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## ชดฺฺ

 ..... 01-14  ขૈఙీ. இఅలฺฺ
 ..... 15-26  జ. రஞణజింః
 ..... 27-46   
4. Exploring Language Dynamics on Social Media: A Corpus ..... 47-65 Analysis of English Usage on Facebook by the Sri Lankan Undergraduates -

C. D. H. M. Premaratna, N. W. S. C. Wijewantha

5. Muvadevdavata as a political Irony ..... 66-79
B. I. Sampath6. Glimpse of Buddhism in 'Volga se Ganga' Story Collection80-91by Rahul Sankrityayan -N. S. Senevirathna

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S. Ihalagama


#### Abstract

Folktale is a prominent feature of folklore. It is the art of storytelling that has been the medium of dissemination of folklore in traditional societies. The art of storytelling, which used to be a means of information communication and entertainment with the participation of both the storyteller and the listener, is disappearing from today's society. Folktales endowed by this art are not instant creations, but stories with historical information, various types of characters, trees, and animal characters as themes. Animal characters were a significant tool used by classical writers and folktale writers in their literary creations to portray extremely complex human characteristics in a realistic and attractive manner. As a result, animal characters can be seen widely in classical literatures such as the "Pansiya Panas Jathala Poth Wahanse" (The Five Hundred and Fifty Jataka Tales) and in folklore elements such as folk poems, folk sayings, proverbs and folktales. The main objective of this research is to discuss the significant skill of the storytellers of the ancient traditional society, where there was no advanced communication media like the present day, to enter into the folktales the various shapes of the complex characteristics of both the 'rulers and the ruled' and the daily social activities. For this purpose, the information was collected from the "Lankave Janakatha" compiled by Chandra Sri Ranasinghe. This book is the Sinhala translation of the "Village Folktales of Sri Lanka" written by Henry Parker, a British irrigation official who is the pioneer of collecting folktales in Sri Lanka. The qualitative research method is used for analyzing information.The conclusions of this research indicates that the folktale creators have a strong rânge of skills to analyze various personal traits and behaviors such as guile, love, deprivation, ingratitude, apathy, and extremism of men and women by using animal characters without provokîng the listener's fêelings and (2) accordingly, folktales with themes of animal characters such as quadrupeds, birds and reptiles can be used as an effective source for the study of folk life.


Keywords: Forktail, folklife study, animal characters, human behaviors

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C. Ranasinha


#### Abstract

This research aims to identify and examine the theoretical approach of evaluation in Peradeniya literary discourse for modern Sinhala novels and remarks on the writers who have been excluded from the discourse and excluded by it. To order to do that, examine the works of E.R. Sarathchandra (1914-1996), Modern Sinhalese Fiction (1943) and its Sinhala translation "Sinhala Nawakatha Ithihasaya Ha Wicharaya" (1951) and other selected writings of Sarathchandra Wickramasuriya, Ariya Rajakaruna who were close members of the Peradeniya school were examined. The research problem here is to identify and examine the nature of reading by Peradeniya critics regarding Sinhalese novels. The theoretical approach for the research is the two concepts of Michel Foucault (1926-1984), a philosopher and historian who has studied history and other related areas, which are excluding and including. The result of the research shows that Peradeniya literary discourse has appreciated, valued, and included selected works that have been attributed some literary qualities and excluded others from their discourse. The Student concludes that Peradeniya Literary Discourse has included the selected Sinhala writers and excluded the others.


Keywords : The Peradeniya literary discourse, Including, Excluding, Criterias for literary criticism.

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## V.A. Weerawardhane


#### Abstract

This research focuses on phonological changes of 'Nipatha' found in Sinhalese classical written records written in between 7th century AD and 10th century AD. This period is known as the first half of the middle Sinhalese era. Primary sources of the study were the classical written texts of Anuradhapura period namely 'Siyabaslakara' (807 AD - 823 AD), 'Dhampiya Atuwa Getapada' 'Sikhawalanda Saha Sikhawalanda Winisa' and 'Heranasikha' (957 AD - 970 AD). The aim of the research is to find out the phonological changes occurred in this period related to Sinhalese 'Nipatha'. Qualitative method was basically followed. The theoretical framework of historical linguistics and the modern structural linguistics theories were applied. In this study 'Nipathas' were basically classified into three major groups known as, particles, interjunctions and prepositions. There were two types of particles namely general particles and conjunctions. They were further sub grouped based on their meaning. The research carried out both in synchronic and diachronic aspects. Paradigmatic relations were mainly studied in this context. Phonemic structure, phonemic changes and the distribution of phonemes were analyzed. Variations regarding the length of vowels. Phonemic merger, substitution of phonemes, duplication and consonant cluster dissolution are identified as phonemic changes occurred.


Keywords:Linguistics, Middle Sinhalese, Nipatha, Phonological Changes,Written Records.

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| उ๘ ${ }^{\text {d }}$ | 226．01，178．16，211．30，212．33， 218.03 | ๑．¢．๑って． |
| ఆ®๙ | 210．07，211．09，212．01，213．06，236．32， 246.26 | ๑．¢．）๑ヱ． |
| ณอఁ์ | 209.26 | ๑．¢．）って． |
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| ๕゙ロิธ\％ | － | 103．31，152．27，193．02， 206.09 | ๑．¢．๑า． |
| ¢゙で๑んが | － | 66.07 | ๑．¢．๑って． |
| ๑ญ゙อ\％ | － | 206．32， 228.25 | ๑．¢．๑っ． |
| ๑ฆ゙ | － | 177.30 | ๑．¢．Ьっ． |
| ข้อน | － | 76．31，229．06， 290.18 | ๑．¢．๑っ． |
| ขึఙ＜દ | － | 18.21 | ๑．¢．Ьっ． |
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# Exploring Language Dynamics on Social Media: A Corpus Analysis of English Usage on Facebook by the Sri Lankan Undergraduates 

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 (Neologisms)

## 1. Introduction

Since its inception, human language has been subjected to numerous modifications and alterations to facilitate communication among individuals. These changes in language are often induced by geographical, social, cultural and religious circumstances which have compelled the humans to express and understand one another in diverse social contexts. Hence, over the past few decades, every language known to humans across the world have undergone a variety of significant changes with the addition of new components and the extinction of prevailing norms and lexical items.

The English language, which is spoken by approximately 1.5 billion of the global population, has not been spared by the aforementioned changes. While English is the native language of a large number of inhabitants in several countries, it is spoken as a second or third language in most of the countries across the world. Hence, it is inevitable that English is constantly affected and altered by different changes and innovations introduced by its speakers.

Today, where much of human communication is taking place over different virtual platforms, the above discussed language variation has significantly impacted the communication on internet as well. The features of the resulted form of virtual language are often observed in social networking sites which have become increasingly popular specifically among the youth. It is often observed that, English language on social networking sites is non-standard, informal and significantly different from its everyday spoken and written variants. Further, the language is rich in symbols, acronyms, abbreviations, and new lexical items. In many occasions, these newly coined expressions are difficult to be interpreted outside their original context. Thus, language on social media has become an interesting domain of research.

It is noteworthy that the young users of social media are keen to embrace language change, while the interlocutors from the older generation are reluctant to adhere to this novel form of language and its unconventional features. In this light, the present study is an attempt to investigate the morpho-syntactic features of the English language used on Facebook by Sinhala undergraduates.

In the Sri Lankan context, where Sinhala or Tamil is the native language of the majority of the population, English is used as a second language of communication.

However, it is often observed that English is the most frequently utilized language in conversations taking place on social media. Accordingly, it can be seen that code switching and mixing, neologisms, emoticons, deviation of punctuation and grammar, abbreviations and acronyms characterize the discourse of these young interlocutors as they strive to bring innovation and creative use of language into communication. Hence, the key objective of the study is to analyze these features from a linguistic perspective with an emphasis on morphological and syntactic aspects of the English language. A voluntary group of 30 undergraduates who speak Sinhala as their first language was selected for the study. Since language is used for different purposes of communication on social media, the data were collected from picture captions shared by the respective Facebook users.

Although the language of social media is a frequently discussed topic, its linguistic features, specifically in relation to the bilingual users and their age group, have not been adequately investigated in previous studies. Hence, it is expected that, the findings of the present study will contribute to the existing knowledge in the domain of language and social media.

### 1.1.1 Research Questions

I. What is the language behavior of undergraduates on Facebook?
II. What are the novel linguistic features of the English language used on Facebook by the undergraduates?
III. What are the functions of linguistic innovation on Facebook?

## 2. Literature Peview

According to Ouahmiche and Belahcen (2017), "Language, like all existing things, is subject to change. It is a dynamic phenomenon in the sense that it changes in diverse ways, in different places and at different times" (p.25). Commenting on the relationship between age and language change, the authors have stated, "the old generation tends to maintain the old resort to linguistic conservatism; while on the other hand; the young generation shows their willingness to reject all what is traditional. This is clearly reflected in their use of language. They submit to the pressures of the peer- group. They become influenced so that they are strongly integrated and share common social norms." (p. 34). Cheshire (2014) has also emphasized, "the relationship between the ageing process and language use has traditionally been analyzed from two points of view: the changing language used during the lifespan of an individual, and the language of different cohorts of individuals living within a speech community. Age-specific use of language refers to the first approach, with generation-specific use of language reserved for the latter." (p. 1). Stidham (2014) has claimed, "younger generations have witnessed those changes (in language) due to their early adoption of new technology." (p. 22).

However, the older generation, "who didn't have access to these types of technologies during their formative years, sometimes find it more difficult to adapt and enmesh themselves into the online world." ( p .22 ).In the modern society, where communication is mostly taking place over social media, language variation and creative use of language are frequently observed phenomena, particularly in the discourse of young interlocutors.

