

PALI GRAMMAR

V. PERNIOLA

The Pali Text Society

Oxford

Pali Grammar

Pali Text Society

PALI GRAMMAR

By

VITO PERNIOLA S.J.

Published by
THE PALI TEXT SOCIETY
OXFORD

1997

First published 1997

COPYRIGHT NOTICE

All rights reserved. No part of this work may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means analogue, digital, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise stored in any retrieval system of any nature without the written permission of The Pali Text Society Limited of 73 Lime Walk, Headington, Oxford OX3 7AD.

© *Pali Text Society 1997*

ISBN 0 86013 354 0

Distributed by Lavis Marketing
73 Lime Walk
Oxford OX3 7AD

Printed in Great Britain by
Antony Rowe Ltd, Chippenham, Wiltshire

PREFACE

This Grammar of the Pali Language represents the research work done during the ten years (1955-1965) I was lecturer in Pali and Buddhism at Aquinas College of Higher Studies (Colombo) preparing the students for the General and the Honours Degrees of the University of London. My research came to an end when the Sri Lankan Government stopped all foreign examinations and so the Grammar is not exhaustive. It is based on the language of the Dhamma and Vinaya Pitakas. It was composed for my students, but even research workers will find it useful for their further studies of the language of the Abhidhamma Pitaka and of the Atthakathas.

Vito Perniola S.J.

Kandy, Sri Lanka,
10 April 1996

BIBLIOGRAPHY

a. Grammatical Literature

- Bloch J.: L'Indo-Aryen du Veda aux temps modernes (Paris 1934)
 Burrow T.: The Sanskrit Language (London 1955)
 Geiger W.: Pali Literatur und Sprache (Strassburg 1916)
 Hendriksen H.: Syntax of the Infinite Verb-forms of Pali
 (Copenhagen 1944)
 Macdonnel A.A.: A Sanskrit Grammar for students (London 1950)
 Macdonnel A.A.: A Vedic Grammar for students (Oxford 1955)
 Pischel R.: Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen (Strassburg 1900)
 Rhys Davids T.W. and Stede W.: The Pali Text Society's Pali-
 English Dictionary (London 1952)

b. Pali Books

AN	Anguttara Nikaya	Pali Text Society edition
Dpd	Dhammapada	The Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon (London 1931)
DN	Digha Nikaya	Pali Text Society edition
Itv	Itivuttaka	" " " "
MN	Majjhima Nikaya	" " " "
SN	Samyutta Nikaya	" " " "
Sn	Sutta Nipata	" " " "
Theri	Theri Gatha	" " " "
Ud	Udana	" " " "
VP	Vinaya Pitaka	" " " "

N.B. In the quotations, the Roman number refers to the volume, the other two numbers refer to the page and the line respectively. If the book is in poetry, the reference is to the stanza.

CONTENTS

Preface	I
Bibliography and abbreviations	II
1 The alphabet	1
2 Phonology	4
3 Declensions	29
4 Pronouns	52
5 Numerals	59
6 The verb	70
7 Indeclinable words	129
8 Derivation of nouns	135
9 Nominal compounds	157
10 Verbal compounds	175
11 Evolution of the vowels	180
12 Evolution of the consonants	196
13 Evolution of the declensions	228
14 Evolution of the pronouns	245
15 Evolution of the numerals	253
16 Evolution of the verbal system	257
17 External sandhi	285
18 Agreement	289
19 Syntax of the cases	302
20 Syntax of the verb	338
21 Syntax of the sentence	383

CHAPTER I

THE ALPHABET

The Pali alphabet consists of 42 letters divided into 8 vowels, 33 consonants, and a nasal sound.

1. **THE VOWELS.** The 8 vowels are *a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, e, o.*

a). The vowels may be divided into

short vowels: *a, i, u*

long vowels: *ā, ī, ū*

vowels of variable length: *e, o*

A short vowel contains one mātrā while a long vowel contains two mātrās.

The vowels *e* and *o* are long when they occur at the end of a syllable as in *e-so* 'this', *do-so* 'fault'; and they are short when they are followed by a consonant with which they make syllable as in *met-tā* 'love', *pot-thakam* 'book'.

b). Further the vowels may be divided into

pure vowels: *a, ā*
 sonant vowels: *i, ī, u, ū*
 diphthongs: *e, o*

A pure vowel is one that is always used as a vowel.

A sonant vowel is one that can serve both as a vowel and as a consonant. The sonants *i, ī, u, ū* remain vowels when followed by a consonant, but are changed into their corresponding semivowel *y* and *v* when followed by a vowel:

<i>vi-karoti</i>	<i>vikaroti</i>	changes
<i>vi-akāsi</i>	<i>vyakāsi</i>	changed
<i>su-kara</i>	<i>sukara</i>	easy
<i>su-ākāra</i>	<i>svākāra</i>	of good disposition

A diphthong results from the union of a pure and a sonant vowel. In Pali both *a-i, ā-i* give rise to *e*, while *a-u, ā-u* give rise to *o*:

<i>pa-ikkhati</i>	<i>pekkhati</i>	looks on
<i>saha-udara</i>	<i>sahodara</i>	brother
<i>mahā-udadhi</i>	<i>mahodadhi</i>	the ocean

To understand some phonetic changes, we have to take into consideration the Sanskrit sonant *r* which in Pali is replaced by one of the vowels: *a, i, u*:

<i>kṛta</i>	<i>kata</i>	done
<i>śṛgāla</i>	<i>sigāla</i>	jackal
<i>pṛcchati</i>	<i>pucchati</i>	asks

The semivowel of *r* is *r̥*

2. THE CONSONANTS. The consonants may be divided as follows:

	1	2	3	4	5
Gutturals	<i>k</i>	<i>kh</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>gh</i>	<i>ṅ</i>
Palatals	<i>c</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>jh</i>	<i>ñ</i>
Cerebrals	<i>ṭ</i>	<i>ṭh</i>	<i>ḍ</i>	<i>ḍh</i>	<i>ṇ</i>
Dentals	<i>t</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>dh</i>	<i>n</i>
Labials	<i>p</i>	<i>ph</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>bh</i>	<i>m</i>
Liquid consonants:		<i>r, l, ḷ, ḷh</i>			
Semivowels:		<i>y, v</i>			
Sibilant:		<i>s</i>			
Aspirate:		<i>h</i>			
Niggahita:		<i>ṁ</i>			

N.B. a). According to the organ of articulation, the consonants are divided into gutturals, palatals, cerebrals, dentals, labials.

b). The consonants under 1, 2, 3, 4 are called **occlusive** or **mute** consonants since in Sanskrit they are unexploded by themselves but can be pronounced together with a following vowel.

The consonants under 5 are called **nasal** consonants.

c). According to their quality, the consonants under 1 and 2 and *s* are **hard** consonants; all the other consonants are **soft**.

d). The consonants under 2 and 4 and *h* are **aspirate** consonants, while all the others are **unaspirate** consonants.

CHAPTER II

PHONOLOGY

3. **THE SYLLABLE.** A word is articulated in syllables. A syllable is a sound made up of a vowel or a group of sounds made up of a vowel and one or more consonants. In the word *āpajjati* there are four syllables: *ā-paj-ja-ti*. Of these the first syllable is made up of a vowel; the second of a consonant, a vowel and a consonant; the third and fourth are made up of a consonant and a vowel.

A vowel by itself can form a syllable since it can be pronounced alone. But a consonant cannot form a syllable since it cannot be pronounced without the help of a vowel.

A syllable may be open or closed
light or heavy

A syllable is **open** if it ends in a vowel.

A syllable is **closed** if it ends in a consonant or niggahīta.

In *ā-paj-ja-ti* the first, the third and the fourth syllables are open since they end in a vowel: *ā-, -ja-, -ti*; while the second syllable is closed since it ends in a consonant: *-paj-*.

A syllable is **light** if it ends in a short vowel.

A syllable is **heavy** if it ends in a long vowel or in a consonant or niggahīta. In *u-pa-ri* all the syllables are light since all end in a short vowel; in *ā-dic-co* all the syllables are heavy since *ā-/co* end in a long vowel, and *-dic-* ends in a consonant.

In Pali a **closed syllable** containing a **long vowel** was considered too heavy; hence the vowel was shortened. Thus in the formation of the future tense of the root *dā-* we should have *dāssāmi*, in which the syllable *dās-* is heavy because it has a long vowel and it is still heavier since it ends in a consonant. Hence the vowel is shortened: *dāssāmi* becomes *dassāmi*. Similarly *rāj-nā* becomes *rājinā/raññā*, *adāsum/adamsu*.

A **closed syllable** with a short vowel and an **open syllable** with a long vowel are both heavy syllables and are **equivalent** to each other from the point of view of the time taken in pronouncing them since both contain two mātrās. Thus the syllable *dat-* in *datta* and *dā-* in *dātuṃ* are equivalent. This equivalence has led to several changes in Pali:

a). A long vowel in an open syllable is sometimes shortened and the following consonant is doubled:

<i>mahāphalaṃ</i> / <i>mahapphalaṃ</i>	much fruit
<i>sūyati</i> / <i>suyyati</i>	is heard
<i>diyati</i> / <i>diyyati</i>	is given.

b). A short vowel in a closed syllable is sometimes lengthened and the following group of consonants is simplified:

<i>kattabbam</i> >	<i>kātabbam</i>	should be done
<i>kattum</i> >	<i>kātum</i>	to do
<i>saṃrāgo</i> >	<i>sārāgo</i>	passion
<i>ud-hanti</i> >	<i>ūhanti</i>	he cuts off
<i>kad-puriso</i> >	<i>kāpuriso</i>	a low man

- c). A vowel followed by a nasal consonant or by niggahīta is sometimes substituted for a long vowel in an open syllable, and also for a short syllable and its following consonant in a closed syllable:

a-kā-sum / *a-kaṃ-su* they did

gac-chi / *gañ-chi* he went

vi-das-seti / *vi-daṃ-seti* he shows

4. **Vowel Gradation.** The building up of words in Sanskrit is characterized by the **vowel gradation**, called also quantitative alternation, or apophony, or ablaut. This vowel gradation is found in Pali though its occurrence is much less frequent than in Sanskrit.

The vowel gradation was originally due to the shift of the accent from one syllable to another. It consists in the fact that the vocalic element of a root or of a suffix appears in one of the following three grades: normal or guṇa grade, lengthened or strengthened or vṛddhi grade, weak or reduced or zero grade.

The basic vowel gradation is **a:ā:zero**, in which the vowel *a* represents the normal grade, *ā* represents the lengthened grade, and the absence of the vowel represents the zero grade:

as-i : *ās-i* : *s-anti*.

This simple vowel gradation is somewhat complicated when the vowel *a* is preceded or followed by a sonant which may serve as a vowel or as a consonant according to the general rule (1).

The following alternations usually occur:

ay/e : *āy/e* : *i*

av/o : *āv/o* : *u*

ar : *ār* : *r* (Pali: *a, i, u*)

ya : *yā* : *i*

va : *vā* : *u*

chedeti : *acchecchi* (Skt. *acchaitṣīt*) : *chinna*

savaniya/sotabba : *sāveti/assosi* (Skt. *asrauṣīt*) : *suta*

karoti : *kāreti* : *kata* (Skt. *kṛta*)

yajati : *yājeti* : *iṭṭha* (*yitṭha*)

vacati : *vāceti* : *uccati* (*vuccati*)

In a few cases the vowel *ā* represents the normal grade and alternates with the zero grade: *ṭhā-tum* : *ṭh-ita*.

In a few cases the weak grade has an originally long vowel:

nayati : *nāyaka* : *nīta*

tarati : *tāreti* : *tiṇṇa* (Skt. *tīrṇa*).

5. **SANDHI.** In building up words, i.e. in joining together a root with its prefixes and suffixes, with its case or personal endings, and in joining together two or more words to form compounds, the final and initial sounds of the two consecutive elements or words are combined according to certain rules called **Sandhi rules**.

These sandhi rules may be divided into

vowel sandhi rules

consonant sandhi rules

mixed sandhi rules.

V o w e l S a n d h i

In the formation of a word, when two vowels come together, they are generally not allowed to remain, but

- they are contracted into one, or
- one of them is elided, or
- a sonant vowel is changed into its corresponding semi-vowel, or
- a consonant is inserted between them.

6. Contraction

- a). When two identical vowels come together, they are contracted into one long vowel of the same kind; i.e.

$a/\bar{a} + a/\bar{a} > \bar{a}$

$i/\bar{i} + i/\bar{i} > \bar{i}$

$u/\bar{u} + u/\bar{u} > \bar{u}$

purisa-ā > *purisā* men

yathā-abhirantaṃ > *yathābhirantaṃ* according to one's
pleasure

ati-ita > *atīta* past

bahu-upakāro > *bahūpakāro* great help

According to the general rule already given (3), when a vowel is in a closed syllable, it cannot be long. Hence the long contracted vowel has to be shortened:

kāla-antare > *kālāntare* > *kālantare* at once

rājā-aṅganaṃ > *rājāṅganaṃ* > *rājaṅganaṃ* royal court

Sometimes, however, in the formation of compounds, there is a long vowel in a closed syllable:

sa-attha > *sāttha* with its meaning

sa-akkhara > *sākkhara* with its letters

This way of spelling seems to be due to the influence of the Sanskrit sandhi rules on the scribe.

- b). Sometimes the vowel *a / ā*, followed by a sonant vowel *i / ī* or *u / ū*, is contracted with it to *e* and *o* respectively:

purisa-i > *purise* in the man

pa-ikkhati > *pekkhati* looks on

saha-udara > *sahodara* brother

mahā-udadhi > *mahodadhi* the ocean

7. **ELISION:** When two different vowels come together, usually the first is elided and the second vowel is lengthened if it happens to be in an open syllable:

purisa-ena > *purisena* with the man

diṭṭhi-ogho > *diṭṭhogo* a flood of false doctrines

diṭṭhi-anusayo > *diṭṭhānusayo* inclination to speculation

buddha-uppādo > *buddhuppādo* the arising of a buddha

rājā-upabogho > *rājūpabhogo* fit for the use of the king

mano-indriyaṃ > *manindriyaṃ* the faculty of the mind

but

cakkhu-indriyaṃ > *cakkhundriyaṃ* the faculty of the eyes

dvi-ahaṃ > *dvīhaṃ* for two days

ti-ahaṃ > *tīhaṃ* for three days

catu-ahaṃ > *catūhaṃ* for four days

8 SEMIVOWELS.

- a). The sonant vowels *i / u*, followed by a vowel different from themselves, are sometimes changed into their corresponding semivowel *y / v*:

vi-āsaṃ > *vyāsaṃ* misfortune

su-āgataṃ > *svāgataṃ* welcome

nadi-ā > *nadyā* > *najjā* of the river

jāti-o > *jātyo* > *jācco* births

- b). The diphthongs *e / o*, followed by a vowel, are resolved into their component elements:

e > *a-i / ā-i* and *o* > *a-u / ā-u*, and then the vowel *i / u* is changed into its corresponding semivowel:

ne-ati > *na-i-ati* > *nayati* leads

ne-ako > *nā-i-ako* > *nāyako* leader

agge-o > *agga-i-o* > *aggayo* fires
bho-ati > *bha-u-ati* > *bhavati* becomes
so-ako > *sā-u-ako* > *sāvako* disciple
bhikkhu-o > *bhikka-u-o* *bhikkhavo* monks

c). The vowels *i/ī* and *u/ū* in the declension of the feminine stems are changed into *iy / uy* respectively when followed by a vowel:

jāti-ā > *jātiyā* of birth
nadī-am > *nadiyam* in the river
dhenu-o > *dhenuyo* cows
vadhū-ā > *vadhuyā* of a widow

The vowel *ū* of the root *hū-* is changed to *uv-* before a vowel:

ahū-am > *ahuvam* I was

9. INSERTION OF A CONSONANT. In the formation of a *samāsa*, sometimes a consonant is inserted between the final and the initial vowel of the two words that are joined together:

su-anayo > *su-v-anayo* > *suvanayo* easy to lead
atta-attham > *atta-d-attham* > *attadattham* one's own welfare
sotāpatti-aṅgāni > *sotāpatti-y-aṅgāni* > *sotāpattiyāṅgāni*
the factors of attaining the stream

Sometimes, however, it is not a case of inserting a consonant but of restoring a Sanskrit final consonant which drops when it is final of a word, and re-appears in combination: thus *cha* 'six' appears in combination as *chaḥ-* / *saḥ-* / *chaḥ-*:

chaḥabhiññā / *chaḥabhiññā* the six higher powers
saḥāyatanam the sixfold sphere

N.B. In the formation of a *samāsa* there are found cases where two vowels are retained side by side, and this not only in poetry but in prose also:

sa-uddesam with its explanation
sa-uttaracchadam together with its covering

10. FURTHER VOWEL CHANGES.

a). The vowels *i/ī* and *u*, followed by a double consonant, are sometimes changed into *e / o* respectively:

chid-tvā > *chetvā* having cut
ji-tvā > *jetvā* having won
nī-tvā > *netvā* having led
bhuj-tvā > *bhutvā / bhotvā* having eaten

Similarly the vowel *i + y*, sometimes changes to *e* and the following *y* is doubled:

pūjanīya / *pūjaneyya* should be worshipped
dassanīya / *dassaneyya* should be seen

b). The group *aya / ava* are usually contracted to *e / o* respectively:

kathayati / *katheti* speaks
nayati / *neti* leads
avatarati / *otarati* comes down
ajjhayana / *ajjhena* education
avakāso / *okāso* leisure

In the word *avaññātabba*, *ava* is changed to *o* and this vowel is shortened to *u*:

avaññātabba > *oññātabba* > *uññātabba* should not be dishonoured

The vowel *e* is sometimes expanded to *aya*:

seti / *sayati* sleeps
senāsanam / *sayanāsanam* bed
acceti / *accayati* goes beyond

In verbal forms the groups *ayā/āya/āyā* are often contracted to *e*:

palāyati / paleti runs
nayāmi / nemi I lead
bhāyāmi / bhemi I am afraid

Avi is sometimes contracted to *e* and *āya* to *ā*

bhavissati > havissati > hessati will be
abhavisuṃ > ahavisuṃ > ahesuṃ were
abhiññāya > abhiññā having understood
chamāya > chamā on the ground

c). Sometimes a vowel is weakened when preceded by an accented syllable:

dakkhati / dakkhiti will see
kāhati / kāhiti will do

d). When a word begins with *i / u*, often the corresponding semivowel is prefixed:

uccati > vuccati is said
utthita > vutthita climbed
iṭṭha > yiṭṭha sacrificed

Similarly we find *oropeti* and *voropeti*.

e). At the end of a word the group *as > o*:

manas > mano mind

In the second person singular of the aorist, we may find *as* giving rise to *a / o*: *adaś > adā / ado*.

Consonant Sandhi Rules

11. PHONETIC CHANGES. The various phonetic changes which groups of consonants undergo in Pali can be classified under the following headings:

- a). Assimilation
- b). Adaptation
- c). Metathesis
- d). Epenthesis
- e). Aspiration
- f). Simplification

a). **Assimilation.** Assimilation consists in making two consonants similar to one another:

tap-ta > tatta burnt
sat-kāro > sakkāro good treatment
dur-ga > dugga difficult road
āgam-ya > āgamma having come
sak-noti > sakkoti he can

Assimilation can be progressive
 regressive
 reciprocal

Assimilation is progressive when the first consonant assimilates the second to itself:

āgam-ya > āgamma
sak-noti > sakkoti

Assimilation is regressive when the second consonant assimilates the first to itself:

tap-ta > tatta
dur-ga > dugga

Assimilation is reciprocal when both consonants are modified in adapting themselves to one another:

<i>labh-ta</i>	>	<i>laddha</i>	obtained
<i>rāj-nā</i>	>	<i>raññā</i>	with the king
<i>budh-yati</i>	>	<i>bujjhati</i>	he awakes
<i>is-ta</i>	>	<i>iṭṭha</i>	desired

In *labh-ta* the second consonant becomes soft like the preceding one and then the first consonant is assimilated to it:

labh-ta > *labhda* > *laddha*

In *rāj-nā* the second consonant becomes palatal like the preceding one and then the first consonant is assimilated to it:

rāj-nā > *rājñā* > *raññā*

In *budh-yati* the first consonant becomes palatal like the second and then the second is assimilated to the first:

budh-yati > *bujhyati* > *bujjhati*

In *is-ta* the dental consonant is cerebralized under the influence of the previous sibilant preceded by the vowel *i* and then the sibilant is assimilated to it and aspirated:

is-ta > *is-ṭa* > *iṭṭha*

b). **Adaptation:** When a nasal consonant is followed by a mute consonant, the nasal consonant is adapted to it in so far as it passes to the nasal consonant of the varga of the following consonant:

<i>sam-tiṭṭhati</i>	>	<i>santiṭṭhati</i>	stands
<i>sam-carati</i>	>	<i>sañcarati</i>	goes about
<i>sam-ṭhānaṃ</i>	>	<i>saṅṭhānaṃ</i>	position

Assimilation also takes place when a mute consonant is followed by another mute consonant of different quality or by a sibilant in such a way that a hard consonant must be preceded by a hard consonant and a soft consonant by a soft consonant:

bhed-ssati > *bhet-ssati* > *bhecchati* will break -

c). **Metathesis** or interchange of two consonants:

<i>gah-ṇāti</i>	>	<i>gaṇhāti</i>	takes
<i>oruh-ya</i>	>	<i>oruyha</i>	having come down
<i>pāpurati</i>	>	<i>pārupati</i>	dresses

d). **Epenthesis** or insertion of a vowel between two consonants:

<i>rāj-no</i>	>	<i>rājino</i>	of the king
<i>brahm-no</i>	>	<i>brahmuno</i>	of Brahma

e). **Aspiration** of a consonant:

<i>as-ti</i>	>	<i>atthi</i>	is
<i>is-ta</i>	>	<i>iṭṭha</i>	desired

f). **Simplification** of a consonant group or the reduction of three consonants to two, and of two consonant to one:

<i>bhed-ssati</i>	>	<i>bhet-ssati</i>	>	<i>bhet-sati</i>	>	<i>bhecchati</i>	he will break		
<i>kar-tuṃ</i>	>	<i>kattuṃ</i>	>	<i>kātuṃ</i>	to do				
<i>kar-ssāmi</i>	>	<i>kassāmi</i>	>	<i>kassāmi</i>	>	<i>kāsāmi</i>	>	<i>kāhāmi</i>	I will do

12. **GENERAL RULES:** In Pali the consonants can be divided according to their strength or power of resistance. This strength decreases in the following order: mutes, sibilant, nasal, *l, v, y, r*.

The consonant *h* is found in a few combinations while the consonants *l, lh* are not found in combination.

When two consonants come together:

a). if both consonants are of the same strength, the first is assimilated to the second:

<i>sat-kāro</i>	>	<i>sakkāro</i>	good treatment
<i>tap-ta</i>	>	<i>tatta</i>	burnt

b). If the two consonants are of different strength, the weaker is assimilated to the stronger:

kar-tum > *kattum* to act

āgam-ya > *āgamma* having come

- c). No aspirate consonant can precede another consonant; hence if one of the consonants is aspirate, the new group has the aspiration in the second consonant:

ārabh-ya > *ārabbha*

- d) When one of the two consonant is s, the new group has the aspiration in the second consonant:

as-ti > *atthi* is

is-ta > *iṭṭha* desired

- e). When two mute consonants come together, the first must be adapted to the second; i.e. a consonant must be soft if followed by a soft consonant, and it must be hard if followed by a hard consonant:

bhed-ssati > *bhet-ssati* and then further changes take place leading to *bhecchati*.

Though these rules apply to most of the changes that occur when two or three consonants come together, yet each group of consonants will be treated separately as follows:

1. Mute consonants:

- a). mute - mute
- b). mute - sibilant and sibilant - mute
- c). mute - nasal and nasal - mute
- d). mute - *l, v, y, r* and *l, v, y, r* - mute
- e). mute - *h* and *h* - mute

2. Sibilant consonants:

- a). sibilant - sibilant
- b). sibilant - nasal and nasal - sibilant
- c). sibilant - *l, v, y, r* and *l, v, y, r* - sibilant

3. Nasal consonant:

- a). nasal - nasal
- b). nasal - *l, v, y, r* and *r - n, r - m*
- c). nasal - *h* and *h* - nasal

4. *l, v, y, r*

r - h

13. MUTE CONSONANTS:

- a). **Mute - mute:** when two mute consonants come together, the first is assimilated to the second since both are of the same strength:

yuj-ta > *yutta* joined

mad-ta > *matta* intoxicated

tad-kāro > *takkāro* he who does that

sat-puriso > *sappuriso* good man

The consonant *t* however, preceded by one of the soft aspirate consonants *gh, dh, bh*, is first softened to *d* and then assimilation takes place:

labh-tum > *labh-dum* > *laddhum* to obtain

lubh-ta > *lubh-da* > *luddha* greedy

budh-ta > *budh-da* > *buddha* enlightened

Sometimes the consonants *j* and *ch* cause the cerebralization and aspiration of the following dental, and then assimilation takes place:

ossaj-ta > *ossaj-ṭha* > *ossatṭha* released

maj-ta > *maj-ṭha* > *maṭṭha* polished

ij-ta > *ij-ṭha* > *yitṭha* sacrificed

pucch-ta > *pucch-ṭha* > *puṭṭha* questioned

b). **Mute-sibilant** : when the guttural consonant *k* is followed by *s*, the weaker consonant is assimilated to the stronger:

sak-ssati > *sakkhati* will be able

When *c* is followed by *s*, the palatal consonant is changed to the guttural and then assimilation takes place:

vac-ssati > *vak-ssati* > *vakkhati* will speak

bhoj-ssati > *bhok-ssati* > *bhokkhati* will eat

moc-ssati > *mok-ssati* > *mokkhati* will be released

The mute consonants *t / p*, with a following *s*, give rise to the palatal group *cch*:

labh-ssati > *lap-ssati* > *lacchati* will obtain

ched-ssati > *chet-ssati* > *checchati* will cut

acched-si > *acchet-si* > *acchecchi* cut

The final consonant of the prefix *ud* follows the general rule in:

ud-saṅgo *ut-saṅgo* *ucchaṅgo* the hip

ud-sādanam *ut-sādanam* *ucchādanam* massaging

ud-sitṭha *ut-sitṭha* *ucchitṭha* left over

In all other cases the final *d* is assimilated to a following *s*:

ud-saṅkha *ussaṅkha* with ankles midway

ud-sāho *ussaḥo* strength

sam-ud-sayo *samussayo* body

Sibilant-mute: The sibilant, followed by a mute consonant, is assimilated to it:

as-ti *atthi* is

adas-tha *adattha* you gave

In some cases the sibilant cerebralizes a following dental consonant *t* and then is assimilated to it:

pavis-ta *pavis-ṭa* *pavitṭha* entered

kilis-ta *kilis-ṭa* *kilitṭha* soiled

is-ta *is-ṭa* *iṭṭha* desired

The cerebralization of a following dental takes place when the sibilant is preceded by the vowel *i / u*, or by one of the vowels *a, i, u* derived from Sanskrit *ṛ*. In the *s-* and *is-* aorists, however, the sibilant never causes the cerebralization of the following dental:

cintayis-tha *cintayittha* you thought

ahus-tha *ahuttha* you were

agamis-tha *agamittha* you went

pucchis-tho *pucchittho* you asked

In forming compounds *nis* and *dus* never cause the cerebralization of a following dental:

dus-tara *duttara* difficult to cross

nis-tarati *nittharati* crosses over

The final sibilant of *dus* never causes the aspiration of a following mute consonant:

dus-tara *duttara* difficult to cross

dus-kara *dukkara* difficult to do

dus-caritam *duccaritam* evil life

The final sibilant of *nis* sometimes causes the aspiration of a following mute consonant, and sometimes does not

nis-cala *niccala* motionless

nis-kodha *nikkodha* free from anger

nis-purisa *nippurisa* without men

but

nis-carati *niccharati* goes out

nis-cināti *nicchināti* examines

<i>nis-patti</i>	<i>nipphatti</i>	accomplishment'
<i>nis-pajjati</i>	<i>nipphajjati</i>	accomplishes
<i>nis-kamati</i>	<i>nikkamati / nikkhamati</i>	goes out
<i>nis-patati</i>	<i>nippatati / nipphatati</i>	falls out

The sibilant drops when it occurs between two mute consonants:

alabh-s-tha alap-s-tha alap-tha alattha he obtained

c). **Mute-nasal:** When a mute consonant is followed by a nasal, the usual assimilation takes place;

sak-noti sakkoti he can
lag-na lagga sticking

The consonant *j*, however, followed by a nasal, is first changed to *g* and then assimilation takes place:

<i>bhaj-na</i>	<i>bhag-na</i>	<i>bhagga</i>	broken
<i>samvij-na</i>	<i>samvig-na</i>	<i>samvigga</i>	agitated
<i>nimuj-na</i>	<i>nimug-na</i>	<i>nimugga</i>	plunged

In the declension of *rājan*, the consonant *j* palatalizes the following nasal and becomes assimilated to it:

rāj-nā rāj-ñā raññā

or the consonant group is split up by means of a vowel:

rāj-nā rāj-i-nā rājinā

The consonant *d* is assimilated to a following nasal:

<i>ud-nādo</i>	<i>unnādo</i>	shout
<i>ud-maggo</i>	<i>ummaggo</i>	wrong way
<i>nisid-na</i>	<i>nisinna</i>	seated

Nasal-mute: a nasal consonant, followed by a mute, is adapted to it, i.e. it is changed to the nasal of the varga of the following mute consonant:

<i>sam-gacchati</i>	<i>saṅgacchati</i>	he meets with
<i>sam-jānāti</i>	<i>sañjānāti</i>	recognizes
<i>sam-ṭhānaṃ</i>	<i>saṅṭhānaṃ</i>	position
<i>sam-pajjati</i>	<i>sampajjati</i>	happens

When the root *kr* and its derivatives are compounded with *sam*, then an *s* is inserted:

sam-karoti sam-s-karoti saṅkharoti he puts together

d). **Mute and l,v,y,r:** When a mute consonant is preceded or followed by one of the consonants *l,v,y,r*, the usual assimilation takes place:

<i>kup-yati</i>	<i>kuppati</i>	is angry
<i>kar-tabbam</i>	<i>kattabbam</i>	ought to be done
<i>dur-bala</i>	<i>dubbala</i>	weak
<i>nir-gacchati</i>	<i>niggacchati</i>	disappears

The dental consonants, however, *t, th, d, dh + y* give rise to a palatal group:

<i>t-y</i>	<i>cc</i>	<i>th-y</i>	<i>cch</i>
<i>d-y</i>	<i>jj</i>	<i>dh-y</i>	<i>jjh</i>
<i>ati-anta</i>	<i>atyanta</i>	<i>accanta</i>	continuous
<i>budh-yati</i>	<i>bujjhati</i>		is awake

Even the consonant *ṭ* of *paṭi* gives rise to a palatal group when the following *i* is changed to *y*:

paṭi-aṅgam paty-aṅgam paccāṅgam small limb

The consonant *d* of the prefix *ud* is assimilated to a following *y*:

<i>ud-yuñjati</i>	<i>uyyūñjati</i>	goes away
<i>ud-yāti</i>	<i>uyyāti</i>	goes out

- e). **Mute and h:** The consonant *d* of the prefix *ud* is dropped before an *h* and the previous vowel is lengthened:

ud-hanati *ūhanati* cuts off

h + t give rise to *ḥh* with the lengthening of the previous vowel:

muh-ta *mūḥha* gone astray

ruh-ta *rūḥha* climbed

but

duh-ta *duddha* milked

nah-ta *naddha* bound

dah-ta *dadḍha* burnt

14. SIBILANT CONSONANTS

- a). **Sibilant-sibilant:** When two sibilants come together, they give rise sometimes to *ks > kkh*, and sometimes to *ts > cch*:

paves-ssati *paveksati* *pavekkhati* will enter

das-ssati *daksati* *dakkhati* will see

vas-ssati *vatsati* *vacchati* will abide

- b). **Sibilant-nasal:** When the sibilant precedes a nasal consonant, the sibilant is changed to *h*, and then it is transposed after the nasal:

adāsma *adāhma* *adamha* we gave

agamis-ma *agamihma* *agamimha* we went

In some words, however, the change of *s* to *h* is optional:

agāasmā / agāramhā from the house

rukkasmim / rukkamhi under the tree

asmi / amhi I am

asma / amha we are

When a nasal precedes the sibilant, it is changed to niggahita:

sam-sāro *saṃsāro* transmigration

- c). **Sibilant - l, v, y, r:** When the sibilant precedes or follows the consonants *l, v, y, r*, the usual assimilation takes place:

nas-yati *nassati* perishes

tejas-vin *tejassin* shining

When *r* is assimilated to a following sibilant, the consonant group is sometimes simplified:

vihar-sit *vihassit* *vihāsi* he dwelt

15. NASAL CONSONANTS:

- a). **Nasal-nasal:** A nasal consonant, followed by another nasal consonant, is assimilated to it:

sam-nisīdati *sannisīdati* he sinks down

- b). **Nasal-l, v, y, r:**

n-y > ññ

man-yati *maññati* thinks

akiñcan-ya *akiñcañña* nothingness

n-u > nv and sometimes *nn*:

anu-eti *anveti* follows

anu-agā *anvagā* went after

anu-aya *anvaya* conformity

duranu-aya *durannaya* difficult to find

sam-anu-āgata *samannāgata* endowed with

m-y > mm, my, ññ:

āgam-ya *āgamma* having come

sam-yogo *saṃyogo/saññogo* bond

m-r > *mr* or the *m* is dropped and the preceding vowel is lengthened:

<i>sam-ruhati</i>	<i>saṃruhati</i>	grows
<i>sam-rambho</i>	<i>saṃrambho / sārambho</i>	impetuosity

m-l > *ll*

<i>sam-lāpo</i>	<i>sallāpo</i>	conversation
<i>sam-līna</i>	<i>sallīna</i>	sluggish
<i>m-v</i> > <i>mv</i>	<i>sam-varo saṃvaro</i>	restraint

r-n > *ññ*

<i>pūr-na</i>	<i>puñña</i>	filled
<i>tīr-na</i>	<i>tiñña</i>	crossed

But the final *r* of *dur* does not cause the cerebralization of the nasal:

<i>dur-niggaha</i>	<i>dunniggaha</i>	difficult to restrain
<i>dur-nivāraya</i>	<i>dunnivāraya</i>	difficult to check

r-m > *mm*

<i>kar-ma</i>	<i>kamma</i>	action
<i>dhar-mo</i>	<i>dhammo</i>	law

c). **h-nasal:** When *h* is followed by a nasal consonant, it changes place with it:

gah-ñāti gañhāti takes

16. l,v,y,r

l-y > *ly / ll*

<i>kal-ya</i>	<i>kalya / kalla</i>	well
<i>dussil-yaṃ</i>	<i>dussilyaṃ</i>	wickedness

v-y > *vy* *vi-anta* *vy-anta* *vyanta* end

v-y > *by* *vi-ākaroti* *vyākaroti / byākaroti* explains

v-y > *bb* *siv-yati* *sibbati* sews

v-y > *viy* *vi-akta* *vyatta and viyatta* experienced

v-y > *v* *vi-adta* *vatta* opened wide

r-r the first *r* is dropped and the preceding vowel is lengthened:

<i>dur-rāma</i>	<i>dūrāma</i>	difficult to enjoy
<i>dur-rakkha</i>	<i>dūrakkha</i>	difficult to protect

r-y > *ry* *kar-yā* *karyā* should do

r-y > *r* with the lengthening of the preceding vowel;

kir-yati *kirradi* *kīrati* is done

r-y > *yy* *mir-yati* *miyyati* he dies

r-y > *riy* *pakir-ya* *pakiriya* having scattered

r-y > *yir* *kar-yā* *kayrā* *kayirā* ought to do

r-y > *ll* *pari-aṅko* *paryāṅko and pallaṅko* couch

vi-pari-āso *viparyāso* *vipallāso* change

r-v > *bb* *nir-vindati* *nivvindati* *nibbindati* becomes weary

r-h > *h* with the lengthening of the preceding vowel:

nir-hāro *nīhāro* manner

h-y > *yh* *oruh-ya* *oruyha* having come down

h-v > *vh* *bahu-ābādho* *bahv-ābādho* *bavhābādho* great suffering

17. SIMPLIFICATION OF CONSONANT GROUPS:

a). **Simplification of groups of two consonants:** Sometimes two consonants are reduced to one with the lengthening of the previous vowel:

kar-tuṃ *kattuṃ* *kātuṃ* to do

dassasi *dāsasi* *dāhisi* he will give

- b). **Simplification of intervocalic groups of three consonants:** In Pali there are no groups of three consonants; hence when three consonants come together, they are reduced to two consonants, and sometimes even to one consonant only with the lengthening of the preceding vowel:

<i>ched-ssati</i>	<i>chet-ssati</i>	<i>chetsati</i>	<i>checchati</i>	will cut
<i>har-ssasi</i>	<i>har-sasi</i>	<i>hassasi</i>	<i>hāsasi</i>	<i>hāhasi</i> / <i>hāhisi</i>
				you will carry

The only exceptions seem to be

<i>hantvā</i>	having struck
<i>gantvā</i>	having gone
<i>indriyaṃ</i>	sense faculty.

In composition we have.

<i>aggi-agāraṃ</i>	<i>aggyāgāraṃ</i>	<i>agyagārāṃ</i>	fire house
<i>aggi-antarāyo</i>	<i>aggyantarāyo</i>	<i>danger</i>	arising from fire

18. **INSERTION OF A VOWEL.** Sometimes two or three consonants are not assimilated but a vowel is inserted between them. The vowel inserted is usually *i*, but the vowels *a*, *u*, *o* are also found:

<i>rāj-nā</i>	<i>rājinā</i> / <i>raññā</i>	with the king
<i>nisiñc-ya</i>	<i>nisiñciya</i>	having sprinkled
<i>brahm-no</i>	<i>brahmuno</i>	of Brahma
<i>brahm-ni</i>	<i>brahmani</i>	in Brahma
<i>golmika</i>	<i>golomika</i>	like a cluster

Mixed Sandhi Rules

19. **Restoration of a consonant group:** When a word in Sanskrit begins with a consonant group, in Pali these consonants are assimilated according to the general rules already mentioned and then only

one consonant is retained. The consonant group, however, usually reappears when preceded by a prefix or by another word ending in a vowel:

jñāta > *ññāta* > *ñāta* known

but in the aorist, with the prefix *a*, becomes *aññāsi* he knew

Similarly in compound verbs

ñāta *abhiññāta* renowned

suta *bahussuta* much heard of

gañhāti *aggahesi* took

20. **Group -as:** The group *-as* at the end of a word becomes *-o*:

manas *mano* mind

tejas *tejo* splendour

purisas *puriso* man

In the aorist, second person singular, the group *-ās* gives rise to *-ā* and sometimes even to *-o*: *adās* > *adā* / *ado*

The pronoun *sas* usually becomes *so*, but the form *sa* is also found in poetry.

21. **Loss of occlusion.** Sometimes a soft aspirate consonant loses its occlusion and retains only the aspiration:

rudhira / *ruhira* red

bhavati / *havati* > *hoti* becomes

narebhi / *narehi* with men

pabhūta / *pahūta* abundant

dhā- > *hita* in the past participle.

22. **Loss of final consonant.** In Pali no word ends in a full consonant; hence when a nasal consonant comes at the end of a word, it is changed into niggahita while any other consonant is dropped:

<i>rūpa-m</i>	<i>rūpaṃ</i>	object
<i>vasant</i>	<i>vasan</i>	<i>vasaṃ</i> abiding
<i>adāsīt</i>	<i>adāsi</i>	gave

In composition, however, a final consonant is often restored:

puna but *punar-puna* > *punappuna* again and again

23. **Haplology:** A case of haplology is found in
ajja-juṇha > *ajjuṇha* this moonlight night

CHAPTER III

DECLENSIONS

24. **Declension.** A declension is the inflection of a nominal stem by means of endings that indicate the gender, the number, and the case. In Pali there are

three genders: masculine, feminine, neuter

two numbers: singular, plural

seven cases: nominative, vocative, accusative, instrumental, ablative, genitive, locative.

The gender in Pali is distinguished by the ending of the nominative case, independently of the meaning of the word; hence it is called **grammatical gender** as opposed to the natural gender. The words *maggo*, *vattani*, *vaṭumam* are respectively masculine, feminine and neuter in gender, yet all of them mean **road**. In the inflection, the masculine and the neuter nouns are declined in the same way with the exception of the nominative, vocative and accusative singular and plural. The feminine nouns have different case endings.

The adjectives are declined in all the three genders just like the nouns of the masculine, feminine and neuter gender. The adjective *kusala* is declined like *puriso* in the masculine, like *vanitā* in the feminine, and like *rūpaṃ* in the neuter: *kusalo*, *kusalā*, *kusalaṃ*.

The case endings are added to the stem of the noun. A stem may end in a vowel or in a consonant; hence the division into **vowel and consonant stems**. The stems that end in the vowel *a-* are called **thematic stems**.

Declension of vowel stems

The stems that end in a vowel may be divided into two groups: masculine and neuter stems
feminine stems.

The masculine and neuter stems are subdivided into:

stems in *-a*
stems in *-ī*, *-u*, *-ū*
stems in *-o*

The feminine stems are subdivided into:

stems in *-ā*
stems in *-ī*, *-ī*, *-u*, *-ū*

25. Stems in *-a*: *purisa* 'man' (masc.); *rūpa* 'material object' (neuter).

	S i n g u l a r		P l u r a l	
N	<i>puriso</i>	<i>-s</i>	<i>purisā</i>	<i>-as</i>
V	<i>purisa</i>		<i>purisā</i>	<i>-as</i>
A	<i>purisaṃ</i>	<i>-m</i>	<i>purise</i>	<i>-e</i>
I	<i>purisena</i>	<i>-ena</i>	<i>purisehi</i>	<i>-ehi</i>
Ab	<i>purisā</i>	<i>-ā</i>	<i>purisehi</i>	<i>-ehi</i>
	<i>purisasmā</i>	<i>-smā</i>		
	<i>purisamhā</i>	<i>-mhā</i>		

G	<i>purisassa</i>	<i>-ssa</i>	<i>purisānaṃ</i>	<i>-naṃ</i>
L	<i>purise</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>purisesu</i>	<i>-esu</i>
	<i>purisasmim</i>	<i>-smim</i>		
	<i>purisamhi</i>	<i>-mhi</i>		
N V A	<i>rūpaṃ</i>	<i>-m</i>	<i>rūpāni</i>	<i>-ni</i>

In the other cases, the neuter stems are declined like the masculine stems: *rūpena*, *rūpassa*, *rūpasmā*, *rūpasmim*, *rūpehi*, etc.

- In a few cases there is found a nominative singular in *-e* both in the masculine and in the neuter stems: *purise* 'man', *manusse* 'man', *putte* 'son', *paṇḍite* 'learned man', *bāle* 'foolish man', *nāge* 'elephant', *sigāle* 'jackal', *jīvite* 'life', *sukhe* 'happiness', *dukkhe* 'sorrow', *saṃyojana* 'bond'.
- In the nominative plural of the masculine stems there is sometimes the ending *-āse*, especially in poetry: *paṇḍitāse* 'learned men', *upāsakāse* 'disciples', *gatāse* 'gone', *rukkhāse* 'trees'.
- In the neuter stems there is sometimes a nominative plural in *-ā* and an accusative plural in *-e*: *rūpā*, *rūpe* instead of *rūpāni*.
- The instrumental singular is sometimes formed with the ending *-ā* added to the stem either directly or by means of the consonant *-s-*: *sahatthā* 'with one's own hand', *pādā* 'with the foot', *uppādā* 'with the arising', *vegasā* 'in a hurry', *balasā* 'with strength'.
- There are a few instances of a case in *-āya* corresponding to the Sanskrit dative case: *hitāya* 'for the welfare', *sukhāya* 'for the happiness', *dassanāya* 'to see', *saṃvarāya* 'to control'.
- The ablative singular is also formed with the suffix *-to*: *dūrato* 'from afar', *gharato* 'from the house', *gāmato* 'from the village', *dukkhato* 'from suffering'.

g). In the formation of the cases:

- in the nominative singular the final vowel of the stem *-a* with the ending *-s* gives rise to *-o*: *purisa-s* > *puriso*
- in the plural the vowel *-a* with *-as* gives rise to *ā*: *purisa-as* > *purisā*
- the final vowel of the stem is lengthened before the endings beginning with *n-*:
purisa-nam > *purisānam*; *rūpa-ni* > *rūpāni*
- the final vowel of the stem is dropped before an ending beginning with *-e*: *purisa-ena* > *purisena*; *purisa-ehi* > *purisehi*; *purisa-esu* > *purisesu*

26. Stems in *-i*, *-u*: *aggi* 'fire', *taru* 'tree' (masc.), *akkhi* 'eye' *cakkhu* 'eye' (neuter).

S i n g u l a r:

N. V.	<i>aggi</i>	<i>taru</i>	
A	<i>aggim̐</i>	<i>tarum̐</i>	<i>-m</i>
I	<i>agginā</i>	<i>tarunā</i>	<i>-nā</i>
Ab	<i>agginā</i>	<i>tarunā</i>	<i>-nā</i>
	<i>aggismā</i>	<i>tarusmā</i>	<i>-smā</i>
	<i>aggimhā</i>	<i>tarumhā</i>	<i>-mhā</i>
G	<i>aggino</i>	<i>taruno</i>	<i>-no</i>
	<i>aggissa</i>	<i>tarussa</i>	<i>-ssa</i>
L	<i>aggismim̐</i>	<i>tarusmim̐</i>	<i>-smim̐</i>
	<i>aggimhi</i>	<i>tarumhi</i>	<i>-mhi</i>

P l u r a l:

N V A	<i>aggayo</i>	<i>taravo</i>	<i>-o</i>
	<i>aggī</i>	<i>tarū</i>	

I Ab	<i>aggīhi</i>	<i>tarūhi</i>	<i>-hi</i>
G	<i>aggīnam̐</i>	<i>tarūnam̐</i>	<i>-nam̐</i>
L	<i>aggīsu</i>	<i>tarūsu</i>	<i>-su</i>

Singular

Plural

N V A	<i>akkhi</i>	<i>cakkhu</i>	<i>akkhīni</i>	<i>cakkhūni</i>	<i>-ni</i>
	<i>akkhim̐</i>	<i>cakkhum̐</i>	<i>-m</i>	<i>akkhī</i>	<i>cakkhū</i>

In the other cases the neuter stems are declined like the masculine stems: *akkhinā*, *cakkhunā*, *akkhismā*, *cakkhusmā*, etc.

- a). In the N V A plural the vowel of the stem is lengthened before the ending *o*, i.e. the vowel *-i* is lengthened to *-e* and the vowel *-u* to *-o*:

aggi-o > *agge-o* > *aggayo*

taru-o > *taro-o* > *taravo*

- b). Before the case endings of the plural, the final vowel of the stem is lengthened:

aggi-hi > *aggīhi*, *aggi-nam* > *aggīnam̐*, *chakku-su* > *chakkūsu*.

- c). In poetry sometimes the accusative takes the ending *-nam̐*:

nidhinam̐ for *nidhim̐* treasure

bhikkunam̐ for *bhikkhum̐* monk.

- d). The ablative is sometimes formed with the suffix *-to*: *aggito*, *cakkhuto*.

Hetu 'cause' has an ablative form *hetu* besides *hetunā* and *hetusmā*. There is further an ablative in *-so* used as an adverb: *ādiso* 'from the beginning', *hetuso* 'by way of cause'.

- e). In the locative case *ādi* 'beginning' has sometimes *ādo* besides the ordinary form *ādimhi*; *paṃsu* 'sand' has *paṃsuni*. There is also a locative form *divi* 'in heaven'.

- f). In poetry the nominative plural sometimes takes the ending -no: *aggino* for *aggayo* 'fires', *sumatino* for *sumatayo* 'wise', *mahesino* for *mahasayo* 'sages'.
- g). In the vocative plural *bhikkhu* has both *bhikkhavo* and *bhikkhave*; the latter form is more common.
- h). In the genitive plural *bahu* 'much' has *bahunnaṃ*.
- i). The stem *sakhi* 'friend' is found almost exclusively in poetry, while in prose it is usually replaced by the word *sahāyaka*. *Sakhi* has a variety of forms of which the following are the more common ones:

In the singular N V *sakhā*, A *sakhāraṃ* and *sakhaṃ*, I and Ab *sakhinā*, Ab *sakhārasmā*, G *sakhino*.

In the plural N V A *sakhāro* I Ab *sakhārehi*, G *sakhīnaṃ* and *sakhānaṃ*, L *sakhāresu*.

27. Stems in -ū: *abhibhū* 'conqueror' (masc.)

Singular		Plural	
N V	<i>abhibhū</i>	N V A	<i>abhibhuno abhibhū</i>
A	<i>abhibhunam</i> <i>abhibhum</i>		
I Ab	<i>abhibhunā</i>	I Ab	<i>abhibhūhi</i>
G	<i>abhibhuno</i>	G	<i>abhibhūnaṃ</i>
L	<i>abhibhusmim</i>	L	<i>abhibhūsu</i>

- a). The declension of these stems differs from that of the stems in -u only in the N V A.
- b). Like *abhibhū* are declined *vidū* and *lokavidū* 'knower of the world', *paragū* 'he who has gone to the other shore', *vedagū* 'he who has mastered the Vedas', *abhijhālū* 'covetous', *aviddasū* 'ignorant'.

28. Stems in -o: *go* 'cattle' (masc.)

Singular		Plural		
N V	<i>go</i>	<i>gāvo</i>	<i>gavo</i>	
A	<i>gāvaṃ</i> <i>gavaṃ</i>	<i>gāvo</i>	<i>gavo</i>	
I	<i>gāvena</i> <i>gavena</i>	<i>gohi</i>		
Ab	<i>gāvā</i> <i>gavā</i>	<i>gohi</i>		
	<i>gāvasmā</i> <i>gavamhā</i>			
G	<i>gāvassa</i> <i>gavassa</i>	<i>gāvaṃ</i>	<i>gonam</i>	<i>gunnam</i>
L	<i>gāve</i> <i>gave</i>	<i>gāvesu</i>	<i>gavesu</i>	<i>gosu</i>
	<i>gāvasmim</i> <i>gavasmim</i>			

Go is the only stem that ends in -o. In the singular, with the exception of the nominative, it is declined like *purisa* with the vowel of the first syllable either long or short. In the plural the group -ava- has been contracted to -o-, hence *gohi*, *gonam*, *gosu*. Further in the genitive plural the vowel -o- has been shortened to -u- and the consonant has been doubled: *gonam* and *gunnam*.

29. Stems in -ā: *vanitā* 'girl' (femin.)

Singular		Plural	
N	<i>vanitā</i>	N V A	<i>vanitāyo -yo</i> <i>vanitā</i>
V	<i>vanite -i</i>		
A	<i>vanitam -m</i>		
I Ab	<i>vanitāya -ya</i>	<i>vanitāhi</i>	<i>-hi</i>
G	<i>vanitāya -ya</i>	<i>vanitānaṃ</i>	<i>-nam</i>
L	<i>vanitāyaṃ -yaṃ</i> <i>vanitāya</i>	<i>vanitāsu</i>	<i>-su</i>

- a). In the singular the ending *-āya* is sometimes contracted to *-ā*: *chamā* for *chamāya* 'on the ground', *sikkhā* for *sikkhāya* 'by means of training'.
- b). The ablative singular is sometimes formed with the suffix *-to* before which the final vowel of the stem is shortened: *nāvato* 'from the boat', *jivhato* 'from the tongue'. There is also an ablative in *-so* used adverbially: *mattaso* 'with moderation'.
- c). In the vocative singular *amma* 'mother' has both *ammā* and *amma*.

30. Feminine stems in *-i, -ī, -u, -ū*: *jāti* 'birth', *nadī* 'river', *dhenu* 'cow', *vadhū* 'daughter-in-law'

S i n g u l a r

N V	<i>jāti</i>	<i>nadī</i>	<i>dhenu</i>	<i>vadhū</i>	
A	<i>jātim</i>	<i>nadim</i>	<i>dhenuṃ</i>	<i>vadhūṃ</i>	<i>-m</i>
I Ab	<i>jātiyā</i>	<i>nadiyā</i>	<i>dhenuyā</i>	<i>vadhuyā</i>	<i>-ya</i>
G	<i>jātiyā</i>	<i>nadiyā</i>	<i>dhenuyā</i>	<i>vadhuyā</i>	<i>-yā</i>
L	<i>jātiyaṃ</i>	<i>nadiyaṃ</i>	<i>dhenuyaṃ</i>	<i>vadhuyaṃ</i>	<i>-yaṃ</i>
	<i>jātiyā</i>	<i>nadiyā</i>	<i>dhenuyā</i>	<i>vadhuyā</i>	

P l u r a l

N V A	<i>jātiyo</i>	<i>nadiyo</i>	<i>dhenuyo</i>	<i>vadhuyo</i>	<i>-yo</i>
I Ab	<i>jātihi</i>	<i>nadihi</i>	<i>dhenūhi</i>	<i>vadhūhi</i>	<i>-hi</i>
G	<i>jātinam</i>	<i>nadinam</i>	<i>dhenūnam</i>	<i>vadhūnam</i>	<i>-nam</i>
L	<i>jātisu</i>	<i>nadisu</i>	<i>dhenūsu</i>	<i>vadhūsu</i>	<i>-su</i>

- a). In the singular the final long vowel of the stem is shortened before the endings *-yā* and *-yaṃ*: *nadiyā*, *nadiyaṃ*.
- b). In poetry instead of *nadiyā* and *nadiyo*, sometimes contracted forms are used: *najjā* and *najjo*. Similarly

<i>jāti</i>	birth	<i>jaccā</i> and <i>jacco</i>
<i>sammuti</i>	consent	<i>sammuccā</i>
<i>nikati</i>	deceit	<i>nikatyā</i> and <i>nikaccā</i>
<i>rati</i>	pleasure	<i>ratyā</i>
<i>paṭhavi</i>	earth	<i>paṭhavyā</i>
<i>pokkharāṇi</i>	pond	<i>pokkharāṇṇo</i>
<i>bhūmi</i>	earth	<i>bhūmyā</i>

Further, a new nominative plural has been formed from *najjā*, i.e. *najjāyo*.

- c). The ablative singular is sometimes formed with the suffix *-to*: *Bārāṇasito* 'from Benares', *aṅgulito* 'from the finger'.

There is also an ablative in *-so* used adverbially: *yoniso* 'carefully', *dhātuso* 'according to one's nature'.

- d). The stem *bhū* 'earth' has *bhuvi* in the locative singular while *ratti* 'night' has *ratto* in the expression *divā ca ratto ca* 'by day and by night'.

31. Declension of the adjectives: The adjectives are declined in each of the three genders just like a stem of the masculine, of the neuter and of the feminine gender: *dīgho*, *dīgham*, *dīghā* 'long', *pañcamo*, *pañcamaṃ*, *pañcamī* 'fifth'

S i n g u l a r

N	<i>dīgho</i>	<i>dīgham</i>	<i>dīghā</i>
V	<i>dīgha</i>	<i>dīgham</i>	<i>dīghe</i>
A	<i>dīghaṃ</i>	<i>dīghaṃ</i>	<i>dīghaṃ</i>
I	<i>dīghena</i>		<i>dīghāya</i>
Ab	<i>dīghā</i>		<i>dīghāya</i>
	<i>dīghasmā</i>		
G	<i>dīghassa</i>		<i>dīghāya</i>

L	<i>dīghe</i>		<i>dīghāyaṃ</i>
	<i>dīghasmiṃ</i>		<i>dīghāya</i>
	<i>P l u r a l</i>		
NV	<i>dīghā</i>	<i>dīghāni</i>	<i>dīghāyo</i>
A	<i>dīghe</i>	<i>dīghāni</i>	<i>dīghāyo</i>
I Ab	<i>dīghehi</i>		<i>dīghāhi</i>
G	<i>dīghānaṃ</i>		<i>dīghānaṃ</i>
L	<i>dīghesu</i>		<i>dīghāsu</i>

In the masculine and in the neuter an adjective is declined in the same way with the exception of the nominative, vocative, accusative.

When the adjective ends in *-ī*, the adjective is declined like *nadī*.

Declension of consonant stems

The stems ending in consonants may be divided into

root stems

stems in *-s*

stems in *-nt* (*-ant*, *-vant*, *-mant*)

stems in *-in*

stems in *-an*

stems in *-ar*

32. **Root stems:** In poetry there are a few remnants of the Sanskrit root stems declensions:

A sg	<i>parisatiṃ</i>	from <i>pariṣad</i>	assembly
I sg	<i>vacā</i>	from <i>vac-</i>	word
	<i>padā</i>	from <i>pad-</i>	foot
Ab sg	<i>diso</i>	from <i>diś-</i>	region
G sg	<i>jagato</i>	from <i>jagat-</i>	world

L sg	<i>pathi</i>	from <i>path-</i>	road
	<i>parisati</i>	from <i>pariṣad-</i>	assembly
	<i>divi</i>	from <i>dyu-</i>	sky
	<i>padi</i> in <i>sapadi</i>	from <i>pad-</i>	foot
N A pl	<i>sarado</i>	from <i>śarad-</i>	autumn
G pl	<i>saritaṃ</i>	from <i>sarit-</i>	river
	<i>padaṃ</i>	from <i>pad-</i> in compounds	<i>dvipadaṃ</i> , <i>catuppadaṃ</i>
	<i>disaṃ</i>	from <i>diś-</i> in the compound	<i>disampati</i> Lord of the (four) quarters

33. **Stems in -s:** There are a few stems in *-s* which are neuter in gender and are declined only in the singular. Such stems are: *ayas* 'iron', *uras* 'breast', *cetas* 'mind', *chandas* 'metre', *jaras* 'old age', *tamas* 'darkness', *tapas* 'heat', *tejas* 'splendour', *manas* 'mind', *yasas* 'fame', *vacas* 'word', *vayas* 'age', *siras* 'head', etc.

N V A *mano*

I Ab *manasā*

G *manaso*

L *manasi*

a). These stems are often declined like neuter stems in *-a*: *Manam*, *manena*, *manasmā*, *manassa*, *manasmiṃ*, *manāni*, *manehi*, *manānaṃ*, *manesu*.

b). The comparative adjective in *-yas*: *seyyas*, *pāpiyas*, *bhiyyas*, etc. have nominative, vocative and accusative in *-o*: *seyyo*, *pāpiyo*, *bhiyyo*. In the other cases they are declined like the stems in *-a*. The adjective *bhiyyo* has an instrumental case *bhuyyena* in the word *yebhuyyena*.

c). There is a masculine stem in *-as*: *candimas* 'moon' which has *chandimā* in the nominative singular. For the rest it

is declined like *puriso*: *candimaṃ*, *candimena*, *candimassa*, etc.

- d). Two stems in *-vas* appear only in the nominative singular: *vidvā* 'knowing' and *dassivā* 'seeing'.

34. Stems in *-nt*: *sīlavant* 'virtuous' (masc.)

<i>S i n g u l a r</i>		<i>P l u r a l</i>	
<i>N V</i>	<i>sīlavā</i>	<i>N V A</i>	<i>sīlavanto</i>
<i>A</i>	<i>sīlavantaṃ</i>		
<i>I Ab</i>	<i>sīlavatā</i>		
<i>G</i>	<i>sīlavato</i>		<i>sīlavataṃ</i>
<i>L</i>	<i>sīlavati</i>		

Like *sīlavant* are declined *bhagavant* 'fortunate', *balavant* 'strong', *mahant* 'great' etc. There are no forms for the instrumental, ablative and locative plural, with the exception of *sabbhi* which is the instrumental and ablative plural of *sant* 'good'.

These stems may be fully declined like the stems in *-a*, i.e. like *purisa*:

<i>S i n g u l a r</i>		<i>P l u r a l</i>	
<i>N</i>	<i>sīlavanto</i>		<i>sīlavantā</i>
<i>V</i>	<i>sīlavanta</i>		<i>sīlavantā</i>
<i>A</i>	<i>sīlavantaṃ</i>		<i>sīlavante</i>
<i>I</i>	<i>sīlavantena</i>		<i>sīlavantehi</i>
<i>Ab</i>	<i>sīlavantasmā</i>		<i>sīlavantehi</i>
<i>G</i>	<i>sīlavantassa</i>		<i>sīlavantānaṃ</i>
<i>L</i>	<i>sīlavantasmim</i>		<i>sīlavantesu</i>

- a). Like *sīlavant* are declined the present participle parassapada: *tiṭṭhant* 'standing', *vasant* 'dwelling', *carant* 'moving', etc. The only difference is that the present participles do not drop the nasal consonant in the nominative singular;

hence *carant* has *caraṃ* and *caranto*. Further the present participles formed from the present stem in *-e* and *-o* have the nominative singular always in *-nto*: *karanto* 'doing', *cintento* 'thinking', *kathento* 'speaking'.

- b). *Arahant*, though a present participle from the verb *arahati* 'to be worthy', is more often used as a noun. In the nominative singular it has all the three forms *arahā*, *arahaṃ*, *arahanto* when used as a noun, but only *arahaṃ*, *arahanto* when used as a participle.
- c). *Bhavant*, as the present participle of *bhavati* 'to become' is declined like any other participle: *bhavaṃ* / *bhavanto*, *bhavantaṃ*, *bhavatā* / *bhavantena*, etc.. The feminine is also formed regularly: *bhavanti*.

But as a pronoun, *bhavant* 'you, venerable' is declined slightly differently:

<i>S i n g u l a r</i>		<i>P l u r a l</i>	
<i>N</i>	<i>bhavam</i>		<i>bhavanto</i> , <i>bhonto</i>
<i>V</i>	<i>bhavam</i> , <i>bho</i> , <i>bhante</i>		<i>bhonto</i>
<i>A</i>	<i>bhavantaṃ</i>		<i>bhavanto</i>
<i>I Ab</i>	<i>bhotā</i>		<i>bhavantehi</i>
<i>G</i>	<i>bhoto</i>		<i>bhavataṃ</i>

Another form used in the vocative singular is *bhadante*, while *bho* is used both in the singular and in the plural, whether alone or followed by a noun.

The feminine of *bhavam* is *bhotī*:

<i>N</i>	<i>bhotī</i>
<i>V</i>	<i>bhotī</i>
<i>A</i>	<i>bhotiṃ</i>
<i>I Ab</i>	<i>bhotiyā</i>

G bhotiyā

L bhotiyā

35. Stems in -in: *hatthin* 'elephant' (masc.)

S i n g u l a r

P l u r a l

N *hatthi* N V A *hatthino, hatthī*V *hatthi*A *hatthinam*I Ab *hatthinā* *hatthīhi*G *hatthino* *hatthīnam*L *hatthini* *hatthīsu*

- a). In the singular in the accusative, ablative, genitive, locative these stems are sometimes declined like the stems in -i: *hatthim, hatthismā, hatthissa, hatthismim* like *aggim, aggissa, aggismim*, etc.
- b). In poetry there are a few forms built up like those of the stems in -a: accusative plural *pāṇine* from *pāṇin* 'living being', *mānine* from *mānin* 'proud of'; locative plural *verinesu* from *verin* 'hating'.

36. Stems in -an: *rājan* 'king', *attan* 'self' (masc.)N *rājā* *rājāno* *attā* *attāno*V *rāja* " " "A *rājānam* " *attānam* "I Ab *rañña, rājinā* *rājūhi* *attanā*G *rañño, rājino* *raññaṃ, rājūnaṃ* *attano*L *rājini* *rājūsu* *attani*

- a). These stems are often declined like the stems in -a: accusative *rājam, attam*; genitive *rājassa, attassa*; instrumental and ablative plural *rājehi, attehi /attanehi*, etc.

- b). At the end of a *samāsa*, these stems sometimes follow the consonant declension and sometimes follow the declension of the stems in -a: nominative *mahārājā, maccurājā* but *pahitatto*; accusative *pabbatarājam, pahitattam* but *bhāvitattānam*; instrumental *dhammarājena, bhāvitattena* but *mahārañña*; accusative plural *mahārāje*.

- c). In the declension of *rājan* there are some other stray forms like nominative singular *rañño*, genitive *raññaṃ*, locative *raññe*, instrumental plural *raññehi*.

- d). Besides *attā* there is also a nominative singular *atumā, atumo, tumo* and *atumāno* with the accusative *atumānam* and the locative *atume*.

- e). Other stems which belong to this declension are *muddhan* 'head', *amhan* 'stone', *brahman* 'Brahma', *addhan* 'road', *san* 'dog', *yuvan* 'young man', *puman* 'man'

and the neuter stems:

kamman 'action', *bhasman* 'ashes', *vesman* 'house'.

Of these stems in -an only few cases are found:

	N	A	I Ab	G	L
<i>addhan</i>	<i>addhā</i>	<i>addhānam</i>	<i>addhunā</i>	<i>addhuno</i>	<i>addhani</i>
<i>amhan</i>			<i>amhanā</i>		
<i>kamman</i>			<i>kammunā</i>	<i>kammuno</i>	<i>kammani</i>
<i>brahman</i>	<i>brahmā</i>	<i>brahmānam</i>	<i>brahmunā</i>	<i>brahmuno</i>	<i>brahmani</i>
		pl. <i>brahmāno</i>	<i>brahmāno</i>		
<i>bhasman</i>					<i>bhasmani</i>
<i>puman</i>	<i>pumā</i>	<i>pumānam</i>	<i>pumunā</i>	<i>pumuno</i>	<i>pumani</i>
		pl. <i>pumāno</i>			
<i>muddhan</i>	<i>muddhā</i>		<i>muddhanā</i>		<i>muddhani</i>

yuvan yuvā

vesman

vesmani

san sā

From *brahman* there is also a vocative singular *brahme*.

These stems have passed over to the declension of the stem in *-a*; i.e. *pumo*, *pumaṃ*, *pumena*, etc.

f). The neuter stem *ahan* is declined like the stems in *-a*: *ahaṃ*, *ahena*, *ahassa*; but in composition it has the form *aṃha*: *pubbaṃha* 'in the morning', *sāyanha* 'in the evening'.

37. Stem in *-ar*: *satthar* 'teacher' (masc.), *pitār* 'father' (masc.), *mātar* 'mother' (femin.)

S i n g u l a r

N V	<i>satthā</i>	<i>pitā</i>	<i>mātā</i>
A	<i>satthāraṃ</i>	<i>pitāraṃ</i>	<i>mātāraṃ</i>
I Ab	<i>sattharā</i>	<i>pitārā</i>	<i>mātārā</i>
G	<i>satthu</i>	<i>pitū</i>	<i>mātu</i>
L	<i>satthari</i>	<i>pitari</i>	<i>mātari</i>

P l u r a l

N V A	<i>satthāro</i>	<i>pitāro</i>	<i>mātāro</i>
I Ab	<i>satthūhi</i>	<i>pitūhi</i>	<i>mātūhi</i>
G	<i>satthūnaṃ</i>	<i>pitūnaṃ</i>	<i>mātūnaṃ</i>
L	<i>satthūsu</i>	<i>pitūsu</i>	<i>mātūsu</i>

a). Like *satthar* are declined the agent nouns like *dātar* 'giver', *netar* 'leader', *sotar* 'hearer', etc. Like *pitār* is declined *bhātar* 'brother'. Like *mātar* is declined *dhītar* 'daughter'

b). The main difference between the agent nouns like *satthar* and the nouns of relationship like *pitār*, *mātar*, is in the accusative singular and in the nominative, vocative and accusative plural. The agent nouns have the vowel of the

stem long while the nouns of relationship have it short: *satthāraṃ*, *satthāro* / *pitāraṃ*, *pitāro*, *mātāraṃ*, *mātāro*. The word *nattar* 'grandson' follows the agent nouns in its declension: *nattā*, *nattāraṃ*, *nattāro*.

- c). The masculine stems form also the instrumental and the genitive singular on the pattern of the *-u* stems: *satthunā*, *satthuno* / *satthussa*, *pitunā*, *pituno* / *pitussa*. The feminine stems form not only the instrumental and the genitive, but also the locative singular on the pattern of the feminine stems in *-u*: *matuyā*, *matuyāṃ*. *Dhītar* is often declined like the stems in *-ā*: *dhītā*, *dhītāṃ*, *dhītāya*, etc.
- d). In the plural there are some forms built on the pattern of the stems in *-ā*: *satthārehi*, *satthārānaṃ*, *satthāresu*, *pitārehi*, *pitārānaṃ*, *pitāresu*.
- e). In the singular the vowel of the stem is found long even in the instrumental: *satthārā* besides the common form *sattharā*.
- f). In the ablative singular there are also the forms *pitito*, *mātito* from *pitār*, *mātar*.

F e m i n i n e G e n d e r

38. In Pali the adjective, when not used in a *samāsa*, must agree in gender, number and case with the noun it modifies. Hence every adjective can be declined in all the three genders. Further the nouns indicating living beings of the male sex may also be turned into feminine to indicate the corresponding living beings of the female sex.

The feminine gender of such nouns and adjectives is formed in various ways:

- a). Noun stems in *-a* form the feminine gender with the suffix *-ī* which replaces the suffix *-a* of the stem: *dāsa* 'servant', *dāsī*; *cora* 'thief', *corī*; *deva* 'god', *devī*; *kumāra* 'prince',

kumārī; *brāhmaṇa* 'brahmin', *brāhmaṇī*; *tāpasa* 'ascetic', *tāpasī*.

- b). Adjective stems in -a form the feminine gender with the suffix -ā: *dīgha* 'long', *dīghā*; *manāpa* 'dear', *manāpā*; *majjhima* 'middle', *majjhimā*; *gacchamāna* 'going', *gacchamānā*; *gata* 'gone', *gatā*; *desetabba* 'should be preached', *desetabbā*.

N.B. Some adjectives have the feminine in -ā when used as adjectives, and in -ī when used as nouns: *dahara* 'young', *daharā*, but *daharī* 'young woman'; *kalyāṇa* 'beautiful', *kalyāṇā*, but *kalyāṇī* 'a beautiful woman'. There are also some adjectives ending in -ī in their feminine gender: *dhammī kathā* 'religious discourse'.

- c). Stems in -aka form the feminine by changing -aka > -ikā: *janaka* 'father', *janikā* 'mother'; *kumāraka* 'boy', *kumārikā* 'girl'; *upāsaka* 'lay disciple', *upāsikā* 'female lay disciple'; *sāvaka* 'disciple', *sāvikā* 'female disciple'; *pāpaka* 'sinful', *pāpikā*; *ekaka* 'alone', *ekikā*.
- d). Stems in -in form the feminine by adding the suffix -ī: *hatthin* 'elephant', *hatthinī*; *sāmin* 'master', *sāminī*; *musāvādin* 'liar', *musāvādinī*; *lābhin* 'receiver', *lābhini*.

Some stems drop the final nasal in the formation of the feminine gender: *porin* 'polite', *porī*; *bhārin* 'wearing', *bhārinī* / *bhārī*; *dukkhin* 'painful', *dukkhī*.

- e). Stems in -u, -ū form the feminine by adding the suffix -nī: *bhikkhu* 'monk', *bhikkhunī*; *abhijjhālū* 'covetous', *abhijjhālūnī*.
- f). Stems in -ant, if they are adjectives, form the feminine by adding the suffix -ī to the stem without the nasal consonant (that is: to the weak form of the stem); if they are present participles they add the suffix -ī to the stem (that is, to the strong form of the stem):

adjectives: *sīlavant* 'virtuous', *sīlavatī*; *guṇavant* 'virtuous', *guṇavatī*; *mahant* 'great', *mahatī*.

participles: *gacchant* 'going', *gacchantī*, *vasant* 'dwelling', *vasantī*; *carant* 'moving', *carantī*.

The present participles of the stems in -e / -o have also the feminine in -ī: *dento* 'giving', *denti*; *cintento* 'thinking', *cintenti*; *karonto* 'doing', *karontī*.

The feminine of *bhavant* is *bhavantī* when it is used as participle of *bhavati* 'to be', but it is *bhotī* when it is used as pronoun.

- g). The ordinal numerals form the feminine with the suffix -ā in the first three numbers, and with the suffix -ī in all the other numbers: *pathamā*, *dutiyā*, *tatīyā* but *catutthī*, *pañcamī*, etc.

- h). Some nouns form the feminine in different ways:

<i>nara</i>	man	<i>nārī</i>
<i>rājā</i>	king	<i>rājini</i>
<i>mātula</i>	uncle	<i>mātulāni</i>
<i>yakkha</i>	demon	<i>yakkhī</i> / <i>yakkhini</i>
<i>sākiya</i>	sakya	<i>sākiyāni</i>
<i>gahapati</i>	householder	<i>gahapatāni</i>
<i>assa</i>	horse	<i>vaḷavā</i>
<i>netar</i>	leader	<i>netti</i>
<i>go</i>	ox	<i>gavī</i> / <i>gāvī</i>
<i>janettar</i>	parent	<i>janettī</i>

The feminine *vessī* / *vessikā* are used to indicate a woman of the Vaisya caste, while *vesī* / *vesiyā* mean 'a harlot'.

- i). When a noun is turned into an adjective at the end of a bahubbīhi samāsa, it forms the feminine with the suffix -ā like any other adjective: *evaṃ-nāmā* 'having such a name', *evaṃ-gottā* 'belonging to such a clan', *evaṃ-sīlā*

'having such a virtue', *pañcavaṇṇā* 'of five colours', *mahāsaddā* 'making great noise' etc.

There are, however, some samāsa that make the feminine with the suffix *-ī*: *avarūpī kathā* 'such a talk' besides *avarūpā* and *abhirūpā*; *assumukhī* 'with tears on her face', *nandimukhī* 'with joy on her face', *sassamaṇa-brāhmaṇī pajā* 'the people together with their recluses and brahmins', *piḷakā sāsapamattiyo mugamattiyo* 'boils of the size of a mustard seed and of the size of a bean', *anupubbī kathā* 'a gradual talk'.

