Lesson 15

Coverb in {-sẽ} – auxiliary verbs (II) – **gāye** *"to suffice"*

In this lesson, we will be mostly concerned with further instances of verb serialisation. However, the auxiliaries introduced here are not construed with the verb noun, but mostly with the coverb.

The coverb is formed by adding a formant {**-sẽ**} (*var.* {**-se**}) or its allomorph {**-ã**} to the zero grade stem (Class IV: first grade stem). Note that class V verbs on the whole seem to prefer {**-ã**}, which is not attested for verbs of classes II-IV.

I	II	III	IV	V
kha-sẽ	da-sẽ	bi-sẽ	ṅhela-sẽ	(*see note*)
khaṅ-ã	——	——	——	khojalap-ã
"seeing"	*"existing"*	*"giving"*	*"laughing"*	*"searching"*

NB – The only authentic example of a Class V verb with coverb marker {**-sẽ**} (added not to the zero grade stem, but to the first grade stem) that has come to my notice is **sumalapase** (**sumalape** "to remember", *DCN s.v.* **sumarape**).

(15.1) हे देव। मिसा छम्हं खोस्यं चोङया खं जे खंडाव बेस्यं वंनं।

he deb, misā cha-mhā-Ø *kho-sẽ* **coṅa-yā khā. je khaṅ-āwo** *be-sẽ* **won-ã.**

"Your majesty, it was the matter of a woman [being crying=] *crying*. When she saw me, she [went *retreating*=] retreated."

In contrast to the converbs, whose main function it is to form the head of a subordinated VP, the coverb is usually only used in conjunction with an auxiliary verb.

NB – In some rare instances, the coverb can fulfil the same function as the circumstantial converb (§ 108); cf. (14.6) above: **swāmīwo napā surata-sukha** *ma yāsẽ* **...** *"without having made* love to your husband ...".

Auxiliary verbs (II). Whereas modal auxiliary verbs are usually construed with the verb noun, verbs construed with the coverb tend to be aspectual auxiliaries.

coṅe *"to stay"*: With the coverb, this verb functions as a durative auxiliary. Special note should be taken of the formation **dasẽ coṅa**

"there (once) was", which is the default verb form in the incipit of a narrative (*cf.* Skr. **asti**). Note that this verb is rarely met with in the perfective past, the predominant verb form being the stative participle. The place of the coverb is frequently taken by the converb in {**-āwo**}.

(15.2) बत्तिस लक्षण संयुक्त यौवन स्त्री छम्हं खोस्यं चोङ खंडाव ओया समीपस
        वीरवलन धारं ।

    **battīs lakṣaṇa saṃyukta yaubana strī cha-mhã-Ø *kho-sẽ
        coṅ-a* khaṅ-āwo wo-yā samīpa-s bīrabala-n dhāl-ã.**
        "When he saw a young woman endowed with the thirty-two auspicious signs *crying*, Vīrabala spoke."

(15.3) कांचनपुर नाम नगरस धर्मध्वज नाम राजा दस्यं चोङ ।

    **kāñcanapura nām nagara-s dharmadhwaja nām rājā-Ø
        da-sẽ coṅ-a.**
        "In a city called Kāñcanapura, *there once was* a king called Dharmadhvaja."

(15.4) थ्व वेलस राजान द्वारिकया ख्वाल सोस्यं चोनं ।

    thwo bela-s rājā-n dwārikayā khwāl *sosẽ conã*.
        "Then the king was perusing the gatekeepers face."

(15.5) थथिङ कुलीन थ्व राजाया थ्वलतती वस्तु नयाव चोंङा ।

    **thathiṅa kulīna thwo rājā-yā thwoletati bastu-Ø *nay-āwo
        coṅ-ā*.**
        "'We *have been* [*eating=*] receiving so many things from this noble king.'"

152 *juye (jul-)* *"to become"*: As an auxiliary, this verb has two different, seemingly contradictory functions. With the coverb, it expresses perfective aspect, with the stative participle, it forms a periphrastic stative tense. Note that the stative participle is frequently followed by emphatic **-tõ** (§ 75). More often than not, the perfective past tense of **juye** when used as an auxiliary takes the marker {**-o**}. As with **cone**, the place of the coverb is frequently taken by the converb in {**-āwo**}.

