

MISCELLANEOUS SERIES - XXIII

TECHNICAL TERMS AND TECHNIQUE OF
THE PALI AND THE SANSKRIT GRAMMARS

Mahesh A. Deokar



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Technical Terms and Technique of the Pali and the Sanskrit Grammars

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Publisher's Note

The Buddhist literature generally consists of the sayings of the Buddha and the works by subsequent scholars, which are termed as Sūtra and Śāstra respectively. These works pertaining to various schools are originally available mainly in three languages: Pali, Sanskrit and Apabhrāṇa. The Pali Canon is the canon of Theravādins for the Tripitaka of Theravādins is available in Pali. Following the terminology and norms of the Sanskrit grammarians, the Theravādins have also composed grammars of the Pali language.

The present work, submitted for the award of the Ph.D. degree in Pali from the University of Pune, is an attempt to study the technical terminology and the technique of the three Pali grammars from the comparative point of view and is an initial step in making a detailed comparison of the Pali grammatical treatises with their Sanskrit counter-parts. The work presents a brief historical sketch of the Pali grammatical tradition and introduces three Pali grammars viz. the Kaccāyanappakaraṇa, the Saddanīti and the Moggallāna Vyākaraṇa along with the three Sanskrit grammars viz. the Aṣṭādhyāyī, the Kātantra Vyākaraṇa and the Cāndra Vyākaraṇa. It studies in all 166 technical terms classified into eight sub-sections according to the different linguistic categories such as: the phonetic terminology, the terminology related to the morphophonemic changes, the morphological terminology, etc. Each term is explained according to its definition and usage. It is then compared with its Sanskrit counterpart in the Aṣṭādhyāyī, the Kātantra Vyākaraṇa and the Cāndra Vyākaraṇa. An attempt is also made to trace its origin and development in the Sanskrit tradition and to compare the overall technique and different technical devices used by the Pali and the Sanskrit grammarians. The study also records some observations drawn from the data collected for this purpose.

The present work reveals the fact that the Pali Āṭhakathās of Buddhaghosa, Buddhadatta and Dhammapāla show the existence of a limited indigenous Pali grammatical terminology different

from that of Sanskrit and that around 80% of the terms used by the Pali grammarians come from Sanskrit sources. While many of these are familiar from the standard grammar books (*Aṣṭādhyāyī*, *Kātantra Vyākaraṇa*, *Cāndra Vyākaraṇa*, and their respective commentaries), others are drawn from the Brāhmaṇas, Yāska's *Nirukta*, the Prātiśākhyaś and the Śikṣā literature.

While there are several works studying the Tripitakas from various points of view, there are not many works doing a comparative study of the Pali and the Sanskrit grammars. Prof. Mahesh Deokar therefore deserves compliments for undertaking this type of study. The Institute intends to promote the study of Pali along with Tibetan and Sanskrit and is pleased to publish this work as a concrete step in that direction. We sincerely wish that the publication of this work will be welcomed by the readers and will motivate further study in this rather unexplored field.

Prof. Geshe N. Samten
Director

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Mahesh A. Deokar

Abbreviations

1. AĀ - Aitareya Āraṇyaka
2. Abl - Ablative
3. Acc - Accusative
4. Agg - Aggavāmsa
5. AP - Atharvaveda Prātiśākhya
6. ĀP - Ātmanepada
7. Aṣṭ - Aṣṭādhyāyī
8. AV - Atharvaveda
9. ĀŚŚ - Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra
10. BD - Bṛhaddevatā
11. C - Candra
12. CA- (Śaunakīya) Caturadhyāyikā
13. CV - Cāndravyākaraṇa
14. CVṛ - Cāndravṛtti
15. CVS - Cāndra Varnasūtra
16. DT - Durgaṭīkā
17. DV - Durgavṛtti
18. Gen - Genitive

19. Go. Brā. - Gopatha Brāhmaṇa
20. Gv - Gandhavaṁsa
21. Hel - Helārāja
22. Instr - Instrumental
23. J - Jainendra
24. K - Kaccayāna (Author)
25. Kacc - Kaccāyana (Text)
26. Kacc-bh - Kaccāyanabheda
27. Kacc-nidd - Kaccāyananiddesa
28. Kacc-Vṇ - Kaccāyanavaṇṇanā
29. Kacc-Vu - Kaccāyanavutti
30. KāśN - Kāśikānyāsa
31. KāśP - Kāśikātīkā Pradīpa
32. Kā. Vyā. - Kāśakṛtsna Vyākaraṇa
33. Kt - Kātantra Vyākaraṇa
34. KVP - Kātantra Vivaraṇa Pañjikā
35. Loc - Locative
36. Mahā-nir - Mahānirutti
37. Mañj - Mañjusā
38. Mbh - Mahābhāṣya

39. MbhP - Mahābhāṣya Pradīpa
40. Mmd - Mukhamattadīpanī
41. Mogg - Moggallāna
42. Mogg-p - Moggallānapañcikā
43. Mu - Mugdhabodha
44. MV - Moggallānavyākaraṇa
45. MVu - Moggallānavutti
46. Nir - Nirukta
47. Nir-piṭ / pṭ - Niruttipiṭaka
48. Nom - Nominative
49. nt - Neuter
50. P - Pāṇini / Rules from the Aṣṭādhyāyī
51. PED - Pali English Dictionary
52. PK - Prakriyākaumudī
53. PP - Parasmaipada
54. pp - Past participle
55. PR - Prayogaratnamālā
56. Ptj - Patañjali
57. redup - Reduplicative
58. Rūp - Rūpasiddhi

59. RP - Ṛkprātiśākhya
60. RV - Ṛgveda
61. Sadd - Saddanīti
62. Sā.Ta. - Sāma Tantra
63. Sār - Sārasvata Vyākaraṇa
64. Si. Kau. - Siddhāntakaumudī
65. Sudatta-nir - Sudattakisavaniṛutti
66. Śarva - Śarvavarman
67. ŚB - Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
68. TP - Taittirīya Prātiśākhya
69. TUp - Taittirīya Upaniṣad
70. Voc. - Vocative
71. VP - Vājasaneyī Prātiśākhya
72. Vt - Vārttika
73. Vākyapadīya - Vākyapadīya
74. Y - Yāska

It may be noted that all the references to the Saddanīti are to the Suttamālā section. References to the Padamālā are clearly indicated.

The abbreviations to the Pali texts are given according to the ones used in the A Dictionary of Pali edited by Margaret Cone.

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Foreword

Dedicated to the study of their canonical literature, Theravāda Buddhists produced a number of grammars of the Pāli language. The *Kaccāyanavyākaraṇa* or *Kaccāyanappakaraṇa*, named after its author Kaccāyana, was composed in Sri Lanka some time after Buddhaghosa, who clearly did not know of it, and before its earliest known commentary, the *Mukhamattadīpanī*, written in probably the eleventh century. The *Kaccāyana* grammar triggered off a long tradition of commentaries, as well as a series of expanded, revised versions of it, such as the *Rūpasiddhi* and the *Bālāvatāra*.

A separate school of grammar emerged in Sri Lanka through the work of Moggallāna or Moggallāyana who composed his *Moggallānavyākaraṇa* or *Saddalakkhaṇa* during the reign of Parakkamabāhu in Anurādhapura, that is to say, some time between 1153 and 1186. The colophon of the work says that it was composed after Parakkamabāhu had purged the Saṅgha of all heretical monks, an event that can be dated to 1165.

As a third major work on Pāli grammar we find the *Saddanīti* of the Burmese monk Aggavamsa who is said to have completed his monumental work in the kingdom of Pagan in the year 1154. There are claims that a copy of his work was taken to Sri Lanka a few years after its completion where it is said to have been received with enthusiastic admiration at the celebrated Mahāvihāra, and declared superior to any grammatical work written by Sinhalese scholars. However, no Pāli commentary on it is known to us and the only work that resembles a commentary on it is its Burmese *nissaya*, a translation type of commentary paraphrasing the Pāli text while adding information in Burmese.

Now, if a grammar becomes influential it will inevitably affect not only the composition of subsequent literature but also the way in which earlier literature is perceived. That so little work has been done on the Pāli grammarians is therefore surprising when one

considers how important some of these grammars are not only for determining the state of Pāli language and scholarship in twelfth-century Burma and Sri Lanka, but also for diagnosing the effect they may have had on the transmission and interpretation of the Pāli canon, and on the composition of subsequent Pāli literature. At the time of Aggavarīsa and Moggallāna the Āṭṭhakathās were written, but probably not all the Tīkās and certainly not the later Tīkās (the Navaṭīkās) and the Anuṭīkās.

It is accordingly likely that the Pāli we encounter today is a function of the Pāli of the twelfth century and that knowledge of the Burmese and Sinhalese philology of the time is indispensable if we are to arrive at a Pāli of linguistic interest, to use a phrase coined by Helmer Smith, the editor of the *Saddanīti*. This also leads us to the crucial question of what sources influenced the Pāli grammarians. The short answer to this is simple. Different though they may be in scope and in style, the Pāli grammars are all heavily indebted to the glorious traditions of Sanskrit *vyākaraṇa*, grammar and philosophy of language. The *Kaccāyana* grammar is strongly influenced by the Pāṇinian tradition and by the *Kātantra*, a Buddhist Sanskrit grammar. Drawing upon earlier Pāli grammars and the sources built upon by them, the *Moggallānavyākaraṇa* is in addition heavily influenced by the *Cāndravyākaraṇa* of the Buddhist grammarian Candragomin. Aggavarīsa, in turn, incorporated most of the non-Vedic rules of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, as well as all the *Kaccāyana* rules and most of the material from the *Kaccāyanavutti*, which would also incorporate the influence of the *Kātantra*. Aggavarīsa too knew of the *Cāndravyākaraṇa*, but maybe more importantly he was clearly familiar with a tradition going back to the *Kāśikāvṛtti*. It seems possible to assume that he also knew of one or both of its commentaries, the *Nyāsa* and the *Padamañjari*. Moreover, he drew heavily on Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya*, probably through Helārāja's commentary. Aggavarīsa also discusses *vārttikas* met with in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, and makes use of different sections of that text for various purposes, possibly via access in some form to the commentary of Kaiyata, the *Pradīpa*. Tracing such sources and

influences, and determining the usage of technical terms and techniques is not straightforward, and there remains a lot of work to be done.

It is therefore maybe not so surprising in the end that relatively little work has been done on the Pāli grammarians considering the difficulties such study involves. It requires, of course, a solid grasp of Pāli and a thorough knowledge of the Pāli canon, but also an intimate knowledge of Sanskrit *vyākaraṇa* in all its richness and variety. Add to that the fact that the Pāli grammarians often have to address particularly tricky passages or usages in the Pāli canon, and that they sometimes in such contexts come up with rather puzzling statements. A single example will suffice to illustrate this. For a Sanskrit grammarian, the *bhāvaprayoga* - the impersonal passive or stative usage - would be illustrated by a construction such as *devadattena supyate*, literally ‘it is being slept by Devadatta’. Aggavāmsa, on the other hand says that it is a construction wherein the verb is identical in form with a passive specified without an object, and then claims that not only can the agent be expressed by the instrumental or the nominative case but that, in fact, ‘on the view of the Jina’ the *nominative* alone is to be used:¹

*Akkharacintakā pana thīyate bhūyate ti ādisu
bhāvavisayesu karaṇavacanam eva payuñjati "nanu
nāma pabbajitena sunivatthena bhavitabbarī
supārutenā ākappasampannenā"ti ādisu viya; tasmā
tesam mate tena ubbhavīyate ti karaṇavacanena
yojetabbarī, jinamate pana "so bhūyate" ti ādinā
paccattavacanen' eva. Saccasarīkhepappakaraṇe hi
Dhammapālācariyena, Niddesapāliyam pana
Dhammasenāpatinā, Dhajaggasutte Bhagavatā ca
bhāvapadarī paccattavacanāpekkhavasen' uccā-
ritarī.*

¹ Helmer Smith (ed.): 1928 - 30, *Saddanīti: la grammaire palie d Aggavāmsa: I Padamālā, II Dhātumālā, III Suttamālā*, Lund: Gleerup: vol. I: 8,4-9.

Now, the grammarians employ only the instrumental case in the domain of *bhāva*, such as *thīyate*, *bhūyate*, etc., as in: ‘surely a wandering monk should be¹ well dressed, properly covered, suitably attired’, etc. Therefore, on their view, in the expression *tena ubbhavīyate* it should only be constructed with the instrumental case. But on the view of the Jina [it should be constructed] only with the nominative as in *so bhūyate*. For in the *Saccasamīkhepappakarana* by the teacher Dhammapāla, in the text of the *Niddesa* by Dhammasenāpati, and in the *Dhajaggasutta* by the Blessed One, a *bhāva*-word has been stated with [a syntactic] expectancy for the nominative case.

Aggavarṇsa himself refers the example *so bhūyate* to the *Saccasamīkhepa*, a text that belongs to a group of Abhidhamma manuals known in Burma as *Let-than*, the Little-finger Manuals. Its author, Dhammapāla, is hard to identify and date, but it seems clear that he must be reasonably close to Aggavarṇsa in time. This makes it likely that the type of Pāli employed by Dhammapāla must be reasonably close to that used by Aggavarṇsa and it is therefore surprising that he quotes this puzzling example without reservation. Normally he takes his examples from canonical literature. The form *bhūyate* occurs at *Saccasamīkhepa* 63d, and is in fact the only occurrence of the form *bhūyate* in this text. The verse, which seems to deal with *rūpa* (cf. verse 40), ends: *aggijādi pubbe va bhūyate* ‘[*rūpa*] that is produced by fire is already existing’ (?). A passive form of the verbal root *bhū*, if that is what we are dealing with, is in any case hard to distinguish from an active one in meaning.

¹ Literally: ‘by a wandering monk it should be ...’. To a Sanskritist it is not surprising that Aggavarṇsa resorts to the frequently occurring future passive participle to illustrate a *bhāva*-construction, here constructed with the instrumental case as one would expect.

Few scholars today are better equipped to undertake and guide serious study of the Pāli grammarians than Professor Mahesh Deokar, and that his work is published and hence made available to the scholarly community represents a landmark in Pāli scholarship. Such a thorough study of the technical terms and techniques of both Pāli and Sanskrit grammars takes the study of the Pāli significantly forward and lays the foundations for other scholars to continue work in this field. It also bodes well for the future of Pāli studies in India, now significantly enhanced by the establishment of a Department of Pāli in the University of Pune, with Professor Deokar as its Chair.

Cambridge, 29 January 2008

Eivind Kahrs

(Hon. Secretary, Pali Text Society)

Preface

In 1863, James Elwis wrote an introduction to Kaccāyana's grammar, which marks the beginning of the modern study of the indigenous Pali philology. In 1871, E. Senart published a critical edition of the complete Kaccāyana grammar. In this edition, the *sūtras* were given in the Devanāgarī script whereas the commentary was in the Roman script. It included a French translation of the text and critical notes. This was an important work. However, it had its own limitations as a number of Pali texts including the important grammatical works and their commentaries were still unpublished.¹

In 1882, G. E. Fryer wrote an elaborate note on the Kaccāyana (Kacc) in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In 1902, R. O. Franke wrote an outline of the history and the development of the indigenous Pali grammars entitled 'Geschichte und Kritik der einheimischen Pāli-Grammatik und -Lexicographie'. This monograph though important had its own limitations because at that time Franke did not consider some important grammatical treatises, namely, the Mukhamattadīpanī (Mmd), the Kaccāyananiddesa (Kacc-nidd), the Moggallānapañjikā (Mogg-p) etc. His work was mainly based on the Kacc, the Kaccāyanavutti (Kacc-Vu), the Rūpasiddhi (Rūp), the Moggallānavyākaraṇa (MV), the Moggallānavutti (MVu), and fragments of the Saddanīti (Sadd). The limited textual basis of Franke's study sometimes made him draw conclusions, which are no longer valid. Since then, a number of important works on the Pali grammar have been published.

During 1928-1930, H. Smith published his monumental work 'Saddanīti La Grammaire Palie D'Aggavarsa' in three volumes. During 1949-1954, Smith supplemented his critical edition with two volumes of tables comprising a. lists of texts quoted (Index

¹ Tiwari (1962:Intro. p. 3)

Locorum), b. *suttas* (Index Aphorismorum), c. verbal roots (Index Radicum), d. various elements of word formation (Index Formantium), e. the very useful conspectus terminorum (*suññāmālikā*) and metricorum, and f. an index to the whole work (Index Verborum). The last, i. e., the index was incomplete and was completed later by N. Simonsson in 1966.

In 1931, the grammar of Kaccāyana was published in the Thai Script, bearing the title *Kaccāyanamūlam Nāma Pakaraṇam*. It contains *Suttas*, *Vutti* and the *Dhātupāṭha*, with a translation of the *Suttas* in Thai, by Phravisuddhisombodi. In 1940, S. M. Katre published his study of the Pali *Dhātupāṭhas* in the Bulletin of the Deccan College Post Graduate Research Institute, Pune. In the same year, Bhikshu Jagadish Kashyap wrote *Pāli-Mahāvyākaraṇa*, a lucid explanation of the rules of the Pali grammar on the basis of the *Moggallāna Vyākaraṇa*. In 1957, L. Renou published an article comparing the Kaccāyana *Vyākaraṇa* with the Kātantra *Vyākaraṇa*. In 1962, Visuddhācara published a Burmese commentary on the Kaccāyana *Vyākaraṇa* entitled *Kaccāyana-Suttattha*. In the same year, L. N. Tiwari and Birbal Sharma published Kaccāyana *Vyākaraṇa* with a Hindi translation. This book is extremely useful for the study of the Kacc, because of its scholarly annotations and appendices comparing the rules of the Kacc with that of the Kātantra and the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. In 1967, A. K. Warder translated two short passages pertaining to metrical problems.¹ In 1971, Y. Ojihara, with a ‘note préliminaire’ by C. Calliat, compared a chapter of the Saddanīti (*kibbidhānakappu, pariccheda 26*) with ‘données pāṇinéennes’.² In 1977, a Thai scholar studied the finite verb system in the Kacc for his M. A. dissertation. In 1979, another Thai scholar Bunyamalik Tongpoon worked on the sandhi and the samāsa of the Kacc, which was published by the Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok. In 1988, Phramaha Somjai translated the

¹ E. Kahrs (1992:4)

² E. Kahrs (1992:4)

Padarūpasiddhi in Thai. In 1989, Chamnanrua Bamroong published a study of the primary derivatives in the Saddanītipakaranam. This was followed by a study of the secondary derivatives in the Rūpasiddhi by Chaisuwan Prachok in 1990.

In 1991, Tin Lwin wrote an article giving a brief, general introduction on the Saddanīti, including its date and authorship. In 1992, E. Kahrs published a monograph on the Saddanīti's Kārakakappa (A section dealing with syntax) 'Exploring the Saddanīti'. Here he makes a detailed analysis and comparison with other works on Sanskrit and Pali grammar and tries to trace its sources. Recently, from 1989 onwards, O. H. Pind has published some articles on the history and the development of the indigenous Pali philology. The first among them is 'Studies in the Pali Grammarians, I'. In this article, he studied the grammatical analysis found in Buddhaghosa's works and tried to find their sources. According to him, "whenever Buddhaghosa refers to grammar or grammarians in support of his analysis of a grammatical or semantical problem in the Pāli, he is referring to Pāṇinian grammar" (Pind 1990:175). This was followed by another article 'Studies in the Pali Grammarians, II.1' in the year 1990. In this article Pind deals with some more cases of Buddhaghosa's syntactic analysis found in the Samantapāśādikā and the Paramattha-jotikā. In the same article, he also studies the grammatical analysis found in Mahānāma's commentary on the Paṭisambhidāmagga and Buddhadatta's commentary on the Buddhavarīsa to show that the nature of the grammatical references that occur in the post-Buddhaghosa Pāli Atṭhakathās reflect a wider variety of sources and influences than in the case of Buddhaghosa's grammatical comments (Pind 1990:177). In 1995, in an article entitled 'Pali Grammarians: The Methodology of the Pali Grammarians', Pind studies a couple of examples of the methodology of the Pali grammarians to show the tendency among Pāli grammarians to refer to the canon or the atṭhakathās when discussing phonological, morphological, or syntactical problems of the Pāli. Responding to H. Smith's claim that the indigenous Pali

grammars of the 12th - 13th century A.D. are likely to have exerted a considerable influence on the contemporary Theravāda scribes, Pind concludes saying that "there is no proof that the grammatical literature has had any influence on Theravāda scribes: in spite of major divergences, Pāli literature is remarkably consistent, as shown by the many canonical quotations in the grammatical literature" (Pind 1995: 297). In another article 'Pali Grammar and Grammarians From Buddhaghosa to Vajirabuddhi', written in 1997 Pind takes the historical review of the development of indigenous Pali philology from Buddhaghosa up to Vajirabuddhi. All these articles are very important as they shed considerable light on the development of the Pali grammatical tradition. In 1997, Phramaha Thiab Malai completed a doctoral dissertation entitled 'Kaccāyana - Vyākaraṇa: A Critical Study' submitted to the University of Pune providing an annotated translation of the Kacc.

These modern studies of indigenous Pali grammars are undoubtedly indebted to the publication of a number of editions of principal Pali grammars and their sub-commentaries in various scripts. Among them, the mention should be made of following important editions:

1. The Pali Text of Kaccāyana's Grammar, by F. Mason, The Karen Institute Press, Toungoo, 1870.
2. Moggallāna-vyākaraṇa (Sinhalese Script), by Devamitta Thera, The Lankabhinava Visruta Printing Press, Colombo, 1890.
3. Kaccāyana's Pali Grammar, by S. C. Vidyabhusana, The Mahabodhi Society, Calcutta, 1901.
4. Kaccāyana Vutti, (Sinhalese script) by the Ven'ble Dhammadikirti Sri Dharmarama, Fedrick Perera Abayasingha Appuhamy, Colombo, 1904.
5. Kaccāyana-Vaṇṇanā (Burmese Script), by Visodhakasamiti, Pyi-Gyi-Meit-Sway Press, Rangoon, 1906.

6. The Mukhamattadīpanī, by Terunnanse, Weliwitiye siri Dhammaratana, H. C. Cottle, Government Printer, 2nd Edition, Colombo, 1910.
7. The Pali Dhātupāṭha and The Dhātumañjusā, by D. Anderson and H. Smith, Copenhagen, 1912.
8. Kaccāyana, (Sinhalese Script) by Gunaratana Thera, Venerable M., M. U. Subseris Perera and B. L. Perera, Colombo, 1913.
9. Moggallāna-vuttivivaraṇapañcikā (Burmese Script), by Aggadhammābhivarmīsa, Buddhasāsanasaṁiti, Rangoon, 1916.
10. Moggallāna-ñvādi-vutti (Sinhalese Script), by Dharmānanda Nāyaka Sthavira Moggallāna, Saccasamuccaya Press, Colombo, 1929.
11. Moggallāna-pañcikā (Sinhalese Script), by Dharmānanda, Nāyaka Sthavira, Satya Samuccaya Press, Colombo, 1931.
12. Nyāsa-Pāṭha (Burmese Script), by Sayayan, The Thudhammadavadi Press, Rangoon, 1933.
13. Moggallāna-pañcikā-ṭīkā (Burmese Script), by Aggadhammābhivarmīsathera, Zabu Meit Swe Press, Rangoon, 1955.
14. Mahārūpasiddhi (Sinhalese Script), ed. by Kalukondayave Siripaññāsekharābhidhāna Mahānāyakathera, (With Mahārūpasiddhi ṭīkā by Buddhappiya), M. D. Gunasena Co. Ltd., Colombo, 1964.
15. Saddanīti-pakarāṇam (Suttamālā), (Burmese Script), by Visodhakasamiti, Buddhasāsanasaṁiti, Rangoon, 1964.
16. Padarūpasiddhi-ṭīkā (Burmese Script), (in Pali), Ed. Visodhakasamiti, Buddhasāsanasaṁiti Press, Rangoon, 1965.

17. Padasādhanaṭīkā (Burmese Script), by Aggadhammā-bhivam̄sa, Thanavati Press, Mandalay, 1966.
18. Payogasiddhi, by Nānāloka, Mahāthera, Kodāgoda, The Cultural Council of Sri Lanka, Colombo, 1974.
19. Kaccāyanaveyyākaraṇam (Thai script), by Dhammadāna Thero, Lampang, Thailand, 1978.
20. Saddanīti-pakaraṇam, 3 Vol.s (Thai Script), The Bhūmibalo Bhikkhu Foundation, Bhūmibalo Bhikkhu Foundation Press, Bangkok, 1978-80.
21. Padarūpasiddhi, (Thai Script), Ed. Siri Petchai, Ministry of Education Religious Affair, Bangkok, 1984.
22. Padarūpasiddhi Plea (Thai Script), Translation in Thai by Phramaha Somjai, Ministry of Education Religious Affair, Bangkok, 1988.
23. Kaccāyana-Nyāso, by Bhikkhu Satyapala, Sham Printing Agency (Amara Printing Press), Delhi, 1991.
24. Padarūpasiddhi Plea lea Adhibai (Thai Script), by Niruttisaddavidū gaṇa, Usha Printing Press, Bangkok, 1992.

From the above description, it is quite evident that barring the researches of L. Renou and E. Kahrs, there is hardly any attempt to make a detailed comparison of the Pali grammatical treatises with their Sanskrit counterparts.

The present attempt to study the technical terminology and the technique of the Pali grammarians from the comparative point of view is an initial step in this direction. It is a part of a broader comparative study of the Pali and the Sanskrit grammatical treatises. The work is divided into three chapters. Chapter One presents a brief historical sketch of the Pali grammatical tradition and introduces three Pali grammars viz. the Kaccāyanappakaraṇa, the Saddanīti and the Moggallāna Vyākaraṇa along with the three Sanskrit grammars viz. the Aṣṭādhyāyī (Aṣṭ), the Kātantra Vyākaraṇa (Kt) and the Cāndra Vyākaraṇa (CV). Chapter two

deals with the technical terminology used by the Pali grammarians. In all 166 technical terms are classified into eight sub-sections according to the different linguistic categories such as: the phonetic terminology, the terminology related to the morphophonemic changes, the morphological terminology, the terminology denoting the parts of speech, the terminology denoting syntactic relations, the terminology denoting complex formations, the terminology denoting various grammatical concepts and the miscellaneous terms. Each term is explained according to its definition and usage. It is then compared with its Sanskrit counterpart in the *Aṣṭ*, the *Kt* and the *CV*. An attempt is also made to trace its origin and development in the Sanskrit tradition. Chapter three compares the overall technique and different technical devices used by the Pali and the Sanskrit grammarians. Chapter four records some observations drawn from the data presented in the foregoing chapters. The present investigation has its own limitations as it is confined only to the study of the technical terminology and technique. Some observations made at this stage may not be conclusive for want of further investigation. However, I hope that the information, explanations, conclusions and errors of this work will motivate further study in this rather unexplored field.

Chapter One

Introduction

1. A Brief Historical Sketch of the Pali Grammatical Tradition

The origin of the Pali philology can be traced back to the time of the *Atthakathās* (the Pali commentaries on the *Tipiṭaka*). The Pali *Atthakathās* of Buddhaghosa, Dhammapāla and Buddhadatta contain occasional discussions on a syntactical problem,¹ a particular construction² or the derivation of a particular word³ or the like. It is possible to show that in substance these discussions presuppose the Pāṇinian grammar. The main feature of this type of discussions is that they identify syntactical or other features of Pali with similar features of Sanskrit (*Sakkāṭabhāṣā*) described by P in his *Aṣṭ*. This in turn rules out the possibility of the existence of any pre-Buddhaghosa Pali grammars, as is believed by scholars like Franke and others. It is, however, surprising that many of these important observations made in the *Atthakathās* did not receive due recognition in the early grammatical literature. Later when the grammatical tradition developed, some of these analyses were absorbed in the treatises of Mogg and Agg, for instance, Buddhaghosa's analysis of the syntactical constraints on the tense of the verb when constructed with the sentence complements *atthi nāma*,⁴ *katham hi nāma*⁵ and *yatra hi nāma*⁶ is incorporated by

¹ Cf. Sv, part 1, p. 33. Cp. P 2.3.5, 2.3.18, 2.3.23 and 2.3.37.

² Cf. Sp 209, 13-210,1 (=Ps III 297, 14ff), Mp III 298,18-299,3; Sp 288,12-15; and Sv 425,26 ff, Ps III 327,16, Sv 569, 15ff, Spk I 209, 45.

³ Cf. for instance, Buddhaghosa's explanation of the words *indriya* and *bhagavā* at Vism p. 491-492 and Pj II part 1, p. 107 respectively. Cp. P 5.2.93 and 6.3.109.

⁴ Sp 209, 13-210,1 (=Ps III 297, 14ff), Mp III 298,18-299,3.

⁵ Sp 288,12-15

⁶ Sv 425,26 ff, Ps III 327,16, Sv 569, 15ff, Spk I 209, 45.

Mogg and Agg at MV 6.3¹ and Sadd 893² respectively. Similarly, Buddhaghosa's analysis at Vism 216, 4ff of the series of words ending in *-ika* occurring in a sentence *svākkhāto Bhagavatā dhammo sandīthiko akāliko ehipassiko opanayiko paccattam veditabbo viññūhī ti* was also incorporated by Mogg and Agg at MVu 4.29 and Sadd 764 respectively. But there are still many interesting observations, which did not receive a place in these Pali grammars. These occasional grammatical discussions found in the Atṭhakathās mark the initial phase of the Pali philology.

The second phase is marked by the emergence of the indigenous Pali grammatical literature. It begins with the compilation of K's grammar (6th to 7th century A.D.). The subsequent grammarians tried to improve upon the Kacc by formulating new rules, or reformulating the rules embodied in the Kacc or the Kacc-Vu, so as to improve upon their grammatical description of many phonological, morphological and syntactical features. This was done on the basis of a comprehensive collection of examples from the canonical and the post-canonical literature. There are a number of post-Kaccāyana treatises such as the Mahā-nir, the Cūl-nir and its commentary the Mañj, the Nir-pt, the Saṅgaha, the Mahāsandhippakaraṇa and the Cūlasandhi, which are no longer extant but are occasionally referred to in works such as Vajirabuddhi's Mmd, Buddhapiya's Rūp, the MV, the Mogg-p, and the Sadd. It appears that these treatises though lost, had a great impact on the subsequent Pali grammarians. For instance,

¹ *nāme garahāvīmphayesu* '(The future occurs) in construction with the particle *nāma* to express reproach or wonder'. Mogg's explanation here goes against the stand taken by Buddhaghosa. Mogg-p criticizes this view saying that it is only the presence of the particle *nāma* as such that entails future. Agg in turn criticizes Mogg and defends Buddhaghosa saying that it can be shown that *nāma* in itself has no restrictive force on the tense of the verb.

² *kathañhināmayogenātīte'nañgatasseva payogo* 'In construction with the sentence complement the future form of the verb alone is used to convey the sense of the past'.

Patañjali's *Mañj*, a text, which was written in the form of *kārikās* and modeled after Bhartrhari's *Vāky* has influenced the description of the *kāraka* system in the *Rūp* and the *Sadd*.

This process of evolution reached its peak in the second half of the 12th century A.D. with the compositions of the MV of Mogg and the *Sadd* of Agg. What followed thereafter was a creation of a number of commentaries and sub-commentaries modeled on these three texts. The Kacc-nidd - no doubt the most important source of information on the grammatical literature in the 13th century A.D. - quotes as many as 24 grammatical treatises¹ in addition to the well-known works like the *Mmd*, the *Rūp*, the *Sadd* and the *MV*. Out of these, the *Atthavyākhyāna* of Cūlavajira and the *Mukhamattasāra* of Guṇasāgara are also mentioned in the *Gv*. The latest in this series is the *Vācakopadesa*, which is composed in the first part of the 17th century A.D. We have provided a list of eighty-two known grammatical works in the appendices one to four.

Thus, it is a constantly developing tradition spread over a thousand years. Some of the salient features of this tradition are:

1. It presents itself as a complete and an independent grammatical system having its own set of ancillary texts such as *dhātupāṭha*, *gaṇapāṭha* and *ṇvādīvr̥tti*.
2. The Pali grammars follow the basic structure of the Sanskrit grammar and draw heavily upon them in the matter of technique, technical terminology, grammatical concepts and the manner of description. However, their merit lies in the fact that they are written in the light of the canonical and the post-canonical literature and there is a

¹ Akkharapadamañjusā, Akkharasamūha, Atthakathāttadīpanī, Atthojotaka, Atthavinicchayavaṇṇanā, Atthavyākhyāna, Atthavaṇṇanā, Kaccāyananissayappakarana, Kārikā, Tīkāvyākhyā, Therapotthaka, (Mahā)Nirutti, Niruttijotaka, Niruttijotakavaṇṇanā, Niruttibijākhyāna, Nyāsaṭīkā, Nyāsapidāṭīkā, Nyāsappadipappakarana, Bālāvatāra, Bijākhyā, Bijākhyāna, Bhassakārī, Mukhamattasāra, and Saṅghahakāra.

growing tendency of relating themselves with the existing usage.

3. Unlike the grammars of the Prakrit languages, these grammars deny the historical relation between Pali and Sanskrit and try to depict Pali as a language independent of Sanskrit. Note that the Prakrit grammars such as Vararuci's *Prākṛtaprakāśa* describe the Prakrit languages in the context of Sanskrit with a view that they evolved out of Sanskrit. One obvious drawback of this denial is that the Pali grammarians failed to explain some grammatical phenomena, which were a result of that relation. For instance, they could not explain why the initial syllable of some verbal roots is duplicated when they are preceded by a vowel, e.g., *niggaho*, *paggaho* etc. The well-known reason for this phenomenon is that the underlying Sanskrit roots begin with a cluster viz. *ni + grah* and *pra + grah*.

Aim and Purpose of the Pali Grammars

It is quite well known that the grammar held a prestigious position among all the ancient Indian sciences. It is considered to be one of the *Vedāṅgas* (auxiliary sciences of the Veda). Grammar also has the similar status in the Buddhist tradition. According to the Dhammapada (24.19):

*vītatañho anādāno niruttipadakovido /
akkharānaṁ sannipātaṁ jaññā pubbaparāni ca /
sa ve antimasārīro mahāpañño ti vuccati //¹*

According to the Pali grammarians, the main aim of the Pali grammar is to understand the exact meaning of the Buddha's

¹ 'He who is without thirst and without affection, who understands the words and their interpretation, who knows the order of letters (those which are before and which are after), he has received his last body, he is called the great sage, the great man'.

teaching, which is the true path of salvation.¹ Later in the tradition, Dhammasenāpati in his Kārikās explains the purpose of learning grammar as:

*saddānusāsanassa kim payojanam ti ce vade /
rakkhohāgamalāhūpāyāsandehatthameva ca //²*

This clearly follows the pattern of the Mbh:

rakṣohāgamalaghvasandehāḥ prayojanam (Mbh I.1)

However, the pedagogic model accepted by K suggests that the emergence of the indigenous Pali grammar was probably prompted by the need to prepare a textbook for the study of Pali in monasteries. This assumption is supported by the following facts:

1. The Kacc and the Kacc-Vu are not composed in the tradition of the Aṭṭhakathās.³
2. The Kacc mainly describes the broad features of the language.
3. The Kacc follows the graphic practice of writing for the description of *sandhi*, which is well suited for teaching.

The Pali grammarians' urge for identity might be another reason behind this entire activity of producing an indigenous Pali grammar.

¹ *settham tilokamahitam abhivandiyaggam
buddhañca dhammadamalañ gañamuttamañca /
satthussa tassa vacanatthavarāñ suboddhum
vakkhāmi suttahitameththa susandhikappam //*

(Introductory verse of the Kacc)

Cf. introductory verses 7-13 in *Padamālā*.

² ‘If one asks what is the purpose of the science of grammar, then (it should be answered), that it is for the sake of protection (of the Canon), comprehension, canonical injunctions, easy means, and clear understanding’.

³ As said before, most of the grammatical analysis found in the Aṭṭhakathās is not noticed by the compilers of this grammar. On a number of occasions, the explanation found in Kacc contradicts the explanation given in the Aṭṭhakathās. Cf. Kacc 20 and Agg’s comment on the phrase *ekamidāham* at Sadd 50 (p. 617).

After this brief sketch of the Pali grammatical tradition, we shall now proceed to take a brief survey of the three important grammars of Pali viz. the Kaccāyanappakaraṇa, the Saddanīti and the Moggallānavyākaraṇa. It will be followed by a brief survey of the three important grammars of Sanskrit, viz. the Aṣṭādhyāyī, the Kātantra Vyākaraṇa and the Cāndra Vyākaraṇa, which have exerted a great deal of influence on the composition of the Pali grammars.

Kaccāyana Vyākaraṇa and Its Author

The history of the Pali grammar begins with the compilation of Kaccāyana's grammar (6th to 7th century A.D.). The grammar in its present form consists of the grammatical aphorisms (*suttas*), the commentary (*vutti*), examples and counterexamples (*payoga*) and the detailed analysis of the above (*nyāsa*). The tradition believes that the *suttas* were composed by K, the *Vutti* by Saṅghanandin, *Payoga* by Brahmadatta and *Nyāsa* by Vimalabuddhi / Vajirabuddhi:

*Kaccānena kato yogo vutti ca Saṅghanandinā /
payoga Brahmadattena nyāso Vimalabuddhinā //*

According to the Sinhalese tradition, the grammar was composed by the Buddha's disciple Mahākaccāyana. This tradition goes back to the Apadāna Āṭhakathā (A I 23,16-28) where it is mentioned that Mahākaccāyana expounded the three treatises Kaccāyanapakkaraṇa, Mahāniruttipakkaraṇa and Nettippakkaraṇa in the middle of the Saṅgha. K's commentators such as Vajirabuddhi and Chapaṭa also seem to take this for granted. This was also accepted in later works such as the Kacc-Vñ and the Kacc-nidd. On the question of authorship, Vajirabuddhi (Mmd p. 6) says:

*kattā nāma etadaggam, bhikkhave, mama
sāvakānam bhikkhūnam saṃkhittena bhāsitassa
vitthārena atthām vibhajantānam, yadidam Mahā-
kaccāyano'ti bhagavatā etadagge thaṭpito āyasmā
mahākaccāyano!*¹

Chapaṭa associates the grammar with the legendary tale that the first rule of the Kacc: *attho akkharasaññāto*,² was uttered by the Buddha after hearing a monk mispronouncing *udayabbayam* as *udakabakam*. The same view is also held by the author of the

¹ "The author is the venerable Mahākaccāyana who was placed in the forefront by the Blessed One, saying 'this one is the best among my monk disciples who can analyze in detail whatever is said in brief, i.e. Mahākaccāyana'".

² "The meaning is expressed through the syllables".

Kacc-Vñ.¹ The mythical nature of this account is itself an indication of the uncertain origin and authorship of the Kacc.

James Elvis stands alone among the modern scholars, who has accepted and defended the traditional view about the authorship of the Kacc. This view is already refuted by scholars like Windisch, L. N. Tiwari and O. H. Pind. O. H. Pind (1997:35) does not approve of a single author. In his view, the Kacc is a compilation by various hands.

Date

As in the case of the authorship, nothing can be said with certainty about the date of the Kacc. According to James Elwis, who holds that the Kacc is a work of Mahākaccāyana, the grammar was composed as early as the 6th century B.C. According to Satīśacandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa (1901: Preface, p. 27) who identifies K with Vararuci, it was composed in 250 B.C. As said earlier, these views are no longer valid. Scholars like Windisch (Geiger 1968:37, fn 6), Geiger (1968:37), L. N. Tiwari (1962:65 ff) and others place it in the wide span from 4th century A.D. - 11th c. A.D. i.e., after Buddhaghosa and before Vajirabuddhi.² Recently, O. H. Pind (1997:34) has suggested that the most likely date of the composition of the Kacc is 6th - 7th century A.D. His arguments behind this claim are:

1. Kacc's rule 69: *ādito ca o*,³ explains the form *ādo*, which is a Sanskritism and a feature of the post-Buddhaghosa Pali.

¹ *idam suttam kena vuttam? Bhagavatā vuttam ... tadā bhagavā obhāsam muñcitvā ‘attho akkharasaññāto’ ti vākyam ṣhapeti, tesam ca kamma-tthānam patitthati, tasmā bhagavatā vuttam ti vuccati / tam ñatvā, mahākaccāyano bhagavantam yācitvā, himavantam gantvā, manusilātale dakkhiṇadisābhāgaṁ sisam katvā, puratthimadisābhīmukho hutvā, ‘attho akkharasaññāto’tyādikam kaccāyanappakaraṇam viraci (Kacc-Vñ on Kacc 1).*

² Note that L. N. Tiwari places Mmd in 11th c. A.D.

³ It teaches the substitution of the locative morpheme *smim* coming after *ādi* by *o*.

Therefore, this rule must have been composed at a time when this Sanskritism, which is recorded in the Vin-vñ had been well established, presumably in the 6th - 7th c. A.D.

2. The upper limit cannot be stretched beyond 8th century A.D. because in that case, there would not be sufficient time for the comprehensive commentarial literature viz. the Kacc-Vu, the Mahā-nir, the Sudatta-nir, the Nir-pit, the Cul-nir and the Mañj to develop between the 8th and the 10th - 11th century A.D., which is the relative date of the Mmd.
3. Since the Kacc-Vu sometimes misinterprets the Kacc (Kacc-Vu 341), it is reasonable to assume that it was composed at a time when the purport of certain rules was no longer clearly understood. Moreover, the Kacc-Vu presupposes the Kāśikā and thus presumably belongs to the 8th century A.D.

Since K's grammar is not written in the tradition of the Atṭhakathās and the fact that apart from the technical terminology, it also ignores a large number of important grammatical discussions found in the Atṭhakathās, we strongly feel that the major part of K's grammar was composed little after the time of Buddhaghosa. Kacc 69, which teaches an isolated Sanskritism (*ādo*), is the sole ground for Pind's arguments about fixing the lower limit of K's grammar (6th century). However, since Pind himself considers the Kacc to be a compilation at various hands, it can well be treated as a late addition. About the term *niggahīta*, which basically refers to the tendency of nasalization, which is common to both the Atṭhakathās and K's grammar, it can be said that it comes from some common source. Thus, though the date of the Kacc as proposed by Pind is generally acceptable, its reliability can still be questioned.

Title

According to the opening verse of the Kacc, the grammar is called Susandhikappa¹ or Sandhikappa. Thus, the title of the first chapter is transferred to the grammar as a whole. This is also confirmed by the fact that the phrase *sandhikappo nītthito* is found at the end of mss. However, the tradition in general refers to the grammar by the name of Kaccāyana.² Besides this, two other titles Kaccāyanappakaraṇa,³ and Kaccāyanagandha⁴ are also current in the tradition.

Composition

The text of the Kacc, as it is now available to us, is comprised of four parts and 23 sections⁵: *Sandhikappa* (Five *kāṇḍas*), *Nāmakappa* (Eight *kāṇḍas*), *Ākhyātakappa* (Four *kāṇḍas*) and

¹ *seṭṭham tīlokamahitam ... vakkhāmi suttahitamettha susandhikappam* "I shall set forth ... the chapter on excellent *sandhi*".

² Mmd (p.5) : *Idam hi kaccāyanassa idam ti kaccāyanam ti vuccati / MVu 4.34 : Kaccāyanassa idam kaccāyanam, vyākaraṇam / Sadd 696 : kaccāyane pana cītam adhikicca ... katan ti dāṭhabbam Sadd 716 : kaccāyane pana bhāsitapumā ti kim ... vuttā / Kacc-bh Kārikā 3-4
iti kaccosaputto tu tassa kaccāyano mato / teneva katasatthampi kaccāyanantiñāyai / Kaccāyanassidam satthañ timināvacanathato //*

³ Kacc-Vṇ on Kacc 407: *kaccāyanappakaraṇe pana katthaci potthakesu a i u vuddhī ti pi atthi /*

Sadd 1274: *tathā hi kaccāyanappakaraṇe ādiggahaṇam katam /*

⁴ *ācariyā pana lakkhaṇavuttiudāharāṇasāṅkhātam imam kaccāyanagandham kaccāyanatherena katam ti vadanti* (quoted at Subhūti's Nāmamālā, preface, p.12).

⁵ Cf. Nyāsa (p. 6): *tattha paricchedapamāṇavasena tevīsatī paricchedā - tathā hi pañca sandhiparicchedā, attha nāmaparicchedā, cattāro ākhyāta-paricchedā, cha kitabbidhānaparicchedā ti / etāni yeva cattāri pakaraṇām ti vuccanti / pañca sandhiparicchedā sandhippakaraṇam, attha nāmaparicchedā nāmappakaraṇam, cattāro ākhyātāparicchedā ākhyātappakaraṇam, cha kitabbidhānaparicchedā kitabbidhānapakaraṇam ti /*

Kibbidhānakappa (Six *kandas*). However, according to the traditional classification presented in the Kārikā of Dhammasenāpati, it is divided into eight chapters:

*sandhināmañ ca kārakam, samāsataddhitākhyāta-
kitakañ ca uṇādikam /¹*

Thus, as per this classification, the second part *Nāmakappa* contains five sections and three sub-chapters and the fourth part contains five sections and one sub-chapter.

Except the second *Nāmakappa*, each of the four *kappas* of Kacc open with an introductory verse. Out of these, Mmd and Rūp only know the verses in the first and the fourth chapter indicating that the verses at the beginning of the third Ākhyātakappa were added later.² Besides this, out of four, only the third *kappa* ends with a concluding verse.

There is no agreement about the exact number of rules in Kacc. According to Vajirabuddhi, the number of rules is 710.³ He, however, comments on 708 rules, of which he considers 34 to be interpolations. Thus in the view of Mmd, only 674 *suttas* are genuine. According to an account provided by Dhammasenāpati, there are 51 rules in the *Sandhi* chapter, 218 in the *Nāma* chapter, 35 in the *Kāraka* chapter, 28 in the *Samāsa* chapter, 62 in the *Taddhita* chapter, 118 in the Ākhyāta chapter, 100 in the *Kit* chapter and 50 in the *Uṇādi* chapter.⁴ Thus, the total number of

¹ Also cp. Rūp (Tiwari:1962, preface, p. 68):

*Sandhi nāmam kārakañca samāśo taddhitam tathā /
ākhyātam kitakam kaṇḍā sattime rūpasiddhiyam //*

² Cf. Kacc-Vṇ on the opening verse of the Ākhyātakappa: *imā gāthāyo hi nyāsaruṇasiddhisu avaṇṇitatattā pacchā paṇḍitehi thapitā ti vadanti /*

³ *suttāni pana dasādhikāni satta satāni honti* (Nyāsa, p. 6).

⁴ *sandhimhi ekapaññāsam nāmamhi dvisatam bhave / atthārasādhikañceva kārake pañcatālisam //
samāse atthavīsañca dvāsañthi taddhite matam /
atthārasasatākhyāte kite suttasatam bhave //
uṇādimhi ca paññāsam suttametam pakāsitam /
kaccāyanena therena tilokatilaketunā //*(Kārikā 50-52).

rules is 672. The Kacc-Vñ, which was probably written in the 16th century A. D. gives the number of rules as 675. The Sinhalese and Siamese versions of the Kacc also follow the same number whereas the Burmese version has 673 rules omitting Kacc 244-245.

Sources, Nature and Scope

It is a well-established fact that Kacc is modeled after the Kt. As shown by L. N. Tiwari (1962:443-447), approximately 215 rules of Kt are reproduced at the Kacc with the necessary alterations. He also has shown that there are approximately 300 rules in Kacc, which can be taken as the edited versions of P's rules (1962:448-451). R. O. Franke has shown that many of the Kacc's rules from the *Kāraka* section presuppose the Aṣṭ and even the Kāśikā. This shows that the compiler(s) of the Kacc tried to amalgamate the Kt and the Aṣṭ. However, the Kacc has generally followed the Kt in the matter of the subject-wise arrangement of the text, the descriptive technique of rule formation, absence of *pratyāhāras*, and adherence to the older technical terms. According to O. H. Pind (1997:47), although K has borrowed a couple of its case designations from the Atthakathās, there is no clear indication that the work as such is written in the tradition of the Atthakathās. On the contrary, it seems to have been written more or less independently of the commentarial literature. In spite of this drawback, this small text containing 675 rules is still remarkable in itself as it treats large number of the linguistic features of Pali. However, that does not mean that its treatment of the language is exhaustive and precise.

According to Kacc 52, the scope of the K's grammar is limited to the *Jinavacana* ôThe words of the conquerorö. This does not mean that the Kacc only deals with the language spoken by the Buddha. The language it describes includes the entire Pali Tipiṭaka, together with the Atthakathās. Apart from this, it also

incorporates a number of Sanskritisms such as *ādo*,¹ Prakritisms such as *gheppati*,² *coddasa*³ and sometimes the forms, which are not instantiated in the literature such as *puthag eva*⁴ and *aggini*.⁵

¹ *ādito o ca* (Kacc 69).

² *gahādito ppanhā* (Kacc 452).

³ *catūpapadassā tulopo cuttarapadādi cassa cuco pi na vā* (Kacc 392).

⁴ *go sare puthass' āgamo kvaci* (Kacc 42).

⁵ *aggiss' ini* (Kacc 95).

Scheme			
Name of chapter	Total rules	Topic	No. of rules
I <i>(Sandhi kappa)</i>	51 (Five <i>kāṇḍas</i>)	Benediction	0
		Introductory	1
		Technical terms including alphabets	2-8
		Acceptance of additional technical terms	9
		Rules for carrying out <i>sandhi</i>	10-11
		<i>Sandhi</i>	12-51
		Vocalic <i>sandhi</i>	12-22
		Non- <i>sandhi</i>	23-24
		Consonantal <i>sandhi</i>	25-29
		<i>Niggahītasandhi</i>	30-34
II <i>(Nāma-</i>	355	Miscellaneous	35-51
		Defining the scope of grammar	52

<i>kappa)</i>	(Eight <i>kandas</i>)	Morphology of nominal inflection	53-272
		Feminine suffixes and related morphology	237-242
		Some secondary derivative suffixes and related morphology	249-271
		Technical terms	57-60, 249
		Syntax (<i>Kārakakappa</i>)	273-285
		Allocation of cases	286-317
		Compounding and related morphology (<i>Samāsakappa</i>)	318-345
		Morphology of secondary derivatives (<i>Taddhitakappa</i>)	346-407
		Including	
III (Ākhyāta <i>kappa)</i>	118 (Four <i>kandas</i>)	Technical term	407
		Morphology of finite verbs including	
		Technical terms	Scattered
		Person	410-414
		Tenses and moods	415-433

		<i>Khādi</i> suffixes	435-441
		<i>Vikaranaś</i>	442-454
		Voice	455-456, 458
IV <i>(Kibbi-dhāna-kappa)</i>	150 (Six <i>kandas</i>)	Primary affixes	526-541, 549-572
		Gerundives	542-546
		Morphology of primary derivatives	573-625
		Technical terms	Scattered
		<i>Uṇādi</i> rules (<i>Uṇādikappa</i>)	626-675

Omissions with reference to P's Aṣṭ

1. *Pratyāhāras*
2. Operational rules
3. Accentuation

Alterations made by K with reference to the Aṣṭ

1. *Sandhi* has been dealt with in the first chapter of the Kacc whereas P has dealt with it in the chapters 6 - 8.
2. In Kacc, *kammappavacanīyas* are treated in the *vibhakti* section. P on the other hand, treats them in the *nipāta* section.
3. The feminine suffixes are treated in the section on the nominal inflection whereas in Aṣṭ, they are treated before the section on the secondary derivatives.

4. Suffixes *to* etc., which denote the sense of cases and the changes caused by some *taddhita* suffixes, are treated in a section on the nominal inflection. In Ast̄, they are treated in the *taddhita* section.
5. Rules pertaining to the number and the gender of compounds, *samāśantas* and the related morphology are given in the compound section unlike P who gives them elsewhere.
6. Tenses and moods are treated separately at the beginning of the section dealing with the verbal inflection.

Saddanīti

Introduction

Sadd in many ways constitutes the culmination of centuries of the indigenous Pali philology. On account of its extensive treatment of the language, it has become the most admired Pali grammar in the scholastic community. A. K. Warder (1963:383) calls it "the finest and most comprehensive grammar, and standard authority on all questions of grammatical analysis".

According to B. C. Law (1933:636, note 1), it is no doubt a standard work on the Pali grammar and philology. K. R. Norman (1983:164) says:

"The greatest of extant Pali grammars is the *Saddanīti*".

Author and date

The colophon of the text tells us that it is a work of a Burmese monk named Aggavamsa who was the resident of Arimaddanapura.¹ Forchhammer mentions him among the famous residents in the retired monastery on the northern plateau above Pagan, 'the cradle of Pali-Burmese literature'. He is said to be the teacher of the King Narapati Sithu (A.D. 1167-1202).² According to M. H. Bode (1909:16):

"During the reigns of Anorata's immediate successors learning took firm root at Pagan, and in the year 1154 the monk Aggavamsa completed the *Saddanīti*, a grammar of the *Tipitaka*, described as

¹ *iti Samantabhaddassa mahāAggapanditassa santike gahitupajjhena tamissassa Samantabhaddassa Aggapanditassa bhāgineyyena patiladdhatamnāmadheyyena susampadāyena karaṇasampattijanitaniravajjavacanena Arimaddanapuravāsinā Aggavamsācariyena kataṇ Saddanītipakaraṇam niṭṭhitam /*

² M. H. Bode (1909:16).

'the most comprehensive in existence'. It established the reputation of Burmese scholarship in that age and the fame of the authro to the present day, for the Saddanīti is still republished in Burma as a classic."

Bode (1909:17) also claims that the work was taken to Ceylon by a Burmese monk Uttarājīva, where it was well received and admired by the scholars. E. Kahrs (1992: fn. 2, p.2) tells us:

"In an article 'The Saddanīti' Tin Lwin has questioned this date, claiming that 'nowhere in the Saddanīti is given its date' and that the introductory *gāthās* are missing in all the MSS available to us. He concludes, somewhat confusingly, that the Sadd 'should be placed towards the end of the reign of Cāmsu II (1173-1210) or during the first half of the thirteenth century'".

Thus, no finality is yet reached on the exact year of Sadd's composition.

Composition

Agg's Sadd is a voluminous work comprising three parts and twenty-eight chapters called *kappas*. The first 19 chapters are called Mahāsaddanīti, and the last nine Cullasaddanīti. The first part Padamālā "A garland of words", which consists of 14 chapters, is a type of an elaborate commentary on *bhū sattāyām*, the opening entry of a Pāṇinīya Dhātupāṭha. The Padamālā (1-14) gives a complete morphology of Pāli, interspersed with *nayas* from the *Buddhavacana*, and criticisms of the precepts of Kaccāyana and various Sanskritisms found in Pāli from the works of Buddhaghosa down to the Mahābodhivarṇsa.¹ The second, the Dhātumālā "A garland of verbal roots", which consists of 5 chapters, is a *dhātupāṭha* in eight *gaṇas* with meaning entries and a commentary with examples of derivatives allegedly attested in the Canon and

¹ Norman (1963:164).

supported by the lexicographical *kārikās*. The third part called Suttamālā "A garland of rules" contains nine chapters. Out of these, the first seven chapters, which are similar to the Sūtrapātha of the Sanskrit grammarians, contain 1347 short rules with a commentary "Vutti". These seven chapters are followed by two important chapters: one on the four parts of speech (Vācogadhapadavibhatti) and another on the fourfold *nayas* concerning the Canon (Pāli), the commentaries (Atṭhakathās), the sub-commentaries (Tīkās) and other exegetical works (Pakaraṇas). Every chapter of Sadd opens up with an introductory verse and ends with a concluding statement.

Sources

Agg's Sadd is an attempt to integrate the results of centuries of the indigenous grammar and examine them in the light of the canonical and the post-canonical Pali. As said before, Sadd is mainly based on the writings of the *ācariyas* as well as on canonical material.¹ It is largely indebted to the Kacc and the Kacc-Vu. Most of the amendments suggested in Kacc-Vu are incorporated in Sadd in the form of separate rules. Besides, it also uses material from Mahā-nir,² Cul-nir,³ Nir-piṭ,⁴ Mañj,⁵ Mmd, and

¹ Norman (1963:164).

² Cf. Pind (1997:57).

³ Sadd 1010: 5.0.2 Cullanirutti

⁴ Sadd 1010: 5.0.1 Nir-piṭ

⁵ Cf. Sadd 171, 10-14:

tathā hi Niruttimañjūsāyam vuttam; "bho t'idam āmantapatthe nipāto, so na kevalam ekavacanam eva hoti atha kho bahuvacanam pi hoti bho purisā ti bahuvacanappayogo pi gahito, bhavanto t'idam pana bahuvacanam eva hoti ti purisā ti puna vuttan" ti /

Sadd 221, 25ff:

tathā hi ayam Niruttimañjūsāyam vutto: 'kim pan' etam liṅgam nāma : keci tāva vadanti: thanakesavatī itthī, massuvā puriso siyā, ubhinnam antaram etam itarobhayamuttako ti ... apare vadanti : na liṅgam nāma paramatthato kiñci atthi, lokasaṅketarūḍho pana vohāro liṅgam nāmā ti /

Rūp. Other than these Pali sources, Sadd also appears to draw upon Sanskrit sources such as Kt and its commentaries DV, and DT; Ast, Mbh, Vākyā, and Kāśikā.

Nature and Scope

The Sadd is an elaborate, comprehensive and improved version of the Kacc. It considers almost all the rules of the Kacc and tries to amend them in order to redefine their scope in the light of the canonical usage and their explanations found in the Atthakathās.¹ On occasions, the rules are modified in order to achieve the clarity of expression, and to facilitate the pronunciation.² It incorporates comments from the Kacc's commentaries such as the Kacc-Vu, the Mmd, the Rūp, the Nir-piṭ, the Cul-nir etc. It also includes the views that are not approved by Agg with the expression *matantare* (Sadd 231). Apart from this, there are rules suggesting optional derivation of a particular word. These types of optional derivations are generally suggested with the word *athavā* (Sadd 381).

The work in its present form consists of rules followed by an auto commentary, which has made the text more special. However, those rules, which are composed in the commentarial style and are capable of conveying the meaning on their own are given without the commentary.³ Each rule is furnished with a number of examples and counterexamples. Besides this, the text is full of associative digressions discussing important textual issues.⁴ Important topics are generally introduced with an introduction, which prepares a ground for further discussion.⁵

¹ Kacc 19 is improved by Sadd 46.

² Kacc 44 is modified by Sadd 57.

³ *imasmin Saddanītippakarane suttāni savuttikāni ca avuttikāni ca katvā vadāma* (Excursus before Sadd 1, p. 604).

⁴ Cf. for example, Agg's discussion on the three types of *peyālam* under Sadd 508.

⁵ Cf. excursus at the beginning of the *taddhita* section (p. 782-783).

The Sadd is a grammar, which was written in the tradition of the *Atthakathās*. There are occasions where Agg has refuted statements from the Kacc and the Kacc-Vu and of some anonymous teachers on the ground that they go against the canonical usage or the explanation found in the *Atthakathās* (Sadd 41, 48). Agg stands alone among the Pali grammarians in treating the linguistic phenomena that are peculiar to a particular form of literature such as *gāthā*, *pāvacana* etc. (Sadd 70, 134, 156, 160) and different stages in the development of Pali such as canonical and post-canonical (Sadd 674, 889). Note that P has also treated the peculiarities of the Vedic as well as the classical Sanskrit. He has also taken a note of the linguistic peculiarities found in the various Vedas such as *yajum̄si*, *sāma* etc. Apart from this, he has also dealt with the regional variants.

Though the Sadd is praised for its detailed description of the Pali language, it is not free from all sorts of blemishes. In our view, its major drawback is its bulky nature caused by unnecessary repetitions and secondly by lack of consistency in the information provided in the *Suttamālā* and the other two books, e.g., the explanation of the term *vibhatti* and the enumeration of *kārakas*. Cf. discussion of these words at Chapter 2, Section 4: Vibhatti and Section 6: Kāraka. Though Agg is strongly against the tendency of Sanskritization,¹ on occasions he has formulated rules explaining some well-established Sanskritisms such as *ādo* (Sadd 218). Just as Kacc, Sadd has also incorporated some unwarranted Prakritisms such as *coddasa* (Sadd 826) and *gheppati* (Sadd 931). Apart from this, it also incorporates forms that are not instantiated such as *puthag eva* (Sadd 53). Sadd 731: *jāyāya kvaci tudamjāni patimhi*, is a typical case. It repeats Kacc-Vu's mistake of misinterpreting Kacc 341 giving rise to a ghost-form *tudampati*. In his study on Sadd's *Kārakakappa*, E. Kahrs has shown that on a number of

¹ Sadd 794: *keci pana sakkatābhāsato nayam gahetvā candamā ti pathanti, tam na yuttam /*

occasions Agg has tried to thrust the pattern of the Sanskrit grammar on Pali. In spite of these drawbacks, the Sadd still holds the merit of being the most comprehensive and the informative grammar of Pali.

It is, however, very surprising that in spite of being such an important treatise, the Sadd has no commentarial tradition of its own. We know of only one translation type commentary, a Burmese Nissaya, which translates the Pali text while adding additional information in Burmese.

The arrangement of the text is such that lots of information is repeated which has made the work very bulky. For the present study, we have focused mainly on the third part, as it is more technical and traditional in its presentation.

Scheme			
Name of chapter	Total rules	Topic	No. of rules
XX (<i>Sandhikappa</i>)	191	Benediction	0
		Technical terms including alphabet	1-27
		Basic technical terms	1-21
		Pali phonetics	22-23
		Auxiliary technical terms	24-26
		Other terms such as <i>pada</i> etc.	27
		Rules for carrying out <i>sandhi</i> operations	28-29
		Vocalic <i>sandhi</i>	30-61
		Non- <i>sandhi</i>	62-63
		Consonantal <i>sandhi</i>	64-133
		Miscellaneous <i>sandhi</i>	134-191

XXI (<i>Nāmakappa</i>)	355	Technical terms related to the nominal inflection	192-207
		Morphology of nominal derivatives including	208-546
		Feminine suffixes and related morphology	466-472
		Secondary derivative affixes and related morphology	492-518
XXII (<i>Kārakakappa</i>)	128	Syntax	547-573
		Allocation of cases	574-663
		Singular and plural number	664-671
		Morphology	672-674
XXIII (<i>Samāsakappa</i>)	76	Compounding and related morphology including	675-750
		Technical terms	Scattered
		Non-compounding	675-681, 690

		Gender and number of compounds	698-701
		<i>Pumvadbhāva</i>	714-716
		<i>Samāsanta</i> affixes	722-725
		Negation of <i>pumvadbhāva</i>	729-730
		Part retaining	737-739, 742
XXIV (<i>Taddhitakappa</i>)	114	Secondary affixes and related morphology including	751-864
		Technical terms	820-821
		Part retaining	Scattered
XXV (<i>Ākhyātakappa</i>)	241	Morphology of finite verbs including	865-1105
		Technical terms	Scattered
		Person	867-871
		Tenses and moods	872-904
		<i>khādi</i> suffixes	906-919
		<i>Vikaranas</i>	920-933
		Voice	934-935, 937

XXVI (<i>Kibbidhāna-kappa</i>)	242	Technical terms	Scattered
		Primary affixes	1106-1124, 1133-1164
		Gerundives	1125-1130
		Morphology of primary derivatives	1165-1230
		A section equivalent to <i>nvādi</i> chapter of Kacc including morphology of primary as well as secondary derivatives	1231-1347

Additions made by Agg with reference to the Kacc

1. Inclusion of additional technical terms
2. Treatment of the Pali phonetics

Alterations made by Agg with reference to the Kacc

1. Agg classifies technical terms and *sandhi* into various categories such as *mūlasaññā*, *upakaraṇasaññā* and *sarasandhi*, *vyañjanasandhi* and *vomissasandhi*.
2. He merges sections dealing with the primary derivatives and the *nvādi* suffixes together in one chapter.

Moggallānavyākarana

Author and Date

Moggallānavyākarana or *Māgadham Saddalakkhanam* is the most systematic and technically sound grammar of Pali. It is a complete system with the indigenous *suttapāṭha*, *dhātupāṭha*, *ganapāṭha* and *ṇvādipāṭha*. Besides this, the text has two auto commentaries the MVu and the Mogg-p. Though this is the generally accepted view, the MVu's statement: *vhopanante niddesā tvādisambandhiyeva tasseva vā nissitattā nissayakaraṇampi hī suttakārācīṇnam* (MVu 6.38) raises some doubt about their common authorship. The grammar was originated in Ceylon. This influential grammar was composed by a Sinhelese monk called Moggallāna or Moggalāyana from the Thūpārāma monastery of Anurādhapura in the reign of King Parakkamabāhu (A. D. 1153-1186). G. P. Malalasekera (1928:186) informs us:

"He was a pupil of Mahā-Kassapa of Udumbaragiri, and it is stated in the colophon of the grammar that he wrote it in the reign of Parākramabāhu the Great, after the king had purged the Saṅgha of all heretical and sinful Bhikkhus, i.e. after A.D. 1165".

Malalasekera further identifies him with the Moggallāna Thera mentioned in the Tamil inscription of Vijaya-Bāhu, as having been entrusted with the custodianship of the Tooth-relic and concludes that he was the head of the Uttaramūla Nikāya. He was a distinguished scholar highly respected by his contemporary scholars such as Medhaṅkara, the author of several important works, and by Saṅgharakkhita, the author of many works on Pali grammar and prosody. Both of them were disciples of Sāriputta. As Norman (1963:165) remarks:

"Moggallāna deals with the linguistic material more exhaustively and with greater understanding of the essence and character of Pāli, which with the influx of both Sanskrit and Sinhalese influence had

changed somewhat since the earlier grammarians had written their works".

Composition

Mogg's *Māgadham saddalakkhaṇam* "a grammar of the *Māgadha* language" is comprised of six chapters called *kandas* and 810 rules with the commentary "Vutti". The text is arranged systematically according to the topics.

Sources

According to Malalasekera (1958:179), "Moggallāna's work was an attempt to start a new school of Pāli grammar in Ceylon". Many of its aphorisms are presented differently than that of the Kacc. There are a number of occasions where Mogg shows a difference of opinion from K. Cf. MV 1.1, 1.32. Another point of difference is the use of the grammatical terminology. According to O. H. Pind (1995:283), though the MV is different from the Kacc in style, it does not institute an actual break from K's tradition, as it is also largely indebted to K and post-*Kaccāyana* grammarians. For instance, MVu 2.52 refers to *Cul-nir*, and MVu 2.46 and 3.19 refer to *Nir-pt*. On occasions, MV also incorporates the grammatical discussions found in the *Atṭhakathās*. Cf. MV 6.3. Apart from this, his grammar is largely influenced by CV and CVr. The influence of Kt and its commentaries, DV and DT, is also visible in the *Samjñā* section of his grammar.

Scope and Nature

In the opening verse of his grammar, Mogg claims that he is going to compose a grammar of the *Māgadha* language.¹ It seems that there has been a tradition to refer to the Buddha's language as

¹ *siddhamiddha guṇam sādhu namassitvā tathāgatam /*
sadhammasaṅgham bhāsiṣṣam māgadham saddalakkhaṇam //

Māgadha along with Māgadhī. O. H. Pind informs us that Śri Rāhūla in the *Padasādhanatīkā* quotes two verses from the *Nirvāṇa* stating that *Jina* has not propounded the *Dhamma* except in *Māgadha*. Agg also talks of *Māgadha bhāsā: ... māgadhabhāsattam pana patvā candarābhā ti visum titthati* (Sadd 532).

As said before, MV is the most systematic Pali grammar. It follows the topic-wise arrangement. This type of arrangement can be observed in the overall structure of the text as well as within each chapter. In the case of rule formations, Mogg adopts the compact *sūtra* style of P and C instead of the descriptive style of the Kacc and the Kt. On a number of occasions, he has clubbed two or more rules of the Kacc into one. Cf. MV 1.30: *yavā sare* which takes care of Kacc 18: *vamodudantānam* and Kacc 21: *ivanno yanna vā*. This has helped him in achieving brevity. In order to maintain the clarity of expression, Mogg generally avoids the use of technical terms with the exception of some basic terms such as *sara*, *vyañjana*, *rassa*, *dīgha* etc. In order to achieve economy and precision of expression, Mogg has skillfully used a number of technical devices such as the principle of *anuvṛtti* (Ellipsis) and indicatory letters. Besides this, he has also adopted a number of *paribhāsās* "operational rules" that are used in the grammars of P and C.

Although the MV surpasses the other two grammars in the matter of scientific handling of the data, its description of Pali is sometimes incorrect. It treats many Sanskritisms that are rejected in Sadd. Cf. Sadd 40, 45. Following Kacc, it has also incorporated a number of Prakritisms (*gheppati* - MV 5.178, *coddasa* - MV 3.100).

Scheme			
Chapter	Total no. of rules	Topic	Rules
I	58	Benediction	0
		Technical terms including alphabet	1-12
		Operational rules	13-25
		<i>Sandhi</i> rules including	26-53
		Vocalic <i>sandhi</i>	26-33
		Consonantal <i>sandhi</i>	scattered
		<i>Niggahīta-sandhi</i>	38-44
		Augments	45-46
		Metathesis	50-51
II (<i>Syādikānda</i>)	243	Duplication of a word form	54-57
		<i>Bahulādhikāra</i>	58
		Nominal Case Endings	1
		Syntax	2-42

		Morphology of Nominal Inflection	43-243
III (<i>Samāsakaṇḍa</i>)	110	Rules stating compounds	1-19
		Gender and number of a compound	20-22
		Morphology of compounds	23-25
		Feminine suffixes	26-39
		<i>Samāsantas</i>	40-53
		Morphology of compounds including <i>pumvadbhāva</i>	54-110 67-69
		Statement of various secondary affixes	1-123
IV (<i>Nādikāṇḍa</i>)	142	Morphology of secondary derivatives	124-142
V (<i>Khādikāṇḍa</i>)	179	<i>Khadi</i> suffixes	1-13
		<i>Kriyattha</i>	14
		<i>Vikaranaś</i>	15-26

		Gerundives	27-32
		Other primary suffixes	33-68
		Duplication of a root and related morphology	69-81
		Morphology of primary derivatives including	82-179
		Substitutions in stems	82-139, 173-179
		Substitutions in suffixes	140-172
VI <i>(Tyādikanda)</i>	78	Finite verbal endings	1-13
		The first, the second and the third person	14
		Morphology of verbal inflection	15-78

Omissions made by Moggallāna with reference to Kaccāyana

1. Most of the technical terms
2. Entire *ekasesa* section
3. Treatment of voice

Additions made by Moggallāna with reference to the Kaccāyana

1. Operational rules
2. A section on reduplication (*vīcchā*)

Alteration made by Moggallāna with reference to the Kaccāyana

1. All the technical terms defined by Mogg are given at the beginning of the first chapter. Note that in the Kacc and the Sadd, the technical terms denoting the four classes of nominals and the vocative singular suffix *si* are given at the beginning of the section on the nominal inflection.
2. Mogg refrains from defining various *kāraka* categories. He has simply merged the *kāraka* section of the Kacc with a section dealing with the allocation of cases and shifted it before a section on the nominal inflection.
3. The categories of *kammappavacanīyas* and *gatis*, which are discussed by K in the section dealing with particles, are treated separately by Mogg in their relevant context. For instance, *kammappavacanīyas* are discussed under the section dealing with syntax whereas *gatis* are discussed in the compound section in the context of the *gatisamāsa*.
4. The feminine suffixes and morphology related to the compounds of numerals are treated in the compound section.

5. Suffixes *to* etc., which convey the sense of case endings and morphology related to the *taddhita* derivations, is given in the *taddhita* section.
6. A section dealing with the primary derivatives is shifted before a section on the verbal inflection.
7. Suffixes instrumental in deriving the derivative verbal roots and *vikaranas* are shifted at the beginning of the chapter dealing with the primary derivatives.

Aṣṭādhyāyī

Introduction

Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is a monumental work of the Sanskrit grammar. Due to its accuracy, thoroughness of the treatment and superiority of technique, it has excelled all its predecessors, and has dominated the thoughts of generations of thinkers even to the present times. It is the oldest surviving specimen of treatises on the scientific or technical topics, which were composed in the form of aphorisms (*sūtras*).

Date

The question of dating P is much debated by scholars. Considering their respective views, the generally accepted date for P is 500 B.C.

Nature and Scope

Aṣṭādhyāyī as its title suggests, is a collection of eight chapters (*adhyāyas*). Each of these eight chapters has four sub-sections, which are called *pādas*. Each sub-section has a number of rules, which are called *sūtras*. The number of rules for each chapter is not fixed. The total number of rules found in these eight chapters and the thirty-two sub-sections is 3978. This number of rules is according to the *Nirṇayasāgara* edition of the *Siddhāntakaumudī*. The number of rules found in the Aṣṭ varies from version to version. Among the available editions of the Aṣṭ, the minimum number of rules found in certain editions is 3972 and the maximum number is 3980. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī Sūtrapāṭha* is also recited in the Vedic tradition. In this tradition, the text contains 3973 rules. According to a verse popular in the Pāṇinian grammatical tradition, the number is 3994:

*trīṇi sūtrasahasrāṇi tathā nava śatāni ca /
caturnavati sūtrāṇi Pāṇinīḥ kṛtavān svayam //*

It seems that this number also includes the fourteen *varṇasūtras*. Thus according to this tradition, the number of rules in the Aṣṭ is 3980.

The number of rules found in each sub-section depends on the topic of that sub-section. The second sub-section of the second chapter containing 38 rules is the smallest sub-section in the Aṣṭ whereas the first sub-section of the sixth chapter containing 223 rules is the biggest sub-section of the Aṣṭ.

The text of the Aṣṭ is naturally divided into two sections. The first section consists of first seven chapters and the first sub-section of the eighth chapter, known as *sapādasaptādhyāyī* or *siddhakāṇḍa*. The second part consists of the last three sub-sections of the eighth chapter popularly known as *tripādī* or *asiddhakāṇḍa*.

The Pāṇinian grammatical tradition also classifies the Aṣṭ into two parts, that is to say, *vidhi* and *vidhiśeṣa*. The *vidhi* section is comprised of the chapters 3, 4 and 5 whereas the *vidhiśeṣa* section is comprised of the remaining five chapters. The modern scholars led by Faddegon classify the Aṣṭ into two parts such as the analytical and the synthetic. According to this classification, the chapters one to five of the Aṣṭ form the analytical part whereas the chapters six, seven and eight form the synthetic part.

P has not followed the traditional subject-wise arrangement in the composition of his text. He has sacrificed it for the sake of economy, which is the hallmark of his composition. This does not mean that P has totally discarded the subject-wise arrangement. He has followed it whenever it is not contradictory to the two

principles of *anuvṛtti*¹ and *vipratisedha*². These two principles govern the arrangement of P's Aṣṭ.

Keeping this in mind, let us now examine the general scheme of the Aṣṭ.

The Aṣṭ consists of two parts, viz., the *śāstra* and the *śānti*. The *śāstra* part is further divided into three sections, viz., the *śāstra*, the *śānti* and the *śāntiśāstra*. The *śāstra* section is subdivided into three parts, viz., the *śāstra*, the *śānti* and the *śāntiśāstra*. The *śāstra* part is subdivided into three parts, viz., the *śāstra*, the *śānti* and the *śāntiśāstra*. The *śāstra* part is subdivided into three parts, viz., the *śāstra*, the *śānti* and the *śāntiśāstra*. The *śāstra* part is subdivided into three parts, viz., the *śāstra*, the *śānti* and the *śāntiśāstra*. The *śāstra* part is subdivided into three parts, viz., the *śāstra*, the *śānti* and the *śāntiśāstra*. The *śāstra* part is subdivided into three parts, viz., the *śāstra*, the *śānti* and the *śāntiśāstra*. The *śāstra* part is subdivided into three parts, viz., the *śāstra*, the *śānti* and the *śāntiśāstra*. The *śāstra* part is subdivided into three parts, viz., the *śāstra*, the *śānti* and the *śāntiśāstra*. The *śāstra* part is subdivided into three parts, viz., the *śāstra*, the *śānti* and the *śāntiśāstra*. The *śāstra* part is subdivided into three parts, viz., the *śāstra*, the *śānti* and the *śāntiśāstra*. The *śāstra* part is subdivided into three parts, viz., the *śāstra*, the *śānti* and the *śāntiśāstra*. The *śāstra* part is subdivided into three parts, viz., the *śāstra*, the *śānti* and the *śāntiśāstra*. The *śāstra* part is subdivided into three parts, viz., the *śāstra*, the *śānti* and the *śāntiśāstra*.

¹ Rules regarding the continuation of words from one rule to the subsequent rules.

² According to the maxim '*vipratisedhe param kāryam*' "whenever there are rules having the same sphere of application, the rule, which is latter in the sequence of Aṣṭ, takes precedence".

Scheme			
Chapter	Total no. of rules	Topic	Rules
I	351	List of alphabets in the form of <i>pratyāhāra-sūtras</i>	0
		Technical terms	Scattered
		Operational rules	Scattered
		<i>Asisya</i> section ¹	1.2.51-1.2.57
		Part retention	1.2.64-1.2.73
		Indicator letters	1.3.2-1.3.9
		Voice	
		Ātmanepada	1.3.12-1.3.77
		Parasmaipada	1.3.78-1.3.93

¹ This section is comprised of rules showing futility of some theories current in the ancient grammatical traditions.

		Syntax	1.4.23-1.4.55
		Particles including <i>gatis</i> and <i>karmapravacanīyas</i>	1.4.56-1.4.96
II	268	Compounds	2.1.1-2.2.38
		Allocation of cases	2.3.1-2.3.73
		Gender and number of compounds	2.4.1-2.4.31
		Verb morphology	2.4.35-2.4.57
		Elision	2.4.58-2.4.84
III	631	Secondary verbal roots such as desideratives etc.	3.1.5-3.1.32
		<i>Vikaranas</i>	3.1.33-3.1.90
		Primary affixes including	
		Tenses and moods	Scattered
		Gerundives	3.1.91-3.1.132
		Suffixes <i>trc</i> etc.	3.1.133-3.4.76
		Verbal inflection	3.4.77-3.4.117
IV, V	635 + 555	Nominal case endings	4.1.2

		Feminine suffixes	4.1.3-4.1.81
		Secondary derivatives with <i>Samāsānta</i>	4.1.76-5.4.160
VI	736	General phonological processes with vocalic <i>sandhi</i>	6.1.1-6.1.157
		Accentuation	6.1.158-6.2.199
		Morphology of compounds with non-elision of case endings, <i>Pumvadbhāva</i> etc.	6.3
		Morphology of derivatives or <i>Aṅgādhikāra: Asiddhatva</i>	6.4.22-6.4.175
VII	438	Morphology of derivatives or <i>Aṅgādhikāra</i>	7.1-7.4
		<i>Vṛddhi</i>	7.2.1-7.2.7, 7.2.114 -7.3.35
		<i>Idāgama</i>	7.2.8-7.2.78
VIII	369	Reduplication	8.1.1-8.1.15

		Sentence accent <i>Asiddhatva'</i> including sentence coalscence and consonantal sandhi	8.1.16-8.1.74 8.2-8.4
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¹ This is a very important principle in the P's grammar. This has divided the Ast into two sections: the *sapādasaptādhyāyī* (the first seven chapters and the first sub-section of the eighth chapter) and the *tripādī* (the last three sub-sections of the eighth chapter). According to this principle, the rules found in the *tripādī* are applied at the final stage of word derivation, i.e. after the application of the rules of *sapādasaptādhyāyī*.

Kātantra Vyākaraṇa

Introduction

The Kātantra Vyākaraṇa of Śarvavarman belongs to the Aindra school of grammar. Note that it is also known by the name Kalāpa or Kaumāra. It is one of the oldest and the earliest of the post Pāṇinian systems of the Sanskrit grammar containing four chapters and 1401 rules.

Author and Date

Kt as it is handed down to us is a work of grammarians from Śarva onwards. It is generally believed by scholars that Kt up to the Ākhyāta section (A chapter on the verbal derivation), which is comprised of 855 rules, is a work of Śarva. The fourth chapter Kṛtpṛakāraṇa is generally ascribed to Kātyāyana who is also known as Vararuci (different from the Vārttikakāra). From the present text of the Kt, it appears that the work has undergone at least two revisions.

The exact date of Śarva is subject to controversy as neither he nor his commentators threw any light on this point. They merely state that Kt was written under the patronage of king Sātavāhana. Scholars like S. K. Belvalkar (1976, 69), Harprasad Shastri, R. S. Saini and Ramasagar Mishra have placed Sātavāhana in the first century A.D. Thus, the most likely date of Śarva is the first century A.D.

Composition

Some scholars have tried to detect the same dichotomy of P's grammar into analytical and synthetic in the text of the Kt. However, a careful study of the Kt reveals that such a classification cannot be applied to the Kt. The main reason for this is that the rules pertaining to the synthetic part of the Kt are not given at one place as in P's Aṣṭ. In the Kt, the general rules of

sandhi are given in the first chapter whereas the other morphophonemic changes, which are taught in a particular context, are given along with it. For example, rules dealing with the morphophonemic changes pertaining to the nominal inflection are given in a section dealing with the nominal inflection and morphophonemic changes pertaining to the verbal inflection are given in that section. Similarly, the rules teaching the morphophonemic changes with regard to compounds are given in the compound section.

Sources

As said above, the Kt is a collection of works of different scholars from Śarva onwards. It incorporates many of the P's rules and the vārtikas of Kātyāyana. Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsaka (1984:615) has proved Kt's indebtedness to the Kāśakṛtsna grammar also. Besides this, it has also borrowed many older technical terms from the Prātiśākhyaś and other older treatises.

Purpose, Nature and Scope

The advent of the Kt marks the beginning of a new era in the field of the Sanskrit grammar as there took place a remarkable shift in the methodology with respect to the topic-wise arrangement of rules, non-use of the *pratyāhāra sūtras* and total omission of the rules dealing with the Vedic Sanskrit and accents. As said before, the main features of P's grammar are said to be the economy of expression and precise description. The Kt on the contrary was composed to satisfy the needs of the Sanskrit learning community, which wanted to learn grammar in the simplest possible way. As S. K. Belvalkar (1976:68) puts it "Kātantra grammar was not the creation of a school, but was rather meant to satisfy a real popular need". In order to meet this requirement, Śarva and his followers have brought about some changes in the arrangement of their treatise as well as in the structuring of the rules. In Kt, the *Sandhi* section is introduced first along with the necessary technical terms and the operational

rules. It is then followed by chapters on nominal declension, syntax, compounds, and primary derivatives. The second half of the text is devoted to the verbal derivation where the third chapter deals with the finite verbal forms whereas the fourth chapter deals with the primary derivatives. The rules pertaining to each section are further arranged in such a way that each section forms an independent unit. Thus, a student will have to study only one chapter or a part of it in order to learn a particular topic.

The rules of the Kt are more descriptive compared to that of P. The rules of the compound section are even written in a verse form. Kt appears to focus more on the broad features than the minor details of the language. Besides these, some other features of the Kt are:

1. Non-use of abbreviations (*pratyāhāras*)
2. The use of the older self-explanatory technical terminology
3. Non-use of the *ekādeśa* (a single substitute in the place of two) technique
4. Absence of the treatment of the Vedic words and the rules of accent.

This has made the Kt more popular and simpler grammar. This shows that the nature of the Kt is more pedagogic than theoretical.

Scheme			
Chapter no.	Total no. of rules	Topics	Rules
I (<i>Sandhi</i> section)	79	Acceptance of alphabet	1.1.1
		Technical terms	1.1.2- 1.1.20
		Rules for carrying out <i>Sandhi</i> operation	1.1.21- 1.1.22
		Acceptance of popular usage	1.1.23
		Vocalic <i>Sandhi</i>	1.2.1- 1.2.15, 1.2.17
		<i>Svarasandhiniśedha</i>	1.2.16, 1.2.18
		<i>Prakrtibhāva</i>	1.3.1- 1.3.4
		<i>Vyañjanasandhi</i>	1.4.1.- 1.4.16
		<i>Visargasandhi</i>	1.5.1- 1.5.18

II (<i>Nāma-catuṣṭaya-prakaraṇam</i> (Chapter dealing with nouns))	337	Technical terms and operational rules related to the second chapter	2.1.1- 2.1.13
		Nominal declension	2.1.14- 2.3.64
		Change of nominal case endings into <i>am</i> after all <i>Avyayībhāva</i> compounds ending in phoneme <i>a</i>	2.4.1- 2.4.2
		Elision of some nominal and secondary suffixes	2.4.3- 2.4.7
		Syntax	2.4.8- 2.4.16
		Allocation of cases	2.4.17- 2.4.42
		Some morphological changes related to the nominal declension	2.4.43- 2.4.52
		Definitions of compounds, related morphology and position of its members	2.5.1- 2.5.14

		Gender and number of compounds	2.5.15- 2.5.17
		<i>Pumvadbhāva</i>	2.5.18- 2.5.20
		Morphology of compounds	2.5.21- 2.5.29
		Secondary affixes	2.6.1- 2.6.41
		Morphology related to secondary derivatives	2.6.42- 2.6.50
III (Ākhyāta- prakaraṇa)	439	Technical terms, operational rules, person, tenses and moods	3.1.1- 3.1.34
		Heading rule	3.2.1
		Secondary verbal roots	3.2.2- 3.2.16
		Verbal inflection with <i>vikaranaḥ</i>	3.2.17- 3.2.39
		Voice	3.2.40- 3.2.47
		Reduplication of verbal roots	3.3.1- 3.3.8

		Morphology related to the reduplication	3.3.9- 3.3.42
		<i>Samprasārana</i>	3.4.1- 3.4.19
		Morphology of verbal inflection with some scattered technical terms and operational rules	3.4.20- 3.8.35
IV (<i>Kṛt-prakarana</i>)	546	Morphology of primary derivatives	4.1.1- 4.1.84
		Primary affixes including	4.2.1- 4.6.53
		Gerundives	4.2.9- 4.2.46
		Affixes <i>yuñ</i> etc.	4.2.47- 4.6.53
		Morphology of primary derivatives	4.6.54- 4.6.116

Omissions in the Kātantra Vyākaraṇa

1. The treatment of Vedic language and the rules of accent
2. *Pratyāhāras*
3. *Ekaśeṣa*
4. Feminine suffixes¹

Alterations made by Śarvavarman

1. Śarva has dealt with *sandhi* in the first chapter of his grammar whereas P has dealt with it in the chapters 6 - 8.
2. Rules pertaining to the number and the gender of compounds are given in the compound section unlike P who gives them elsewhere.
3. In the Kt, *karmapravacanīyas* are treated in the *vibhakti* section. P on the other hand, treats them in the *nipāta* section.
4. The entire *ekaśeṣa* (part retention) section of Aṣṭ is excluded in the Kt.
5. Tenses and moods are treated separately at the beginning of the section dealing with the verbal inflection.