C o m p a r a t i v e a n d S u p e r l a t i v e

39. Formation of the comparative and of the superlative.

a). The comparative and the superlative of the adjectives are formed by adding to the stem the suffixes *-tara* and *-tama* respectively:

<i>suci</i>	pure	<i>sucitara</i>	<i>sucitama</i>
<i>piya</i>	dear	<i>piyatara</i>	<i>piyatama</i>
<i>thera</i>	elder	<i>theratara</i>	<i>theratama</i>
<i>paṇḍita</i>	wise	<i>paṇḍitara</i>	<i>paṇḍitama</i>
<i>bahu</i>	much	<i>bahutara</i>	<i>bahutama</i>
<i>vuḍḍha</i>	old	<i>vuḍḍhatara</i>	<i>vuḍḍhatama</i>

b). The stems in *-ant* form the comparative from their alternative stem in *-anta*:

<i>silavant</i>	virtuous	<i>silavantatara</i>
<i>mahant</i>	great	<i>mahantatara</i>
<i>vaṇṇavant</i>	beautiful	<i>vaṇṇavantatara</i>

From the stem *balavant* 'strong' there is both *balavantatara* and *balavatara*.

c). In a few cases the comparative and the superlative are formed with the older suffixes *-iya* and *-iṭṭha* respectively:

<i>pāpa</i>	sinful	<i>pāpiya</i>	<i>pāpiṭṭha</i>
-------------	--------	---------------	-----------------

d). Some superlative are formed with the suffix *-ma* before which the vowel of the stem is sometimes changed to *-i*:

<i>majjha</i>	middle	<i>majjhima</i>	
<i>bāhira</i>	outside	<i>bāhirima</i>	
<i>abbhantara</i>	internal	<i>abbhantarima</i>	
<i>anta</i>	end	<i>antima</i>	last

e). Some adjectives have more than one form:

<i>pāpa</i>	sinful	<i>pāpiya</i> / <i>pāpatara</i> , <i>pāpiṭṭha</i> / <i>pāpatama</i>
-------------	--------	---

f). There are some comparative and superlative formations which are connected only in meaning with adjectives in the positive degree:

<i>sant</i>	good	<i>seyya</i>	<i>setṭha</i>
<i>yuva</i>	young	<i>kaniya</i>	<i>kaniṭṭha</i>
<i>vuḍḍha</i>	old	<i>jeyya</i>	<i>jetṭha</i>
<i>bahu</i>	much	<i>bhiyyo</i> and also <i>bhuyya</i> in <i>yebhuyyena</i>	

g). Some comparatives and superlatives seem to have lost their special meaning and thus a new comparative has been formed from them:

<i>seyya</i>	better	<i>seyyatara</i>
<i>setṭha</i>	best	<i>setṭhatara</i>
<i>pāpiṭṭha</i>	most sinful	<i>pāpiṭṭhatara</i>
<i>purima</i>	former	<i>purimatara</i>

h). Some past participles, both alone and at the end of a samāsa, are used in the comparative:

<i>saṅkiliṭṭha</i>	defiled	<i>saṅkiliṭṭhatara</i>
<i>paṇīta</i>	excellent	<i>paṇītatara</i>
<i>vyatta</i>	learned	<i>vyattatara</i>
<i>sampanna</i>	endowed	<i>silasampannatara</i>
<i>saṅkhata</i>	reckoned	<i>paṇītasāṅkhatatara</i>
<i>abhikkanta</i>	surpassing	<i>abhikkantatara</i>

In the samāsa the comparative idea usually refers to the first member of the compound:

<i>silasampannatara</i>	endowed with greater virtue
<i>paṇītasāṅkhatatara</i>	reckoned as more excellent

i). Bahubbīhi samāsa are sometimes used in the comparative:

<i>dīghāyuka</i>	having a long life	<i>dīghāyukatara</i>
<i>mahāsāvajja</i>	greatly blameworthy	<i>mahāsāvajjatara</i>

Similarly *mahasakkhatara* 'having greater power', *mahaddhanatara* 'having greater wealth', *mahābhogatara* 'having greater riches', *mahābalatara* 'having greater strength', etc.

j). There are even some nouns and noun samāsa that take the comparative suffix:

<i>mala</i>	<i>malatara</i>	having a greater stain
<i>vana</i>	<i>vanatara</i>	thicker jungle
<i>sappurisa</i>	<i>sappurisatara</i>	a better man

k). The comparative and superlative endings are also added to some pronominal stems:

<i>i</i>	<i>itara</i>		other
<i>ka</i>	<i>katara</i>	<i>katama</i>	which
<i>añña</i>	<i>aññatara</i>	<i>aññatama</i>	another

l). The comparative and the superlative suffixes are also added to some prepositions and adverbs to form adjectives having a comparative or a superlative meaning:

<i>adha</i>	<i>adhara</i>	lower	<i>adhama</i>	lowest
<i>ud</i>	<i>uttara</i>	higher	<i>uttama</i>	highest
<i>upari</i>			<i>uparima</i>	uppermost
<i>ava</i>	<i>ora</i>	lower	<i>orima</i>	lowest
<i>cira</i>	<i>ciratara</i>			longer time
<i>pacchā</i>			<i>pacchima</i>	last
<i>para</i>			<i>parama / parima</i>	highest
<i>pura</i>			<i>purima, purimatara</i>	former
<i>purattha</i>			<i>puratthima</i>	eastern
<i>pure</i>	<i>puretara</i>			before
<i>hetthā</i>			<i>hetthima</i>	lowest

CHAPTER IV

PRONOUNS

The pronouns may be divided into:

- personal pronouns
- demonstrative pronouns
- relative pronouns
- interrogative pronouns
- indefinite pronouns
- possessive pronouns
- reflexive pronouns

Like the pronouns are inflected some pronominal adjectives.

40. Personal pronouns

- first person : *aham* 'I', *mayam* 'we'
 second person : *tvam* 'thou', *tumhe* 'you'
 third person : *so*, *sā*, *taṃ* 'he, she, it'
te, *tā*, *tāni* 'they'

S i n g u l a r

N	<i>aham</i>	<i>tvam</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>taṃ</i>	<i>sā</i>
A	<i>mam</i>	<i>taṃ</i>	<i>taṃ</i>	<i>taṃ</i>	<i>taṃ</i>

I	<i>mayā</i>	<i>tayā</i>	<i>tena</i>	<i>tāya</i>
Ab	<i>mayā</i>	<i>tayā</i>	<i>tasmā</i>	<i>tāya</i>
G	<i>mama</i>	<i>tava</i>	<i>tassa</i>	<i>tāya</i>
	<i>mayham</i>	<i>tuyham</i>		
L	<i>mayi</i>	<i>tayi</i>	<i>tasmim</i>	<i>tāyam</i>

P l u r a l

N	<i>mayam</i>	<i>tumhe</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>tāni</i>	<i>tā</i>
	<i>amhe</i>				<i>tāyo</i>
A	<i>amhe</i>	<i>tumhe</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>tāni</i>	<i>tā</i> , <i>tāyo</i>
I Ab	<i>amhehi</i>	<i>tumhehi</i>	<i>tehi</i>		<i>tāhi</i>
G	<i>amhākaṃ</i>	<i>tumhākaṃ</i>	<i>tesaṃ</i>		<i>tāsaṃ</i>
L	<i>amhesu</i>	<i>tumhesu</i>	<i>tesu</i>		<i>tāsu</i>

a). Alternative forms:

aham: sg. A *mamaṃ*, G *mamaṃ*, *amhaṃ*, I G me pl. N *asme*,
 A *asme*, *asmākaṃ*, *amhākaṃ*, G *amhaṃ*, A I G no

tvam: sg. N *tvaṃ*, A *tvam*, *tavam*, I *tvayā*, G, *tavaṃ* I G
 te pl. A *tumhākaṃ*, D G *tumhaṃ*, A I G vo

so: sg. N *sa*

sā: sg. G *tassā*, *tissā*, *tissāya*, L *tassaṃ*, *tissaṃ*.

b). In the declension of the pronoun *so*, the consonant *n-* is often found instead of the initial *t-*: *naṃ* besides *taṃ*, *ne* and *nesaṃ* besides *te* and *tesaṃ*.

41. Demonstrative pronouns

masc.	<i>ayaṃ</i>	nt.	<i>idaṃ</i>	fem.	<i>ayaṃ</i>	'this'
	<i>asu</i>		<i>adum</i>		<i>asu</i>	'that'
	<i>so</i>		<i>taṃ</i>		<i>sā</i>	'that'
	<i>eso</i>		<i>etaṃ</i>		<i>esā</i>	'this'

S i n g u l a r			
N	ayaṃ	idaṃ, imaṃ	ayaṃ
A	imaṃ	idaṃ, imaṃ	imaṃ
I	iminā, anena		imāya
Ab	imasmā, asmā		imāya
G	imassa, assa		imāya
L	imasmim, asmim		imāyaṃ
P l u r a l			
N A	ime	imāni	imā, imāyo
I Ab	imehi, ehi		imāhi
G	imesaṃ, esaṃ		imāsaṃ
L	imesu, esu		imāsu

In some cases there are alternative forms:

ayaṃ (masc.) : Pl. G imesānaṃ, esānaṃ
 ayaṃ (fem.) : Sg. G imissā, imissāya, assā, assāya
 L imissaṃ, assaṃ

Pl. G imāsānaṃ

S i n g u l a r

N	asu, amu	aduṃ	asu
A	amuṃ	aduṃ	amuṃ
I	amunā		amuyā
Ab	amusmā		amuyā
G	amussa		amuyā
L	amusmim		amuyaṃ

P l u r a l

N A	amū	amūni	amū, amūyo
I Ab	amūhi		amūhi

G	amūsaṃ	amūsaṃ
L	amūsu	amūsu

Alternative forms:

asu (masc.) : Pl. G amūsānaṃ

asu (fem.) : Pl. G amūsānaṃ

a). The pronouns *so* and *eso* are declined like *so* (40).

b). Instead of the neuter form *taṃ*, there is sometimes *tad* when followed by a vowel or in composition: *tad evaṃ* 'that indeed', *etad avoca* 'said such a thing', *takkara* from *tad-kara* 'doing it'.

d). Again, instead of the neuter form *taṃ* there is the Magadhi form *se* when followed by *yathā*: *seyyathā* for *taṃ yathā* 'just as', and *seyyathidaṃ* for *taṃ yathā idaṃ* 'namely'.

42. Relative pronouns: masc. *yo* 'who', nt. *yaṃ* 'which' fem. *yā* 'who'

S i n g u l a r			P l u r a l			
N	yo	yaṃ	yā	ye	yāni	yā, yāyo
A	yaṃ	yaṃ	yaṃ	ye	yāni	yā, yāyo
I	yena		yāya	jehi		yāhi
Ab	yasmā		yāya	yehi		yāhi
G	yassa		yāya	yesaṃ		yāsaṃ
L	yasmim		yāyaṃ	yesu		yāsu

Alternative forms:

yo : Sg. N *ye* (Magadhi), Ab *yamhā*, L *yamhi* Pl. G *yesānaṃ*
yā : Sg. G *yassā*, L *yassaṃ*

Pl. G *yāsānaṃ*

yaṃ : Sg. N *ye* (Magadhi) found alone and in compounds: *yebhuyya* 'most', *yebhuyyena* 'mostly', *yebhuyyasikā* 'according to the majority', *yevāpanaka* 'whatever else'.

Further, instead of *yaṃ*, there is *yad* sometimes when followed by a vowel: *yad evaṃ*.

43. **Interrogative pronouns:** masc. *ko* 'who', nt. *kiṃ* 'what' fem. *kā* 'who'.

	S i n g u l a r			P l u r a l	
N	<i>ko</i>	<i>kiṃ</i>	<i>kā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>kāni</i> <i>kā</i> , <i>kāyo</i>
A	<i>kaṃ</i>	<i>kiṃ</i>	<i>kaṃ</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>kāni</i> <i>kā</i> , <i>kāyo</i>
I	<i>kena</i>	<i>kāya</i>		<i>kehi</i>	<i>kāhi</i>
Ab	<i>kasmā</i>	<i>kāya</i>		<i>kehi</i>	<i>kāhi</i>
G	<i>kassa</i>	<i>kāya</i>		<i>kesaṃ</i>	<i>kāsaṃ</i>
L	<i>kasmiṃ</i>	<i>kāyaṃ</i>		<i>kesu</i>	<i>kāsu</i>

Alternative forms:

ko : Sg. N *ke* (Magadhi), Ab *kasmā*, L *kamhi*
Pl. G *kesānaṃ*

kiṃ : Sg. G *kissa*, Ab *kismā*, L *kimhi*

kā : Sg. G *kassā*, *kissā*, L *kassam*, *kissam*
Pl. G *kāsānaṃ*

The interrogative pronoun is sometimes strengthened with the particle *-su* / *-ssu*: *kaṃ-su*, *kena-ssu*.

From the stem *ka-* are derived the pronominal adjectives *katara*, *katama* 'who', *kati* 'how many', *kittaka* 'how much'. *Kittaka* is declined in the three genders like any other adjective; *katara* and *katama* are declined in the three genders like the pronouns *yo*, *ko*; *kati* has one form only for all the three genders and is declined only in the plural: N A *kati*, I Ab *katīhi*, G *katīnaṃ*, L *katīsu*.

44. **Indefinite pronouns:** Indefinite pronouns are obtained

a). by adding the particle *-ci* to the relative pronoun: *koci*, *kāci*, *kiñci* 'someone, something';

b). by repeating twice the demonstrative or the relative pronoun: *so so* 'anyone', *yo yo* 'anyone';

c). by joining together a relative or interrogative pronoun with a demonstrative pronoun: *yo so* 'whoever';

d). by joining together a relative with an indefinite pronoun: *yaṃ kiñci* 'whatever'.

Further two pronominal adjectives are used in the plural: *katicci* and *katipaya* 'some'.

45. **Possessive pronouns:** The pronominal adjectives *sa*, *saka*, *māmaka* are used to express possessive meaning. Of these *saka* and *māmaka* are declined like ordinary adjectives while the stem *sa* has: Sg. A *saṃ*, I *sena*, Ab *samhā*, L *samhi*; Pl. A neuter *sāni*, I Ab *sehi*.

Further in possessive meaning are used

a). the pronoun *attano* for all the three genders and both in the singular and in the plural;

b). the genitive of the personal pronouns for each person respectively: *mayhaṃ*, *tuyhaṃ*, *tassa*, *tāya*, *amhākaṃ*, *tumhākaṃ*, *tesaṃ*, *tāsaṃ*.

46. **Reflexive pronouns:** The oblique cases of *attan* are used as reflexive pronoun: v.g.; *attanā* 'by oneself'.

47. **Pronominal adjectives:** Some adjectives either derived from, or connected in meaning with the pronouns, follow the pronominal declension. Such adjectives are *añña*, *aññatara*, *aññatama* 'another'; *amuka*, *asuka* 'such and such a one'; *itara* 'other'; *katara*, *katama* 'which one'; *para* 'other', *pubba* 'former'; *sabba* 'all'. Since they follow the pronominal declension, these adjectives take the case terminations which are proper to the pronouns as distinguished from the nouns:

N	Pl. masc.	<i>katame</i> , <i>sabbe</i> , <i>itare</i> , <i>pubbe</i>
G	Pl. masc.	<i>aññesaṃ</i> , <i>katamesānaṃ</i>

G	Sg. fem.	<i>aññissā, katarissā</i>
L	Sg. fem.	<i>annissam, katamassam</i>
G	Pl. fem.	<i>sabbāsam, itarāsam</i>
L	Sg. masc.	<i>sabbasmim, katarasmim</i>

Pubba has *pabbe* in the locative singular and *uttara* has *uttarāya / uttarasam* in the locative singular feminine.

Ekacco has *ekacce* in the nominative plural masculine but has *ekaccānam* in the genitive plural.

CHAPTER V

NUMERALS

The numerals may be divided into:

cardinal numerals	fractional numerals
ordinal numerals	multiplicative numerals
distributive numerals	substantive numerals

48. **Cardinal numerals:** The cardinal numerals are those which indicate a numerical quantity without any reference to any other number: one, five, twelve, twenty-five

1	<i>eka</i>
2	<i>dvi</i>
3	<i>ti</i>
4	<i>catu</i>
5	<i>pañca</i>
6	<i>cha</i>

- 7 satta
 8 attha
 9 nava
 10 dasa
 11 ekādasa, ekārasa
 12 dvādasa, bārasa
 13 terasa, teḷasa
 14 catuddasa, cuddasa
 15 pañcadasa, paṇṇarasa, pannarasa
 16 soḷasa, sorasa
 17 sattadasa, sattarasa
 18 aṭṭhadasa, aṭṭharasa
 19 ekūnavīsati, ekūnavīsa
 20 vīsati, vīsa, vīsaṃ, vīsā
 21 ekavīsati
 22 dvāvīsati, dvāvīsa, bāvīsa
 23 tevisati, tevīsa
 24 catuvīsati, catuvīsa, catubbīsa
 25 pañcavīsati, pañcavīsa, paṇṇavīsati
 26 chabbīsati
 27 sattavīsati
 28 aṭṭhavīsati, aṭṭhavīsaṃ
 29 ekūnatiṃsati
 30 tiṃsati, tiṃsa, tiṃsaṃ, tiṃsā, tidasa
 31 ekatiṃsati
 32 dvattiṃsati dvattiṃsa

- 33 tettimsati, tettimsa
 34 catuttiṃsati
 36 chattimsati, chattimsa
 37 sattatiṃsati, sattatiṃsa
 40 cattālīsati, cattālīsa, cattālīsaṃ, cattālīsā, cattārīsā
 42 dvicattālīsati, dvācattālīsā
 43 tecattālīsa
 50 paññāsa, paññāsā, paṇṇāsa
 52 dvepaññāsa, dvāpaññāsa
 56 chapaññāsa
 60 saṭṭhi
 70 sattati
 72 dvāsattati
 80 asīti
 82 dve asīti
 84 caturāsīti, cullāsīti, cūḷāsīti
 90 navuti
 92 dvānavuti, dvenavuti
 96 channavuti
 99 ekūnasataṃ, ekūnakam satam
 100 satam
 101 ekādhikam satam, satam eko ca
 102 diyadhika satam
 103 tiyadhika satam
 108 aṭṭhādhika satam, aṭṭhuttarasatam
 118 aṭṭhārasādhikam satam

126	<i>chabbīsa satam</i>
128	<i>aṭṭhaviṣa satam</i>
150	<i>diyaḍḍha satam</i>
160	<i>saṭṭhisatam</i>
200	<i>dvisatam, dve satāni</i>
216	<i>dvisatam soḷasa</i>
250	<i>tiyaḍḍha satam, aḍḍhateyya satam</i>
300	<i>tisatam, tīni satāni</i>
350	<i>aḍḍhacatuṭṭha satam, aḍḍhuḍḍha satam</i>
400	<i>catussatam</i>
500	<i>pañcasatam, dasaḍḍham satam</i>
550	<i>aḍḍhachattṭha satam</i>
650	<i>aḍḍhasattamasatam</i>
1000	<i>sahassam</i>
1001	<i>ekādhika sahassam</i>
1008	<i>aṭṭhādhika sahassam, aṭṭhuttara sahassam</i>
1250	<i>aḍḍhateḷasa satam</i>
1500	<i>pañcasatādhika sahassam, diyaḍḍha sahassam</i>
1850	<i>aḍḍha ekūnaviṣa satam</i>
3300	<i>tisahasassam ca tisatam</i>
5000	<i>pañcasahasāni, pañca sahassam, dasaḍḍham sahassam</i>
5250	<i>aḍḍha tipañṇāsa satam, aḍḍha tipañṇāsāni satāni</i>
100 000	<i>satasahasassam, lakkham</i>
280 000	<i>dve sattasahasāni asīti ca sahassāni</i>
460 000	<i>cattāri sattasahasāni saṭṭhi ca sahassāni</i>
1000 000	<i>dasalakkham</i>

10 000 000 *sata lakkham, koṭi*

49. Formation of cardinal numerals:

- Numerals like 11, 12, 13, 21, 22, 24, etc. are dvanda samāsa made up of two words: the word expressing the numbers from one to eight and the word expressing the decade; hence 11 is one and ten, *ekādasā*; 12 is two and ten, *dvādasā*; 84 is four and eighty, *caturāsīti*.
- In the formation of the numbers like 22, 32, 42, etc. the number appears more often as *dvā* than as *dve*: *dvādasā*, *dvāvīsati*, *dvāsaṭṭhi*, *dvāsattati*, *dvattimsati* (with the vowel shortened before two consonants), *dvāpañṇāsa* / *dvepañṇāsa*, *dve asīti*, *dvānavuti* / *dvenavuti*.
- The numeral 19, 29, 39 etc. are expressed by the numeral *eka* followed by the adjective *ūna* 'less' and then by the next higher cardinal number: *eka ūna viṣati* > *ekūnavīsati* 'twenty less one, i.e. 19'; similarly *ekūnatimsati* 29, *ekūnasatam* 99, *ekūna aṭṭhasatam* 799. Sometimes *eka* is in the instrumental case: *ekena ūna pañcasatāni* 499.
- The numerals above 100 and 1000 are formed with *adhika* or *uttara*: *diyadhikasatam* 102, *aṭṭhādhika satam* / *aṭṭhuttara satam* 108. The higher numbers are usually expressed as dvanda samāsa: *aṭṭhaviṣa satam* 28 and 100 i.e. 128; or by placing the higher number first and then the smaller number with or without the particle *ca*: *satam eko ca* 101, *dvisatam soḷasa* 216.
- The numerals that end in 50 or 500 like 150, 250, 500, 1250, 1500, etc. are expressed with the word *aḍḍha* and the numeral indicating the 100 or 1000 next higher than the one expressed by the number. Thus 250 is expressed as 'half of the third hundred' *aḍḍhateyyasatam*; 350 as 'half of the fourth hundred' *aḍḍhacatuṭṭha satam* / *aḍḍhuḍḍha satam*; 1250 as 'half of the thirteenth hundred' *aḍḍhateḷasāni satāni*; 5500 as 'half of the sixth thousand' *aḍḍha chattṭha*

sahassam. But 150 and 1500 are expressed as *diyaḍḍhasatam*, *diyaḍḍhasahassam*.

50. **Declension of numerals:** The numerals from 1 to 18 are adjectives, from 20 onwards are nouns.

- a). **Eka** 'one' is declined in the singular masculine, feminine and neuter gender *eko*, *ekā*, *ekaṃ* just like the pronoun *so*, *sā*, *taṃ*.

Eka can also be declined in the plural in the sense of 'some'. Here also it follows the pronominal declension. In this meaning, however, the word *ekacce* is more common. *Ekacce* has the pronominal ending in the nominative plural, but in the rest of the cases it is declined like the *a*-stems, hence the genitive plural is *ekaccānaṃ*.

- b). **Dvi**: 'two' is declined only in the plural and has no distinction of gender:

N A	<i>dve</i> , <i>duve</i>
I Ab	<i>dvīhi</i>
G	<i>dvinnam</i>
L	<i>dvīsu</i>

In composition *dvi* assumes different forms:

du: *dujihva* 'snake', *dvaṅgula* 'two fingers-breadth'

duv: *duvaṅgika* 'twofold'

dvi: *dvija* 'bird'

duvi: *duvidha* 'in two ways'

di: *diguṇa* 'double', *diyaḍḍha* 'one and a half'

dvā: *dvādasa* 'twelve', *dvattimsati* 'thirty-two'

dvemāsika 'two months old'

With *dvi* we may classify the numeral adjective *ubho* 'both' which is declined only in the plural:

N A	<i>ubho</i>
I Ab	<i>ubhohi</i>
G	<i>ubhinnaṃ</i>
L	<i>ubhosu</i>

- c). **ti** 'three' and **catu** 'four' are declined like adjectives in all the three genders:

N A	<i>tayo</i>	<i>tīni</i>	<i>tisso</i>	<i>cattāro</i>	<i>cattāri</i>	<i>catasso</i>
I Ab	<i>tīhi</i>	<i>tīhi</i>		<i>catūhi</i>	<i>catūhi</i>	
G	<i>tinnaṃ</i>	<i>tissannaṃ</i>	<i>catunnaṃ</i>	<i>catussannaṃ</i>		
L	<i>tīsu</i>	<i>tīsu</i>	<i>catūsu</i>	<i>catūsu</i>		

In the genitive plural, besides *tinnaṃ* there is also *tinnannaṃ*.

- d). **Pañca** 'five' is declined in the plural without any distinction of gender:

N A	<i>pañca</i>
I Ab	<i>pañcahi</i>
G	<i>pañcannaṃ</i>
L	<i>pañcasu</i>

Like *pañca* are declined the other numerals up to 18; i.e. *cha*, *chahi*, *channaṃ*, *chasu*; *dasa*, *dasahi*, *dasannaṃ*, *dasasu*.

- e). **Numerals ending in -ti** like *vīsati*, *tiṃsati* are declined in the singular like the feminine stems in -i, i.e. like *jāti*: *vīsati*, *vīsatiṃ*, *vīsatiyā*, *vīsatiyaṃ*.
- f). **Numerals ending in -ā** are declined in the singular like the feminine stems in -ā, i.e. like *vanitā*: *vīsā*, *vīsaṃ*, *vīsāya*, *vīsāyaṃ*.
- g). **Numerals ending in -am** are declined in the singular and in the plural like the neuter stems in -am: *sataṃ*, *satena*, *satassa*, *sataasmā*, *satasmim*; *satāni*, *satehi*, *satānaṃ*, *satesu*; *sahassam*, *sahassena*, etc.

h). Numerals ending in *-a* are usually uninflected: *vīsa*, *tiṃsa*, etc.

51. Ordinal numerals: The ordinal numerals are those which indicate the progressive order of a series, i.e. first, second, third, etc.

first	<i>paṭhama</i>
second	<i>dutiya</i>
third	<i>tatiya</i>
fourth	<i>catuttha</i>
fifth	<i>pañcama</i>
sixth	<i>chaṭṭha</i>
seventh	<i>sattama</i>
eighth	<i>aṭṭhama</i>
ninth	<i>navama</i>
tenth	<i>dasama</i>
eleventh	<i>ekādasā, ekādasama</i>
twelfth	<i>dvādasā, dvādasama</i>
twentieth	<i>vīsatiṃsa, vīsa</i>
thirtieth	<i>tiṃsatima, tiṃsa</i>
fortieth	<i>cattāḷisatiṃsa, cattāḷisa</i>
fiftieth	<i>paññāsatiṃsa, paññāsa</i>
sixtieth	<i>saṭṭhitama</i>
seventieth	<i>sattatima</i>
eightieth	<i>asītitaṃsa</i>
ninetieth	<i>navutima</i>
ninety first	<i>ekānavuta</i>
hundredth	<i>satatama, satima</i>

thousandth *sahassatama, saḥassima*

- a). The first ordinal number is not formed from *eka* but from the prefix *pa-* (*Sakt. pra-*) 'in front' with the addition of *ṭhama:paṭhama*.
- b). The ordinals for the numbers 2 and 3 are formed with the suffix *-tiya: dutiya, tatiya*.
- c). The ordinals for 4 and 6 are formed with the suffix *-tha: catur-tha > catuttha, cha-tha > chaṭṭha*.
- d). The ordinals of 5, 7, 8, 9, 10 are formed from the stem of the cardinal numerals by adding the suffix *-ama: pañc-ama > pañcama, satt-ama > sattama, aṭṭh-ama > aṭṭhama, nav-ama > navama, das-ama > dasama*.
- e). The ordinals of the numbers from 11 to 18 may be formed with the suffix *-ama* or merely with the suffix *-a* added to the stem of the cardinal numerals: *ekādas-ama > ekādasama* or *ekādas-a > ekādasā, teras-ama > terasama* or *teras-a > terasā, soḷas-ama > soḷasama* or *soḷas-a > soḷasā*.
- f). The ordinals of the decades are formed as follows:
 - The cardinal numerals ending in *-a* may be used as adjectival ordinal numbers: *vīsa, tiṃsa, cattāḷisa, paññāsa*.
 - The cardinal numerals ending in *-ti* form the ordinals with the suffix *-ma: vīsatiṃsa, tiṃsatima, cattāḷisatiṃsa, sattatima, navutima*. Even *paññāsa* has an ordinal *paññāsatiṃsa* by adding both *-ti* and *-ma*.
 - The cardinal numerals 60 and 80 form their ordinals with the suffix *-tama: saṭṭhitama, asītitaṃsa*. The numerals 100 and 1000 form their ordinals in the same way: *satatama, saḥassatama*.
 - for ninetieth there is the form *navuta* as in *ekānavuta*, and for 100 and 1000 there are the forms *satima* and *saḥassima*.
- g). The ordinal numerals are adjectives and are declined in all the three genders. The feminine of the first three numbers ends in *-ā: paṭhamā, dūtīyā, tatīyā*. The feminine of all

the other numeral ordinals ends in *-ī*: *catutthī*, *pañcamī*, *ekādasamī* / *ekādasī*, *tiṃsatimī* / *timī*, etc.

52. **Distributive numerals.** The distributive numerals are expressed by repeating the cardinal or the ordinal numerals twice; v.g. *aṭṭha aṭṭha there amacce ca pesayi* 'to each he sent eight elders and eight court officials'.

The same idea may be expressed by means of numeral adverbs formed with the suffix *-so* added to the cardinal numerals: *ekekasō* 'one by one', *pañcasō* 'in five ways'.

53. **Fractional numerals.** A fraction is usually expressed with an ordinal numeral and a word expressing fraction, part, portion, like *bhāga*, *kalā*, *aṃsa*, *koṭṭhāsa*; v.g. *soḷasi kalā* 'one sixteenth part'.

The fraction 'one half' is expressed with *aḍḍha* / *upaḍḍha*, while 'one fourth' is expressed with *pāda*.

The fractions 1 1/2, 2 1/2, 3 1/2 are expressed respectively as *diyāḍḍha*, *aḍḍhatiya* / *aḍḍhateyya*, *aḍḍhuḍḍha*.

54. **Multiplicative numerals.** Multiplicative numerals expressing 'how many times' are obtained:

- a). by using the accusative neuter of the ordinal numerals: *paṭhamam* 'for the first time', *duṭṭiyam* 'for the second time'.
- b). by adding *-khattum* to the stems of the cardinal numerals: *tikkhattum* 'three times', *dasakkhattum* 'ten times'.
- c). by using the word *vāra* either with a cardinal or with an ordinal numeral: *cattāro vārā* 'four times' while *catuttha vāre* 'on the fourth time'.
- d). by adding the suffix *-dhā* to the cardinal numerals: *sattadhā* 'in seven ways', *sahassadhā* 'in a thousand ways'. 'Once' can be expressed with *ekadhā* and also with *sakim* and, in composition, with *sakid* / *sakad* when followed by a vowel: *sakad-āgāmi*.

- e). by adding *vidha* / *guṇa* to the cardinal numerals: *pañcavidha* 'in five ways', *diguṇa* 'twofold'.

55. **Numeral substantives.** Aggregates of beings or things are expressed by numeral substantives formed with the suffix *-ka/ya*: *duka* / *dvaya* 'an aggregate of two', *tika* / *taya* 'an aggregate of three'; similarly *catukka*, *pañcaka*, *chakka*, *sattaka*, *aṭṭhaka*, *navaka*, *dasaka*, *sataka*, etc.

CHAPTER VI

THE VERB

In a verbal form we may distinguish the root, the stem, the personal endings, the voice, the augment, the reduplication, the length of the vowel of the root.

56. **Root and stem.** The root is the ultimate element of a verb: *i-* 'to go', *kṛ-* 'to do', *ji-* 'to win'. The roots will be given in their Sanskrit form since it is only when we take into consideration the original roots as they are in Sanskrit that we can explain some of the phonological changes they undergo. The root *śru-* 'to hear' becomes in Pali *ssu-*; the double consonant is reduced to one at the beginning of a word, but it is retained when it becomes intervocalic, hence *suṇātu*, *suta* but *assosi*. Similarly *ñā-* 'to know' becomes *ññā-*: *ñāta* but *aññāsi*.

The stem is the verbal root modified by one or more of the following elements: prefix, suffix, infix, reduplication, lengthening of the vowel of the root. The present stem of *i-* is *e-* in which the vowel has been lengthened; the present stem of *kṛ-* is *karo-*

in which the vowel *r* has been lengthened to *ar-* and the suffix *o* has been added. The stem of the future of *śru-* is *soṣsa-* in which the vowel *u* has been lengthened to *o* and the suffix *ssa-* has been added. The stem of the aorist of *gam-* 'to go' is *agamis-* in which the augment has been prefixed and the suffix *is-* has been added. The stem of the present of *chid-* 'to cut' is *chinda-* in which the consonant *n* has been infix and the suffix *a* has been added.

57. **Voice and personal endings.** The Pali verb has two voices: the active or parassapada and the middle or attanopada. The voice of the verb is distinguished by the personal endings which are either parassapada or attanopada. Further the personal endings of the verb may be either primary or secondary. Both primary and secondary endings may be active and middle.

Active		Middle	
Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary
<i>mi</i>	<i>aṃ</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>m, aṃ</i>
<i>si</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>tho</i>
<i>ti</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>tha</i>
<i>ma</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>mhe</i>	<i>mhase</i>
<i>tha</i>	<i>tha</i>	<i>vhe</i>	<i>vho</i>
<i>nti</i>	<i>u, uṃ</i>	<i>nṭe, re</i>	<i>re, raṃ</i>

The present indicative and the future take the primary personal endings.

The aorist and the conditional take the secondary personal endings.

The optative takes both the primary and the secondary personal endings.

The imperative takes special endings.

58. **Augment.** The conditional and very often the aorist also are formed with an augment. This consists in prefixing the vowel

a- to the verbal forms: *a-dāsiṃ*, *a-kāsiṃ*, *a-bhavissam*. If the verbal stem is preceded by a prefix, the augment is inserted between the prefix and the verb:

<i>bhū</i>	to be	<i>a-bhavi</i>	> <i>abhavi</i>
<i>gam</i>	to go	<i>a-gā</i>	> <i>agā</i>
<i>adhi-bhū</i>	to overcome	<i>adhi-a-bhavi</i>	> <i>ajjhabhavi</i>
<i>anu-gam</i>	to follow	<i>anu-a-gā</i>	> <i>anvagā</i>
<i>abhi-jñā</i>	to know fully	<i>abhi-a-ññāsi</i>	> <i>abbhaññāsi</i>
<i>pātur-bhū</i>	to appear	<i>pātur-a-hosi</i>	> <i>pāturahosi</i>

59. **Reduplication.** Some verbal forms take the reduplication. The most general rules of reduplication are:

- The initial consonant of a root and the vowel that follows it are doubled: *tij-* 'to sharpen': *ti-tikkhati*.
- If the first syllable is a vowel, this is lengthened: *ah-*: *āha*.
- If the first consonant is aspirate, this is reduplicated with its corresponding unaspirate: *bhuj-* 'to eat': *bu-bhukkhati*.
- The guttural consonants *k*, *kh*, *g*, *gh* are reduplicated with *c* and *j* respectively: *khyā-* 'to speak': *ci-kkhati*; *gup-* 'to guard': *ji-gucchati*.

The consonant *h* is also reduplicated with *j*: *hā-* 'to abandon': *ja-hāti*.

- If the verbal root begins with two consonants, only the first is reduplicated: *śru-* 'to hear': *su-ssusati*.

But if the consonants are a sibilant followed by a mute consonant, then only the mute consonant is reduplicated: *sthā-* 'to stand': *ti-ṭṭhati*.

- If the root contains a long vowel, this is shortened in the reduplicating syllable: *dā-* 'to give': *da-dāti*; *hā-* 'to abandon': *ja-hāti*.

- Sometimes the reduplication is effected with a vowel different from that of the root as is clear from *tiṭṭhati*, *cikkhati*, *jjgucchati*.

60. Vowel gradation.

- Guna grade:** In the building up of the various verbal forms, the vowel of the root is sometimes lengthened:

<i>i / ī</i>	> <i>e / ay</i>	: <i>lih-</i> 'to lick'	<i>le-hati</i>	> <i>lehati</i>
		<i>nī-</i> 'to lead'	<i>nay-ati</i>	> <i>nayati</i>
<i>u / ū</i>	> <i>o / av</i>	: <i>jut-</i> 'to shine'	<i>jot-ati</i>	> <i>jotati</i>
		<i>bhū-</i> 'to be'	<i>bhav-ati</i>	> <i>bhavati</i>
<i>ṛ</i>	> <i>ar</i>	: <i>kṛ-</i> 'to do'	<i>kar-oti</i>	> <i>karoti</i>

In these cases the vowel of the root is said to be in the *guna* grade. The vowel *a* does not change since it is already in the *guna* grade.

- Vṛddhi grade.** Sometimes there is a further lengthening of the vowel:

<i>a</i>	> <i>ā</i>	: <i>pat-</i> 'to fall'	<i>pāt-eti</i>	> <i>pātetī</i>
<i>i / ī</i>	> <i>e / āy</i>	: <i>bhī-</i> 'to fear'	<i>bhāy-ati</i>	> <i>bhāyati</i>
<i>u / ū</i>	> <i>o / āv</i>	: <i>lū-</i> 'to cut'	<i>lāv-eti</i>	> <i>lāvetī</i>
<i>ṛ</i>	> <i>ār</i>	: <i>kṛ-</i> 'to do'	<i>kār-eti</i>	> <i>kāretī</i>

- Zero grade or weak grade.** When the vowels *i*, *u*, *ṛ* are not changed and when the vowel *a* is dropped, the root is said to be in its zero or weak grade; v.g. *ji-* 'to conquer' *ji-ta*, *śru-* 'to hear' *su-ta*. The weak grade of *vac-* 'to speak' is obtained by dropping the vowel *a*: *vac-* become *vc-* and then the semivowel *v*, followed by a consonant, becomes vowel, hence *uc-*. From *uc-* is formed the past participle *uc-ta* > *utta*. But in Pali sometimes a word beginning with *u / i* takes an initial *v / y*; hence *vutta*.

Thus a root like *śru-* may appear in its zero grade as in *su-ta*, *su-tvā*, *su-ṇomi*; or in its guṇa grade as in *so-tuṃ*, *so-tabba*, *sav-anīya*; and also in its vṛddhi grade as in *sāv-eti*, *sāv-aka*.

In a root only a final vowel, whether long or short, and a medial short vowel followed by one consonant, are liable to be lengthened to their guṇa or vṛddhi grades. *Bhū-* becomes *bhav-ati*, *bhāv-eti*, *jut-* becomes *jot-ati*, *lih-* becomes *leh-ati*, but *jīv-* and *nind-* remain unchanged as *jīv-ati*, *nind-ati* since in *jīv-* the medial vowel is long by nature and in *nind-* the medial vowel is long by position.

61. **Tenses and moods.** The various verbal forms built up from the root are divided into finite and indefinite verbal forms.

The finite verbal forms are those that have personal endings: *gacchāmi*, *gamiṣāmi*, *agamāsi*, *gaccheyyāma*, *gacchantu*, etc.

The indefinite verbal forms have no personal endings but are either nouns or adjectives or adverbs: *gacchanto*, *gato*, *gantūṃ*, *gantvā*, *gantabbo*.

The finite verbal forms are conjugated in the following tenses and moods:

present indicative and imperative
optative
aorist
future and conditional.

Further there are in the Pali Canon two or three stray forms of the perfect tense. In the postcanonical literature these forms are more numerous.

The indefinite verbal forms are divided into:
infinitive
participles: present, past, future
gerund

Classes of the verbs.

The Pali verbal system is directly connected with the Sanskrit verbal system; hence we can follow the Sanskrit division of the verbs into classes.

The verbs are divided into ten classes according to the way in which they form the stem of the present tense.

62. **Class 1.** To the first class belong the verbs which form the stem of the present by adding to the root the suffix *-a*: *pat-* 'to fall': *pat-a-ti* > *patati*; *vas-* 'to dwell': *vas-a-ti* > *vasati*.

In the formation of the present stem, the final vowel of the root or a medial short vowel takes the guṇa grade:

<i>ni-</i>	to lead	<i>ne-a-ti</i>	>	<i>nay-a-ti</i>	>	<i>nayati</i>
<i>ru-</i>	to shut	<i>ro-a-ti</i>	>	<i>rav-a-ti</i>	>	<i>ravati</i>
<i>bhu-</i>	to be	<i>bho-a-ti</i>	>	<i>bhav-a-ti</i>	>	<i>bhavati</i>
<i>hṛ-</i>	to carry	<i>har-a-ti</i>			>	<i>harati</i>
<i>lih-</i>	to lick	<i>leh-a-ti</i>			>	<i>lehati</i>
<i>mud-</i>	to rejoice	<i>mod-a-ti</i>			>	<i>modati</i>
<i>vṛt-</i>	to turn	<i>vart-a-ti</i>			>	<i>vatṭhati</i>

But the vowel *-a* and any medial vowel which is long either by nature or by position remain unchanged:

<i>vah-</i>	to carry	<i>vah-a-ti</i>		<i>vahati</i>
<i>jīv-</i>	to live	<i>jīv-a-ti</i>		<i>jīvati</i>
<i>hims-</i>	to hurt	<i>hims-a-ti</i>		<i>himsati</i>
<i>nind-</i>	to blame	<i>nind-a-ti</i>		<i>nindati</i>

a). The root *ruh-* 'to climb' may retain the short vowel or may lengthen it to *-ū* / *-o* in the formation of the stem of the present: *ruhati*, *rūhati* / *rohati*. *Rud-* 'to weep' may retain the short vowel or may lengthen it to *o*: *ruda-* in *rudanto*, but *roda-* in *rodati*.

b). In verbs like *nayati*, *bhavati*, the groups *aya* / *ava* may be contracted to *e* / *o* respectively: *nayati* / *neti*, *bhavati* / *bhoti* and *hoti* with the loss of the consonantal sound.

c). To the first class belong also the roots *pā-* 'to drink', *sthā-* 'to stand', *sad-* 'to sit', *gam-* 'to go'. The roots

pā-, *sthā-* *sad-* form the present stem with the reduplication with the vowel *i*:

ti-sth-a-ti > *tiṭṭhati*
pi-p-a-ti > *pipati* > *pibati* / *pivati*
si-sd-a-ti > *sisdati* > *sīdati*

Gam- has present tense *gacchati*. (Strictly speaking *gacchati* is an old inchoative form).

Sthā- may form the present tense in several other ways also especially when it is compounded with a prefix:

Like a verb of the second class: *ṭhāti*, *uṭṭhāti*.

Like a verb of the fourth class: *ṭhāyati*

By splitting up the long vowel into two short vowels of the same kind with the aspirate in between: *uṭṭhahati*, *saṅṭhahati*, *upaṭṭhahati*.

In the imperative it has a form *uṭṭhehi*.

d). To the first class belongs also *kubbati* 'to do' which has been derived from the Sanskrit form *kurvanti*, third person plural of *kr-*.

e). The first class is very numerous. Here are some of the verbs that may present some difficulty in the formation of the present tense:

<i>cyu-</i>	to fall	<i>co-a-ti</i>	>	<i>cavati</i>
<i>śru-</i>	to flow	<i>so-a-ti</i>	>	<i>savati</i>
<i>dhṛ-</i>	to hold	<i>dhar-a-ti</i>	>	<i>dharati</i>
<i>mr-</i>	to die	<i>mar-a-ti</i>	>	<i>marati</i>
<i>vṛ-</i>	to obstruct	<i>var-a-ti</i>	>	<i>varati</i>
<i>tyaj-</i>	to give up	<i>caj-a-ti</i>	>	<i>cajati</i>
<i>kram-</i>	to walk	<i>kam-a-ti</i>	>	<i>kamati</i>
<i>krīḍ-</i>	to play	<i>kīḷ-a-ti</i>	>	<i>kīḷati</i>
<i>vṛdh-</i>	to increase	<i>varḍh-a-ti</i>	>	<i>vaḍḍhati</i>

<i>kṛṣ-</i>	to plough	<i>karṣ-a-ti</i>	>	<i>kassati</i> / <i>kamsati</i>
<i>vṛs-</i>	to rain	<i>vars-a-ti</i>	>	<i>vassati</i>
<i>hṛṣ-</i>	to bristle	<i>harṣ-a-ti</i>	>	<i>hassati</i> / <i>hamsati</i>
<i>arh-</i>	to deserve	<i>arah-a-ti</i>	>	<i>arahati</i>
<i>garh-</i>	to blame	<i>garah-a-ti</i>	>	<i>garahati</i>
<i>rakṣ-</i>	to protect	<i>rakṣ-a-ti</i>	>	<i>rakkhati</i>
<i>kāṅkṣ-</i>	to doubt	<i>kāṅkṣ-a-ti</i>	>	<i>kaṅkhati</i>
<i>dhvaṃs-</i>	to destroy	<i>dhvaṃs-a-ti</i>	>	<i>dhaṃsati</i>

63. Class 2. To the second class belong the verbs which form the present tense by adding the personal endings directly to the root in its guṇa grade. Only a few verbs belong to this class, and even these few verbs have often passed over to another class.

<i>as-</i>	'to be' <i>as-mi</i> > <i>asmi</i> , <i>as-si</i> > <i>asi</i> , <i>as-ti</i> > <i>atthi</i> , etc
<i>han-</i>	'to kill' has only the third person singular: <i>han-ti</i> > <i>hanti</i> For the rest it is conjugated like a verb of the first class: <i>hanāmi</i> , <i>hanasi</i> , <i>hanati</i> . etc
<i>vac-</i>	'to speak' has only the third person singular: <i>vac-ti</i> > <i>vatti</i>
<i>si-</i>	'to lie down' <i>semi</i> , <i>sesi</i> , <i>seti</i> . The guṇa vowel of the root <i>e</i> is usually expanded to <i>aya</i> and then the verb becomes similar to a verb of the first class: <i>sayāmi</i> , <i>sayasi</i> , <i>sayati</i> , etc.
<i>vid-</i>	'to know' has only the third person singular <i>ved-ti</i> > <i>vetti</i> For the rest it has passed over to the seventh class: <i>vindāmi</i> , <i>vindasi</i> , <i>vindati</i> , etc.
<i>brū-</i>	'to say' <i>brūmi</i> , <i>brūsi</i> , <i>brūti</i> . The final vowel of the root does not take its guṇa grade.
<i>yā-</i>	'to go' <i>yāmi</i> , <i>yāsi</i> , <i>yāti</i> , etc. <i>Yā-</i> can also be inflected like a verb of the fourth class.

<i>khyā-</i>	'to speak' is usually used with a prefix, v.g. <i>akkhāmi</i> , <i>akkhāsi</i> , <i>akkhāti</i> .
<i>vā-</i>	'to blow' has <i>vāsi</i> , <i>vāti</i> . Otherwise it has passed over to the fourth class: <i>vāyati</i> .
<i>snā-</i>	'to bathe' has the third person singular <i>sināti</i> . Otherwise it is conjugated like a verb of the fourth class: <i>nahāyati</i> / <i>sināyati</i> .
<i>bhā-</i>	'to shine' <i>bhāti</i> , <i>patibhāti</i>

With the exception of the forms of *as-* (*asmi*, *asi*, *atthi*, etc.) and of the third person *hanti*, nearly all the other forms of the second class are used almost exclusively in poetry.

64. Class 3. To the third class belong a few verbs which form the stem of the present with the reduplication and with the lengthening of the vowel of the root to its *guṇa* grade.

<i>dā-</i>	to give	<i>da-dā-ti</i>	>	<i>dadāti</i>
<i>hā-</i>	to abandon	<i>ja-hā-ti</i>	>	<i>jahāti</i>
<i>hu-</i>	to sacrifice	<i>ju-ho-ti</i>	>	<i>juhoti</i>

dā- has also a present: *deti*

hā- may have a short vowel: *jahati*

hu- may form the present as *juhati* / *juhāti*

Further the root *dhā-* 'to place' forms the present tense as *dahati* or like a verb of the fourth class when compounded *antaradhāyati*.

65. Class 4. To the fourth class belong the verbs which form the stem of the present by adding the suffix *ya* to the root.

<i>jā-</i>	to be born	<i>jā-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>jāyati</i>
<i>mlā-</i>	to fade	<i>mlā-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>milāyati</i>
<i>lī-</i>	to stick	<i>lī-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>liyati</i>
<i>nṛt-</i>	to dance	<i>nṛt-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>naccati</i>
<i>mad-</i>	to be intoxicated	<i>mad-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>majjati</i>

<i>svid-</i>	to sweat	<i>svid-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>sijjati</i>
<i>rdh-</i>	to prosper	<i>rdh-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>ijjhati</i>
<i>vyadh-</i>	to pierce	<i>vyadh-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>vijjhati</i>
<i>budh-</i>	to be awake	<i>budh-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>bujjhati</i>
<i>man-</i>	to think	<i>man-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>maññati</i>
<i>tṛp-</i>	to be satisfied	<i>tṛp-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>tappati</i>
<i>lubh-</i>	to covet	<i>lubh-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>lubbhati</i>
<i>sīv-</i>	to sew	<i>sīv-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>sibbati</i>
<i>kliś-</i>	to be stained	<i>kliś-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>kilissati</i>
<i>mṛṣ-</i>	to forget	<i>mṛṣ-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>mussati</i>
<i>nas-</i>	to perish	<i>nas-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>nassati</i>
<i>nah-</i>	to tie	<i>nah-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>nayhati</i>
<i>snih-</i>	to be moist	<i>snih-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>siniyhati</i>
<i>muh-</i>	to be infatuated	<i>muh-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>muyhati</i>
<i>kup-</i>	to be angry	<i>kup-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>kuppati</i>

66. Class 5. To the fifth class belong a few verbs which form the stem of the present with the suffix *-no*:

<i>śak-</i>	to be able	<i>śak-no-ti</i>	>	<i>sakkoti</i>
<i>śru-</i>	to hear	<i>śru-no-ti</i>	>	<i>suṇoti</i>
<i>āp-</i>	to reach	<i>āp-no-ti</i>	>	<i>appoti</i> (<i>pappoti</i>)

The verbs of the fifth class usually pass over to the ninth class.

67. Class 6. To the sixth class belong the verbs which form the stem of the present by means of the suffix *-a* added to the root:

<i>likh-</i>	to write	<i>likh-a-ti</i>	>	<i>likhati</i>
<i>diś-</i>	to point out	<i>diś-a-ti</i>	>	<i>disati</i>
<i>viś-</i>	to enter	<i>viś-a-ti</i>	>	<i>visati</i>

<i>tud-</i>	to push	<i>tud-a-ti</i>	>	<i>tudati</i>
<i>nud-</i>	to expel	<i>nud-a-ti</i>	>	<i>nudati</i>
<i>kṛ-</i>	to scatter	<i>kṛ-a-ti</i>	>	<i>kirati</i>
<i>mṛś-</i>	to stroke	<i>mṛś-a-ti</i>	>	<i>masati (āmasati)</i>
<i>sprś-</i>	to touch	<i>sprś-a-ti</i>	>	<i>phusati</i>

To the sixth class belongs also *pr̥ch-* 'to ask' and *iṣ-* 'to wish' which form the present tense as *pucchati*, *icchati*.

The difference between the first and the sixth class consists in the fact that in the verbs of the first class the vowel of the root takes the guna grade while in the verbs of the sixth class the vowel of the root remains unchanged in its weak grade.

68. **Class 7.** To the seventh class belong the verbs which form the stem of the present by inserting *-n* before the final consonant of the root and by adding the suffix *-a*:

<i>ric-</i>	to leave	<i>ri-n-c-a-ti</i>	>	<i>riñcati</i>
<i>sic-</i>	to sprinkle	<i>si-n-c-a-ti</i>	>	<i>siñcati</i>
<i>muc-</i>	to set free	<i>mu-n-c-a-ti</i>	>	<i>muñcati</i>
<i>bhaj-</i>	to break	<i>bha-n-j-a-ti</i>	>	<i>bhañjati</i>
<i>bhuj-</i>	to eat	<i>bhu-n-j-a-ti</i>	>	<i>bhuñjati</i>
<i>yuj-</i>	to join	<i>yu-n-j-a-ti</i>	>	<i>yuñjati</i>
<i>kṛt-</i>	to cut	<i>kṛ-n-t-a-ti</i>	>	<i>kantati</i>
<i>chid-</i>	to cut	<i>chi-n-d-a-ti</i>	>	<i>chindati</i>
<i>rudh-</i>	to hinder	<i>ru-n-dh-a-ti</i>	>	<i>rundhati</i>
<i>lip-</i>	to smear	<i>li-n-p-a-ti</i>	>	<i>limpati</i>

The nasal consonant *-n* is adapted to the following consonant, hence *chindati*, *yuñjati*, *limpati*.

69. **Class 8.** To the eighth class belong the roots *kṛ-* 'to do' and *tan-* 'to stretch' which form the present tense with the suffix *-o*. The root *kṛ-* lengthens the vowel of the root before the suffix:

<i>kṛ-o-ti</i>	>	<i>kar-o-ti</i>	>	<i>karoti</i>
<i>tan-o-ti</i>	>		>	<i>tanoti</i>

70. **Class 9.** To the ninth class belong the verbs which form the stem of the present with the suffix *-nā*:

<i>jñā-</i>	to know	<i>jā-nā-ti</i>	>	<i>jānāti</i>
<i>mā-</i>	to measure	<i>mi-nā-ti</i>	>	<i>mināti</i>
<i>vā-</i>	to weave	<i>vi-nā-ti</i>	>	<i>vināti</i>
<i>ci-</i>	to collect	<i>ci-nā-ti</i>	>	<i>cināti</i>
<i>kri-</i>	to buy	<i>kri-nā-ti</i>	>	<i>kināti</i>
<i>dhū-</i>	to shake	<i>dhu-nā-ti</i>	>	<i>dhunāti</i>
<i>lū-</i>	to cut	<i>lu-nā-ti</i>	>	<i>lunāti</i>
<i>grah-</i>	to take	<i>grah-nā-ti</i>	>	<i>gaṇhāti</i>

The verbs of the fifth class *śru-*, *āp-*, *sak-* form the present tense more commonly with the suffix of the ninth class: *suṇāti*, *pāpuṇāti*, *sakkuṇāti*. In *pāpuṇāti* the vowel *-u* has been inserted between the consonant of the root and the suffix; in *sakkuṇāti* the consonant of the root has been doubled and then the vowel *-u* has been inserted.

71. **Class 10.** To the tenth class belong some of the verbs which form the stem of the present with the suffix *-aya* which is usually contracted to *-e*:

<i>spr̥h-</i>	to desire	<i>spr̥h-aya-ti</i>	>	<i>pihayati / piheti</i>
<i>hu-</i>	to call	<i>hu-aya-ti</i>	>	<i>hvayati (avhayati)</i>

To the tenth class belong many verbs which strictly speaking are either causative or desiderative verbs; v.g. *cinteti*, *codeti*, *chādeti*, *āmanteti*, etc.

72. **Verbs belonging to different classes.** Sometimes the stem of the present is formed in more than one way and thus the verb may belong to more than one class. Some of these verbs have already been mentioned: *suṇoti / suṇāti*, *sakkoti / sakkuṇāti*, *pappoti / pāpuṇāti*,

yāti / yāyati, vāti / vāyati, sināti / sināyati, hanti / hanati, tiṭṭhati / ṭhāti / ṭhāyati.

Besides these, there are still several other verbs that form the present in different ways:

<i>jī-</i>	to conquer	I	<i>jayati</i>	IX	<i>jināti</i>
<i>jī-</i>	to grow old	I	<i>jarati</i>	IV	<i>jir-yati > jīrati / jīyati</i>
<i>mṛ-</i>	to die	I	<i>marati</i>	IV	<i>mir-yati > miyyati / mīyati</i>
<i>bhū-</i>	to be	I	<i>bhavati</i>	IX	<i>sambhunāti</i>
<i>lū-</i>	to cut	IX	<i>luṇāti</i>	I	<i>layati (for lavati)</i>
<i>ṭ-</i>	to cross	I	<i>tarati</i>	VI	<i>tīreti (caus. of tirati)</i>
<i>as-</i>	to eat	IX	<i>asnāti</i>	I	<i>asamāna (from asati)</i>
<i>vad-</i>	to speak	I	<i>vadāmi</i>	X	<i>vadesi, vadeti, vadehi</i>
<i>vā-</i>	to weave	IX	<i>vināti</i>	IV	<i>vāyati</i>

The forms *tīrati, asati* are not found, but they must be postulated to explain forms like *tīreti, asamāna*.

The verb *dā-* which belongs to the third class is also inflected like a verb of the tenth class: *demi, desi, deti*, etc.; and like a verb of the second class: *ādāti*.

Further another peculiar development is the one found in the roots *dā-, vid-, svad-, īr-*:

<i>dā-</i>	<i>diyati, ādiyati</i> 'to wake up', <i>upādiyati</i> 'to take hold of', <i>samādiyati</i> 'to take upon oneself'
<i>vid-</i>	<i>vedeti, vediyati</i> 'to feel'
<i>svad-</i>	<i>sadeti</i> 'to enjoy', <i>sadiyati</i> 'to enjoy for oneself'
<i>īr-</i>	<i>iriyati</i> 'to wander about'

Apparently the suffix *-iya* is an alternative form of *-aya*: *vedeti / vedayati / vediyati; sādeti / sādāyati / sādīyati; ireti / irayati / iriyati*; and similarly *deti / diyati*.

Present Indicative

73. Present indicative parassapada. The present indicative parassapada is formed by adding the primary personal endings to the stem of the present.

Conjugation of the stems *labha-, suṇā-, cinte-, karo-*

1. <i>labhāmi</i>	<i>suṇāmi</i>	<i>cintemi</i>	<i>karomi</i>
2. <i>labhasi</i>	<i>suṇāsi</i>	<i>cintesi</i>	<i>karosi</i>
3. <i>labhati</i>	<i>suṇāti</i>	<i>cinteti</i>	<i>karoti</i>
1. <i>labhāma</i>	<i>suṇāma</i>	<i>cintema</i>	<i>karoma</i>
2. <i>labhatha</i>	<i>suṇātha</i>	<i>cintetha</i>	<i>karotha</i>
3. <i>labhanti</i>	<i>suṇanti</i>	<i>cintenti</i>	<i>karonti</i>

- The stems in *-a* lengthen this vowel in the first person singular and plural, hence *labhāmi, labhāma*.
- In the first person singular the final vowel is sometimes dropped: *labhāmi / labhaṃ*.
- The root *dā-* forms the present tense as *dadāmi / demi*. Further it has *dammi* in the first person singular.
- The verb *bhavati* may lose the first mute consonant and then it may be contracted: *bhavati > havati > hoti*. In composition sometimes the labial *-bh* is retained but *-ava* is contracted: *anubhavati > anubhoti*.
- The root *as-* is inflected as follows:

<i>asmi, amhi</i>	<i>asma, amha</i>
<i>asi</i>	<i>attha</i>
<i>atthi</i>	<i>santi</i>

74. Present indicative attanopada. The present indicative attanopada is formed by adding the middle personal endings to the stem of the present.

<i>labhe</i>	<i>labhamhe</i>
<i>labhase</i>	<i>labhavhe</i>
<i>labhate</i>	<i>labhante</i>

- a). In the first person plural there are some alternative forms ending in *-mahe*, *-mase*, *-mhase*: *bhavāmahe*, *abhinandāmase*, *yamāmase*, *saramhase*.
- b). In the third person plural there is an alternative form in *-re*: *labhare*, *socare*, *upapajjare*.
- c). The verbs of the tenth class and those that form the stem of the present with the suffix *-aya / -e*, form the attanopada from the stem in *-aya*: *patthaye*, *patthayase*, *patthayate*, etc. There is, however, in the first person singular *āgame* < *āgameti*.
- d). The attanopada of *kṛ-* is *kubbe*, *kubbase*, etc. There is also a first person *kare* and a third person *kurute*.

I m p e r a t i v e

75. Imperative parassapada. The imperative is inflected in the second and third person singular and plural. The personal endings proper to it are: *-hī*, *-tu*, *-tha*, *-ntu*.

2. <i>labha</i>	<i>suṇa</i>	<i>cintaya</i>		
	<i>labhāhi</i>	<i>suṇāhi</i>	<i>cintayāhi</i>	<i>cintehi</i> <i>karohi</i>
3. <i>labhatu</i>	<i>suṇātu</i>	<i>cintayatu</i>	<i>cintetu</i>	<i>karotu</i>
2. <i>labhatha</i>	<i>suṇātha</i>	<i>cintayatha</i>	<i>cintetha</i>	<i>karotha</i>
3. <i>labhantu</i>	<i>suṇantu</i>	<i>cintayantu</i>	<i>cintentu</i>	<i>karontu</i>

- a). The verbs that have their present stem in *-ā / -a*, have two forms for the second person singular: one ending in *a* and the other ending in *-hi* with the previous vowel lengthened: *labha / labhāhi*, *suṇa / suṇāhi*. The stems in

-e / -o have only the form with the ending *-hi*: *cintehi*, *karohi*, *hohi*, *suṇohi*. Similarly *brū-* has *brūhi*

- b). Some verbs have more than one form for the imperative:

bhū- *bhava*, *bhavāhi*, *hohi*

dā- *dada*, *dadāhi*, *dehi*

śru- *suṇa*, *suṇāhi*, *suṇohi*

kṛ- *karohi*, *kara*, *kuru*. In the third person it has *kurutu*.

The root *as-* has *atthu* for the third person singular and *attha* for the second person plural.

76. Imperative attanopada. The imperative attanopada is formed only from the present stems in *-a / -ā*. The personal endings are: *-ssu*, *-taṃ*, *-vho*, *-ntaṃ*:

2. *labhassu* *labhavho*

3. *labhataṃ* *labhantaṃ*

The root *kṛ-* has *karassu / kurussu*, *kurutaṃ*, *kuruvho*.

O p t a t i v e

77. Optative parassapada. The optative parassapada may be formed in various ways.

- a). *labh-* 'to obtain':

1. *labheyyāmi* *labheyyāma*

2. *labheyyāsi* *labheyyātha*

3. *labheyyāti*

This is the simplest way of forming the optative, that is, by adding to the stem of the present, without the final vowel, the suffix *-eyyā-* and the primary personal endings:

labha- *labh-eyyā-mi* *suṇa-* *suṇ-eyyā-mi*

karo- *kar-eyyā-mi* *cinte-* *cint-eyyā-mi*

In this form the third person plural is missing.

b). The optative is also formed by adding to the stem of the present the suffix *-i* and the secondary personal endings:

1. *labha-i-am* > *labhe-am* > *labheyam* / *labheyyam*

2. *labha-i-s* > *labhes* > *labhe*

3. *labha-i-t* > *labhet* > *labhe*

1. *labha-i-ma* > *labhema*

2. *labha-i-tha* > *labhetha*

3. *labha-i-um* > *labhe-um* > *labheyum* / *labheyyum* / *labheyyu*

The form *labheyam* of the first person singular has given rise to two analogical forms for the second and third person singular: *labheyya*, *labheyya*.

Further the forms *labhe* for the second and third person singular have given rise to an analogical form *labhe* for the first person singular; hence in the singular we may have

1. *labheyam* *labhe*

2. *labheyya* *labhe*

3. *labnheyya* *labhe*

c). In a few cases the optative has been formed by adding to the stem of the present, without the final vowel, the suffix *-yā* and the secondary personal endings:

jānā-yā-m > *jān-yā-m* > *jaññam*;

jān-yā-t > *jaññā*

karo-yā-t > *kar-yā-t* > *karyā* / *kayirā*

dadā- > *dad-yā-t* > *dajjā*, pl. *dajjum*

vada- > *vad-yā-t* > *vajjā*

d). Sometimes a double formation is found: *dadā-* > *dajjā*, and then from *dajjā* there is *dajjeyyāsi*, *dajjeyyāma*, *dajjeyyātha*, *dajjeyyum*.

e). In poetry sometimes the first person plural ends in *-mu*: *janemu*, *vindemu*.

f). The optative *niccheyya* is formed from the root and not from the present stem.

g). The optative of the verb *as-* is the following:

1. *assam*, *siyam* *assāma*

2. *assa* *assatha*

3. *assa*, *siyā* *assu*, *siyum*

78. **Attanopada optative.** In the attanopada optative there are some stray forms according to one or the other pattern already explained:

1. *labheyam* *labhemase*, *labheyyamhe*

2. *labhetho* *labheyyavho*

3. *labhetha* *labheraṇ*

The root *kr-* has *kayirātha* in the third person.

FUTURE TENSE

79. **Formation of the parassapada future.** The future is formed in three different ways:

1). by adding to the present stem, without its final vowel, the connecting vowel *-i-*, the suffix *-ssa-* and the primary personal endings: *labh-i-ssa-ti* > *labhissati*.

2). by adding to the root, with the vowel in its guṇa grade, the connecting vowel *-i-*, the suffix *-ssa-* and the primary personal endings: *gam-i-ssa-ti* > *gamissati*; *bhū-*: *bho-i-ssa-ti* > *bhav-i-ssa-ti* > *bhavissati*.

3). by adding to the root, with the vowel in its guṇa grade, the suffix *-ssa* and the primary personal endings: *dā-ssa-ti* > *dassati*.

1. <i>labhissāmi</i>	<i>gamissāmi</i>	<i>dassāmi</i>
2. <i>labhissasi</i>	<i>gamissasi</i>	<i>dassasi</i>
3. <i>labhissati</i>	<i>gamissati</i>	<i>dassati</i>
1. <i>labhissāma</i>	<i>gamissāma</i>	<i>dassāma</i>
2. <i>labhissatha</i>	<i>gamissatha</i>	<i>dassatha</i>
3. <i>labhissanti</i>	<i>gamissanti</i>	<i>dassanti</i>

- a). The future is inflected like the present tense and hence it lengthens the vowel of the suffix before the personal endings of the first person: *labhissāmi* / *labhissāma*. Further in the first person singular the final vowel is sometimes dropped: *labhissāmi* / *labhissam*.
- b). The verbs of the tenth class and all the verbs that have the present stem in *-aya* / *-e*, form the future from the stem of the present tense in *-aya*:

cintaya-: *cintay-i-ssa-ti* > *cintayissati*

karaya-: *karay-i-ssa-ti* > *karayissati*

pūjaya-: *pūjay-i-ssa-ti* > *pūjayissati*

The group *ayi*, however, may be contracted to *-e*:

cintayissati / *cintessati*

karayissati / *karessati*.

- c). The root *grah-* 'to seize' takes the connecting vowel, *-i* which is changed to *-e* before two consonants:

grah-i-ssa-ti > *gahissati* / *gahessati*

- d). The formation of the future obtained by adding the suffix directly to the root, often entails the application of sandhi rules:

jñā- to know *jñā-ssa-ti* > *ñāssati*

i- to go *e-ssa-ti* > *essati*

ci- to collect *ce-ssa-ti* > *cessati* (*pacessati*)

<i>ji-</i>	to conquer	<i>je-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>jessati</i>	(<i>vijessati</i>)
<i>śi-</i>	to lie down	<i>se-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>sessati</i>	
<i>nī-</i>	to lead	<i>ne-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>nessati</i>	
<i>bhū-</i>	to be	<i>bho-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>bhossati</i>	(<i>anubhossati</i>)
<i>kṛ-</i>	to do	<i>kar-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>kassati</i>	
<i>hṛ-</i>	to carry	<i>har-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>hassati</i>	(<i>vihassati</i>)
<i>vac-</i>	to speak	<i>vac-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>vakkhati</i>	
<i>muc-</i>	to set free	<i>moc-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>mokkhati</i>	
<i>bhuj-</i>	to eat	<i>bhoj-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>bhokkhati</i>	
<i>śak-</i>	to be able	<i>sak-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>sakkhati</i>	
<i>chid-</i>	to cut	<i>ched-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>checchati</i>	
<i>bhid-</i>	to break	<i>bhed-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>bhecchati</i>	
<i>rud-</i>	to weep	<i>rud-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>rucchati</i>	
<i>labh-</i>	to obtain	<i>labh-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>lacchati</i>	
<i>vas-</i>	to dwell	<i>vas-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>vacchati</i>	
<i>vis-</i>	to enter	<i>ves-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>vekkhati</i>	(<i>pavekkhati</i>)
<i>drś-</i>	to see	<i>dras-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>dakkhati</i>	

The root *rud-* does not lengthen the vowel; *rucchati*.

The root *han-* has *hañchati* / *hañkhati*; these forms may be explained by the insertion of a *-t* and a *-k*:

han-ssa-ti > *han-t-ssati* > *hañchati*

han-ssa-ti > *han-k-ssati* > *hañkhati*

In the third person singular and sometimes even in the third person plural the vowel of the suffix is reduced: *rucchati* / *rucchiti*, *dakkhati* / *dakkhiti* / *dakkhinti*.

In *sakkhati* the consonant group is sometimes softened: *sagghati*.

A double future is sometimes built up from *sakkhati*, *dakkhati*: *sakkhissati*, *dakkhissati*.

e). In poetry some of the future forms have undergone further phonological changes:

dā- *dassasi* > *dāsasi* > *dāhasi* / *dāhisi* (*padāhisi*)

i- *essati* > *esati* / *ehati* / *ehiti* (*ehisi*, *upehisi*)

bhū- *bhossati* > *hossati* / *hosati* / *hohati* / *hohiti* (*hohisi*)
bhavissati > *havissati* > *hessati*

hessati > *hesati* > *hehati* / *hehiti* (*hehisi*)

kṛ- *karssati* > *kāssati* > *kāsati* > *kāhati* / *kāhiti*
(*kāhāmi*, *kāhasi*, *kāhinti*)

hṛ- *harssati* > *hāssati* > *hāsati* > *hāhati* > *hāhiti*
(*hāhāmi*, *hāhasi* *hāhisi*)

Viharati has two future forms: *vihessati* / *vihissati* while *palāyati* has *palehiti*.

The phonological rules at work in these forms are the following:

a short vowel before two consonants is equivalent to a long vowel before one consonant: *kassati* / *kāsati*;

an intervocalic sibilant is changed to *-h*: *kāsati* / *kāhati*;

a vowel is reduced when it is preceded by a strong accented syllable: *kāhati* > *kāhiti*, *dakkhati* > *dakkhiti*.

80. **Attanopada future.** The attanopada future is obtained by changing the parassapada personal endings into the attanopada endings:

1. *labhisse* *labhissamhe*

2. *labhissase* *labhissavhe*

3. *labhissate* *labhissante*

The Conditional

81. **Formation of the conditional.** The conditional is formed from the future by prefixing the augment *a-* and by changing the primary into the secondary personal endings: *labhissāmi* > *alabhissam*.

1. *alabhissam* *alabhissāma*

2. *alabhissa* *alabhissatha*

3. *alabhissa* *alabhissamsu*

The Aorist

The aorist is formed by prefixing the augment *a-* to the root and by adding the secondary personal endings either directly or by means of one of the suffixes *-a*, *-s*, *-is*. Hence there are four types of aorists: root aorist, a-aorist, s-aorist, is-aorist.

82. **The augment.** In Pali there is no strict rule regarding the use of the augment, yet this may be said:

a). The root aorist **always** takes the augment: *a-dā*, *a-hu*, *a-gā*, *ajjh-a-gā*.

b). The a-aorist **generally** takes the augment: *a-gama*, *a-ddasa*, *a-bhāsatha*.

c). The s-aorist formed from the verbal root and the extended s-aorist formed from the a-aorist, **generally** take the augment: *a-ssosi*, *a-dāsi*, *a-kāsi*, *a-hosi*, *a-gamāsi*, *a-ddasāsi*.

The s-aorist formed from the stem of the present in *-e* (verbs of the tenth class and causative verbs), **generally** does not take the augment: *cintesi*, *pūjesi*, *kāresi*, *ṭhāpesi*.

d). The is-aorist formed from the root of the verb, **generally** takes the augment: *a-gamiṃ*, *a-padī*, *a-tāri*, *a-ggahi*, *a-asim* > *āsim*.

When the is-aorist is formed from the present stem, the augment is optional, but the forms without the augment are much more

numerous than those with the augment: *a-gacchi / gacchi, a-desayi, a-mohayi, gaṇhi, nikkhami, vicari, pesayi.*

- e). Sometimes the augment is not used when the verb is compounded with a prefix ending in *-a*: *pa-hāsi, pa-mimsu, upa-pajjatha.*
- f). In poetry the use of the augment often depends on the requirements of the metre.

The Root Aorist

83. **Formation of the root aorist.** The root aorist is formed by adding the secondary personal endings to the root preceded by the augment:

1. <i>a-dā-m</i>	<i>adaṃ</i>		
2. <i>a-dā-s</i>	<i>adā</i>		
3. <i>a-dā-t</i>	<i>adā</i>	<i>a-dā-u</i>	<i>adu</i>
		<i>a-dā-uṃ</i>	<i>aduṃ</i>

In this aorist the first and second person plural are missing. In the third person plural, the final vowel of the root is elided before the ending *-u / -uṃ*.

Besides *dā-*, the other roots which take this aorist are: *gā-*, *sthā-*, *bhū-*, *kṛ-*: *agā, aṭṭhā, ahu, akā*. The root *bhū-* loses the initial mute consonant and retains only the aspiration. The root *kṛ-* takes the guṇa grade in the formation of the root aorist: *a-kar-t > akart > akatt > akā*.

The A - Aorist

84. **Formation of the a-aorist.** The a-aorist is formed by adding the secondary personal endings to the root by means of the suffix *-a*:

- | | | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| 1. <i>a-gam-a-m</i> | <i>> agamaṃ</i> | <i>a-gam-a-ma</i> | <i>> agamāma</i> |
| 2. <i>a-gam-a-s</i> | <i>> agama</i> | <i>a-gam-a-tha</i> | <i>> agamatha</i> |
| 3. <i>a-gam-a-t</i> | <i>> agama</i> | <i>a-gam-a-um</i> | <i>> agamuṃ</i> |

- a). In the second person singular the suffix *-a* with the ending *-s* sometimes gives rise to *-o*: *pamād-a-s > pamādo*.

In the third person singular the final vowel may be long or short: *addasā / addasa, agamā / agama*.

In the first person plural, the vowel of the suffix is lengthened before the ending: *agamāma, addasāma*.

In the third person plural, the vowel of the suffix *-is* is dropped before the ending *-uṃ*: *agam-a-uṃ > agamuṃ*. Sometimes the ending is *-u* without the niggahita: *alatthuṃ / paccalatthu*.

In the plural there are forms built up on the pattern of the s-aorist: *akaramha, alatthamha, pamādattha, alatthamsu*. The third person plural *addamsu* has been built on the same pattern, though in this form the *-s* belongs to the root and not to the suffix.

- b). The root *mad-* lengthens the vowel of the root: *pamādo*. *Bhū-* has *ahuva*, *chid-* has *acchida*, *bhid-* has *abhida*, *drś-* has *addasa (a-dras-s-at)*, *kṛ-* has *akara*.

Vac- has the ordinary aorist *avaca*, and it has also *avoca*. *Avoca* is a reduplicated weakened aorist: *a-va-vac-a-t > a-va-uc-a-t > avoca* (the first syllable of the root is first doubled, then it is weakened to *-uc* and then contraction of the two vowels coming together takes place). The inflection is as follows: *avocaṃ, avoca, avoca, avocumha, avocuttha, avocum*. In the first and second person plural the vowel *-a* is changed to *-u* and the suffix *-s* is added as in the s-aorist: *avoc-u-s-ma > avocumha*.

Man- forms the aorist from the stem of the present: *amaññaṃ, amaññaṭṭha*.

Labh- has an a-aorist: *alatthaṃ, alattha, alatthamha, alatthuṃ / alatthu / alatthamsu*.

85. Formation of the attanopada a-aorist. The attanopada a-aorist is formed by adding the secondary attanopada endings. Only a few forms are found in the Canonical literature: *bhās-* : *abhāsatha*, *kṛ-*: *akaramhase*, *man-*: *amaññarum*, *pad-*: *upapajjatha*, *vid-*: *vindatha*, *badh-*: *abajjhare*. This last has been formed from the present passive.

T h e S - A o r i s t

86. Formation of the s-aorist. The s-aorist is formed in two ways:

1. by adding the secondary personal endings by means of the suffix *-s* to the root in its *guṇa* grade;

2. by adding the secondary personal endings by means of the suffix *-s* to the stem of the present when this ends in *-e* as in the verbs of the tenth class and in causative verbs.

3. further in the singular the vowel *-i* is inserted between the suffix *-s* and the personal ending

dā- *a-dā-s-i-m* > *adāsim*

śru- *a-ssō-s-i-m* > *assosim*

cinte- *cinte-s-i-m* > *cintesim*

1. *a-dā-s-i-m* > *adāsi* *a-ssō-s-i-m* > *assosim* *cintesim*

2. *a-dā-s-i-s* > *adāsi* *a-ssō-s-i-s* > *assosi* *cintesi*

3. *a-dā-s-i-t* > *adāsi* *a-ssō-s-i-t* > *assosi* *cintesi*

1. *a-dā-s-ma* > *adamha* *a-ssō-s-ma* > *assumha*

2. *a-dā-s-tha* > *adattha* *a-ssō-s-tha* > *assuttha*

3. *a-dā-s-um* > *adāsum* *a-ssō-s-um* > *assosum* *cintesum*

a). In the first and second person plural the vowel *-o* is reduced to *-u* before two consonants:

assosma > *assomha* > *assumha*,

assostha > *assottha* > *assuttha*,

ahosma > *ahomha* > *ahumha*,

ahostha > *ahottha* > *ahuttha*.