(15.6) दक्षिनावर्त्तन पृथ्वीस भ्रमलपं जुयाः ॥

    dakṣiṇābarta-n pṛthwī-s *bhramalap-ã juy-ā*.
        "*I have wandered* the earth in the South."

(15.7) ओ ब्राह्मनन विलासवतीव नपां सुख भुक्तलपं काल हंङ जुलोः ॥

**wo brāhmaṇa-n bilāsabatī-wo napā̃ sukha-∅ bhuktalap-ā
kāla-∅ hã̃ṅ-a jul-o.**
"This brahman [*was spending* =] spent (his) time in enjoyment
together with Vilāsavatī."

(15.8) थ्व राजान अनेक सामन्त मन्त्री सहितन चतुर्दिगसं समुद्रसिमा पृथ्वीया ईश्वर

जुयाव परम राज्य सुख भुक्तलपं काल हंङ बिज्याकत्वं जुलो ॥

**thwo rājā-n anek sāmanta-mantrī sahita-n caturdiga-s-ā
samudrasīmā pṛthwī-yā īśwara-∅ juy-āwo parama rājya-
sukha-∅ bhuktalap-ā kāla haṅ-a bijyāka-tô jul-o.**
"After this king, together with (his) many vassals and
ministers, had become the rule of the four corners of the world
up until the ocean's shore, he [*was spending* =] spent his time
enjoying the highest pleasure of (his) rule."

(15.9) लिथें जताधारी जुवम्हंन दक्षिनावर्त्तनः पृथ्वी भ्रमलपाव जुले नगर छगुलिस वनं ।

**lithē jaṭādhārī juwo-mhā-n dakṣiṇābarta-n pṛthwī-∅
bhramalap-āwo ju-le nagara cha-guli-s won-ā.**
"Then, *when* the one who had become an ascetic *was roaming*
the earth in the Southern region, he came to a town."

taye (tal-) *"to put"*: Along with its lexical meaning, this verb functions 153
(1) as a resultative auxiliary (similar in function to H. **rakhnā**); (2) as
a means for expressing the notion "to end up doing s.th.". Besides the
converb in {**-āwo**}, the stative participle can stand in for the coverb.

(15.10) हे मन्त्री । थ्व वीरवल बोङाव जीवनि बियाव ति ।

he mantrī-∅, thwo bīrabala-∅ boṅ-āwo jībanī-∅ *biy-āwo ti-∅*.
"O minister, summon this Vīrabala and *give* (him) an employ-
ment!"

(15.11) थथें थ्व स्वम्हंस्यन कयंगल याङाव ब्रह्महथ्याया भयन छम्हायातं म बिस्यं तलः ॥

**thathē thwo so-mhā-sen kayā̃gal yāṅ-āwo ... cha-mhā-yātā
ma *bi-sẽ tal-ā*.**
"When he saw the three of them quarrelling like this, ... he
ended up giving (her in marriage) to none."

(15.12) ज्ञानी शिल्पि शूल थ्व स्वम्हंस छम्हंयाता बिय धकं अङ्गीकाल याङ तया ।

'jñānī śilpī śūra thwo somhãs chamhãyātā biye dhakã aṅgīkāra yāṅa tayā.'

"'*I have promised* to give her (in marriage) to one of the three: one who is learned, one who is dexterous, (or) one who is valiant.'"

154   *bijyāye (bijyāt-)* *"to come (hon.)"*: Besides its lexical meaning, this verb has the function of forming honorifics ("to deign to do s.th.", but better left untranslated)– either with the coverb, or with the stative participle. Note that {-tõ} is frequently added to the stative participle, possibly as a (further) honorific marker:

(15.13) थ्वते अमुल्य रत्न सोस्यं बिज्याङाव लस तास्यं बिज्याकटों ॥

thwo amūlya ratna-∅ so-sẽ bijyūṅ-āwo rasa tā-sẽ bijyāk-a-tõ.
"When he [deigned to see=] saw this priceless jewel, he [deigned to rejoice=] rejoiced."