¹ 52 rules dealing with the feminine suffixes believed to be composed by Vararuci are given as an appendix in the Kt.

Cāndra Vyākaranā

Introduction

Candragomin's grammar was meant as an improvement on that of P, Kātyāyana and Ptj, mainly in the way of greater brevity and precision. The work consists of six chapters of four *pādas* each, the number of rules found therein is 3099 against 3978 of P. Each rule is further provided with a *Vṛtti*, which is traditionally believed to be composed by C himself. However, P. C. Dash (1986:17) has proved that the *Sūtras* and the *Vṛtti* are works of two different persons. C was the author of the *Sūtras* and the author of the *Vṛtti* was possibly Ācārya Dharmadāsa who is mentioned at the end of the only complete ms. of the CVr, which is found in the Durbar library of Kathmandu.

In the main body of the text, C also retains the broad dichotomy of grammar as analytical and synthetic, which was observed in the Aṣṭ:

	Aṣṭ	CV
Analytical	Chp.s 1-5	Chp.s 1-4
Synthetic	Chp.s 6-8	Chp.s 5-6

Author and Date

The earliest reference to Candrācārya is found in Bharṭhari's Vākyā¹ where Candrācārya is said to be the one who revived the

¹ *yah Pātañjalaśisyebhyo bhrasṭo vyākaranāgamac /
kale sa dāksīṇātyeṣu granthamātre vyavasthitā //
parvatād āgamāṇ labdhvā bhāṣyabijānusāribhiḥ /
sa nīto bahumārgatvām candrācāryādibhiḥ punah //*
(Vākyā II.480-481)

broken Mahābhāṣya tradition in Kashmir. According to S. K. Belvalkar (1976:48-49), the date of Candragomin is 470 A.D.. However, the first reference to the Cāndra Vyākaraṇa outside the Cāndravṛtti (CV 2.2.68), is found in the Vāmanalingānuśāsana (800 A.D.) in which there occurs a famous line:

Candropajñam asamjñakam vyākaranam /

Scholars generally differ on the issue of the identity of Candrācārya mentioned in Vākyā and the author of the Cāndra Vyākaraṇa. In the view of P. C. Dash, it would be safe to place Candra some time before 8th cent. A.D.

Nature

The purpose of the CV was to rearrange the grammatical material with the object of bringing together all the rules that deal with the same phonetic or grammatical operations as well as the same part of speech'. For the same purpose, its author has employed certain changes in the existent pattern of the Ast̄. These include

1. Restructuring the sections of the Ast̄¹
2. Reconstruction of some Pāṇinian rules either to remove apparent lacuna or to facilitate the pronunciation
3. Lessening the number of *pratyāhāra sūtras* by one²

The number of technical terms used by C is limited. In many cases, C has avoided the use of a technical term and has instead used its paraphrase. For instance, for P's *upadhā*, C has *upānta*, for P's *ñi*, he has *antyajādi*. As it has already been pointed out, the Pali grammar of Mogg is greatly influenced by the CV.

¹ Cp. comparative schemes of both the grammars.

² In the place of P's two *pratyāhāras hayavarat* and *lap*, C has *hayavaralañ*.

Scheme			
Chapter no.	Total no. of rules	Topics	Rules
I	580	Alphabets in the form of <i>pratyāhārasūtras</i>	0
		Operational rules	1.1.1-1.1.16
		Secondary verbal roots such as desideratives etc.	1.1.17-1.1.50
		<i>Vikaranas</i>	1.1.51-1.1.101
		<i>Bahulādhikāra</i>	1.1.103
		Primary suffixes including Tenses and moods	1.1.104-1.1.138 Scattered
		Gerundives	1.1.105-1.1.138
		Suffixes <i>trc</i> etc.	1.1.139-1.3.150
		Verbal inflection	1.4.1-1.4.46
		Voice	
		Ātmanepada	1.4.47-1.4.130
		Parasmaipada	1.4.131-1.4.145

II, III, IV	393 + 384 + 555	Nominal declension	2.1.1-2.1.39
		Syntax with <i>karmapravacanīyas</i>	2.1.40-2.1.98
		Compounds including	
		<i>Gatis</i>	2.2.1-2.2.48
		Gender and number of compounds	2.2.49-2.2.87
		Feminine suffixes	2.3.1-2.3.85
V	643	Secondary suffixes with <i>samāsāntas</i>	2.4.1-4.4.148
		General phonological processes with vocalic <i>sandhi</i>	5.1.1-5.1.142
		Morphology of compounds with <i>aluk</i> , <i>pumvadbhāva</i> etc.	5.2.1-5.2.147
		Morphology of derivatives or <i>prakṛtyadhikāra</i>	5.3-5.4
		<i>Asiddhatva</i>	5.3.21-5.3.178

		Verb morphology	5.4.79-5.4.98
		<i>Idāgama</i>	5.4.99-5.4.174
VI	544	Morphology of derivatives or <i>prakṛtyadhidhikāra</i>	6.1-6.2
		Reduplication	6.3.1-6.3.14
		<i>Asiddhatva</i> including sentence coalescence and consonantal <i>sandhi</i>	6.3.27-6.4.158

Omissions in the Cāndra Vyākaraṇa

1. The treatment of the Vedic words and the rules of accent
2. Most of the technical terms
3. The entire *Ekaśeṣa* (part retention) section of P (1.2.64-73) is excluded in the CV though referred to in the Vṛtti on CV 2.2.87.

Alterations made by Candra in the arrangement of the subject matter

1. C has shifted a section dealing with the verb morphology immediately after an opening section dealing with the operational rules. This is followed by the morphology of nominal inflections and syntax.
2. C refrains from defining various *kāraka* categories. He has simply merged the *kāraka* section of the Aṣṭ with a section dealing with the allocation of cases.
3. The categories of *karmapravacanīyas* and *gatis*, which are discussed by P in the section dealing with particles, are treated separately by C in their relevant context. For instance, *karmapravacanīyas* are discussed under the section dealing

with syntax whereas *gatis* are discussed in the compound section in the context of the *gatisamāsa*.

4. In the same vein, C has also brought the rules dealing with the gender and number of compounds under the *samāsa* section unlike P who treats them elsewhere.

For the rest of the text, C has generally followed the arrangement of P. Cf. for instance, the arrangement of the section dealing with the verb morphology, the treatment of *samāsānta* suffixes under the *Taddhita* section and the arrangement of rules in the synthetic part.

Observations

1. All the Pali grammars begin with benediction including the salutation to the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Saṅgha. K and Agg have also discussed the purpose of their grammars. Mogg alone has mentioned the name of the object language (Māgadha) in his benediction.
2. The broad dichotomy as analytical and synthetic, which is observed in the Aṣṭ, can also be seen in each individual chapter of all the three Pali grammars.
3. All the three Pali grammars begin their description with a complete list of alphabets. The Aṣṭ and the CV open up with the *pratyāhārasūtras*, which do not provide a complete list of the Sanskrit alphabets. The Kt on the other hand presupposes knowledge of the alphabets.
4. K and Agg follow the same practice of the Sanskrit grammarians of introducing the basic terminology at the beginning of their grammar. The terminology related to a particular topic, is, however, introduced in that particular section. Mogg on the other hand introduces definitions of all the terms used by him at the beginning of the MV.
5. Like P and C, Mogg mentions all the operational rules in the first chapter.
6. Agg is the only Pali grammarian who has dealt with the Pali phonetics. He has included a small section by the name *sikkhāvidhāna* in between the sections dealing with the basic and the auxiliary technical terms. The treatment of the Sanskrit phonetics does not form a part of the actual treatise of the Sanskrit grammar. It rather serves as an appendix to these grammars.

7. Like Śarva, the Pali grammarians treat *sandhi* in the first chapter. P and C, on the other hand, have dealt with it at the end of their grammars.
8. Following Śarva, K and Agg have treated the *kārakas* and the *vibhaktis* in one place. P on the other hand has treated them at two separate places. Like C, Mogg has merged together the sections on the *kārakas* and the *vibhaktis*. He has, however, shifted the section dealing with syntax before the section on the nominal inflection.
9. P and K follow the same sequence in the treatment of various *kārakas* except *karāṇa* and *adhikarāṇa*. In the Kacc, *adhikarāṇa* is treated before *karāṇa*. The sequence of *kārakas* found in the Kacc and the Kt is exactly identical. This order is fixed according to the principle of posteriority. This shows the relative importance of the cases in the syntax of these languages. Agg on the other hand has followed an altogether different sequence in the Sadd. Like C, Mogg refrains from defining the various *kāraka* categories.

Aṣṭ	Kacc and Kt	Sadd
<i>Apādāna</i>	<i>Apādāna</i>	<i>Kattā</i>
<i>Sampradāna</i>	<i>Sampadāna</i>	<i>Hetukattā</i>
<i>Karāṇa</i>	<i>Adhikarāṇa</i>	<i>Kamma</i>
<i>Adhikarāṇa</i>	<i>Karāṇa</i>	<i>Karāṇa</i>
<i>Karma</i>	<i>Kamma</i>	<i>Sampadāna</i>
<i>Kartā</i>	<i>Kattā</i>	<i>Apādāna</i>
<i>Hetukartā</i>	<i>Hetukattā</i>	<i>Adhikarāṇa</i>

10. Mogg and C follow the same sequence in the treatment of cases. The other grammarians differ from each other on this issue.

Aṣṭ	Kt	Kacc	Sadd	MV and CV
Acc	Nom	Nom	Nom	Acc
Dative	Acc	Instr	Acc	Instr
Instr	Instr	Dative	Instr	Dative
Abl	Dative	Abl	Dative	Abl
Loc	Abl	Acc	Abl	Loc
Nom	Gen	Loc	Loc	Nom
Gen	Loc	Gen	Gen	Gen

11. Like C and Śarva, the Pali grammarians have treated the *kammappavacanīyās* in the *vibhatti* section. P on the other hand, treats them in the *nipāta* section.
12. Like C, Mogg has dealt with the category *gatis* in the compound section in the context of the *gatisamāsas*. P on the other hand has dealt with *gatis* in the section dealing with particles.
13. The suffixes *to* etc. denoting the sense of a case ending and some morphological changes caused by the *taddhita* suffixes are treated by K and Agg in the section dealing with the nominal inflections (Kacc 249-262; Sadd 492-508). Mogg on the other hand, has treated them in the *taddhita* section (MV

- 4.95-4.117, 4.135-4.138) as done by the Sanskrit grammarians¹.
14. K and Agg have also treated the feminine suffixes in the same section along with the nominal inflections². Mogg on the other hand has dealt with the feminine suffixes in the chapter dealing with compounds (MV 3.26-39). P and C have treated the feminine suffixes separately before the *taddhita* section. However, in the Kt, they are treated in a separate book, which serves as an appendix to it.
15. Like C and Śarva, the Pali grammarians have brought together rules pertaining to the number and the gender of compounds and the related morphology in the compound section unlike P who gives them elsewhere.
16. The ordering of *samāsas* in the Kacc and the Sadd differs from that of the Sanskrit grammarians. Mogg on the other hand has followed the same sequence as that of C. Note that the *Dvigu* type of compounds are not treated separately by these two grammarians. The ordering of compounds may be enumerated as below:

Aṣṭ	Kt	Kacc, Sadd	MV and CV
<i>Avyayī-bhāva</i>	<i>Karma-dhāraya</i>	<i>Abyayī-bhāva</i>	<i>Avyayībhāva</i>
<i>Tatpurusa</i>	<i>Dvigu</i>	<i>Kamma-</i>	<i>Tatpurusa</i>

¹ Cf. P 5.3.1: *prāg diśo vibhaktih*; Kt 2.6.24: *vibhaktisamjñā vijñeyā vaksyante'tah param tu ye / advyādeḥ sarvanāmnas te bahos caiva parāḥ smṛtāḥ //*

² Cf. Kacc 237-242, Sadd 466-472 deal with the feminine suffixes. Kacc 263-271 and Sadd 509-518 deal with the morphophonemic changes caused by the *taddhita* suffixes.

		<i>dhāraya</i>	
<i>Dvigu</i>	Tatpuruṣa	<i>Digu</i>	<i>Karma-dhāraya, Dvigu</i>
<i>Karma-dhāraya</i>	<i>Bahuvrīhi</i>	<i>Tappurisa</i>	<i>Bahuvrīhi</i>
<i>Bahuvrīhi</i>	<i>Dvandva</i>	<i>Bahubbīhi</i>	<i>Dvandva</i>
<i>Dvandva</i>	<i>Avyayī-bhāva</i>	<i>Dvanda</i>	

17. Rules regulating the sequence of words in a compound, which are found in the Aṣṭ and the Kt are missing in all the three Pali grammars.
18. K and Agg have included *ekasesa* and compounds of numerals within the *taddhita* section. Mogg on the other hand, has included morphology related to the compounds of numerals in the compound section (MV 3.91-106) and has not dealt with the *ekasesa*. Note that C and Śarva have also omitted the treatment of *ekaśeṣa*. P on the other hand has dealt with the *ekaśeṣa* in the first chapter.
19. Like the Kt, in the Kacc and the Sadd, the suffixes that are instrumental in deriving the derivative verbal roots and conjugational affixes (*vikarāṇas*) are treated in the same chapter along with the verbal inflections. Cf. Kt 3.2.2-3.2.39; Kacc 435-454; and Sadd 906-933. However, in MV, they are treated before a section dealing with the primary derivatives (*kṛdantas*) like Aṣṭ and CV. Cf. MV 5.1-5.26, P 3.1.5-3.1.90 and CV 1.1.17-102.

20. Like Sarva, the Pali grammarians have treated tenses and moods at the beginning of the verbal inflection. P and C on the other hand have treated them in the same section with that of the primary derivatives.
21. Agg has dealt with the *nvādi* suffixes in the same chapter with that of the primary derivatives. These suffixes are, however, treated in a separate section in the Kacc by the name of *nvādikāṇḍa*. In the MV and other Sanskrit grammars, the *nvādi* / *unvādi* suffixes are given in the form of an appendix.

Chapter Two

Technical Terminology

Introduction

Ptj observes in the Mbh that the main purpose of coining the technical terms is brevity: *laghvartham hi sumjñākaraṇam* (Mbh I.39). Āpiśali seems to have first enunciated the principle of brevity in the field of grammar.¹ This principle gradually gained popularity and reached its peak in Vopadeva, the author of Mugdhabodha who replaced all the bigger meaningful technical terms by the monosyllabic ones. These grammarians cherished the brevity of expression to the extent that the brevity of even half a morae was considered equal to the joy arising from the birth of a son.² P stands in between these two since he retains some of the bigger meaningful technical terms such as *kāraka*, *survanāman* etc. besides creating a few arbitrary terms.

The school of the Kt, however, advocated the principle of brevity in regard to the sense and method to be superior to the brevity in regard to the expression. Trilocana, the author of the KVP, says:

"Isn't it true that even the earlier teachers, who, being grammarians, were also seeking for brevity, formulated the bigger technical terms such as *svara* etc.? (Then the reply is): 'Yes! because of their meaningfulness.' (In this case,) the underlying meaning is this: The brevity is of two types: the one achieved through the letters and the other through the sense. Out of these, the brevity achieved through

¹ Āpiśalyupajñām gurulāghavam / (Kāśikā 6.2.14)

² ardhamātrālāghavena putrotsavam manyante vaiyākaraṇāḥ /

the sense is intended by them, as it is beneficial for others. Therefore, Śarvavarman also states the same, for, there is no wisdom whatsoever in using symbols such as *vṛ* or *kṣa* for *vṛkṣa*'.¹

The Pali grammarians have followed the footsteps of Śarva and have given preference to the well-established self-explanatory technical terms though some arbitrary technical terms such as *jha*, *la*, *pa*, *gha* and *ga*, still got their way into these grammars.

The *saṃjñās* or technical terms of P are divided by Ptj into two classes: *krtrimā* (artificial) and *akrtrimā* (natural).² P has used self-explanatory terms such as *avyaya*, *prātipadika*, *survunāmun* etc. but at the same time he has made use of short, artificially coined technical terms such as *ti*, *ghu*, *bha* etc. We can also think of a third category of technical terms representing a particular grammatical process such as *kṛt*, *taddhita* etc.

The artificially coined terms can be further subdivided into two groups:

1. There are technical terms, which appear to be fully arbitrary such as *ti*, *ghu* and *bha*.
2. The technical terms, which are made by using the technique of abbreviation, such as *ac*, *hal*, *sup* generally known as *pratyāhārus*. Such abbreviations are formed by joining an initial item to be denoted with an indicatory letter of the last item to be denoted in the series.

¹ *nanu pūrvācāryā api vaiyākaraṇatvāt lāghavam abhilāṣantaḥ kim iti gariyasiḥ svārādisaṃjñāḥ pranītavantah iti / sutyam, unvarthutvāt tāsām iti / ayam urthaḥ - dvividhāḥ hi lāghavum bhavati - śabdakṛtam arthakṛtum ceti / tutrārthakṛtum eva lāghavum parārthapravṛttatvāt teṣām abhīṣṭum, ataḥ Śarvavarmā'pi tathā pratipādayati / na hi vṛksaśubdasya vṛṣṇiketum kṣusāṅketum vā kṛtvā vyavaharato vaidagdhī kācid asti / (KVP on Kt 1.1.15)*

² *iha hi vyākaraṇe ye vaite loke pratiṭapadārthakāḥ śabdās tuir nirdeśāḥ kriyante paśur apatyam devateti, yā vaitāḥ krtrimāś tīghughubhasaṃjñāś tābhīḥ / (Mbh I.323)*

The technical terminology used by the Pali grammarians would also fall into two categories of natural and artificial. Natural technical terms include terms such as *russo*, *dīgho*, *niggahītu* etc. The number of artificial terms used by the Pali grammarians is limited. There are five such terms viz. *jha*, *la*, *pa*, *gha* and *ga*, which are common to all the three Pali grammarians. The term *nudī* denoting feminine stems ending in *ī* and *ū*, which is used by K (Kacc 340) and Agg (Sadd 725), is absent in the MV.

The Pali grammatical tradition is in favour of the threefold classification of the technical terms into (i) *unvattha* (meaningful), (ii) *saka* (indigenous), and (iii) *puru* (foreign). According to this tradition, *akkhara* is *unvattha saññā*, *vagga* is *sakusaññā*¹ and *ghosa* is *parusaññā*.²

According to another classification found in the Sadd, they fall into two categories: *mūlasaññā* (the basic technical terms) and *upakarāsaññā* (the auxiliary technical terms). The basic terms include terms such as *akkhara*, *sara*, *byañjana* etc. The auxiliary terms, on the other hand, include terms necessary for the *sandhi* operations such as *pubba*, *para*, *lopa*, *āgama* etc.³

As it would be clear from the following discussion, in the case of technical terms, the Pali grammarians have mainly followed the Kt and not P. Even Mogg, who generally follows C, has followed Śarva in case of definitions of some basic technical terms such as *sara*, *byañjana*, *hrassa*, *dīgha* etc. The obvious reason for this shift

¹ Here it should be noted that *vagga* which is rendered as *sakusaññā* by the author of Mmd, is, however, a well-established technical term in the field of the Sanskrit grammar and thus cannot be called a *sakusaññā* in a strict sense.

² *tividhā hi saññā - unvatthasaññā, sakusaññā, parusaññā ti / tā pana ukkharavaggaghosusaññādivasena dīpetubbā /* (Mmd 9)

³ Cf. Sadd 24: *pubbapurādīni sandhikiriyopukaranāni /*

in the case of Mogg is that C has generally avoided the use of technical terms.¹

The Grammatical Terminology of the *Aṭṭhakathās*

Unlike the Prakrit grammarians, the Pali grammarians from K onwards tried to depict Pali as an independent language distinct from Sanskrit. In this context, they also tried to develop a full-fledged grammatical system for Pali with the indigenous Dhātupāṭha and Gaṇapāṭha. However, with regard to the technique and terminology, the Pali grammarians heavily drew upon the Sanskrit grammarians. This does not mean that there was a total absence of grammatical knowledge in the pre-Kaccāyana era. The pre-Kaccāyana *Aṭṭhakathā* literature of the commentators like Buddhaghosa, Dhammapāla and Buddhadatta is full of grammatical discussions. In Vism and *Aṭṭhakathās*, Buddhaghosa has occasionally discussed the points of grammar in order to explain a syntactical problem, a particular construction or the derivation of a particular word. Though these discussions are mainly based on the Pāṇinian grammar, the terminology found therein is sometimes so distinct that they have no parallel in the Sanskrit grammar. This has made scholars like R. O. Franke to assume the existence of a pre-Buddhaghosa Pali grammar. However, according to O. H. Pind (1997: 26) ‘the rudimentary character of the vocabulary would seem to indicate that it was established for exegetical purposes, its nature being dictated by its relevance for the canonical exegesis and the wish to use a distinct Pali terminology for this purpose, rather than with the intention of establishing a comprehensive Pali grammatical system’. This shows that by the time of the *Aṭṭhakathās*, the Pali scholarship started showing its inclination towards an indigenous tradition of the Pali philology independent of Sanskrit. The scope of this terminology is limited to:

¹ In the tradition, C's grammar is described as *candropujñam usumjñukum vyākaraṇam* / (CVṛ 2.2.68)

- A. Phonological terminology
- B. Case terminology
- C. Two sets of terms denoting four types of nominals
- D. Terms denoting the parts of speech
- E. A term denoting an adverb
- F. Terms denoting words, sentences and syllables

- A. Phonological Terminology: A list of ten phonological terms occurs at Sp 1399 in a verse form in the context of the correct pronunciation of Pali in the *kammavācā*. The verse reads:

*sithilam dhanitam ca dīgharassam garukam
lahukam ca niggahitam /
sambuddham vavatthitam vimuttam dasudhā
vyañjanabuddhiyā pabhedo //¹*

Out of these, the first six terms denoting different varieties of phonemes occur for the first time at Mil 344.² The terms such as *dīgha* (long), *russa* (short), *garuka* (metrically long) and *lahuka* (metrically short) are common to both the Sanskrit and the Pali grammars. The terms *sambuddha* (connected utterance) and *vavatthita* (disjoint utterance) are used to denote the connected or disjoint articulation of the words in a sentence. In Sanskrit, the conjunct articulation of the Vedic hymns is called *Saṃhitā* whereas the disjoint articulation is known as *Padapāṭha*. The remaining terms viz. *sithila* (non-aspirated stops), *dhanitu* (aspirated stops), *niggahīta* (nasal) and *vimutta* (oral) are unparalleled in Sanskrit. Out of these, the term *niggahīta* equivalent to the Sanskrit *anusvāra* is adopted by all the three Pali grammarians. Agg is the only Pali

¹ The same verse is also quoted at Rūp 10.

² *ye pana te mahārāja bhikkhu buhussutā āgutāgamā dhāmmadharā vinayadharā mātikadharā sithila-dhanita-dīgha-russa-garuka-lahuka-kkhara-paricchedakusalā navāṅgasāsunadharā, evurūpā kho mahārāja bhikkhu bhugavato dhāmmunagure dhāmmarakkhā ti vuccanti /*

grammarians who have included all these terms in his grammar and has defined them in rules Sadd 4-21. This attempt of his appears to be encyclopedic since terms *sithila*, *dhanita*, *vimutta*, *sambuddha* and *vavatthita* are not used by him in the later part of his grammar.

B. Case Terminology : The Pali Atthakathās have made use of the following terms to denote the grammatical cases:

<i>Paccatta</i>	Nominative	<i>Nissakka</i>	Ablative
<i>Upayoga</i>	Accusative	<i>Sāmi</i>	Genitive
<i>Karana</i>	Instrumental	<i>Bhumma</i>	Locative
<i>Sampadāna</i>	Dative	<i>Ālapana</i>	Vocative

Out of these, *nissakka*, *bhumma* and *ālapana* are peculiar to Pali.

Ālapana is the only term, which has a canonical status. It is used in Vin (III.73, 33) to denote the voc., and as such is adopted by the grammarians from K onwards.

The term *paccatta* (Skt. *Pratyātma*). in the sense of the nominative, probably occurred for the first time in the vārtikas of Kātyāyana (Vt. 6 on P 1.1.50). It literally means 'individually'. According to O. H. Pind (1997: 27): "The use of the term *paccatta* is motivated by the semantics of the Pali *paccatta*, evoking the idea of the nominative as denoting any given thing individually, i.e., its character as such, and thus roughly corresponds to the concept of *linga*".

The use of the term *upayoga* in a technical sense goes back to Mbh I.334 where Ptj introduces a ślokavārttika¹ enumerating

¹ Ślokavārttika is a grammatical injunction given in a verse form and is different from the celebrated Mīmāṃsā text Ślokavārttika of Kumārilabhaṭṭa.

the roots governing two accusatives. The verse reads as follows:

*duhiyācirudhiprachibhiksiciñām upayoganimittam
upūrvavividhau /
bruviśāsiguṇena ca yat sacate tad akīrtitam
ācaritum kavinā //*

The same verse is reproduced at Kāśikā 1.4.51. There the term *upayoganimitta* is explained as:

"*Upayoga* means that which is closely connected (with an action), such as milk etc. Its cause is cow etc. The designation *karmāna* is ascribed to cow etc. which is the cause of milk etc. that are closely connected (with an action)".¹

Thus, in this context, the word *upayoga* signifies a direct object. The cause of this direct object is called *upayoganimitta* to which the *karma* designation is attributed by P 1.4.51.

The term used for the ablative is *nissakka* (*ni* + *sukk*) meaning 'to go out'. It is probably chosen for the given purpose as it conveys an away movement, which is the central idea conveyed by the ablative.

The term *sāmi* (Skt. *svāmin*) has its counterpart used in the discussion in Mbh I.464, where the expression *svāmitva* is used of the genitive relation *rājñāḥ puruṣāḥ*. At Kt (II.4.19), *svāmyādi* is used to represent all the relations denoted by the genitive. The term *sāmi* is adopted by the Pali grammarians to denote the genitive.

The term *bhumma* is equivalent to the Sanskrit *bhaumya* or *bhūmya* and is related to place. It occurs in the canon as an

¹ *upayujyate ity upayogāḥ payaḥprabhṛti / tasya nimittāṇi gavādi /
tasyopayujyamānapayaḥprabhṛtinimittasya gavādeḥ karmasamjñā vidhīyate /*

adjective and a noun.¹ Agg, whose grammar is influenced by the Aṭṭhakathās, has occasionally resorted to this Aṭṭhakathā terminology in the Kārakakappa. Cf. Sadd 597: *Paccutte*, Sadd 662: *samaye karaṇopayogabhummavacanāni piṭakakkamena*.

C. Two Sets of Terms Denoting Four Types of Nominals:

- i. The four types of nominals mentioned by Buddaghosa (Vism 209, 29) are:
 - a. *āvutthika*, referring to a specific state (in the existence of an entity) < Skt. *āvasthika*; e.g., *vaccho*
 - b. *liṅgika*, referring to a characteristic mark, e.g., *dandī*
 - c. *nemittika*, referring to an attribute (of a person), e.g., *tevijo*
 - d. *adhiccasumuppanna*, spontaneous like proper nouns, e.g., *sirivadḍhaka*.

This terminology occurs in a discussion on the word *bhagavat*. It seems that this terminology is a result of a combination of Sanskrit and Pali features, made for a particular exegetical purpose.²

- ii. Another Set of Four Nominals is mentioned by Buddaghosa (As 390, 29).
 - a. *sāmaññanāma*, a name given by general assent, e.g., *mahāsummato* (D III 93, 11)
 - b. *guṇanāma*, a name expressing an attribute, e.g., *Bhugavat*. This term is analogous to *naimittikunāma* of the above list.
 - c. *kittināma*, a name expressing honour, i.e., a proper name given at the birth ceremony

¹ *bhūtāni bhummāni* (Sn 222), *subbabhummā khattiyā* (Saddh 420).

² Pind (1997: 29)

- d. *opaputtikanāma*, original name, i.e., a name that is unalterably the same in time and space: *purimakappe pi cundo etarahi pi cando yeva* / (As 391, 13)

This terminology is hardly used in the Pali grammatical literature.

- D. Terms Denoting the Parts of Speech: The Pali Atthakathās mention four parts of speech (*padavibhāga*) viz. *nāmapada*, *ākhyātапада*, *upasaggapada* and *nipātapada*. Sv 26, 9ff (on D I 1,4) identifies *evam* as a *nipātapada*, *me* etc. as a *nāmapada*, *paṭi* (of the pp. *patipanno*) as an *upasaggapada*, and *hoti* as an *ākhyātапада*. This fourfold classification is first mentioned in the Nir. In this tradition, it is known as *catvāri padajātāni*. In the view of the grammarians, it refers to the fourfold classification of speech into *nāma*, *ākhyāta*, *upasarga* and *nipāta*.¹ Ptj has also mentioned this fourfold classification in his Mbh. Thus, in the case of the *padavibhāga*, the Atthakathākāras seem to have been inspired by the Sanskrit grammatical tradition.

This terminology has also found its way in the Pali grammatical parlance. K has named the second chapter of his grammar as the Nāmakappa. The rule, which prescribes compounds in his grammar, reads: *nāmānam samāso yuttuttho* (Kacc 318). The third chapter of K's grammar is called Ākhyātakappa. The terms *upasagga* and *nipātu* are used by him in the rule: *upasagganipātапуббако abyayībhāvo* / (Kacc 321)

- E. A Term Denoting An Adverb: *bhāvanapumsaka* is the term used in the Atthakathās to denote an adverb. It probably means 'a word in neuter denoting *bhāva*', i.e. an action'. In the discussion at Sadd 590, Agg observes:

¹ *tad yāni catvāri padajātāni nāmākhyāte copasarganipātāś ca tānīmāni bhavanti* "Now, what (are) the four classes of words? They are the following: noun and verb; preposition and particles." (Nir 1.1)

"Here in this regard, the designation *bhāvanapuṁṣaka* occurs in the dispensation whereas *kiryāvisesana* in the science of grammar".¹

The term is, however, not used by K and Mogg.

F. Terms Denoting Words, Sentences and Syllables : Terms *nāmukāya*, *padukāya* and *vyañjanakāya* in the sense of a collection of words, sentences and syllables occur in a passage at Sp 223, 22-24, presumably quoted from the Mahā-āṭṭhakathā. This vocabulary seems to have originated in the Sanskrit Buddhist literature and can be traced to the Vaibhāṣika theories of language, which Vasubandhu criticizes in the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya.

Although this limited vocabulary as shown above was available to K and his successors, they have preferred the use of only those terms, which were also established in the Sanskrit grammatical tradition except *niggahīta*, *ālapana* and *bhāvanapuṁṣaka*. The Pali grammarians seem to have thought it better to use the terminology current in the grammatical parlance rather than the orthodox terminology used in the Āṭṭhakathās. K has acknowledged his indebtedness to the Sanskrit grammars regarding the technical terminology in the rule *parasamāññā payoge* (Kacc 9). By this rule, K has accepted the use of several technical terms current in Sanskrit grammars without ever defining them. Here the Vutti comments:

"And those technical terms available in the Sanskrit treatises such as *ghosa* or *aghosa* are also used in this science, whenever there is an occasion for it"².

Commenting on the rule, the Kacc-Vṇ says:

¹ ettha ca bhāvanapuṁṣakam ti sāsane vohāro, kiryāvisesanam ti saddasatthe /

² yā ca pana sukkatagunthesu sumāññā ghosā ti vā aghosā ti vā, tā payoge sati etthā pi yujunte /

"The foreign terminology is the terminology of others. It means the terminology of the grammarians ... or the foreign terminology is the terminology found elsewhere. It means the terminology available in the Sanskrit treatises. *Puyoga* (usage) means using whenever there is an occasion for the usage, this is the relation. Foreign terms are: *ghosa*, *ughosa*, *lopa*, *vāñča*, *samāna*, *samyoga*, *liṅga*, *pada*, *nipāta*, *upasagga*, *paccaya* etc.".¹

This shows that K's grammar presupposes the knowledge of Sanskrit grammars in general and its technical terminology in particular. Later, Agg has done away with this rule of K by providing definitions of most of them.

¹ *paresam̄ samāññā parusamāññā, veyyākuraññāñā samāññā ti uttho ...
parasmīm vā samāññā parusamāññā, sakkaṭagunthe samāññā ti vā uttho /
payujjanam payogo, tusmīm payoge satī ti sambandho / parusamāññā nāma
ghosāghosalopavāññāsamānusamyogaliigapudanipātopusaggupaccayādayo /*

Phonetic Terminology

1. *akkhara, vanṇa*

A.

Akkhara (Skt. *akṣara*) and *vanṇa* (Skt. *varṇa*) are two well established terms. The primary meaning of the term *akṣara* is ‘imperishable’ and that of *varṇa* is ‘colour’. Afterwards, they came to signify ‘a letter’ or ‘a syllable’. It seems that the term *akṣara* was used for ‘letters engraved on stones’ because of their long lasting nature. *Varṇa*, on the other hand, was used for letters, which were covered with the coating of some colour (K. C. Chatterji, 1964: 279, fn). Batakrishna Ghosh (K. C. Chatterji, 1964: 279) says in his article on ‘Aspects of Pre-Pāṇinian grammar’:

"This meaning of the word *varṇa* should have been developed first in the Brāhmaṇas of the Sāmaveda in which we constantly come across locutions like *rathantaravarṇā rc* ‘verse which gets the colour of the *rathantarā sāman* in a chant’. In these passages the word *varṇa* is visibly changing its meaning from ‘colour’ to ‘sound’ of melody. Thus gradually the ‘sound of melody’ became ‘sound in general’".

Even in Pali, the primary meaning of the term *akkhara* is ‘constant, durable, long lasting’ (D III.86). At D I.88, it is used as a name of one of the four branches of the Vedic learning. Ákkhara (nt.) is used in the sense of ‘sounds, tones, words’ (Mil 344, Pv-a 280). Agg uses the term *akkharacintakā* ‘ponderers of letters’ for the grammarians (Sadd 696). *Vanṇa* in Pali has several denotations such as ‘colour’ (Sn 447), ‘appearance’, ‘praise’ etc. (PED 596-

97). In the grammatical literature, it came to signify a phoneme probably due to the influence of Sanskrit.

The Pali grammarians have used both the terms *akkhara* and *vunna* side by side. Mmd explains *akkhara* as:

"Akkhuras (letters) are so called as they do not perish".¹

The term *akkhara* is derived by Agg in two ways:

"In what sense are they *akkharas* (letters)? By way of being imperishable and by way of not being rough. Whatever perishes or is destroyed is called 'perishable' (*khaya*) and that which is rough and hard is called 'hardened' (*khara*). These letters neither perish nor get destroyed even though they happen to exist in the five ways of knowledge, viz., *saṅkhāra*, *vikāra*, *lakkhaṇa*, *nibbāna*, and *paññatti*, but are still seen over and again. And even though they are used in the capacity of subtle and profound signals, they do not become rough and hard but remain rather very soft and are not hardened with respect to the meaning. Therefore, they are called letters (*akkharas*). Now in this respect, this is the meaningful analysis: *akkharas* are so called as they do not perish. They are called letters as they do not perish even though they are just forty one in number and are used in infinite expressions".²

¹ na kharanti ti akkharā / (Mmd 2)

² kena atthena akkharā: akkhayaṭṭhena akkharatṭhena ca; yaṁ hi khayaṁ gacchati parihāyati, taṁ khayaṁ ti vuccati; yaṁ pana kharam hoti thuddham, taṁ kharam ti vuccati, - Ime pana vāṇī saṅkhāra-vikāra-lakkhaṇa-nibbāna-paññatti-saṅkhātesu pañcasu ṇeyyapathesu vattamānā pi neva khayaṁ gacchanti na parihāyanti uparūpari dissanti, atisukhumagumbhīrusaṃketesu parivattamānā pi kharattam thaddhabhāvam na gacchanti ativiyu mudu hutvā atthavasena na kharanti, tasmā

These explanations of the term *akkhara* are attempts to adapt the well-established derivation of the term to suit the Buddhist philosophy which believes in impermanence of all conditioned things. The second derivation is based on the Pali form of *aksara*, where *ksura* becomes *khara*, which has a sense of 'hard or rough' in both Sanskrit and Pali.

Agg derives the word *vanna* from the root *vñña*, 'to tell', in the sense of agent or instrument:

"*Vññas* are so called as the meaning is expressed
i.e. manifested by them or by means of them".¹

K's rule *akkharāpādayo ekucuttālīsam* (Kacc 2) ascribes the term *akkhara* to 41 letters of the Pali phonology. In this case, by using *akkhara* instead of *vanna*, K has deviated from the Kt, which he generally follows. The term *vanna* is, however, used by him in the rule *ivñno yan na vā* (Kacc 21). In this case, *vanna* is equivalent to 'a phoneme' as it stands for both, the short and the long varieties of *i*. Cp. Mmd 21 (p. 65-66):

"How the phoneme *i* is included when the text says
'the phoneme *i*'? By virtue of having the same
form".²

In the first rule of the Sadd's Sandhikappa, Agg has used the term *vanna* to denote syllables: *appabhut' ekatālisa saddā vannā*

"The term *vanna* denotes forty-one sounds starting
from *a*." (Sadd 1)

The next rule *akkharā ca te* "And they are also called letters"
(Sadd 2) ascribes the term *akkhara* to these syllables.

*akkharā ti vuccanti / ayam pana ettha sādhippāyo viggaho - na kharantī ti
akkharā, pamāṇuto ekucuttālīsamattā yeva hutvā unantum abhidheyyam pi
patvā na khitīyantī ti uttho ti /* (Sadd 2)

¹ *vññiyati kathīyati uttho etehī ti vannā /* (Sadd 1)

² *ivñno ti vuttattā ivñno kathām saṅghām gacchati ti ? sumānarūpattā /*

Mogg ascribes the term *vannā* to 43 syllables¹ starting from *a*:
uādayo titālīsa vannā / (MV 1.1)

"*a* etc. forty-three are called 'vannā' (phonemes)."

Here MVu reads:

"The forty-three letters starting from *a* upto the
niggūhīta are called 'vannā' (phonemes)".²

This shows that the terms *akkhara* and *vannā* are synonymous. However, as in the Kacc, in the Sadd and the MV, any letter when followed by the word *vannā* stands for itself as well as for its homophones.³

B.

Aksara in the sense of 'a syllable' is in use since the time of RV (1.164.24, 1.164.39). Later, at the time of RP, as an imperishable and indivisible entity it came to signify 'a vowel':

ojā hrasvāḥ saptamāntāḥ svarāṇām / anye dīrghāḥ /
ubhaye tv aksarāṇi / (RP 1.17-19)

Ptj, while commenting on a *ślokavārttika*, explains the term *akṣara* thus:

"Now what is this *akṣara*? By *akṣara* one is to understand what is not *kṣara* (perishable), i.e. *akṣara* is that which does not decay or perish. Or, *akṣara* is -*sura* added after the root *uś*. This is the

¹ Mogg gives a list of 43 letters including short *e* and short *o*. Note that Sadd 22 also accepts short *e* and short *o* in some cases.

² *akārādayo niggahītāntā tecuttālīsakkharā vannā nāma honti /*

³ *vannāparenu savanño'pi / Vannasuddo paro yusmā tena savanño'pi guyhati sum ca rūpam /* (MV and MVu 1.24)

yum ivanño na vā / (Sadd 51)

uṇādi suffix *-suran* added to the root *uś*. *Akṣara* is so named because it pervades".¹

Commenting on the rule *unekākṣarayos tv asaṃyogād yavau* (Kt 2.2.59), Durga says:

"The etymology is: *akṣara* is that which neither decays nor perishes".²

The AA and the Mbh of Ptj have used the term *Aksarasamāmnāya* in the sense of *Varnasamāmnāya*. Commenting on a line of a Ślokavārttika, *varṇam vā' huḥ pūrvasūtre*³ Ptj says:

"Or, in a previous sūtra-work, the technical term *akṣara* is used for a letter".⁴

Kt, which belongs to the Aindra school of grammar, opens up with the rule:

siddho varṇasamāmnāyah / (Kt 1.1.1)

It, however, also uses the term *akṣara*:

unekākṣarayos tv asaṃyogād yavau / (Kt 2.2.59)

Later, grammarians who are always after brevity have preferred the use of the disyllabic term *varṇa* over the trisyllabic term *akṣara*.

P and C have not used either *akṣara* or *varṇa* in their respective grammars. In their system, 'a phoneme' in general is referred to as *al* in rules like *anekāl śit sarvasya* (P 1.1.55), *śid anekāl sarvasya* (C 1.1.12); *aprkta ekāl pratyayah* (P 1.2.41) etc.

¹ atha kim idam akṣaram iti? akṣaram na kṣaram vidyāt / na kṣiyate na kṣaratīti vā'kṣaram / uśnoter vā' suro'kṣaram / uśnoter vā' punar uyam uṇādikah suran- pratyayah / uśnuta ity akṣaram / (Mbh I.36)

² na kṣarati kṣiyate vā'kṣaram iti niruktam / (Kt 2.2.59)

³ "Or, a letter is called *akṣara* in an earlier rule".

⁴ athavā pūrvasūtre varṇasyākṣaram iti saṃjñā kriyate /

C.

Thus, *akṣara* and *varṇa* are well-established technical terms of early origin. P and C have avoided the use of these terms by using the abbreviated term (*pratyāhāra*) *al.* Śarva has retained these terms in his grammar. The Pali grammarians have also accepted and used these terms in their respective grammars.

2. *savanna*

A.

The term *savanna* (Skt. *savarṇa*) literally meaning ‘having the same colour’ is an older term. In the grammatical literature, it signifies ‘a homophone’ i.e. ‘a letter having the same sound’. The Pali grammarians have followed the tradition of the TP and the Kt and have restricted the *savanna* designation to the vowels.

Though K has not defined *savanna*, he has accepted it by the rule *parusumaññā payoge* (Kacc 9).¹ K has made use of the term *asavanna* in the rule *kvacāsavannam lutte* (Kacc 14). Commenting on this rule, Vajirabuddhi explains *asavanna* as:

"The term *savanna* (homophone) denotes similar phonemes. And that which is not a homophone is called *asavanna* (a dissimilar phoneme)".²

Cp. DT 1.1.4:

"A homophone denotes similar phonemes".³

Agg and Mogg have provided the formal definitions of *savanna*. Sadd 8a says:

¹ *parusumaññā nāmu ghosāghosulopayavannusamānasamānyogulīngupadānipātopusaggapuccayāduyo* / (Kacc-Vṇ 9, p. 27)

² *saṁāno varṇo savanno / na savanno asavanno /* (Mmd 2)

³ *saṁāno varṇah savarnah /*

*a ā uvaṇṇo, i ī ivuṇṇo, u ū uvaṇṇo, te eva yugaḷā
savaṇṇā, ekārokārā usavaṇṇā /*

"The phoneme *a* denotes the letters *a* and *ā*, the phoneme *i* denotes the letters *i*, and *ī*, the phoneme *u* denotes the letters *u*, and *ū*. These very pairs are homogeneous letters. Letters *e* and *o* are not homogeneous".

This explanation of *savaṇṇa* is on the lines of the Kt (See below). The term *savaṇṇa* is further explained by Agg as:

"There, the homogeneous sounds are those having the same articulatory organ, i.e. having the same place of articulation".¹

According to Agg, here the word *vaṇṇa* signifies articulatory organ (*karaṇa*).² This explanation of *savaṇṇa* appears to be an attempt to corroborate the view of the Pāṇinīyas (See below). The idea of identical effort (*prayatna*) is, however, missing in Agg's explanation.

MV's definition: *dve dve savaṇṇā* "Each pair (of vowels) is homogeneous" (MV 1.3) runs on the line of *dve dve savarṇe hrasvadīrghe* (TP 1.3) and *teṣāṁ dvau dvāv anyonyasya savarṇau* (Kt 1.1.4). The influence of the DV is also visible on the MVu. Cp.:

tesu dve dve sarū savaṇṇā nāma honti (MVu 1.3)

*teṣāṁ eva daśānāṁ yau dvau dvau varṇau tāv
anyonyasya savarṇasamjñakau bhavataḥ* / (DV
1.1.4)

K and Agg have used an additional term *sarūpa* to signify homogeneous sounds. It is explained as 'letters having the same

¹ *tattha savaṇṇā ti samānakaraṇā, samānakkharuppattiṭṭhānā ti vuttam hoti /*
(Sadd 8a)

² *vaṇṇusaddo cettha karaṇavācako dutṭhubbo /* (Sadd 8a)

form',¹ which is further explained by Agg as 'having the same phonetic quality'.² The term *usarūpa* is used at Kacc 13³ and Sadd 31.⁴

B.

The discussion on *savarṇa* as a technical term of grammar is found in the Prātiśākhyas. RP and TP explain *savarṇa* in the context of vowels:

"In the statement regarding the place of articulation as also of contraction of vowels, we are to understand the homogeneous vowels - long and short, even when only the short vowel is mentioned".⁵

"Each pair of long and short [vowels] is homogeneous".⁶

VP has brought even consonants within the scope of *savarṇa*:

"Those sounds, of which the place of articulation, the articulatory organ, and the effort in the mouth are identical, are homogeneous".⁷

Just as the VP, P also extends the *savarṇa* designation to the consonants. Cf. e.g., P 1.1.69: *anuditsavarṇasya cāpratyayah* /

"A phoneme denoted by the abbreviation *añ* or one having the marker *u* as it denotes (not only itself but

¹ *sumānam rūpam yussa so surūpo* / (Mmd 13)

² *surūpā ti sumānasutino* / (Sadd 31)

³ *vā paro usarūpā* /

⁴ *paro vā usarūpā* /

⁵ *sthānaprāślesopadeśe svrāṇām hrasvādeśe hrasvadīrgħau savarṇau* / (RP 1.55)

⁶ *dve dve savarṇe hrasvadīrghe* / (TP 1.3)

⁷ *sumānusthānakurāṇāsyapruyatnāḥ savarṇāḥ* / (VP 1.43)

also) all phonemes homogeneous with it unless it is an affix".

He defines *savarna* as:

tulyāsyaprayatnam savarnam /

"The technical term *savarna* (homogeneous) designates phonemes which are produced by the same articulatory effort at the same point of articulation in the oral cavity." (P 1.1.9)

Ptj explains the rule thus:

"*Tulya* means that which is measured with a balance, *āsyaprayatnam* means mouth and effort, that which has the same mouth (= place of articulation) as well as the same (articulatory) effort is called *savarna*".¹

āsyā here stands for *āsyasthāna* and *prayatna* for *ābhya-ntaraprayatna*. Cp. Kāśikā on P 1.1.9:

"That which exists in the mouth i.e. the places such as palate etc. *Prayatna* is making an effort; which is an attribute of a phoneme such as contact etc."²

C uses *sasthāna* for *savarna*. Cf. *halo jharām jhari sasthāne lopo vā* (CV 6.4.155). It corresponds to P's *halo yamām yami lopah* (P 8.4.64) and *jharo jhari savarṇe* (P 8.4.65). C also uses the term *savarga* to denote the homogeneous class consonants: *utā savargah /* (CV 1.1.2)

Kt follows TP in its explanation of *savarna*. Kt. 1.1.4 states:

tesām dvau dvāv anyonyasya savarnau /

¹ *tulayā saṃmitām tulyam, āsyam ca prayatnuś ca āsyaprayatnam, tulyāsyam ca tulyaprayatnam ca savarnasamjñam bhavati /*

² *āsyē bhavum āsyam tālvādisthānum / prayatanam prayatnah spr̥ṣṭatādir varnaguṇah /*

"Each pair of these (vowels) is mutually homogeneous".

On this, DT comments:

"A homophone is a similar phoneme. By the force of this very statement, it (the term homogeneous) is befitting to the short and long varieties (of vowels) which are of different nature".¹

C.

Thus, with regard to the concept of homogeneity of letters, the Pali grammarians share the view of Śarva and not of P or C.

3. *sara*

A.

In Pali, the term *sara* denotes 'sound, voice, intonation, and accent'. In A IV.307 and Mil 340, it occurs in the sense of a vowel, in combination with the term *vāṇya*.

All the Pali grammarians have retained the older term *sara* for a vowel. Unlike their Sanskrit counterparts, they derive the term from the root *sara* (to move, to go). Mmd explains *sara* as:

"Vowels are called *saras* as they move, go, proceed. Or they are called *saras* as they instigate the consonants to move".²

Agg clarifies it further by saying

"Vowels are called *saras* as they move, i.e., they become audible. Or they are called *saras* also

¹ *sumāno varṇah svaraṇah, sa punar usmād eva vacanād bhinnajātyor upi hrasvadīrghayor upapadyate* / (DT 1.1.4)

² *saranti, gacchanti, pavattantī ti surā / byañjanāni surāpentī ti vā surā /* (Mmd 3)

because they instigate the consonants conjoined to them to move i.e., make them audible".¹

Here it should be noted that the term *vyañjana*, which denotes a consonant, is derived from the root *vi + añcu* (to express or to go). Now if the meaning 'to go' is accepted, there would not remain any difference between *sara* and *vyañjana*. Keeping this in mind Mmd remarks:

"Though the consonants also share the qualities of the vowels, they are not called *suras* for their existence depends on the vowels. Only those (sounds) having an independent existence are called *suras*".²

Agg records an explanation popular in the Sanskrit grammatical tradition, which he, however, ascribes to the Nairukta tradition:

"Etymologists, however, say that the vowels are called *suras* as they shine independently".³

The Pali grammarians' definitions of *sara* follow the pattern of Šarva. Cp.:

tutthodantā surā attha

"There (in the list of the alphabets), the eight phonemes are upto the phoneme 'o' are called *suras* (vowels)." (Kacc 3)

tattha atthādo surā / (Sadd 3)

"There (in the list of the alphabets), the initial eight phonemes are designated as vowels."

dasādo surā / (MV 1.2)

¹ *suranti suyyamānatām gucchantī ti surā, attasumṣaṭṭhāni vā vyañjanāni sārenti suyyamānatām gamentī ti pi surā / (Sadd 3)*

² *sati pi byañjanānum surabhāve surappaṭibuddhavuttitāya te surā ti ayatvā, ye appaṭibuddhavuttino te yeva surā ti gahitā ti / (Mmd 3)*

³ *neruttikā pana vadanti suyam rājantī ti surā ti / (Sadd 3)*

"The initial ten¹ phonemes are designated as vowels."

tatra caturduśādau svarāḥ / (Kt 1.1.2)

"There (in the list of the alphabets), the initial forteen are designated as vowels."

Note that the rules of the Kt and the Sadd are identical in expression.

B.

Svara (a vowel) is also a well-established grammatical term. It seems to be derived from the root *svṛ* 'to sound'. In RV, it is used in the sense of 'a sound'. According to K. C. Chatterji (1964: 219), in the sense of a vowel, it first occurred in the AĀ. Grammarians from Ptj onwards, generally explain *svara* as that which shines independently.² Under RP 1.3, Uvāṭa explains:

"Vowels are so called because they sound".³

DT explains *svara* thus:

"Vowels are called *svaras* as they shine independently, i.e., they are capable of expressing the meaning even when they are unaccompanied (by the consonants)".⁴

The word *svara* occurs four times in the Aṣṭ, out of which, on three instances, it is used in the sense of 'an accent' whereas according to the commentators, at P 7.2.18, it is used in the sense of 'a sound'. Thus, P has not used the term *svara* in the sense of a

¹ Cf. infra, p. 77.

² *svayam rājante svarāḥ /* (Mbh I.206)

³ *svaryante śubdyantu iti svarāḥ /* (Uvāṭa on RP 1.3: *ete svarāḥ /*)

⁴ *svayam rājanta iti svarāḥ, ekākino'py arthapratipādanasumarthāḥ /* (DT 1.1.2)

vowel as he uses the *pratyāhāra ac* for the same. Cf. *ūkālo'jjhrasvadīrghaplutah* (P 1.2.27) and *iko yan uci* (P 6.1.77). C follows P in this respect. Śarva, however, has retained the older term *svara* and has defined it at Kt 1.1.2. Cf. above.

C.

The Pali grammarians have adopted the older Skt. term *svara* to denote a vowel. Their derivation of the word *sara* is inspired by the Pali form. By not using the *pratyāhāra ac* like P and C, and by retaining the well-established term *sara*, the Pali grammarians have shown their proneness to Śarva.

4. *byañjana / vyañjana*

A.

Byañjana (Skt. *vyañjana*) (a consonant) is another older grammatical term. It is derived from the root *vi + añj* (to manifest) and means ‘that which is manifested’. In Pali, the term *vyañjana* denotes: 1. an attribute, a sign, a mark, 2. condiment, curry, and 3. a letter in general¹ in combination with *attha*, ‘spirit, meaning’. Buddhaghosa at Sp 1399 uses the term *vyañjana* in the sense of ‘a letter’ including both vowels and consonants.²

¹ Though this is the generally accepted meaning of the term, in phrases like *sāttham̄ subyañjunum* or *uttaho byañjanuto cu*, it is also possible to understand the term *vyañjana* in the sense of a suggestion or implication. Here, it should be noted that in Indian poetics, *vyañjanā* (suggestion) is accepted as one of the three powers of a word, the first two being *abhidhā* and *lakṣaṇā*. Accepting this meaning of the term *vyañjana*, the above-mentioned phrases can be rendered thus: ‘having the direct and the suggested meaning’ and ‘according to the direct and the suggested meaning’.

² *sithilam̄ dhanitañ ca dīgharassam̄ gurukam̄ lahukam̄ ca niggahitum / sambuddham̄ vavathitum vimuttam dasadhā vyañjanabuddhiyā pabhedo //*

Following the Sanskrit tradition, the Pali grammarians have restricted the use of the term *vyañjana* to consonants. Mmd explains *vyañjana* as:

"The consonants are so called as the meaning is expressed by them".¹

Agg has mentioned three views on the derivation of the term *vyañjana*. His first view is very much on the lines of Uvaṭa and Mmd. He says:

"The consonants are called *vyañjanas* as they express i.e., manifest the meaning".²

This is just an amplification of Mmd's definition. The second view, which is ascribed to the *Saddhammaneruttikas*, is peculiar in itself. According to this view, consonants are so called as they give birth to vowels.³ The third explanation: "the consonants (*vyañjanas*) are so called as they follow the vowels"⁴ reflects the explanation provided by Ptj and Kaiyatā. Cf. below. Agg, however, ascribes this view to *Vedavidū* i.e. scholars of Vedic scriptures.

K defines *vyañjana* as: *sesā byañjanā* / (Kacc 6)

"The remaining (phonemes) i.e. other than vowels, are designated as consonants".

This has a striking similarity with TP's definition: *śeso vyañjanāni*

"The rest is designated as consonants." (TP 1.1.6)

Agg amplifies K's definition by adding an adjective *adḍhamattā* (having half a morae): *sesā adḍhamattā vyañjanā*

¹ *byañjīyati attho etehī ti vā byañjanā* / (Mmd 6)

² *attham vyañjayanti pākaṭam karonti ti vyañjanā* / (Sadd 6)

³ *suddhammaneruttikā pana ‘saram junentī ti vyañjanānī’ ti vadanti* (Sadd 6)

⁴ *sare unugacchantī ti vyañjanāni* / (Sadd 6)

"The remaining (phonemes) of half a morae are designated as consonants." (Sadd 6)

Addhamattā is explained as:

"Half a time compared to that of a short vowel".¹

Thus, the time required for pronouncing a consonant is half of that required for a short vowel. This explanation has its roots in the Sanskrit *Śikṣā* literature:

"A short vowel is of single morae, a long vowel is said to be of two mora, whereas a prolated vowel is to be understood as having three mora. The consonants are, however, of half a morae".²

Mogg follows Śarva and defines a consonant as: *kādayo vyañjanā*

"The phonemes beginning with *k* are designated as consonants." (MV 6)

B.

With respect to the Sanskrit tradition, the term *vyañjana* in the sense of 'a consonant' probably occurred for the first time in the Go. Brā.³ Ptj explains *vyañjana* in contrast to *svara*:

"*Svara* has indeed a significant derivation: *svaras* are so called because they shine on their own, a *vyañjana* is so called because it follows (= dependent on) (a vowel)".⁴

¹ *russusurato addhamattā* / (Sadd 6)

² *ekumātro bhaved hrsvah dvimātro dīrgha ucyate / trimātrus tu pluto jñeyah vyañjanam t' ardhumātrakam //*

³ *udāttodāttadvipada a u ity ardhacatusro mātrā makāre vyañjanam ity āhuḥ* / (Go. Brā. 1.1.25)

⁴ *unvarthaṁ khaly api nirvacanam svayam rājante svarā anyug bhavati vyañjanam iti* / (Mbh I.206)

Kaiyatā, commenting on *unvag bhavati vyāñjanam*, says:

"‘*Anvag bhavati*’ means (it) follows. This derivation is mentioned due to the practice of the elite. However, there is not a least phonemic similarity. Or, the root *vyañj* also means ‘going’. Thus, *vyāñjana* is that which goes in many ways on account of its being prone to influence. This is the meaning which the Bhāṣyakāra has stated in a different way".¹

Commenting on the rule *añco'napādāne* (P 8.2.48), Ptj explains *vyāñjana* in the sense of ‘sauce’ thus:

"*Vyāñjana* is derived from the root *añj* (to manifest), thus *vyāñjana* means ‘manifesting’. The bringing back of the senses rendered torpid by oily substances and sweetness to their own natural state is known as *rāgu*, or, in other words, ‘sauce’. And there is also the significant derivation: that by which (*rusu*) is manifested is *vyāñjana*".²

Cp. *annena vyāñjanum* (P 2.1.34). Uvaṭa under RP 1.6, however, rightly derives the term *vyāñjana* from *vi + añj*, ‘to manifest’:

"Consonants are called *vyāñjanas* as they express or manifest the meaning".³

According to DT,

¹ *unvag bhavatī / unugacchutī arthah / śiśusamācārāc cedūṇ nirvacanum abhīhitam, na tv atra varṇasādrśyam kiñcid asti / utha vā gutir api vyañjer arthah / vividhaṇ gucchaty uparāgavaśād iti vyāñjanum ity ayam urthah, puryāñtareṇa bhāṣyakāreṇābhīhitah /*

² *tathā'ñjer vyāñjanum / vyāñjanam ca prakāśunum / yat tat snehena madhureṇa ca juḍikṛtānām indriyāñām svasmin ātmani vyavasthāpanām sa rāgas tad vyāñjanum / anvarthaṇ khalv api nirvacanum - ‘vyajyate’neneti vyāñjanum’ iti / (Mbh III.408-409)*

³ *vyāñjayanti prakaṭān kurvanti urthān iti vyāñjanāni / (Uvaṭa on RP 1.6: survah śeṣo vyāñjanāny eva /)*

"The consonants are called *vyañjanas* as (the meaning) is brought out by them. As the curry etc. do in the case of rice, so these consonants do in the case of vowels".¹

P does not define the term *vyañjana*, but uses the *pratyāhāra hal* to denote consonants. Here too C follows P.

Śarva, who uses the term *vyañjana*, defines it as: *kādīni vyañjanāni* / (Kt 1.1.9)

"The phonemes beginning with *k* are designated as consonants."

This goes close to the VP's definition: *vyañjanam kādi* / (VP 1.47)

"The term *vyañjana* denotes the phonemes beginning with *k*".

C.

Śarva and following him, all the three Pali grammarians have retained the term *vyañjana*. P and C mention consonants by using the *pratyāhāra hal*.

5. *rassa, dīgha*

A.

In the canonical and the non-canonical literature, *rassa* (Skt. *hrusvā*) is used in the sense of 'short'.² At Ja III.489, we come across the expression *russādesa*, which denotes 'reduction of a vowel'. At Mil 344, it occurs in the sense of 'a short vowel'. According to the Mmd, the word *rassa* denotes 'short time' and the

¹ *vyajyata ebhir iti vyañjanāni, yathā sūpādīny odunasya, tathemāny api vyañjanāni svarasyeti* / (Kt 1.1.9)

² D I.193, 223; Sn 633; Dhp 409; Ja I.356; Dhs 617; Vism 272 (def.); Dhp-a IV.184; Ja I.356

vowel, which requires short time for its pronunciation is called *russa* because of a maxim ‘Things having a particular duration are referred to by that (name)’.¹ Also cp. Sadd 4:

"Short vowels are called *russa* as they are to be uttered in a short duration".²

In Mmd, *russa* (a short vowel) is also explained as a secondary derivative from *russa* (short time):

"A short (vowel) means (a phoneme) having a short duration".³

K defines *russa* as: *lahumattā tayo russā* / (Kacc 4)

"The three letters of a short duration are designated as short".

Mmd explains *lahumattā* as:

"‘Of a short duration’ means ‘having a short duration’. A short duration is a short time. Or ‘of a short duration’ means ‘(phonemes) that are having a short duration’".⁴

Here, the word *lahumattā* appears to signify a sound, which is metrically short. In this connection, it would be interesting to note that in the Śrautasūtras, *hrasva* is used in the sense of *laghu* i.e. prosodically or metrically short. Mmd does not comment on the word *luhu* but simply explains *russa* and *dīgha* as:

"Short vowels are phonemes of one morae. Long vowels are the phonemes of two mora".⁵

¹ *tukkālikā panu tubbohārena vuttā* / (Mmd 4)

² *russenu kālena vattabbattā russā* / (Sadd 4)

³ *rassakālam etesam atthī ti vā russā* / (Mmd 4)

⁴ *lahukam mattam yesan te ti lahumattā* / *lahukam mattam lahumattam* / *lahumattam etesam atthī ti vā lahumattā* /

⁵ *ekumattā russā* / *dvimattā dīghā* / (Mmd 4)

The time signified by *matta* is equivalent to the time required for blinking of eyes:

"And here the word *matta* expresses the time marked by blinking of eyes. Thus it should be seen".¹ (Mmd 4)

Agg has used this information in his explanation of the word *mattā*.² He defines *rassa* as:

ekumattā ādi-tatiya-pañcamā rassā / (Sadd 4)

"The first, the third and the fifth phonemes of single morae are designated as *rassa*".

Mogg has followed Śarva while formulating the rule defining *rassa*: *pubbo russo /* (MV 1.4)

"An earlier (phoneme of each pair) is designated as short".

The shadow of DV 1.1.5 on the MVu is quite visible. Cp.:

*dvayor dvayoh savarṇasamjñayor yo yaḥ pūrvo
varṇah sa sa hrasvasamjñō bhavati /* (DV 1.1.5)

tesu dvīsu yo yo pubbo so so russasañño hoti /
(MVu 1.5)

In literature, *dīgha* as an adjective denotes 'long'.³ At Mil 344, it denotes a long vowel.

K's rule defining *dīgha* reads: *aññe dīghā /* (Kacc 5)

¹ *mattusutto cettha ... akkhinimmilanusunikhātum vā kālum vadati ti
duṭṭhabbo /*

² *mattusutto cettha nimmisanummisanusunikhātum parittakālum vadati /*
(Sadd 4)

³ Vism 272 (def); D I.17; M 1.429.

"Others are long".

This has a striking similarity with RP's definition: *anye dīrghāḥ* (RP 1.18). It is hard to say whether K knew Prātiśākhyas or it is just a coincidence that his definitions of *vyañjana* and *dīgha* fully match with the definitions found in TP and RP.

Vajirabuddhi, while commenting on this rule, says:

"By not saying that a long vowel is of two mora, K has said 'the rest are long vowels' to include long vowels of two and a half mora".¹

He, however, does not mention the sound having two and a half mora.

Agg has amended K's rule by including the adjective *dvimattā* (of two mora), which is said to be the duration of a long vowel.² He says that long vowels are so called because of the long time required for their utterance.³ Cp. Mmd:

"‘Long’ means ‘a long duration’. Here too, a phoneme having that particular duration is called long (*dīgha*) by virtue of that very usage. Or long vowels are so called because they have that duration".⁴

Agg's explanation of *russa* and *dīgha* is inspired by the discussion found at Sp.⁵

¹ *dvimattā dīghā ti avatvā ‘uññe dīghā’ti vacanam̄ tiyadḍhamattikānam̄ pi saṅguhaṇattham̄ daṭṭhabbam̄* / (Mmd 5)

² *uññe dvimattā dīghā* / (Sadd 5)

³ *dīghena kālena vattabbattā dīghā* / (Sadd 5)

⁴ *dīgham̄ kālum̄ dīgham̄ / ihā pi takkālikā tabbohārena dīghā ti vuttā / tum etesam utthī ti vā dīghā* / (Mmd 5)

⁵ *dīgham̄ ti dīghena kālena vattabbo ākārādi, russam̄ ti tato upaddhukālena vattabbo akārādi ti* "A long vowel" means ā etc. which is pronounced in a

Mogg's definition *puro dīgho* "The latter (phoneme of each pair) is designated as 'long'" (MV 1.5) agrees verbatim with Kt 1.1.6: *puro dīrghah*. Here too, the influence of the DV on the MVu is quite evident. Cp.

*dvayor dvayoh savarṇasamjñayor yo yaḥ puro
varṇah sa sa dīrghasamjñō bhavati /* (DV 1.1.6)

tesv eva dvīsu yo yo puro so so dīghasañño hoti /
(MVu 1.5)

B.

Hrasva is derived from *hrus*,¹ 'to become or to be short or small'. As a technical term it probably occurred for the first time in the Go. Brā.² *Dīrgha* is an older term than *hrasva* denoting 'long in space and in time'. It is derived from the root *drāghr* meaning 'to be long'. Cp.

"*Dīrgha* (long) is derived from *drāgh* (to lengthen)".³

In the sense of 'a long vowel' it is in use since the time of the Go. Brā.⁴

P defines *hrasva*, *dīrgha* and *pluta*⁵ on the basis of the time required for pronouncing them: *ukālo'jjhrasvadīrghaplutuh /*

long duration. 'A short vowel' means *a* etc. which is pronounced in half a time". (Sp 1399ff)

¹ *hrasvo hrusatē* "Hrasva (small) is derived from (the root) *hrus* (to become small)". (Nir.3.13)

² *hrusvodāttu ekāksara omkāro'thurvavede /* (Go. Brā.1.1.25)

³ *dīrgham drāghateḥ* / (Nir 2.16)

⁴ *dīrghaplutodāttu ekāksara omkāraḥ sāmavede /* (Go. Brā. 1.1.25)

⁵ *Pluta* has no place in the Pali phonology.

"(The technical terms) *hrasva* (short), *dīrgha* (long) and *pluta* (prolated) denote (respectively) vowels having the duration of *u*, *ū* and *u3*". (P 1.2.27)

Kāśikā explains it thus:

"A vowel whose time of utterance is similar to that of (the vowels) (*u*, *ū* or *u3*) is called *hrasva*, *dīrgha* and *pluta* respectively".¹

C defines *hrasva*, *dīrgha* and *pluta* in his *Varnasūtras* as:

*ekamātriko hrasvah, dvimātriko dīrghah, trimātrikah
plutah /*

"A short vowel is of one morae, a long vowel is of two mora, and a prolated vowel is of three mora".
(CVS 41-43)

Śarva does not define the terms on the basis of the time. He rather mentions their position in the *varṇasamāmnāya*: *pūrvo hrasvah* / (Kt 1.1.5)

"An earlier (phoneme in each pair of vowels) is designated as a short (vowel)".

paro dīrghah / (Kt 1.1.6)

"A latter (phoneme in each pair of vowels) is designated as a long (vowel)".

C.

Just as P and C, K and Agg define *dīrgha* and *russa* on the basis of the time required for pronouncing them whereas following Śarva, Mogg defines them by referring to their position in the list of the alphabets.

¹ *u ū ū3 ity evamkalo aj yathākramam hrasvadīrghaplutah ityevamsumjño bhavati /*

6. *vagga*

A.

Vagga (Skt. *varga*) literally means ‘a group’ or ‘a series’. The term is also used to denote a section or a chapter of a canonical book, e.g., Cullavagga, Mahāvagga, Atthakavagga, etc. Agg derives the term from the active verb *vaggati* to which the meaning ‘to exist’ or ‘to be’ is ascribed:

"The consonantal classes are called *vaggas* as they occur by way of five classes of five (phonemes) each".¹

In another explanation, Agg derives the term from the passive form *vaggiyanti* of the same root meaning ‘to go’ and ultimately ‘to know’:

"Or, the consonantal classes are called *vaggas* as they are known to exist by way of five classes of five (phonemes) each".²

The last explanation accepts *vagga* as a noun in the sense of a group:

"Moreover, the word *vagga* denotes a group. Thus, the consonantal classes are designated as *vaggas* in the sense of a group".³

K defines *vagga* as: *vaggā pañcupañcaso mantā* / (Kacc 7)

"The term *vagga* denotes classes of five consonants each upto the phoneme *m*".

¹ *vagganti pañcupañcavibhāgena pavattantī ti vaggā* / (Sadd 7)

² *vaggiyanti vā pañcupañcavibhāgena ime thitā ti gumiyanti nāyantī ti vaggā* / (Sadd 7)

³ *api ca samūhattho vaggusuddo, evam samūhatthenā pi vaggā* / (Sadd 7)

Thus, K has improved upon Śarva by adding *mantā*, which sets the upper limit for the class consonants and removes the ambiguity apparent in *te vargāḥ pañca pañca pañca* / (Kt 1.1.10)

"Those classes of five consonants each are designated as *vargas*".

According to the Mmd 7, the suffix *so* added to *pañca* in this case is either possessive or denotes division.

Agg defines *vagga* as: *kādi mantā vaggā* / (Sadd 7)

"The term *vagga* denotes classes of consonants starting from the phoneme *k* upto the phoneme *m*".

This definition is ambiguous without the words *pañca pañca*. It is the commentary, which tells us that there are five *vaggas* having five consonants each.

Mogg's definition: *pañca pañcakā vaggā*¹ is similar to the definitions of Śarva and K.

B.

About the meaning of the word *varga*, Durga comments:

"The term *varga* denotes 'a group' based on similarity".²

In grammar, it signifies a class or a series of consonants. In this sense, it occurs in the Śrauta Sūtras³ and Prātiśākhya.⁴ In

¹ "The term *vaggu* denotes the five consonantal classes having five phonemes each". (MV 1.7)

² *varguśabduḥ sumudāyuvācī sajātyapekṣayā* / (DT 1.1.10)

³ *sparśeṣu svavurgyam uttamum* / (ĀŚS 1.2.16)

⁴ *varge varge ca prathamāv ughoṣau* / (RP 1.12)

Prātiśākhyas, the consonant classes are designated after the first mute of that class such as *kavarga*, *cavarga* etc.¹

P uses the letter *u* to indicate a *varga*. In his system, when *u* is added to the first mute of a class, it stands for both itself and its homogeneous letters. He has explicitly mentioned this in the rule: *anudit savarṇasya cāprutyayaḥ* / (P 1.1.69)

"A phoneme denoted by the abbreviation *uṇ* or one having the marker *u* as it denotes (not only itself but also) all phonemes homogeneous with it unless it is an affix".

He, however, has not used the term *varga*.

C has followed the practice of P but has also used the term *varga*: *utā savargah* / (CV 1.1.2)

Śarva has retained the older term *varga*. It is defined as: *te vargāḥ pañca pañca pañca* / (Kt 1.1.10)

"Those classes of five consonants each are designated as *vargas*".

The obvious source of this definition appears to be the Prātiśākhyas. Cp. *pañca te pañca vargāḥ*² (RP 1.8) and *sparsānām ānupūrvyeṇa pañca pañca vargāḥ*³ (TP 1.10).

C.

Thus, with regard to the concept of *vagga*, the Pali grammarians are more indebted to Śarva than either to P or C.

¹ *prathumagrahane vṛgum* / (VP 1.64)

² "These five are the five consonantal classes".

³ "The five classes of consonants in sequence are named the consonantal classes (*vargas*)".

7. *garu, lahu*

A.

Garu (Skt. *guru*) is another older term. The general meaning of the term is ‘heavy’ as opposed to *luhu* meaning ‘light’. Besides this, in Pali it is also used in the sense of ‘a teacher’, ‘important’, and ‘esteemed’ (A III.110; S I.24; Sn 326). At Mil 344 and Sv I.177, the terms *garuka* and *lahuka* occur in the sense of ‘metrically long and short vowels’. At Sp 1399, Buddhaghosa uses the terms *garukam* and *lahukam* in the sense of ‘a phoneme metrically long and short’. He explains these terms as follows:

"*Gurukum* denotes nothing but a long vowel. Or, that when uttered before a consonant cluster in cases like *āyasmato buddharakkhitatherassa yassa nakkhamatī*. *Lahukam* denotes nothing but a short vowel or that when uttered not before a consonant cluster in cases like *āyasmato buddharakkhitatherassa yassa na khamati*".¹

The Pali grammarians from K onwards have favoured the use of the shorter terms *luhu* and *garu* instead of *lahuka* and *garuka* found in Sp. K only defines the term *garu*: *dumhi garu /*

"The technical term *garu* denotes a vowel followed by a double consonant (a cluster of two consonants)". (Kacc 604)

dīgho ca /

¹ *garukam ti dīgham eva / yaṁ vā āyasmato buddharakkhitatherassa yassa nakkhamatī ti evam saṁyogaparūpaṁ katvā ruccati / lahukam ti rassum eva / yaṁ vā āyasmato buddharakkhitatherassa yassa na khamatī ti evam saṁyogaparūpaṁ katvā ruccati /*

"The technical term *guru* also denotes a long vowel". (Kacc 605)

This appears to be a recast of Buddhaghosa's definition. However, the influence of P's rules: *sumyoge guru* and *dīrgham ca* (P 1.4.11-12) cannot be ruled out.

Agg has defined *guru* and *lahu* in five rules (Sadd 9 - 13). *Guru* denotes a long vowel: *dīgho guru* (Sadd 9). It also denotes a short vowel before a consonant cluster: *sumyogaparo ca* (Sadd 10). *Guru* also denotes a short vowel that precedes neither a vowel nor a consonant: *usaravyañjanato pubbarusso ca* (Sadd 11). In simple terms, it means that the technical term *guru* denotes a short vowel that either precedes a *niggahīta* or occurs as a word-final, e.g., *sukham, isi; buddham suranām gacchāmi* (Sadd 11).

Lahu is defined in the following two rules. *Rasso lahu* (Sadd 12) says that the technical term *lahu* denotes a short vowel. *Asamyogaparo ca* (Sadd 13) adds:

"The technical term *lahu* also applies to a short vowel not before a consonant cluster".

Mogg has not defined the terms *guru* and *lahu*. He has used *lahu* in MV 5.83: *lahussupantassa* and *guru* instead of *guru* in MV 6.74: *gurupubbā russā re ntentīnam*. MV 5.83 is a recast of CV 1.1.52: *laghor upāntyasya*.

B.

The earliest occurrence of the term *guru* meaning 'heavy' can be traced back to RV 1.39.3 whereas the term *laghu* meaning 'light' occurs at AV 9.3.24. However, as the technical terms of grammar, they probably occurred for the first time at RP 1.20-21. As a technical term, *guru* denotes 'a vowel long by nature or by position'. A vowel, which is long both by nature and by position, is known as *garīyah*. *Laghu* denotes 'a vowel which is metrically

'short'. A short vowel, which stands alone without any consonant, is known as *laghīyah*. RP defines *guru* and *laghu* as follows:

gurūṇi dīrghāṇi / tathetaresāṁ sumyogānusvāra-
parāṇi yāni / laghu hrasvam na cet sumyoga
uttarāḥ / (RP 1.20-21, 18.19)

This definition ascribes the technical term *guru* to long vowels as well as to those before a consonant cluster and an *anusvāra*. The technical term *laghu* applies to short vowels but not before a consonant cluster. According to the TP,

"That which either ends in a consonant or even that which is long or that which either precedes a consonant cluster or a nasal, all these are to be known as metrically long (*guru*). The rest and others are metrically short in its comparison. That which does not end in a consonant, or is short, or that which is not followed by a consonant cluster or which is not conjoined with a nasal, is known as metrically short (*laghu*)".¹

The definition found in the CA is:

hrasvam laghv usamyoge / gurv anyat / anunāsikum
ca / padāntē ca /² (CA 1.51-54).

P has used as well as defined *guru* and *laghu*. He has defined *guru* in two rules of the Ast. P 1.4.11 says: *sumyoge guru /*

"The technical term *guru* denotes a short vowel before a consonant cluster".

¹ *yad vyañjanāntaṁ yadu cāpi dīrghaṇi sumyogapūrvam ca tuthā'nunāsikam /*
etāni survāṇi gurūṇi vidyāc cheṣāṇy ato'nyāni tato laghūni //
avyañjanāntaṁ yad hrasvum usamyogaparūṇ ca yut /
anunāsikum yut tal laghu nibodhatu // (TP 22.14-15)

² "A short vowel not followed by a consonant cluster is *laghu*. Other than this is *guru* and a nasal and also that which comes at the end of a *pada* (is *guru*)".

Cp. Kāśikā:

"A short phoneme (vowel) followed by a consonant cluster is metrically long".¹

P in his next rule *dīrgham ca* (P 1.4.12) adds:

"The same technical term also applies to a long vowel".

Cp. Kāśikā:

"Even a long vowel is designated as metrically long".²

P has used the term in the rules *guroś ca halah* (P 3.3.103), and *ijādeś ca gurumato'nrccchah* (P 3.1.36).

Laghu is defined in P 1.4.10 as: *hrasvam laghu*. According to this rule, "the technical term *laghu* denotes a short vowel".

Cp. Kāśikā:

"A short vowel is designated as metrically short".³

The term is used in P 7.3.86: *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca /*

Though C does not define these terms, he has used them in *laghor upāntyasya* (CV 6.2.4) and *ijāder gurumato'nrchūrnoḥ* / (CV 1.1.52)

Śarva uses *guru* and *laghu* at Kt 3.2.19: *nāmyāder gurumato'nrccchah* and Kt 3.2.5: *nāminas copadhāyā laghoh*. He does not define these terms considering them to be quite well known: *lokopacārād gruhaṇasiddhiḥ* (Kt 1.1.23). DV justifies the stand taken by Śarva not to define *guru* and *laghu*. According to Durga,

¹ *sumyoge purato hrusvam uksuram gurusumjñam bhavati /*

² *dīrgham cāksuram gurusumjñam bhavati /*

³ *hrasvam uksuram laghusumjñam bhavati /*

"One can comprehend *laghu* and *guru* nature of short and long vowels from their utterance. Similarly, the *guru* nature of short vowels before a consonant cluster can be inferred from the negation in the rule *nāmyāder gurumato'nrcchah* (Kt 3.2.19)".¹

Therefore, there is no need to define these terms.

C.

To sum up, *guru* / *guru* and *lahu* / *laghu* are used in the same sense in both the Pali and the Sanskrit grammars. Here it should be noted that in Pali, the older terms denoting metrically short and long phonemes were *guruka* and *lahuka*. The Pali grammarians have, however, favoured the use of the shorter terms *lahu* and *guru*. Mogg uses the younger form *guru* for *guru*. The inclusion of the terms *guru* and *lahu* found in the Kacc and the Sadd is irrelevant as these terms do not serve any practical purpose. Agg's explanation of these terms reflects the view of the Prātiśākhyas. Though Mogg could have dispensed these terms off, he has preferred to imitate the pattern of C's rules.

8. *ghosa, aghosa*

A.

The literal meaning of *ghosa* (Skt. *ghoṣa*) is 'sound': *ghoṣanam ghoṣo dhvanir ucyate* says Durga (DT 1.1.11). The same meaning is also attested in Pali. Cp. PED 258:

Ghosa [Vedic *ghoṣa* ...] 1. shout, sound, utterance (Vin II.155; M I.294; A I.87) ... 2. shouting, howling, wailing (of *Petas*) (Pv III.3; IV.3⁶, 3³⁸).

¹ *hrusvo laghur dīrgho gurur ity uccāraṇavaśād gamyate, tathā saṃyoge sati hruṣvo'pi guruḥ, gurumato'nrcchah* (3.2.19) *iti varjanāc ca /* (DV 1.1.6)

The term *aghosa*, however, is not attested in the Canon. Later, following the Sanskrit grammar, the Pali grammarians have used the terms *ghosa* and *aghosa* to denote the sonants and surds respectively.

In Kacc 9, K has given acceptance to many technical terms prevalent in the Sanskrit grammar. Vutti on Kacc 9 says:

"Whenever there is an occasion, the technical terms such as *ghosa* and *aghosa*, which are found in the Sanskrit (grammatical) texts, are also used in this grammar".¹

K uses *ghosa* and *aghosa* in Kacc 29: *vagge ghosāghosānam tatiyapathumā*, without defining them. Mmd and Kacc-Vṇ are also silent in this regard.

Agg defines *aghosa* and *ghosa*² in Sadd 17 and 18: *pathamadutiyāni so ca aghosā; tatiyacatutthupañcamā yaralavahalā ghosavanto*. According to these rules,

"The technical term *aghosa* applies to the first and the second letter of each class along with the sibilant *s*".

"The technical term *ghosavantu* applies to the third, the forth and the fifth consonant of each class along with the semi-vowels *y, r, l, v* and *h, l*".

At Sadd 18, Agg points out that according to the grammarians (*Suddasatthavidū*), *anusvāra* is voiced whereas according to *Sāsunikas*, it is neither voiced nor unvoiced.³

¹ *yā ca pana sakkuṭagunthesu samanñā ghosā ti vā aghosā ti vā, tā payoge sati etthā pi yujjante /* (Kacc-Vu 9)

² In the rule Agg uses *ghosavat* for *ghosa*.

³ *suddasatthaviduno niggahītusamkhātassa anusvārussā pi ghosavantattam icchanti, sāsunikā pana tassa ghosāghosavinimuttattam yeva icchanti /*

Mogg neither defines nor uses these terms in his grammar. He refers to them by simply mentioning their position in a consonant class, e.g., *catutthadutīyesvesum tatiyapuṭhamā* (MV 1.35), *catutthadutīyānūm tatiyapuṭhamā* (MV 5.78).

B.

As per the Sanskrit tradition, in the AĀ, where the term *ghoṣa* occurs for the first time in its technical sense, it denotes a phoneme.¹ In the same text, it is also used in the sense of ‘a vowel’.²

In the Prātiśākhyas, the meaning of *ghoṣa* was changed from ‘vowels’ to ‘voiced consonants’. According to the Prātiśākhyas, the after-effort of *ghoṣavat* (voiced) sounds is *nādu* (sonority) and that of *śvāsa* (unvoiced) is ‘breath’³. Thus, the technical term *ghoṣa* or *ghoṣavat* applies to sounds having sonority. *Aghoṣa* is a name given to surds which are pronounced with the help of simple, unintonated breath.

P neither uses nor defines these terms. In his Aṣṭ, *ghoṣa* sounds are represented by the *pratyāhāra huś* (P 6.1.114) and *aghōṣa* sounds by *khar* (P 8.4.55). Kātyāyana has, however, used *ghoṣa* and *aghōṣa* in his *vārttikas*. The seventh *vārttika* on P 1.4.109:

In view of C, *anusvāra* is voiced: *tr̥tīyacaturihupuñcumāḥ sānu-*
svārāntuhsthahukārāḥ supvṛtukāñṭhāḥ nādānupradānā ghoṣavantāḥ /
 (CVS 32)

- 1 *tā vā etāḥ survā ṛcuh surve vedāḥ surve ghoṣāḥ ekuiva vyāhṛtiḥ prāṇa eva, prāṇa ṛcu ity eva vidyāt* / (AĀ 2.2.2)
- 2 *tud vā idam bṛhatīsahusraṇ sampannum, tasya yāni vyañjanāni tac charīram, yo ghoṣāḥ sa ātmā, ya uṣmāṇāḥ su prāṇāḥ* / (AĀ 2.2.4)
- 3 *śvāso'għoṣāñām* / *Itareśām tu nādāḥ* (RP xiii.4-5), *nādo'nupradānām svurughoṣavatsu; aghoṣeṣu śvāṣāḥ* (TP 2.8-10), *śvāso'għoṣeṣv anupradānāḥ nādo ghoṣavat svareṣu* / (CA 1.12-13)

paruh sannikarsah samhitā is: *hrādāvirāme sparsāghoṣa-*
samyoge'sannidhānād usamhitam. Ptj discusses *ghoṣa* and *aghōṣa*
at Mbh I.61:

"The first two consonants in every consonant class
are *aghōṣa*. They are uttered with an open glottis
with breath as their after-effort. ... The third and the
fourth in every consonant class are *ghoṣavat*. They
are uttered with a closed glottis with sonority as
their after-effort".¹

However, from Ptj's discussion and the *vārttika* 7 on P 1.4.109, it
appears that a vowel is also included in *ghoṣavat*.