In the first and second person plural there are also found some extended forms built up with the suffixes *-s-is*:

adā-s-is-ma > *adāsimha*, *adā-s-is-tha* > *adāsittha*.

In the third person plural the ending *-um* sometimes loses its nasalization: *adakkhum* / *adakkhu*. Further the root vowel becomes nasalized when it is *-a*: *adāsum* / *adaṃsu*, *akāsum* / *akaṃsu*; similarly *pahaṃsu*, *samādahaṃsu*. Further when the vowel *-a* is nasalized, sometimes it is reduced to *-i*: *vihaṃsu* / *vihiṃsu*, *aññaṃsu* / *aññiṃsu*. Sometimes even the stems in *-e* reduce their vowel to *-i*: *samesum* / *samiṃsu*, *vupasamiṃsu*.

b). The s-aorist is taken by a few verbal roots ending in *-a*, *-i*, *-ī*, *-u*, *-ū*, *-ṛ* and by a few roots ending in a consonant.

khyā- to speak *akkhāsi* *bhū-* to be *ahosi*

yā- to go *payāsi* *hṛ-* to carry *ahāsi*

sthā- to stand *aṭṭhāsi* *chid-* to cut *acchecchi*

hā- to abandon *ahāsi* *ḍṛś-* to see *addakkhi*

i- to go *pahesi* *viś-* to enter *pavekkhi*

ji- to conquer *ajesi* *sak-* to be able *asakkhi*

nī- to lead *anesi* *grah-* to take *aggahesi*

śi- to lie down *sesi*

From the roots *pā-* 'to drink' and *dhā-* 'to place', there are found *apaṃsu*, *samādahaṃsu*.

c). The s-aorist is taken by all the verbs which have the stem of the present in *-e*: *cintesi*, *kāresi*, *pūjesi*, *kathesi*, etc. In these verbs the first and second person plural are missing and their absence is made good by the same persons of the is-aorist: *cintayimha*, *karayimha*, *cintayittha*, *karayittha*, etc.

- d). There is also an extended s-aorist formed from the a-aorist: *agamā / agamāsi, avacā / avacāsi, ahuvā / ahuvāsi, addasā / addasāsi*. Similarly are formed some aorists from the present stem: *pata- : apatāsi, jaha- : pajahāsi, piva- : pivāsi*. Their inflection is as follows:

1. *agamāsiṃ* *agamamha*
2. *agamāsi* *agamattha*
3. *agamāsi* *agamamsu*

- e). In the attanopada there are only a few stray forms in the third singular: *udapattha < uda-pat, alattha < labh-*. From the form *alattha* a whole a-aorist has been built (84b).

T h e I s - A o r i s t

87. Formation of the is-aorist. The is-aorist is formed by adding the secondary personal endings by means of the suffix *-is* either to the root in its *guna* grade or to the stem of the present.

1. *agam-is-m* > *agamim* *gacch-is-m* > *gacchim*
2. *agam-is-s* > *agami* *gacch-is-s* > *gacchi*
3. *agam-is-t* > *agami* *gacch-is-t* > *gacchi*
1. *agam-is-ma* > *agamimha* *gacch-is-ma* > *gacchimha*
2. *agam-is-tha* > *agamittha* *gacch-is-tha* > *gacchittha*
3. *agam-is-um* > *agamisum* *gacch-is-um* > *gacchisum*

- a). In the first person singular the ending may be *-ṃ / -am*; hence *agamim / agamisam, gacchim / gacchisam*. Similarly *abhuñjisaṃ, anuyuñjisam, pucchisaṃ, anucaṅkamisam*. Further the *-s* has sometimes been doubled: *sandhavissaṃ, amaññissaṃ, vandissaṃ, upavasissaṃ*.

In the third person plural the final vowel may lose its nasalization and then the vowel *-i* of the suffix is nasalized: *agamisum / agamimsu, gacchisum / gacchimsu*.

In the third person plural the ending is sometimes added without the suffix *-is*, just as in the a-aorist: *cintayimsu / cintayum*. Similarly *adassayum, nivesayum, āsum, apāduṃ, abravum, abbhuggaṅchum*.

In *gacchi* the double consonant is simplified and the vowel is nasalized: *gacchi / gañchi, gacchum / gañchum*.

Abhavisum < bhū- is usually contracted to *ahesum*. From *ahesum* a new analogical form has been built for the first person plural: *ahesumha*.

Dakkhisim is a double aorist formed with the suffixes *-s + -is* and with the reduction of the vowel *-a > -i*: *drak-s-is-am > dakkh-is-am > dakkhisam > dakkhisim*.

- b). When the is-aorist is formed from the root, the vowel of the root takes its *guṇa* grade. In a few cases the vowel *-a* appears in its *vṛddhi* grade:

<i>bhū-</i>	to be	<i>abhavi</i>	
<i>brū-</i>	to speak	<i>abravi</i>	
<i>ṭ-</i>	to cross	<i>atari</i>	(<i>atāri</i>)
<i>pad-</i>	to go	<i>apādi</i>	(<i>udapādi</i>)
<i>bhid-</i>	to break	<i>abhedi</i>	
<i>vid-</i>	to know	<i>avedi</i>	
<i>budh-</i>	to awake	<i>abodhi</i>	
<i>mud-</i>	to rejoice	<i>modi</i>	(<i>anumodi</i>)
<i>rud-</i>	to cry	<i>rodi</i>	(<i>parodi</i>)
<i>rudh-</i>	to obstruct	<i>rodhi</i>	(<i>nirodhi</i>)
<i>kram-</i>	to walk	<i>kāmi</i>	(<i>pakkāmi but nikkhami, upasankami</i>)
<i>as-</i>	to be	<i>āsi</i>	
<i>viś-</i>	to enter	<i>visi</i>	(<i>pāvisi</i>)
<i>car-</i>	to move	<i>acari</i>	(<i>acāri</i>)

- c). The is-aorist formed from the stem of the present has become the most common aorist in Pali and can be formed from any present stem ending in *-a*, which vowel is elided before the suffix *-is*: *cintaya-*: *cintayi*; *pūjaya-*: *pūjayi*; *pāpuṇa-*: *pāpuṇi*.

The root *kr-* has the is-aorist *kariṃ* built from the stem *kara*.

The is-aorist is formed also from the present stem of passive verbs: *vimucci*, *chijji*, *muccimsu*, *haññimsu*.

- d). The attanopada forms of this aorist are confined to the second and third person singular of both transitive and passive verbs: *maññittho*, *pucchittho*, *patisevittho*, *pucchittha*, *jiyittha*, *paññāyittha*, *dīyittha*.

The Perfect

88. In the canonical books the only forms of the perfect seem to be *āha* for the second and the third person singular; *āhu*, *āhaṃsu*, *vidū*, *vidum* for the third person plural. The alternative form *āhaṃsu* has been built on the analogy of the aorist.

In the postcanonical books there are a few more forms of the perfect borrowed from Sanskrit, v.g. *jagāma*, *babhūva*.

The Passive

89. Formation of the passive. A transitive verb may be turned into passive by adding the suffix *-ya* either to the root in its weak grade, directly or by means of the connecting vowel *-i* / *-ī*; or to the present stem by means of the connecting vowel *-i* / *-ī*.

- a). The passive is formed by adding the suffix *-ya* directly

1. to the roots ending in one of the vowels *-i*, *-ī*, *-u*, *-ū*. Before the suffix *-ya* the vowels *-i* / *-u* are lengthened, or the vowels *-ī* / *-ū* are shortened and the *-y* of the suffix is doubled:

<i>ji-</i>	to conquer	<i>jīyati</i> / <i>jiyyati</i>
<i>nī-</i>	to lead	<i>nīyati</i> / <i>niyyati</i>
<i>śru-</i>	to hear	<i>sūyati</i> / <i>suyyati</i>
<i>bhū-</i>	to be	<i>abhibhūyati</i> / <i>abhibhuyyati</i>

2. to roots ending in *-ā*:

<i>jñā-</i>	to know	<i>ñāyati</i>
<i>khyā-</i>	to speak	<i>khāyati</i> (<i>akkhāyati</i>)

3. to roots ending in a single consonant:

<i>pac-</i>	to cook	<i>pac-ya-ti</i> > <i>paccati</i>
<i>han-</i>	to kill	<i>han-ya-ti</i> > <i>haññati</i>
<i>labh-</i>	to obtain	<i>labh-ya-ti</i> > <i>labbhati</i>
<i>chid-</i>	to cut	<i>chid-ya-ti</i> > <i>chijjati</i>
<i>yudh-</i>	to fight	<i>yudh-ya-ti</i> > <i>yujjhati</i>
<i>ḍṛś-</i>	to see	<i>ḍṛś-ya-ti</i> > <i>dissati</i>
<i>ḍah-</i>	to burn	<i>ḍah-ya-ti</i> > <i>ḍayhati</i>

4. to roots beginning with the sonant *v-* and in which the syllable of the root is weakened; v.g. *vac-ya-ti* > *vc-ya-ti* > *uc-ya-ti* > *vuccati*. In these roots the syllable of the root is weakened and then the sonant, followed by a consonant, becomes a vowel: *vc-* > *uc-*. Further, when a word begins with *u-* in Pali, sometimes a *v-* is prefixed to it, hence *vuccati*.

<i>vac-</i>	to speak	<i>uc-ya-ti</i> > <i>uccati</i> > <i>vuccati</i>
<i>vas-</i>	to dwell	<i>us-ya-ti</i> > <i>ussati</i> > <i>vussati</i>
<i>vap-</i>	to sow	<i>up-ya-ti</i> > <i>uppati</i> > <i>vuppati</i>
<i>vah-</i>	to bear	<i>uh-ya-ti</i> > <i>uyhati</i> > <i>vuyhati</i>

5. to roots ending in *-ṛ* / *-ṝ* which is changed to *-īr* / *-ūr* before the suffix *-ya*:

<i>hr-</i>	to carry	<i>hīr-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>hīrrati</i>	<i>hīrati</i>
<i>kr-</i>	to do	<i>kīr-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>kīrrati</i>	<i>kīrati</i>
		<i>kīr-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>kiyyati</i>	<i>kīyati</i> (<i>sankīyati</i>)
<i>p̄r-</i>	to fill	<i>pūr-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>pūrrati</i>	<i>pūrati</i> (<i>paripūrati</i>)

The vowel $-r̄ > -ūr$ after the labial consonant *p-* otherwise it becomes $-īr$.

The group $-ry > -rr / -yy$ and then the group is simplified and the previous vowel is lengthened.

- b). The passive is formed by adding the suffix *-ya* by means of the connecting vowel $-ī$ to the weak grade of some of the roots ending in $-ā$:

<i>dā-</i>	to give	<i>d-ī-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>dīyati</i>	/	<i>diyyati</i>
<i>dhā-</i>	to place	<i>dh-ī-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>dhīyati</i>	/	<i>dhiyyati</i>
<i>mā-</i>	to measure	<i>m-ī-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>mīyati</i>	/	<i>miyyati</i>
<i>vā-</i>	to weave	<i>v-ī-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>vīyati</i>	/	<i>viyyati</i>
<i>hā-</i>	to abandon	<i>h-ī-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>hīyati</i>	/	<i>hiyyati</i>

The root *hā-* has also a passive *hāyati*. The passive form *apidhīyati*, from the root *dhā-* and the prefix *api-*, loses the initial vowel and the soft dental is changed into the hard one: *pithīyati*.

- d). The passive is formed also by adding the suffix *ya-* by means of the connecting vowel $-i / -ī$ to the stem of the present after dropping the last vowel: *ukkhīpa-* > *ukkhīpiyati*.

This way of forming the passive is common:

- 1). when the stem of the present ends in a vowel preceded by an *r-*:

<i>hara-</i>	<i>har-ī-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>harīyati</i>
<i>kara-</i>	<i>kar-ī-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>karīyati</i>
<i>kira-</i>	<i>kir-ī-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>kirīyati</i>

- 2). when the stem of the present contains a heavy syllable, i.e. a syllable with a long vowel followed by one consonant or a syllable with a short vowel followed by two consonants:

<i>yāc-</i>	:	<i>yāc-ī-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>yāciyati</i>
<i>yuñj-</i>	:	<i>yuñj-ī-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>yuñjiyati</i>
<i>chind-</i>	:	<i>chind-ī-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>chindiyati</i>

- 3). when the verb belongs to the tenth class or is a causative verb. In this case the final *-aya / -e* is dropped before $-i$

<i>cintaya-</i>	:	<i>cint-ī-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>cintiyati</i>
<i>desaya-</i>	:	<i>des-ī-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>desiyati</i>
<i>karaya-</i>	:	<i>kar-ī-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>kariyati</i>
<i>pūje-</i>	:	<i>pūj-ī-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>pūjiyati</i>

The Causative Verb

90. Formation of the causative verb. The causative verb may be formed either from the verbal root or from the stem of the present.

- a). The causative verb is formed by adding the suffix *-aya / -e* to the verbal root before which

- 1). a final vowel is lengthened to its vṛddhi grade:

<i>bhī-</i>	to be afraid	<i>bhāy-aya-ti</i>	>	<i>bhāyayati</i>
<i>śru-</i>	to hear	<i>sāv-e-ti</i>	>	<i>sāveti</i>
<i>bhū-</i>	to be	<i>bhāv-e-ti</i>	>	<i>bhāveti</i>
<i>kr-</i>	to do	<i>kār-e-ti</i>	>	<i>kāreti</i>
<i>mṛ-</i>	to die	<i>mār-e-ti</i>	>	<i>māreti</i>
<i>hu-</i>	to sacrifice	<i>hāv-e-ti</i>	>	<i>hāveti / hāpeti</i>

In the last example the consonant *v* is changed to *p*.

2). a medial -a, followed by one consonant, is generally lengthened to its vṛddhi grade:

pat-	to fall	pāt-e-ti	>	pāyeti
bhaj-	to share	bhāj-e-ti	>	bhāyeti
vraj-	to go	vāj-e-ti	>	vāyeti (pabbāyeti)

In some cases the vowel is nasallized instead of being lengthened:

labh-	to obtain	lambh-e-ti	>	lambheti
hṛṣ-	to bristle	hamṣ-e-ti	>	hamṣeti

If the vowel is already followed by a nasal or by a double consonant, then the vowel remains unchanged:

rañj-	to be delighted	rañj-e-ti	>	rañjeti
lañch-	to seal	lañch-e-ti	>	lañcheti
lagg-	to adhere	lagg-e-ti	>	laggeti

In some verbs, though the medial vowel -a is followed by one consonant, that vowel is not lengthened or is lengthened optionally:

gam-	to go	gam-e-ti	>	gameti
jan-	to be born	jan-e-ti	>	janeti
dam-	to tame	dam-e-ti	>	dameti
lap-	to talk	lap-e-ti	>	lapeti
nam-	to bend	nam-e-ti	>	nameti/nāmeti (vitiṇāmeti)

3). By lengthening any other short medial vowel to its guṇa grade:

bhid-	to break	bhed-e-ti	>	bhedeti
snih-	to be moist	sneh-e-ti	>	sneheti
muc-	to be free	moc-e-ti	>	moceti

yuj-	to join	yoj-e-ti	>	yojeti
vṛdh-	to grow	vardh-e-ti	>	vaḍḍheti

The causative of the roots *vyadh-* "to pierce", *svid-* "to sweat" is *vedheti*, *sedeti*.

b). Roots ending in -ā form the causative by inserting the consonant -p between the root and the suffix -aya / -e:

mā-	to measure	mā-p-e-ti		māpeti
yā-	to go	yā-p-e-ti		yāpeti
hā-	to abandon	hā-p-e-ti		hāpeti
dā-	to give	dāpeti, ādāpeti, samādāpeti		
sthā-	to stand	ṭhapeti, utṭhāpeti, saṅṭhāpeti, saṅṭhapeti		
dā-	to wash	dāpeti (pariyodāpeti)		

The root *r-* 'to rise' takes guṇa and inserts the consonant -p: *ar-p-e-ti* > *appeti*.

c). Some verbs form their causative in different ways:

kṛ-	to scatter	kireti	(pakireti)
tī-	to cross	tāreti	(tīreti)
pr-	to be full	pūreti	
duṣ-	to be soiled	duseti	
ruh-	to climb	ropeti	
han-	to kill	ghātetī	
pā-	to drink	pāyeti	
pā-	to protect	pāleti	
prī-	to be glad	pīṇeti	

d). The causative is formed also from the present stem by adding to it the suffix -āpaya / -āpe, before which the final vowel of the stem and the final group -aya in the verbs of the tenth class are dropped:

<i>nisīda-</i>	to sit	<i>nisīdāpeti</i>
<i>chinda-</i>	to cut	<i>chindāpeti</i>
<i>karo-</i>	to do	<i>karāpeti</i>
<i>ocinā-</i>	to gather	<i>ocināpeti</i>
<i>pūjaya-</i>	to worship	<i>pūjāpeti</i>

e). Sometimes a double causative is formed by adding the suffix *-āpaya* / *-āpe* to the stem of the simple causative without its final vowel:

<i>sodhe-</i>	<i>sodh-āpe-ti</i> >	<i>sodhāpeti</i>
<i>ghāte-</i>	<i>ghāt-āpe-ti</i> >	<i>ghātāpeti</i>
<i>kāre-</i>	<i>kār-āpe-ti</i> >	<i>kārāpeti</i>
<i>pāye-</i>	<i>pāy-āpe-ti</i> >	<i>pāyāpeti</i>

f). Some verbs have more than one form for the causative:

<i>han-</i>	<i>hanāpeti, ghātetī, ghātāpeti</i>
<i>nas-</i>	<i>nāsetī, nāsāpeti</i>
<i>ruh-</i>	<i>ropetī, ropāpeti</i>

g). There are some verbs that in Pali appear only in their causative form:

<i>chādeti</i>	to cover
<i>chaddeti</i>	to spit out
<i>vambheti</i>	to despise

The Desiderative Verbs

91. **Formation of the desiderative verbs.** In Pali there are a few desiderative verbs derived directly from Sanskrit. They are formed by means of the suffix *-sa* and the reduplication. The vowel of the reduplicating syllable is generally *-i*, but *-a* / *-u* are also found:

<i>pā-</i>	<i>pi-pā-sa-ti</i>	<i>pipāsati / pivāsati</i>	wishes to drink
<i>ji-</i>	<i>ji-gim-sa-ti</i>	<i>jigimsati</i>	desires to conquer
<i>śru-</i>	<i>su-ssu-sa-ti</i>	<i>sussūsati</i>	wishes to hear
<i>vac-</i>	<i>va-vac-sa-ti</i>	<i>vavakkhati</i>	wishes to call
<i>tij-</i>	<i>ti-tij-sa-ti</i>	<i>titikkhati</i>	endures
<i>bhuj-</i>	<i>bu-bhuj-sa-ti</i>	<i>bubhukkhati</i>	wishes to eat
<i>cit-</i>	<i>ci-kit-sa-ti</i>	<i>cikicchati / tikicchati</i>	cures
<i>vid-</i>	<i>vi-vid-sa-ti</i>	<i>vivicchati</i>	longs for
<i>man-</i>	<i>mī-man-sa-ti</i>	<i>mīmaṃsati / vīmaṃsati</i>	investigates
<i>gup-</i>	<i>ji-gup-sa-ti</i>	<i>jigucchati</i>	dislikes
<i>ghas-</i>	<i>ji-ghas-sa-ti</i>	<i>jighacchati</i>	wishes to eat
<i>dā-</i>	<i>di-d-sa-ti</i>	<i>dicchati</i>	wishes to give
<i>khyā-</i>	<i>ci-khy-sa-ti</i>	<i>cikkhati</i>	tells
<i>sak-</i>	<i>si-sk-sa-ti</i>	<i>sikkhati</i>	learns

In the last three verbs *dā-*, *khyā-*, *śak-*, the weak grade of the root has been used.

In *mīmaṃsati* there can be dissimilation: *vīmaṃsati*.

In *cikicchati* the dissimilation is optional; hence both forms are used: *cikicchati / tikicchati*.

In *śru-* the vowel of the root is lengthened: *sussūsati*; in *ji-* the vowel is nasalized: *jigimsati*.

In *ji-* and *cit-* the palatal consonant has been changed to the corresponding guttural: *jigimsati, cikicchati*.

The Intensive Verbs

92. Formation of the intensive verbs. There are a few intensive verbs formed with the suffix *-a / -ya* added to the root reduplicated in such a way that the reduplicative syllable contains a vowel long either by nature or by position:

<i>kram-</i>	<i>cañ-kam-a-ti</i>	>	<i>cañkamati</i>	walks up and down
<i>cal-</i>	<i>can-cal-a-ti</i>	>	<i>cañcalati</i>	moves to and fro
<i>lap-</i>	<i>lā-lap-ya-ti</i>		<i>lālappati</i>	talks much
<i>gr-</i>	<i>jā-gar-a-ti</i>		<i>jāgarati</i>	is awake
<i>has-</i>	<i>ja-js-a-ti</i>		<i>jakkhati / jagghati</i>	laughs

The root *has-* appears in its zero grade in the formation of the intensive.

There is another verb *daddaḥati* 'shine' connected directly with the Sanskrit verb *jajvalyati*.

The Denominative Verbs

93. Formation of the denominative verbs. The denominative verbs are formed from nouns, pronouns and adjectives by adding the suffix *-ya / -āya / -īya*.

a). Suffix *-ya*:

<i>namas-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>namassati</i>	he reverences
<i>mettā-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>mettāyati</i>	he shows love
<i>karuṇā-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>karuṇāyati</i>	he feels pity
<i>sañkā-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>sañkāyati</i>	he is uncertain
<i>dolā-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>dolāyati</i>	he swings

b). Suffix *-āya*:

<i>cira-āya-ti</i>	>	<i>cirāyati</i>	he delays
<i>piya-āya-ti</i>	>	<i>piyāyati</i>	he holds dear

<i>macchara-āya-ti</i>	>	<i>maccharāyati</i>	he is jealous
<i>pattiya-āya-ti</i>	>	<i>pattiyāyati</i>	he believes
<i>raha-āya-ti</i>	>	<i>rahāyati</i>	he is lonely
<i>mama-āya-ti</i>	>	<i>mamāyati</i>	he is fond of

c). Suffix *-īya*:

<i>paṭṭi-īya-ti</i>	>	<i>paṭṭiyati</i>	he gains
<i>atta-īya-ti</i>	>	<i>attiyati</i>	he is worried
<i>rasa-īya-ti</i>	>	<i>rasīyati</i>	he delights in

d). Special cases:

<i>hiri-</i>	: <i>hiriyati / hirīyati / harāyati</i>	'he feels ashamed'
<i>dhuma-</i>	: <i>dhumāyati / dhūmāyati</i>	'he smokes'

e). There are some verbs which, though denominative, show no traces of the denominative suffix:

<i>issa-</i>	<i>issati</i>	he envies
<i>gādha-</i>	<i>gādhati</i>	he stands fast
<i>paripaṇha-</i>	<i>paripaṇhati</i>	he questions
<i>magga-</i>	<i>maggati</i>	he hunts

From *maggati* there is a present participle with the suffix of the denominative: *maggayamāna*.

f). There is still another class of denominative verbs which are usually classified as verbs of the tenth class:

<i>tulā-</i>	<i>tuleti</i>	he weighs
<i>vaṇṇa-</i>	<i>vaṇṇeti</i>	he praises
<i>udāna-</i>	<i>udāneti</i>	he utters
<i>kāma-</i>	<i>kāmeti</i>	he desires
<i>thoma-</i>	<i>thometi</i>	he praises
<i>cunṇa-</i>	<i>cunṇeti</i>	he grinds

These verbs are distinguished from those formed with the suffix *-ya, -āya, -īya* in so far as they have the stem of the present in *-e*, and further they are distinguished from the previous ones also in meaning. While those mentioned above are usually intransitive, those which end in *-e* are usually transitive.

From *sukha-* there is derived:

sukhāyati 'he is pleased' (intransitive)

sukheti / sukhāyati 'he makes happy' (transitive)

g). There is finally another set of denominative verbs derived from onomatopoeic words:

<i>muru-mura-</i>	<i>murumurāyati</i>	he munches
<i>gaḷa-gaḷa-</i>	<i>gaḷagaḷāyati</i>	thunders
<i>ghuru-ghuru-</i>	<i>ghurughurāyati</i>	he snores
<i>kīli-kīli-</i>	<i>kīlikīlāyati</i>	tinkles
<i>gar-gara-</i>	<i>gaggarāyati</i>	roars
<i>ciṭi-ciṭi-</i>	<i>ciṭiciṭāyati</i>	hisses
	<i>cicciṭāyati</i>	
<i>taṭa-taṭa-</i>	<i>taṭataṭāyati</i>	rattles
<i>kiṇa-kiṇa-</i>	<i>kiṇakiṇāyati</i>	tinkles

INDEFINITE VERBAL FORMS

The Present Participle

94. Present participle *parassapada*. The present participle *parassapada* is formed by adding the suffix *-nt / -nta* to the stem of the present tense:

<i>labha-</i>	<i>labhant / labhanta</i>	obtaining
<i>chinda-</i>	<i>chindant / chindanta</i>	breaking

<i>jānā-</i>	<i>jānānt / jānanta</i>	knowing
<i>cintaya-</i>	<i>cintayant / cintayanta</i>	thinking

The participle in *-nt: labhant, chindant*, etc. forms the nominative singular dropping the final dental and changing *-n* to *niggahita: labhaṃ, chindaṃ*

In *jānānt* the final vowel is shortened since it becomes long by position being followed by a consonant with which it makes syllable: *jānānt > jānaṃ*

If the present stem ends in *-e / -o*, the present participle is formed only with the suffix *-nta*:

<i>de-</i>	<i>de-nta > denta</i>	giving
<i>dese-</i>	<i>dese-nta > desenta</i>	preaching
<i>cinte-</i>	<i>cinte-nta > cinenta</i>	thinking
<i>sakko-</i>	<i>sakko-nta > sakkonta</i>	being able

The stem *karo-* has *karonta*. But there is a participle formed also from a stem *kara-*: *karaṃ / karanta*. There is further a genitive plural *kurutaṃ* formed from a present stem *kuru-*.

The root *as-* has *saṃ / santa* 'being'. The present participle is an adjective and is declined like the stem in *-nt: gacchaṃ / gacchanto (masc.), gacchantam (neuter), gacchantī (femin)*.

95. Present participle *attanopada*. The present participle *attanopada* is formed with the suffix *-māna* added to the stem of the present ending in *-a*:

<i>labha-</i>	<i>labha-māna > labhamāna</i>	obtaining
<i>saṃvaṭṭa-</i>	<i>saṃvaṭṭa-māna > saṃvaṭṭamāna</i>	evolving
<i>gaccha-</i>	<i>gaccha-māna > gacchamāna</i>	going
<i>saṃvijja-</i>	<i>saṃvijja-māna > saṃvijjamāna</i>	existing
<i>desiya-</i>	<i>desiya-māna > desiyamāna</i>	being preached
<i>kayira-</i>	<i>kayira-māna > kayiramāna</i>	being done

vucca- *vucca-māna* > *vuccamāna* being said

The verbs that have the present stem in *-e* form the participle attanopada from the stems in *-aya*:

cinte- / *cintaya-* *cintayamāna* thinking

dese- / *desaya-* *desayamāna* preaching

The stem *se-* has *semāna* / *sayamāna* 'lying down' on the analogy of the verbs of the tenth class.

The verb *karoti* has its present participle attanopada derived from the stems *kara-* / *kuru-*: *karamāna* / *kurumāna* 'doing'.

There are a few present participles attanopada formed with the suffix *-āna* added to the stem of the present and, in some cases, to the root of the verb:

<i>esa-</i>	<i>esāna</i>		seeking
<i>saya-</i>	<i>sayāna</i>		lying down
<i>kubba-</i>	<i>kubbāna</i>		doing
<i>saddaha-</i>	<i>saddahāna</i>		believing
<i>saṅkhara-</i>	<i>saṅkharāna</i>		preparing
<i>ṭhaha-</i>	<i>ṭhahāna</i>	(<i>anuṭṭhahāna</i>)	not getting up
<i>patthaya-</i>	<i>patthayāna</i>		wishing for
<i>dā-</i>	<i>dāna</i>	(<i>anādāna</i>)	not taking
<i>budh-</i>	<i>budhāna</i>	(<i>abhisambudhāna</i>)	attaining the highest wisdom

Further *ās-* has *āsīna* 'sitting down'.

The Past Participle

The past participle is an adjective and is formed with the suffix *-ta* / *-na* added to the root in its weak grade.

96. **Past participle in -ta.** The past participle is formed by adding the suffix *-ta*

- to the root directly
- to the root by means of the connecting vowel *-i*
- to the stem of the present by means of the connecting vowel *-i*.

a). The past participle is formed by adding the suffix *-ta* directly to the root in its weak grade:

<i>khyā-</i>	to speak	<i>khāta</i>	(<i>akkhāta</i>)
<i>dā-</i>	to give	<i>dāta</i>	(<i>pariyodāta</i>)
<i>jñā-</i>	to know	<i>ñāta</i> , <i>abhiññāta</i>	
<i>yā-</i>	to go	<i>yāta</i>	
<i>snā-</i>	to bathe	<i>nahāta</i> , <i>nhāta</i> , <i>ninhāta</i>	
<i>i-</i>	to go	<i>īta</i> , <i>vīta</i> , <i>atīta</i> , <i>apeta</i>	
<i>krī-</i>	to buy	<i>kīta</i>	
<i>gī-</i>	to sing	<i>gīta</i> , <i>saṅgīta</i>	
<i>ci-</i>	to gather	<i>cīta</i> , <i>apacīta</i> , <i>nicchīta</i>	
<i>ji-</i>	to conquer	<i>jīta</i> , <i>parājīta</i>	
<i>nī-</i>	to lead	<i>nīta</i>	
<i>bhī-</i>	to be afraid	<i>bhīta</i>	
<i>cyu-</i>	to fall	<i>cūta</i>	
<i>śru-</i>	to hear	<i>śūta</i>	
<i>sru-</i>	to flow	<i>sūta</i> in <i>avassuta</i>	
<i>hu-</i>	to sacrifice	<i>hūta</i>	
<i>bhū-</i>	to be	<i>bhūta</i>	
<i>kr-</i>	to do	<i>kata</i> , <i>avakata</i> , <i>purakkhata</i> , <i>sankhata</i>	

<i>dhṛ-</i>	to hold	<i>dhata, uddhata</i>
<i>bhṛ-</i>	to bear	<i>bhata</i>
<i>mṛ-</i>	to die	<i>mata</i>
<i>smṛ-</i>	to remember	<i>sata, paṭissata</i>
<i>vṛ-</i>	to obstruct	<i>vata (āvata, vivata)</i> <i>vuta (āvuta, samvuta)</i>
<i>ṣṛ-</i>	to flow	<i>saṭa, oṣaṭa, nissaṭa</i>
<i>str-</i>	to strew	<i>thata (santhata)</i>
<i>hṛ-</i>	to carry	<i>haṭa, uddhaṭa</i>
<i>vic-</i>	to be alone	<i>vitta (vivitta)</i>
<i>sic-</i>	to sprinkle	<i>sitta</i>
<i>muc-</i>	to release	<i>mutta</i>
<i>prch-</i>	to ask	<i>puṭṭha</i>
<i>tyaj-</i>	to give up	<i>catta, pariccatta</i>
<i>raj-</i>	to dye	<i>ratta</i>
<i>bhuj-</i>	to eat	<i>bhutta</i>
<i>yuj-</i>	to be endowed	<i>yutta</i>
<i>mṛj-</i>	to clean	<i>maṭṭha</i>
<i>ṣṛj-</i>	to let loose	<i>saṭṭha (osaṭṭha, nissaṭṭha)</i>
<i>vṛt-</i>	to go on	<i>vatta, vivatta, samvatta, vaṭṭa</i>
<i>mad-</i>	to intoxicate	<i>matta</i>
<i>vid-</i>	to enjoy	<i>vitta</i>
<i>badh-</i>	to bind	<i>baddha</i>
<i>kudh-</i>	to be angry	<i>kuddha</i>
<i>budh-</i>	to be awake	<i>buddha</i>
<i>rudh-</i>	to obstruct	<i>ruddha</i>

<i>sudh-</i>	to become clean	<i>suddha</i>
<i>vṛdh-</i>	to grow	<i>vaḍḍha, vaddha, vuddha, vuddha</i>
<i>tap-</i>	to burn	<i>tatta</i>
<i>kṣip-</i>	to throw	<i>khitta</i>
<i>dip-</i>	to kindle	<i>āditta</i>
<i>lip-</i>	to smear	<i>litta</i>
<i>gup-</i>	to protect	<i>gutta</i>
<i>tṛp-</i>	to be satisfied	<i>titta</i>
<i>labh-</i>	to obtain	<i>laddha</i>
<i>stabh-</i>	to be firm	<i>thaddha</i>
<i>lubh-</i>	to be greedy	<i>luddha</i>
<i>śrambh-</i>	to be calm	<i>saddha (passaddha)</i>
<i>śams-</i>	to praise	<i>sattha (pasattha / pasatṭha)</i>
<i>śās-</i>	to order	<i>sittha (anusittha)</i>
<i>ḍaś-</i>	to bite	<i>daṭṭha</i>
<i>viś-</i>	to enter	<i>viṭṭha (niviṭṭha, pavitṭha)</i>
<i>kliś-</i>	to be soiled	<i>kiliṭṭha</i>
<i>dṛś-</i>	to see	<i>diṭṭha</i>
<i>duṣ-</i>	to be soiled	<i>duṭṭha</i>
<i>spṛś-</i>	to touch	<i>phuṭṭha</i>
<i>iṣ-</i>	to desire	<i>iṭṭha</i>
<i>kruṣ-</i>	to blame	<i>kuṭṭha (patikkuṭṭha)</i>
<i>tuṣ-</i>	to be pleased	<i>tuṭṭha</i>
<i>puṣ-</i>	to touch	<i>puṭṭha</i>
<i>kṛṣ-</i>	to plough	<i>kaṭṭha</i>
<i>vṛṣ-</i>	to rain	<i>vaṭṭha</i>

<i>mṛṣ-</i>	to forget	<i>mutṭha</i>
<i>ḍuh-</i>	to milk	<i>duḍḍha</i>
<i>nah-</i>	to tie	<i>naddha, onaddha</i>
<i>ḍah-</i>	to burn	<i>daḍḍha</i>
<i>gah-</i>	to plunge	<i>gālha (ajjhogālha)</i>
<i>muh-</i>	to be bewildered	<i>mūlha</i>
<i>ruh-</i>	to climb	<i>rūlha, parūlha</i>
<i>kram-</i>	to move	<i>kanta (atikkanta, abhikkanta)</i>
<i>klam-</i>	to be weary	<i>kilanta</i>
<i>vam-</i>	to throw out	<i>vanta</i>
<i>śram-</i>	to be calm	<i>santa</i>

The past participle *pāruta* comes from *apa-ā-vṛ-* in which *vṛ-* has given rise to *-ru* and the initial vowel has been dropped: *pāruta*. The present tense of this verb is *pārupati*.

b). Some roots ending in *-m / -n* are weakened in the formation of the past participle:

<i>gam-</i>	to go	<i>gata</i>
<i>nam-</i>	to bend	<i>nata</i>
<i>yam-</i>	to restrain	<i>yata, saññata</i>
<i>ram-</i>	to delight	<i>rata</i>
<i>han-</i>	to kill	<i>hata, samūhata</i>
<i>man-</i>	to think	<i>mata</i>
<i>khan-</i>	to dig	<i>khāta</i>
<i>jan-</i>	to bear	<i>jāta</i>

c). Roots that contain a sonant *-y / -v* preceding the root vowel are also weakened in the formation of the past participle. The formation is as follows: the root *vac-* is weakened by dropping the vowel *-a*, hence *vc-* the sonant *-v*

becomes a vowel when followed by a consonant, hence *uc:* *uc-ta* > *utta*. But since in Pali a word beginning with *u-* is often pronounced with a preceding *v-*, hence *utta* > *vutta*. The same is the formation when the root contains a vowel preceded by *y-*.

<i>yaj-</i>	to sacrifice	<i>ij-ta</i>	>	<i>iṭṭha</i>	>	<i>yiṭṭha</i>
<i>vac-</i>	to speak	<i>uc-ta</i>	>	<i>utta</i>	>	<i>vutta</i>
<i>vap-</i>	to sow	<i>up-ta</i>	>	<i>utta</i>	>	<i>vutta</i>
<i>vas-</i>	to dwell	<i>us-ta</i>	>	<i>uttha</i>	>	<i>vuttha</i>
<i>vah-</i>	to carry	<i>uh-ta</i>	>	<i>ūlha</i>	>	<i>vūlha</i>
<i>vyadh-</i>	to pierce	<i>vidh-ta</i>	>	<i>viddha</i>		
<i>svap-</i>	to sleep	<i>sup-ta</i>	>	<i>sutta</i>		

d). Some roots form the past participle by means of the suffix *-ta* added with the connecting vowel *-i / -ī* to their weak form:

<i>dhā-</i>	to place	<i>h-i-ta</i>	>	<i>hita, ohita</i>	with the loss of the occlusion
<i>pā-</i>	to drink	<i>p-i-ta</i>	>	<i>pita</i>	
<i>mā-</i>	to measure	<i>m-i-ta</i>	>	<i>mita</i>	
<i>vā-</i>	to weave	<i>v-ī-ta</i>	>	<i>vīta</i>	
<i>sā-</i>	to bind	<i>s-i-ta</i>	>	<i>sita</i>	
<i>sthā-</i>	to stand	<i>ṭh-i-ta</i>	>	<i>ṭhita</i>	
<i>vad-</i>	to speak	<i>ud-i-ta</i>	>	<i>udita</i>	
<i>vas-</i>	to dwell	<i>us-i-ta</i>	>	<i>usita</i>	> <i>vusita</i>
<i>grah-</i>	to take	<i>gah-ī-ta</i>	>	<i>gahīta</i>	
<i>id-</i>	to know	<i>vid-i-ta</i>	>	<i>vidita</i>	
<i>kup-</i>	to be annoyed	<i>kup-i-ta</i>	>	<i>kupita</i>	
<i>mud-</i>	to rejoice	<i>mud-i-ta</i>	>	<i>mudita</i>	

e). The past participle can be formed also with the suffix *-ta* added to the stem of the present by means of the connecting vowel *-i*. In the older literature this participle is formed from the verbs of the tenth class, from causative, intensive and desiderative verbs, and from some simple verbs, especially those in which the present stem ends in two consonants or in a consonant preceded by a long vowel. In some cases it is difficult to distinguish whether the past participle is formed from the root or from the present stem since the two coincide as in *pat-i-ta* > *patita*.

In the later literature every verb can take this participle since this becomes the easiest way of forming it. The final vowel of the stem of the present is dropped.

<i>yāca-</i>	to ask	<i>yāc-i-ta</i>	>	<i>yācita</i>
<i>nanda-</i>	to rejoice	<i>nand-i-ta</i>	>	<i>nandita</i>
<i>pasamsa-</i>	to praise	<i>pasams-i-ta</i>	>	<i>pasamsita</i>
<i>rakkha-</i>	to protect	<i>rakkh-i-ta</i>	>	<i>rakkhita</i>
<i>sikkha-</i>	to learn	<i>sikkh-i-ta</i>	>	<i>sikkhita</i>
<i>dese-</i>	to preach	<i>des-i-ta</i>	>	<i>desita</i>
<i>pūje-</i>	to honour	<i>pūj-i-ta</i>	>	<i>pūjita</i>
<i>vaṇṇe-</i>	to praise	<i>vaṇṇ-i-ta</i>	>	<i>vaṇṇita</i>

There are a few cases in which the past participle has been formed from the stem of the present in *-aya*:

<i>vedaya-</i>	to feel	<i>vedayita</i>
<i>khādaya-</i>	to cause to eat	<i>khādayita</i>
<i>patthaya-</i>	to desire	<i>patthayita</i>

Further, some causative verbs do not add the vowel *-i*:

<i>paññāpeti</i>	<i>paññāp-ta</i>	>	<i>paññatta, saññatta</i>
<i>ānāpesi</i>	<i>ānāp-ta</i>	>	<i>ānatta</i>

jhapeti *jhap-ta* > *jhatta*

khāmeti *kanta*

dāmeti *danta*

97. **Past participle in -na.** The past participle can also be formed by adding the suffix *-na* to the root of the verb. This past participle is formed from

a). roots ending in *-ī, -ū, ṛ*:

<i>lī-</i>	to stick	<i>līna</i>
<i>kṣī-</i>	to waste away	<i>khīna</i>
<i>lū-</i>	to cut	<i>lūna</i>
<i>kṛ-</i>	to scatter	<i>kīr-na</i> > <i>kiṇṇa</i>
<i>jṛ-</i>	to become old	<i>jīr-na</i> > <i>jiṇṇa</i>
<i>tṛ-</i>	to cross	<i>tīr-na</i> > <i>tiṇṇa</i>
<i>pṛ-</i>	to be filled	<i>pūr-na</i> > <i>puṇṇa</i>

The root *car-* has also a past participle in *-na*: *cīr-na* > *ciṇṇa*, *anuciṇṇa*, *āciṇṇa*.

b). some roots ending in *-d*:

<i>chad-</i>	to cover	<i>channa</i>
<i>pad-</i>	to go	<i>panna, uppanna, sampanna</i>
<i>sad-</i>	to sit	<i>pasanna</i> but <i>nisinna</i>
<i>syad-</i>	to flow	<i>sanna</i> (<i>ussanna</i>)
<i>skand-</i>	to jump	<i>khanna</i> (<i>pakkhanna</i>)
<i>chid-</i>	to cut	<i>chinna</i>
<i>bhid-</i>	to break	<i>bhinna</i>
<i>nud-</i>	to push	<i>nunna, nuṇṇa, panuṇṇa</i>
<i>tud-</i>	to prick	<i>tunna</i>

<i>rud-</i>	to cry	<i>ruṇṇa</i>
<i>svid-</i>	to perspire	<i>sinna</i>

c). some roots in *-g / -j*:

<i>lag-</i>	to adhere	<i>lag-na</i>	> <i>lagga</i>
<i>bhaj-</i>	to break	<i>bhaj-na</i>	> <i>bhag-na</i> > <i>bhagga</i>
<i>saṃvij-</i>	to be agitated	<i>saṃvij-na</i>	> <i>saṃvig-na</i> > <i>saṃvigga</i>
<i>nimuj-</i>	to sink down	<i>nimuj-na</i>	> <i>nimug-na</i> > <i>nimugga</i>
<i>luj-</i>	to crumble	<i>paluj-na</i>	> <i>palug-na</i> > <i>palugga</i>

d). The root *muc-* has also a past participle in *-na*: *muc-na* > *muk-na* > *mukka*.

The root *hā-* has the past participle in *-na* with the connecting vowel *-ī*: *h-ī-na* > *hīna*.

The root *dā-* has *dinna* formed from the a reduplicated weakened root, the reduplication being effected with the vowel *-i*: *did-na* > *dinna*, *samādinna*.

98. From the examples given it is clear that some verbal roots have more than one participle: *car-*: *carita* / *ciṇṇa*; *hā-*: *hīna* / *jahita*; *rud-*: *ruṇṇa* / *rudita* / *rodita*.

Sometimes the various participles are semantically different. The root *svid-*: *sinna* 'wet with perspiration', *siddha* 'cooked'.

Past Participle Active

99. In Pali there are a few forms of the active past participle. This is formed by adding the suffix *-vant* / *-āvin* to the past participle:

<i>vusita</i>	<i>vusitavant</i>	one who has lived
<i>bhutta</i>	<i>bhuttāvin</i>	one who has eaten

<i>vijita</i>	<i>vijitāvin</i>	one who has conquered
<i>samita</i>	<i>samitāvin</i>	one who is calm

These participles are declined like the stem in *-ant* / *-in*.

There are also some other stray forms belonging to this participle: *vidū*, *vidvā*, *viddasu*, *dassivā*, *dassāvī*

Future Participle Passive

100. Formation of the future participle passive. The future participle passive is formed

a). by adding to the root in its guṇa grade one of the suffixes

1. *-tabba*
2. *-aniya* / *-aneyya*
3. *-tāya* / *-tayya* / *-teyya*

b). by adding to the root in its guṇa grade the suffix *-ya* either directly or by means of the connecting vowel *-i*;

c). by adding the suffix *-tabba* to the stem of the present tense by means of the connecting vowel *-i*.

a). 1.	<i>jñā-</i>	to know	<i>ñātabba</i>
	<i>dā-</i>	to give	<i>dātabba</i>
	<i>hā-</i>	to abandon	<i>hātabba</i>
	<i>nī-</i>	to lead	<i>netabba</i>
	<i>ji-</i>	to conquer	<i>jetabba</i>
	<i>bhū-</i>	to be	<i>hotabba</i> , <i>paribhotabba</i>
	<i>śru-</i>	to hear	<i>sotabba</i>
	<i>kṛ-</i>	to do	<i>kar-tabba</i> > <i>kattabba</i> , <i>kātabba</i>

<i>hr-</i>	to carry	<i>har-tabba</i> > <i>hattabba</i> , <i>hātabba</i>
<i>gam-</i>	to go	<i>gantabba</i>
<i>han-</i>	to kill	<i>hantabba</i>
<i>labh-</i>	to obtain	<i>labh-tabba</i> > <i>laddhabba</i>
<i>drś-</i>	to see	<i>dars-tabba</i> > <i>datṭhabba</i>
<i>vas-</i>	to live	<i>vas-tabba</i> > <i>vatṭhabba</i>
<i>sprś-</i>	to touch	has <i>phoṭṭhabba</i> ,
<i>grah-</i>	to take	has <i>gahetabba</i> .
a). 2.	<i>gam-</i>	to go <i>gamaṇīya</i> (<i>adhigamaṇīya</i>)
	<i>bhū-</i>	to be <i>bhavaṇīya</i>
	<i>lubh-</i>	to covet <i>lobhaṇīya</i> (<i>lobhaneyya</i>)
	<i>kr-</i>	to do <i>karaṇīya</i>
	<i>drś-</i>	to see <i>dars-aṇīya</i> > <i>dassaṇīya</i> / <i>dassaneyya</i>
	<i>pūj-</i>	to reverence <i>pūjaṇīya</i>
a). 3.	Only a few verbs have the future participle passive in <i>-taya</i> , <i>-tāya</i> , <i>-teyya</i> :	
	<i>jñā-</i>	to know <i>ñātaya</i> / <i>nāteyya</i>
	<i>drś-</i>	to see <i>dars-taya</i> > <i>datṭhāya</i>
	<i>āp-</i>	to reach <i>pattāyya</i> / <i>patteyya</i>

Similarly: *ghātetayaṃ*, *jāpetayaṃ*, *pabbājetayaṃ* (MN II p. 122)

b). The future participle passive is also formed with the suffix *-ya* added to the root in its guṇa grade either directly or by means of the connecting vowel *-i*:

<i>bhū-</i>	to be	<i>bhav-ya</i> > <i>bhabba</i>
<i>han-</i>	to kill	<i>han-ya</i> > <i>hañña</i>

<i>bhid-</i>	to break	<i>bhed-ya</i> > <i>bhejja</i>
<i>bhuj-</i>	to eat	<i>bhoj-ya</i> > <i>bhojja</i>
<i>ji-</i>	to conquer	<i>je-ya</i> > <i>jeyya</i>
<i>nī-</i>	to lead	<i>ne-ya</i> > <i>neyya</i> , <i>upaṇīya</i>

The vowel of the root has remained unchanged in *guh-ya* > *guyha*.

The suffix *-ya* is added with the connected vowel *-i* when the root ends in two consonants:

<i>rakṣ-</i>	to protect	<i>rakkh-i-ya</i> > <i>rakkhiya</i>
<i>kamp-</i>	to shake	<i>kamp-i-ya</i> > <i>kampiya</i>
<i>saṅk-</i>	to doubt	<i>saṅk-i-ya</i> > <i>saṅkiya</i>

The suffix *-ya* is also added to some verbs in *-ā*. In this case the final vowel *-ā* is contracted with *-i* and then the following *-y* is doubled:

<i>dā-</i>	to vie	<i>dā-i-ya</i> > <i>de-ya</i> > <i>deyya</i>
<i>dhā-</i>	to place	<i>dhā-i-ya</i> > <i>dhe-ya</i> > <i>dheyya</i>
<i>jñā-</i>	to know	<i>ñā-i-ya</i> > <i>ñe-ya</i> > <i>ñeyya</i>
<i>mā-</i>	to measure	<i>mā-i-ya</i> > <i>me-ya</i> > <i>meyya</i>
<i>pā-</i>	to drink'	<i>pā-i-ya</i> > <i>pe-ya</i> > <i>peyya</i>

Since *lih-* 'to lick' was sometimes opposed to *pā-* 'to drink', a future participle passive has been formed from *lih-* on the analogy of *peyya* : *leyya*.

Further from the stem of the present *sakkuna-* there is *sakkuneyya*.

The root *kr-* has a future participle passive with the insertion of *-t*: *kr-t-ya* > *kicca*.

In a few cases the vowel *-a* of the first syllable is lengthened whether the vowel belongs to the root or to a prefix:

<i>kar-</i>	to do	<i>kār-i-ya</i>	> <i>kāriya</i> (<i>akāriya</i>)
<i>hṛ-</i>	to carry	<i>hār-i-ya</i>	> <i>hāriya</i> (<i>asamhāriya</i>)
<i>garh-</i>	to blame	<i>gārah-ya</i>	> <i>gārayha</i>
<i>praśams-</i>	to praise	<i>prāśams-ya</i>	> <i>pāśamsa</i>
<i>pratikañks-</i>	to wish for	<i>pātikhāñk-ya</i>	> <i>pātikañkha</i>

In the future participle passive of *tikicchati*, the vowel of the first syllable is lengthened: *tekiccha*.

From the root *hṛ-* there is *hāriya* in the compound *asamhāriya*. There is also the form *asamhīra* derived from the passive stem: *asam-hir-ya* > *asamhirra* > *asamhīra*.

- c). The future participle passive is formed with the suffix *-tabba* added to the stem of the present with the connecting vowel *-i*:

<i>garaha-</i>	to blame	<i>garahitabba</i>
<i>puccha-</i>	to ask	<i>pucchitabba</i>
<i>nacca-</i>	to dance	<i>naccitabba</i>
<i>pūjaya-</i>	to reverence	<i>pūjayitabba</i>

Besides *pūjayitabba* there is also *pūjetabba* in which the group *-ayi* is contracted to *-e*. Similarly *codetabba*, *ñāpetabba*, *ṭhāpetabba*, *ropetabba*, etc.

P a s t G e r u n d

101. Formation of the past gerund. The past gerund is an indeclinable word and is formed by adding the suffix

- tvā* to the root
- tvā* to the root by means of the connecting vowel *-i*
- tvā* to the stem of the present by means of the connecting vowel *-i*

- ya* to the root of compound verbs
- ya* to the stem of the present of compound verbs
- tvāna* / *-tūna* / *-yāna*

- a). The suffix *-tvā* added to the root:

<i>dā-</i>	to give	<i>datvā</i>
<i>jñā-</i>	to know	<i>ñatvā</i>
<i>snā-</i>	to bathe	<i>nahatvā</i>
<i>bhū-</i>	to be	<i>bhutvā</i> / <i>hutvā</i>
<i>śru-</i>	to hear	<i>sutvā</i>
<i>kṛ-</i>	to do	<i>katvā</i>
<i>han-</i>	to kill	<i>hantvā</i>
<i>gam-</i>	to go	<i>gantvā</i>
<i>vac-</i>	to speak	<i>vac-tvā</i> > <i>vatvā</i>
<i>muc-</i>	to release	<i>muc-tvā</i> > <i>mutvā</i>
<i>labh-</i>	to obtain	<i>labh-tvā</i> > <i>laddhā</i>

Some roots containing the vowel *-i* / *-ī* / *-u* change their vowel to *-e* / *-o* respectively in the formation of the past gerunds:

<i>ji-</i>	to conquer	<i>jetvā</i>
<i>nī-</i>	to lead	<i>netvā</i>
<i>chid-</i>	to cut	<i>chetvā</i>
<i>bhid-</i>	to break	<i>bhetvā</i>
<i>bhuj-</i>	to eat	<i>bhutvā</i> / <i>bhotvā</i>

The root *ḍṛś-* has *ḍisvā*. Other extremely rare forms derived from *ḍṛś-* are *datṭhā*, *a-diṭṭhā*, *datṭha*.

- the suffix *-tvā* added to the root by means of the connecting vowel *-i*:

<i>hā-</i>	to abandon	<i>h-i-tvā</i>	>	<i>hitvā</i>
<i>pā-</i>	to drink	<i>p-i-tvā</i>	>	<i>pitvā</i>
<i>grah-</i>	to take	<i>gah-i-tvā</i>	>	<i>gahitvā</i> / <i>gahetvā</i>
<i>vid-</i>	to know	<i>vid-i-tvā</i>	>	<i>viditvā</i>

c). The suffix *-tvā* added to the stem of the present by means of the connecting vowel *-i*:

<i>gaccha-</i>	to go	<i>gacchitvā</i>
<i>gaṇhā-</i>	to take	<i>gaṇhitvā</i>
<i>siñca-</i>	to sprinkle	<i>siñcitvā</i>
<i>suñā-</i>	to hear	<i>suñitvā</i>

The verbs of the tenth class and the causative verbs form the past gerund always from the stem of the present with the vowel *-i*:

<i>cintaya-</i>	to think	<i>cintayitvā</i>
<i>āmantaya-</i>	to call	<i>āmantayitvā</i>
<i>kāraya-</i>	to cause to do	<i>kārayitvā</i>
<i>māpaya-</i>	to cause to build	<i>māpayitvā</i>

The group *-ayi*, which precedes the suffix *-tvā*, may be contracted to *-e*; *cintetvā*, *āmantetvā*, *kāretvā*, *māpetvā*.

d). When a verb is compounded with a prefix, the past gerund is formed by adding the suffix *-ya* to the root of the verbs:

1. The suffix *-ya* added directly to the root:

<i>ā-dā</i>	to take	<i>ādāya</i>
<i>ā-gam-</i>	to return	<i>āgam-ya</i> > <i>āgamma</i>
<i>ā-rabh-</i>	to begin	<i>ārabh-ya</i> > <i>ārabbha</i>
<i>ni-sad-</i>	to sit down	<i>nisad-ya</i> > <i>nisajja</i>
<i>o-ruh-</i>	to come down	<i>oruh-ya</i> > <i>oruyha</i>
<i>sañ-cit-</i>	to consider	<i>sañcit-ya</i> > <i>sañcicca</i>

In some of these gerunds the final group *-āya* is sometimes contracted to *-ā*: *abhiññāya* / *abhiññā*, *upādāya* / *upādā*.

2. When a root ends in *-i* / *-ī*, this *-i* / *-ī* is changed to *-e* and the following *-y* is doubled:

<i>vi-ci-</i>	to investigate	<i>vici-ya</i>	>	<i>viceyya</i>
<i>vi-nī-</i>	to remove	<i>vinī-ya</i>	>	<i>vineyya</i>

The root *bhū-* shortens the final vowel and doubles the *-y*: *abhibhū-ya* *abhibhuyya*. On the same pattern seems to be built the past gerund *pappuyya* < *pra-āp*.

3. When the root ends in a short vowel, the consonant *-t* is inserted between the root and the suffix *-ya*:

<i>pari-i-</i>	to set out	<i>pari-i-t-ya</i>	>	<i>paricca</i>
<i>prati-i-</i>	to go back	<i>paṭi-i-t-ya</i>	>	<i>paṭicca</i>
<i>pra-i-</i>	to go beyond	<i>pra-i-t-ya</i>	>	<i>pecca</i>
<i>ava-i-</i>	to go down	<i>ava-i-t-ya</i>	>	<i>avecca</i>
<i>sat-kṛ-</i>	to honour	<i>sat-kṛ-t-ya</i>	>	<i>sakkacca</i> , <i>paṭikacca</i>
<i>ā-han-</i>	to strike	<i>ā-ha-t-ya</i>	>	<i>āhacca</i>
<i>ā-hṛ-</i>	to carry	<i>ā-hṛ-t-ya</i>	>	<i>āhacca</i>

Sometimes the guttural of *paṭikacca* is softened; hence *paṭigacca*.

e). The suffix *-ya* may also be added to the stem of the present by means of the connecting vowel *-i*. This is usually the case when it is question of the verbs of the tenth class or of the causative verbs and also of the verbs in which the stem of the present tense ends in two consonants, or in a consonant preceded by a long vowel, or in an *-r* / *-h*:

<i>padāle-</i>	to pierce	<i>padāl-ya</i>	>	<i>padāliya</i>
<i>virāje-</i>	to put away	<i>virāj-ya</i>	>	<i>virājiya</i>
<i>nisīda-</i>	to sit	<i>nisīd-ya</i>	>	<i>nisīdiya</i>

<i>pakira-</i>	to scatter	<i>pakir-ya</i>	> <i>pakiriya</i>
<i>abhiruha-</i>	to mount	<i>abhiruh-ya</i>	> <i>abhiruyha</i>

Vitarati forms a past gerund from the present stem *vitareyya* on the analogy of the past gerund like *vineyya*, *viceyya*.

f). There are three other suffixes that are used to form the past gerund. These are generally found in poetry. The suffixes are *-tvāna*, *-tūna*, *-yāna*: *gantvāna* / *gantūna*, *katvāna* / *kātūna*, *bhutvāna*, *hutvāna*, *laddhāna*, *ñatvāna*, *hātūna*, *jānitūna*, *uttariyāna* < *uttarati*, *ovariyāna* < *ovarati*, *ovadiyāna* < *ovadati*.

g). The distinction between the simple and the compound verbs is not always observed in the formation of the past gerund, and hence simple verbs sometimes take the suffix *-ya*, while compound verbs very often take the suffix *-tvā*:

<i>jñā-</i>	<i>ñāya</i>	<i>pra-āp-</i>	<i>patvā</i> , <i>pāpuṇitvā</i>
<i>cint-</i>	<i>cintiya</i>	<i>nisīda-</i>	<i>nisīditvā</i>
<i>bhās-</i>	<i>bhāsiya</i>	<i>virāje-</i>	<i>virājetvā</i>
<i>bhuñj-</i>	<i>bhuñjiya</i>	<i>upasankam-</i>	<i>upasaṅkamtivā</i>
<i>chadḍe-</i>	<i>chadḍiya</i>	<i>sandhāva-</i>	<i>sandhāvitvā</i>

h). There are several gerunds formed from the stem of the present of passive verbs both simple and compounded:

<i>chijja-</i>	<i>chijjivā</i>	<i>pacca-</i>	<i>paccitvā</i>
----------------	-----------------	---------------	-----------------

I n f i n i t i v e

102. Formation of the infinitive. The infinitive is formed

- a). by means of the suffix *-tum*
 1. added directly to the root in its guṇa grade
 2. added to the stem of the present by means of the connecting vowel *-i*
 3. added directly to the present stem in *-e* / *-o*.

b). by means of the suffixes *-tave*, *-tuye*, *-tāye*, *-tase* added to the root in its guṇa grade or to the present stem with the connecting vowel *-i*.

a). 1. The suffix *-tum* added directly to the root in its guṇa grade:

<i>dā-</i>	to give	<i>dātum</i>	
<i>jñā-</i>	to know	<i>ñātum</i>	
<i>nī-</i>	to lead	<i>netum</i>	
<i>krī-</i>	to buy	<i>ketum</i>	(<i>vikketum</i>)
<i>śru-</i>	to hear	<i>sotum</i>	
<i>bhū-</i>	to be	<i>hotum</i>	
<i>kr-</i>	to do	<i>kartum</i>	> <i>kattum</i> / <i>kātum</i>
<i>hr-</i>	to carry	<i>hartum</i>	> <i>hattum</i> / <i>hātum</i>
<i>gam-</i>	to go	<i>gantum</i>	
<i>prech-</i>	to ask	<i>putthum</i>	
<i>drś-</i>	to see	<i>daṭṭhum</i>	
<i>yaj-</i>	to sacrifice	<i>yaṭṭhum</i>	
<i>vas-</i>	to dwell	<i>vatthum</i>	

The infinitive of *grah-* is *gahetum*.

2. The suffix *-tum* added to the present stem with the vowel *-i*:

<i>bhava-</i>	to be	<i>bhavitum</i>
<i>puccha-</i>	to ask	<i>pucchitum</i>
<i>pāpuṇā-</i>	to reach	<i>pāpuṇitum</i>
<i>passa-</i>	to see	<i>passitum</i>

3. The suffix *-tum* added to the present stem in *-e* / *-o*:

<i>cinte-</i>	to think	<i>cintetuṃ</i>
<i>dese-</i>	to preach	<i>dsetuṃ</i>
<i>sodhe-</i>	to clean	<i>sodhetuṃ</i>
<i>pappo-</i>	to reach	<i>pappotuṃ</i>

b). Suffixes *-tave*, *-tuye*, *-tāye*, *-tase* are used in a few cases only:

<i>hā-</i>	to abandon	<i>hātave</i>	(<i>pahātave</i>)
<i>i-</i>	to go	<i>etave</i>	/ <i>etase</i>
<i>nī-</i>	to lead	<i>netave</i>	
<i>śru-</i>	to hear	<i>sotave</i>	
<i>gam-</i>	to go	<i>gantave</i>	
<i>hṛ-</i>	to carry	<i>hatave</i>	
<i>bhū-</i>	to be	<i>havituye</i>	/ <i>hetuye</i>
<i>mṛ-</i>	to die	<i>marituye</i>	
<i>dṛś-</i>	to see	<i>dakkhitāye</i>	
<i>pr̥cch-</i>	to ask	<i>pucchitāye</i>	

CHAPTER VII

INDECLINABLE WORDS

The indeclinable words are the adverbs, the prepositions, the conjunctions, and the interjections.

103. **Adverbs.** An adverb is a word which modifies the meaning or the application of a verb or of a whole sentence. The adverbs may be divided according to their meaning and according to the way they are built up.

a). According to their meaning the adverbs may be divided into:

1. **Adverbs of time:** *yadā* 'when', *kadā* 'when', *tadā* 'then', *yato* 'since', *tato* 'afterwards', *ito* 'from now', *yāva* 'how long', *tāva* 'so long', *ajja* 'today', *ajjato* 'from today', *adhunā* 'lately', *aparajju* 'on the following day', *pāto* 'early', *atippago* 'too early', *divā* 'by day', *ratto* 'by night', *atha* 'then', *puna* 'again', *etarahi* 'now', *carahi* 'now', *pure* 'formerly', *bhūtapubbaṃ* 'formerly', *anupubbaṃ* 'gradually', *cirattāya* 'for a long time', *cirassaṃ* 'for a long time', *kadāci kadāci* 'from time to time', *kadāci karahaci* 'at times', *puna ca param* 'again', *ekaṃ samayaṃ* 'at one time', *aparena* 'in future', *aparāparam* 'again and again', *antarantarā* 'from time to time', etc.

2. **Adverbs of place:** *tatra, tattha, taṃ, taṃ* 'there', *tato* 'thence', *kutra, kuttha, kuṃ* 'where', *kuto* 'whence', *yattha* 'where', *uddhaṃ* 'above', *adho* 'below', *tiriyaṃ* 'across', *sabbadhi* 'everywhere', *idha* 'here', *purato* 'in front', *hetthā* 'below', *piṭṭhito* 'behind', *aññatra, annattha* 'somewhere else', *ubhayattha* 'in both places', *amutra* 'in that place', *pacīnato* 'to the east', *dakkhiṇato* 'to the south', *abhito* 'all round', etc.

3. **Adverbs of manner:** *evaṃ, tathā* 'thus', *kathaṃ* 'how', *yathā* 'as', *sahasā* 'hastily', *sīghaṃ* 'quickly', *vegena, vegasā* 'hurriedly', *saṃhena* 'softly', *anupubbena* 'gradually', *addhā* 'certainly', *sukhaṃ* 'happily', *sakkaccaṃ* 'respectfully', *musā* 'falsely', *abhikkhaṇaṃ* 'constantly', *tuṃhi* 'silently', *sajju, sajjukaṃ* 'quickly', *sādhukaṃ* 'well', etc.

4. **Adverbs of quantity, extent, degree:** *atīva, atīviya* 'excessively', *yāva* 'how much', *tāva* 'so much', *yāvata* 'as far as', *tāvata* 'so far', *ettāvata* 'to such an extent', *yebhuyyena* 'generally', *tikkhattuṃ* 'three times', *pañcaso* 'in five ways', *catugguṇaṃ* 'fourfold', *antamaso* 'even', *bhiyyoso* 'greatly', *mattaso* 'moderately', *aññadatthu* 'surely', etc.

5. **Adverbs of cause or reason:** *tena, tena hi* 'hence', *tasmā* 'therefore', *kasmā* 'why', *yathā* 'thus', *yato, tato* 'hence', *tato nidānaṃ, yatvādhikaraṇaṃ* 'on account of that', *yathā kathaṃ pana* 'how indeed', etc.

6. **Other adverbial particles:** *aṅga, api* 'indeed', *kira* 'indeed', *kho* 'then', *itī* 'thus', *alam* 'enough', *nāma* 'indeed', *ingha* 'well', *taggha* 'surely', *yagghe* 'surely', *pana* 'indeed', *attha* 'then', etc.

104. **Formation of adverbs:** The adverbs may be formed in various ways:

a). **Adverbs formed from the pronouns.** Many adverbs are formed by adding an adverbial ending to the stem of the pronouns or of pronominal adjectives:

-tra:	<i>tatra, kutra, yatra, atra, aññatra</i>
-ttha:	<i>tattha, yattha, kuttha, ittha, ettha, kattha, aññattha, ubhayattha</i>
-to:	<i>ito, tato, yato, kuto, sabato, etto</i>
-thaṃ:	<i>yathaṃ, kathaṃ, itthaṃ</i>
-thā:	<i>yathā, tathā, kathā, aññathā, sabbathā</i>
-dā:	<i>tadā, yadā, kadā, kudā, sabbadā</i>
-dāni:	<i>idāni</i>
-dha:	<i>idha</i>
-ha:	<i>iha</i>
-dhi:	<i>sabbadhi</i>
-rahi:	<i>etarahi, tarahi, carahi</i>
-hiṃ:	<i>kuhiṃ, taṃhiṃ</i>
-haṃ:	<i>taṃhaṃ</i>

Ku- is an alternative stem of *ka-*

b). **Adverbs formed from nouns and adjectives.**

-to:	<i>dakkhiṇato</i>
-so:	<i>bhāgaso, yoniso, sahaso, bhiyyoso, pañcaso</i>
-dhā:	<i>ekadhā, pañcadhā</i>
-khattuṃ:	<i>tikkhattuṃ</i>

c). **Nouns, pronouns, adjectives used adverbially.** Nouns, pronouns and adjectives may be used adverbially in the accusative case, and sometimes also in another case.

Accusative case:	<i>sukhaṃ, dukkhaṃ, sīghaṃ, saṅikaṃ, kāmaṃ, ciraṃ, pubbaṃ</i>
Instrumental case:	<i>vegena, aggena, dhammena, kicchena, kasirena, kālena, anupubbena, vegasā, tena, cirena, yāvata, tāvata, ettāvata</i>

Ablative case:	<i>tasmā, purā, antarā, pacchā</i>
Dative case:	<i>cirāya, svātanāya, ajjhātanāya</i>
Genitive case:	<i>cirassa, divassa, kālassa</i>
Locative case:	<i>dure, avidure, agge, pubbe, antare, pure</i>

The adverbs *divā, ratto* are derived directly from Sanskrit and are an instrumental and a locative case respectively.

From the genitive *cirassa* a new adverb has been formed with the accusative neuter ending: *cirassaṃ*.

d). **Other adverbs.** Some other adverbs, which in Pali appear as indeclinable words, are old stems of case forms of nouns or adjectives:

pāto, anto, adho

tiro, paro, pure, sve, sajju

bahi, āvi

pātu, pātur

105. **Prepositions.** In Pali the prepositions have practically disappeared. There are only a few rare cases in which *anu, paṭi, adhi* are used preceded or followed by an accusative.

The absence of true prepositions in Pali is made good in various ways:

a). Many adverbs are used prepositionally. The most common are:

governing the accusative: *antarā, pacchā, yāva, vinā, samantā*

governing the instrumental: *aññatra, vinā, saddhiṃ, saha*

governing the genitive: *heṭṭhā, antarena, upari, pure, samantato, avidure*

governing the ablative: *ārā, ārakā, uddham, oraṃ, pabhuti, param, pacchā, yāva, adho.*

b). Several nouns indicating time, place, cause, manner, are used in the sense of prepositions with the noun they govern in the genitive case or forming with them a *tappurisa samāsa*: *samīpa, santika, sakāsa, kāla, ākāra, sammukhā, abhimukhā, hetu, nidānaṃ, vasena, atthāya, accayena, etc.*

c). Several past gerunds are also used as prepositions:

<i>ādāya, gahetvā</i>	taking, with
<i>anvāya, upādāya, paṭicca, agamma</i>	on account of, because
<i>muñcivā, muñciya, ṭhapetvā</i>	leaving, except, besides
<i>ārabbha, sandhāya, abisandhāya</i>	beginning with, referring to
<i>nissāya, upanissāya</i>	near, by means of, on account of
<i>paṭṭhāya</i>	from
<i>uddissa</i>	with respect to, for the sake of

Of these past gerunds, *paṭṭhāya* governs the ablative case, all the others govern the accusative case.

d). Sometimes even other verbal forms express the idea that would be expressed by a preposition: *sahita* 'with', *sampanna* 'with', *gata* 'regarding', *sampassamāna* 'for the sake of'.

106. **Conjunctions.** A conjunction is a word used to point out the relation that exists between two notions expressed by two or more nouns or adjectives or pronouns or verbs or adverbs or sentences. The conjunction may be co-ordinative or subordinative.

a). Co-ordinative conjunctions: *ca, udahu, atha, vā, tathāpi, vā...vā, api...api.*

b). Subordinative conjunctions: *sace, ce, yadi, yathā, yatra hi nāma, vā yadi vā.*

107. **Interjections.** Interjections are words indicating feelings of joy, sadness, anger, or words used to call the attention of someone: *aho, je, re, dhi, iṅgha, he, aho nūna, aho vata, yagghe, taggha, ambho.*

As interjections are also used *mañṇe, bhaṇe* 'I think' and 'I say' (first person attanopada of the present indicative).

CHAPTER VIII

DERIVATION OF NOUNS

108. **Derivation.** In a grammatical form we distinguish the stem and the case or personal endings. In the stem, again, we distinguish the root and the suffixes. A **root** is the ultimate core of the word which carries the fundamental meaning of that word. The **suffixes** are primary elements without a meaning of their own and without an independent existence of their own; they modify the fundamental meaning of the root.

Traditional grammar has divided all the words into **primary derivatives**, or *kitaka*, and **secondary derivatives**, or *taddhita*.

- a). The primary derivatives are those that have been built up by the addition of one suffix to the root; the secondary derivatives are those that are formed by the addition of one or more suffixes to a primary derivative.
- b). The suffixes that form the primary or *kitaka* derivatives have been divided into *kicca* and *kita* suffixes. The *kicca* suffixes are those used to form the future participle passive, while the *kita* suffixes are those used to form other primary derivatives.

- c). The secondary or *taddhita* derivatives have often been divided into *sāmañña-taddhita*, *bhāva-taddhita*, and *avyaya-taddhita*. The *sāmañña-taddhita* include words having a variety of meanings: lineage (*apaccattha*), possession (*atthayattha*), numerals (*sankhyā*), and several other meanings (*anekattha*). The *bhāva-taddhita* include words that point out a quality or a state as is indicated by the suffixes *-tā*, *-tta*, *-ya*. The *avyaya-taddhita* include the adverbs.

The distinction between primary and secondary suffixes is not of great importance since the same suffixes may be used both as primary and as secondary: the suffix *-a* in *khip-a* is primary while in *silavant-a* is secondary. Further the distinction between a primary and a secondary derivative as made by the older grammarians, does not always coincide with the conclusions of modern grammarians who have subjected the nature and the structure of the suffixes to a more careful analysis. And it is some of the results of modern grammar that will be brought, as far as possible, within the reach of the student. And in doing so, the roots of the words and the suffixes will usually be given in their Sanskrit form; for it is only by doing so that the pattern of the phonological changes becomes clear.

109. **Suffixes.** A suffix is a primary element. Hence any phoneme found in the language may have been used as a suffix. In practice only a limited number of phonemes have actually been used.

- a). **Simple suffixes.** The most common simple suffixes used in Pali are: *-a*, *-ā*, *-i*, *-ī*, *-u*, *-ū*, *-r*, *-n*, *-s*, *-t*, *-m*, *-k*. A suffix may appear in its weak grade, or in its guṇa grade, and sometimes even in its vṛddhi grade; v.g. the suffix *-i* may appear as *i:ay:āy*; the suffix *-n* may appear as *n:an:ān*.
- b). **Compound suffixes.** When two suffixes are joined together in such a way that the first is always in the zero grade while the second appears in the zero or guṇa or vṛddhi grade, then the suffix is called a compound suffix. Thus

when the suffix *-i* is combined with the suffix *n:an:ān*, the new suffix is called a compound suffix, that is: *in:yan:yān*.

- c). **Extended suffixes.** If a suffix, simple or compound, is extended with another in its zero grade, then the new suffix is called an extended suffix; v.g. *ag-n-i* > *agni* > *aggi*. But the most common extension in the language is obtained with the thematic vowel *-a* which is in its guṇa grade. The simple suffix *n:an:ān* may be extended with the suffix *-a*: *n-a:an-a:ān*: *a* i.e. *na:ana:āna*. Similarly the compound suffix *in:yan:yān* may be extended with the suffix *-a*: *in-a:yan-a:yān-a* i.e. *ina:yana:yāna*.
- d). Though originally the suffixes had no special meaning of their own, yet some of them gradually acquired a special meaning. Thus the suffix *-ka* / *-aka* is used to convey the idea of smallness or of contempt: *puttaka* 'little child', *gāmaka* 'little village', *samaṇaka* 'a sorry specimen of a recluse'.
- e). Just as the suffix, so also the root may appear in its zero, guṇa or even vṛddhi grade: *kṣip-a* > *khipa* 'throw' is in the zero grade; while *khep-ana* > *khepana* 'throwing' is its guṇa grade; *mṛ-*: *mar-aṇa* : *mār-a* in the guṇa and vṛddhi grade.

When a root ends in *-c* / *-j*, some of the derivatives retain the palatal consonants while others change them to their corresponding guttural consonants: *pac-*: *pacana* / *pāk-a* 'cooking', *bhuj-* : *bhojana* 'food' and *bhoga* 'wealth'.

110. **Root stems.** There are a few root stems in Pali which are very rarely used: *vac-* 'word' used in the instrumental case *vac-ā* > *vacā*; *vāk-* 'speech' in *vāk-karaṇa*; *pad-* 'foot' in *pad-ā*, *pad-am*; *dis-* 'region' in *dis-o*, *dis-am*; *path-* 'road' in *path-i*; *ji-* 'conqueror' in *saṅgāmaji*.