Jafarov (2020) has claimed, "A person is more detailed and flexible while communicating on social media than in real life. It also urges him/her to be creative and express himself/herself in a more compact way." (p. 958). He has further stated, "as the communication tools evolve, the number of new language units emerging in this environment also increases and develops" (p. 958). According to Al-Salman (2017) "with the distinctive features of the social media discourse, (i.e., brevity, economy, and speed), the standard discourse markers of elevated style, vocabulary, grammaticality, wellformedness, coherence, connectives, etc., are hardly attainable in this genre of social media discourse" (p. 173). Based on a study by Heath (2018), "social media users deviate from the norms of English orthography in numerous ways; particularly in the areas of capitalization, punctuation, spelling, and use of emoji" (p. 1). Jafarov (2020) has observed that in social media discourse, "images, symbols, ideographical and pictographic text that express the interlocutor's mood and messages he/she wants to convey in a very compact and specific way, replace conventional texts" (p. 964). He has further highlighted that fractured words and sentences, incomplete use of the language units, and the misuse of punctuation marks are frequently perceived in the language of social media. According to Nwala and Tamunobelema (2019), non-standard spelling, letter/number homophones, acronyms and abbreviations constitute the unconventional linguistic features of social media communication. Yunis (2019) has also stressed that, "shortenings like abbreviations, acronyms, numeronyms, logograms and emoticons got their superiority over the language used in social media." ( p . 309). Jafarov (2020) has observed, "the wide-spread use of argots and slang words among internet users, revival of the epistolary style in the form of the electronic texting, expression of opinion by means of as simple units as possible are also examples of the innovations that virtual reality has brought to the language environment." (p. 955).

As highlighted in the above discussed literature, language on social networking applications constitutes a variety of novel linguistic features.

## 3. Methodology

A qualitative analysis approach was employed in the study. Thirty undergraduates following the BSc degree programme at a national university were involved. The participants were selected through a questionnaire based on the criteria of their first and second languages, preferred language of communication on Facebook and their active use of Facebook prior to the study and their different purposes of using Facebook as a medium of communication. Along with the questionnaire, a consent form was distributed among the students in order to access and extract data from their individual Facebook profiles. The corpus includes picture captions shared by the participants over the period of three months before the research. Forty captions were extracted from the Facebook profiles of the participants, and they were descriptively analyzed with regards to the morpho-syntactic characteristics that differentiate them from the language of everyday communication.

## 4. Facebook Picture Captions by Sri Lankan Undergraduates

Forty picture captions by the voluntary participants were selected for the study. It was observed that abbreviations and acronyms, capitalization, misuse of punctuation, fractured words and sentences, slang, neologisms and deviation from the conventional rules of spelling and syntax were the most common features of language appearing in captions by the young participants. In addition, code mixing was identified specially in producing utterances which do not have equivalents in the English language. It was understood that these expressions were mostly related to the local culture, life style and religion. Semiotic elements, including emoticons, emojis and hash tags were also considered as part of syntax since they were a common feature appearing in the majority of the picture captions. The aforementioned features and the sample captions are presented and examined throughout this section. For the purpose of analysis, the captions are categorized and discussed under different linguistic features in this section.