C in his grammar follows P by using the *pratyāhāras haś* (CV
5.1.119) and *khar* (CV 6.4.148). He, however, has discussed *ghoṣa*
and *aghōṣa* in the Varnasūtras 32 and 29 respectively:

trīyacaturthapañcamāḥ sānusvārāntahstahakārāḥ
saṃvṛtakuṇṭhāḥ nādānupradānā ghoṣavantah /
vargāṇāṁ prathamadvitīyāḥ śasasā visarjanīya-
jihvāmūlīyopadhmānīyāś ca vivṛtakuṇṭhāḥ śvāsānu-
prudānā ughoṣāḥ /

Kt follows TP in its definition of *ghoṣa* and *aghōṣa* letters:

vargāṇāṁ prathamadvitīyāḥ śasasā cāghoṣāḥ /

"The term *aghōṣa* denotes the first and the second
consonants of each class and the phonemes *s*, *ś*, and
s'. (Kt 1.1.11)

ghoṣavunto'nye /

"The rest are called *ghoṣavat*". (Kt 1.1.12)

These rules simply enumerate *aghōṣa* and *ghoṣa* sounds without
describing their phonetic nature. Durga explains these terms in his
Tīkā on the same rules. He says:

¹ *vargāṇāṁ prathamadvitīyā vivṛtakuṇṭhāḥ śvāsānupradānā ughoṣāḥ / ...*
trīyacaturthāḥ saṃvṛtakuṇṭhā nādānupradānā ghoṣavantah /

"Surds are those which have little sonority. Here, the negative particle is employed in the sense of 'a little', as in the case of *anudurā kanyā* (a maid with a slender waist)".¹

Thus, according to Durga, a little amount of voicing is present even in the *aghosa* letters:

"Sonants are those which have greater degree of sonority. Here, the suffix *vantu* is employed in the sense of 'excess', as in the case of *udaravatī kanyā* (a maid with a big belly)".²

Note that Śarva has not included vowels into *ghosavat*. Cf. Kt 1.4.1: *vargaprat̄hamāḥ padāntāḥ svaraghoṣavatsu tr̄tiyān*.³

C.

The terms *ghosa* / *ghosavat* and *aghosa* are borrowed by the Pali grammarians from the Sanskrit grammar, most probably from the Kt. Though both the traditions generally agree on the nature of the sounds as sonants or surds, the Pali tradition differs from the Sanskrit one on the issue of the nature of *niggahīta* (*anusvāra*).

9. *sithila, dhanita*

A.

Sithila literally means 'loose', 'lacid' or 'relaxed' (S I.49, 77; Dh 346; Ja II.140). Another term *dhanita* literally meaning 'sounded', however, has no canonical status. At Mil 344, these

¹ *aghosā iti / na vidyate ghoṣo yesām te'għoṣāḥ / iśadurthe'tru nuñ, yathā anudurā kanyeti /* (DT 1.1.11)

² *ghoṣo vidyate yesām te għoṣavuntuḥ, vuntur ihātiśayane, yathā 'udaravatī kanyā' iti /*

³ "The initial consonants of each class occurring as a word-final change to the third (of the same class) before a vowel, or a sonant".

terms denote a particular phonetic quality. At Sp 1399, Buddhaghosa defines these terms as follows:

"*Sithila* means the first and the third consonants of the five consonant classes. *Dhanita* means the second and the forth consonants of those very classes".¹

Commenting on this, Buddhaghosa says:

"In this connection, ‘aspiration of the unaspirated stops’ means saying *sunāthu me* instead of *sunātu me* by uttering *th* in place of *th*. Similarly, saying *patthakullam, esā ñatthi* in the place of *pattakallam, esā ñatti*. ‘Deaspiration of the aspirated stops’ means saying *bante saingo* instead of *bhante saigho* by uttering *ba* and *ga* in place of *bhu* and *gha* respectively".²

Here it should be noted that basically these terms denote two distinct linguistic phenomena of aspiration and deaspiration. *Sithilakarana* is loosely pronouncing an aspirated stop whereas *dhanitakarana* is strongly pronouncing an unaspirated stop. These terms have no parallel in the Sanskrit grammatical tradition.

Agg alone has dealt with these terms without ever using them in any rule of his grammar. He defines these terms in Sadd 14-15:

*vaggesu pañhamatatiyam sithilam, dutiyacututtham
dhanitam /*

¹ *sithilam nāma pañcasu vaggesu pañhamatatiyam / Dhanitum nāma tesv eva dutiyacututtham /*

² *tuttha ‘sunātu me’ ti vattabbe takārussa thakāram katvā ‘sunāthu me’ ti vacanam sithilassa dhanitakarānam nāma / Tathā ‘pattakullam, esā ñatti’ ti vattabbe ‘patthakullam, esā ñatthi’ ti ādivacanam ca / ‘bhante saigho’ ti vattabbe bhakārughakārānum bakāragukāre katvā ‘bante saingo’ ti vacanum dhanitassa sithilakarānum nāma /*

"The term *sithila* denotes the first and the third consonant of each consonantal class. The term *sithila* denotes the second and the forth consonant (of each consonantal class)".

Further, in Sadd 16, he ascribes the terms *aphuṭṭha* and *phuṭṭha* respectively to these sounds: *sithilam aphaṭṭham, dhanitam phuṭṭham*

"The unaspirated class consonants (*sithila*) are designated as *aphuṭṭha* (loosely connected). The aspirated class consonants (*dhanita*) are designated as *phuṭṭha* (connected)".

Though Agg has not used the terms *sithila* and *dhanita* in his grammar, he has used the other two terms *aphuṭṭha* and *phuṭṭha* at Sadd 122-123.¹

From the viewpoint of the *Sāsanikas*, amongst twenty five class consonants, *sithila* consonants i.e. the first and the third consonant of each class are *aphuṭṭha* (i.e. having slight contact) because while pronouncing these sounds, tongue loosely touches the place of articulation. *Dhanita* consonants i.e. the second and the forth consonants of each class are *phuṭṭha* (i.e. having complete contact) because of the complete contact between the tongue and the place of articulation. Cf. Sadd 16. This shows that the Sanskrit grammarians to whom Agg refers to as *Suddasatthavidū* (scholars of the science of speech), differ from the *Sāsanikas* (scholars of the Buddhist scriptures) in the matter of vocabulary used to denote articulatory efforts (*prayatna*). In the Sanskrit grammatical tradition, the term *sprṣṭa* (complete contact) is an articulatory effort of all the consonants. *Īśatsprṣṭa* (slight contact) is an

¹ *phuṭṭhakkharusaññoge pubbam aphaṭṭhattam; aphaṭṭhakkharusaññoge param kraci phuṭṭhattam /*

articulatory effort of semi-vowels. Cf. Si.Kau. 10: *spr̄ṣṭam* *prayutanaṁ sparsāṇām*, *iṣatspr̄ṣṭam* *anthahsthānām* /

B.

Sithila and *dhanita* are unique Pali terms denoting a particular phonetic quality, which is a result of linguistic phenomena of aspiration and deaspiration. This terminology is unique to the Atṭhakathā literature. Though Agg has dealt with these terms, he has never used them in his grammar. In this sense, these terms are without purpose in the Pali grammar.

10. *sambaddha, vavatthita*

A.

Sambaddha literally meaning ‘bound together, connected’ (Saddh 81) and *vavatthita* literally meaning ‘separated, disconnected’ (Vin II.67 seq.) are peculiar Pali terms. In the technical sense, *sambaddha* and *vavatthita* signify connected and disconnected utterance of words in a sentence. As said before, these terms occur in a verse at Sp 1399, in connection with *kammavācā*. It should be noted that Buddhaghosa has used *sambandha* for *sambuddha*. Buddhaghosa defines *sambandha* and *vavatthita* as:

"A continuous utterance means talking by connecting a preceding word with the following word as in the case of *tunhīssa* or *tunhassa*. A disjoint utterance means talking by disconnecting i.e. separating a preceding word from the following word as in the case of *tunhi assa* or *tunha assa*".¹

This seems to be the obvious source of Sadd 19-20:

¹ *sumbandham ti yam parupadena sumbandhitvā 'tunhīssā' ti vā 'tunhassā' ti vā vuccati / vavatthitum ti yam parupadena usumbandham katvā vicchinditvā 'tunhi assā' ti vā 'tunha assā' ti vā vuccati / (Sp 1518)*

parapadena sambandhitvā vuttam sambuddham /

"A continuous utterance means talking by connecting a preceding word with the following word."

padacchedam katvā vuttam vavatthitam /

"A disjoint utterance means talking after separating one word from the other."

Though Agg has included this terminology peculiar to the *Atthakathās*, he has never actually used it in his grammar.

To show the difference between *sambuddha* and *vavatthita*, Agg has provided two canonical examples: 1. *anāthapiṇḍikassārāme* (*sambuddha*), *anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāme* (D I 178³) (*vavatthita*), 2. *Nārahāt' āyasmā ambaṭṭho* (D I 91 n. 8) (*sambuddha*), *na arahati āyasmā ambaṭṭho* (D I 91²⁷) (*vavatthita*). From these canonical examples, it appears that like the Sanskrit words *Samhitāpāṭha* and *Padapāṭha*, Agg wants to connect these terms specifically to the canonical texts.

B.

The Pali term *sambuddha* in its technical sense is similar to the Sanskrit word *saṃhitā* (putting together). The word *saṃhitā* in its technical sense of 'the closed connection of words' occurs in the Nir for the first time where it is defined as:

parah sannikarṣah saṃhitā / (Nir 1.17)

"The technical term *saṃhitā* (placing together) denotes the maximum contiguity of phonemes".

P reproduces this definition verbatim at P 1.4.109. In Prātiśākhyas, the term *Saṃhitāpāṭha* is used as opposed to the *Padapāṭha* in the context of a Vedic text. In this context, *Padapāṭha* is on even grounds with the Pali word *vavatthita*. The obvious result of *saṃhitā* is *sandhi* i.e. a euphonic combination of

syllables. In this sense, the term *sandhi* is used in both the Sanskrit and the Pali grammatical literature.

11. *niggahīta*

A.

Niggahīta, as a technical term of grammar, is a peculiar Pali term used for the *unusvāra* of the Sanskrit grammarians. Agg says:

"*Niggahīta* is a usage found in the scriptures whereas *unusvāra* is found in the science of grammar".¹

In the canonical context, however, the term denotes 'restrained, checked, rebuked, reproved' (S III.12; A I.175; Ja VI.493). According to Buddhaghosa, *niggahīta* is a nasalised vowel articulated by checking the organs of articulation and without opening the mouth.² He further explains the term *niggahītavacana* with illustration as:

"Instead of saying *suṇātu me* with an open mouth, when one says *suṇantu me* or instead of saying *esā ñatti* when one says *esam ñatti* by nasalising without opening the mouth, it is called as nasalisation (*niggahītavacana*) of an unnasalised vowel".³

Thus, in this case, the term *niggahītavacana* denotes a particular mode of pronunciation i.e. the nasalisation of an originally

¹ *niggahītam ti sūsune vohūro, suddasutthe pana tam unusvāro ti vadunti* (Sadd 8). It seems that what Agg means to say here is, not simply the science of grammar, but the Sanskrit grammar as no Pali grammarian or commentator has used the term *unusvāra* to denote a nasal.

² *niggahītam ti yam karuṇāni niggahetvā avissujjetvā uvivāṭena mukhena sānunāsikam katvā vattubbum /* (Sp 1518 ff)

³ '*suṇātu me*' *ti vivāṭena mukhena vattabbe pana 'suṇantu me'* *ti vā 'esā ñatti'* *ti vattubbe 'esam ñatti'* *ti vā uvivāṭena mukhena ununāsikam katvā vacanam vimuttassa niggahītavacanam nāma /* (Sp 1519)

unnasalised vowel and at the same time a nasalised vowel as opposed to *vimutta*, i.e. an unnasalised oral ā.

Here it should be borne in mind that in the view of Buddhaghosa, *niggahīta* is a nasalised vowel, which agrees with a similar view held by CA about the nature of the *anusvāra* (See below). All the Pali grammarians have, however, listed *niggahīta* at the end of consonants, which would give it the status of a consonant by the rule *kādayo vyañjanā* (MV 1.6). Another point to be noted in this connection is that K uses *niggahīta* to denote a nasalized vowel at Kacc 8, 30, 37 and 379 but at Kacc 448, 468 and 539, *niggahīta* apparently denotes any given nasal.

Mmd describes *niggahīta* in following words:

"*Niggahīta* is that which is grasped depending on something. If it is asked, 'depending on what', (then the answer is) 'depending on a vowel'.¹

Buddhappiya propounds the same view, but in addition, he reproduces the definition of Sp quoting a verse at Rūp 10. Agg has presented all this information in the commentary on Sadd 8.²

K defines *niggahīta* as: *am iti niggahītam* / (Kacc 8)

"The term *niggahīta* denotes the phoneme *am*".

¹ *nissāya guyhatī ti niggahītam / kiṁ nissāyā ti ce? suraṁ nissāya /* (Mmd 8)

² *tum pana sāsunikapayogavasena russusuram nissāya guyhati uccārīyatī ti niggahītam ti vuccati, karaṇāni vā niggahetvā avivāṭena mukhena sānumāsikam katvā īritam ti niggahītam, vuttam pi c' etam : niggahītam ti yam karaṇāni niggahetvā avissajjetvā avivāṭena mukhena sānumāsikam katvā vuttabbam ti /* (Sp 1518 ff) (Sadd 8)

Also cp. Kacc-Vṇ 8: *niggayha guyhatī ti niggahītam / kiṁ niggayha guyhatī ti ? karaṇam niggayha guyhati / karaṇam ti nāśikāsurākhātam karaṇam, niggayhā ti niggahītam / vuttañ ca - karaṇam niggahetvāna mukhenāvivāṭena yam / vuccate niggahītan ti vuttam bindusurānugam // ti /*

This is identical with the definition of *anusvāra* found in the Kt. K has clearly borrowed this term from the *Atthakathās*.

Agg amplifies Kacc 8 as:

*am im um iti yaṁ sarato param suyyati, tam
niggahītam /* (Sadd 8)

"The term *niggahīta* denotes that (sound) which is heard after a vowel in *am*, *im* and *um*".

In Pali, *niggahīta* is always added to a short vowel and is marked by a dot given after a vowel. Cf. Sadd 8:

*aham kevaṭṭagāmasmim ahum kevaṭṭadārako ti
iccūdisu rassattayato param bindu niggahītam
nāmā ti dutṭhabbum /¹*

According to Mogg, *niggahīta* is a meaningful designation. His rule is: *bindu niggahītam /* (MV 1.8)

"*Niggahīta* is a dot".

This seems to be styled after the statement of DV:

"A phoneme *am*, which is a mere dot, is designated as an *anusvāra*".²

Also cp. MVu:

"This phoneme, which is a mere dot, is designated as a *niggahīta*".³

Note that at MVu 3.89, *bindu* is actually used in the place of *niggahīta*. Cf.

¹ "In expressions such as *aham kevaṭṭagāmasmim ahum kevaṭṭadārako* etc. a dot occurring after three short vowels is to be understood as *niggahīta*".

² . *iti bindumātravarṇo'nuśārasaṃjñō bhavati /* (DV 1.1.19)

³ *yvāyam vanno bindumatto so niggahītuṣuñño hoti /*

"With reference to the forms *tayyogo* and *mayyogo*, there is an elision of a dot (*niggahīta*)".¹

B.

The literal meaning of the term *anusvāra* is 'an after-sound' and seems to be specially coined by the grammarians for their own purpose. Durga says:

anusvaryate samlinum śabdyate ity anusvārah /²

In the Sanskrit grammatical tradition, there are three views with regard to the status of an *anusvāra*. According to the first view held by the CA, it is a nasalized vowel. As per the second view held by the RP,³ P and his commentators,⁴ it is either a vowel or a consonant. While commenting on RP 1.5, Uvāṭa says that *anusvāra* is a different sound altogether. It is neither a vowel nor a consonant. This aphorism simply indicates this fact.⁵ According to the third view put forward by the Vaidikābharaṇa⁶, Yajuṣābhūṣaṇa⁷ etc. *anusvāra* is merely a consonant and consists of a half *g*.

P as well as C do not define *anusvāra* but use it in their respective grammars. Cp. *mo'nusvārah* / (P 8.3.23; CV 6.4.7)

¹ *tayyogo mayyogoti - bindulopo* /

² "Anusvāra is that which sounds after i.e. sounds jointly". (DT 1.1.19)

³ *anusvāro vyañjunum vā svaro vā* / (RP 1.5)

⁴ *anusvāra-visarga-jihvāmūlyopudhmānīyayamānām ukāropari śursu ca pāṭhasyopusamkhyātavēna* /

⁵ *tusmāt svaravyañjunātiriktam anyad varṇānturam etad ity eva jñāpanapuram evaitat sūtram* / (Uvāṭa on RP 1.5)

⁶ *anusvāro'py uttamavād vyañjunam evāsmacchākhāyam / ardhangakārarūpa-tvāt* / (Vaidikābharaṇa under TP 2.30)

⁷ ... *anusvaryate paścārdhe svaravād uccāryata ity anusvārah* /

Kt follows VP (8.21) verbatim and defines *anusvāra* thus: *am
ity anusvārah /* (Kt 1.1.19)

"The term *anusvāra* denotes the phoneme *am*".

Durga comments:

"Here, the phoneme *a* is for the convenience of pronunciation. The phoneme *am*, which is a mere dot, is designated as an *anusvāra*".¹ (DV 1.1.19)

Taking hint from this, some commentators call it *bindu*, which merely refers to the orthography of the sound. Cf. Rāma Tarkavāgīsa's commentary on the Mugdhabodha² and the Prayogaratnamālā.³

C.

K and Śarva have defined *niggahīta / anusvāra* by actually uttering the sound whereas Mogg has given its orthographic description. Though Agg follows K and Śarva, he has also incorporated the information scattered in the other Pali sources.

12. *vimutta*

A.

Vimutta is a past participle from *vi + muc* literally meaning 'freed', 'released'.⁴ As a technical term of grammar, it denotes an oral sound *ā*. It has no parallel in Sanskrit. In its technical sense, it occurs in a verse at Sp 1399. Buddhaghosa explains the term thus:

¹ *akāru ihoccāruṇārthaḥ / . iti bindumātravurṇo' nusvārasuṃjñō bhavati /*

² *akāru uccāruṇārthaḥ, bindudvibindumātrau vurṇau kramān
nu(=anusvāra)vi(=visarga)suṃjñau stāḥ /* (Commentary on Mu 19: *am aḥ
nuvī lī*)

³ *eko bindur anusvāras tilavat vā' rdhacandravat /* (PR 1.28)

⁴ Vin I.8; A IV.75, 179, 340; D III.97

"*Vimutta* is an unnasalised vowel articulated with an open mouth without checking the organs of articulation i.e. by releasing them".¹

Explaining it further, Buddhaghosa says:

"Instead of saying *pattakallum* with a closed mouth and by nasalising the vowel when one says *pattakallā* with an open mouth and without nasalising the final vowel, it is called the denasalisation (*vimuttavacana*) of a nasalised vowel (*niggahītassu*)".²

Thus, in this case, by the term *vimuttavacana*, Buddhaghosa is referring to a phenomenon of denasalisation.

Agg is the only grammarian who has included this term in his grammar. Sadd 21 defines *vimutta* in the following words:

*karuṇāni uniggahetvā vivatenu mukhena vattabbam
vimuttam /*

"*Vimutta* is a vowel to be articulated without checking the organs of articulation with an open mouth".

This is an abridged form of the definition found at Sp.

B.

Vimutta is a technical term used to signify the vowel ā and the phenomenon of denasalisation. It is exactly opposite to *niggahīta*. Though Agg has included this term, he has never actually used it in

¹ *vimuttam ti yam karuṇāni uniggahetvā vissajjetvā vivatena mukhena anunāsikam ukatvā vuccati /*

² *pattakallam ti avivatena mukhena anunāsikam katvā vattabbe pattakallā ti vivatena mukhena anunāsikam ukatvā vacanam niggahītassa vimutta-vacanam nāma /*

his grammar. Moreover, Agg has also failed in explaining *niggahīta* and *vimutta* as representing two opposite linguistic phenomena and thus these terms have lost the context in which they are taught in Sp.

13. *vuddhi, guṇa*

A.

Vuddhi (Skt. *vriddhi*) literally means ‘growth, increase, extension’. In Sanskrit, it is used of the vowels *ā*, *ai* and *au* whereas in Pali, it denotes the vowels *ā*, *e* and *o*. Note that the phonemes *ai* and *au* are absent from the Pali phonology. As a result, the Pali grammarians have thought of only one category of vowel gradation comprising of the phonemes *ā*, *e* and *o*. For this, they have adopted only one name *vuddhi* and thus there remains no scope for the term *guṇa* which is used by the Sanskrit grammarians to denote the phonemes *u*, *e* and *o*.

In this connection, it is noteworthy that the term *guṇa* occurs only once in the Kacc and the Sadd in a rule: *i-ya-ta-ma-ki-e-sānam antassuro dīgham kvaci dusassa guṇam do rūpā sakkhī ca* (Kacc 644, Sadd 1269). Kacc-Vu and Sadd here understand *guṇa* as a technical term of grammar signifying change of *u* to *o* which is otherwise designated as *vuddhi*. Cf.

i-ya-ta-ma-ki-e-su *icc etesum subbanāmānam anto*
saro dīgham āpajjate, kvaci dusu *icc etassa*
dhātussa ukāro guṇam āpajjate / (Kacc-Vu 644)

kvaci dusu *icc etassa dhātussa ukāro guṇam*
āpajjate / (Sadd 1269)

Rūp provides an altogether different interpretation of the rule. It understands *guṇa* in its non-technical sense of ‘secondary’ or ‘subordinate’. Cf. Rūp 572:

imayataumhakimetasumāna icc etesam sabba-nāmānam upamānupapadubhāvena disassa dhātussa guṇabhūtānam anto saro dīgham āpajjate /

Note that Rūp has the root *disa* instead of *dusa*. It shows that there is a lot of confusion about the actual reading of Kacc 644 and it is quite possible that the rule became corrupt well before the time of the Kacc-Vu.

It is quite evident that the Pali grammarians have borrowed the term *vuddhi* from Sanskrit. K defines *vuddhi* as: *ayuvanñānam cāyo vuddhi* / (Kacc 407)

"The phonemes *ā*, *e* and *o* are called *vuddhi* phonemes of the phonemes *a*, *i* and *u* respectively."¹

According to Kacc-Vu 407,

"The particle *ca* in the rule is for combining another technical term *avuddhi* (non-*vuddhi*) which denotes simple phonemes *a*, *i* and *u*".²

The Kacc-Vu here remarks that in some old manuscripts of the Kacc, the reading *a i u vuddhi* "phonemes *a*, *i* and *u* are *vuddhi*" is also found. This is also the reading found in the Mmd. Thus, one should accept a more reasonable reading after consideration.³

At Kacc 403: *mā yūnam āgamo thāne*, the phonemes *e* and *o* coming in the place of phonemes *i* and *u* are called *vuddhi* augments.⁴ Note that the ancient Sanskrit grammarian Āpiśali has

¹ *a iti akāro, i ī iti ivuṇno, u ū iti uvuṇno, tesum akāraivuṇnuvūṇānam ī-e-o-vuddhiyo honti yathāsumkhyam* / (Kacc-Vu 407)

² *casaddugguhāṇum avuddhisampiṇḍanatthum / ākāra-ekāra-okārā vuddhi ca ukāra-ikāra-ukārā avuddhi cā ti avuddhiṁ sumpiṇḍeti* / (Kacc-Vu 407)

³ *kuccāyanappakarane pana kutthaci potthakesu a i u vuddhī ti pi atthi / nyāse pi a i u vuddhi iti pāṭho atthi / vīmaṇsītvā yuttaturām guhetabbam /*

⁴ *i-u icc etesum ādibhūtānam mā vuddhi hoti, tesu ca e o vuddhiāgamo hoti thāne* / (Kacc-Vu 403)

also used the terms *vrddhi-āgama* and *guṇa-āgama*. Cf. also Nyāsa on P 1.3.22: *āgamau guṇavrddhī ātisṭhate*. Śarva also uses the term *vrddhi-āgama*: *na yvoh padādyor vrddhir āgamah* (Kt 2.6.50).

Agg differs from K so far as he ascribes the *vuddhi* designation to the vowels *ā*, *e* and *o* irrespective of whether they are the lengthened grades of *a*, *i* and *u* or not. Cf. Sadd 751: *ā-y-o vuddhi* /

Though the term *vuddhi* is absent in all the rules of the MV, it occurs several times in the Vutti. Cf. for instance, *nakāro vuddhyattho; evam aññatrāpi*¹ (MVu 4.1) and *kakāro avuddhyattho; evam uttaratrāpi*² (MVu 5.17). Mogg describes the phenomenon of *vuddhi* at MV 4.124: *sarānam ādissāyuvanñānūssāeo nānubandhe*,³ without using the term.

B.

Vrddhi is a much older term than *guṇa* and is found from RV onwards. As a technical term, however, it neither occurs in Nir, nor in RP, nor in TP. *Vrdhī* in its technical sense occurs in VP:

taddhite caikākṣaravṛddhāv anihite / (VP 5.29)

P's Aṣṭ begins with the word *vrddhi*: *vrddhir ādaic* / (P 1.1.1)

"(The technical term) *vrddhi* denotes the vowel phonemes *ā* and the diphthongs *ai*, and *au*".

Śarva's Kt, as it has come down to us, ends with *vrddhi*: *ār uttare ca vrddhiḥ* (Kt 4.4.35). According to P, *vrddhi* denotes the phonemes *ā*, *ai* and *au* whereas according to Śarva, it denotes *ai*, *au*, *ār* and *āl*.

1 "The phoneme *na* is for the purpose of *vuddhi* and so also in other rules".

2 "The phoneme *ka* is for the purpose of the prohibition of *vuddhi* and so also in the following rules".

3 "When a suffix with the indicatory phoneme *na* follows, the initial vowels *a*, *i* and *u* of a stem are substituted by *ā*, *e* and *o* respectively".

Śarva stands alone among the Sanskrit grammarians in not admitting ā into the category of *vṛddhi* vowels. Cf. Kt 4.2.5-8:

asyopadhāyā dīrgho vṛddhir nāmināminicatuṣu / sici
parasmai svarāntānām / vyañjanāntānām anītām /
asya ca dīrghaḥ /

C uses ādaic for *vṛddhi* taking hint from P's *vṛddhir* ādaic (P 1.1.1). Cf. ādaijādyaco ḡyanī (CV 2.4.98), ādaijādyacuś chāḥ (CV 3.2.24), ādaijevādyatāḥ (CV 5.1.83).

In Sanskrit grammar, the vowels *a*, *e* and *o* are known as *guṇa*-vowels. Of the eminent Sanskrit grammarians, P alone regards *a* as a *guṇa* vowel. Śarva regards *e*, *o*, *ar* and *al* as *guṇas*. Cf. Kt 4.4.31: *ar pūrve dve sandhyakṣare ca guṇaḥ*. Bearing in mind P's rule *aden* *guṇaḥ* (P 1.1.2), C uses *aden* for *guṇa*. Thus for P's *ād aden* (P 6.1.87) C has *ād aden* (CV 5.1.82).

C.

Though the term *vuddhi* is common to both the Sanskrit and the Pali grammars, both the traditions differ on what it denotes. As said earlier, the Pali grammarians have thought of only one category of vowel gradation comprising of three vowels ā, *e* and *o*. It is interesting to note that though two out of these three vowels belong to the *guṇa* category of the Sanskrit grammarians, the Pali grammarians have opted the name *vuddhi* for the same. The probable reason behind this seems to be that since the word *vuddhi* has a positive connotation ‘growth, prosperity’, the Pali grammarians thought it more auspicious than *guṇa*.

14. upadhā

A.

Upadhā (from *upa* ‘near’ and *dhā* ‘to place’) means ‘the last but one letter in a word or a stem’. The literal meaning of the term

is, however, ‘setting or placing near or next to’. Cf. DT 2.1.11: *upadhānam upadhā* /

“*Upadhā* means placing near”.

In Pali, the usage of this term is confined to the grammatical literature. The Pali grammarians have taken this term over from Sanskrit. In this regard, Rūp says:

“*Upadhā* is a borrowed term for the pen-ultimate phoneme”¹.

K uses *upadhā* at Kacc 631: *gahassūpadhasse vā*, without defining it.

At Sadd 1237, Agg defines *upadhā* in an exactly identical fashion with that of Rūp. Cf. *antakkharato pubbakkharam upadhā*

“(The technical term) *upadhā* denotes a phoneme preceding a final syllable”.

Following C, Mogg uses self-explanatory *upanta* (penultimate) for *upadhā* in the rule *lahussupantassa* (MV 5.83). Note that *upanta* also occurs at Rūp 418.

B.

The usage of the term *upadhā* in its technical sense goes back to Nir. There we come across terms such as *upadhālopa* and *upadhāvikāra*² where *upadhā* means ‘a penultimate phoneme’.

P defines *upadhā* as: *alo'ntyāt pūrva upadhā* / (P 1.1.65)

¹ *upadhā ti antakkharato pubbakkharassa parusamaññā* / (Rūp 553)

² *athāpy upadhālopo bhavati / jagmatuḥ jagmur iti / athāpy upadhāvikāro bhavati / rājā dandī* / “Further there is an elision of the penultimate, as in *jagmatuḥ* (redup. form of *gam*, ‘they two went’), and *jagmuḥ* (redup. form of *gam*, ‘they all went’). Moreover, there is the modification of the penultimate, as in *rājā* (*rājan*, ‘king’), *dandī* (*dandin*, ‘a staff bearer’), etc.”. (Nir 2.1)

"(The technical term) *upadhā* 'penultimate' denotes the phoneme preceding the last one (of an expression)".

Śarva follows P in defining the term. Cf. Kt 2.1.11: *antyāt pūrva upadhā /*

C uses the self-explanatory term *upānta* for *upadhā*. Thus, C has *mād upāntāc ca mator vuh* (CV 6.3.35) for P's *mād upadhāyāś ca mator vo'yavādibhyah* (P 8.2.9). Note that the term *upāntya* is first used in the Sāmatantra.¹

C.

To sum up, the Pali grammarians have borrowed the term *upadhā* from Sanskrit. With regard to its usage, K and Agg have followed P and Śarva. Mogg, on the other hand, has followed C by using *upanta* for *upadhā*.

15. antassarādi

A.

In the Pali and the Sanskrit grammars, certain operations are taught with respect to the part of a stem beginning with its final vowel. In Mogg's grammar, this portion is mentioned as *antassarādi*, i.e. a portion beginning with a final vowel. Cf. MV 4.132: *rānubandhentusurādissu /* (MVu 4.132)

"When a suffix with an indicatory phoneme *r* follows, that part of a word beginning with the final vowel is elided"².

¹ *upāntye /* (Sā. Ta. I.1.4)

² *anto saro ādi yussāvayavassa tassa lopo hoti rānubandhe /*

The term is missing in the Kacc and the Sadd as these two grammars have adopted a different method. Cf. Kacc 541: *ramhiranto rādi no /*

"When a suffix with an indicatory phoneme *r* follows then the final portion of a verbal root upto the indicatory phoneme *r* is elided".¹

B.

In P's *Aṣṭ*, the last vowel in a word or a stem along with the final consonant or consonants, if any, is called *ti*. It is one of the few monosyllabic technical terms used by P. Cf. P 1.1.64: *aco'ntyādi ti /*

"(The technical term) *ti* denotes that part of a word which begins with the last vowel".

Śarva uses *svarāntya* for *ti*. Thus, for P's *avyayasurvanāmnām akac prāk teh* (P 5.3.71), Śarva has *avyayasarvanāmnāḥ svarād antyāt pūrvo'k kah* (Kt 2.2.64).

Taking hint from P's *aco'ntyādi ti*, C uses *antyajādi* for *ti*. Thus, for P's *teh* (P 6.4.143), C has *antyajādeḥ* (CV 5.3.138).

C.

From the above discussion, it appears that Mogg has taken hint from C in forming the term *antassarādi*. In this connection, it should be noted that whenever Mogg uses C's rules in his grammar, he replaces *pratyāhāras* (abbreviations) with the older well-established technical terms. Thus, in this case, instead of the *pratyāhāra ac* in C, Mogg uses *sura (svara)*.

¹ *rakārānubandhe paccaye pure subbo dhātvanto rādippuccayurakāru-mariyādo no hoti, lopam āpajjate ti uttho /* (Rūp 542)

16. *anubandha*

A.

Anubandha (from *anu* ‘after’ and *bandh* ‘to bind’) literally means ‘that which is tagged on’ and is used in the grammatical literature to denote a letter or a syllable attached to roots, suffixes, augments, substitutes etc. to indicate their accentuation or some grammatical operation in connection with them or to distinguish them from similar other things and so on. Note that even in the Pali grammar, the indicatory letters perform all these functions except accentuation.

In Pali, the literal meaning of *anubandha* is ‘bondage’ (M III.170; It 91). As a technical term of grammar, the word probably occurs for the first time in the Kacc. Cf. Kacc 623: *kāritum viya nānubandho*, Kacc 642: *sacajānam kugā nānubandhe*. The term is also found in the Sadd. Cf. Sadd 1267: *sacajānum kugā nānubandhe pare*. It seems that considering the term as well-established, K and Agg have not provided any formal definition of it. Commenting on Kacc 623, Rūp says:

"*Anubandha* is that which is not used in the actual language".¹

It is quite conspicuous that this explanation of the Rūp is based on Kt 3.8.31: *yo'nubandho'prayogī*.

Explaining the nature of *anubandhas*, Mogg says:
sanketo'navayavo'nubandho

"*Anubandha* is a tag and it does not form a part of any linguistic element". (MV 1.23)

The obvious source of this explanation is CVṛ 1.1.5:

anavayavabhūtam yac cihnām tad asad veditavyam /

¹ *anubandho appuyogī* / (Rūp 537)

However, it is interesting to note that though Mogg follows C's explanation, he has not used *it*, which is the term used by C to express *anubandha*.

B.

Though *anubandha* appears to be a very ancient term, it is used first in the *vārttikas* of Kātyāyana, e.g. *anubandhakarūpārthaś ca* (Mbh I.13). It is next found in the Kt where it occurs for the first time in the rule: *āgama ud anubandhah svarād antyāt parah* (Kt 2.1.6). However, it is interesting to note that the word is not defined at the beginning of the chapter two, but towards the end of the third chapter: *yo' nubandho' prayogī /*

"*Anubandha* is that which is not used in the actual language". (Kt 3.8.31)

The commentator Durga explains that the root *bandh* preceded by the *upasarga anu* is used here in the sense of 'elision' and supports his explanation with the quotation *agnisomīyo gaur anubadhyatām !*

P and his followers, who are seeking after brevity, use the monosyllabic *it* for the polysyllabic *anubandha*. P does not define but enumerates *it* sounds in the rules P 1.3.2 - 1.3.8. He prescribes the elision of these indicatory letters in the rule: *tasya lopah* (P 1.3.9).

Following P, C also uses *it*. He has described the nature of this *it* sound in the rule: *anamśacihnam it /* (CV 1.1.5)

"An *it* sound is a mere tag and it does not form a part of any linguistic element".

C.

The term *anubandha* is common to all the Pali grammarians and to some Sanskrit grammarians such as Kātyāyana and Śarva. P and C have used the monosyllabic *it* for the same. With regard to the explanation of the term *anubandha*, the Rūp has followed the Kt whereas Mogg has followed the CVr.

17. *ṭhāna, karana, payatana*

A.

In literary Pali, the term *ṭhāna* means ‘a place’, *karana* means ‘an instrument’ and *payatana* means ‘an effort’. However, in the grammatical context, these words have a special significance. There the word *ṭhāna* is used in the sense of ‘the place of articulation’, *karana* in the sense of ‘articulatory organs’ such as the tip of a tongue etc. and *payatana* in the sense of ‘articulatory effort’ such as voicing, aspiration etc. Agg stands alone among the Pali grammarians in using this terminology in his grammar. He uses this terminology in a small section on the Pali phonetics called *sikkhāvidhāna*, i.e. Sadd 22-23. Cf. e.g., Sadd 23:

"Phonemes are produced by the means of the place
of articulation, articulatory organs and articulatory
efforts".¹

B.

The Sanskrit terms *sthāna*, *karana* and *prayatna* have the same sense as in Pali. This terminology in its technical sense occurs in the Prātiśākhyas. Cf. Monier Williams (1993:1263, 254, 687).

P uses the term *āsyā* for the place of articulation and *prayatna* for articulatory efforts at P 1.1.9: *tulyāsyaprayatnam savarṇam*. Cf. Kāśikā:

"Āsyā means ‘existing in mouth’, i.e. the places of articulation such as palate etc. *Prayatna* denotes articulatory efforts, i.e. the characteristic of a phoneme such as contact etc.".²

¹ *ṭhāna-karana-payatanehi varṇānam uppatti /*

² *āsyē bhavam āsyam tālvādisthānam / prayatanam prayatnah / sprṣṭādir varṇaguṇah /*

Though this terminology is missing in the actual treatises of C and Śarva, it is very frequently used in a number of works on the Sanskrit phonetics (*Śikṣā*) and in the various *Prakriyā* works in the Pāṇinian tradition.

C.

Agg is the only Pali grammarian who uses these terms in his work. There is no doubt that he has borrowed this terminology from the Sanskrit sources.

Terminology Related to the Morphophonemic Changes

Rules 24 to 26 of the Sadd define some technical terms, which are related with the *sandhi* operations. Agg calls them *upakarapuññāñā* (auxilliary technical terms):

"The terms *pubba*, *para* etc. are auxilliaries for the *sandhi* operations".¹ (Sadd 24)

They are *pubba*, *para*, *lopa*, *āgama*, *sumyoga*, *viyoga*, *parunayana*, *vipariyāya*, *vikāra* and *viparīta*.

1. sandhi

A.

The word *sandhi* is derived from the verbal root *dhā* with the suffix *sum* (putting together). In the opening verses of K's grammar, the grammar is called *Susandhikappa* (An excellent chapter on *sandhi*).² The first chapter of his grammar is also named as *Sandhikappa*. The twentieth chapter of the Sadd also bears the same name. The term *sandhi* is, however, missing in the MV.

Agg defines the term *sandhi* as:

*sandhīyanti ettha padāni akkhurāni cā ti sandhi
sumhitapadum /* (Excursus before Sadd 30 p. 611)

¹ *pubbaparādīni sandhikiriyopakarañāni /*

² *seṭṭham̄ tilokamahitam abhivandiyaggum /
buddhañ ca dhammad amalam gañam uttamañ ca //
satthussa tassa vacanatthavarām suboddhum /
vukkhāmi suttahitam ettha susandhikappam //*

"Sandhi, a continuous utterance, is that where words or letters are conjoined".¹

Commenting on the opening verse of the Kacc, the Kacc-Vṇ says:

"Placing or joining of two words in an excellent manner without showing any gap is *sandhi* or conjoining is called *sandhi*".²

Types of sandhi

Besides providing a general definition of *sandhi*, Agg also provides various classifications. According to the first classification, it is of three kinds: *sarasandhi* (vowel *sandhi*), *vyañjanasandhi* (consonantal *sandhi*) and *vomissasandhi* (mixed or miscellaneous *sandhi*).

Agg defines the term *sarasandhi* as:

"A vowel *sandhi* is defined as a *sandhi* in place of vowels or before vowels. Here a *sandhi* accomplished by either substituting or eliding a vowel is called a vowel *sandhi*".³

Vyañjanasandhi is defined as:

"A consonantal *sandhi* is defined as a *sandhi* in place of consonants or before consonants. Moreover, a *sandhi* accomplished by either substituting or eliding a consonant is also called a consonantal *sandhi*".⁴

¹ H. Smith records a variant reading *saṃhitāpadam* for *saṃhitapadum* in one of the MSS. See p. 611, fn c.

² *dvinnam padānum anturam udassetvā summāpakāreṇa dhīyati ghaṭīyatī ti sandhi, sumodhānum vā sandhi /*

³ *surānum saresu vā sandhi surasandhi, ettha ca surādesulopukarūpavusena sādhito sandhi surasandhī ti vuccati /* (Excursus before Sadd 30, p. 611)

⁴ *vyañjanānum vyañjanēsu vā sandhi vyañjanasandhi, api ca vyañjanā- desulopukarūpavusena sādhito sandhi vyañjanasandhī ti vuccati /* (Excursus between Sadd 63 and 64)

Vomissusandhi is defined as:

"A mixed *sandhi* is a *sandhi* of vowels, consonants etc. that are mingled together. Similarly, a *sandhi* accomplished by either substituting or eliding either a vowel, or a consonant, or a nasal is called a mixed *sandhi*".¹

Here it should be noted that the same type of *sandhi* is also called a *sādhārana* or a *vutta sandhi* in the later classifications:

"That same type of *sandhi* is also called a miscellaneous (*sādhārana*) *sandhi* as it includes multiple operations such as: substitution, elision or modification etc. of a vowel, a consonant or a nasal".²

"Similarly, it is also called a *vuttasandhi* (a *sandhi metri causa*) when a vowel, a consonant or a nasal is either elided or augmented in keeping with the rules of prosody i.e. metre in case of the *gāthā* literature and for ease of utterance in the prose literature".³

The second classification differs from the first only in replacing *vomissusandhi* by *vuttasandhi*, i.e. the *sandhi metri causa*.

According to another classification, *sandhi* is fourfold, that is to say, vowel *sandhi* (*sarasandhi*), nasal *sandhi* (*niggahītasandhi*),

¹ missibhūtānam suravyañjanādīnam sandhi vomissusandhi; tathā hi suravyañjananiggahītādesalopakaranavasena sādhito sandhi vomissusandhī ti vuccati / (Excursus bet. Sadd 133 and 134)

² so eva suravyañjananiggahītādesalopaviparītādivasena unekusaṅguhattā sādhāranasandhī ti ca vuccati / (Excursus bet. Sadd 133 and 134)

³ tathā so eva gāthāsu chandānurakkhaṇuttham vuttianurakkhaṇuttham ca cūṇiyapadesu sukhuccāraṇuttham lopāgamādivasena sādhittattā vutta-sandhī ti ca vuccati / (Excursus bet. Sadd 133 and 134)

vowel and consonantal *sandhi* (*suravyañjanasandhi*) and miscellaneous *sandhi* (*sādhāraṇa sandhi*).¹

According to another classification, *sandhi* is twofold: *padasandhi* (a *sandhi* of words) e.g., *tatrāyam* and *vṛṇṇasandhi* (a *sandhi* of phonemes) e.g., *sāhu*.²

Such clear-cut classification of various types of *sandhi* is not found in both the Kacc and the MV. However, one can infer their existence even in these grammars from their arrangement of the rules of *sandhi*. For instance, in the Kacc, the second *kāṇḍa* of the *Sandhikappa* deals with the vowel *sandhi*. In the third *kāṇḍa*, rules 25 to 29 deal with the *vyāñjanasandhi*. In the forth *kāṇḍa*, rules 30 to 34 deal with the *niggahītasandhi* whereas in the remaining rules of the *kappa*, various other cases of the *vomissasandhi* are dealt with.

In the MV, rules 1.26 to 1.32 and 37 deal with the *sarasandhi*, 1.33 to 1.36 deal with the *vyāñjanasandhi*, 1.38 to 1.44 deal with the *niggahītusandhi* whereas the *sandhi* described in the remaining rules can be labelled as the *vomissasandhi*.

However, it should be noted that these grammars do not deal with the *sandhi metri causa*. An additional point about the classification of *sandhi* requires some attention. Agg has included a small section called the *pukatividhāna* in the chapter dealing with the *sandhi* (Sadd 62-63).³ He, however, has not treated it as

¹ *tesu gjjjādibhedesu gunthesu pubbuviññūhi / suravyañjanavomissavasā sandhi tidhā mato // suravyañjanavuttānam vāsenā pi tidhā mato / uparena nayenāyam catudhā pi pakāsito // surasundhiniigguhītusuravyañjanasandhayo / sādhāraṇo ca sundhī ti catudh' evam pakāsito //* (Sadd 27)

² *api c' ettha dvidhā cā pi saṅkhepā sandhi icchito / pudānam pudasandhi cu vṛṇṇānum vṛṇṇasandhi cu //* (Sadd 27)

³ Note that K also has a small section comprising of rules Kacc 23 and 24 dealing with the phenomenon of non-*sandhi* (*pakati*). The treatment of this phenomenon is also found at MV 1.28: *na dve vā*.

another type of *sandhi*, as has been done by the school of the Kt. (See below).

B.

In case of Sanskrit, the first occurrence of the term *sandhi* can be traced back to RV 8.1.12 where it occurs in the sense of ‘a joint’. In the Prātiśākhyas, it is used in its technical sense of ‘the modification of phonemes caused by a close juxtaposition’. As a technical term, it is missing in the Nir and the Aṣṭ. Another term *saṃhitā*, which is also derived from the root *dhā*, occurs at the TUp in the sense of ‘a conjunction, connection’. Both Y and P have used the term *saṃhitā*, to denote a close juxtaposition of phonemes.¹ According to this view, *saṃhitā* is a precondition for *sandhi*. Note that in the Aṣṭ, a section dealing with *sandhi* is headed by the rule *saṃhitāyām* (P 6.1.72, 6.3.114). Later, it came to mean ‘the modifications caused by such a juxtaposition’ - a sense in which the word *sandhi* is used.

Śarva has preferred the disyllabic *sandhi* over the trisyllabic *saṃhitā* and many later grammarians have followed him in this regard. He uses the term *sandhi* at *na visarjanīyalope punah sandhiḥ* (Kt 1.5.16). Here DT explains *sandhi* as:

"*Sandhi* is putting together. It is called the utmost juxtaposition of phonemes. And the grammatical operations related to it such as shortening and lengthening etc. are also called *sandhi* by way of a figurative expression".²

Thus, Durga has used the term *sandhi* in the same sense in which Y and P have used the term *saṃhitā*.

¹ *paraḥ sunnikarṣaḥ saṃhitā* / (Nir 1.17, P 1.4.109)

² *sandhānaṃ sandhiḥ / utkr̥ṣṭo varṇānām sunnikarṣa ucyate / tadviṣayam api kāryam samānudṛghādi sandhir ity abhimutam / upacārāt /*

Types of sandhi

Though P does not explicitly talk of any classification of *sandhi*, his followers have classified it in two main categories of *ac* (vowel) *sandhi* and *hal* (consonantal) *sandhi*.

According to the Rūpāvatāra, the *sandhi* is of six types,¹ for instance, *tuk*² (the *sandhi* involving the augment *tuk*), *svara*, *prakṛti* (the non-*sandhi*), *vyañjana*, *visarjanīya*, and *svādi*. The school of Kt talks of five types of *sandhis*,³ viz. *svara*, *vyañjana*, *prakṛti*, *anusvāra* (the nasal *sandhi*) and *visarga*.

C.

Both the Pali and the Sanskrit grammarians agree on the denotation of the term *sandhi* that is ‘putting together’. Just as Śarva, the Pali grammarians have preferred the term *sandhi* and have totally discarded the term *saṃhitā*. The heading (*adhikāra*) *saṃhitāyām* in the Aṣṭ, which has been dispensed off by Śarva long back, is also absent in the Pali grammars.

On the matter of classification of *sandhi*, it should be mentioned that though K and Mogg have not given a clear-cut classification of various types of *sandhis*, it can be inferred from the arrangement of their *sandhi* rules. On the other hand, the classification given by Agg is unique in itself as the categories other than the *sarasandhi*, the *vyañjanasandhi* and the *niggahitāsandhi* such as *vomissa*, *vutta* and *sādhārana* are his innovations. The category of *vuttasandhi* is more striking as it is specially created to accommodate the type of *sandhi* peculiar to the *gāthā* literature.

¹ *tuk svarah prakṛtiś caiya vyañjanuś ca tataḥ parum / tato visarjanīyaś ca svādih syat sandhir ucyate //*

² The author of the Rūpāvatāra treats the addition of the augment *t* before *ch* in cases like *paricchedu* as a separate variety of *sandhi*.

³ *svarasandhir vyañjanasandhiḥ prakṛtisandhis tathaiva ca / anusvāro visargaś ca sandhiḥ syat pañculukṣṇuh //*

2. *pubba, para*

A.

In grammatical treatises, terms such as *pubba* and *para* are used to indicate temporal or spatial position of grammatical items such as letters, words etc.

Among the Pali grammarians, Agg alone has treated these terms as technical terms. *Pubba* and *para* are defined in following words:

pathamuccāritam pubbam, pacchā uccāritam param / (Sadd 24)

"*Pubba* is that which is uttered before, and *para* is that which is uttered after".

K and Mogg have simply used these terms without ever defining them. Cf. for instance: *pubbam adhothitam assaram surena viyojaye* (Kacc 10), *naye param yutte* (Kacc 11), *paro kvaci* (MV 1.27) and *pubbassa a* (MV 6.18).

Agg and Mogg have also used the term *uttara* for *para* especially in context of the final member of a compound. Cf. Sadd 678 and MV 3.54.

B.

Though the terms *pūrva* and *para* are freely used in the Sanskrit grammar of P, C and Śarva, they are not treated as technical terms by any of them. In the rule P 5.3.68: *vibhāśā supah bahuc purastāt tu*,¹ P has used the word *purastāt* for *pūrva*. He uses the word *uttara* for *para*: *tasmād iti uttarasya* (P 1.1.67), *alug uttarapade* (P 6.3.1).

¹ "(The *tuddhita* affix) *bahuc* is optionally introduced before (a nominal stem ending in) a *sup* triplet (to denote 'not quite fully')".

C.

To sum up, the terms *pubba* (*pūrva*) and *pura* are common to both the traditions. However, Agg is the only grammarian who treats them as technical terms.

3. *lopa*

A.

The term signifying elision in the Pali grammars is *lopa*. It is derived from the root *lup* ‘to break, hurt, injure’. As a technical term of grammar, it is in use since the time of the *Atthakathās* (Pj II 410; Vv-a 154, 275).

K has used it in *surā sure lopam* (Kacc 12) but did not think it necessary to define it. Mmd explains *lopa* simply as:

"*Lopa* denotes elision".¹

In Sadd 24, Agg provides a formal definition of *lopa* as: *sato vināso lopo /*

"The term *lopa* denotes destruction of an existing thing".

This is quite close to the TP's definition. (See below) Here it should be noted that in Sadd 1330: *thāne vupnavināso*, Agg has actually used the word *vināsa* to denote elision. Further in the text, Agg says:

"When a particular word is not used but its meaning still applies that is also called elision (*lopa*)".²

Cp. Kāśikā on P 1.1.60:

¹ *lutti lopo /* (Mmd 12)

² *yassa attho yujjati saddo ca na payujjati so pi lopo /*

"Invisibility, being inaudible, non-utterance, non-availability, absence, and loss of a phoneme are synonymous".¹

Here, out of six, the first three meanings agree with Agg's second definition whereas the last three agree with the first.

Apart from this, K and Agg have used the negative particle *no* to express elision. Cf. for instance, Kacc 580: *bhujādīnam unto no dvi ca*; Sadd 1181: *bhujādīnam unto no dvittam ca*:

"The final syllable of the verbal roots *bhuja* etc. does not remain and there takes place the duplication of the suffix *ta*".

Also cp. Kacc 541: *ramhiranto rādi no*, which is rendered as *ramhi-ranto rādi lopam* at Sadd 1124. Also cf. Rūp 542:

*rakārānubandhe paccaye pare sabbo dhātvanto
rādippaccayarakāramariyādo no hoti, lopam
āpajjate ti attho /*

Mogg uses *lopa* without defining it: *suro lopto sare* (MV 1.26), *lopo musmā* (MV 2.88) etc. Besides *lopa*, some other forms such as *lutti* (noun), *lutta* (past participle) and *lopetabba* (potential participle) are also used by the Pali grammarians, cf. *lutti* - Sadd 293, 418; *lutta* - Kacc 14, Sadd 228, 229, MV 1.29; *lopetabba* - Sadd 238.

B.

Lopa has a long history in the Sanskrit grammatical literature. Its first occurrence in the grammatical literature can be traced back to Nir 2.1 where it is used in the sense of 'loss or elision'. Cf.

"Further, there is an elision of the penultimate, as in *jugmatuh* (red. form of *gum*, 'they two went'), and

¹ *adurśunam, uśravāṇam, anuccāraṇam, anupulabdhīḥ, abhāvo, varṇa-vināśaḥ* ity anarthāntaram /

jagmuḥ (red. form of *gam*, ‘they all went’). ... Further, there is an elision of a letter, as in *tatvā yāmi* (= *tatvā yācāmi*) etc. Moreover, there is an elision of two letters, as in *trca* (= *tri* + *rca*, ‘three stanzas’).¹

Here *lopa* denotes ‘destruction’. TP defines *lopa* as: *vināśo lopah* / "The term *lopa* denotes destruction". (TP 1.58)

P defines *lopa* as: *adarśanam lopah* / (P 1.1.60)

"*Lopa* denotes invisibility".

This is similar to the definition found in the VP: *varnasyādarśanam lopah* / (VP 1.147)

"*Lopa* denotes invisibility of a phoneme".

Here it should be noted that in the Go. Brā., the word *adarśana* is used for elision.² Vārttikakāra modifies P’s definition and says:

"Disappearance of that which is applicable is called as an elision".³

P also uses *luk*, *ślu*, and *lup* to denote the elision of suffixes (P 1.1.61). These three different terms used by P to denote an elision serve different grammatical purposes. The difference between *lopa* on the one hand and *luk*, *ślu* and *lup* on the other is marked by P in the rule: *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇum* (P 1.1.62) and *na'lumatā'ṅgasya* (P 1.1.63). According to P 1.1.62, when an affix is elided by using the word *lopa*, the grammatical operations effected by that affix still prevail as if that affix were still present. This is, however, denied in the case of *luk*, *ślu* and *lup* by P 1.1.63. Another major difference between these terms is that *lopa* can be

¹ *athāpi upadhālopo bhavati - jagmatuh jagmur iti / ... athāpi varṇalopo bhavati - tattvā yāmīti / athāpi dvivarnalopah - trca iti /*

² *udarśanam pratyayusya nāma sumpadyate /* (Go. Brā. 1.1.26)

³ *prasaktasyādarśanam lopah /*

used for the elision of both *prakṛti* and *pratyaya* whereas the use of *luk*, *ślu* and *lup* is restricted to the elision of affixes.

C uses *lopa* without defining it. Thus, he has *ino'ci lopah* (CV 5.4.41). However, instead of P's *luk*, *ślu* and *lup*, he only retains *luk*: *adādibhyo luk* (CV 1.1.83).

In the Kt, *lopa* alone is used to signify elision: *samānah savarne dīrghībhavati paraś ca lopam* (Kt 1.2.1). In view of scholars, the mention of *luk* in some rules of the Kt (Kt 2.1.76, 3.8.29) is a later addition. Cf. K. C. Chatterji (1964: 334-5).

C.

Following Śarva, the Pali grammarians have only used the term *lopa* to denote 'an elision' against the four used by P. The non-canonical status of the term *lopa* indicates that it is a borrowing from the Sanskrit grammatical tradition.

4. *āgama*

A.

Āgama is derived from *ā* + *gam*. Thus, *āgama* is that which comes, i.e. that which is added. In literature, it denotes a. coming, b. a text, a scripture, c. a rule, d. understanding, and e. repayment (of debt) etc. As a technical term of grammar, it denotes an augment, i.e. a consonant or syllable added or inserted. In this sense, it occurs at Pj II 23. The fact that the term *āgama* does not occur in the Canon in the sense of an augment suggests that it is a borrowing.

Mmd explains *āgama* as:

"Augments are those which come".¹

This is equal to

¹ *āgacchantīti āgamā* / (Mmd 35)

"An augment is that which comes".¹

Agg clarifies it further in his definition: *aññato vanṇāgamanam āgamo* / (Sadd 24)

"The term *āgama* denotes an addition of a phoneme from outside".

K uses the term in a number of rules without defining it: *yavamadanaturalā cāgamā* (Kacc 35), *go sare puthassāgamo kvaci* (Kacc 42), *sāgamo se* (Kacc 61) etc. In his grammar, augments in general are mentioned without any indicatory letter with the sole exception of an augment *nu* where following Śarva, the augment is mentioned with the indicatory letter *u*.² As a result, each time there occurs an explicit statement saying that such and such a letter is an augment. There are, however, occasions where such an explicit mention is not found, for instance *lopañ ca tatrākāro* (Kacc 27), and *niggahītañ ca* (Kacc 468). In such cases, commentators tell us that these are augments. Kacc has no explicit statement with regard to the position of an augment. A general method adopted in this regard is that the augment is mentioned in the nominative and the grammatical item to which it precedes is mentioned in the locative. Cf. *go sare puthassāgamo kvaci* (Kacc 42) and *sāgamo se* (Kacc 61). If an augment is to be inserted within a word, its position is explicitly mentioned, e.g., *rudhādito niggahītāpubbañ ca* (Kacc 448). Here an augment *niggahīta* is taught with regard to the verbal roots of the *rudhādi* class and the position of the augment is indicated by the word *pubba*.

Agg follows K in this regard. Cp. e.g., *sare puthassa gāgamo kvaci* (Sadd 53), *yavamadunaturalahā vā* (Sadd 56), *rudhādito ca, majjhe niggahītam* (Sadd 926).

¹ *āgacchatīti āgumah* / (DT 2.1.6)

² *nu niggahītum pudante* (Kacc 539), *pudante nukārāgumo niggahītum āpajjate* (Kacc-Vu 539). Agg has followed K in this regard. Cf. *Suññāyam u, nvāgamo* (Sadd 1107), *pudante nvāgamo niggahītum* / (Sadd 1122)

In Mogg's grammar, the word *āgama* occurs twice in the rules *vanatarugā cāgamā* (MV 1.45) and *na te kānubandhanāgamesu* (MV 5.85). Out of these, at 5.85, *āgama* is used to denote conjugational affixes *knā* etc. Mogg has adopted two different ways of mentioning the consonantal *āgamas*. In the first chapter, these augments are mentioned without any indicatory letter, e.g., *vanatarugā cāgamā* and *chā lo* (MV 1.45-46) whereas from the second chapter onwards, as in Sanskrit grammar, they occur with an indicatory letter *u*.¹ Besides this, the indicatory letters *ñ*, *k* and *m*, which serve the purpose of deciding the position of an augment, are also added to the augments. MV 1.20 and 1.21 give guidelines regarding the placement of *āgamas*. According to MV 1.20,² augments with the indicatory letter *ñ* are added before and those with the indicatory letter *k* are added after. MV 1.21 says:

"The augments having the indicatory letter *m* are added after the final vowel".³

These rules also tell us that the grammatical item to which an *āgama* is to be added is mentioned in the genitive. In this regard, Mogg's indebtedness to C and P is quite evident. Cp. *takitāv ādyantau, mid aco'ntyāt parah* (CV 1.1.13-14); *ādyantau takitau, mid aco'ntyāt parah* (P 1.1.46-47). Here MVu's resemblance with CVṛ is also quite striking.⁴ The only difference is that Mogg uses the indicatory letter *ñ* instead of *t* used by P and C. The obvious reason for this shift is that Mogg has used the indicatory letter *t* to indicate *sarvādeśa* (a substitute which replaces the entire

¹ *numhi muk dvādīnam satturasannam* / (MV 2.49), *suj sussa* / (MV 2.53)

² *ñakānubandhādyantā* / (MV 1.20)

³ *mānubandho sarānam antā paro* / (MV 1.21)

⁴ Cp. *chutthiniddiṭṭhassa ñānubandhukānubandhā ādyantā honti; 'bruto tissīn'* (6.36) (MVu 1.20), *ṣaṣṭhīnirdiṣṭasya titkitāv ādyantau veditavyau / Bruva it* (6.2.34) (CVṛ 1.1.13); *makāronubandho yassu so sarānam antā surā paro hoti* / (MVu 1.21); *makāru id yasya so'ntyād acuḥ paro veditavyah* / (CVṛ 1.1.14)

substituendum).¹ Here, it should be noted that in the grammars of P and C, this purpose is served by the indicatory letter *s*,² which is absent in the Pali phonology. Mogg has followed this method throughout his grammar except the above-mentioned three rules of the first chapter where the word *āgama* is explicitly mentioned either in a rule or in the Vutti. In all these rules, augments are mentioned in the nominative. In MV 1.38: *niggahītam* there is no statement regarding where the augment should be placed. In MV 1.45: *vanaturugā cāgamā*, the position of augments is indicated by the word in the locative (*sure*). According to the *paribhāṣā suttamiyam pubbassa* (MV 1.14), the augments *v*, *n*, *t*, *r* and *g* are added before a vowel. At MV 1.46: *chā lo*, the ablative and the locative are used with the preceding and the following words between which the *āgama l* is to be inserted, the *āgama* itself being put in the nominative. From this different style adopted particularly in these three rules, it appears that these rules are modelled after K.

B.

Going back to the history of the term *āgama*, we find that the older name of *āgama* was *upajana* meaning ‘addition’. Ptj says:

upajana āgamah / (Mbh I.31)

Both *āgama* and *upajana* occur in Nir 2.2:

"Further, there is anaptyxis, as in *āsthut* (from the root *as*, to throw), *dvārah* (from the root *vr*, door), *bharūja* (from the root *bhrājj*, ripe)".³

The nature of *āgama* is discussed in many grammatical treatises. It is generally contrasted with *ādeśa*. Cp. e.g., the following verse in which the view of Āpiśali is recorded:

¹ *tanubundhānekavāṇṇā sabbussa /* (MV 1.19)

² *unekāl śit survasya /* (P 1.1.55), *śid unekāl survasya /* (CV 1.1.12)

³ *athāpi varṇopajunuḥ / āsthut / dvārah / bhurūjeti /*

"An augment comes in without injury (to the original), a *vikāra* comes in by smashing i.e. ousting the original, a substitute comes instead of something else and an elision takes place by dragging away i.e. destroying the whole".¹

Durga also explains *āgama* in similar words:

"An augment is that which does not injure either the stem or the suffix".²

P has not used the term *āgama* in his Aṣṭ. He has, however, mentioned *āgamas* with the indicatory letters *t*, *k*, and *m*, which indicate their position, for instance, the indicatory letter *t* suggests that the augment is to be added before whereas the indicatory letter *k* tells us that the augment will be added after. When there is an indicatory letter *m*, the augment is placed after the last vowel of a word.³ Besides this, consonantal *āgamas* are mentioned with the additional indicatory vowel *u*, e.g., *nuṭ* (*hrusvunudyāpo nuṭ* P 7.1.54), *muk* (*āne muk* P 7.2.82), and *num* (*idito num dhātoḥ* P 7.1.58). P generally uses the ablative and the locative respectively with the preceding and the following sounds between which an *āgama* is to be inserted, the *āgama* itself being put in the nominative, e.g., *r̥noḥ kuktukṣari* (P 8.3.28), *dah si dhut* (P 8.3.29), *śi tuk* (P 8.3.31). In such cases, the indicatory letters *t* or *k* are actually insignificant in deciding the position of an augment. There are, however, rules where an item to which an augment is prescribed, is mentioned in the genitive and in such cases, the indicatory letters have their role in deciding the position of that particular augment, e.g., *ārdhadhātukasya id valādeḥ* (P 1.1.46).

C follows P in this regard. Cf. *ṭakītāv ādyantau* (CV 1.1.13) and *mid aco'ntyāt paraḥ* (CV 1.1.14).

¹ *āgamo'nupaghātena vikāruś copumardunāt /*
ādeśus tu prusaṅgena lopāḥ sarvāpakaṛṣṇāt // (KVP 2.1.6)

² *prakṛtipratyayayor anupaghātī āgamaḥ /* (DV 2.1.6)

³ *ādyantau ṭakītau, mid aco'ntyāt paraḥ /* (P 1.1.46-47)

Śarva also uses the indicatory letter *u* to indicate the augments, e.g., *dhuṭsvarād ghuṭi nuḥ* (Kt 2.2.11). It seems that mentioning the augments with an indicatory letter *u* was customary among the Sanskrit grammarians. Durga says:

"An indicatory phoneme *u* is a mark of an augment".¹

According to Kt 2.1.6:

āgama ud anubandhaḥ svarād antyāt paraḥ /

"An augment having an indicatory letter *u* is placed after the final vowel".

However, when the case suffixes beginning with the instrumental case suffixes follow, an augment is placed before it.²

C.

From the above discussion, it is clear that *āgama* was a well-established term since the time of the Nir. In case of Pali, it was first adopted by the Pali commentators and then by the Pali grammarians from K onwards. The Sanskrit grammarians generally mention the consonantal augments with an indicatory letter *u*. Mogg is the only Pali grammarian who has followed this technique for the most part of his grammar. With regard to the position of the augments, K and Agg have followed the method adopted by Śarva whereas Mogg has followed the method of P and C.

5. *samyoga* and *visamyoga*

A.

Samyoga, from *sam* + *yuj*, is another old technical term. In its primary sense, it denotes 'a contact', or 'an association'.³ The term

¹ *ud anubandha āgamasya lingam /* (DV 2.1.6)

² *trtiyādau tu parādiḥ /* (Kt 2.1.7)

³ Ja III.12; Vism 495; Pv-a 73 (connection within a sentence - *accantu-samyoga*), 135 etc.

visam̄yoga meaning ‘disjunction, disconnection’¹ can be derived by adding the prefix *vi* to the word *sam̄yoga*. The Pali grammarians have used the terms *sam̄yoga* and *visam̄yoga* to denote two different phenomena of conjunction and simplification. The term *sam̄yoga* is common to both Sanskrit and Pali. *Visam̄yoga*, however, does not have its counterpart in the Sanskrit grammatical tradition, as the phenomenon of simplification is peculiar to Pali.

Agg defines *sam̄yoga* as:

*sarānāntarīkānam dvinnam vā tinnam vā
vyañjanānam ekatra saṅgati sam̄yogo /* (Sadd 24)

"Sam̄yoga denotes a combination of two or three consonants without intervention of a vowel."

It is difficult to point out a single source of this definition. It would, however, be interesting to compare Sadd's definition with the definitions found in the RP, the VP, the Aṣṭ and the Sār. (See below).

Agg uses the term at Sadd 104, 122, 123, etc. Mogg uses the term *sam̄yoga* at MV 1.53: *sam̄yogādi lopo* without defining it. The term *sam̄yoga* is used by K in the rule *vuddhādisarassa vāsam̄yoguntussa sañce ca* (Kacc 402). However, in the rule *dumhi guru* (Kacc 604), he has used *du* (two) instead of *sam̄yoga*.

Opposite to *sam̄yoga* is *visam̄yoga*. The technical meaning of *visam̄yoga* is ‘simplification of a consonant cluster’. Cf.:

vigato sam̄yogo yassa soyam visam̄yogo / (Mmd 41)

In this technical sense, *visam̄yoga* is used by K and Agg:

byañjano ca visam̄yogo / (Kacc 41)

lutte vyāñjane visam̄yogo / (Sadd 149)

None of them, however, has put forward any formal definition of *visam̄yoga*.

¹ Vin II.259, IV.280; D III.230, 276; A II.11; III.156.

B.

As per the Sanskrit tradition, *samyoga* in the technical sense of ‘a consonant cluster’ is used in the Go. Brā. Its definition is found in RP and VP:

saṃyogam *vidyād* *vyañjanasaṅgamam* / (RP 18.40)

anantarām saṃyogah / (VP 1.48)

P agrees with the VP’s definition. His definition of *samyoga* is:

halo’nantarāḥ saṃyogah / (P 1.1.7)

“The technical term ‘conjunction’ denotes an uninterrupted sequence of consonants”.

Also cp.: *svarānantaritā hasāḥ saṃyogah* / (Sār 1.14)

C and Śarva simply use the term without defining it:

vā saṃyogāder asthāḥ / (CV 5.3.79)

saṃyogāntasya lopāḥ / (Kt 2.3.54)

C.

Saṃyoga as a technical term is common to both the Sanskrit and the Pali grammars. Agg’s definition of it reflects in itself some of the popular definitions of the term found in the Sanskrit tradition. The term *visaṃyoga* signifying the phenomenon of simplification of a consonant cluster is an innovation of the Pali grammarians.

6. viyoga and paranayana

A.

The technical terms *viyoga* and *paranayana* are peculiar to the Pali grammar. They are related with the typical method of *sandhi*

adopted by K and Agg. *Viyoga* (disjunction) signifies ‘separation of a consonant from a vowel’.

Agg, who alone has given a formal definition of *viyoga*, explains it thus: *sarato vinibbhogo viyoga* / (Sadd 24)

"Disjoining signifies separation (of a consonant) from a vowel".

It is, however, noteworthy that the term *viyoga* as it is does not appear in any rule of the Kacc and the Sadd. Both K and Agg have rather used finite verbal form *viyojaye* of the root *vi + yuj* in their respective grammars. Cf. for instance, *pubbam adhothitum assaram surena viyojaye* (Kacc 10); *sarā viyojaye vyāñjanam, tañ ca assa pubbe thapeyya* (Sadd 28). According to Kacc 10,

"In order to make a *sandhi*, one should first separate the preceding consonant from the vowel and place it below the separated vowel".¹

Agg's method is little different from K. According to him, when a consonant is separated from a vowel, it should be placed before and not below the vowel (Sadd 28). This is the first step of a *sandhi*. It should be noted that Senart interpretes *adhothitum* in the Kacc as ‘final’ which makes more sense. However, it does not agree with the description of the Kacc-Vu.

Paranayana i.e. conjoining a preceding letter with the following one is the last step of a *sandhi*. According to Agg (Sadd 24), *paranayana* signifies conjoining of a phoneme with another vowel or a consonant:

surena vyāñjanena vā ekikaranam paranayanam /

"The term *paranayana* denotes unification of a phoneme with another vowel or a consonant".

¹ *tattha sandhim kattukāmo pubbabyāñjanam adhothitum assaram katvā suruñ ca upari katvā surena viyojaye /*

According to Kacc 11 and Sadd 29, in the final stage of a *sandhi*, the earlier separated letter is conjoined to the following vowel / consonant. Here too, it should be noted that neither K nor Agg use the term *paranayana* in the actual rule that teaches *sandhi*: *naye param yutte* (Kacc 11), *netabbam assaram parakkharum naye* (Sadd 29). This peculiar method of making a *sandhi* is fully explained by F. Masson in his edition of the *Kaccāyana* grammar. According to this method, the *sandhi* of *tatra + ayam* into *tatrāyam* will be as follows:

- a. *tatra ayam*
- b. *tatr - ayam* (Kacc 10)
- c. *ta a ayam* (Kacc 10)
- d. *ta a ayam* (Kacc 10)

tr

- e. *tu ayam* (Kacc 12)

tr

- f. *ta āyam* (Kacc 15)

tr

- g. *tatrāyam* (Kacc 11)

The terms *viyoga* as well as *paranayana* are, however, absent in the Mogg's grammar, as he does not say anything about the method of *sandhi*. Here it would be interesting to note that the idea of *paranayana* is touched upon by Śarva: *vyanjanam usvarum param varṇam nayet* (Kt 1.1.21).¹ This seems to be the source of Kacc 10-11 and Sadd 28-29, inspite of their different context. Kt

¹ "A consonant is to be conjoined with the following phoneme but not a vowel".

1.1.21 teaches that only a consonant should be conjoined with the following letter, and not a vowel.¹

B.

Viyoga and *paranayana* are peculiar Pali terms denoting a special method of *sandhi* adopted by K and Agg. The apparent source of these is Kt 1.1.21.

7. *vipariyaya / vipallāsa*

A.

Vipariyaya or *vipallāsa* are two terms used by the Pali grammarians to describe the phenomenon of metathesis. The term *vipariyaya* or *viparyāya* (Skt. *viparyaya*) is derived from *vi + pari + i* and is used in the *Atthakathās* in the sense of ‘a change’, ‘a reversal’.² The term *vipallāsa* (Skt. *viparyāsa*) is derived from *vi + pari + usa* ‘to throw’ and in literature, it denotes ‘a reversal’, ‘a change’ (esp. in a bad sense) and ‘an inversion’.³ The form *viparyāsa*, which is the diaeretic Pali form founded on Skt., occurs at Vin II.80 in the same sense. About the form *vipariyesu*, PED (626) comments that it is a contaminated form between *vipariyaya* and *vipallāsa*. It also denotes ‘reversal, contrariness, a wrong state’. In this sense, it occurs at Kv 306; Vibh 376. Thus, it is quite clear that the terms *vipariyaya* and *vipallāsa* are based on two different Sanskrit forms. However, in the Canon as well as in the commentaries, none of them denotes metathesis.

Agg in Sadd 24 explains *viparyāya* as follows:

vyanjanam hetthupariyatā viparyāyo /

¹ *vyanjanam parum varṇam nayet, na tu svaram /* (DV 1.1.21)

² Sv I.148; Pj II 499; DhsA 253; Saddh 124, 333.

³ Sn 299; Ps II.80; Vism 214 (*attha-*); Nett 4.27, 31, 85.

"The term *vipariyāya* denotes reversal in the position of the phonemes".

He uses the term at Sadd 154, 980, 1048, and 1080. At Sadd 672 and 1099, he has also used the term *vipallāsa*:

"Sometimes there is a transposition of grammatical persons".¹

"Sometimes there is a transposition of gender, grammatical case, number, tense, person and letters".²

Vipallāsa here is used in the sense of transposition or change and not metathesis.

K only uses the term *vipariyaya* without defining it. See e.g., *havipariyayo lo vā* /³ (Kacc 490)

Mogg has only used the term *vipallāsa*. At MV 1.50: *hassa vipallāso*, it signifies a metathesis.⁴ However, at MVu 2.3, 2.210 and 3.19, *vipallāsa* signifies 'transposition'.⁵

¹ *kvaci purisavipallāso* / (Sadd 1099)

² *liṅga-vibhatti-vacana-kālu-puris'-akkharānam vipallāso* / (Sadd 672)

³ "When the *h*-ending roots are followed by the suffix *y*, there takes place the metathesis of *h* (and *y*) and the phoneme *y* is substituted by the phoneme *h*".

⁴ "When the phoneme *h* is followed by the phoneme *y*, there takes place the metathesis of *h* (and *y*)".

⁵ *vibhattivipallāseno vā bahulam vidhānā* / "Or, by transposition of grammatical case, due to the statement 'bahulam'" (MVu 2.3); *kathum - cuturo nimitte nāddasāsim ti - liṅgavipallāsā* / "How it is said 'cuturo nimitte nāddasāsim' ? By transposition of gender." (MVu 2.210); *kvaci vipallāso'pi hoti bahulādhikārato* / "Sometimes, the order is reversed due to the governing rule 'bahulam'". (MVu 3.19).

B.

As per the Sanskrit tradition, the term *viparyaya* is used to denote the phenomenon of metathesis. The term *viparyaya* is derived from the root *vi + pari + i* (to go back), in the sense of ‘reverse’ or ‘opposite’ of something. It occurs in the Nir in the sense of change and metathesis:

"Further, there is alteration in the initial part (of the root), as in *jyotiḥ* (from *dyut*, light), *ghanaḥ* (from *hun*, killer), *binduḥ* (from *bhid*, a drop), *vātyaḥ* (from *bhat*, to be hired or nourished) etc. Further, there is metathesis, as in *stokuh* (from *ścut*, a drop), *rajuh* (rope), *sikatāḥ* (from *kas*, sand), *tarku* (from *kṛt*, a knife)".¹

In Nir, another term *viparīta* is also used to denote the phenomenon of metathesis:

"Or, *tālu* is derived from the reversed root *lat*".²

Since the phenomenon of metathesis is not dealt with by the grammars of P and C, there was no occasion to use this term.

Śarva has used the term *viparyaya* at Kt 2.5.23: *svare'ksaraviparyayah* to denote the metathesis. Here it should be noted that the term *viparyāsa* occurs in Sanskrit in the sense of ‘a change, contrariety, reverse; an interchange’ etc., but not in the sense of ‘metathesis’. Cf. V. S. Apte (1979:1450).

C.

Two terms *vipariyaya* and *vipallāsa* used by the Pali grammarians to denote the phenomenon of metathesis have no canonical status. They are based on their Sanskrit counter-parts

¹ *athāpi ādīviparyayo bhavati jyotiḥ ghanaḥ binduḥ vātya iti / Athāpy ādyantaviparyayo bhavati stokāḥ rajuḥ sikatāḥ turka iti /* (Nir 2.1)

² *tālu ... latater vā syāt ... viparītāt /* (Nir 2.5.6)

viparyaya and *viparyāsa*. However, out of these two terms, only *viparyaya* is used in the sense of metathesis in Sanskrit tradition.

8. *vikāra*

A.

The term *vikāra* is derived from the root *vi + kar* (Skt. *kr*). In literature, the term denotes a. a change, an alteration (Vism 366, 367, Pj I 107); b. distortion, reversion (Vin I.301; Ja II.448) etc. In the grammatical context, it signifies ‘modification of a linguistic element’. Another term *ādesa* (Skt. *ādeśa*) is derived from the root *ā + dis* (Skt. *dis*) (to point out, direct, teach). Though the term is generally used in the sense of ‘an advice’ or ‘an instruction’, in grammar, it signifies ‘a substitute’. In this sense, it occurs at Pj II 303. There the phrase *kutonidāna* is explained as *kinnidāna*. Here the commentary remarks:

"Here, *to* is to be understood as a substitute in the place of a nominative case ending".¹

Among the Pali grammarians, K and Agg have used both *vikāra* and *ādesa* side by side, for instance, *tesu vuddhilopāgamavikāraviparītādesā ca* (Kacc 406, Sadd 859). Agg explains *vikāra* as:

vanyantaratā ekato samyogatā ca vikāro / (Sadd 24)

"Transformation of a phoneme and change of a single consonant into a conjunct is called as *vikāra*".

In this context, he has also mentioned the views of his predecessors:

¹ *paccuttavucanassa to-ādeso veditabbo /*

"Transformation of one phoneme into another, simplification of a consonant cluster, and change of a single consonant into a conjunct is called *vikāra*".¹

In the commentary on the same rule, Agg also mentions the view of some teachers who distinguish *vikāra* and *ādesa* thus:

"Ādesa is mentioned with the nominative case ... *vikāra* with the accusative case".²

Kacc 406 is the only rule where K has used the term *vikāra*. The term *ādesa*, however, occurs in rules Kacc 17, 406 and 519. Agg also seems to favour the use of the term *ādesa* as he uses the term at Sadd 165, 236 and 237. Besides these, the term occurs many times in the commentary.

Mogg has not used the term *vikāra* in its technical sense. Like P and C, he only uses *ādesa*, e.g. at MVu 1.19, 2.43 etc.

B.

Like many other terms, *vikāra* and *ādesa* are terms of an early origin. In Nir, the term *vikāra* is used to signify 'change' or 'modification of a phoneme'. Skanda and Maheśvara, the commentators of the Nir, explain *vikāra* thus:

"Moreover, by the phrase 'the modification of a penultimate vowel' what is meant is 'by the modification of some part'.³

Thus, according to these commentators, the meaning of the term *vikāra* is 'change in some part'. Further, at RP II.5, the term *vikāruśāstra* occurs in the sense of 'the science of *sandhi*'.

¹ *uññussa uññuthābhāvo suññogussa ca ekatā / suññogubhāvo cekussa vikāro ti pavuccuti //* (Sadd 859)

² *ādeso puñhumāniddittho ... vikāro dutiyāniddittho /* (Sadd 859)

³ *uthāpy upadhāvikāra ity anena kvacid kusyacid avayavasya vikāreñeti /* (Skanda and Maheśvara on the Nirukta, p. 8)

According to the view of the followers of Āpiśali, a grammatical operation in place of one phoneme is called *vikāra* and that in place of more than one letters is called an *ādeśa*.¹ Thus, according to this view, there is a distinction between *vikāra* and *ādeśa*. Kavirāja, the author of the Kalāpacandra ascribes a similar view to Kulacandra. On Kt 2.3.33 he says:

"Here Kulacandra says: That which is substituted in place of more than one phoneme is called an *ādeśa*. That which is substituted in place of a single phoneme is called *vikāra*".²

The distinct nature of *vikāra* and *ādeśa* is reflected in a verse:

*āgamo' nupaghātena vikāras copamardanāt /
ādeśas tu prasaṅgena lopah̄ survāpakurṣṇāt //³*

P uses only the term *ādeśa* in his Aṣṭ. Cf. e.g., *eca ig hrusvādeśe* (P 1.1.48), *sthānivad ādeśo'nalvidhau* (P 1.1.56). Ptj does not distinguish between *vikāra* and *ādeśa* as he says:

"*Vikāra* (modification) is called *ādeśa* (substitution)".⁴

The word *ādeśa* occurs only once in Kt's rule: *sphāyer vā' deśuh̄ /* (Kt 4.2.25)

C.

The above discussion shows that the distinction between *vikāra* and *ādeśa* started disappearing as early as at the time of Ptj. K and

¹ *ekuvārṇakāryam vikārah / Anekavārṇakāryam ādeśu ity Āpiśalīyam matam /* (K. C. Chatterji 1964:317)

² *atra kulacandraḥ: anekavārṇasya sthāne yo vidhīyate, sa ādeśuh̄ / eku- vārṇasya sthāne yo vidhīyate, sa vikāru iti /*

³ Cf. Āgama, p. 139.

⁴ *vikāra ādeśuh̄ /* (Vol. I, p. 31, 11.17-18)

Agg distinguish between *vikāra* and *ādesa*. However, like P and C, they have preferred the term *ādesa*. Mogg has totally abandoned the term *vikāra* and has used *ādesa* throughout.

9. *viparīta*

A.

Viparīta is a peculiar term. Though it is common to both the Sanskrit and the Pali grammatical literature, it has different significations in these two traditions. Just as *vipariyaya* or *viparyaya*, *viparīta* is also derived from the root *ī* with the prefixes *vi* and *pari* meaning ‘to go back’. In the philosophical context, it denotes ‘reversed’, ‘changed’; ‘equivocal’; ‘wrong’.¹

According to the Mmd 338, 35, *viparīta* is an older term for the phoneme *o*:

viparīto nāma okārussa porāṇikā saññā /

Sadd 25: *o vā viparīto* ascribes the designation *viparīta* to the phoneme *o* when it is a modification of the morpheme *ava*, for example *ovaduti*.² Sadd 26: *uvanño ca* extends the term to the phoneme *u* when it is a modification of the phoneme *o* resulting from the morpheme *ava*. Thus, *o* is a *viparīta* phoneme of *ava* and *u* is a *viparīta* phoneme of *o*. According to Sadd 24, *pubbaparādīni sandhikiriyopakaraṇāni*, *viparītata* denotes the modification of a consonant into a vowel or into another consonant, as well as the modification of a vowel into another vowel.³ This idea of *viparītata* is very much similar to the idea of *vikāra*. Under Sadd 859, Agg has quoted two verses of his predecessors:

"Transformation of one phoneme into another,
simplification of a consonant cluster and change of

¹ A III.114, IV.226, V.284; Th 2, 393; Ja I.334

² *atha vā okāro viparītasuñño hoti avasuddussa viparītattā: ovaduti /*

³ *vyuñjunānam sur-aññavyañjunattam surussa c aññusarattam viparītata /*

a single consonant into a conjunct is called *vikāra*. Change of a long vowel into a short one and so also the change of a short vowel into a long one, change of a single consonant into a conjunct, the simplification of a consonant cluster, change of a consonant into either a vowel or another consonant, change of a vowel into another vowel, is called *viparītata*".¹

The same is also reflected at Sadd 159: *vuttānurakkhanattham viparītata /*

"In the *gāthā* literature, the phenomenon of a phonetic change takes place to preserve the metrical length: Some teachers say 'the phenomenon of *viparītata* (a phonetic change) is for preserving the metrical length and for following the rules regarding metrically long and short phonemes with regard to the *gāthā* literature', whereas some other teachers say 'the phenomenon of *vannavikāratā* (a phonetic modification) is for preserving the metrical length of different types of compositions such as the *gāthā* composition, the *suttanta* composition and the *taraṅga* composition".²

K uses *viparīta* in *tubbiparītūpapade byañjane ca* (Kacc 79), *tesu vuddhilopāgamavikāraviparītādesā ca* (Kacc 406) and *kvaci dhātuvibhattippuccuyānam dīghaviparītādesalopāgumā ca* (Kacc 519). Out of these, at Kacc 79 and 406, it denotes the phoneme *o* <

¹ *uññassu uññuthābhāvo suññogussa ca ekutā /*
suññogubhāvo ca ekassu vikāro' ti pavuccati //
russabhbāvo ca dīghassu utho russussa dīghatā /
suññogubhāvo ca ekassu suññogussa ca ekutā //
vyañjanānam surattām ca uññavyañjanatā pi ca /
sarussa ca uññussaratā vuccate viparītata //

² *keci hi ācariyā "gāthāsu vuttānurakkhanatthāya garulahūnam niyamassa pālunatthāya viparītata"ti, keci puna "gāthāvutta-suttantavatta-taraṅga-vattādīnam vattānam unurakkhanatthāya vannavikāratā hoti" ti vadanti /*

ava and the phoneme *u* < *o*. At Kacc-Vu 406, we come across terms *ādiviparīta*, *majjhaviparīta* and *uttaraviparīta*. Here, *uggate suriye* and *uggacchati* are given as examples of *ādiviparīta*; *samuggacchati*, *samuggate suriye* as examples of *majjhaviparīta* and *digu*, *digunnum* as examples of *uttaraviparīta*. This shows that the term *viparīta* applies to any change of the phoneme *o* to the phoneme *u*. At Kacc 519, *viparīta* is used in a more general non-technical sense of change or modification.