111. **Suffix -a.** The suffix *-a* is used to form both nouns and adjectives, It is added to the root in its weak or guṇa or vṛddhi

grade, and sometimes even to the present stem of a verb. Further it is used to turn a noun into an adjective in a bahubbīhi samāsa and is used also to split a consonant group. Some of these derivatives are used alone and some are used only at the end of compounds.

a). Roots in their weak grade:

<i>kṛṣ-a</i>	>	<i>kisa</i>	lean	
<i>kṣip-a</i>	>	<i>khīpa</i>	throw	
<i>chid-a</i>	>	<i>chida</i>	destroying	<i>manacchida</i> destroying pride
<i>viś-a</i>	>	<i>visa</i>	entering	<i>nibbisa</i> wages
<i>d-a</i>	>	<i>da</i>	giving	<i>sukhada</i> giving happiness
<i>g-a</i>	>	<i>ga</i>	going	<i>uraga</i> snake
<i>sth-a</i>	>	<i>ṭha</i>	standing	<i>pabbataṭṭha</i> standing on the mountain
<i>p-a</i>	>	<i>pa</i>	drinking	<i>padapa</i> tree (drinking at the foot)
<i>ḍṛś-a</i>	>	<i>disa</i>	seeing	<i>duddasa</i> difficult to see

b). Roots in their guna grade:

<i>ji-a</i>	>	<i>jay-a</i>	>	<i>jaya</i>	victory
<i>i-a</i>	>	<i>ay-a</i>	>	<i>aya</i>	going <i>udaya</i> going up
<i>ci-a</i>	>	<i>cay-a</i>	>	<i>caya</i>	heap
<i>krī-a</i>	>	<i>kray-a</i>	>	<i>kaya</i>	purchase
<i>kṣip-a</i>	>	<i>kṣep-a</i>	>	<i>khepa</i>	throwing
<i>vid-a</i>	>	<i>ved-a</i>	>	<i>veda</i>	feeling
<i>yudh-a</i>	>	<i>yodh-a</i>	>	<i>yodha</i>	soldier
<i>krudh-a</i>	>	<i>krodh-a</i>	>	<i>krodha</i>	anger
<i>muh-a</i>	>	<i>moh-a</i>	>	<i>moha</i>	foolishness
<i>muh-a</i>	>	<i>mogh-a</i>	>	<i>mogha</i>	foolish
<i>du-a</i>	>	<i>dav-a</i>	>	<i>dava</i>	fire

<i>dru-a</i>	>	<i>drav-a</i>	>	<i>dava</i>	running
<i>budh-a</i>	>	<i>bodh-a</i>	>	<i>bodha</i>	understanding
				<i>duranubodha</i>	difficult to understand
<i>kṛ-a</i>	>	<i>kar-a</i>	>	<i>kara</i>	doing
				<i>sukara</i>	easy to do
<i>ḍṛp-a</i>	>	<i>dar-p-a</i>	>	<i>dappa</i>	arrogance
<i>grah-a</i>	>	<i>grah-a</i>	>	<i>gaha</i>	taking
<i>argh-a</i>	>	<i>argh-a</i>	>	<i>aggha</i>	value
<i>añc-a</i>	>	<i>añk-a</i>	>	<i>añka</i>	hook
<i>gam-a</i>	>	<i>gam-a</i>	>	<i>gama</i>	going
				<i>durangama</i>	going far

c). Roots in their vrddhi grade:

<i>i-a</i>	>	<i>āy-a</i>	>	<i>āya</i>	going	<i>ni-āya</i> > <i>nyāya</i> > <i>ññāya</i> > <i>ñāya</i> method
<i>ṭṛ-a</i>	>	<i>tār-a</i>	>	<i>tāra</i>	crossing	<i>avatāra</i> coming down
<i>hṛ-a</i>	>	<i>hār-a</i>	>	<i>hāra</i>	holding	<i>vihāra</i> monastery
<i>tras-a</i>	>	<i>trās-a</i>	>	<i>trāsa</i>	fear	<i>uttāsa</i> fear
<i>vad-a</i>	>	<i>vād-a</i>	>	<i>vāda</i>	speech	
<i>vas-a</i>	>	<i>vās-a</i>	>	<i>vāsa</i>	dwelling	
<i>raj-a</i>	>	<i>rāg-a</i>	>	<i>rāga</i>	passion	
<i>tyaj-a</i>	>	<i>tyāg-a</i>	>	<i>cāga</i>	liberality	
<i>pad-a</i>	>	<i>pād-a</i>	>	<i>pāda</i>	going	<i>uppāda</i> arising
<i>ram-a</i>	>	<i>rām-a</i>	>	<i>rāma</i>	delighting	
				<i>ārāma</i>	place of delights	

d). Stem of the present tense:

<i>dad-a</i>	<i>dada</i>	giving	<i>duddada</i>	difficult to give
<i>jah-a</i>	<i>jaha</i>	abandoning	<i>sabbañjaha</i>	giving up all
<i>muñc-a</i>	<i>muñca</i>	releasing	<i>duppamuñca</i>	difficult to release

- e). Bahubbīhi samasa: *anguli* 'finger' but *dvaṅgula* 'a breadth of two fingers'. *akkhi* 'eye' but *apparajakkha* 'one who has little dust in his eyes'.
- f). Insertion of -a: *garh-a* > *garaha* 'blame', *arh-a* > *araha* 'worthy of'.

N.B. In a few cases the suffix -a is alternative to -as in *ap-a* 'austerity'.

112. The suffix -ā. The suffix -ā is used to form

- a). abstract nouns
- b). the feminine of all the adjective in -a
- c). some adverbs.
- a). **Abstract nouns.** In forming abstract nouns the suffix -ā is added to the root which appears with a vowel long either by nature or by position, or with a vowel either in the guna or in the vṛddhi grade.

<i>krīḍ-ā</i>	>	<i>kīlā</i>	play
<i>nind-ā</i>	>	<i>nindā</i>	blame
<i>hims-ā</i>	>	<i>himsā</i>	harm
<i>ulk-ā</i>	>	<i>ukkā</i>	torch
<i>saṅk-ā</i>	>	<i>saṅkā</i>	doubt
<i>sev-ā</i>	>	<i>sevā</i>	service
<i>day-ā</i>	>	<i>dayā</i>	pity
<i>jar-ā</i>	>	<i>jarā</i>	old age
<i>dos-ā</i>	>	<i>dosā</i>	evening
<i>kham-ā</i>	>	<i>khamā</i>	patience
<i>kṣam-ā</i>	>	<i>chamā</i>	earth
<i>ās-ā</i>	>	<i>āsā</i>	wish
<i>chāy-ā</i>	>	<i>chāyā</i>	shadow

<i>bhās-ā</i>	>	<i>bhāsā</i>	speech
<i>sākh-ā</i>	>	<i>sākhā</i>	branch

N.B. In *parisā* the final vowel -a stands for -ad: *pariṣad* > *parisā* 'assembly'.

b). Feminine of adjectives.

<i>manāpa</i>	>	<i>manāpā</i>	beloved
<i>gata</i>	>	<i>gatā</i>	gone
<i>gacchamāna</i>	>	<i>gacchamānā</i>	going

c). Adverbs.

<i>pur-ā</i>	>	<i>purā</i>	formerly
<i>sad-ā</i>	>	<i>sadā</i>	always
<i>mṛṣ-ā</i>	>	<i>musā</i>	falsely

113. The suffix -i. The suffix -i

- a). may be added to a root in its weak or guna or even vṛddhi grade to form masculine, feminine and neuter nouns
- b). may be used as a connecting vowel
- c). may be extended with the thematic vowel
- d) may be compounded with other suffixes.

a). The suffix -i added to a root:

<i>suc-i</i>	>	<i>suci</i>	shining
<i>ruc-i</i>	>	<i>ruci</i>	light
<i>ṛṣ-i</i>	>	<i>isi</i>	seer
<i>kṛṣ-i</i>	>	<i>kasi</i>	ploughing
<i>mun-i</i>	>	<i>muni</i>	sage
<i>agn-i</i>	>	<i>aggi</i>	fire
<i>as-i</i>	>	<i>asi</i>	sword
<i>ah-i</i>	>	<i>ahi</i>	snake

<i>akṣ-i</i>	>	<i>akkhi</i>	eye
<i>asth-i</i>	>	<i>aṭṭhi</i>	bone
<i>vār-i</i>	>	<i>vāri</i>	water
<i>nābh-i</i>	>	<i>nābhi</i>	navel
<i>rāj-i</i>	>	<i>rāji</i>	line
<i>vāś-i</i>	>	<i>vāsi</i>	sharp knife

b). The suffix *-i* as connecting vowel:

<i>sth-i-ta</i>	>	<i>ṭhita</i>	standing
<i>gacch-i-ta</i>	>	<i>gacchita</i>	gone
<i>sūr-ya</i>	>	<i>suriya</i>	sun
<i>pāp-ya</i>	>	<i>pāpiyo</i>	more sinful

c). The suffix *-i* extended with the thematic vowel *-a*, i.e. *i-a* > *ya*, *i-ā* > *yā*:

<i>div-i-a</i>	>	<i>divya</i>	>	<i>dibba</i>	divine
<i>sat-i-a</i>	>	<i>satya</i>	>	<i>sacca</i>	truth
<i>ādī-i-a</i>	>	<i>āditya</i>	>	<i>ādicca</i>	sun
<i>vid-i-a</i>	>	<i>vidya</i>	>	<i>vijja</i>	knowledge
<i>kan-i-ā</i>	>	<i>kanyā</i>	>	<i>kaññā</i>	maiden
<i>mā-i-ā</i>	>	<i>māyā</i>	magic	power	
<i>jā-i-ā</i>	>	<i>jāyā</i>	wife		

The suffix *-ya* has been used to form the future participle passive. It is usually, though not always, added to the root in its guṇa grade:

<i>bhid-ya</i>	>	<i>bhed-ya</i>	>	<i>bhejja</i>	to be broken
<i>bhuj-ya</i>	>	<i>bhoj-ya</i>	>	<i>bhojja</i>	to be eaten
<i>bhū-ya</i>	>	<i>bhav-ya</i>	>	<i>bhabba</i>	to be capable of

<i>han-ya</i>	>	<i>hañña</i>	to be killed		
<i>guh-ya</i>	>	<i>guhya</i>	>	<i>guyha</i>	to be hidden

The suffix *-ya* has been very frequently used to form secondary neuter nouns from adjectives. These adjectives take the vṛddhi of the first syllable unless the vowel is long by position:

<i>nipuṇ-ya</i>	>	<i>nepuṇ-ya</i>	>	<i>nepuñña</i>	skill
<i>kusal-ya</i>	>	<i>kosal-ya</i>	>	<i>kosalla</i>	proficiency
<i>paṇḍit-ya</i>	>	<i>paṇḍicca</i>	erudition		
<i>anant-ya</i>	>	<i>anañcya</i>	>	<i>anañca</i>	infinity
<i>dussil-ya</i>	>	<i>dussīlya</i>	weakedness		

The suffix *-ya* is also used to form adjectives from adverbs and adverbial particles:

<i>tatha</i>	>	<i>tath-ya</i>	>	<i>taccha</i>	true
<i>akiñcana</i>	>	<i>akiñcan-ya</i>	>	<i>akiñcañña</i>	nothingness

d). The suffix *-i* can be compounded with other suffixes:

<i>i-r</i>	>	<i>bah-i-r</i>	>	<i>bahi</i>	outside	
<i>i-ra</i>	>	<i>ruc-i-ra</i>	>	<i>rucira</i>	bright	
		>	<i>rudh-i-ra</i>	>	<i>rudhira</i>	red
		>	<i>badh-i-ra</i>	>	<i>badhira</i>	deaf
		>	<i>sth-i-ra</i>	>	<i>thira</i>	firm
<i>i-n</i>	>	<i>gām-i-n</i>	>	<i>gāmin</i>	going	
		>	<i>cār-i-n</i>	>	<i>cārin</i>	moving
		>	<i>hast-i-n</i>	>	<i>hatthin</i>	elephant
<i>i-na</i>	>	<i>dakṣ-i-na</i>	>	<i>dakkhina</i>	south	
<i>i-nā</i>	>	<i>dakṣ-i-na</i>	>	<i>dakkhinā</i>	gift	

N.B. instead of *-ira* sometimes we find *-ila*: *sithila* 'loose', *salila* 'water'.

i-sa > *mah-i-sa* *mahisa* buffalo

In *pur-i-sa* the suffix *-isa* corresponds to the Sanskrit *-uṣa*.

In *kar-i-sa* the vowel *-i* has been lengthened: *karīsa* "dung".

<i>i-as</i> > <i>yas:</i>	<i>bhu-i-as</i> > <i>bhuyas</i> > <i>bhuyo, bhuyyo</i>	
		/ <i>bhiyyo</i> more
	<i>pāp-i-as</i> > <i>pāpyas</i> > <i>pāpiyo</i>	more sinful
<i>i-ṣ-ṭha:</i>	<i>pāp-i-ṣ-ṭha</i> > <i>pāpiṭṭha</i>	most sinful
	<i>kan-i-ṣ-ṭha</i> > <i>kaniṭṭha</i>	youngest
<i>i-ta:</i>	<i>roh-i-ta</i> > <i>rohita</i> / <i>lohita</i>	red
	<i>har-i-ta</i> > <i>harita</i>	green
<i>i-tā:</i>	<i>sar-i-tā</i> > <i>sarītā</i>	river
<i>i-ma</i>	<i>pur-i-ma</i> > <i>purima</i>	former
	<i>ant-i-ma</i> > <i>antima</i>	last

114. The suffix *-ī*. The suffix *-ī* is added to form

- nouns
- the feminine of nouns whose stem ends in *-a*
- the feminine of adjectives with stems in consonant
- the feminine of ordinal numerals from four upwards
- some adverbs from thematic stems

a) The suffix *-ī* used to form nouns:

nad-ī > *nadī* river *tāḍ-ī* > *tālī* blow

ḍṛ-ī > *darī* hole *nand-ī* > *nandī* joy

b). The suffix *-ī* used to form the feminine of thematic stems:

dāsa > *dāsī* maid servant *deva* > *devī* goddess

cora > *corī* female thief

c). The suffix *-ī* used to form the feminine of nouns and adjectives with the stem in consonant:

hatthin > *hatthinī* female elephant

rājan > *rājini* queen

sīlavant > *sīlavatī* virtuous

carant > *carantī* moving about

d). The suffix *-ī* used to form the feminine of ordinals:

catuttha > *catutthī* fourth

pañcama > *pañcamī* fifth

ekādasama > *ekādasamī* eleventh

ekādasa > *ekādasi* eleventh

e). The suffix *-ī* used to form adverbs from thematic stem:

bala > *balī* : *dubbaliḅaraṇa* weakening

missa > *missī* : *missibhūta* become mixed up

kaddama > *ḅaddamī* : *kaddamikataṃ* turned into mud

sīta > *sītī* : *sītībhūto* become tranquil

115. The suffix *-u*. The suffix *-u*

- is used to form nouns and adjectives
- is used to split up a consonant group
- is extended with other suffixes
- is compounded with other suffixes

a). The suffix *-u* used to form nouns and adjectives:

madh-u > *madhu* honey *āy-u* > *āyu* life

vas-u > *vasu* wealth *jān-u* > *jānu* knee

han-u > *hanu* jaw *dār-u* > *dāru* wood

mud-u > *modu* soft *sādh-u* > *sādhū* good

b). The suffix *-u* used to split a consonant group:

<i>padma</i>	>	<i>paduma</i>	lotus
<i>brahmnā</i>	>	<i>brahmunā</i>	with Brahma

c). Suffix *-u* extended with suffixes *-a*, *-ā*, *-i*

u-ā > *vā*, *u-a* > *va*, *u-i* > *vi*.

<i>as-u-a</i>	>	<i>asva</i>	>	<i>assa</i>	horse
<i>pac-u-a</i>	>	<i>pakva</i>	>	<i>pakka</i>	ripe
<i>pūr-u-a</i>	>	<i>pūrva</i>	>	<i>pubba</i>	former
<i>ūrdh-u-a</i>	>	<i>ūrdhva</i>	>	<i>uddha</i>	above

There are some words in which the suffix *-u* is found in its guna grade and the vowel of the first syllable is lengthened, unless it is already long:

<i>arṇ-u-a</i>	>	<i>arṇ-o-a</i>	>	<i>arṇava</i>	>	<i>aṇṇava</i>	sea
<i>man-u-a</i>	>	<i>mān-o-a</i>	>	<i>mānava</i>	youth		
<i>jih-u-ā</i>	>	<i>jihvā</i>	>	<i>jivhā</i>	tongue		
<i>gri-u-ā</i>	>	<i>grīvā</i>	>	<i>gīvā</i>	neck		
<i>dār-u-ī</i>	>	<i>dārvī</i>	>	<i>dabbī</i>	ladle		

d). Suffix *-u* compounded with other suffixes.

u-r > *ur*: this suffix is found with the extension *-ta* in

<i>muh-ur-ta</i>	>	<i>muhutta</i>	moment		
<i>u-r-a</i>	>	<i>ura</i> :			
		<i>bhid-ura</i>	>	<i>bhidura</i>	fragile
		<i>vid-ura</i>	>	<i>vidura</i>	wise
		<i>bhās-ura</i>	>	<i>bhāsura</i>	shining
		<i>añc-ura</i>	>	<i>añkura</i>	bud
<i>u-ar-a</i>	>	<i>vara</i> :			
		<i>is-vara</i>	>	<i>issara</i>	lord
		<i>sthā-vara</i>	>	<i>thāvara</i>	stable

N.B. *-ar* is the suffix *-r* in its guna grade.

u-n > *un* extended with the suffix *-ta*

		<i>sak-un-ta</i>	>	<i>sakuṇta</i>	bird
<i>u-na</i>	>	<i>una</i> :			
		<i>sak-una</i>	>	<i>sakuna</i>	bird
		<i>ar-una</i>	>	<i>aruṇa</i>	red
		<i>dār-una</i>	>	<i>dāruṇa</i>	strong
		<i>piś-una</i>	>	<i>pisuna</i>	slandorous
<i>u-nā</i>	>	<i>unā</i> :			
		<i>kar-unā</i>	>	<i>karuṇā</i>	pity
<i>u-an</i>	>	<i>van</i> :			
		<i>yu-van</i>	>	<i>yuvan</i>	young
		<i>adh-van</i>	>	<i>addhan</i>	time
<i>u-an-t</i>	>	<i>vant</i> :	usually added to the stem		
		<i>guṇa-vant</i>	>	<i>guṇavaṇ</i>	virtuous
		<i>sīla-vant</i>	>	<i>sīlavaṇ</i>	virtuous
<i>u-an-t-a</i>	>	<i>vanta</i> :			
		<i>guṇa-vanta</i>	>	<i>guṇavanta</i>	virtuous
		<i>sīla-vanta</i>	>	<i>sīlavanta</i>	virtuous
<i>u-in</i>	>	<i>vin</i> :			
		<i>tejas-vin</i>	>	<i>tejassin</i>	shining
		<i>tapas-vin</i>	>	<i>tapassin</i>	austere
<i>u-s-a</i>	>	<i>uṣa</i> :			
		<i>phar-uṣa</i>	>	<i>pharusa</i>	harsh
		<i>mān-uṣa</i>	>	<i>mānusa</i>	human

116. The suffix *-ū*. The suffix *-ū* is used to form agent nouns from a verbal root and to form some feminine stems:

<i>gā</i>	>	<i>gū</i>	<i>pāra-gū</i>	gone to the other shore
<i>jñā</i>	>	<i>ñū</i>	<i>kāla-ññū</i>	knowing the right time
<i>bhū</i>	>	<i>bhū</i>	<i>abhi-bhū</i>	conqueror
			<i>vadhū</i>	daughter-in-law

117. Suffix *r:ar:ār*. This suffix is used alone in a few cases, but in many others it is used with the extension of a vowel.

ar:	adh-ar	> adho	below
r-a:	ag-ra	> agga	point
	vak-ra	> vakka	crooked
	abh-ra	> abbha	cloud
	kṣip-ra	> khippa	swift
	kṣi-ra	> khira	milk
	śvabh-ra	> sobbha	hole
	aś-ra	> assa, aṃsa	point
r-ā:	su-rā	> surā	intoxicating drink
	dhā-rā	> dhārā	cutting edge
r-i:	bhū-ri	> bhūri	earth
	aś-ri	> assi, aṃsi	edge
r-u:	bhī-ru	> bhīru	fearful
	aś-ru	> assu	tear
ar-a:	ud-ara	> udara	belly
	tas-ara	> tasara	shuttle
	pañj-ara	> pañjara	cage
	van-ara	> vanara	monkey
ar-i:	up-ari	> upari	above
ār-a:	marj-āra	> majjāra	cat

118. The suffix *n:an:ān*. The suffix *n:an:ān* is usually used as extended with a vowel or a consonant.

an	murdh-an	> muddhan	head
	rāj-an	> rājan	king
n-a	yaj-na	> yañña	sacrifice
	uṣ-na	> uṣha	heat

	kar-na	> kaṇṇa	ear
	glā-na	> gilāna	ill
	jñā-na	> ñāna	wisdom
	sthā-na	> thāna	place
n-ā	se-nā	> senā	army
	sthū-nā	> thūnā	pillar
n-i	yu-ni	> yoni	womb
	śre-ni	> seṇi	guild
	ag-ni	> aggi	fire
n-u	dhe-nu	> dhenu	cow
an-a	kṣip-ana	> khipana	throwing
	kṛp-ana	> kapaṇa	poor
	dh-ana	> dhana	wealth
	kar-ana	> karaṇa	doing
	tar-ana	> taraṇa	crossing
	kodh-ana	> khodana	angry
	bhāj-ana	> bhājana	bowl
	kār-ana	> kāraṇa	deed
	vāh-ana	> vāhana	carrying
ān-a	pur-āna	> purāṇa	ancient
	es-āna	> esāna	seeking
an-a	kuh-anā	> kuhanā	deceit
	guh-anā	> guhanā	hiding
	kṣip-anā	> khipanā	throwing up
	cet-anā	> cetanā	thought
	cod-anā	> codanā	scolding

	<i>dhār-anā</i>	> <i>dhāraṇā</i>	wearing
<i>an-i</i>	<i>vart-ani</i>	> <i>vaṭṭani</i>	burning
	<i>aś-ani</i>	> <i>asani</i>	thunderbolt
<i>an-ī</i>	<i>ghar-ani</i>	> <i>gharaṇī</i>	house-wife
<i>an-t</i>	<i>vas-ant</i>	> <i>vasant</i> > <i>vasaṃ</i>	dwelling
	<i>car-ant</i>	> <i>carant</i> > <i>caraṃ</i>	moving
	<i>mah-ant</i>	> <i>mahant</i> > <i>mahā</i>	great
<i>an-ta</i>	<i>vas-anta</i>	> <i>vasanta</i>	dwelling
	<i>mah-anta</i>	> <i>mahanta</i>	great
	<i>hem-anta</i>	> <i>hemanta</i>	winter

119. The suffix *s:as:ās*. The suffix *s:as:ās* is used alone or in combination with other suffixes to form nouns and adjectives.

<i>s-a:</i>	<i>vat-sa</i>	> <i>vaccha</i>	calf
	<i>yak-sa</i>	> <i>yakkha</i>	non-human being
	<i>ṛk-sa</i>	> <i>accha</i>	bear
	<i>dak-sa</i>	> <i>dakkha</i>	skilled
<i>s-ara:</i>	<i>dhū-sara</i>	> <i>dhūsara</i>	dust-coloured
	<i>mat-sara</i>	> <i>macchara</i>	envious
	<i>saṃvat-sara</i>	> <i>saṃvacchara</i>	year
<i>s-ra:</i>	<i>ti-sras</i>	> <i>tisso</i>	three
<i>s-na</i>	<i>kṛ-sna</i>	> <i>kaṇha</i>	black
	<i>slak-sna</i>	> <i>sanha</i>	smooth
	<i>tik-sna</i>	> <i>tikkha / tikhīṇa</i>	sharp
<i>s-nā:</i>	<i>ṭṛ-snā</i>	> <i>taṇhā</i>	craving
<i>as-a:</i>	<i>mān-asa</i>	> <i>mānasa</i>	mental
	<i>āy-asa</i>	> <i>āyasa</i>	made of iron

120. The suffix *t:at:āt*. The suffix *t:at:āt* is used alone and in combination with other suffixes to form a variety of nouns and adjectives.

t-a: the suffix *-ta* is used to form the past participle by adding it to the root of a verb or to the stem of the present. Sometimes the suffix *-ta* is added with the connecting vowel *-i*.

<i>śru-ta</i>	> <i>suta</i>	heard	<i>kṛ-ta</i>	> <i>kata</i>	done
<i>labh-ta</i>	> <i>laddha</i>	obtained	<i>dṛs-ta</i>	> <i>diṭṭha</i>	seen
<i>dah-ta</i>	> <i>daḍḍha</i>	burnt	<i>muh-ta</i>	> <i>mūḷha</i>	infatuated
<i>sth-i-ta</i>	> <i>ṭhita</i>	standing	<i>gacch-i-ta</i>	> <i>gacchita</i>	gone

The suffix *-ta* is used also to form a few nouns:

<i>gī-ta</i>	> <i>gīta</i>	song	<i>ghṛ-ta</i>	> <i>ghata</i>	butter
<i>sū-ta</i>	> <i>sūta</i>	charioteer	<i>dū-ta</i>	> <i>dūta</i>	messenger

t-ā: the suffix *-tā* is used to form abstract nouns

<i>deva-tā</i>	> <i>devatā</i>	deity
<i>lahu-tā</i>	> <i>lahutā</i>	quickness
<i>thira-tā</i>	> <i>thiratā</i>	firmness
<i>issariya-tā</i>	> <i>issariyatā</i>	lordship
<i>kāruṇṇa-tā</i>	> <i>kāruṇṇatā</i>	compassionateness

This suffix is added even to the future participle passive and to some *saṃāsa*:

<i>bhabba-tā</i>	> <i>bhabbatā</i>	possibility
<i>kataṇṇu-tā</i>	> <i>kataṇṇutā</i>	gratitude
<i>karaṇīya-tā</i>	> <i>karaṇīyatā</i>	obligation
<i>appiccha-tā</i>	> <i>appicchatā</i>	satisfaction
<i>anāgāmi-tā</i>	> <i>anāgāmitā</i>	the fact of not coming back

<i>t-ar:</i>	<i>pi-tar</i> > <i>pitar</i> > <i>pītā</i>	father
	<i>mā-tar</i> > <i>mātar</i> > <i>mātā</i>	mother
	<i>ne-tar</i> > <i>netar</i> > <i>netā</i>	leader

t-ara: this suffix is used to form comparatives:

<i>ud-tara</i> > <i>uttara</i>	above	<i>ka-tara</i> > <i>katara</i>	which
<i>piya-tara</i> > <i>piyatara</i>	dearer	<i>dura-tara</i> > <i>duratara</i>	farther

t-ama: this suffix is used to form the superlative of the adjectives and of the ordinal numerals:

<i>piya-tama</i> > <i>piyatama</i>	dearest
<i>dūra-tama</i> > <i>dūratama</i>	farthest
<i>saṭṭhi-tama</i> > <i>saṭṭhitama</i>	sixtieth
<i>sata-tama</i> > <i>satatama</i>	hundredth
<i>t-ana:</i>	
<i>ve-tana</i> > <i>vetana</i>	wages
<i>nu-tana</i> > <i>nutana</i>	of the present
<i>ajja-tana</i> > <i>ajjatana</i>	of today
<i>sanā-tana</i> > <i>sanantana</i>	eternal

t-as: *sro-tas* > *sotas* > *soto* current

<i>t-i:</i>	<i>ci-ti</i> > <i>citi</i> heap	<i>cyu-tj</i> > <i>cuti</i> passing away
	<i>dhṛ-ti</i> > <i>dhiti</i> energy	<i>prāp-ti</i> > <i>patti</i> foot soldier
	<i>śām-ti</i> > <i>santi</i> peace	<i>stu-ti</i> > <i>thuti</i> praise
	<i>jñā-ti</i> > <i>ñāti</i> relative	

t-ima: this suffix is used to form ordinal numerals

<i>visa-tima</i> > <i>visatima</i>	twentieth
<i>timsa-tima</i> > <i>timsatima</i>	thirtieth

<i>t-u:</i>	<i>dhā-tu</i> > <i>dhātu</i> element	<i>ṛ-tu</i> > <i>utu</i> season
	<i>tan-tu</i> > <i>tantu</i> string	<i>vas-tu</i> > <i>vatthu</i> object

t-u-m: *dā-tum* > *dātum* to give *ne-tum* > *netum* to lead
This suffix is used to form the infinitive of the verbs.

t-u-a > *tva* > *tta:* this suffix is added to nouns, adjectives and participles to form abstract nouns:

<i>manussa-tta</i> > <i>manussatta</i>	the fact of being a man
<i>eka-tta</i> > <i>ekatta</i>	oneness
<i>sāvaka-tta</i> > <i>sāvakatta</i>	discipleship
<i>kata-tta</i> > <i>katatta</i>	the fact of having done

t-u-ā > *tvā*, *t-u-ā-na* > *tvāna*, *t-ū-na* > *tūna:* these suffixes are used to form the past gerund of the verbs:

<i>gam-tvā</i> > <i>gantvā</i> , <i>gantvāna</i> , <i>gantūna</i>	having gone
<i>kr-tvā</i> > <i>katvā</i> , <i>katvāna</i> , <i>katūna</i>	having done

-tuye, *-tave* are used to form some infinitives:

<i>śru-tave</i> > <i>sotave</i>	to hear
<i>bhū-tuye</i> > <i>bhavituye</i> > <i>hetuye</i>	to be

<i>t-ra</i> > <i>tta:</i>	<i>mi-tra</i> > <i>mitta</i> friend	<i>pu-tra</i> > <i>putta</i> son
	<i>vas-tra</i> > <i>vattha</i> garment	<i>rāṣ-tra</i> > <i>raṭṭha</i> kingdom

t-rā > *ttā:* *mā-trā* > *mattā* measure

t-ri > *ti:* *rā-tri* > *ratti* night
tan-tri > *tanti* string

t-h-a: *dama-tha* > *damatha* control

yu-tha > *yutha* flock

tīr-tha > *tittha* ford

ra-tha > *ratha* chariot

t-h-ā: *gā-thā* > *gāthā* song

at-a: *rāj-ata* > *rājata* silver

121. The suffix *m:am:ām*.

<i>m-a:</i>	<i>bhī-ma</i>	>	<i>bhīma</i>	fearful
	<i>dhū-ma</i>	>	<i>dhūma</i>	smoke
	<i>dhar-ma</i>	>	<i>dhamma</i>	doctrine
	<i>grīṣ-ma</i>	>	<i>gimha</i>	hot
<i>m-an:</i>	<i>at-man</i>	>	<i>attan</i>	self
	<i>brah-man</i>	>	<i>brahman</i>	brahma
<i>m-ant:</i>	<i>bandhu-man</i>	>	<i>bhandumā</i>	one who has many relatives
	<i>cakkhu-man</i>	>	<i>cakkhumā</i>	one who has eyes
	<i>hiri-mant</i>	>	<i>hirimā</i>	modest
<i>m-ānta:</i>	<i>cakkhu-manta</i>	>	<i>cakkhumanta</i>	one who has eyes
<i>m-āna:</i>	suffix added to the stem of the present of the verbs to form present participles:			
	<i>tara-māna</i>	>	<i>taramāna</i>	crossing
	<i>gaccha-manā</i>	>	<i>gacchamāna</i>	going
<i>m-āra:</i>	<i>kar-māra</i>	>	<i>kammāra</i>	smith
<i>m-i:</i>	<i>bhū-mī</i>	>	<i>bhūmi</i>	earth
	<i>ras-mī</i>	>	<i>raṃsi</i>	ray
<i>am-a:</i>	<i>das-ama</i>	>	<i>dasama</i>	tenth
	<i>adh-ama</i>	>	<i>adhama</i>	lowest
	<i>par-ama</i>	>	<i>parama</i>	highest

122. The suffix *k:ak*. This suffix, usually extended with the thematic vowel *-a:* *-ka:-aka* is a very common suffix in Pali and is used to form a variety of words. Sometimes we find *-ika* instead of *-ka*.

k-a added to a root:

<i>śuṣ-ka</i>	>	<i>sukkha</i>	dry	<i>ślo-ka</i>	>	<i>siloka</i>	fame
---------------	---	---------------	-----	---------------	---	---------------	------

k-a added to a variety of verbal forms:

<i>uṭṭhaya</i>	>	<i>uṭṭhāyaka</i>	quick
<i>gayha</i>	>	<i>gayhaka</i>	one who is to be taken
<i>gilāna</i>	>	<i>gilānaka</i>	sick
<i>jāta</i>	>	<i>jātaka</i>	birth
<i>vutta</i>	>	<i>vuttaka</i>	saying (Itivuttaka).
<i>kattabba</i>	>	<i>kattabbaka</i>	duty

-aka added to a verbal root to form agent nouns:

<i>kār-aka</i>	>	<i>kāraka</i>	doer	<i>cār-aka</i>	>	<i>cāraka</i>	wanderer
<i>sāv-aka</i>	>	<i>sāvaka</i>	listener				

-aka added to action nouns to form agent nouns:

<i>uṭṭhān-aka</i>	>	<i>uṭṭhānaka</i>	giving rise
<i>kilāpan-aka</i>	>	<i>kilāpanaka</i>	toy
<i>āharan-aka</i>	>	<i>āharanaka</i>	messenger

-aka added to nouns without changing their meaning:

<i>ud-aka</i>	>	<i>udaka</i>	water
<i>ācarariy-aka</i>	>	<i>ācaraiyaka</i>	teacher
<i>then-aka</i>	>	<i>thenaka</i>	thief
<i>chatt-aka</i>	>	<i>chattaka</i>	sunshade

-aka added to nouns to give them a diminutive meaning:

<i>gām-aka</i>	>	<i>gāmaka</i>	a little village
<i>putt-aka</i>	>	<i>puttaka</i>	a little child
<i>kumār-aka</i>	>	<i>kumāraka</i>	a little prince
<i>gāth-aka</i>	>	<i>gāthaka</i>	a little poem

-aka added to nouns to indicate contempt:

<i>samaṇ-aka</i>	>	<i>samaṇaka</i>	a sorry specimen of a recluse
<i>muṇḍ-aka</i>	>	<i>muṇḍaka</i>	a shaveling

-ka / -aka added to adjectives without changing their meaning:

<i>khudd-aka</i>	>	<i>khuddaka</i>	little
<i>jetṭh-aka</i>	>	<i>jetṭhaka</i>	eldest
<i>uju-ka</i>	>	<i>ujuka</i>	straight
<i>kāl-aka</i>	>	<i>kāḷaka</i>	black

-ka / -aka added to adverbs and pronouns to make adjectives:

<i>adhi-ka</i>	>	<i>adhika</i>	exceeding
<i>anti-ka</i>	>	<i>antika</i>	near
<i>tatta-ka</i>	>	<i>tattaka</i>	so much
<i>māma-ka</i>	>	<i>māmaka</i>	mine

-ika: this suffix is often used especially in the sense of belonging:

<i>kāla</i>	>	<i>kālika</i>	temporary
<i>kāruṇṇa</i>	>	<i>kāruṇṇika</i>	merciful
<i>cetasa</i>	>	<i>cetasika</i>	mental
<i>gāma</i>	>	<i>gāmika</i>	governor of a village

123. Some other suffixes:

-eyya: <i>gāma</i>	>	<i>gāmeyya</i>	belonging to the village
<i>dakkhiṇa</i>	>	<i>dakkhiṇeyya</i>	worthy of gifts
<i>adhipati</i>	>	<i>adhipateyya</i>	lordship
<i>patha</i>	>	<i>patheyya</i>	provisions for the journey

-āyana / -āna:

<i>Kaccāyana</i> / <i>Kaccāna</i>	of the lineage of Kacca
-----------------------------------	-------------------------

CHAPTER IX

NOMINAL COMPOUNDS

A nominal compound or *samāsa* is a group of two or more words joined together in such a way that only the last is declined while the others are in their stem form.

The nominal compounds may be divided into

- dvanda *samāsa*
- tappurisa *samāsa*
- kammadhāraya *samāsa*
- bahubhihi *samāsa*
- governing compounds
- syntactical compounds

124. **The first member of a compound.** The first member of a compound may be a noun, an adjective, a pronoun, a numeral, an adverb, a verbal form. When it is a noun, an adjective, a pronoun, or a numeral, this appears in its stem form: *assa-damako* 'horse-trainer', *bhikkhu-saṅgho* 'the assembly of the monks'. A few points, however, have to be noted:

- a). Some stems in *-a* change the final vowel to *-ī* when compounded with forms of the verb *bhū-* and *kr-*:

<i>kaddama-kata</i>	>	<i>kaddamī-kata</i>	turned into mud
<i>dubbala-karaṇa</i>	>	<i>dubbali-karaṇa</i>	weakening
<i>sīta-bhūta</i>	>	<i>sīti-bhūta</i>	that has become calm
<i>missa-bhūta</i>	>	<i>missī-bhūta</i>	that has become mixed
<i>sammukha-bhāva</i>	>	<i>sammukhī-bhāva</i>	the fact of being present
<i>eka-bhāva</i>	>	<i>ekī-bhāva</i>	the fact of being alone
<i>bahula-kata</i>	>	<i>bahulī-kata</i>	made much of

- b). The masculine stems in *-ū* shorten their final vowel: *viññū-jātika* > *viññu-jātika* 'wise by birth'
- c). The stem *go-* remains unchanged before consonant, but it becomes *gav-* before a vowel: *go-ghātako* 'killer of cows', *go-assaṃ* > *gav-assaṃ* 'cattle and horses'
- d). The feminine stems in *-ā, -ī, -ū* shorten their final vowel in a few cases: *mettā-citto* > *metta-citto* 'with a kindly mind', *dāsī-dāsaṃ* > *dāsi-dāsaṃ* 'a maid and a man servant'.
- e). In composition the adjectives take always the same stem whether they are followed by a masculine or feminine or neuter noun: *piya-putto* 'dear son', *piya-mātā* 'dear mother', *piya-gehaṃ* 'dear house'.
- f). *Ratti* is sometimes changed into *ratta* usually in the sense of time: *ratti-ññū* > *ratta-ññū* 'he who knows the proper time'
- g). Stems in *-ar:* *pitar, mātā,* etc. usually have their stem in *-u:* *pitar-rakkhita* > *pitu-rakkhita* 'protected by the father', *mātā-ghātaka* > *mātu-ghātaka* 'killer of the mother'.

In dvanda samāsa, however, there are the forms *pitā, mātā:* *mātā-pitaro* 'mother and father', *pitā-puttā* 'father and children'

In a few cases there are also the forms *matti* and *petti:* *matti-sambhavo* 'born from a mother'.

- h). There are a few compounds derived directly from Sanskrit in which the first member ends in a consonant: *khud-pipāsa* > *khuppipāsa* 'hunger and thirst', *vāc-karaṇa* > *vākkaraṇa* 'talking'
- i). Stems in *-as* usually change *-as* to *-o.* In many cases, however, the stem has passed to the thematic stem: *āpas-maya* > *āpo-maya* 'made of water', *uras-go* > *ura-go* 'snake'

But *rajas* is not changed in combination, hence *rajas-siro* 'with dust on the head', while *vacas* has sometimes been changed to *vacī:* *vacas-kammaṃ* > *vacī-kammaṃ* 'verbal action'.

- j). There seems to be no fixed rule for the stems in *-ant:* *mahant-muni* > *mahā-muni* 'great sage', *balavant-gavo* > *balava-gavo* 'sturdy oxen', *sant-dhammo* > *sat-dhammo* > *saddhammo* 'true doctrine', *bhagavant-rūpā* > *bhagavanta-rūpā* 'those like the Blessed One', *bhagavant-mūlakā* > *bhagavam-mūlakā* 'those that are based on the Blessed One'.
- k). Stems in *-in, -an* drop the final nasal:
- hatthin:* *hatthi-gavassa-vaḷavaṃ* elephants, oxen, horses, mares
- rājan:* *rāja-rathā* 'royal chariots'.
- l). When pronouns and numerals are first members of a compound, they appear under different forms: *tad-karo* > *takkaro* 'doing that', *tvan-nātho* > *tvannātho* 'he who has you as his master'

For the numeral **two** we find *dvi-, dve-, di-, du, duv-:* *di-jo* 'bird', *dve-māsaṃ* 'two months', etc.

For the numeral **four** we find *catu-, cātu-, catur, culla-, cūḷa:* *catur-itthiyo* 'four women'.

For the numeral **six** we find *cha-, chaḷ-, saḷ-, saḍ:* *chaḷ-abhijātiyo* 'the six classes'.

125. **The second member of a compound.** In general the second member of a compound retains its own stem and follows its own declension, with the exception of the stems in *-an* which are sometimes declined like the stems in *-an* and sometimes like thematic stems: *maccu-rājā* 'the king of death', *miga-rañño* 'of the king of beasts', *mahā-raññā* 'with the great king', *nāga-rājassa* 'of the king of the nagas', *deva-rājena* 'by the king of the gods', *pahitatto* 'energetic', *pahitattaṃ*, *pahitattassa* but also *bhāvitattānaṃ* 'perfect'

126. **Sandhi.** In joining together words to form a samāsa, the usual sandhi rules are observed: *suñña-agāraṃ* > *suññāgāraṃ* 'empty house', *mahā-ogho* > *mahogho* 'great flood', *anu-addhamāsaṃ* > *anvaddhamāsaṃ* 'every fortnight'.

There are many compounds which are either derived directly from Sanskrit or are modelled on the Sanskrit compounds and hence show the application of Sanskrit consonant sandhi. While there is *diṭṭha-suta* 'seen and heard', there is also *bahu-ssuto* 'learned' with the double *-ss-* derived from Sanskrit *śr-*. Similarly *madhura-ssaro* 'sweet sound', *sa-ppañño* 'wise', *jāti-kkhaṃ* 'destruction of birth', *vehāsa-tṭhito* 'standing in the sky'.

D v a n d a S a m ā s a

127. **Dvanda samāsa.** A dvanda samāsa is made up of two or more words which, used separately, would be joined by the conjunction *ca*. The words *mātā ca pitā ca* can be joined together to form a dvanda samāsa: *mātā-pitāro* 'mother and father'. The words that are joined together may be nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and thus the whole compound may be classified as noun, adjective or adverb. The words that are joined together into a dvanda samāsa may be classified under various headings:

- a). The same word repeated twice: *sorata-sorato* 'very kind', *bhikkhu sama-samā* 'monks of exactly the same number', *punappunaṃ* 'again and again', *uttaruttariṃ* 'higher and higher', *aṅga-m-aṅgāni* 'limb after limb, all the limbs'.

- b). Words repeated twice with a prefix before the second member: *disā-vi-disāsu* 'in the main and in the intermediary directions i.e. in all directions', *aṅga-paṭi-aṅgāni* > *aṅga-paccaṅgāni* 'the major and the minor limbs', *hura-ā-huraṃ* > *hurāhuraṃ* 'from existence to existence'.
- c). Words repeated twice with a prefix before each member: *ud-aya-vi-ayaṃ* > *udayabbayaṃ* 'rise and fall', *ā-caya-apa-cayo* > *ācayāpacayo* 'increase and decrease', *ā-kōṭita-paṭi-a-ākoṭitaṃ* > *ākoṭitapaccākoṭitaṃ* 'flattened and pressed all round'.
- d). Words having the same or very similar meanings: *piti-sukhaṃ* 'joy and happiness', *bala-viriyaṃ* 'strength and energy', *lābha-sakkāra-siloko* 'gain, good treatment and a good name'.
- e). Words having opposite meanings: *udayatthaṃ* 'rise and fall', *cutūpapāto* 'rise and fall', *nindā-pasaṃsā* 'blame and praise', *saggāpāyo* 'heaven and hell', *kaṇha-sukkāni rūpāni* 'objects dark and bright', *ajjhata-bahiddhā* 'internally and externally', *uddaṃ-adho* 'above and below'.
- f). Nouns indicating human and divine beings: *deva-manussā* 'gods and men', *samaṇa-brāhmaṇā* 'recluses and brahmins', *ñāti-mittā* 'kinsmen and friends', *Sariputta-Moggallānā* 'Sariputta and Moggallana'.
- g). Nouns indicating animals: *soṇa-sigālā* 'dogs and jackals', *ahi-vicchikā* 'snakes and scorpions', *accha-koka-taracchayo* 'bears, wolves and hyenas'.
- h). Nouns indicating trees, plants, etc.: *tiṇa-katṭhodakaṃ* 'grass, firewood and water', *sākhā-paḷāsaṃ* 'branches and foliage', *aca-papaṭikā* 'bark and young shoots'.
- i). Nouns indicating parts of the human body: *kaṇṇa-nāsaṃ* 'ears and nose', *kesa-massaṃ* 'hair of the head and of the body', *maṃsa-lohitaṃ* 'flesh and blood', *hattha-pādā* 'hands and feet'.

- j). Nouns indicating food, drink, dress, lodging, etc.: *anna-pānaṃ* 'food and drink', *maccha-mamsaṃ* 'fish and flesh', *civara-bhattaṃ* 'robe and food', *mālā-vilepanaṃ* 'garlands and ointment', *yuga-naṅgalaṃ* 'yoke and plough', *vadha-bandhanaṃ* 'flogging and binding'.
- k). Religious and philosophical words: *nāma-rūpaṃ* 'name and form', *rāga-dosa-mohā* 'lust, hatred and infatuation', *abhijjhā-domanassā* 'covetousness and discontent'.
- l). Most of the numerals are dvanda samāsa: *dvādasa* 'two and ten', *pañcadasa* 'five and ten', *caturāsīti* 'four and eighty'.

128. **Number and gender of a dvanda samāsa.** A dvanda samāsa may be in the singular or in the plural: *asi-cammaṃ* 'sword and shield', *candima-suriyā* 'moon and sun'.

The number of the samāsa does not say anything about the number of each member. *Samaṇa-brāhmaṇā* may mean *samaṇo ca brāhmaṇo ca*, *samaṇā ca brāhmaṇo ca*, *samaṇo ca brāhmaṇā ca*, *samaṇā ca brāhmaṇā ca*. The number of each member must be understood from the context.

- a). In general a dvanda samāsa is in the plural when it is multiplicity and not collectivity that is emphasized: *satta rattin-divāni* 'seven nights and seven days', *hemanta-gimhisu* 'in winter and in summer'.
- b). A dvanda samāsa is in the plural when it indicates human and divine beings: *deva-manussā* 'gods and men', *Aṅga-māgadha* 'Angas and Magadhas'. The only exceptions seem to be *dāsi-dāsaṃ* 'maid servant and man servant' and *putta-bhāriyaṃ* 'son and wife'.
- c). A dvanda samāsa made up of nouns indicating animals is sometimes in the singular and sometimes in the plural: *ajelakaṃ / ajelakā* 'goats and sheep', *kukkuṭa-sūkaraṃ / kukkuṭa-sūkarā* 'cocks and pigs'.

- d). Most of the other dvanda samāsa are in the singular: *mañca-pīthaṃ* 'couches and chairs', *nāma-gottaṃ* 'name and family'.
- e). A dvanda samāsa usually takes the gender of the last member: *pīti-sukhaṃ* 'joy and happiness', *dhamma-vinayo* 'doctrine and discipline', *nara-nāriyo* 'men and women', *nindā-rosa* 'blame and anger', *gama-khettāni* 'villages and fields'.
- f). When the dvanda samāsa is made up of adjectives, the samāsa agrees in gender and number with the noun it qualifies: *bhikkhū sama-samā* 'monks of exactly the same number', *khuddānukhuddakāni sikkhāpadāni* 'the lesser and minor precepts'.
- g). There is no strict rule with regard to the order of the words in a dvanda samāsa. Yet as first member of the samāsa we more easily find the word with the smaller number of syllables, or the word which begins with a vowel and ends in -a, or the masculine and neuter nouns ending in -i / -u: *dhamma-vinayo*, *gihi-pabbajikā*, *andhaka-makasā*. Further when the two words indicate two events that follow each other in time, the order of the words is the natural one: *jāti-jaraṃ*, *jāti-maraṇaṃ*.

K a m m a d h a r a y a S a m ā s a

129. **Kammadhāraya samāsa.** A kammadhāraya samāsa is made up of two members of which the first modifies the second as an attributive adjective or as a modifying noun or as an adverb. The members that make up a kammadhāraya samāsa can be

- a). two nouns
 b). an adjective and a noun
 c). an adverb and a noun
 d). an adverb and an adjective

- e). a noun, an adjective, or an adverb followed by a noun or adjective, the whole samāsa being used adverbially.

From the syntactical point of view, a kammadhāraya samāsa can be

- 1). a noun compound if the second member of the samāsa is a noun or a word used as a noun;
- 2). an adjective compound if the second member of the samāsa is an adjective;
- 3). an adverb compound if the whole compound is used adverbially.

130. Kammadhāraya samāsa made up of two nouns. When a kammadhāraya samāsa is made up of two nouns, then the first member modifies the second either as an apposition or a second term of comparison.

- a). **Apposition:** a noun may modify another noun as an apposition in so far as one restricts the meaning of the other: *sālā-rukkho* 'the sal tree', *viriyindriyam* 'the faculty of energy', *tejo-dhātu* 'the element of heat', *āvuso-vādena* 'with the word - brother'.
- b). **Comparison:** sometimes two nouns are joined together into a compound because the two of them express an implied simile. What is compared is put first in the samāsa while the second term of comparison is placed second: *purisūsabho* 'a bull-like-man i.e. a strong man', *akkhi-tāraka* 'star-like-eyes i.e. shining eyes', *cakka-ratanam* 'a gem-like-wheel i.e. a noble wheel'.
- c). Here must be classified also samāsa like *kusala-saṅkhāta* 'reckoned as meritorious', *brahma-bhūto* 'that has become like a brahma', *seṭṭha-sammato* 'known as the best', *saṅkhalikhitam brahmacariyam* 'celibate life as pure as a shell'.
- d). A numeral noun is also used as an apposition to a noun with which it forms a samāsa: *visati-manussā* 'twenty men'.

131. Kammadhāraya samāsa made up of an adjective and a noun. A kammadhāraya samāsa may be made up of a noun preceded by an attributive adjective. Such an adjective may be

- a). an ordinary adjective: *mahā-puriso* 'great man', *sabba-dānam* 'every gift', *pubba-jāti* 'former birth', *appa-lābho* 'little gain'.
- b). a participle: *jiṇṇa-koṅcā* 'old herons', *nāta-manussā* 'well known people', *paluṭṭha-makkaṭi* 'a burnt monkey', *damma-gavā* 'oxen to be tamed', *bhojja-yagu* 'conjee to be eaten', *anavajja-padāni* 'blameless paths'.
- c). an adjective that denotes distinction or excellence is sometimes placed after the noun it qualifies: *Rāhula-baddho* 'Rahula the lucky one i.e. the lucky Rahula', *ratana-varo* 'noble gem', *muni-pavaro* 'the noble sage', *kamma-seṭṭham* 'the noblest action'.
- d). When it modifies a past participle, the adjective *pubba* is placed after the participle: *assuta-pubbā upamā* 'a simile not heard before', *āvāso anavuttha-pubbo* 'an abode not inhabited before', *dinna-pubbam* 'something given before'.
- e). A kammadhāraya samāsa made up of a numeral adjective and a noun is often called digu samāsa: *catur-itthiyo* 'four women', *pañca-kkhaṇḍhā* 'the five aggregates', *chaḷ-abhijātiyo* 'the six classes'.

132. Kammadhāraya samāsa made up of an adverb and a noun or adjective. In this samāsa the first member is an adverb or an adverbial prefix: *micchā-cāro* 'wrong behaviour', *dvidhā-patho* 'a double road', *sakad-āgāmi* 'coming back once', *a-verena* 'without hatred', *vi-kāle* 'at the wrong time', *antarā-kathā* 'a chance conversation', *dugga* 'difficult to go', *sammā-patipanno* 'behaving rightly'.

Sometimes a kammadhāraya samāsa is used as an adverb: *ubhato-pakkham* 'on both sides', *digha-rattam* 'for a long time', *ati-velam* 'greatly', *theyya-saṅkhātam* 'thievishly', *catugguṇam* 'fourfold'.

Sometimes the idea of fullness or completeness is conveyed with a kammadhāraya samāsa built up with a past participle preceded by an adverb and used adverbially. Both the past participle and the verb of the sentence are derived from the same root: *su-niggahitaṃ niggaṇhāti* 'he overcomes with a complete overcoming i.e. he overcomes completely', *sabba-santhariṃ santharivā* 'having completely spread', *suppabuddham pabujjhanti* 'they are fully enlightened', *suvisodhitaṃ visodheti* 'he cleans fully'.

T a p p u r i s a S a m ā s a

133. **Tappurisa samāsa.** A tappurisa samāsa is made up of two members of which the first depends on the second as a noun or pronoun in any case except the nominative and the vocative. The second member of the samāsa may be a noun or an adjective and thus the whole tappurisa samāsa may be used as a noun or as an adjective. In a few cases the samāsa is used also as an adverb.

134. **The first member of a tappurisa samāsa.**

- a). The first member of a tappurisa samāsa is a noun or pronoun in its stem form which, if used separately, would be in one of the following cases:

Accusative: *loka-vidū* 'he who knows the world', *pāra-gū* 'he who has gone to the other shore', *bhaya-dassino* 'those who see danger.'

Instrumental: *sīla-sampanno* 'endowed with virtue', *patha-gamaṇaṃ* 'going by the proper path', *Buddha-desīto* 'preached by the Buddha'

Ablative: *jāla-mutto* 'freed from the net', *sara-parittānaṃ* 'protection from arrows', *yogakkhemaṃ* 'freedom from bonds'.

Genitive: *bhikkhu-saṅgho* 'the assembly of the monks', *loka-nātho* 'the lord of the world', *dukkha-samudayo* 'the arising of suffering'.

Locative: *antalikkha-carō* 'moving in the sky', *appamāda-rato* 'delighting in diligence', *āsana-kusalo* 'skilled in allotting the seats'.

- b). In some compounds the first member has retained the case ending:

Accusative: *antaṃ-karō* 'who puts an end', *attaṃ-tapo* 'who causes suffering to oneself', *sabbaṃ-jaho* 'who has left everything', *hadayaṃ-gamā* 'touching the heart', *kālaṃ-kato* 'that has accomplished his time', *vasaṃ-gato* 'that has gone into the power of'.

Genitive: *vanas-pati* 'lord of the forest i.e. tree', *gavam-pati* 'lord of the cattle i.e. bull', *disam-pati* 'lord of the regions i.e. king'.

Locative: *pubbe-nivāso* 'former existence', *majjhe-kalyāṇa* 'beautiful in the middle', *manasi-kāro* 'attention', *ante-vāsi* 'pupil', *jagati-padeso* 'a spot in the world', *nabasi-gama* 'moving in the sky'.

135. **The second member of a tappurisa samāsa.** The second member of a tappurisa samāsa may be:

- a). an ordinary noun: *amata-padaṃ* 'way to immortality', *giri-guhā* 'a hill cave', *rukkha-mūlaṃ* 'the root of the tree'
- b). an action noun: *dukkha-nirodho* 'destruction of suffering', *thera-vādo* 'the doctrine of the elders', *adinnādānaṃ* 'stealing', *ceto-vimutti* 'the emancipation of the mind', *anta-kiriya* 'putting an end'.
- c). an agent noun: *go-ghātako* 'killer of cows', *mettā-vihāri* 'abiding in kindness', *cakka-vattī* 'he who wields the wheel', *maccu-hāyī* 'victorious over death', *bhūta-vādī* 'he who speaks the truth', *dhamma-dharo* 'he who knows the doctrine by heart'.

Some of these agent nouns are used only at the end of a tappurisa samāsa:

-ga: *sangātigo* 'gone beyond the fetters', *yathākammūpago* 'going according to one's deeds'.

-ja: *vāri-jo* 'born in water i.e. fish', *yoni-jo* 'born from the womb i.e. noble', *muddha-ja* 'born from the head i.e. hair'.

-da: *āloka-do* 'giver of light', *anna-do* 'giver of food', *bala-do* 'giver of strength'.

-tṭha: *dammaṭṭho* 'grounded on the doctrine', *gahaṭṭhā* 'householders'.

-pa: *majja-po* 'drinker of alcohol', *pāda-po* 'drinker at the foot i.e. tree', *dhenu-po* 'drinker of milk i.e. calf'.

-pa: *go-po* 'protector of the cows i.e. cowherd'

-gū: *addha-gū* 'traveller', *pāra-gū* 'gone to the other shore'

-ññū: *mattaññū* 'knowing discretion', *sabbaññū* 'knowing all'.

vidū: sabba-vidū 'he who knows everything', *loka-vidū* 'knower of the world'.

-bhū: *uttamaṅga-bhū* 'what exists on the highest part i.e. the hair', *sabbābhibhū* 'overcoming everything'.

-chida: *taṇhacchido* 'cutting off craving'

-nuda: *tamo-nudo* 'dispelling darkness'.

d). An adjective: *pathavi-samo* 'similar to the earth', *devaññataro* 'one of the gods', *loka-jetṭho* 'the best person in the world'.

e). A numeral: *gāthā-sataṃ* 'a hundred stanzas', *bahūni vassa-sahassāni* 'many thousand of years'.

f). A participle: *dvīha-mato* 'two days dead', *citta-kato* 'made by the mind', *bhaya-tajjito* 'urged by fear', *sabbayoga-visamyutto* 'free from all ties', *ratha-vinīto* 'trained for the chariot', *chamā-nikkhattaṃ* 'thrown on the ground'.

g). *gata*: the participle *gata* is often used at the end of a tappurisa samasa in a variety of meanings: 'gone to, reached, relating to, concerning, gone into the power of, existing as, belonging to', etc.: *raho-gato* 'gone into solitude', *kāya-gatā sati* 'attention directed to the body', *avijjā-gato* 'fallen

into error', *hattha-gato* 'being in the hands of', *āpo-gataṃ* 'whatever is water'.

h). A future participle passive: *manasi-karaṇīyā dhammā* 'the elements ought to be kept in mind', *paṇḍita-vedanīyo* 'that should be understood by the wise', *maggo pīti-gamaṇīyo* 'the path that ought to lead to happiness', *maccu-dheyyaṃ* 'what ought to be under death i.e. the realm of death'.

B a h u b b i h i S a m ā s a

136. **Bahubbihi samāsa.** A bahubbihi samāsa is a noun compound turned into an adjective. Hence the kammadhāraya samāsa that end in a noun can be turned into adjectives to qualify a noun; v.g. *pāpicchā* 'evil desire' is turned into an adjective agreeing with the noun it qualifies: *pāpiccho bhikkhu* 'a monk who has evil desires'. Similarly *taruṇavaccho* 'young calf' becomes *taruṇavacchā gāvi* 'a cow that has a young calf'; *antima-sarīraṃ* 'the last body' become *antimasarīro puriso* 'a man that carries the last body'.

Sometimes even a tappurisa samāsa and, in a few cases, even a dvanda samāsa are turned into adjectives: *samaggārāmo* 'delight in mutual concord' and *Gotamo samaggārāmo* 'Gotama whose delight is in mutual concord', *aṭṭhika-saṅkhālīka* 'a chain of bones' and *aṭṭhika-saṅkhālīkaṃ sarīraṃ* 'the body with its chain of bones', *rajo-jallam* 'dust and dirt' and *rajo-jallikassa* 'to one who is covered with dust and dirt'.

From the last example given it is clear that while the bahubbihi samāsa are essentially adjectives, they can sometimes be used as noun: *su-paṇṇo* 'the one that has fair wings i.e. a bird', *atthamso* 'the thing that has eight facets i.e. a gem'.

137. a). In most cases a noun compound is turned into an adjective simply with the addition of the suffix *-a*, *-ā*, *-aṃ* according as the adjective qualifies a masculine, a feminine or a neuter noun: *ucchinna-mūla* becomes *rukko ucchina-mūlo* 'a tree whose root has been cut off', *avijjā*

ucchinna-mūlā 'ignorance whose root has been cut off'; *doso* becomes neuter as *tiṇa-dosāni khettāni* 'weeds are the blemish of fields'.

- b). Sometimes the suffix *-ka / -aka / -ika* is added for the masculine and neuter, and *-ikā* for the feminine: *bhīruka-jātiko* 'one who is of a fearful nature', *sa-devako* 'together with its gods', *ekasālāke ārāme* 'in a park with a single hall', *sa-bhikkhūko āvāso* 'a dwelling that has monks', *cātumahārājikā devā* 'the gods with their four great kings'.
- c). Some other suffixes are found in a few cases: *pāpa-kammino* 'those whose actions are evil', *diḅhaṅguli* 'she who has long fingers', *evaṃ-jacco* 'of such a birth', *ratti nandi-mukhī* 'the night with its bright face'.
138. **Kammadhāraya samāsa turned into bahubbīhi samāsa.**

- a). A kammadhāraya samāsa made up of two nouns of which the first is in apposition to the second is used often as a bahubbīhi samāsa: *jīvitam maraṇam* 'life that has death as its end i.e. life ending in death', *kāyam taca-pariyantam* 'the body that is bounded by the skin', *atta-dīpā viharatha* *atta-saraṇā* 'abide taking the self as your light and as your refuge'.
- b). A kammadhāraya samāsa, consisting of a noun and an adjective used as a noun, can be turned into a bahubbīhi samāsa. The adjectives are those which indicate a quality in a high degree, like *seṭṭha*, *parama*, *vara*, *pubbaṅgama*, *pabhutika*, *uttama*, *pamukha*, etc.: *mano-pubbaṅgamā dhammā mano-seṭṭhā* 'factors that have the mind as the first and as the best i.e. mind is the first and the best of all factors', *samtuṭṭhi-paramam dhanam* 'contentment is the best wealth', *Buddha-pamukho bhikkhu saṅgho* 'the assembly of the monks with the Buddha at their head', *anāsanna-varā etā* 'these are best when not near'.

The same construction is used with cardinal numerals: *Ānando atta-dutiyo* 'Ananda with his self as second i.e. with one companion',

puriso taṅhā-dutiyo 'a man full of craving', *atta-catuttho* 'with three companions'.

- c). A kammadhāraya samāsa consisting of an attributive adjective and a noun: *vatthāni dīgha-dasāni* 'robes with long fringes', *vāṇijo appasattho mahaddhano* 'a merchant with a small caravan but with great wealth', *pāpa-kammā* 'those who have an evil character'.
- d). A kammadhāraya samāsa consisting of a numeral and a noun: *eka-bhattiko* 'one who takes one meal a day', *tevijjo* 'he who is endowed with the threefold knowledge', *kuṅjaro satṭhi-hāyano* 'an elephant sixty years old'.
- e). A kammadhāraya consisting of a past participle and a noun: *okkhitta-cakkhu* 'he who goes with eyes down', *khīṇāsavo* 'he who is free from defilements', *akata-pāpo* 'he who has done no evil', *aṅkita-kaṇṇako* 'one with perforated ears'.
- f). A kammadhāraya consisting of an adverb and a noun: *a-soko* 'without sorrow', *micchā-ditṭhiko* 'he who has wrong views', *evaṃ-sīlo* 'of such a virtue', *sattā su-vaṇṇā* 'beings of an evil appearance', *su-vaco* 'one who has pleasant words'.
- g). *Matta* is often used at the end of a bahubbīhi samāsa in the sense of 'in the measure of, as much as, as little as, merely, only': *marāṇa-mattam dukkham* 'a pain as great as death', *saddhā-mattam pema-mattam* 'only faith and love', *pañca-mattāni bhikkhu-satāni* 'five hundred monks only'.

139. **Tappurisa samāsa turned into bahubbīhi samāsa.**

- a). A tappurisa samāsa is turned into a bahubbīhi samāsa in the usual way: *rukkha-mūlam* 'the foot of a tree' become *rukkha-mūliko* 'he who sits at the foot of a tree'; similarly *paññā-nirodiko* 'leading to the destruction of wisdom', *nibbāna-manaso naro* 'a man with his mind on nibbāna', *āhāraṭṭhitiko samussayo* 'a body that is supported by food',

sabbe jarā-dhammā 'all are liable to old age', *te cavana-dhammā* 'they are bound to fall away', *phenupamaṃ kāyaṃ* 'the body that is like a mass of foam', *sukha-kāmāni bhūtāni* 'beings bent on happiness'.

- b). Sometimes the *samāsa* implies a comparison that is not fully expressed: *kumāro go-pakhumo* 'the child with the eyelashes of a cow i.e. with eyelashes like those of a cow', *sīha-pubbakāyo* 'the child with the front part of the body like that of a lion', *cakkena khura-pariyantena* 'with a discus that has the edge as sharp as a razor', *govatiko kukkuravatiko* 'he who behaves like a cow or like a dog'.
- c). A word which expresses a part of the human body and which otherwise would be in the locative case, in a *bahubbīhi samāsa* is found at the end of the compound: *patta-hatthā bhikkhū* 'monks with bowls in their hands', *luddā lohita-pāṇino* 'hunters with blood on their hands', *brāhmano paṅka-danto rajassiro* 'a brahmin with dirt between his teeth and with dust on his head', *sattā apparajakkhā mahārajakkhā* 'beings with little dust in their eyes and beings with much dust in their eyes'.

The same construction is used with *mano*, *antara: pīti-mano* 'with joy in his heart', *dosantaro* 'with hatred within', *yānena itthiyuttana purisantarena* 'on a cart drawn by two cows with a bull in between'.

140. **Dvanda samāsa turned into bahubbīhi samāsa.** There are only a few examples of *dvanda samāsa* turned into *bahubbīhi samāsa*. The change is effected either by turning the *samāsa* into an adjective or by adding the suffix *-ka / -ika / -in*, or by prefixing *sa-*: *salākāyo vaṇṇāvāṇṇāyo katvā* 'having made the votes of various colours', *antānantikā* 'those who hold both the finiteness and the infinity of the world', *sarīraṃ sa-mansalohitaṃ* 'the body with its flesh and blood'.

Governing Compounds

141. **Governing compounds.** A governing compound is one in which the first member governs the second, not in case, but in meaning. The first member of a governing compound is a preposition or a prepositional adverb. The whole compound is turned into an adjective like a *bahubbīhi samāsa* and is used either as an adjective or as an adverb: *ati-devo* 'he who is above the gods', *ajjhataṃ* 'inwardly', *anacchariyā gāthā* 'stanzas uttered on the spur of the moment' (*anacchariya* is made up of *anu + accharā*), *eso anudhammo viññūgarahito* 'this one is blamed by the wise in accordance with the doctrine', *anu-vassaṃ* 'yearly', *pari-panthe* 'in ambush', *paṭi-lomam* 'against the hair i.e. in reverse order', *paṭi-sotaṃ* 'against the current', *paṭi-sote* 'in a place against the current', *uddham-soto* 'he who goes against the current', *tiro-dussaṃ* 'across the curtain', *bahi-dvāre* 'outside the gate', *saha-dhammiko pañho* 'a question connected with the doctrine', *heṭṭhā-mañcam* 'the part below the bed', *heṭṭhā-mañcato* 'from below the bed'.

There are also a few governing compounds whose first member is an action noun: *atireka-pañcamāsako parikkhāro* 'requirement worth more than five coins', *atireka-chārattam* 'more than six nights', *ūnaka-tiyojanam* 'less than three yojanas'.

Syntactical Compounds

142. **Syntactical compounds.** Two or more independent words are sometimes joined together owing to the fact that they have often been used together in a sentence: such compounds are called syntactical compounds.

- a). A past gerund and a noun: *viceyya-dānaṃ* 'a gift given with discrimination', *paṭicca-samuppādo* 'the arising on account of a previous cause', *aveccappasādena* 'with a perfect faith', *saṅkheyya-kāro* 'acting with reflection', *abhibhuyya-cāri* 'going about victorious', *nivissa-vādi* 'speaking with definiteness'.

- b). A past gerund and a past participle: *uddissa-katam maṃsam* 'meat prepared purposely', *adhicca-samuppanno* 'arising without a cause'.
- c). Some other syntactical compounds: *ahaṃ-kāro* 'selfishness', *asmi-māno* 'pride', *atthi-bhāvo* 'existence', *ehi-passiko dhammo* 'the doctrine that invites to come and see' (*ehi* + *passa* are imperatives), *ehi-bhadantiko* 'he who says: come, sir', *tiṭṭha-bhadantiko* 'he who says: stop, sir', *ehi-bhikkhu-pabbajjā* 'reception into the wandering life with the formula: come, O monk', *ehi-svāgata-vādino* 'those who say: come, welcome', *aññad-atthu* 'certainly', *mā-ghāto* 'a day when there is no slaughter', *iti-hāso* 'history', *iti-vādo* 'tradition', *iti-vuttaka* 'sayings', *akiñcano* 'one who has nothing'.

CHAPTER X

VERBAL COMPOUNDS

Verbal roots are often combined with one or more prepositions or with an adverb, and sometimes even with a noun or an adjective. These words modify the fundamental meaning of the verb; v.g. *gacchati* 'goes', *ā-gacchati* 'goes back i.e. comes', *apa-gacchati* 'goes away', *ni-gacchati* 'goes down', *sañ-gacchati* 'goes with', *ud-gacchati* > *uggacchati* 'goes up', etc.

143. Verbs combined with prepositions.

ati: beyond, across, very much

<i>atikkamati</i>	goes beyond
<i>atigacchati</i>	overcomes
<i>aticarati</i>	transgresses
<i>atibhuñjati</i>	eats too much

adhi: over, on, to, in, greatly

<i>adhigacchati</i>	comes to, acquires
<i>adhigaṇhāti</i>	surpasses
<i>adhiṭṭhāti</i>	stands on, concentrates
<i>adhibhavati</i>	overcomes

<i>anu:</i>	after, along, according to
<i>anugacchati</i>	goes after, follows
<i>anukaroti</i>	imitates
<i>anubhavati</i>	undergoes
<i>anugaṇhāti</i>	has pity on
<i>apa:</i>	away, off, from, forth
<i>apacināti</i>	picks from, respects
<i>apanudati</i>	drives away
<i>apaloketi</i>	looks ahead
<i>api:</i>	on
<i>apidahāti</i>	puts on, covers up
<i>abhi:</i>	towards, against, over, all round, greatly
<i>abhikkamati</i>	goes forward
<i>abhijānāti</i>	knows fully
<i>abhinandati</i>	rejoices
<i>abhibhavati</i>	overcomes
<i>ava</i> or <i>o:</i>	down, away
<i>avakirati</i>	casts out
<i>otarati</i>	goes down
<i>ā:</i>	near, back, to, along, all round, completely
<i>āgacchati</i>	goes back, comes
<i>ākirati</i>	strews over
<i>āroceti</i>	speaks to, informs
<i>ud:</i>	out of, away, up, upwards
<i>uddharati</i>	lifts up
<i>uggaṇhāti</i>	takes up, learns

<i>upa:</i>	on, upon, up to, near, altogether
<i>upagacchati</i>	goes to, approaches
<i>upatṭhahati</i>	stands near
<i>ni:</i>	down
<i>nikkhipati</i>	lays down
<i>nigacchati</i>	goes down
<i>niggaṇhāti</i>	restrains
<i>nir:</i>	out, forth
<i>nikkhamati</i>	goes forth
<i>niddisati</i>	points out
<i>nibbindati</i>	turns away, becomes weary
<i>niyyāti</i>	goes out
<i>pa:</i>	forth, forward, out, up, greatly
<i>pakāsati</i>	shines forth
<i>pakkamati</i>	steps forward
<i>pacchindati</i>	breaks up
<i>paggaṇhāti</i>	stretches forth, takes up
<i>paṭi:</i>	towards, against, back, opposite
<i>paṭikkhipati</i>	throws back, rejects
<i>paccakkhāti</i>	speaks against, refuses
<i>pacceti</i>	comes back
<i>patissuṇāti</i>	assents, promises.
<i>para:</i>	on to, over, through
<i>parāmasati</i>	touches, holds on to
<i>parājeti</i>	defeats

<i>pari:</i>	all round, away, off, completely
<i>parikaroti</i>	surrounds
<i>parikilamati</i>	gets tired out
<i>paricarati</i>	moves out
<i>parijānāti</i>	knows accurately

vi: asunder, away, down

<i>vikirati</i>	scatters about
<i>viggaṇhāti</i>	quarrels
<i>vicarati</i>	moves about
<i>vipassati</i>	sees clearly

sam: together, along with, fully

<i>saṃyuñjati</i>	joins together
<i>saṅkhipati</i>	collects
<i>saṅgaṇhāti</i>	contains
<i>saṃsarati</i>	moves about continually
<i>sañjānāti</i>	knows well

N.B. Some verbal compounds are built up with more than one preposition: *adhi-ā-vasati* > *ajjhāvasati* 'inhabits', *sam-anu-passati* > *samanupassati* 'sees', *sam-ud-ā-carati* > *samudācarati* 'behaves toward'.

When *sam* is combined with *karoti*, the consonant -s- is inserted: *sam-karoti* > *sam-s-karoti* > *saṅkharoti* 'puts together'.

144. Verbs combined with adverbs.

<i>anto-vasati</i>	inhabits
<i>alam-karoti</i>	adorns
<i>āvi-karoti</i>	makes clear
<i>āvi-bhavati</i>	becomes clear

<i>pātu-karoti</i>	manifests
<i>pātu-bhavati</i>	becomes manifest
<i>purakkharoti</i>	puts in front, honours

145. Verbs combined with an adjective or a noun. Some adjectives and nouns are combined with verbs in a variety of ways: *antara* remains unchanged in *antaradhāyati* 'disappears'; *attha* is used in the accusative in *atthaṅgacchati* 'goes home i.e. sets'. Some adjectives and nouns change their last vowel to -i / -ī when combined with *bhavati* / *karoti*: *dubbali-karoti* 'weakens', *bahuli-karoti* 'makes much of', *vasi-karoti* 'subjects', *vasi-bhavati* 'goes into the power of', *vinaḷi-karoti* 'destroys', *sacchi-karoti* 'realizes', *tuphi-bhavati* 'remains silent', *atthi-karoti* 'understands', *siti-bhavati* 'becomes tranquil'.

CHAPTER XI

EVOLUTION OF THE VOWELS

146. **The vowel system.** The Pali and Sanskrit languages are very similar. Hence the evolution of Pali must be treated with reference to Vedic and Classical Sanskrit.

The Sanskrit vowel system is as follows:

two pure vowels: *a, ā*

seven sonant vowels: *ī, ī, u, ū, ṛ, ṝ, ḷ*

four diphtongs: *e, o, ai, au*

In pronunciation *e* and *o* are pure vowels, but according to their formation, they are compound vowels. In sandhi they are split up into *ay* and *av*.

The main characteristics of the evolution of the vowel system from Sanskrit into Pali is the elimination of the sonant vowels *ṛ, ṝ, ḷ*, and of the diphtongs *ai* and *au*. Therefore the Pali vowel system is as follows:

two pure vowels : *a, ā*

four sonant vowels: *ī, ī, u, ū*

two diphtongs: *e, o*

Though the vowels *e* and *o* are made up of two elements, yet they are pronounced as pure vowels.