### 4.1 Use of New Abbreviations and Acronyms

In the picture captions selected for the study, abbreviations and acronyms were one of the most prominent morpho-syntactic deviations observed. It was evident that they were used by the young interlocutors as a substitute for both single words and whole sentences. It can be conceded that using abbreviations and acronyms avoids the necessity of typing lengthy sentences and phrases while reducing space. Hence, they can be identified as an essential component of the language used on Facebook, which requires analysis. The following list of picture captions exemplifies the use of abbreviations and acronyms on Facebook.

```
i. LOL
ii. Hope to see you in SL soon. TC
iii. OMG. This is shocking!
iv. \(\quad H B D\) to my favorite niece
v. New designs are out. DM for more details \(\because\)
vi. \#TBT to the young days
vii. BFF moments. Miss you guys a lot
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The acronym LOL (Laugh Out Loud) in the first example was used to caption a shared picture with which the user had sarcastically identified himself. The second title was used for a picture where a group of people was waiting to board the plane. Evidently, the Facebook user intends to wish them well with the abbreviation TC (Take Care). In the same caption, SL is used as an abbreviated term for Sri Lanka. In the third example, OMG (Oh My God) was used to express bewilderment over a picture depicting a statement made by a politician. HBD (Happy Birthday) in the fourth caption is a frequent social media abbreviation invented by the young users. DM (Direct Message) was used to draw attention to a picture depicting a collection of crafts designed and sold by the user. The viewers are requested to contact her for details. TBT (Throwback Thursday) and BFF (Best Friends Forever) in the last two captions are two of the most commonly used abbreviations on social media. They were used by the participants to introduce an old picture from childhood and a group of friends, respectively. In all the above examples, the use of emojis has intensified the intended meaning, as discussed in the previous section.

In addition to the common social media abbreviations and acronyms, it was observed that shortened or informal words were also used by the participants to replace standard words. In the present study, this phenomenon was observed as follows:
i. One of my fav songs
ii. Pic of the day
iii. Such a beautiful fam
iv. Gd times during lunch break
v. Welcome home lil princess
vi. Jst sharing this for fun.
vii. Happy Birthday mchn

In the above extracted captions, the words favorite (fav), good (Gd), picture (pic), family (fam), little (lii) and just (jst) have been abbreviated. It is noteworthy that the term "machan", (an expression in Sinhala to address a close friend) has also been abbreviated in English.

It is evident that, the abbreviation on Facebook does not adhere to standard rules in the language. It can be seen that the users are in need of expressing themselves using as less words/ letters as possible rather than paying attention to the correct use of language. In relation to the findings of the present study, abbreviating seems to be a popular informal function among young Facebook users. It can be conceded that the aforementioned acronyms and abbreviations are a depiction of the creative use of language invented by the younger generation to communicate a message or an idea concisely within a short period of time by consuming as less space as possible.

### 4.2 Disregarded Capitalization and Punctuation

In examining the Facebook picture captions of the selected participants, it was frequently observed that the standard rules of capitalization and punctuation are often disregarded by the users when communicating their thoughts. This can be observed in the language extracts given in the captions below:

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { i. } & \text { Another FANTASTIC day with lovely people!!! } \\
\text { ii. } & \text { THANK U and LOVE U all } \\
\text { iii. } & \text { Missing Those Days } \\
\text { iv. } & \text { i cant believe my eyes! } \\
\text { v. } & \text { Dnt judge others, we dnt know their story } \\
\text { vi. } & \text { Live the life youve imagined! }
\end{array}
$$

The use of capitalization in the first and second examples suggests that the respective Facebook users have employed all capitalized terms to emphasize their intended ideas. Caption $i$ is from a picture depicting a group of people at a family gathering, while the picture under caption ii is from a surprise birthday celebration. It can be assumed that by using capitalized terms, the two individuals are attempting to stress their feelings of excitement and gratitude, respectively. Further, the exaggerated use of exclamation marks in caption $i$ is also an indication of the emphasis that the Facebook user wishes to place on his/ her idea. The third example, where capitalization has been employed in a different manner, can also be considered as a situation of emphatic stress.

The writer is trying to create a sense of nostalgia by emphasizing each word with capital letters at the beginning.

However, in the second, third and fourth examples, it can be observed that the users have intentionally disregarded the rules of capitalization and punctuation. While it is an indication that the writer is more concerned towards expressing their thought than adhering to the correct use of language, it can also be an attempt to reduuce space and time.

Apart from misusing the punctuation marks, it was observed in the study that punctuation is utilized as a mode of expressing facial features and emotions which are commonly known as emoticons on social media platforms. Below is a list of picture captions, where emoticons were used to communicate the Facebook users' ideas and thoughts.

> I. Dreams come true :)
II. This is hilarious:-D
III. Rest in peace legend :-(
IV. First attempt at baking:-P

In the examples given above, emoticons have been used to express the facial expressions of smiling, laughing, sadness and humour respectively. It can be conceded that they are used as a substitute for emojis on social media. Their frequent usage in virtual discourse signifies the creative use of language, which is becoming increasingly popular among the young social media users.

### 4.3 Incomplete Sentence Fragments

Sentence fragments are incomplete units of language, which is a common observation with regard to the language behaviour of young individuals on social media. In relation to the picture captions selected for the study, incomplete language units were utilized to express part of the intended idea, while the rest of the message was expressed in the picture or through the use of hash tags.
i. Surprised her finally
ii. Can still remember how happy we were those days \# unilife \# nostalgia
iii. $\quad$ Trying snorkeling for the first time \#bucketlist \#checked \#snorkeling
iv. Passed the final year MBBS exam ©
v. Many Happy Returns of the Day angel. Can't believe you are six already $\qquad$
vi. Thank u everyone for the lovely wishes! Means so much.

The Caption i given above has been taken from a picture where a group of young people have surprised a friend on her birthday, whereas the second caption was used to share an old picture showing the carefree life spent at university. Captions iii and iv are from pictures depicting snorkeling and posing for a picture at the end of a university exam. In all these situations, the individual Facebook users are attempting to communicate their message more through the actual picture and less through written words. Further, fragmented sentences have captioned the pictures.

But in captions iii - vi, sentence fragments have been used as part of the captions. It can be observed that in all these sentences, the subject has been omitted, expecting the viewer to understand the message through the picture. Further, hash tags have been included in some captions as an identification of the photograph.

### 4.4 Use of Internet/ Cyber Slang as Innovative Lexical Elements

Slang in a language refers to the informal lexical items and expressions that are deviant from the conventional norms of grammar in terms of their structure. On social media, slang is a popular phenomenon, specifically among members of the younger generation. It can be seen that innovative and creative lexical units are often generated on social networking sites by the young interlocutors. Interestingly, within a short span of time, such expressions are adopted by the other users and eventually become known as "internet slang". This was a significant observation in the data examined throughout the present study. It was seen that certain informal terms were frequently used in communication between undergraduate Facebook users, and simultaneously, similar word formation strategies were also observed in these new lexical items.

In the picture captions selected for the present study, it was examined that phonetic spellings were frequently used to represent single letters as follows,
i. Plz spread the word
ii. Congratz best friend. Love you loadz
iii. Have a safe journey and njoy the vacation guyz
iv. Ya she $z$ da best!
v. U guys are the best 纭 $C U$

As can be seen in the first four examples, $/ z /$ is frequently used as a substitute for the actual letters in a word. Further, in the captions iii, iv and $v$, the words 'enjoy', 'you' and 'yeah' have also been abbreviated by replacing them with the sounds generated by individual letters.

It was further observed in the picture captions that, numerical characters were also used as a replacement to individual letters and prepositions. Given below are examples identified in the study:
i. Thank u 4 dropping by guys! \#reunion \#fun \#happytimes
ii. Thank $u 4$ da gift tz awesome
iii. Had a gr8 time.

In addition to the internet slang presented above, informal expressions used in spoken language were also noted in the data sample as follows:
i. I wanna be here again \#vacation diaries \#nostalgia \#wish I could visit again
ii. We gotta stick together
iii. See ya'll soon.

It can be conceded that due to their need of sharing a message with a large number of people within a limited time, the users are reluctant to type complete words. As a result, orthographic deviations discussed above are a common phenomenon in the language of social networking sites.

### 4.5 Neologisms

New lexical items/ neologisms are frequently invented and used on social media which demarcates its discourse to be different from everyday spoken and written communication. In the picture captions observed during the study, it was examined that neologisms have often been generated by changing the existing form/ meaning of words.

## i. Adorables !!!

ii. My handsomes
iii. Cuties \#puppy love
iv. Tripping after lockdown \#unawatuna \#Sri Lanka
v. Thank you all for your comments and likes
vi. Happy friendversary to us है है \#friendship goals
vii. Stole this pic from my favorite person's wall
viii. Reposting cause this is such a beautiful message

The first three captions in the above examples were used to share pictures of two babies, three young men in a family and a litter of puppies, respectively. It can be seen that adjectives in the standard language have been converted into plural nouns instead of being typed as adjectives and nouns as separate units. In captions iv, the noun "trip" has been converted into a verb (present participle) whereas the verb "like" has been converted into a plural noun in the final caption. The term "frendversary" in caption vi is a unique expression originated from Facebook which is used to describe an anniversary for two people who have been friends. The neologisms in the captions vii and viii are also salient to Facebook. "Wall" in caption vii refers to the space of a person's profile where people can type in thoughts or share pictures. Posting as a verb denotes the idea of publishing or sharing and idea/ thought or a photo.

### 4.6 Sinhala English Code Mixing

Even though code mixing is a common practice in the everyday conversation of bilingual and multilingual societies, it was observed that this practice has been extended to the communication on Facebook as well since the conversations on this platform are less formal and connecting with people is the primary objective of its users.