Agg uses the term at Sadd 159: *vuttānurakkhaṇattham viparītatā ca*, 160: *sutte sukhuccāraṇattham akkharalopo viparītatā ca*, 859: *tesu vuddhilopāgumavikāraviparītādesā ca* and 1105: *matantare kvaci dhātu-vibhatti-paccayāñām dīgha-viparītādesa-lopāgamā ca*. Out of these, its usage at Sadd 859 matches with that of Kacc 79 and 406, whereas in the remaining cases, the term denotes a phonetic change, just as Kacc 519. The term is, however, absent in the MV.

B.

In Sanskrit, the literal meaning of the term *viparīta* is ‘turned round, reversed, inverted’ etc. However, as mentioned before, in Nir, the term *viparīta* is synonymous with *viparyaya* and denotes ‘a metathesis’. Cf. Nir 5.4.8: *tālu ... latater vā syāt viparītāt*. In RP, it denotes change of *r* into *i* when preceded or followed by a palatal letter: *anantare tadviparītam āhus tālavye śṛṅge bibhryād vicṛttāḥ* (RP 14.17). In Mbh, Ptj uses the term in its non-technical sense of ‘in the opposite or reverse way’. Cf. *viparītāc ceti vaktavyam / pārāvārīnah* (Mbh on P 4.2.93, Vt. 2). The term is, however, missing in the grammars of P, C and Śarva.

C.

Thus, as per the Pali grammatical tradition, the term *viparīta* conveys two meanings: 1. the phonemes *u* and *o*, from *o* and *ava* respectively and 2. a phonetic modification in general. As shown by Agg, in the sense of a phonetic modification, the terms *viparīta*

and *vikāra* coincide with each other and the demarcating line between these two is vague. In Nir, *viparīta* denotes metathesis. This meaning is, however, missing in the Pali grammars.

Morphological Terminology

I. Terms Denoting the Basic Morphological Categories

In both, Sanskrit and Pali, every inflected word is analyzed into a stem and an affix. The stems are of two types: nominal and verbal. Suffixes on the other hand can be divided into nominal case endings, finite verbal endings, and primary and secondary derivative suffixes. Keeping this basic structure in mind, let us now study the terminology used by the Pali and the Sanskrit grammarians to denote these above-mentioned categories.

1. pada

A.

In both, Pali and Sanskrit, the term *pada* denotes a word in general.¹ However, in words *parassapada* (Skt. *parasmaipada*) and *attanopada* (Skt. *ātmmanepada*) *pada* is used in the sense of suffixes.² Besides this, in Pali it also denotes a verse (or a quarter of a verse), stanza, line, or a sentence.³

Among the Pali grammarians, Agg defines *pada* as:

vibhatyantam avibhatyantam vā attajotakam padam /

¹ *ekena padena sabbo uttho vutto /* (S II.36)

² Note that there are several occasions in the *ākhyātakappa* where Kacc-Vu uses *pada* in the sense of verbal endings. Cf. Kacc-Vu 410, 425-426, 428-430 etc.

³ A V.320, II.182, 189, III.356; Sn 252, 374; *akkharum padam vyañjunum* (Nett 4). Cp. *nāmādīhi parapadehi* at Pj II 397, which is to be understood as *nāma*, *pada* and *vyañjana*, i.e. a word, a sentence, and a letter.

"The technical term *pada* denotes an inflected or an uninflected word expressing meaning". (Sadd 27)

In this case, it should be noted that Agg's inclusion of the term *avibhatyantam* in the rule is for the sake of bringing prefixes and particles within the scope of the *pada* designation.

Mogg has defined the term *pada* in the Vutti on *apādādo padanekavākye* (MV 2.234). The Vutti runs:

"The meaning is expressed by it. Thus it is called a *pada*, i.e. a word ending either in the nominal endings *si* etc. or the finite verbal endings *ti* etc.".¹

This is a recast of CVṛ 6.3.15:

*padyate gamyate'nenārtha iti padam, subantam
tiñantam ca /*

The second part of the definition *syādyantam tyādyantam ca* agrees with the Pāṇinian definition of *pada* (P 1.4.14).

K uses the term in the sense of an inflected form in the rule *padato dutiyācatutthīchatthīsu vo no* (Kacc 147) without defining it.

B.

Though the word *pada* occurs in the Sanskrit literature since the time of RV (1.22.5) in a variety of meanings, its first occurrence, as a technical term, can be traced back to the Go. Brā.² BD defines *pada* as:

"A word (*pada*), the definition of which can be expressed, whether it be derived from two roots, many (roots), or one root, is one consisting of a sound (*śabda*) that contains root, preposition, members (*avayava*), and secondary elements

¹ *pajjatenenattho ti padam, syādyantam tyādyantam ca /*

² *kati padāḥ* / (Go. Brā. 1.1.24)

(*guṇa*). A word may be explained in five ways, (viz.) as derived from a root, as derived from the derivative of a root, as derived from a compounded meaning (*sumastārtha*), as derived from a sentence (*vākyu*), and as (of) ambiguous (derivation)".¹

"From the sense (comes) the word (*pada*), its designation; from the word (comes) the ascertainment of the sense of the sentence (*vākyā*). (For) the sentence arises from an aggregation of words, the word arises from an aggregation of letters".²

VP's definition of *pada* is: "Word is meaning".³

Among the Sanskrit grammarians, P has defined *pada* in four rules: *suptiñantam padam* (P 1.4.14), *nah kye* (P 1.4.15), *siti ca* (P 1.4.16), and *svādiṣv usarvanāmasthāne* (P 1.4.17). Out of these, P 1.4.14 ascribes the technical term *pada* to an inflected nominal or a verbal form:

"The technical term *pada* denotes a word ending either in the nominal endings denoted by the abbreviation *sup* or the finite verbal endings denoted by the abbreviation *tiñ*".

The remaining three rules, however, ascribe the same designation to a nominal stem in front of certain suffixes. According to P 1.4.15, a word form ending in the phoneme *n* is called *pada* in front of the suffixes *kyan*, *kyac* and *kyas*. As a result of assigning the *pada* designation to such word forms, we can get forms such as *rājīyati*, *rājāyate*, *carmāyati*, *carmāyate* etc. According to P

¹ *dhātūpasargāvayavaguṇaśabdām dvidhātujam / bahvekadḥātujam vā'pi padam nirvācyalakṣaṇam / dhātujam dhātujāj jātaṁ samastārthajam eva vā // vākyajam vyatikṛṇam ca nirvācyam pañcadhā padam //* (BD 2.103, 104)

² *arthāt padam svābhidheyam padād vākyārthanirṇayah / padusunghātajam vākyam varṇasunghātajam padam //* (BD 2.117)

³ *arthah padam /* (VP 3.2)

1.4.16, the same designation is ascribed to a stem before suffixes having an indicatory phoneme *s*, e.g., *bhavadīyah*, *urnāyuh*, *rtvīyah* etc. As per P 1.4.17, the *pada* designation is given to a nominal stem before the nominal and the *tuddhita* suffixes beginning with consonants other than *y*- except the suffixes termed as *survanāmsthāna*,¹ e.g., *rājabhyām*, *rājatā*, *rājatarah* etc. This whole arrangement of giving the *pada* designation to nominal stems in a particular situation is done by P in order to distinguish the strong, the middle and the weak suffixes. In Aṣṭ, the strong endings are named as *survanāmsthāna*. Though there is no special name given to the middle and the weak endings, a stem is called *pada* before the middle endings and *bhu*² before the weak endings. For instance, a nominal masculine stem *rājan* has forms *rājānau*, *rājānah* in case of the strong endings, *rājabhyām*, *rājabhiḥ* in case of the middle endings and *rājñah*, *rājñā* in case of the weak endings.

Śarva has defined *pada* in the rule:

pūrvāparayor arthopalabdhau padam / (Kt 1.1.20)

He combines the ancient definition: *arthah padam* with the more modern one: *vibhaktyuntum padam*. DV explains:

"The technical term *pada* denotes a meaningful combination of a stem that precedes and the inflection that follows".³

Besides explaining these definitions, DT also mentions a more

¹ P has defined the term *survanāmsthāna* in rules *śi survanāmsthānum* (P 1.1.42) and *sut̄ anupumsukusya* (P 1.1.43). According to P 1.1.42, the term applies to the substitute *śi* coming in place of the nominative and the accusative plural suffixes *jus* and *śus*. P 1.1.43 extends the term to the first five nominal case endings in the masculine and the feminine gender.

² In the Aṣṭ, the technical term *bhu* is ascribed to a nominal stem before an affix with an initial semivowel (*y*-) or any vowel: *yaci bham* (P 1.4.18).

³ *pūrvāparayoh prakṛtvibhaktyor arthopalabdhau satyām samudāyah pada-sumjño bhavuti /* (DV 1.1.20)

general explanation of *pada*:

"*Pada* is that by which the meaning is arrived at, i.e. expressed".¹

Suṣena, the author of the Kalāpacandra, while commenting on the same rule, records different views about the *pada* designation. He says:

"‘Word is the meaning’ say the followers of Indra. ‘*Pada* denotes an inflected word’ say the followers of Āpiśali. ‘*Pada* denotes a word ending in *sup* (the nominal case endings) or *tin* (the finite verbal case endings)’ say the followers of Pāṇini. Here, in this treatise, Vararuci says that ‘a word denotes a meaningful linguistic unit’".²

It is quite clear that the definitions of Āpiśali and P are on an equal ground.

C uses *pada* in *apādādau padād ekavākye* (CV 6.3.15) without defining it.

C.

From the above discussion, it seems that initially the term *pada* was used to denote a linguistic unit capable of expressing a complete idea. Therefore, in literature, it is used either to denote a word or a sentence, a stanza or even a complete text. Following Śarva, the Pali grammarians have used *pada* only to denote an inflected word. On the other hand, P has ascribed this designation even to certain nominal stems.

¹ *padyate gumyate'rtho'neneti padam* / (DT 1.1.20)

² *arthāḥ padum āhur Aindrāḥ, vibhaktyuntum padum āhur Āpiśulīyāḥ, suptināntum padum Pāṇinīyāḥ, iha arthopulabdhau padam iti Vararucih /*

2. *liṅga / nāma / pāṭipadika / sadda***A.*****Liṅga***

In Pali, the term *liṅga* generally means ‘a sign, an attribute, a mark’ (M I.360; S V.278; Sn 601). Besides this, the term also denotes a grammatical gender.¹ In the Pali grammatical literature, it denotes an inflected / uninflected nominal base, and a grammatical gender.

Following Śarva, K and Agg use the term *liṅga* to signify an uninflected nominal stem. Cf. Kacc 434 and Sadd 905:

"The suffixes are added after a verbal or a nominal stem".²

"The suffixes are added after a verbal or a nominal stem or an imitative form".³

In this sense, the term *liṅga* agrees with the term *prātipadika* used by P. K has not given any formal definition of *liṅga*. At Kacc-Vṇ 286, *liṅga* is explained as:

"A hidden part is *liṅga*. *Līna* means ‘concealed’, (*aṅga* means) ‘a part’. ... Here of the inflected forms *puriso* etc., the basic form *purisa*, which is without case endings, and partial, is concealed for being uninflected. It is also called *aṅga* on account of its being a part of the inflected form. By virtue of this, the basic uninflected form *purisa*, which is a part of an inflected word, is called *liṅga*. Or, *liṅga* is so called because it expresses / manifests the concealed meaning. Even by virtue of this, that

¹ Pj II 397; (-vipullāsa) Pv-a 7, 33, 58, 87, 157.

² *dhātuliṅgehi parāppuccayā /*

³ *dhātulingānukaraṇehi puccayā /*

basic form is called *liṅga*".¹

At Sadd 196, Agg defines *liṅga* as:

dhātuppaccayavibhāttivajjītam utthavam liṅgam /

"A meaningful linguistic unit leaving out the verbal roots, suffixes and the nominal and the verbal case endings is called *liṅga* (a nominal stem)."

This reflects the definition found at Kt 2.1.1 and P 1.2.45. Sadd 197: *upasagganipātā ca* is, however, Agg's own initiative. This rule ascribes the technical term *liṅga* even to prefixes and particles. This implies that in view of Agg, the prefixes and particles are meaningless and therefore, it is necessary to make a special provision for them. In view of the Sanskrit grammarians like P and Śarva, prefixes and particles are meaningful linguistic elements and, therefore, are already within the scope of their existing definition of *prātipadika* and *liṅga*.

An additional definition of *liṅga* is given at Sadd 192:

visudatthādisahitam² līnathagamakam nippbhanna-vacunam liṅgam /

According to this definition, the technical term *liṅga* denotes an inflected form, conveying concealed meaning along with the idea of masculine gender etc. In the commentary on the same rule, Agg has quoted a verse from Mmd 53, which throws light on this dual nature of the term *liṅga*:

¹ *līnam aṅgam ti liṅgam, līnam ti apākaṭam avayavo ... ettha ca puriso ti ādīnam nippbhannapadānam purisā ti vibhattirahitam avayavabhūtam pakutirūpam anippbhannatā apākaṭam, tassa nippbhannapadassu avayavuttā ca aṅgam / iminā nippbhannapadassu avayavabhūtam purisā ti vibhattirahitam pakutirūpameva liṅgam ti vuttam / līnam uttham gamayati bodheti ti vā liṅgam / iminā pi tam pakutirūpameva liṅgam ti vuttam /*

² The term *visudatthādi* refers to the idea of the grammatical gender, which is discussed by Agg in rules 193-195. For details, see below.

"The expression *rukko* is called *liṅga* as the underlying meaning is conveyed by it. Thus, knowing what is *liṅga* (an inflected form) and what is the underlying meaning, wise should employ them".¹

The difference between these two meanings of the word *liṅga* is also highlighted in the commentary on *līnaṅgato tā*²:

"These said types of case endings are added after a *liṅga* meaning a stem form and not after the one meaning an inflected form".³

It should be noted that in the Sanskrit grammatical tradition, the term *liṅga* is not used in the sense of 'an inflected nominal form'.

Liṅga in the sense of either an inflected or an uninflected nominal base is missing in MV where, it only signifies a grammatical gender. Cf. MVu 2.61, 113, 209; 5.49.

Nāma

The literal meaning of *nāma* is 'name'. In Pali grammars, it is used in the sense of an inflected / uninflected nominal stem.

K and Agg have used *nāma* in the sense of 'an inflected nominal'.⁴ However, at Kacc 603: *tuddhitusamāsukitakā nāmām vā tāvetūnādisu ca*, K has used *nāma* in the sense of a nominal stem. Mogg has used *nāma* in the sense of 'an uninflected nominal

¹ *rukko ti vacunām liṅgam, liṅgattho tenu dīpito / evam liṅgam ca liṅgattham ñatvā yojeyya pañdito //*

² "They are added after a nominal stem". (Sadd 202)

³ *tā vibhattiyō vuttappakārā līnaṅgabhūtasmā liṅgato parā honti, na nippahannalingamhā /*

⁴ Kacc 318: *nāmānuñ sumāso yuttattho*; Sadd 163: *kvaci sare vyañjane vā oduntānum nāmānum akārantattum pakuti*; Sadd 199: *syāduyo nāme, tyāduyo ākhyāte*; Sadd 415: *sumāsagutunāme kvaci /*

stem'.¹ In his opinion, here *nāma* is equivalent to *pāṭipadika* (Skt. *prāṭipadika*):

nāmam pāṭipadikam ... (MVu 1.9)

Here it should be noted that the term *pāṭipadika* in the sense of ‘an uninflected nominal stem’ also occurs in Kacc-Vu, Sadd and MVu. Cf. *patakala ... iccevam ādīhi dhātūhi pāṭipadikehi ca uttarapadesu alappuccayo hoti* (Kacc-Vu 667); *masu icc etassa pāṭipadikassa ...* (Sadd 1239); and *keci panāhu asattavacane hetehi pāṭipadikatthe dutiyā tatiyā pañcamī sattamiyo* (MVu 2.28). Agg extends the term *pāṭipadika* to inflected and uninflected nouns:

"A *pāṭipadika* is also twofold: inflected and uninflected".²

Besides the more established *liṅga*, *nāma* and *pāṭipadika*, K and Agg have used a more general term *sadda*, meaning ‘a word’ to refer to an uninflected nominal base (Kacc 177, 185; Sadd 155, 363, 498, 527).

B.

In the Go. Brā. (1.1.24), we come across the questions:

ko dhātuh, kiṁ prāṭipadikam, kiṁ nāmākhyātum /

Here it should be noted that *nāman* and *prāṭipadika* were in use side by side since the time of the Go. Brā. Between these two, P has favoured the term *prāṭipadiku* whereas Siddhahemaśabdānuśāsana, Śabdānuśāsana and Sār have used the term *nāman*.

K. C. Chatterji (1964: 68) has suggested that the word *prāṭipadika* is derived from the word *pratipada* (every word) with

¹ *dve dve kānekesu nāmasmā si yo um yo nā hi su nam smā hi su nam smim su /* (MV 2.1)

² *duvidho hi pāṭipadiko: nippħanno ca unippħanno cu /*

the suffix *thuk* in the sense of ‘*prayojana*’. Thus, according to him, *prātipadika* means ‘that which is necessary for each inflected word’.

P uses this term to denote a nominal stem. His definition of *prātipadika* is:

arthavat adhātūr apratyayah prātipadikam, krt-taddhitasamāśāś ca / (P 1.2.45-46)

"That which conveys the sense and is neither a root nor a suffix (nor a word ending in a suffix) is a *prātipadika*. Compounds as well as words ending in primary and secondary suffixes are also called *prātipadikas*".

Śarva uses *linga* for *prātipadika*. In Upanisads, *linga* denotes ‘a characteristic’, then it came to signify ‘a gender’ and later, to denote ‘the substance having that gender’. Kt 2.1.1 defines *linga* as:

dhātuvibhaktivarjam arthaval lingum /

"A meaningful linguistic unit leaving out the verbal root, the nominal and the verbal case endings is a *prātipadika*".

Trilocanadāsa, the author of the KVP, says under Kt 2.1.1:

"This is a self-explanatory term. It is called *linga* as the meaning is indicated, marked i.e. partially conveyed by it. It is said to be the cause of vague understanding".¹

CVṛ 2.1.1 uses *śabda* to denote a nominal base.²

¹ *anyarthasamjñā ceyam - lingyate cihnyate unenaikādeśenārtho gamyate iti lingam, avispaśtārthapratipattihetur ucyate /*

² *ete ca sāmarthyād ekatvādimad arthavācinah śabdāt pare bhavanti /*

C.

The Pali grammarians have used four different words such as *liṅga*, *nāma*, *pātipadika* and *sudda* to denote an uninflected nominal stem. K and Agg seem to have borrowed the term *liṅga* from Śarva. Agg has shown that in the Pali tradition, the terms *liṅga* and *pātipadika* are also used to denote an inflected nominal form. This usage is, however, unparalleled in the Sanskrit grammar. It is difficult to provide a satisfactory answer to why Mogg has chosen the term *nāma* to denote a nominal stem.

3. *dhātu*

A.

In Pali, the literal meaning of the word *dhātu* is ‘a primary element’ (D I.215; S I.15 etc.). In the grammatical context, it signifies a verbal root. In this sense, it has no canonical status. *Dhātu* in the sense of a verbal root is used at Kacc 274, 434, 440; Sadd 196, 233, 558; MV 4.142, 5.12.

K and Agg define *dhātu* as: *bhūvādayo dhātavo /*

"The technical term *dhātu* denotes a group of words
bhū etc."¹ (Kacc 459, Sadd 938).

Rūp 408 provides an alternative explanation of this definition:

bhūvā ādi pakārā yesam te bhūvādayo /

According to this definition, the term *dhātu* denotes verbal roots of the type of the root *bhū* or *vā*.

The term *dhātu* is analysed as:

"*Dhātu* is that which bears the meaning".²

However, according to Rūp 408:

¹ *bhū iccevamādayo ye sadduguṇā te dhātusuññā honti /* (Kacc-Vu 459)

² *attham dhāretī ti dhātu /* (Kacc-Vṇ 526)

"*Bhū* etc. and those ending in the verbal derivative suffixes *kha* etc. are called *dhātus* for they bear the action".¹

By virtue of this explanation, the scope of the term *dhātu* is extended even to those secondary verbal roots ending in the suffixes *kha* etc.². This is also supported by the rule: *dhātuppaccayehi vibhattiyo* / (Kacc 457, Sadd 936)

"The verbal case endings are added after verbal affixes starting from *kha* up to the causal affixes".³

Note that Mogg uses *dhātu* at MV 4.142: *adhātussa kessyādito ghe ssi* and 5.12: *dhātvatthe nāmasmi*. MVu uses *nāmadhātu* to express denominatives. Cf. MVu 4.69: *dhūmāyatattanti - ktāntā nāmadhātuto ttena siddham*. Besides *dhātu*, Mogg uses the term *kiriyattha* (having the sense of an action) to express the verbal roots at MV 3.14: *ci kriyatthehi* and 5.14: *kriyatthā*.⁴ Here it should be noted that C also uses the term *kriyārtha* for *dhātu*.

B.

Dhātu in the sense of 'essential ingredients of words' occurs for the first time in the Go. Brā. (1.1.24):

Oṃkāraṃ pr̄cchāmaḥ ko dhātuḥ ... /

At Nir 1.20, it is rightly derived from the root *dhā*:

"*Dhātuḥ* (root) is derived from (the root) *dhā* (to put)".⁵

¹ *kiriyam dhārentī ti dhātayo, bhūvādayo, khādidhātuppacuyantā ca /*

² *kha* etc. include suffixes *cha, sa, aya, iya, ne, ḥaya, ḥape, ḥapaya, ḥaya* which are taught in the second *kunḍa* of the third chapter of the Kacc.

³ *dhātuniddiṭṭhehi paccayehi khādikārituntehi vibhattiyo honti /* (Kacc-Vu 457, Sadd 936)

⁴ *kriyā uttho yassa so kriyattho dhātu /* (MVu 5.14)

⁵ *dhātur dadhāteḥ /*

The term *dhātu* is used by P and is retained in the most systems of grammar. Commenting on the term *dhātu*, the Kāśikā says:

"The word *dhātu* is a name given by the earlier teachers. They designated the action words. Therefore, here too, by resorting to the name given by the earlier teachers, the name *dhātu* is given to those (words) which denote an action".¹

P does not provide any descriptive definition of *dhātu*. His rule: *bhūvādayo dhātavah* (P 1.3.1) simply says:

"(The technical term) *dhātu* 'a verbal base or a stem or a root' denotes the class of words whose first member is *bhū*".

P 3.1.32: *sunādyantā dhātavah* extends the *dhātu* designation to the words ending in the suffixes *sun* etc. Explaining the term *dhātu*, Kātyāyana says:

"*Dhātu* is a term denoting an action".²

Śarva defines *dhātu* as: *kriyābhāvo dhātuh* (Kt 3.1.9). Commentators explain the rule thus:

"The term which reveals or expresses the action is called *dhātu*".³ (DT 3.1.9)

This agrees with Kātyāyana's definition. Like P, Śarva also extends the *dhātu* designation to the words ending in suffixes *sun* etc. Cf. Kt 3.2.16: *te dhātavah*!

C generally uses *kriyārtha* for *dhātu*. Cf. CV 1.1.40: *ekāco halādeḥ kriyārthād bhrśābhīksṇye yati* which corresponds to P

¹ *dhātuśubdaḥ pūrvācāryusamjñā / te ca kriyāvacanānām sunjñānām krtavantaḥ / tad ihaḥ pūrvācāryusamjñāśrayaṇāt kriyāvācinām eva bhūvādinām dhātusamjñā vidhīyate /*

² *kriyāvacano dhātuh / (1.3.1)*

³ *yah śubdaḥ kriyām bhāvayati pratipādavyati sa dhātusamjñō bhavati /*

3.1.22: *dhātor ekāco halādeḥ kriyāsumabhihāre yañ*. However, at CV 1.3.119, the term *dhātu* is also used: *dhātūktāv ayadi vā*.

Both, the Pali as well as the Sanskrit grammarians classify *dhātus* into *sakammaka* (Skt. *sakarmaka*) and *akammaka* (Skt. *akarmaka*). In this connection, the Rūp says:

"Further, they (*dhātus*) are twofold according to the meaning: transitive (*sakammaka*) and intransitive (*akammaka*). In this regard, the transitive roots are the roots denoting an action, which requires an object, for instance, *kuṭam karoti* (someone prepares a mat), *gāmam gacchati* (someone goes to the village) etc. The intransitive roots are the roots denoting an action which does not require an object, for instance, *seti* (someone sleeps), *tiṭṭhati* (someone stands) etc.".¹

Also cp. MVu 5.17:

"Transitive verbal roots are those whose action requires an object but those whose action requires only an agent are called intransitive verbal roots".²

At P 1.3.53: *udaścaraḥ sakarmakāt*, P uses *sakarmaka* for the transitive roots and at P 3.4.69: *laḥ karmaṇi ca bhāve cākarmakebhyaḥ* he uses *akarmaka* for intransitive roots. C uses *sāpya* for *sakarmaka* (CV 1.4.106) and *anāpya* for *akarmaka* (CV 1.2.97, 1.4.91).

¹ te pana atthavusā dvidhā bhavanti - *sakammakā*, *akummakā* cā ti / tatra *sakammakā* - ye dhātavo kummāpekkhaṁ kriyām vadanti, yathā - *kuṭam karoti*, *gāmam gacchati* ādoyo; *akummakā* - ye kammanirapekkhaṁ kriyām vadanti, yathā - *seti*, *tiṭṭhati* ti ādoyo / (Rūp 408)

² yussu pana dhātussa kriyā kammam apekkhate so *sakammako*; yussu tu kriyā kattumattam apekkhate svākummakoti nātubbum /

C.

Thus, the term *dhātu* in the sense of a verbal root is common to all the grammars. *Kiriyattha* / *kriyārtha*, which are self-explanatory, are only used by Mogg and C. Though Mogg has followed C in this regard, he has not adopted C's terms *sāpya* and *anāpya* to denote the transitive and the intransitive roots respectively. He has rather favoured the more established terms *sakammaka* and *akammaka*.

4. *paccaya*

A.

In Pali, the word *paccaya* denotes 'resting on, falling back on; support, requisite' (Sn 339, Mil 336 etc.). *Paccaya* in the sense of 'a suffix' is a clear instance of a borrowing from Sanskrit. In this sense, it only occurs in the grammatical context.

All the Pali grammarians have used the term *paccaya* in the sense of 'a suffix', without defining it (Kacc 237, 405; Sadd 196, 236; MV 3.68, 4.120). The only information available about suffixes is that they always follow the verbal or the nominal roots.¹ Cf. *dhātulingehi parāppaccayā* (Kacc 434); and *dhātulingānu-karanehi paccayā* (Sadd 905). According to Kacc-Vṇ 434, the term *paccaya* here denotes the nominal case endings *si* etc. and the verbal case endings *ti* etc.² In Kacc-Vṇ on Kacc 83: *saralopomādesa-ppaccayādimhi suralope tu pakuti, paccaya* is used in the sense of primary and secondary affixes and the finite verbal endings.³ At Kacc 237: *itthiyamato appaccayo*, it denotes a feminine suffix. At Kacc 457: *dhātuppaccayehi vibhattiyo*, it

¹ Note that Mogg and C take it for granted and do not make any special statement in this regard.

² *ettha ca paccayagguhāñena syādināmavibhattiyo ca tyādiākhyātavibhattiyo ca saṅguñhanti /*

³ *paccayagguhāñena tuddhitākhyātakitakapaccayā gahitā /*

denotes suffixes taught in connection with the verbal roots such as the causal suffixes and the suffixes *kha* etc.¹. At Kacc 405: *kvacādimajjhuttarānam dīgharassā paccayesu ca*, it also denotes the secondary derivative suffixes. The term denotes any type of affix, which is added after a nominal or a verbal base.

B.

In Sanskrit, *pratyaya* is derived from *prati + i* ‘to go towards or against’ and means ‘that which follows’. It is used in the Prātiśākhyas and their commentaries in the sense of ‘a subsequent word or sound’. In VP, the word is used both in the sense of ‘following’ and in the sense of ‘a suffix’. Thus, in *pratyayasavarnam mudi Śākatāyanuh*² (3.9) *pratyayasavarna* is used in the sense of *parasavarna*. (Chatterji 1964: 91)

In the Go. Brā., *pratyaya* appears to be used in the sense of a case ending:

ko dhātuḥ kah pratyayah ... (Go. Brā. 1.1.24)

Although the term *pratyaya* is absent in the Nir, Y uses other terms like *nāmakarāṇa*³ and *upabandha*⁴ to refer to a suffix.

Pratyayah (P 3.1.1) states that the technical term *pratyaya* applies to whatever is taught in the subsequent rules up to the end of the chapter five. P 3.1.2: *paruś ca* adds that these suffixes are added after an element (a verbal or a nominal stem). The suffix *bahuc* is a sole exception to this rule as it is added before a

¹ *dhātuniddiṭṭhehi paccayehi khādikāritantehi vibhuttiyo honti /* (Kacc-Vu 457)

² "Śākatāyana prescribes the change of a *visurjanīya* into the homogeneous letter of the following sound when a sibilant follows".

³ *Avater gutyarthasya uso nāmakarāṇaḥ* "usu is a primary suffix added to the root *av* which has the sense of motion". (Nir 1.17)

⁴ *udhvaryuḥ ... api vādhīyāne yur upabandhaḥ* "adhvaryuḥ ... or (the word is formed) by the addition of (the suffix) *yuh* (to the word *adhvār*) in the sense of studying". (Nir 1.8)

nominal stem. Cf. P 5.3.68. According to P 3.1.3: *ādyudāttuś ca*,

"The affix which follows (the verbal or the nominal stem) is accented on its initial syllable".

Śarva follows P. Cf. *pratyayaḥ parah* / (Kt 3.2.1)

C generally avoids the use of the term *pratyaya*. CVṛ simply uses *parah* in the place of *pratyaya*. Cf. for instance, *tijah kṣamāyām vartamānāt san paro bhavati* / (CVṛ 1.1.17)

C.

The Pali grammarians have borrowed the term *paccaya* from their Sanskrit counterparts.

II. Terminology Denoting Inflectional Classes of Nominals

The Pali grammarians have used four algebraic terms to represent four inflectional classes of nominatives. They are *jha*, *la*, *pa*, and *gha*. Out of these, *jha* denotes the phonemes *i*, and *ī* coming at the end of the masculine and the neuter stems, *la* denotes the phonemes *u* and *ū* coming at the end of the masculine and the neuter stems.¹ *Pa* denotes the phonemes *i*, *ī*, *u*, and *ū* coming at the end of the feminine stems.² However, the term *nadī* is also used by K and Agg to denote the *ī*-ending and the *ū*-ending feminine stems. Agg defines *nadī* at Sadd 724 as: *thiyam ikār-ukārā nadī* /

"The technical term *nadī* applies to the phonemes *ī* and *ū* coming at the end of the feminine stems".

¹ *ivannuvaṇṇājjhalā* (Kacc 58), *jhal'* *ivuṇṇ-uvuṇṇā* (Sadd 205), *iyuvaṇṇā jhalā nāmassante* (MV 1.9).

² *te itthikhyā po* (Kacc 59), *itthiyan te po* (Sadd 206), *pitthiyam* (MV 1.10).

Commenting on the term *nudī*, Rūp says that the term *nudī* is a borrowed term denoting phonemes *ī* and *ū* of a feminine stem.¹ Cp. P 1.4.3: *yū stryākhau nudī* and Kt 2.1.9: *idūt stryākhau nudī*. Agg uses this term in a lone rule Sadd 725: *nadīto ko*. K uses the term only once at Kacc 340: *nadīmhā ca*, without defining it. It is noteworthy that Mogg teaches the same grammatical operation without coining a new technical term. Cf. e.g.,

"An affix *ka* is mostly added after a *bahubbīhi* compound ending either in the suffix *ltu* or in feminine *i* or *u*".²

Gha stands for the phoneme *ā* coming at the end of the feminine stems.³ In this regard, it is noteworthy that just as Śarva, the Pali grammarians also ascribe these terms to the phoneme and not to the stem. These terms are without parallel in the Sanskrit grammars. According to K. C. Chatterji (1964: 63),

"*Jha* and *la* were probably suggested by P's rule *iko jhal* (P 1.2.9), *gha* by P's *ghi* and *pa* by P's *nīp*".

This, however, is just a probability and there is no strong reason to support it.

B.

In ancient Sanskrit grammars and the grammatical literature, we find a tendency to use a particular word to represent a particular inflectional class of nominals. Such terms are referred to as *nāyaka* in the Agnipurāṇa. According to this method, *agni* represents the stems ending in *i* and *u*, *nudī* represents the feminine stems ending in *ī* and *ū*, and *śraddhā* represents the feminine stems ending in *ā*. All these terms occur in Kt, which generally retains the older

¹ *nudīti cettha itthivācukānam ikārukārānam parasumaññā* / (Rūp 341)

² *latvitthiyūhi ko; ltupaccayante hi itthimikārūkārantehi ca bahulam kappaccayo hoti uññapadutthe* / (MV, MVu 3.52)

³ *ā gho* (Kacc 60), *ūkāro gho* (Sadd 207), *ghā* (MV 1.11).

terms: *idud agnih*, *idūt stryākhyau nadī*, *ā śraddhā* (Kt 2.1.8-10). P has accepted *nadī*¹ but has used *ghi*² instead of *agni*. In his system, there is no term to denote the feminine stems ending in *ā*. These stems are referred to by mentioning the suffix *āp*, which has the merit of being monosyllabic. Inspite of this similarity, these two grammars differ on what these terms denote. In P's system, the technical terms *nadī* and *ghi* are ascribed to stems whereas in the Kt, they are ascribed to the phonemes. Cp. for instance, the Kāśikā on P 1.4.3:

"The technical term *nadī* applies to the feminine word forms ending in phonemes *ī* or *ū*".³

DT on the other hand remarks:

"The technical term *agni* only applies to the phonemes *i* and *u*".⁴

Commenting on this, KVP says:

"By this statement, it is shown that the technical term *agni* only applies to these phonemes and not to the words ending in these phonemes".⁵

C uses *nyūnī* (6.2.46: *nyūnīah*) for *nadī* and *idut* (6.2.48: *idutor enī*) for *ghi*.

C.

From the above discussion, it is quite clear that in case of the technical terms used for denoting inflectional classes of nominals, the Pali grammarians have adopted a totally different line from the

¹ *yū stryākhyau nadī* / (P 1.4.3)

² *śeso ghy usakhi* / (P 1.4.7)

³ *īkārāntam ūkārāntam cu stryākhyum śabdarūpam nadīsumjñum bhavati* /

⁴ *ikārumātra ukāramātrāś ca agnir iti* / (DT 2.1.8)

⁵ *etenā atā āha - ikāra ukāraś ceti / kevalayor evānayor agnisumjñā syāt, na tadantasyeti durśitam* / (KVP 2.1.8)

Sanskrit grammarians. *Nadī* is the only term, which the Pali grammarians have borrowed from their Sanskrit counterpart. Like Śarva, the Pali grammarians have ascribed these technical terms to the final phoneme of a stem unlike P who ascribes the terms to the entire stem.

III. Terms Denoting Nominal and Verbal Inflections

1. *vibhatti*

A.

The term *vibhatti* (Skt. *vibhakti*) is derived from *vi + bhaj* ‘to divide, distribute’ and means ‘division, distinction, classification, detail, variety’.¹ As a technical term of grammar denoting inflection of nouns and verbs, declensions, and conjugations, it occurs at Pj II 397; Vv-a 78, 199. The term *vibhattilopa* occurs at Vv-a 174, 192; Pv-a 147.

Agg defines the term *vibhatti* as:

*kammādivasena ekattādivasena ca vividhā bhājiyantī
ti vibhattiyo /* (Sadd 198)

"*Vibhattis* are so called as they are divided in many ways by way of *kamma* (an object) etc. and *ekatta* etc. (singularity)."

However, in Padamālā 15,4, Agg’s statement "Or: it distributes / divides the syntactic relations *kamma* etc. by way of singular and plural. Thus, it is called *vibhatti*"² presents the grammatical cases as distributors of *kārakas*. Kacc-Vṇ 54 runs on the same lines. It says:

¹ Ja VI.432, Nett I sq., 105, Mil 102, 381, Vism 352, Pv-a 199, 282

² *kummādayo vā kārake ekuvacanabahuvacanavasena vibhajatī ti vibhatti /*

"*Vibhattis* (case endings) are so called because they divide / distribute the meaning of a noun by way of syntactic relations *kamma* (object) etc. and singularity etc. Or, the meaning of a nominal stem is divided by it. Thus, they are *vibhattis* (case endings)".¹

Mogg also relates the term *vibhatti* with the idea of division, as he says:

etāni satta dukāni sattavibhattiyo; vibhāgo vibhattīti katvā / (MV 2.1)

"These seven pairs are called the seven cases as the term *vibhatti* denotes division."

This has a striking similarity with CVr 2.1.1. (See below)

According to Agg, the main function of case endings is to manifest the number and gender: *saṅkhālinīgutthāvikaraṇattham uppatti vibhattīnam /* (Sadd 663)

Among the Pali grammarians, Mogg has used the term *vibhatti* to denote the nominal case endings *si* etc. He is, however, silent about whether the finite verbal endings are to be called *vibhattis* or not. K and Agg, on the other hand, have clearly mentioned that in their grammars, the term *vibhatti* denotes both the nominal (*syādi*) and the verbal (*tyādi*) suffixes.² Note that at Kacc-Vṇ 434, the terms *nāmavibhatti* and *ākhyātavibhatti* are used for the nominal and the verbal endings.³ They have further extended the *vibhatti* designation to the suffixes *to*, *tra*, *tha*, *dhi*, *va*, *him*, *ham*,

¹ *kummādivasena ca ekattādivasena ca lingutthā vibhajantī ti vibhattiyo; utha vā vibhajjate pātipadikutto etāyā ti vibhattiyo /*

² *tato ca vibhattiyo* (Kacc 54), *dhātuppaccayehi vibhattiyo* (Kacc 457); *syādayo tyādayo ca vibhattiyo /* (Sadd 198)

³ *ettha ca paccayaggahāñena syādināmavibhattiyo ca tyādiākhyātavibhattiyo ca saṅghanti /*

hiñcanam, ha, dhā, dā, dācanam, dāni, rahi, dhunā.¹ These suffixes are used in the sense of a particular case or time. Mogg, however, does not treat these suffixes as *vibhattis*.

B.

As per the Sanskrit tradition, the term *vibhakti* in the sense of a case ending probably occurred for the first time in the Go. Brā.² Nyāsa explains the term as follows:

"The term *vibhakti* denotes nominal case endings denoted by the abbreviation *sup* or the division, i.e. the division of the syntactic capacities, for the meaning of a nominal stem (*prātipadika*) is divided by it".³

P has ascribed the *vibhakti* designation to the nominal and the verbal case endings *sup* and *tin*: *vibhaktiś ca* / (P 1.4.104)

Śarva uses the term *vibhakti* at Kt 2.1.2 without defining it: *tusmāt parā vibhaktayah*. Commenting on the rule, DV says:

"The nominal case endings *si* etc. are added after a nominal stem. ... They are called *vibhaktis* as the meaning is divided by them".⁴

In the Kt, the tenses and moods are also called *vibhaktis*. Cf. DV on Kt 3.1.11: *samprati kāle vartamānā vibhaktir bhavati* /

¹ *tvādayo vibhattisuññāyo* "The suffixes to etc. are designated as *vibhatti*" (Kacc 249); *tvādayo ekabahvutthesu vibhattisuññā* "The suffixes to etc. in the sense of a singular or a plural are designated as *vibhatti*". (Sadd 492)

² *kā vibhaktih* / (Go. Brā. 1.1.24)

³ *vibhaktiśubduḥ supāṁ vācukah* / *vibhāgavacuno vā* / *kārakaśaktivibhāguḥ* / *vibhajyate prātipadikārtho'nayeti kṛtvā* / (Nyāsa 1.2.44)

⁴ *tusmāt liṅgāt parāḥ syādayo vibhaktayo bhavanti ... arthasya vibhajanād vibhaktayah* /

P and Śarva have also extended the term *vibhakti* to denote the *taddhita* suffixes *tas*, *tra*, *ha*, *dhā*, *rhi*, *adhunā*, *dānīm*, *thā*, *tham*, *astāt*, *atas*, etc., which practically serve the purpose of *vibhaktis*.¹

In C's grammar, the term *vibhakti* is used at CVṛ 2.1.1:

*tāny etāni saptu trayāṇi saptu vibhuktayo bhavanti,
vibhāgo vibhaktir iti kṛtvā /*

"These seven triads are called the seven cases as the term *vibhakti* denotes division".

C.

Among the Pali grammarians, K and Agg's usage of the term *vibhatti* matches with that of Śarva and P. In this respect, Mogg has followed C.

2. *vacana* (Number)

A.

The literal meaning of the term *vacana* is 'word, expression'. In Pali, it denotes 'saying, utterance' (S II.18, A II.168, Sn 417). Besides this, in compounds, as a second member, it denotes an expression / case endings, e.g., *puccattavacana* (expression of nominative or nominative case) (Pj II 303), *vattamānavacana* (expression of present tense or present tense) (Pj II 16, 23), *sampadānāvacana* (expression of dative or dative case) (Pj II 317) etc. Note that in MVu and Sadd, *vacana* is used to denote a suffix. Cf. *sabbādito naṁ vacanassa saṁ sānam honti; akārantato*

¹ *prāgdiśo vibhaktih* / (P 5.3.1)

*vibhaktisumjñā vijñeyā vakṣyante'tuḥ parum tu ye /
advyādeḥ survanāmnas te buhoś cuiva purāḥ smṛtāḥ //* (Kt 2.6.24)

"Those stated hereafter are to be known as *vibhaktis*. They are added after *bahu* and the pronouns other than *dvi* etc.".

parassu nāvacaṇaṭṭa enādeso hoti (MVu 2.102, 2.110); *gosaddato naṃvacaṇaṭṭa amādeso hoti* (Sadd 227). In MVu 6.13 (*māyoge ī-ā-ādi*), *dvivacaṇa* is used in the sense of duplication: *lunāhi lunāhitvevāyam lunāhi, lunussu lunussu-tvevāyam lunātīti -ādīnamevetam majjhimapurisekavacaṇānam ābhikkhaññe dvivacaṇam*. At Pj II 397, *vacaṇa* is combined with *liṅga* and other terms and denotes ‘number’ i.e. singular and plural. Note that at Sadd 672: *liṅgavibhattivacaṇakālapuris'-akkharānam vipallāso, vacaṇa* is used as a generic term denoting ‘a grammatical number’. The term *bahuvacaṇa* in the sense of a plural number occurs at Ja IV.173 and Pv-a 163. It is reasonable to suppose that *vacaṇa* as a technical term was used with *eka* and *bahu* and then separated from these and was used as a generic term.

K and Agg have consistently used *ekavacaṇa* to denote the singular and *bahuvacaṇa* to denote the plural. Cf. e.g., *samsāsvekavacaṇesu ca* (Kacc 62), *temekavacaṇe* (Kacc 148); *na dutiyekavacaṇe* (Sadd 327), *samsāsv ekavacaṇesu thiyyam* (Sadd 209); *bahuvacaṇesu vo no* (Kacc 151), *vo no bahuvacaṇe* (Sadd 329).

Mogg on the other hand uses *eku* and *aneku* for the same. Cf. MV 6.14: *pubbaparachakkānamekānekesu tumhāmhasesesu dve dve majjhimuttamapathamā*, MV 2.47: *ghapatekasmīm nādīnām yayā*.

Note that the Pali grammarians sometimes also use the shorter forms *ekattam* for *ekavacaṇa*¹ and *bahu* for *bahuvacaṇa*.² At Sadd 482: *bhante bhadde ti ekaputhuvacaṇantam avyayam*, Agg uses the term *puthuvacaṇa* for *bahuvacaṇa*.

At Sadd 201, Agg defines *ekavacaṇa* and *bahuvacaṇa* as:

¹ *digussekattum* (Kacc 323); *ekattam digussa* (Sadd 699); *kruekuttañca chaṭṭhiyā /* (MV 3.22)

² *bahu su vā /* (MV 2.243)

*dvīsu dvīsu pañhamam pañhamam ekavacanam,
pacchimam pacchimam bahuvacanam /*

"In each pair, the preceding is called *ekavacana* (singular) and the following is called *bahuvacana* (plural)".

B.

Ekavacana and *bahuvacana* are found first in the ŚB:

*ned ekavacanena bahuvacanam vyavayāma /*¹
(13.5.1.18)

The term *dvivacana* is not found before the time of Y:

*Api vā medasaś ca puśoś ca / sāttvam dvivacanam
syāt / yatra hy ekavacunārthah prasiddham tud
bhavati /*² (Nir 6.16)

Ekavat, *dvivat* and *bahuvat* occur in BD 4.107, in the sense of 'in the singular, in the dual and in the plural':

"In that (hymn), there appear statements (*pravāduḥ*) in the dual, plural, and singular".³

RP 1.71 has *dvivacah* for *dvivacana*. The generic term *vacana* occurs in BD 1.43: *bhede vacanalingayoh /*⁴

P follows his predecessors and uses *ekavacana*, *dvivacana*, and *bahuvacana*:

tāny ekavacanadvivacanabahuvacanāny ekaśah /

"Those (= three and three triplets of *tin*) taken one by one have the (technical term) *ekavacana*

¹ "Lest we should over-ride the plural by the singular".

² "Or else it may be in the dual number. It is well known when it is in the singular".

³ *pravāduḥ tatra drṣyate dvivud bahuvud ekavat /*

⁴ "When there is a distinction of number and gender".

‘singular’, *dvivacana* ‘dual’ and *bahuvacana* ‘plural’". (P 1.4.102)

He also uses the generic term *vacana* at P 2.3.46: *prātipadikārtha-liṅga-parimāṇa-vacana-mātre prathamā /*

Śarva uses *ekavacana* in rules:

*kriyāsamabhihāre sarvakāleśu madhyumaika-
vacanam pañcamyāḥ /* (Kt 3.1.21)

ij ātmane padeḥ prathamaikavacane / (Kt 3.2.29)

He has used *dvivacana* and *bahuvacana* in the first chapter in rules: *dvivacanum unau* and *bahuvacanum umi* (Kt 1.3.2-3) but in the subsequent chapters he has generally used *ekatva*, *dvitva* and *bahutva*. Cf. *vāṇi nau dvitve, tvanmador ekatve te me* (Kt 2.3.2-3) etc. *Dvivāciṇ* is used once in *yuvāvau dvivāciṣu* (Kt 2.3.7). In Kt. 4.2.88: *brūva id vacanādih*, *vacana* appears to have been used in the sense of verbal endings.

C uses *ekavacana*, *dvivacana* and *bahuvacana*: *ekavacanasya te me* (CV 6.3.18), *id-ud-ed dvivacanum* (CV 5.1.125) and *bahuvacanasya vasnasau* (CV 6.3.17). Sometimes he uses shorter terms such as *eka* etc.: *tvamau ekasmin* (CV 5.4.63).

C.

In Pali, the terms *ekavacana* and *bahuvacana* are used since the time of the Āṭṭhakathā literature. Later, these terms are also used by all the three Pali grammarians. In this regard, the Pali grammarians are comparatively more close to P and C than Śarva.

3. Case Terminology

A.

As mentioned before, the nominal and the verbal case endings are called *vibhatti* (Skt. *vibhakti*). Out of these, the nominal case

endings are further subdivided into seven groups, which are called the nominal cases.

The authors of the Pali Atṭhakathās have resorted to a totally different case terminology than the one adopted by the Pali grammarians. In Pali as well as in Sanskrit grammars, the seven cases are referred to by their numbers. The case terminology used in the Atṭhakathās is shown in the following table with their equivalents found in Pali and Sanskrit grammars:

Atṭhakathās	Pali grammars	Sanskrit grammars	English Equivalents
<i>Paccattavacana</i> ¹	<i>Pathamā</i> ²	<i>Prathamā</i> ³	Nominative
<i>Upayogavacana</i> ⁴	<i>Dutiyā</i> ⁵	<i>Dvitiyā</i> ⁶	Accusative
<i>Karanavacana</i> ⁷	<i>Tatiyā</i> ⁸	<i>Trtiyā</i> ⁹	Instrumental
<i>Sampadānavacana</i> ¹⁰	<i>Catutthī</i> ¹¹	<i>Caturthī</i> ¹²	Dative

¹ Pj II 303; VvA 281; Pv-a 30, 35.

² Kacc 286, Sadd 577, MV 2.39.

³ P 2.3.46, Kt 2.4.17, CV 2.1.93.

⁴ Pj II 386; Pj I 236.

⁵ Kacc 299, Sadd 580, MV 2.2.

⁶ P 2.3.2, Kt 2.4.22, CV 2.1.43.

⁷ Pj II 148.

⁸ Kacc 288, Sadd 591, MV 2.18.

⁹ P 2.3.18, Kt 2.4.2, CV 2.1.62.

¹⁰ Ja V.214; Pj II 317; 499.

¹¹ Kacc 295, Sadd 605, MV 2.26.

¹² P 2.3.13, Kt 2.4.26, CV 2.1.73.

<i>Nissakkavacana</i> ¹	<i>Pañcamī</i> ²	<i>Pañcamī</i> ³	Ablative
<i>Sāmivacana</i> ⁴	<i>Chatthī</i> ⁵	<i>Sasthī</i> ⁶	Genitive
<i>Bhummavacana</i> ⁷	<i>Sattamī</i> ⁸	<i>Saptamī</i> ⁹	Locative

Apart from these seven cases, there is the eighth case called the vocative. In later grammars, there is no special name given to this case. However, from the reference found in Agg's Sadd (Padamālā, 60), we know that the older name of this case was *atthamī*. Cf.:

*idam ettha niruttilakkhaṇam duṭṭhabbam -
paccattuvacane paṭhamā vibhatti, upayogavacane
dutiyā vibhatti bhavati, karaṇavacane tatiyā
bhavati, sampadānavacane catutthī vibhatti
bhavati, nissakkavacane pañcamī ... sāmivacane
chatthī ... bhummavacane sattamī ...
āmantānavacane atthamī vibhatti / Tatra uddānam -
paccattam upayogañ ca karaṇam sampadānīyam /*

¹ Ja V.498.

² Kacc 297, Sadd 607, MV 2.28.

³ P 2.3.28, Kt 2.4.20, CV 2.1.81.

⁴ Pj II 127; Pv-a 102; Ja I.185; III.98 (*upayogatthe*); V.42 (*karaṇatthe*), 444; Vv-a 304; Pj II 210 (for *upayoga*).

⁵ Kacc 303, Sadd 609, MV 2.41.

⁶ P 2.3.50, Kt 2.4.37, CV 2.1.95.

⁷ Pj II 140; Pj I 116.

⁸ Kacc 304, Sadd 630, MV 2.34.

⁹ P 2.3.36, Kt 2.4.2, CV 2.1.88.

*nissakkam sāmivacanam bhummālapanam
atthamam //¹* (Pind, 1997: 58)

B.

Note that the same practice is already met with in the early Sanskrit tradition. K. C. Chatterji (1964: 388) informs us that Y and P do not consider the vocative as a separate *vibhakti*. However, the older works such as BD distinctly speak of eight *vibhaktis*: *uṣṭau yatra prayujyante nānārtheśu vibhaktuyah*.² From the following passage of the Mbh (II.421), it will be clear that in ancient works on grammar, the vocative was placed after the locative:

*citrā yasya gāvaś citragus tiṣṭhati ... citrā yasya gāvaś
citragau nidhehi / citrā yasya gāvo he citrago iti /*

ālapana / āmantāna

A.

The vocative requires special attention because of its unique position. Both the Pali as well as the Sanskrit grammarians have used a separate name for the vocative different than the nominative.

¹ "Here, this should be understood as a rule of the Niruttipiṭaka: First case suffixes are to be added in the sense of a nominative, second case suffixes in the sense of an accusative, third case suffixes in the sense of an instrumental, fourth case suffixes in the sense of a dative, fifth case suffixes in the sense of an ablative, the sixth case suffixes in the sense of a genitive, the seventh case suffixes in the sense of a locative, and the eighth case suffixes in the sense of a vocative."

In this regard, here is the summarizing verse:

Nominative, Accusative, Instrumental, Dative, Ablative, Genitive, Locative and eighth is the Vocative".

² "Where eight cases are used in various meanings".

In Pali, the term used for the vocative case is *ālapana*.¹ *Ālapana* literally ‘conversation, talking to, addressing’,² is derived from the root *ā + lap* meaning ‘to address’. Here it should be noted that at Pj I 167 and II 435, the vocative case is called *āmantanavacana*. At MV 2.241, *āmantana* is used in its technical sense of ‘an address term’.³

Apart from this, Agg and Mogg have used the term *āmantana* in its non-technical sense of addressing.⁴ The term *āmantana* / *āmantanā* literally meaning ‘addressing, calling; invitation, greeting’ (Sn 40; Pj I 167) is derived from *ā + manta* ‘to call’. At Sadd 576, Agg defines *āmantana* as: *yam ālapati, tad āmantanam*

"That to which one addresses is called *āmantana*".

MVu 2.40, on the other hand, explains *āmantana* as:

"Calling one's attention by means of words is called *āmantana*".⁵

This has a striking similarity with DV 2.1.5 and DT 2.4.18. (See below)

B.

In Sanskrit, the term denoting the vocative case is *āmantrita*. In this sense, it first occurs in the Prātiśākhyas⁶ and the Aṣṭ at P

¹ *akatarassā lato yvālapanussu ve vo* (Kacc 116); *amālupanekavacune* (Kacc 153), *russu lato yvālapanussu ve vo* (Sadd 291); *matuntare pumussa am ālapanekavacune* (Sadd 333).

² Vin III.73; Ja V.253; Vism 23; Pj II 396; Pv-a 131.

³ *āmantanum pubbamasantam va* / (MV 2.241)

⁴ *āmantane si gusañño* (Sadd 204), *āmantane* (MV 2.40).

⁵ *sato suddenābhīmukhīkarunam āmantanam /*

⁶ *okāra āmantritajah pragṛhyaḥ* (RP 1.68); *padapūrvam āmantritum unānārthe'pādādau* (VP 2.17); *āmantritam cetāv unārṣe* (CA 1.81); *āmantritād ādyudāttād ākhyātām na nihanyate /* (AP 1.1.23)

2.3.48: *sāmantritam*. Here, *āmantrita* denotes a nominal stem ending in the first *sup* triplet used in addressing.

Śarva uses the term *āmantrita* at Kt 2.1.5: *āmantrite sih sambuddhiḥ*,¹ in its non-technical sense of ‘addressing’. Commenting on the word *āmantrita*, Durga says:

“Āmantrita is the act of drawing attention of the existing one”.² (DV 2.1.5)

However, at DT 2.3.4, Durga uses the word *āmantrita* in the same sense as that of P: *āmantritam pūrvam avidyamānavat*.

C also uses *āmantrita* in the same sense in CV 6.3.24: *āmantritam pūrvam asadvat*.

Āmantranā occurs in the ŚB in the sense of ‘addressing’:

ambeti vai yoṣayā āmantranam / (ŚB 6.2.5)

Śarva also uses *āmantranā* in the same sense at Kt 2.4.18: *āmantranē ca*. Note that in Kt, both the terms *āmantrita* as well as *āmantranā* have the same sense. Cp. DT’s explanation of the term *āmantranā*: *siddhasyābhimukhībhāvamātram āmantranam* /³

C.

In the Pali commentarial literature, the term *āmantanavacana* is used to denote the vocative. The Pali grammarians have, however, chosen the term *ālapana* for the same. This term is unparalleled in Sanskrit where the term *āmantrita* is used to denote a word in the vocative.

¹ “The term *sambuddhi* denotes the suffix *si* in the sense of addressing”.

² *siddhasyābhimukhīkaraṇam āmantritam* /

³ “Āmantranā is the act of drawing attention of the existing one”.

To sum up, the case terminology used in the Atthakathās has not found its way in the Pali grammars. The case terminology of the Pali grammars has been directly taken over from the Sanskrit grammar with the sole exception of *ālapana*.

4. *sambuddhi / ga*

A.

The Sanskrit and the Pali grammarians always talk about the seven cases (*vibhaktis*) and do not treat vocative as a separate case from the nominative. However, since vocative singular usually has special forms different from the nominative singular, both the Sanskrit as well as the Pali grammarians have coined special terms to denote it.

The Pali grammarians have used the monosyllabic term *ga* to denote the vocative singular suffix *si*:

ālapane si gusañño / (Kacc 57)

āmantane si gusañño / (Sadd 204)

"In the sense of 'address', the suffix *si* is designated as *ga*."

go syālapane / (MV 1.12)

"(The technical term) *ga* denotes (the suffix) *si* in the sense of 'address'".

Here, the influence of *āmantrite siḥ sambuddhiḥ* (Kt 2.1.5) on the formation of these rules is quite evident. In this case, the Pali grammarians' choice of the letter *ga* for this purpose appears to be arbitrary. Here, it is noteworthy that at Kacc 153: *am ālapanekavacune* and Sadd 333: *matantare pumassa am ālapanekavacune*, K and Agg use *ālapanekavacana* instead of *ga* to denote the vocative singular. In this connection, it would be

interesting to note that CA and Śākaṭāyana use *ekāmantrita* and *ekāmantrana* respectively for *sambuddhi*.¹

B.

Among the Sanskrit grammarians, P and Śarva have used the term *sambuddhi* to denote the vocative singular: *ekavacanum sambuddhiḥ* / (P 2.3.49)

"(The technical term) *sambuddhi* denotes the singular (of the first *sup* triplet)".

āmantrite sih sambuddhiḥ / (Kt 2.1.5)

"The technical term *sambuddhi* denotes the suffix *si* in case of address."

Though *sambodhana* and *sambuddhi* have the same meaning (address), both these grammarians have preferred the shorter term *sambuddhi* for this purpose.

C uses *sambodhane su* for *sambuddhi* at CV 6.2.44: *sambodhane sau*. He also uses the word *sambuddhi* at CV 6.3.49: *nu sambuddhau*.

C.

The Pali grammarians have used the monosyllabic arbitrary *ga* for the *sambuddhi* of the Sanskrit grammarians.

5. *tenses and moods*

A.

In Pali, there are three moods and five tenses. These are:

¹ *ekāmantrite raudrivacanāntasya* (CA 2.47), *vīśunośunannaghobhagobhos-samuś caikāmantrane* (Śā.Vyā.1.2.121).

Moods	Imperative
	Optative
	Conditional
Tenses	Past perfect
	Past imperfect
	Aorist
	Future
	Present

In the Kacc and the Sadd, a section dealing with moods and tenses is headed by the governing rule *kāle* (Kacc 415, Sadd 872). Here, it should be noted that a similar section in Kt is also headed by the rule *kāle* (Kt 3.1.10). P, however, has done away with this *adhikāra* rule. This is the reason for which his grammar is described as "a grammar without the heading rule *kālu*".¹

The terminology used by K and Agg for moods and tenses is identical. Each of these tenses and moods is called *vibhatti* by these grammarians.² Mogg tries to avoid use of these terms as usual. In his grammar, some of these moods and tenses are mentioned by combining the initial suffix of that particular mood or tense with the word *ādi*. This terminology would be evident from the following chart:

¹ *Pāṇinyupajñum akālukam vyākaranum /* (CVṛ 2.2.68, Kāśikā on P 2.4.21)

² *puccuppanne kāle vattamānā vibhatti hoti* (Kacc-Vu 416); *apuccakkhe utīte kāle parokkhā vibhatti hoti* (Kacc-Vu 419) etc.

Sr. No.	K and Agg	Mogg	English Equivalents
1.	<i>Vattamānā</i> ¹	-	Present
2.	<i>Pañcamī</i> ²	-	Imperative
3.	<i>Sattamī</i> ³	<i>Eyyādi</i> ⁴	Optative
4.	<i>Parokkhā</i> ⁵	<i>A-ādi</i> ⁶	Past perfect
5.	<i>Hīyyattanī</i> ⁷	<i>Ā-ādi</i> ⁸	Past imperfect
6.	<i>Ajjutanī</i> ⁹	<i>Ī-ādi</i> ¹⁰	Aorist
7.	<i>Bhavissantī</i> ¹¹	<i>Ssaccādi</i> ¹²	Future
8.	<i>Kālātipatti</i> ¹³	<i>Ssa-ādi</i> ¹⁴	Conditional

¹ *vattamānā ti anti si tha mi ma te ante se vhe e mhe* / (Kacc 425)

² *pañcamī tu antu hi tha mi ma tum antum ssu vho e āmuse* / (Kacc 426)

³ *suttamī eyya eyyum eyyāsi eyyātha eyyāmi eyyāma etha erum etho eyyavho eyyam eyyāmhe* / (Kacc 427)

⁴ *atthiteyyādi channam su su sa sutha sam sāma* / (MV 6.50)

⁵ *parokkhā u u e ttha u mha ttha re ttho vho i mhe* / (Kacc 428)

⁶ *a-ādisvāho brūssu* / (MV 6.16)

⁷ *hīyyattanī ā ū o ttha a mhā ttha a mhā ttha ttum se vham im mhase* / (Kacc 429)

⁸ *ā-ī-ādisu harussā* / (MV 6.28)

⁹ *ujjutanī ī um o ttha im mhā ā ū se vham a mhe* / (Kacc 430)

¹⁰ *ā-ī-ādisu harussā* / (MV 6.28)

¹¹ *bhavissantī ssuti ssunti ssusi ssatha ssāmi ssāma ssate ssante ssuse ssuvhe ssam ssāmhe* / (Kacc 431)

¹² *hūssa hehe hi ho hī ssuccādo* / (MV 6.31)

¹³ *kālātipatti ssā ssamsu sse ssatha ssam ssāmhā ssatha ssim̄su ssuse ssuvhe ssam ssāmhe* / (Kacc 432)

¹⁴ *āīssādi svāñ va* / (MV 6.15)

The obvious source of K and Agg's terminology is the Kt. (See below). As is quite evident, all these terms except *pañcamī* and *sattamī* are self-explanatory. About *pañcamī* and *sattamī*, it is believed that the earlier names of these moods were lost. Therefore, in the Kt, the terms *pañcamī* and *saptamī* are used to denote imperative and optative respectively because *lot* (imperative) and *lin* (optative) occupy the fifth and the seventh position in the P's scheme of the ten *lakāras*, if the *leṭ* 'Subjunctive', which is confined to Vedic, is excluded. Cf. K. C. Chatterji, 1964: 12, 13. Thus, in the Kacc and the Sadd, the terms *pañcamī* and *sattamī* have lost their relevance.

Here it should be noted that at MV 5.17: *kyo bhāvukammesvaparokkhāsu mānantatyādisu* and MV 5.70: *parokkhāyañ ca*, just as K and Agg, Mogg has used the term *parokkhā* to denote the past perfect.

B.

In the field of the Sanskrit grammar, P has introduced a novel scheme of the ten *lakāras* (*l*-sounds) to denote moods and tenses. It is generally believed that P has taken this *l* from the word *kāla*. In P's system, the names of the different moods and tenses are:

<i>Lat</i> ¹	Present
<i>Lit</i> ²	Past Perfect
<i>Lut</i> ³	Periphrastic future

¹ *vartumāne lat* / (P 3.2.123, CV 1.2.82)

² *parokṣe lit* / (P 3.2.115, CV 1.2.81)

³ *anadyutane lut* / (P 3.3.15, CV 1.3.3)

<i>Lṛ̥t</i> ¹	Simple future
<i>Let</i> ²	Subjunctive
<i>Loṭ</i> ³	Imperative
<i>Lañ</i> ⁴	Past imperfect
<i>Liñ</i> ⁵	Optative
<i>Luñ</i> ⁶	Aorist
<i>Lṛñ</i> ⁷	Conditional

P has no special term for the precative. It is simply expressed as *āśisi liñ*. Cf. P 3.4.116: *liñ āśisi /*

"(The technical term *ārdhadhātuka* also) denotes (the *l*-substitutes of *l*-member) *liñ* when denoting benediction 'Pecative or Benedictive mood'."

C follows P in this respect. The *let lakāra* denoting the subjunctive mood is, however, absent in CV as C excludes the treatment of the Vedic Sanskrit.

Śarva has retained most of the older terms of the moods and the tenses. The technical terms used in his system are:

¹ *lṛ̥t śeṣe ca* (P 3.3.13); *bhaviṣyati lṛ̥t* (CV 1.3.2).

² *linarthe let /* (P 3.4.7)

³ *loṭ ca* (P 3.3.162); *loṭ* (CV 1.3.122).

⁴ *anadyatane lañ /* (P 3.2.111, CV 1.2.77)

⁵ *vidhiniimantranāmantrāṇḍhiṣṭasamprāśnaprārthaneṣu liñ* (P 3.3.161); *vidhi-samprāśnaprārthaneṣu* (CV 1.3.121).

⁶ *luñ /* (P 3.2.110, CV 1.2.76)

⁷ *liñnimitte lṛñ kriyātipattau* (P 3.3.139); *liñyātipattau lṛñ* (CV 1.3.107).

<i>Vartamānā</i> ¹	Present
<i>Puroksā</i> ²	Past Perfect
<i>Hyastanī</i> ³	Past imperfect
<i>Adyatanī</i> ⁴	Aorist
<i>Kriyātipatti</i> ⁵	Conditional
<i>Bhavisyantī</i> ⁶	Simple future
<i>Āśīh</i> ⁷	Precative
<i>Śvastanī</i> ⁸	Periphrastic Future
<i>Pañcamī</i> ⁹	Imperative
<i>Saptamī</i> ¹⁰	Optative

Following is a table of corresponding technical terms from the Pali as well as the Sanskrit grammars in order to present a clear-cut picture:

¹ *vartamānā* / (Kt 3.1.24)

² *puroksā* / (Kt 3.1.29)

³ *hyastanī* / (Kt 3.1.27)

⁴ *evamevādyatanī* / (Kt 3.1.28)

⁵ *dyādīni kriyātipattih* / (Kt 3.1.33)

⁶ *syasamhitāni tyādīni bhavisyanti* / (Kt 3.1.32)

⁷ *āśīh* / (Kt 3.1.31)

⁸ *śvastanī* / (Kt 3.1.30)

⁹ *pañcamī* (Kt 3.1.26).

¹⁰ *saptamī* / (Kt 3.1.25)

K, Agg	Mogg	P, C	Śarva	English Equivalents
<i>Vattamānā</i>	-	<i>Lat</i>	<i>Vartamānā</i>	Present
<i>Pañcamī</i>	-	<i>Loṭ</i>	<i>Pañcamī</i>	Imperative
<i>Sattamī</i>	<i>Eyyādi</i>	<i>Liṅ</i>	<i>Saptamī, Āśīḥ</i>	Optative
<i>Parokkhā</i>	<i>A-ādi</i>	<i>Liṭ</i>	<i>Parokṣā</i>	Past perfect
<i>Hīyyattanī</i>	<i>Ā -ādi</i>	<i>Laṇ</i>	<i>Hyastanī</i>	Past imperfect
<i>Ajjatanī</i>	<i>Ī-ādi</i>	<i>Luṇ</i>	<i>Adyatani</i>	Aorist
<i>Bhavissantī</i>	<i>Ssaccādi</i>	<i>Lut, Lṛt</i>	<i>Śvastanī, Bhavisyantī</i>	Future
<i>Kālātipatti</i>	<i>Ssa-ādi</i>	<i>Liṇ</i>	<i>Kriyātipatti</i>	Conditional

C.

From the above discussion, it is quite clear that instead of adopting P and C's scheme of *lakāras*, K and Agg have followed the terminology available in the Kt. Mogg, on the other hand, has adopted a totally different method and has mentioned the tenses and moods by their initial suffixes.

6. *parassapada, attanopada*

A.

The terms, *parassapada* and *attanopada* are purely grammatical in nature. The Pali grammarians have taken these terms from their Sanskrit counterparts. Explaining these terms, the Kacc-Vṇ says:

"The morphemes that are used for the sake of others are *parassapada*. It is a compound with no elision of the case ending. They are called *parassapada* as they manifest the *kāraka* relation other than the 'object' i.e. the 'agent'".¹

"The morphemes that are used for one's own sake are *attanopada*. They are called *attanopada* as they manifest the *kāraka* relation 'object' which is designated as '*attano*', i.e. 'one's own'".²

According to K and Agg, the technical term *parassapada* denotes the initial six suffixes of every verbal case, such as *ti, anti; si, tha; mi, ma*. Cf.:

atha pubbāni vibhattīnam cha parassapadāni /
(Kacc 408)

pubbāni vibhattīnam cha parassapadāni / (Sadd
865)

¹ *parassa atthāya pavattāni padāni parassapadāni, aluttasumāso / kamma-kārakuto parabhūtassu kuttukārakassa pakāsunato parassapadāni nāma /* (Kacc-Vṇ 408)

² *attano atthāya pavattāni padāni attunopadāni / attanosankhātassu kamma-kārakassa dīpanato attunopadāni /* (Kacc-Vṇ 409)

Attanopada, on the other hand, denotes the latter six suffixes of every verbal case, such as *te, ante; se, vhe; e, mhe*.¹ Cf.:

parāṇy attanopadāni / (Kacc 409)

parāṇi attanopadāni / (Sadd 866)

The *parassapada* endings are added to a verbal root in the sense of an agent² whereas the *attanopada* endings are added in the sense of an impersonal action (*bhāva*) or an object (*kamma*).³ This division of the *parassapada* and the *attanopada* endings is not so rigid in Pali. In Pali, the *parassapada* endings are used more frequently than the *attanopada* endings. Cf.:

"Sometimes the *attanopada* endings are changed to the *parassapada* endings".⁴

In Sadd's Dhātumālā, Agg uses the terms *attanobhāsā*, *parassabhāsā* and *ubhatobhāsā* for those verbal roots, which take *attanopada*, *parassapada* and either of the two endings respectively. Note that these terms have their parallels in the Sanskrit tradition. (See below)

Though the terms *parassapada* and *attanopada* are missing in the rules of the MV, they are given as examples at MVu 2.121 of an *ulutta / aluk* compound. In Mogg's grammar, the term expressing the *parassapada* is *pubbacchakka* and the term denoting the *attanopada* is *paracchakka*:

o vikaraṇassu paracchakke / (MV 6.76)

¹ *Subbāsam vibhattīnam yāni yāni parāṇi cha padāni tāni tāni attanopadasuññāni honti, tam yathā - te, ante; se, vhe; e, mhe* / (Kacc-Vu 409)

² *kuttari parassapadam* / (Kacc 458, Sadd 938). Cp. śeṣāt kurtari *parasmaipadam* / (Kt 3.2.47)

³ *attanopadāni bhāve ca kammuni* (Kacc 455); *bhāvakummesv attanopadām* (Sadd 934). Cp. ātmepadāni *bhāvakurmanoḥ* / (Kt 3.2.40)

⁴ *attanopadāni parassapadattam* (Kacc 520); *attanopadāni kvaci parassapadattam* / (Sadd 1031)

"In case of the set of following six (suffixes), the conjugational affix *o* is substituted by *u*".

pubbacchakke vā kvaci / (MV 6.77)

"The conjugational affix *o* is rarely substituted by *u* in case of the set of initial six (suffixes)."

B.

The term *parasmaipada* means the suffixes, which indicate that the result of an action is in favour of someone other than the agent. Similarly, the term *ātmanepada* means the suffixes, which indicate that the result of an action is in favour of one's own self (an agent). Cp. P 1.3.72: *svaritañitah kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale*.¹ Thus, both the terms appear to be self-explanatory. However, by the time of P, these terms were no longer self-explanatory. As a result, P had to form a number of rules to describe their usage. Cf. P 1.3.12 to 1.3.93.

Before P, *ātmanebhāṣā* / *ātmanepada* and *parasmaibhāṣā* / *parasmaipada* were in use side by side. *Ātmanebhāṣā* and *parasmaibhāṣā* occur in AP² whereas *ātmanepada* and *parasmaipada* are found in the Kāśakṛtsnavyākaraṇa.³ Here, it should be noted that commenting on P 6.3.7-8, Ptj also uses the terms *ātmanebhāṣā* and *parasmaibhāṣā*:

"An addition should be made of the words *ātmanebhāṣā* and *parasmaibhāṣā*".⁴

¹ "(Ātmanepada *l*-substitutes are introduced after a verbal stem) marked with a *svarita* accent or *ñ* as *it*, if the result of the action is intended for the agent".

² *varṇalopāgamahrasvadīrghaplutātmanebhāṣaparasmaibhāṣā
apiyantyapi-yanti /* (AP 3.4.7)

³ *anudāttāñānubandha ātmanepudam* (Kā.Vyā. 88 etc.); *udāttānubandhah
parāsmaipudam /* (Kā.Vyā. 90)

⁴ *ātmanebhāṣaparasmaibhāṣayor upasāñkhyānam /* (Mbh III.143)

Commenting on this, Kaiyatā says:

"The verbal roots taking the *ātmanepada* endings are referred to by the grammarians by the word *ātmanebhāṣā* and the verbal roots taking the *parasmaipada* endings by the word *parasmaibhāṣā*".¹

P defines *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada* as:

laḥ parasmaipadam / (P 1.4.99)

"(The technical term) *parasmaipada* denotes (the substitutes of) *l*-members."

tañānāv ātmanepadum / (P 1.4.100)

"(The technical term) *ātmanepada* denotes (the substitutes of *l*-members) indicated by (the abbreviation) *tañ* and the affixes having *āna* in common".

According to P, the *parasmaipada* endings are generally added to a verbal root in the sense of an agent, whereas the *ātmanepada* endings are added in the sense of an impersonal action (*bhāva*) or an object (*karma*). Cf.:

śeṣāt kartari parasmaipadam /² (P 1.3.78)

bhāvakarmanoḥ /³ (P 1.3.13)

In Kt, the rules defining the *parasmaipada* and the *ātmanepada* endings are:

atha parasmaipadāni / (Kt 3.1.1)

¹ *ātamepadināś ca dhātavo vaiyākaraṇair ātmenebhāṣāśubdena vyavahriyante, parasmaipadinaḥ parasmaibhāṣāśubdena* / (Pradīpa 6.3.7-8)

² "After the remaining verbal stems, when an agent is to be denoted, *parasmaipada l*-substitutes are introduced".

³ "(Ātmanepada *l*-substitutes are introduced after verbal stems) when an impersonal action (*bhāva*) or an object (*kurman*) is to be expressed".

"The technical term *parasmaipada* denotes the initial nine suffixes of every verbal case".¹ (DV 3.1.1)

parāny ātmane / (Kt 3.1.2)

"The technical term *ātmanepada* denotes the following nine suffixes of every verbal case".² (DV 3.1.2)

C uses *tariṇā* for *ātmanepada* and *atañ* for *parasmaipada*. For P's *anudūttanīta ātmanepadum* (P 1.3.12) C has *tariṇā* *yathāpāṭham* (CV 1.4.46) and for P's *parasmaipadānāṁ ṇalatususthalathusaṇalvumāḥ* (P 3.4.82) C has *atañāṁ ṇalatu-susthalathusaṇalvumāḥ* (CV 1.4.11).

C.

To sum up, the terms *parassapada* / *parasmaipada* and *attanopada* / *ātmanepada* are common to Kacc, Sadd, Aṣṭ and Kt. However, in Kacc, Sadd and Kt, they are restricted to the finite verbal endings, whereas in Aṣṭ, they are also extended to some primary suffixes, which are substitutes in place of the finite verbal endings. Mogg has adopted a different method to express these concepts.

7. *purisa*

A.

Purisa is a generic term used by the Pali grammarians to denote the concept of a grammatical person. It is quite conspicuous that they have borrowed this term from Sanskrit. Here, it is noteworthy that the terms *majjhimapurisa* and *pāṭhamapurisa* in the sense of the second and the third person respectively occur at Vv-a 13.

¹ *suravibhaktinām ādau navavacanāni parasmaipadasaṃjñāni bhavanti /*

² *suravibhaktinām parāṇi navavacanāni ātmanepadasaṃjñāni bhavanti /*

K and Agg have defined the three persons as:

dve dve paṭhamamajjhimuttamapurisā / (Kacc 410,
Sadd 867)

"Each pair of the *parassapada* and the *attanopada* endings of every verbal case is called the third, the second and the first person respectively".

Here, it should be noted that sometimes K and Agg have used *paṭhama*, *majjhima* and *uttama* by dropping the word *purisa* for the third, the second and the first person respectively. Cf. *nāmamhi payujjamāne pi tulyādhikaraṇe paṭhamo* (Kacc 412); *nāme payujjamāne pi tulyādhikaraṇe paṭhamo* (Sadd 869); *tumhe majjhimo* (Kacc 413, Sadd 870) and *amhe uttamo* (Kacc 414, Sadd 871).

Although the term *purisa* is missing in the rules of MV, the terms *paṭhama*, *majjhima* and *uttama* are used at MV 6.14:

*pubbaparacchakkānum ekānekesu tumhāṁhusesesu
dve dve majjhimuttamapaṭhamā /*

Purisa, however, occurs at MVu 1.22, 6.13.¹

B.

Puruṣa in the sense of 'a grammatical person' probably occurred for the first time in the Nir:

"Of these, the indirectly addressed stanzas are composed in all the cases of nouns but the verb of the third person only. ... Now, the directly addressed stanzas are compositions in the second person and are joined with the pronoun *tvam*. ... Now, the self-invocations are compositions in the first person and are joined with the pronoun *aham*".²

¹ *yathā dvinnam tiṇṇam vā purisānam sahupattiyum paro* (MVu 1.22); ... *tvādīnām evetum majjhimapurisekavacunānum ābhikkhaññe dvivacunam /* (MVu 6.13)

² *tatra parokṣakṛtāḥ sarvābhīr nāmabhir yujyante prathamapuruṣaiś cākhyātasya / ... utha pratyakṣakṛtā madhyamapuruṣayogāḥ tvam iti caitena*

Commenting on P 1.4.101: *tiñs trīñi trīñi prathamamadhyama-uttamāḥ*, Bālamanoramā says:

"*Purusā* in the sense of the third person etc. is a well-established term in the treatises of the ancient teachers. Thus, it should be understood".¹

P drops the word *puruṣa* and uses *prathama*, *madhyama* and *uttama* instead. Cf. P 1.4.101: *tiñs trīñi trīñi prathama-madhyamottamāḥ* /

"(The technical terms) *prathama* (third), *madhyama* (second) and *uttama* (first) respectively denote the three (and) three triplets of *tiñ*".

Śarva generally uses *prathama*, *madhyama* and *uttama* like P. Cf. Kt 3.1.3: *trīñi trīñi prathamamadhyamottamāḥ* ² However, it also uses the generic term *puruṣa* in the rule: *yugapadvacane parāḥ puruṣāñām* (Kt 3.1.4).

C expresses the idea of the *madhyamapuruṣa* and the *uttamapuruṣa* by *madhyamatrayam* and *uttama*. Cf. CV 1.4.146: *yusmadi madhyamatrayam* and CV 1.4.147: *asmady uttamam*. The idea of *prathamapuruṣa* is expressed by *ādyāḥ*. Cf. CV 1.4.18: *lūṭāḥ ādyāñām dāraurasāḥ* /

C.

With respect to the usage of the generic term *purisa* and the terms *pañhama*, *mujhima* and *uttama* with or without *purisa*, all the Pali grammarians have followed the footsteps of P and Śarva. Mogg, who generally follows C, has also deviated from C and has followed his Pali predecessors on this occasion.

survanāmnā / ... *athādhyātmikya uttamapuruṣayogāḥ* / *uham iti caitena survanāmnā* / (Nir 7.2)

¹ *prathamādiṣu puruṣasamjñā tu prācīnācāryaśāstrasiddheti bodhyam* / (Bālamanoramā 2160)

² "(The technical terms) *prathama* (third), *madhyama* (second) and *uttama* (first) denote the three (and) three triplets of the *parasmaipada* and the *ātmanepada* endings respectively".

8. *sabbadhātuka, asabbadhātuka*

A.

Sabbadhātuka is a purely grammatical term. The Pali grammarians have taken it from Sanskrit. The same is also true in the case of the term *asabbadhātuka*.

Following P and Śarva, K and Agg have used the neuter form *subbadhātukam*: Cf. Kacc 433, Sadd 904: *Hiyattanīsattamī-pañcamīvattamānā subbadhātukam /*¹

Defining the term *subbadhātuka*, K and Agg say:

hiyattanīsattamīpañcamīvattamānā subbadhātukam /

"The technical term *subbadhātuka* denotes the finite verbal endings of *hiyattanī* (imperfect), *sattamī* (optative), *pañcamī* (imperative), and *vattamānā* (present)".² (Kacc 433, Sadd 904)

This has a striking similarity with DV 3.1.34. (See below)

Explaining the term further, Agg says:

"It occurs mostly in case of entire verbal roots, thus it is called *subbadhātuka*. What is it? The forty-eight types of suffixes *a, u* etc., which are collected under the four headings. Ultimately, they are the same as the four verbal cases, imperfect etc. which

¹ In H. Smith's edition, the rule is given as: *hiyattanīsattamī-pañcamīvattamānā subbadhātukā* (Sadd 904). However, this appears to be a faulty reading, as this is the only instance where Agg has used the feminine form. Smith records that in some mss. *subbadhātukam* occurs instead of *subbadhātuka*. Cf. p. 821, fn m. Note that even in the subsequent commentary, Agg has used *subbadhātukam*: *yebhuyyena sabbāsu dhātusu vattati ti subbadhātukam /*

² *hiyattanādayo catasso vibhattiyo subbadhātukusuññā honti* (Kacc-Vu 433); *hiyattanādikā catasso vibhattiyo subbadhātukusuññā honti /* (Sadd 904)

are called *sabbadhatuka*. Thus, it should be understood".¹

Though the term *asabbadhatuka* is not defined, the term quite conspicuously applies to the cases other than those called *sabbadhatuka*. It is used in rules *asabbadhatuke bhū* (Kacc 509, Sadd 1020); *ikārāgamo asabbadhatukamhi* (Kacc 518) and *usabbadhatuke ikārāgamo* (Sadd 1030). In Pali grammars, the main function of these two terms is to distinguish between the finite verbal endings which take an augment *i* from those which do not. Cf. Kacc 518 and Sadd 1030:

"An augment *i* is inserted before all the finite verbal endings denoted by the term *asabbadhatuka*".

The terms *sabbadhatuka* and *asabbadhatuka* are missing in Mogg's grammar. Thus, for *asabbadhatuke bhū*² (Kacc 509, Sadd 1020), Mogg has *a āssā ādisu*³ (MV 5.129).

B.

According to K. C. Chatterji (1964: 51), in ancient times, the *vikarana* was regarded as a part and parcel of the root. Therefore, those endings before which the *vikarana* was reserved were known as *sārvadhātuka* endings, because the endings were added to the entire root.⁴ Those, which were added to the root without *vikarana*,

1 yebhuuyena sabbāsu dhātusu vattatī ti subbadhatukam, kin tam: catūhi nāmehi saṅguhitum a u icc ādikam utthacuttālīśavidham padam, tañ ca kho atthato catusso vibhattiyo yevā ti 'hīyyattanī-ādikā catusso vibhattiyo subbadhatukusuññā honti' ti vututan ti dattthubbam / (Sadd 904)

2 "Asa is optionally substituted by *bhū* before the finite verbal endings denoted by the term *asabbadhatuka*".

3 "The verbal root *asu* (in the sense of 'to be') is substituted by *bhū* before suffixes *a* etc., *ā* etc., and *ssu* etc.".

4 *sārvadhātūr eva sārvadhātukah* / (Gūḍhārthaprakāśikā on PR)

were known as *ārdhadhātuka* endings, because before these endings, only half the root i.e. a part of the root was discernible.