Sanskrit vowels preserved in Pali:

Sanskrit	Pali			
<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>phala</i>	<i>phala</i>	fruit
		<i>sparśa</i>	<i>phassa</i>	touch
<i>ā</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>agāra</i>	<i>agāra</i>	house
		<i>rājā</i>	<i>rājā</i>	king
<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>jāti</i>	<i>jāti</i>	birth
		<i>dina</i>	<i>dina</i>	day
<i>ī</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>sīla</i>	<i>sīla</i>	virtue
		<i>nadī</i>	<i>nadī</i>	river
<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>puḍgala</i>	<i>puggala</i>	person
		<i>dhenu</i>	<i>dhenu</i>	cow
<i>ū</i>	<i>ū</i>	<i>rūpa</i>	<i>rūpa</i>	form
		<i>abhibū</i>	<i>abhibū</i>	conqueror
<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>vega</i>	<i>vega</i>	hurry
		<i>ime</i>	<i>ime</i>	these
<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>loka</i>	<i>loka</i>	world
		<i>mano</i>	<i>mano</i>	mind

147. **Elimination of ṛ and ḷ.** *ṛ* was a complex phoneme since it included both vocalic and consonant element. Hence it was the first to undergo changes. This Sanskrit vowel came to be represented in Pali by different vowels.

a). *ṛ > a:*

kṛntati *kantati* cuts

kṛpaṇa *kapaṇa* poor

<i>grhṇāti</i>	<i>gaṇhāti</i>	takes
<i>ghṛta</i>	<i>ghata</i>	butter
<i>tṛtiya</i>	<i>tatiya</i>	third
<i>nṛtyati</i>	<i>naccati</i>	dances
<i>bhṛta</i>	<i>bhata</i>	fed
<i>bhṛti</i>	<i>bhati</i>	hire
<i>mṛta</i>	<i>mata</i>	dead
<i>mṛtyu</i>	<i>maccu</i>	death
<i>mṛśati</i>	<i>masati</i>	touches
<i>mṛṣṭa</i>	<i>maṭṭha</i>	polished
<i>vṛka</i>	<i>vaka</i>	wolf
<i>vṛtta</i>	<i>vaṭṭa</i>	round
<i>vṛsabha</i>	<i>vasabha</i>	bull
<i>vyāpṛta</i>	<i>vyāvaṭa</i>	busy
<i>nissṛta</i>	<i>nissata</i>	freed
<i>smṛta</i>	<i>sata</i>	remembered
<i>hṛdaya</i>	<i>hadaya</i>	heart
b). <i>r > i:</i>		
<i>ṛddhi</i>	<i>iddhi</i>	power
<i>ṛṣi</i>	<i>isi</i>	sage
<i>kṛmi</i>	<i>kimi</i>	worm
<i>kṛśa</i>	<i>kisa</i>	lean
<i>kṛśyate</i>	<i>kissati</i>	becomes lean
<i>tṛṇa</i>	<i>tiṇa</i>	grass
<i>dṛśa</i>	<i>disa</i>	similar
<i>dṛśad</i>	<i>nisadā</i>	grinder

<i>dṛṣṭi</i>	<i>diṭṭhi</i>	sight	
<i>bhṛngāra</i>	<i>bhinkāra</i>	golden vase	
<i>vṛścika</i>	<i>vicchika</i>	scorpion	
<i>śṛgāla</i>	<i>sigāla</i>	jackal	
<i>śṛpātika</i>	<i>sipātika</i>	beak	
<i>śṛṅgavera</i>	<i>singivera</i>	pepper	
<i>spṛhayati</i>	<i>pihayati</i>	desires	
c). <i>r > u:</i>			
<i>ṛju</i>	<i>uju</i>	straight	
<i>ṛtu</i>	<i>utu</i>	season	
<i>ṛsabha</i>	<i>usabha</i>	bull	
<i>ṛcchati</i>	<i>pucchati</i>	asks	
<i>ṛṭhu</i>	<i>puṭhu</i>	broad	
<i>mṛdaṅga</i>	<i>mutiṅga</i>	drum	
<i>mṛṇāla</i>	<i>muḷāla</i>	lotus	
<i>mṛdu</i>	<i>mudu</i>	soft	
<i>mṛśā</i>	<i>musā</i>	lie	
<i>mṛsyati</i>	<i>mussati</i>	forgets	
<i>śṛṇoti</i>	<i>suṇoti</i>	hears	
d). <i>r > a, i:</i>			
<i>ṛkṣa</i>	<i>accha</i>	<i>ikkha</i>	bear
<i>ṛṇa</i>	<i>an-aṇa</i>	<i>iṇa</i>	debt
<i>kṛccha</i>	<i>kasira</i>	<i>kiccha</i>	painful
<i>kṛṣṇa</i>	<i>kaṇha</i>	<i>kiṇha</i>	black
<i>mṛga</i>	<i>maga</i>	<i>miga</i>	animal and deer
<i>dhṛta</i>	<i>dhata</i>		firm

<i>dhṛti</i>		<i>dhiti</i>	firmness
<i>trpyate</i>	<i>tappati</i>		is satisfied
<i>trpta</i>		<i>titta</i>	satisfied
e). <i>r</i> > a, u:			
<i>pr̥thivi</i>	<i>pathavi, paṭhavi</i>		earth
	<i>puṭhavi, puṭhavi, puṭhavi</i>		earth
<i>vṛta</i>	<i>vi-vaṭa</i>		opened
		<i>pari-vuta</i>	surrounded
<i>vṛtta</i>	<i>vatta</i>		duty
<i>vṛtti</i>		<i>vutti</i>	abiding
<i>vṛddhi</i>	<i>vaddhi</i>		blessing
		<i>vuddhi, vuddhi</i>	growth
<i>vṛṣṭi</i>		<i>vuṭṭhi</i>	rain
<i>vṛṣṭa</i>	<i>vaṭṭa, vaṭṭha</i>	<i>vuttha</i>	rained
<i>ā-bṛhati</i>	<i>abbuhati/abbahati</i>		casts away
f). <i>r</i> > u, i:			
<i>pitṛ</i>	<i>pitu- (pitu-ghātaka)</i>		father
	<i>piti- (piti-ghāta)</i>		
<i>bhrātṛ</i>	<i>bhātu- (bhātuka)</i>		brother
	<i>bhāti- (bhātika)</i>		
<i>mātṛ</i>	<i>mātu- (matu-ghātaka)</i>		mother
	<i>māti- (māti-pakkhato)</i>		
g). <i>r</i> > e, i:			
<i>gr̥dhu</i>	<i>giddha</i>		greedy
<i>gr̥dhya</i>	<i>gedha</i>		greedy

h). *r* > e, a, i:

<i>gr̥ha</i>	<i>geha</i>	house
<i>rājagṛha</i>	<i>rājagaha</i>	Rajagaha
<i>gr̥hapati</i>	<i>gahapati</i>	householder
<i>a-gr̥ha</i>	<i>a-giha</i>	homeless

i). *r* > ra, ru:

<i>bṛhant</i>	<i>brahant</i>	broad
<i>bṛmhayati</i>	<i>brūheti</i>	increases

The vowel u has been lengthened since the niggahita has been dropped.

j). *vṛ* > ru:

<i>prāvṛta</i>	<i>pāruta</i>	covered
<i>vṛksa</i>	<i>rukkha</i>	tree

k). *r* > iru, aru:

rgveda *irubbeda / arubbeda* (these two words are found in the post-canonical literature).

N.B. There is no fixed principle according to which *r* is represented by a, i, u, e. But it seems clear that the choice of the vowel is often influenced by neighbouring sounds. The vowel *a* prevails after a guttural and *u* after a labial consonant: *kṛpaṇa* > *kapaṇa*; *pr̥cchati* > *pucchati*. Further the vowel of a preceding or of a following syllable often assimilates the *r* to itself especially in words of two syllables: *mṛdu* > *mudu*, *ṛtu* > *utu*, *ṛddhi* > *iddhi*, *ṛṣi* > *isi*, *dhṛta* > *dhata*, *dhṛti* > *dhiti*.

Sometimes the difference of vowel seems to be due to semantic difference, but it is difficult to give definite rules. Thus *miga* means 'deer', but in some cases it means also 'animal' as in *migarājā* 'the king of animals', *vālamigā* 'wild beasts'; likewise *maga* means both 'animal' and 'deer'.

The sonant *l* in *kṛpta* has been replaced by the vowel *u*: *kṛpta* > *kutta* 'arranged'.

148. Elimination of the diphthongs.

- a). The process of elimination of the diphthongs had already started in Sanskrit where *ai* / *au* had been reduced to *e* / *o*, while *āi* / *āu* had become *ai* / *au*. This process was continued in Pali and thus *ai* / *au* were reduced to *e* / *o*: *vaira* > *vera* 'hatred', *maitrī* > *mettī* 'friendship', *taila* > *tela* 'oil', *rātrau* > *ratto* 'at night', *auśadha* > *osadha* 'medicine', *yauvana* > *yobbana* 'young man', *ubhau* > *ubho* 'both'.

The original nature of *e* / *o*, however, is evident in composition, since *e* / *o*, followed by a vowel, can be resolved into *ai* / *au* or *āi* / *āu*:

<i>so-anīya</i>	<i>sau-anīya</i>	<i>savanīya</i>	should be heard
<i>so-eti</i>	<i>sāu-eti</i>	<i>sāveti</i>	causes to hear
<i>ne-ana</i>	<i>nai-ana</i>	<i>nayana</i>	carrying
<i>ne-aka</i>	<i>nāi-aka</i>	<i>nāyaka</i>	leader

- b). The groups *ayi* / *avi* have developed into *e* by the elimination of the intervocalic *y* / *v*, and by the reduction of the diphthongs: *ayi* > *ai* > *e*, *avi* > *ai* > *e*. Similarly the groups *aya* / *ava* have developed into *e* / *o* respectively by reducing the final vowel and then eliminating the intervocalic consonant: *aya* > *ayi* > *ai* > *e*, *ava* > *avu* > *au* > *o*:

<i>nayati</i>	<i>nayiti</i>	<i>naiti</i>	<i>neti</i>	leads
<i>sthavira</i>		<i>thaira</i>	<i>thera</i>	elder
<i>bhavissati</i>	<i>bhaissati</i>	<i>bhessati</i>	<i>hessati</i>	will be (<i>bh</i> loses its occlusion and becomes <i>h</i>)
<i>avatarati</i>	<i>autarati</i>	<i>otarati</i>		comes down
<i>bhavati</i>	<i>bhavuti</i>	<i>bhauti</i>	<i>hoti</i>	is
<i>trayas-trinsat</i>	<i>tettimsa</i>			thirteen

The group *ayu* becomes *o*: *mayura* > *mora* 'peacock'

Caturasīti develops into *ca-urasīti* > *corasīti* > *colasīti* > *cullasīti* > *cūlasīti* 'eighty-four'.

149. Evolution of the vowels. The Sanskrit vowels *ā*, *a*, *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū*, *e*, *o* are generally well preserved in Pali but sometimes they undergo changes with regard to their quality and their quantity due either to the structure of the syllable or the structure of the word.

It is evident that in Pali the vowel *a* exercises a great influence on other vowels. This feature is already evident in Sanskrit. The three Indo-European vowels *a*, *e*, *o* are often reduced to *a* in Sanskrit. In Pali the vowel *a* becomes even more common because of the tendency to declining most nouns and conjugating most verbs on the model of the stems in *a*. Thus *sīlavant* is declined like the stems in *a*, i.e. *sīlavanta* and *chid-* is conjugated as having the stem *chinda*.

150. Changes of vowels due to the structure of the syllable. In Pali a syllable may contain either one or two syllabic instants or *mātrās*. A syllable with one syllabic instant or a short syllable ends in a short vowel, while a syllable with two syllabic instants or a long syllable ends either in a vowel that is long by nature or in a consonant making syllable with the previous vowel. Hence a syllable may contain

a short vowel in an open syllable: *pu-ri-sa*

or a short vowel in a closed syllable: *gan-tuṃ*

or a long vowel in an open syllable: *pū-jā*

A closed syllable with a short vowel and an open syllable with a long vowel are equivalent since both have two syllabic instants. This equivalence explains several vowel changes when words pass from Sanskrit into Pali.

- a). Where Sanskrit has a long vowel in a closed syllable, Pali has either a long vowel in an open syllable or a short vowel in a closed syllable:

<i>jīrṇa</i>	<i>jiṇṇa</i>	decayed
<i>īsvara</i>	<i>issara</i>	Isvara
<i>dīrgha</i>	<i>dīgha</i>	long
<i>prāpta</i>	<i>patta</i>	reached
<i>akarsit</i>	<i>akāsi</i>	did

Nevertheless there are instances in which a long vowel is found in a closed syllable: *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahmin', *Sākya* 'Sakya', *nahātvā* 'having bathed', *sāttha* 'meaningful'. The use of the long vowel in a closed syllable seems to be due to the influence of the Sanskrit spelling on the scribes of the Tripitaka.

b). Where Sanskrit has a long vowel in a closed syllable, Pali has either a long vowel in an open syllable or a short vowel in a closed syllable:

<i>rājā</i>	<i>rājā</i>	king
<i>srūyate</i>	<i>sūyati/suyyati</i>	is heard
<i>dīyate</i>	<i>dīyati/diyyati</i>	is given

Sometimes a short vowel in a closed syllable is nasalized:

<i>harsati</i>	<i>haṃsati</i>	is glad
<i>matkuna</i>	<i>maṅkuna</i>	bug

c). Where Sanskrit has a short vowel in a closed syllable, Pali has either a long vowel in an open syllable or a short vowel in a closed syllable:

<i>darśayati</i>	<i>dasseti</i>	shows
<i>simha</i>	<i>sīha</i>	lion
<i>viṃsati</i>	<i>vīsati</i>	twenty
<i>saṃrāga</i>	<i>sārāga</i>	passion
<i>saṃrambha</i>	<i>sārambha</i>	anger

d). Sometimes the diphthongs *e*, *ai*, *o*, *au* are reduced to *i*, *u* in a closed syllable or in a syllable that is made closed by doubling the consonant that follows the vowel:

<i>aiśvarya</i>	<i>issariya</i>	lordship
<i>aśrauṣma</i>	<i>assumha</i>	we heard
<i>gonam</i>	<i>gunnam</i>	of cattle
<i>manojña</i>	<i>manuñña</i>	pleasing

e). Sometimes a group of consonants is split up by means of a vowel, and a long preceding vowel is shortened so that the number of syllabic instants of the whole word remains the same:

<i>sūrya</i>	<i>suriya</i>	sun
<i>ārya</i>	<i>ariya</i>	noble
<i>tikṣṇa</i>	<i>tikhiṇa</i>	sharp
<i>īrya</i>	<i>iriya</i>	posture
<i>sūkṣma</i>	<i>sukhuma</i>	subtle

f). But there are also several cases in which the Sanskrit vowels *i*, *u* in a closed syllable and the vowels *ī*, *ū* in an open syllable become *e* and *o* in Pali:

<i>viśṇu</i>	<i>veṇhu</i>	Visnu
<i>ramanīya</i>	<i>ramaneyya</i>	delightful
<i>īdṛśa</i>	<i>eddisa</i> > <i>edisa</i>	like this
<i>jambūnada</i>	<i>jambonnada</i> > <i>jambonada</i>	gold
<i>śuṇḍā</i>	<i>soṇḍā</i>	elephant trunk

151. Change of vowels due to the structure of the word.

a. Final vowels. The final vowels were usually weak in pronunciation and hence they were shortened: *akārsit* > *akāsi* > *akāsi* he did.

- b). Influence of the accent. In words of three or more syllables, when the first syllable had the accent, the vowel of the second syllable was often reduced and sometimes even dropped:

<i>candramas</i>	<i>candimā</i>	moon
<i>madhyama</i>	<i>majjhima</i>	middle
<i>jāgarati</i>	<i>jāgrati</i> > <i>jaggati</i>	watches
<i>drakṣyati</i>	<i>dakkhati</i> > <i>dakkhiti</i>	will see

The influence of the accent is evident also in the shortening of the final vowel in some words: *asau* > *asu*, *hetos* > *hetu*, *kṛtvas* > *khattuṃ*, *sadyas* > *sajju*.

152. Further changes.

- a). Sometimes a vowel influences another vowel in the preceding or in the following syllable:

<i>iṣu</i>	<i>usu</i>	arrow
<i>ikṣu</i>	<i>ujju</i>	sugar cane
<i>tamisrā</i>	<i>timissā</i>	darkness
<i>asūyā</i>	<i>usūyā</i>	jealousy

- b). Sometimes the nature of a consonant brings about a change in the vowel that follows it in so far as *u* appears in preference after a labial and *i* after a palatal consonant: *majjati* with the prefix *ni* becomes *nimujjati* 'plunges', *jugupsate* > *jigucchati*. In *bhuyas* > *bhiyyo* the vowel *i* is due to the influence of the following *y*. In *madhyama* > *majjhima* the change of the *a* to *i* is due both to the influence of the accent and of the palatal consonant that precedes it.
- c). Sometimes *ya*, *yā*, *va*, *vā* are reduced. In grammar this change is called *samprasāraṇa*.

ya, *yā* are reduced to *i*:

<i>styāna</i>	<i>thīna</i>	sloth
<i>vi-atināmeti</i>	<i>vyatināmeti</i>	<i>vitināmeti</i> spends

va, *vā* are reduced to *u* and then this vowel becomes *o* before two consonants:

<i>svapna</i>	<i>supina</i>	
	<i>suppa</i> > <i>soppa</i>	dream
<i>svasti</i>	<i>sotthi</i>	blessing
<i>śvabhra</i>	<i>sobbha</i>	pool
<i>svastyayana</i>	<i>sotthāna</i>	greeting
<i>śvāna</i>	has both <i>sona</i> and <i>suvāna</i>	dog

In the formation of *sovattika* from *svasti* we have the insertion of the vowel *u* and then its lengthening to *o*; *svasti* > *suvasti* > *suvatthi+ka* > *sovattika*. The same is the formation of *sovaggika* < *svarga*; *svaṇṇa* has *suvaṇṇa*, *sovaṇṇa* and also *soṇṇa*.

Sometimes even *ve*, *vi* are reduced in the same manner: *dvesa* > *doso*; *svid* > *su*, *sudam*.

- d). *aya*, *āya* are contracted to *ā*:

<i>svastyayana</i>	<i>sotthāna</i>	goodness
<i>upasthayaka</i>	<i>upaṭṭhāka</i>	attendant
<i>pratisaṃlayana</i>	<i>paṭisallāna</i>	meditation
<i>vehāyasa</i>	<i>vehāsa</i>	sky

Sometimes the past gerund ending in *āya* has been contracted in the same way: *abhiññāya* > *abhiññāya/abhiññā*, *upādāya/upādā*.

- e). A vowel is often inserted to split up groups of consonants:

<i>tṛṣṇā</i>	<i>tasiṇā/taṇhā</i>	greed
<i>garhati</i>	<i>garahati</i>	blames
<i>sūkṣma</i>	<i>sukhuma</i>	subtle

When a vowel is inserted in the declension of a noun, the preceding syllable is not shortened: *rājñas* > *rājino*.

- f). The similarity with the suffix *iya* may account for the shortening of the vowels in *dvitīya* > *dutiya*, *ṛtīya* > *tatiya*
- g). Sometimes the vowel *u*, on account of its open pronunciation, has become *a*: *āyusmant* > *āyasmant*, *punar* > *puna/pana*.
- h). In the declension in all the cases, with the exception of the nominative and the vocative, the final vowel of the stem is lengthened in the plural: *jātīnam*, *jātīhi*, *jātīsu*, *dhenūhi*, *dhenūnam*, *dhenūsu*.

153. Correspondence of the Sanskrit and the Pali vowels:

Sanskrit	Pali	Sanskrit	Pali
a	a	<i>phala, sparśa</i>	<i>phala, phassa</i>
	ā	<i>ādarśa, alinda</i>	<i>ādāsa, ālinda</i>
	i	<i>carama, tamisrā</i>	<i>carima, timissā</i>
	u	<i>tumala, dabhnoti</i>	<i>tumula, dubbhati</i>
ā	ā	<i>ādi, ākāra</i>	<i>ādi, ākāra</i>
	a	<i>kārṣāpaṇa, avagādha</i>	<i>kahāpaṇa, ogadha</i>
		<i>ekānta, ārya</i>	<i>ekanta, ariya</i>
	o	<i>dhavati</i>	<i>dhovati</i>
i	i	<i>itara, atithi</i>	<i>itara, atithi</i>
	ī	<i>viṃsati, siṃha</i>	<i>vīsati, siha</i>
	a	<i>diksita, puskarini</i>	<i>dakkhita/dikkhita</i>
			<i>pokkharāṇi</i>
	u	<i>gairika, śiśu</i>	<i>geruka, susu</i>
	e	<i>vicca, niṣka</i>	<i>vecca, nekkha</i>
		<i>idāni</i>	<i>dāni</i>

i	ī	<i>dīpa, dīrgha</i>	<i>dīpa, dīgha</i>
	i	<i>tīrṇa, alika</i>	<i>tiṇṇa, alika</i>
	e	<i>darśaniya</i>	<i>dassaneyya</i>
u	u	<i>kusala, lubdha</i>	<i>kusala, luddha</i>
	ū	<i>ud-hanti</i>	<i>ūhanti</i>
	i	<i>kuṭumbika,</i>	<i>kuṭumbika/kuṭimbika,</i>
		<i>bhuyas</i>	<i>bhiyyo</i>
	a	<i>āyusmant, aguru</i>	<i>āyasmant, agalu</i>
	o	<i>puṣkara, uṣtra</i>	<i>pokkhara, oṭṭha</i>
ū	ū	<i>dūra, rūpa</i>	<i>dūra, rūpa</i>
	u	<i>dūṣaṇa, cūrṇa</i>	<i>dussaṇa, cuṇṇa</i>
	o	<i>jambūnada</i>	<i>jambonada</i>
	a	<i>kūrpara</i>	<i>kappara</i>
r	a	<i>kṛpaṇa, mṛta</i>	<i>kapaṇa, mata</i>
	i	<i>ṛṣi, kṛmi</i>	<i>isi, kimi</i>
	u	<i>ṛtu, mṛdu</i>	<i>utu, mudu</i>
	e	<i>grha, grdhya</i>	<i>geha, gedha</i>
	ra	<i>bṛhant</i>	<i>brahant</i>
	rū	<i>bṛṃhayati</i>	<i>brūheti</i>
	iru	<i>ṛgveda</i>	<i>irubbeda</i>
	aru	<i>ṛgveda</i>	<i>arubbeda</i>
l	u	<i>klpta</i>	<i>kutta</i>
e	e	<i>eka, netra</i>	<i>eka, netta</i>
o	o	<i>loma, krodha</i>	<i>loma, kodha</i>
	u	<i>jyotsnā, hetos</i>	<i>juṇhā, hetu</i>
	ū	<i>apanodana</i>	<i>apanūdana</i>

ai	e	<i>gairika</i>	<i>geruka</i>
	i	<i>aiśvarya, saindhava</i>	<i>issariya, sindhava</i>
	ī	<i>graiveyaka</i>	<i>gīveyaka</i>
au	o	<i>saumya, dauta</i>	<i>somma, dhota</i>
	u	<i>aurmi, autsukya</i>	<i>ummi, ussukka</i>
aya	ā	<i>pratisaṃlayana</i>	<i>patīsallāna</i>
	e	<i>nayati</i>	<i>neti</i>
āya	ā	<i>upasthāyaka</i>	<i>upaṭṭhāka</i>
ayā	e	<i>nayāmi</i>	<i>nemi</i>
āyā	e	<i>bhāyāmi</i>	<i>bhemi</i>
ayi	e	<i>cintayissati</i>	<i>cintessati</i>
ava	o	<i>avatarati</i>	<i>otarati</i>
ava	ā	<i>yavagu</i>	<i>yāgu</i>
avi	e	<i>havissati</i>	<i>hessati</i>
āha	ā	<i>ānāhana</i>	<i>ālāna</i>
ya	i	<i>nyagrodha</i>	<i>nigrodha</i>
yā	ī	<i>styāna</i>	<i>thīna</i>
va	u	<i>tvarate, kvathati</i>	<i>turati, kuthati</i>
	o	<i>svasti, svapna</i>	<i>sotthi, soppa</i>
vi	u	<i>dvitiya</i>	<i>dutiya</i>
ve	o	<i>dveṣa</i>	<i>dosa</i>

Pali Sanskrit

a	a, ā, ɤ, u, ī
ā	ā, a, aya, āya, āha, ava
i	i, ī, ɤ, a, u, ai, ya
ī	ī, i, u, ai, yā

u	u, ū, ɤ, l, i, o, au, va, vi
ū	ū, u, o
e	e, i, ī, ɤ, ai, ya, aya, ayā, āyā
o	o, u, ū, a, au, va, ava

N.B. The vowels *a, i, u* are sometimes inserted to split up a group of consonants. Further the Sanskrit word *stri* becomes in Pali *itthi*.

CHAPTER XII

EVOLUTION OF THE CONSONANTS

154. **The consonants.** The Pali alphabet contains thirty-four consonants divided into mute, nasal, liquid, semivocalic and aspirate consonants.

a). **Mute consonants.** Mute consonants are characterized by a complete closing or occlusion of the passage of the air followed by a sudden opening or explosion when the consonants are followed by a vowel. According to the organ of articulation, the mute consonants are divided into

1). **labials** when the occlusion is effected by both the lower and upper lips;

2). **dentals** when the occlusion is effected by the tip of the tongue pressing against the upper teeth;

3). **cerebrals** when the occlusion is effected by the tip of the tongue pressing against the back of the palate;

4). **palatals** when the occlusion is effected by the front of the tongue pressing against the hard palate;

5). **gutturals** when the occlusion is effected in the throat.

According to their quality, the mute consonants are divided into

hard consonants : *k, kh, c, ch, ṭ, ṭh, t, th, p, ph*

soft consonants : *g, gh, j, jh, ḍ, ḍh, d, dh, b, bh*

According to the quality of the explosion, the mute consonants are divided into

aspirate consonants : *kh, gh, ch, jh, ṭh, ḍh, th, dh, ph, bh*

unaspirate consonants : *k, g, c, j, ṭ, ḍ, t, d, p, b*

There is also the aspirate *h*.

b). **Nasal consonants.** Each set of mute consonants has a nasal consonant which is pronounced with the air passing through the nose. Thus there are five nasal consonants: *ṅ, ṅh, ñ, ñh, m*. Further there is the niggahita which is not an independent consonant by itself but is only the nasalization of the preceding vowel.

c). **Liquid consonants.** The liquid consonants are generally pronounced by pressing the tip of the tongue against the upper teeth or against the palate and allowing the air to escape on either side. The liquid consonants are *r, l, ḷ, ḷh*. The liquid consonants are soft consonants.

d). **Semivowels.** *y* and *v* are semivowels and are soft consonants.

e). **Sibilant.** Pali has only one sibilant *s* which is a hard dental consonant.

155. **The Pali consonant system.** The Pali consonant system is very close to the Sanskrit consonant system. The following are the main differences:

a). Pali has only one dental sibilant *s* against the three sibilants of the Sanskrit language: the dental *s*, the cerebral *ṣ* and the palatal *ś*: *daśa* > *dasa* 'ten', *viṣa* > *visa* 'poison', *rasa* > *rasa* taste.

- b). The visarga at the end of a word in Sanskrit is eliminated in Pali. When the visarga is preceded by *a* it gives rise to *o* in Pali. When followed by any other vowel, it is eliminated: *puruṣaḥ* > *puriso*, *agniḥ* > *aggi*, *sālāḥ* > *sālā*. The tendency of *aḥ* becoming *o* is already found in Sanskrit when it is followed by a hard consonant.
- c). Pali has retained the Vedic consonants *ḷ*, *ḷh* while classical Sanskrit has replaced them with *ḍ*, *ḍh* between two vowels. *krīḍati* > *kīḷati*, *mūḍha* > *mūḷha*, *ḍāha* > *ḍāha* but *pariḍāha* > *pariḷāha* since it is between two vowels.

Though the Pali consonant system is close to Sanskrit, yet there are many changes that have taken place. This evolution will be treated with reference to single consonants and to groups of two and three consonants

156. **Single consonants at the beginning of words.** The initial consonant of a word in Sanskrit is generally retained in Pali. But there are a few exceptions:

- a). The soft consonant becomes hard: *b* > *p*: *balbaja* > *babbaja* > *pabbaja*. In this case the change of consonant may be due to dissimilation; *glāsnu* > *kilāsu* 'tired'
- b). The consonants *t*, *p*, *b* are sometimes aspirated: *tuśa* > *thusa* 'chaff', *paruṣa* > *pharusa* 'rough', *busa* > *bhusa* 'chaff'.
- c). The palatal consonants *c*, *j* are sometimes changed to *t*, *d*, and the dental consonant *t* is sometimes changed to the palatal *c*: *cikitsati* > *cikicchati* / *tikicchati* 'heals', *jugupsate* > *jigucchati* / *digucchati* 'abhors', *tarhi* > *tarahi* / *carahi*. In the first two examples the change of consonant may be due to dissimilation.
- d). Change of *b* > *v*: *bimba* > *bimba* / *vimba*, *vāla* > *vāla* / *bāla*. But in the form *bāla* there is a change of meaning: *vāla* 'hair of the tail', *bāla* 'hair of the head'.

- e). By dissimilation *l* > *n*: *laṅgala* > *naṅgala* 'plow', *lāṅgula* > *laṅgula/naṅgula* 'tail'.
- f). The dental *d* is changed to *ḍ* or *n* in: *dahati* < *ḍahati* 'burns', *dṛṣad* > *nisadā* 'grinding stone'. The change in *dṛṣad* may be due to dissimilation.
- g). By dissimilation *m* > *v* in *mīmaṃsate* > *vīmaṃsati* 'investigates'.
- h). The sibilant is changed to *ch* in *śava* > *chava* 'corpse', *ṣaṣ* > *cha* 'six', *sepa* > *cheppa* 'tail'.
- i). The sibilant *s* becomes *ḍ* in *sāka* > *ḍāka* 'vegetable'.
- j). By dissimilation *p* > *k*: *pipilikā* > *pipīlikā/ pipillikā/ kipillikā*.
- k). Sometimes in Pali when a word begins with *i*, *u* the corresponding semivowel is prefixed: *ucyate* > *uccati* > *vuccati* 'is said', *iṣṭa* > *iṭṭha* > *yīṭṭha* 'sacrificed'.
- l). Sometimes the initial vowel is eliminated in Pali and the word begins with a consonant: *idāni* > *dāni* 'now', *udaka* > *daka* 'water', *apidahati* > *pidahati* 'shuts', *apilandhati* > *pilandhati* 'wears'.

157. **Correspondence of initial consonants between Pali and Sanskrit.**

Sanskrit	Pali	Sanskrit	Pali
<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>karoti, kalpa</i>	<i>karoti, kappa</i>
<i>kh</i>	<i>kh</i>	<i>khādati, khila</i>	<i>khādati, khila</i>
<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>gacchati, guṇa</i>	<i>gacchati, guṇa</i>
<i>gh</i>	<i>gh</i>	<i>ghosa, ghana</i>	<i>ghosa, ghana</i>
<i>c</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>carati, cakra</i>	<i>carati, cākka</i>
	<i>t</i>	<i>cikitsati</i>	<i>cikicchati/ tikicchati</i>
<i>ch</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>chāyā, chindati</i>	<i>chāyā, chindati</i>

j	j	jāti, jina	jāti, jina
	d	jugupsate	jigucchati/ digucchati
t	t	tathā, tudati	tathā, tudati
	th	tuṣa	thusa
	c	tarhi	tarahi / carahi
d	d	dadāti, deśanā	dadāti, desanā
	ḍ	dasati, dahati	ḍasati, ḍahati
	n	dr̥ṣad, datyūha	nisadā, najjūha
dh	dh	dharma, dhūma	dhamma, dhūma
n	n	nadī, nidhi	nadī, nidhi
p	p	pacati, pudgala	pacati, puggala
	ph	paraśu, paruṣa	pharasu, pharusa
	k	pipīlikā	pipillikā / kipillikā
ph	ph	phala, phena	phala, phena
b	b	bala, bodhi	bala, bodhi
	bh	busa	bhusa
	p	balbaja	pabbaja
	v	bāṣpa, bandhya	vappa, vaṇḍha
bh	bh	bhāga, bheda	bhāga, bheda
m	m	māmsa, muñcati	māmsa, muñcati
	v	mīmāṃsati	vīmāṃsati
y	y	yakṣa, yoni	yakkha, yoni
r	r	rakṣati, rocate	rakkhati, rocate
	l	rukṣa	lūkha

l	l	loka, lunāti	loka, lunāti
	n	lāṅgala, lalāṭa	naṅgala, nalāṭa
v	v	varga, vega	vagga, vega
	b	vāla, vidala	vāla / bāla, bidala
ś	s	śaknoti, śīla	sakkoti, sīla
	ch	śava	chava
ṣ	s	ṣaṣṭi	saṭṭhi
	ch	ṣaṣ	cha
s	s	saṃsarati, sukha	saṃsarati, sukha
	ḍ	sāka	ḍāka
	ch	sepa	cheppa
h	h	hanti, hetu	hanti, hetu

Pali	Sanskrit	Pali	Sanskrit
k	k	n	n, d, l
kh	kh	p	p, b
g	g	ph	ph, p
gh	gh	b	b, p, v
c	c, t	bh	bh, b
ch	ch, s, ś, ṣ	m	m
j	j	v	v, b, m
ḍ	d, s	y	y
t	t, c	r	r, l
th	t	l	l, r
d	d, j	s	s, ś, ṣ
dh	dh	h	h

N.B. The only initial Sanskrit consonant which is absent in Pali is *th*. Even in Sanskrit, however, this consonant occurs initially only in a few words.

158. **Single intervocalic consonants.** A single intervocalic Sanskrit consonant is usually well retained in Pali: *ābādha* > *ābādha* 'sickness', *gāthā* > *gāthā* 'stanza', *pacati* > *pacati* 'cooks', *sukha* > *sukha* 'happiness', *prema* > *pema* 'love', etc. But there are instances where the single intervocalic consonant undergoes changes.

a). A hard mute consonant, preceded and followed by a vowel, is sometimes changed to its corresponding soft mute consonant:

t > *d*: *utpāta* > *uppāda* 'jump', *pr̥ṣant* > *pasata/pasada* 'spotted deer', *ruta* > *ruta/ruda* 'sound', *pratiyātayati* > *paṭiyādeti* 'arranges', *uta* > *uda* 'or'.

k > *g*: *pratikṛtya* > *paṭikacca / paṭigacca* 'from the beginning', *muka* > *muga* 'dumb'.

c > *j*: *sruc* > *sujā* 'spoon'

p > *b* > *v*: *vyāpṛta* > *vyābata* > *vyāvata* 'desirable', *pūpa* > *pūba* > *pūva* 'cake', *kapi* > *kabi / kavi* 'monkey'.

ṭ > *ḍ* > *ḷ*: *karkaṭa* > *kakkaḍa* > *kakkhaḷa* 'rough'

b). A soft mute consonant is sometimes changed into its corresponding hard mute consonant

g > *k*: *ajagara* > *ajagara / ajakara* 'python', *upaga* > *upaga / upaka* 'frequenting', *āpagā* > *āpagā / āpakā* 'river', *chagala* > *chakala* 'goat', *pra-ruj* > *paloka* 'destruction'. This change of a soft into a hard consonant is found also in some proper names: *Āgasti* > *Akitti*, *Prayāga* > *Payāka*.

gh > *kh*: *parigha* > *paligha / palikha* 'club'

j > *c*: *pra-aj* > *pājeti / pāceti* 'drives'

d > *t*: *kusīda* > *kusīta* 'lazy'

v > *p*: *hāvayati* > *hāpeti* 'offer oblation', *avaplāvayati* > *opilāpeti* 'sink', *svāna* > *suvāna / supāna* 'dog'

c). The aspirate consonants *gh*, *dh*, *bh* sometimes lose their occlusion and retain only the aspiration: *laghu* > *lahu* 'quick', *rudhira* > *rudhira / ruhira* 'blood', *narebhiḥ* > *narehi* 'with people', *agnibhiḥ* > *aggihi* 'with fires'.

d). Sometimes an occlusive consonant is dropped and *y/v* is inserted to avoid hiatus: *laukika* > *lokika* > *lokia* > *lokiya* 'wordly', *khādita* > *khādita / khāyita* 'eaten'.

e). The Sanskrit intervocalic cerebral consonants *ḍ*, *ḍh* become in Pali *ḷ*, *ḷh*: *krīḍati* > *kīḷati* 'plays', *mūḍha* > *mūḷha* 'deluded', *ḍāha* but *pariḷāha* 'burning'. But in a few words the intervocalic *d* is retained: *pariḍahati* 'burn', *anuḍahati* 'set on fire', *anuḍahana* 'burning', *devaḍāha* 'forest fire', *anuḍasati* 'sting'.

f). When in Sanskrit the dental consonants *t*, *th* are preceded by a syllable containing *r*, *ṛ*, in Pali the dental consonant is changed to the corresponding cerebral consonant *prati* > *paṭi* 'against', *prathama* > *paṭhama* 'first', *kṛta* > *kata/kaṭa* 'done'.

g). *j* > *d*: *Prasenajit* > *Pasenadi*

d > *r* > *ḷ*: *trayodasa* > *terasa / teḷasa* 'thirteen'

h). *n*, *ṇ* > *ḷ*: *veṇu* > *veḷu* 'bamboo', *apinahyati* > *apinandhati / apiḷandhati* 'wears'.

i). In the groups *aya*, *ayi*, *ava*, *avi* the consonant is dropped and the two vowels are contracted: *aya / ayi* > *ai* > *e*, *avi* > *ai* > *e*, *ava* > *avu* > *au* > *o*: *bhavissati* > *havissati* > *ha-issati* > *hessati* 'will be', *sthavira* > *thera* 'elder', *avatarati* > *otarati* 'comes down', *bhavati* > *hoti* 'is'.

j). *y* > *j*: *gavaya* > *gavaya / gavaja* 'bull'

y > *r*: *śrāmaṇeya* > *sāmaṇera* 'novice'

y > *v*: *āyusmant* > *āvuso* 'friend'.

- k). *r* > *n*: *karavira* > *karavira* / *kanavira* 'a plant'
r > *ḷ*: *karira* < *kaḷira* 'bamboo joint', *catvāriṃsat* >
cattārisa / *cattāḷisa* 'forty'

The prefix *pari* is sometimes changed to *pali*: *paligha* 'dagger', *palikujjati* 'becomes crooked', *paliguṇṭhita* 'covered', *palikhaṇati* 'digs', *palikhādati* 'eats all round', *paligedha* 'greediness', *palipatha* 'fear', *palivetheti* 'wraps', *palipanna* 'fallen', *palibodha* 'trouble'.

r > *l*: *antarikṣa* > *antalikkha* 'sky', *jarāyu* > *jalābu* 'womb', *māruta* > *māruta* / *māluta* 'wind', *sārika* > *sālikā* / *sāliyā* 'mynah', *haridrā* > *haliddā* 'saffron', *eraṇḍa* > *eraṇḍa/elaṇḍa* 'castor oil plant', *kumbhira* > *kumbhila* 'crocodile', *giri* > *gili* 'hill', *sukumāra* > *sukhumāla* 'delicate', *maskarin* > *makkhalī*, *yudhiṣṭhira* > *yudhiṭṭhila*.

From the root *dṛ* there is *udriyati*, *daḷati* / *dāḷeti*.

From the root *gṛ*: *girati* / *gilati*.

- l). *l* > *r*: *kila* > *kila* / *kira*, *lambh*: *ālambana* > *ārammana*
m). Sometimes the Sanskrit prefixes *ava* / *apa*, *abhi* / *adhi* are interchanged in Pali: *avakṛntati* > *apakantati* 'cuts', *avalokita* > *apalokita* 'begged permission', *apakaroti* > *avakaroti* 'remove', *apasṛta* > *avasata/osata* 'left', *abhiprāya* > *adhippāya* 'intention', *abhipātayati* > *adhipātetī*.
n). Interchange of consonant: *masaka* > *makasa* (mosquito).
o). Fractions: *ardha-catuttha* > *aḍḍha-ca-utṭha* > *aḍḍha-a-utṭha* > *aḍḍhotṭha* > *aḍḍhuṭṭha* > *aḍḍhuḍḍha* '3 1/2', *ardha-tṛtiya* > *aḍḍha-tṭitiya* > *aḍḍha-a-tiya* > *aḍḍhatiya* '2 1/2'.

159. Correspondence of single intervocalic consonants.

Sanskrit	Pali	Sanskrit	Pali
<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>vṛka</i> , <i>prakāra</i>	<i>vaka</i> , <i>pakāra</i>
	<i>y</i>	<i>laukika</i> , <i>agārika</i>	<i>lokiya</i> , <i>agāriya</i>
	<i>v</i>	<i>śuka</i>	<i>suva</i>
<i>kh</i>	<i>kh</i>	<i>sukha</i> , <i>likhati</i>	<i>sukha</i> , <i>likhati</i>

<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>rāga</i> , <i>roga</i>	<i>rāga</i> , <i>roga</i>
	<i>k</i>	<i>chagala</i> , <i>sthagayati</i>	<i>chakala</i> , <i>thaketi</i>
<i>gh</i>	<i>gh</i>	<i>nidāgha</i>	<i>nidāgha</i>
	<i>kh</i>	<i>parigha</i>	<i>paligha</i> / <i>palikha</i>
	<i>h</i>	<i>laghu</i>	<i>lahu</i>
<i>c</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>pacati</i> , <i>ruci</i>	<i>pacati</i> , <i>ruci</i>
<i>j</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>gaja</i> , <i>rājan</i>	<i>gaja</i> , <i>rājan</i>
	<i>c</i>	<i>prājayati</i>	<i>pājeti</i> / <i>pāceti</i>
	<i>d</i>	<i>prasenajit</i>	<i>pasenadi</i>
	<i>y</i>	<i>nija</i>	<i>niya</i>
<i>ṭ</i>	<i>ṭ</i>	<i>aṭavi</i>	<i>aṭavi</i>
	<i>ḷ</i>	<i>karkaṭa</i>	<i>kakkhaḷa</i>
<i>ṭh</i>	<i>ṭh</i>	<i>jaṭhara</i>	<i>jaṭhara</i>
<i>ḍ</i>	<i>ḷ</i>	<i>krīḍati</i>	<i>kīḷati</i>
	<i>dd</i>	<i>krīḍā</i>	<i>kiḍḍā</i> / <i>kīḷā</i>
	<i>ḷ</i>	<i>viḍaṅga</i> , <i>āḍambara</i>	<i>vilaṅga</i> , <i>ālambara</i>
<i>ḍh</i>	<i>ḷh</i>	<i>mūḍha</i>	<i>mūḷha</i>
<i>ṇ</i>	<i>ṇ</i>	<i>guṇa</i> , <i>aruṇa</i>	<i>guṇa</i> , <i>aruṇa</i>
	<i>ḷ</i>	<i>veṇu</i>	<i>veḷu</i>
<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>gati</i> , <i>jāta</i>	<i>gati</i> , <i>jāta</i>
	<i>d</i>	<i>uta</i> , <i>yātayati</i>	<i>uda</i> , <i>yādeti</i> , <i>niyyādeti</i>
	<i>ṭ</i>	<i>prati</i> , <i>kṛta</i>	<i>paṭi</i> , <i>kata</i> / <i>kaṭa</i>
<i>th</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>gāthā</i> , <i>kathayati</i>	<i>gāthā</i> , <i>katheti</i>
	<i>ṭh</i>	<i>kvathati</i> , <i>prathama</i>	<i>kaṭhati</i> , <i>paṭhama</i>
	<i>dh</i>	<i>vyath</i>	<i>vedhati</i>

d	d	udaka, kadā	udaka, kadā
	t	kusīda	kusīta
	y	khādita	khāyita
	ḷ	udāra	uḷāra
dh	dh	bodhi	bodhi
	th	apidhiyate	pithiyati
	h	rudhira, sādhu	ruhira, sāhu
n	n	dina, nidāna	dīna, nidāna
	ḷ	enas, anena	eḷa, aneḷa
	l	ānāhana	ālāna / āḷāna
p	p	rūpa	rūpa
	v	apakaroti	avakaroti
ph	ph	saphala	saphala
b	b	ābādha	ābādha
	p	alābu	alābu / alāpu
bh	bh	prabhā, labhati	pabhā, labhati
	h	prabhūta	pahūta
m	m	prema, sama	pema, sama
y	y	priya	piya
	v	āyudha, raya	āvudha, rava
	b	jarāyu	jalābu
	bb	pūya	pubba
ṛ	r	para, nara	para, nara
	ṛ	karavīra	kaṇavīra
	l	pari, antarikṣa	pali, antalikkha
	ḷ	daridra	daḷidda / dalidda

l	l	kāla, phala	kāla, phala
	ḷ	antarāla, alinda	antarāḷa, āḷinda/ālinda
v	v	evam, deva	evam, deva
	b	āvila	āvila / ābila
s	s	trasati	tasati
ś	s	yaśa	yasa
ṣ	s	bhāṣā	bhāsā
h	h	moha	moha

Pali	Sanskrit	Pali	Sanskrit
k	k, g	p	p, b
kh	kh, gh	ph	ph
g	g	b	b, v, y
gh	gh	bh	bh
c	c, j	m	m
j	j	y	y, k, j, d
ṭ	ṭ, t	r	r
ṭh	ṭh, th	l	l, r, n, d
ṇ	ṇ, r	ḷ	ḷ, d, l, r, ṇ, n
t	t, d	ḷh	ḷh
th	th, dh	v	v, y, k
d	d, t, j	s	s, ś, ṣ
dh	dh, th	h	h, gh, dh, bh
n	n		

N.B. In Pali *idha* has retained the mute aspirate consonant while Sanskrit has *iha*. Further Pali retains the *r* in the word *nahāru* as

is found in *Avestan snāvara* while Sanskrit *r* has been changed to *y*: *nahāyu*.

160. **Final consonants.** In Pali no word ends in a consonant.

- A Sanskrit nasal consonant at the end of a word becomes niggahita in Pali: *agnim* > *aggim*, *rūpam* > *rupam*, *varan* > *varam*.
- The final visarga with a preceding *a* becomes *o*: *manaḥ* > *mano*, *puruṣaḥ* > *puriso*.
- The visarga, preceded by any other vowel, is dropped: *sālāḥ* > *sālā*, *agniḥ* > *aggi*, *bhikṣuḥ* > *bhikkhu*.
- The Sanskrit consonants *k*, *t*, *ṭ*, *p* at the end of a word, are dropped: *tasmāt* > *tasmā*
- When a word ends in a consonant in Sanskrit, either that consonant is dropped in Pali or a vowel is added to it:

<i>apsaras</i> > <i>accharā</i>	<i>uṣman</i> > <i>uṣma / usuma</i>
<i>vidyut</i> > <i>vijju / vijjutā</i>	<i>sarit</i> > <i>saritā</i>
<i>āpad</i> > <i>āpadā</i>	<i>sarat</i> > <i>sarada</i>
<i>dṛṣad</i> > <i>nisadā</i>	<i>nirvid</i> > <i>nibbidā</i>

N.B. Sometimes the final consonant of a preposition or of a pronoun which has been dropped, reappears in composition: *puna*: *punarahosi*, *tasmā*: *tasmātiha*.

161. **Groups of two consonants.** The various Sanskrit consonant groups, in passing over to Pali, are either assimilated or split up by the insertion of a vowel.

Assimilation between two occlusive consonants was favoured by the fact that the first consonant was unexploded and hence very easily tended to be pronounced like the following consonant which exploded with the following vowel.

The insertion of a vowel usually took place when the second consonant was a nasal or a semivowel, or when a liquid consonant

was preceded by a mute consonant or by *s*. Sometimes the same word may have two developments: assimilation of the consonants and insertion of a vowel.

A word in Pali generally begins with a single consonant; hence an initial group of consonants in Sanskrit is in Pali either assimilated or split up with the insertion of a vowel. When the group is assimilated, the first consonant drops; but this consonant appears in compounds: *skandha* > *kkhandha* > *khandha jñāta* > *ññāta* > *ñāta* but *abhiññāta*. There are, however, a few words beginning with an occlusive or mute consonant and a semivowel or liquid consonant: *brahma* > *brahma*, *vyākṛta* > *vyākata*.

The rules of assimilation are the same as those given in nos. 12-16. Those rules are briefly repeated here together with elements that are proper to the evolution of consonants from Sanskrit to Pali.

162. **Mute + mute consonant.** When in Sanskrit the group of consonants is made up of two identical mute consonants, this group remains unaltered in Pali: *uddāna* > *uddāna* 'essence'. When the two consonants are different, the first is assimilated to the second: *pudgala* > *puggala* 'individual', *ārabdha* > *āraddha* 'begun'.

A group of dental consonants, preceded by *r / ṛ*, sometimes remains the same and sometimes the consonants are cerebralized. The difference of development is usually connected with a semantic difference: *vṛddha* > *vuddha* 'old', *vaḍḍha* 'wealth', *vṛtta* > *vatta* 'obligation', *vaṭṭa* 'circular'.

The consonants are assimilated and cerebralized in the past participle *dagdha* from the root *ḍah*: *daddha*.

In *pippali* > *pippali* the consonant becomes aspirate.

Here are the various groups made up of occlusive or mute consonants:

<i>Sanskrit</i>	<i>Pali</i>	<i>Sanskrit</i>	<i>Pali</i>
<i>kk</i>	<i>kk</i>	<i>vṛkka</i>	<i>vakka</i>
<i>kt</i>	<i>tt</i>	<i>vukta</i>	<i>vutta</i>

kth	tth	sakthi	satthi
gdh	ddh	dugdha	duddha
gbh	bbh	prāgbhāra	pabbhāra
cc	cc	uccaya	uccaya
cch	cch	gacchati	gacchati
jj	jj	kajjala	kajjala
jjh	jjh	ujjhati	ujjhati
tt	tt	ghaṭṭayati	ghaṭṭeti
ḍḍ	ḍḍ	uḍḍayati	uḍḍeti
dg	gg	khadga	khagga
tt	tt	nimitta	nimitta
	ṭṭ	vṛtta	vaṭṭa
tk	kk	satkaroti	sakkaroti
tp	pp	utpatti	uppatti
tph	pph	utphalayati	upphaleti
dd	dd	uddāna	uddāna
ddh	ddh	śraddhā	saddhā
	ḍḍh	vṛddhi	vaḍḍhi
	bbh	uddhṛta	ubbhata
dg	gg	mudga	mugga
dgh	ggh	udghoṣayati	ugghoseti
db	bb	udbadhnāti	ubbandhati
dbh	bbh	udbhava	ubbhava
pt	tt	prāpta	patta
pp	pph	pippali	pipphali
bj	jj	kubja	kujja

bd	dd	śabda	sadda
bdh	ddh	labdha	laddha

N.B. Sometimes in Sanskrit a word has a long vowel before a single consonant; in Pali the consonant is doubled and the vowel shortened: *ākula* > *akkula*, *nīdha* > *niddha*.

163. **Mute + sibilant consonants.** In Sanskrit only three mute consonants are followed by a sibilant: *kṣ*, *ts*, *ps*.

a). *kṣ*. In this group the sibilant is assimilated to the mute consonant and the final vowel is aspirated: *rakṣati* > *rakkhati*, *dakṣiṇa* > *dakkhiṇa*, *kṣetra* > *khetta*, *kṣipati* > *khipati*.

There are some words in which the group *ks* > *cch*: *ṛksa* > *accha*, *kuksi* > *kucchi*.

In some word we find both *kkh*, *cch*: *akṣi* > *akkhi*, *sakṣikaroti* > *sacchikaroti*, *kṣura* > *khura*, *kṣurikā* > *churikā*.

In some cases the difference in the simplification of the consonant group has a special semantic connotation: *kṣamā* > *khamā* 'forbearance', *kṣamā* > *chamā* 'earth'; *kṣaṇa* > *khaṇa* 'moment', *kṣaṇa* > *chaṇa* 'festivity'.

kṣ > *kkh* > *ggh*: *prakṣarati* > *pakkharati* > *paggharati*.

The consonant group *kṣ* of the root *kṣāy* has various developments: *ghāyati*/*jhāyati* 'to be thirsty', *khāra* 'saltpetre' *chārika* 'ashes'.

b). *ts*. At the beginning of a word this group of consonants is found in Sanskrit only in the word *tsaru* > *tharu*.

When the group *ts* is intervocalic, it develops into *cch*: *ditsati* > *dicchati*, *vatsa* > *vaccha*.

When a word beginning with the sibilant *s* is preceded by the prefix *ud*, the final consonant of *ud* becomes hard i.e. *ut* and then it is assimilated to the following sibilant: *ud-sahati* > *ut-sahati* > *ussahati*, *ud-suka* > *ut-suka* > *ussuka*. But *ut-saṅga* > *ucchaṅga*.

- c). *ps* > *cch*: *apsaras* > *accharā*, *jugupsate* > *jigucchati*, *psāta* > *chāta*.

164. **Sibilant + mute consonant.** A sibilant is assimilated to a following mute consonant and this becomes aspirate, unless it is already aspirate:

Sanskrit	Pali	Sanskrit	Pali
<i>sk</i>	<i>kkh</i>	<i>skandha</i> , <i>praskandati</i>	<i>khandha</i> , <i>pakkhandati</i>
<i>st</i>	<i>tth</i>	<i>asti</i> , <i>stana</i>	<i>atthi</i> , <i>thana</i>
<i>st</i>	<i>tth</i>	<i>upasthamba</i>	<i>upatthamba</i>
<i>sp</i>	<i>pph</i>	<i>sparsā</i>	<i>phassa</i>
<i>sph</i>	<i>pph</i>	<i>sphāti</i>	<i>phāti</i>
<i>ṣk</i>	<i>kkh</i>	<i>niṣka</i>	<i>nikkha</i>
<i>ṣt</i>	<i>tth</i>	<i>ḍṛṣṭi</i>	<i>ditthi</i>
<i>ṣṭh</i>	<i>tth</i>	<i>śreṣṭhi</i> , <i>kāṣṭha</i>	<i>setthi</i> , <i>kattha</i>
<i>śc</i>	<i>cch</i>	<i>paścāt</i> , <i>āśvarya</i>	<i>pacchā</i> , <i>acchariya</i>

- a). The group *sk* in the root *skambh-* becomes *kh* / *ch* but with a semantic difference: *khambheti* 'endures', *chambeti* 'to be firm'.
- b). In the root *sthā* the vowel *i* of the reduplication causes the cerebralization of the following group: *tiṣṭhati* > *tiṭṭhati*. The cerebral consonants have been retained in all the forms derived from this root: *aṭṭhāsi*, *ṭhita*, *ṭhassati*, *ṭhānam*, *ṭhiti*. But the dental has been retained in the words *thāmā*, *thāvara*, *thira*, *thera*.
- c). The final sibilant of the prefix *nīs* usually causes the following consonant to become aspirate; but there are a few cases where this aspiration does not take place: *nispatti* > *nippatti* / *nippatti*, *nīscarma* > *niccamma*, *nīskāma* > *nikkāma*;

niskīrṇa > *nikkiṇṇa*, *niscala* > *niccala*, *nīscarati* > *niccharati*, *nīstīrṇa* > *nīstīṇṇa*, *nīstarāṇa* > *nītharāṇa*.

The final sibilant of *dus* never causes the aspiration of the following consonant: *duskara* > *dukkara*, *dustara* > *duttara*.

- d). In some cases the group *st* has been retained: *utrasta* > *utrasta*, *avadhastā* > *odhastā*.

In the word *asthi* the consonant group has been cerebralized: *aṭṭhi*.

In *leṣṭu* the sibilant has been assimilated to the following consonant, and then the group has been softened but without aspiration: *leṣṭu* > *leṭṭu* > *leḍḍu*.

skanna > *kanna* without aspiration.

165. **Mute consonant + nasal consonant.** A nasal consonant is assimilated to a preceding guttural, dental and labial consonant.

Sanskrit	Pali	Sanskrit	Pali
<i>kn</i>	<i>kk</i>	<i>śaknoti</i>	<i>sakkoti</i>
<i>gn</i>	<i>gg</i>	<i>agni</i>	<i>aggi</i>
<i>tn</i>	<i>tt</i>	<i>sapatna</i>	<i>sapatta</i>
<i>tm</i>	<i>tt</i>	<i>ātman</i>	<i>attan</i>
<i>pn</i>	<i>pp</i>	<i>prāpnoti</i>	<i>pappoti</i>

- a). A palatal consonant, followed by a nasal, is assimilated to it: *rājñā* > *raññā*, *abijñā* > *abiññā*.
- b). Sometimes, instead of the two consonants being assimilated, a vowel is inserted: *rājñā* > *raññā* / *rājinā*, *ratna* > *ratana*, *ātmā* > *ātumā*, *pāpman* > *pāpimā*, *padma* > *padma* / *paduma*, *agni* > *aggi* / *gīni*, *svapna* > *supina* / *soppa*.

When the root *śak-* and the root *āp* with the prefix *pra* are inflected in Pali like the verbs of the ninth class, the vowel *u* is inserted before the suffix: *pra-āp-nāti* > *pāp-u-nāti* > *pāpuṇāti*, *śak-*

nāti > *sakk-u-nāti* > *sakkunāti*. This second form has the doubling of the consonant on the analogy of *sakkoti*.

- c). The consonant group of the root *jñā* is sometimes simplified to a cerebral nasal: *ājñā* > *āṇā*, *ājñapti* > *āṇatti*, *ājñāpeti* > *āṇāpeti*.

166. Nasal consonant + mute consonant. A Sanskrit nasal followed by a mute is retained in Pali: *aṅkura* > *aṅkura*, *saṅgha* > *saṅgha*, *pañca* > *pañca*, *paṇḍita* > *paṇḍita*, *antima* > *antima*, *kampati* > *kampati*, *sambodhi* > *sambodhi*, *gambhīra* > *gambhīra*.

- a). In some cases a hard mute consonant is softened: *nighaṇṭu* > *nighaṇḍu*.
- b). Sometimes the consonant *r* causes the cerebralization of a following dental: *granthi* > *gaṇṭhi*,
- c). In the group *mbh* sometimes the occlusion is lost leaving behind only the apiration: *vambha* > *vamha*.
- d). The group *ñc* in numerals is sometimes represented by *ṇṇ*, *ññ*, *nn*: *pañcadaśa* > *pañcadasa* / *pañnarasa*, *pannarasa* / *pañcāśat* > *paññāsa* / *pañṇāsa*.

167. Mute consonant + *l*, *v*, *y*, *r*. When a mute consonant is followed by one of the consonant *l*, *v*, *y*, *r* the usual assimilation takes place. But there are cases where the consonant group remains the same, or a vowel is inserted, or a new group of consonants arises.

- a). Mute consonant + *l*. When a mute consonant is followed by *l* assimilation takes place or a vowel is inserted: *śukla* > *sukka*, *glāna* > *gilāna*, *kliṣṭa* > *kiliṭṭha*, *kleśa* > *kileśa*, *klāmati* > *kilamati*, *plavati* > *plavati* / *pilavati*.
- b). mute consonant + *v*. When a mute consonant is followed by *v* the group remains unchanged, or assimilation takes place or the vowel *u* is inserted: *śrutvā* > *sutvā*, *jñatvā* > *ñatvā*, *tvam* > *tvam*, *dvāra* > *dvāra*, *dvidhā* > *dvidhā*.

Assimilation: *kṛtvah* > *khattum*, *dvi* > *ddi* > *di*: *diguṇa*, *dveṣya* > *dessa*, *tvam* > *tam*, *jvalati* > *jalati*.

Insertion of vowel *u*: *tvam* > *tuvam*, *dvi* > *duvi*.

dv > *bb*: *udvigna* > *ubbigga*, *dvādasa* > *bārasa*.

Stray cases: *dvesa* > *dosa*, *catvara* > *caccara*, *avadhvasta* > *odhasta*, *labhadhve* > *labhavhe*, *jajvalayati* > *daddaḷhati*.

c). Mute consonant + *y*.

Guttural consonant + *y*

1. remain unchanged
2. assimilation
3. insertion of a vowel

śākya > *sakka* / *sākiya* / *sakya* > *sakka*, *vākya* / *vākyā*, *ākhyāta* > *ākhyāta* / *akkhāta*, *bhāgya* > *bhāgya*, *bhagga* / *bhāgiya*, *bhāgyavant* > *bhāgyavant* / *bhaggavant*, *ārogya* > *ārogya*.

Palatal consonant + *y*: Either the group is split up with the vowel *i* or assimilation takes place: *jiyā* > *jiyā*, *yācyate* > *yāciyati*, *jiyotsnā* > *juṇhā* / *dosinā*, *vaṇijyā* > *vaṇijjā*.

Dental consonant + *y* give rise to a palatal group: *ty* > *cc*, *thy* > *cch*, *dy* > *jj*, *dhy* > *jjh*: *atyanta* > *accanta*, *tyajati* > *cajati*, *mithyā* > *micchā*, *utpadyate* > *uppajjati*, *madhyama* > *majjhima*, *dhyāna* > *jhāna*, *dyotate* > *jotati*.

N.B. The final consonant of *ud* is assimilated to the following *y* in *ud-yāna* > *uyyāna*, *dyūta* > *dūta* / *jūta*.

dānyūha > *najjūha*, *pratyeka* > *pacceka* / *pāṭekka* / *pāṭiyekka*.

d). Mute consonant + *r*. This group either remains unchanged or assimilation takes place or a vowel is inserted:

brāhmaṇa > *brāhmaṇa*, *brūmi* > *brūmi*, *anyatra* > *aññātra*, *nyagrodha* > *nigrodha*.

krodha > *kodha*, *krīḍā* > *kīḷā* / *khīḍā*, *grāma* > *gāma*, *grasati* > *gasati*.

vajra > *vajira*, *kriyā* > *kiriyā*, *krūra* > *kurūra*.

The group *tr* is sometimes assimilated and aspirated: *yatra* > *yattha*, *annatra* > *aññattha*.

168. **l, r + mute consonants.**

- a). **l + a mute consonant.** The consonant *l*, followed by a mute consonant, is assimilated to it: *alpa* > *appa*, *valgu* > *vaggu*
- b). **r + a mute consonant.** The consonant *r*, followed by a mute consonant, is assimilated to it: *kirti* > *kitti*, *mārga* > *magga*, *nirdōṣa* > *niddosa*, *sarpa* > *sappa*, *garbha* > *gabbha*.

Sometimes a dental consonant is cerebralized: *ārta* > *aṭṭa*, *ardha* > *aḍḍha* / *addha*, *nirbhāti* > *niḍḍayati*, *vardhati* > *vaḍḍhati*.

The difference between the dental and the cerebral consonants is linked with a semantic difference: *vartati* > *vattati* 'to exist', *vaṭṭati* 'to turn round'.

The word *artha* has several developments in Pali: *attha* 'gain and meaning', *aṭṭa* 'lawsuit', *aṭṭha* in *aṭṭhikaroti* 'to understand'.

In the word *gardabha* the consonant *r* undergoes metathesis: *gardabha* > *gadrabha*.

169. **Sibilant + nasal consonant.** When a sibilant is followed by a nasal consonant, the sibilant is changed to *h* and then metathesis takes place: *ṭṣṇā* > *taṇṇā* > *taṇhā*, *grīṣma* > *gimha*, *praśna* > *pañha*. In this last case, the dental is cerebralized.

In some cases the sibilant and the nasal have not undergone any change: *asmi* > *asmi*, *tasmim* > *tasmim* / *tamhi*.

Sometimes the consonant group is split up with the insertion of a vowel. In some cases the vowel has been inserted even after the sibilant consonant has been changed to *h*: *snigdha* > *siniddha*, *snāna* > *nahāna*, *snāyu* > *nhāru* > *nahāru*.

Rarely is the nasal consonant assimilated to the sibilant: *smarati*: *ssarati* > *sarati*, *anusmarati* > *anussarati*, *smṛti* > *sati*.

In the word *rasmi* either the two consonants remain unchanged or they are interchanged, while in *smaśru* the sibilant is assimilated to the nasal: *rasmi* > *rasmi* / *raṃsi*, *smaśru* > *massu*.

There are words in which the group sibilant + nasal has undergone more than one change:

<i>aśman</i>	<i>asmanṇ</i> , <i>asama</i> , <i>amha</i>
<i>uśman</i>	<i>usmā</i> , <i>usumā</i>
<i>ṭṣṇā</i>	<i>taṇhā</i> , <i>tasinā</i>
<i>bhīṣma</i>	<i>bhisma</i> , <i>bhimsa</i> , <i>bhesma</i> , <i>bhimha</i>
<i>sneha</i>	<i>sneha</i> , <i>sineha</i>
<i>snuṣā</i>	<i>suṇhā</i> , <i>suṇisā</i> , <i>husā</i>
<i>smarati</i>	<i>sumarati</i> , <i>sarati</i>
<i>smita</i>	<i>sita</i> , <i>smita</i> , <i>mihita</i> (<i>smita</i> > <i>hmita</i> > <i>mhita</i> > <i>mihita</i>)
<i>slesman</i>	<i>silesuma</i> , <i>semha</i>

170. **Nasal + sibilant.** A nasal consonant is turned into niggahita when followed by a sibilant: *anśu* > *aṃsu*, *amsa* > *aṃsa*.

In some words the nasal has been dropped and the vowel has been lengthened: *vimsati* > *vīsati*, *simha* > *siha*.

171. **Sibilant + l, v, y, r.** The consonants *l*, *v*, *y*, *r* are assimilated to a preceding sibilant: *aśva* > *assa*, *naśyati* > *nassati*, *sahasra* > *sahassa*, *svādate* > *sāyati*, *śaśvat* > *sassata*. *śvaśru* > *sassu*.

Sometimes, instead of assimilation, the consonant group is split up with the insertion of a vowel: *śloka* > *siloka*, *śleṣman* > *silesuma*, *śvāna* > *suvāna* / *suvāṇa*, *svāmin* > *sāmin* / *suvāmin*, *śvas* > *sve* / *suve*, *syāt* > *siyā*, *śrī* > *sirī*.

The sibilant with *y* gives rise to *cch* in *āsyati* > *acchati*, *kasyapa* > *kacchapa*.

The group *śr* may be assimilated into a double sibilant, or the sibilant may be preceded by a niggahita, or the niggahita may

be dropped and the vowel lengthened: *aśra* > *assa* / *aṃsa* / *āsa* (*koṭṭhāsa*).

172. **r + sibilant.** Generally an *r* is assimilated to a following sibilant: *darśana* > *dassana*, *varṣati* > *vassati*, *karṣaka* > *kassaka*.

Sometimes the double sibilant is simplified and a preceding short vowel is lengthened or nasalized: *akārṣit* > *akāssi* > *akāsi*, *karṣu* > *kassu* > *kāsu*, *darśayati* > *dasseti* / *upadamseti*, *utkarṣati* > *ukkamṣati*, *gharṣati* > *ghamṣati*, *harṣati* > *hamṣati*, *dharṣaṇa* > *dhamṣana*.

173. **Nasal + nasal.** The consonant group *nn* is sometimes cerebralized: *unnamati* > *unnamati* / *uṇṇamati*, *anna* > *anna* (*aparaṇṇa*, *pubbaṇṇa*), *jānu* > *jānu* / *jannu* (*jaṇṇuka*).

174. **Nasal + l, v, y, r.**

<i>ml</i>	<i>m-l</i>	<i>mlāyati</i> > <i>milāyati</i>
	<i>ll</i>	<i>pratisamlīna</i> > <i>paṭisallīna</i> , <i>samlapati</i> > <i>sallapati</i>
<i>my</i>	<i>my</i>	<i>kamyatā</i> > <i>kamyatā</i>
	<i>mm</i>	<i>kamyatā</i> > <i>kammatā</i> , <i>āgamyā</i> > <i>āgamma</i>
<i>ṃy</i>	<i>ṃy / ñña</i>	<i>saṃyama</i> > <i>saṃyama</i> / <i>saññama</i>
<i>ṃv</i>	<i>ṃv</i>	<i>saṃvara</i> > <i>saṃvara</i>
<i>ṃr</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>saṃrāga</i> > <i>sārāga</i>
<i>ṃr</i>	<i>ṃr</i>	<i>saṃrakṣati</i> > <i>saṃrakkhati</i>
<i>ny</i>	<i>ññ</i>	<i>anya</i> > <i>añña</i> , <i>maṇyati</i> > <i>maññati</i> , <i>nyāya</i> > <i>ññāya</i> > <i>ñāya</i>
<i>nv</i>	<i>nv</i>	<i>anveti</i> > <i>anveti</i>
	<i>nn</i>	<i>samanvāgata</i> > <i>samannāgata</i> , <i>samanvesati</i> > <i>samannesati</i>
<i>nv</i>	<i>ṇṇ</i>	<i>kinva</i> > <i>kiṇṇa</i>

175. **l, v, y, r + nasal.** The consonant *l, v, y, r* are assimilated to a following nasal: *dharma* > *dhamma*, *pūrṇa* > *puṇṇa*, *karṇa* > *kaṇṇa*, *kalmāṣa* > *kammāsa*.

N.B. *ūrmi* > *ūmmi* > *ūmi*

gulma > *gumla* > *gumbala* > *gumba*

176. **l, v, y, r + l, v, y, r.**

lv ll *palvala* > *palla*

bilva > *billa*

ly ly *kalyāṇa* > *kalyāṇa*

māṅgalya > *maṅgalya*

ll *cāpalya* > *cāpalla*

kauṣalya > *kosalla*

lh *jājvalyati* > *daddaḷhati*

vy vy *divya* > *divya*, *anuvyañjana* > *anuvyañjana*

by *vyakta* > *byatta*, *anuvyañjana* > *anubyañjana*

viy *vyakta* > *viyatta*, *anuvyañjana* >
anuviyañjana

vv *vyagra* > *vagga*, *vyaya* > *vaya*

bb *bhavya* > *bhabba*, *vyūḍha* > *būḷha*

vya vi *vyadh* > *vijjhati*

ve *vyath* > *vedhati*

vr vv *vraja* > *vaja*

bb *pravrajati* > *pabbajati*

rl ll *durlabha* > *dullabha*

rv bb *sarva* > *sabba*

pp *carvayati* > *cappeti*

ry ry *ārya* > *arya*

<i>riya</i>	<i>ārya</i> > <i>ariya</i> , <i>sūrya</i> > <i>suriya</i> , <i>pratihārya</i> > <i>paṭihariya</i> / <i>patihira</i> (<i>pratiharya</i> > <i>paṭihaira</i> > <i>paṭihera</i> > <i>patihira</i>)
<i>yir</i>	<i>ārya</i> > <i>ayira</i> , <i>karyāt</i> > <i>kayirā</i>
<i>yy</i>	<i>ārya</i> > <i>ayya</i> , <i>niryāti</i> > <i>niyyāti</i>
<i>ll</i>	<i>paryaṅka</i> > <i>pallaṅka</i>

Sometimes when *ir* is preceded by the vowel *a*, contraction takes place: *āśvarya* > *acchayira* > *accha-ira* > *acchera*.

177. h.

h + *nasal*, *y*, *v* undergoes matathesis: *grhṇāti* > *gahṇāti* > *gaṇhāti*, *jihma* > *jiṃha*, *āruhya* > *āruyha*, *jihvā* > *jivhā*. The consonants remain unchanged in the words *brahman*, *brāhmaṇa*.

The group *hy* is split up with the vowel *i*: *hyas* > *hiyo* > *hiyyo*. *Leyya* < *lehya* may have been formed on the analogy with *peyya* with which it is usually used.

N.B. *hrī* > *hiri*

hrada *draha* *daha*

hrada *harada* *rahada*

hraśva *rassa*

nayhati *nandhati*. This may be an analogical form: as *baddha* < *bandhati* so *naddha* < *nandhati*.

GROUPS OF THREE CONSONANTS

The groups of three consonants will be treated according as they contain a nasal or not.

178. Groups of three consonants without a nasal. If the group of consonants in Sanskrit contains at least one mute consonant, then

the general rules of assimilation are followed in passing over into Pali. Then one of the three consonants is dropped.

a). Mute + mute + s, y, r, v.

<i>ktr</i>	<i>tt</i>	<i>vaktra</i>	<i>vattta</i> <i>vatta</i> ,
		<i>yoktra</i>	<i>yottta</i> <i>yotta</i>
<i>tkṣ</i>	<i>kkh</i>	<i>utkṣipati</i>	<i>ukkṣipati</i> <i>ukkkhipati</i> <i>ukkkhipati</i>
<i>ttr</i>	<i>tt</i>	<i>chattra</i>	<i>chatta</i>
<i>ttv</i>	<i>tt</i>	<i>tattva</i>	<i>tatta</i> ,
		<i>sattva</i>	<i>satta</i>
<i>ddhv</i>	<i>ddh</i>	<i>uddhvamsati</i>	<i>uddhamsati</i>
<i>djv</i>	<i>jj</i>	<i>udjvalati</i>	<i>ujjalati</i>

In the past gerund the suffix *tvā* remains but the previous consonant is dropped: *prāptvā* > *pattvā* > *patvā*, *bhuktvā* > *bhutvā*, *muktvā* > *mutvā*.

Sometimes the group *tr* is retained and the previous consonant is dropped: *uttrasati* > *uttasati*, *uttrasta* > *utrasta* / *uttasta*.

tkṣ > *jjh*: *utkṣāyati* > *ujjhāyati*.

b). Mute + sibilant + y.

<i>kṣy</i> > <i>kkh</i> :	<i>sakṣyati</i> > <i>sakkhati</i> / <i>sagghati</i> ,
	<i>vakṣyati</i> > <i>vakkhati</i>
	<i>mokṣyati</i> > <i>mokkhati</i> .
<i>tsy</i> , <i>psy</i> > <i>cch</i> :	<i>matsya</i> > <i>maccha</i> ,
	<i>chetsyati</i> > <i>checchati</i> ,
	<i>lapsyati</i> > <i>lacchati</i> .

c). Sibilant + mute + y, r, v.

<i>str</i>	<i>tth</i> :	<i>strī</i> > <i>itthī</i> / <i>thī</i>
		<i>śastra</i> > <i>sattha</i>

ṣṭr ṭṭh: oṣṭra > oṭṭha.

N.B. *dr̥ṣṭvā* > *disvā* / *datṭhu* (in poetry)

śāstrā > *sattharā* (with the insertion of a vowel)

styāna > *thīna*.

d). r + mute + y, r, v.

martya > *mattya* > *macca*

ārdra > *adda* / *alla* / *addha*

ūrdhvam > *uddham* / *ubbham*

e). r + ṣ + ṭ.

rṣṭ > *tth* *akārṣṭa* > *akattha*.

In Pali, in the second person plural of the verbs, the dental group has been generalized where we might have expected a cerebral group.

f). r + sibilant + y, v.

ir̥ṣyā > *issā*, *pār̥śva* > *passa*.

Note the future of the verb *kasati* from the root *kṛṣ-*: *karṣyati* > *kassati* > *kassati* > *kāsati* > *kāhati* / *kāhiti*.

179. **Sanskrit consonant groups with a nasal.** When in Sanskrit a nasal is followed by two consonants, in passing over into Pali, the nasal is retained while the other two consonants are assimilated and then one is dropped.

a). nasal + mute + mute.

nkt > *nt* *pañkti* *panti*

b). nasal + mute + sibilant

nasal + sibilant + mute.

ñkṣ > *ñkh* *sañkṣipati* *sañkhipati*,

kāñksā *kañkhā*

mṣk > *ñkh* *saṃskāra* *sañkhāra*

nsth > *nth* *sansthāgāra* *santhāgāra*,

c). nasal + mute + y, r, v.