Since all the voluntary participants involved in the present study were bilingual Sinhala speakers，the use of Sinhala terms and expressions was a common occurrence identified in their Facebook discourse．This phenomenon was mostly examined in situations where there are no English equivalents to the Sinhala lexical items．Accordingly，language elements denoting local culture，food and life style had been typed in Sinhala by the participants．
i．Beginning of Sinhala ๗อી $\sigma_{z}$＜aurudu＞
ii．Engineering $\operatorname{mec}^{\circ}$ CS＜kalliya＞
iii．their அ®ூ $\sigma_{\imath}$＜inguru＞tea and Әのచี＜wade：＞
iv．Delicious 2ぃっ己®＜kaevili＞made by my loving sister
 New Year，whereas $2>\mathcal{C}^{f} \mathcal{C} \omega$＜kalliya＞in the second caption is the Sinhala equivalent of gang．In the third example，©®ठ $\sigma_{2}$＜inguru＞is ginger in English， while อఠひి＜wade：＞is a popular snack in the country．

This particular caption was used to share a picture of a wayside boutique， and the emoji was used to indicate the Facebook user＇s love for this specific food sold there．In the last caption， nz $^{2}$ e＜kaevili＞refers to the traditional sweets prepared during the new year．It is evident that，as Facebook enables using multiple languages for communication，bilingual users can conveniently switch between languages during a discourse．
In addition to code mixing，some Sinhala words used in the captions were observed to have been typed in English．
i．Ane：how cute she is
ii．Have a safe flight home．Budusaranai
iii．I have always admired your talent．But you could have done better ne：da

In caption $i$ ，＂ane：＂was used as an expression of happiness upon seeing a baby．Budusaranai in caption ii is a form of blessing in the Buddhist culture， whereas in the final caption，which was used to title a photograph of a reality show star that the user admires，＂ne：da＂is the English equivalent of the expression，＂isn＇t it？＂

It can be presumed that using lexical items from the users＇first language allows meaningful communication among bilinguals on social media．

Further, expressing and sharing their thoughts in Sinhala could be considered an effective way of developing interaction and reaching a large audience, especially when the English vocabulary is not sufficient for expressing themselves. This can be conducive towards understanding the Sri Lankan users' communication on social media since bilingualism could be a major contributing factor in utilizing utterances from their native language.

### 4.7 Use of Reduplicated Letters to Express Emotions

It was understood that young interlocutors on Facebook use language in a manner which allows them to express their feelings and emotions in the best possible way. This is exemplified in the morpho-syntactic deviation observed throughout the study. Reduplication of letters was identified as another significant example in this regard.
i. We are sooo proud of $U$
ii. Thank uuu everyone for the lovely gifts
iii. Need a longgggg vacation now
iv. No wayyyy
v. It's Sundaaaay
vi. Ohhhhh you look gorgeous

The caption $i$ above was used to share the graduation picture of a sibling, whereas caption ii expresses a Facebook user's gratitude upon receiving gifts on a special occasion. Caption iii was used to title the picture of an exhausted person, while caption iv is from a picture containing a shocking news headline. In the fifth caption, reduplicated letters indicate happiness and excitement of the Facebook user as a picture depicting a beach was shared. In the final caption also, the reduplicated term signifies the user's strong emotions as it was used to share a picture of her friend as a bride. It can be conceded that Facebook users intend to highlight their strong emotions through the use of duplicated letters.

## 5. Data Analysis and Discussion

The different language features identified and discussed above have resulted in generating a unique linguistic variant where communication and the use of language are distinctly in contrast with the everyday spoken and written discourse. It can be conceded that, while the younger generation has invented the creative use of language on social media, the novel linguistic features identified in the study facilitate better communication among individuals in virtual platforms.

This has been highlighted by Jafarov (2020) as well, who has claimed that a person tends to be "detailed and flexible when expressing their ideas on social media in contrast to real life." (p.958). He has further exemplified that as technology became advanced and new tools of communication are discovered, there is a chance for new language units to generate. Through the innovative use of language, social media users have the ability to communicate their thoughts effectively, consuming limited duration, space and effort whilst paying less attention to the standard norms of language.

While English is observed as the dominant language of communication, the findings reveal that bilingual undergraduates constantly switch between English and their mother tongue during their virtual interactions. Hammad (2017), Das and Gambäck (2013) and Kurniawan (2016) have also observed this phenomenon in relation to the language behaviour of different bilinguals on social media. It is assumed that incorporating lexical items from their first language promotes better communication while allowing individuals to express and understand each another in a better manner. In relation to the present study, it can be observed that these linguistic deviations, along with the language innovations salient to the Sinhala bilinguals, have resulted in the development of a native variety of language on Facebook.

As per the findings of the present study, majority of the young interlocutors regards social media as platforms for creative expression of language. Further, communication over these sites is mostly informal, allowing the individuals to use language as per their preference. Hence, adhering to standard grammatical rules is not observed on social media. This is an observation made by Jafarov (2020) as well, who has mentioned, that expressing oneself using simpler units is an indication of the language change brought forth by the internet and virtual communication. Several innovative linguistic elements were identified in the present study with regard to the picture captions shared by the undergraduates.

New abbreviations and acronyms were a frequent observation in the corpus selected for the study. According to Khalifa (2015), it is necessary to be aware of the acronyms used in the virtual environment as they save space, energy and time.

As evidenced in this statement, creative shortening of lexical items is used by interlocutors as a means of expressing their thoughts efficiently and effectively.

Non-standard capitalization and punctuation were the second unconventional linguistic feature observed in the selected picture captions. Based on a study by Heath (2018), deviation of capitalization rules is a result of the social media users' need of enhancing the potential of communication through a text. He has further claimed, "in an attempt to make writing more speech-like, writers maybe drawing on readers' prosodic competence by writing in a visually stylistic way." (p.11).

Further, he has stressed that different patterns of capitalization signify heightened emotions, linguistic focus and emphasis on what an individual wants to communicate. Hence, it can be assumed that non-standard capitalization and punctuation are a means of expressing the Facebook users' feelings and emphasized ideas in a platform where face-to-face interaction is completely absent.

Further to the linguistic elements discussed above, incomplete sentences/ sentence fragments were accompanied by the picture captions investigated in the study. It was understood that as the interlocutors expected the viewers to understand their message largely through the picture shared and less through the use of words, they had not paid attention to the standard sentence formation.

However, many authors have presented different explanations to the aforementioned syntactic deviation in social media communication. According to Jafarov (2020), fractured sentences or phrases are an indication of limited time, anger and aggressive thoughts or the user's lack of enthusiasm in the conversation. Incomplete sentences are a phenomenon observed by Olojede et al. (2018) as well. In their study regarding the language use on social media, these authors have stated that, writing clauses and phrases as single words can result in the violation of standard syntactic rules.

Internet/ cyber slang is one of the most common features observed in all forms of virtual communication. This was identified in the present study with regard to the selected corpus. According to Abdullah et al. (2018), slang "can reflect a person's age as it signals membership of a particular group." (p.775). They have further identified that, people belonging to the same age group often speak in a similar manner.

This statement can be applied in understanding the use of slang by the undergraduates as well,since they represent a particular social group; the younger generation. In analyzing the linguistic formation of social media slang, Zaka (2015) has stated that, slang words are formed by adding sound, returning sound and repeating letters. According to Olojede et al. (2018), using slang is a means of simulating pronunciation and accent to aid communication. It can be conceded that slang aids the interaction process on social media platforms, enabling different social and age groups to develop their own repertoire of communication.

Neologisms/ new lexical items are another prominent linguistic feature identified in the study. It is observed that neologisms are a key contributing factor in the evolution of language on social media. As new words are constantly introduced and become part of virtual conversation, the older terms become less common. Commenting on the use of neologisms, Shahlee and Ahmad (2020) have claimed that, language evolution created by social media has impacted how we communicate as new words and phrases have become part of our vocabulary. As suggested by these authors, neologisms have made a significant impact on social interaction on virtual platforms.

The final linguistic element observed in the corpus was reduplication or the repetition of letters within a single word. It is assumed that this phenomenon is a result of the individuals' need to express strong emotions or to draw the attention of viewers towards the content they have shared. This is a phenomenon observed by Nguyen et al. (2013) as well, who have termed this occurrence 'alphabetical lengthening' where letters in a word are repeated for emphasis and attention. Das and Gambäck (2013) have identified this creative feature as 'word play' and remarked that such characteristics make the study of social media language both interesting and challenging.

In addition to the linguistic innovations discussed above, it was seen that all the picture captions investigated in the study were accompanied by emoticons and hash tags; features that are extremely popular among social media users. According to Stapa and Shaari (2012), "emoticons carry some very prominent functions that convey certain messages and hidden meaning in online conversations." (p.826). They have further stated that emoticons can complement a message and facilitate communication by expressing feelings which cannot be shared as written messages. Commenting on the use of hash tags, Daer et al. (2014) have stated that, hash tags are a means of helping people locate the specific term.

A post has less chance to be read by individuals outside the user's followers if a hash tag is not used. Therefore, the authors have defined hash tag as a symbol signifying the actions of sorting, finding, labeling, and clicking.

It can be understood that both these popular features facilitate communication on social media in different ways.

As language on social networking sites is ever evolving and age plays a key role in linguistic innovation in these platforms, the findings of the present study would be beneficial in developing further research on social media, language and age. Further, the study explores the communication of Sinhala bilingual undergraduates on social networking platforms; a novel area of research which demonstrates a strong impact of bilingualism on the language behavior of Facebook users. In exploring previous literature, it was understood that the innovative language expressions discussed above are often being transferred across multiple social networking sites. Thus, the findings of the present study can be applied in understanding the communication taking place in majority of the social media platforms. Further, the impact of these innovations on conventional norms of language is indisputable which highlights the need of analyzing social media discourse as a distinct form of communication.

