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati* a r e
invariably rendered by the use of analytic constructions, consisting of a
present participle and postverbal auxiliary. Three auxiliary verbs were
used in these analytic constructions: √sthā 'stay', √ās 'stay, sit', and *vidyate*
>√vid 'find', in various stages of semantic bleaching, with √vid the most
bleached, √sthā the least. *Vidyate* was noted to be significant from a typo-
logical standpoint as a reanalyzed middle voice verb (with features of both
A-and P-orientation) whose 'subject', either oblique (genitive) in posses-
sive/existential constructions, or nominative in periphrastic constructions,
controlled absolutive formation. A fourth auxiliary verb, √as 'to be', was
used in combination with the PPP to convey retrospective aspect. It ap-
peared most often in direct speech in the function of the 'old' aorist
(Whitney 1889/1967: 201) for the description of recent events.

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19 Given to it 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).

The reader may have noticed that verbal forms exemplified herein show a strong trend toward tense/aspect marking on the right, as opposed to leftwards marking via the augment or reduplication strategies favoured by the 'old' synthetic forms (imperfect *a-bhavat;* aorist *ā-gāt;* perfect *ca-kār-a*). This trend reaches fruition in the daughter languages, for instance Hindi, where tense/aspect distinctions are provided by *rightwards* additions. Thus:

maĩ=ne likhī ...	'I wrote ... [a book]'
maĩ=ne likhī hai	'I have written'
maĩ=ne likhī thī	'I had written'
maĩ=ne likhī hogī	'I shall have written'

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 analycity, a tendency clearly indicated by Hewson & 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. It is possible that, although the three synthetic forms, the aorist, imperfect and perfect, may have been marked for tense and certain types of aspect, their fusional and overlapping exponence led ultimately to their gradual demise. The increasing use of analytic forms was a strategy to overcome this 'deficiency' and to incorporate clearly marked imperfective aspect into the verbal system.

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