ñkr > *ñk* *cañkramati* *cañkamati*

ñkhy > *ñkh* *sañkhyāti* *sañkhāti*

ñgr > *ñg* *sañgrāma* *sangāma*

ntr > *nt* *tantri* *tantī*

nty > *ñc* *ānantya* *ānañca*

ndr > *nd* *candra* *canda*

ndhy > *ñjh* *sandhyā* > *sañjhā*, *vindhyā* > *viñjhā*

ndhr > *ndh* *randhra* > *randha*

In some cases the three consonants are retained, and in the past gerund Pali has three consonants while Sanskrit has only two: *indriya* > *indriya*, *sañkhyāta* > *sañkhāta*, *hatvā* > *hantvā*, *gatvā* > *gantvā*.

Sometimes there is no assimilation but the group is split up with the insertion of a vowel: *nisiñcyā* > *nisiñciya*. Further *sañjñā* > *saññā*.

d). nasal + s + y. *haṃsyati* > *hañchati* / *hañkhati*. This development may have been due to the insertion of *t/k* before the sibilant: *han-t-syati* > *hañchati* / *han-k-syati* > *hañkhati*.

180. **Two consonants + nasal.** A Sanskrit word with a nasal preceded by two other consonants passes over into Pali in different ways:

kṣṇ > *kkh* / *ṇh* / *kh-ṇ*

tikṣṇa *tikkha* / *tiṇha* / *tikhīṇa*

abhikṣṇam *abhikkhaṇam* / *abhiṇham*

ślakṣṇa *saṇha*

kṣm > *kkh* / *mh* / *kh-m*

sukṣma *sukkha*, *sumha*, *sukhuma*

lakṣmī *lakkhī*

<i>tsn</i>	> <i>nh / s-n</i>		
	<i>jotsnā</i>	<i>juṅhā /</i>	<i>dosinā</i>
	<i>kṛtṣṇa</i>	<i>kaṣiṇa</i>	
<i>tsm</i>	> <i>mh:</i>	<i>utsmayati</i>	<i>umhayati</i>
<i>rtm</i>	> <i>ṭ-m:</i>	<i>vartman</i>	<i>vaṭuma</i>
<i>rṣṇ</i>	> <i>ṇh:</i>	<i>pārṣṇi paṇhi</i>	
<i>rṣm</i>	> <i>mh:</i>	<i>akārṣma</i>	<i>akamha</i>

If a Sanskrit word has a group of four consonants, in Pali these consonants are reduced to one with the lengthening of the previous vowel: *daṁśtrā* > *dāṭhā*.

181. **Insertion of a vowel.** In the evolution of the consonant groups from Sanskrit into Pali, often there is no assimilation but the splitting up of the group with the insertion of one of the vowels *i*, *u*, *a*. Sometimes, instead of the vowel *u* we find *o* the guna form of the same vowel. The choice of the vowel that is inserted generally follows a certain pattern. The vowel *i* is generally inserted before the semivowel *y* and before the liquid consonant *l*; the vowel *u* is generally inserted before the semivowel *v* and the labial consonant *m*; the vowel *a* is inserted before the consonant *r*. In a few cases the vowel inserted has been influenced by the vowel in the following syllable.

a). <i>y</i>	>	<i>iy:</i>		
<i>ārya</i>		<i>ariya</i>	<i>maryādā</i>	<i>mariyādā</i>
<i>ācārya</i>		<i>ācariya</i>	<i>śākya</i>	<i>sākiya</i>
<i>aśvarya</i>		<i>acchariya</i>	<i>bhāgya</i>	<i>bhāgiya</i>
<i>kiryā</i>		<i>kiriyā</i>	<i>nisiñcyā</i>	<i>nisiñciya</i>
<i>sūrya</i>		<i>suriya</i>	<i>prakīrya</i>	<i>pakiriya</i>
<i>vīrya</i>		<i>viriya</i>	<i>yācyate</i>	<i>yāciyati</i>

b). <i>v</i>	>	<i>uv:</i>		
<i>tvam</i>		<i>tuvam</i>	<i>svāmin</i>	<i>suvāmin</i>
<i>dvi</i>		<i>duvi</i>	<i>śvāna</i>	<i>suvāna</i>
<i>śvas</i>		<i>suve</i>	<i>svasti</i>	<i>suvatthi</i>
<i>dvandva</i>		<i>tuvantuva</i>		
c). <i>m</i>	>	<i>um:</i>		
<i>ātmā</i>		<i>ātumā</i>	<i>vartman</i>	<i>vaṭuma</i>
<i>uṣman</i>		<i>usuma</i>	<i>sūkṣma</i>	<i>sukhuma</i>
<i>pakṣman</i>		<i>pakhuma</i>	<i>smarati</i>	<i>sumarati</i>
<i>padma</i>		<i>paduma</i>	<i>śleṣman</i>	<i>silesuma</i>

N.B. *pāpman* > *pāpimā* (the vowel *i* may be due to the accented previous vowel *ā*.)

smīta > *mīta* > *mīhita*, *aśman* > *asama* (the vowel inserted in these last two examples may be due to the influence of the neighbouring vowels)

c). <i>r</i>	>	<i>ar:</i>		
<i>śāstrā</i>		<i>sattharā</i>	<i>dātrā</i>	<i>dātarā</i>
<i>pitṛā</i>		<i>pitarā</i>	<i>hrada</i>	<i>harada</i> > <i>rahada</i>
<i>mātrā</i>		<i>mātarā</i>		

N.B. *arhati* > *arahati* *garhati* > *garahati*

srī > *sirī* *hrī* > *hirī* *krūra* > *kurura* (the vowel inserted may have been due to the influence of the neighbouring vowel).

d). <i>l</i>	>	<i>il:</i>		
<i>kleśa</i>		<i>kilesa</i>	<i>mlāyati</i>	<i>milāyati</i>
<i>kliṣṭa</i>		<i>kiliṭṭha</i>	<i>śleṣṭha</i>	<i>siliṭṭha</i>
<i>klamati</i>		<i>kilamati</i>	<i>śloka</i>	<i>siloka</i>
<i>glāsnu</i>		<i>kilāsu</i>	<i>śleṣman</i>	<i>silesuma</i>

glāna *gilāna* *avaplāvayati* *opilāpeti*
plavati *pilāvati*

e). *n*: The vowel inserted, when the consonant group containing an *n* is split, depends on the previous or on the following vowel:

agni *gini* *ratna* *ratana*
tīkṣṇa *tikhīṇa* *abhīkṣṇa* *abhikkhaṇa*
snigdha *siniddha* *snāna* *nhāna* > *nahāna*
snāyu *nhāru* > *nahāru*

N.B. *rājñah* > *rājino*, *rājñā* > *rājinā*, *rājñi* > *rājini*.

In the declension of the stems in *an*, the vowel *u* is inserted when the final is long, and the vowel *a* when the final vowel is short:

brahmunā, *brahmuno* but *brahmani*
kammunā, *kammuno* but *kammani*
addhunā, *addhuno* but *addhani*.

But *attan* retains the vowel *a*: *attanā*, *attano*, *attani*

In the conjugation of the present stem we find also *pāpuṇāti*, *sakkuṇāti*.

In a few cases, the vowel *i* is inserted before the consonant *n*:

tṛṣṇā *tasiṇā* *svapna* *supina*
vyotsnā *dosinā* *snāyati* *sināyati*
sneha *sineha* *snuṣā* *sinusā* > *sunisā* / *suṇhā*

f). Insertion of *o*.

gulma > *gumba* but in the derivative *golomika*, *svarga* > *sagga*, *sovaggika*, *dvāra* > *dvāra*, *dvārika* / *dovārika*.

g). When the vowel *i* is inserted after the consonant *r*, then a long vowel preceding the consonant *r* is shortened:

sūrya *suriya* *ārya* *ariya*
ācārya *ācariya* *vīrya* *viriya*
 Similarly *sūkṣma* *sukhuma* *tīkṣṇa* *tikhina*

N.B. a). In Pali any consonant can be found at the beginning of a word, except *ḍ*, *ṭ*, *ḍh*, *ṇ*, *ḷ*, *ḷh*.

b). Between two vowels all consonants can be used alone with the exception of *ch*, *jh*, *ñ*, *dh*, *ḍh*.

c). All Sanskrit final consonants are dropped in Pali, though they may sometimes appear in compound words

A P O P H O N Y

182. In Sanskrit the vowel gradation plays a great part in the formation of words, in the declensions and in the conjugations. In Pali the vowel gradation has lost much of its importance. In the building up of the words, it is found since most of the words are derived from Sanskrit. In the declensions and the conjugations most of the time there is the tendency to build up the forms from one uniform stem; thus while Sanskrit has such forms as *chinadmi*, *chinatsi*, *chindmaḥ*, in Pali we have *chindāmi*, *chindasi*, *chindāma*. While in Sanskrit the past participle is formed from the verbal root in its weak grade *gam-*: *gata*, in Pali we have the past participle formed from the root in its weak grade, but also from the stem of the present tense: *gata*, *gacchita*. The same happens in the declensions. Thus we have the forms *silavatā*, *silavato*, but the word is also declined like the ordinary thematic stems: *silavanto*, *silavantam*, *silavantassa*, etc.. (For the vowel gradation, see no. 4 and what has been said in the declension, in the conjugation, and in the building up of words.)

CHAPTER XIII

EVOLUTION OF THE DECLENSIONS

In Pali the declensions of the nouns and of the adjectives are the historical development and simplification of the declensions in Sanskrit. Hence when we compare and contrast the declensions in Pali with the declensions in Sanskrit we can follow their evolution. Before coming to details, we can point out some general characteristics.

183. Loss of consonant declensions. Since no words in Pali end in a consonant, the Sanskrit consonant declensions have been lost and they have become vowel declensions according as the words end in one or the other vowel; v.g. *āpad* > *āpadā*, *vidyut* > *vijju* / *vijjutā*, *āyus* > *ayu*, *dis* > *disā*. Traces, however, of the Sanskrit consonant declension are found in stem in *-as*, *-an*, *-in*, *-nt*, *-ar*: *manas*, *rājan*, *hatthin*, *silavant*, *satthar*.

184. Prevalence of the -a declension. There is a very strong tendency to build up a uniform and simple declension, avoiding all difficult forms, especially those that would entail the application of difficult sandhi rules. And the simplest of all the declensions is that of the stems in *-a* or thematic declension. Hence many new forms

have been built on the analogy of the thematic stems. *Aggi* has a genitive *aggissa*, an ablative *aggismā*, a locative *aggimim* just like *purisassa*, *puisasmā*, *purisasmim*. The stems in *ant* can optionally be declined on the model of the *a*-stems: *silavanto*, *silavantam*, *silavantena*, etc. This tendency had already started in Sanskrit in forming compounds: *aṅguli* / *dasāṅgula*, *akṣi* / *caturakṣa*.

185. Indistinctness of the gender. Pali has retained the three genders as in Sanskrit. The distinction, however, between the masculine and the neuter nouns is seen only in the nominative, vocative and accusative singular and plural. And even in these cases, the distinction between the masculine and the neuter is not always clear, especially in poetry. In the Ratana Sutta we find *yāni bhūtāni* and *sabbe bhūtā* in the same stanza (Sn 222); in the Itivuttaka we find *tīni sukhāni* in the prose passage and *tayo sukhe* in poetry (Itv 67:5, 14); in the Majjhima Nikaya we find in the same sutta the nominative singular *daṇḍo* and the accusative plural *daṇḍāni* (MN I 373:2 and 374:10); *imāni padhānāni* / *ete padhānā* (AN II 74: 1, 25); *ye keci bhavā* / *sabba bhavāni* (Ud35: 15, 21); *nivesane* / *nivesanāni* (Sn 300, 305); *putto* / *puttāni* (Ud 17:29, 33); *manāpīke cakkhunā rūpe passitum* (Ud 30:27; *dhammāni* (Dpd 270); *pāṇe* (DN III 63:11); *pāṇāni* (Dpd 27); *pādāni dhovivā* / *pāde pakkhāletvā* (Theri 176, 178).

Sometimes this variety of endings may be due to requirements of metre in poetry. On other occasions it may be due to the influence of the words that precede or follow. Thus in the Udāna we read *sabba puttāni* occurring soon after *sabba bhattāni*. Again we read *manāpīke sadde manāpīke rase manāpīke gandhe* together with *manāpīke rūpe manāpīke phoṭṭhabbe*.

In some cases the variety of endings may be due rather to the fact that Pali is on this point more closely connected with Vedic Sanskrit than with Classical Sanskrit. In Vedic Sanskrit the nominative plural of the neuter nouns ends more often in *-ā* than in *-āni*: *priyā* and also *priyāni*. The frequency of the case ending in *-ā* as compared with the case ending in *-āni* is in the proportion

of 3:2. Hence the Pali nominative plural *priyā*, besides *priyāni*, would correspond to the same ending in Vedic.

Further, once there was a nominative in *-ā*, it was easy to build up an accusative plural in *-e* on the analogy of the masculine stems: *purisā* : *purisē* :: *rūpā* : *rūpe*.

186. **Loss of the dual.** Pali has retained the singular and the plural number but it has lost the dual. The main reason for its loss must have been the tendency towards simplification. It is not easy to remember forms that are somewhat difficult and that are used very rarely, i.e. when the subject of the verb consists of two persons or things. On the other hand, a phonetic reason may have helped towards the disappearance of the dual. The ending of the nominative, vocative and accusative dual in Sanskrit, in passing over into Pali, would be confused with some other case endings: *purūṣau* would become *puriso* which is already the nominative singular, *nadyau* would become *nadiyo* or *najjo* which is the nominative plural.

187. **Loss of cases.** Both the dative and the ablative cases have been almost entirely lost in Pali.

The dative case takes the same ending as the genitive: *purisassa*, *purisānaṃ* are both genitive and dative. The only exception are the few dative cases in *-āya* of the thematic stems: *dassanāya*, *hitāya*, *sukhāya*.

The ablative in Sanskrit was very often similar to the genitive in the singular and to the dative in the plural; in Pali the ablative has generally been assimilated to the instrumental both in the singular and in the plural: *agginā*, *aggīhi* are both instrumental and ablative. The only exception are the stems in vowel. The thematic stems have an instrumental in *-ena*: *purisena* entirely different from the ablative *purisā*. Further all the stems in vowel have an alternative ending for the ablative borrowed from the pronominal declension: *-smā*: *purisasmā*, *aggismā*.

188. **Loss of case endings.** The Sanskrit endings of the accusative plural of the masculine vowel stems have been lost since, in passing over into Pali, they coincide with the endings of the ac-

cusative singular. Thus the plural accusatives *purūṣān*, *agnīn*, *bhikṣūn* become in Pali *purisaṃ*, *aggiṃ*, *bhikkhuṃ* which are the accusative singular. Having lost its proper ending, the accusative plural nearly always takes the same ending as the nominative plural; hence *aggayo* / *aggī*, *bhikkhavo* / *bhikkhū* are both nominative and accusative plural. The exceptions are the stems in *-a* which have the ending *-e* in the accusative plural: *purise*. Another reason for the loss of case endings is the loss of final consonants in Pali. Thus *purūṣāt* > *purisā*, *sālāḥ* > *sālā*, *agnīḥ* > *aggī*.

The ending *-aiḥ* of the plural instrumental case of the stems in *-a* has been lost since in Pali it would become *-e* which is the ending of the locative singular and of the accusative plural. The instrumental and the ablative cases have the same ending in the plural: Skt *devaiḥ* > *devehi* in Pali.

In the stems in *-i*, *-u* the case endings of the genitive and of the locative singular have been lost. Skt *agneḥ*, *agnau*, *mṛdeḥ*, *mṛdau*. They have been replaced by *aggissa*, *aggino*, *aggismiṃ*, *mudussa*, *muduno*, *mudusmiṃ*.

The stems in *-ant* have lost in Pali the forms of the plural which entail difficult sandhi rules, i.e. *śilavadbhiḥ*, *śilavatsu*. The only exception is *sabbhi* < *sant*.

189. **Pronominal case endings.** In order to make up for the loss of some case endings, recourse is had to the case endings of the pronominal declension. Already in Sanskrit we find the pronominal endings *-ena*, *-sya*, *-esu* in the instrumental and genitive singular and in the locative plural of the stems in *-a*: *puruṣena*, *puruṣasya*, *puruṣesu* which become in Pali *purisena*, *purisassa*, *purisesu*. Besides these endings, in Pali we find also the endings *-smā*, *-smiṃ* for the ablative and locative singular, and *-e*, *-ehi* for the accusative and instrumental plural : *purise*, *purisehi*.

190. **Variety of case endings.** Though the tendency in Pali is towards simplification and uniformity, yet we find a variety of case endings. The Sanskrit forms *rājñāḥ*, *rājñā* develop into Pali as *rañño* and *raññā* with the assimilation of the two consonants. But a new

development arises from splitting up the consonant group with a vowel : *rājino*, *rājinā*. The pronominal endings used in the declension of the nouns appear in two different ways owing to phonetic rules: *purisasmā* / *purisamhā*, *purisasmim* / *purisamhi*.

Old forms derived directly from Sanskrit are found side by side with new forms. Sanskrit: *nadyā*, *nadyah*, *jātyā* become in Pali *najjā*, *najjo*, *jaccā*. New formations in Pali are *nadiyā*, *nadiyo*, *jātiyā*. Further Pali has some Vedic forms like *dhammā* / *dhammena*, *rūpā* / *rūpāni*, *paṇḍitāse* / *paṇḍitā*.

Pali has also some Magadhi forms like the nominative singular and plural in *e*: *bāle* / *bālo*, *paṇḍite* / *paṇḍito*, *sukhe* / *sukhāni*, *paṇḍitāse* / *paṇḍitā*, *rukkhāse* / *rukkhā*. The forms *paṇḍitāse*, *rukkhāse* have passed from Vedic into Magadhi.

Though the dative case has lost its proper endings, yet there are a few old datives still surviving: *sukhāya*, *hitāya*, *dassanāya*.

In order to avoid confusion between the nominative plural like *purisā* and the ablative singular *purisā* and between the accusative plural *purise* and the locative singular *deve*, pronominal endings have been used for the ablative and the locative singular: *purisasmā* / *purisamhā*, *purisasmim* / *purisamhi*.

On the analogy of *purisā*, *sālā* with the final long vowel, the stems in *-ī*, *-i*, *-ū*, *-u* have also a long vowel in the nominative plural: *jāti*, *nadi*, *dhenū*, *bhikkhū*.

Just as *purisaṃ* has *purisehi*, *purisānaṃ*, *purisesu*, so also *satthāraṃ* has *satthārehi*, *satthārānaṃ*, *satthāresu*.

To avoid difficult sandhi, the stems in *-ant* have the plural oblique cases from the stem *sīlavanta*: *sīlavantehi* *sīlavantānaṃ*, *sīlavantesu*. Of the old forms, only one survives: *sabbhi* from *sant*.

191. **Vowel gradation.** The vowel gradation in the declension of the nouns has greatly lost its clearness in some cases, while in others it has entirely disappeared. This is due either to the desire to build up a simple uniform declension, or to the phonetic laws proper to the language.

While Sanskrit has *akṣi*, *akṣṇā*, *akṣṇah*, *akṣiṇi*, *akṣibhiḥ*, *akṣṇām*, Pali has generalized the stem of the nominative: *akkhi*, *akkhino*, *akkhinā*, *akkhīni*, *akkhīhi*, *akkhīnaṃ*.

In nouns like *satthā*, *rājā*, a vowel is often inserted between the consonants of the weak grade and thus the vowel gradation is no longer clear: *satthā* > *sattharā*, *rājā* > *rājinā*. Similarly in the plural the vowel of the stem is lengthened while it ought to be short according to the vowel gradation: *satthūhi*, *satthūsu* < *Skt śāstrbhiḥ*, *śāstrṣu*.

Again with the elimination of the Sanskrit vowel *r*, it is difficult to see how *u* alternates with *r* / *ār*: *satthu* : *sattharā* (*satthā*): *satthāram*.

192. **Declension of thematic stems.** It will be easy to compare and contrast the Pali and the Sanskrit declensions if we place them side by side.

	Sanskrit: <i>deva</i>		Pali: <i>deva</i> (god)	
	Singular		Plural	
N.	<i>devaḥ</i>	<i>devo</i>	<i>devāḥ</i>	<i>devā</i>
V.	<i>deva</i>	<i>deva</i>	<i>devāḥ</i>	<i>devā</i>
A.	<i>devam</i>	<i>devaṃ</i>	<i>devān</i>	<i>deve</i>
I.	<i>devena</i>	<i>devena</i>	<i>devaiḥ</i>	<i>devehi</i>
Ab.	<i>devāt</i>	<i>devā</i> , <i>devasmā</i>	<i>devebhyaḥ</i>	<i>devehi</i>
D.	<i>devāya</i>	<i>devassa</i>	<i>devebhyaḥ</i>	<i>devānaṃ</i>
G.	<i>devasya</i>	<i>devassa</i>	<i>devānām</i>	<i>devānaṃ</i>
L.	<i>deve</i>	<i>deve</i> , <i>devasmim</i>	<i>devesu</i>	<i>devesu</i>

a). The changes that have taken place are the following:

<i>aḥ</i> > <i>o</i> :	<i>devaḥ</i>	>	<i>devo</i>
<i>am</i> > <i>aṃ</i> :	<i>devam</i>	>	<i>devaṃ</i>
<i>āt</i> > <i>ā</i> :	<i>devāt</i>	>	<i>devā</i>

sya > *ssa* *devasya* > *devassa*

āh > *ā* *devāh* > *devā*

ām > *aṃ* *devānām* > *devānaṃ*

- b). The ablative and the locative singular *devā*, *deve* were liable to be confused with the nominative and the accusative plural; hence the alternative endings *-smā*, *-smiṃ* were borrowed from the pronominal declension: *devasmā*, *devasmīṃ* like *tasmā*, *tasmīṃ*.
- c). The Sanskrit case ending *-āya* of the dative has been retained by the thematic stems when the dative case is used to indicate the goal or purpose: *dassanāya*, *hitāya*, *sukhāya*.
- d). The ending of the accusative plural *-ān* has been lost since in Pali it becomes *-aṃ* and coincides with the ending of the accusative singular. This loss is made good by the ending *-e* which is either borrowed from the pronominal declension or from the plural case endings *-e-hi*, *-e-su*: *purise*, *dhamme*.
- e). The endings of the instrumental and locative plural *ehi*, *esu* are borrowings from the pronominal declension and are already found in Vedic: *priyebhiḥ*, *priyeṣu*: *piyehi*, *piyesu* like *tehi*, *tesu*.
- f). In the declension of the neuter nouns Pali has in the nominative, vocative and accusative plural forms like *rūpā* besides *rūpāni*. Either these forms must be taken as coming directly from Vedic or they must be taken as required by the exigencies of metre in poetry or finally as a mixing up of genders.
- g). Both masculine and neuter thematic stems have a Magadhi ending *-e* in the nominative singular: *sukhe*, *dukkhe*, *kamme*, *sate* (MN I 517:23, 24,34, 36); *vise*, *tiṃse* (MN I 518:1); *bāle*, *paṇḍite* (DN I 155:29,30); *attakāre* (DN I 153:28); *avitakke*, *avicāre*, *paṇīnatāre* (DN II 278:16); *chave*, *sigāle*,

sihanāde (DN III 25:3,4); *lokāmise*, *saṃyojane*, *pavutte* (MN II 254:25).

- h). There are some forms of the nominative plural ending in *-āse*. This form seems to go back to the Vedic nominative plural in *-āsas*: *priyāsas*; but the final vowel *-e* instead of *-o* is a Magadhism: *upāsakāse*, *avīta taṇhāse*, *paṇḍitāse*, *saikhāta-dhammāse*, *samaṇa-brāhmaṇāse* (Sn 376, 776, 875, 1079); *luddhāse*, *duṭṭhāse*, *mūlhāse*, *kuddhāse*, *makkhāse*, *mattāse* (Itv 1:10, 2:3, 16, 29; 3:7,20); *gatāse*, *sāvakāse* (DN II 255:3; 272:20).
- i). The ending *-ā* which is sometimes used for the instrumental singular as in *sahatthā*, goes back to the Vedic instrumental case in *-ā*: *priyā* besides the more common *priyena*. The instrumental in *-sā* is built up on the analogy of the stems in *-s* whose nominative ends in *-o* just like the nominative of the thematic stems: *mano* : *manasā* :: *vego*: *vegasā*.
- j). The endings *-to*, *-so*, which are sometimes used in the sense of an ablative and of an instrumental case, go back to the adverbial Vedic endings *-taḥ*, *-saḥ*: *dakṣiṇataḥ* > *dakkhiṇato*.

193. Declension of stems in *-i* and *-u*.

Masculine stem : Sanskrit: *agni*, Pali: *aggi*

Neuter stem: Sanskrit: *vāri*, Pali: *vāri*

S I N G U L A R

N. *agniḥ* *aggi* *vāri* *vāri* / *vāriṃ*

V. *agne* *aggi* *vāri* *vāri* / *vāriṃ*

A. *agnim* *aggiṃ* *vāri* *vāri* / *vāriṃ*

I. *agninā* *agginā* *vāriṇā* *vāriṇā*

Ab. *agneḥ* *agginā* / *aggismā* *vāriṇaḥ* *vāriṇā* / *vāriṣmā*

D. *agnaye* *aggino* / *aggissa* *variṇe* *vāriṇo* / *vāriṣsa*

G.	agneḥ	aggino / aggissa	vāriṇaḥ	vārino / vārissa
L.	agnau	aggismiṃ	variṇi	varismiṃ

P L U R A L

N.	agnayaḥ	aggayo / aggī	vāriṇi	vārīni / vārī
V.	agnayaḥ	aggayo / aggī	vāriṇi	vārīni / vārī
A.	agnīn	aggayo / aggī	vāriṇi	vārīni / vārī
I.	agnibhiḥ	aggīhi	vāribhiḥ	vārīhi
Ab.	agnibhyaḥ	aggīhi	vāribhyaḥ	vārīhi
D.	agnibhyaḥ	aggīnaṃ	vāribhyaḥ	vārīnaṃ
G.	agnināṃ	aggīnaṃ	vāriṇāṃ	vārīnaṃ
L.	agniṣu	aggīsu	vāriṣu	vārīsu

- a). Both in Sanskrit and in Pali the stems in *-u* are declined like the stems in *-i*. When the stems in *-i* have *-e/-ay* the stems in *u* have *o/av*. Thus in Sanskrit we have *agneḥ, agnaye, agnayaḥ / taroḥ, tarave, taravaḥ*. Similarly in Pali: *aggayo / taravo*.
- b). In Sanskrit the declension of the neuter stems in *-i, -u* differs from that of the masculine stems. In Pali only the nominative, vocative and accusative singular and plural correspond to the same cases in Sanskrit; the other cases are built up like those of the masculine stems.
- c). Merely phonetic are the changes of
- | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|
| <i>-iḥ</i> | > <i>-i</i> | <i>agniḥ</i> | > <i>aggi</i> |
| <i>-im</i> | > <i>-iṃ</i> | <i>agnim</i> | > <i>aggiṃ</i> |
| <i>-aḥ</i> | > <i>-o</i> | <i>agnayaḥ</i> | > <i>aggayo</i> |
| <i>-bhiḥ</i> | > <i>-hi</i> | <i>agnibhiḥ</i> | > <i>aggīhi</i> |
| <i>-āṃ</i> | > <i>-aṃ</i> | <i>agnināṃ</i> | > <i>aggīnaṃ</i> |
- d). The vocative, ablative, genitive and locative singular, and the accusative plural have lost their own endings. The

ablative takes the endings of the instrumental : *agginā* against Sanskrit *agneḥ*. The genitive takes the ending *-no*: *aggino* against Sanskrit *agneḥ*. The genitive in *-no* is either built on the analogy of the stems in *-in*: *aggino* like *pakkhino*; or is derived from the genitive of the neuter stems: *aggino* like Sanskrit *varinaḥ*. Both the ablative and the genitive take the alternative pronominal endings *-smā, -ssa* on the analogy of the thematic stems: *aggismā, aggissa* like *purisasmā, puisassa*. The vocative singular takes the same ending as the nominative, and the accusative plural takes the same ending as the nominative plural: N.V. sg. *aggi, pl. aggayo / aggī*.

- e). The nominative plural is optionally formed with the lengthening of the vowel of the stem: *aggayo / aggī*. The form *aggī* is built on the analogy of the other vowel stems which have a long vowel in the plural, unless it is taken as a survival of the Sanskrit dual form.
- f). In the neuter stems, the nominative, vocative and accusative singular are alternately formed with the ending *-ṃ* on the analogy of the thematic stems; and the nominative, vocative and accusative plural are also formed by lengthening the vowel of the stem on the analogy of the masculine stems in *-i*: *vārī / vārīṃ, vārīni / vārī*.

194. Declension of the feminine stems in *-ā*: *Skt śālā, Pali sālā*.

	Singular		Plural	
N.	<i>śālā</i>	<i>sālā</i>	<i>śālāḥ</i>	<i>sālā / sālāyo</i>
V.	<i>śāle</i>	<i>sāle</i>	<i>śālāḥ</i>	<i>sālā / sālāyo</i>
A.	<i>śālām</i>	<i>sālām</i>	<i>śālāḥ</i>	<i>sālā / sālāyo</i>
I.	<i>śālayā</i>	<i>sālāya</i>	<i>śālābhiḥ</i>	<i>sālāhi</i>
Ab.	<i>śālāyāḥ</i>	<i>sālāya</i>	<i>śālābhyaḥ</i>	<i>sālāhi</i>
D.	<i>śālāyai</i>	<i>sālāya</i>	<i>śālābhyaḥ</i>	<i>sālānaṃ</i>
G.	<i>śālāyāḥ</i>	<i>sālāya</i>	<i>śālānām</i>	<i>sālānaṃ</i>

L. śālāyām sālāyaṃ śālāsu sālāsu
sālāya

a). Merely phonetic are the following changes:

-ām > -aṃ śālām > sālāṃ
-āḥ > -ā sālāḥ > sālā
-bhiḥ > -hi sālābhiḥ > sālāhi

b). In the singular the ending of the instrumental has been lost and the declension has been made uniform by keeping the vowel of the stem always long and by extending to the instrumental and to the dative the ending -yāḥ of the ablative and genitive. The vowel of the ending, however, has been shortened in Pali since it follows a long accented syllable: sālāya.

c). The locative has retained its proper ending, but it takes also the ending -yāḥ on the analogy of the other cases: sālāyaṃ / sālāya.

d). With the loss of the final consonant, the nominative plural has become identical with the nominative singular: sālā > sālā, śālāḥ > sālā. Hence a new nominative plural has been formed on the analogy of the stems in -i: jāti : jātiyo :: sālā : sālāyo.

195. Declension of the feminine stems in -i, -ī, -u, -ū. It may be good here to give a brief outline of the evolution of this declension.

In Vedic Sanskrit there is a fourfold division:

1. masculine and feminine stems in -i, -u
2. neuter stems in -ī, -ū
3. masculine and feminine stems ending in -ī, -ū which before a suffix change -ī, -ū > -y, -v.
4. masculine and feminine stems which, before a suffix, change -ī, -ū > -iy, -uv

In Classical Sanskrit there is also a fourfold division, though somewhat different, since masculine stems are different from feminine stems. Stems in -ī, -ū are only feminine in gender.

1. masculine stems in -i, -u
2. neuter stems in -ī, -ū
3. Feminine stems in -i, -u, -ī, -ū which change to -y, -v before a suffix beginning with a vowel,
4. Feminine stems in -ī, -ū which change to -iy, -uv before a suffix beginning with a vowel.

In Pali this fourfold division has been reduced to two

1. masculine and neuter stems in -i, -u
2. feminine stems in -ī, -ī, -u, -ū

All the feminine stems in Pali are declined in the same way, making allowance for the short or long vowel in the nominative and vocative singular and for the change of -i, -ī, -u, -ū > -iy, -uy respectively before prefixes beginning with a vowel.

Skt; jāti, nadi, dhī; Pali: nadi

S I N G U L A R

N. jātiḥ	nadi	dhīḥ	nadi
V. jāte	nadi	dhīḥ	nadi
A. jātim	nadim	dhiyam	nadim
I. jātyā	nadyā	dhiyā	nadiyā
Ab. jātyāḥ	nadyāḥ	dhiyaḥ	nadiyā
D. jātyāḥ	nadyai	dhiyai	nadiyā
G. jātyāḥ	nadyāḥ	dhiyaḥ	nadiyā
L. jātyām	nadyām	dhiyi	nadiyaṃ, nadiyā

P L U R A L

N.	<i>jāṭayaḥ</i>	<i>nadyaḥ</i>	<i>dhiyaḥ</i>	<i>nadiyo, nadī</i>
V.	<i>jāṭayaḥ</i>	<i>nadyaḥ</i>	<i>dhiyaḥ</i>	<i>nadiyo, nadī</i>
A.	<i>jāṭiḥ</i>	<i>nadīḥ</i>	<i>dhiyaḥ</i>	<i>nadiyo, nadī</i>
I.	<i>jāṭibhiḥ</i>	<i>nadībhiḥ</i>	<i>dhībhiḥ</i>	<i>nadīhi</i>
Ab.	<i>jāṭibhyaḥ</i>	<i>nadībhyaḥ</i>	<i>dhībhyaḥ</i>	<i>nadīhi</i>
D.	<i>jāṭibhyaḥ</i>	<i>nadībhyaḥ</i>	<i>dhībhyaḥ</i>	<i>nadīnaṃ</i>
G.	<i>jāṭinām</i>	<i>nadīnām</i>	<i>dhīyām</i>	<i>nadīnaṃ</i>
L.	<i>jāṭiṣu</i>	<i>nadīṣu</i>	<i>dhīṣu</i>	<i>nadīsu</i>

- a). Pali has generalized the development of *-i, -ī, -u, -ū* > *iy, -uy* before terminations beginning with a vowel just as in monosyllabic stems in Sanskrit: *nadiyā, nadiyaṃ, nadiyo, dhenuyā, dhenuyaṃ, dhenuyo*.

On the other hand, Pali has generalized the endings of the polysyllabic stems:

-m, -ā, -āḥ, -am in the accusative, instrumental, genitive and locative singular *nadim > nadīm, nadyā > nadiyā, nadyāḥ > nadiyā, nadyām > nadiyaṃ;*

-āḥ in the nominative, vocative and accusative plural *nadiyāḥ > nadiyo;*

-nām in the genitive plural *nadīnām > nadīnaṃ*

In Pali both endings *-ā, -āḥ* have given rise to *-ā* which has been generalized to all the cases of the singular and has become optional even in the locative case: *nadyā, nadyāḥ > nadiyā, nadiyā / nadiyaṃ.*

- b). In the plural, the accusative in *-iḥ* of the polysyllabic stems may have given rise to the alternative form with the long vowel: *nadiyo / nadī, jāṭiyo / jāṭī.*

- c). In the older language we find traces of the distinction that existed in Sanskrit: *jaccā < jāṭyā, najjā < nadyā, najjo < nadyāḥ.*

196. Stems in *-s*. The neuter stems in *-s* are declined in Pali just as in Sanskrit, but only in the singular. These stems may also be declined, both in the singular and in the plural, like the neuter thematic stems i.e. like *rūpaṃ*.

N.V.A.	<i>manas</i>	<i>mano</i>
I.	<i>manasā</i>	<i>manasā</i>
Ab.	<i>manasaḥ</i>	<i>manasā</i>
D.	<i>manase</i>	
G.	<i>manasaḥ</i>	<i>manaso</i>
L.	<i>manasi</i>	<i>manasi</i>

197. Stem in *-ant*: Skt *śīlavant*, Pali *śīlavant*.

	S i n g u l a r	P l u r a l	
N.V.	<i>śīlavan</i>	<i>śīlavā</i>	<i>śīlavantaḥ</i> <i>śīlavanto</i>
A.	<i>śīlavantam</i>	<i>śīlavantaṃ</i>	<i>śīlavataḥ</i> <i>śīlavanto</i>
I.	<i>śīlavatā</i>	<i>śīlavatā</i>	<i>śīlavadbhiḥ</i>
Ab.	<i>śīlavataḥ</i>	<i>śīlavatā</i>	<i>śīlavadbhyaḥ</i>
D.	<i>śīlavate</i>	<i>śīlavato</i>	<i>śīlavadbhyaḥ</i> <i>śīlavataṃ</i>
G.	<i>śīlavataḥ</i>	<i>śīlavato</i>	<i>śīlavatām</i> <i>śīlavataṃ</i>
L.	<i>śīlavati</i>	<i>śīlavati</i>	<i>śīlavatsu</i>

- a). In the singular the stems in *-ant* in Pali are declined as in Sanskrit, except in the nominative and vocative where the final nasal is dropped and the vowel is lengthened: *śīlavan > śīlavā.*
- b). In the plural the accusative takes the same ending as the nominative and thus appears in its strong form and not in its weak grade: Skt *śīlavataḥ*, Pali *śīlavanto*

- c). In the plural the endings of the instrumental, ablative and locative have been lost, most probably to avoid the difficult sandhi. The only forms still extant are *sabbhi*, *asabbhi* < *sant*.
- d). These stems may optionally be declined like the thematic stems by adding the vowel *-a* to the stem: *silavant + a*: *silavanto*, *silavantam*, *silavantena*...

198. Stems in *-in*: Skt *hastin*, Pali *hatthin*.

	S i n g u l a r		P l u r a l	
N.	<i>hastī</i>	<i>hatthi</i>	<i>hastinaḥ</i>	<i>hatthino</i>
V.	<i>hastin</i>	<i>hatthi</i>	<i>hastinaḥ</i>	<i>hatthino</i>
A.	<i>hastinam</i>	<i>hatthinam</i>	<i>hastinaḥ</i>	<i>hatthino</i>
I.	<i>hastinā</i>	<i>hatthinā</i>	<i>hastibhiḥ</i>	<i>hatthīhi</i>
Ab.	<i>hastinaḥ</i>	<i>hatthinā</i>	<i>hastibhyaḥ</i>	<i>hatthīhi</i>
D.	<i>hastine</i>	<i>hatthino</i>	<i>hastibhyaḥ</i>	<i>hatthinam</i>
G.	<i>hastinaḥ</i>	<i>hatthino</i>	<i>hastinām</i>	<i>hatthinam</i>
L.	<i>hastini</i>	<i>hatthini</i>	<i>hastiṣu</i>	<i>hatthīsu</i>

The Pali declension of the stems in *-in* corresponds to the Sanskrit declension of the same stems. The only innovation in Pali is the alternative formation of some cases on the analogy of the stems in *-i*: *hatthim*, *hatthissa*, *hatthismā*, *hatthismiṃ*, *hatthīhi* like *aggim*, *aggissa*, *aggismā*, *aggismiṃ*, *aggīhi*.

199. Stems in *-an*: Skt *rājan*, Pali *rājan*.

	S i n g u l a r		P l u r a l	
N.	<i>rājā</i>	<i>rājā</i>	<i>rājānaḥ</i>	<i>rājāno</i>
V.	<i>rājan</i>	<i>rājā</i>	<i>rājānaḥ</i>	<i>rājāno</i>
A.	<i>rājānam</i>	<i>rājānam</i>	<i>rājānaḥ</i>	<i>rājāno</i>
I.	<i>rājñā</i>	<i>raññā</i> , <i>rājīnā</i>	<i>rājabhiḥ</i>	<i>rājūhi</i>
Ab.	<i>rājñāḥ</i>	<i>raññā</i> , <i>rājīnā</i>	<i>rājabhyaḥ</i>	<i>rājūhi</i>

D.	<i>rājñe</i>	<i>rañño</i> , <i>rājīno</i>	<i>rājabhyaḥ</i>	<i>rājūnaṃ</i> , <i>raññaṃ</i>
G.	<i>rājñāḥ</i>	<i>rañño</i> , <i>rājīno</i>	<i>rājñām</i>	<i>rājūnaṃ</i> , <i>raññaṃ</i>
L.	<i>rājñi</i> , <i>rājāni</i>	<i>rājīni</i>	<i>rājasu</i>	<i>rājūsu</i>

- a). When allowance is made for phonetic changes, the main differences between Pali and Sanskrit are

the insertion of the vowel *i* instead of *a* in the locative case:
Skt rājāni Pali *rājīni*,

the use of the strong form for the accusative plural: *rājāno* against Skt *rājñāḥ*;

the change of the stem vowel *-a* > *-ū* in the plural, perhaps on the analogy of the stems in *-ar*: *rājūhi*: *satthūhi*.

200. Stems in *-ar*: Skt *dātar*, Pali *dātar*.

	S i n g u l a r		P l u r a l	
N.	<i>dātā</i>	<i>dātā</i>	<i>dātāraḥ</i>	<i>dātāro</i>
V.	<i>dātar</i>	<i>dātā</i> , <i>dāta</i>	<i>dātāraḥ</i>	<i>dātāro</i>
A.	<i>dātāram</i>	<i>dātāram</i>	<i>dātāṛṇ</i>	<i>dātāro</i>
I.	<i>dātrā</i>	<i>dātarā</i>	<i>dātṛbhiḥ</i>	<i>dātūhi</i>
Ab.	<i>dātuḥ</i>	<i>dātarā</i>	<i>dātṛbhyaḥ</i>	<i>dātūhi</i>
D.	<i>dātre</i>	<i>dātu</i>	<i>dātṛbhyaḥ</i>	<i>dātūnaṃ</i>
G.	<i>dātuḥ</i>	<i>dātu</i>	<i>dātṛṇām</i>	<i>dātūnaṃ</i>
L.	<i>dātari</i>	<i>dātari</i>	<i>dātṛṣu</i>	<i>dātūsu</i>

The differences between Pali and Sanskrit are the following:

- a). In the instrumental singular the vowel *a* is inserted between the two consonants and thus *dātarā* is built on the same pattern as the locative *dātari*.
- b). The final *-uḥ* and the semivowel *-ṛ* have given rise to *-u*: *dātuḥ* > *dātu*; *datṛbhiḥ* > *dātūhi*.

- c). The prevalence of the vowel u has led to the building up of several forms on the analogy of the stems in -u both masculine and feminine: *dātuno*, *dātussa* like *bhikkhuno*, *bhikkhussa*; *mātuyā* like *dhenuyā*.
- d). The accusative singular *dātāraṃ* has given rise to new forms on the analogy of the thematic stems: *dātārā*, *dātārānaṃ*, *dātārehi*, *dātāresu*.

CHAPTER XIV

EVOLUTION OF
THE PRONOUNS

In contrast with the inflection of the nouns which shows a marked tendency towards simplification, the declension of the pronouns is characterized by a variety of forms.

201. Personal pronouns.

Skt *aham*, *tvam* Pali *ahaṃ*, *tvam*

S i n g u l a r

N.	<i>aham</i>	<i>ahaṃ</i>	<i>tvam</i>	<i>tvam</i>
A.	<i>mām</i>	<i>maṃ</i>	<i>tvam</i>	<i>taṃ</i>
I.	<i>mayā</i>	<i>mayā</i>	<i>tvayā</i>	<i>tayā</i>
Ab.	<i>mad</i>	<i>mayā</i>	<i>tvad</i>	<i>tayā</i>
D.	<i>mahyam</i>	<i>mayhaṃ</i>	<i>tuhyam</i>	<i>tuyhaṃ</i>
		<i>mama</i>		<i>tava</i>
G.	<i>mama</i>	<i>mama</i>	<i>tava</i>	<i>tava</i>
		<i>mayhaṃ</i>		<i>tuyhaṃ</i>
L.	<i>mayi</i>	<i>mayi</i>	<i>tvayi</i>	<i>tayi</i>

P l u r a l

N.	vayam	mayam / amhe	yuyam	tumhe
A.	asmān	amhe	yusmān	tumhe
I.	asmābhiḥ	amhehi	yusmābhiḥ	tumhehi
Ab.	asmad	amhehi	yusmad	tumhehi
D.	asmabhyam	amhākam	yusmabhyam	tumhākam
G.	asmākam	amhākam	yusmākam	tumhākam
L.	asmāsu	amhesu	yusmāsu	tumhesu

- a). Just as the declension of the nouns, so also the declension of the pronouns has no dual.
- b). Merely phonetic are some of the changes undergone in passing from Sanskrit to Pali:
 the final nasal consonant is changed to niggahita: *aham* > *ahaṃ*,
mam > *maṃ*;
 the interchange of *hy* > *yh*: *mahyam* > *mayhaṃ*;
 the change *sm* > *hm* > *mh*: *asmākam* > *amhākam*;
 the loss of occlusion of *bh* > *h*: *asmābhiḥ* > *amhehi*;
 the assimilation of consonants: *tv* > *tt* > *t*: *tvayi* > *ttayi* > *tayi*.
- c). While the Sanskrit dative case has been lost in the declension of the nouns, it has here been preserved in the declension of the personal pronouns in the singular. Thus the dative case has both its own proper ending and the ending of the genitive as in the declension of the nouns: *mahyam* > *mayhaṃ* / *mama*, *tuhyam* > *tuyhaṃ* / *tava*.
- d). Pali has lost the ending of the Sanskrit ablative case and has replaced it with that of the instrumental case: Skt *mad*, *tvad*, *asmad*, *yusmad*, Pali *mayā*, *tayā*, *amhehi*, *tumhehi*
- e). The nominative plural *mayam* may have been built under the influence of forms like *maṃ*, *mayā*, *mayi*.

- f). *Asme* / *amhe* seem to go back to a rare Vedic form and may have been built in uniformity with the other cases *amhehi*, *amhākam*, *amhesu*.
- g). *Tumhe* may have been formed on the analogy of *amhe* and on the generalization of the consonant *t-* in the plural: *tumhehi*, *tumhesu*.
- h). The vowel *-e* in the plural seems to be due to the analogy of the demonstrative pronoun: *te* : *amhe*, *tumhe*; *tehi* : *amhehi*, *tumhehi*; *tesu* : *amhesu*, *tumhesu*.
- i). Several alternative forms, already mentioned in no. 40, may be due to dialectical influences.

202. Demonstrative pronouns.

Skt *saḥ*, *sā*, *tad* Pali *so* *sā*, *taṃ*

S i n g u l a r

N.	<i>saḥ</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>sā</i>	<i>sā</i>
A.	<i>taṃ</i>	<i>taṃ</i>	<i>tām</i>	<i>taṃ</i>
I.	<i>tena</i>	<i>tena</i>	<i>tayā</i>	<i>tāya</i>
Ab.	<i>tasmāt</i>	<i>tasmā</i>	<i>tasyāḥ</i>	<i>tāya</i>
D.	<i>tasmai</i>		<i>tasyai</i>	
G.	<i>tasya</i>	<i>tassa</i>	<i>tasyāḥ</i>	<i>tāya</i> / <i>tassā</i>
L.	<i>tasmin</i>	<i>tasmim</i>	<i>tasyām</i>	<i>tāyaṃ</i> / <i>tassaṃ</i> / <i>tāsaṃ</i>

P l u r a l

N.	<i>te</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>tāḥ</i>	<i>tā</i> / <i>tāyo</i>
A.	<i>taṃ</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>tāḥ</i>	<i>tā</i> / <i>tāyo</i>
I.	<i>taīḥ</i>	<i>tehi</i>	<i>tābhiḥ</i>	<i>tāhi</i>
Ab.	<i>tebhyaḥ</i>	<i>tehi</i>	<i>tābhyaḥ</i>	<i>tāhi</i>
D.	<i>tebhyaḥ</i>		<i>tābhyaḥ</i>	
G.	<i>teṣāṃ</i>	<i>tesaṃ</i>	<i>tāsaṃ</i>	<i>tāsaṃ</i> / <i>tāsānaṃ</i> / <i>tasānaṃ</i>

L. *teṣu tesu tāsū tāsū*

a). Merely phonetic are the changes

saḥ > so , *tāḥ > tā*

tam > taṃ, *teṣam > teṣaṃ*, *tāsām > tāsāṃ*, *tasmin > tasmīṃ*,

tasmāt > tasmā, *tābhiḥ > tāhi*

tasya > tassa, *tasyām > tassaṃ / tāsāṃ*

teṣu > tesu

b). Just as in the declensions of the nouns in Pali, so also here the accusative plural takes the same form as the nominative plural: *te*, *te*.

c). In the feminine this pronoun takes the same endings as the feminine stems in *-ā*: *tāya*, *tāyam*, *tāyo* like *sālāya*, *sālāyam*, *sālāyo*.

d). The feminine has also some new forms which seem to be analogical formations: *tissā*, *tissāya* for the genitive and *tissaṃ* for the locative.

e). In the genitive plural *tesānaṃ*, *tāsānaṃ* seem to be double formations.

f). In the neuter the pronoun has *taṃ*, *tāni* respectively for the nominative and accusative singular and plural. In the singular the Sanskrit form is *tad* which in Pali appears in compounds: *tad-karo > takkaro*, *tad-evam*.

203. Demonstrative pronouns.

Skt *ayam*, *iyam*, *idam* Pali *ayaṃ*, *ayaṃ*, *idaṃ* / *imaṃ*

S i n g u l a r

N.	<i>ayam</i>	<i>ayaṃ</i>	<i>iyam</i>	<i>ayaṃ</i>
A.	<i>imam</i>	<i>imaṃ</i>	<i>imām</i>	<i>imaṃ</i>
I.	<i>anena</i>	<i>iminā</i>	<i>anayā</i>	<i>imāya</i>
Ab.	<i>asmāt</i>	<i>ismā</i>	<i>asyāḥ</i>	<i>imāya</i>

D. *asmai* *asyai*

G. *asya* *imassa / assa* *asyāḥ* *imissā / assā*

L. *asmin* *imasmīṃ* *asyām* *imissaṃ*

P l u r a l

N. *ime* *ime* *imāḥ* *imā / imāyo*

A. *imān* *ime* *imāḥ* *imā / imāyo*

I. *ebhiḥ* *imehi* *ābhiḥ* *imāhi*

Ab. *ebhyaḥ* *imehi* *ābhyaḥ* *imāhi*

D. *ebhyaḥ* *ābhyaḥ*

G. *eṣām* *imesaṃ* *āsām* *imāsaṃ*

L. *eṣu* *imesu* *āsu* *imāsu*

a). The neuter pronoun both in Sanskrit and in Pali is declined like the masculine pronoun with the exception of the nominative and accusative singular and plural: Skt *idam*, *imāni*, Pali *idaṃ* / *imaṃ*, *imāni*.

b). In Sanskrit the stems from which the forms of the declension of this pronoun are derived are *i-*, *a-*, *ana-*.

The stem *i-* is found in the masculine singular as *i-*, in the feminine singular as *i-*, in the neuter as *id-*. But these forms have been extended with the pronominal ending *-am* and thus the nominative singular of the three genders is *ayam*, *iyam*, *idam*. In *ayam* the vowel *i-* appears in its guna grade *-am*: *i-am > e-am > ayam*. In the feminine *i-am > iyam*.

From the stem *i-* there was an accusative *im*; but this form was also extended with the suffix of the accusative *-am* and thus we have the form *imam*. From this accusative form there was abstracted the stem *ima-* from which are derived the other cases *ime*, *imaṃ*, *imāni*.

The stem *a-* is used for the formation of other cases like *asmai*, *asya* etc. In the plural the vowel *a-* is lengthened to *e-* in the masculine and to *ā-* in the feminine: *e-bhih*, *ā-bhih*.

The stem *ana-* in Vedic the instrumental was *ena / aya* in the masculine and feminine respectively. The Sanskrit forms *anena*, *anayā* seem to have been derived from a stem *anā-* which is used as instrumental case in Avestan and which is still preserved as an adverb in Vedic in the sense of *therefore*.

In Vedic the stem *ima-* was extended to form other cases like *imasya*, *imasmai*.

- c). In Pali the declension of the masculine *ayaṃ* corresponds to the Sanskrit inflection. Pali, however, has built alternatives and more commonly used forms from the stem *ima-*: *imasmā*, *imassa*, *imehi*, *imesu*, *imesaṃ*.

The form *iminā* of the instrumental singular shows the tendency to change the vowel *a > i* just as in *tissā*, *tissaṃ*, and seems to have been built on the analogy of *amunā* with the long vowel ending just as in the nominal declension.

The accusative plural is like the nominative.

- d). In the declension of the feminine stem only a few forms are historical: *imaṃ*, *assā*, *imā*. Other forms have been built on the analogy of the feminine nominal stems in *-ā*: *imāya*, *imāyaṃ*, *imāyo*, *imāhi*, *imāsu*, and partly also *imāsaṃ*.
- e). The forms *esānaṃ*, *imesānaṃ*, *imāsānaṃ*, *assāya*, *imissāya* are double formations.
- f). In the neuter the only difference is that Pali uses for the singular both *idaṃ / imaṃ* as compared with the Sanskrit *idam* only.

204. Demonstrative pronouns.

Skt: *asau*, *asau*, *adaḥ* Pali: *asu/amu*, *asu*, *aduṃ*

S i n g u l a r

N.	<i>asau</i>	<i>asu / amu</i>	<i>asau</i>	<i>asu</i>
A.	<i>amum</i>	<i>amuṃ</i>	<i>amum</i>	<i>amuṃ</i>
I.	<i>amunā</i>	<i>amunā</i>	<i>amuyā</i>	<i>amuyā</i>
Ab.	<i>amuṣmāt</i>	<i>amusmā</i>	<i>amuṣyāḥ</i>	<i>amuyā</i>
D.	<i>amuṣmai</i>		<i>amuṣyai</i>	
G.	<i>amuṣya</i>	<i>amussa</i>	<i>amuṣyāḥ</i>	<i>amussā / amuyā</i>
L.	<i>amuṣmin</i>	<i>amusmiṃ</i>	<i>amuṣyām</i>	<i>amussaṃ / amuyaṃ</i>

P l u r a l

N.	<i>amī</i>	<i>amū</i>	<i>amūḥ</i>	<i>amū / amuyo</i>
A.	<i>amūn</i>	<i>amū</i>	<i>amūḥ</i>	<i>amū / amuyo</i>
I.	<i>amibhih</i>	<i>amūhi</i>	<i>amūbhih</i>	<i>amūhi</i>
Ab.	<i>amibhyaḥ</i>	<i>amūhi</i>	<i>amūbhyaḥ</i>	<i>amūhi</i>
D.	<i>amibhyaḥ</i>		<i>amūbhyaḥ</i>	
G.	<i>amiṣām</i>	<i>amūsaṃ / amūsānaṃ</i>	<i>amūṣām</i>	<i>amūsaṃ / amūsānaṃ</i>
L.	<i>amiṣu</i>	<i>amūsu</i>	<i>amūṣu</i>	<i>amūsu</i>

- a). In Pali the stem *amu-* has been generalized; hence the forms *amū*, *amūhi* against Sanskrit *amī*, *amibhih*.
- b). In the masculine the only innovation is the form *amu* besides *asu*. Further in the genitive there is the double formation *amūsānaṃ*. In the nominative singular there is a slight change owing to the rule of phonetics: *asau > asu*.
- c). In the feminine several new forms have been built up on the analogy of the noun stems in *-u*: *dhenu*. The starting point of such new forms may have been the stem *amu-*

itself and the instrumental singular *amuyā* which corresponds to *dhenuyā*. The new forms are *amuyā* in the genitive, *amuyam* in the locative singular, and *amuyo* in the nominative and accusative plural. *amūsānam* is double genitive.

- d). In the neuter Pali has *adum* in nominative and accusative singular and *amūni / amū* in the nominative and accusative plural. These forms correspond to the Sanskrit forms *adaḥ / amūni*. In Pali the nominative singular has been formed on the analogy of the nominal stems. Just as *adum* is formed on the analogy of *assum*, so also in the plural *amūni / amū* are formed on the analogy of *assūni, assū*.

205. **Relative and interrogative pronouns.** The relative pronoun *ya* and the interrogative pronoun *ka* are inflected both in Sanskrit and Pali like the demonstrative pronoun *saḥ / sā, so/sā*. In Sanskrit there is the neuter form *yad* like *tad* while in Pali there is *yam / yad*. Both Sanskrit and Pali have a form *kim* as neuter of *ka*. New formations in Pali are the cases of *kiṃ*: *kissa, kismā, kismiṃ* on their analogy of *tissā, tissam, imissā, imissam*.

CHAPTER XV

EVOLUTION OF NUMERALS

206. **Cardinal numerals.** The Pali cardinal numerals generally correspond to the Sanskrit cardinal numerals.

1	<i>eka</i>	<i>eka</i>
2	<i>dvi</i>	<i>dvi</i>
3	<i>tri</i>	<i>ti</i>
4	<i>catur</i>	<i>catu</i>
5	<i>pañca</i>	<i>pañca</i>
6	<i>ṣaṣ</i>	<i>cha</i>
7	<i>sapta</i>	<i>satta</i>
8	<i>aṣṭa</i>	<i>aṭṭha</i>
9	<i>nava</i>	<i>nava</i>
10	<i>daśa</i>	<i>dasa</i>
11	<i>ekādaśa</i>	<i>ekādasa / ekārasa</i>
12	<i>dvādaśa</i>	<i>dvādasa / bārasa</i>
13	<i>trayodaśa</i>	<i>terasa / teḷasa</i>
14	<i>caturdaśa</i>	<i>catuddasa / cuddasa</i>

15	<i>pañcadaśa</i>	<i>pañcadasa / paṇṇarasa / pannarasa</i>
16	<i>ṣoḍaśa</i>	<i>soḷasa / sorasa</i>
17	<i>saptadaśa</i>	<i>sattadasa / sattarasa</i>
18	<i>aṣṭādaśa</i>	<i>aṭṭhādasa / aṭṭhārasa</i>
19	<i>ekūnaviṃśati</i>	<i>ekūnavīsati</i>
20	<i>viṃśati</i>	<i>vīsati / vīsā / vīsa / vīsaṃ</i>
22	<i>dvāviṃśati</i>	<i>dvāvīsati / bāvīsati</i>
23	<i>trayoviṃśati</i>	<i>tevisati / tevīsa</i>
24	<i>caturviṃśati</i>	<i>catuvīsati / catuvīsa / catubbīsa</i>
25	<i>pañcaviṃśati</i>	<i>pañcavīsati / pañcavīsa / paṇṇavīsati</i>
26	<i>ṣaḍviṃśati</i>	<i>chabbīsati</i>
30	<i>triṃśat</i>	<i>tiṃsati / tiṃsā / tiṃsaṃ / tiṃsa</i>
33	<i>trayastrīṃśat</i>	<i>tettiṃsati, tettiṃsa</i>
36	<i>ṣaṭ-triṃśat</i>	<i>chattiṃsati</i>
40	<i>catvāriṃśat</i>	<i>cattālīsati / cattālīsā / cattārīsā</i>
42	<i>dvicatvāriṃśat</i>	<i>dvicattālīsati</i>
	<i>dvācatvāriṃśat</i>	<i>dvācattālīsa</i>
43	<i>trayascatvāriṃśat</i>	<i>teccattālīsa</i>
50	<i>pañcāśat</i>	<i>paññāsa / paṇṇāsa</i>
52	<i>dvipañcāśat</i>	<i>dvepaññāsa</i>
	<i>dvāpañcāśat</i>	<i>dvāpaññāsa</i>
56	<i>ṣaṭpañcāśat</i>	<i>chapaññāsa</i>
60	<i>ṣaṣṭi</i>	<i>saṭṭhi</i>
62	<i>dvāṣaṣṭi</i>	<i>dvāsaṭṭhi / dvaṭṭhi</i>
70	<i>saptati</i>	<i>sattati</i>
80	<i>aśīti</i>	<i>asīti</i>

82	<i>dvyaśīti</i>	<i>dveasīti</i>
84	<i>caturāsīti</i>	<i>caturāsīti / cullāsīti / cūlāsīti</i>
90	<i>navati</i>	<i>navuti</i>
92	<i>dvānavati</i>	<i>dvānavuti</i>
	<i>dvīnavati</i>	<i>dvenavuti</i>
96	<i>ṣaṇṇavati</i>	<i>channavuti</i>
100	<i>satam</i>	<i>sataṃ</i>

The evolution of the numerals from Sanskrit into Pali show phonetic changes which are not of common occurrence in Pali, but seem to be due to various dialectical influences.

- a). In Sanskrit compounds the numeral *dvi* sometimes remains unchanged and sometimes is used in the dual number. In Pali the form *dvi* sometimes is retained as in *dvisattālīsati*; sometimes is changed to *dve*: *dvepaññāsa*, *dve asīti*, *dve navuti*; sometimes it retains the Sanskrit dual ending: *dvādasa*, *dvāvīsati*, *dvācattālīsa*, *dvāsaṭṭhi*, *dvanavuti*.
- b). The group *dv* is sometimes assimilated to *bb* *dvādasa* > *bbārasa* > *bārasa*, *dvāvīsati* > *bbāvīsati* > *bāvīsati*. The same assimilation takes place in *ṣaḍ-viṃśati* > *chabbīsati*, *catur-viṃśa* > *catuvvīsa* > *catubbīsa*.
- c). The Sanskrit form *trayas* is represented in Pali by *te*: *trayodaśa* > *terasa*, *trayoviṃśati* > *tevisati*, *trayas-catvāriṃśat* > *teccattālīsa*.
- d). The stem *catur* has given rise to the several forms: *caturāsīti*, *catuddasa*, *catubbīsa* (< *catuvvīsa* < *catur-vīsa*), *catuvīsati* (*catu-vīsati* < *catur - vīsati* with the final *r* dropped), *cuddasa* (< *coddasa* < *ca-uddasa* < *caturdaśa* with the loss of the consonant *t*, the assimilation of *r* > *d* and the weakening of the vowel *o* before two consonants. *Cūlāsīti* / *cullāsīti* < *colāsīti* < *ca-urāsīti* < *caturasīti*: in this development the dental consonant is dropped, the vowels are

contracted and then weakened, the double consonant is simplified with the lengthening of the previous vowel, the consonant *r* is changed to *l*.

- e). The Sanskrit consonant group *ñc* is represented in Pali by *ñc, ññ, ṇṇ, nn*: *pañcadaśa* > *pañcadasa, paṇṇarasa, pannarasa; pañcāśat* > *paññāsa, paṇṇāsa*
- f). The numeral *ṣaṣ* > *cha* with the initial consonant aspirated. The final Sanskrit consonant reappears in compounds as a cerebral *ḷ* > *chaḷabhiññā*. There is also the change of *ṣaṣ* > *saḷ*: *saḷāyatanam*. In poetry we find also *saḍabhiññā*. In numerals *ṣaṣ* > *cha* and the final consonant is assimilated to the following consonant: *chabbisati, chattimsati, channavuty* but *chapaññāsa*.
- g). The consonant *d* of *daśa* has been changed to *r* and this consonant has been changed to *ḷ* *ekādasa / ekārasa, terasa / teḷasa, cattārīsa / cattālīsa, sorasa / soḷasa*.
- h). In *vīsati* < *viṃśati* the nasal has been dropped and the vowel lengthened.
- i). In *triṃśat* > *tiṃsā / tiṃsa/ timsam* the final consonant has been dropped and then the vowel has sometimes been lengthened and sometimes nasalized. A new form *tiṃsati* appears on the analogy of *vīsati*.
- j). Pali has *navuti* for Sanskrit *navati* due to the influence of the consonant *v*.

CHAPTER XVI

EVOLUTION OF THE VERBAL SYSTEM

207. Simplification of the conjugations and of the classes. In Sanskrit the verbs are divided into two conjugations

thematic conjugation

athematic conjugation

The thematic conjugation is characterized by the fact that the stem of the present ends in *-a* since it is formed with one of the suffixes *-a, -ya, -aya*;

the stem of the present remains unchanged in the inflection; v.g. *labh-a-si, labh-a-ti, labh-a-tha, labh-a-nti*.

The athematic conjugation is characterized by the fact that the stem of the present is either the verbal root or the verbal root with one of the suffixes *-u-, -nu-, -nā*

the stem of the present changes, being either strong or weak, according as the accent is on the root or on the suffix;

v.g. *as-mi: s-anti, juho-mi: juhu-maḥ, krīṇā-mi: krīṇī-maḥ*.

The advantage of the thematic over the athematic conjugation is obvious:

it retains the stem unchanged

it inserts the suffix *-a* (*-ya*, *-aya*) between the verbal root and the personal endings, avoiding all vowel and consonant combinations.

The thematic conjugation comprises the first, the fourth, the sixth and the tenth class.

The athematic conjugation comprises the second, the third, the fifth, the seventh, the eighth and the ninth class.

In Pali the distinction between the two conjugations has almost entirely disappeared:

The vowel alternation has disappeared as part of a regular system, for, while Sanskrit carefully distinguishes between strong and weak forms, in Pali either the strong or the weak form has been generalized:

Sanskrit: *karoti* : *kurvanti* *chinatti* : *chindanti*

Pali: *karoti* : *karonti* *chindati* : *chindanti*

Consonant stems have generally been eliminated in Pali by the addition of the thematic vowel *-a*:

Sanskrit: *chinatsi* : *chindmaḥ*

Pali: *chindasi* : *chindāma*

These changes have affected the formation of the stem of the present of the verb, and thus the division of the verbs into ten classes has also been simplified. The present stem of the verbs of the second and of the seventh class takes the suffix *-a*:

Sanskrit: *hanti* *chinatti*

Pali: *hanati* *chindati*

Some of the verbs of the second class pass over to the first class: *brū-* has *bravāmi* as *bhū-* has *bhavāmi*.

The verbs of the seventh class form the stem of the present on the pattern of those of the sixth class which insert a nasal before the last consonant. The root *chid-* forms the present stem *chinda-* just as *muc-* has *muñca-*.

The verbs of the fifth class form the present stem with the suffix *-no* (the strong form of *-nu*), but they generally pass over to the ninth class and take the suffix *-nā*: *suṇāti* is more common than *suṇoti*.

The verbs of the third class are inflected like the reduplicated verbs of the first class: *jahati* like *tiṭṭhati*. Even *juhoti* has an alternative form *juhati*.

In the eighth class, *karoti* has many forms built on the pattern of the *-a* stems: *kubbati*, *kara*, *kareyyāti*, *karamāna*.

In this process towards simplification and uniformity, the prevalence of the vowel *-a* is obvious. The prevalence of the vowel *-a* over all the other vowels is already a feature of Sanskrit as compared with the other Indo-European languages. Pali has inherited this characteristic and has extended its application still more. In fact, with the exception of a few verbs like *karoti*, *hoti*, *pappoti*, *atthi*, all the others form their present stem with the vowel *-a* or *-ā*, or with a suffix ending in *-a* or *-ā*: *bhavati*, *suṇāti*, *cintayati*.

An innovation in Pali is the formation of the stem of the present with the vowel *-e*. This is merely the contraction of *-aya* and the contracted form has almost entirely replaced the ordinary form. This occurs in verbs of the first class like *neti* for *nayati*, in verbs of the tenth class like *cinteti* for *cintayati*, in causative and denominative verbs like *kāreti* for *kārayati*, *dhūmeti* for *dhūmayati*. The stem in *-e* is also found in the forms derived from the root *i-* of the second class: *emi*, *ehisi*, *pacceti*, *upecca*. This type has grown to such an extent that the Pali verbs might be divided into two types: stems in *-a* and stems in *-e*.

It has already been mentioned that in Pali several verbs form the stem of the present in more than one way and thus they may be classified under different classes. In this respect also Pali comes closer to Vedic than to classical Sanskrit:

ji-	Vedic	I	jayati	II	jeti	IX	jināti
	Pali		jayati		jeti		jināti
jī	Vedic	I	jarati	IV	jīryati		
	Pali		jarati		jīyati		

Some of the double Vedic forms are not represented in the simple present in Pali, but such double forms must be postulated to explain some other derived formations: the causative *tīreti* has not been derived from *tarati* but from the Vedic present *tīrati*; the present participle *asamāna* has been derived from Vedic *asati* and not from the present in Pali *asanāti*.

Some of the double forms in Pali do not go back to Vedic but are new formations in the language, often due to analogy. Thus *sambhunāti* from the root *bhū-* may be due to the analogy of *lunāti* from *lu-*.

A completely new formation in Pali is *kubbati* which is inflected like any other verb of the first class. It is usually derived from the present third person plural of *kṛ-*: *kurvanti*. Some other new forms worth mentioning are *payacchati* 'offers' usually derived from *pra-yam-*, while *munāti* 'thinks' seems to be a dialectical form of *maññati* from *man-*.

208. **Inflection of the verb.** In Vedic Sanskrit the inflection of the verb was rather rich in forms. The process of simplification, however, began very soon in Vedic and continued in classical Sanskrit and in Pali. It may be good to show at a glance this process of simplification of the finite forms of the verb.

	V e d i c	S a n s k r i t	P a l i
Present	Indicative	Indicative	Indicative
	Subjunctive		(Subjunctive)
	Injunctive		
	Optative	Optative	Optative

	Imperative	Imperative	Imperative
Imperfect	Indicative	Indicative	
Future	Indicative	Indicative	Indicative
	Conditional	Conditional	Conditional
Aorist	Indicative	Indicative	Indicative
	Subjunctive		
	Injunctive		
	Optative		
	Imperative		
	Precative	Precative	
Perfect	Indicative	Indicative	(Indicative)
	Subjunctive		
	Injunctive		
	Optative		
	Imperative		

Pluperfect Indicative

The inflection of the verb is thus comparatively simple in Pali as contrasted with Sanskrit and Vedic. In the Pali poetry there are a few forms that appear to be subjunctive. Further there are two perfect in Pali canonical literature and a few more in post-canonical literature.

In the conjugation of the verb in Pali, the dual has been lost just as in the declension of the nouns.

Pali has retained both the active and the middle voice, but the personal endings of the middle voice are very seldom used. Even the passive verbs usually take the personal endings of the active voice: Skt *labhate*, *vardhate* Pali *labhati*, *vaddhati*.

209. **Extension of the present stem.** Another innovation in Pali is the extension of the present stem.

In Sanskrit the various verbal forms are built by adding suffixes either to the root of the verb or to the present stem. The suffixes are generally added directly, but sometimes also by means of the connecting vowel *-i*. From the stem of the present are formed the indicative, the imperative, the present participle, the optative and the imperfect. All the other verbal forms are built up from the root of the verb.

In Pali the various verbal forms may be built just as in Sanskrit. But very soon the tendency towards simplicity and uniformity led to making an extensive use of the present stem, which itself had already been simplified. The starting point of this growing extension was the fact that in some verbs like *labh-* both the root and the stem of the present coincided: *labh-* and *labh-a*. Further, greater simplicity was achieved by adding the suffixes by means of the connecting vowel *-i*. The result has been that every verbal form in Pali may be built from the present stem. This will become clear by means of an example.

Verbal root: *gam-*; present stem *gacch-*

	Sanskrit	Pali
Present indicative	<i>gacchati</i>	<i>gacchati</i>
Imperative	<i>gaccha</i>	<i>gaccha</i>
Optative	<i>gacchet</i>	<i>gacche, gaccheyya</i>
Present participle	<i>gacchan</i>	<i>gaccham, gacchanto</i>
Aorist	<i>agamat</i>	<i>agama, agacchi</i>
Future	<i>gamiṣyati</i>	<i>gamissati, gacchissati</i>
Past participle	<i>gata</i>	<i>gata, gacchita</i>
Future Participle	<i>gantavya</i>	<i>gantabba, gacchitabba</i>
Infinitive	<i>gantum</i>	<i>gantum, gacchitum</i>
Gerund	<i>gatvā</i>	<i>gantvā, gacchitvā</i>

Further, even the causative and the passive can be formed from the present stem: *chid-*: causative *chedeti* and *chindāpeti*; passive *chijjati* and *chindiyati*.

210. Personal endings.

a). Active endings

Primary: Skt *-mi, -si, -ti, -mah, -tha, -anti/-ati*

Pali *-mi, -si, -ti, -ma, -tha, -anti*

Secondary: Skt *-m/-am, -s, -t, -ma, -ta, -an/-ur*

Pali *-m/-am, -s, -t, -ma, -tha, -u/-um*

The Pali primary endings correspond exactly to the same endings in Sanskrit. Pali, however, has lost the ending *-ati* which in Sanskrit is used for the third person plural of the verbs of the third class:

Skt: *dadāti jahati* Pali: *dadanti jahanti*

In the secondary endings the only innovations in Pali are:

- the generalization of the aspirate consonant in the second person plural on the analogy of the primary endings: Pali *-tha* against Skt *-ta*: Skt *agamata*, Pali *agamatha*;
- the disappearance of the ending *-an* in the third person plural, while the ending *-ur* has given rise either to the simple *-u* with the loss of the final consonant, or to *-u* with the nasalization of the vowel before an *-s*, or to *-um* with the nasalization of the vowel: Skt *abhuvan, agaman, akarsur*, Pali *ahu, agamum, akamsu*.

b). Middle endings:

Primary: Skt *-e, -se, -te, -mahe, -dhve, -ante/-ate*

Pali *-e, -se, -te, -mhe, -vhe, -ante/re*

Secondary: Skt *-i, -thāḥ, -ta, -mahī, -dhvam, -anta/ata/ran*

Pali *-m/am, -tho, -tha, -mase, -vho, -re/rum/raṃ*

In the Pali primary middle endings

- a). the Sanskrit vowel *-a* has been lost in the first person plural: *-mahe* > *-mhe*;
- b). in the second person plural *dh-* has lost its occlusion: *-dhve* > *-hve* > *-vhe*;
- c). in the third person plural, the ending *-ate* has been lost and *-ante* is used for all the verbs since the Sanskrit distinction between the thematic and the athematic conjugation has practically disappeared in Pali.
- d). A new ending appears in Pali in the third person plural: *-re* which is already found in Sanskrit in the perfect tense: *cakrire*, *jagmire*, and in the Vedic third person plural *sere* from *śi-* 'to lie'.

In the secondary middle endings,

- a). the Sanskrit ending *-i* of the first person has been lost and has been replaced by the secondary active ending *-m/-am*;
- b). in the second person *-thāḥ* has given rise to *-tho* perhaps through a process of shortening: *-thāḥ* > *-thaḥ* > *-tho*;
- c). in the first person plural *-mase* seems to be the middle ending corresponding to the Vedic active ending *-masi*;
- d). in the second person plural the consonant *-dh* loses its occlusion and the final *-am* is reduced to *-o*: *-dhvam* > *-hvam* > *-vham* > *-vho*;
- e). in the third person plural, the Skt ending *-anta* and *-ata* have been lost, and there is in their place *-ram* and sometimes also *-re / -rum*. These ending, however, are very rare.