## 5. Conclusion

Language was invented by humans as an important means of communication. Since its inception, human language has been subjected to evolution in order to facilitate different communicative purposes and social situations. Today, with the rapid development of technology and hectic lifestyles, people have become heavily dependent on novel forms of communication for social interaction. This is especially seen among the younger generation, who prefers social media as a substitute for face-to-face communication. They are constantly in need of communicating their thoughts and ideas in the most efficient way, consuming as less time as possible. As a result, they pay minimum attention to the proper use of language, which has resulted in a new variety of languages invented by these young interlocutors. This is a global phenomenon today and a fine example for "Language is Creative, Language can change" based on human needs and as a non-instinctive method of communication.

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## Muvadevdavata as a political Irony

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#### Abstract

The first Sinhala poem Muvadevdavata is the versification of Makhadeva Jathaka the ninth of 547 Jataka stories, and it reflects the Mahakavya and the rhetoric tradition of Sanskrit. According to many critics such as Martin Wickramasinghe (1945), U.D. Jayasekara (1964), Sucharitha Gamlath (1998) that poem is unsuccessful, but some critics such as Velivitiye Soratha Thero (1966), and Gamini Dela Bandara (1998) have explained the uniqueness of that book. The objectives of this research are examinations of the political discourse and the political irony of Muvadevdavata. Muvadevdavata and Mahawansa editions are the primary resources and the ideas of modern critics in books and journals are the secondary resources of this qualitative research. Content analysis and comparative discussion are the analytical way of this research. Because of the wideness of the Sinhala verse, this research was delimited to Muvadevdavata and its political discourse. As a result of this study, the political irony of Muvadevdavata has been discussed.


Keywords: Sinhala Verse, Muvadevdavata, Political discourse, Political Irony

## Main Concepts of the Research

Jathaka stories, Makhadeva Jathaka, Muvadevdavata, gi meter, and Political Irony are the main concepts of this research.

Jataka tales are a body of literature comprising accounts of the previous lives of the Buddha, according to Collins dictionary ${ }^{45}$. Traditional Buddhist society believes that the Jataka tales are the previous births of the Buddha. There are 547 Jathaka stories in the Sinhala Jataka book and Makhadeva Jataka is the ninth one. Jataka is the tenth book belonging to the Buddhist Canonical work the Khuddaka Nikaya, of the Five-fold Sutta Pitka.

In accordance with Makhadewa Jathaka, the Bodhisattva was born as King Makhadeva one of his previous births and he reigned with wisdom and virtue for eighty-four thousand years after serving as a prince and viceroy, each for the same length of time. The king had informed his royal barber to tell him if he saw grey hair and when the first grey strand appeared, the Bodhisattva became fixated on his death and decided to immediately abandon and live out his final eighty-four thousand years as an ascetic. That day he passed the throne to his eldest son, gave a village as a gift to his barber, and then walked away from the world. In this last phase of his life, he cultivated the four perfect virtues and was reborn in heaven after his death.

Gi and Sivpada were two main metrical features of the Sinhala poetic tradition, and the gi meter is the oldest one. According to the Elusandaslakuna, the oldest prosodic book of the Sinhala language gi meter consists of four lines (pada) and possesses a particular metrical order. Each line has several syllabic instances of feet (Matra) all of which add up to a total of 30 to $44 .{ }^{46}$ Some of these orders have been named gi, Piyum gi, Mathvala gi, Umathu gi, Kav gi, Bambara gi, Yaa gi, Duwanga gi, etc. Although Elusandaslakuna has explained the gi meter as a four-lined poetic form, it is a two-lined poetic form in its practical usage. The gi meter is couched in lines with no terminal rhymes, elisama but a few numbers of it (Unuvilambu gi, Gajagemi gi) have terminal rhymes. Some oldest poetic inscriptions such as the inscription on the rock bolder at the ancient Vihara at Kossgama Kanda near Maradankadawala in the Anuradhapura district ( $2^{\text {nd }}$ Century) have been written using gi meters and the graffiti writers of the mirror wall of Sigiriya have been used those meters for the aesthetic delight. Although literary and historical evidence such as Mahawansa, Elusandaslakuna, Sidathsangarawa, the oldest commentary of Sidath Sangarawa and Nikaya Sangrahaya discuss Asakdakawa, Purana Mayura Sandeshaya, and other books and works which followed the gi meter, those all the works cannot see in the present.

[^17]Muvadevdavata, Sasadawatha, and Kavsilumina the crest gem of Sinhala poetry are the three main books of the gi kavya tradition, and Muvadevdavata is the oldest one.

Irony is the expression of one's meaning by using language that normally signifies the opposite, typically for humorous or emphatic effect. ${ }^{47}$ There are many types of that, verbal irony, rhetoric irony, linguistic irony, situational irony, cosmic irony, the irony of fate, Socratic irony, structural irony, literary irony, dramatic irony, tragic irony, comic irony, Romantic irony, philosophical irony, poetic irony, historical irony, classical irony, postmodern irony, stable irony, unstable irony, intentional irony, Unintentional irony, complex irony, simple irony, etc. and the Political irony is a sense of oppositeness or contrast in speech or writing that is related to politics. Many Sinhala verses and proses are adaptations of tripitakan resources of Buddhism and some works like Sigiriya graffiti, Kavsilumina, etc. are aesthetic presentations. Many writers in classical Sinhala literature were unable to reflect the political reality of Sri Lanka but the Muwadevdavata poet has been able to discuss the political context of his era in an ironical manner.

## 2. Literature Review

Muwadevdavata which is the first Sinhala poem is regarded as a khanda kavya. Kanda means piece or bit and Kanda kavya is shorter than maha kavya, the greatest poem tradition. According to Sanskrit critics, Maha kavya is a poem divided into chapters ${ }^{48}$ but Kanda kavya is a unitary body. There are only 164 verses in Muwadevdavata and 1 to 7 poems are presentations of the worship and the summary of the story in accordance with maha kavya tradition. The city Mithila, the king Makhadeva, Autumn, Evening, Night, Morn, the grey hair, the royal court, the king's departure, the park, and the on-ward trek, the sylvan Himalaya glades, Loving-Kindness pervades, and Birth as a Brahma is the order of Muvadevdavata.

Muvadevdavata editions are the main primary resource in this study. The edition of Cumarathunga Munidasa (2495 AD), the edition of Walagedara Somaloka Thissa thero (1966), the edition of Polgaswaththe Sarananda thero (2006), and the edition of Ranjith Wanarathana (2002) were studied. In 2007, Muvadevdavata was translated into English by Vini Vitharana, and it is a great opportunity for foreign readers to understand that poem.

Many Sinhala critics like Sucharitha Gamlath, Martin Wickramasinghe, and U.D. Jayasekara do not agree with to believe that the success of Muvadevdavata. Sucharitha Gamlath,

[^18]in the $27^{\text {th }}$ chapter of his book Sambhavya Sinhala Kavyaye Vikasanaya, the evolvement of classical Sinhala poetry has analyzed the irrelevancy of descriptions like the night, the Autumn of the present poem. ${ }^{49}$ In his book $G i$ Kave Vagathuga, the story of the gi meter U.D. Jayasekara discusses the relevance of the descriptions of Muvadevdavata and he says that only 27 verses are relevant out of $164{ }^{50}$. Martin Wickramasinghe in his Sinhala Sahithyaye Nengeema, Landmarks of Sinhalese literature says:
"... The Muvadevdavata is full of far-fetched images manufactured under the stress of necessity and strung together by the intellect. Far from conveying any feelings, genuine or otherwise, they are interesting to the reader only for their skill and ingenuity..."51
"...The Jâtaka tales and earlier Sanskrit poetry testimony to the high quality of the earlier Indian culture, while later artificial poetry shows the decadence that set in subsequently. This high quality is reflected in the sermons of Buddha and the literature that grew around them. The decadence began with the inability to criticize the mass of superstitious beliefs which were ignored by Buddha and the great Vedic seers alike, the gradual growth of rite and ritual, and the perverted taste of pundits who sought to win the approval of licentious kings by prostituting their talents before them. The poet of the Muvadevdâvata follows this later tradition and spoils, with his sophisticated imagination, the natural charm of what was the product of a genuine though primitive Buddhist culture....52

Henpitagedara Gnanaseeha thero in his book Sahithyaya the Literature disagrees with Martin Wickramasinghe and He has explained the inability of Wickramasinghe to understand this aesthetic Sanskrit poetic tradition. ${ }^{53}$

Welivitiye Soratha thero's introduction of Muvadevdavata edition by Valagedara Somaloka Thissa thero has explained five good qualities: narrowness, beautifulness, modernness, clearness, and rareness of mistakes in that poem and he says that the reason to study it in Buddhist Pirivena monasteries since a long history ${ }^{54}$.

[^19]Gamini Dela Bandara in his book Sambhavya Sinhala Sahithyaya, Classical Sinhala Literature has evaluated the Muvadevdavata as a new trend in Sinhala gi kavya tradition and he has pointed out many successes of that poem ${ }^{55}$, but he does not analyze it as a political irony.

## 3. Data anlysis and Discussion

The political background of the Polonnaruwa era (1056-1236) is important to understand the political irony of Muvadevdavata. According to Mahavansa, the great historical evidence of Sri Lanka, there were many conflicts for the Sri Lankan kingdom, after the Anuradhapura era. Many kings, queens, commanders, and aggressors including King Vijayabahu / (1070-1110), King Jayabahu I (1110-1110), King Vikramabahu I (1110-1131), King Gajabahu II (1131-1153), King Parakramabahu I (1153-1186), King Vijayabahu II (11861187), King Nissanka Malla (1187-1196), King Mahinda VI (1187-1187), King Vira Bahu I (1196-1196), King Vikramabahu II (1196-1196), King Chodaganga (1196-1197), Queen Leelawathie (1197-1200), King Sahassa Malla (1200-1202), Queen Kalyanawathie (1202-1210), Queen Leelawathie (1210-1210), King Anikanga (1210-1210), King Dharmasoka (1210-1210), King Lokissara (1211-1211), Queen Leelawathie (1212-1212), King Parakrama Pandya (1212-1215), King Kalinga Magha (1215-1236), King Parakkamabahu III (1287-1293) were able to achieve the Polonnaruwa Kingdom. ${ }^{56}$ As a result of the fight of many parties to achieve the kingdom, Polonnaruwa was a bloodied era. In that period, the present poem has been composed by one of the alternative poets of Sri Lankan society. King Makhadeva who had 84000 years more to rule his kingdom, after the barber discovered his gray hair, immediately abandoned the kingship having passed his throne to the elder son but many political leaders of the Polonnaruwa period fought for the kingdom repeatedly. This hidden comparison is a political irony same to the Vessantara poetic drama directed by Ediriweera Sarachchandra which was staged in the 1980s. King Vessanthara in the Vessanthara Jathaka was kind but the presidents of Sri Lanka in the 1980s were not kind.

The poet of the Muvadevdavata is unknown but there are four main arguments about the author.

1. By a monk.