The earlier form of the word was *sārvadhātuka*, which was used by Āpiśali and which, as an adjective to *vibhakti*, was naturally feminine. Commenting on P 7.3.95: *turustuśamyamah sārvadhātuke*, Kāśikā says:

Āpiśalāḥ turustuśamyamah sārvadhātukāsu
cchandasūti pathanti /

Jinendrabuddhi comments:

"Because, Āpiśali has formulated the word *sārvadhātukā* in the feminine gender as a proper name".¹

It seems that at the time of Āpiśali, the term was self-explanatory. However, by the time of P, it lost its significance. Consequently, we can see that from P onwards, the term is used in the neuter gender as *sārvadhātukam*. DT on Kt 3.1.34 says:

"The term *sārvadhātukam* is a popularly established proper name coined by the earlier teachers and is without an etymological tradition".²

P's rule defining the term *sārvadhātuka* reads: *tiñśit sārvadhātukam* / (P 3.4.113)

"(The technical term) *sārvadhātuka* denotes the *l*-substitutes (affixes) implied by the abbreviation *tiñ* and those marked with *ś* as *it*".

At P 3.4.114, P uses the term *ārdhadhātuka* as opposed to *sārvadhātuka*: *ārdhadhātukam śeṣah*. According to this rule,

"(The technical term) *ārdhadhātuka* denotes the residue (of affixes introduced after a verbal stem)".

¹ strīlinśusārvadhātukasubdasya sumjñātvenāpiśalinā prañītatvāt /

² sārvadhātukam napuṇsakam lokataḥ siddham pūrvācāryusumjñā nir-anvayeyam /

Besides this, there are three more rules defining *ārdhadhātuka*:

lit ca "(The technical term *ārdhadhātuka*) also denotes (the *l*-substitutes of *l*-member) *lit* (perfect tense)." (P 3.4.115)

lin āśīśi "(The technical term *ārdhadhātuka* also denotes (the *l*-substitutes of *l*-member) *lin* when denoting benediction (precative or benedictive mood)." (P 3.4.116)

chandusy ubhayathā "In the domain of *chandus*, both (= *sārvadhātuka* and *ārdhadhātuka*) denote the *l*-substitutes implied by the abbreviation *tin* and affixes with marker *ś* as *it* as well as residual affixes introduced after a verbal stem." (P 3.4.117)

Śarva defines *sārvadhātuka* as: *śuḍūdyāḥ sārvadhātukum*. The rule literally means that "The term *sārvadhātuka* denotes the initial six verbal cases." (Kt 3.1.34) The initial six verbal cases in Kt are: *vartamānā* (present), *suptumī* (optative), *pañcumī* (imperative), *hyustanī* (imperfect), *adyatanī* (aorist), and *parokṣā* (perfect). But since *adyatanī* and *parokṣā* can not be treated as *sārvadhātuka*, the commentators interpret this rule as:

"Out of six, the initial four verbal cases such as present, optative, imperative and imperfect are designated as *sārvadhātuka*".¹

In Kt, the term *asārvadhātuka* is used in the place of P's *ārdhadhātuka*. Cf. Kt 3.4.87: *aster bhūr asārvadhātuke /*

C, as usual, avoids these technical terms. Instead of *sārvadhātuka* he uses *alidāśīrlin tinśit*. Cp. for instance, P 3.1.67: *sārvadhātuke yak*, CV 1.1.80: *tinśiti yagalidāśīr linī /* For *ārdhadhātuka*, C uses *lidāśīr lin atinśit*. Cp. P 2.4.35: *ārdhadhātuke*, CV 5.4.78: *lidāśīr lin atinśiti /*

¹ *śuṇṇām vibhaktinām ādyā vartamānā-suptumī-pañcumī-hyustanyuś catusro vibhaktuyāḥ sārvadhātukasumjñā bhavanti /* (DV 3.1.34)

C.

From the above discussion, it is quite clear that with regard to the usage of the terms *sabbadhātuka* / *sārvadhātuka* and *asabbadhātuka* / *ārdhadhātuka*, K and Agg have followed Śarva. These terms are, however, missing in the grammars of Mogg and C. Like Śarva, K and Agg have restricted the scope of these terms to the finite verbal endings. P, on the other hand, extends it even to the primary endings.

IV. Terms denoting other suffixes**1. *taddhita*****A.**

The term *taddhita* is evidently derived from *tassa hitam* (Skt. *tasmai hitam*). It stands for all the secondary suffixes. The Pali grammarians have used the same term to denote the secondary suffixes as well as the secondary derivatives, i.e. words derived by applying secondary suffixes.

In Kacc, the eighth section of the second chapter is called Taddhitakappa. Besides this, K uses the term only once in the sense of a secondary affix: *taddhitasamāsakitakā nāmam vā tuvetūnādisu ca*¹ /¹ (Kacc 603)

The twenty-fourth chapter of Sadd's Suttamālā is called Taddhitakappa. According to Agg, in the Pali grammatical tradition, the term *taddhita* signifies the secondary suffixes *na* etc. which convey the sense of 'an offspring' etc. Besides this, the term also signifies the grammatical process, which is accomplished by

¹ *taddhita-samāsu-kitakā iccevamantā suddā nāmam vā datthabbā tave-tūnu-tvānu-tvādippaccaye vajjetvā* / (Kacc-Vu 603)

way of imagination.¹ Thus, forms like *purisā*, which are instances of part retaining or numerals such as *vīsati*, *catuddasa*, or compounds such as *adduddha* (three and a half), which are derived through other imaginary derivational processes, are also brought within the category of *taddhita*.² Here, Agg is following K who has dealt with the phenomenon of part retaining and compounds of numerals in his *Taddhitakappa*. Cf. Kacc 390; 378-389; 391-92. Further in the commentary, Agg provides a semantic analysis of the term *taddhita* in accordance with this twofold usage of the term:

"In this regard, this is the semantic analysis: Suffixes *na* etc. are called *taddhita* because they are beneficial; favourable to the meanings 'offspring' etc. as the understanding of the meaning of the words is dependent on suffixes. Or, they are called *taddhita* because they are beneficial; favourable to the groups of words *Vāsiṭṭha* etc. as they are to be added after words denoting 'family' etc. Or, the suffixes *na* etc. and the grammatical operations such as part retaining, elision, substitution etc. which are to be carried out wherever required are called *taddhita* because they are beneficial; favourable to those nobles, who have applied themselves to listening, learning, and retaining as they fulfill the goal of such (nobles) who have entered the path of understanding the meaning".³

¹ *taddhitān ti apaccādiatthesu pavattānam nādipaccayānam nāmam; parikappādivasena nipphādetabbassa vidhino pi nāmam /* (Excursus before Sadd 751, p. 782)

² *evuñ hi sati 'puriso ca puriso ca purisā' ti ca 'dusa ca dasa ca vīsati' ti ca 'catūhi adhikā dasa catuddasā' ti ca 'adḍhenā catuttho adḍhuḍḍho' ti ca ādīni paccayurahitapadāni pi taddhitapadāni ti guhetubbāni honti, nāññathā /* (Excursus before Sadd 751, p. 782)

³ *tutrāyān vacanattho: puccayāyuttā sadduthādhigumassa tesam apaccādi-atthānam hitam unukūlan ti taddhitam / gottādivācukasuddato vā bhavitabbutā tesam, Vasiṭṭhasaddādīnam saddaganānam hitam unukūlan ti taddhitam, nādipaccayo; atha vā utthādhigamāya paṭipannānam tuduttha-*

Moreover, the words formed by this derivational process are also called *tuddhitas*. Cf. Sadd 677: *saṃśatuddhitākhyātakitakānum paccaya-pad'-akkharāgamā ca /*

The term *taddhita* is missing in MV. In M's grammar, the chapter dealing with the *taddhita* derivations is called *nādikāṇḍa*, as *na* is the first secondary suffix taught in this chapter. Unlike P, the Pali grammarians have not included *saṃśānta* suffixes (compound finals) under *tuddhita*.

B.

Tuddhita in its technical sense occurs in the Nir where Y talks of single membered and multi-membered compounds and secondary derivatives:

"Now with regard to derivatives and compounds, whether of one or more than one member, one should explain their component parts in their respective order, having first divided (the words) into them".¹

Nir gives *dandya* as an instance of *ekaparvan tuddhita* and *kukṣyā* as an instance of *anekaparvan tuddhita*. From this it is clear that Y has included feminine suffixes under *tuddhita*. P, however, has dealt with them separately.

P's rule *tuddhitāḥ* (4.1.76) is a heading rule. It teaches:

"Whatever is taught in the subsequent rules till the last rule of the fifth chapter gets the *tuddhita* designation".²

sādhukattā tesam savan'uggahuṇudhāraṇābhīyuttānam kulaputtānam hitam unukūlan ti tuddhitam, nādipaccayo c' eva tattha tattha ekusesa-lopādesādikāttabbaividhi ca / (Excursus before Sadd 751, p. 783)

¹ *atha tuddhitasumāseśv ekaparvasu cānekaparvasu ca pūrvam pūrvam aparam aparam pravibhajya nirbrūyāt /* (Nir 2.2)

² *adhikāro'yam / āpañcumādhyāyaparisamāpteh yān ita ūrdhvam unukramiṣyāmaḥ tuddhitasumājñās te veditavyāḥ /* (Kāśikā 4.1.76)

Here it should be noted that *saṃśāntas* are regarded as *taddhita* by P.

In Kt, the sixth section of the second chapter is called *taddhita*. C does not use the term. For P's *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ* and *kiti ca* (P 7.2.117-8), C has *kiti cāpatyādāv acām ādeḥ* (CV 6.1.11).

C.

The Pali grammarians have borrowed the term *taddhita* from Sanskrit. In the Pali grammars, the term is used in the sense of the secondary affixes as well as the secondary derivatives. In Kacc and Sadd, part retaining and the compounds of numerals are treated as *taddhitas* whereas in Aṣṭ, the phenomenon of part retaining is dealt with in a separate section and the compounds of numerals are treated in the compound section. Following C, Mogg has avoided the use of the term *taddhita* as usual.

2. *saṃśanta*

A.

Samśanta is a name given to a class of affixes that are added at the end of a compounded word. A special feature of this kind of affixes is that they become a part of a compound to which they are added.

The Pali grammarians have taught this type of suffixes in the chapter dealing with compounds. Cf. Kacc 339-340; Sadd 722-723, 725; MV 3.40-3.53. Among the Pali grammarians, Mogg alone has used the term *saṃśanta* as a technical term of grammar. Cf. MV 3.40: *saṃśantva* and following.¹ The other two grammarians have used the word *saṃśanta* in its non-technical sense. Cf. for instance, Kacc-Vu on Kacc 339:

¹ *pāpādīhi parā yā bhūmi tassa saṃśanto a hoti /* (MVu 3.41)

"The final vowel of nouns forming the final member of a compound sometimes changes to *a*".¹

B.

In P's Ast, the term *samāsānta* is used of those secondary suffixes, which form the final portion of a compounded word.² In Ast., these suffixes are taught in rules P 5.4.68 - 5.4.160, which are governed by the heading rule *taddhitāḥ* / (P 4.1.76)

Śarva uses *samāsānta* in its non-technical sense. Cf. for instance, Kt 2.6.41: *samāsāntagatānām vā rājādīnām adantatā /*

"The words *rājan* etc., occurring as the final member of a compound, turn into words ending in vowel *a*".³

This is the only rule in Kt dealing with this type of suffixes.

C's usage of *samāsānta* is similar to that of P. C deals with these suffixes in rules CV 4.4.52 - 4.4.148.

C.

K and Agg's usage of the term *samāsanta* is similar to that of Śarva. Mogg, on the other hand, has followed P and C in this respect. The Pali grammarians have treated *samāsantas* in the compound section. P and C, on the other hand, have included them in the *taddhita* section.

¹ *samāsāntagatānām nāmānam unto saro kyuci akāro hoti /*

² *samāsāntāḥ* / (P 5.4.68) āpādāparisumāpt̄er ye pratyayāḥ vihitāś te *samāsāntāvayavā ekādeśāḥ bhavanti, tadgrahānēna grhyante iti veditavyam /* (Kāśikā 5.4.68)

³ *samāsāntagatānām rājādīnām adantatā nipātyate /* (DT 2.6.41)

3. *kita*

A.

The term *kita* is formed from the root *kar*. It is an instance of a word formed with a primary suffix becoming a generic name for that kind of suffixes. In Pali, the usage of this term is limited to the grammatical literature.

In Kacc and Sadd, a section dealing with the primary derivatives is titled *Kitakappa*¹ and *Kibbidhānakappa*² respectively. K and Agg define *kit* in an identical fashion as: *aññe kitam /*

"Others are called *kita*." (Kacc 548, Sadd 1132)

Commenting on this rule, the Vutti says:

"Other (verbal) suffixes are designated as *kita*".³

Note that the rule, which immediately precedes this rule, is *te kicca* which teaches the *kicca* designation in both the grammars. In this context, the rule *aññe kitam* means that the verbal suffixes other than the gerundive suffixes (*kicca*) are called *kita*. Thus, unlike P, the Pali grammarians do not treat the gerundive suffixes as a subset of primary suffixes. This view is also supported by Rūp's comment on the rule *tuddhitasamāsukitakā nāmam* *va tāvetūnādisu ca*⁴:

¹ *buddham* *ñāṇasamuddam* *subbaññūm* *lokahetukhinnamatim /*
vanditvā *pabbamaham* *vakkhāmi* *susādhanañ* *kitakappam //*
(Introductory verse of the Kacc's *kibbidhānakappa*, p. 252)

² *ito param puvakkhāmi kibbidhānañ hitamkarum /*
kosallatthāya viññūnam pālidhamme subhāsite //
(Introductory verse of Sadd's *kibbidhānakappa*, p. 844)

³ *aññe paccuyā kita icceva saññā honti /* (Kacc-Vu 548, Sadd 1132)

⁴ "Compounds and the words ending in the primary and the secondary affixes, except those ending in the suffixes *tave*, *tūna*, *tvāna* and *tvā* are to be considered as nouns."

"The inclusion of the particle *ca* in the rule is for giving the *nāma* designation to the words ending in gerundival and feminine suffixes".¹

It implies that the gerundives ending in the *kicca* suffixes are not included in the primary derivatives.

According to K and Agg, the primary suffixes are generally added in the sense of an agent.² Cf. Kacc 626: *kattari kitam* and Sadd 1231: *kattari kit*. Note that these rules have a striking similarity with P 3.4.67: *kartari krt*. Cf. Kt 4.2.7: *krt*.

The term *kita* is missing in Mogg's grammar. In his grammar, the fifth chapter is called the Khādikaṇḍa (the chapter beginning with *kha*) as it opens up with the rule: *tijamānehi khusā khumāvīmaṃsāsu*, which teaches the suffixes *kha* and *su*.

Besides *kita*, the Pali grammarians have also used the term *kitaka* to denote the primary affixes. The term occurs only once in the rules of the Kacc: *tuddhitasumāsakitakā nāmaṇi va tāvetūnādisu ca*³ /³ (Kacc 603)

Agg has used *kitaka* twice in his rules and in both the places the word signifies a primary derivative. Cf. Sadd 525: *Kitake antato siss' u vā*⁴ and Sadd 677: *sumāsatuddhitākhyātakitakānam paccayapad'akkharāgumā ca*.⁵ Besides this, he also uses the terms

¹ *caggahaṇam kiccappaccayaithippaccayantādissa pi nāmavyapadesattham* / (Rūp 319)

² *Kattari iccetusmim utthe kitam paccayā hoti* (Kacc-Vu 626), *Kattukārake kitpaccayo hoti* / (Sadd 1231)

³ *tuddhitu-sumāsa-kitukā iccevamuntā suddā nāmaṇi va duṭṭhubbā tave-tūna-tvāna-tvādippaccaye vajjetvā* / (Kacc-Vu 603)

⁴ *kituke pariyāpannato antapaccayato sivucanassa ukāro hoti vā* / (Sadd 525)

⁵ *na kevalam vibhattiyo yeva utha kho sumāsatuddhitākhyātakitakānam paccayapad'akkharāgumā ca kvaci lopam āpajjanti* / (Sadd 677)

*kitanta*¹ and *dhātumaya*² to express a primary derivative. Note that the Kacc-Vu and the Kacc-Vṇ also use the term *kitaka* in the sense of a primary derivative. Cf.: *tesam-gahunena samāsa-taddhitākhyāta-kitakappadānam vibhattippaccayapada'kkharāgamānañ ca lopo hoti* (Kacc-Vu 319); *subbam kitakapadam kitakanāmam* (Kacc-Vṇ 318).

Even in the MVu, *kitaka* is used in the sense of a primary derivative:

kitakappayoge kattukammesu ‘bahulam’ sam-bandhavacanicchāyam chaṭṭhī / (MVu 2.41)

Thus, in the Pali grammatical tradition, *kitaka* signifies both, a primary suffix and a primary derivative. This term is, however, without parallel in Sanskrit.

B.

In almost every system of the Sanskrit grammar, the name for the primary suffix is *kṛt*. In the technical sense, *kṛt* occurs for the first time in the Go. Brā.:

kṛdantam arthavat prātipadikam / (Go.Brā. 1.1.26)

Next, it is found in Nir 2.2:

"Further, Vedic primary nouns are derived from the roots of classical Sanskrit as *damūnāḥ* (devoted to the house), *kṣetrasādhāḥ* (one who divides the fields etc.)".³

¹ *evam hi parikappam akatvā pūrentī ti purisā ti gahaṇe tam padam isapaccayaparattā kitantam nāma bhavati /* (Excursus before Sadd 751, p. 782)

² *upapade dhātumayānum niccam samāso /* (Sadd 682)

³ *athāpi bhāṣikebhyo dhātubhyo naigamāḥ kṛto bhāṣyante damūnāḥ kṣetrasādhā iti /*

Durgasimha, the commentator of the Nir, explains *kṛtāḥ* here as

"The words ending in a primary suffix".¹

Here, it should be noted that Y uses the term *nāmakarana* 'noun-making' to denote both the primary and the secondary suffixes.²

P defines *kṛt* as: *kṛd atiṇ* / (P 3.1.93)

"(The technical term) *kṛt* denotes (affixes introduced after a verbal stem) other than the finite verbal endings denoted by the abbreviation *tiṇ*".

It is believed that Śarva, the author of the Kt, did not frame rules for *kṛtpṛatyayas*. These were supplied by Vararuci who says in his introduction:

*vṛksādivad amī rūdhāḥ kṛtinā na kṛtāḥ kṛtāḥ /
Kātyāyanena te sṛṣṭāḥ vibuddhipratibuddhaye //*

However, from Kt 2.4.41: *kartṛkarmāṇoh kṛti*, we come to know that even for Śarva the name of the primary suffixes was *kṛt*.

C, as usual, has avoided the use of the technical term *kṛt*. Instead of P's *kartari kṛt*, CV's rule reads: *kartari ṣvul-trc-acuḥ* / (CV 1.1.139)

C.

The Pali grammarians have used the terms *kitu* and *kitaku* to denote the primary affixes. Out of these, *kitaku* is also used in the sense of a primary derivative.

¹ *kṛtpṛatyayāntāḥ śabdāḥ /*

² *avater gatyarthasya uso nāmakaranāḥ* "(Avatāra) is derived from (the root) *av*, meaning to go, with the suffix *usa*." (Nir 1.17); *kakṣo gāhuteḥ / kṣu iti nāmakaranāḥ* "Kakṣaḥ (armpit) is derived from (the root) *gah* (to plunge into) with the suffix *kṣu*." (Nir 2.2)

4. *kicca*

A.

The word *kicca* literally means that which ought to be done, that which is to be performed; duty, obligation, etc. (Dhp-a I.15, Pj I 218; A II.67; Dhp 276). In the grammatical context, the term signifies gerundive suffixes. The term *kicca* is itself a gerundive and is derived from the root *kara* with the suffix *ricca* (Kacc 544, Sadd 1127). Mogg gives *kicca* as a *nipātana*: *kicca-ghucca-bhucca-bhabba-leyyā* (MV 5.31). Like *kit*, *kicca* is taken as the representative of all the gerundive suffixes.

te kiccā (Kacc 547, Sadd 1131), which agrees verbatim with *te kṛtyāḥ* (Kt 4.2.46), teaches that the suffixes beginning with *tubba* upto *ricca* are to be known as *kicca* (gerundive suffixes).¹ These suffixes are: *tubba*, *anīya* (Kacc 542, Sadd 1125), *nya* (Kacc 543, Sadd 1126), and *ricca* (Kacc 544, Sadd 1127). Agg teaches an additional suffix *teyya* (Sadd 1126) to derive the forms like *nāteyya*, and *dīṭṭheyya*.

The term *kicca* is missing in MV. Here, the gerundive suffixes are generally expressed as *tabbādi*.² Mogg deals with the gerundive suffixes in rules 5.27-5.32 in which he teaches five suffixes *tubba*, *anīya* (MV 5.27), *ghyan* (MV 5.28), *ya* (MV 5.30), and *yuk* (MV 5.32).

The *kicca* suffixes are primarily added in the sense of *bhāva* (an impersonal action) and *kamma* (an object): *bhāvakummesu kiccaktakkhatthā* (Kacc 627, Sadd 1232),³ *bhāvakummesu*

¹ *ye paccayā tubbādayo riccantā te kiccasuññā ti dūṭṭhabbā* / (Kacc-Vu 547, Sadd 1131)

² *siddhā evete tubbādayo pesatisuggapattukālesūpi gamyamānesu sāmuññena vidhānuto* / (MVu 5.32)

³ This agrees verbatim with Kt 4.6.47: *bhāvakurmuṇoh kṛtyaktakhularthāḥ* / Cp. P 3.4.70: *tayor eva kṛtyaktakhularthāḥ* /

tabbānīyā (MV 5.27). Besides this, they also convey the sense of an order, permission and appropriate time, opportunity,¹ necessity, or obligation.² According to Mogg, these suffixes are also introduced in the sense of an immediate future with respect to an order, permission and opportunity; deserving, and the capacity of an agent to perform.³

B.

In Sanskrit, the term *kṛtya* is the name of the gerundive suffixes *tavya*, *tavyat*, *anīyar* (P 3.1.96), *yat* (P 3.1.97), *ṇyat* (P 3.1.124), *kyap* (P 3.1.106) and *kelimar* (*vārttika* on P 3.1.96.2: *kelimara upasāṅkhyānam*).

P 3.1.95: *kṛtyāḥ prāṇiḥ nūlāḥ* teaches that "(the technical term) *kṛtya* denotes all affixes (introduced hereafter up to but) excluding *nūl* and *trc* (after a verbal stem)".

Śarva's rule defining the technical term *kṛtya* is: *te kṛtyāḥ* / (Kt 4.2.46)

C uses *tavyādiṣṭ* for *kṛtya*. Cf.: *tavyādiṣṭake'vaśyamāḥ* / (CV 5.2.90)

¹ *pesātisaggupattakālesu kiccā* (Kacc 637, Sadd 1244); *siddhā evete tabbādayo pesātisaggupattakālesūpi gamyamānesu sāmaññena vidhānato* (MVu 5.32). Kacc 637, and Sadd 1244 agree verbatim with *praiśātisurgaprāptakāleśu ca* (Kt 4.5.110). Cp. P 3.3.163: *praiśātisurgaprāptakāleśu kṛtyāś ca /*

² *āvussakādhamiṇesu ni ca* (Kacc 638, Sadd 1245). Kacc 638 and Sadd 1245 are exactly identical with *āvaśyakādhumarṇayor nin* (Kt 4.5.111). Cp. P 3.3.170: *āvaśyakādhumarṇayayoḥ niniḥ /*

³ *evam uddhumuhuttikepi vattamānato pesādisu siddhā eva / tathā aruhe kattari sattivisiṭṭhe ca patīyamāne āvussakādhamiṇatā visiṭṭhe ca bhāvādo siddhā /* (MVu 5.32)

C.

The Pali term *kicca* is another instance of borrowing from Sanskrit. It is common to the Kacc, the Sadd, the Aṣṭ and the Kt. It is, however, missing in the MV and the CV. K and Agg's definition of *kicca* agrees verbatim with the definition of Śarva.

5. *vikarana*

A.

The term *vikarana* is formed from *vi* + *kar* (Skt. *kr*) meaning 'to make different, transform'. It is generally used in the grammatical literature to denote the conjugational sign. It is inserted between the root and the suffix or ending, or between the last vowel and the following consonant of a root. In this sense, *vikarana* does not occur either in the Canon or in the *Āṭhakathās*.

K teaches thirteen conjugational signs in rules Kacc 447-454 for the eight classes of verbal roots:

1. *a* after the roots *bhū* etc.
2. *a* preceded by a nasal after the roots *rudh* etc.
3. *ya* after the roots *div* etc.
4. *nu, ṇu, una* after the roots *su* etc.
5. *nā* after the roots *ki* etc.
6. *ppa, nhā* after the roots *gaha* etc.
7. *o, yira* after the roots *tuna* etc.
8. *ne, ṇaya* after the roots *curu* etc.

An additional affix *ya* in the sense of a passive or an impersonal action is taught by Kacc 442 and Sadd 920.

The word *vikarana* in the sense of conjugational affixes occurs in the opening verse of the Kacc's Ākhyātakappa:

ākhyātasāgarumathajjatanītarāngam
dhātujjalam vikaraṇāgamakālamīnam /
lopānubandharayamatthavibhāgatīram
dhīrā taranti kavino puthubuddhināvā // 1 //

But since, this verse is not commented upon in the Mmd and the Rūp, it is considered as a late interpolation. Apart from this, the term *vikarana* occurs neither in K's rules nor in the subsequent Vutti. The Vutti simply refers to these affixes as *paccayas*.¹ An important point to be noted in this connection is that at Kacc 457 and Sadd 936: *dhātuppaccayehi vibhattiyo*,² the term *dhātuppaccaya* is used in the sense of an affix taught with reference to a verbal root. The commentators interpret this term as denoting suffixes starting from *kha* up to the causal suffixes, i.e. suffixes taught in Kacc 435-440 and Sadd 906-914.³ However, in our opinion, the term may also denote the conjugational affixes as they are inserted between a verbal root and the finite verbal ending.

The mention of the term *vikarana* is found at the excursus before Rūp 408:

"They (*dhātus*) are again of seven types according to the difference in the conjugational affixes. How? *Bhū* etc. having the conjugational affix *a*, *rudha* etc. having the conjugational affix *a* preceded by a nasal, *diva* etc. having the conjugational affix *ya*, *su* etc. having the conjugational affixes *nu*, *nā* and *unā*,

¹ *bhū iccevamādito dhātuganato uppaccayo hoti kuttari* (Kacc-Vu 447); *divādito dhātugaṇato yappuccayo hoti kuttari* (Kacc-Vu 449) etc.

² "The verbal case endings are added after a verbal stem ending in suffixes *kha* etc. or the causal suffixes which are taught with reference to a verbal root." (Kacc 457, Sadd 936)

³ *dhātunidditthehi paccayehi khādikāritantehi vibhattiyo honti* / (Kacc-Vu 457, Sadd 936)

ki etc. having the conjugational affixes *nā*, *ppa*, and
nhā, *tana* etc. having the conjugational affix *o*, *cura*
etc. having the conjugational affixes *ne* and *naya* in
their own sense".¹

Note that Buddhappiya does not treat roots *gaha* etc. as a separate class as K does. Here, *vikaruna* is a shorter term for *vikaraṇappaccaya*, which is used at Rūp 630.

Agg and Mogg use the term *vikaruna* in the same sense at Sadd 976: *vikaraṇassa ca nuno*; MV 5.161: *kvaci vikaraṇānam*, MV 6.76: *o vikaraṇassa parachakke*. Following K, Agg also teaches thirteen conjugational affixes for eight classes of verbal roots (Sadd 925-933). Mogg, on the other hand, teaches nine conjugational affixes such as:

- a. The general conjugational affix *la*
- b. *Ni* after the roots *cur* etc. with or without *la*
- c. *La* preceded by a nasal after the roots *rudh* etc.
- d. *Yuk* after the roots *div* etc.
- e. *Ka* after the roots *tud* etc.
- f. *Knā* after the roots *ji* etc.
- g. *Knā* after the roots *ki* etc.
- h. *Kno* after the roots *su* etc.
- i. *O* after the roots *tan* etc.

¹ te puna sattividhā bhavanti vikaraṇappaccayabhedena / katham?
avikaraṇā bhūvādayo, niggahītupubbaka-a-vikaraṇā rudhādayo, ya-
vikaraṇā divādayo, nu-nu-uṇa-vikaraṇā svādayo, nā-ppa-nhā-vikaraṇā
kiyādayo, o-vikaraṇā tunādayo, sukatthe ne-ṇuyantā curādayo ti /

Besides this, MV 5.17: *kyo bhāvakammesvapurokkhesu mānāntatyādisu* teaches the affix *kyu* in the sense of ‘an impersonal action’ or ‘an object’. At MV 5.85: *na te kānubandhanāgamesu*, Mogg has used the term *āgama* to express the conjugational affixes *kñā* etc. Cf. MVu: *nāgame kñādinā* /

B.

Vikarana in the sense of a conjugational affix is found in the Pāṇiniya Gaṇapāṭha and the Mbh:

vikaraṇārtha iti cet, kṛtābhīhite vikaranābhāvah
(Pāṇiniya Gaṇapāṭha 3.1.67.2)

yadi dhātūr viśisyate vikaraṇasya na prāpnoti /
(Mbh I.54)

P introduces a number of conjugational affixes such as *śap*, *śyan*, *śa*, *śnam* etc. In Aṣṭ, the *vikaraṇas* are given under the general heading *pratyayah* (P 3.1.1). Thus, P regards *vikaraṇas* as *pratyayas*. As a result, the *vikaraṇa śnam* is also regarded as a suffix, though it does not come at the end of a base.

Commenting on these affixes, Bālamanoramā says:

"The designation *vikaraṇa* of affixes *śap* etc. that are stated after a verbal root and precede the finite verbal endings denoted by the abbreviation *tiñ*, was established among the ancient teachers".¹

The word *vikaraṇa* occurs many times in the rules of the Kt.² Here too the *vikaraṇas* are listed under the general heading *pratyayah parah* (Kt 3.2.1) and are consequently regarded as suffixes.

The term *vikaraṇa* is absent in the CV.

¹ *tiñi pure dhātor vihitānām pratyayānām śubādīnām vikaraṇasumjñā prācīnācāryasiddhā* / (Si.Kau. 2467)

² *un-vikaraṇah karturi* (Kt 3.2.32), *sandhyakṣarāntānām akāro'vikaraṇe* (Kt 3.4.20), *noś ca vikaraṇād usamyogāt* / (Kt 3.4.35)

C.

The Pali grammarians have borrowed the term *vikarana* from their Sanskrit counterparts. Though the term is missing in the Kacc, it is available in the Sadd and the MV. Mogg's usage of *āgama* for *vikarana* has no parallel in other grammars.

6. *kārita*

A.

Kārita is a past participle from *kāreti*, the causal form of the root *kur*. It means 'made to do'. It is an older term denoting a causative suffix or a causal form. In Pali, the term is extant only in the grammatical literature. K, who uses the term for the first time, seems to have taken it over from the Kt.

According to K and Agg, the technical term *kārita* denotes the causal suffixes *ne*, *naya*, *nāpe*, and *nāpaya* which are added after a verbal root in the sense of a causal agent.¹ Explaining the term *kārita*, Agg says:

"'The one who makes someone act' is called *kāretā*. Who is he? a causal agent. The causal agent (*kāretā*) itself is called *kāritā*. And the suffixes *ne* etc. are called *kārita* as they convey that sense".²

The term *kārita* is missing in the MV. For K and Agg's *gatibuddhibhujupathaharakarasayadīnam kārite vā*³ (Kacc 302,

¹ *dhātūhi ne-naya-nāpe-nāpayā kāritāni hetvatthe* (Kacc 440); *ne-naya-nāpe-nāpayā hetvatthe dhātuto, kāritā ca te /* (Sadd 914)

² *kāreñ ti kāretā, ko so: hetubhūto kattā, kāretā eva kāritā, tuddipukattā nādayo puccayā kāritā /* (Sadd 914)

³ "The second case terminations are added when the causal forms of the verbal roots having the sense of 'motion', 'knowledge', and the roots *bhuj*, *pāṭh*, *har*, *kar*, *si* etc. are used".

Sadd 587), following C, Mogg has *gatibodhāhārasaddatthakammakabhajjādīnam prayojje* /¹ (MV 2.4)

B.

In the Nir (1.7, 8, 17; 4.2; 5.23), Y uses the terms *kārita*, *cikīrṣita* and *carkarīta* to denote various categories of verbal inflections. There, *kārita* signifies the causative inflection. The term is, however, missing in P's Ast. P uses *ni*, which is a causal suffix, instead of the bigger term *kārita*. Cf. P 1.4.52: *gatibuddhipratyavasānārthaśabdakarmākarmakāṇām ani kartā saṇau /*

Śarva, on the other hand, has retained the older term *kārita*: *in kāritam dhātvarthe* / (Kt 3.2.9)

C has avoided the use of the term *kārita*. Thus, for P's *gatibuddhipratyavasānārthaśabdakarmākarmakāṇām ani kartā saṇau* (P 1.4.52), C has *gatibodhāhārasabdarthānāpyānām prayojye* / (CV 2.1.44)

C.

Thus, with regard to the term *kārita*, K and Agg have followed Śarva. Mogg, on the other hand, has followed C.

¹ "The second case terminations are added in the sense of 'an instigated agent' (*prayojju kuttā*) of the verbal roots having the sense of 'motion', 'knowledge', 'eating or drinking', 'producing sound', of intransitive roots and of the verbal roots *bhajj* etc.".

Terminology Denoting Parts of Speech

I. nāma

A.

The literal meaning of the term *nāma* is ‘a name’. Sometimes, it is also used to denote ‘a word’ in general. Cf. Sp 223, 22-24.¹ However, in the grammatical context, the word is generally used to denote nouns.

The Pali grammarians generally derive the word *nāma* from the root *nam* ‘to bend’. Thus, the concluding verse of the Sadd’s *nāmukappa* runs:

"Let the wise people bend their mind over those nominal words which bend over the meaning and make the meaning bend over them".²

Also cp. the Kacc-Vñ on Kacc 318:

"They bend over the meanings. Thus, they are called nouns. Or, they make the meaning bend over them. Thus, they are nouns".³

Commenting on Kacc 318: *nāmānam samāso yuttattho*, Kacc-Vñ enumerates five types of nouns:

"Nouns are of five types. Thus, it is said:

"Knowers of nouns declare nouns to be of five types: simple nouns, pronouns, compounds,

¹ *vuttam pi c'etam: sikkhāpadum ti yo tattha nāmukāyo, padakāyo, nirutti-kāyo, vyañjanakāyo ti /*

² *namanti yāni utthesu atthe nāmenti c' attani / padesu, tesu nāmesu dhīrā nāmentu mānasum //*

³ *utthesu namantī ti nāmāni, utha vā atthe nāmentī ti nāmāni /*

secondary derivatives, and similarly, primary derivatives".¹

Note that prefixes and particles are included in the category of simple nouns.²

Another word used by the Pali grammarians to denote a simple noun is *suddhanāma*. Cf. excursus before Sadd 751 (p. 782):

"However, some say that the word *purisā*, which is an instance of 'part retaining', is not a secondary derivative but rather a simple noun".³

Also cp. Kacc-Vṇ 63:

suttāgutānam etimāsaddānam etimāsaddasānu-
kurañattā sabbanāmānukarañassa ca suddhanāma-
sabhāvato suddhanāme ādesavasena etimātum ti
vuttabbam /

K and Agg have used the word *nāma* in the sense of 'a noun' at Kacc 318: *nāmanāmū sumāso yuttattho*, Sadd 199: *syādayo nāme*, *tyādayo ākhyāte*, and Sadd 675: *nāmopusagganipātānam yuttattho sumāso*. However, at Kacc 603, it appears to have been used in the sense of 'a nominal root'. Note that Mogg has also used the word *nāma* in this sense. Cf. MV 1.9: *iyuvāññā jhalā nāmussante*. Also cp. MVu 1.9: *nāmam pātipadikam* "nāma means a nominal root".

Mogg has used the word *nāma* in the sense of 'a proper name'. Cf. for instance, MV 2.141; 4.9, and 4.16. In his grammar, the term denoting a noun is *syādyanta*. Cf. MV 3.1: *syādi syādinekatthum*, MVu 3.1: *syādyantum syādyantena sahekathum hoti* / However, at MV 5.12, the term *nāma* has been used to denote 'a noun'.

¹ *nāmanāmām subbanāmāmū sumāsūm tuddhitum tathā /*
kitanāmāñca nāmuññū nāmām pañcavidhūm vade //

² *tattha nāmanāmām nāma upasagganipātā* / (Kacc-Vṇ 318)

³ *keci pana ... purisā ti katekusesapadam paccayarahitattā na*
tuddhitapadam, suddhanāmapadam yevā ti vadanti /

B.

The usage of the term *nāman* in the sense of ‘a noun’ goes back to the time of the Go. Brā.:

*omkāram prcchāmaḥ ko dhātuḥ, kim prātipadikam,
kim nāmākhyātām /* (1.1.24)

Y also uses the word in the same sense. Cf.:

"Now, what (are) the four classes of words? They are the following: noun and verb; preposition and particles."¹

He defines *nāman* as "Nouns have ‘being’ as their fundamental notion."²

In the grammars of P and C, nouns are generally referred to as *subantas* i.e. words ending in the nominal inflections. However, at P 4.3.72: *dvyajṛdbrahmaṇarkprathamādhvarapuraścaraṇanāmākhyātāt thak*, *nāman* is also used in the sense of ‘a noun’.

Śarva also uses the term *nāman* in the same sense. Cf. Kt 2.5.1: *nāmnām samāso yuktārthaḥ /*

C.

Thus, the term *nāma* in the sense of ‘a noun’ is common to both the Pali as well as the Sanskrit grammarians.

2. *sabbanāma***A.**

Sabbanāma is a good old term denoting ‘a pronoun’. It is a self-explanatory term meaning ‘the name for all’:

¹ *tud yāni catvāri padajātāni nāmākhyāte copasurganipātāś ca tānīmāni bhavanti /* (Nir 1.1)

² *sattvapradhānāni nāmāni /* (Nir 1.1)

"Names for all; feminine, masculine and neuter are *sabbanāma*."¹

Note that this analysis is already met with in the Mbh where Ptj says:

"That which is a name for all is called *survanāman*
‘a pronoun’."²

Also cp. DT 2.1.25:

*survesān nāma survanāma ity anvarthasamjñayā
survādayo grhyante /*

With respect to Pali, the term *sabbanāma* has no canonical background. Kacc-Vṇi acknowledges that *sabbanāma* is a borrowed term: *sabbunāmūm ti parusumaññā /* (Kacc-Vṇi 164)

The term *sabbanāma* occurs for quite a number of times in Kacc.³ *Sabbunāmikam*, which is a *taddhita* form of the term, also occurs at Kacc 166: *nāññām sabbunāmikam /* Once more, the influence of Śarva is quite evident here. Cp. Kt 2.1.33: *nānyat sārvanāmikam /* K has not attempted any formal definition of the term. He here seems to follow the practice of Śarva.

At Sadd 269, Agg defines *sabbanāma* as: *sabbukutarādayo
sabbanāmāni /*

"The technical term *sabbanāma* applies to words
sabba, katara etc.".

This definition goes close to P 1.1.27: *survādīni survanāmāni /* Kacc-Vṇi on Kacc 164: *sabbanāmakārute pathamo* quotes stanzas recording a number of pronouns. They are:

1 *subbesum itthipumanapuṇṣukānam nāmāni sabbunāmāni /* (Rūp 200)

2 *survesām yan nāma tut survanāma /* (Mbh I.88)

3 *sabbunāmānam namhi ca* (Kacc 102), *trathā suttamiyā sabbunāmehi /* (Kacc 251)

"*Sabba, katara, katama, ubhaya, itara, aññatara, aññatama, pubba, apara, dakkhiṇa, uttara*¹, *para, añña, ya, ta, eta, amu, ima, kim, tumha, umha, numerals eka, dvi, ti, catu, pañca, cha, satta, aṭṭha, nava, dasa, vīsa upto infinity*".²

A similar but shorter list of pronouns also occurs at MVu 2.101:

subba, katara, katama, ubhaya, itara, añña, aññatara, aññatama; pubbaparāparadakkhiṇ-uttarādharāṇi vavatthāyam usaññāyam /

Also cp. excursus between Rūp 199 and 200.

Following C, Mogg uses *sabbādi* for *sabbanāma*.³ Thus, for *sabbanāmānam namhi ca* (Kacc 102) and *sabbanāmānam pana namhi* (Sadd 270), Mogg has *sabbādīnam namhi ca /* (MV 2.101)

B.

The first occurrence of the term *sarvanāman* in its technical sense can be traced back to the Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra (1.4.20):

*sarvanāmnā striyo rājanyavaiśyau ca, na nāmnā /*⁴

In Nir 1.7, besides *sarvanāman* Y uses *ardhanāman* probably denoting a partial pronoun:

¹ Note that these pronouns (*pubba, apara, dakkhiṇa* and *uttara*) denoting directions are called *disāsabbanāma* by Agg: *hoti disāsabbanāmānam*. (Sadd 352)

² *subbam̄ katura-katama-ubhaya-itarā pi ca / aññatara-aññatama-pubba-apara-dakkhiṇā // uttara-para-aññā ca ya-ta-eta-amu-imā / kim-tumha-umha-ekā va dvi-ti-catu ca pañca cha / satta aṭṭha navu dasu vīsādi yāvā saṃkhyā'ti //* (Kacc-Vṇ 164)

³ *sabbādito sabbā* (MV 2.25), *sabbādito sattamyā trutthā* / (MV 4.99)

⁴ "Women as well as *kṣatriyas* and *vaiśyas* are to be saluted by means of the name common to all i.e. pronoun and not by (means of one's proper) name".

"The word *tva*, being a pronoun with the sense of 'opposition', is unaccented. Some hold it to be a partial pronoun".¹

At Nir 4.6, Y uses the term *samkhyānāman* for numerals:

"*Tritu* was the one most eminent in wisdom. Or else the word may have been intended as a synonym of number, i.e. *ekataḥ*, *dvitāḥ*, *tritāḥ*, thus, the three were produced".²

P defines *survanāman* as: *survādīni survanāmāni* / (P 1.1.27)

"(The technical term) *survanāman* 'pronominal stem' denotes the class of nominal bases whose first member is *surva-* 'all'."

The words occurring in this *survādi* group are: *surva*, *viśva*, *ubha*, *ubhaya*, *datura*, *datama*, *katara*, *katama*, *itara*, *anya*, *anyatara*, *tva*, *nema*, *sama*, *sima*, *pūrva*, *para*, *avara*, *dakṣina*, *uttara*, *apara*, *adharā*, *sva*, *antara*, *tyad*, *tad*, *yad*, *etad*, *idam*, *adas*, *eka*, *dvi*, *yuṣmad*, *usmad*, *bhavatu* and *kim*.

Note that at P 2.3.29, P uses *dikśabda* for pronouns denoting directions: *anyārāditarartedikśabdāñcūttarapadājāhiyukte* whereas at P 2.2.26, P uses *diñnāman* for the same: *diñnāmāny anturāle* / Under P 6.4.174.4, Ptj says:

ekaśrutih svarasurvanāma, yathā napuṁsakam liṅgasurvanāma / (Mbh III.234)

Here *survanāman* is used in the sense of 'general'.

Śarva uses the term without defining it: *survanāmnas tu sasavo hrasvapūrvāś ca* (Kt 2.1.43), and *smai survanāmnah* / (Kt 2.1.25)

C uses *survādi*: *survādibhyah smaismatau* / (CV 2.1.6)

¹ *tva iti vinigrahārthīyam survanāmānudāttum / ardhanāmety eke /*

² *tritus tīrṇatamo medhayā babhūva / api vā samkhyā nāmaivābhīpretum syāt / ekato dvitustritu iti trayo babhūvuh /*

C.

With respect to the usage of the term *sabbanāma*, K and Agg have followed P and Śarva. Agg's definition of *sabbanāma* seems to be motivated by P as no other source seems to be more probable. Mogg's choice of the term *subbādi* is, no doubt, influenced by C.

3. *visesana*

A.

The term *visesana* meaning 'distinguishing, distinction, qualification, attribute' is derived from *vi* + *sis*.¹ In the grammatical context, it signifies an adjective. In this sense, the term is used in all the three Pali grammars. Cf. *visesane ca* (Kacc 294); *visesane pakatiādisu ca* (Sadd 604) and *visesanam ekutthena* (MV 3.11).

Agg explains the term as:

"*Visesana* (a qualifier) is that by which something that ought to be distinguished is distinguished".²

The Pali grammarians have used only one term to express a qualifier. They have, however, used three different words to express the qualified. Agg has used *visesitabba* at Sadd 613; *visesanavisesitabbānam* va *sambandhānum* *sambandho* and *visesanīya* at Sadd 688: *ayuttattho yuttuttho vā visesanīya-visesane*. Here it should be noted that *visesitabbavacana* occurs at Vv-a 13 in the sense of qualifying (predicative) expression. Besides this, in Pali, there are words such as *visesitu* (Mhv 11, 32; Pj I 18), *viseсиya* (Vv 16¹⁰), *visesin* and *visesavant*. Mogg uses *visessa* at MVu 3.11: *visesanam syādyantum*, *visessena syādyantena samānādhikaraṇena sahekutthum hoti* / It seems to be formed after the Sanskrit form *viśeṣya*.

¹ Vv 16¹⁰; Ja III.11; VI.63; Pj II 181; Vv-a 13.

² *visesīyuti visesitubbam unenā ti visesunam* / (Sadd 604)

B.

In the Sanskrit grammars, the term denoting an adjective is *viśeṣaṇa* and the term denoting that which is qualified is *viśeṣya*. Cf. *viśeṣaṇam viśesyena bahulam* (P 2.1.57), *viśeṣaṇānām ca ajāteh* (P 1.2.52); *viśeṣane* (Kt 2.4.32); *viśeṣaṇam ekārthena* (CV 2.2.18).

C.

The term *visesana* in the sense of an adjective is common to both the Sanskrit and the Pali grammars.

4. abyaya**A.**

The literal meaning of the term *avyaya*¹ is ‘absence of loss or change’ (D I.72). In the grammatical context, it denotes a class of indeclinables including prefixes and particles. Cf. Rūp 321:

"There, *avyaya* is a term denoting prefixes and particles on account of its being free from loss / change even when the gender or number varies".²

The term *avyaya* does not occur independently in Kacc. At Kacc 321: *upasaggaṇipātāpabbako abyayībhāvo*, *abyaya* occurs as a part of a compound *abyayībhāva*.

At Sadd 695, *avyaya* is defined as: *upasaggaṇipātā avyayā /*

"The term *avyaya* denotes prefixes and particles".

Commenting on the rule, Agg says:

¹ Note that K uses *abyaya* which is a phonetic variant of *avyaya*.

² *tattha abyayam iti upasaggaṇipātānum saññā liṅgavacanabhede pi vyaya-rahitattā /*

"Prefixes and particles are designated as indeclinables in the sense of the absence of loss on account of their unaltered nature with respect to all the genders, cases and numbers except in the *sandhi* operation, compounding, and the secondary derivation".¹

Agg supports his explanation by quoting a verse, which is a Pali version of a popular Sanskrit verse:

"The words, which do not decline, in all the three genders and in all the cases and numbers they are called *avyayas* 'indeclinables'".²

Cp. Go. Brā. 1.1.26, Mbh I.96 and DT 2.4.4:

*sudṛśam triṣu lingesu survāsu ca vibhaktisu /
vacanesu ca surveṣu yan na vyeti tad avyayam //*

Avyaya is missing in the MV. Following C, Mogg uses *asamkhyā* for *avyaya*. Cf. *asamkhyehi sabbāsum* / (MV 2.120)

"Any case ending coming after an indeclinable is elided."

MVu here paraphrases *asamkhyehi* with *avijjamānasamkhyehi* 'the one without a number'. In this connection, it is interesting to note that DV on Kt 2.4.4: *avyayāc ca* says: *avyayam asamkhyam* '*Avyaya* means *asamkhyā*'. DT comments:

"That which does not decline is called an *avyaya*. That which does not have a number is called *asamkhyā*. It is a synonym (of *avyaya*)."³

¹ *upasaggunipātā vinā ekuccum sandhikiccam sumāsukiccam tuddhitakiccam ca sabbesu pi lingavibhattivacunesu avituthattā vināsābhāvena avyayusaññā honti /* (Sadd 695)

² *vyayo tīsu ca lingesu subbāsu ca vibhattīsu / yesam n' utthi padānan tu, tāni vuccanti avyayā //* (Sadd 695)

³ *na vyetīty avyayam / na vidyate saṃkhyā yasyety asamkhyām paryāyaḥ kathyate /*

B.

The term *avyaya* in its technical sense probably occurred for the first time in the Go. Brā. (1.1.26):

*sadrśam triṣu liṅgesu sarvāsu ca vibhaktiṣu /
vacunesu ca sarvesu yan na vyeti tudavyayam //*¹

This is expanded in Mbh I.96 as:

"That which does not decline is called an *avyaya*, then where does it not decline? Being feminine, masculine and neuter are the qualities of a substance and so also the quality of singularity, duality and plurality. With respect to these meanings, some words decline, some do not. Those which do not decline are called indeclinables".²

P does not define *avyayas*. He simply enumerates them in P 1.1.37: *svarādinipātam avyayam*³ and the following rules. According to these rules, *avyaya* embraces *nipāta*, *gati*, *upasarga*, *karmapravacanīya* and other indeclinables.

Śarva uses the term at Kt 2.2.64: *avyayasarvanāmnaḥ svarād antyāt pūrvo'k kah* and at Kt 2.4.4: *avyayāc ca*.

C uses *asamkhyā* for *avyaya* and *sasamkhyā* for *unavyaya*. Cf. CV 2.2.2: *asamkhyam vibhaktisamīpabhbāvakhātipuścādyathā-*

¹ "That which remains the same and does not decline in all the three genders, in all the cases and in all the numbers, is called an *avyaya* 'an indeclinable'".

² *na vyetīty avyayam iti / kva punar na vyeti? strīpunnarupūṣakāni sutravaguṇā ekatvadvitvabahutvāni ca / etān arthān kecid viyanti, kecin na viyanti / ye na viyanti tad avyayam /*

³ "(The technical term) *avyaya* 'indeclinable' denotes members of the class headed by *svar-* as well as particles."

yugapatsumpatsākalyārthe, CV 6.4.40: *ataḥ krkamikāmsakumbhapātrakuśākarṇīṣu sasamkhyasya.*

C.

To sum up, the term *avyaya* does not occur independently in the Kacc. Agg as usual seems to follow Śarva among other possible sources. Mogg seems to follow C but the influence of the DV and the DT in the selection of the term *asamkhyā* cannot be totally ruled out.

5. *upasagga, nipāta*

A.

Upasarga and *nipāta* would appear to be older terms than *avyaya*, since it is not mentioned in the traditional enumeration of parts of speech, viz., *nāman*, *ākhyātu*, *upasarga* and *nipāta*.

The term *upasagga* is derived from the root *sajja* with the prefix *upa*. In Pali, *upasagga* is used in its technical as well as its non-technical sense. *Upasagga* in its technical sense of 'a prefix' occurs at Ja II.67, 126; Sv I.245; Pj I 101; Pv-a 88; As 163. In its non-technical sense of 'attack, danger' etc. *upasagga* occurs at Vin I.33; A I.101; Th 2.353 etc.

The term *nipāta* is derived from *ni* + *pat*. The literal meaning of the term is 'falling down, descending'. However, as a technical term of grammar, it denotes a particle, the grammatical term for adverbs, conjunctions and interjections (Ja V.243; Pv-a 11, 26, 40, 50). From the grammarians' point of view, prefixes and particles are a part of a broader category of indeclinables.¹ They are also reckoned as two out of four parts of speech, the other two being *nāma* and *ākhyātu*. The Pali *atthakathās* mention four parts of

¹ Cf. Sadd 695: *Upasagganipātā avyayā* "The term *avyaya* (an indeclinable) denotes prefixes and particles".

speech (*padavibhāga*) viz. *nāmapada*, *ākhyātапада*, *upasaggapada* and *nipātapada*. Cf. Sv 26, 9ff (on D I 1.4).

The Pali grammarians have analysed the terms *upasagga* and *nipāta* as:

"*Pa* etc¹ are called prefixes (*upasaggas*) as going close they add to the meaning. *Ca* etc.² are called particles (*nipātas*) as they fall at the beginning or in the middle or at the end of a *pāda* (a quarter of a stanza)".³

Note that a similar explanation is already met with in the writings of Skanda:

"Going close they add i.e. they make the meaning of nouns and verbs distinct. Thus they are called *upasargas*".⁴

In Mogg's grammar, *upasaggas* are called *pādi* (*pa* etc.) and *nipātas* are called *cādi* (*ca* etc.). Cf. MV 5.131: *pādito thāssa vā thaho kvaci*,⁵ MVu 2.239: *cādīyoge tumha amha saddānumādesā*

¹ Kacc-Vu (on Kacc 221: *subbāsumāvusopasagganipātādīhi ca*) provides a list of twenty *upasaggas* beginning with *pa*: *pa*, *parā*, *ni*, *nī*, *u*, *dū*, *sum*, *vi*, *ava*, *unu*, *puri*, *adhi*, *abhi*, *pati*, *su*, *ā*, *uti*, *api*, *upa*, and *upa*. MVu 5.131 provides almost the same list. The only difference being that MVu has the prefix *o* instead of *nī*.

² *Nipātas* beginning with *ca* are: *yathā*, *tathā*, *evam*, *khalu*, *kho*, *yatra*, *tutra*, *utho*, *utha*, *hi*, *tu*, *ca*, *vā*, *vo*, *hum*, *alam*, *eva*, *bho*, *aho*, *he*, *re*, *ure*, *hare* etc. (Kacc-Vu on Kacc 221)

³ *upecc utthāpi sajjantī ti upusaggā hi pāduyo / cādi pādādimujjhante nipātā nipatantī hi //* (Rūp 282)

⁴ *upetya nāmākhyātayor arthatasya viśeṣam srjunti utpādayantī upusargāḥ /* (Skanda on Nir 1.3)

⁵ "The verbal root *thā* coming after the (prefixes) *pa* etc. is sometimes substituted by *thaha*".

*na honti.*¹ The term *nipāta* is, however, used at MVu 1.32: *yathariva tathariveti nipātovā*, 2.148: *bho iti āmantaṇe nipāto* and 3.17: *atthisaddo vijjamānatthe nipāto /*

Explaining the nature of prefixes, Rūp says:

"The behaviour of the *upasaggus* is threefold: some cancel the meaning of a verbal root. Others follow it whereas some others change the very meaning (of a verbal root)."²

This is a Pali version of a popular Sanskrit verse occurring in the Śākatāyana Dhātupāṭha:

*dhātvārtham bādhate kuścit kuścit tam anuvartate /
tam eva viśinaṣṭi anya upasargagatis tridhā //*

At MVu 5.131, Mogg says that the prefixes manifest a particular action: *pādīhi kriyāviseṣajotakehi ... Cp. kriyāviśeṣakā upasargāḥ* / (Kātyāyana 1.3.1.7)

About *nipātas*, Rūp 282 says:

"That which is independent of other three types of speech³ and hence falls in the middle, and which bears the characteristic of an indeclinable, that is called the one belonging to the category of particles (*nipātas*)."⁴

¹ "When the pronouns *tumha* and *umha* are syntactically connected with the particles *ca* etc. then there occurs no substitute in their place".

² *dhātvārtham bādhate koci koci tam anuvattate /
tamevañño viseseti upasaggagati tidhā //* (Rūp 282)

³ Particles are said to be different than the remaining three parts of speech such as nouns, verbs and prefixes: *nāmākhyātopusaggavinimuttum* / (Rūp 282)

⁴ *muttam padattuyā tasmā nipatatyantarantarā /
nepātikanti tam vuttam yum avyayasalakkhanam //*

Following the Nirukta way of classification, Rūp also classifies particles into four categories such as conjunctive, disjunctive, prohibitive and expletive. This classification is based on various non-substantival meanings conveyed by these particles. Out of the above-mentioned four categories, the expletive particles are further subdivided into two: those accomplishing the meaning and those accomplishing the number of syllables in a sentence or a stanza. Particles such as *atha*, *khalu*, *bata*, *seyyathīdam* belong to the second category of expletives. Particles accomplishing the meaning are again of two types: the one with case endings and the one without case endings.¹

Though the prefixes and particles are called *avyayas*, according to the Pali grammarians, they are still inflected. Cf. Sadd 203, "The case terminations are added after a conventional word, an imitative word, and prefixes."² In view of Rūp, prefixes only take the nominative singular suffix for they are not related with the concept of number and *kāraka*.³ However, at the final stage, these added case endings are dropped. Cf.: Kacc 221; Sadd 448; and MV 2.120. Commenting on Sadd 448, Agg points out that according to the grammarians, in case of prefixes and particles, there is no possibility of dropping of the plural suffixes as they are called *asamkhyā* (without number). However, as per the *sāsanikas*, the elision of plural suffixes is still possible.⁴ In the same context, the Kacc-Vñ says:

¹ Cf. Rūp 282: *subbāsumāvusopasagganipātādīhi ca /*

² *rūlhānukurāṇopasaggādito ca /*

³ *tuttha upasaggānām nāmākhyātavisesakuttā liṅgasuññāyam aniyamena syādimhi sumpatte tesam samkhyākummādibhedābhāvā tehi paṭhameka-vacanāmeva bhavati /* (Rūp 282)

⁴ *suddasatthavidū asamkhyasudduttā upasagganipātehi buhuvacanalopam na icchanti, sāsanikā pana icchanti; tathā hi sāsane asamkhyasaddato pi buhuvacanalopo icchitabbo hoti /* (Sadd 448)

"After prefixes, the nominative singular suffix, whereas after particles, fourteen case endings are elided".¹

B.

Upasarga from *upa* 'near' and *sṛj* 'to discharge' literally means 'discharged near', then 'addition', then 'addition to the verb' i.e. 'preposition'. Cf. Durgasimha on Nir 1.3:

"It means that they (*upasargas*) embrace the *ākhyātus* and produce a specific meaning of the same".²

Upasarga and *nipātu* occur in Nir 1.3 signifying two parts of speech. Y mentions twenty *upasargas* with their meanings in the following order:

<i>ā</i>	Hitherward	<i>sum</i>	Together
<i>pra</i> and <i>parā</i>	Opposite of hitherward	<i>vi</i> and <i>upa</i>	Opposite of together
<i>abhi</i>	Towards	<i>anu</i>	Similarity and succession
<i>prati</i>	opposite of towards	<i>api</i>	Commingling
<i>ati</i> and <i>su</i>	Honoured	<i>upa</i>	Accession
<i>nir</i> and <i>dur</i>	opposite of	<i>pari</i>	Around

¹ *upasaggato hi paṭhamekavacanam ca nipātato panu cuddusa vibhattiyo luttā hontī ti /* (Kacc-Vṇ 221)

² *ākhyātam upagrhyārthaviśeṣam ime tasyaiva sṛjantīty arthaḥ /*

	honoured		
<i>ni</i> and <i>ava</i>	Downwards	<i>adhi</i>	Above, supremacy
<i>ud</i>	Opposite of downwards		

Nipātu is derived from *ni* + *pat*. It is explained thus in Nir:

"Now, the particles occur in various senses, both in a comparative sense, in a conjunctive sense, and as expletives".¹

At P 1.4.59, P explains *upasarga* as: *upasargāḥ kriyāyoge*

"(The technical term) *upasarga* ‘preverb, preposition’ denotes (the group of particles beginning with *pra-*) when there is a connection with an action".

Since an *upasarga* is primarily connected with a verb, Kātyāyana says in his *vārttika*: *kriyāviśeṣakā upasargāḥ* (1.3.1.7). Under P 2.1.1, Ptj says:

"Such is the nature of *upasargas* that where a word denoting an action (i.e. a verb) is used, they express the special character of an action".²

P does not provide any descriptive definition of *nipātu*. According to P 1.4.56: *prāg rīśvarān nipātāḥ /*

¹ *atha nipātāḥ uccāvaceṣv urtheṣu nipatanti / apy upamāṛthe / api karmopasānigrāhāṛthe / api padapūraṇāḥ /* (Nir 1.4)

² *upasargāś ca punar evamātmakā yatra kuścit kriyāvācī śubdaḥ prayujyate tatra kriyāviśeṣam āhuḥ /*

"(The technical term) *nipāta* ‘particle’ denotes elements specified in the subsequent rules preceding (the *sūtra adhīrīsvare* 1.4.97)."

Śarva uses *upasarga* and *nipāta* without defining them, e.g., *yamimadigadām tv anupasurge* (Kt 4.2.13), *odantā a i u ā nipātāḥ svare prakṛtyā* (Kt 1.3.1). Durga, the commentator, explains it thus:

"They have a firm placement (in a particular meaning). *Cādis*, which are not capable of conveying the meaning in their own capacity, are established as indeclinables. Further, somebody says, ‘*nipātas* (are so called because they) are used in the sense which is not different from that of nouns and verbs'.¹

C uses *prādi* for *upasarga*. Cf.: *kuprādayo'subvidhau nityam* (CV 2.2.24). CVṛ uses *cavādi* for *nipātus*. Cf.: *cavādibhir yogे yuśmaduśmador ādeśā na bhavanti /* (CVṛ 6.3.22)

C.

K and Agg have borrowed the terms *upasagga* and *nipāta* from the Sanskrit grammars. Mogg has followed C as he has used *pādi* for *upasagga* and *cādi* for *nipātus*. From the overall similarity of the explanation and classification of *upasagga* and *nipāta*, it is quite evident that the Pali grammarians have taken a lot of help from their Sanskrit counterparts.

¹ *niścitaḥ pātu eṣām iti nipātāḥ / arthābhidhānesu svakriyāyām usumurthāś cādayo avyayāḥ siddhāḥ / tathā cāhu - nāmākhyātuprayogesv arthād abhinnā nipatantīti nipātāḥ /*

6. *kammappavacanīya*

A.

Kammappavacanīya is a purely grammatical term. It occurs neither in the Canon nor in the subsequent Āṭṭhakathā literature. It is quite conspicuous that the Pali grammarians have borrowed it from the Sanskrit grammars.

K uses *kammappavacanīya* at Kacc 301: *kammappavacanīyayutte*, without defining it.

At Sadd 582, Agg defines *kammappavacanīya* thus:

anvādīdhīrādayo kammappavacanīyā /

"The prefixes *anu* etc.¹ and the particles *dhi* etc.² are called *kammappavacanīyas*".³

Here it should be noted that the Sanskrit grammarians do not treat the particles *dhik* (Pali *dhi*) etc. as *karmapravacanīyas*. However, we learn from DT on Kt 2.4.22: *dvitīyainena*, that in the Āpiśalīya system of grammar, *sumayā*, *nikuṣā* and other indeclinables governing the accusative case were regarded as *karmapravacanīyas*.⁴ Further in the commentary, Agg explains the term *kammappavacanīya* as:

"*Kammappavacanīyas* are so called as an action is to be indicated by them".⁵

Kacc-Vṇ analyses the same term as:

¹ *Anu* etc. include prefixes *anu*, *pati*, *pari*, *abhi*.

² *Dhi* etc. include *dhi*, *antara*, *abhito*.

³ *anuādayo upasaggā dhiādayo nipātā ca kammappavacanīyasuññā honti /*

⁴ *Āpiśalīyavyākarane sumayādīnām karmapravacanīyatvām dr̄ṣṭam iti matam /*

⁵ *kummam pavacanīyām yesan te kammappavacanīyā /*

"The action is expressed by these. Thus, they are called *kammappavacanīyas*.¹

Mogg as usual avoids this term but mentions its particular cases in MV 2.10 - 2.17.

B.

Karmapravacanīya is probably the longest technical term in the Sanskrit grammar. It is found in the Prātiśākhyas of the Atharva Veda:

unarthakakarmapravacanīyāny ayuktair vigraho'-bhivitanvādiṣu / (CA 4.3)

It is evidently derived from *karmapravacana* with the secondary suffix *īya* and literally means 'concerned with the setting forth of an action'. DT on Kt 2.4.23: *karmapravacanīyaiś ca*, explains *karmapravacanīya* thus:

"Those that have set forth an action are *karmapravacanīyas* with the suffix *anīya* added in the sense of a past agent. It is a term established by the popular usage".²

Explaining the nature of the *karmapravacanīyas*, the Vākyas says:

"It is not indicative of an action, nor is it denotative of a relation, nor does it imply another verb. However, it distinguishes a certain relation."³

P refrains from giving any descriptive definition of *karmapravacanīya*. His rule P 1.4.83: *karmapravacanīyāḥ* simply

¹ *kammam pavuccati imehī ti kammappavacanīyā /* (Kacc-Vṇ 301)

² *karma kriyām proktavantaḥ karmapravacanīyāḥ / kartury atīte'bhidhānād anīyapratyayaḥ / lokopacārāt siddheyam sumjñā /*

³ *kriyāyā dyotako nāyam sambandhusya na vācukah / nāpi kriyāpadākṣepī sambandhusya tu bhedakah //* (2.204)

says that the term *karmapravacanīya* applies to whatever is taught in the subsequent section (1.4.83-1.4.98).

Śarva uses *karmapravacanīya* in the rule *karmapravacanīyaiś ca* (Kt 2.4.23) without defining it.

Although C has not used the term, he has dealt with all the particular cases of *karmapravacanīyas*. Cf.: CV 2.1.54-2.1.61.

C.

To sum up, the Pali grammarians have borrowed the term *kammappavacanīya* from Sanskrit. Just as Śarva, K uses the term without defining it. Agg differs from the Sanskrit grammarians on the point that he also includes the indeclinables like *dhi* etc. within the scope of the *kammappavacanīyas*. Just as C, Mogg avoids the use of this term.

7. *ākhyāta*

A.

Ākhyāta literally means ‘that which has been described fully’, then it came to mean ‘that which describes fully i.e., a finite verb’. At Sv 26, 9ff (on D I 1.4) Buddhaghosa uses the term *ākhyātāpada* to denote a finite verb. However, at Vv-a 315, the term *kiriyāpada*, i.e. that which supplies an action, is used for a finite verb.

The third chapter of Kacc is named *ākhyātakappa*. The term also occurs in the two opening verses of that chapter:

*ākhyātasāgaramathujjataniṭtaranīgam
 dhātujjalām vikaraṇāgamakālamīnam /
 lopānubandharayamatthavibhāgatīram
 dhīrā taranti kavino puthubuddhināvā // 1 //*

*vicittasāṅkhāraparikkhitam imam
 ākhyātasaddam vipulam asesato /*

*pañamya sambuddhamanantagocurum
sugocuram yam vadato sunātha me // 2 //*

Commenting on these, the Kacc-Vṇ says:

"There, that which expresses an action is an *ākhyāta*, or a *kiryāpada* (a finite verb). It expresses time, syntactic relations between a noun and a verb, person, and action and it is characterized by an action. ... As it is said thus: that which has three tenses, and three persons, that which expresses an action, and three *kāraka* relations, that which is without three genders, and has two numbers, that is called an *ākhyāta*, a finite verb".¹

However, the word itself is not used by K in any of his rules.

Agg uses the term *ākhyāta* in rules Sadd 199; 448; 676; 685; 931; 990; and 1102 in the sense of a finite verb.

The term is missing in the rules of MV. MVu, however, uses *ākhyāta* and *tyādyanta* to express a finite verb. Cf.:

"In the sentence *odano paccati* 'the rice is being cooked' the *kāraka* relation *kamma* is not understood from the word *odana*. Then how? from the finite verb ".²

"The meaning is comprehended by it, thus it is called a *pada*, an inflected form ending either in the

¹ *tathā kiriyaṁ ācikkhati ākhyātum kiryāpadum; tañcu kālakārukāpurisa-kiryāparidīpakaṁ kiryālakkhaṇañca ... vuttañca - yuntikālam tipurisam kriyāvāci tikārakum / attiliṅgam dvivucunam tudākhyātum ti vuccati //*

² *odano paccatiti - odanusaddato kammata nappatīyate, kim carahi? ākhyātato / (MVu 2.2)*

nominal case endings *si* etc. or the verbal case endings *ti* etc.".¹

B.

In Nir 1.1 and BD 2.121, *ākhyāta* is defined as *bhāvapradhānam* i.e. 'having, becoming or action as its fundamental meaning'. The statement: *tatra nāmāny ākhyātajānīti Śākuṭāyano nairuktasamayaś ca*² (Nir 1.12) indicates that the predecessors of Y appear to have used the word *ākhyāta* either exclusively in the sense of a root or both in the sense of roots and finite verbs. It is interesting to note that in later times, *dhātu* was substituted for *ākhyāta* here and we find in the Mbh:

*nāma ca dhātujam āha nirukte vyākaraṇe Śākuṭasya
ca tokam / (II.138)*

In *tribhya ākhyātebhyo jāyata iti Śākupūniḥ* (Nir 7.14), *ākhyāta* seems to have been used in the sense of roots.

The word is not used by P as a technical term in Aṣṭ though it occurs in P's rule: *dvyajṛtbrāhmaṇarkprathamādhvarapuraś-caraṇanāmākhyātāt ṣṭhak* (P 4.3.72) and in the *Gaṇasūtra*: *ākhyātam ākhyātena kriyāsātatye*³ on P 2.1.72. In P's system, verbs are generally referred to as *tinanta*. Cf. *suptināntam padam*⁴/

In the Kt, the third chapter is known as *ākhyāta*, but the word itself does not appear to have been used by Sarva. Commentators generally explain the word thus:

1 *pajjatenenatthoti padam, syādyantam tyādyantam ca / (MVu 2.234)*

2 "With reference to this, Śākuṭāyana holds that nouns are derived from verbs. This, too, is the doctrine of the etymologists".

3 "A verb is compounded with a verb in order to express a continuous action".

4 "(The technical term) *pada* denotes an item terminating in (nominal ending) *sup* or (*l*-substitute) *tin* triplet". (P 1.4.14)

"The finite verbal endings *ti* etc., which are well described i.e. are prominently set forth, are called *ākhyātus*".¹

According to this view, *ākhyāta* means verbal endings.

Following P, C also uses *tiñanta* for finite verbs.

C.

The terms *ākhyāta* and *kiriyāpada* occur simultaneously in Pali Aṭṭhakathās in the sense of a finite verb. Out of these, the Pali grammarians have adopted *ākhyāta*. MVu uses *tyādyanta* besides *ākhyāta*.

8. *vippakata*

A.

Vippakata which is derived from *vi + pa + kar* literally means 'imperfectly executed, left unfinished, interrupted' (D I.2; Vin II.172; A II.196 etc.). In grammar, terms *vippakata* or *vippakatavacana* are used of words denoting an incomplete action. In this sense, it is only used by Agg. Cf. e.g., Sadd 678: *na padānām vippakaten' uttarena samāso*,² and Sadd 1157: *vattamāne vippakatavacane mān'antā*.³ Such words include present participles ending in suffixes *māna* and *nta*. Note that the term is missing in other two grammars.

¹ *ākhyāyante mukhyatayā pratipādyante yāni tāni ākhyātāni tyādīni /*

² "Nouns are not compounded with following words denoting an incomplete action".

³ "The suffixes *māna* and *nta* are added to a verbal root in the sense of the present tense to form words denoting an incomplete action".

B.

In P's system, *sat* is the name given to the present participial suffixes *-śatr* and *-śānac*. Cf. P 3.2.127: *tau sat /*

"(The technical term) *sat* denotes those two (*kṛt* affixes *śatr* and *śānac*)".

But P has no special name for the words derived by adding these suffixes. They are generally referred to as *sadantas*. *Sat* is itself a present participle, being derived from the root *as* 'to be' with the suffix *-śatr* and is taken as the type of all the present participles. The other systems find it unnecessary to have a single name for these two suffixes and generally use *śatr-śānacau*, *śatrānau* etc. for them.

C.

The term *vippakata* / *vippakatavacana* is unparalleled in Sanskrit.

9. *bhāvanapumsaka***A.**

Bhāvanapumsaka is the term used in the *Atthakathās* to denote an adverb. It means 'a word in neuter denoting *bhāva*, i.e. 'an action''. Agg uses *bhāvanapumsaka* at Sadd 590. In the discussion on this rule, Agg observes:

"Here *bhāvanapumsaka* is the usage found in the dispensation (*sāsana*) whereas *kiryāvisesana* occurs in the science of grammar ".¹

The term is, however, missing in Kacc and MV. In MVu, the word denoting an adverb is *kiryāvisesana*. Cf. MVu 2.28: *kriyāvisesane*

¹ *ettha ca bhāvanapumsakam ti sāsane vohāro, kiryāvisesunam ti sadda-sutthe /*

kammani dutiyā ... kriyāvisesanam bhū dhātussa gammamānattā /
and MVu 5.63: *ghañantena kriyāvisesanena siddham /*

B.

The literal meaning of the term *kriyāviśeṣaṇa* is ‘a determinant or modifier of a verbal activity’. In grammar, it is used of an adverb. In Sanskrit, the adverbs are generally used in the neuter gender and in the accusative case in the singular number. Cp. *kriyāviśeṣaṇānām karmatvam napumṣakaliṅgatā ca /*

Kriyāviśeṣaṇa in the sense of ‘an adverb’ probably occurred for the first time in Mbh I.367:

sakriyāviśeṣaṇam ceti vaktavyam / suṣṭhu pacati,
duṣṭhu pacati /¹

The term also occurs in the Kāśīkā on P 2.3.33 and CVṛ 2.1.87. The term is, however, missing in the Kt.

C.

Following the Atthakathā tradition, Agg uses *bhāvanapumṣaka* to denote an adverb whereas like the Sanskrit grammarians, Mogg uses *kiryāvisesana*.

¹ "One should say: also an adverb. E.g. He cooks well, he cooks badly".

Terminology Denoting Syntactic Relations

1. *kāraka*

A.

The literal meaning of the term *kāraka* is ‘a doer’. Cf. Sn 445. However, in the grammatical context, the term signifies a syntactic relation of an action and its participants. A *kāraka* is that, which is characterized by a relation to an action (Kahrs 1992: 28). Cf. Sadd 547:

kiriyābhisaṁbandhalakkhaṇam kārakam /

Though the term *kāraka* does not occur in any of the Kacc’s rules, the sixth *kuṇḍa* of the second chapter is called *kārakakappa*. Cf. Kacc 273-275 etc.

Mogg has used the term *kāraka* but he has not provided any formal definition of the term.¹

Agg’s *kārakakappa* opens up with the verse

*ito param susambandham vibhattippabhavam
chudhā /
kārakam vibhajitvāna pavakkhāmi, sunātha me //*²

Here *kāraka* is described as originating from the cases. Agg’s statement “or: it distributes / divides the *kārakas* [which are] *kamma* etc. with regard to singular and plural; hence *vibhitti*”³

¹ *bhāvukārakesvughaṇ ghākā /* (MV 5.44)

² “In what follows, I shall explain the *kāraka*, which has its origin in case suffixes, along with the [general] relation [denoted by a genitive case ending], dividing it [= the *kāraka*] into six, [so] listen to me.” (Kahrs 1992:15)

³ *kummāduyo va kārake ekavacanabahuvacanavasena vibhajatī ti vibhitti /* (*Padamālā* 15,4)

(Kahrs 1992: 19) presents the grammatical cases as distributors of *kārakas*.¹ If this were accepted then the whole purpose of introducing *kārakas* as met with in the Pāṇinian grammar would be distorted. In P's system, the abstract level of *kāraka* is introduced to account for the correct distribution of cases.

Agg defines the term *kāraka* as: *kiryānimittam kārakum /*

"A *kāraka* is the cause of an action." (Sadd 547 =
Kahrs 1992:28)

The same definition is also met with at KVP on Kt 2.4.1: *kārakam ca kriyānimittam* and KVP on Kt 2.4.8: *kārakam hi kriyānimittam /* The definition of *kāraka* as the cause of an action comes up also in the commentary of Helārāja on Vākyā 3.7.24:

"That which is the cause of an action, which is mentioned through an action word, is a *kāraka*."²
(Kahrs 1992:30)

Also cp. the Kāśikā:

"And the word *kāraka* is a synonym of *nimitta* (cause); *kāraka*, *hetu* (cause) - [these terms] do not convey any different sense. The cause of what? Of an action (*kriyā*)".³ (Kahrs 1992: 29)

Agg further explains:

"That which, in as much as it is something which has *sādhana* 'realising' as its real nature, [and] is, primarily or secondarily, the cause of the occurrence of an action, that thing is known as a *kāraka*; for primarily or secondarily it brings about

¹ Note that at Sadd 198, *vibhatti* is defined as *kummādivusena ekuttādivasena ca vividhā bhājīyantī ti vibhattiyo* "Vibhattis are so called as they are divided in many ways by way of meanings such as 'an object' (*kamma*) etc. and 'singularity' (*ekatta*) etc.".

² *yat tu kriyāpadopāttāyāḥ kriyāyā nimittam tat kārakum eva /* (Hel 251, 2-3)

³ *kārakaśubdaś ca nimittaparyāyāḥ / kārakum, hetur ity anarthāntaram / kasya hetuh? kriyāyāḥ /* (Kāśikā on P 1.4.23)

an action, hence [it is called] *kāraka*".¹ (Kahrs 1992:28)

Agg here amplifies his definition by adding the words, *mukyavasena vā upacāravasena vā* "primarily or secondarily". This is done in view of a problem that if the term *kāraka* is to be understood according to the analysis *kurotīti kārakam* "It brings about, accomplishes, hence (it is called) a *kāraka*", only the agent would be a *kāraka* proper. This problem was already discussed by Kātyāyana in *vārtikas* 6 and 7 on P 1.4.23 and Ptj in his Mbh. Kātyāyana and Ptj have made a distinction between the main agent and the agency ascribed to the other *kārakas* (*vārtikas* 8 and 9 on P 1.4.23 and the Bhāṣya on it).

In the same rule, Agg claims that the *kārakas* are sixfold. They are listed as *kattukammakaranyaśampudānāpādān'okāsū* (Sadd 547). This is the enumeration also common to Sanskrit grammars.² However, in the Padamālā, Agg has introduced two more types of classifications. According to one classification, it is threefold: *kamma*, *kuttar*, and *bhāva*:

"*Kamma*, *kuttar*, and *bhāva*: thus *kārakas* are threefold."³

According to another enumeration, it is sevenfold adding *bhāva* to the above mentioned six:

"Thus, in this context, the six *sādhanas* have been promulgated as *bhāva*, *kuttar*, *kamma*, *karuna*, *upādāna*, and *adhikaranya*; they are sevenfold with that *sādhana* which is the *sumpadāna*".⁴

¹ *yam sādhanasubhāvattā mukhyavasena vā upacāravasena vā kiriyābhinipphattiyā nimittam, tam vatthu kārakam nāma bhavati; mukhyopacāravasena hi kiriyān kurotīti kārakam/* (Sadd 547)

² *kartā karma ca karuṇam sumpradānam tuthaiva ca / apādānādhikaranyaṁ ity āhuḥ kārakāni ṣaṭ //*

³ *kammaṇi kuttā ca bhāvo ca icc evam kārakā tiḍhā /* (Sadd 20,33)

⁴ *evam ettha bhāvakkuttukammakaranyaśāpādānādhikaranyaśavasena cha sādhanāni pakāsitāni, tāni sampadānusādhanena suttavidhāni bhavanti /*

According to Agg, the threefold *kārakas* viz., *kattar*, *kamma* and *bhāva* are available in finite verb whereas the sevenfold *kārakas* are related to the primary derivatives:

"Thus it has been stated, following the conventions of *nirutti*, that the *bhāvakāraka* and the two *kārakas* (viz.) agent and object constitute a triad of *kārakas*, and the verb with (its) three *kārakas* illustrates this".¹

"This being so, through primary formations there are (these) sevenfold *sādhanas* in fact on every occasion, these which are (hence) also called *kārakas*".²

Apart from *kāraka*, the Pali grammarians have also used the term *sādhanā* to denote the syntactic relation:

Buddham nāñasamuddam sabbaññum lokahetu-
khinnamatim /
vanditvā pubbamaham vakkhāmi susādhanam
kitakappam //

(Opening verses of the *kibbidhānakappa* of the Kacc)

Also cf. the Mmd and the Kacc-Vṇ on the same. Note that the chapter of Bhartṛhari's Vākyā, which deals with *kārakas*, is called *sādhanasamuddeśa*.

¹ evam niruttinayam nissāya vuttam bhāvakārakuñ ca dve ca kummakattukārakāñ ti kārakattayam bhavati tuddīpakuñ cākhyātikapadañ tikārakam / (Sadd 10, 19-31) Also cp. Kacc-Vṇ on the opening verses of the Ākhyātakappa: *yantikālum tipurisam kriyāvāci tikārakam / attilingam dvivacanam tadākhyātam ti vuccati //*

² icc evam kitukavasena subbaithā pi sattavidhāni sādhanāni honti, yāni kārakāñ ti pi vuccanti / (Sadd 68,30-69,2) Also cp. Kacc-Vṇ on the opening verses of the Kibbidhānakappa: *evam sādhanattayusahitam ākhyātakappam niññāpetvā idāñ sattusādhanusahitam kitakappam ārubhanto ... 'buddham nāñasamuddam ... sādhanena yuttam' ti gāthācatukkumāha /*

B.

The word *kāraka* occurs for the first time in Aṣṭ. In its technical sense, it is neither found in the Nir nor in the Prātiśākhyaś.

P used *kārake* as an *udhikāra* rule (P 1.4.23) without defining it. According to Ptj, it is a meaningful term. In his discussion of the rule P 1.4.23: *kārake*, Ptj suggests that *kāraka* is *sādhaka* ‘that which accomplishes, realises’ and *nirvartuka* ‘that which brings about’:

"It should be stated that that which accomplishes,
that which brings about, is something to which the
technical name *kāraka* applies".¹

The term *kāraka* is analysed by him as *karotīti kārakam* / (Mbh I:324)

Though Śarva has defined different *kārakas*, he has not used the term *kāraka* in his grammar.

Following P, C also uses the term *kāraka* without defining it.
Cf.: *ghañ kārake ca* / (CV 1.3.7)

2. *kattar***A.**

The literal meaning of the word *kattar* is ‘doer, maker’ (A I.103, II.67; Ja I.378). As a technical term of grammar, it denotes a grammatical agent. In this sense, it occurs at Vv-a 97.

K defines *kattar* as: *yo karoti sa kuttā* / (Kacc 283)

"One who acts is designated as *kattar* (an agent)."

¹ *sādhakam nirvartukam kārakasumjñam bhavatīti vaktavyam* / (Mbh I:323)

Agg amplifies K's definition thus: *yo kurute yo vā jāyati, so kattā /* (Sadd 548)

"The one that acts or [for example] the one that is being born, that [*kāraka*] is the *kattar* "agent"."
(Kahrs 1992:31)

The inclusion of *yo vā jāyati* in the rule seems to be inspired by Bharṭṛhari's discussion at Vākyā 3.7.105.¹ Bharṭṛhari here discusses the problem that the agent of the act of being born is a contradiction in terms if what is born is considered not to exist prior to its coming into existence. This is discussed at length by Helārāja in his commentary on the same verse.

Further in the commentary, Agg says:

"The one that has presumed predominance and performs an action such as a going or a cooking or [for example] the one that is being born, that participant of an action is called the agent".² (Kahrs 1992:31)

Here the phrase *attappadhāno hutvā* (presuming predominance) is specially added to avoid the application of other *kāraka* designations in the case of *kattar*. Cp. Kacc-Vṇ 283:

*attappadhāno hutvā kriyam̄ karotī ti kattā / iminā
suttenu puriso gacchatītyādisu uttakattūsu pi
aññakārakasaññānivattanattham̄ kattusaññā
kātabbā / kasmā viññāyatī ti? yo kuroti sa kattā ti
sāmuññavasena /*

¹ *utpatteḥ prāg usadbhāvo buddhyavasthānibandhanaḥ / aviśiṣṭuh satā'nyena
kartā bhavati janmunaḥ //*

"Before it is produced, there is no existence. On the basis of the special intention of the speaker, it becomes, without difference from any other existing thing, the agent of the act of being born".

² *yo attappadhāno hutvā gamanapacunādikam̄ kiriyaṁ kurute yo vā jāyati, so
kārako kattā nāma bhavati /*

Agg's inclusion of *attappadhāno hutvā* seems to be inspired by the need to include P's definition of an agent: *svatantrah kartā* (P 1.4.54). Here it should be noted that Mbh glosses the term *svatantra* by *pradhāna*.¹ Kāśikā and Nyāsa have also followed Mbh in this regard. Haradatta and Helārāja's explanation of *svatantrah* comes even closer to the statement of Agg:

sva ātmā tantram pradhānam asya (KāśP 583, Hel 312,2)

Also cp. Kaiyaṭa:

svaśabda ātmavācī / sva ātmā tantram pradhānam yasya sa svatantra ucyate / (MbhP II:436)

Further in the discussion, Agg remarks:

"The *kāruka* which is the agent has as its defining characteristic the bringing about [of something]."²
(Kahrs 1992:32)

Besides this, Agg has one more rule defining a syntactic relation *kattar*. Sadd 549 says: *usuntam santam vā kappīyati, tuñ ca /*

"That which is non-existent is considered as if it were existent; that too [is assigned to the category of an agent]". (Kahrs 1992:39)

This rule is specially formulated to extend the *kattar* designation to unreal illusive objects, e.g., *sasavisūṇam tiṭṭhati* (Horn of a hare exists), *udumbarapuppham vikasati* (an *udumbara* flower blossoms). Though such objects do not have any actual existence, they play the role of a grammatical agent on the level of verbal usage. This rule is absent in the Kacc. It seems to be based on an

¹ *svatantrō'sau brāhmaṇa ity ucyate svapradhāna iti gumyate* "(for example, when) it is said 'that Brāhmaṇa is independent', (the meaning) 'having himself as the predominant one' is understood." (Mbh I:338)

² *abhinippahādanalakkhaṇam kattukārakum /*

important verse of the Vākyā expressing a fundamental view on *kārakas* in general:

*sādhanavyavahāruś ca buddhyavasthānibandhanah /
sann asan vā'rtharūpeśu bhedo buddhyā prakalpyate //*¹

(Vākyā 3.7.3)

Mogg uses the term *kattar* at MV 2.18: *kuttukaranesu tatiyā*, 5.33: *kattari ltunakā* etc. without defining it.