211. Present indicative. Skt *labh-*, Pali *labh-* 'to obtain'

A c t i v e		M i d d l e	
Skt	Pali	Skt	Pali
1. <i>labhāmi</i>	<i>labhāmi</i>	<i>labhe</i>	<i>labhe</i>
2. <i>labhasi</i>	<i>labhasi</i>	<i>labhase</i>	<i>labhase</i>
3. <i>labhati</i>	<i>labhati</i>	<i>labhate</i>	<i>labhate</i>
1. <i>labhāmaḥ</i>	<i>labhāma</i>	<i>labhāmahe</i>	<i>labhamhe</i>
2. <i>labhatha</i>	<i>labhatha</i>	<i>labhadhve</i>	<i>labhavhe</i>
3. <i>labhanti</i>	<i>labhanti</i>	<i>labhante</i>	<i>labhante, labhare</i>

In the first person plural in Pali, besides *labhamhe* there is also *labhamahe*, *labhamase*, *labhamhase*. The ending *-mahe* of *labhamahe* is the historical Sanskrit ending, but it is found only in poetry. The ending *-mase* of *labhamase* seems to be the middle ending corresponding to the Vedic active ending *-masi*. The ending *-mhase* of *labhamhase* seems to be a combination of *-mhe* and *-mase*

212. Present imperative. Skt *labh-* Pali *labh-* 'to obtain'

A c t i v e		M i d d l e	
1. <i>labhāni</i>		<i>labhai</i>	
2. <i>labha</i>	<i>labha, labhāhi</i>	<i>labhasva</i>	<i>labhassu</i>
3. <i>labhatu</i>	<i>labhatu</i>	<i>labhatam</i>	<i>labhatam</i>
1. <i>labhāma</i>		<i>labhāmahai</i>	
2. <i>labhata</i>	<i>labhatha</i>	<i>labhadhvam</i>	<i>labhavho</i>
3. <i>labhantu</i>	<i>labhantu</i>	<i>labhantam</i>	<i>labhantam</i>

- a). The imperative in Pali has lost the first person singular and plural. Even in Skt these were in reality subjunctive forms.
- b). In Skt the thematic stems have the simple stem in the second person singular, while the athematic stems take the ending *-hi / -dhi*: *labha*, *ihi*, *juhudhi*. In Pali this distinction has been lost. All the stems ending in *-a / -ā* have either

the stem or the ending *-hi* in the second person singular. The stem must end in a short vowel, while the ending *-hi* must be preceded by a long vowel: *labha*, *labhāhi*, *suṇa*, *suṇāhi*. The present stems ending in *-e* / *-o*, form the second person of the imperative with the suffix *-hi*: *ehi*, *dehi*, *cintehi*, *karohi*, *hohi*.

- c). In the second person plural active, the consonant of the ending has been aspirated in Pali: Skt *labhata* Pali *labhatha*.
- d). In the second person singular middle, the ending *-ssu* corresponds to the Sanskrit ending *-sva*, but the final vowel *-u* may be due to the influence of the preceding *-v*, or may be an analogical formation under the influence of other forms ending in *-u*: *labhatu*, *labhantu*.
- e). For the change of *-dhvam* > *-vho*, see no. 210.

213. **Subjunctive.** Vedic Sanskrit has an injunctive which was an imperfect or an aorist without the augment. Since this formation was not quite clear, it was soon lost with the exception of the first person singular, dual and plural which became part of the subjunctive in Sanskrit. The subjunctive was formed by adding the vowel *-a* to the stem of the present:

<i>bhū-</i> :	<i>bhava-a</i>	<i>bhavā-</i>
<i>yuj-</i> :	<i>junj-a</i>	<i>junja-</i>
<i>hu-</i> :	<i>juho-a</i>	<i>juhava-</i>

The conjugation of the subjunctive in Vedic was as follows:

Singular:	<i>bhavāni</i>	Dual:	<i>bhavāva</i>	Plural:	<i>bhavāma</i>
	<i>bhavāsi</i>		<i>bhavāthaḥ</i>		<i>bhavātha</i>
	<i>bhavāti</i>		<i>bhavātaḥ</i>		<i>bhavān</i>

In classical Sanskrit this subjunctive was lost, but the first person singular, dual and plural were retained in the imperative.

In the Pali canonical language there are some verbal forms with the thematic vowel long which is a sign of the subjunctive. In some

cases the long vowel may be due to the exigencies of the metre, but there are a few cases which seem to be genuine subjunctive. Such are *vitārāsi*, *gacchāsi*, *kāmayāsi*, *cajāsi*.

214. Optative.

S a n s k r i t

P a l i

1. <i>bhaveyam</i>	<i>chindyām</i>	<i>bhaveyyam</i>	<i>bhave</i>	<i>bhaveyyāmi</i>
2. <i>bhaveḥ</i>	<i>chindyāḥ</i>	<i>bhave</i>	<i>bhaveyya</i>	<i>bhaveyyāsi</i>
3. <i>bhavet</i>	<i>chindyāt</i>	<i>bhave</i>	<i>bhaveyya</i>	<i>bhaveyyāti</i>
1. <i>bhavema</i>	<i>chindyāma</i>	<i>bhavema</i>		<i>bhaveyyāma</i>
2. <i>bhaveta</i>	<i>chindyāta</i>	<i>bhavetha</i>		<i>bhaveyyātha</i>
3. <i>bhaveyuḥ</i>	<i>chindyuḥ</i>	<i>bhaveyyu</i>	<i>bhaveyyum</i>	

- a). In Sanskrit the optative is formed from the stem of the present with the suffix *-yā* / *-ī* and the secondary personal endings. The verbs of the first conjugation take the suffix *-ī* while the verbs of the second conjugation take the suffix *-yā*. In Pali the distinction between the two conjugations has been lost and the optative is formed from the present stem in *-a* since nearly all the Pali verbs have a stem in *-a*. Even *juhōti* has a present *juhāti* and *karōti* has a stem *kara*.
- b). In poetry there are some optative forms built up with the suffix *-yā* derived directly from Sanskrit: *jān-yā-m* > *jaññam*, *jān-yā-t* > *jaññā*, *kar-yā-t* > *karyā* > *kayirā*, *dad-yā-um* > *dajjum*.
- c). Of the optative formed with the suffix *-ī* there are many examples which are found chiefly in poetry: *bhava-ī-am* > *bhaveyam* > *bhaveyyam*, *bhava-ī-t* > *bhavet* > *bhave*. After the vowel *-e* Pali usually doubles the semivowel *-y*. Further, in the second person plural the ending has the aspirate: *bhavetha* against Skt *bhaveta*.
- d). In the first person singular Pali has a form *bhave* built on the pattern of the second and third person, and we have in the singular *bhave*, *bhave*, *bhave* for the three persons.

e) The first person *bhaveyyam* has given rise to the forms *bhaveyya*, *bhaveyya* for the second and third person singular and *bhaveyyum* for the third plural.

f). Joining together these various forms we can discern two rather uniform formations

1. <i>bhaveyyam</i>	<i>bhave</i>
2. <i>bhaveyya</i>	<i>bhave</i>
3. <i>bhaveyya</i>	<i>bhave</i>

1.	<i>bhavema</i>
2.	<i>bhavetha</i>
3. <i>bhaveyyum</i>	<i>bhaveyyu</i>

g). Pali has developed a completely new optative. The starting point may have been the first person singular of the present and of the future. In this first person the final vowel may be dropped: *bhavāmi* / *bhavam*, *bhavissāmi* / *bhavissam*. In the formation of the optative the process may have been the reverse in so far as a final vowel *-i* may have been added; thus *bhaveyyam* / *bhaveyyāmi*. From this form a kind of composite suffix *eyya-* has been abstracted. Thus the new optative is formed by adding to the stem of the present, without the final vowel, the suffix *-eyyā* and the primary personal endings: *bhava-eyyā-mi* > *bhav-eyyā-mi* > *bhaveyyāmi*, *bhaveyyāsi*, *bhaveyyāti*, etc. But in this formation the third person plural is missing and is replaced by the form in *-eyyum* like *bhaveyyum*.

h). In a few cases we find forms of the middle optative; some of them are built up with the suffix *-ī* and some with the suffix *-eyyā*:

Sanskrit	Pali
1. <i>Labheya</i>	<i>labheyyam</i>
2. <i>labhethaḥ</i>	<i>labhetho</i>
3. <i>labheta</i>	<i>labhetha</i>

1. <i>labhemahi</i>	<i>labhamase</i> ,	<i>labheyyamhe</i>
2. <i>labhedhvam</i>		<i>labheyyavho</i>
3. <i>labheran</i>	<i>labheram</i>	

The difference in the personal endings between Sanskrit and Pali has already been explained in no 210.

i). Optative of the verb *as-* 'to be':

1. <i>syām</i>	<i>assaṃ</i> , <i>siyaṃ</i>
2. <i>syāḥ</i>	<i>assa</i>
3. <i>syāt</i>	<i>assa</i> , <i>siyā</i>

1. <i>syāma</i>	<i>assāma</i>
2. <i>syāta</i>	<i>assatha</i>
3. <i>syuḥ</i>	<i>assu</i> , <i>siyūṃ</i>

The only historical forms in Pali are *siyaṃ*, *siyā*, *siyūṃ*. The consonant group has been split with the insertion of the vowel *-i*.

Pali has done away with the weak grade of the root and has generalized the strong grade *as-* with the suffix *-yā* and the secondary personal endings: *as-yā-m* > *assaṃ*. This suffix *-yā*, however, has been shortened except in the first person plural: *as-yā-ma* > *assāma*.

215. The future. *dā-* 'to give':

Sanskrit	Pali	
1. <i>dasyāmi</i>	<i>dassāmi</i>	<i>dadissāmi</i>
2. <i>dasyasi</i>	<i>dassasi</i>	<i>dadissasi</i>
3. <i>dasyati</i>	<i>dassati</i>	<i>dadissati</i>
1. <i>dasyāma</i>	<i>dassāma</i>	<i>dadissāma</i>
2. <i>dasyatha</i>	<i>dassatha</i>	<i>dadissatha</i>
3. <i>dasyanti</i>	<i>dassanti</i>	<i>dadissanti</i>

The future tense in Pali is formed from the root in its *guṇa* grade and is conjugated exactly as in Sanskrit. The only innovation in Pali is the formation of the future from the stem of the present with the connecting vowel *-i*: *dadissati* besides *dassati*, *suṇissati*

besides *soṣṣati*. The formation of the future from the stem of the present is already found in Sanskrit in the case of the verbs of the secondary conjugations like the verbs of the tenth class and the causative verbs: *cintayīṣyati*, *corayīṣyanti* which in Pali become *cintayissati*, *corayissanti*.

Future formations through various changes of consonants and vowels have already been explained in no. 79.

216. The conditional. *bhū-* 'to be'

Sanskrit	Pali
1. <i>abhaviṣyam</i>	<i>abhavissam</i>
2. <i>abhaviṣyaḥ</i>	<i>abhavissa</i>
3. <i>abhaviṣyat</i>	<i>abhavissa</i>
1. <i>abhaviṣyāma</i>	<i>abhavissāma</i>
2. <i>abhaviṣyata</i>	<i>abhavissatha</i>
3. <i>abhaviṣyan</i>	<i>abhavissamsu</i>

The conditional is very rarely used both in Sanskrit and in Pali. The formation is the same in both languages except that Pali has generalized the aspirate dental in the second person plural: *abhavissatha*. Further the third person plural *abhaviṣyan* becomes in Pali *abhavissam*, which is already the first person singular. Hence Pali has built up a new form on the analogy of some *s-aorists*: *abhavissamsu* like *adamsu*, *aṭṭhamsu*.

217. The aorist. Sanskrit has two kinds of aorists: the sigmatic and the asigmatic. The sigmatic contains four varieties according as the aorist is formed with the suffix *-sa*, *-s*, *-is*, *-sis*. The asigmatic has two varieties according as it is formed with the suffix *-a* or without any suffix at all (this last is called root aorist). The *a-aorist* can also be formed with the reduplication of the root.

In Pali the aorists formed with the suffixes *-sa* / *-sis* have been lost, though there are some plural forms which have been built like the *ṣis-aorist*: *adāsimha*, *adāsiṭṭha*, *asakkhimha*. Of the reduplicated variety there remains only *avoca*. Hence Pali has the root and the

a- aorist in the asigmatic type; the *s-* / *is-* aorists in the sigmatic type.

The aorist is formed by prefixing an augment. Rules for the use of the augment have been given in no. 82. In the use of the augment Pali is more similar to Vedic since in the Rig-Veda the forms without the augment are much more numerous than those with the augment.

In Sanskrit there are minute rules regarding the grade or quantity of the vowel of the root. In Pali it is difficult to give any definite rules that will cover all the cases, but usually there is no vowel alternation between the singular and the plural or between the active and the middle, since either the weak or the *guṇa* grade has been generalized.

Regarding the personal endings, the second person plural has the dental aspirate which is a feature proper to Pali: *agamatha*, *gacchittha*, *akattha*. And this ending retains the dental even when the ordinary rules of sandhi would require a cerebral consonant: *akattha*, *kamittha* against Skt *akarṣṭa*, *akramiṣṭa*.

218. The root aorist. The root aorist was rather common in Vedic. Apparently in the Vedas 100 roots and in the Brahmanas 25 more roots take this aorist. But soon most of the forms were lost in classical Sanskrit. In Pali the root aorist seems to be confined to five roots only: *gā-*, *dā-*, *sthā-*, *bhū-*, *kṛ-*. Further, in the inflection Pali has lost the first and second person plural.

The secondary personal endings are added directly to the augmented root.

The root retains the long vowel except before the ending of the third person plural: *adā* but *adu*.

The root *kṛ-* takes *guṇa* in Vedic; in Pali it seems to be restricted to two forms only, one derived from Vedic and the other built analogically.

Further the ending of the third person plural varies in Vedic: it is *-ur* for the roots in *-ā*, and *-an* for the other roots: *adur* and *abhuvan*. In Pali there is no distinction made and the ending, when it is found, is *-u* / *-um*.

Vedic	Pali	Vedic	Pali
1. <i>adām</i>	<i>adam</i>	<i>agām</i>	<i>agam</i>
2. <i>adās</i>	<i>adā (ado)</i>	<i>agās</i>	<i>agā</i>
3. <i>adāt</i>	<i>adā</i>	<i>agāt</i>	<i>agā</i>
1. <i>adāma</i>		<i>agāma</i>	
2. <i>adāta</i>		<i>agāta</i>	
3. <i>adur</i>	<i>adū, adum</i>	<i>agur</i>	<i>agu, agum</i>
1. <i>asthām</i>	<i>aṭṭham</i>	<i>abhūvam</i>	<i>ahum</i>
2. <i>asthās</i>	<i>aṭṭhā</i>	<i>abhūs</i>	<i>ahū</i>
3. <i>asthāt</i>	<i>aṭṭhā</i>	<i>abhūt</i>	<i>ahū</i>
1. <i>asthāma</i>		<i>abhūma</i>	
2. <i>asthāta</i>		<i>abhūta</i>	
3. <i>asthur</i>	<i>aṭṭhu, aṭṭhum</i>	<i>abhūvan</i>	<i>ahū, ahum</i>
1. <i>akaram</i>	<i>akam</i>		
2. <i>akar</i>			
3. <i>akar</i>	<i>akā</i>		
1. <i>akarma</i>			
2. <i>akarta</i>			
3. <i>akaran</i>			

- a). In the root *bhū-* the labial consonant has lost its occlusion. Further the formation in Pali is on the same pattern as *adam*, *adā*, *adum*, hence *ahum*, *ahu*, *ahu* / *ahum*. In third person singular sometimes the final dental consonant reappears in combination in sandhi: *ahud eva*.
- b). The root *kr-* has *akā* in third person singular corresponding to the Vedic *akar*. The lengthening of the vowel, however, is rather on the pattern of *adā*, *agā*, *aṭṭhā*. From this form there has been built the first person just as *adā:adam::akā:akam*.

- c). *gā-* has a first person plural formed on the analogy of the s-aorist: *agamha*.
- d). As a rule the root aorists take the augment, but in poetry there are also root aorists without the augment: from *adhigam-* we find *ajjhagam* but also *adhigam*. Apparently the augment is sometimes missing when the verb is combined with a prefix.

219. The a-aorist. The a-aorist is rather common both in Vedic and in Sanskrit. It is formed by adding the suffix *-a* to the augmented root. The root usually appears in the weak grade, but there are also some roots that appear in their guna grade: *vid-* : *avidam*, *gam-*: *agamat*, *kr-*: *akarat*.

In Pali the a-aorist is formed in the same way: *bid-*: *abhida*, *gam-*: *agama*, *drś-*: *addasa*. The root *mad-* appears in its vṛddhi grade in *pamādo*. Further in Pali there are some a-aorists formed from the stem of the present: *man-*: *amaññaṃ*, *amaññarum*, *dā-*: *adadam*, *upa-pad-*: *upapajjatha*, *vid-*: *vindatha*.

Sanskrit	Pali
1. <i>agamam</i>	<i>agamam</i>
2. <i>agamas</i>	<i>agama</i>
3. <i>agamat</i>	<i>agama</i>
1. <i>agamāma</i>	<i>agamāma</i>
2. <i>agamata</i>	<i>agamatha</i>
3. <i>agaman</i>	<i>agamum</i>

- a). In the second person singular the Sanskrit group *-as* has sometimes given rise to *-o* in Pali: *pamādo*, *āsado*.
- b). In the second and third person singular the final vowel sometimes is long and sometimes is short: *addasā* / *addasa*, *agamā* / *agama*, *abhida*, *alattha*, *ahuvā*.
- c). In the plural there are some forms built on the analogy of the s-aorist: *akaramha*, *ahuvamha*, *ahuvattha*, *pamadattha*, *alatthamsu*.

- d). In the second person plural Pali has the usual aspirate dental *-th*: *agamatha* against Skt *agamata*.
- e). In the third person plural Pali has the ending *-um* which corresponds to the Sanskrit ending *-ur* already found in the root aorist: Skt *agaman* but Pali *agamum*. Similarly *avocum*, *alatthum*, *addasum*.
- f). Of the Sanskrit reduplicated aorist only *avoca* has been retained in Pali (see no. 84 b). Pali has further a new *-a*-aorist from the root *vac-*: *avaca*.
- g). From the root *kṛ-*, Pali has the aorist *akaram* corresponding to the Vedic *akaram*; from the root *bhū-* there is the form *ahuvam* whose formation may have been influenced by the Vedic root aorist *abhuvam*.
- h). *Alattha* is an *s*-aorist but it has been inflected like an *a*-aorist (see 83)
- i). Of the middle voice Pali has retained only a few forms for the third person singular and plural and for the first person plural: *abhāsatha*, *upapajjatha*, *vindatha*, *abajjhare*, *amaññarum*, *akaramhase*. Here the third person singular takes the ending *-tha* against the Sanskrit ending *-ta*; in the third person plural the ending *-re* is already found in Sanskrit in the perfect tense, while *-rum* seems to be the result of the two endings *-re + -um*. In the first person plural the ending *-mhase* is already found in the present tense (see no. 211).

220. **The s-aorist.** The *s*-aorist is frequently used both in Vedic and in Sanskrit. In Pali it has become very common in verbs whose present stem ends in *-e*; but it is found also in other verbs.

In Sanskrit, in the formation of the *s*-aorist the root appears in its *vṛddhi* grade in the active voice, while in the middle voice the root is sometimes in the *guṇa* grade and sometimes in the weak grade.

In the oldest stage of the language the secondary personal endings were added to the suffix *-s*. But owing to the rules of sandhi and of the final consonants allowable at the end of a word, the second and third person singular became indistinguishable; v.g. *bhṛ-* : *a-bhar-ṣ-am* > *abharṣam*, *a-bhar-s-s* > *abhar*, *a-bhar-s-t* > *abhar*. Hence from the Atharva Veda onwards an *-i* began to be inserted in these two forms and very soon this insertion became the rule in almost every root that took the *s*-aorist. Thus while the RigVeda has *adrāk* (*adrākst* < *adrās-s-t*), the later language has *adrākṣit* (*adrās—s-ī-t*). In Pali the insertion of *-i* has been extended to the first person singular and thus the three persons singular have been made uniform.

S a n s k r i t		P a l i	
1. <i>a-kār-ṣ-am</i>	<i>akārṣam</i>	<i>a-kār-s-ī-m</i>	<i>akāsīm</i>
2. <i>a-kār-ṣ-ī-s</i>	<i>akārṣīs</i>	<i>a-kār-s-ī-s</i>	<i>akāsi</i>
3. <i>a-kār-ṣ-ī-t</i>	<i>akārṣīt</i>	<i>a-kār-s-ī-t</i>	<i>akāsi</i>
1. <i>a-kār-s-ma</i>	<i>akārṣma</i>	<i>a-kār-s-ma</i>	<i>akamha</i>
2. <i>a-kār-ṣ-ṭa</i>	<i>akārṣṭa</i>	<i>a-kār-s-tha</i>	<i>akattha</i>
3. <i>a-kār-ṣ-ur</i>	<i>akārṣur</i>	<i>a-kār-s-um</i>	<i>akāsum</i> / <i>akāmsu</i>

- a). In Pali the vowel *-i* has been shortened in the first person singular since it is followed by *niggahita*, and in the second and third person, because it comes at the end of a word.
- b). In the second person plural in Pali there is always the aspirate dental even when the sandhi rules would demand a cerebral consonant.
- c). In the first and second person plural, the vowel *-o* of the root is shortened to *-u* before the double consonant: *assosim* but *assumha*, *assuttha*. Similarly *ahumha*, *ahuttha* from the root *bhū*.
- d). In the third person plural either the final vowel *-u* is nasalized (Skt *-ur* > *-ū/-um*) or the final vowel *-ū* is shortened and the *-a* of the previous syllable is nasalized: *adāsum/adāmsu*, *samādahaṃsu* (from *sam-ā-dhā-*). The vowel *-e* / *-o*, however, remains unchanged: *nesum*, *assosum*

In the third person plural of the roots in \bar{a} , the vowel \bar{a} is sometimes changed to \bar{i} , perhaps under the influence of the is-aorist: $aññāsi$, $aññiṃsu$, $viḥāsi$, $viḥaṃsu$ / $vihiṃsu$.

- e). In the plural there are some forms built up both with the suffixes $-s + -is$. This may be due to the tendency at work in Pali to build the first and second person plural on the model of the is-aorist: $adāsimha$, $adāsittha$, $asakkhimha$.
- f). The s-aorist has been very much expanded in Pali since it is taken by all the verbs whose present stem ends in $-e$: $nesi < neti$, $cintesi < cinteti$, $kāresi < kāreti$, $kittesi < kitteti$. In the aorist of these verbs, however, the first and second person plural are wanting.
- g). The s-aorist has been extended also with new formations which can be considered as double aorists, i.e. an s-aorist built up from an a-aorist. The final vowel of the a-aorist is always long before the suffix $-s$: $agamāsi < gam-$, $addasāsi < dṛś-$, $avacāsi < vac-$, $ahuvāsi < bhū-$. As extended aorist also may be considered $adāsi < dā-$, $aṭṭhāsi < sthā-$ built from the root aorist, unless they are considered as new formations built up on the analogy of $aññāsi$ (Skt $ajñāsīt$) $< jñā-$.
- h). The aorist $adrāk$ found in the RigVeda has been mentioned above. This form is found also in Pali as $addā$.
- i). In the middle or attanopada there are only a few rare forms like $udapattha < pat-$, $alattha < labh-$ with the aspirate dental in the third person singular as in the a-aorist (see no. 219 i). Further it is to be noticed that the $-a$ drops when occurring between two occlusive consonants: $ud-a-pat-s-ta > udapatta > udapattha$. In Sanskrit $labh-$ has an s-aorist and a sa-aorist: $a-labh-s-ta > alabhta > alabdha$, $a-labh-sa-ta > alapsata$. In Pali $alattha$ seems to be a mixture of both Skt aorists since the consonant $bh-$ of the root has not softened the following dental, but seems to have become a hard consonant before the $s-$ and then

assimilated to the following dental aspirate: $a-labh-s-ta > a-lap-s-ta > alaptha > alattha$.

221. The is-aorist. The is-aorist is rather common both in Vedic and classical Sanskrit. The only difference is that in Sanskrit the is-aorist becomes more and more confined to the roots in consonants while the s-aorist is taken chiefly by roots in a vowel. In the is-aorist the root of the verb appears in its guṇa grade. The few roots in vowel that take this aorist show the final vowel in its vṛddhi grade.

kram- 'to step'

1. <i>akramiṣam</i>	<i>kamiṃ, kamisaṃ</i>
2. <i>akramiḥ</i>	<i>kami</i>
3. <i>akramīt</i>	<i>kami</i>
1. <i>akramiṣma</i>	<i>kamimha</i>
2. <i>akramiṣṭa</i>	<i>kamittha</i>
3. <i>akramiṣur</i>	<i>kamisum</i>

- a) In Sanskrit in the second and third person singular the endings are $-iḥ$, $-īt$ respectively which do not represent the phonetic development of the usual suffix with the personal endings: $-is-s$, $-is-t$. They seem to be asigmatic formations based on older imperfects with the connecting vowel \bar{i} . In fact, in Vedic there are three verbs that retain the same formation in the first person singular: *akramim*, *agrabhim*, *vadhim*.

In Pali the vowel \bar{i} is found regularly in the three persons of the singular. These may be considered as derived from such forms as *akramim*, *akramiḥ*, *akramīt*, but the vowel \bar{i} is shortened in the first person because followed by niggahita, and in the second and third persons because final; or they may be considered as built up regularly with the suffix $-is$: $kam-iṣ-m > kamism > kamihm > kamimh > kamim$, $kam-is-s > kami$, $kam-is-t > kami$.

- b). In the first person singular there is also the ordinary suffix $-is$ and the ending $-am$: *agamisaṃ*. In poetry the $-s$ is sometimes doubled: *sandhāvissaṃ*.

- c). In the third person plural either the vowel of the ending or the vowel of the suffix is nasalized: *agamisuṃ / agamiṃsu*, *pavisimsu*, *vandiṃsu*, *vimuccimsu*.

In many cases there is a third person plural built up on the analogy of the s-aorist: *abravum*, *pakkamum*, *upavisum*, *anussarum*, *anassum*, *agacchum*, *visodhayum*, *abhinandum*, *padālayum*, *acarum*.

These forms may have arisen from the confusion between the a-aorist and the is-aorist in verbs that have both forms: *agama / agami*.

In the inflection of *gacchim* the vowel of the first syllable is sometimes nasalized: *gacchi / gañchi*.

- d). The is-aorist has been very much expanded in Pali. In fact practically every verb may form an is-aorist from the stem of the present: *gacchi* < *gacchati*, *bhuñji* < *bhuñjati*, *pucchi* < *pucchati*, *asupi* < *suṇāti*, *cintayi* < *cintayati*, *khamāpayi* < *khamāpayati*, etc.
- e). It has already been mentioned that the verbs whose stem of the present ends in -e like *cinteti*, *kāretī* take the s-aorist: *cintesi*, *kāresi*. The same verbs may take the is-aorist from the stem in -aya: *cintayi* < *cintayati*, *kārayi* < *kārayati*.
- f). The root *sthā-* splits up the long vowel into two similar vowels with the aspirate in between: *ṭhā-* > *ṭhaha-* in *uṭṭhahi*.
- g). Of the medial forms only the second and the third persons singular are found:

2nd person: *pucchittho*, *amaññittho*, *paṭisevittho*

3rd prson: *pucchittha*, *sandittha*, *ruccittha*.

The endings *-ittho*, *-ittha* are derived from *iṣ-ṭhas*, *iṣ-ṭa*. Pali has generalized the dental consonant throughout as in other forms; has shortened the vowel of the second person and has aspirated the dental of the third person.

- h). Just as in Sanskrit, in Pali the vowel of the root appears in its guṇa grade: *agami*, *vediṃ*, *abhedi*, *abodhi*. In some verbs, however, the vowel may appear in the vṛddhi grade, or both in the guṇa and vṛddhi grade: *pad-*: *udapādi*, *tras-*: *vitthāsi*, *kram-*: *pakkāmi* but *upasaṅkami*, *nikkhami*; *ṭ-*: *atāri*, *atari*, *car-*: *acari*, *acāri*.

222. **The passive.** In Sanskrit the formation of the passive seems to have originated from the fact that some verbs of the fourth class forming the stem of the present with the suffix *-ya* had an intransitive meaning while they had also a corresponding stem of the present with the suffix *-a* and with a transitive meaning: *tapyate* 'becomes hot', *tapati* 'heats' *pacyate* 'becomes cooked', 'becomes ripe', *pacati* 'cooks'.

Such verbs may have been the first nucleus which gave rise to the ordinary formation of the passive from the transitive verbs.

Then a distinction was introduced between the verbs of the fourth class and the passive: the verbs of the fourth class had the accent on the root while the passive had it on the suffix: *manyate* 'thinks', *badhyate* 'is bound'. But this seems to be a late element since in both types of verbs the root is in the weak grade and hence the accent ought to be on the suffix.

The passive verb was generalized with the attanopada or middle personal endings; but this also was a gradual generalization in Sanskrit for in Iranian there are passive verbs with the parassapada or active endings: *bairyeiti* 'is carried'.

In Sanskrit the passive is confined to the present, to a special third person of the aorist, and to the past and future participles. In the other tenses the attanopada or middle can be used as a passive; v.g. *kariṣyate* 'will be done'.

Pali seems to retain the older usage since the passive verb is conjugated more often in the parassapada than in the attanopada: *muccati*, *haññati*.

Several of the verbs that seem to be passive are actually intransitive in meaning: *anutappati* 'repents', *miyyati* 'dies'. *paccati* 'ripens', *dissati* 'appears'.

There are two innovations in Pali. Just as other verbal forms, so the passive also may be formed from the stem of the present: *bhid-*: *bhijjati* / *bhindiyati*, *chid-*: *chijjati* / *chindiyati*.

Further there are passive forms in other tenses and moods besides the present indicative.

Aorists: *apacim*, *vimucci*, *chijji*, *apaccatha*

Future: *paññāyissati*, *khiyissati*

Optative: *paññāyatha*

Present participle: *vimuccamāno*

Gerund: *chijjivā*

223. The causative verb. On the whole the formation of the causative verbs in Pali corresponds to the same formation in Sanskrit. The final vowel of a root appears in the vṛddhi grade while a vowel, followed by a consonant, appears in its guṇa grade, with the exception of the vowel -a which is also often lengthened. The only phonological differences consist in the contraction of the group -aya > -e in Pali.

<i>bhū-</i>	Skt	<i>bhāvayati</i>	Pali	<i>bhāvayati, bhāveti</i>
<i>kṛ-</i>		<i>kārayati</i>		<i>kārayati, kāreti</i>
<i>bhid-</i>		<i>bhedayati</i>		<i>bhedayati, bhedeti</i>
<i>pat-</i>		<i>pāyati</i>		<i>pāyati, pātet</i>

The roots that end in -ā insert a -p between the root and the suffix:

<i>mā-</i>		<i>māpayati</i>		<i>māpayati, māpeti</i>
<i>dā-</i>		<i>dāpayati</i>		<i>dāpayati, dāpeti</i>

In some roots in Pali the final vowel is not kept consistently long: *dāpeti* but *ādāpeti*, *samādapeti*; *ṭhapeti* but *uṭṭhāpeti*, *saṅghāpeti*, *saṅghapeti*; *pariyodapeti* < *dā-* 'to wash'.

Just as in Sanskrit, so also in Pali there are some other ways of forming the causative: *duṣ-*: *dūseti*; *pṛ-*: *pūreti*; *pā-*: *pāyati*; *pā-*: *pāleti*, etc.

The two main innovations in Pali are the formation of the causative verbs from the stem of the present and the formation of double causative. From verbs like *māpayati*, *nāpayati*, *dāpayati*, Pali has abstracted a kind of new suffix -āpaya / -āpe and has used it to form causative verbs from any present tense: *chinda-*: *chindāpeti*, *nisīda-*: *nisīdāpeti*, *ocinā-*: *ocināpeti*, *karo-*: *karāpeti*, *pūjaya-*: *pūjāpeti*, *āmantaya-*: *āmantāpeti*. The double causative is formed by adding the suffix -āpe to the present stem of a causative verb: *kāre-*: *kārāpeti*, *sodhe-*: *sodhāpeti*, *ghate-*: *ghatāpeti*, *rope-*: *ropāpeti*.

224. The desiderative and the intensive verbs. The formation of the desiderative and of the intensive verbs in Pali is the same as in Sanskrit. In fact the desiderative and the intensive verbs in Pali are directly derived from Sanskrit:

Skt	<i>pipāsati</i>	Pali	<i>pipāsati</i>
	<i>jigīṃsati</i>		<i>jigīṃsati</i>
	<i>ditṣati</i>		<i>dicchati</i>
	<i>śikṣati</i>		<i>sikkhati</i>
	<i>caṅkramyate</i>		<i>caṅkamati</i>
	<i>jājvalyati</i>		<i>daddaḥhati</i>

225. Present participle. The present participle parassapada in Pali corresponds to the same participle in Sanskrit:

Skt	<i>bhavant</i>	Pali	<i>bhavant</i>
	<i>chindant</i>		<i>chindant</i>

In Pali there is no distinction between the verbs of the third class and the remaining verbs. In Sanskrit the verbs of the third class

have the suffix *-at* while all the other verbs have the suffix *-ant*. In Pali all the verbs have the suffix *-ant*, in which the final dental drops and the *-n* is changed to *niggahita*. The suffix *-ant* has often been extended with the thematic vowel and thus a new suffix *-anta* is often used in the formation of the present participle. In fact this suffix is the only one used when the present participle is formed from the stem of the present ending in *-e / -o*: *cintenta, karonta*.

In Sanskrit the present participle *atanopada* is formed with the suffix *-māna* for the verbs of the first conjugation and with the suffix *-āna* for the verbs of the second conjugation; *bhavamāna, juhvāna*. In Pali this distinction has been eliminated. Every verb can form a present participle with the suffix *-māna*; *bhavamāna, sampajjamāna, karamāna, cintayamāna*. Of the present participle in *-āna* there are a few forms still extant, but this participle is confined to verbs which in Sanskrit belong to the second conjugation: *esāna, sayāna, kubbāna, saddahāna, saṅkharāna, anuṭṭhahāna*

226. The past participle. The Pali past participle, formed with the suffix *-ta / -na*, corresponds to the same participle in Sanskrit. An innovation in Pali, however, is the formation of the past participle with the suffix *-ta* from the stem of the present, not only in derivative verbs like *kārita, pūjita*, but also in simple verbs like *gacchita, gaṇhita*, etc.

Further in Pali in the formation of the past participle of the roots in *-h*, the suffix *-ta* with the preceding *-h* has given rise to *-ḥh* with the preceding vowel lengthened: *-ḥha: muh-: mūḥha, ruh-: rūḥha*.

The verb *dā-* has the past participle *datta* as in Sanskrit but only in compounds like *Devadatta*; it has also *-tta* as in Sanskrit in compounds *atta* (< *ā-dā-*), *paritta* (< *pari-dā-*), and it has a new formation *dinna* v.g. *dhammadinna*.

227. The future participle passive. In Pali, as in Sanskrit, the future participle passive is formed with the suffixes *-tabba* (Skt *-tavya*), *-anīya*, *-ya*:

Skt	<i>gantavya</i>	Pali	<i>gantabba</i>
	<i>gamaniya</i>		<i>gamaniya</i>
	<i>bhavya</i>		<i>bhabba</i>

In Pali the future participle passive with the suffix *-tabba* can be formed also from the stem of the present: *pucchitabba, garahitabba*. This is the only formation possible for derivative verbs: *pujetabba, ropetabba*.

In Pali there is a new formation with the suffixes *-tayya / -tāya / -teyya: nātayya / nāteyya, pattayya / patteyya, lajjitāya*.

228. The gerund. In general the formation of the gerund in Pali corresponds to the same formation in Sanskrit:

Skt	<i>jñātvā, śrutvā, ādāya, āgamyā, parityā</i>
Pali	<i>nātvā, sutvā, ādāya, āgamma, paricca</i>

In Pali the vowel *-i / -ī, -u* of the root is sometimes changed to *-e / -o* respectively before two consonants:

Skt	<i>jitvā, nītvā, bhuktvā</i>
Pali	<i>jetvā, netvā, bhutvā and bhotvā</i>

The distinction between simple and compound verbs is not always kept: hence *nisīditvā, pāpuṇitvā, upasaṅkamitvā, nāya, bhūṇṇiya, chaḍḍiya*.

In Pali the gerund with the suffix *-tvā* is often formed from the stem of the present: *pāpuṇitvā, gacchitvā, nivāsetvā*. Even some passive verbs form this gerund: *chijjītvā, paccitvā*.

Often instead of *-tvā* there appears the extended form *-tvāna*: *gantvā / gantvāna, disvā / disvāna*. There are also a few gerunds with the suffix *-tūna*: *kātūna, janitūna*. Again the suffix *-ya* seems to have been extended into *-yāna* just as *-tvā* to *-tvāna*: *uttariyāna, ovariyāna*.

229. The infinitive. The ordinary infinitive is built up with the suffix *-tum* both in Sanskrit and in Pali:

Skt *jñātum, śrotum*

Pali *ñātum, sotum.*

In Pali often the infinitive is formed from the stem of the present: *pucchitum, pāpuṇitum, passitum, desetum.*

Pali has also some infinitive formations going back to Vedic. The Pali suffix *-tave* corresponds to Vedic *-tave / -tavai*: Vedic: *etave / etavai*, Pali: *etave*.

The suffix *-taye* also corresponds to the Vedic suffix *-taye* but with the vowel lengthened: *dakkhitāye, pucchitāye.*

The infinitive with the suffix *-tuye* seems to be an analogical formation: *hetuye / havituye, marituye.*

There is also an infinitive *etase* in which the suffix *-ase* is also found in Vedic.

CHAPTER XVII

EXTERNAL SANDHI

230. In building up a sentence in Sanskrit the words are joined together according to the rules of external sandhi. In Pali the words are kept separate. But as in a sentence the adverbs, the prepositions, the pronouns, the numerals, the forms of the verb as - are usually pronounced together with a preceding or a following word, they undergo some changes according to certain sandhi rules; v.g. *ca api* > *cāpi*, *patto amhi* > *pattomhi*.

Even some longer words, which are generally used together, are joined together: *uṭṭhāya āsanā* > *uṭṭhāyāsanā*.

In Pali a word may begin with a vowel or a consonant, but it may end only with a vowel or niggahita. Hence the cases of external sandhi can be four

vowel	+	vowel
vowel	+	consonant
niggahita	+	vowel
niggahita	+	consonant

It is evident that all the rules of external sandhi do not apply in Pali.

231. **Vowel + vowel.** The final vowel of a word and the initial vowel of a following word may be subject to sandhi.

- a). **Assimilation.** Two similar vowels may be contracted into one long vowel, unless the resultant vowel is followed by a consonant with which it makes syllble: *tatra-ayaṃ* > *tatrāyaṃ*, *kiñca api* > *kiñcāpi*, *jāti iti* > *jātīti*, *tāva ahaṃ* > *tāvāhaṃ*, *rājā ahaṃ* > *rājāhaṃ*, *seyyathā api* > *seyyathāpi*, *tena añjali* > *tenañjali*, *dukkhassa antaṃ* > *dukkhassantaṃ*. But there are cases where we find a long vowel followed by a double consonant according to the Sanskrit sandhi rules: *upasantā amhi* > *upasantāmhi*.
- b). **Elision.** When the two vowels are dissimilar, then one of them is elided: *tatra ime* > *tatime*, *pana eke* > *paneke*, *tattha eva* > *tattheva*, *tena upasaṅkami* > *tenupasaṅkami*, *idha upapanno* > *idhupapanno*, *dāni ahaṃ* > *dānaḥam*, *eso ahaṃ* > *esahaṃ*, *namo atthu* > *namatthu*, *setṭho ahaṃ* > *setṭhahaṃ*, *patto iti* > *pattoti*, *te api* > *tepi*, *mālā iva* > *mālāva*, *iti api* > *itipi*, *diṭṭho asi* > *diṭṭhosi*.

It is not possible to give a fixed rule according to which one or the other vowel is elided, but generally speaking the vowel of the more important word is retained.

- c). **Sonant vowels.** When a final sonant vowel is followed by a different initial vowel, the final sonant vowel is changed into its semivowel: *iti assa* > *ityassa* > *iccassa*, *api eva* > *apyeva* > *appeva*, *chasu eva* > *chasveva* > *chasseva*.

Also the final vowels e, o, followed by a different vowel, are changed to y, v respectively: *te ahaṃ* > *tyāhaṃ*, *me ayaṃ* > *myāyam*, *so eva* > *sveva*. Generally the vowel that follows the sonant consonant is lengthened.

- d). **Insertion of a consonant.** Sometimes between a final and an initial vowel a consonant is inserted to avoid the iatus: *na idaṃ* > *nayidaṃ*, *suto eva* > *sutoyeva*, *kati ākārehi* > *katihākārehi*, *patto iva* > *pattoriva*, *ajja agge* > *ajjatagge*.

In such cases often there is no new consonant inserted, but the original Sanskrit final consonant is restored: *dhī atthu* > *dhīratthu*, *pātu ahosi* > *pāturaḥosi*, *tasmā iva* > *tasmātiva*, *yāva eva* > *yāvadeva*, *cha abhiññā* > *chaḥabhiññā*, *puna ahosi* > *punarahosi*.

The pronouns *ya*, *ta*, followed by a word beginning with a vowel, retain the Sanskrit neuter forms: *etadavoca*, *yadeva*. Similarly *sammā* (< Vedic *samyak*), *bahu*, *sakiṃ* (< *sakṛt*), followed by *eva*, insert a *d*: *sammad eva*, *bahud eva*, *sakid eva*.

232. **Vowel + consonant.** When a Sanskrit word begins with a consonant which has been simplified in Pali, sometimes the assimilated double consonant reappears when preceded by a vowel: *na khamati* (< *kṣamate*) > *nakkhamati*, *na pajānāti* > *nappajānāti*, *api sudaṃ* > *apissudaṃ*.

Sometimes it is the final consonant of the preceding word that reappears: *puna puna* > *punar puna* > *punappuna*.

233. **Niggahita + vowel.**

- a). A niggahita, followed by a word beginning with a vowel, remains the same or is changed into the labial nasal: *evaṃ eva* / *evameva*, *pāsādaṃ āruyha* > *pāsādamāruyha*.
- b). The initial vowel of a preposition is dropped when preceded by a word ending in niggahita. Then the niggahita is changed into the nasal of the varga of the following consonant: *ahaṃ api* > *ahampi*, *dutiyam api* > *dutiyampi*, *dukkham iti* > *dukkhanti*, *sukham eva* > *sukhameva*.
- c). Sometimes the final niggahita is elided and the two vowels that come together may be contracted, or one may be dropped and changed to its corresponding semivowel: *labheyyam ahaṃ* > *labheyyāhaṃ*, *namassim ahaṃ* > *namassiham*, *kiṃ ahaṃ* > *kyāham*.
- d). When a word ends in niggahita and the following word begins with e, y is sometimes inserted and then the niggahita and the semivowel may remain unchanged, or may be

adapted to each other: *imasmim̐ eva āsane* > *imasmim̐ yeva āsane*, *tesam̐ eva* > *tesam̐yeva* > *tesaññeva*.

234. **Niggahita + consonant.**

- a). The final niggahita is assimilated to an initial nasal consonant: *yam̐ nūna* > *yannūna*, *param̐ maraṇā* > *param̐ maraṇā*.
- b). When the final niggahita is followed by a mute consonant, the niggahita is changed to the nasal of the varga of the following consonant: *taṃ ca* > *tañca*, *kim̐ pana* > *kim̐pana*, *kim̐ dadāti* > *kindadāti*.

SYNTAX

CHAPTER XVIII

AGREEMENT

235. **The noun and its attribute.**

- a). An attributive adjective agrees, with the noun it qualifies, in gender, number and case:

<i>digho maggo</i>	'a long road'
<i>nilāni uppālāni</i>	'blue lotuses'
<i>mahatiyā parisāya saddhim̐</i>	'with a great crowd'

- b). The cardinal numbers from 1 to 18, being adjectives, agree in number and case with the noun they qualify; the number 1, 3, 4 agree also in gender:

<i>tayo purisā</i>	'three men'
<i>tisso itthiyo</i>	'three women'
<i>tīni rūpāni</i>	'three objects'
<i>pañcahi bhikkhūhi saddhim̐</i>	'with five monks'
<i>pañcahi devīhi saddhim̐</i>	'with five ladies'

Pali has no articles. *Eko*, *ekacco* are often used as indeterminate articles. Both *eko* and *ekacco* in the plural have often the meaning of 'some':

<i>eko puriso</i>	'a man'
<i>ekaṃ phalaṃ</i>	'a fruit'
<i>ekacce samaṇabrāhmaṇā</i>	'some recluses and brahmins'

c). All the ordinal numerals, being adjectives, agree in gender, number and case with the noun they qualify:

<i>dutiyo putto</i>	'the second son'
<i>sattamiyā rattiya</i>	'on the seventh night'

d). An adjective is sometimes repeated twice to convey a superlative meaning:

<i>sambahulā abhiññātā abhiññātā paribbājakā</i>	'many of the most learned wanderers'
<i>mahatiyā mahatiyā gihi parisāya saddhiṃ</i>	'with a very great crowd of householders'

e). A qualifying adjective may be a simple word or a compound:

<i>ime silavanto bhikkhū</i>	'these virtuous monks'
<i>kalyāṇadhammā bhikkhū</i>	'monks with lovely qualities'
<i>Buddhadesito dhammo</i>	'the doctrine preached by the Buddha'

f). An adjective, instead of agreeing with the noun, is very often joined to the noun to form a *kammadhāraya samāsa*

<i>niluppalāni</i>	'blue lotuses'
<i>catuyojanāni</i>	'four yojanas'
<i>appalābho</i>	'little gain'
<i>pubbajāti</i>	'former birth'

236. The noun and its apposition.

a). A noun in apposition agrees with the noun it modifies, in case, and, if possible, in gender and number also:

Asoko rājā 'king Asoka'

mahatā bhikkhusaṅghena saddhiṃ aḍḍhatelasehi bhikkhusatehi
'with a great number of monks, i.e. with 1250 monks' (DN I 47:1)

When an apposition modifies a proper noun, usually the apposition follows the proper noun:

Vipassi kumāro 'prince Vipassi'

Māyā devī 'queen Maya'

Cando rājaputto 'prince Canda'

Sunīdha-Vassakārā Magadha-mahāmattā 'Sunidha and Vassakara, the chief ministers of Magadha'

Nandā bhikkhuṇī 'the nun Nanda'

māro pāpimā 'Mara, the evil one'

gaṅgā nadī 'the river Ganges'

Sometimes the arrangement of the noun and its apposition depends on whether greater importance is given to the person and thing mentioned or to the apposition. Thus we may find *Disampati mahārājā*, *rājā Disampati* (DN II 232), *rājā Mahasudassano* (DN II 172).

b). Sometimes the noun in apposition is joined to the noun it modifies by means of the words *nāma*, *seyyathīdaṃ*, *seyyathāpi*, *yadidaṃ* 'namely, indeed':

āmantayi Cundakaṃ nāma bhikkhuṃ 'he addressed the monk Cundaka' (DN II 135:11)

tiṇṇaṃ kho me idaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ. tiṇṇaṃ kammānaṃ vipāko seyyathīdaṃ dānassa, dāmassa, saññamassa 'for me this is the fruit of three actions, this is the result of three

actions, namely of liberality, of self-control and of self-restraint' (Itv 15:19)

gahanam hi etam yadidam manussā, uttānakam hi etam yadidam pasavo 'deep indeed are men, plain indeed are animals' (MN I 340:24)

bhikkhu evam sīlasampanno na kuto ci bhayam samanupassati yadidam sīla-saṃvarato 'thus a monk who is endowed with virtue is not afraid of anything since he has the restraint of virtue' (DN I 181:22)

When a person is introduced for the first time, usually the word *nāma* is used between the name of the person and the noun in apposition:

Subhaddo nāma paribbājako 'the wanderer called Paribbājako'

In a negative sentence containing a comparison, the second term is introduced with *yathayidam* followed by the nominative case:

na aññaṃ ekaṅgampi samanupassāmi evam bahupakāraṃ yathayidam kalyāṇamittatā 'I do not see anything more helpful than good friendship'

Sometimes the noun in apposition is introduced with *yadidam* followed by a noun in a case different from the one before:

cirassam kho bhante bhagavā imaṃ pariyāyaṃ akāsi yadidam idhāgamanāya 'it is a long time since the Blessed One made arrangements to come here' (DN I 179:17)

c). Sometimes the noun in apposition is expressed by the nominative case followed by the particle *ti / iti*:

Buddho ti maṃ dhārehi 'hold me as the Enlightened One' (AN II 39:3)

Vipassissa kumārassa Vipassī Vipassī tveva samaññā udapādi 'to prince Vipassī there arose the appellation Vipassī' (DN II 21:4)

d). When a comparison is expressed by means of the particle *iva, va, seyyathā*, the second member of the comparison is placed in the same case as the first term:

appamādañ ca medhāvī dhanam setṭham va rakkhati 'the wise man guards earnestness as the greatest treasure' (Dpd 26)

e). A noun in apposition is often joined to the noun it modifies to form a kammadhāraya samāsa:

Asokarājā 'king Asoka'

Mahākassapathero 'the great elder Kassapa'

f). The cardinal numbers from 20 upwards are nouns and hence they are used as appositions agreeing in case with the noun they modify:

asīti saḥassāni bhikkhū 'eighty thousand monks'

satthiyā sāvakehi saddhiṃ 'with sixty disciples'

dvattimsa mahāpurisa-lakkhaṇāni 'the thirty-two marks of a great man' (Sn 107:12)

The numerals *sataṃ, saḥassaṃ* form a tappurisa samāsa with the noun they modify:

vassa-satassa accayena 'at the end of a hundred years' (DN II 189:5)

bhikkhu-sata-sahasam 'one hundred thousand monks'

When *sataṃ / saḥassaṃ* form a tappurisa samāsa with a noun, an adjective which qualifies the samāsa or the number by which *sataṃ* or *saḥassaṃ* is exceeded, is placed first:

bahunnam vssasatānaṃ bahunnam vassa-sata-saḥassānaṃ accayena 'after many hundred years after many hundred thousand years' (DN II 189:10)

anekāni gahapati-saḥassāni 'many thousands householders' (DN II 249:26)

caturāsīti nagara-sahassāni 'eighty-four thousand towns' (DN II 187:6)

caturāsītiyā pāṇa-sahassānaṃ dhammabhisamayo ahosi 'there was the grasping of the doctrine by 84,000 living beings.'

dve-cattārīsaṃ nāga-sahassāni 'forty-two thousand nagas'

tīhi māṇavaka-satehi saddhiṃ 'with three hundred young men' (Sn 107:2)

When *satam* / *sahassam*, i.e. 100 or 1000 are joined with a multiple, v.g. 200, 3000, etc. then the multiple can form a bahubbīhi samāsa with the word *mattā*, while *satam* / *sahassam* forms a tappurisa samāsa with the noun it modifies:

pañcamattehi bhikkhu-satehi saddhiṃ 'with 500 monks' (DN I 1:3)

Sometimes a tappurisa samāsa formed with *satam* / *sahassam* is in apposition to a collective noun:

bhikkhu-saṅgho aṭṭha-tejasāni bhikkhu-satāni 'an assembly of monks, that is, 1250 monks' (Sn 104:1)

mahā-jana-kāyo caturāsīti-pāṇa-sahassāni 'a great crowd, that is, 84,000 living beings'. (DN II 29:32)

237. **The noun and its predicative.** A noun may also be modified by a noun or by an adjective used predicatively. The predicative noun agrees with the noun it modifies in case, and, if possible, in gender and number also. The adjective used predicatively agrees in gender, number and case with the noun it modifies.

Suddhodano rājā ahosi 'Suddhodana was a king'

so hoti sukhī parattha 'he is happy in the next world' (Dpd 177)

When the predicate modifies one of the pronouns *ahaṃ* / *tvam*, then the predicate must be in the masculine or feminine gender according as the pronoun is used for a male or female being: *ahaṃ paṇḍito asmi, tvam paṇḍitā asi*.

A noun or adjective is used predicatively in the following instances:

a). with the copulative verb *atthi, hoti, bhavati* expressed or understood:

idha bhikkhu sīlavā hoti 'herein a monk is virtuous'

kicchaṃ maccāna jīvitam 'hard is the life of mortals' (Dpd 182)

rājā mukhaṃ manussānaṃ, nadīnaṃ sāgaro mukhaṃ 'the king is the head of the people, the sea is the mouth of the rivers' (Sn 568)

ye te bhavissanti anāgataṃ addhānaṃ arahanto 'whoever will be arahats in the future.' (DN II 82:18)

b). with the verbs of incomplete predication in the passive voice:

idaṃ vuccati kammaṃ kaṇhaṃ kaṇhavipākaṃ 'this is called the action that is black and that has a black result' (MN I 390:4)

c). to characterize the action done by the subject of the verb. In this case the adjective is used in preference to an adverb:

Vipassī kumāro animisanto pekkhati 'prince Vipassi looks without blinking' (DN II 20:15)

sīlavā sīlasampanno yaṃ yad eva pariyaṃ upasaṅkamati visārado upasaṅkamati amaṅku-bhūto 'the virtuous person, the one that is perfect in virtue, enters any assembly to which he goes, with full confidence and without any hesitation' (DN II 80:9)

Samaṇo Gotamo nihitadaṇḍo nihitasattho lajjī dayāpanno sabba-pāṇa-bhūta-hitānukampī viharati 'the recluse Gotamo has laid aside cudgel and sword, avoids evil, is full of mercy, is full of solicitude for the welfare of all living beings.' (DN I 4:1-3)

tvam pi nāma mogha-purisa sakya puttiyo paṭijānissasi 'you fool, do you claim to be a follower of the son of the Sakiya?' (DN III 7:1)

Devadatto kapaṇo marissati 'Devadatta will die a pauper'

Dussīlo sīlavipanno sammūlho kālaṃ karoti 'the evil immoral person dies in his infatuation' (Ud 87:2)

d). Very often one or more simple adjectives or bahubhihi samāsa are used predicatively instead of relative clauses:

adhigato kho me ayam dhammo gambhīro duddaso duranubodho santo paṇīto atakkāvacarō nipuno paṇḍitavedaniyo 'a doctrine has been grasped by me that is deep and difficult to understand and difficult to realize, true and excellent, beyond ordinary reasoning, subtle, and that can be perceived only by the learned' (DN II 36:1)

e). *varam* in the neuter is used predicatively in the sense of **an excellent thing i.e. excellent**, and in comparison in the sense of **more excellent, better than**

varam assatarā dantā ājāniyā ca sindhavā-kuñjarā ca mahānāgā attadanto tato varam 'excellent are well trained mules and noble horses of Sind, stately elephants, but better than all those is the man who has trained his own self.' (Dpd 322).

238. The pronouns.

a). A pronoun may take the place of a noun. In this case the pronoun agrees in gender and number with the noun which it replaces, but takes the case required by the structure of the sentence:

sace tvam Ānanda Tathāgataṃ yāceyyāsi dve ca te vācā Tathāgato paṭikkhipeyya 'if you, O Ananda, had requested the Tathagata, the Tathagata might have refused two of your requests' (DN II 117:16)

b). A pronoun may be used with a noun agreeing with it in gender, number and case:

etehi dvīhi dhammehi yo samannāgato naro kāyassa bhedā sappañño saggam so upapajjati 'the man who is endowed with these two characteristics and hence is wise, at the breaking up of the body will arise in heaven' (Itv 27:7)

c). A pronoun that refers to a collective noun is generally put in the plural, though the singular is also found:

bahujano cittaṃ pasādeti, te tattha cittaṃ pasādetvā ... saggam lokam upapajjanti 'the people foster a well disposed mind, and when they have fostered a well disposed mind with regard to it, they are reborn in a heavenly world'. (DN II 142:21)

Assosi... mahājanakāyo ... sutvāna tesam etad ahosi 'the people heard... and after hearing, this occurred to them' (DN II 29:31)

sace bhikkhu parisā Ānandaṃ dassanāya upasaṅkamati, dassanena sā attamanā hoti 'if the assembly of the monks has come to see Ananda, it is happy on seeing him' (DN II 145:5)

239. **Personal Pronouns.** The pronominal enclitic forms *me, te, no, vo* are never used at the beginning of a sentence, or after a vocative, or after an enclitic particle like *ca, va, eva*:

evam me sutam 'thus have I heard'

putto te, deva, jāto 'a son has been born to you, O king'.

240. Demonstrative pronouns.

a). The pronouns *eso, ayam* are used to express a person or object near the speaker, while the pronouns *so, asu, amu* express a person or object far from the speaker:

ayam pana puriso kiṃ kato 'what has this man done?'

te bhikkhū yena bhagavā tena upasaṅkamimsu 'those monks went up to the Blessed One'.

Samano Gotamo ito sutvā na amutra akkhātā imesaṃ bhedāya, amutra vā sutvā na imesaṃ akkhātā amūsaṃ bhedāya 'the ascetic Gotama never repeats there anything he has heard here to create dissension among those people, and what he has heard there he does not repeat it here to create dissension among them here' (DN I 4:18)

- b). The pronouns *so, eso* are used to strengthen the personal pronouns:

esāhaṃ Bhagavantaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi 'I indeed take my refuge in the Blessed One' (DN II 132:34)

tassa mayhaṃ etad ahosi 'this occurred even to me'

- c). The demonstrative pronouns *ayaṃ, asu*, repeated twice, have the meaning of **this and that, so and so, such and such**:

idañ ca idan ca āha 'he said such and such a thing'

- d). The pronoun *ayaṃ* is often used in the sense of **here**:

ayaṃ samaṇo Gotamo āgacchati 'here comes the recluse Gotama' (MN II 2:5)

idaṃ āsanaṃ paññattaṃ 'here is the seat prepared' (MN II 2:13)

241. **Indefinite pronouns.** Pali has no special indefinite pronouns, but their absence is made good by the combinations of other pronouns. An indefinite meaning is conveyed by

- a). the demonstrative pronoun repeated twice:

tāsu tāsu disāsu 'in any direction'

ayañ ca ayañ ca amhākaṃ rañño sīlācāro 'such and such is the good behaviour of our king'.

- b). the relative pronoun repeated twice. What is expressed by the relative pronoun is then taken up by the demonstrative pronoun repeated also twice:

yaṃ yaṃ passatī taṃ taṃ pucchati 'he asks whatever he sees'

- c). the relative or the interrogative pronoun followed by a demonstrative pronoun:

ye pi te ahesuṃ atītaṃ addhānaṃ arahanto 'whoever in the past were arahats' (AN II 21:9)

- d). the relative pronoun followed by the interrogative *ko ci*:
yaṃ kiñci samudaya-dhammaṃ sabbaṃ taṃ nirodha-dhammaṃ 'whatever is liable to arise is also liable to fall away.'

- e). the interrogative pronoun followed by *ci, pi, api* in a negative sentence:

kassaci kin ci na deti 'he does not give anything to anybody'.

- f). the pronominal adjectives *amuka, asuka*:

amukasmīṃ nāma āvāse eko thero bhikku viharati 'in such and such a dwelling there lives an elderly monk' (DN II 125:25)

242. **Possessive pronouns.** Pali has no possessive pronouns, but their absence is made good in various ways:

- a). The genitive case of the personal pronouns can be used to indicate possession:

amhākaṃ pitā 'our father'

tassa potthakaṃ 'his book'

- b). The genitive singular *attano* is used as possessive pronoun both for the singular and the plural, for the masculine and the feminine:

so modati so pamodati disvā kamma-visuddhiṃ attano 'he rejoices, he is very happy when he sees the purity of his actions' (Dpd 16).

- c). The adjectives *sa, saka, nija, niya, niyaka* are used for all the three persons to indicate possession:

nisinno ahaṃ sake āsane 'I am sitting in my own seat' (MN II 66:6)

nanu sakaṃ geḥaṃ gantabbaṃ 'was it not fitting for you to go to your own house?' (MN II 62:25)

sāmino hi sāni haranti 'the owners carry away their own things' (MN I 366:7)

sehi kammehi dummedho aggi-daḍḍho va tappati 'by his own deeds the fool is consumed as if being burnt with fire' (Dpd 136)

nihīto sena mānena 'he has been brought low by his own mind' (Sn 132)

d) The possessive meaning is also conveyed by the adjective *māmaka*:

māmako sāvako 'my disciple'

243. **Reflexive pronouns.** As reflexive pronouns are used the oblique cases of *attā* and the adverbs *sayam*, *samaṃ*:

so karoḥi dīpaṃ attano 'make an island for yourself' (Dpd 236)

duggā uddharatha attānaṃ 'draw yourself out of the evil way' (Dpd 327)

sayam ajānaṃ avatiṇṇa-kaṅkho kiṃ so pare sakkhati nijjhāpetum 'when in his own ignorance a person is himself not free from doubts, how can he enlighten other people?' (Sn 320)

tvaṃ sayam dahissati attānaṃ 'you will burn yourself' (MN I 338:24)

yad eva sāmaṃ ñātaṃ sāmaṃ diṭṭhaṃ sāmaṃ veditaṃ tad evāhaṃ vadāmi 'I declare whatever has been known by myself, seen by myself and understood by myself'. (Itv 59:4)

so tattha sāmaṃ nisīditvā 'he himself sat there' (MN I 383:18)

244. **Correlative pronouns.**

a). A relative pronoun is often used as correlative with a demonstrative pronoun:

yo dhammaṃ passati so Buddhaṃ passati 'he who see the dhamma, sees the Buddha'.

yassa pāpaṃ kataṃ kammaṃ kusalena pithiyati so imaṃ lokaṃ pabhāseti 'he illumines the world who covers the evil done by means of good deeds' (Dpd 173)

ime kho tayo satthāro ye loke codanārahā yo ca panevarūpe satthāro codeti sā codanā bhūtā 'these are the three teachers who deserve blame in the world and he who blames such teachers, his blame is justified' (DN I 232:1)

b). Sometimes the same pronoun is repeated twice or oftener in the beginning of each sentence or phrase:

aññaṃ jīvaṃ aññaṃ sarīraṃ 'one thing is life and another is the body' (DN I 188:9)

taṃ jīvaṃ taṃ sarīraṃ 'the body is the same thing as life' (DN I 188:5)

aññaḍ jīvaṃ aññaḍ sarīraṃ 'life is one thing and the body is another' (DN I 188:9)

sabbe kāmā samucchinnā ye dibbā ye ca mānusa 'every pleasure, whether divine or human, has been rooted out.' (Thg 47)

CHAPTER XIX
SYNTAX OF
THE CASES

A noun is placed in one case or in another according to its relation to a verb, or noun, or adjective, or preposition, or prepositional adverb. The only exception is the vocative case which usually stands by itself.

N o m i n a t i v e

245. The nominative is used to express:

a). the subject or subjects of a finite verb:

Bhagavā sāvattthiyam viharati 'the blessed One abides at Savatthi'
*atha kho Punno ca Koliyaputto acelo ca Seniyo yena Bhagavā
tena upasaṅkamimsu* 'then the young Koliya Punna and the
ascetic Seniya went up to the Blessed One' (MN I 387:8)

b). the predicate of the verbs *as-*, *bhū-* and the predicative of the subject with verbs meaning 'to appear, to become, to be called, to be appointed or elected'. The verbal forms of *as-*, *bhū-* are sometimes omitted:

aggo aham asmi lokassa 'I am the chief of the world' (DN II 12:10)

appasaddā bhonto hontu 'please, do not make noise' (DN I 179:7)

ayam ettha dhammatā 'this is the rule here' (DN II 12:15)

suññaṃ brahma-vimānaṃ pātubhavati 'the place of Brahma appears empty' (DN I 17:25)

so kho panāyam akkhāto vepullo pabbato mahā 'this indeed is called a great vast mountain' (Itv 17:16)

yo aññadatthu vijjā-caraṇa-sampannasseva paricārako sampajjati 'he is certainly the follower of one who is endowed with knowledge and right behaviour' (DN I 102:4)

Sambuddho paṭijānāsi 'do you profess to be the Buddha?' (Sn 555)

rājā arahasi bhavitum cakkavattī 'are you worthy to be a universal king?' (Sn 552)

c). The nominative is used with the indeclinable *sakkā*, *labbhā* followed by an infinitive; what is possible is expressed with the nominative:

*sakkā imasmiṃ dhamma-vinaye anupubba-sikkhā anupubba-kiriya
anupubba-paṭipadā paññāpetum* 'in this doctrine and discipline it is possible to point out a gradual training, a gradual practice, a gradual path' (MN III 2:1)

na heso labbhā sapariggahena phassetum kevalo bhikkhu-dhammo 'the full law of a monk cannot be realized by one who is busy with his possessions' (Sn 393)

d). The titles of books or of chapters are in the nominative:

sattamo picchedo 'the seventh chapter'

Therī-gāthā 'the songs of the nuns'

e). For the nominative with the particle *iti*, see no. 236 c.

V o c a t i v e

246. The vocative case is used in addressing people or objects.

- a). The vocative case is never put at the beginning of a sentence in the Pali canonical language:

evaṃ deva 'yes sir'

yojehi samma sārathi bhaddāni bhaddāni yānāni 'O charioteer, harness the best chariots' (DN II 21:16)

apehi bhikkhu mā me purato aṭṭhāsi 'go, o monk, do not remain before me' (DN II 139:6)

The only exception seem to be the words *bhikkhavo*, *bhadante*, *āvuso*, *ambho* used to draw the attention of the persons addressed:

Tatra kho bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi: bhikkhavo ti. Bhadante ti te bhikkhū bhagavato paccassosum 'then the Blessed One addressed the monks, 'O monks'. 'Reverend sir', they replied'. (MN I 101:2)

Tatra kho āyasmā Sāriputto bhikkhū āmantesi: āvuso bhikkhavo ti. Āvuso ti kho te bhikkhū āyasmato Sāriputtassa paccassosum 'then the Reverend Sariputta addressed the monks: O monks. The monks replied to the Reverend Sariputta, "Yes, friend". (MN I 124:12)

Ambho purisa, yaṃ tvaṃ na jānāsi na passasi, taṃ tvaṃ icchasi kāmesi 'O man, do you desire and wish to get what you do not know and you do not see?' (DN I 193:15)

- b). In addressing persons of great authority, besides the proper honorific word in the vocative case, another word is used referring to the same person and is put in the nominative case as subject of the verb:

desetu bhante Bhagavā dhammaṃ, desetu Sugato dhammaṃ 'Lord, may the Blessed One preach the doctrine, may the Happy One preach the doctrine' (DN II 37:15)

nisīdatu bhante Bhagavā 'Lord, may the Blessed One sit' (DN I 179:18)

etu kho bhante bhagavā sāgataṃ bhante bhagavato 'O Lord, may the Blessed One come, O Lord, welcome to the Blessed One, (DN I 179:16)

- c). In speaking to people, different words are used either to point out their rank or to show respect or even endearment. Some of the most common words of address are: *bho*, *bhante*, *āvuso*, *deva*, *bhadante*, *devī*, *mahārāja*, *gahapati*, *brāhmaṇa*, *mārisa*, *tāta*, *samma*.

The monks are addressed with the words *bhikkhu*, *bhikkhave*, or with their personal name alone or preceded by one of the words *bho*, *āvuso*, *āyasmā*, *samaṇa*. In addressing the monks, the lay disciples use the word *bhante*, while the gods address them with the word *mārisa*.

Kings and queens, princes and princesses are addressed as *mahārāja*, *deva*, *devī*, *kumāra*, *kumārī*.

A person of authority is addressed as *ayya*, *putta*, *ayye*, *setṭhi*

Relatives are addressed as *tāta*, *amma*, *dāraka*, *bhagini*.

Sometimes with a proper name are used words like *brāhmaṇa*, *gahapati*, *māṇava*, *māṇavaka*, *ambho purisa*; sometimes *samma* is used as *samma sārathi* 'good charioteer'.

A c c u s a t i v e

247. The accusative is used to express:

- a). the object of transitive verbs:

atha kho bhagavā sāvatthiṃ pāvisi 'then the Blessed one entered Savatthi' (DN I 178:8)

alattha kho Māgandiyo paribbājako bhagavato santike pabbajjaṃ alattha upasampadam 'the wanderer Magandiya received

the lower and the higher ordination from the Blessed One' (MN I 513:1)

bhajetha mitte kalyāṇe 'one should associate with good friends' (Dpd 78)

na so kāsāvaṃ arahati 'he is not worthy of the yellow robes' (Dpd 9)

atha kho rājā māgadho dūtaṃ pāhesi 'then the king of Magadha sent a messenger' (DN II 164:26)

b). the object of verbs which become transitive when they are compounded with a preposition like *adhi*, *anu*, *upa*, *ati*, *abhi*, *paṭi*, *pari*:

oḷārikaṃ kho ahaṃ attānaṃ pacceṃi 'I fall back on a self that is coarse' (DN I 186:1)

acīraṃ vatayaṃ kāyo paṭhaviṃ adhisessati 'before long this body will lie on the earth' (Dpd 41)

te bhikkhū bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinandaṃ 'the monks rejoiced at what the Blessed One said'. (DN I 46:27)

sādhū vata bhavaṃtāṃ Ānandaṃ paṭibhātu sake ācariyake dhammī kathā 'it would be good if a discourse on the doctrine were to occur to the reverend Ananda with regard to his teachers (it would be good if the reverend Ananda were to make'....) (MN I 514:25)

c). the object of an intransitive verb turned into causative:

bandhumā rājā Vipassi-kumāraṃ aṅkhe nisīdāpesi 'king Bandhuma made prince Vipassi sit on his lap' (DN II 20:20)

kaṇham dhammaṃ vippahāya sukkaṃ bhāvētha paṇḍito 'the wise man should leave behind the path of darkness and follow the path of light; (Dpd 87)

poṭṭhapādo paribbājako sakaṃ parisāṃ saṅghāpesi 'Potthapada, the wandering ascetic, built up a group of followers' (DN I 179:5)

d). Sometimes an accusative has been used with some past participles and some verbal nouns:

bhagavantaṃ piṭṭhito piṭṭhito anubaddhā honti 'they followed just behind the Blessed One' (Ud 89:29)

nimi rājā sisāṃ nahāto... upari-pāsādavara-gato nisinno hoti 'king Nimi, having bathed his head...went to the terrace and sat there' (MN II 79:11)

addasa kho koliya-putto suppavāsaṃ ... arogaṃ puttaṃ vijātaṃ 'the son of the Koliyas saw that Suppavasa had given birth to a healthy child' (Ud 16:9)

na so mitto yo ... randhaṃ evanupassī 'he is not a friend who finds only weak points' (Sn 255)

imaṃ dhammaṃ bhavaṃ gotamo ārādhako 'Gotama is the one who practises this doctrine' (MN I 492:2)

e). Though *dassanāya* is the dative case of a noun, yet it is sometimes used as a verb with an accusative, chiefly when the object of seeing is the Buddha:

samma-sambuddhaṃ dassanāya upasaṅkamissāma 'we shall come to see the fully Enlightened One' (MN II 46:7)

f). The accusative is used to express the purpose or the goal for which an action is done and the place to which an action is directed:

idaṃ brahmacariyaṃ vussati saṃvaratthaṃ 'the celibate life is lived for the sake of self-restraint' (AN II 26:6)

vipassī kumāro ... uyyānabhūmiṃ niyyāsi 'prince Vipassi set out for the park' (DN II 21:23)

agamā rājagahaṃ buddho 'the Buddha went to Rajagaha' (Sn 408)

g). The verbs *gacchati*, *eti*, *yāti* are often used with the accusative of an abstract noun:

attham gacchanti āsavā 'the defilements come to an end' (Dpd 226)

so bālo thero ti eva saṅkham gacchati 'he is called a foolish elder' (AN II 22:22)

appamādena Maghavā devānaṃ seṭṭhatam gato 'by earnestness Maghava became the chief of the gods' (Dpd 30)

adassanaṃ maccurājassa gacche 'he ought to go beyond the sight of the king of death' (Dpd 46)

sabbampi taṃ na catubhāgaṃ eti 'all that is not worth even one fourth' (Dpd 108)

sabbe maccuvāsaṃ yanti 'all fall into the power of death' (Sn 528)

h). The accusative is used to express extension of time and space:

so cattāro māse parivasati 'he must live under probation for four months' (DN II 152:17)

kusinārā ... puratthimena ca pacchimena ca dvādasa yojanāni: 'Kusinara extended 12 yojanas from east to west' (DN II 146:27)

i). The accusative is used to express the price or the value of a thing:

sabbāni tāni mettāya cetovimuttiyā kalam nagghanti soḷasim: 'all of them are not worth one sixteenth part of the emancipation of the mind through loving kindness' (Itv 19:4)

248. Accusative governed by prepositions.

The accusative is used also when a noun is governed by a preposition, or a prepositional adverb or by a past gerund used as preposition.

a). The prepositions that govern the accusative are *anu*, *adhi*, *paṭi*:

anu pañcāhaṃ 'every five days'

anu vassaṃ 'every year'

paṭi vātaṃ 'against the wind'

paṭi suriyaṃ thatvā 'standing against the sun'

nadiṃ nerañjaraṃ paṭi 'towards the river Naranjara' (Theri 307)

b). The prepositional adverbs which govern the accusative are: *antarā*, *yāva*, *samantā*, *pacchā*, *yathā*:

antarā ca rājagahaṃ antarā ca nālandaṃ addhāna-magga-paṭipanno hoti 'he had taken the high road between Rajagaha and Nalanda' (DN I 1:5)

yāva sattāhaṃ 'up to seven days'

dadāti ve yathā saddhaṃ yathā pasādanaṃ 'people give according to their faith and according as they are well disposed' (Dpd 249)

etha tumhe, bhikkhave, samantā vesālim ... vassaṃ upetha 'come, O monks, and spend the rainy season everywhere in Vesali' (DN II 98:26)

c). Many past gerunds are used as prepositions governing the accusative:

gaccha tvam Ānanda yāvatikā bhikkhū rājagahaṃ upanissāya viharanti, te sabbe upaṭṭhāna-sālāyaṃ sannipatehi 'go, O Ananda, and summon to the assembly room all the monks who are dwelling in the neighbourhood of Rajagaha' (DN II 76:13)

taṃ me bhante Bhagavā paṭigaṇhātu anukampaṃ upādāya: 'Sir, may the Blessed One accept it out of compassion for me' (DN II 133:13)

idaṃ paṭhamam thānaṃ yaṃ āgamma yaṃ ārabha ekacce samaṇa-brāhmaṇā sassata-vādā 'this is the first reason on account of which and concerning which some recluses and brahmins say that the world is eternal' (DN I 14:15)

idaṃ pahūtaṃ sāpateyyaṃ devaṃ yeva uddissa āhataṃ 'all this wealth has been brought for the king' (DN I 142:6)

The present participle *sampassamāno* is used in the same way:

kaṃ atthavasam sampassamāno Tathāgato sāvake abbhatīte kāla-kate uppattīsu byākaroti 'for what reason does the Tathagata speak of the future births of the disciples of the past who have already died?' (MN I 464:34)

249. **Internal object.** A verb, whether transitive or intransitive, takes an object in the accusative when this object is expressed with a word derived from the same root as the verb or having the same meaning as the verb:

atha kho Bhagavā imaṃ udānaṃ udānesi 'then the Blessed One uttered this utterance' (Ud 28:5)

idha thapati na kāyena pāpakaṃ kammaṃ karoti, na pāpikaṃ vācaṃ bhāsati, na pāpakaṃ saṅkappaṃ saṅkappeti, na pāpakaṃ ājīvaṃ ājīvati 'herein Thapati does not commit an evil bodily action, does not speak an evil word, does not think an evil thought, does not live an evil life' (MN II 25:10)

caratha bhikkhave cārikaṃ bahujana hitāya 'O monks, wander about for the welfare of many people' (DN II 45:29)

rājā Mahāsudassano caturāsīti-vassa-sahassāni kumāra-kīḷikaṃ kīḷi 'king Mahasudassana for eightyfour thousand years played a boy's game' (DN II 196:3)

rājā mahā-yaññaṃ yajati 'the king offers a great offering (i.e. performs a great sacrifice)' DN I 193:13)

sa piṇḍacāraṃ caritvā 'he having gone on his rounds for alms' (Sn 414)

Sometimes even a past participle is used as a noun and as the internal object of a verb:

api nu so rājā-bhaṇitaṃ vā bhaṇati rājā-mantanaṃ vā manteti tāvatā so assa rājā vā raja-matto vā ti 'can one be a king

or similar to a king by merely uttering royal words and holding royal counsels?' (DN I 104:4)

bahūni duccharitāni caritvā 'by doing many evil deeds' (Sn 665)

In the examples quoted above it becomes clear that the word which expresses the object of the verb is never alone but always qualified by a pronoun, an adjective, a noun: *imaṃ udānaṃ, pāpaka-kammaṃ karoti, pāpika-vācaṃ bhāsati, pāpaka-saṅkappaṃ, pāpapakam ājīvaṃ, mahā-yaññaṃ, piṇḍa-cāraṃ, rājā-bhaṇitaṃ, rājā-mantanaṃ, duccharitāni.*

It may be worth noting that the verb *kappeti* takes a variety of objects and so it has to be translated into English according to the meaning of the object:

<i>yaññaṃ kappeti</i>	'to offer a sacrifice'
<i>jīvitam kappeti</i>	'to lead one's life'
<i>divāvihāraṃ kappeti</i>	'to take the noonday rest'
<i>vāsaṃ kappeti</i>	'to make one's abode'
<i>seyyaṃ kappeti</i>	'to lie down'
<i>nisajjaṃ kappeti</i>	'to sit down'.