2. By king Sena I
3. By Vijaya Bahu II
4. By King Gajabahu II
[^20]The second and the third ideas are not believable. Sena / who is the author of Siyabaslakara is not a poet of Polonnaruwa he was a king who govern the Anuradhapura kingdom and Vijaya Bahu II who is referred to as a great poet (Kavissaro) in the chronicle Mahavansa was able only for a single year (1186-87) to govern the Polonnaruwa kingdom. There is not any valuable evidence for their authorship. The final idea, which is on the writership of King Gajabahu II (1132-53) is believable and it tallies with the previous concept, the reflection of the political background of Sri Lanka in that era. Vini Vitharana has explained it in his many literary works, including his articles in Sahithya latha (Geethi Kavya) and Vidyodaya journal ${ }^{57}$ and the introduction of his Muvadevdavata translation.
> "There seems to be no doubt that during these final years of his life, he enjoyed the peace of mind that he hardly experienced during his 22 -year reign and that he devoted himself to spiritual pursuits (as his nature seemed to have been, even as a youth) in the course of which he came across the lofty character of the Bodhisatva (Aspirant Buddha) Makhādēva, in whose life he found phases that corresponded with a few of his own. Verse no. 77, for example, may be highlighted as an expression of his own sentiments when he found himself helpless as all his generals had met their end. ${ }^{558}$

Vini vitharana has discussed this phenomenon as a personal experience of king Gajabahu I/ but the political analysis of Muvadevdavata is an ironic explanation considering the political context of that period.

The idea that the author of the Muvadevdavata is a Buddhist monk is not an agreeable idea, but the three starting verses of the present poem have been presented as evidence for that by some critics. Having considered the Buddhist culture of Sri Lanka, many writers of classical Sinhala literature have started their books worshipping the triple gems Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha. But these three poems are only for the Buddha and the author who advises worshiping others does not participate in the worship. It may be his practice.
> "The Ocean to the Rivers of Knowledge The Moon to the Night-lilies of the Disciplined To the Dew of Defilements, a veritable Sun To the Sorrows of Existence, a Forest Fire

The Lotus Lake to the Swans of Virtue To the Bee-swarms of the Good, a fully blossomed Lotus

[^21]
# The Craft to cross the Ocean of Evil <br> To the Elephants of Heresy, a maned Lion 

## The Charm that represses the Drug of Desire The Vessel supreme to reach Deliverance <br> The Beam to vanquish all Obstruction The one great Friend to the Three-fold World

To Him in sincere veneration May you offer humble salutation"59

On the other hand, these three poems may be a rejection of monks. The Mahawansa says in chapter 78 about the dissension of Buddhist monks in that era. Before writing this poem, the combination of monks and the political leaders of Sri Lanka is very famous. Many times, they have tried to shift the political power to their amicable parties, and they have gotten benefits in the same way not only in the previous eras but also in the current political situation ( $21^{\text {st }}$ Century) of Sri Lanka.

The description of the Mithila is an explanation of that town and after that, the poet presents the description of king Makhadeva who is a just ruler and happy to see the enjoyment of his citizens. Then Autumn, evening, and night. Many critics have criticized these descriptions as parts of the maha kavya tradition of Sanskrit but those are not improper. In accordance with the Jataka story, the king relinquishes the kingdom due to his doldrums but in the present poem, he relinquishes it with his deep knowledge of life. However, the king's departure at Muvadevdavata is a political irony. He had a long period to govern the kingdom and he was a popularized king, but he departs from the kingdom because of his gray hair.

The poet says that India the land of the Rose Apple Tree is a lotus set in the blemish-less, golden, and lustrous. The Mithila the city in which king Makhadeva lives is the great seed cup, by them a-bound among the cities numerous, peta-like around ${ }^{60}$. In that great city, there reigned a king named Makhadeva whose radiant water of fame did bring the whole world to constant luster. ${ }^{61}$ In the night of Autumn, the poet explains the sexual enjoyment of the people in that city.

> "Observing then the disheveled hair
> And sweating faces of maidens fair
> Ananga, the floral darts returned
> To their quiver, his wishes interned

[^22]> As pollen of Nika fell on paramours' eyes From maidens' hair-locks, in such guise, They lost, for once, the excellent chance Of gaining, of their thighs, a merest glance

> With a blow from the lily that adorned their ear The maidens the lamp subdued, But the radiance from their girdle clear The failing longings of paramours rescued

> Seeing, as such, each frivolous dame
> Engaged at will in wanton sport
> The Lady of the Night seemed, as in shame, To shrink away in hasty deport" ${ }^{\prime 62}$

Although many critics including Wickramasinghe, Gamlath, and Jayasekara have criticized the irrelevancy of this description of the spiritual poem Muvadevdavatha, it is not improper considering the departure of king Makhadeva. If Siddharta was a person from a lower caste poor family his renunciation of household life is not a great renunciation, and it is a general phenomenon. In the same way, the departure of king Makhadeva who lived in a great sexual city is a great renunciation. Not only in the old world but also in the modern world many politicians always wish to achieve power, valuable properties, money, and especially lustful joys. Because of the renunciation of all the things by king Makhadeva, Muvadevdavata is ironic politically. The sexual night is also ironic because of the great departure of the king the next day morn.

Muvadevdavatha poet presents the morn as the singing of royal eulogists same as the Kavsilumina, the Crest Gem of Sinhala poetry ${ }^{63}$. At the end of that song, the king comes to the upper floor, having climbed the stairs to meet the royal barber.

> "Then the host of minstrels commenced to sing The praises of their lord, the mighty king In words of sweetness that dispelled His need to sleep; and thus impelled,

He climbed the stairs for the upper floor Like a lordly elephant is musty flow Leaving the chamber as white as the sheen Of night-lilies, as ever has been"64

[^23]'The chamber as white as the sheen of night-lilies' may be a connotation about the sexual enjoyment of the king in the night and 'Like a lordly elephant is a musty flow' may be a connotation about the sexual power of the king. However, the beauty of the original Sinhala poem which is combined with traditional sound devices, rhetoric way, and connotations cannot deliver by translation.

> "piya bajana yahan tala pul koňda kumudu sudu meden ada ganda gijindu bandu naraniñdu väḍi mahalata"65

The king who understood the reality of the samsara came to the Royal court making his eyes with tears of delight ${ }^{66}$. The royal court is a description added by the poet. In that praise, the poet says that the king spent all his days sunk in the darkness of sensuous ways till then. In the lust of worldly life had him, though lightning-like, thrown indolence was high ${ }^{67}$. If there's one whose attachment ties, to his own life, is not the one that ably multiple? A fleeting lightning flash to be adorned with it as a sash ${ }^{68}$ ? Finally, he presents his decision to his ministers like this.
> "Hence shall I now in haste repair, To the pleasant flowery sylvan glades, where Abiding in joy on ascetic fare Tarry long, O ministers, safe and fair"69

While the king presents his decision to depart the kingdom the ministers beg him to stay furthermore.
> "The world inspired by the sparkling splendour Of your lustrous fame pervading in candour Exceeds in spirit the lilies of the night Immersed in the autumnal moon-rays bright

## Swarms of bees- the poor numerous <br> Rushed to full-blown lakes of lotus <br> -Your halls of alms, to furnish thence <br> The nectar of needs of worth immense

O illustrious sire, if you this world renounce Which yourself have exalted to great renown Plunging it to oceanic depths of grief, despair, When... and for whom, would be any welfare!י>70

[^24]Because of the good qualities of king Makhadeva as a leader, ministers try to stop him. He was a glorious king who was able to protect the kingdom and he donate always to the poor people in the country. The citizens were able to enjoy his reign.

On the other hand, the attempts of ministers to stop the king are ironic politically. Ministers are members of political groups, and they always try to show their rapport with the leaders. All their benefits depend on their political hero. This is a universal truth not only Polonnaruwa era but also in all the eras of the world.

But the king whose decision to depart the kingship was very strong, laughs at the ministers ${ }^{711}$ and says this:
> "Abstain, hence, you ministers all, From efforts to hold me in your control, If topples the Yugandhara Mountain tall Who, with a lotus leaf-bud, can thwart its fall?"72

King Makhadeva goes to the royal park having passed the crown to the princely son under the accepted tradition of passing the kingship ${ }^{73}$. (Poems $125,126)$ The presentation of the sorrow of the citizens about the separation of the king is a rhetorical connotation.
> "The noble lord, his court abandoned, And stamping the city with dew-spangled Lilies of red, his steps he turned Towards the royal park - the rest he spurned ${ }^{17 / 4}$

Dew-spangled Lilies of red are a great symbol for the tearing eyes of the citizens. Not only in the Polonnaruwa period but also in the citizens of modern periods are difficult to change their kings or presidents. They have to implement many protests and struggles. But citizens cry thinking about the departure from the kingship of king Makhadeva in this poem. Because of the greediness of the kings, queens, and aggressors toward the Sri Lankan Kingdom and their oppressive reign, this situation in the Muvadevdavata is ironic politically. This political analysis is comparable to the modern political background of Sri Lanka.

[^25]After staying a few days in the royal park, the king understands its uselessness. Doubting what are urban delights achieved by him, he left the park in a hurry ${ }^{75}$ and goes to the Sylvan Himalaya Glades ${ }^{76}$. The environment, the animals, and the others in the forest help ascetic Makhadeva to fulfill his meditation.

The nymphs of Siddha bands were silenced having stopped their dance ${ }^{77}$. As sylvan deities with clasped fingers red at their forehead, saluted as he onward treads ${ }^{78}$. Deer, elephants, and other animals are calmful7 ${ }^{79}$. Heavy with blooming flowers the forest glade bows to the king. The breeze had blown soft and saluted to the king ${ }^{80}$. He enjoys the calmness of the environment, and the environment also enjoys his coming. When the king spent his days in the Himalayas, loving and kindness pervades that forest. The enemy animals were friendly and helpful. The vicious serpent ensconced within the glamorous peacock feathers to win their warmth ${ }^{81}$. Serpents seeing the toads sick, and swooning offers the parasol comfort of their hood ${ }^{82}$.

According to some critics, the description of the forest in Muvadevdavata reflects the king's kindness and calmful mind ${ }^{83}$. However, at the end of the poem king Makhadeva births as a Brahma.
> "Having cleansed that sylvan domain
> With his peerless virtue and righteous mien, Over the Righteous Path he treaded long And to the Brahma Realm he passed along"84

Vini Vitharana explains the similarities between the milestones of king Gajaba II in the Polonnaruwa period and king Makhadeva of the present text. King Gajaba II the author of the Muvadevdavata as Vini Vatarana's belief, also departs from the kingship to achieve a spiritual life same as king Makhadeva ${ }^{85}$. According to chapter 71 of Mahavamsa the historical evidence for the Sri Lankan Kingdom, prince Gajaba the son of king Wickramabahu II fights against the princes Kithsirimevan and Sri Vallaba for the Kingdom. After the establishment of the kingdom, he leaves the kingship having passed it to the young prince Parakramabahu.