(15.14) लिथें थ्वस खंडाव महा हर्षमान याङ बिज्याकटोंः ॥

lithē thwo-s khaṅ-āwo mahā *harṣamāna yāṅ-a bijyāk-a-tõ*.
"Then, when he saw this, he rejoiced mightily."

155   *yene* *"to lead"*: According to JØRGENSEN (1941 § 165), this verb can be employed as an auxiliary in two different functions: (1) With the coverb, it can indicate "a motion towards, or away from the subject". I have not been able to find an example for this usage in the NVP, although there is at least one instance where **yene** is construed with the stative participle in this sense. (2) With the reduplicating converb, **yene** forms an iterative; this usage seems not to be attested in the text of NVP.

(15.15) राजायाके इनाप याडाव जे बोंङ यंडा धकं धायाव द्वारीकन राजायाके गोचर

याङाव बोंङ यङा वीलवलन राजा सेवा धायाव यिनाप यातं ।

'rājā-yāke ināpa yāṅ-āwo je-∅ *boṅ-a yeṅ-ā*' dhakã dhāy-āwo dwārika-n rājā-āke gocara yāṅ-āwo *boṅ-a yeṅ-ā* bīrabala-n rājā-∅ sebā dhāy-āwo ināpa yāt-ã.

"'I will announce you to the king and *fetch* you', the gatekeeper said, and when he had been brought before the king, Vīrabala [*having been fetched*] paid homage to him and spoke."

wone *"to go"*: According to Jørgensen, **wone** can be used as an
auxiliary to denote recent completion; however, the date from the NVP
does not support this assumption. Where **wone** is construed with the
coverb, it seems to indicate motion (as in some usages of H. **jānā**).
When construed with the second grade stem, it is perhaps best inter-
preted as "to go (in order) to".

156

(15.16) जे खंडाव बेस्यं वनं।

> **je khaṅ-āwo *be-sẽ won-ã*.**
> "When (she) saw me, she[*went retreating*=] retreated."

(15.17) रुद्रशर्म्मा नाम ब्राह्मनयाके नल वनं: ॥

> **rudraśarmā nām brāhmaṇa-yāke *nala-Ø won-ã*.**
> "He *went* to a brahman by the name of Rudraśarman (*in order*)
> *to eat*."

woye (wol-) *"to come"*: Again the usage of this verb as recorded in
NVP does not conform to the function ascribed to it by Jørgensen
(which is otherwise well attested). With the second grade stem, it
seems to mean "to come to do", "to end up doing", whereas the coverb
in (15.20) is best interpreted as a variant of the circumstantial converb
(see above, §148).

157

(15.18) सबरन धाव तास्यं वया।   (*Jørgensen*)

> **śabara-n dhā-wo *tā-sẽ woy-ā*.**
> "*I have just heard* what the mountaineer said."

(15.19) लिथे अती दुःख तायाव मृतक को तिंङ हयाव ओया सरीरसं राजा जुत वलं।

> **lithẽ ati duḥkha tāy-āwo mṛtaka-Ø ko tiṅ-a hay-āwo wo-yā**
> **śarīra-s rājā-Ø *juta-Ø wol-ã*.**
> "Later, when it was badly hurt, the king threw it down and
> *came to sit* astride its body."

(15.20) राजान धालं। ‹भो कापालिक।› छन खं डेने धकं अती लस तास्यं वया धकं।

> **rājā-n dhāl-ã – 'bho kāpālika-Ø, cha-n khã-Ø ṅene dhakā**
> **ati *rasa tā-sẽ woy-ā*' dhakā.**
> "The king spoke: 'O kāpālika, *I will gladly come* (there) in
> order to hear your story."

158   *haye (hal-)* *"to bring, carry"*: Jørgensen ascribes to this verb a similar function to **yene** (§ 154).In addition to this, there are some instances in NVP where **haye** seems to function as an iterative auxiliary ("to keep doing"). In either context, the place of the coverb can be taken by the stative participle or by the converb in {**-āwo**}.