Types of *kattar*

At Sadd 548, Agg puts forward a threefold classification of an agent into a pure agent, a causal agent and a *kammakattā*:

"The one that performs an action all by himself is called the pure agent, as for example: 'the man walks the road' ... The one that instigates another to action is called the causal agent ... 'Yajñadatta makes Devadatta move'".² (Kahrs 1992:32)

Kacc 284 defines the causal agent as: *yo kāreti sa hetu*

"The one who makes the other act is designated as *hetu* (cause) as well as *kattar* (an agent)".

Agg amplifies the same definition as: *yo kāreti yo vā upaṭṭhāpayati, so hetu /* (Sadd 550)

"The one that causes [someone else] to act or [for example] the one that generates, that [*kāraka*] is the *hetu* [causal agent]."
(Kahrs 1992:41)

¹ "Also the practice of [referring to] the means [of an action] is dependent on [the speaker's] frame of mind. Difference in the form of things, whether it is existent or non-existent, is conceived by the mind". (Kahrs 1992:39)

² *yo sayam eva kiriyam kuroti, so suddhukattā nāma, tuṁ yuthā: puriso mugguṇ gucchati ... yo uññam kummaṇi yojeti, so hetukuttā nāma, ... Yaññudutto Devadattum gumayati /*

Also cp. Kacc-Vṇ 284:

*aññabyāpāram paṭicca gamanādikam kriyam hinoti
pavattati ti hetu /*

Here, it should be noted that Mogg uses the word *payojjakattar* to denote the agent instigated by a causal agent. Cf. MVu 2.4.

A *kammakattar* is explained by Agg as:

"But even the one occurring as the object, with reference to the action of another, is accomplished easily by itself, as it were; it is called *kammakattar* ... 'the mat is made by itself'".¹ (Sadd 548 = Kahrs 1992:32)

Agg is the only Pali grammarian who speaks of this agent (*kammakattar*). Further in the text, Agg comments that the teachers are in favour of the fivefold classification of an agent including two more categories of *abhihitakattā* (the agent specified by a finite verb) and *unabhihitakattā* (the agent not specified by a finite verb). *Abhihita* and *unabhihita kattar* are only two different modes of expression and they in any way do not form two distinct categories of agent.

B.

The Sanskrit term *kartṛ* is an older term going back to the RV. In its technical sense, it appears to occur first in the Aṣṭ. P 1.4.54: *svantantrah kartā* defines *kartṛ* as

"(The technical term) *kartṛ* (agent) denotes (that *kāraka*) which is independent (in relation to others)".

Commenting on this, the Kāśikā says:

¹ *yo pana parassa kiriyaṁ paṭicca kammabhūto pi sukarattā sayam eva sijjhanto viyu hoti, so kammakattā nāma ... sayam eva kāto kariyati /*

"Independent means 'who [by the speaker] is spoken of as predominant'".¹

Śarva's rule defining *kartṛ* is: *yah kuroti sa kartā* / (Kt 2.4.14)

"One who acts is designated as *kartṛ* (an agent)."

This is exactly identical with Kacc 283.

The Sanskrit grammatical tradition also speaks of two more types of agents: a causal agent and a *karmakartṛ*. P defines the causal agent as: *tatprayojako hetuś ca* / (P 1.4.55)

"(The technical term) *hetu* and (the technical term *kartṛ*) denote the instigator of that agent."

Śarva's rule in this regard is *kārayati yah sa hetuś ca* / (Kt 2.4.15)

"The one who makes the other act is designated as *hetu* (cause) as well as *kartṛ* (an agent)."

Here too the rules of the Kacc and the Kt are identical. Also cp. the DV and the Kacc-Vu:

tum eva kartāram yah kārayati sa hetusumjñō bhavati, cakārāt kartṛsumjñāś ca / (DV 2.4.15)

yo kattāram kāreti so hetusañño hoti kattā ca /
(Kacc-Vu 284)

P uses the term *karmakartṛ* at P 3.1.62: *acah karmakartari* and the *karmakartṛ* construction is taught by him in the rule 3.1.87: *karmavat karmaṇā tulyakriyāyah*, which states that an agent that acts like an object is treated as an object. It is interesting to note that the examples provided by Agg for the *kammakattar* construction occur already in Mbh on P 3.1.87.

¹ *svatantrah iti prudhānabhūta ucyate /*

3. *kamma*

A.

The literal meaning of the word *kamma* is ‘doing, deed’. As a technical term of grammar, it denotes a grammatical object. Here it should be noted that in the Aṭṭhakathās, the term *upayoga* is used for *kamma*. The literal meaning of the word *upayoga* is ‘connection, combination; employment, application’. In its technical sense of a grammatical object, *upayoga* is used at Ja V.214.

K defines *kamma* as: *yam karoti tam kammam /* (Kacc 282)

"What one does that (*kāraka*) is the *kamma*."

This is a recast of *yat kriyate tat karma /* (Kt 2.4.13) The Kacc-Vu explains the rule thus:

"What one does or what one sees, or what one hears that (*kāraka*) is the *kamma* (object)".¹

Sadd 551 combines Kacc 282 and the Vutti thereupon: *yam kurute yam vā passati, tam kammam /*

"What one does or [for example] what one sees, that [*kāraka*] is the *kamma* ‘object’." (Kahrs 1992:43)

Explaining it further, Agg says:

"It is done (*kariyate*), it is attained through the action, thus [it is called] an object (*kamma*). The *kāraka*, which is the object, has as its defining characteristic the reaching [something] through an action".²

This again is an attempt to incorporate P’s definition of *karman*: *kurtur ipsitatamam karma /* (P 1.4.49)

¹ *yam vā karoti, yam vā passati, yam vā suṇāti tam kārakan kammasaññam hoti /*

² *kariyate tam kiriyāya pāpuṇīyate ti kammam / kiriyāpattilakkhaṇam kummakārakam /*

"(The technical term) *karman* denotes what the agent most desires to reach (through his action)."

Kāśikā explains the rule as:

"That *kāraka*, which is most desired to be connected with the action of an agent, is called *karman*".¹

Mogg uses the term *kamma* at *kamme dutiyā* (MV 2.2), *tassa bhāvakkammesu ttatāttataṇyāneyyaṇiyāṇiyā* (MV 4.59), *kyo bhāvakkammesvaparokkhesu mānantatyādisu* (MV 5.17) etc. without defining it. However, at MVu 2.2, it is defined as: *kariyati kattukriyāyābhisisambandhīyatīti kummam /*

"*Kamma* is that which is done / that which is connected with the action of an agent".

Types of *kamma*

Agg provides the threefold and the sevenfold classification of *kamma*. According to the first classification, the *kamma kāraka* is classified into three:

1. *nibbattanīya* (the object which is to be produced)
2. *vikaranīya* (the object which is to be modified)
3. *pāpanīya* (the object which is to be attained)

According to another classification, the *kamma kāraka* is of seven types:

- a. *icchitakamma* (the wanted object)
- b. *anicchitakamma* (the object which is unwanted)
- c. *nevicititanānicchitakamma* (the object which is neither wanted nor unwanted)

¹ *kartuh kriyayā yad āptum iṣṭatamam tat kārakam karmasamjñam bhavati /*

² *kriyayā pūrvakālabhāvinyā yad aprāptam prāpyate tat sādhanam karma /*

³ *kartuh kriyayā yat kriyate yad vyāpyate tat karma /*

- d. *akathitakamma* (the object which is not expressed) and *kathitakamma* (the object which is already expressed)
- e. *kattukamma* (the agent-object)
- f. *abhihitakamma* (the object which has been specified by verbal affixes)
- g. *anabhihitakamma* (the object which is not so specified)¹

According to E. Kahrs (1992:46), the source of this classification is Bhartrhari's Vākyā 3.7.45-46:

*nirvartyam ca vikāryam ca prāpyam ceti tridhā
matam /
tatrepitatamam karma caturdhā'nyat tu kalpitum //
audāśīnyena yat prāpyam yac ca kartur anīpsitum /
samjñāntarair anākhyātām yad yac cāpy
anyapūrvakam //²*

¹ E. Kahrs (1992:52) has suggested a different counting where *icchita*, *anicchita* and *nevicchitanānicchitakamma* forms the forth category in addition to *nibbutanīya*, *vikaruṇīya* and *pāpaṇīya*. *Kathita* and *akathita kamma* forms the fifth category, *kattukamma* the sixth and *abhihita* and *anabhihita kamma* the seventh. For details see Kahrs (1992:42 ff). We, however, object this counting as it is not in accordance with the spirit and letter of the text which runs as follows: *tām tividham nibbutanīyādivasena, suttavidham upi kecit icchanti icchitādivasena* "It is of three kinds: in as much as it is to be produced etc.; others teach that it is also sevenfold in as much as it is wanted etc.". This clearly shows that the sevenfold classification begins with *icchitakamma* and not with *nibbutanīya*. Putting *abhihita* and *anabhihita kamma* into one category also goes against Agg's usual style in which they form two different categories. Cp. for instance the classification of *kattar*.

² "Among them [= the *kārakas*] the object, being what is most desired, is considered to be of three kinds, as it is to be produced, modified or attained. Furthermore, it has been imagined as fourfold: that which is to be attained through indifference and that which is not desired by the agent, that which has not been designated by another technical name [= another *kāraka* category] and that which previously had another [*kāraka* designation]."
(Kahrs 1992:46)

According to Agg, *ratham kuroti*, *sukham janayati* etc. are examples of *nibbattanīya kamma*. About *vikaraṇīya kamma* he says that it is of two types:

- a. *paricattakāraṇa* (the one that has left its material cause behind)
- b. *aparicattakāraṇa* (the one that has not left its material cause behind)

Among these, the one which has come about as a result of destruction of the cause as in the case of ‘he makes wood (into) charcoal’ etc. is called ‘that which has left (its) cause behind’ (*paricattakāraṇa*). The one where a different designation is noticed as a result of the birth of a different property (pertaining to the object) only when that which existed as a cause is met with in the objects is called ‘the one that has not left (its) cause behind’ (*aparicattakāraṇa*) as in the case of ‘he makes gold (into) a bracelet or a ring’. The object to be attained (*pāpanīya*) is that in which no difference is made by the action in (sentences) other than the mere attainment as in case of ‘he enters the abode’. Note that this explanation of *nibbattanīya*, *vikaraṇīya* and *pāpanīya kamma* is based on Vākyā 3.7.49-51:

yad asaj jāyate sad vā janmanā yat prakāśyate /
tan nirvartyam vikāryam ca karma dvedhā
vyavasthitam //

prakṛtyucchedasambhūtam kiṁ cit
kāṣṭhādibhusmavat /
kiṁ cid guṇānturotpattyā suvarṇādivikāravat //

kriyākṛtā viśeṣānām siddhir yatra na gamyate /
darśanād anumānād vā tat prāpyam iti kathyate //¹

¹ "That [previously] non-existing [object] which is being born or that existing [object] which becomes manifest through its birth, that is the *nirvartya*, and the *vikārya* is established as of two kinds: One [kind of *vikāryakarman*] is that which results from destruction of the material cause, as ashes from wood etc., [and another is] the one [that results] from the arising of other properties, as the modification of gold etc. [into such things as jewellery]. That [object] upon

E. Kahrs points out that Agg here has missed the primary explanation of *nirvartya* and *vikārya karman* as it occurs in the Vākyā 3.7.47-48.¹ This raises the doubt that Bharṭhari's Vākyā might not be the direct source of Agg's explanation. The likely source of this explanation is the DT, for its explanation of *nirvartya* and *vikārya* is also based on the Vākyā 3.7.49-50 and it does not consider Vākyā 3.7.47-48.

B.

Karman in its original sense of 'act, action' goes back to the RV. It is used in the Nir as also in some rules of P in its earlier sense. From meaning 'an action', *karman* came to mean 'the object towards which the action is directed' and in this sense, it appears first in Aṣṭ: *kurtur īpsitatamāñ karma* / (P 1.4.49)

"(The technical term) *karman* denotes what the agent most desires to reach (through his action)."

Karman is also found in the Kt. There it is defined as: *yat kriyate tat karma* / (Kt 2.4.13)

"What is done (by one) is *karman*."

The word *āpya* in J's definition (*kartrāpyam karma* 1.2.145) appears to have caught the fancy of C who uses *āpya* or *vyāpya* for *karman*. For P's *bhāvakarmanoḥ* (P 1.3.13), C generally uses

which the establishment of differences that has come about through the action is understood neither by observation nor by inference, that [object] is called *prāpya* 'to be attained'. (Kahrs 1992:49, 50)

¹ *sati vā'vidyamānā vā prakṛtiḥ pariṇāminī / yasya nāśrīyate tasya nirvartyatvam pracaksate // prakṛtes tu vivukṣayāñ vikāryāñ kuiś cid ḥnyathā / nirvartyāñ ca vikāryāñ ca karma śāstre prudarśitum //*

"The property of being produced is said to belong to that whose material cause which undergoes transformation - whether it is existent or not - is not taken into consideration [for the statement]. But when the speaker intends [to express] the material cause, then it [is called] *vikārya*; *karman* as *nirvartya* and *vikārya* has been defined differently in the Śāstra".

bhāvāpyayoh (CV V1.1.78, CV 5.3.73). In the later portion of the CV, however, *karman* makes its appearance only once in the rule *abhāvakarmanor uno ye* (CV 5.3.168). C sometimes uses *āpya* and sometimes *vyāpya*: *veh śabdāpyāt* (CV 1.4.80), *avyāpyāt* (CV 1.4.81), *kartrsthāmūrtāpyāt* (CV 1.4.83).

Types of *karman*

In the Pāṇinian tradition, the classification of *karman* into *nirvartya*, *vikārya* and *prāpya* goes back to the Vārttikakara:

karmaṇi nirvartyamānavikriyamāne ced vedā-dhyayanādīnām upasamkhyānam / (Vt. 1 on P 3.2.1: *karmaṇy aṇ /*)

The other categories of *īpsita*, *anīpsita*, *udāśīna*, and *akathita* are drawn from P's rules 1.4.49-51. The category of *akathitakarma* is designated as *samjñāntarair anākhyātum* (Vākyā 3.7.46) by Bhartṛhari:

"That which has not been designated by another technical term (= another *kāraka* category)". (Kahrs 1992: 46)

The *kattukamma* category given by Agg is, however, missing in the Pāṇinian tradition. Similarly, the *anyapūrvaka* "that which previously had another (*kāraka* designation)" category is absent in Sadd.

4. *karaṇa*

A.

The literal meaning of the word *karaṇa* is 'doing, making, causing, producing'.¹ As a technical term of grammar denoting the

¹ S IV.331; V.97; It 83; A V.23; A II.22.

instrumental case, it occurs at Pv-a 33, 35; Vv-a 25, 53, 304; Ja III.98, V.444; As 48.

K defines *karaṇa* as: *yena vā kārīyate tam karaṇam /*

"Or that by means of which one acts that (*kāraka*) is called *karaṇa* 'instrument'." (Kacc 281)

Elaborating upon this, the Vutti says:

"That by means of which one acts or that by means of which one sees, or that by means of which one hears, that is (the *kāraka*) *karaṇa* 'instrument'".¹

This definition of Kacc is already met with in Kt 2.4.12. (See below)

Sadd 552 is a combination of Kacc 281 and the Vutti thereupon. Sadd reads: *yena kurute yena vā passati, tam pi karaṇam /*

"That by means of which one acts or [for example] that by means of which one sees, that too is [the *kāraka*] *karaṇa* 'instrument'." (Kahrs 1992:58)

Agg explains it further as:

"Something is done with it, [or] one accomplishes an action with it, [that is,] with a thing being an implement for the agent, thus [it is called] instrument (*karaṇa*)."² (Kahrs 1992:59)

After explaining K's definition, Agg tries to link it with P's definition: *sādhakatamam karaṇam /* (P 1.4.42)

"The most effective means [is called] the instrument."

According to Agg,

¹ *yena vā kayirati, yena vā pussati, yena vā suṇāti tam kārakum karaṇasuññam hoti /*

² *kāriyati kiriyaṁ janeti unena kuttuno upakaraṇabhiūtena vatthunā ti karaṇam /*

"And with regard to this, although the property of being a means of [accomplishing] an action pertains to all *kārakas*, [this] statement, having specified 'that by means of which' etc., is intended for the understanding of only the most effective means among the means which work as implements for the agent. The *kāraka* which is the instrument is characterized as the implement of the action".¹ (Kahrs 1992:59)

This is the meaning of the superlative suffix *-tumap* in P's rule. Commenting on P 1.4.42, the Kāśikā says:

"*Karāṇa* is that which is the most instrumental factor and which is utmost helpful in accomplishing an action".²

Note that this issue is first raised in Mbh on P 1.4.42.

Mogg uses *karāṇa* at MV 2.18: *kattukarāṇesu tatiyā*, MVu 5.27: *bahulādhikārā karāṇādisu pi bhavanti* without defining it.

Types of *karāṇa*

Agg provides a twofold classification of *karāṇa* into *ajjhattika* and *bāhira*. This classification has its parallel in DT and KVP on Kt 2.4.12. Cp.:

tam duvidham ajjhattikabāhiravasena / (Sadd 552)

tac ca karaṇam dvividham bāhyam ābhyantram ca /
(DT, KVP 2.4.12)

¹ *ettha cu, suti pi subbakārakānum kiriyāsādhakutte, 'yena kurute' ti ādi visesetvā vucanām kuttūpukurāṇubhūtesu sādhanesu sādhakatamass' eva guhaṇuttham / kiriyāsumbhāralukkhaṇam karaṇakārakam /*

² *kriyāsiddhau yat prakṛṣṭopakārakam vivakṣitam tat sādhakatamam kārakam karaṇasamjñam bhavati /*

The terms *ajjhuttika* and *bāhira* are familiar from the Buddhist literature, particularly, in the context of *skandha-*, *āyatana-*, and *dhātu-* analysis.

B.

Karaṇa in the sense of ‘an act, a deed’ is found in RV. As a technical term denoting an instrumental case, it is used in every system of grammar except Mu, which uses *dha*.

As said above, P defines *karaṇa* as *sādhakatamam karaṇam* / (P 1.4.42)

Śarva defines *karaṇa* as: *yena kriyate tat karaṇam* / (Kt 2.4.12)

“That by means of which one acts that (*kāraka*) is called *karaṇa* ‘instrument’.”

C uses the term *karaṇa* at *karaṇe* (CV 2.1.63) without defining it.

5. *sampadāna*

A.

Sampadāna has no canonical status. In the Aṭṭhakathās, it is only used as a technical term of grammar denoting the dative relation.¹ Agg explains the term *sampadāna* as:

“In the proper (*sammā = sum*) way (*pakāreṇa = pa*) one gives to that one, thus [it is called] *sampadāna*, [that is,] the one who receives”.² (Kahrs 1992:61)

Mogg also paraphrases the term as *yassa sammā padīyate ...* (MVu 2.26) Also cp. Kacc-Vṇ 278: *sammā dīyate assā ti sampadānam* and Rūp 581: *sammā pakāreṇa dadāti assā ti sampadānam* / A similar

¹ Ja V.214 (*upyogutthe*), 237 (*karaṇutthe*).

² *sammā pakāreṇa ussu dadāti ti sampadānam puṭiggāhako* / (Sadd 553)

semantic analysis of the term *sampradāna* occurs at the Nyāsa on the Kāśikāvṛtti: *samyak prakarṣena dīyate* / (KāśN I:546)

"Properly, excellently it is given." (Kahrs 1992:62)

K defines *sumpadāna* as: *yassa dātukāmo rocate dhārayate vā tam sumpadānam* / (Kacc 278)

"The one to whom (an agent) has a desire to give, or to whom (something) is pleasing, or to whom one owes that (*kāraka* is called) *sumpadāna*."

This again is a recast of *yasmai ditsā rocate dhārayate vā tat sampradānam* / (Kt 2.4.10) Note that K has rendered *ditsā* as *dātukāmo*.

Agg alters K's definition by replacing *rocate* by *ruccati* and dropping *dhārayate* from the main rule. Sadd 553 reads: *yassa dātukāmo yassa vā ruccati, tam sumpadānam* /

"[That *kāraka*] to whom [the agent] has a desire to give, or [for example] [that *kāraka*] to whom [something] is pleasing, [is called] *sumpadāna* 'recipient'." (Kahrs 1992:61)

He, however, amplifies this definition by bringing in two options:

yassa vā dātukāmo yassa vā ruccati yassa vā khamati yassa vā dhārayate, tam kārakanam sumpadānasuññam hoti /

According to Agg,

"The [*kāraka*] which is the *sumpadāna* is characterized by receiving".¹ (Kahrs 1992:62)

Mogg uses the term *sumpadāna* at MV 2.26: *cattutthī sumpadāne* without defining it.

¹ *paṭigguhaṇalakkhaṇam sumpadānakārakum /*

Types of *sampadāna*

Agg classifies *sampadāna* into three: *anirākaruṇa* (non-rejecting), *ajjhesanā* (requesting) and *anumati* (approval). This threefold division of the *sampadāna* goes back to Vākyā 3.7.129:

"That element in [the act of] forsaking which is the goal to be attained by the object [of the action of giving, i.e. the gift,] attains the property of being the *sampradāna* [either] from not refusing (*anirākaranāt*) the agent [of giving], or from urging (*preranāt*) [the giver] or from giving consent (*anumateḥ*)".¹ (Kahrs 1992:63)

Apart from the replacement of the term *preranā* with the synonymous term *ajjhesanā*, the classification is the same. A similar classification also occurs at DT and KVP on Kt 2.4.10:

"*Sampradāna* is one who allows, one who does not refuse, one who prompts, one who is the cause of giving away, that which is connected with the object of the act of giving".²

B.

The word *sampradāna* as a technical term occurs for the first time in the Aṣṭ. In the VP, it is used in the sense of ‘handing down by tradition’ and in the Kauśītakī Upaniṣad, it means ‘a gift’. In the next stage, it meant ‘the person to whom the gift is made’ and is the name of the dative case in all the systems of grammar except Mu where it is replaced by *bha*.

¹ *anirākaruṇāt kurtus tyāgāṅgam kurmaṇepsītam / preranānumatibhyām ca labhate sampradānatām //*

² *anumantranirākartṛ prerakam tyāgakāruṇam / vyāpyenāptum dudātes tu sampradānam prakīrtitum //*

P defines *samprudāna* as: *karmaṇā yam abhipraiti sa samprudānam /* (P 1.4.32)

"(The technical term) *samprudāna* (*kāraka*) denotes one whom the agent intends as a goal or recipient through the object of the action (of giving)."

Bhāsyakāra here suggests the addition of the word *kriyā*: *kriyāgrahaṇam api kartavyam /* (Mbh I.330)

Śarva defines *samprudāna* as: *yasmai ditsā rocute dhārayate vā tat samprudānam /* (Kt 2.4.10)

"The one to whom (an agent) has a desire to give, or to whom (something) is pleasing, or to whom one owes that (*kāraka* is called) *samprudāna*."

C uses *samprudāna* at CV 2.1.73: *samprudāne caturthī* without defining it.

6. *apādāna*

A.

Apādāna is derived from *apa* + *ā* + *dā* ‘to take off or away’. This term has no canonical status. As a technical term of grammar denoting the ablative relation, it probably occurred for the first time in the Kacc. As mentioned before, in the *Atṭhakathās*, the term used to denote the ablative relation is *nissakka*.¹ It literally means ‘going out’.

K defines *apādāna* as: *yasmād upeti bhayam ādatte vā tad apādānam /* (Kacc 273)

"That from which something moves away or there is a fear, or someone takes, that (*kāraka*) is an *apādāna*."

¹ Ja V.498; Vv-a 152, 154, 180, 311; Pv-a 147, 221.

This is exactly identical with Kt 2.4.8. The similarity with Kacc-Vu and DV is also noticeable. Cp.:

*yasmā vā apeti, yasmā vā bhayam jāyate, yasmā vā
ādatte, tam kārakum apādānusuññam hoti /* (Kacc-Vu 272)

*yasmād apaiti, yasmād bhayam bhavati, yasmād
ādatte vā, tat kārakum apādānasamjñam bhavati /*
(DV 2.4.8)

Agg alters K's definition as: *yato apeti yato vā āgacchati, tad
apādānam /* (Sadd 555)

"That from which something moves away, or [for example]
that from which something comes, that [*kāraka*] is the
apādāna." (Kahrs 1992:127)

According to Agg, *apādāna* is a meaningful conventional term.
He analyses *apādāna* as:

"‘Moving away (*apecca*) from it something takes
(ādadāti)’, thus [it is called] *apādāna*. That is to
say, moving away from it, [that is,] from some
thing, physically or mentally, one attains something
else".¹ (Kahrs 1992:127)

Cp. Rūp 581: *apecca etasmā ādadātī ti apādānam /*

Following C, Mogg uses *avadhi* for *apādāna* at MV 2.28:
pañcamyavadhismā / Note that under MV 5.48: *ano*, Mogg derives
the term *apādāna* as one of the *kārakas*.

Types of *apādāna*

Agg provides various classifications of the *apādāna kāraka*:

"Now, this *apādāna* is of two kinds, according to
whether the moving away is preceded by physical

¹ *apecca ito ādadātī ti apādānam, ito vatthuto kāyavusena cittavusena vā
apugantrā uññam gūñhātī ti attho /* (Sadd 555)

contact or whether it is preceded by mental contact; likewise according to whether the starting point is moving or whether the starting point is not moving. Or rather it is of three kinds, according to whether the starting point is moving, whether the starting point is not moving, or whether the starting point is not only moving or the starting point is not not moving; likewise according to where [the movement away] has been directly stated, where it is comprised, or where it has to be inferred".¹ (Kahrs 1992:127)

The traces of the first two classifications can be found at DT 2.4.8:

"Separation does not take place only in case of a physical contact. What then? It takes place even in the case of a mental contact. And there upon, the cessation of contact is caused by separation of a mobile object from a stationary object so also of a static object from a mobile object. This nature of *kāraka* (*apādāna*) has separation common to both".²

The threefold classification of *apādāna* into *niddhiṭṭhavisaya*, *upāttavisaya* and *anumeyyavisaya* goes back to Vākyā 3.7.136:

"The *apādāna* is said to be of three kinds: sometimes [it is the one] where the moving away is directly expressed, likewise where the moving away

¹ tam panu apādānam duvidham kāyasuṃyogupubbukacittusuṃyoga-pubbakāpugamavusena, tathā calāvudhinicculāvudhivusena; atha vā panu tividham calāvudhinicculāvudhinevaculāvudhinanicculāvudhivusena, tathā niddhiṭṭhavisayaupāttavisaya-anumeyyavisayavusena / (Sadd 555)

² nu hi kāyaprāptāv evāpāyuh, kiṃ tarhi cittaprāptāv api, tatuś ca suṃyoganivr̥ttir yathaiva hi calasyāculato viśleṣuh, evam ucalasyāpi calutuh, so'�am ubhayoh samānaviśleṣukārakabhbāvuh /

is included, and also where the action [of moving away] is implied".¹ (Kahrs 1992:128-129)

B.

The term *apādāna* appears to have been coined by grammarians for the purpose of their science and is used rarely, if at all, in literature. It is found for the first time in the *Aṣṭ*. It occurs in all the other systems of grammar except the *Mu*, which uses *ja*.

P defines *apādāna* as: *dhruvam apāye'pādānam* / (P 1.4.24)

"(The technical term) *apādāna* denotes (that *kāraka*) which functions as a stable point with respect to a movement away from itself, i.e., a point of departure."

Śarva defines *apādāna* as: *yato'paiti bhayam ādatte vā tad apādānam* / (Kt 2.4.8)

"That from which something moves away or there is a fear, or someone receives, that (*kāraka*) is an *apādāna*."

C uses *avadhi* for *apādāna* at CV 2.1.81: *avadheḥ pañcamī* /

7. *okāsa*

A.

The literal meaning of the term *okāsu* is ‘open space’ (D I.34, Vism 184). As a technical term of grammar denoting the locative relation, it probably occurred for the first time in the *Kacc*. Note that in the *Aṭṭhakathās*, the term *bhumma* is used for the locative

¹ *nirdiṣṭaviśayam kim cid upāttaviśayam tuthā / apekṣitakriyam ceti tridhā'-pādānam ucyate //*

relation.¹ *Bhumma* (Vedic *bhūmya*) is a secondary derivative from *bhūmi* meaning ‘belonging to the earth, earthly’ and thus nearer to the sense conveyed by the English term locative.

K and Agg define *okāsa* as: *yo'dhāro tamokāsam*

"That which is the support [in time and space], that [*kāraka*] is the *okāsa*." (Kacc 280, Sadd 572 = Kahrs 1992:191)

This definition is modelled on Kt 2.4.11, the major difference being that K and, following him, Agg have used the term *okāsa* instead of the older term *adhikarana*. Explaining the definition further, Agg says:

"That which is the support (*ādhāra*), in the sense of that which is a supporter (*ādhāraka*) of actions such as sitting down or cooking which are inherent in the agent or the object, that *kāraka* is something to which the technical name *okāsa* applies".² (Kahrs 1992:191)

This explanation has its bearing on the discussion in Vākyā 3.7.148 regarding how *adhikarana* can be called a *kāraka*. The relevant verse in the Vākyā is as follows:

*kartrkarmavyavahitām asāksād dhārayat kriyām /
upakurvat kriyāsiddhau sāstre'dhikaraṇam smṛtam //*³

Note that the same issue is discussed at DT 2.4.11. According to Agg, *ādhāra* is called *okāsa* because it actually is an occasion (where something happens) in the sense of support of these actions.

¹ Pj I 106, 111, 224; Pj II 140, 210, 321, 433; Pv-a 33.

² *yo kuttukammusumavetānuṁ nisujjapacanādikiriyānum ādhārakauṭṭhena
ādhāro, tam kārakam okāsusuññum hoti /*

³ "That which [both] indirectly supports the action separated [from it] by the agent or the object, [and] assists in accomplishing the action is called *adhikarana* in the science of grammar." (Kahrs 1992:195)

Following C, Mogg uses *ādhāra* instead of *okāsa*: *sattamyādhāre* (MV 2.34), and *gamanatthākammakādhāre ca* (MV 5.59). MVu 2.34 paraphrases the term *ādhāre* as:

*kriyādhārabhūtakattukammānam dhāraṇena yo
kriyāyādhāro tasmin /*

Besides this, *adhikaraṇa* is also found at MVu 2.2:

*adhisīthāsānam payogedhikaraṇe kammavacuni-
cchā, ... akkhesu dibbatūti - kammakaraṇādhī-
karaṇavacanicchā /*

Agg also uses the term *adhikaraṇa* at Sadd 1134: *kattukaranā-
dhikaraṇesu ca* / Note that at Kacc 550: *kattukarunaṇappadesesu ca*, an additional term *padesu* is also used for *okāsa*.

Types of *okāsa*

Kacc-Vu 280, Sadd 572 and MVu 1.14 provide a fourfold classification of *ādhāra* into *byāpika* (pervading), *opasilesika* (caused by a close contact), *vesayika* (belonging to a particular domain) and *sāmīpika* (caused by nearness). *Tilesu telam* is an example of the *byāpika* *ādhāra*, *āsane upavittho saṅgho* is of *opasilesiku* *ādhāra*, *bhūmisu manussā caranti* of *vesayika* *ādhāra* and *vane hutthino curanti* of *sāmīpika* *ādhāra*. Cf. a verse quoted by Ananda Kausalyayana in his edition of the MV (1965: 5):

*vyāpiko tiladadhyādi kaṭo opasilesiko/
sāmīpiko tu gaṅgādi, ākāso visayo mato //*

Sanskrit sources generally give the threefold classification of *adhikaraṇa* leaving out *sāmīpya*. Ptj says:

"The *adhikaraṇa* is indeed of three kinds, *vyāpaka*, *aupaślesika*, [and] *vaiśayika*."¹ (Mbh on P 6.1.72)

The same classification also occurs at the Padamañjarī, the Nyāsa, the Si. Kau. on P 2.3.36 and its commentaries, the Bālamanoramā

¹ *adhikaraṇam nāma triprakāram vyāpakum aupaślesikam vaiśayikam iti /*

and the Tattvabodhinī. The Prakriyākaumudī of Rāmacandra gives this fourfold classification (PK 80):

*aupaślesikah sāmīpiko visayo vyāpta ity ādhāras
caturdhā /*

The Rūpāvatāra (162,12-13) of the pre-Aggavāmsa Sinhalese Buddhist Dharmakīrti also proposes a similar fourfold classification. The only difference being that instead of *sāmīpya*, Dharmakīrti uses the term *pratyāsatti*:

"This *ādhāra* ‘support’ is of four kinds, by being divided into *aupaślesika*, *vaiśayika*, *vyāpaka*, and *pratyāsatti*".¹

He adds (162,17-18): *pratyāsattih sāmīpyam - gaṅgāyāṁ ghosah /*

"*Pratyāsatti*, that is to say, *sāmīpya* ‘nearness’, [as in] ‘a cow-shed on the *Gangā*’.

However, the most likely source of Agg’s classification seems to be DT. Commenting on Kt 2.4.11, DT says:

*sa ādhāras caturvidhah - aupaślesikah, abhi-
vyāpakah, vaiśayikah, sāmīpikas ceti /*

B.

The term *okāsa* is unparalleled in Sanskrit. The Sanskrit grammarians generally use the term *adhikarana* to denote the locative relation. *Adhikarana* is derived from *adhi* + *kṛ* meaning literally ‘the act of placing at the head’, then ‘receptacle, thing, sense’. In its technical sense, it occurs for the first time in the *Aṣṭ*.

P defines *adhikarana* as: *ādhāro’dhikaranam /* (P 1.4.45)

"(The technical term) *adhikarana* denotes the locus or substratum."

¹ *sa ādhārah aupaślesikavaiśayikavyāpaka pratyāsattibhedatvāt caturvidhah /*

Śarva defines *adhikaraṇa* as: *ya ādhāras tad adhikaraṇam /*

"That which is the support (in time and space), that (*kāraka*) is the *adhikaraṇa*." (Kt 2.4.11)

C uses *ādhāra* in the place of *adhikaraṇa* at CV 2.1.88: *saptamy ādhāre* without defining it.

8. sāmi / sambandha

A.

After defining different *kārakas*, K and Agg go on defining the term *sāmi*, which is a generic term for all the syntactic relations expressed by the genitive case.

The literal meaning of the word *sāmi* is 'owner, ruler, lord, master'.¹ However, in the grammatical context, it signifies an owner-owned relationship.

K defines *sāmi* as: *yassa vā pariggaho tam sāmi /* (Kacc 285)

"Or, the one who has possession is a possessor."

The use of *sāmi* to denote the genitive has a counterpart in the discussion in Mbh on P 2.3.50, where the expression *svāmitva* is used of the genitive relation *rājñah puruṣah*. Śarva uses the term *svāmyādi* at Kt 2.4.19 to denote the genitive relation.

Agg amplifies K's definition as: *yassa saṃ yassa vā pati, tam sāmi /* (Sadd 575)

"The one who possesses wealth or that which has a master is called a possessor."

¹ Vin I.303, 307; Sn 83; Mhv 37.

Thus, the term *sāmi* here stands for the owner-owned relationship including two relata, possessor and possession. In the commentary Agg says:

"The term *sāmi* denotes that which has wealth, or that which has a master, that which has an owner, that which forms a group, or that which has a part. Here too, the particle *vā* has a sense of optionality. Therefore, even other meanings are to be included in it".¹

Thus, the term *sāmi* here represents various nominal relations expressed by the genitive.

According to the orthodox school, *sāmi* is not a *kāraka* relation, as it is not related to an action:

kiriyābhisaṁbandhābhāvā n' esā kārakatā sam-bhavati /

However, according to Agg (Sadd 575), in cases like *pitussa sarati*, *pitussa icchati* etc. *sāmi* can be treated as a *kāraka* relation as in these cases a genitive is related to an action.

At Sadd 614: *sambandhadvayādhāre*, Agg uses the term *sambandha* in the same sense as that of *sāmi*. According to this rule,

"The sixth case is employed in sense of a twofold substrata of a nominal relation".

He defines *sambandha* at Sadd 613 thus:

*visesunavisesitabbānam vā sambandhānam
sambandho /*

"Or the relation between a qualifier and a qualified is called a nominal relation (*sambandha*)."

¹ *yassa atthajātassa dhanām yassa vā pati yassa vā sāmi, yassa vā samūho yassa vā avayavo, tam atthajātām sāmisuññām hoti, idhā pi vāsuddo vikappanatho, tena uññe pi atthā yojetabbā /*

This explanation can also be traced back to Vākyā via DT 2.4.19:

"Since the words convey general meaning they are not able to convey specific meaning in the absence of a context. Further, the nominative is added to the qualified to convey the sense of the mere stem as it is the closest one, hence the genitive case is added to a qualifier, because the genitive alone can express the relation between the two. Thus it is said:

'The relation between a qualified and a qualifier is intended to be very close and mutual. Although the relation rests on both (a qualifier and a qualified), the genitive is added only after an adjective'".¹

Following C, Mogg uses the term *sambandha* instead of *sāmi*. MV 2.41 reads: *chatthī sambandhe* /

"The sixth case is employed after a noun in the sense of a nominal relation".

This is identical with CV 2.1.95: *śaṣṭhī sambandhe* / Commenting on MV 2.41, the MVu says:

"The sixth case is employed in the sense of a nominal relation (*sambandha*) which is born out of an action and its participants and which is the cause of a state: 'this belongs to it'".²

Thus, a nominal relation is a result of an action and its participants. Note that the same idea is also conveyed by Agg. Cp. Sadd 610:

¹ *sāmānyavācukā hi śabdāḥ prakaraṇam antareṇa viśeṣe vartitum notsahante iti / paratus tu bhedyād antaraṅgatvāl lingārthamātre prathamā astīti bhedukāt śaṣṭhī bhavati / tayaivobhayugatasumbandhusyoktutvāt / tuduktum ca - bhedyabhedukayoḥ śliṣṭāḥ sambandho'nyo'nyam iṣyate / dviṣṭho yady api sumbandhah śuṣṭhyutpattis tu bhedukāt //* (Vākyā 3.7.156)

² *kriyākārakasuñjāto assedambhāvahetuko sumbandho nāmu, tasmiṁ chatthī vibhattī hoti /*

"Or, the sixth case endings are employed in the sense, which results out of an action and its participants and which is a cause of the state: 'that belongs to it'".¹

These portions of MV and Sadd have their basis in the Vākyā 3.7.157² and DT 2.4.19's explanation of the word *sambandha*: *asyedam = bhāvarūpasvasvāmyādilakṣaṇaḥ sambandha iti /*

B.

In P's Ast, the term denoting a genitive relation is *śesa*: *śasṭhī śese* / (P 4.2.92)

"The sixth *sup* triplet is introduced (after a nominal stem) to denote residual relationships."

Commenting on the word *śesa*, the Kāśikā says:

"*Śesa* is the relation such as that between the owned and the owner etc. which is other than the meaning of the stem and different from the object etc.".³

Śarva uses *svāmyādi* to denote the genitive relations:

śesāḥ karmakaraṇasampradānāpādānasvāmyādyādhikaraṇeṣu / (Kt 2.4.19)

"The remaining (case endings from the second upto the seventh) are employed in the sense of *karma*, *karaṇa*, *sampradāna*, *apādāna*, *svāmyādi* (the

¹ *kriyākārakujāte 'assedum' iti bhāvuhetumhi /*

² *sambandhaḥ kārakebhyo'nyah kriyākārakapūrvakah / śrutāyām uśrutāyām vā kriyāyām sa pratīyate //*

Note that DT 2.4.19 quotes the same verse in its explanation of the word *sambandha*.

³ *kurmādibhyo'nyah prātipadikārthavyatirekaḥ svavāmibhāvasam-bandhādih śesāḥ /*

genitive relations such as owner-owned etc.) and *adhikarana*."

C uses the term *sambandha* to denote a genitive relation: *sasthi sambandhe* / (CV 2.1.95)

"The sixth case is employed after a noun in the sense of a nominal relation."

C.

In the matter of syntax, K has followed Śarva. Agg's statement that 'kārakas have their origin in case suffixes' destroys the whole purpose behind introducing this abstract level. In the Sadd's Padamālā, Agg's inclusion of *bhāva* as one of the kārakas is unique in itself and is without parallel in Sanskrit. Though Agg has generally accepted K's definitions, he has also tried to incorporate additional information from various sources. Among his sources, the most probable source appears to be the DT. However, Agg's indebtedness to the Mbh, Bhartṛhari's Vākyā and Helārāja's commentary on it cannot be completely ruled out. Mogg on the other hand has closely followed C and has abstained from defining any kāraka relation.

Terminology Denoting Complex Formations

1. *vutti*

A.

The term *vutti* literally meaning ‘mode of being or acting, conduct, practice, usage, livelihood, habit’¹ is used by the grammarians to denote complex formations such as compounds, primary and secondary derivatives etc. Note that the Sanskrit tradition talks of five types of complex formations (*vṛttis*). They are *samāsa*, *taddhita*, *kṛdanta*, *ekuśeṣa* and *sunādyanta*.

The term occurs only in MV and Sadd. At MV 3.69: *subbādayo vuttimatte*, Mogg seems to use the term to express the complex formations like compounds and secondary derivatives. Cf. MVu 3.69:

"The feminine pronouns take the form similar to that of the masculine only in the case of complex formations, e.g., *tassa mukham tammukham; tassam tatra; tāya tato; tassam velāyam tudā*".²

At MVu 5.4: *tuṇsmā lopo vicchāyam te*, it is also used of the desideratives.³ In the section dealing with compounds, Mogg has used the word several times as opposed to *vākyu* (sentence). Cf. for instance, MVu 3.10:

¹ S I.100, Sn 81, Ja VI.224, etc.

² *itthivācakā subbādayo vuttimatte pumeva honti; tassa mukham tammukham; tassam tatra; tāya tato; tassam velāyam tudā /*

³ *kutham kūlam pipatisutī? yathā kūlam patitumicchatī vākyam hoti; evam vuttipi hessati* "How to explain the form *kūlam pipatisati*? As we have the sentence 'the bank is about to fall', in the same way, we can have the *vutti* (complex formation)".

vuttidevopapadasamāse - kumbhakāro; sapāko; tantavāyo; varāharo / ntumānaktavantūhi vākyameva; dhammam̄ suṇanto, dhammam̄ suṇumāno, odanam bhuktvā ... kvaci vuttiyeva; urago, pādupo / kvaci vākyameva; pharasunā chinnavā; dassanena pahātabbā /

Here it should be noted that Mogg has not used the term *vutti* in the context of primary derivatives. Apart from this, the treatment of *ekusesu*, which is considered to be one of the five *vṛttis* by the Sanskrit grammarians, is absent in the MV.

Though the term *vutti* occurs at Sadd 157¹, 159² and 164³, in all these places, it denotes a metrical composition but at Sadd 864: *vicitrā taddhitavutti*, it is used in the sense of a complex formation.

B.

In the Sanskrit tradition, *vṛtti* is defined as *parārthābhidhānam* *vṛttih* / ⁴ (Mbh I.364). Commenting on this, Kaiyatā says in the Pradīpa:

"*Vṛtti* is that where the meaning of a word is expressed by another word".⁵

Vṛtti in the sense of complex formations occurs several times in the CVṛ. Cf.: CVṛ 2.2.16:

*kvacid vṛttir eva, kumbhakārah, śvapacāḥ / ... iha
vṛttir eva - pādābhyaṁ hriyate pādahārakah /*

¹ *vanṇaniyamo chando, garuluhuniyamo vutti /*

² *vuttānurakkhaṇattham̄ viparītatā /*

³ *vuttirakkhaṇe māgome /*

⁴ "Expressing the meaning other than that of the constituents is called *vṛtti*".

⁵ *parasya śabdasya yo'rthus tasyābhidhānam̄ śabdāntareṇa yatra sa vṛttir ity arthāḥ /*

*yathā kūlam patitum icchatīti vākyam bhavaty evam
vṛttir api bhaviṣyati / (CVṛ 1.1.22)*

C.

Thus, the term *vutti* in the sense of a complex formation is common to both the traditions.

2. *samāsa*

A.

The literal meaning of the word *samāsa* is ‘putting together’. Rūp explains the term *samāsa* as:

"That which is put together is called *samāsa*. It means that which is abridged".¹

Elaborating on the term *samāsa*, Agg says:

"There, *samāsa* means ‘putting together’, i.e. an abridgement of words. Or, *samāsa* is putting together by way of words or meanings, either by eliding the case endings or without eliding them. *Samāsa* means a compounded word as the words are put together to form a single word. Compounding is characterised by coming together of many words into one".²

¹ *sumassate ti samāso, saṅkhipiyatī ti attho /*

² *tattha sumāso ti sumasanañ samāso padasauṅkhepo, utha vā sumasiyati saddavasena vā atthavasena vā vibhuttilopan̄i katvā vā akatvā vā ekapadattakarunena saṅkhipiyatī ti sumāso sumassitapadam / nānāpadānam ekapadattupagamanam sumāsalakkhanam /*

Note that *sumasanañ samāso* also occurs at DT 2.1.5: *sumasanañ samāsah /*

Further in the commentary, Agg points out that

"According to some, 'distinct meanings turning into one meaning' is a characteristic of compounding".¹

Note that this is the view expressed in the MVu 3.1:

"Distinct meanings becoming one is called compounding".²

Cp. also the CVṛ 2.2.1:

"Distinct meanings becoming one, is called compounding".³

Note that a similar explanation also occurs at DT 2.1.5:

prthagarthañām ekārthībhāvah samāso bhavati /

K defines *sumāsa* as: *nāmānam samāso yuttattho* / (Kacc 318)

"A technical term *sumāsa* denotes a connected meaning of nominals."

This is exactly identical with Kt 2.5.1: *nāmnām samāso yuktārthah* / Commenting on Kacc 318, the Kacc-Vu says:

"*Samāsa* denotes conjoining of the meanings of nouns".⁴

Commenting on the word *yuttattha*, Rūp says:

"'Connected meaning' means having conjoined, coagulated, or connected meaning".⁵

Agg amplifies K's definition as: *nāmopasagganipātānam yuttattho samāso* / (Sadd 675)

¹ *keci panu 'bhinnatthañām ekaṭhabhāvo samāsalakkhaṇan' ti vadanti /*

² *bhinnatthañānumekutthībhāvo samāso ti vuccate /*

³ *prthagarthañām ekārthībhāvah samāsa ity ucyate /*

⁴ *tesuṁ nāmānam payujjapadatthañām yo yuttattho so samāsusuñño hoti /*

⁵ *yutto saṅgato sumbandho va attho yassa soyuṁ yuttattho /*

"*Samāsa* denotes a connected meaning of nouns, prefixes and particles."

Though Mogg uses the term *samāsa* in the rule *pyo vā tvāssa samāse* (MV 5.164), the usual term denoting a compound in his grammar is *ekattha*¹ (a word having a single / unified meaning). At MV 3.1, Mogg defines a compound as: *syādi syādīnekattham /*

"A word ending in a nominal case ending combines with another word ending in a nominal case ending to form a compound (i.e. a word with a unified meaning)."

A similar definition is met with at CV 2.2.1: *sup supaikārtham /*

B.

Samāsa is derived from the root *as* 'to throw' preceded by the prefix *sam* 'together' with the suffix *ghañ*. *Sam-as* occurs at AV VI.89.3, ŚB X.3 etc. in the sense of 'put together, add, combine'. *Samāsa* is used in its grammatical sense in Nir 2.2:

"Now with regard to words formed with the secondary suffixes and compounds whether of one or more than one member, one should explain their component parts in their respective order, having first divided the words into them".²

BD not only uses *samāsa* but mentions its six varieties also (II.105-106):

¹ *ekatthatāyam* (MV 2.121), *syādi syādīnekattham* (MV 3.1), *chaṭṭhīyekatthe kvaci napuṇṣakattuṁ hotekattuñca* (MVu 3.22), *itthiyambhāśita pumitthi pumevekatthe* (MV 3.67).

² *utha tuddhitasamāsesy ekaparvusu cānekaparvusu ca pūrvam pūrvam aparaparam pravibhajya nirbrūyāt /*

"*Dvigu, dvandva, avyayībhāva, and karmadhāraya, the fifth bahuvrihi and the sixth called tatpuruṣa are the (compounds)*".¹

P does not define *samāsa* but *samarthah padavidhīḥ*² (P 2.1.1)) is generally taken to be the definition of the term. P's rule *prāk kaḍārāt samāsaḥ* (P 2.1.3) teaches that

"(The technical term) *samāsa* (a compound) denotes (all items resulting from the application of subsequent rules in this section) prior to (the *sūtra kaḍārāḥ karmadhāraye* 2.2.38)".

Śarva defines *samāsa* as: *nāmnām samāso yuktārthah /*

"A technical term *samāsa* denotes a syntactic connection of nominals." (Kt 2.5.1)

C uses *ekārtham*, which is abbreviated from *ekārthībhāva*, for *samāsa*. He, however, uses the term *samāsa* in *cārthasamāsa-manojñādibhyuḥ* (CV 4.1.149), *oṣṭhotvoḥ samāse vā* (CV 5.1.97), *iko'susthāne hrasvuś cāsumāse* (CV 5.1.132) etc. C's rule defining a compound is: *sup supā ekārtham /* (CV 2.2.1)

"A word ending in a nominal case ending combines with another word ending in a nominal case ending to form a compound (i.e. a word with a unified meaning)."

Types of Compounds

Both, the Pali as well as the Sanskrit grammarians, have classified the compounds into various types. In BD, we come across six types of compounds. They are *dvigu, dvandva,*

¹ *dvigur dvandvo'vyayībhāvuh karmadhāraya eva ca / pañcumas tu bahuvrīhiḥ śuṣṭhus tatpuruṣaḥ smṛtaḥ //*

² "An operation on *padas* (takes effect) only when they are semantically and syntactically connected."

ayayībhāva, *karmadhāraya*, *bahuvrīhi* and *tatpuruṣa*.¹ VP also provides a fourfold classification leaving out *karmadhāraya* and *dvigu*.² This fourfold classification is generally adopted by all the grammars. *Karmadhāraya* and *dvigu* are generally treated as the subcategories of the *tatpuruṣa* compound.

Among the Pali grammarians, Agg has introduced a number of classifications of compounds based on their function, nature, designation and sub-categories:

"And that compound is twofold according to its function: a compound with elided case endings and a compound with unelided case endings. Similarly, twofold according to its nature: an obligatory and a non-obligatory (optional) compound. (It is) sixfold, according to its designations: *avyayībhāva*, *kammadhāraya*, *digu*, *tappurisa*, *bahubbihi* and *dvanda*. And, (it is) twenty-seven or twenty-eightfold according to its subcategories".³

Let us now consider the six-fold classification of compounds in detail.

¹ *dvigur dvandvo'vyayībhāvah karmadhāraya eva ca / pañcamas tu bahuvrīhiḥ śuṣṭhas tatpuruṣaḥ smṛtaḥ* // (BD 2.105)

² *catusprakārāḥ sumāsāḥ avyayībhāvatatpuruṣadvandvabahuvrīhayah* / "Compounds are of four types: *avyayībhāva*, *tatpuruṣa*, *dvandva* and *bahuvrīhi*." (Uvāṭa on VP 1.27)

³ *so ca sumāśo kiccavasena luttasumāśo uluttasumāśo ti duvidho, tathā subhāvato niccasumāśo aniccasumāśo ti duvidho, suññāvasena avyayībhāvo kammadhārayo digu tappuriso bahubbihi dvando cā ti chabbidho, pubhedavasena .attavīsatividho utthavīsatividho bhavati* / (Excurcus bet. Sadd 692 - 693)

3. *avyayībhāva*

A.

The name *avyayībhāva* is so apt that most systems of grammar have accepted it. In Pali, the usage of this term is restricted to the grammatical literature. *Abyayībhāva* / *avyayībhāva*¹ denoting a type of compound probably occurred for the first time in Kacc 77, 154, 222 etc. In Sadd, it is explained as:

"It brings out; it clarifies; it manifests the meaning of indeclinables, thus it is called an *avyayībhāva*".²

According to another analysis, a non-indeclinable turns into an indeclinable, thus it is called an *avyayībhāva*.³

K defines *abyayībhāva* as: *upasagganipātāpubbako abyayībhāvo* / (Kacc 321)

"*Abyayībhāva* denotes a compound having a prefix or an indeclinable as its first member."

Agg improves upon K's definition by using the term *avyaya*, which is a wider category, representing both the prefixes and the particles (*upasagga* and *nipāta*): *avyayapubbako avyayībhāvo* /

"*Avyayībhāva* denotes a compound having an indeclinable as its first member." (Sadd 696)

Explaining it further, he says:

"A compound in which an indeclinable has a leading role or a compound in which an

¹ K uses *abyayībhāva* whereas Agg has *avyayībhāva*.

² *avyayānum attham bhāveti vibhāveti pakāsetī ti avyayībhāvo* / (Sadd 696)
Cp. *abyayānum attham vibhāvayatī ti abyayībhāvo* / (Rūp 315)

³ *unabyayam abyayam bhavatī ti vā abyayībhāvo* / (Rūp 315)

indeclinable is predominant that compound is an *avyayībhāva*".¹

The same is also reflected in a statement:

"The meaning of the first member is predominant in these types of compounds".²

Sadd 697: *tumsudiso ca* extends the scope of this compound even to such compounded words, which behave like an *avyayībhāva* compound but do not contain an indeclinable:

"Because of an identical behaviour, a compound which is similar to an *avyayībhāva* compound is called an *avyayībhāva* compound."³

Following C, Mogg uses *asamkhyattha* for *avyayībhāva*: *asamkhyehi cāngulyānuññāsamkhyatthesu* / (MV 3.44) Note that in Mogg's grammar, *avyaya* is expressed by *asamkhyā*. However, at MV 2.122: *pubbusmā mādito*, an *avyayībhāva* is referred to as a compound that precedes an *umādi* compound.⁴ Here it should be noted that in Mogg's grammar, an *avyayībhāva* is taught before the *tappurisa*.

B.

Avyayībhāva is one of the bigger technical terms used by P. Commenting on the term Kāśikā says that it is a bigger self-explanatory term indicating the predominance of a first member in

¹ *avyayapurecuro avyayappadūhāno su. rāso avyayībhāvusamāso hoti* / (Sadd 696)

² *pubbapudutthappadūhāno hi abyayībhāvo* / (Rūp 315, Sadd 696)

³ *tuggetikuttā tenu avyayībhāvusamāsenu sudiso ca sumāso avyayībhāvusuñño hoti* / (Sadd 697)

⁴ Note that in Mogg's grammar, the term denoting a *tappurisa* compound is *umādi*.

an *avyayībhāva* compound.¹ According to DT 2.5.14, the term *avyayībhāva* is derived by adding the suffix *cvi* in the sense of *abhūtutadbhāva*, to the word *avyaya* followed by the root *bhū* with an additional suffix *na*.²

P abstains from any descriptive definition of an *avyayībhāva*. P 2.1.5: *avyayībhāvah* is a heading rule. What it claims is that

"(The technical term) *avyayībhāva* denotes all items derived by the application of subsequent rules."³

Śarva's definition of an *avyayībhāva* compound, which is in a verse form, runs as follows: *pūrvam vācyam bhavet yasya so'vyayībhāva ucyate* / (Kt 2.5.14)

"That of which the meaning of the first member becomes manifest that compound is called an *avyayībhāva*."

C uses *asamkhyārtha* for an *avyayībhāva*: *śuradādibhya'samkhyārthe* (CV 4.4.90). It may be mentioned in this connexion that C uses *asamkhyā* for P's *avyaya*.

4. *tappurisa*

A.

The term *tappurisa* is taken as the type of compounds known by that name. The term is itself a *tappurisa* compound and is analysed as *tassa puriso tappuriso*. Compounds similar to this are also called as *tappurisa*. As the word *tappurisa* goes beyond the

¹ *unvarthasamjñā ceyam mahatī pūrvapudārthaprādhānyam avyayībhāvusya darśayati* / (Kāśikā 2.1.5)

² *unavyayam avyayam bhavatītī bhavo ṣapratyayaś cīvā usyettvam* /

³ *yān ita ūrdhvam unukramiṣyāmaḥ, avyayībhāvusamjñāś te veditavyāḥ* / (Kāśikā 2.1.5)

qualifying adjective i.e., differs from the case of the qualifying adjective,¹ similarly, all the compounds of this type go beyond the qualifying term. Therefore, it is called a *tappurisa*.²

As a technical term of grammar, it does not have a canonical status and occurs first at Kacc 335. At Kacc 329, K defines *tappurisa* as *amādayo parapadehi*. Commenting on this, the Vutti says:

"When nouns ending in suffixes *am* etc. are compounded with the following nouns, that compound is called a *tappurisa* compound".³

Agg has also accepted K's definition. Sadd 704 states: *amādayo samasīyanti parapadehi, so tappuriso /*

"When nouns ending in suffixes *am* etc. are compounded with a following noun, that compound is called a *tappurisa* compound".

According to Agg, in this type of compounds, the meaning of a second member is predominant.⁴

Mogg has not used the term *tappurisa*. In his grammar, *tappurisa* is expressed as *amādi ekattha*. Cf. MV 2.122 and 3.10.

¹ This is no doubt a peculiar description of a *tappurisa* compound. It focusses on the basic difference between *tappurisa* and *kummudhāruya* types of compounds. *Kummudhāruya*, which is considered as a sub-category of the *tappurisa* types of compounds, differs from it as both the members of this type of compounds are in the same case and refer to one and the same object, e.g., *nīlām kumalām, nīlakumalām* (a blue lotus). However, in case of the *tappurisa* type of compounds, the case of a qualifying adjective always differs from that of the qualified noun, e.g., *rañño puriso rājapuriso* (a royal officer).

² *tassa puriso tappuriso, tappurisasadisattā ayam pi sumāso tappuriso ti vuccati, yathā hi tappurisusaddo guṇam ativatto, tathā sakulo p'-ayun samāso guṇam ativatto, tusmā tappuriso ti vuccati /* (Sadd 704)

³ *te amādayo nāmehi parapadehi yadā sumassante tudā so sumāso tappurisusañño hoti /* (Kacc-Vu 329)

⁴ *uttarapadutthappadhāno hi tappuriso /* (Sadd 704)

However, at MV 3.44: *usumkhyehi cāngulyānuññusumkhyatthesu, tappurisa* is expressed as *anuññāsumkhyattha* (except in a *bahubbīhi* and an *avyayibhāva*). Cp. *usumkhyāc cānguler unanyāsumkhyārthe* (CV 4.4.74). Mogg's rule defining this type of compound is *amādi* / (MV 3.10)

"A noun ending in the nominal case ending *um* etc.
is compounded with another noun ending in the
nominal case ending *si* etc."

Agg recognises three main varieties of the *tappurisa* compounds. They are *suddhatappurisa* (pure *tappurisa*), *kummadhāraya* (Skt. *kurmadhāraya*) and *digu* (Skt. *dvigu*).¹ Kacc 328 (*ubhe tappurisā*) and Sadd 707 (*te ca ubho*), teach:

"The compounds *digu* and *kummadhāraya* are called *tappurisa*".²

Agg further classifies *tappurisa* into seven types on the basis of the seven *vibhattis*:

*vitthārato pana pañhamātappuriso dutīyātappuriso
cha cā ti satta tappurisā bhavanti* / (Sadd 707)

B.

As in case of an *avyayibhāva*, P defines *tatpurusa* by way of enumeration and does not involve in any sort of descriptive definition. P's rule: *tatpurusah* (P 2.1.22), is a heading rule. It teaches that

"(The technical term) *tatpurusa* (applies to the compounds formed by subsequent rules)."

Commenting on this rule, the Kāśikā says:

¹ *suddhatappuriso kummadhārayatappuriso digitappuriso ti tuyō tappurisā* / (Sadd 707)

² *ubhe digukummadhārayasamāsā tappurisasaññā honti* / (Kacc-Vu 328)

"It is a bigger technical term coined by the earlier teachers. Its acceptance is for the sake of including even its hyponyms (i.e. sub-varieties such as *karmadhāraya*, and *dvigu*). *Tatpuruṣa* is a compound having the predominance of the meaning of the final member".¹

Śarva defines a *tatpuruṣa* compound as:

"When case endings from the second onwards are compounded with a following noun, that compound is to be known as a *tatpuruṣa* compound."²

C generally expresses *tatpuruṣa* by *ananyāsaṃkhyā* i.e., except in a *bahuvrīhi* and an *avyayībhāva*. Cf. *asaṃkhyāc cāṅguler ananyāsaṃkhyārthe* (CV 4.4.74). C's rule defining this type of compounds is *kārakam bahulam* (CV 2.2.16). Note that due to this wording, the later authors such as Subhūti³ etc. refer to the *tatpuruṣa* as a *kārakasamāsa*.

As said before, the Sanskrit grammarians generally treat *karmadhāraya* and *dvigu* as the sub-categories of *tatpuruṣa*. Cf.: *tatpuruṣaḥ samānādhikaraṇaḥ karmadhārayaḥ*⁴ (P 1.2.42), *dviguś ca*⁵ (P 2.1.23); *tatpuruṣāv ubhau*⁶ (Kt 2.5.7).

¹ *pūrvacāryasamjñā ceyam mahati, tadaṅgikaraṇam upādher api tudīyasya parigruhārtham, uttarapadārthapradhānas tatpuruṣaḥ* (Mbh I.382) iti /

² *vibhuktayo dvitīyādyā nāmnā parapadena tu / samasyante sumāso hi jñeyas tatpuruṣaḥ sa ca //* (Kt 2.5.8)

³ *sup supaikārthum* (CV 2.2.1) iti *sumāsaḥ / kārakasumāsaḥ* / (Subhūticandra on Amarakoṣa 1.1.52)

⁴ "(The technical term) *karmadhāraya* denotes a *tatpuruṣa* compound formed from coordinate *padas*".

⁵ "(The technical term *tatpuruṣa samāsu*) also denotes (the compound) named *dvigu*".

⁶ "Both the *dvigu* and the *karmadhāraya* compounds are to be known as the *tatpuruṣa* compound".

5. *kammadhāraya*

A.

The term *kammadhāraya* is met with only in the grammatical literature beginning with Kacc. It is analysed as:

"It bears two things just as a *kamma*. Thus, it is a *kammadhāraya*. As the *kamma* bears both the action as well as its purpose, because when the *kamma* exists, there is a possibility of an action and its purpose. Similarly, this compound bears two names conveying the same meaning. When this type of compound is there, it is possible to have two nouns having the same meaning. Thus, it is said that 'it bears two just as a *kamma*, thus, it is a *kammadhāraya*'".¹

K defines *kammadhāraya* as: *dvipade tulyādhikarane kammadhārayo* / (Kacc 326)

"When two coordinate words (denoting the same substratum)² are compounded, that compound is called *kammadhāraya*".³

Agg accepts K's definition. Sadd 702 states:

-
- 1 *kammam iva dvayam dhāretī ti kummudhārayo, yathā kummam kiriyaṁ ca payojanam ca dvayam dhārayati, kumme sati kiriyaṁ payojanassa ca sumbhavato, tathā ayam samāso ekassa atthassa dve nāmāni dhārayati asmiṁ sumāse sati ekaṭhajotakassa nāmadvayassa sumbhavato iti kammam iva dvayam dhārayatī ti kummudhārayo ti vuccati* / (Sadd 702; Rūp 324)
 - 2 *tulyam samānam adhikaraṇam attho yassa pudadvayassa tam tulyādhikaraṇam* / (Rūp 324)
 - 3 *dve padāni tulyādhikaraṇāni yadā samassante tudā so sumāso kamma-dhārayasuñño hoti* / (Kacc-Vu 326)

dve padāni samasīyanti tulyādhikaraṇāni, so kammadhārayo /

"When two coordinate words (denoting the same substratum) are compounded, that compound is called *kammadhāraya*."

Following C, Mogg has not used any special name for this type of compound. However, *visesanamekatthena*¹ (MV 3.11) is his rule defining a *kammadhāraya* type of compounds. This rule has a striking similarity with CV 2.2.18: *viśeṣaṇam ekārthena /*

Agg provides a nine-fold classification of the *kammadhāraya* compound. The nine types of the *kammadhāraya* are: *visesanapubbapado* (the one having an adjective as its first member), *visesanuttarapado* (the one having an adjective as its final member), *visesanobhayapado* (the one in which both the members are adjectives), *upamānuttarapado* (having the means of comparison as its second member), *sambhāvanā-pubbapado* (having the word denoting an idea as its first member)², *avadhāraṇapubbapado* (having the determinate object as its first member), *nanipātāpubbapado* (having the particle *na* as its first member), *kupubbapado* (having the indeclinable *ku* as its first member), and *pādipubbapado* (having the prefixes *pa* etc. as its first member).

B.

Abhirāma Vidyālankāra in the Saṅkṣiptasāratippanī says:

"*Karmadhāraya* is so called as it bears the *karma* i.e. a connection with an action."³

¹ Note that the word *ekattha* here is equivalent to *saṃānādhikaraṇa / tulyādhikaraṇa*: *viseṣaṇam syādyantum, viṣeṣena syādyantena saṃānādhikaraṇena sahekaṭṭham hoti* / (MVu 3.11)

² For instance, *dhammo ti buddhi dhammabuddhi*.

³ *karma kriyānvayam dhārayati karmadhārayah!*

P defines *karmadhāraya* as: *tatpuruṣaḥ samānādhikaraṇaḥ karmadhārayaḥ* / (P 1.2.42)

"(The technical term) *karmadhāraya* denotes a *tatpuruṣa* compound formed from coordinate *padas*."

At Kt 2.5.5, Śarva defines *karmadhāraya* as:

pade tulyādhikaraṇe vijñeyah karmadhārayaḥ /

"A compound in which both the words have the same meaning,¹ that compound is to be known as a *karmadhāraya*.²"

6. *digu*

A.

Digu is another term, like *tappurisa*, representing a class of compounds similar to it. It is a sub-category of the *karmadhāraya* type of compounds. Agg and Buddhappiya, the author of Rūp analyse the word *digu* as an instance of a *digu* compound: *dve gāvo digu* / (Sadd 703)

"*Digu* = a collection of two cows."

Compounds similar to the compound *digu* are also called by the same name. As the word *digu* has a numeral at its initial position and as it is a neuter singular, similarly compounds of this type also have a numeral at the initial position and they are generally neuter in gender and singular in number. Therefore, on

¹ *avyutpanna iha tulyaśabdaḥ ekaparyāyah / udhikaraṇam urtha ucyate* / (DV 2.5.5)

² *yatra samāse dve pade tulyādhikaraṇe bhavataḥ, saḥ karmadhārayo vijñeyah* / (DV 2.5.5)

account of being similar to the word *digu*, such compounds are also called *digu*.¹ Cp. Rüp 333:

"Or, it is called *digu* as it is understood; comprehended by way of two characteristics, viz., a numeral at an initial position and a neuter gender with a singular number".²

K and Agg define *digu* as: *samkhyāpubbo digu* /

"A *kammadhāraya* compound having a numeral in an initial position is called a *digu* compound."³ (Kacc 327, Sadd 703)

Following C, Mogg uses the term *samkhyādi* for *digu*: *samkhyādi* (MV 3.21). Cp. CV 2.2.76: *samkhyādiḥ samāhāre* /

B.

As said earlier, *dvigu* is a generic term for those *karmadhārayas* in which the first member is a numeral. The *Prakriyāsarvasva* explains the term thus:

dvayor gāvōr bhavādir hi dvigur yatraiva sa dviguḥ /

"Where there is an existence of two cows or bullocks that is *dvigu* and the same is the name taken for the compound".

P's definition of *dvigu* runs as follows: *samkhyāpūrvo dviguḥ* /

¹ *digusadisuttā ayam samāso digū ti vuccati, yathā hi digusuddo samkhyāpubbo c' eva hoti napūmsukekavacuno ca, evam eva ayam pi samāso samkhyāpubbo c' eva hoti yebhuyyena napūmsukekavacuno ca, tasmā digusadisuttā digū ti vuccati* / (Sadd 703)

² *athu vā samkhyāpubbantunapūmsukekattasainkhātehi dvīhi lakkhaṇehi gato avagato ti digū ti vuccati; dvīhi vā lakkhaṇehi gacchati pavattatī ti pi digu* /

³ *samkhyāpubbo kammadhārayasamāso digusañño hoti* / (Kacc-Vu 327)

"(The technical term) *dvigu* denotes (a compound) whose first member is a number word." (P 2.1.52)

Śarva defines a *dvigu* compound as: *samkhyāpūrvo dvigur iti jñeyah* / (Kt 2.5.6)

"A *karmadhāraya* compound having a numeral at an initial position is to be known as *dvigu*."

7. *bahubbīhi*

A.

Bahubbīhi is another generic term used for similar type of compounds. Agg analyses the term *bahubbīhi* as: *bahavo vīhayo assā ti bahubbīhi* /¹ (Sadd 708). Further, he adds:

"On account of being similar to the term *bahubbīhi*, such a type of compound is also called *bahubbīhi*. Just as the term *bahubbīhi* is used with respect to someone having that attribute, similarly, all such compounds are used with respect to someone possessing that attribute. Therefore, on account of being similar to the term *bahubbīhi*, such a compound is called *bahubbīhi*".²

In a *bahubbīhi* compound, the meaning other than that of its constituents is predominant.³

K defines *bahubbīhi* as: *aññapadatthesu bahubbīhi* / (Kacc 330)

¹ "The one having lots of grain."

² *bahubbīhisadisattā ayam pi sumāso bahubbīhī ti vuccati; yathā hi bahubbīhisuddo guṇini ṛhito, tathā sukalō p' ayañ sumāso guṇini ṛhito, tena bahubbīhisadisattā bahubbīhī ti vuccati* / (Sadd 708)

³ *aññapadatthappadhāno hi bahubbīhi* / (Sadd 708)

"When nouns are compounded in such a way that they convey the sense other than themselves, that compound is called *bahubbīhi*."¹

Sadd 708: *bahubbīh'aññapadatthe* echoes the same thought.

Following C, Mogg uses the term *aññattha* to express a *bahubbīhi*. Cf.: MV 3.31, 3.44, 3.49 etc. Mogg's rule defining this type of compound is: *vānekaññatthe* / (MV 3.17)

"More than one nominal ending in a nominal case ending *si* etc. are compounded in the sense of another word."

This has a striking similarity with CV 2.2.46: *anekam anyārthe* /

Kacc-Vu 330 on *aññapadatthesu bahubbīhi*, talks of two types of a *bahubbīhi*: *tulyādhikarāṇa bahubbīhi* and *bhinnādhikarāṇa bahubbīhi*, which is equivalent to the *samānādhikarāṇa* and the *vyadhikarāṇa bahuvrīhi* of the Sanskrit grammarians. At Sadd 708, Agg talks of two more categories of a *bahubbīhi*: *tagguṇasamvijñāṇa* and *utagguṇasamvijñāṇa*, which are parallel to the *tadguṇasamvijñāṇa* and the *atadguṇasamvijñāṇa bahurvrīhi* of the Sanskrit grammarians. Apart from this, Agg also talks of nine additional varieties of this compound. They are: the one having two members (*dvipado*), the one of which the members are used in different cases (*bhinnādhikarāṇo*), having three members (*tipado*), having a negative particle *na* as its first member (*nanipāta-pubbapado*), having *saha* as its first member (*sahapubbapado*), having a word of comparison as its first member (*upumāna-pubbapado*), the one in which both the members are numerals (*sumkhyobhayapado*), the one conveying the sense of the sub-directions (*disanturālattho*), and the one marked by an exchange (*vyatihāralakkhaṇo*). Apart from these, Agg also speaks

¹ *aññesam padānam atthesu nāmāni yudā sumassante tudā so sumāso bahubbīhisāñño hoti* / (Kacc-Vu 330)

of some more categories of a *bahubbīhi* such as *bāhiruttho*, *abāhiruttho*, *dukkaramaggo* and *durājānamaggo*, which are unparalleled in the Sanskrit tradition.

B.

The Prakriyāsarvasva says:

"That compound of which the dissolution is of the type of 'bhavovo vrīhayo'sya' is called by that name".¹

P's basic rule defining *bahuvrīhi* is: *śeso bahuvrīhiḥ /*

"(The technical term) *bahuvrīhi* denotes residual (compounds)." (P 2.2.23)

Commenting on the word *śesa*, Kāśikā says:

"What is rest? Where no other compound is taught".²

This rule is followed by P 2.2.24: *anekam anyapadārthe*, which teaches that:

"Two or more (nominal *padas* can combine with each other) to denote something distinct (from what is implied by the constituent *padas*) (to form a *bahuvrīhi*)".

Śarva defines a *bahuvrīhi* as:

syātām yadi pade dve tu yadi vā syur bahūny api / tāny anyasya padasyārthe bahuvrīhiḥ // (Kt 2.5.9)

"If there would be two *padas* or even if there would be many, (when they are compounded) in the sense of another word, it is called a *bahuvrīhi*."

¹ *bhavovo vrīhayo'syeti yatra syāt su tathocyate /*

² *kuś ca śesah? yatrānyah samāso noktaḥ /* (Kāśikā 2.2.23)

8. *dvanda*

A.

Dvanda (Skt. *dvandva*) is the reduplication of *dva* (*dvam dvam*) and means ‘two by two’, ‘two and two’, hence ‘a pair’. It is another generic term representing its class. It is a *dvanda* compound of numerals *dve* and *dve*:

dve ca dve cā ti dvando /

According to an alternate explanation, *dvanda* is so called because it conveys the sense of ‘a pair’.¹ According to Rūp 342, *dvanda* is a meaningful term and it applies to such compounds, which are similar in nature to the word *dvanda*.²

K defines *dvanda* as: *nāmānam samuccayo dvando /* (Kacc 331)

"A collection of nouns is called *dvanda*."

The Vutti explains it as:

"A collection of nouns having the same case is called *dvanda*".³

Agg improves upon K's definition by incorporating the Kacc-Vu. Sadd 709 runs: *nānānāmānam ekavibhattikānam samuccayo dvando /*

"A collection of many nouns having the same case is called *dvanda*".

Explaining it further, Agg says:

¹ *dvandattho vā dvando /* (Rūp 342)

² *dvandasadisuttā ayam sumāso pi anyatthasaññāyam dvando ti ruccati /*

³ *nāmānamekavibhattikānam yo samuccayo so dvundusañño hoti /* (Kacc-Vu 331)

"Here, two words are combined into one, thus it is called *dvanda*. In this compound, the meaning of both the terms is predominant".¹

Following C, Mogg uses the expression *catttha* to express *dvanda*. Cf. MV 3.46, 3.64. Mogg's rule defining the *dvanda* compound is *cattthe* / (MV 3.19)

"More than one nominal ending in the nominal case endings *si* etc. are compounded to convey the sense of the conjunctive particle *ca*."

Cp. CV 2.2.48: *cārthe* /

B.

P defines *dvandva* as: *cārthe dvandvah* / (P 2.2.29)

"(An unrestricted number of nominal *padas* combine with one another) to form a *dvandva* (compound and a part of the meaning is that expressed by) the particle *ca* ('and')."

Śarva explains *dvandva* as:

dvandvah samuccayo nāmnor bahūnām vā'pi yo bhavet / (Kt 2.5.11)

"*Dvandva* is a collection of two or many nouns."

C.

To conclude, the terminology used by K and Agg to denote a compound and its various categories, is similar to that of P and Śarva whereas the terminology adopted by Mogg is similar to that of C. With regard to the definition, K and Agg appear to follow Śarva whereas Mogg follows P and C. Agg's classification of

¹ *dve dve padāni ekato sumodhānam ettha guchhantī ti dvando, so ubhayapadatthapudhāno* / (Sadd 709)

various types of compounds reminds us of the *samāśacakra* type of literature.

9. *ekasesa*

A.

Ekasesa is a grammarians' term denoting a grammatical operation in which many identical forms are reduced to a single one. The literal meaning of the term *ekasesa* is 'having a single remainder'. K and Agg have taught such an operation with regard to identical forms. Cf.: *sarūpānamekasesvusakim* (Kacc 390)¹; *bavhatthānapanicchāyam sarūpānum ekaseso*² (Sadd 820). Note that commenting on Kacc 390, Rūp 68 talks of *virūpekasesa* '*ekasesa* of un-identical forms'. Agg, however, has shown his reluctance for the *ekasesa* of the un-identical forms at Sadd 821: *matantare virūpekaseso*. Sadd 737: *buhubbihimhi ca sarūpānum ekaseso* teaches *ekasesa* of the identical words in the *buhubbīhi* and the *dvanda* compounds.

Mogg on the other hand has not dealt with the phenomenon of *ekasesa* and thus there was no opportunity for using the term.

B.

P has used the term *ekaśeṣa* to denote the same phenomenon of part retaining. His rule *sarūpānām ekaśeṣo ekavibhaktau* (P 1.2.64) teaches *ekaśeṣa* of identical forms whereas rules P 1.2.65 - 1.2.73 teach *ekaśeṣa* of un-identical forms.

1 "When there is a multiple use of an identical expression, only one of them remains".

2 "When there is a wish to express the plurality of the meaning, then only one of the many identical expressions remains".

Śarva and C do not deal with this phenomenon. Therefore, the term *ekuśeṣa* is missing in these two grammars. Cf. DT on Kt 2.4.17 and CVṛ on CV 2.2.87.

C.

To conclude, K and Agg seem to follow P with respect to the *ekasesa* of identical forms. They, however, differ from P on the issue of the *ekasesa* of un-identical forms (*virūpekasesa*). Following Śarva and C, Mogg has omitted the treatment of *ekasesa*.

Terminology Denoting Various Grammatical Concepts

1. *liṅga* (Grammatical gender)

A.

The generic term denoting a grammatical gender is *liṅga*, in both the Pali as well as the Sanskrit grammatical tradition. It basically meant ‘a characteristic, an attribute, a mark’.¹ From this, on the one hand, *liṅgu* came to mean ‘a mark of sex’,² on the other hand it came to signify ‘a grammatical gender’.³

The Pali grammarians have accepted the term *liṅga* to denote a grammatical gender.⁴ Agg has tried to explain the concept of the gender with the help of a quotation from the Niruttimañjūsā:

*tathā hi ayam niruttimañjūsāyam vutto : kim pan
etam liṅgam nāma: keci tāva vadanti

thunakesavatī itthī, massuvā puriso siyā /
ubhinnam antaram etam itarobhayamuttako ti //

... apare vadanti : na liṅgam nāma paramatthato
kiñci atthi, lokasamiketurūlho pana vohāro liṅgam
nāmā ti /⁵ (Sadd 221, 25)*

¹ M I.360; S V.278; Sn 601

² Vin III.35 (*purisa-*); Ja V.197 (-*sañthāna*); Pj I 110 (-*itthi*).

³ Pj II 397; Pv-a 7, 33, 58, 87, 157 (-*vipallāsa*).

⁴ Kacc 322; Sadd 144, 277, 307 etc.; MVu 4.69.

⁵ "Thus, this is what is said in the Niruttimañjūsā: What does this gender (*liṅga*) mean? Some people say: one with breasts and long hair is a female and the one having a beard is a male. This is the difference between the two. The rest (neuter) is neither of the two.

This is also the view held by the Sanskrit grammarians from Ptj onwards. Cp. Mbh II.196:

*stanakeśavatī strī syāl lomuśah puruṣah smṛtuh /
ubhayor antarum yac ca tad tadabhāve napuṁsakam //¹*

There are three grammatical genders in Pali as well as in Sanskrit. They are expressed as: *itthilinga* / *strīlinga* (feminine); *pullinga* (masculine); and *napuṁsakalinga*² (neuter). However, in most of the cases, the Pali grammarians have favoured the use of the shorter terms, *pum*,³ *itthi*⁴ and *napuṁsaka*.⁵ Note that at MVu 3.22, Mogg has used *napuṁsakattam* to express neuter gender.

The three grammatical genders are defined by Agg at Sadd 193-195. Sadd 193 defines *pullinga* as: *visadām pullīngam /*

"The word with clear characteristics is called a masculine gender".⁶

At Sadd 194, *itthilinga* is defined as: *avisadām itthiliṅgam /*

"The word without clear characteristics is called a feminine gender".

Sadd 195 defines *napuṁsakalinga* as:

n' eva visadām nāvisadām napuṁsakaliṅgam /

Others say: In reality, there exists nothing like a gender. It is merely a usage based on popular conventions".

¹ "The one having breasts and long hair is a female, the one having hairs is reckoned as a male and when this distinction of the two is absent, then that is a neuter".

² At Pv-a 266 it is used of the neuter gender.

³ Kacc 31, 333; Sadd 208, 280; MV 2.77, 3.67.

⁴ Kacc 131, 333; Sadd 206, 1140; MV 1.10, 3.26.

⁵ Kacc 85, 125; Sadd 208, 240; MV 2.68, 3.9.

⁶ *visadām vacanam pullīngam nāmu bhavati /*

"The word with neither clear nor unclear characteristics is called a neuter gender".

The Sanskrit grammarians are generally of the opinion that the grammatical gender is not anything absolute, it is simply established by the popular conventions and that alone is a way to learn it. Thus, Ptj says:

"These terms such as *strī*, *pumān*, *nāpumsaka*, are established by the popular convention. When after observing the world, it is determined that this is feminine, this is masculine and this is neuter, then it is said: this is feminine, this is masculine and this is neuter."¹ (Mbh II.195-196)

Cp. Kt 1.1.23: *lokopacārād grahaṇasiddhiḥ /*

B.

To sum up, the term *linga* in the sense of a grammatical gender is common to both the Pali as well as the Sanskrit grammatical tradition and same is also the case with the terms *itthilinga* / *itthī*, *pullinga* / *pum* and *nāpumsakalinga* / *nāpumsaka*. Agg is the only Pali grammarian who has provided the definitions for all the three genders.

2. *bhāva*

A.