[^26]
## 5. Conclusions

Muvadevdavata the oldest book in Sinhala verses is not only a presentation of the Jataka story Makhadeva but a political explanation of the Polonnaruwa era. The points such as the worship of the poem ${ }^{86}$, the King's decision for the departure ${ }^{87}$, the ministers' responses in the royal court ${ }^{88}$, the sorrow of the citizens, ${ }^{89}$ and the calmful mind of the king ${ }^{90}$ (poem 164) reflect the political background of Sri Lanka not only the Polonnaruwa era but also the present situation in an ironic manner. Therefore, the classical Sinhala poem Muvadevdavata is valuable as a political irony.

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# Glimpse of Buddhism in 'Volga se Ganga' Story Collection by Rahul Sankrityayan 

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## 1. Introduction

The story collection 'Volga se Ganga' (Volga to Ganga) is a unique, original, and historically significant work by Rahul Sankrityayan. It provides an account of the development and history of the Indo-European race from 6000 BC to 1942 AD. In this, the author has depicted the complete rise of the primitive human civilization from the banks of the Volga River in Russia to the banks of the Ganges River in India over a gradual span of 8000 years. It was first published in 1943 and is considered one of the greatest Hindi books of modern Indian literature.

Twenty historical stories are included in the 'Volga se Ganga', which are valuable treasures of Hindi's historical story-tradition. These stories are: 'Nisha', 'Diva', 'Amritashva', 'Puruhoot', 'Purudhan, 'Angira’, 'Sudas', 'Pravahan’, ‘Bandhul Malla’, 'Nagdatta’, 'Prabha', 'Suparna Yaudheya', 'Durmukh', ‘Chakrapani', 'Baba Noordin', 'Suraiya', 'Rekha Bhagat', 'Mangal Singh', 'Safdar', and 'Sumer'.

The main objective of this research is to analyze how Buddhism has been portrayed in these short stories written by Rahul Sankrityayan, a devoted Buddhist follower.

## 2. Literature Review

In 'Kathakar Rahul Sankrityayan' (Khel Chand Ananda, 1973), a comprehensive discussion is presented on Rahul's personality, creative literature, and notable accomplishments in the field of Hindi novel and story writing. The contribution of Rahul to the development of Buddhism has been highlighted in 'Rahul Sankrityayan and Buddhism', written by Dr. Shashikant.

In addition to the aforementioned literary works, some research works have been done on Rahul Sankrityayan by researchers of different universities in India, in the field of Hindi research.

A research work titled 'Sociology and History expressed in the stories of Rahul Sankrityayan: A critical study' by Sikhom Elizabeth Devi from Assam University in 2011 has been submitted.

This research study is focused on all the stories of Rahul. It delves into various aspects of Indian society and culture, changing lifestyles, and the interrelationships between society, history, and art.

In 1999, Sangeeta Srivastav conducted a research titled 'History-Vision and Rahul Sankrityayan's Katha Sahitya'. This thesis explores the historical perspective within the fiction of Rahul Sankrityayan.

In 2011, Priya D.G. submitted her thesis on the topic 'An Analysis of Rahul Sankrityayan's fiction'. In this thesis, Rahul's short stories and novels have been analyzed based on storytelling and craftsmanship. Additionally, an attempt has also been made to identify the imprint of Rahul's personality in the entire fiction.

By studying all these books and research, it becomes evident that Rahul's novels and short stories have been evaluated from different perspectives. However, according to the information of the researcher, no research has been conducted on 'The influence of the Buddhism on the Hindi short story collection 'Volga se Ganga'. Therefore, this research article stands out as a distinct and original contribution compared to the aforementioned research.

## 3. Methodology

The analytical research method has been employed in this research paper to fulfill the objective of the study. The research involved an examination of authentic texts relevant to the research topic, a review of critical articles, and the use of information obtained from reliable classical journals and internet publications. The short story collection 'Volga se Ganga' is used as the primary source and other books and journals that have been written related to this research are also used as secondary sources.

## 4. Discussion

When rephrased from the perspective of Buddhism, 'Volga se Ganga' is particularly notable among Rahul's story collections. This is primarily due to the fact that Buddhism-related themes are more prominently depicted in 'Volga se Ganga' than in his other story collections. A glimpse of Buddhism in 'Volga se Ganga' can be analyzed based on the following facts.

## 1. Faith in Buddhism

Rahul considers religion synonymous with duty. By birth, we are attached to certain duties. We should get involved in those duties. Any religion, which does not help the poor, the weak or does injustice to women, is unacceptable. Rahul states - "Whatever the mind of a healthy man thinks is right, that is religion." ${ }^{11}$

Rahul Sankrityayan, who harbors a deep aversion towards the Brahmin religion, is deeply devoted to Buddhism. Buddhism seems closer to him than communism. He has transformed Buddhism into a liberal religion. In the story 'Prabha' Reverend Dharmarakshit describes the philosophy of the Buddha as follows :
"...The religion of Buddha is visible; but Buddha tells him to cross like a raft, not to carry it on his head."92

The author was very fond of Lord Buddha's idea about religion. In the story 'Prabha', when Ashwaghosh's mother inquired Prabha the reason for the Yavanas being more biased towards Buddhism, Prabha described the supreme religion as follows-
"Here Buddhism is the most liberal religion. When our ancestors came to India, everyone used to hate us by calling us Mlechha (barbarian) ... but Buddhists did not hate them..."93

This is the speciality of Buddhism. The author's faith in Buddhism is also reflected in the stories. Its clear form can be seen in the story 'Bandul Malla'. The story of Jetavana vihar is described in it. Lord Buddha spent a total of twenty-five rains in Jetavana Vihar out of forty-five rains of his life. King Prasenajit's queen Mallika and her friend Vishaka were also devoted to Buddhism.

Visakha donates her most precious necklace to Lord Buddha by building a beautiful vihara like 'Purvararama' as a form of devotion. Bandul Malla's wife, Mallika, also goes to attend the teachings of Lord Buddha after being inspired by the queen. After some time, she becomes a Buddhist. She displays remarkable devotion towards Buddhism, and she remains patient even after getting information about the death of her husband and sons and listens to Lord Buddha's sermons with utmost devotion, providing food to the monks.

[^28]In the story 'Suparna Yaudheya', Suparna Yaudheya Kumar has immense devotion towards Buddhists because there is no high-low, slave-like attitude in it. All religions are for human welfare. Harshvardhan was such a great emperor who had immense devotion towards Lord Buddha. In the words of Harshvardhan:
"...Not only India, but the world outside India also knows how much devotion to Buddha was in my heart even though I was Shaivite..."94

Rahul also demonstrates his devotion to Lord Buddha by worshiping the Bodhi tree. In the story 'Prabha', the heroine Prabha understands the significance and importance behind Ashwagosh's reverence for the Bodhi tree:
"... it was the tree of this caste, sitting under which Siddhartha Gautama, through his efforts and his contemplation, tried to remove the delusions of the mind. After attaining enlightenment and since then he became famous by the name of Buddha. ...Such an icon should be worshipped, dear! The worship of such a symbol is the worship of one's own effort-self-victory."95

## 2. Anatheism and Impermanence

An important principle of Lord Buddha's philosophy is anatheism. It is mentioned in the story 'Prabha'. Reverend Dharmarakshita explains this concept to Ashwaghosh -
"Buddha does not believe in any such eternal, pole, eternal element inside and outside the world. That's why his philosophy is called the philosophy of anatheism-impermanence, moment-to-moment creation-destruction."96

Ashwagosh is highly influenced by the explanation made by Reverence Dharmrakshit in relation to Lord Buddha and Buddhism. He stated, "...Ashwaghosh bows down to the Buddha who declared religion and anathema like a fleet...Today, if the world had properly accepted Buddha's teachings, then the world would have been different." ${ }^{97}$

For the purpose of diverting the fifty-six generations, Pravahan had mentioned the methods of renunciation, meditation and, penance etc., during the Brahma interview.

[^29]Although the propagation of materialism was seen in the contemporary society, most of the Brahmin - Kshatriya feudal princes and wealthy traders embraced in Gautam Buddha's anatheism.

Gautam Buddha believed that, "Soul, God etc. are not eternal things. All things arise and dissolve soon. The world is not a group of things, but a flow of events." ${ }^{98}$ Connected to the concept of reincarnation, it became the favorite religion of the feudal power. The Buddha alleviated the harshness of materialism by connecting it with anatheism. He explained that even if there is no eternal soul, the flow of consciousness keeps on changing from one body to another akin to the heaven or hell. Rahul's logical comment is also:
"If Gautam had preached materialism, surely prominent merchant of Shravasti, Saket, Kaushambi, Bhadrika would not have opened their bags, and neither Brahmins-Kshatriya feudatory princes and Kings would have bowed their heads at his feet."99

In his pursuit, Rahul only embraces the form of Buddhism, which fosters the development of human life.

## 3. Volatility

According to Rahul Sankrityayan, religion, like all other things in the world, religion is also subject to change. It keeps on changing with time and place. Due to this changeability, the Brahmin religion has been referred to as 'Dhoop-Chah' (sunshine and shade). 'Suparna Yaudheya' states, "I
don't know, why this change cycle is being run? In Western Uttarapath Gandhar, veal meat is still given in 'Madhu-festival'. But in Madhya Pradesh, United Provinces and Bihar it is a sin to name as beef. There, cow-brahmin protection is the best religion. I do not understand why there is so much sunshine in religion? Why will it continue to be unrighteous in one place and religion in another." ${ }^{1100}$

## 4. Opposition to Brahminism

Rahul considered orthodox religion as a threat to society. This is why he stood against the walls of dogma. Having been born into a Brahmin family, Rahul was acutely aware of the hollowness of the Brahmin religion and held a strong opposition towards it. This sentiment is visible in many stories of the collection 'Volga se Ganga'.

[^30]In the story 'Prabha', he states:
"... and these Brahmins go around doing hundreds of marriages, just for gratuity, ..." Further, the vehemently and bitterly criticizes the reprehensible behavior of the Brahmins - "They just want meat of fattened calves and their straw gratuity; they are ready to do any such thing, in which their patrons, kings and feudal lords, are pleased. The priests have taken the shelter of religion to make their rights and that of the kings intact." ${ }^{101}$

In this manner, Rahul has described the Brahmin religion as a weapon of hypocrisy and exploitation, nurturing a predisposition to be exploited by those in power. Rahul refers to this religion as 'sunshine and shade', which keeps changing its recognition and dignity from time to time. In the words of Ashwaghosh:
"I hate the hypocrisy of Brahmins above all. The whole body burns with hatred."102

Ashwaghosh's Brahmin father does not accept the love affair between his son Ashwaghosh and Prema, the daughter of the famous trader Dattamitra of Kosala. He expresses his opposition by stating- "Son, our Brahmin clan is the best of listeners. For fifty generations, only elite.

Brahmin girls used to come to our house. If you accept this relationship today, then we and our future children will be caste corrupt forever, all our dignity will be lost." ${ }^{103}$