(15.21) थ्व बेलस छम्हासेन थ्व स्त्री सलतलं । हे स्त्री । थना वायो धकं सलताव हलं ।

   thwo bela-s cha-mhā-sen thwo strī-Ø salatal-ã – 'he strī-Ø, thanā wāy-o' dhakā *salat-āwo hal-ã.*
   "Then one (of them) called to that woman: 'O woman, come here', he *called out*."

(15.22) थ्व राजायातं सूर्य उदय म जुबल खें चाय बेलस लंख बिल वंङ जनया हस्तसः विचित्र बिल्वफल छगोड क्षान्तिसील नाम कापालिकन बिस्यं हलं ।

   thwo rājā-yātã sūrya-udaya-Ø ma ju-bala khẽ cā-ye bela-s lãkh-Ø bila woṅ-a jana-yā hasta-s bicitra bilbaphala cha-gol-Ø kṣāntiśīla nām kāpālika-n *bi-sẽ hal-ã.*
   "When this king washed his face before sunrise, a kāpālika ascetic by the name of Kṣāntiśīla *used to give* him a marvellous bilva fruit by the hand of the servant who handed the king the water."

159   *gāye (gāt-)* *"to suffice"*: Special mention shound be made of the idiomatic usage of **ma gāka** ["doesn't suffice"=] "won't do" construed with the zero grade stem.

(15.23) भो राजन् । जेछे नेम्हं म वं म गाक ला ।

   'bho rājan-Ø, jeche ne-mhā-Ø *ma wo-Ø ma gāk-a* **lā?'**
   "O king, [will the two of us not going not do=] do we both (really) *have to go*?"

Exercise 15

1) हे राजा। जेन म्वाचकं हय।

'he rājā, jen mwācakā haye.'

2) थथे धास्तुनं थ्व वेताल राजाया बोहोल तोलताव सिंसल्पावृक्षया चोस चोन वनं ॥

thathē dhāstunā thwo betāla rājāyā bohol tolatāwo siṃsapābṛkṣayā cos cona wonā.

3) थथ्यं धायाव वीरवर बोंडाव जीवनि बियाव तरं।

thathē dhāyāwo bīrabala boṅāwo jībanī biyāwo talā.

4) भो राजन्। एकान्तस जेन इनापे धकं धायाव सभास लोक समस्तं चेलाव वंड जुलो।

'bho rājan, ekāntas jen ināpe' dhakā dhāyāwo sabhās loka samastā celāwo woṅa julo.

5) थ्व बेलस छम्हासेन थ्व स्त्री सलतलं। हे स्त्री। थना वायो धकं सलताव हलं।

thwo belas chamhāsen thwo strī salatalā – 'he strī, thanā wāyo' dhakā salatāwo halā.

6) भो महाराज। थ्व नदीतील समीपस सिंसल्पाबृक्षया उत्तर साखास मृतक पुरुष दोलायमान याङ चोंग्व। मौन याडाव जोंड हय माल।

bho mahārāja, thwo nadītīra samīpas siṃsapāvṛkṣayā uttara śākhās mṛtaka purukha dolāyamāna yāṅa coṅa. mauna yāṅāwo joṅa haye māla.

7) जमुनाया तीरसः ब्रह्मस्थान नाम ग्राम दस्यं चोङ। थ्व ग्रामस थव २ कर्मस चोङ ब्राह्मनपनीस आश्रम दव। थ्व ग्रामस अग्निस्वामी नाम ब्राह्मन बसलपं चोङः ॥

jamunāyā tīras brāhmasthāna nām grāma dasē coṅa. thwo grāmas thawo thawo karmas coṅa brāhmaṇapanis āśrama dawo. thwo grāmas agniswāmī nām brāhmaṇa basalapā coṅa.

8) छन्हुया क्षणस उज्झानमण्डपस इन्दुलेखाओ सुरतसुख याङ बिज्यातं।

chanhuyā kṣaṇas ujhānamaṇḍapas indulekhāwo suratasukha yāṅa bijyātā.