The word *bhāva* is derived from the root *bhū* and literally means 'being, becoming, condition, nature' etc. In grammar, the word is used in two distinct senses that of an action and a state or an abstract condition. For instance, in rules such as *kēlabhāvesu ca*

¹ *lokata ete śabdāḥ prasiddhāḥ strī pumān nāpumsakam iti / yal loke dṛṣṭvuitad avastyata iyam strī ayam pumān idam nāpumsakam iti sā strī sa pumāns tan nāpumsakam iti /*

(Kacc 315, Sadd 644); *yabbhāvo bhāvalakkhaṇam* (MV 2.36) etc. *bhāva* denotes an action. So read the commentaries:

"*Bhāva* denotes an action."¹

"*Bhāva* denotes an action which is also said to be the meaning of a verbal root."²

The same idea is amplified at Kacc-Vñ on Kacc 655:

"*Bhāva* is the pure meaning of a verbal root unmixed with any *kāraka*".³

In view of the Pali grammarians, *bhāva* in the sense of an action is also one of the *kārukas*. Note that in the same context, Agg uses the term *bhāvusādhana* at Sadd 626: *bhāva-sādhunādiyoge*. In this connection, it would be interesting to consider the two passages of the Padamālā of the Sadd:

"*Kamma*, *kattar*, and *bhāva*: thus *kārukas* are threefold".⁴

"Thus, in this context, the six *sādhanas* have been promulgated as *bhāva*, *kattar*, *kamma*, *karaṇa*, *upādāna*, and *adhikaraṇa*; they are sevenfold with that *sādhana* which is the *sumpadāna*".⁵

Bhāva denotes a state or an abstract condition in rules *nyattatā bhāve tu* (Kacc 362); *nya-tta-ttana-vya-tā bhāve* (Sadd 780); and *tassa bhāvakummesu ttatāttanāṇyāṇeyyāṇiyāṇiyā* (MV 4.59) etc. Explaining the usage of the term *bhāva* here, Mogg says:

¹ *bhāvo nāma kiriyā* / (Rūp 312)

² *bhāvo nāma kiriyā / su dhātuttho ti pi vuccati* / (Sadd 644)

³ *bhāvo ti suddho, kārakehi usammisso dhātuttho /*

⁴ *kummāṇi kattā ca bhāvo ca icc evam kārakā tidhā* / (Padamālā 20,33)

⁵ *evam ettha bhāvakattukummakaraṇāpādānādhikaraṇavasena cha sādhunāni pukāsītāni, tāni sampadānasādhanena sattavidhāni bhavanti* / (Padamālā 68,30-69,2)

"The abstract nouns are formed out of it. Thus, it is called *bhāva*. It is the cause of manifestation of the word".¹

Further, the Vutti extends:

"The state of a blue cloth is called *nīlattam*. The quality blueness is the *bhāva*, the state of the blue quality is *nīlattam*. *Nīlatā* is the universal of the blue quality. Cow-ness or cow-hood is a universal of cow. *Pācakattam*, *daṇḍittam*, *visāṇittam*, *rājapurisattam* etc. is a state of an association with an action. *Devadattattam*, *candattam*, *suryattam* is a universal of that particular condition. *Ākāsattam*, *abhāvattam* etc. is the universal of the superimposed distinctions".²

This has a striking similarity with the explanation of *bhāva* occurring at CVṛ and DV:

śabdasya pravṛttinimittam / bhavato'smād abhidhānapratyayāv iti bhāvah / śuklasya patasya bhāvah śuklatvam śuklateti guṇo bhāvah / śuklasya gunasya bhāvah śuklatvam śuklateti śuklaguṇajātih / gotvam goteti gojātih / pācakatvam, daṇḍitvam, visāṇitvam, rājapuruṣatvam iti kriyādisambandhitvam / devadattatvam, candra-tvam, sūryatvam iti tadavasthāviśeṣasāmānyam / ākāśatvam abhāvatvam ity upacāritabhedasāmānyam / (CVṛ 4.1.136)

¹ *bhavanti etasmā buddhisaddāti bhāvo, suddassa pavattinimittam /* (MVu 4.59)

² *nīlassa paṭassa bhāvo nīlattam, nīlatāti guṇo bhāvo nīlassa guṇassa bhāvo nīlattam nīlatāti nīlaguṇajātih; gottam gotātī gojātī / pācakattam daṇḍittam visāṇittam rājapurisattanti kriyādisambandhitam / devadattattam candattum suriyattanti tadavatthāvisesusāmaññam / ākāsattam abhāvattanti upacāritabhedasāmaññam /*

*śabdasya pravṛttinimittam bhāvah / bhāve'bhidheye
 tatvau bhavataḥ / śuklasya paṭasya bhāvah śuklatā,
 śuklatvam iti śuklaguṇabhāvah / śuklasya guṇasya
 bhāvah śuklatā, śuklatvam iti śuklaguṇajātiḥ / gotā,
 gotvam iti gojātiḥ / pācakatvam, danditvam,
 viśāṇitvam, rājapurusaṭvam, kriyādisam-
 bandhitvam / devadattatvam, candratvam, sūrya-
 tvam ity avasthābhedāt / ākāśatvam iti pradeśa-
 bhedāt / (DT 2.6.13)*

B.

Bhāva is an older term going back to the time of Upaniṣads. In Nir, Y says:

"The verb has 'becoming' as its fundamental notion."¹

Here *bhāva* denotes an action, which can be divided into parts. In most systems of the Sanskrit grammar, *bhāva* denotes two meanings: an action and a state or an abstract condition. At P 2.3.37: *yasya ca bhāvena bhāvalakṣaṇam*, *bhāva* occurs in the sense of an action. Cf. Kāśikā on P 2.3.37: *bhāvah kriyā* / Note that a parallel rule in C's grammar reads: *yatkriyā kriyācihnām* / (CV 2.1.90)

Commenting on the rule *kālabhāvayoh saptamī* (Kt 2.4.34), DT remarks:

"*Bhāva* is an action. *Vyāpāra* is its synonym".²

P uses *bhāva* in the sense of a state or an abstract condition at P 5.1.119: *tasya bhāvas tvatalau*. Cf. Kāśikā on the same rule:

"That on account of which a particular expression and understanding comes into being, is *bhāva*. By

¹ *bhāvapradhānam ākhyātum* / (Nir 1.1)

² *bhāvah kriyā (bhāvana) vyāpāra iti paryāyah* / (DT 2.4.34)

the word *bhāva* is conveyed the reason for the use of a certain word".¹

Also cp. CVr on CV 4.1.136: *tasya bhāvas tvatalau*:

bhavato'smād abhidhānapratyayāv iti bhāvah /
śabdasya pravṛttinimittam /

Also cp. DT on Kt 2.6.13: *tatvau bhāve*:

bhavato yasmāt buddhiśabdau sa bhāva iha
grhyate / yasmād gotvāder viśeṣaṇatvād viśeṣye
gavādau gaur ityevamādikah śabdo gotvād gor
ākārānugatā ca buddhiḥ gavāder ity āhu - śabdasya
pravṛttinimittam bhāva iti /

C.

The term *bhāva* is commonly used by both the Pali as well as the Sanskrit grammarians. From the parallelisms shown in the above discussion, it is quite clear that in the usage and the explanation of the term *bhāva*, the Pali grammarians have closely followed the Sanskrit grammarians.

3. Technical Terminology Denoting the Past, the Present, and the Future

A.

Kāla, literally ‘time’ is a generic term denoting the concept of the tense. The Pali grammarians have used this term in its technical as well as non-technical sense. For instance, in the rule *kāluddhānum accuntasumyoge* (Kacc 300, Sadd 581, MV 2.3), it is used in the sense of time, whereas in rules: *kāle vattamānātīte* *nvādayo* (Kacc 652); and *liṅga-vibhatti-vacana-kāla-puris'*-

¹ *bhavato'smād abhidhānapratyayāv iti bhāvah / śabdasya pravṛttinimittam bhāvaśabdenocyate /*

akkharānam vipallāso (Sadd 672), it is used in the sense of tense. Mogg has not used the term *kāla* in its technical sense.

As for the Sanskrit grammars, there are many instances of the non-technical usage of the term *kāla* in different grammatical schools. Cf. for instance, *kālādhvunor atyantusumyoge* (P 2.3.5); *kālabhāvayoh saptamī* (Kt 2.4.34) and *kālāt* (CV 4.1.92). The term in its technical sense is, however, missing in Aṣṭ and CV. It is believed that the *la* of the word *kāla* has led P to use the ten technical terms *lat*, *lit*, *lut*, *lṛt*, *let*, *lot*, *luṇ*, *lin*, *luṇ*, and *lṛṇ*. C has followed P in this regard. Śarva uses the term *kāla* in its technical sense at Kt 3.1.21: *kriyāsamabhihāre sarvakāleśu mudhyamaika-vacanam pañcamyāḥ /*

In Pali, the terms denoting the past, the present and the future tenses are *atīta* / *bhūta*, *vattamāna* / *paccuppanna* and *anāgata* / *bhavissat*. Note that the terms *atīta* (past, gone by), *paccuppanna* (existing, present) and *anāgata* (not arrived, future) come from the Pali Buddhist literature. When these three are referred together, the general order of the terms is *atīt-anāgata-paccuppanna*. Cf. D III.100; S II.26, 110, 252; III.19, 47, 187; A I.264; It 53; Nidd 22.

K and Agg use the term *atīta* to denote the past tense. Cf. *kāle vattamānātīte ṇvādayo* (Kacc 652)¹ and *vattamānātītesu ṇu-yu-tā*² (Sadd 1288). The term is, however, missing in MV. Mogg uses *bhūta* to denote the past tense at MV 5.55: *katturi bhūte ktavantu ktāvī*,³ and MV 6.4: *bhūte i um o ttha im mha a u se vham a mhe*.⁴

1 "Suffixes *ṇu* etc. are added after a verbal root to denote the present or the past tense".

2 "Suffixes *ṇu*, *yu* and *tā* are added after a verbal root to denote the present or the past tense".

3 "The suffixes *ktavantu* and *ktāvī* are added to a verbal root referring to a past action in the sense of an agent".

4 "The suffixes *i*, *um* etc. are added to a verbal root referring to the past action".

The Pali grammarians have identified three types of past tenses, which are past imperfect, aorist and past perfect. Past imperfect is expressed as *hiyoppabuti atīta* or *anajjatana bhūta* (general past tense excluding the current day).¹ Aorist is expressed as *ajjapabuti atīta / bhūta* (general past tense including the current day).² Past perfect is expressed as *apaccakkha atīta* or *parokkha bhūta* (general past time beyond the perception of the speaker).³

K and Agg use the term *paccuppanna* to denote the present tense. Cf. *vattamānā paccuppanne* (Kacc 416) and *paccuppanne kāle vattamānā*⁴ (Sadd 872). The term is missing in MV. At MV 5.64: *nto katturi vattamāne*⁵ and MV 6.1: *vattamāne ti anti si tha mi ma te ante se vhe e mhe*⁶, Mogg uses the term *vattamāna* for the present tense. Here, it should be noted that K and Agg also use the term *vattamāna* to denote the present tense. Cf. *vattamāne mānanta*⁷ (Kacc 567); *vattamāne vippakutavacane mān'anta*⁸

¹ *hiyoppabuti atīte kāle paccakkhe vā apaccakkhe vā hīyattanī vibhatti hoti /* (Kacc-Vu 420); *paccakkhe vā hiyyo pabuti hīyattanī /* (Sadd 886); *avijjamānajjatane bhūte'tthe vattamānato kriyatthā a ādayo honti /* (MVu 6.5)

² *ajjappabuti atīte kāle paccakkhe vā apaccakkhe vā samīpe ajjatanī vibhatti hoti /* (Kacc-Vu 421, Sadd 887); *bhūte i um o tttha im mha u u se vham a mhe /* (MV 6.4)

³ *apaccakkhe atīte kāle parokkhā vibhatti hoti /* (Kacc-Vu 419); *apuccakkhe'ttē parokkhā /* (Sadd 885); *parokkhe u u e tttha u mha tttha re tho vho i mhe /* (MV 6.6)

⁴ "The finite verbal endings denoted by the term *vattamānā* are added to a verbal root referring to the present action".

⁵ "The suffix *nto* is added after a verbal root referring to the present action in the sense of an agent".

⁶ "Suffixes *ti*, *anti* etc. are added after a verbal root to refer to the present action".

⁷ "Suffixes *māna* and *nta* are added after a verbal root to refer to the present action".

⁸ "Suffixes *māna* and *nta* are added after a verbal root to refer to the present and an incomplete action".

(Sadd 1157). In MVu 6.1, the present is explained as *āruddhāparisumutto*. This has a striking similarity with Rūp 630,¹ Kt 3.1.11² and Kāśikā 3.2.123.³

All the three Pali grammarians have used the term *anāgata* to denote the future tense. Cf. *anāgate bhavissanti* (Kacc 423, 892)⁴ and *te ssupubbānāgate*⁵ (MV 5.67). Besides these, the Pali grammarians have also used the term *bhavissanta* to express the future tense. Cf. *bhavissati gamādīhi nighinum*⁶ (Kacc 653); *bhavissati kāle ni ghiṇ gamādito*⁷ (Sadd 1289) and *bhavissati ssati ssanti ssasi ssathā ssāmi ssāma ssate ssante ssase ssavhe ssam ssāmhe*⁸ (MV 6.2). MVu 6.2 explains the future as: *bhavissati anāraddhe utthe*⁹

As per the Sanskrit tradition, P and C use *bhūta* to denote the past tense. Cf. *bhūte* / (P 3.2.84, CV 1.2.62)

"(When an action refers to) the general past."

¹ *āruddho apurisumutto attho vattamāno* / "Present is that which has commenced but yet an incomplete action."

² *prārabdhāparisumāptakriyālukṣaṇaḥ sumpratīty ucyate* /

³ *ārabdho'parisumāptaś ca vartumānah* /

⁴ "The finite verbal endings denoted by the term *bhavissanti* are added after a verbal root to denote a future tense."

⁵ "Those suffixes *ntu* and *māna* preceded by *ssa* are added after a verbal root to denote a future tense".

⁶ "The suffixes *ni* and *ghinum* are added after the verbal roots *gamu* etc. to denote a future tense".

⁷ Same as above.

⁸ "The suffixes *ssati ssanti* etc. are added after a verbal root to denote a future tense".

⁹ "In the sense of a future action, which is yet to commence".

In Aṣṭ and CV, the terms denoting three types of the past tense are: *anadyatana bhūta*¹ for the imperfect past, *bhūta*² for aorist and *parokṣa bhūta*³ for the past perfect.

Śarva uses *bhūta* and *atīta* to express the past tense. Cf. *smenātīte* (Kt 3.1.12), *bhūtakaraṇavatyāś ca* (Kt 3.1.14).

P and C use *vartamāna* to denote the present tense. Cf. *vartamāne lat* / (P 3.2.123, CV 1.2.82)

"When an action refers to the present time, *l-*-substitutes of *lat* 'present tense' are introduced (after a verbal stem)."

Commenting on P's rule, the Kāśikā says:

ārubdho'parisamāptaś ca vartamānah /⁴

Śarva uses *sumprati* to express the present tense. Cf. *sumprati vartamānā* /⁵ (Kt 3.1.11)

In Aṣṭ and CV, the term denoting the future tense is *bhavisyat*. Cf. *bhavisyati gamyādayah* / (P 3.3.3)

"(The class of expressions) beginning with 'intends to go' are introduced when the action refers to the general future."

¹ *anadyatane lanī* / "(When an action refers to a general past tense) excluding the current day (the *l*-substitutes of *lanī* 'imperfect tense' are introduced (after a verbal stem)." (P 3.2.111, CV 1.2.77)

² *lanī* / "(When an action refers to a general past tense the *l*-substitutes of) *lanī* 'aorist' are introduced (after a verbal stem)." (P 3.2.110, CV 1.2.76)

³ *parokṣe lit* / "(When an action refers to a general past time excluding the current day) and beyond the perception of the speaker, *l*-substitutes of *lit* are introduced (after a verbal stem)." (P 3.2.115, CV 1.2.81)

⁴ "The present time is that which has commenced but yet to finish".

⁵ "Verbal case endings denoted by the term *vartamānā* are added after a verbal root referring to a present action".

bhavīsyati lṛ̥t / (CV 1.3.2)

"When the action refers to the general future time, (*l*-substitutes of) *lṛ̥t* are introduced (after a verbal stem)."

Śarva also uses *bhavīsyat* to denote the future. Cf.: *bhavīsyati bhavīsyanty āśīhśvastanyaḥ* /¹ (Kt 3.1.15)

B.

The technical terminology used by the Pali grammarians to denote tenses is of two types: the terms such as *bhūta*, *vattamāna* and *bhavissanta* have their parallels in the Sanskrit grammars whereas the terms such as *atīta*, *anāgata* and *paccuppanna*, seem to be taken over from the Pali literature.

¹ "The verbal case endings denoted by the terms *bhavīsyanti*, *āśīh* and *śvastani* are added after a verbal root referring a future action."

Miscellaneous Terms

I. abbhāsa

A.

Abbhāsa (Skt. *Abhyāsa*) is derived from the root *as* preceded by *abhi* meaning ‘to throw towards, repeat’ and means ‘repetition’.¹ It seems that this meaning was lost to the Pali commentators. Note that the Kacc-Vṇ explains the term *abbhāsa* as: *atirekūṇa kuttā bhāstīyatī ti abbhāso* / (Kacc-Vṇ 461)

"It is uttered exceedingly. Thus, it is called *abbhāsa*."

Abbhāsa has no history in the Pali literature. It is quite conspicuous that the Pali grammarians have borrowed it from their Sanskrit counterparts.

K and Agg define *abbhāsa* in an identical fashion as: *pubbobbhāso* / (Kacc 461, Sadd 940)

"The technical term *abbhāsa* denotes the initial portion of the reduplicated root."²

This definition of K and Agg agrees verbatim with the definition of P and Kt. Cf. *pūrvo'bhyāsuh* (P 6.1.4, Kt 3.3.4). Following the footsteps of C, Mogg uses *dvitte pubbo* for *abbhāsa*. Thus, for *abbhāse vattamānassa sarassa russo hoti* (Kacc-Vu 462), MVu has *dvitte pubbassa saro russo hoti*. (MVu 5.74)

B.

As said before, in Sanskrit, the literal meaning of the term *abhyāsa* is ‘repetition’. In this sense, it is also used in the Ast’s

¹ *anabhyāsam eke* / (ĀŚS 3.1.11)

² *dvebhūtassa dhātussa yo pubbo so abbhāsasañño hoti* / (Kacc-Vu 461, Sadd 940)

rule *mithyopapadāt kṛñō'bhyāse* (P 1.3.71). Commenting on the term *abhyāsa*, the Kāśikā says:

"*Abhyāsa* means doing again and again, i.e. repetition".¹

From this, it easily passes on to its technical sense of 'reduplication', which is first found in the Nir:

"*Kakṣuh* (armpit) is derived from (the root) *gāh* (to plunge into) with the suffix *ksa*, or from *khyā* (to make known) with redundant reduplication."²

In the Ast, the term *abhyāsa* is restricted to the initial reduplicated portion of the root: *pūrvo'bhyāsuh* (P 6.1.4). Śarva uses the term in exactly the same sense. Cf. Kt 3.3.4: *pūrvo'bhyāsuh* / For *abhyāsa*, C uses *dvitve pūrvah*. Cf. *dvitve pūrvasyāsume* (CV 5.3.84) corresponding to P's *abhyāsasyāsavarnē* (P 6.4.78).

C.

The usage of the term *abbhāsa* is limited to the Pali grammatical literature. The Pali grammarians have borrowed this term from Sanskrit. In this case, K and Agg have followed P and Śarva. Mogg, on the other hand, has followed C and has avoided its use.

2. *upapada*

A.

Upapada literally means 'near a word, a word standing near (another word), a word preceding or following'. In this connection, it should be noted that this term is also borrowed from the Sanskrit grammars. K and Agg have used the term in its literal sense of

¹ *ubhyāsuh punah punah karuṇam, āvṛttih /*

² *kakṣo gāhateḥ, ksa iti nāmakaraṇah, khyāter vā'narthako'bhyāsah /* (Nir 2.2)

'near a word'.¹ This would be clear from Agg's explanation of the rule Sadd 682: *upapade dhātumayānam niccam sumāso*. The commentary runs as follows:

"The primary derivatives that are standing near to another noun are always compounded with it".²

Though the term is missing in the rules of MV, it is used at MVu 3.10: *vuttidevopapadasamāse*. Besides this, the Pali grammarians have also made use of the word *yoga* instead of *upapada*. Cf. e.g., *māyoge sabbakāle ca* (Kacc 422), *mutantare māyoge hiyyattan'-ujatani-pañcamiyo sabbakāle* (Sadd 891), *māyoge ī ā ādi* (MV 6.13).

B.

P has used the term *upapada* in its general as well as special sense. At P 1.3.71: *mithyopapadāt kr̄no'bhyāse*, *upapada* is used in the sense of 'near a word' whereas in *upapadam atīn* (P 2.2.19), it denotes a word in the locative in the rules of the Aṣṭ. In this sense, *upapada* is defined as: *tutropupadām saptamīsthām* / (P 3.1.92)

"There, the technical term *upapada* denotes a form ending in the seventh *sup* triplet."

In the expression *upapadavibhakti*, *upapada* denotes a syntactically connected individual noun and the expression *upapadavibhakti* means case endings governed by syntactically connected nouns.

Śarva follows P and defines *upapada* as: *saptamyuktam upapadām* / (Kt 4.2.2)

¹ Kacc 79, Kacc 389; Sadd 190, Sadd 682.

² *upapade ṛhitānam dhātumayānam padānam pubbapadehi sahu niccam sumāso hoti /*

"*Upapada* denotes a word in the locative [in the Kt's rules]."

Later grammarians generally avoid this word of four syllables, replacing it by *yoga*, *yukta*, etc.

C.

The Pali grammarians have used the term *upapada* in a more general sense compared to P and Śarva. Besides *upapada*, they have also used *yoga* to the same effect.

Observations

1. The Pali Atthakathās are full of occasional grammatical discussions. In course of these discussions, they have used a limited grammatical terminology. Though this terminology is limited, it shows traces of an indigenous Pali grammatical terminology different from that of Sanskrit. Few of these terms have also made their entry into the Pali grammars.
2. There are 52 terms, which are common to all the three Pali grammarians. There are 50 terms, which are common only to K and Agg. There are 6 terms, which are common only to Agg and Mogg.
3. There are 36 instances where Mogg uses a different term than the other two Pali grammarians. There are 15 terms in Agg's Sadd, and 3 in Mogg's MV, which are without their corresponding terms in the other two grammars.
4. Out of 102 terms used by K, 61 are common to Ast, 83 to Kt and 32 to CV.
5. Out of 127 terms used by Agg, 67 are common to Ast, 86 to Kt and 34 to CV.
6. Out of 100 terms used by Mogg, 45 are common to Ast, 46 to Kt and 56 to CV.
7. *Vuddhi* (Skt. *vṛddhi*) is the only term used by the Pali grammarians, which is similar in shape but different in sense as compared to the Sanskrit grammars. In Pali, it denotes the phonemes *ā*, *e* and *o* whereas in Sanskrit, it denotes vowels *ā*, *ai*, *au*, *ār* and *āl*. With regard to the term *savanna* (Skt. *savarṇa*), the Pali grammarians' usage of the term matches with that of Kt and not with that of P.
8. On a number of occasions, the Pali grammarians have used more than one technical term to convey the same idea, e.g.,

Mogg uses *saṃasa* and *ekattha* for a compound, Agg uses *lingu* and *pāṭipadika* for a stem, and K uses *okāsa* and *padesa* for the *adhikaraṇa kāraka*. Apart from these, sometimes they have used a single term to convey two distinct ideas, e.g., in Kacc and Sadd, the term *lingu* is sometimes used to denote a nominal stem whereas elsewhere it is used in the sense of a grammatical gender and in MV, *āgama*, which is generally used for the augments, is once used to denote the conjugational affixes. On some occasions, instead of a technical term, they have made use of the idea itself for which the technical term is used, e.g., in some rules they have used the technical term *ga*, which stands for a vocative singular suffix whereas in another rule they have used the term *ālapanekuvacana* itself. Such an inconsistency in use of the technical terms is definitely confusing for a student.

9. There are 15 terms in Kacc that are without parallel in the three Sanskrit grammars. They are: *anāgata*, *asabbudhātuka*, *ālapana*, *okāsa*, *kālātipatti*, *ga*, *ghu*, *jhu*, *niggahīta*, *pa*, *paccuppanna*, *la*, *vikāra*, *viparīta* and *visamyoga*. However, out of these, the terms such as *vikāra*, *viparīta*, *asabbudhātuka* and *kālātipatti* do occur in older works on the Sanskrit philology. The terms such as *anāgata*, *paccuppanna* and *ālapana* seem to have originated in the canonical literature. The term *niggahīta* probably comes from a source common to the Āṭṭhakathās and Kacc. The remaining seven terms, which include the five monosyllabic terms, *okāsa*, which denotes the locative case and *visamyoga* appear to be K's own innovations.
10. K and Agg have defined few terms, which actually do not serve any practical purpose in their grammars.
11. The terms *pubba* and *para* (Skt. *pūrvva* and *para*), which are not considered as technical terms by the other grammarians, are treated as technical terms by Agg.
12. Taking hint from Kt and Kacc, Agg has formulated two special terms viz. *paranayana* and *viyoga* to denote two distinct

grammatical operations of conjoining and disjoining the syllables in the context of a *sandhi*.

13. Agg has included a considerable number of terms from the Pali Āṭhakathās and the other traditional sources. These basically include the phonetic terminology such as *sithila*, *dhanita*, *uphuṭṭha* and *phuṭṭha* etc., the case terminology such as *paccattavacana* and *upayogavacana* etc. and the term denoting an adverb viz., *bhāvanapuṇṣaka*.
14. As many as 71 terms from P's Aṣṭ, which are also common to Kt with the sole exception of *ekasesu*, have got their way into the Pali grammars. Out of these,
 - a. There are 38 terms, which have their parallels in all the three Pali grammars. (See table 1).
 - b. There are 23 terms, which have their parallels only in Kacc, and Sadd. (See table 2).
 - c. There are three terms, which have their parallel only in Sadd and MV such as *adhikarāṇa*, *kāraka* and *laghu* / *lahu*.
 - d. There are three terms, which are only found in Sadd, viz. *payatana* / *prayatna*, *vacana*, and *prātipadika* / *pātipadika*.
 - e. There are four terms, which are only found in MV, viz. *bhūta*, *purokṣabhūta* / *parokkhabhūta*, *vartamāna* / *vattamāna*, *anadyatanabhūta* / *anajjutanabhūta*.
15. There are 86 terms in Kt, which have their parallels in the Pali grammars. Out of these,
 - a. There are 44 terms, which have their parallel in all the three Pali grammars. (See table 3).
 - b. There are 39 terms, which have their parallel only in Kacc and Sadd. (See table 4).
 - c. There are two terms, *vikarāṇa* and *laghu*, which have their parallels only in Sadd and MV.
 - d. The term *sandhi* is only found in Sadd.

16. There are 68 terms of CV, which have their parallel in the Pali grammars. Out of these
- 30 terms have their parallel in all the three Pali grammars. (See table 5).
 - There are only two terms, which are common only to Kacc and Sadd. They are *ekavacana* and *bahuvacana*.
 - Two terms *kāraka* and *laghu* have their parallel only in Sadd and MV.
 - 24 terms have their parallels only in MV. (See table 6).

Conclusions

- The Pali Atthakathās of Buddhaghosa, Buddhadatta and Dhammapāla show the existence of a limited indigenous Pali grammatical terminology different from that of Sanskrit.
- Near-about 80% of technical terms used by the Pali grammarians are taken over from the Sanskrit grammatical tradition. K's grammar actually presupposes the knowledge of the Sanskrit grammatical terminology. However, there are a few terms, which are taken over from the Atthakathās as well as from the canonical and the non-canonical literature.
- K's original contribution to the grammatical terminology is restricted to the five monosyllabic arbitrary terms such as *jha*, *la*, *pa*, *gha* and *ga* and the terms denoting the locative viz. *okāsa*, and simplification viz. *visamyoga*. Agg and Mogg, however, have not made any new contribution in this field.
- The fact that unlike some of the Sanskrit grammars such as Harināmāmṛta, the Pali grammarians did not use any such term, which is so to say related to their philosophy, shows the secular character of their grammatical terminology.

Table 1

Sr. No.	Pali grammars	Aṣṭ
1.	<i>Ādesa</i>	<i>Ādeśa</i>
2.	<i>Itthi</i>	<i>Strī</i>
3.	<i>Uttama</i>	<i>Uttama</i>
4.	<i>Upapada</i>	<i>Upapada</i>
5.	<i>Kattar</i>	<i>Kartr̥</i>
6.	<i>Kamma</i>	<i>Karman</i>
7.	<i>Karana</i>	<i>Karana</i>
8.	<i>Guru</i>	<i>Guru</i>
9.	<i>Catutthī</i>	<i>Caturthī</i>
10.	<i>Chatthī</i>	<i>Saṣṭhī</i>
11.	<i>Tatiyā</i>	<i>Tṛtīyā</i>
12.	<i>Dīgha</i>	<i>Dīrgha</i>
13.	<i>Dutīyā</i>	<i>Dvitiyā</i>
14.	<i>Dhātu</i>	<i>Dhātu</i>
15.	<i>Napumṣaka</i>	<i>Napumṣaka</i>
16.	<i>Nāma</i>	<i>Nāman</i>
17.	<i>Nipāta</i>	<i>Nipāta</i>

18.	<i>Paccaya</i>	<i>Pratyaya</i>
19.	<i>Pañcamī</i>	<i>Pañcamī</i>
20.	<i>Pathama</i>	<i>Prathama</i>
21.	<i>Pathamā</i>	<i>Prathamā</i>
22.	<i>Pada</i>	<i>Pada</i>
23.	<i>Para</i>	<i>Para</i>
24.	<i>Pubba</i>	<i>Pūrva</i>
25.	<i>Pum</i>	<i>Pum</i>
26.	<i>Bhāva</i>	<i>Bhāva</i>
27.	<i>Majjhima</i>	<i>Madhyama</i>
28.	<i>Rassa</i>	<i>Hrasva</i>
29.	<i>Liṅga</i>	<i>Liṅga</i>
30.	<i>Lopa</i>	<i>Lopa</i>
31.	<i>Vibhatti</i>	<i>Vibhakti</i>
32.	<i>Visesana</i>	<i>Viśeṣana</i>
33.	<i>Vuddhi</i>	<i>Vṛddhi</i>
34.	<i>Samyoga</i>	<i>Samyoga</i>
35.	<i>Sattamī</i>	<i>Saptamī</i>
36.	<i>Samāsa</i>	<i>Samāsa</i>
37.	<i>Sampadāna</i>	<i>Sampradāna</i>
38.	<i>Savanna</i>	<i>Sarvarṇa</i>

Table 2

Sr. No.	Kacc, Sadd	Aṣṭ
1.	<i>Attanopada</i>	<i>Ātmanepada</i>
2.	<i>Apādāna</i>	<i>Apādāna</i>
5.	<i>Abbhāsa</i>	<i>Abhyāsa</i>
3.	<i>Avyaya</i>	<i>Avyaya</i>
4.	<i>Avyayībhāva</i>	<i>Avyayībhāva</i>
6.	<i>Upadhā</i>	<i>Upadhā</i>
7.	<i>Upasagga</i>	<i>Upasarga</i>
8.	<i>Ekavacana</i>	<i>Ekavacana</i>
9.	<i>Ekaśesa</i>	<i>Ekaśesa</i>
10.	<i>Kammadhāraya</i>	<i>Karmadhāraya</i>
11.	<i>Kammappa- vacanīya</i>	<i>Karmapra- vacanīya</i>
12.	<i>Kicca</i>	<i>Kṛtya</i>
13.	<i>Kita, Kitaka</i>	<i>Kṛt</i>
14.	<i>Taddhita</i>	<i>Taddhita</i>
15.	<i>Tappurisa</i>	<i>Tatpuruṣa</i>
16.	<i>Digu</i>	<i>Dvigu</i>
17.	<i>Dvanda</i>	<i>Dvandva</i>

18.	<i>Nadī</i>	<i>Nadī</i>
19.	<i>Parassapada</i>	<i>Parasmaipada</i>
20.	<i>Bahubbīhi</i>	<i>Bahuvrīhi</i>
21.	<i>Bahuvacana</i>	<i>Bahuvacana</i>
22.	<i>Sabbadhātuka</i>	<i>Sārvadhātuka</i>
23.	<i>Sabbanāma</i>	<i>Sarvanāman</i>

Table 3

Sr. No.	Pali grammars	Kt
1.	<i>Akkhara</i>	<i>Akṣara</i>
2.	<i>Anubandha</i>	<i>Anubandha</i>
3.	<i>Āgama</i>	<i>Āgama</i>
4.	<i>Ādesa</i>	<i>Ādeśa</i>
5.	<i>Itthi</i>	<i>Strī</i>
6.	<i>Uttama</i>	<i>Uttama</i>
7.	<i>Upapada</i>	<i>Upapada</i>
8.	<i>Kattar</i>	<i>Kartr̥</i>
9.	<i>Kamma</i>	<i>Karman</i>
10.	<i>Karana</i>	<i>Karana</i>
11.	<i>Guru</i>	<i>Guru</i>
12.	<i>Catutthī</i>	<i>Caturthī</i>
13.	<i>Chatṭhī</i>	<i>Saṣṭhī</i>
14.	<i>Tatiyā</i>	<i>Tṛtīyā</i>
15.	<i>Dīgha</i>	<i>Dīrgha</i>
16.	<i>Dutiyā</i>	<i>Dvitiyā</i>
17.	<i>Dhātu</i>	<i>Dhātu</i>

18.	<i>Napuṁsaka</i>	<i>Napuṁsaka</i>
19.	<i>Nāma</i>	<i>Nāman</i>
20.	<i>Nipāta</i>	<i>Nipāta</i>
21.	<i>Paccaya</i>	<i>Pratyaya</i>
22.	<i>Pañcamī</i>	<i>Pañcamī</i>
23.	<i>Pathama</i>	<i>Prathama</i>
24.	<i>Pathamā</i>	<i>Prathamā</i>
25.	<i>Pada</i>	<i>Pada</i>
26.	<i>Para</i>	<i>Para</i>
27.	<i>Pubba</i>	<i>Pūrva</i>
28.	<i>Pum</i>	<i>Pum</i>
29.	<i>Bhāva</i>	<i>Bhāva</i>
30.	<i>Majjhima</i>	<i>Madhyama</i>
31.	<i>Rassa</i>	<i>Hrasva</i>
32.	<i>Lopa</i>	<i>Lopa</i>
33.	<i>Vagga</i>	<i>Varga</i>
34.	<i>Vanṇa</i>	<i>Varṇa</i>
35.	<i>Vibhatti</i>	<i>Vibhakti</i>
36.	<i>Visesana</i>	<i>Viśeṣaṇa</i>
37.	<i>Vuddhi</i>	<i>Vṛddhi</i>
38.	<i>Vyañjana</i>	<i>Vyañjana</i>

39.	<i>Samyoga</i>	<i>Samyoga</i>
40.	<i>Sattamī</i>	<i>Saptamī</i>
41.	<i>Samāsa</i>	<i>Samāsa</i>
42.	<i>Sampadāna</i>	<i>Sampradāna</i>
43.	<i>Sara</i>	<i>Svara</i>
44.	<i>Savanna</i>	<i>Savarna</i>

Table 4

Sr. No.	Kacc, Sadd	Kt
1.	<i>Aghosa</i>	<i>Aghoṣa</i>
2.	<i>Ajjatanī</i>	<i>Adyatanī</i>
3.	<i>Atīta</i>	<i>Atīta</i>
4.	<i>Attanopada</i>	<i>Ātmanepada</i>
5.	<i>Apādāna</i>	<i>Apādāna</i>
6.	<i>Abyaya</i>	<i>Avyaya</i>
7.	<i>Abyayībhāva</i>	<i>Avyayībhāva</i>
8.	<i>Abbhāsa</i>	<i>Abhyāsa</i>
9.	<i>Upadhā</i>	<i>Upadhā</i>
10.	<i>Upasagga</i>	<i>Upasarga</i>
11.	<i>Ekavacana</i>	<i>Ekavacana</i>
12.	<i>Kammadhāraya</i>	<i>Karma-dhāraya</i>
13.	<i>Kamma-ppavacanīya</i>	<i>Karma-pravacanīya</i>
14.	<i>Kārita</i>	<i>Kārita</i>
15.	<i>Kāla</i>	<i>Kāla</i>
16.	<i>Kālātipatti</i>	<i>Kriyātipatti</i>
17.	<i>Kicca</i>	<i>Kṛtya</i>
18.	<i>Kita, Kitaka</i>	<i>Kṛt</i>
19.	<i>Ghosa</i>	<i>Ghosa</i>

20.	<i>Taddhita</i>	<i>Taddhita</i>
21.	<i>Tappurisa</i>	<i>Tatpuruṣa</i>
22.	<i>Digu</i>	<i>Dvigu</i>
23.	<i>Dvanda</i>	<i>Dvandva</i>
24.	<i>Nadī</i>	<i>Nadī</i>
25.	<i>Pañcamī</i>	<i>Pañcamī</i>
26.	<i>Parassapada</i>	<i>Parasmaipada</i>
27.	<i>Parokkhā</i>	<i>Parokṣā</i>
28.	<i>Purisa</i>	<i>Puruṣa</i>
29.	<i>Bahubbīhi</i>	<i>Bahuvrīhi</i>
30.	<i>Bahuvacana</i>	<i>Bahuvacana</i>
31.	<i>Bhavissantī</i>	<i>Bhaviṣyantī</i>
32.	<i>Liṅga, Sadda</i>	<i>Liṅga</i>
33.	<i>Vattamānā</i>	<i>Vartamānā</i>
34.	<i>Vipariyāya</i>	<i>Viparyaya</i>
35.	<i>Sattamī</i>	<i>Saptamī</i>
36.	<i>Sabbadhātuka</i>	<i>Sārvadhātuka</i>
37.	<i>Sabbanāma</i>	<i>Sarvanāman</i>
38.	<i>Sāmi</i>	<i>Svāmyādi</i>
39.	<i>Hiyattanī</i>	<i>Hyastanī</i>

Table 5

Sr. No.	Pali grammars	CV
1.	<i>Ādesa</i>	<i>Ādeśa</i>
2.	<i>Itthi</i>	<i>Strī</i>
3.	<i>Uttama</i>	<i>Uttamatrayam</i>
4.	<i>Kattar</i>	<i>Karṭr</i>
5.	<i>Karāṇa</i>	<i>Karāṇa</i>
6.	<i>Garu</i>	<i>Guru</i>
7.	<i>Catutthī</i>	<i>Caturthī</i>
8.	<i>Chatthī</i>	<i>Sasthī</i>
9.	<i>Tatiyā</i>	<i>Tṛtiyā</i>
10.	<i>Dīgha</i>	<i>Dīrgha</i>
11.	<i>Dutīyā</i>	<i>Dvitīyā</i>
12.	<i>Napumsaka</i>	<i>Napumsaka</i>
13.	<i>Paccaya</i>	<i>Pratyaya</i>
14.	<i>Pañcamī</i>	<i>Pañcamī</i>
15.	<i>Pathamā</i>	<i>Prathamā</i>
16.	<i>Pada</i>	<i>Pada</i>
17.	<i>Para</i>	<i>Para</i>

18.	<i>Pubba</i>	<i>Pūrva</i>
19.	<i>Pum</i>	<i>Pum</i>
20.	<i>Bhāva</i>	<i>Bhāva</i>
21.	<i>Majjhima</i>	<i>Madhyamatrayam</i>
22.	<i>Rassa</i>	<i>Hrasva</i>
23.	<i>Lopa</i>	<i>Lopa</i>
24.	<i>Vagga</i>	<i>Varga</i>
25.	<i>Vibhatti</i>	<i>Vibhakti</i>
26.	<i>Visesana</i>	<i>Viśeṣana</i>
27.	<i>Samyoga</i>	<i>Samyoga</i>
28.	<i>Sattamī</i>	<i>Saptamī</i>
29.	<i>Samāsa</i>	<i>Samāsa</i>
30.	<i>Sampadāna</i>	<i>Sampradāna</i>

Table 6

Sr. No.	MV	CV
1.	<i>Aññattha</i>	<i>Anyārtha</i>
2.	<i>Anajjatana bhūta</i>	<i>Anadyatana bhūta</i>
3.	<i>Antassarādi</i>	<i>Antyajādi</i>
4.	<i>Avadhi</i>	<i>Avadhi</i>
5.	<i>Asaṅkhyya</i>	<i>Asaṅkhyya</i>
6.	<i>Asaṅkhyattha</i>	<i>Asaṅkhyārtha</i>
7.	<i>Ādhāra</i>	<i>Ādhāra</i>
8.	<i>Upanta</i>	<i>Upānta</i>
9.	<i>Ekattha</i>	<i>Ekārtha</i>
10.	<i>Kiriyattha</i>	<i>Kriyārtha</i>
11.	<i>Cāttha</i>	<i>Cārtha</i>
12.	<i>Cādi</i>	<i>Cavādi</i>
13.	<i>Tabbādi</i>	<i>Tavyādi-sat</i>
14.	<i>Dvitte pubba</i>	<i>Dvitve pūrva</i>
15.	<i>Parokkhabhūta</i>	<i>Parokṣabhūta</i>
16.	<i>Pādi</i>	<i>Prādi</i>

17.	<i>Bahu</i>	<i>Bahuvacana</i>
18.	<i>Bhūta</i>	<i>Bhūta</i>
19.	<i>Vattamāna</i>	<i>Vartamāna</i>
20.	<i>Samkhyādi</i>	<i>Samkhyādi</i>
21.	<i>Subbādi</i>	<i>Sarvādi</i>
22.	<i>Sambandha</i>	<i>Sambandha</i>
23.	<i>Samāsanta</i>	<i>Samāsānta</i>

Chapter Three

Comparative Analysis of the Technique of the Pali and the Sanskrit Grammarians

Aim and Nature

As is proposed in the first chapter, the emergence of an indigenous Pali grammar was probably prompted by a need to prepare a textbook for the monastic community to teach the broad features of Pali in the simplest possible way. Śarva's Kt was the best model of such a type of grammar before the compilers of the Kacc. Thus, the Kacc was composed in such a way as would meet the requirements of its students. The rules were arranged according to their topics. A section dealing with *sandhi* is given at the beginning. The technical terms used in a particular chapter are generally given at its beginning. Each section is composed in such a way as would form an independent unit. Thus, if students are interested in learning only a particular section such as nominal inflection or compounds or verbal inflection, they do not have to go through the complete text as in the case of the students of the Aṣṭ or the CV. Later grammarians such as Agg and Mogg have also followed the same pattern in their treatises. Thus, the nature of the Pali grammars is more like a guiding manual.

The basic aim of the Aṣṭ is to recapitulate essentials of the Sanskrit grammar and to present them in the most succinct form in order to facilitate memorization rather than to teach Sanskrit grammar in a simple, easy manner. The rules of the Aṣṭ are interdependent in such a way that any rule of the Aṣṭ presupposes knowledge of the rest of the Aṣṭ. This interdependence of the sūtras in the Aṣṭ makes impossible a gradual understanding of the Aṣṭ. Thus, the form of the Aṣṭ is not that of a students' textbook on the Sanskrit grammar but that of a highly sophisticated digest

meant for those alone who are proficient not only in Sanskrit language but also in its grammar.

Arrangement

The Pali grammarians have followed the traditional topic-wise arrangement of the rules as used in the Kt. All the three grammars begin with a list of alphabets followed by a section on the technical terms and the operational rules. The rest of their grammar can be divided into two parts. The first part deals with the nominal derivatives whereas the second part deals with the verbal derivatives. The sequence of topics followed in the Kacc and the Sadd is exactly identical with that of the Kt.¹

Although Mogg has accepted the basic structure of the Kacc, he has introduced some changes in the sequence of some sub-topics. In his grammar, sections dealing with *kārakas* and *vibhattis* are shifted before the section on the nominal inflection. This appears to be a more logical arrangement. The section on primary derivatives is shifted before the verbal inflection. It seems that the change in the sequence of the section dealing with the primary derivatives and the one dealing with the verbal derivatives is prompted by the arrangement of the Aṣṭ and the CV.² Thus, the Pali grammarians have arranged their texts according to the various grammatical categories such as compounds, primary derivatives, secondary derivatives etc.

As is said before, grammars of P and C are governed by the two main principles of *anuvṛtti* and *vipratisedha*. These grammarians have also followed the topic-wise arrangement wherever it does not violate these two principles. Modern scholars have classified these grammars into two main sections viz. analytical and synthetic. The analytical part, which forms the core

¹ Refer the schemes of these grammars given in the first chapter.

² For details, cp. the schemes of these grammars.

of these grammars, analyses the language into some basic elements such as morphemes. In the synthetic part, there are rules, which are helpful in deriving words from morphemes and sentences from words. Thus, P and C have laid more emphasis on the derivational procedure.

The Manner of Description: General and Particular Rules

It is quite well known that P has adopted the technique of generalization and particularization to compose his grammar. He developed it to such perfection that he could describe a large number of linguistic facts in the shortest possible manner. Cf. *kiñcit sāmānyavīśesaval lakṣaṇam pravartyam̄ yenālpena yatnena mahato mahataḥ śabdaughān pratipadyeran* (Mbh I.6). This most scientific method of the language description was later adopted by all the systems of grammar.

The Pali grammarians have also described all the grammatical phenomena in terms of generalization and particularization. Cp. e.g., *vā nappacce* (Kacc 346) and *nāyana-nāna vacchādito* (Kacc 347). Out of these, *vā napacce* is a general rule. It teaches: "the suffix *na* is to be added after any noun in the sense of 'an offspring'". Kacc 347 is a particular rule. It teaches: "the suffixes *nāyana* and *nāna* are to be added after the words from the class of nouns beginning with *vaccha*".

There is no doubt that the Pali grammarians have borrowed this scheme of general (*utsarga*) and particular (*apavāda*) rules from their Sanskrit counterparts. However, it should be mentioned that while describing compounds and syntactic relations, they have formulated rules describing the general facts rather than the particular cases. On the other hand, while describing the morphophonemic changes, K and Agg have formulated separate rules for individual cases even when generalizations were possible, e.g., the morphophonemic changes taught in rules Kacc 579-581 were explained by Mogg using one general rule viz. MV 5.95.

Thus, although the Pali grammarians have followed the same manner of description, by way of general and particular rules, their level of generalizations is not as high as that of P.

The Sūtra Style

The *sūtra* style of composition represents a genre belonging to the ancient Indian literature. A *sūtra* is a short but precise statement capable of expressing the complete meaning in a condensed form.

A Pāṇinian *sūtra* is regarded as a perfect model of the *sūtra* type of composition. Brevity leading to the most condensed formation is the soul of P's *sūtra* style. Secondly, as already stated by Faddegon, P's grammar, like other *sūtra* works, is composed for scholars and teachers thoroughly acquainted with the subject and not for students who do not know anything. Lastly, the *sūtras* being basically meant for memorization, they are given as a continuous text (*samhitāpāṭha*).

The Pali grammarians have also adopted the *sūtra* style of composition in their grammars. L. N. Tiwari (1962: 443-451) has shown that around 215 rules of the Kt and around 300 of the Aṣṭ (including the overlap with the Kt) are reproduced in the Kacc with necessary alterations. Still, there are more than half of the Kacc's rules that are without parallel in Sanskrit and therefore, can be treated as original ones. Here it should be noted that although a number of rules from the Kacc correspond to the rules of the Aṣṭ, it generally follows the descriptive style of the Kt.

Like the Kt, many of the rules of the Kacc are not composed in a compressed *sūtra* style of P. At the same time, K has not followed the *kārikā* style of composition found in the *saṃśaya* and the *taddhita* section of the Kt. Cp.:

*syātām yadi pade dve tu yadi vā syur bahūny api /
tāny anyasya padasyārthe bahuvrīhiḥ //*(Kt 2.5.9).
aññapadatthesu bahubbīhi (Kacc 330).

vibhaktisamjñā vijñeyā vaksyante’tah param tu ye... (Kt 2.6.24).

tvādayo vibhattisaññāyo (Kacc 249).

Agg's Sadd, which is basically modeled on the Kacc and the Kacc-Vu, is more elaborate and prolific. In the Sadd, we come across two types of rules viz. the rules that are composed in a *sūtra* style and the rules that are composed in the commentarial style using the sentence format. Cp. e.g., *yam ivanno na vā* "the phoneme *i* rarely transforms into *y* before a vowel" (Sadd 51), and *kvaci sare vyañjane vā odantānam nāmānam akārantattam pakati* (Sadd 163).

In the matter of rule formation, Mogg follows the pattern of P and C's grammars. Many of C's rules are even reproduced *verbatim* by Mogg. However, the influence of the Kacc and the Kt on the sections dealing with the technical terms, *sandhi*, and nominal inflections is beyond doubt. Although Mogg has not made use of the *pratyāhāras*, he has used other technical devices of P and C such as use of the indicator letters, etc. He has also adopted the Pāṇinian technique of compressing more than one statement into a single rule with a greater efficiency than K and Agg, e.g., *tavaggavarāñānam ye cavaggabayañā* (MV 1.48).

In the Kacc, words are arranged in such a way that there would not be any possibility for such a *sandhi*, which could make the meaning ambiguous. Agg has a tendency of making the statements still clearer by supplying additional expressions. Mogg on the other hand, composes rules in such a way that would lead to more condensed expressions. This can be well illustrated by a rule from each of these grammars teaching the technical term *gha* for all the feminine nouns ending in the phoneme *ā*: *ā gho* (Kacc 60), *ākāro gho* (Sadd 207), and *ghā* (MV 1.11). Thus, the clarity of expression is the soul of K and Agg's *sūtra* style. On the other hand, Mogg has given an equal importance to brevity as well as clarity.

To sum up, it can be said that on account of following the more traditional unsophisticated way of the *sūtra* formation, the *suttas* of the Pali grammarians have not become as compressed as P's. Consequently, they are simpler and less cryptic than those of P.

Rule Formations

As any other *sūtra* of grammar, the *suttas* of the Pali grammar are constituted by a subject, a predicate and a condition in the form of a preceding or a following item or a reference to meaning. Each rule is a sentence with a single clause. The basic format of such rules is 'X is Y in the environment Z', e.g., *harassa* (Subject) *gim* (predicate) *se* (environment) "*gim* is substituted in the place of the latter form of the duplicated root *hara* before the suffix *sa*" (Kacc 476). The general method followed by K and Agg in the formulation of grammatical rules is that the morphophonemic changes are taught by means of an accusative and the general formulae of such rules is 'X-nom. is substituted by Y-acc'. Cf. for example, *ivanno yanna vā* "the phoneme *i* rarely transforms into *y* before a vowel" (Kacc 21), *sarā sare lopam* "a vowel is elided before a vowel" (Kacc 12); *yam ivanno na vā* "the phoneme *i* rarely transforms into *y* before a vowel" (Sadd 51), and *sarā lopam papponti sare* "vowels are elided before vowels" (Sadd 30). In case of other rules of substitution, these formulas are changed to 'X-gen. is substituted by Y-nom'. Cf. for instance: *kvaci pati patissa* "Sometimes *pati* is substituted by *pati* before a vowel or a consonant" (Kacc 48), *kvaci sare vyañjane vā pati patissa* "Sometimes *pati* is substituted by *pati* before a vowel or a consonant" (Sadd 137), *ghapato ca yonam lopo* "The suffix *yo* of the nominative and the accusative is elided after nominal stems denoted by *gha, pa, jha* and *la*" (Kacc 118), *ghapato ca yonam lutti* "The elision of the suffix *yo* of the nominative and the accusative takes place after nominal stems denoted by *gha, pa, jha* and *la*" (Sadd 293). It seems that this dual format was adopted from the Kt. Cp.: *ivarṇo yam asavarṇe na ca paro lopyah* "The phoneme *i* is substituted by *y-* before a non-homophonous phoneme and the

following phoneme is not to be elided" (Kt 1.2.8), *vam uvarnah* "The phoneme *u* is substituted by *v-* before a non-homophonous phoneme and the following phoneme is not to be elided" etc. (Kt 1.2.9) ('X-nom. is replaced by Y-acc.); *hrasvo'mbārthānām* "The final phoneme of the nominal stems meaning 'the mother' and those designated as *śraddhā* is elided before the vocative singular suffix (*sambuddhi*)" (Kt 2.1.40), *kates̄ ca jassasor luk* "The suffixes *jas* and *śas* are elided after the numeral *kati* and those ending in *sa* and *na*" ('X-Gen. is replaced by Y-Nom.') (Kt 2.1.76). However, in some cases, such changes are taught even by juxtaposing the two elements, e.g. *thā tit̄tho* "The verbal root *thā* is optionally substituted by *tit̄tha*" (Kacc 470). In a few cases, the substituend and the substituendum are simply juxtaposed in the nominative, e.g., *abbho abhi* "abhi is substituted by *abbh* before a vowel" (Kacc 44).

In the MV, we come across two tendencies in the formulation of rules. As in the Aṣṭ and the CV, the substitution of an entire item or its final element is taught by means of a genitive. The formula of such rules is 'X-gen. is substituted by Y-nom.', e.g., *yuvannāname o luttā* "After an elided vowel, the phonemes *i* and *u* are optionally substituted by *e* and *o* respectively" (MV 1.29), and *yo nam ni* "After a nominal stem ending in the phoneme *a*, the suffix *yo* of the nominative and the accusative is substituted by *ni* in the case of a neuter gender" (MV 2.114). However, in the first chapter, there are four rules where this formula has been changed to 'X-nom. is substituted by Y-nom.'. Cp. for instance: *saro lopo sare sare* "a vowel is to be elided before a vowel" (MV 1.26), *paro kvaci* "A vowel is sometimes elided after a vowel" (MV 1.27) and *na dve vā* "Sometimes both preceding and following vowels are not elided" (MV 1.28). Note that *lopo* is continued in 1.27 and 1.28 by ellipsis. MVu explains these rules by resorting to the passive construction. Cp. for instance: *sare saro lopanīyo hoti* (MVu 1.26), *saramhā paro saro kvaci lopanīyo hoti* (MVu 1.27) and *pubbaparasarā dvepi vā kvaci na lupyante* (MVu 1.28). *lopo* "Sometimes, the nasal is elided" (MV 1.39) teaches elision of a *niggahīta*. *Niggahītam* (nt. nom. sg.) is continued in this rule by

ellipsis. MVu, however, explains this rule by transforming *niggahītam* into *niggahītassa* (gen. sg.): *niggahītassa lopo hoti vā kvaci*.

Like most of the rules of the Ast̄, each rule of the Pali grammarians is a simple sentence containing one statement, e.g. *harassa gim se* "gim is substituted in the place of the latter form of the duplicated root *hara* before the suffix *sa*" (Kacc 476); *sadassa sīdo* "Sometimes, the verbal root *sada* is substituted by *sīda*" (Sadd 1213) and *hanassa ghāto ḥānubandhe* "*hana* is substituted by *ghāta* before the suffix having an indicatory letter *ṇa*" (MV 5.99). However, occasionally, as P does, many statements are compressed into one statement when the items contained in the statements are of a homogeneous nature, e.g., *mahadabhehi mmayhajjabbhaddhā ca* "After the verbal roots ending in *ma*, *ha*, *da* and *bha*, the initial phoneme of the suffixes *tūna* etc. is optionally substituted by *mma*, *yha*, *jja*, *bbha* and *ddha* and the final phoneme of the verbal root is elided" (Kacc 602), *ma-ha-da-bhehi mma-yha-jja-bbha-ddhā ca* "After the verbal roots ending in *ma*, *ha*, *da* and *bha*, the initial phoneme of the suffixes *tūna* etc. is optionally substituted by *mma*, *yha*, *jja*, *bbha* and *ddha* and the final phoneme of the verbal root is elided" (Sadd 1205), *tavaggavarāṇāñām ye cavaggabayañā* "The phonemes of the *t*-class, *v*, *r* and *ṇ* are substituted respectively by the phonemes of the *c*-class, *b*, *y* and *ñ* before the phoneme *y'*" (MV 1.48). Cp. *iko yaṇ aci* (P 6.1.77), which contains four statements: '*i* becomes *y'* etc. In this rule, four statements are compressed into one single statement. The number of compressed statements used by K and Agg is, however, smaller than those used by Mogg. Thus, some phonetic changes, which are taught by K and Agg in a number of rules, are put together by Mogg in one or two rules in a more compressed form, for instance, the changes taught by Kacc 19, 44, 45, 271, 443, 445, etc., Sadd 46, 104-110 are taught by MV 1.48, 1.49. On two occasions, Mogg has divided a single rule of the Kacc into two in order to indicate a special status of the concerned item, e.g., K's rule *sabbato ḥvutvāvī vā* (Kacc 529), which teaches three suffixes, *ṇvu*, *tu* and *āvī*, in the sense of an agent, is divided

by Mogg in two rules: *kattari Itunakā* (MV 5.33) and *āvī* (MV 5.34). Mogg's intention behind this division is to indicate the limited scope of the suffix *āvī* as compared to the other two.¹

Nominal Style

The *suttas* of the Pali grammars are mostly composed in the nominal style. In this type of composition, the helping verb is either missing or is to be supplied from outside, e.g., *saro lopo sare sare* "a vowel is to be elided before a vowel" (MV 1.26). In this case, Mogg has used a nominal form *lopo* instead of *lupyate*. The corresponding rule of the Kacc is *sarā sare lopam* "a vowel is elided before a vowel" (Kacc 12). Here, one has to supply a helping verb *papponti* to get a complete sentence:

*sarā kho sabbe pi sare pare lopam papponti*² (Kacc-Vu 12).

Among the Pali grammarians, Mogg is a meticulous follower of this style with the sole exception of MV 4.120: *dissataññepi paccayā*.³ K and Agg have, however, made occasional use of a finite verbal form⁴ e.g., *viyojaye*, *naye*, *sijhanti*, *thapeyya*, *papponti*, *nipaccate*, etc. Such grammatical aphorisms are more like a statement than a traditional *sutta*.

The nominal style is the prominent feature of P's rules. The only finite verb found in P's metalanguage is *drśyate* / *drśyante*. C has followed P in this respect. Though Šarva also follows the nominal style in rule formations, on a number of occasions, his rules appear like sentences as they involve some helping verb, e.g., *sadyāādyā nipātyante* (Kt 2.6.37), *idamkimbhyaṁ thamuḥ kāryaḥ* (Kt 2.6.39) etc.

¹ *appavisayatāññapanattham bhinnayogakaraṇam* (MVu 5.34).

² "All vowels preceding another vowel attain elision".

³ "A vowel preceding another vowel is elided".

⁴ Cf. e.g., Kacc 10, 11, 393; Sadd 28-30, 830, 849 etc.

To sum up, although the Pali grammarians have generally followed the nominal style in the formulation of rules, K and Agg have used more number of verbal forms than Mogg. Thus, in this regard, their style is more like Śarva than that of P.

Meta-language

The metalinguistic use of an ablative, a genitive and a locative, which originated in P's grammar, is retained in the Pali grammars. Here too, the genitive indicates the actual place for the grammatical operation, e.g., *harassa gim se* "gim is substituted in the place of the latter form of the duplicated root *hara* before the suffix *sa*" (Kacc 476), *jiharānam gim* "gim is substituted in the place of the latter form of the duplicated roots *ji* and *hara* (before the suffix *sa*)" (MV 5.102). Note that sometimes the nominative also performs the same function in the Kacc and the Sadd, e.g., *ivano yam na vā* "the phoneme *i* rarely transforms into *y* before a vowel" (Kacc 21). A locative denotes operations applying to what precedes, e.g., *sarā sare lopam* "a vowel is elided before a vowel" (Kacc 12), *sarā lopam papponti sare* "vowels are elided before vowels" (Sadd 30), *saro lopo sare* "a vowel is to be elided before a vowel" (MV 1.26) and an ablative denotes operations that apply to what follows, e.g., *karato ririyo* "an affix *ririya* is introduced after the verbal root *kar*" (Kacc 556), *karā ririyo* "the suffix *ririya* is added after the verbal root *kar*" (MV 5.51). Apart from this, a locative is also used to express the meaning condition of a particular grammatical operation, e.g. *vā nappacce* "the suffix *na* is optionally added to a noun in the sense of 'his or her offspring'" (Kacc 346), *no vāpacce* "the suffix *na* is optionally added to a noun in the sense of 'his or her offspring'" (MV 4.1). In this connection, it should be noted that in the Aṣṭ's *taddhita* section, the meaning items are often given in a nominative, but in rules such as *tasya pūrane dat* (P 5.2.48), it is mentioned in a locative. The Pali grammarians have also followed a similar trend in this regard.

The Pāṇinian practice of mentioning the syntactically adjacent word (*upapada*) in a locative is also followed by K and Agg, e.g. *dhātuyā kammādimhi ṇo* "an affix *ṇa* is introduced after a verbal root co-occurring with a noun denoting a direct object" (Kacc 526); *kammādimhi dhātuto ṇo* "an affix *ṇa* is introduced after a verbal root co-occurring with a noun denoting a direct object" (Sadd 1106). Cp. *karmany aṇ* (P 3.2.1). However, this practice is not consistently followed by them, as in *īsadussūhi kha bhāvakammesu* "an affix *kha* is introduced after any verbal root occurring after the words *isa*, *du* or *su* in the sense of an impersonal action or any syntactic relation known as *kāraka*" (Kacc 562) and *īsa-du-suto kho bhāvakammesu* "an affix *kha* is introduced after any verbal root occurring after the words *isa*, *du* or *su* in the sense of an impersonal action or any syntactic relation known as *kāraka*" (Sadd 1147), an *upapada* is mentioned in an ablative. Cp.: *īsad-dussu kṛcchrākṛcchārthesu khal* (P 3.3.126). In Mogg's grammar, an *upapada* is not mentioned with a locative. It is simply treated as any other preceding word and is thus mentioned in the ablative, e.g. *kamma* "an affix *ku* is introduced after the verbal root *tā* occurring after a noun denoting a direct object" (MV 5.40). Mogg here seems to follow C who also mentions the *upapada* in an ablative. Cf. *vyāpyād aṇ* (CV 1.2.1).¹ Here it should be noted that sometimes the Pali grammarians have used the word *yoge* "in association with" to indicate an *upapada*. Cf. *māyoge sabbakāle ca* "the verbal case terminations of simple past or aorist are introduced after a verbal root denoting an action belonging to any tense when there is a syntactic association with the preventive particle *mā*" (Kacc 422); *māyogatthāne tā pāyena ca* "the verbal case terminations of simple past or aorist are usually introduced after a verbal root denoting an action belonging to any tense when there is a syntactic association with the preventive particle *mā*" (Sadd 888); *māyoge ī ā ādi* "the verbal case

¹ This is C's rule for P's *karmany aṇ*.

terminations *ī* etc. or *ā* etc. of simple past or aorist are introduced after a verbal root when there is a syntactic association with the preventive particle *mā*" (MV 6.13). Cp. *māñi lūri* "(The *I*-substitutes of) *lūri* (Aorist) are introduced [after a verbal stem] co-occurring with the preventive particle *māñi*" (P 3.3.175). The Pali grammarians' usage of the instrumental is rather conventional than technical. It is generally used in its ordinary sense of 'with', e.g., *dhātunāmānamupasaggayogādisvapi ca* "When there is a syntactic relation with a verbal root or a noun as well as with the prefix etc. that *kāraka* is called *apādāna*" (Kacc 274), *vajjanatthāpapariyoye* "When there is a syntactic relation with *apa* and *pari*, conveying the sense of avoiding that *kāraka* is called *apādāna*" (Sadd 560), *apaparīhi vajjane* "The ablative case terminations are introduced after a noun when it is syntactically related with *apa* and *pari* conveying the sense of avoiding" (MV 2.29), *anuna* "the accusative case terminations are introduced after a nominal stem when there is a syntactic association with a particle *anu* indicating 'characteristic', 'statement of fact', 'division' and 'distributive function'" (MV 2.12).

Although K and Agg follow the meta-linguistic usage of the cases, they have not formulated rules specifying the function of each of these cases. Mogg on the other hand has explained it in rules: *sattamiyam pubbassa* "a grammatical operation taught with the word in locative applies to what precedes" (MV 1.14),¹ *pañcamiyam parassa* "a grammatical operation taught with the word in ablative applies to what follows" (MV 1.15)² and *chatthiyantassa* "a grammatical operation taught with the word in genitive applies to its final phoneme" (MV 1.17).³ Mogg is very consistent in the use of these cases. K and Agg on the other hand are not so meticulous in this regard.

¹ Cp. P 1.1.66, CV 1.1.7.

² Cp. P 1.1.67, CV 1.1.8.

³ Cp. P 1.1.49, CV 1.1.10.

Other Technical Devices

The main aim of any good grammar should be to explain in the most precise and brief manner as many linguistic facts as possible about that particular language. In order to achieve this goal, the grammarians have adopted several technical devices such as the use of the principle of ellipsis, section headings, use of indicatory letters etc. Some of the important technical devices adopted by the Pali grammarians are studied in the following section from a comparative point of view.

Ellipsis

The principle of ellipsis is the common feature of both the ordinary as well as the scientific language. Its functioning consists in the completion of an incomplete sentence with the help of relevant words borrowed from the earlier context.

The principle of ellipsis is the most prominent feature of the Pāṇinian *sūtra* style. Even though some other *sūtra* works also follow the principle of ellipsis, the most methodical and accurate implementation of the conventions of ellipsis is found for the first time in the *Aṣṭ*.

The Pali grammarians have followed the principle of ellipsis within each section of their grammar as in the *Aṣṭ*. However, the precision and accuracy with which it is used in P's *Aṣṭ*, is lacking in the Kacc. Though Agg has tried to remove some of these lapses by supplying additional words, still there are a number of occasions where the principle of ellipsis is violated. In such cases, it is difficult to understand the exact meaning of a particular rule without the help of the commentary. For instance, *sarā pakati byañjane* (Kacc 23) teaches a non-sandhi in the case of a vowel followed by a consonant. In the next rule *sare kvaci*, which teaches the non-sandhi of a vowel followed by another vowel, the word *byañjane* is discontinued by the word *sare*. However, in *dīgham*

(Kacc 25), which teaches the lengthening of a vowel in front of a consonant, instead of continuing the word *sare*, the word *byañjane* is continued from Kacc 23. Agg improves upon Kacc 25 by adding the word *byañjane*. The parallel rule is Sadd reads: *sarā byañjane dīgham*. In the matter of using the principle of ellipsis, Mogg is more accurate than the other two Pali grammarians.

Section Headings (*Adhikāra*)

There has been a convention in Sanskrit grammar to give section headings at the beginning of each section. The section heading is traditionally known as an *adhikāra*. It sets forth the main topic of that section. It also serves as a separating line between the two sections. In this connection, it should be noted that the text of the Aṣṭ was originally handed down in a form of a continuous text and in such cases it was difficult to separate one topic from the other. Besides, *adhikāra* is an effective means of economy. It avoids repetition as the context denoted by it is automatically continued in all the subsequent rules of that section.

Just as the Sanskrit grammarians, the Pali grammarians have made use of the governing rules (*adhikārasuttas*) as section headings. Cf. e.g., Kacc 52¹, 53, 56, 415; Sadd 253, 309, 849; MV 1.58, 5.14, 5.106. In the MV, the scope of most of these rules is defined in the commentary. Cf. *ayamadhikāro yāva sāsassa sisve* (5.117) *ti* (MVu 5.106).

In Pali grammars, the number of such heading rules is smaller compared to that of the Aṣṭ. Some of the section headings of the Aṣṭ, such as *samhitāyām* etc. are totally discarded by the Pali grammarians. Some of the other section headings such as *pratyayah*, *paraś ca*, *nyāp prātipadikāt*, *dhātoḥ* etc. are incorporated by them into the main body of rules, e.g. *dhātulingehi*

¹ According to Kacc-Vṇ 52, this is a governing rule having a lion's gait: *sīhagatikādhikāro'yam*.

parāppaccayā (Kacc 434), *dhātulingānukaranehi paccayā* (Sadd 905). In Pali grammars, the section headings are not marked with any indicatory sign. Thus, one has to depend on the commentary to know whether a particular rule is a section heading or not.

P has used around 55 section headings throughout the Aṣṭ. The scope of some of these section headings is mentioned by him in the actual text¹ whereas in case of some other rules, it is delimited by the subsequent section headings.² However, in case of the remaining rules, it is decided by the commentators.³

In P's grammar, a section heading is marked by a *svarita* accent.⁴ This device of marking a section heading is, however, not used by the later grammarians like Sarva and C.

Technical Terminology

The type of technical terminology used by the Pali grammarians can be classified as self-explanatory and artificial or indigenous and borrowed. For instance, the terms such as *sabbanāma*, *paccaya*, etc. are self-explanatory whereas terms such as *jha*, *la* etc. are artificial. Terms such as *niggahīta*, *sithila* etc. are indigenous whereas the terms such as *ghosa*, *aghosa* are borrowed.

¹ Cf. e.g., *prāk kadārāt samāsaḥ* (P 2.1.3). "(The technical term) *samāsa* 'compound' denotes (all items resulting from the application of subsequent rules in this section) prior to (the *sūtra*: *kadārāḥ karmadhāraye* 2.2.38)".

² *avyayībhāvah* "(The technical term *avyayībhāva* (compound) denotes all items derived by the application of subsequent rules (up to 21) (P 2.1.5).

tatpuruṣaḥ "(The technical term) *tatpuruṣa* (compound) (denotes compounds formed by subsequent rules in the section beginning here and ending with 2.2.23)" (P 2.1.22).

³ *pratyayah* (P 3.1.1). Cf. *āpañcamādhyāyaparisamāpter yān ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmaḥ pratyayasamājnās te veditavyāḥ* (Kāśikā 3.1.1).

⁴ *svaritenādhikāraḥ* (P 1.3.11) : "Elements which are to serve as governing rules or section headings valid in the subsequent rules are marked with the *svarita* accent".

Apart from this, there are technical terms which are sample terms representing their own class such as *tappurisa*, *bahubbīhi* etc. The method of using such sample terms is very old. Many such terms can be found in the grammars of P and Śarva.

The Pali grammarians seem to be more in favour of those technical terms, which are well established and self-explanatory. Thus, they have used more familiar technical terms such as *akkhara*, *sara*, *vyañjana* etc. instead of their abbreviations such as *al*, *ac* and *hal* respectively as used by P and C. The use of the five artificial, monosyllabic technical terms to denote four inflectional classes of nominals and the vocative singular is, however, an exception. These terms have no parallel in any Sanskrit grammar. Similarly, other terms such as *sithila*, *dhanita*, *sambaddha*, *vavatthita*, *niggahīta*, etc., which are taken over from the Āṭṭhakathā literature, have no parallel in the Sanskrit grammatical tradition. Out of these, the terms *sithila*, *dhanita*, *sambaddha*, *vavatthita*, which are introduced and defined in the Sadd, serve no real purpose, as they are never employed in that grammar. The Pali grammarians have discarded some of the technical terms used in the Kt and the Asṭ such as *gati*, *antahstha*, *anunāsika*, either by subsuming them under wider categories or by representing the concept by means of some other devices. For instance, Mogg describes the *gati* compounds at MV 3.14-16 without actually using the term. The *anunāsikas* (nasals) are referred to as *vaggantas*, e.g. *vaggantam vā vagge* (Kacc 31); *vagge vagganto* (MV 1.41).

The technical terminology of K and Agg is influenced by the Kt. Following C, Mogg generally avoids the use of technical terms. Instead of using a technical term to denote a particular idea, he clearly mentions to the ideas themselves, e.g., *dvitte pubba* for *abbhāsa* and *antassarādi* for the Pāṇinian *ti*.

The main core of the technical terminology of the Pali grammarians is borrowed from their Sanskrit predecessors. Their innovation in this field is restricted to the creation of some

artificial monosyllabic terms to denote different classes of nominals and the vocative singular and introducing a limited Atthakathā terminology.

Rules of Interpretation

The operational rules or rules of interpretation provide a decoding mechanism for a grammatical text. Some of these rules give guidelines with regard to the meta-linguistic usage of a particular case. For example, P's rule *saṣṭhī sthāneyogā* (P 1.4.49) tells us that the genitive in P's grammar is to be interpreted as 'in the place of'. Among the Pali grammarians, only Mogg has provided such a decoding mechanism in his grammar. Cf. MV 1.14-15, 17. Though the cases like the ablative, the genitive and the locative perform a similar function in the Kacc and the Sadd, K and Agg have not laid down any rules regarding their interpretation. Due to the absence of such rules, sometimes K and Agg are forced to make explicit statements in place of a codified rule. This can be well illustrated with the help of the following rules teaching the substitution of *da* of *dasa* by *ra* after a numeral: *ekādito dasassa ra saṃkhyāne* "In the case of numerals, *da* of *dasa* is optionally substituted by *ra*" (Kacc 383), *ekādīhi vā dasassa dassa ro saṃkhyāne* "In the case of numerals, *da* of *dasa* is optionally substituted by *ra* after *eka* etc." (Sadd 812) and *ra saṃkhyāto vā* "After a numeral, the initial phoneme of *dasa* is optionally substituted by *ra*" (MV 3.103).

There are other operational rules, which specify the place of a particular grammatical element such as augments and substitutes. Just as P and C, Mogg has used indicatory letters for this purpose. For example, in Mogg's grammar, an augment with an indicatory letter *ñ* is placed before¹ and the one with an indicatory letter *k* is placed after a particular linguistic item to which it is prescribed.

¹ Note that P and C have used the indicatory letter *t* for the same purpose. Cf. P 1.1.46: *ādyantau takitau*, CV 1.1.13: *takitāv ādyantau*.

Cf. *ñakānubandhādyantā* (MV 1.20). Similarly, a substitute with an indicatory letter *ñi* only replaces the final syllable whereas a substitute with an indicatory letter *t* replaces the substituendum entirely.¹ Cf. *ñanubandho, tanubandhā-nekavaññā sabbassa* (MV 1.18-19).

K and Agg have not made any provision for indicating the exact place of an augment. The general practice in this regard is that an augment is to be placed before an item mentioned in the locative and after the one mentioned in the ablative. Only in a few cases, the exact place of an augment is mentioned explicitly in the rule, e.g., *rudhādito niggahītapubbañca* "An affix *a* is introduced after a class of verbal roots *rudha* etc. and a nasal is augmented before its final phoneme in front of the active verbal terminations" (Kacc 448), *rudhādito ca, majjhe niggahītam* "An affix *a* is introduced after a class of verbal roots *rudha* etc. and a nasal is augmented within the root in front of the active verbal terminations" (Sadd 926). In rest of the cases, one has to depend solely on the commentarial explanation or the knowledge of an existing usage.

Similarly, K and Agg have not used any technical device like indicatory letters to indicate a place of the substitute. In the Kacc and the Sadd, the word *sabba* is used to indicate that the substituendum is entirely replaced whereas the word *anta* is used to show that only the final syllable of a substituendum is replaced. Cf. e.g. *sabbo canti*² "The form *ti* is entirely substituted by *ca* before a vowel" (Kacc 19); and *ntussanto yosu ca* "The final phoneme of the affix *ntu* is substituted by *a* before the case terminations *su, hi, nam*, or *yo*" (Kacc 92). However, this usage has not been followed consistently. There are a large number of rules that are without these indicatory words e.g. *ntussa nto* "An affix *ntu* along with the

¹ P and C have used the indicator letter *s* for the same purpose. Cf. P 1.1.55: *anekālsit sarvasya*, CV 1.1.12: *śid anekāl sarvasya*.

² *sabbādesattham sabbaggahanam katam* (Kacc-Vñ 19).

case termination is substituted by *nto* before a nominative case termination *yo*" (Kacc 122) and *pañcādīnamattam* "The numerals *pañca* are substituted by *a* before the case terminations *su*, *nam* or *hi*" (Kacc 90).¹ Therefore, in such cases, one has to depend solely on the commentators for their interpretation.

There are other types of operational rules, which provide guidelines for interpreting a grammatical text, e.g. *vidhibbisesanantassa* (MV 1.13), which is equivalent to the rule *yena vidhis tadantasya* (P 1.1.72). According to this rule, "when a grammatical operation is stated with reference to a qualifying item, then such an operation applies to a linguistic element ending in it", e.g. *ato yonam tā te* "After a nominal stem ending in the phoneme *a* case terminations *yo* (of the nominative and the accusative) are substituted by *tā* and *te* respectively" (MV 2.43). Here the substitution of a nominative and an accusative plural suffix *yo* by *ā* and *e*, which is taught with reference to the phoneme *a* actually applies to a noun ending in that phoneme. Although the same principle is also applicable in the grammars of K and Agg, it has not been stated by them, e.g. *ato nena* "After a nominal stem ending in the phoneme *a* the suffix *nā* is substituted by *ena*" (Kacc 103), *ato nāy ena* "After a nominal stem ending in the phoneme *a* the suffix *nā* is substituted by *ena*" (Sadd 271).

Although the device of ordered correspondence between two sets of equal linguistic items is used by the Pali grammarians, they have not stated this maxim of interpreting the rules like P,² e.g. *vagge ghosāghosānam tatiyapathamā* "Voiced and unvoiced consonants of the class are duplicated and substituted by the third and the first consonant of the same class after a vowel" (Kacc 29), *vagge ghosāghosānam savagge tatiyapathamā* "Voiced and

¹ In the first example, the substituendum is replaced entirely whereas in the second example, the final syllable alone is substituted.

² P 1.3.10: *yathāsaṅkhyam anudeśāḥ samānām*.

unvoiced consonants of the class are duplicated and substituted by the third and the first consonant of the same class after a vowel" (Sadd 68); *catutthadutiyesvesam tatiyapathamā* "The fourth and the second consonants of the class are substituted by the third and the first consonant of the same class before the same consonants" (MV 1.35).

Indicator Letters (*Anubandhas*)

Anubandha is a symbolic letter added to any linguistic element. Although it does not form a part of the actual language, it serves as an indication or a sign in the grammatical text. It is an effective means of economy, as it enables a grammarian to give necessary indications with the help of a single letter, e.g., in the Pali grammars, the *anubandha na* when added to a suffix indicates that phonemes *a*, *i* and *u* of the concerned stem are to be substituted by the phonemes *ā*, *e* and *o* respectively. The said change is designated as *vuddhi* in these grammars.

K and Agg have used only five *anubandhas*: *na* is the indicator of a *vuddhi*, *ra* causes the dropping of a stem final, the vowels *a*, *i* and *u* are used for easy pronunciation. Out of these, the functions of the *anubandhas na* and *ra* are specified in the actual text,¹ whereas there is no word of information with regard to the other

¹ *ramhiranto rādi no* "All the final phonemes of the verbal roots and the phonemes *ra* etc. are elided before an affix with an indicatory letter *ta*" (Kacc 541), *kāritām viya nānubandho* "An affix with the indicatory letter *na* should be treated as a causative affix" (Kacc 623), *asāmyogantassa vuddhi kārite* "A verbal root not ending in a consonant cluster undergoes the *vuddhi* operation before a causative affix" (Kacc 485); *ramhiranto rādi lopam no* "All the final phonemes of the verbal roots and the phonemes *ra* etc. are elided before an affix with an indicatory letter *ta*" (Sadd 1124), *nānubandho kāritām va* "An affix with the indicatory letter *na* should be treated as a causative affix" (Sadd 1227), *dhātussa asāñyogantassa kārite vuddhi* "A verbal root not ending in a consonant cluster undergoes the *vuddhi* operation before a causative affix" (Sadd 973).

anubandhas. Apart from this, we also come across two more *anubandhas* viz. *ka* and *gha* in the rules occurring in the Uṇādikappa of the Kacc. Agg has also retained these *anubandhas* in his corresponding rules. They, however, do not serve any practical purpose in these grammars and thus seem to be blindly copied from the Sanskrit grammars. Mogg on the other hand has used fifteen *anubandhas* such as *a*, *i*, *u*, *ka*, *gha*, *ñā*, *ca*, *ñā*, *ta*, *da*, *ña*, *pa*, *ma*, *ra* and *la*. These indicatory letters perform various functions such as:

- a. Determining the position of an augment or a substitute
- b. Effecting or prohibiting a particular morphophonemic change
- c. Distinguishing one suffix from another
- d. Eliding a particular element, etc.

Some of these functions are mentioned by Mogg in the body of rules¹ whereas the remaining are stated in the Vutti.² It is interesting to note that some of the *anubandhas* used by the Pali grammarians and their respective functions have much in common with their usage in the Sanskrit grammar.

K and Agg have formulated a rule teaching the elision of vocalic *anubandhas* [*dhātussanto loponekarassa* "The final vowel of a multi-vocalic verbal root is sometimes elided" (Kacc 523), *dhatuss' anto lopo' nekarassa* "The final vowel of a multi-vocalic verbal root is sometimes elided" (Sadd 1034)]. The dropping of the indicatory letter is, however, taught by K alone at *kāritānam ño lopam* "The indicatory letter *ña* of the causative affixes is elided" (Kacc 525). For Mogg the dropping of the indicatory letters is unnecessary. Because, according to him, the indicatory letters do

¹ *ñanubandho* (MV 1.18), *ñakanubandhādyantā* (MV 1.20); *sarānamādissāyuvanñassāeo* *ñānubandhe* (MV 4.124), *rānubandhenta-sarādissa* (MV 4.132) etc.

² *lakāro 'ñi lasseti' visesanattho* (MVu 5.18); *pakāro 'pye sissati'* (5.88) *vi-sesanattho* (MVu 5.164).

not form a part of the word to which they are added. Cf. *sanketo'navayavonubandho* "The indicatory letter not forming a part of that to which it is attached is to be known as *anubandha*" (MV 1.23).

P has used a number of the indicatory letters and has entrusted them with a variety of functions such as deciding the position of a linguistic element, instigating morphophonemic changes, accentuation, etc. Indicatory letters used by P include not only consonants but also vowels, which are marked by special qualities like nasality (*anunāsikatva*) or tone (*anudātta*, *udātta* and *svarita*). Statements regarding the functions of the indicatory letters can be found in P's Aṣṭ. C follows P in this regard. Śarva on the other hand has used a limited number of the indicatory letters.

Technique of Ready Mention (*Nipātana*)

Sometimes grammarians confront with a form difficult to derive with the help of the scheme of the general and the particular rules. In such cases, they resort to a simpler method of mentioning the ready forms of such words in the shape of a grammatical aphorism. Such ready forms are traditionally known as *nipātanās*.

Here, there is a methodological difference between the Kacc and the Sadd on the one hand and the MV on the other. In the Kacc, it is stated that the forms, which cannot be derived by applying the existing rules, are to be derived by the method of *nipātana* [*yadanupapannā nipātanā sijjhanti* (Kacc 393)]. However, no forms are given by way of ready mention except *vajādīhi pabbajjādayo nipaccante* (Kacc 640), which occurs in the Uṇādikappa. The number of *nipātanās* is also very small in Agg's Sadd. Note that Agg has formulated rules to explain even those forms, which are given as *nipātanās* by the other grammarians. Cf. Sadd 1339-1343. Cp.: *tadaminādīni* (MV 1.47), *pr̄śodarādīni yathopadīṣṭam* (P 6.3.109) and *pr̄śodarādīni* (C 5.2.127). At many

places Mogg has used a method of ready mention where K and Agg have adopted process of derivation. Cp. for instance, MV 4.96, 4.100, 4.104, 4.106-107 with Kacc 227-236, 249-262 and Sadd 456-465, 492-508; MV 4.127 with Kacc 263, 271, 404 and Sadd 104, 509, 781 and 857; MV 5.31 with Kacc 20, 544, 545 and Sadd 84, 1127 and 1128.

The device of ready mention is long in use since the time of P. The subsequent grammarians found it very convenient for explaining irregular word forms. However, there had been no agreement among the grammarians on which words are to be derived and which should be given as ready forms.

Use of Codified Suffixes

Using the code letters to represent a particular surface form of a suffix is another means of achieving brevity. K and Agg have used two such codified suffixes. They are: *yu* and *vu*. Cf. for instance: *nandādīhi yu* "An affix *yu* is introduced after the verbal roots *nanda* etc. in the sense of 'an impersonal action' or 'an object'" (Kacc 549), *nandādito yu* "An affix *yu* is introduced after the verbal roots *nanda* etc. in the sense of 'an impersonal action' or 'an object'" (Sadd 1133) and *sabbato ḷvutvāvī vā* "The affixes *a*, *ṇvu*, *tu* and *āvī* are optionally introduced after any verbal root either co-occurring with the direct object etc. or not" (Kacc 529), *ṇvutvāvī vā sabbāhi* "The affixes *a*, *ṇvu*, *tu* and *āvī* are optionally introduced after any verbal root either co-occurring with the direct object etc. or not" (Sadd 1109). Here *anakā yuṇvūnam* (Kacc 624, Sadd 1228) is a decoding *sutta*. It says that the affixes *yu* and *ṇvu* are substituted by *ana* and *aka* respectively.

Mogg has totally avoided the use of such codified suffixes. In order to achieve the simplicity of procedure, he has rather used the surface forms of such suffixes. For instance, in the place of the

code suffixes *yu*, *vu*, Mogg uses *ana* and *aka*. Cf. *ano* "The affix *ana* is introduced after any verbal root in the sense of an agent" (MV 5.48), *kattari Itupakā* "The affixes *Itu* and *ṇaka* are introduced after any verbal root in the sense of an agent" (MV 5.33).

P and C have used a number of codified suffixes such as *yu*, *vu*, *pha*, *dha*, *kha*, *cha*, *gha* and *tha*. Later, by using the decoding rules, these suffixes are substituted by *ana*, *aka*, *āyan*, *eya*, *ina*, *iya*, *īya*, and *ika* respectively. Here it should be noted that in the Pali grammars, the Pāṇinian code suffixes *phak*, *dhak*, *cha*, *gha* and *thak* are replaced by their corresponding surface forms *āyana*,¹ *eya*,² *iya*,³ *īya*,⁴ and *ika*⁵ respectively. The rules providing the decoding mechanisms are P 7.1.1⁶; P 7.1.2⁷; P 7.3.50⁸ and CV 5.4.1-3.⁹ Sarva has used only two codified suffixes, *yu* and *vu* to represent the surface forms *ana* and *aka* respectively. Cf.: *yuvujhāmanākāntāḥ* (Kt 4.6.53).

¹ Kacc 347, Sadd 754, MV 4.2.

² Kacc 348, Sadd 755, MV 4.3.

³ Kacc 355, Sadd 767, MV 4.94.

⁴ Kacc 358, Sadd 773.

⁵ Kacc 352, Sadd 768, MV 4.26.

⁶ *yuvor anākau* "The elements, *yu* and *vu* are replaced by the substitutes *ana* and *aka* respectively".

⁷ *āyaneyīnīyiyāḥ phadhakhachaghām pratyayādīnām* "The elements *ph*, *dh*, *kh*, *ch* and *gh*, in the beginning of suffixes, should be replaced by *āyana*, *eya*, *īna*, *īya* and *iya* respectively".

⁸ *thasyekāḥ* "The element *tha* is replaced by *ika*".

⁹ *yuvor ana-akau asāḥ* (CV 5.4.1), *āyan-ey-īn-īy-iyah pha-dha-kha-cha-ghām sphādyādīnām* (CV 5.4.2), and *thasya ikāḥ* (CV 5.4.3).