In the story 'Durmukh', the author portrays the true condition of the Brahmin religion. Durmukh states that Harshvardhan is well aware of the pretence within religious practices. However, he refrains from addressing it due to the fear of Brahmins. The Brahmin religion is to blame for making people fearful. Durmukh hates the religion of the Brahmins. He expresses his opposition with regard to Brahmins in the following manner -
"The Brahmins have divided the people of our country into small and big castes in such a way that no one is ready to allow those who are below him to meet him. Its religion and knowledge are clearly the shadow of RahuKetu."104 Durmukh believes that the day this religion vanishes from this country, a profound blemish will be lifted from the face of the earth.

[^31]
## 5. Racial discrimination

Seeing the injustice inflicted upon the people, the faith that the author had in God was shattered. In the story 'Sumer', he has written-
"For thousands of years our caste has been considered worse than animals, untouchable, humiliated and in the name of the same God who kept incarnating on every little thing of the big castes of Hindus, the chariot kept on driving; but for hundreds of generations the respect of our women kept getting spoiled." ${ }^{105}$

Rahul has also exposed the issue of untouchability in his stories. In 'Sumer', Rahul made the following statement-
"Hindus needed cheap slaves for thousand years and our caste fulfilled it, earlier we were called slaves, now Gandhi wants to save us by calling us 'Harijans'. Perhaps Hindus Hari has been our biggest enemy since then." ${ }^{106}$

There was no place for the poor and low castes in the Brahmin religion. However, Lord Buddha considered all human beings equal. Buddha made extensive efforts hard to remove the divisions of caste and character. This is mentioned in the story 'Suparna Yaudheya'-
"The Brahmins used to hate those who came from outside the country, Yavana, Shak, Gurjar, Abhir; But the union of the Buddha gave them equal rights to humanity." ${ }^{107}$

The Buddha did not accept caste and high-low distinction within the Sangha:
"The Sangha does not look at the clan, Prince! He sees the qualities. He is our hero, our father by his knowledge and his qualities. If something is found in their alms bowl, even to the extent of sticking a letter, they do not eat without giving it to their companions. This is the teaching of Buddha..."108

The Buddha considered his community of monks to be like an ocean. Whoever enters this union, leaving name and form like rivers, becomes an ocean.

[^32]
## 6. Slavery

According to Rahul, it was the priests who developed the slave system. In the story 'Nagdatta', Nagdatta has expressed his hatred towards slavery, stating, "I get fever on hearing the name of slavery." 109

The exact description of slavery is clearly manifested in Sophia's statement:
"How much slavery oppresses a man. I saw my slaves in my father's house, they used to laugh and have fun. I never understood that there was so much sadness hidden inside that smile. When I became a slave myself, I realized how hell slavery is." ${ }^{110}$

The greed of the rich perpetuated slavery. In the story 'Durmukh', the author has criticized slavery. According to Rahul Sankrityayan, the liberation of male and female slaves is a virtuous act. Durmukh had once asked the same question from King Harshwardhan at the fair of Prayag -
"Maharaj! If you were distributing so much money in the big rich temples and Brahmins for the fifth year, if you had used it to free the maids and servants, would it have been a work of less virtue?"111

One day, Durmukh expressed his concerns about the hellish torture endured by male and female slaves in front of King Harshvardhan's sister Rajyashri. The impact of these words caused her heart to melt. Durmukh also said to her -
"By giving money these eternal- generation after generation - captives providing salvation to humans is the most virtuous thing.... How did the poor simple-hearted woman know about the great selfishness hidden within the squad..."112

## 7. Monarchy

Rahul Sankrityayan is a staunch critic of imperialist tendencies. According to him, monarchy is the ultimate form of exploitation instinct, where rights related to human equality and freedom are crushed. The republic system keeps man free from economic and social exploitation and provides equal facilities to all. Rahul considered the republic system as the ideal form of governance.

[^33]That's why Rahul has analyzed the glory of the republic in the state of this story collection. Rahul wanted a state of equality among the people. For this, he considered the governance of the village council to be good. Rahul was in favor of re-establishing the republic and the system of local self-governance (Panchayati Raj) in India.

Rahul has also expressed his thoughts regarding democracy in 'Rekha Bhagat' :
"Democracy is the best state. The country's earnings are spent heavily on kings, Princes, Queens and Princesses. Panchayati Rajya gets more justice than the king., there will be more partiality and empathy."113

In the story 'Suparna Yaudheya', Suparna is a supporter of the republican system. He introduces the 'Yaudheya Gana-Rajya' in the following manner:
"There was no single king in it, their kingdom was called Gana-Rajya. Gana or Panchayat used to run the whole state. He was a great opponent of the one-man-king-kingdom."114

Suparana states that the monarchy of the Guptas was the promoter of the slave-maid system.

Along with the development of the monarchy of Magadha, the ancient republics of India such as Takshshila, Vaisahali, Kushinara, etc., began to decline. After the Gupta period, the remaining republics also came to an end. In the words of Suparna Yaudheya -
"...What the Nandas, Mauryas, Yavanas, Shakas and Hunas did not do, these Guptas did. They removed the name of republics from Bharat."115

They believe that it is a big injustice to abolish the people's rule in the republic that has been in place since time immemorial. Suparna is well aware of the defects of the monarchy. Therefore, Therefore he takes a pledge to save the Yaudheya's land from monarchy.
'Bandul Malla' is a Buddhist story. In this story, Rahul points out the features of the republic and its destructive weaknesses through one of the republics of the ancient world, Kusinara Mallagana. Bandulmalla, the hero of this story, loves his birthplace Mallagan infinitely. However, he is saddened by the disbelief shown towards him. Leaving the motherland with his beloved Mallika, he becomes the commander-in-chief of his friend Prasenajit's kingdom in Kosala.

[^34]He has a strong faith in the republic, and his dream is to unite all the nine malla gans to establish a strong republic like the Lichchavis. Lord Buddha also viewed the Lichchavi Sangha as an ideal republic.

The traditional system of voting is vividly described in this story. The influence of Buddhism is reflected in the selection of Bandhul Malla to the post of deputy commander. The prosper announces three times-
"The group is giving Ayushman Bandhul the post of deputy commander, the Ayushman who accepts this position should remain silent, the one who does not accept it should speak."116

According to the rules of the republic rules, it is decided to take Bandhul Malla's test. However, Bandhul Malla is cheated, due to which he goes to Prasenajit's place and accepts the post of Senapati.

There is no place for monarchy and priesthood in Buddhism. The aim of Sudas, the protagonist of the story 'Sudas' is to remove the stigma of Panchal and establish a republic that upholds human values. However, he is unable to perform likewise because of monarchy and priesthood. He contemplates-
"Kings are thieves and abductors of public rights. The residence of the kings, the gold-silver-gems of the kings, the maid-servants of the kings, all the pleasures of the kings are not earned by themselves, all this has come from kidnapping."117

In the story 'Nagdatta', the author has presented his philosophy of life through Nagdatta. The story begins with a discussion on pompous religion and monarchy symbolizing exploitation. In this story, opposing views of Naagdatta and Vishnu Gupta Chanakya have been presented. Nagdatt is a supporter of the republic, and Chanakya is a supporter of the monarchy. Nagdatta wants to establish a powerful republic by uniting all the republics of Uttarapath. Opposition to monarchy is a permanent feature of Buddhism.

## 5. Conclusions

In conclusion, it can be stated that Rahul's personal form has been influenced by various elements of Buddha's teachings, such as truth, nonviolence, compassion, rejection of caste-distinction, disdain for ostentation, humanity etc. Therefore, it is natural that it is a reflection to be reflected in his short stories.

[^35]Rahul aspires to establish such an ideal society by eradicating economic and social disparities where everyone is happy, everyone has equal rights, and everyone works hard. A society free from caste discrimination and liberated from religious vices and superstitions is the goal. Ultimately, it can be observed that there is a clear glimpse of Buddhism in his short story 'Volga se ganga'.

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[^18]:    ${ }^{47} \mathrm{https}: / / \mathrm{www} . c o l l i n s d i c t i o n a r y . c o m / d i c t i o n a r y / e n g l i s h / i r o n y ~$
    ${ }^{48}$ Kavyadarsha, 1.14, p. 09

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    ${ }^{50}$ Gi Kave Vagathuga, pp. 74, 75
    ${ }^{51}$ Landmarks of Sinhalese literature, p. 33
    ${ }^{52}$ Ibid, p. 40
    ${ }^{53}$ Sahithyaya, pp.23-26
    ${ }^{54}$ Introduction, Muvadevdavata (Ed.) Valagedara Somaloka Tissa Thero, pp. I, II

[^20]:    ${ }^{55}$ Sambhavya Sinhala Sahithyaya, pp. 44-91
    ${ }^{56}$ Mahavansa, Chapters 56-80

[^21]:    ${ }^{57}$ 1968, I, I, p. 60
    ${ }^{58}$ Introduction, Muvadevdavata, (Trans.) Vini Vitarana, p. vii

[^22]:    ${ }^{59}$ Muvadevdavata (Muv.) (Trans.) Vini Vitarana, poems 1-3, p. 02
    ${ }^{60}$ Muv. poem 8, p. 09
    ${ }^{61}$ Muv. poem 33, p. 34

[^23]:    ${ }^{62}$ Muv. poems 79, 80, 82, 84, pp. 80, 81, 83, 85
    ${ }^{63}$ The Crest Gem of Poetry, (Trans.) W.R. McAlpine and M.B. Ariyapala, Canto Seven, poems 323-334, p.61-63
    ${ }^{64}$ Muv. poems 91, 92, pp. 92

[^24]:    ${ }^{65}$ Muvadevdavata, (Ed.) Valagedara Somaloka Tissa Thero, poem 92
    ${ }^{66}$ Muv. poems 96, 97, pp. 95, 96
    ${ }^{67}$ Muv. poem 100, p. 98
    ${ }^{68}$ Muv. poem 102, p. 100
    ${ }^{69}$ Muv. poem 106, p. 104

[^25]:    ${ }^{70}$ Muv. poems 109, 111, 115, pp. 107, 109, 113
    ${ }^{71}$ Muv. poem 116, p. 114
    ${ }^{72}$ Muv. poem 119, p. 117
    ${ }^{73}$ Muv. poems 125, 126, pp. 123, 124
    ${ }^{74}$ Muv. poem 127, p. 125

[^26]:    ${ }^{75}$ Muv. poem 134, pp. 132
    ${ }^{76}$ Muv. poem 143, pp. 140
    ${ }^{77}$ Muv. poem 144, pp. 141
    ${ }^{78}$ Muv. poem 145, pp. 142
    ${ }^{79}$ Muv. poems 149, pp. 146
    ${ }^{80}$ Muv. poem 146, pp. 143
    ${ }^{81}$ Muv. poem 155, pp. 152
    ${ }^{82}$ Muv. poem 161, pp. 158
    ${ }^{83}$ Wijayawardena, Hemapala, Sinhala Gi Kavya Kerehi Sanskrutha Alankara
    Shastraye Balapema, p. 134
    ${ }^{84}$ Muv. poem 164, pp. 161
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[^27]:    ${ }^{86}$ Muv. poems 1-3, p. 02
    ${ }^{87}$ Muv. poem 126, p. 127
    ${ }^{88}$ Muv. poems 97-123, pp. 96-121
    ${ }^{89}$ Muv. poem 127, p. 125
    ${ }^{90}$ Muv. poem 164, p. 161

[^28]:    ${ }^{91}$ Volga se Ganga, P. 212
    ${ }^{92}$ Ibid., P. 201
    ${ }^{93}$ Ibid, P. 195

[^29]:    ${ }^{94}$ Volga se Ganga, P. 233
    ${ }^{95}$ Ibid., P. 201
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    ${ }^{97}$ Volga se Ganga, P. 202

[^30]:    ${ }^{98}$ Ibid., P. 148
    99 Ibid., P. 149
    ${ }^{100}$ Volga se Ganga, P. 212

[^31]:    101 Ibid., P. 197
    102 Ibid., P. 197
    ${ }^{103}$ Volga se Ganga, P. 194
    104 Ibid., P. 248

[^32]:    ${ }^{105}$ Ibid., P. P. 329
    ${ }^{106}$ Ibid., P. 376
    ${ }^{107}$ Volga se Ganga, P. 230
    ${ }^{108}$ Ibid., PP. 181-182

[^33]:    109 Ibid., P. 168
    ${ }^{110}$ Ibid., P. 171
    ${ }^{111}$ lbid., P. 245
    ${ }^{112}$ Volga se Ganga, P. 245

[^34]:    ${ }^{113}$ Ibid., P. 314
    114 Ibid., P. P. 217
    ${ }_{115}$ Volga se Ganga, P. 222

[^35]:    ${ }^{116}$ Ibid., P. 140
    ${ }^{117}$ Ibid., P. 113