Use of the Particle *ca*

The conjunctive particle *ca*, which ordinarily conveys the sense of 'and' / 'or', was used by the grammarians from P onwards as a technical device in their compositions. Its main function in a grammatical text is to control the continuation of a particular element in an elliptical construction. In the Kacc, the primary function of this particle is to connect the rule in which it appears with the earlier context, for instance, *pubbo ca* "When the following vowel is elided then the preceding vowel is occasionally lengthened" (Kacc 16). Here the earlier context of lengthening of a vowel is continued in this rule by the force of *ca*. Normally, in the grammatical treatises, when the earlier context is continued by the force of *ca*, it does not continue in the subsequent rules. Cf. for instance, *cānukṛṣṭam nottaratra, lakkhane cānukadḍhita-vidhānam uttaratra nānuvattati* (Sadd 1069). Thus, in these cases, the particle *ca* performs two different functions. On one hand it continues the earlier context while on the other hand, it stops it from being continued in the subsequent rules. This technical usage of the particle *ca* first originated in P's Aṣṭ and was then adopted by all the grammarians who followed him.

On occasions, K's grammar becomes problematic due to its unscientific use of the conjunctive particle *ca* and its interpretation. For instance, the use of *ca* at *do dhassa ca* (Kacc 20) is incomprehensible as the rule is without relation to *sabbo can ti* (Kacc 19). Commentators have used this *ca* to include many more instances of a phonetic change.¹ In fact, in this case it serves no real purpose and thus can be treated as stylistic. The conventional conjunctive function of *ca* is exploited by the commentators to such an extent that even those grammatical operations, which are in no way related to the concerned rule, are connected with it. According to them, "the particle *ca* conjoins whatever is already

¹ *casaddaggahapena dhakārassa hakārādeso hoti* "By the virtue of the inclusion of the word *ca*, *dha* is substituted by *ha*" (Kacc-Vu 20).

described and yet to be described".¹ Thus, it is used as a tool to explain a number of unexplained usages. The same is also true of other particles such as *tu*, *api* and abstract nouns. Cf. Kacc-Vu 83,² Kacc-Vṇ 362,³ Rūp 74,⁴ Kacc-Vṇ 296,⁵ Kacc-Vu 90⁶ and Kacc-Vu 198.⁷

It appears that in a number of rules this particle was interpolated in order to explain forms, which are left unexplained by K. It is noteworthy that Agg has got rid of many of these superfluous mentions of the particle *ca* by way of reformulating the original rules of the Kacc or by making new additions considering the comments of its commentators. For instance, Agg improves upon Kacc 261: *imasmā rahidhunādāni ca*, by removing the superfluous *ca*: *idato rahidhunā dāni* (Sadd 507). Similarly, the mention of the particle *ca* in the rule *yavamadanataralā cāgamā* (Kacc 35) is accounted for by Agg by way of adding an augment *ha* in the given list. Kacc-Vu's interpretation of *ca* at *do dhassa ca* (Kacc 20), is incorporated by Agg at *ho dhassa vannasandhimhi* (Sadd 72). However, some rules of the Sadd are still problematic due to the unscientific use of this particle. Cf. Sadd 294, 307.

¹ *ayam ca casaddo vuttāvuttasamuccayo* (Kacc-Vṇ 75). Also cp. *cakāro avuttasamuccayattho* (MVu 5.70).

² *tusaddaggahāṇam avadhāraṇattham* / "The particle *tu* is for the purpose of restriction."

³ *tusaddaggahāṇena ttanappaccayo hoti* / "Due to the inclusion of the word *tu*, the suffix *ttana* is introduced in the sense of state or condition."

⁴ *apiggahāṇam dutiyatthasampiñḍanattham* / "The inclusion of *api* is for the purpose of conjoining another meaning."

⁵ *apiggahāṇena ... katthaci pātisedheti* / "By including *api* the application of the rule is prohibited on certain occasions."

⁶ *attamiti bhāvaniddeso ubhayasāgamattham* / "The abstract form *attam* is for the purpose of the insertion of the augment *sa*."

⁷ *uttamiti bhāvaniddeso katthaci abhāvam dasseti* / "The abstract noun *uttam* indicates the absence of this change in some cases."

Mogg has been very careful about the use of the particle *ca*. His usage in this regard closely follows P and C.

Use of the Option Markers

The Pali grammarians have used a number of words and expressions to indicate an option. Apart from the well established option markers such as *vā*, *vibhāsā*, *na vā*, *bahulam*, the Pali grammarians have used *kvaci*, *pāyena* etc. Besides, there are some expressions such as *thāne*, *yathātanti*, *yathāgamam*, *matantare* that also perform the same function.

Kiparsky has suggested that three Pāṇinian option markers *vā*, *vibhāsā* and *anyatarasyām* show three different levels of optionality in P's grammar. It appears that such minute distinctions are not observed so rigorously by the Pali grammarians. For example, in the rule *vā paro asarūpā* "A vowel is rarely elided after a non-homophonous vowel" (Kacc 13), *vā* is used in the sense of *kvaci* ('rarely'). Note that Mogg has taught the same change by using the word *kvaci*, e.g., *paro kvaci* "A vowel is sometimes elided after a vowel" (MV 1.27). On a number of occasions, MVu uses *vā* and *kvaci* together in the sense of an option. Cf. *pubba-parasarā dvepi vā kvaci na lupyante* "Sometimes both preceding and following vowels are not elided" (MVu 1.28). K's usage of *vā* is even more problematic as in some rules it is also used in a conjunctive and a disjunctive sense, e.g. *yena vā kariyate tam karaṇam* "Or that by means of which one acts that (*kāraka*) is called *karaṇa* 'instrument'" (Kacc 281). Also cp. the use of *vā* in rules *yasmādapeti bhayamādatte vā tadapādānam* "That from which something moves away or there is a fear, or someone takes, that (*kāraka*) is an *apādāna*" (Kacc 273), and *yassa dātukāmo rocate dhārayate vā tam sampadānam* "The one to whom (an agent) has a desire to give, or to whom (something) is pleasing, or to whom one owes that (*kāraka* is called) *sampadāna*" (Kacc 278).

Commenting on this type of the dual usage of *vā*, Rūp says: *vāggahaṇam sampiṇḍanattham vikappanattham vā* "The mention of *vā* is for the sake of either conjunction or disjunction".

na vā, which is equivalent to the Pāṇinian *vibhāṣā*,¹ is used by the Pali grammarians in the sense of 'rarely', e.g., *ivanno yam na vā* "the phoneme *i* rarely transforms into *y* before a vowel" (Kacc 21). The term *vibhāṣā* is also used by them in rules Kacc 154, 325; Sadd 334. It is interesting to note that MVu sometimes paraphrases *vā* by *vibhāṣā*, e.g. *pum pumassa vā* (MV 3.56) is paraphrased by MVu as: *pumassa pum hotuttarapade vibhāṣā* /"As a first member of the compound, *puma* is optionally substituted by *pum* before the final member."

Bahulam, which ordinarily means 'often', is used and interpreted by Mogg (MV 1.58) as done by many Sanskrit commentators of the Aṣṭ. It is a tool in hands of Mogg to explain all sorts of linguistic irregularities. *kvaci* (MV 1.27, Sadd 146) and *payena* (Sadd 142) are used in their ordinary sense of 'rarely' and 'mostly' respectively. Other expressions such as *thāne* (Kacc 28) ('whenever there is an occasion'), *yathātanti* ('in accordance with the traditional usage) (Sadd 364), *yathāgamam* (Kacc 607) ('in accordance with the scriptural usage') indicate that the scope of that particular rule is limited only to certain usages. Apart from these, Agg has also used expressions such as *gāthāyam*, *pāvacane*, or *atthakathāyam*, which indicate that a particular usage is limited only to that particular form of the literature, e.g. Sadd 454, 674 and 979. *Matantare* is an expression used by Agg (Sadd 242) to indicate the contrasting views of other grammarians.

P has used various terms to express different shades of optionality like *vā*, *vibhāṣā* and *anyatarasyām*. He has further used words like *bahulam*, *alpaśāḥ* etc. and has also referred to the opinions of his predecessors and usage in different regions for expressing optionality. Śarva, however, has not been able to

¹ *na veti vibhāṣā* (P 1.1.44).

maintain such subtlety with regard to the optional expressions. In the earliest portion of the Kt i.e. in the *Sandhi* section, *na vā* is used to denote *vikalpa* or *vibhāṣā*. According to the commentators, in the Kt, the particle *vā* is used in two different senses, that of conjunction (*samuuccayārtha*) and optionality (*vikalpārtha*). Thus, under *vā virāme* (Kt 2.3.62), Durgasimha says:

vāśabda iha samuccayārtho na vikalpārthah /

The Pali grammarians have made use of the Pāṇinian option markers *vā*, *na vā*, *vibhāṣā* and *bahulam*. However, like the Kt, they have not observed the subtleties of optionality indicated by these words. The Pāṇinian method of indicating an option by referring to the name of a particular region and the option marker *anyatarasyām* is absent in the Pali grammars.

Mention of the Verbal Roots

In K's grammar, the consonant ending verbal roots are generally mentioned with the phoneme *a*. Apart from this, K has also made use of other phonemes such as *i* and *u* for the same purpose. This usage is, however, not consistent as sometimes the root *gam* is referred to as *gamu* at Kacc 503, whereas the same root is mentioned as *gami* at Kacc 478. In a few cases, the verbal root is also mentioned with the present tense third person singular suffix *ti*, e.g., Kacc 538. Agg follows K in this respect. In Mogg's grammar, verbal roots are mentioned with three suffixes *i*, *ki* (MV 5.77) and *ti* (MV 5.128). Cf.: *ikiṭī sarūpe* "The affixes *i*, *ki* and *ti* are introduced after a verbal root to denote the actual form of that verbal root" (MV 5.52). Here Mogg has followed C. However, there is no formal difference between the suffixes *i* and *ki*.

a is used commonly by P and C while referring to the verbal roots to facilitate the pronunciation. Apart from this, the verbal roots are also mentioned with *ik* and *śtip* by P (*ikśtipau dhātunirdeśe* - Vt. 3.3.108.2), and with *i*, *ki* and *śtip* by C (CV 1.3.96: *ikiśtipah svarūpe*). P. C. Dash (1986:68) informs us that in

spite of the mention of the suffix *śtip*, C has never used it in his grammar for the given purpose.

Absence of Abbreviations

Apart from the technical devices mentioned above, P has made use of the technique of abbreviations in order to achieve economy. Abbreviations occupy a major portion of the meta-language used by P and C. In P's method, the first letter joined with the last letter stands for the intermediate letters of a word. In his system, such an abbreviation is called a *pratyāhāra*. A *pratyāhāra* is an abbreviatory symbol, which stands for a list of certain sounds. For this very purpose, P has introduced some changes in the traditional sequence of alphabets. He has used 41 *pratyāhāras* throughout his grammar. This has added to the cryptic nature of his rules.

Clarity and simplicity are the main concerns of the Pali grammars. In keeping with these principles, the Pali grammarians have followed the traditional way of listing alphabets and have avoided the type of abbreviations introduced by P. In this case, they have followed Śarva and have used the traditional terminology in place of abbreviations. Thus, for the Pāṇinian abbreviation *al*, which represents all the syllables, the Pali grammarians have used *akkhara*. Similarly, for the Pāṇinian abbreviations *ac* and *hal*, which represent vowels and consonants respectively, they have used the terms *sara* and *vyañjana*. It is noteworthy that although Mogg follows P and C in other technical matters, he has avoided the use of *pratyāhāras* and has used the more familiar traditional terms in their place.

Use of the Common Denominators

The technique of using the common denominators is another important feature of P's meta-language. In his grammar, tenses and moods are represented by the letter *la*, which is a common

denominator of their technical names such as *lat*, *lit*, *lṛt* etc. Similarly, *lu* is a common denominator of words denoting different types of elisions such as *luk*, *ślu* and *lup*.

The technique of using a common denominator is used by the Pali grammarians on a limited scale. In K and Agg's grammars, *ntu* / *antu* is used as a common denominator for the possessive suffixes *vantu* and *mantu* (Kacc 122, Sadd 297). According to *ntu vantu-mantvāvantu-tavantu sambandhī* (MV 1.25), in the MV, *ntu* is used as a common denominator for the suffixes *vantu*, *mantu*, *avantu*, and *tavantu*. However, in rest of the cases, the Pali grammarians have preferred the use of the more familiar terminology. Thus, tenses and moods are referred to by their traditional names such as *parokkhā*, *vattamānā*, *bhavissanti* etc.

Principles Governing Selection of a Rule

Often more than one rule finds scope in a given situation. In such cases, in order to resolve the conflict, the grammarians have laid down certain principles for selecting the right rule, e.g., P has laid down the principles of *paratva* (posteriority) and *asiddhatva* (inoperativeness) for resolving such conflicts. According to the principle of posteriority, in case of mutual conflict between two rules, the rule subsequent in order supersedes the earlier rule. The Pāṇinian rule in this regard is *vipratisedhe param kāryam* (P 1.4.2). As per the principle of *asiddhatva*, the rules from the *asiddhakāṇḍa* (P 8.2 to P 8.4) are treated as non-existing or inoperative before the application of rules in the *siddhakāṇḍa* (P 1.1 to P 8.1). In other words, in a conflict between a rule belonging to the *siddhakāṇḍa* and a rule belonging to the *asiddhakāṇḍa*, the rule belonging to the *siddhakāṇḍa* supersedes the latter. Another implication of this principle is that when there is a conflict between two rules belonging to the *asiddhakāṇḍa*, the earlier rule supersedes the posterior. The Pāṇinian rule in this regard is *pūrvatrāsiddham* (P 8.2.1).

Since these two principles are not sufficient to resolve all the conflicts, the commentators have invented some additional principles by taking hints from P's own work. The other principles are: *nityatva* (constancy), *antaraṅga - bahiraṅga* (interior - exterior), and *utsarga - apavāda* (exception). The principle of *nityatva* is stated as: *kvacit kṛtākṛtaprasarīgamātrenāpi nityatā* (Paribhāṣā 46) "Sometimes, the precedence between the two rules is determined even by the fact that which of the two simultaneously applicable rules finds scope even after the other rule is applied". The principle of *antaraṅga - bahiraṅga* states: *asiddhaṁ bahiraṅgam antaraṅge* (Paribhāṣā 50) "When one and the same rule becomes simultaneously applicable at two places, the conflict is resolved by applying it first to the interior part and then to the exterior part". According to the principle of *utsarga - apavāda*, a rule making a special statement overrules the rule making a general statement.

C also follows the same principles as that of P. The Kt only follows the principles of posteriority and exception. The *siddha - asiddha* dichotomy is absent in Śarva's grammar.

The Pali grammarians also seem to follow only two principles, that of posteriority and exception. The application of the principle of posteriority, however, seems to be restricted only to those cases where there is a conflict regarding the selection of correct personal endings. K and Agg's rules in this connection are: *sabbesamekābhidhāne paro puriso* (Kacc 411), and *ekābhidhāne paro puriso* (Sadd 868). According to these rules "when more than one set of personal endings is simultaneously applicable, then the endings that are taught in the earlier rules are superseded by those taught in the latter ones". These correspond to *yugapad vacane parah puruṣāṇām* (Kt 3.1.4). Mogg's rule in this regard is: *vippativedhe* "When two rules are simultaneously applicable in the same place the posterior rule becomes applicable" (MV 1.22).

Although it is a general rule, Mogg has only applied it in the case of personal terminations.

The principle of exception is the main principle, which governs the selection of rules in these grammars. According to this principle, the general rule is superseded by the particular rule, e.g., the general rule *vā nappacce* "The suffix *na* is optionally introduced after any root to denote his / her offspring" (Kacc 346) is superseded by the specific rule *ato ni vā* "The suffix *ni* is optionally introduced after nouns ending in the phoneme *a* to denote his / her offspring" (Kacc 349). This rule is further superseded by a more specific rule: *nāyana-nāna vacchādito* "The suffixes *nāyana* and *nāna* are optionally introduced after the nouns *vaccha* etc. to denote an offspring of that family" (Kacc 347).

Out of other Pāṇinian principles, only the principle of *antaraṅga* is once mentioned at MVu 2.116:

pageva kasmā na hoti? antaraṅgattā akārassa /

"Why the rule [*lopo*] is not applied earlier? Because, the substitution of *a* is interior [as compared to the elision]."

Here, in the situation *aggi + yo*, two rules become simultaneously applicable. The first rule is *yosu jhissa pume* (MV 2.95). This rule teaches the substitution of *a* in place of the phoneme *i* of the masculine nominal stems called *jha* before the suffix *yo* of the nominative or the accusative. The second rule *lopo* (MV 2.116) on the other hand teaches the elision of the suffix *yo* of the nominative and the accusative introduced after the phonemes *i* and *u*, which have the technical names *jha* and *Ia* respectively. In this case, the conflict is resolved in favour of MV 2.95 as the operation taught by this rule is interior, compared to the one taught by MV 2.116.

The principle of *nityatva* is, however, never mentioned by the Pali grammarians. The *siddha - asiddha* dichotomy, which is the hallmark of P's Ast̄, is absent in Pali grammars.

Grammatical Description

Alphabet

The Pali grammarians follow the traditional method of listing the alphabets, which is already met with in the Kt. The alphabets are given at the beginning of every grammar, i.e. at Kacc 2, Sadd 1 and MV 1.1. The number of alphabets found in the Kacc and the Sadd is 41 whereas Mogg has listed 43 alphabets including short *e* and short *o*. By listing all the alphabets, the Pali grammarians have provided a complete picture of the Pali phonetics.

The grammars of P and C begin with rules known as the *pratyāhāra sūtras*. In these rules, the phonemes are listed with the indicator letters *n*, *k* etc. to form abbreviations (*pratyāhāra sūtras*). The sequence of phonemes has been changed to suit the formation of the abbreviations. What these rules present are not phones but phonemes. These *pratyāhāra sūtras* do not present a complete picture of the Sanskrit phonology, as they do not list all the existing sounds of the Sanskrit language, e.g., sounds such as *visarga*, *anusvāra*, *upadhmānīya*, *jihvāmūlīya* etc., which are traditionally known as *ayogavāḥas*, have not found any place in these rules.

Treatment of Sandhi

The Pali grammarians have generally dealt with three types of *sandhi*: a vowel *sandhi*, a consonantal *sandhi* and a miscellaneous *sandhi*, which includes *niggahīta sandhi* and the *sandhi metri causa*.

The Pali grammarians' treatment of *sandhi* greatly differs from the treatment given by P on the following points:

1. Method of carrying out *sandhi*: In their grammars, both K and Agg have laid down rules for carrying out the *sandhi* operation. Cf. Kacc 10-11, Sadd 28-29. According to this method, the *sandhi* operation is carried out in two steps. In the first step, the preceding syllable is separated from its vowel and placed below it. In the second step, the same syllable is combined with the following syllable after effecting the necessary changes. This procedure clearly suggests the existence of a graphic practice of presenting a particular *sandhi* form. Vararuci's Prākṛtaprakāśa also presupposes a similar practice. Such a procedure is, however, absent in the MV and other Sanskrit grammars.
2. Absence of the governing rule *samhitāyām*: Following the Kt and other non-Pāṇinian schools, the Pali grammarians have discarded the governing rule *samhitāyām*, which provides the ground for making *sandhi* in P's Ast.
3. Absence of the technique of the *ekādeśa*: Like the Kt, the Pali grammarians have also not followed the *ekādeśa* technique of P, for example, in P's grammar, the *sandhi* between *na + upaiti* is formed by replacing both - the final *a* of *na* and the initial *u* of *upaiti* - by a single substitute *o* by the rule *ād guṇah* (P 6.1.87). The same form can be derived in the system of the Kt by applying *uvareṇe o* (Kt 1.2.3). Here, the initial *u* of the word *upaiti* is elided and at the same time the preceding phoneme *a* is substituted by *o*. The procedure followed by the Pali grammarians to derive the *sandhi* form *nopeti* from *na + upeti* is different than the Kt. According to them, first, the final *a* of *na* is dropped and then the initial *u* of *upeti* is substituted by *o*. In the same vein, the Pāṇinian *pararūpa* and *pūrvarūpa ekādeśas* are reduced merely to the elision of the preceding or the following vowel respectively, e.g. Kacc 12, Sadd 30, 32-33, MV 1.26.
4. Absence of a complicated procedure: The Pali grammarians' treatment of *sandhi* is prompted by the desire to reduce the

complicated procedure of the Sanskrit grammarians, to a simple process in arriving at the final form. Thus, they have tried to connect the root form directly with the surface form.

Agg stands alone among the Pali grammarians in giving a separate treatment to the phonetic changes caused by the metrical composition, e.g. Sadd 158-159. It is noteworthy that even the Sanskrit grammarians have not dealt with such changes in their grammars. Similarly, among the Pali grammarians, Agg alone has dealt with the *sandhi* peculiar to a particular form of literature (Sadd 70, 134, 156, 160).

Nominal Inflection

The Pali grammarians do not list the case terminations in the same way as P does. As in the Kt, the nominative singular suffix is given as *si* instead of *su* given by P.

Some linguistic categories such as *sarvanāmāsthāna* and *bha*, which are conceived by P in order to explain the strong, the medium and the weak categories of the nominal inflections, are missing in the Pali grammars.

The inflectional procedure is more simple than that of P's, e.g., the nominative singular form *buddho* can be derived in three steps by applying three rules: *siyo ariyo nāhi sanām smāhi sanām smiñsu* (Kacc 55), *so* (Kacc 104), *sarā sare lopam* (Kacc 12); *si yo am yo nā hi sa nam smā hi sa nam smiñ su* (Sadd 200), *sissa o* (Sadd 272), *sarā lopam papponti sare* (Sadd 30) and *dve dve kānekesu nāmasmā si yo am yo nā hi sa nam smā hi sa nam smiñ su* (MV 2.1), *sissō* (MV 2.111), *saro lopo sare* (MV 1.26).¹ In P's

¹ 1. *Buddha + si*
2. *Buddha + o*
3. *Buddh + o*

grammar, one has to follow at least four steps to arrive at the nominative singular form *rāmah*.¹

Syntax

The Pali grammarians' treatment of *kārakas* is in no way exhaustive. The *kāraka* section of these grammars only deals with the general facts about the syntax of the Pali language and does not enter in the subtleties as recorded in P's Aṣṭ. As shown by E. Kahrs, it does not provide a correct picture of the Pali syntax. On a number of occasions, the syntactic peculiarities of Sanskrit are superimposed on Pali.

P clearly maintains a dichotomy between *kāraka* and *vibhakti*. His *kārakas* stand for the deep or underlying relation of a noun to the verb and the *vibhaktis* stand for the representation of *kārakas* in the surface structure. This dichotomy is not noticed in the Pali grammars. Although K and Agg have dealt with the *kārakas* and the *vibhaktis* separately, on a number of occasions they have mixed these two categories, e.g., the ablative in connection with the prefixes *apa* and *ā* is treated as a *kāraka vibhatti* by K and Agg whereas in P's Aṣṭ it is treated as an *upapada vibhakti*. Cf. *dhātunāmānamupasaggayogādisvapi ca* "When there is a syntactic relation with a verbal root or a noun as well as with the prefix etc. that *kāraka* is called *apādāna*" (Kacc 274), *vajjanatthāpapariyoge* "When there is a syntactic relation with *apa* and *pari*, coveying the sense of avoiding that *kāraka* is called *apādāna*" (Sadd 560); *pañcamy apāniparibhiḥ* "The fifth *sup* triplet is introduced [after a nominal stem cooccurring with *karmapravacanīyas*] *apa*, *ān* and

- ¹ 1. *Rāma + su* (P 4.1.2: *svaujsamaut* ...)
2. *Rāma + s* - dropping of *u* (P 1.3.2: *upadeśe'j anunāsika it, tasya lopah*).
3. *Rāma + ru* - *s* changes to *ru* (P 8.2.66: *sasajuṣo ruḥ*)
4. *Rāmah* - *ru* changes to *visarga* (P 8.3.15: *kharavasānayor visarjanīyah*).

"*pari*" (P 2.3.10). Like C, Mogg has merged the *kāraka* and the *vibhatti* sections together. He has not laid down rules defining various *kāraka* categories. His main focus is on the allocation of cases.

Compounds

K's treatment of compounds is general in nature like that of Śarva. Although Mogg has dealt with some particular cases, his treatment of the compounds is not as exhaustive as that of P who provides rules for particular cases. Agg has, however, discussed many instances of compounds particular to Pali.

In the matter of rule formation, K and Agg have followed the descriptive style of Śarva. Mogg on the other hand has closely followed C.

On occasions, Agg and Mogg's description of the Pali compounds is misleading, as some compounds that are described by them are not instantiated in the Pali literature, e.g. compounds like *titthagū* etc. Cf. Sadd 697 and MV 3.7. Besides, some compounds, which are classified by the Pali grammarians as the *avyayībhāva* type of compounds, do not actually possess that status in Pali, e.g. *adhicitta*. Kacc-Vu has misinterpreted *jāyāya tudamjāni patimhi* (Kacc 341) and has derived the ghost form *tudampati*. Agg has repeated the same mistake in the rule *jāyāya kvaci tudamjāni patimhi* (Sadd 731).

Taddhita

The Pali grammarians' treatment of *taddhita* is extremely cursory compared to that of P. P's treatment of *taddhita* is spread over 1110 rules in the Aṣṭ whereas the same topic has been dealt with in 62 rules in the Kacc, 114 rules in the Sadd and 142 rules in the MV. Even in this section, the Pali grammarians have only

considered some of the important *taddhita* meanings and suffixes. Thus, their treatment of *taddhita* is like a brief summary of P's *taddhita* section.

Composition of P's *taddhita* section is very complex due to the interweaving of *arthādhikāras* (governing meanings) and *pratyayādhikāras* (governing suffixes). Such a complex structure is, however, not adopted by the Pali grammarians K and Agg for the sake of simplicity. Mogg on the other hand, has adopted an alternate arrangement of governing meaning and governing suffix, for instance, rules 4.1 to 4.10 teach various suffixes in the sense of 'an offspring' (*apacca*), rules 4.11 to 4.20 teach various meanings of the suffix *na*, rules 4.20 to 4.26 teach various suffixes in the sense of 'existing there' and rules 4.26 to 4.33 teach various meanings of the suffix *nika*.

Treatment of Verbal Inflection

K and Agg have followed the Kt and other non-Pāṇinian Sanskrit grammarians in accepting the familiar significant terms like *adyatanī*, *svastanī*, *bhaviṣyantī* etc. for the ten Pāṇinian *lakāras*.

To bring simplicity, the Pali grammarians have totally discarded the Pāṇinian notion of substitution in case of the *lakāras*. They have simply given eight sets of twelve suffixes each and then in the following rules have taught the necessary alterations in these suffixes.

While the theory of substitution is discarded in respect of the *lakāras*, it is more closely adhered to by them in respect of the verbal morphophonemics. However, the level of substitution found in the Aṣṭ is higher than the Pali grammars. In the Pali grammars too, the level of substitution is higher in Mogg compared to the other two grammars. To illustrate, P has taught only one causative

suffix *ṇi*¹ against two (*ṇi* and *ṇāpi*) taught in the MV² and four (*ṇe*, *ṇaya*, *ṇāpe*, *ṇāpayā*) in the Kacc and the Sadd.³ Thus, P teaches only one basic suffix and then derives different surface forms by way of introducing morphophonemic changes. Cp. for instance the derivation of the word *adhyāpayati* in P's grammar:

adhi i ḷnic

adhi i i

adhi à i (P 6.1.48: *krī-īñ-jīnāñ ḷnau*)

adhi āp i (P 7.3.36: *artihrīvīlī...*)

adhi āpi ti (P 3.4.78: *tiptas...*)

adhi āpi a ti (P 3.1.68: *kartari śap*)

adhi āpe a ti (P 7.3.84: *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoh*)

adhi āpay a ti (P 6.1.77: *iko yan aci*, P 6.1.78: *eco'yavāyāvahī*)

adhyāpayati

K and Agg on the other hand have accepted four different surface forms as four different suffixes.

On a number of occasions, K and Agg prescribe a substitute for an entire root instead of splitting the root into smaller phonemic units as done by Mogg. Cp. for instance, *jaramarānam*

¹ P 3.1.26: *hetumati ca*.

² MV 5.16: *payojakavyāpāre ḷāpi ca*.

³ Kacc 440: *dhātūhi ḷenayaṇāpeṇāpayā kāritāni hetvatthe* / Sadd 914: *ṇe-ṇaya-ṇāpe-ṇāpayā hetvatthe dhātuto, kāritā ca te /*

jīrajiyyamīyā vā "The verbal roots *jara* and *mara* are optionally substituted by *jīra*, *jiyya* and *mīyya*" (Kacc 507), *sadassa sīdattam* "On all occasions, the verbal root *sada* is substituted by *sīda*" (Kacc 611), *sadassa sīdo* "The verbal root *sada* is substituted by *sīda*" (Sadd 1213); and *jarasadānamīma vā* "An augment *ī* is optionally introduced after the final vowel of the roots *jara* and *sada*" (MV 5.123), *jaramarānamīyāni* "The final phoneme of the verbal roots *jara* and *mara* are substituted by *īya* before the affixes *nta*, *māna* and *ti* etc." (MV 5.174).

In order to save students of the laborious toiling with complicated procedures involving augmentation, substitution and elision, the Pali grammarians have linked the basic form of the root directly with its surface appearance, e.g., according to the Pali grammarians, the form *pacanti* is derived in the following steps:

pac + anti (Kacc 425, Sadd 896, MV 6.1)

pac + a + anti (Kacc 447, Sadd 925, MV 5.18)

pacanti (Kacc 12, Sadd 30, MV 1.26)

On the other hand, according to P, the same form is derived in the following steps:

pac + la

pac + lat (P 3.2.123)

pac + śap + jhi (P 3.1.68)

pac + a + anti (P 3.4.77-78)

pac + anti (P 7.1.3)

pacanti (P 6.1.91)

This weeding out of the intermediate procedure is a telling example of the Pali grammarians' high concern for lucidity in the grammatical procedure.

Treatment of Primary Derivatives

The Pali grammarians' treatment of the primary derivatives is also of a general nature. The *kṛdanta* section of P's *Aṣṭ* is spread over 590 rules excluding the rules of morphophonemic changes (P 3.1.1-3.4.76). Compared to this, the treatment of primary derivatives is spread over 100 rules of the Kacc (526-625), 125 of the Sadd (1106-1230) and 179 of the MV (5.1-79) including rules related to the morphophonemics.

In the Kacc and the Sadd, the technical name *kit* is given to a number of primary affixes excluding the gerundive affixes and the finite verbal endings. Note that in P's *Aṣṭ*, the gerundive affixes are also included in the primary affixes.

Difference in the Grammatical Description

On a number of occasions, the derivational method adopted by Mogg differs from that of K and Agg. For instance, the forms such as *esa dhammo* and *sa sīlavā* are derived by K and Agg by means of teaching an augment whereas they are derived by Mogg by way of teaching a substitute (Kacc 27, Sadd 66). Another instance of difference in the treatment can be found in K and Agg's treatment of the form *paro sahassam bhikkhusatam*. In this case, K and Agg have explained the form by way of teaching an augment (Kacc 36, Sadd 130). Mogg on the other hand explains it by way of teaching a substitute. Forms like *akāra*, *kakāra* are explained by K and Agg by way of the suffix *kāra* (Kacc 606, Sadd 1208). Mogg on the other hand treats them as compounds (MVu 5.52). Similarly, K and Agg have explained the form *vidū* by way of teaching an augment *ū* whereas Mogg teaches it by way of teaching the suffix *ū* (Kacc 618, Sadd 1222, MV 5.38).

Observations

1. The nature of the Pali grammars is more pedagogic compared to the mnemonic nature of P's *Aṣṭ*.
2. The Pali grammarians' arrangement of topics is mainly based on the derivational types whereas P and C appear to have laid more emphasis on the derivational procedure.
3. Although the Pali grammarians have followed the same manner of description by way of general and particular rules, their level of generalizations is not as high as that of P.
4. The *suttas* of the Pali grammarians are descriptive and simple compared to the compressed and cryptic nature of P's *sūtras*.
5. In the matter of rule formation, the pattern followed by K and Agg is similar to that of Śarva and of Mogg with that of P and C.
6. The Pali grammarians have followed the nominal style of rule formation. In this regard, the usage of K and Agg is similar to that of Śarva whereas the usage of Mogg is more in accordance with the usage of P and C.
7. In the use of the meta-language, Mogg's usage matches more with that of P and C. K and Agg on the other hand have followed the footsteps of Śarva. The same is also true in case of other technical devices such as ellipsis, section headings, indicatory letters etc.
8. In the matter of codified suffixes, K and Agg have followed Śarva. Mogg on the other hand has totally avoided the use of these suffixes.

9. On a number of occasions, K and Agg's usage of the particle *ca* is unscientific. Mogg on the other hand has used it with greater skills.
10. The Pali grammarians have used more option markers compared to that of P. However, they failed to preserve the subtleties regarding the levels of optionality found in P's grammar.
11. The Pali grammarians have mentioned the verbal roots in the same way as they are mentioned by the Sanskrit grammarians.
12. Like Sarva, the Pali grammarians have avoided the use of abbreviations and common denominators.
13. With regard to the principles governing the selection of rules, the Pali grammarians have accepted the Pāṇinian principle of exception. Though the principle of posteriority is also accepted by them, the area of its application is limited. Out of the other Pāṇinian principles, only the principle of *antaraṅgatva* (interiority) is referred to by Mogg. The *siddha-asiddha* dichotomy is missing in Pali grammars.
14. The Pali grammarians' treatment of the language is general in nature.
15. The Pali grammarians have tried to simplify the overall grammatical procedure by weeding out the intermediate procedures.
16. To conclude, for P, technique and economy of expression are of utmost importance whereas for the Pali grammarians, the simplicity of the grammatical procedure and clarity of expression are of prime importance. In spite of this, one has to accept that from the days of the composition of the first indigenous grammar of Pali in the form of the Kacc, the

Pali grammars have exhibited a progressive trend towards a greater systematization, sophistication and accuracy of description.

Chapter Four

Conclusion

In the foregoing chapters, it has been shown that the Pali grammatical tradition continued to develop since the time of its inception in the form of K's grammar. Unlike the Prakrit grammar, it presents itself as an independent and complete grammatical system like that of Sanskrit. The main reason behind the endeavor to construct a comprehensive grammar seems to be to give the same status to the Pali language as is enjoyed by Sanskrit.

For writing their grammars, the Pali grammarians have accepted the already established and tested model of the Sanskrit grammar. When K composed his grammar there were two models available to him. The first was that of P's Aṣṭ and the second was in the form of Śarva's Kt. Out of these, the author of the Kacc accepted the latter, which was more concise and simple as compared to that of P's Aṣṭ. It has been already proposed that K's grammar is an attempt to prepare a guiding manual of the Pali grammar for the monastic community, which wanted to learn the Buddha's words in a simple but efficient way. Śarva's Kt was the best model for such a manual. It is also possible that the choice of the Kt in this regard was prompted by the popularity of that grammar in the particular time and region to which the author of the Kacc belonged. Here it may be noted that Bhartṛhari, the celebrated author of they Vākyā (5th / 7th century A.D., which is also the proposed date of the Kacc) informs us that Candrācārya and others revived the Pāṇinian tradition, which was almost lost before his time.

*yāḥ pātañjalaśiṣyebhyo bhrasṭo vyākaranāgamaḥ /
kāle sa dākṣīṇātyeṣu granthamātre vyavasthitah //
parvatād āgamam labdhvā bhāṣyabījānusāribhiḥ /
sa nīto bahumārgatvam candrācāryādibhiḥ punah //*

(Vākyā II.480-481)

This implies that P's grammar was not so popular before the time of the Kacc.

Agg followed the basic framework of K's grammar but tried to improve upon it by way of incorporating the material available in the Kacc's commentary. He further tried to blend it with the vast amount of information available in the exegetical literature of the *Āṭṭhakathās*. Apart from this, he also made use of the material available in the Sanskrit grammatical tradition of P and Śarva, which came down to him through direct or indirect sources.

Mogg has generally accepted the basic framework of the Kacc with a few minor changes in the arrangement of the main topics and sub-topics. However, he tried to bring in more systematization in the overall presentation of the grammatical data. In this regard, he has carefully adopted the technically sophisticated model C.

In the second chapter, we have taken a detailed stock of the grammatical terminology used by the three Pali grammarians. We have also tried to find out its sources in the Sanskrit grammatical tradition by studying the origin and the development of a particular grammatical term in that tradition. In the third chapter, we have studied and compared the technique adopted by these grammarians.

The major findings of our inquiry into the technical terminology and the technique of the Pali grammarians are as follows:

1. The Pali *Āṭṭhakathās* of Buddhaghosa, Buddhadatta and Dhammapāla show the existence of a limited indigenous Pali grammatical terminology different from that of Sanskrit.
2. Out of 166 terms studied, 52 terms (33%) are common to all the Pali grammarians, 102 terms (around 65%) are common to K and Agg and 59 terms (around 37%) are common to Agg and Mogg. On 38 occasions, Mogg gives a different term than the other two grammarians whereas three terms of the MV are

without parallel in other two Pali grammars. There are 16 instances where Agg's terminology is without parallel in other two grammars, primarily due to the terms taken from the Aṭṭhakathās.

3. Around 80% of the terms used by the Pali grammarians come from Sanskrit sources. While many of these are familiar from the standard grammar books (Aṣṭ, Kt, CV, and their respective commentaries), others are drawn from the Brāhmaṇas, Y's Nir, the Prātiśākhyas and the Śikṣā literature.

K follows Śarva not only in terms of the basic framework of his grammar but also in his technical terminology and technique. Kacc 9 quite clearly shows that the author of the Kacc presupposes knowledge of the grammatical terminology current in the Sanskrit grammatical parlance. The major portion (around 82%) of K's technical terminology and their definitions are taken from the Kt. Only those technical terms of P's grammar, which are common to the Kt, (around 63%) - with the sole exception of *ekaśeṣa* / *ekasesa* - found their way in K's grammar. *Niggahīta* is the only term, which seems to be taken from the traditional Aṭṭhakathā terminology. It is without parallel in the Sanskrit grammatical literature. It is quite surprising that in spite of the availability of the indigenous phonetic as well as the case terminology, the author of the Kacc preferred the technical terminology that was current in the Sanskrit grammatical tradition. As for K's original contribution to the field of the technical terminology, it is limited to five arbitrary monosyllabic terms such as *jha*, *la*, *pa*, *gha*, *ga* and two self-explanatory terms such as *okāsa* (a term denoting the locative case) and *visarīyoga* (a term denoting simplification of consonant clusters). With the exception of the last one, which is peculiar to Pali, it is unclear why K resorted to these new terms, when terms for these ideas were already present in the Sanskrit tradition.

The technical terminology used by Agg is a mixture of the traditional terminology used in the Pali Aṭṭhakathās and the terminology that came down to him from the grammarians who

preceded him. He seems to present his grammar in dual form: on one hand, he wants to present the linguistic data in the format adopted by the grammarians and on the other hand, he also wants to make his readers acquainted with the conventional linguistic analysis found in the exegetical tradition. This explains why he has used twofold terminology i.e. the terminology common in the grammatical parlance and the terminology, which is peculiar to the exegetical literature.

As shown above, the bulk of Agg's technical terminology comes from the Kacc, as a result of which, it also shows greater affinity with the Kt. Out of 127 terms that are used by Agg, 86 are common to the Kt (a little less than 70%). Although he has not made any new contribution in the field of the technical terminology and technique, his merit lies in the fact that he has presented all the available information in the tradition of the grammar and the *Āṭhakathās* in a collected form and has provided definitions and explanations also of those terms, which are left unexplained by K. Besides being encyclopaedic, his grammar shows improvement over the Kacc in the matter of the amount of grammatical data discussed as well as the accuracy and clarity in rule formation.

In this scenario, it is noticeable that Mogg, though he has followed the basic framework of K, has initiated changes in the field of the technical terminology and the technique. As it has been already shown, in the matter of the technical terminology, the changes introduced by Mogg are mainly prompted by the CV and the CVṛ. Out of 100 terms used by Mogg, 58 are common to the CV (58%), whereas only 40-45 (including those overlapping with the CV) are from the Aṣṭ and the Kt. About the technical side of his grammar, it can be said that Mogg tried to give a new face to the grammatical description by making it more systematic and precise with the help of the technical devices already introduced by P and C. However, in doing so, Mogg has tried to strike a balance between simplicity, on one hand, and complexity of the technique, on the other. In this regard, Mogg's proneness to the grammar of C

seems to be prompted by an urge to revolutionize the older tradition of K's grammar by adopting C's superior technique. In this respect, Mogg might have preferred C to P either because C has improved upon P by incorporating suggestions made by Kātyāyana and Patañjali or simple because of former being a fellow Buddhist. Cf. Belvalkar (1976:29).

The above-mentioned details reveal certain facts about the development of the Pali grammars. It throws some light on the purpose and the beliefs of the Pali grammarians. The project of the Pali grammarians, starting from K, was to compose the grammar for the language of the *Buddhavacanas* in that very language. As mentioned above, the Kacc was composed in the 6th - 7th century A.D. i.e. in the period not long after the *Atthakathās* of Buddhaghosa and before the composition of the *Tīkās* and the *Anuṭīkās*. The author of the Kacc, who knew well the merit of the much developed Sanskrit grammatical tradition, probably felt the need of a perfect grammar book not only for the comprehension and explanation of the *Buddhavacanas* but also for the effective teaching of the same to the monastic community. Although the *Atthakathās* were useful for the first two purposes, they could not be used for teaching Pali. One can easily understand the importance of such a textbook of grammar in the period of the Pali renaissance when monks were required not only to read and understand Pali but also to write in it. The study of the Kacc on the one hand and the early commentarial literature on the other, reveal the fact that both these traditions grew independently of one another. K has based his grammatical analysis and description of Pali not on the *Atthakathās* but on Sanskrit grammar in general and on Śarva's Kt in particular. In accordance with this tendency, instead of the conventional terminology of the *Atthakathās*, he has adopted the well established technical terminology of Sanskrit grammars. His inclination for the unconventional terminology can be ascertained from his invention of the arbitrary, monosyllabic technical terms. However, from his choice of the descriptive model of Śarva over the theoretical model of P clearly indicates that he was not aiming at creating an indigenous *Vyākaraṇaśāstra* of Pali.

As mentioned before, his purpose was simply to prepare the textbook of the language of the Tipiṭaka on the lines of the Sanskrit grammar.

After K, the Pali grammatical tradition developed more or less on a similar line. However, it did try to bring itself closer to the Aṭṭhakathā tradition. This is quite evident from the works of Mogg and Agg. Between these two more or less contemporary grammars, Agg's Sadd seem to be more in favour of the Aṭṭhakathā tradition as it not only incorporates the linguistic analysis found in the Aṭṭhakathās but also introduces the technical terminology used therein. It clearly distinguishes between the description of grammarians (*Saddavidū*) and experts of scriptures (*Sāsanikas*) and favours the latter. In this connection, it is noteworthy that Agg calls his work as *nīti* i.e. guidance or practice and not as *vyākaraṇa* or *lakkhaṇa* i.e. explanation or definition. He approves of different ways of explaining a single linguistic phenomenon and thus justifies his attempt of putting the commentarial explanation side by side of those found in the grammatical works. The sources of these grammatical explanations can be traced back to the tradition of K or to the works of P, Śarva, Candra and their commentators.

Mogg on the other hand developed this tradition on technical line. Although he incorporates some discussions found in the Aṭṭhakathās, he neither adopts the terminology nor the methodology of the Aṭṭhakathās. His choice of the more sophisticated technical terminology and technique of the CV is the testimony of his quest for accuracy and systematization. As mentioned before, the MV is a complete grammatical system with the Suttapāṭha, the Dhātupāṭha, the Gaṇapāṭha and the Nvādipāṭha. Creation of such an accomplished grammatical system seems to be motivated by the urge to bring the Pali grammatical tradition at par with Sanskrit.

This difference in the attitude of Mogg and Agg seem to be governed by their respective environments, motives and beliefs. Agg is in favour of combining the tradition of the Aṭṭhakathās and

grammar even at the cost of bulkiness of his work, for he believes that by doing so he would be able to provide to his readers much required proficiency and insight into the canonical and the non-canonical literature. Mogg on the other hand seems to be motivated by the accuracy and the efficacy of the Sanskrit grammar. By combining the two distinct styles of K and C, he tries to strike a balance between simplicity and sophistication.

These are some primary observations based on our study of the technical terminology and the technique of the Pali grammarians. However, these are in no way conclusive considering the limited scope of this work. There is a need of further investigation of the remaining aspects of these grammars to get a clearer picture of the development of the Pali grammatical tradition and its relationship with the Sanskrit grammars.

Appendix One

Works related to the School of Kaccāyana				
Sr. No.	Name of the text	Author	Period	Quoted in
1.	<i>Mahā-nirutti</i> ¹	-	2 nd half of 8 th century A.D.	Sadd, Rūp, Mmd-pt, Mmd
2.	<i>Sudattakisiva-nirutti</i> ²	-	-	Mmd
3.	<i>Nirutti-pitaka</i>	-	1st half of 9 th century A.D.	Rūp, MVu, Sadd
4.	<i>Cula-nirutti</i>	<i>Yamaka-Mahāthera</i>	2 nd half of 9 th century A.D.	Mogg-p, Sadd

¹ A grammar of someone belonging to a different school (*nikāyantaravāsin*), which would indicate that it differs from the school of K.

² According to Mmd-pt, it is a grammar of someone belonging to a different school (*nikāyantaravāsin*), which would indicate that it differs from the school of K.

5.	<i>Mañjūsā</i>	<i>Patañjali</i>	9 th century A.D.	Mmd, Rūp, Sadd
6.	<i>Saṅgaha</i>	<i>Saṅgahakāra</i>	8 th - 10 th century A.D.	Mmd, Kacc- nidd
7.	<i>Mahāsandhi</i>	-	-	Rūp -t
8.	<i>Culasandhi</i>	-	-	Rūp -t
9.	<i>Mukhamatta- dīpanī / Kaccāyana- nyāsa / Kaccāyana- vuttivāṇṇanā</i>	<i>Vajirabuddhi / Vimala- buddhi</i>	10 th - 11 th century A.D.	-
10.	<i>Rūpasiddhi</i>	<i>Buddhappiya Dīpañkara</i>	11 th century A.D.	-
11.	<i>Nyāsappadīpa- ppakarāṇa</i>	-	12 th century A.D.	-
12.	<i>Nyāsappadīpa- tīkā</i>	-	12 th century A.D.	-
13.	<i>Kārikā</i>	<i>Dhamma- senāpati</i>	12 th century A.D.	-
14.	<i>Saddattha- bhedacintā</i>	<i>Saddhamma- siri</i>	End of 12 th	-

			century A.D. Acc. to Forch- hammer 14 th century A.D.	
15.	<i>Mukhamatta-sāra</i> with <i>tīkā</i>	<i>Gunasāgara</i>	Begin- ning of 13 th century A.D.	Kacc-nidd and Gv
16.	<i>Akkharapada-mañjusā</i>	-	-	Kacc-nidd
17.	<i>Atthavyākhyāna</i>	<i>Cuṭavajīra</i>	-	Kacc-nidd, and Gv
18.	<i>Akkharasamūha</i>	-	-	Kacc-nidd
19.	<i>Atthakathāttha-dīpanī</i>	-	-	Kacc-nidd
20.	<i>Atthojotaka</i>	-	-	Kacc-nidd
21.	<i>Atthavinicchaya vappanā</i>	-	-	Kacc-nidd
22.	<i>Kaccāyananissa yappakaraṇa</i>	-	-	Kacc-nidd
23.	<i>Tīkāvyākhyā</i>	-	-	Kacc-nidd
24.	<i>Therapotthaka</i>	-	-	Kacc-nidd

25.	<i>Niruttijotaka</i>	-	-	Kacc-nidd
26.	<i>Niruttijotaka-vanpanā</i>	-	-	Kacc-nidd
27.	<i>Niruttibijā-khyāna</i>	-	-	Kacc-nidd
28.	<i>Nyāsatīkā</i>	-	-	Kacc-nidd
29.	<i>Nyāsapadīpatīkā</i>	-	-	Kacc-nidd
30.	<i>Saṅgahakāra</i>	-	-	Kacc-nidd
31.	<i>Bhassakāri</i>	-	-	Kacc-nidd
32.	<i>Bijākhyāna</i>	-	-	Kacc-nidd
33.	<i>Bijākhyā</i>	-	-	Kacc-nidd
34.	<i>Nyāsappadīpa-ppakarana</i>	-	-	Kacc-nidd
35.	<i>Atthavannanā</i>	-	-	Kacc-nidd
36.	<i>Kaccāyanasuttaniddesa</i>	<i>Chapata</i>	1 st half of 13 th century A.D.	-
37.	<i>Bālavatāra</i>	<i>Dhammaditti</i>	14 th century A.D.	-
38.	<i>Saddasārattha-jālinī</i>	<i>Bhadanta Nāgita</i>	14 th century A.D.	-

39.	<i>Kaccāyanabheda</i>	<i>Mahāyasa</i>	14 th century A.D.	-
40.	<i>Kaccāyanasāra</i>	<i>Mahāyasa</i>	14 th century A.D.	-
41.	<i>Saddhamma-saṅgaha</i>	-	End of 14 th century A.D.	-
42.	<i>Saddabindu</i>	<i>Kyacva</i>	Mid 15 th century A.D.	-
43.	<i>Kaccāyanavaññanā</i>	<i>Vijitāvī</i>	16 th century A.D.	-
44.	<i>Vācakopadesa</i>	<i>Vijitāvī</i>	16 th century A.D.	-
45.	<i>Niruttisāra-mañjūsā</i>	<i>Bhikkhu Dāthānāga</i>	Mid-17 th century A.D.	-
46.	<i>Sambandhacintā</i>	<i>Saṅgha-rakkhita</i>	1 st half of 13 th century A.D.	-
47.	<i>Abhinavacuṭa-nirutti</i>	<i>Sirisaddham mālaṇikāra</i>	-	-

48.	<i>Dhātumañjūsā</i>	<i>Sīlavamśa</i>	After 14 th century A.D.	-
49.	<i>Mahātīkā</i> , a commentary on the <i>Saddatthabhedacintā</i>	Thera Abhaya	14 th century A.D.	-
50.	<i>Sambandhacintātīkā</i>	Thera Abhaya	14 th century A.D.	-
51.	<i>Kaccāyanatīkā</i>	Sirisaddhamma-vilāsa	Late 14 th century	-
52.	<i>Saddamālā</i>	Attaragama Baṇḍāra Rājaguru	18 th century A.D.	-

Works related to the School of Saddanīti				
Sr. No.	Name of the text	Author	Period	Quoted in
1.	<i>Saddanīti</i>	<i>Aggavamsa</i>	1154 A.D.	-
2.	<i>Dhātvatthadīpanī</i>	<i>Hiṅgulavala Jinaratana</i>	-	-

Works related to the School of Moggallāna				
Sr. No.	Name of the text	Author	Period	Quoted in
1.	<i>Moggallāna-vyākaraṇa</i> with <i>Moggallānavutti</i> and <i>Moggallānapañjikā</i>	<i>Moggallāna</i>	1153-1186 A.D.	-
2.	<i>Padasādhana</i>	<i>Piyadassī</i>	-	-
3.	<i>Padasādhanatīkā</i>	<i>Śri Rāhūla</i>	15 th century A.D.	-
4.	<i>Payogasiddhi</i>	<i>Vanaratana</i> <i>Medhañkara</i>	13 th century A.D.	-
5.	<i>Moggallānapañcikā-pradīpa</i>	<i>Rāhūla</i> <i>Vācissara</i>	1457 A.D.	-
6.	<i>Buddhipasādaniṭīkā</i>	<i>Rāhūla</i> <i>Vācissara</i>	1457 A.D.	-
7.	<i>Dhātupāṭha</i>	-	-	-
8.	<i>Padāvatāra</i>	<i>Saṅgharāja</i> <i>Śrī Sāriputra</i>	-	-
9.	<i>Susaddasiddhi</i>	<i>Saṅgharāja</i> <i>Saṅgha-</i> <i>rakkhita</i> <i>Mahāthera</i>	-	-

10.	<i>Sambandhacintā</i>	<i>Saṅgharāja Saṅgha- rakkhita Mahāthera</i>	-	-
11.	<i>Sāratthavilāsinī</i>	<i>Saṅgharāja Saṅgha- rakkhita Mahāthera</i>	-	-

Other Grammatical Works				
Sr. No.	Name of the text	Author	Period	Quoted in
1.	<i>Liṅgatthavivarāṇa</i>	<i>Subhūti-candana</i>	-	-
2.	<i>Liṅgatthavivarāṇa-ppakāsaka</i>	<i>Ñāṇasāgara</i>	-	-
3.	<i>Liṅgatthavivarāṇa-vinicchaya</i>	-	-	-
4.	<i>Liṅgatthavivarāṇa-tīkā</i>	<i>Uttama</i>	-	-
5.	A commentary on <i>Bālāvatāra</i>	<i>Uttama</i>	-	-
6.	<i>Vācavācaka / Vaccavācaka</i>	<i>Dhammadassi</i>	-	-
7.	<i>Paramatthabindu</i>	<i>Kyacva</i>	Mid 15 th century A.D.	-
8.	<i>Vibhattyattha</i>	Daughter of Kyacva	-	-
9.	<i>Vibhattyattha</i>	Thera Saddammañāṇa	Early 14 th century A.D.	-

10.	<i>Gandhatthi</i>	Maṅgala	14 th century A.D.	-
11.	<i>Saddavutti</i> / <i>Saddavuttipakāsaka</i>	Saddhamma-pāla	14 th century	-
12.	A commentary on <i>Saddavutti</i>	Sāriputta	-	-
13.	<i>Sambandhamālinī</i>	-	-	-
14.	<i>Akkharamālā</i>	Nāgasena	Late 18 th century	-
15.	<i>Rūpamālā</i>	Saranyaṅkara	1698-9 A.D.	-
16.	<i>Sudhīramukha- maṇḍana</i>	Attaragama Baṇḍāra Rājaguru	18 th century A.D.	-
17.	<i>Kārakapuppha- mañjari</i>	Attaragama Baṇḍāra Rājaguru	18 th century A.D.	-

Appendix Two

Concordance One

Terms Common to All the Three Pali Grammars with Their Parallels in the Three Sanskrit Grammars

Kacc	Sadd	MV	Aṣṭ	Kt	CV
<i>Akkhara</i>	<i>Akkhara</i>	<i>Akkhara</i>	<i>Al</i>	<i>Aksara</i>	<i>Al</i>
<i>Anāgata</i>	<i>Anāgata</i>	<i>Anāgata</i>	<i>Bhavi-</i> <i>syat</i>	<i>Bhavi-</i> <i>syat</i>	<i>Bhavi-</i> <i>syat</i>
<i>Anu-</i> <i>bandha</i>	<i>Anu-</i> <i>bandha</i>	<i>Anu-</i> <i>bandha</i>	<i>It</i>	<i>Anu-</i> <i>bandha</i>	<i>It</i>
<i>Āgama</i>	<i>Āgama</i>	<i>Āgama</i>	-	<i>Āgama</i>	-
<i>Ādesa</i>	<i>Ādesa</i>	<i>Ādesa</i>	<i>Ādeśa</i>	<i>Ādeśa</i>	<i>Ādeśa</i>
<i>Itthi</i>	<i>Itthi /</i> <i>Itthi-</i> <i>liṅga</i>	<i>Itthi /</i> <i>Itthi-</i> <i>liṅga</i>	<i>Strī</i>	<i>Strī</i>	<i>Strī</i>
<i>Uttama</i>	<i>Uttama</i>	<i>Uttama</i>	<i>Uttama</i>	<i>Uttama</i>	<i>Uttama-</i> <i>traya</i>
<i>Upa-</i> <i>pada</i>	<i>Upa-</i> <i>pada</i>	<i>Upa-</i> <i>pada</i>	<i>Upa-</i> <i>pada</i>	<i>Upa-</i> <i>pada</i>	-
<i>Kattar</i>	<i>Kattar</i>	<i>Kattar</i>	<i>Kartr̥</i>	<i>Kartr̥</i>	<i>Kartr̥</i>

<i>Kamma</i>	<i>Kamma</i>	<i>Kamma</i>	<i>Karman</i>	<i>Karman</i>	<i>Āpya, Vyāpya</i>
<i>Karana</i>	<i>Karana</i>	<i>Karana</i>	<i>Karana</i>	<i>Karana</i>	<i>Karana</i>
<i>Ga</i>	<i>Ga</i>	<i>Ga</i>	<i>Sam-buddhi</i>	<i>Sam-buddhi</i>	<i>Sam-buddhi / Sambo-dhane su</i>
<i>Garu</i>	<i>Garu</i>	<i>Guru</i>	<i>Guru</i>	<i>Guru</i>	<i>Guru</i>
<i>Gha</i>	<i>Gha</i>	<i>Gha</i>	-	<i>Śraddhā</i>	-
<i>Catutthī</i>	<i>Catutthī</i>	<i>Catutthī</i>	<i>Caturthī</i>	<i>Caturthī</i>	<i>Caturthī</i>
<i>Chatthī</i>	<i>Chatthī</i>	<i>Chatthī</i>	<i>Sasthī</i>	<i>Sasthī</i>	<i>Sasthī</i>
<i>Jha + la</i>	<i>Jha + la</i>	<i>Jha + la</i>	<i>Ghi</i>	<i>Agni</i>	<i>Idut</i>
<i>Tatiyā</i>	<i>Tatiyā</i>	<i>Tatiyā</i>	<i>Tr̥tīyā</i>	<i>Tr̥tīyā</i>	<i>Tr̥tīyā</i>
<i>Dīgha</i>	<i>Dīgha</i>	<i>Dīgha</i>	<i>Dīrgha</i>	<i>Dīrgha</i>	<i>Dīrgha</i>
<i>Dutīyā</i>	<i>Dutīyā</i>	<i>Dutīyā</i>	<i>Dvitīyā</i>	<i>Dvitīyā</i>	<i>Dvitīyā</i>
<i>Dhātu</i>	<i>Dhātu</i>	<i>Dhātu, Kiri-yattha</i>	<i>Dhātu</i>	<i>Dhātu</i>	<i>Kriyā-rtha</i>
<i>Napum-saka</i>	<i>Napum-saka / Napum-saka-līṅga</i>	<i>Napum-saka / napum-sakatta</i>	<i>Napum-saka</i>	<i>Napum-saka</i>	<i>Napum-saka</i>
<i>Nāma</i>	<i>Nāma</i>	<i>Nāma</i>	<i>Nāman</i>	<i>Nāman</i>	-

<i>Nigga-hīta</i>	<i>Nigga-hīta</i>	<i>Nigga-hīta</i>	<i>Anu-svāra</i>	<i>Anu-svāra</i>	<i>Anu-svāra</i>
<i>Nipāta</i>	<i>Nipāta</i>	<i>Cādi, Nipāta</i>	<i>Nipāta</i>	<i>Nipāta</i>	<i>Cavādi</i>
<i>Pa</i>	<i>Pa</i>	<i>Pa</i>	-	-	-
<i>Paccaya</i>	<i>Paccaya</i>	<i>Paccaya</i>	<i>Pra-tyaya</i>	<i>Pra-tyaya</i>	<i>Pra-tyaya</i>
<i>Pañcamī</i>	<i>Pañcamī</i>	<i>Pañcamī</i>	<i>Pañcamī</i>	<i>Pañcamī</i>	<i>Pañcamī</i>
<i>Pa-thama</i>	<i>Pa-thama</i>	<i>Pa-thama</i>	<i>Pra-thama</i>	<i>Pra-thama</i>	<i>Ādyāḥ</i>
<i>Pa-thamā</i>	<i>Pa-thamā</i>	<i>Pa-thamā</i>	<i>Pra-thamā</i>	<i>Pra-thamā</i>	<i>Pra-thamā</i>
<i>Pada</i>	<i>Pada</i>	<i>Pada</i>	<i>Pada</i>	<i>Pada</i>	<i>Pada</i>
<i>Para</i>	<i>Para</i>	<i>Para</i>	<i>Para</i>	<i>Para</i>	<i>Para</i>
<i>Pubba</i>	<i>Pubba</i>	<i>Pubba</i>	<i>Pūrva</i>	<i>Pūrva</i>	<i>Pūrva</i>
<i>Pum</i>	<i>Pum / pum-liṅga</i>	<i>Pum</i>	<i>Pum</i>	<i>Pum</i>	<i>Pum</i>
<i>Bya-ñjana</i>	<i>Vya-ñjana</i>	<i>Vya-ñjana</i>	<i>Hal</i>	<i>Vya-ñjana</i>	<i>Hal</i>
<i>Bhāva</i>	<i>Bhāva</i>	<i>Bhāva</i>	<i>Bhāva</i>	<i>Bhāva</i>	<i>Bhāva</i>
<i>Majjhima</i>	<i>Majjhima</i>	<i>Majjhima</i>	<i>Madhya-ma</i>	<i>Madhya-ma</i>	<i>Madhya-matraya</i>

<i>Rassa</i>	<i>Rassa</i>	<i>Rassa</i>	<i>Hrasva</i>	<i>Hrasva</i>	<i>Hrasva</i>
<i>Liṅga</i>	<i>Liṅga</i>	<i>Liṅga</i>	<i>Liṅga</i>	-	-
<i>Lopa</i>	<i>Lopa</i>	<i>Lopa</i>	<i>Lopa,</i> <i>Luk,</i> <i>Ślu, Lup</i>	<i>Lopa</i>	<i>Lopa,</i> <i>Luk</i>
<i>Vagga</i>	<i>Vagga</i>	<i>Vagga</i>	<i>Udit</i>	<i>Varga</i>	<i>Varga</i>
<i>Vaṇṇa</i>	<i>Vaṇṇa</i>	<i>Vaṇṇa</i>	-	<i>Varna</i>	-
<i>Vibhatti</i>	<i>Vibhatti</i>	<i>Vibhatti</i>	<i>Vibhakti</i>	<i>Vibhakti</i>	<i>Vibhakti</i>
<i>Vi-</i> <i>sesana</i>	<i>Vi-</i> <i>sesana</i>	<i>Vi-</i> <i>sesana</i>	<i>Vi-</i> <i>śeṣāṇa</i>	<i>Vi-</i> <i>śeṣāṇa</i>	<i>Vi-</i> <i>śeṣāṇa</i>
<i>Vuddhi</i>	<i>Vuddhi</i>	<i>Vuddhi</i>	<i>Vṛddhi</i>	<i>Vṛddhi</i>	<i>Ādaic</i>
<i>Sam-</i> <i>yoga</i>	<i>Sam-</i> <i>yoga</i>	<i>Sam-</i> <i>yoga</i>	<i>Sam-</i> <i>yoga</i>	<i>Sam-</i> <i>yoga</i>	<i>Sam-</i> <i>yoga</i>
<i>Sattamī</i>	<i>Sattamī</i>	<i>Sattamī</i>	<i>Saptamī</i>	<i>Saptamī</i>	<i>Saptamī</i>
<i>Samāsa</i>	<i>Samāsa</i>	<i>Samāsa,</i> <i>Ekattha</i>	<i>Samāsa</i>	<i>Samāsa</i>	<i>Samāsa,</i> <i>Ekārtha</i>
<i>Sampa-</i> <i>dāna</i>	<i>Sampa-</i> <i>dāna</i>	<i>Sampa-</i> <i>dāna</i>	<i>Sampra-</i> <i>dāna</i>	<i>Sampra-</i> <i>dāna</i>	<i>Sampra-</i> <i>dāna</i>
<i>Sara</i>	<i>Sara</i>	<i>Sara</i>	<i>Ac</i>	<i>Svara</i>	<i>Ac</i>
<i>Savaṇṇa</i>	<i>Savaṇṇa</i>	<i>Savaṇṇa</i>	<i>Savarna</i>	<i>Savarna</i>	<i>Sa-</i> <i>sṭhāna</i> <i>Savarga</i>

Concordance Two

Terms Common only to the Kaccāyana and the Saddanīti with Their Parallels in Other Grammars

Kacc	Sadd	MV	Aṣṭ	Kt	CV
<i>Aghosa</i>	<i>Aghosa</i>	-	<i>Khar</i>	<i>Aghoṣa</i>	<i>Khar</i>
<i>Ajjatani</i>	<i>Ajjatani</i>	<i>i-ādi</i>	<i>Luṇ</i>	<i>Adya-tanī</i>	<i>Luṇ</i>
<i>Ajja-pabhuti atīta</i>	<i>Ajja-pabhuti atīta</i>	<i>Bhūta</i>	<i>Bhūta</i>	-	<i>Bhūta</i>
<i>Atīta</i>	<i>Atīta</i>	<i>Bhūta</i>	<i>Bhūta</i>	<i>Atīta / Bhūta</i>	<i>Bhūta</i>
<i>Attano-pada</i>	<i>Attano-pada</i>	<i>Para-cchakka</i>	<i>Ātmane-pada</i>	<i>Ātmane-pada</i>	<i>Taṇāna</i>
<i>Apacca-kha atīta</i>	<i>Apacca-kha atīta</i>	<i>Parokkha bhūta</i>	<i>Parokṣa bhūta</i>	-	<i>Parokṣa bhūta</i>
<i>Apā-dāna</i>	<i>Apā-dāna</i>	<i>Avadhi</i>	<i>Apā-dāna</i>	<i>Apā-dāna</i>	<i>Avadhi</i>
<i>Abyaya</i>	<i>Avyaya</i>	<i>A-samkhya</i>	<i>Avyaya</i>	<i>Avyaya</i>	<i>A-samkhya</i>
<i>Abyayī-</i>	<i>Avyayī-</i>	<i>Asam-</i>	<i>Avyayī-</i>	<i>Avyayī-</i>	<i>Asam-</i>

<i>bhāva</i>	<i>bhāva</i>	<i>khyattha</i>	<i>bhāva</i>	<i>bhāva</i>	<i>khyārtha</i>
<i>Abbhāsa</i>	<i>Abbhāsa</i>	<i>Dvitte pubba</i>	<i>Abhyāsa</i>	<i>Abhyāsa</i>	<i>Dvitve pūrva</i>
<i>Asabba- dhātuka</i>	<i>Asabba- dhātuka</i>	-	<i>Ārdha- dhātuka</i>	<i>Ārdha- dhātuka</i>	<i>Lidāśīr- liň atiňśit</i>
<i>Ālapana</i>	<i>Ālapana</i>	-	-	-	-
<i>Upadhā</i>	<i>Upadhā</i>	<i>Upanta</i>	<i>Upadhā</i>	<i>Upadhā</i>	<i>Upānta</i>
<i>Upa- sagga</i>	<i>Upa- sagga</i>	<i>Pādi</i>	<i>Upa- sarga</i>	<i>Upa- sarga</i>	<i>Prādi</i>
<i>Eka- vacana</i>	<i>Eka- vacana</i>	<i>Eka</i>	<i>Eka- vacana</i>	<i>Eka- vacana</i>	<i>Eka- vacana</i>
<i>Ekasesa</i>	<i>Ekasesa</i>	-	<i>Ekaśesa</i>	-	-
<i>Okāsa, Padesa</i>	<i>Okāsa / Adhi- karaṇa</i>	<i>Ādhāra / Adhi- karaṇa</i>	<i>Adhi- karaṇa</i>	<i>Adhi- karaṇa</i>	<i>Ādhāra</i>
<i>Kamma- dhāraya</i>	<i>Kamma- dhāraya</i>	-	<i>Karma- dhāraya</i>	<i>Karma- dhāraya</i>	-
<i>Kamma- ppavaca- nīya</i>	<i>Kamma- ppavaca- nīya</i>	-	<i>Karma- pravaca- nīya</i>	<i>Karma- pravaca- nīya</i>	-
<i>Kārita</i>	<i>Kārita</i>	<i>Payojja</i>	<i>Nī</i>	<i>Kārita</i>	<i>Prayojya</i>
<i>Kāla</i>	<i>Kāla</i>	-	-	<i>Kāla</i>	-

<i>Kālāti-patti</i>	<i>Kālāti-patti</i>	<i>Ssa-ādi</i>	<i>Lṛṇ</i>	<i>Kriyāti-patti</i>	<i>Lṛṇ</i>
<i>Kicca</i>	<i>Kicca</i>	<i>Tabbādi</i>	<i>Kṛtya</i>	<i>Kṛtya</i>	<i>Tavyādi-sat</i>
<i>Kita, Kitaka</i>	<i>Kita</i>	-	<i>Kṛt</i>	<i>Kṛt</i>	-
<i>Ghosa</i>	<i>Ghosa</i>	-	<i>Haś</i>	<i>Ghosa</i>	<i>Haś</i>
<i>Taddhita</i>	<i>Taddhita</i>	-	<i>Taddhita</i>	<i>Taddhita</i>	-
<i>Ta-ppurisa</i>	<i>Ta--ppurisa</i>	<i>Amādi-ekattha</i>	<i>Tat-puruṣa</i>	<i>Tat-puruṣa</i>	<i>Ananya-saṃkhya</i>
<i>Digu</i>	<i>Digu</i>	<i>Sam-khyādi</i>	<i>Dvigu</i>	<i>Dvigu</i>	<i>Sam-khyādi</i>
<i>Dvanda</i>	<i>Dvanda</i>	<i>Cāttha</i>	<i>Dvandva</i>	<i>Dvandva</i>	<i>Cārtha</i>
<i>Nadī</i>	<i>Nadī</i>	-	<i>Nadī</i>	<i>Nadī</i>	<i>ṇīyūn</i>
<i>Paccu-ppanna</i>	<i>Paccu-ppanna</i>	<i>Vatta-māna</i>	<i>Varta-māna</i>	<i>Sam-prati</i>	<i>Varta-māna</i>
<i>Pañcamī</i>	<i>Pañcamī</i>	-	<i>Lot</i>	<i>Pañcamī</i>	<i>Lot</i>
<i>Parassa-pada</i>	<i>Parassa-pada</i>	<i>Pubba-cchakka</i>	<i>Para-smai-pada</i>	<i>Para-smai-pada</i>	<i>Atań</i>
<i>Parokkhā</i>	<i>Parokkhā</i>	<i>a-ādi</i>	<i>Lit</i>	<i>Parokṣā</i>	<i>Lit</i>
<i>Purisa</i>	<i>Purisa</i>	-	-	<i>Puruṣa</i>	-

<i>Bahu-bbīhi</i>	<i>Bahu-bbīhi</i>	<i>Añña-ttha</i>	<i>Bahu-vrīhi</i>	<i>Bahu-vrīhi</i>	<i>Anyā-rtha</i>
<i>Bahu-vacana</i>	<i>Bahu-vacana</i>	<i>Bahu / Aneka</i>	<i>Bahu-vacana</i>	<i>Bahu-vacana</i>	<i>Bahu-vacana</i>
<i>Bhavi-ssantī</i>	<i>Bhavi-ssantī</i>	<i>Ssaccādi</i>	<i>Lut, Lṛt</i>	<i>Bhavi-syantī, Śvastanī</i>	<i>Lut, Lṛt</i>
<i>Liṅga, Sadda</i>	<i>Liṅga, Pāti-padika, Sadda</i>	<i>Nāma</i>	<i>Prāti-padika</i>	<i>Liṅga</i>	<i>Śabda</i>
<i>Vatta-mānā</i>	<i>Vatta-mānā</i>	-	<i>Lat</i>	<i>Varta-mānā</i>	<i>Lat</i>
<i>Vikāra</i>	<i>Vikāra</i>	-	-	-	-
<i>Vipari-yāya</i>	<i>Vipari-yāya</i>	<i>Vipa-llāsa</i>	-	<i>Vi-paryaya</i>	-
<i>Viparīta</i>	<i>Viparīta</i>	-	-	-	-
<i>Vi-samyoga</i>	<i>Vi-samyoga</i>	-	-	-	-
<i>Sattamī</i>	<i>Sattamī</i>	<i>Eyyādi</i>	<i>Liṅ</i>	<i>Saptamī, Āśīh</i>	<i>Liṅ</i>
<i>Sabba-dhātuka</i>	<i>Sabba-dhātuka</i>	-	<i>Sārva-dhātuka</i>	<i>Sārva-dhātuka</i>	<i>Alidāśīr-liṅ tiṇśit</i>
<i>Sabba-</i>	<i>Sabba-</i>	<i>Sabbādi</i>	<i>Sarva-</i>	<i>Sarvanā</i>	<i>Sarvādi</i>

<i>nāma</i>	<i>nāma</i>		<i>nāman</i>	<i>man</i>	
<i>Sāmi</i>	<i>Sāmi</i>	<i>Sam-bandha</i>	<i>Śeṣa</i>	<i>Svāmyādi</i>	<i>Sam-bandha</i>
<i>Hiya-ttānī</i>	<i>Hiya-ttānī</i>	<i>ā-ādi</i>	<i>Lañ</i>	<i>Hya-stānī</i>	<i>Lañ</i>
<i>Hiyo-ppabhutī-atīta</i>	<i>Hiyo-ppabhutī-atīta</i>	<i>Anajjata-na-bhūta</i>	<i>Anadyata-na-bhūta</i>	-	<i>Anadyata-na-bhūta</i>

Concordance Three

Terms Common only to the Saddanīti and the Moggallāna Vyākaraṇa with Their Parallels in Other Grammars

Sadd	MV	Aṣṭ	Kt	CV
<i>Ākhyāta</i>	<i>Ākhyāta, Tyādyanta</i>	<i>Tiñanta</i>	-	<i>Tiñanta</i>
<i>Kāraka</i>	<i>Kāraka</i>	<i>Kāraka</i>	-	<i>Kāraka</i>
<i>Kitaka</i>	<i>Kitaka</i>	-	-	-
<i>Vikaraṇa</i>	<i>Vikarana</i>	-	<i>Vikaraṇa</i>	-
<i>Vutti</i>	<i>Vutti</i>	-	-	-
<i>Lahu</i>	<i>Lahu</i>	<i>Laghu</i>	<i>Laghu</i>	<i>Laghu</i>

**Concordance Four: Terms found only in the
Saddanīti with their Parallels in Aṣṭādhyāyī**

Sadd	Aṣṭ
<i>Aphuttha</i>	-
<i>Karaṇa</i>	-
<i>Thāna</i>	Āsyā
<i>Dhanita</i>	-
<i>Payatana</i>	Prayatna
<i>Paranayana</i>	-
<i>Phuttha</i>	-
<i>Bhāva-napumsaka</i>	Kiriyā-visesana
<i>Vacana</i>	Vacana
<i>Vavatthita</i>	-
<i>Vippakata</i>	Sadanta
<i>Vimutta</i>	-
<i>Viyoga</i>	-
<i>Sandhi</i>	-
<i>Sambaddha</i>	Samhitā
<i>Sithila</i>	-

**Concordance Five: Terms found only in the
Moggallāna Vyākaraṇa with Their Parallels in
Other Grammars**

MV	Aṣṭ	Kt	CV
<i>Antassarādi</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>Svarāntya</i>	<i>Antyajādi</i>
<i>Āmantapa</i>	<i>Āmantrita</i>	<i>Āmantrita</i>	<i>Āmantrita</i>
<i>Samāsanta</i>	<i>Samāsānta</i>	-	<i>Samāsānta</i>

Appendix Three

Concordance of Parallel Citations

Pali	Sanskrit
na kkharantī ti akkharā (Mmd 2).	na kṣīyate na kṣaratīti vā'kṣaram / (Mbh I.36)
na kkharantī ti akkharā (Sadd 2).	na kṣarati kṣīyate vā'kṣaram iti niruktam (Kt 2.2.59).
samāno vaṇṇo savaṇṇo (Mmd 2).	samāno varṇah savarṇah (DT 1.1.4).
dve dve savaṇṇā (MV 1.3)	dve dve savarṇe ... (TP 1.3)
tesu dve dve sarā savaṇṇā nāma honti (MVu 1.3)	teṣāṁ dvau dvāv anyonyasya savarṇau (Kt 1.1.4).
tattha atṭhādo sarā (Sadd 3)	tatra caturdaśādau svarāḥ (Kt 1.1.2).
sayam rājantī ti sarā (Sadd 3).	svayam rājante svarāḥ (Mbh I.206). svayam rājanta iti svarāḥ (DT 1.1.2).
sesā byañjanā (Kacc 6).	śeso vyāñjanāni (TP 1.1.6).
byañjiyati attho etehī ti vā byañjanā (Mmd 6).	vyajyate'neneti vyāñjanam (Mbh III.408-409).
attham vyāñjayanti pākaṭam karontī ti vyāñjanā (Sadd 6).	vyajyata ebhira iti vyāñjanāni (Kt 1.1.9).

sare anugacchantī ti vyañjanāni (Sadd 6).	anvag bhavati vyañjanam / (Mbh I.206).
kādayo vyañjanā (MV 6).	kādīni vyañjanāni (Kt 1.1.9). vyañjanam kādi (VP 1.47).
tesu dvīsu yo yo pubbo so so rassasañño hoti (MVu 1.5).	dvayor dvayoh savarṇasamjñayor yo yaḥ pūrvo varṇaḥ sa sa hrasvasamjñō bhavati (DV 1.1.5)
aññe dīghā (Kacc 5).	anye dīrghāḥ (RP 1.18).
paro dīgho (MV 1.5)	paro dīrghaḥ (Kt 1.1.6)
tesveva dvīsu yo yo paro so so dīghasañño hoti (MVu 1.5).	dvayor dvayoh savarṇasamjñayor yo yaḥ paro varṇaḥ sa sa dīrghasamjñō bhavati (DV 1.1.6)
vaggā pañcapañcaso mantā (Kacc 7). pañca pañcakā vaggā (MV 1.7)	te vargāḥ pañca pañca pañca (Kt 1.1.10). pañca te pañca vargāḥ (RP 1.8). sparśānām ānupūrvyeṇa pañca pañca vargāḥ (TP 1.10).
pañhamadutiyāni so ca aghosā; tatiyacatutthapañcamā yaralavahaḥā ghoṣavanto (Sadd 17 - 18)	vargānām prathamadvitīyā vivṛtakanṭhāḥ śvāsānupradānā aghosāḥ / ... tṛtīyacaturthāḥ saṃvṛtakanṭhā nādānupradānā ghoṣavantāḥ (Mbh I.61) vargānām prathamadvitīyāḥ śaśasāś cāghosāḥ (Kt 1.1.11) ghoṣavanto'nye (Kt 1.1.12).

am iti niggahītam (Kacc 8), bindu niggahītam (MV 1.8). yvāyam vaṇṇo bindumatto so niggahītasañño hoti / (Mvu 1.8)	am ity anusvārah (Kt 1.1.19) . iti bindumātravarṇo'nuṣvāra- sañño bhavati (DV 1.1.19).
antakkharato pubbakkharam upadhā (Sadd 1237). upadhā ti antakkharato pubbakkharaṭa parasamaññā (Rūp 553).	alo'ntyāt pūrva upadhā (P 1.1.65). antyāt pūrva upadhā (Kt 2.1.11)
anubandho appayogī (Rūp 537).	yo'nubandho'prayogī (Kt 3.8.31).
sato vināśo lopo (Sadd 24)	vināśo lopah (TP 1.58). adarśanam lopah (P 1.1.60), varṇasyādarśanam lopah (VP 1.147).
etāni satta dukāni sattavibhattiyo; vibhāgo vibhattīti katvā (MV 2.1).	Tāny etāni sapta trayāni sapta vibhaktayo bhavanti, vibhāgo vibhaktir iti kṛtvā (CV 2.1.1)
āvassakādhamiṇesu ni ca (Kacc 638, Sadd 1245).	āvaśyakādhamarṇayor niṇ (Kt 4.5.111) āvaśyakādhamarṇayayoḥ niṇih (P 3.3.170)
sato saddenābhimukhīkaraṇam	siddhasyābhimukhīkaraṇam āmantritam (DV 2.1.5)

āmantaṇam (MVu 2.40)	
pajjatenenattho ti padam, syādyantam tyādyantam ca (MVu 2.234)	padyate gamyate'nenārtha iti padam, subantam tīñantam ca (CVṛ 6.3.15)
sabbakatarādayo sabbanāmāni (Sadd 269)	sarvādīni sarvanāmāni (P 1.1.27).
kiryānimittam kārakam (Sadd 547).	kārakam ca kriyānimittam (KVP on Kt 2.4.1)
yo karoti sa kattā (Kacc 283)	yāp karoti sa kartā (Kt 2.4.14).
yo kattāram kāreti so hetusañño hoti kattā ca (Kacc-Vu 284).	kārayati yah sa hetuś ca (Kt 2.4.15). tam eva kartāram yah kārayati sa hetusamjño bhavati, cakārāt kartrsamjñaś ca (DV 2.4.15)
yam karoti tam kammam (Kacc 282).	yat kriyate tat karma (Kt 2.4.13).
yena vā karīyate tam karaṇam (Kacc 281).	yena kriyate tat karaṇam (Kt 2.4.12)
taṁ duvidham ajjhattikabāhiravasena (Sadd 552)	tac ca karaṇam dvividham bāhyam ābhyantram ca (DT, KVP 2.4.12).
sammā pakāreṇa dadāti assā ti sampadānam (Rūp 581).	samyak prakarṣeṇa dīyate (KāśN I:546).
yassa dātukāmo rocate dhārayate vā tam	yasmai ditsā rocate dhārayate vā tat

sampadānam (Kacc 278).	sampradānam (Kt 2.4.10).
yasmādapeti bhayamādatte vā tadapādānam (Kacc 273). yasmā vā apeti, yasmā vā bhayam jāyate, yasmā vā ādatte, tam kārakam apādānasāññām hoti (Kacc- Vu 272)	yasmād apaiti, yasmād bhayam bhavati, yasmād ādatte vā, tat kārakam apādānasāññām bhavati (DV 2.4.8). yato' paiti bhayam ādatte vā tad apādānam (Kt 2.4.8).
apecca ito ādadātī ti apādānam, ito vatthuto kāyavasena cittavasena vā apagantvā aññām gaṇhātī ti attho (Sadd 555).	
apecca etasmā ādadātī ti apādānam (Rūp 581)	
yodhāro tamokāsam (Kacc 280, Sadd 572).	ya ādhāras tad adhikaraṇam (Kt 2.4.11)
chatthī sambandhe (MV 2.41)	saṣṭhī sambandhe (CV 2.1.95)
nāmānam samāso yuttattho (Kacc 318).	nāmnām samāso yuktārthaḥ (Kt 2.5.1).
samasanām samāso (Sadd 675)	samasanām samāsaḥ (DT 2.1.5)
keci pana 'bhinnatthānam ekatthabhāvo samāsalakkhaṇan' ti vadanti (Sadd 675).	pṛthagarthānām ekārthībhāvaḥ samāsa ity ucyate (CVṛ 2.2.1). pṛthagarthānām ekārthībhāvaḥ

bhinnatthānamekatthībhāvo samāso ti vuccate (MVu 3.1)	samāso bhavati (DT 2.1.5).
vānekaññatthe (MV 3.17).	anekam anyārthe (CV 2.2.46).
catthe (MV 3.19).	cārthe (CV 2.2.48).
nīlassa patassa bhāvo nīlattam, nīlatāti guṇo bhāvo nīlassa guṇassa bhāvo nīlattam nīlatāti nīlagunajāti; gottam gotāti gojāti / pācakattam daṇḍittam visāñittam rājapurisattanti kriyādisambandhittam / devadattattam candattam suriyattanti tadavatthāvisesasāmaññam / ākāsattam abhāvattanti upacāritabhedasāmaññam / (MVu 4.59).	śabdasya pravṛttinimittam / bhavato'smād abhidhānapratyayāv iti bhāvah / śuklasya paṭasya bhāvah śuklatvam śuklateti guṇo bhāvah / śuklasya guṇasya bhāvah śuklatvam śuklateti śuklagunajātih / gotvam goteti gojātih / pācakatvam, daṇḍitvam, viṣāñitvam, rājapuruṣatvam iti kriyādisambandhitvam / devadattatvam, candratvam, sūryatvam iti tad avasthāviśeṣasāmānyam / ākāśtvam abhāvatvam ity upacāritabhedasāmānyam (CVr 4.1.136).

	ākāśatvam iti pradeśabhedāt (DT 2.6.13).
bhāvo nāma kriyā (Rūp 312; Sadd 644).	bhāvah kriyā (Kāśikā on P 2.3.37). bhāvah kriyā (bhavana) vyāpāra iti paryāyah (DT 2.4.34).
bhavanti etasmā buddhisaddāti bhāvo, saddassa pavattinimittam (MVu 4.59).	bhavato' smād abhidhānapratyayāv iti bhāvah / śabdasya pravṛttinimittam / (CVṛ on CV 4.1.136) bhavato yasmāt buddhiśabdau sa bhāva iha gr̥hyate (DT on Kt 2.6.13) bhavato' smād abhidhānapratyayāv iti bhāvah / śabdasya pravṛttinimittam bhāvaśabdenocye (Kāśikā on P 5.1.119)
āraddho aparisamatto attho vattamāno (Rūp 630)	prārabdhāparisamāptakriyālakṣaṇah sampratīty ucyate (Kt 3.1.11) ārabdho'parisamāptaś ca vartamānah (Kāśikā 3.2.123)
pubbobbhāso (Kacc 461, Sadd 940)	pūrvo'bhyāsaḥ (P 6.1.4, Kt 3.3.4).

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