250. **Accusative used adverbially.** The accusative singular is often used adverbially.

a). A noun or an adjective can be used adverbially: *sukhaṃ* 'happily'; *sīghaṃ* 'quickly'; *cīraṃ* 'for a long time'

<i>sādhukaṃ manasikarotha</i>	'pay attention carefully'
<i>dutiyam pi tatiyam pi</i>	'for the second and the third time'

b). There are many compounds used adverbially:

<i>aho-rattim</i>	'by day and by night'
<i>yathā-vuddhaṃ</i>	'according to seniority'
<i>yathābhirantaṃ</i>	'according to their desire'

bhūta-pubbam 'formerly'

pure-bhattam 'before the meal i.e. in the morning'

c). Sometimes a phrase of two or three words is used adverbially:

ekam antam 'on one side'

ekam samayam 'once'

atitam addhanam 'formerly'

yañ ca rattim Tathāgato anuttaram sammā-sambodhim abhisambujjhati yañ ca rattim anupadesāya nibbāna-dhātuyā parinibbāyati 'O monks, between the night when the Tathagata attained the complete perfect enlightenment and the night when he passes away without leaving any link behind' (Itv 121:20)

d). An adjective or noun derived from the same root as the verb of the sentence or from a root having the same or similar meaning is sometimes used in the accusative as an adverb. This accusative is found also with a past participle:

Daṇḍapāṇi pi kho sakko jaṅghavihāram anucaṅkamamāno anuvicaramāno: 'while the Sakya Dandapani was moving and walking about' (MN I 108:19)

Tathāgato anuttaram sambodhim abhisambujjhati 'the Tathagata is fully enlightened (is enlightened with the highest enlightenment)' (Ud 85:8)

bhavam pi Gotamo anuttaram sammā-sambodhim abhisambuddho ti patijānāti 'the Tathagata is aware that he has attained the highest enlightenment (is enlightened with the highest and complete enlightenment)'. (SN I 68:11)

seyyathāpi puriso purisaṃ naraka-papātaṃ papatanataṃ kesesu gahetvā uddharitvā thale patitthapeyya 'just as a man would take by the hair another man who had fallen into a pit and were to place him on solid ground' (DN I 234:5)

sabba santhariṃ santhāgāram santharivā 'having fully spread the council hall (having spread the council hall with a complete spreading)' (VP I 227:2)

e). Sometimes the verb of a sentence is preceded by the participle of the same verb in the accusative or of a verb having similar meaning as the verb of the sentence:

atha kho Bhagavā nāgāpalokitaṃ apalokesi 'the the Blessed one looked with an elephant look' (MN I 337:2)

uppannam parappavādam sahadhammena suniggahitaṃ niggahetvā 'having fully refuted with his doctrine the views put forward by others' (DN III 123:15)

suvikkhāritaṃ vikkhāletvā 'having well cleansed (having cleansed with a complete cleansing)' (VP I 215:1)

suppabuddham pabujjhanti sadā Gotama-sāvaka 'the disciples of Gotama are always fully enlightened (enlightened with a perfect enlightenment)' (Dpd 296).

antovanam suvisodhitaṃ visodheyya 'one should fully clear a forest (should clear with a full clearing)' (MN I 124:33)

yathā bhuttaṃ bhujjatha 'eat well (eat as much as can be eaten)' (DN III 62:19)

251. Double accusative.

a). Verbs meaning "to call, to appoint, to choose, etc." take the accusative of the object and the accusative of the predicative of the object:

taṃ ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇam 'him do I call a brahmin' (Dpd 391)

taṃ jano kurute piyaṃ 'him do people hold dear' (Dpd 217)

saṅgham samaggaṃ katvāna 'having established unity in the sangha' (Itv 12:12)

upāsakaṃ maṃ Bhagavā dhāretu 'may the Blessed One hold me as a lay disciple'.

N.B. There are cases where the predicative does not agree in number with the object. In such cases the predicative may be taken as forming one thing with the verb:

ettha Bhagavā pāṇīyaṃ ca pivissati gattāni ca sītaṃ karissati
‘here the Blessed One will drink water and cool his limbs’
(Ud 83:14)

a). Some transitive verbs like *yacati*, *vatti* (<*vac*), *vadati*, *pucchati*, *duhati* take two accusatives:

bhikkhū Bhagavantam etad avocum ‘the monks said this to the Blessed One’

Sakko Bhagavantam paṭhamam pañham pucchi ‘Sakka put the first question to the Blessed One’ (DN II 276:1)

gāviṃ khiraṃ duhati ‘he milks the cow’ .

vandanam dāni vajjāsi lokanātham anuttaram ‘now you should extend your homage to the highest lord of the world’ (Theri 308)

N.B. *gacchati* takes also two accusatives in the expressions *Buddham saraṇam gacchāmi*, *dhammaṃ saraṇam gacchāmi*, *saṅgham saraṇam gacchāmi*.

b). When a transitive verb that governs two accusatives is turned into passive, the subject of the verb is placed in the instrumental case, the real object of the verb remains in the accusative while the other object is placed in the nominative; v.g. so *Buddham pañham pucchi*, in the passive construction becomes *Buddho tena pañham puṭṭho* ‘the Buddha was asked a question by him’.

so mayā pañham puṭṭho samāno ‘he being asked a question by me’ (MN II 31:10)

c). When a transitive verb is turned into causative, then the object of the verb is put in the accusative. The agent that is caused to do the action can also be put in the accusative

if there is no possibility of confusion, otherwise it is put in the instrumental:

Ānando Malle Bhagavantam vandāpesi ‘Ananda made the Mallas worship the Blessed One’ (DN II 148:22)

Gotamī Bhagavantam thaññaṃ pāyesi ‘Gotami made the Blessed One suck at her breast’

vicikiccham maṃ atāresi ‘you made me overcome my doubts’ (Sn 540)

252. **Absolute construction.** Sometimes a phrase in the accusative is used as an absolute construction:

arūpī ce pi te attā abhāvissa saññāmayo, evaṃ santam pi kho te aññā ca sañña bhavissati añño attā ‘even if you were to have a conscious soul, though this may be so, yet in you one thing would be the consciousness and another the soul’ (DN I 187:3)

santam yeva kho pana param lokam: naṭṭhī paro loko ti assa diṭṭhi hoti, sā assa hoti micchā diṭṭhi ‘as there is another world, if one says there is no other world, then such a view would be a wrong view for him’ (MN I 402:23)

atha kho rāja-kumāro bhagavantam bhuttāviṃ onīta-patta-pāṇiṃ aññataram nīcam āsanam gahetvā ekaṃ antam nisīdi ‘when the Blessed one had finished his meal and had laid down the bowl, the prince took a low seat and sat on one side’ (MN I 393:29)

I n s t r u m e n t a l

The instrumental case is used to denote the agent of an action with relation to a verb or a noun or an adjective or a preposition.

253. a) The instrumental case is used to express the agent that performs the action denoted by a passive or a causative verb:

vuttam hi etam Bhagavatā vuttam arahatā 'this was said by the Blessed One, said by the arahat' (Itv 3:1)

seyyathāpi pi puriso nadiyā sotena ovuyheyya 'just as a man were to be carried by the current of a river' (Itv 113:15)

N.B. The instrumental is used with words like *sakkā*, *vattati*, *dujjānam*, *sukaram* followed by an infinitive:

sakkā pana etam mayā nātum 'it is possible for me to know it' (DN I 187:11)

dujjānam kho etam tayā añña-ditthikena 'it is difficult for you to understand this since you follow a different doctrine' (DN I 187:13)

anujānāmi therena bhikkhunā anumoditum 'I approve that an elderly monk enjoys this' (VP II 212:19)

nayidam sukaram agāram ajjhāvasatā brahmacariyam caritum 'it is not easy for a householder to live the celibate life' (MN II 55:28)

b). The instrumental case is used to express the instrument or the means used in performing an action:

assosi kho Bhagavā dibbāya sota-dhātuyā imam kathā-sallāpam 'the Blessed One heard this conversation with his divine ear' (DN II 1:8)

Bhagavā imāhi gāthāhi anumodi 'the Blessed One gave thanks with these stanzas' (DN II 88:27)

rājā bhagavato pāde sirasā vandati 'the king pays homage to the feet of the blessed One with his head' (DN II 72:13)

na kāyena pāpakam kammam karoti 'he does not do an evil action with the body' (MN II 24:7)

na samaṇo Gotamo brāhmaṇe āsanena nimanteti 'the recluse Gotama does not offer a seat to the brahmins' (AN II 22:8)

āvāsikā bhikkhū āgantuke bhikkhū disvā na pāṇiyena pucchanti 'the residential monks do not offer water on seeing the monks who come' (VP II 210:11)

Na hi verena verāni sammanti idha kudācanaṃ 'in this world hatreds are never appeasd with hatred' (Dpd 5)

c). The instrumental is used to express the reason or cause for which an action is performed:

tena kho pana samayena Kosinārakā Mallā santhāgāre sannipatitā honti kenacid eva karaṇiyena 'at that time the Mallas of Kusinara had assembled in the town hall on account of some business' (DN II 147:23)

sace bhikkhu parisā Ānandam dassanāya upasaṅkamanti, dassanena sā attamanā hoti 'if the monks come to see Ananda, they will be pleased on seeing him' (DN II 145:5)

bhikkhu santuṭṭho hoti itarītarena cīvarena 'a monk is satisfied with any kind of robe' (AN II 27:19)

na akāraṇena Tathāgatā sītam pātukaronti 'the Tathagatas do not smile without a reason' (MN II 45:5)

d). The instrumental is used to express the manner in which an action is performed or the circumstances accompanying it:

iminā pi etam pariyāyena veditabbam 'this should be understood in this way' (DN II 57:19)

adhivāsesi bhagavā tuṅhi bhāvena 'the Blessed One accepted in silence' (DN II 84:20)

so tathāgataṃ pūjeti paramāya pūjāya 'he honours the Tathagata with the highest homage' (DN II 138:20)

atha kho bhagavā dakkhiṇena passena sīhaseyyam kappesi 'then the Blessed One lay down like a lion on the right side' (DN II 137:16)

- e). The instrumental is used to express the place through which motion occurs:

atha kho Bhagavā yena dvārena nikkami taṃ Gotama-dvāraṃ nāma ahosi 'then the gate by which the Blessed One went out came to be called Gotama's gate' (DN II 89:10)

taṃ Buddhaṃ anantagocaraṃ apadaṃ kena padena nessatha 'by what path will you lead the Buddha who is independent of any path and whose range is limitless?' (Dpd 179)

yāvatakena antarena Campaṃ gatāgataṃ karissati 'he will go and return all the distance between here and Campa' (MN I 340:27)

- f). The instrumental is used to express the time within which an action is performed:

paṭhamena eva yāmena Malle Bhagavantaṃ vandāpesi 'he made he Mallas pay homage to the Blessed One during the first watch' (DN II 148:26)

- g). The instrumental is used to express the price at which something is valued:

dehi etaṃ bhattaṃ sata-sahassena 'give us this meal for a hundred thousand coins' (DN II 96:19)

- h). The instrumental is used to express a quality or a defect:

daharo ce pi hoti bhaddena yobbanena samannāgato paṭhamena vayasā 'even if one is young and endowed with his lucky youth and with his prime of life' (AN II 22:23)

Kusāvati dasahi saddehi avivittā ahosi 'Kusavati was not deprived of the ten sounds' (DN II 147:7)

254. a). The instrumental is used to express qualities, defects, birth, lineage, origin, nature, identity, equality, likeness, superiority, inferiority:

Vipassī khattiyo jātiyā ahosi 'Vipassī was a Ksatriya by caste' (DN II 3:1)

pakaṭṭiyā sīlavatī Bodhisatta-mātā hoti 'the mother of the Bodhisatta is virtuous by nature' (DN II 12:27)

na attano balena samasamaṃ samanupassāmi 'I do not see anyone who is entirely equal to me in strength' (MN II 69:15)

- b). The instrumental is used to express the extension of an object expressed with words like *āyāmo*, *vitthāro*; (the actual extension is put in the accusative):

Kusinārā ahosi dvādasa yojanāni āyāmena satta yojanāni vitthārena 'Kusinara was twelve yojanas in length and seven yojanas in breath' (DN II 146:26)

- c). The instrumental is used to express the second term of comparison:

nassu idha koci āyasmatā Vidhurena samasamo hoti 'in this there is nobody who is entirely equal to Vidhura' (MN I 333:14)

na vijjati añño samaṇo vā brāhmaṇo vā Bhagavatā bhiyyo abhiññataro: there is no other recluse or brahmin more learned than the Blessed One (DN II 82:3)

ko nu kho añño mayā mahesakkhataro vā mahā lābhataro vā 'is there anyone who is more powerful than me and of greater attainment?' (DN II 248:22)

atthi nu kho te koc'añño attanā piyataro 'is thee anyone who is dearer than your own self?' (Ud 47:6)

- d). The instrumental is used with words *alam*, *kiṃ*, *attho*:
sace te piṇḍakena attho etth'eva tiṭṭha 'if you are in need of food, wait there' (MN I 381:19)

na cāyam samaṇo puttena pi atthiko 'this recluse does not care even for his son' (Ud 6:3)

kiṃ pana tena muṇḍakena samaṇakena diṭṭhena 'what is the use of seeing this shaveling of a recluse?' (MN II 46:12)

tena hi alaṃ dāni ajja uyyāna-bhūmiyā 'then enough for today with the park' (DN II 22:15)

amhākaṃ pi puññaena attho 'even we are in need of merit' (Ud 30:4)

255. The instrumental case is used with some prepositions like *aññatra*, *vinā*, *saha*, *saddhiṃ*:

atha kho Bhagavā mahā bhikkhu saṅghena saddhiṃ yena Vesāli tadavasari 'then the Blessed one went to Vesali with a great number of monks' (DN II 94:2)

mayā saddhiṃ sammodiṃsu 'they were pleased with me' (AN II 22:5)

evaṃ dutiyena saha mamassa vācābhilāpo 'there might be a conversation for me with another person' (SN 49)

deva-manussānaṃ iminā pi aṅgena samannāgataṃ satthāraṃ neva atītaṃse samanupassāma na pana etarahi aññatra tena Bhagavatā 'with the exception of the Blessed One we do not see either in the past or in the present any other teacher endowed with this quality for the welfare of gods and men' (DN II 228:16)

256. a). The instrumental of nouns, pronouns and adjectives is sometimes used adverbially: *sukhena*, *dukkhena*, *anupubbena*, *siḅhena*. Sometimes a phrase is used adverbially, v.g. *tena samayena*, *aparena samayena*.

b). The instrumental of some nouns is used almost like a prepositional adverb:

mama vacanena Bhagavato pāde siraṣā vandāhi 'pay homage to the Blessed One on my behalf by bending your head at his feet' (DN II 62:11)

tassā rattiyā accayena 'at the end of that night' (DN II 97:21)

iṅgha me tvaṃ antarena yamaka-sālānaṃ uttara-sīsakam mañcakaṃ paññāpehi 'well, prepare a couch for me between the two sal-trees with the head to the north' (DN II 137:11)

c). Sometimes a relative or interrogative pronoun in the instrumental case is repeated twice to convey an indefinite meaning:

yena yen'eva pakkamati 'wherever he goes' (MN I 346:4)

The correlative pronouns *yo ... so* are often used in the instrumental case adverbially to indicate place:

tena hi yena so pabbajito tena rathaṃ pesehi 'well, then, lead the chariot there where the wanderer is (wherever the wanderer is)' (DN II 29:3)

d). The instrumental and the accusative cases are used to express the starting point and the goal respectively. Often such an expression is used adverbially.

svassudaṃ aṅken'eva aṅkaṃ pariharīyati 'he is indeed passed from hip to hip' (DN II 20:3)

bhikkhu piṇḍāya caranto labhati kālena kālaṃ manāpīke cakkhunā rūpe 'a monk, when he goes round for alms, from time to time happens to see beautiful objects' (Ud 30:22)

so bhikkhūhi vuccamāno aññen-aññaṃ paṭicarati 'when questioned by the monks, he wanders from one thing to another' (MN I 442:27)

vihārena vihāraṃ pariveṇena pariveṇaṃ upasaṅkamitvā 'having gone from habitation to habitation, from abode to abode' (VP III 69:9)

Sometimes instead of the instrumental and the accusative, there are two instrumental cases:

Kusāvati puratthimena ca pacchimena ca dvādasa yojanāni āyāmena uttarena ca dakkhiṇena ca satta yojanāni vitthārena 'Kusavati extended from east to west twelve yojanas in length and from north to south seven yojanas in breadth' (DN II 146:26)

A b l a t i v e

257. The ablative is used to express:

a). The starting point of an action:

nīyanti dhirā lokamhā 'wise people are led out of the world'
(Dpd 175)

*atha kho āyasmā mahākassapo maggā okkamma aññatarasmiṃ
rukhamūle nisīdi* 'then the reverend Mahakassapa, step-
ping out of the road, sat at the foot of a tree' (DN II
162:9)

*seyyathāpi puriso paṭhaviyā vā pallaṅkaṃ āroheyya pallaṅkā vā
assapiṭṭhiṃ āroheyya assapiṭṭhiyā vā hatthikandhaṃ āroheyya
hatthikandhā vā pāsādaṃ āroheyya* 'just as a man
were to climb from the ground on to a couch, from a couch
to the back of a horse, from the back of a horse to the
back of an elephant, from the back of an elephant to a
palace' (SN 94:26)

*gabbhā gabbhaṃ tamā tamaṃ sa ve tādisako bhikkhu pecca
dukkhaṃ nigacchati* 'such a monk goes from womb to
womb, from darkness to darkness, having gone across meets
with suffering' (SN 278)

b). origin and descent:

kaṭṭhā have jāyati jātivedo 'the fire indeed arises from the
wood' (Sn 462)

*Pāṭaliputtassa tayo antarāyā bhavissanti aggito vā udakato vā
mithubhedato vā* 'Pataliputra will be exposed to three
dangers from fire, from water and from treason.' (Ud 88:27)

c). separation, freedom, release, warding off:

pāpā cittaṃ nivāraye 'one ought to restrain the mind from evil'
(Dpd 116)

lokasmā Tathāgato viṣaṃyutto 'the Tathagata is detached from
the world' (AN II 23:21)

cittaṃ sammad eva āsavehi vimuccati 'the mind is fully free
from the defiling tendencies' (DN II 91:11)

ahaṃ pitaraṃ jīvitā voropesiṃ 'I killed my father' (DN I 85:18)

d). limitation:

sāraṇ ca sārato ñatvā asāraṇ ca asārato te sāraṃ adhigacchanti
'those who know the real as real and the unreal as unreal,
attain to the real' (Dpd 12)

yo sabbaṃ sabbato ñatvā sabbatthesu na rajjati 'he who has
understood everything in every respect, is detached from
all its manifestations (Itv 4:4)

*kāmesu ādīnavaṃ disvā nekkhammaṃ daṭṭhu khemato padhānāya
gamiṣāmi* 'seeing danger in sensual pleasures, considering
freedom from lust as tranquillity, I'll aim at the concen-
tration of the mind' (Sn 424)

*Tathāgato atīte buddhe jātito pi anussarati nāmato pi anussarati
gottato pi anussarati āyuppamāṇato pi anussarati sāvaka-
yugato pi anussarati* 'The Tathagata remembers the previous
Buddhas by birth, he remembers them by name, he
remembers them by lineage, he remembers them by the
length of their lives, he remembers them by the two main
disciples' (DN II 10:7)

NB. In this sense, the ablative is usually formed with the suffix
-to.

e). cause, reason, motive:

taṇhāya jāyati soko taṇhāya jāyati bhayaṃ 'from craving there
arises suffering, from craving there arises fear' (Dpd 216)

jāti-paccayā jarāmaṇaṃ 'old age and death follow on account
of birth' (DN II 55:19)

bhāti-r-iva Bhagavato mukha-vaṇṇo pasannattā indriyānaṃ 'bright
is the colour of the face of the Blessed One on account of
the fact that the senses are calm' (DN II 205:9)

f). the second term of comparison:

suttā jāgaritaṃ seyyo 'watchfulness is better than sleep' (Itv 41:17)

matam te jīvitā seyyo 'for you death is better than life' (VP III 72:7)

atthi etamhā sukhā aññaṃ sukhaṃ abhikkantataran ca paṇitataran ca 'there is another happiness that is superior and more excellent than this' (MN I 398:27)

tato aṭṭhaguṇaṃ dassaṃ hiraññaṃ ratanāni ca 'I will give you gold and jewels eight times more than that' (Theri 153)

258. The ablative governed by prepositional adverbs.

a). Sometimes an ablative is governed by prepositional adverbs like *aññatra*, *pubbe*, *yāva*, *vinā*, *arakā*, *paraṃ*, *adho*

ahaṃ aññatreva bhagavatā aññatreva bhikkhu saṅghā uposathaṃ karissāmi 'I shall hold the uposatha separately from the Blessed one and from the assembly of the monks'

mayhaṃ pi pubbe va sambodhā etad ahoṣi 'before the enlightenment this occurred to me'.

sukhaṃ yāva jarā sīlaṃ 'virtue till old age is happiness' (Dpd 333)

yāva maraṇakālā 'till death' (VP III 73:22)

yāva brahmalokā 'till the world of Brahma' (VP III 19:5)

ñāti saṅghā vinā hoti 'he is away from his many relatives' (SN 589)

so arakā va saṅghamhā 'he is far from the monks' (Ud 55:15)

paraṃ maraṇā 'after death'

uddhaṃ pādatalā amma adho ve kesamatthakā 'mother, from the sole of the feet to the hair of the head' (Theri 33)

The past gerund *paṭṭhāya* is also used with the ablative: *dahara kālato paṭṭhāya* 'since childhood'

b). The ablative is sometimes used adjectivally or as prepositional adverb governing a case:

mā me purato aṭṭhāsi 'do not stand in front of me' (DN II 8:28)

mahāmattā bhagavantam piṭṭhito piṭṭhito anubaddhā honti 'the ministers followed the Blessed One step by step' (DN II 89:6)

D a t i v e

259. In Pali only the thematic stems have a true dative case in *-āya*. It is only such examples of dative that are mentioned here. For the rest Pali uses the genitive and it is under the genitive that are classified the examples which in other languages are considered as datives.

a). The dative is used to express the purpose of an action:
atha kho Bhagavā Vesālīṃ piṇḍāya pāvīsi 'the Blessed One entered Vesali for alms' (DN II 102:1)

mahā-Govindo sāvakānaṃ brahmaloka-sahavyatāya maggaṃ desesi 'the great Govinda preached to his disciples the way for the attainment of the world of Brahma' (DN II 250:20)

ayaṃ maggo ayaṃ paṭipadā ekanta sukhassa lokassa sacchikiriyāya 'this is the path, this is the method to attain a perfectly happy world' (DN I 192:26)

jīvitaṃ pi me pariccattaṃ nātīnamatthāya 'I have sacrificed even my life for the sake of my relatives' (Ud 44:4)

Magadhamahāmattā pāṭaligāme nagaraṃ māpenti vajjīnaṃ paṭibāhāya 'the ministers of Magadha are building a city at Pataligama against the attacks of the Vajjis' (Ud 88:1)

etaṃ nibbidāya virāgāya nirodhāya upasamāya abhiññāya sambodhāya nibbānāya samvattati 'this leads to detachment from the world, to freedom from passion, to destruction of egoism,

to tranquillity, to knowledge, to enlightenment, to nibbana' (DN I 189:14)

tiṭṭhatu bhante Bhagavā kappam tiṭṭhatu Sugato kappam bahujana hitāya bahujana sukhāya lokānukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya devamanussānam 'Lord, may the Blessed One remain for an age still, may the Happy One remain for an age still for the welfare of many people, for the happiness of many people, out of pity for the world, for the benefit and welfare and the happiness of gods and men' (DN II 103:11)

- b). The dative of a verbal noun is sometimes used instead of the infinitive of the verb:

dūrā vata amhe āgatā Tathāgataṃ dassanāya 'we have come from far away to see the Tathagata' (DN II 139:2)

puriso nisseṇiṃ kareyya pāsādassa ārohaṇāya 'a man might built steps to climb a palace' (DN I 194:19)

In the same way the dative is also used with the verbs *atthi*, *labhati* and with the verbal adjectives *bhabba*, *dullabha* and with *alam*:

na mayham labhāma tathāgataṃ dassanāya 'we get no chance of seeing the Buddha'

bhabbo dukkhakkhayāya 'he can destroy sorrow' (Itv 4:13)

abhabbo parihānāya nibbānassa santike 'he cannot fall away, for he is on the threshold of Nibbana' (AN II 40:33)

kiñ ca pi so kammaṃ karoti pāpakaṃ kāyena vācā udā cetasā vā abhabbo so tassa paṭicchādāya 'whatever evil action he commits in deed, word or thought, he cannot hide it' (Sn 232)

nesā bhante kathā bhagavato dullabhā bhavissati pacchā savanāya 'Lord, it will not be impossible for the Blessed One to listen to this talk later' (DN I 179:29)

alam te ettakam jivikāya 'this will be enough for your livelihood'

alam vacanāya 'enough with your word'

nālam sallāpāya 'this is not fit for conversation'

- c). The dative is used also, though rarely, to express the place towards which an action is directed:

appo saggāya gacchati 'few go to heaven' (Dpd 120)

sāmaññaṃ dupparāmatṭham nirayāya upakaḍḍhati 'the ascetic life, taken up wrongly, drags one to hell' (Dpd 311)

- d). The dative is used to express time with such words as *ajjatanāya*, *svātanāya*:

adhivāsetu no bhavam Gotamo ajjatanāya bhattam 'may the reverend Gotama accept a meal from us today' (DN II 88:8)

adhivāsetu me bhante Bhagavā svātanāya bhattam 'Lord, may the Blessed One accept a meal from me tomorrow' (DN II 95:25)

Genitive

The genitive, in its primary meaning, conveys the sense of connected with, belonging to. It may also express a quality. In Pali the genitive corresponds to both the genitive and the dative in Sanskrit.

260. a) **Adjectival and appositional genitive.** The genitive is used to define or complete the meaning of the noun on which it depends, and is usually similar to an attribute or an apposition:

dukkho pāpassa uccayo 'painful is the accumulation of evil' (Dpd 117)

ayam imassa bhāsītassa attho 'this is the meaning of such a word' (AN II 35:21)

Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandāhi 'with your head pay homage to the feet of the Blessed One' (DN II 72:11)

Anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāme 'in the monastery of Anathapindika' (DN I 178:3)

b). **Subjective genitive.** The genitive is used to express the agent of the action denoted by the word that governs such a genitive:

gatiṃ tesam jānissāmi abhisamparāyaṃ 'I shall know their destiny and their future state' (DN II 204:29)

c). **Objective genitive.** The genitive is used to express the object of an agent or of any action noun:

yo vedi sabbasattānaṃ maccupāsā pamocanaṃ 'he who has realized the liberation of all beings from the snares of death' (DN II 37:16)

upamā kho me ayaṃ katā atthassa viññāpanāya 'here is a simile to make the meaning clear' (Itv 114:9)

te pi satthu vaṇṇavādino honti, dhammassa vaṇṇavādino honti 'they speak in praise of the master and of the doctrine' (MN II 5:16)

d). **Partitive genitive.** The genitive is used to indicate the whole of which a part is mentioned. This genitive is often used with comparative and superlative adjectives and with numerals:

piṇḍiyālopo bhojanānaṃ appaṇ ca sulabhaṇ ca taṇ ca anavajjam 'among various kinds of food, alms-food is of little value, easily obtainable and blameless' (AN II 27:1)

aññataro kho pana āyasmā citto arahataṃ ahosi 'the reverend Citta became one of the arahats' (DN I 203:5)

danto damayataṃ seṭṭho santo samayataṃ isi mutto mocayataṃ aggo tinṇo tārayataṃ varo 'self-controlled, he is the best among those that teach self-control; calm, he is a sage among those that teach calm; released, he is the chief of

those that lead to release; crossed over, he is the noblest among those that help to cross over' (AN II 24:24) 224

e). **Indirect object.** The genitive is used to express the indirect object:

bhojanaṃ dadamāno ariyasāvako paṭiggāhakānaṃ cattāri thānāni deti 'in giving food, a noble disciple gives four things to those that receive it' (AN II 63:29)

devatā Tathāgatassa etaṃ atthaṃ ārocesum 'did the goods inform the Tathagata of these points?' (DN II 8:23)

f). The genitive is used to express the person or thing to whose advantage or disadvantage something redounds:

dhanaṃ matthi 'there is wealth to me i.e. I have wealth' (Dpd 62)

idaṃ amhākaṃ ācariyānaṃ bhavissati 'this will be for our teachers' (VP II 160:27)

Mahā Govindassa evaṃ kalyāṇo kittisaddo abbhuggaṇchi 'such a lovely reputation had spread with regard to Maha Govinda' (DN II 237:1)

vihesā v'esā Tathāgatassa 'this might be a source of disturbance for the Tathagata' (DN II 93:13)

pitā puttānaṃ piyo hoti manāpo 'the father is dear to and loved by the children' (DN II 178:3)

lābhā vata bho Aṅga-Magadhānaṃ suladdhaṃ vata bho Aṅga-Magadhānaṃ 'it is advantageous to the Angas and Magadhas, it is very beneficial to the Angas and Magadhas'

paṇḍitassa pīti jāyati pītimaṇassa kāyo passambhati 'joy arises in the wise man, and the body becomes calm in a person whose mind is joyful'

g). The genitive is used with the words of salutation like *namo*, *sotthi*, *svāgataṃ/sāgataṃ*:

sāgataṃ bhagavato 'welcome to the Blessed One'.

sotthi hotu rañño 'blessing to the king' (DN I 96:13)

namatthu mahā Govindassa 'hail to the great Govinda' (DN II 250:6)

261. **Genitive with verbs.** The genitive is used with several verbs like *hoti*, *pātu bhavati*, *pūراتi*, *dussati*, *appamaññati*, *tasati*, *bhāyati*, *pihayati*, *sarati*, *sumarati*, *suṇāti*, *jānāti*, *maccharāyati*, *saddahati*:

atha kho bhagavato etad ahoṣi 'then this occurred to the Tathagata'

yadā brahmā devānaṃ pātu bhavati 'when Brahma appears to the gods'

pūراتi bālo pāpassa 'the fool fills himself with evil' (Dpd 121)

devā pi tesam pihayanti 'even the gods envy them' (Dpd 181)

sabbe tasanti daṇḍassa, sabbe bhāyanti maccuno 'all tremble at punishment, all fear death' (Dpd 129)

yo appadutṭhassa narassa dussati 'who offends a harmless person' (Dpd 125)

mā appamaññatha pāpassa 'do not think lightly of evil' (Dpd 121)

na tvaṃ kassaci dukkhassa jānāsi 'you are not acquainted with any sorrow' (MN II 56:33)

Tathāgatassa asaddahamāno 'not believing the Tathagata' (DN III 8:8)

sumarati nāgavanassa kuñjaro 'the tusker calls to mind the elephant forest' (Dpd 324)

taṃ kho panāhaṃ na aññassa samaṇassa vā brāhmaṇassa vā sutvā vadāmi 'I indeed point out such a thing without having heard it from any other recluse or brahmin' (Itv 58:18)

The genitive is often used to express the agent of the action with a past participle:

lokasamudayo Tathāgatassa pahīno ... lokanirodho Tathāgatassa sacchikato 'the origin of the world has been rejected by the Tathagata... the end of the world has been realized by the Tathagata' (AN II 23:23)

yassa āsavā parikkhīṇā 'by whom the defiling tendencies have been destroyed' (Dpd 93)

ayam pi kho samaṇo Gotamo ... sādhusammato bahujanassa 'this recluse Gotama is highly honoured by many people' (MN II 3:2)

262. **The genitive with adjectives.** The genitive is sometimes governed by adjectives like *kusala*, *sadisa*, *kevalin*, *kovidā*:

catu pañhassa kusalo 'skilled in the four questions' (AN II 46:13)

na te dhammassa kovidā 'they are not learned in the true wisdom' (Theri 184)

brahmacariyassa kevali 'perfect in the celibate life' (AN II 23:18)

caraṃ ce na adhigaccheyya seyyaṃ sadisaṃ attano 'if a traveller were not to find one who is better or equal to himself' (Dpd 61)

263. **The genitive with prepositional adverbs.** The genitive is sometimes used with some prepositional adverbs in a local or temporal meaning. Such prepositional adverbs are: *upari*, *hetṭhā*, *santike*, *santikā*, *purato*, *piṭṭhito*, *avidūre*, *sakāse*, *samantā*, *puratthato*, etc.:

māṇavassa upari vehāsaṭṭhito hoti 'he stood in the sky above the young man' (DN I 95:10)

mama purato pātur ahoṣi 'he appeared before me'

tassā rattiyā accayena 'at the end of that night'

Bhagavato avidūre 'not far from the Blessed One' (Ud 5:4)

A genitive is sometimes used adverbially: *cirassa* 'in a short time', *divādivassa* 'late in the day'.

264. **Absolute construction.** Sometimes a noun or pronoun and a present or past participle are used as an absolute construction:

āyasmā Sāriputto acira-pakkantassa Bhagavato bhikkhū āmantesi
'not long after the Blessed one had gone away, the reverend Sariputta addressed the monks' (MN III 249:1)

yo Buddhena cudito bhikkhu saṅghassa pekkhantassa Migāra-mātu pāsādam pādaṅgutṭhena kampayī 'after he had been reprimanded by the Buddha in the presence of the monks, he shook the palace of the mother Migara with his foot. (MN I 337:30)

L o c a t i v e

265. The locative is used

a). to express the place, real or figurative, where an action occurs:

Bhagavā paññatte āsane nisīdi 'the Blessed One sat on the couch prepared for him' (DN II 76:251)

ekam samayaṃ Bhagavā Sāvattiyam viharati Jetavane Anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāme 'on one occasion the Blessed One was staying in the neighbourhood of Savatthi, at the Jeta grove in the park of Anathapindika' (DN II 1:1)

te ve dhamme viruhanti sammāsambuddhadesite 'those who grow in the doctrine preached by the fully Enlightened one' (AN II 26:26)

verinesu manussesu viharāma averino 'without hatred do we dwell among men that cherish hatred' (Dpd 197)

b). The locative is used to express the place, real or figurative, whither an action is directed. In the locative case are placed the words that express the object of love, faith, yearning, mercy, satisfaction, etc.

idha ariyasāvako Buddhhe aveccappasādena samannāgato hoti
'herein a noble disciple is endowed with perfect faith in the Buddha' (DN II 93:26)

jīvite apekhaṃ karohi 'cherish a desire to live' (DN II 191:2)

atthi me kumāre anukampā 'I feel pity for my child' (MN I 395:7)

dhamme sadā ramati paṇḍito 'the wise man always takes his delight in the doctrine' (Dpd 79)

c). The locative is used to express contact with verbs of taking, seizing:

purisaṃ kesesu gahetvā 'having seized a man by the hair' (DN I 234:6)

d). The locative is used to express the time when an action occurs:

Bhagavā tāyaṃ velāyaṃ imaṃ udānaṃ udānesi 'the Blessed one breathed this utterance on such an occasion' (DN II 89:24)

imasmim bhaddakappe 'in this lucky age' (DN II 2:26)

rattiyā pacchime yāme 'in the last watch of the night' (DN II 134:10)

e). The locative is used to express the object or the quality in which one is skilled, diligent, etc.

ariyadhamme suvinīto 'well disciplined in the noble doctrine' (MN I 434:8)

sikkhatha sikkhāpadesu 'train yourself in the precepts' (Itv 118:7)

ariyasāvako bhōjane mattaññū hoti 'the noble disciple is moderate in food' (MN I 355:19)

appamādo kusalesu dhammesu 'diligence in good things' (Itv 16:12)

ahosi tvaṃ hatthismiṃ pi katāvī assasmīṃ pi katāvī rathasmīṃ pi katāvī 'were you skilled in riding an elephant or a horse and in leading a chariot?' (MN II 69:6)

f). The locative is used to express the whole of which a part is taken or singled out. This occurs with comparative and superlative adjectives:

danto seṭṭho manussesu 'he who is self-controlled is the best among men' (Dpd 321)

g). The locative is used to express the person or the object with reference to which an action is done:

kathaṃ mayaṃ Tathāgatassa sarīre paṭipajjāma 'how shall we act with regard to the body of the Tathagata?' (DN II 141:18)

abhisañña-nirodhe kathā udapādi 'there arose a talk with reference to the cessation of sense perception' (DN I 180:1)

siyā kho pana eka bhikkhussa pi kaṅkhā vā vimati vā buddhe vā dhamme vā 'it may be that there is still some uncertainty or doubt in a monk with regard to the Buddha or the doctrine' (DN II 154:24)

Bhagavā paricāraṇe abbhatīte kāla-kate uppattīsu vyākaraṇī 'the Blessed One recalls the followers who passed away and completed their time with reference to their rebirth' (DN II 201:2)

h). The locative is used to express the person with whom one abides or the teacher under whom one studies:

mā samaṇe gotame brahmacāriyaṃ cari 'do not undertake to live the celibate life under the guidance of the recluse Gotama' (MN II 39:21)

i). The locative is sometimes used adverbially or as a prepositional adverb, and sometimes it is governed by a preposition or prepositional adverb:

ajjatagge 'from today onwards'

sadatthe 'on one's behalf' (sa-d-atthe)

labheyyāhaṃ Bhagavato santike pabbajjaṃ 'may I receive full initiation in the presence of the Blessed One' (DN I 202:28)

Bhagavato avidūre, sakāse 'not far from the Blessed One, in his presence'.

266. Locative absolute.

a). The locative absolute consists of a noun or pronoun and a present or past participle both in the locative case.

āyasmante Ānande upasaṅkamante 'when the reverend Ananda was drawing near' (DN II 129:21)

atha kho Bhagavā acira pakkantāsu tāsu bhikkhunīsu bhikkhū āmantesī 'soon after the nuns had gone away, the Blessed One addressed the monks' (MN III 276:10)

deve vassante deve gaḷagaḷāyante vijjutāsu niccharantīsu āsaniyā phalantiyā 'amidst rain and heavy thunder and the flashing of lightnings and the bursting of thunderclaps' (DN II 131:9)

ekasmīṃ bhāsamānasmīṃ sabbe bhāsanti nimmitā 'when one spoke, all the created forms spoke' (DN II 212:20)

āyasmato Sāriputtassa vaṇṇe bhañṇamāne 'when the praises of Sariputta were being recited' (SN I 64:13)

b). The past participle has a passive or an active meaning according as the verb is transitive or intransitive:

hatthesu dhotesu patto dhoto hoti, patte dhote hatthā dhotā honti 'when the hands have been washed also the bowl is washed; when the bowl has been washed, also the hands are washed' (MN II 138:15)

samādhimhi cute obhāso antaradhāyati 'when the concentration ceased, the light disappeared' (MN III 158:6)

The participle *dhoto* (*dhotesu*, *dhote*, *dhotā*) has a passive meaning; *cute* has an active meaning.

- c). Sometimes the participle is used impersonally either alone or with the particle *evaṃ*:

evaṃ vutte 'when this had been said'

evaṃ sante 'if this is so'

vandite ca pana āyasmataḥ mahā Kassapena tehi ca pañcahi bhikkhusatehi, sayam eva Bhagavato citako pajjali 'when the worship paid by the reverend Mahakassapa and by the five hundred monks was over, the pyre of the Blessed One set itself on fire' (DN II 164:1)

- d). The participle *sant* of the root *as-* 'to be' has two forms in the locative case: *sante* / *sati* which are used in different constructions. The form *sante* is generally used in the impersonal construction *evaṃ sante* or *evaṃ santam*, while the form *sati* (and its negative *asati*) is used to qualify a noun:

dassane sati kathaṃ patipajjitabbam 'when there is a sight, how should we behave?' (DN II 141:14)

sabbaso upādāne asati 'when there is no grasping whatever' (DN II 58:2)

- e) The participle *sati/asati* is sometimes used even when it qualifies a noun that is feminine in gender or plural in number:

sabbaso jātiyā asati 'when there is no more birth' DN II 57:12)

tesu ākāresu tesu liṅgesu tesu nimittesu tesu uddesesu asati 'when those marks and those signs and those indications and characteristics do not exist' (DN II 62:16)

N.B. The absolute construction is usually found in the locative case, rarely in the genitive (264), and very rarely in the accusative (252).

Instead of two or more words, the governing words and the words governed in two different cases, we find a compound word or *samasa* (124-142).

Paying attention to the uses of the cases, one may have noticed how the same idea can be expressed by means of different cases. This indistinctness of the cases started already in Sanskrit and became much more common in Pali.

CHAPTER XX

SYNTAX OF THE VERB

In a finite verbal form we distinguish the voice, the person, the number, the tense, the mood.

The Pali verb has

two voices : active and middle (parassapada and attanopada)

three persons: first, second and third

two numbers : singular and plural

three tenses : present, past and future

four moods : indicative, imperative, optative, conditional

267. **Active voice or parassapada.** The active verb denotes an action which proceeds from the subject. The active verb may be transitive or intransitive.

- a). A transitive verb expresses an action which goes over to an object: *lekhanam likhāmi* 'I write a letter'.
- b). An intransitive verb expresses an action which does not go beyond the subject: *puriso magge caṅkamati* 'the man walks on the road'

- c). An intransitive verb becomes transitive either when it is turned into causative, or when it is compounded with a prefix like *ati*, *adhi*, *anu*, *abhi*, *upa*, *pari*:

<i>kumāro yāne nisīdi</i>	'the prince sat in the chariot'
<i>rājā kumāram yāne nisīdāpesi</i>	'the king made the prince sit in the chariot'
<i>so vibbhantacitto bhavati</i>	'he becomes distracted in mind'
<i>so cittaṃ bhāveti</i>	'he develops the mind'
<i>so agāre vasati</i>	'he lives in the house'
<i>so agāraṃ ajjhāvasati</i>	'he inhabits the house'
<i>carāmi loke</i>	'I wander in the world'
<i>aggiṃ paricarāmi</i>	'I go round the fire i.e. I honour the fire'

268. **Middle voice or attanopada.**

- a). The middle voice expresses an action done for the benefit of the subject: *kacci kumāro uyyāna bhūmiyā abhiramittha* 'did the prince enjoy himself in the garden?'

The middle voice is rarely used in Pali, and, even when it is used, it does not always retain its original meaning. Most of the forms of the middle voice are found in poetry and often they are merely due to exigencies of metre.

yodheta māraṃ jitañ ca rakkhe 'one should attack Mara and should guard his conquest' (Dpd 40)

tādisaṃ mittaṃ kubbetha tañ ca seveyya paṇḍito 'a wise man should make a friend of such a person and should follow him' (Itv - 87:3)

na bhaje pāpake mitte na bhaje purisādhame, bhajetha mitte kalyāṇe bhajetha purisuttame 'One should not associate with evil friends, one should not associate with low men; one should associate with lovely friends, one should associate with noble men' (Dpd 78)

- b). Sometimes a present participle attanopada points out the continuation of an action while the present participle parassapada points out the accomplishment of the action:

cetayamānassa me pāpiyo acetayamānassa me seyyo tassa acetayato tā saññā nirujjhati 'it is worse for me when I am thinking and better when I am not thinking; there is no consciousness in a person who does not think' (DN I 185:5)

- c). The forms of the middle voice which are oftener used are:

Present indicative: 1st person sg: *labhe*

3rd " " : *labhate, bhāsate, tapate, sahate, kurute, sikkhate, ākirate*

3rd " pl: *labhante, labhare, virocate, socate, upapajjate, lajjate, pithiyate*

Imperative: 2nd " sg: *labhassu, gaṇhassu, nivattassu, sikkhassu, bhajassu, yuñjassu, paccavekkhassu*

2nd " pl: *kappayavho*

Optative: 3rd " sg: *labhetha, bhajetha, yajetha, rakkhetha, yodhetha, bhuñjetha, maññetha, anuyuñjetha, kayirātha*

Aorist: 2nd " sg: *maññittho, pucchittho, paṭisevittho*

3rd " sg: *abhāsatha, pavittha, jiyittha*

Present participle: *bhāsamāna, labhamāna, kubbāna, uppajjamāna, patthayamāna, anumodamāna, jāgaramāna, cetayamāna, abhisambudhāna, sajjamāna, esāna, ādāna, upādiyāna, anuṭṭhahāna*

- d). In Sanskrit it is a rule that the passive verb takes the middle or attanopada endings. In Pali there is no such strict rule;

the passive verbs are sometimes found with the middle endings, and sometimes with the active endings: *pahīyate, haññare, paññāyetha, apaccatha, paññāyittha, ḍayhamāna, desiyamāna, sakkariyamāna*, but also *labbhati, paññāyati, dayhimsu*.

- e). In Pali the passive finite forms of the verbs are not often used; in their place we find

1) the verb *hoti/atthi* with a past participle: *diṭṭhosi* 'you have been seen'; *pasādena samannāgto hoti* 'he is endowed with a pleasant disposition'.

2) the verb *hoti* with a verbal noun: *etāsaṃ diṭṭhīnaṃ pahanam hoti* 'there is the giving up of those views i.e. those views have been given up'.

3) the verbs *gacchati, arahati* followed by an abstract noun: *sabbāni tāni hatthipāde samodhanam gacchanti* 'all these are contained in the foot of the elephant'

pūjaṃ arahati 'he deserves honour i.e. he is honoured'.

Of the indefinite verbal forms the future participle passive is often used: *taṃ kattabbaṃ* 'that should be done' *ahaṃ na upasaṅkamitabbo* 'I should not be approached'.

269. The person. In Pali there are three persons both singular and plural.

- a). The verb agrees with the person of the subject: *ahaṃ gacchāmi, tvaṃ gacchasi, te gacchanti*.

Sometimes the subject of the verb is understood, especially when it is a personal pronoun: *Buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi*.

- b). When there are two or more subjects the verb is in the plural. If the subjects contain different persons, the verb agrees with the first person in preference to the second and third, and with the second in preference to the third:

ahañ ca imāni ca pañca bhikkhusatāni sabb'eva anañjasamādhinā nisīdimha 'both I and these five hundred monks have all of us been sitting down in motionless concentration' (Ud 27:14)

If the various subjects are joined together by the particle *vā*, then the verb agrees with the nearest subject, unless the verb is repeated with each subject:

yan nūnāhaṃ vā pabbajjeyyaṃ Anuruddho vā 'what if I or Anuruddha were to go forth' (VP II 180:12)

tena hi tvam vā pabbajja ahaṃ vā pabbajjissāmi 'then either you go forth or I shall go forth' (VP II 180:18)

c). In Pali the verbs which express natural phenomena are not impersonal. Such natural phenomena are either expressed as effected by the divine power, or expressed by an intransitive verb with the name of the phenomenon as subject:

devo vassati 'it rains'

mahā megho vassati 'the great cloud pours down rain'

devo ekamekaṃ phusāyati 'it is raining drop by drop' (Ud 5:1)

devo thaneti 'it thunders'

devo gaḷagaḷāyati 'it thunders'

asanī phurati 'the thunderclap bursts i.e, there is a thunderclap'

vijjutā niccharati 'the lightning flashes i.e there is a flash of lightning'

vijjutā sañcarati 'there is a flash of lightning'

yathā hi megho thanayitvā gajjayitvā pavassati 'just as a raincloud, thundering and rumbling, pours down rain' (Itv 66:12)

d). *iti, ti*: when the subject of a sentence is a phrase ending with *iti/ti*, the verb is in the singular and, if it is a participle, it is in the neuter gender:

idaṃ dukkhaṃ ti mayā vyākataṃ 'this has been declared by me as sorrow' (DN I 189:6)

ayaṃ dukkha-nirodha-gaṃini paṭipadā ti kho mayā vyākataṃ 'this has been declared by me as the path leading to the cessation of suffering' (DN I 489:9)

ahetu apaccayā purisassa saññā uppajjanti pi nirujjhanti pi ti ādiso va tesam aparaddhaṃ 'when in a man sensations arise and cease without a reason and without a cause, this is bad for them from the beginning' (DN I 180:30)

e). There are impersonal construction in Pali though they are not frequent:

patibhātu bhikkhūnaṃ dhammaṃ bhāsituṃ 'may it please you to recite the doctrine to the monks' (Ud 59:21)

yathā te kameyya atha maṃ byākareyyāsi 'reply to me as it pleases you' (MN I 395:31)

yattha nu kho na jāyati na jiyati na miyyati na cavati na uppajjati 'where indeed there is no being born, no growing old, no dying, no passing away, no arising' (AN II 48:4)

brāhmaṇassa ce pi ijheyya dhanena vā dhaññena vā rajatena vā jātarūpena vā 'if there were to be prosperity to a brahmin in wealth or corn or silver or gold' (MN II 85:3)

sakkā nu kho no bhante gamanena lokassa antaṃ nātum vā daṭṭhum vā pāpuṇitum vā 'is it possible by going to know or to see or to reach the end of the world?' (AN II 48:1)

270. **The number.** In Pali there are two numbers: singular and plural: *gacchāmi, gacchāma*.

a). The verb is used in the singular or in the plural according as the subject is in the singular or in the plural: *ahaṃ gacchāmi, purisā gacchanti*.

b). The verb is in the plural when there are two or more subjects joined together with or without the conjunction *ca*:

mātā ca pitā ca puttā ca gāmaṃ gacchanti ‘the mother and the father and the sons go to the village’

bhikkhavo bhikkhuniyo upāsakā upāsikā dhammaṃ suṇanti ‘the monks and the nuns, the male and the female lay disciples listen to the doctrine’

Sometimes the verb is made to agree with one subject, while the other subject is placed after the verb:

ahaṃ ca eva pūjito bhavissāmi saṅgho ca ‘I indeed will be honoured and the saṅgha also’ (MN III 253:11)

pamujjaṃ c’eva bhavissati pīti ca passaddhi ca sampajaññaṃ ca ‘there will be joy and happiness, tranquility, attentiveness and clear consciousness’ (DN I 196:11)

Sometimes, especially when the subject is made up of two or more singular neuter nouns, the verb is in the singular:

yattha nāmañca rūpañ ca asesam uparujjhati ‘where name and form are fully destroyed’ (SN I 13:24)

dārubhandaṃ mattikabhandaṃ nassati ‘the wooden goods and the clay goods are lost’ (VP II 211:12)

c). When two or more subjects are joined together with the particle *vā*, the verb agrees with the nearest subject:

mā taṃ Bodhisattaṃ vā bodhisatta-mātaraṃ vā manusso vā amanusso vā koci vā viheṭhesi ‘neither a human being nor a non-human being, nor anyone else should do any harm to the Bodhisatta or to the Bodhisatta’s mother’ (DN II 12:23)

mā naṃ sītaṃ vā uṇhaṃ vā tiṇaṃ vā rajo vā ussavo vā bādhā ‘let neither cold nor heat, neither grass nor dust nor dew cause any harm to him’ (DN II 89:27)

ahaṃ vā hi samaṇassa gotamassa vādam āropeyyaṃ dīghatapassī vā nigaṇṭho tvaṃ vā ‘either the Nigaṇṭha Dīghatapassī or you or I will get the better of the recluse Gotama’ (MN I 375:8)

The verb, however, is sometimes found in the plural, though the nearest subject is in the singular. This happens chiefly when the verb precedes all the subjects and is thus referred to all of them.

maṃ pi na dakkhinti devo vā devī vā aññe vā ñāti-sālohitā ‘will the king or the queen or my other relations not see me?’ (DN II 26:14)

d). When the subject is a collective noun, the verb is in the singular:

atha kho mahājanakāyo upasaṅkami ‘then a great crowd of people drew near’ (DN II 131:24)

assosi kho rājadhāniyā mahā-jana-kāyo caturāsīti-pāṇa-sahassāni ‘a great crowd of people from the capital, i.e. eighty-four thousand living beings heard’ (DN II 29:31)

When the collective noun is followed by an apposition indicating the number of beings that make up the collection, the verb is often made to agree with the apposition, especially when the verb follows the apposition in the plural:

atha kho so mahā-jana-kāyo caturāsīti-pāṇa-sahassāni pabbajitam anupabbajimsu ‘then a great crowd, i.e. eighty four thousand beings followed him into the wandering life’ (DN II 30:8)

e). When the subject of the verb is a person of importance, the verb is sometimes used in the plural, and the subject, if expressed with a personal pronoun, is also used in the plural:

sace gahapati bhojanaṃ dātabbaṃ detha ‘well, O householder, if you wish to give food, give it’ (MN II 64:17)

handa ca dāni mayaṃ gacchāma, bahu kicchā mayaṃ bahu karaṇiyyā ‘well, we are going now since we have many duties and many things to do still’ (DN II 76:4)

taṃ pi mayaṃ abhivijjiya ajjhāvaseyyāma ‘after defeating him, we will be at peace’ (DN II 72:1)

sace hi mayam suṇeyyāma taṃ bhavantaṃ Gotamaṃ dasasu pi yojanesu dasa api mayam yojanāni gaccheyyāma taṃ bhavantaṃ Gotamaṃ dassanāya 'if we were to hear that the reverend Gotama is ten yojanas far, we would go those ten yojanas to see the reverend Gotama' (MN II 162:26)

mā kho tumhe antima-puriso ahuvattha 'do not be the last man' (MN II 83:6)

In the last example the subject of the verb *tumhe* and the verb itself are in the plural, but the predicate is in the singular *antima-puriso*.

Sometimes there is a transition from the plural to the singular and from the singular to the plural. One reason is that the plural of respect is used only in the nominative:

yato ca kho bho Udena parinibbuto so bhavam Gotamo, parinibbutam pi mayam taṃ bhavantaṃ Gotamaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāma dhammañ ca bhikkhusaṅghaṃ ca. Upāsakaṃ maṃ bhavaṃ Udeno dhāretu 'Though the reverend Gotamo has passed away, O Udena, we still go for refuge to the reverend Gotama who has passed away and to the doctrine and to the sangha. May the reverend Udena consider me as a lay disciple (MN II 163:3)

The plural of respect is used rather rarely and only when kings or brahmins speak or are spoken to. The Buddha usually speaks in the first person singular; when spoken to, he is addressed with a vocative like *bhante* and then the third person singular is used with words like *Bhagavā, Gotamo, bhavaṃ Gotamo* as subject:

etu kho bhante Bhagavā, sāgatam Bhante Bhagavato, cirassam bhante bhagavā imam pariyāyaṃ akāsi yadidaṃ idha āgamanāya. Nisīdatu bhante Bhagavā 'Lord, may the Blessed one come; Lord, welcome to the Blessed One; for a long time the Blessed One did not take this course of coming this way. May the Blessed One sit down' (DN III 2:3)

f). The verbal forms *atthi / natthi* are sometimes found at the beginning of a sentence with a subject in the plural and also with a subject in the first or second person:

puttā m'atthi dhanam m'atthi 'I have sons, I have wealth' (Dpd 62)

atthi kho aññe ca pañca dhammā 'there are five other characteristics' (MN II 9:12)

natthi kaṇhasukkāni rūpāni, natthi kaṇhasukkānaṃ rūpānaṃ dassāvī 'there are no black or white objects, and there is nobody that sees black or white objects' (MN II 201:18)

atthi tvaṃ etarahi na tvaṃ natthi ... atthi ahaṃ etarahi nāhaṃ natthi 'are you existing now or is it not that you are not existing? ... am I existing now and is it not that I am not existing?' (DN I 200:18, 22).

T e n s e s a n d M o o d s

The tenses express the relation of time, i.e. either the duration of an action or its accomplishment. In the Pali Canon there are three simple tenses in common use: the present, the future and the aorist. The moods express a fact, or a command, or a wish, or a possibility. In Pali there are four moods: the indicative, the imperative, the optative and the conditional.

The Present Tense

271. a). The present tense is used in affirmative, negative, and interrogative sentences to express an action that takes place in the present:

ayaṃ me puggalo cittaṃ n'ārādheti 'this person does not win my favour' (MN I 341:16)

imesaṃ catunnaṃ puggalānaṃ katamo te puggalo cittaṃ ārādheti
‘of these four types of men, which one wins your favour?’
(MN I 341:13)

- b). The present tense is used in the direct speech to express an action that takes place at the same time as that of the main verb:

assosi mahājanakāyo Vipassī kira migadāye viharati ‘the people heard that Vipassī was staying in the deer park (the people heard: Vipassī is staying in the deer park)’ (DN II 42:16)

- c). The present tense is used to express events that happen always in the same way, independently of time and space:

na hi verena verāni sammantīdha kudācanaṃ ‘in this world hatred is never conquered with hatred’ (Dpd 5)

dhammatā esā bhikkhave sattāha-jāte Bodhisatte Bodhisatta mātā kālaṃ karoti ‘it is in the nature of things, O monks, that the mother of the Bodhisatta accomplishes her allotted time seven days after the birth of the Bodhisatta’ (DN II 14:3)

pāpo hi passati bhadraṃ yāva pāpaṃ na paccati ‘an evil man may be successful so long as his evil action has not ripened’ (Dpd 119)

- d). The present tense is sometimes used in the narrative style instead of the aorist, especially when the verb indicates an action that lasted for some time or an action that took place several times. The present tense seems to be the rule when the sentence begins with the adverbial expressions *ekaṃ samayaṃ, tena samayena*:

yadāhaṃ samma chāpo homi chamāyaṃ nisīditvā imassa nigrodhassa aggamaṃ kurakaṃ khādāmi ‘when I was young, having sat down on the ground, I used to eat the topmost shoot of this banyan’ (VP II 161:32)

ekaṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā Rājagaha viharati ‘once the Blessed one was staying at Rajagaha’ (DN I 47:2)

tena kho pana samayena sambahulā paribbājakā paribbājakārāme paṭivasanti ‘at that same time many wanderers were staying at the Wanderers’ park’ (MN II 29:17)

tatra sudamaṃ Bhagavā Vesāliyā viharati ‘at that time indeed the Blessed One was staying at Vesali’ (Ud 25:29)

- e). The present tense is sometimes used to express the present past:

cirassaṃ vata passāmi brāhmaṇaṃ ‘for a long time I have not seen the brahmin’ (SN I 54:28)

abhūtavādī nirayaṃ upeti yo cāpi katvā na karomi ti cāha ‘to hell goes the liar and he who, after doing an action, says that he has not done it’ (Dpd 306)

- f). The first person of the present is used to express an exhortation or a decision:

handa dāni mayaṃ gacchāma ‘well, now let us go’

handa āvuso mayaṃ pi piṇḍapātikā homā ‘well, sir, we also go round for alms’ (Ud 30:28)

- g). Sometimes the present tense is used to express a future action:

etha tumhe, bhikkhave, samantā Vesāliṃ vassaṃ upetha, ahaṃ pana idh’eva Beluva gāmake vassaṃ upagacchāmi ‘come, O monks; spend the rainy season in the neighbourhood of Vesali; I shall spend the rainy season in the village of Beluva’ (DN II 98:26)

tādisaṃ bhikkhuṃ āsajja, Kaṇha, dukkhaṃ nigacchasi ‘O Kanha, having hurt that monk, you will meet with suffering’ (MN I 337:24)

- h). The present tense is also used, though rarely, in hypothetical sentences:

sace je saccaṃ vadasi, a-dāsi bhavasi ‘if you speak the truth, you are no longer a slave’ (MN II 62:15)

sace bhikkhu-parisā Ānandaṃ dassanāya upasaṅkamati dassanena sā attamanā hoti 'if the monks come to see Ananda, they will be happy on seeing him' (DN II 145:5)

The Imperative

272. a). The imperative is used to express a command, a request, an invitation:

nikkhamā, pāpimā, nikkhamā, pāpimā 'get away, evil one, get away, evil one' MN I 332:13)

tena hi bhikkhve suṇātha sādhukaṃ manasikarotha bhāsissāmi 'well, then, O monks, listen and carefully pay attention and I will speak' (DN II 2:11)

ehi tvam Ratthapāla bhuñja ca piva ca paricarehi ca ... abhiramassu 'come, O Ratthapala, eat and drink and gratify your senses and enjoy yourself' (MN II 57:17)

- b). When the request or the invitation is addressed to a person of authority and when it is made in a courteous and polite way, the third person is used:

etu kho bhante Bhagavā 'come O Blessed One'

appasaddā bhonto hontu 'please, be silent, reverend ones' (MN II 2:4)

putto te deva jāto taṃ devo passatu 'a son has been born to you, O king; may the king see him' (DN II 16:2)

- c). The imperative is used also to express a wish:

sabbe sattā bhavantu sukhittā 'may all beings be happy' (Sn 145)

etena saccena suvatthī hotu 'by the power of this truth may there be happiness' (Sn 224)

tiṭṭhatu esā kathā yāya mayaṃ etarahi kathāya sannisinnā 'may there be an end to this conversation on account of which we are seated here' (MN II 2:10)

Sometimes the verb *tiṭṭhatu/tiṭṭhantu* is used in the sense of with the exception of:

tiṭṭhatu bhavaṃ Gotamo, tiṭṭhantu bhikkhū, tiṭṭhantu bhikkhuniyo, tiṭṭhantu upāsakā gihī odāta vasaṇā brahmacārino, tiṭṭhantu upāsikā gihī odāta vasaṇā brahmacāriniyo, atthi pana bho Gotamassa ekupāsikā pi sāvika gihī odāta vasaṇā kāmabhoginī ... satthu sāsane viharati 'with the exception of the reverend Gotama, with the exception of the monks, with the exception of the nuns, with the exception of the householders lay devotees, who clad in white garments, practise the celibate life, with the exception of the female lay devotees, who, clad in white garments, practice the celibate life, is there even one female lay disciple of the Blessed One who as a follower and clad in white garments and enjoying sensual pleasure yet abides in the doctrine of the teacher?' (MN I 491:22).

The Aorist

273. a) The aorist is used in affirmative, negative, and interrogative sentences to express an action that took place in the past:

evaṃ vutte te paribbājakā tuṅhī ahesuṃ 'after these words the wanderers remained silent' (DN I 179:12)

idaṃ avoca āyasmā Sāriputto; attamanā te bhikkhū āyasmato Sāriputtassa bhāsitaṃ abhinandun 'the reverend Sariputta said this; the monks were pleased and praised the words of Sariputta' (MN I 191:35).

The aorist is generally used when the sentence begins with the particles *atha kho, tatra kho*:

atha kho Bhagavā Sāvattim piṇḍāya pāvīsi 'then the Blessed One entered Savatthi for alms' (DN I 178:6)

atha kho Bhagavato etad ahosi 'then this occurred to the Blessed One'

tatra kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi 'thereafter the Blessed One addressed the monks' (MN II 214:2)

b). The aorist is used with the negative *mā* to express prohibition:

alaṃ, Ānanda, mā soci mā peridevi 'enough, O Ananda, do not grieve and do not weep' (DN II 144:10)

Tisse sikkhassu sikkhāya mā taṃ yogā upaccagum 'O Tissa, insist on your training lest the attachments should overcome you' (Theri 4)

In Sanskrit the rule is that when the aorist is preceded by the negative *mā*, the aorist does not take the augment. In Pali this rule is not always observed:

mā cintayi 'don't worry'

mā'yasmā saddaṃ akāsi 'reverend one, do not make noise' (MN II 5:1)

The Future

274. a). The future tense is used in affirmative, negative and interrogative sentences to express an action that will take place in the future:

idh'eva me maraṇaṃ bhavissati pabbājjā vā 'here itself death will befall me unless I go forth' (MN II 57:26)

kiṃ tvaṃ imaṃ dhammavinayaṃ ājānissasi 'will you learn the doctrine and the discipline?' (MN II 3:25)

yena Nālandā tenupasaṅkamissāma 'we shall go to Nalanda' (DN II 81:30)

b). Sometimes the future is used in the sense of **what must be or must not be, of what can be or cannot be:**

na vata imāni manussabhūtaṃ padāni bhavissanti 'these cannot be the footprints of a human being' (AN II 37:29)

na kho idaṃ orakaṃ bhavissati yathā ime manussa sakkaccaṃ navakammaṃ karonti 'now this can be no ordinary matter inasmuch as these people are making repairs carefully' (VP II 159:30)

aññā vā saññā bhavissati añño attā 'consciousness must be one thing and the self another' (DN I 186:5)

c). The future is used in sentences beginning with *kuto pana*, *yatra hi nāma*, *atthi nāma*, *kathaṃ hi nāma*. *Kuto pana* is preceded by a negative sentence; *yatra hi nāma* is usually preceded by an expression of wonder like *acchariyaṃ vata*, *abbhūtaṃ vata*:

daharassa hi kumārassa kāyo ti pi na hoti; kuto pana kāyena pāpakaṃ kammaṃ karissati 'a little child has no idea what the body is; how then will he commit an evil action with the body?' (MN II 24:25)

acchariyaṃ vata bho abbhūtaṃ vata bho yatra hi nāma ayaṃ kesesu parāmasitabbaṃ maññissati 'it is strange, it is beyond belief that he should dare to take him by the hair' (MN II 47:28)

atthi nāma ābhidosikaṃ kummāsaṃ paribhujjissasi 'is it true that you are eating stale rice?' (MN II 62:24)

kathaṃ hi nāma samaṇā Sakyaputtiyā bhattachage na anumodissanti 'how can these recluses, sons of Sakya, not give thanks in the dining room (i.e. after a meal)' (VP II 212:10)

d). The future is often used in correlative sentences that express a future action and are introduced with the particles *tāva* ... *yāva*, *tathā* ... *yathā*

na tāva ahaṃ parinibbāyissāmi yāva me bhikkhū na sāvakā bhavissanti 'I will not pass away so long as my monks have not become disciples' (DN II 104:18)

svāhaṃ bhante tathā karissāmi yathā maṃ mātāpitaro anujānissanti
‘Sir, I shall act in such a way that my parents will give
the consent’ MN II 56:19)

e). The future is also used in hypothetical sentences:

sace tumhe Raṭṭhapālaṃ kulaputtaṃ nānujānissatha agāasmā
anagāriyam pabbajjāya tath’eva maraṇaṃ āgamissati ‘if
you do not give your consent to the young Ratthapala to
go forth from the home to the homeless life, death will
overtake him where he is now’ (MN II 60:1)

The Optative

275. In Pali the forms of the optative which are generally used
are those built up like *bhaveyyāmi*, *bhaveyyāsi*, *bhaveyyāti*, etc.,
Forms like *kayirā*, *dajjā*, *labhe* etc. are usually found in poetry.

a). The optative is used to express a wish:

iccheyyātha no tumhe Nimi-rājānaṃ daṭṭhuṃ ‘would you like
to see king Nimi? (MN II 79:8)

labheyyāhaṃ bhante Bhagavato santike pabbajjaṃ labheyyaṃ
upasampadaṃ ‘Sir, may I receive the lower and higher
ordination from the Blessed One’ (DN I 202:28)

b). The optative is used to express a command or merely fitness
of what one would or might do in certain circumstances:

yena me idaṃ kalyāṇaṃ vattaṃ nihitaṃ anuppavatteyyāsi ‘you
ought to continue this beautiful tradition started by me’
(MN II 77:17)

jāgaro bhikkhu vihareyya ‘a monk ought to dwell awake’ (Itv
41:6)

kin ti naṃ kareyyāsi ti ... āhareyy’assāhaṃ ‘what would you
do to him? I would take it out of him’ (MN I 395:3) 243

The optative of *jānāti* is often used with *yagghe*:

yagghe ayye jāneyyāsi ayyaputto Raṭṭhapālo anuppatto ‘do you
know, lady, that master Ratthapala has come back?’ (MN
II 127:25)

c). The optative is used to express possibility or probability.
Usually such a sentence is introduced with the optative
verbal form *siyā* or with *api eva nāma*, *taṃ kiṃ maññasi*,
thānaṃ vijjati:

siyā nu kho, bhante, Bhagavatā aññadeva kiñci sandhāya bhāsitaṃ
tañ ca jano aññathā pi paccāgaccheyya ‘it may be that
people might understand differently what the Blessed One
said with reference to something else’ (MN II 127:25)

appeva nāma mayaṃ kadāci karahaci tena bhotā Gotamena saddhiṃ
samāgaccheyyāma: appeva nāma siyā kocid eva kathāsallāpo
‘it may be that sometimes somewhere we might meet the
reverend Gotama; it may be that we might have a talk’
(MN II 140:26)

taṃ kiṃ maññasi, mahārāja? Idha khattiyo sandhiṃ chindeyya
‘what do you think, O king, if a ksatriya were to break
into a house’ (MN II 88:6)

aṭṭhānaṃ etaṃ bhikkhu anavakāso yaṃ Sāriputta-moggallānā
Devadattassa dhammaṃ roceyyuṃ ‘it is impossible, O
monks, it cannot come to pass that Sariputta and Moggallana
should embrace the doctrine of Devadatta’ (VP II 199:28)

d). The optative is used to express a supposition with *yan nūna*
and to express a simile with *seyyathāpi*:

yan nūnaṃ imaṃ samaṇaṃ jīvitā voropeyyam ‘what if I were
to kill this recluse? (MN II 99:4)

seyyathāpi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya
pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya ‘just as a strong man
might stretch forth a bent arm or might bend down an
outstretched arm’ (MN II 79:12)

e). In correlative clauses, the optative is used in both of them:

yathā te khameyya tathā taṃ vyākareyyāsi 'answer as you like'
(MN II 94:12)

*yadā me, samma kappaka, passeyyāsi sirasmiṃ phalitāni jātāni,
atha me āroceyyāsi* 'O barber, you should inform me when
you see a white hair on my head' (MN II 75:4)

f). The optative is used in hypothetical sentences and also in
replies to hypothetical sentences. The hypothetical sen-
tences are introduced by *sace, ce, yadī, yaṃ:*

*sace pi mayaṃ suṇeyyāma taṃ Bhagavantam dasasu yojanesu
dasa pi mayaṃ yojanāni gaccheyyāma taṃ Bhavantam dassanāya*
'if we were to hear that the Blessed One is at a distance
of ten yojanas, we would go all the ten yojana to see the
Blessed One' (MN II 90:18)

*sace pana taṃ Aṅgulimālaṃ passeyyāsi ... kin ti kareyyāsi ti?
Abhivandeyyāma vā, bhante, paccuṭṭheyyāma vā āsanena vā
nimanteyyāma* 'if you were to see Angulimāla, how would
you treat him? Sir, I would greet him and I would rise
before him and I would invite him to sit' (MN II 101:12)

The Conditional

276. The conditional is very seldom used. It expresses a condition
that has not been realized or that cannot be realized:

sace Pessa muhuttaṃ nisīdeyya mahatā atthena saṃyutto agamissa
'if Pessa had remained sitting a little longer, he might have
gone away in the acquisition of a great attainment' (MN
I 342:13)

*no ce taṃ abhavissa ajātaṃ abhūtaṃ ... nayidha jātassa bhūtaṃ
nissaraṇaṃ paññāyetha* 'if there were not something that
is not born and not become ... there would appear no escape
from what is born and from what has become' (Itv 37:6)

Indefinite Verbal Forms

The indefinite verbal forms in Pali are the present, past and
future participle, the past gerund, and the infinitive.

Present Participle

277. a). The present participle is an adjective; hence it agrees
in gender, number and case with the noun it qualifies:

addasa kho paribbājako bhagavantam dūrato āgacchantam 'the
wanderer saw the Blessed One coming from afar' (MN II
2:2)

There are, however, some stray cases in which the present
participle is used in the singular as if it were an indeclinable form:

*api pana tumhe āyasmanto ekanta-sukhaṃ lokaṃ jānaṃ passaṃ
vihāratha* 'do you perhaps abide knowing and visualizing
a perfectly happy world?' (DN I 122:19)

*naṅgalehi kasaṃ khettaṃ bījāni pavapaṃ chamā puttadārāni
posentā dhanam vindanti mānavā* 'ploughing the fields
with ploughs, scattering seed on the ground, young men
support wives and children and enjoy wealth' (Theri 112)

*nakkhattāni namassantā, aggaṇṇaṃ paricaram vane, yathābhuccaṃ
ajānantā, bālā suddhiṃ amaññātha* 'O foolish people, pay-
ing homage to the stars, worshipping the fire in the forest,
not knowing the real truth, you do not attain to purity'
(Theri 143)

b). The active and the passive present participles have their
respective active and passive meaning: *desento* 'preaching',
desiyamāno 'being preached'.

The middle present participle is often formed from verbs which
are middle in Sanskrit: *vattatī* (Skt *vartate*) has *vattamāno*.

Sometimes the present participle middle seems to point out the continuation of an action while the present participle active merely points out the fact that an action takes place:

visamapākīni sassāni manussā paribhuñjantā appāyukā honti 'men who eat crops ripened at the wrong season, are short lived' (AN II 75:12)

guṇṇaṃ ce taramānānaṃ jīnaṃ gacchati puṅgavo 'if, while the herd of cattle is crossing, the bull swerves' (AN II 75:33)

In poetry the use of the present participle active or middle is often due to the exigencies of metre. Thus in the AN pp. 39 and 40, in the prose passage we find the present participle active, while in the poetical passage we find the present participle middle and yet the meaning is the same: *viharantaṃ / viharamāno*:

yatvādhikaraṇaṃ enaṃ cakkhundriyaṃ asaṃvutaṃ viharantaṃ abhijjhādomanassā anvassaveyyuṃ 'since covetousness and dejection might overcome the person that abides with the faculty of the eye unrestrained' (AN II 39:24)

evaṃ viharamāno pi ahorattaṃ atandito 'abiding thus unwearied day and night' (AN II 40:29)

c). Sometimes we find in a sentence the same verb in the present participle middle and in a finite form. The present participle expresses a supposition which, if verified, ought to be verified as expressed by the finite verb:

iti vā hi bhikkhave puthujjano tathāgatassa vaṇṇaṃ vadamāno vadeyya 'O monks, if an ordinary man were to speak the praises of the Tathagata, he ought to speak them thus' (DN I 4:3)

kittāvatā ca Ānanda attānaṃ samanupassamāno samanupassati 'O Ananda, if a person were to regard the self, in what way should he regard it?' (DN II 68:5)

ekadhammo loke uppajjamāno uppajjati bahu jana hitāya 'if a single doctrine arises in the world, it arises for the welfare of many people' (Itv 11:18)

d). The present participle expresses an action contemporaneous with that of the main verb:

addasāsuṃ āyasmantaṃ piṇḍāya carantaṃ 'they saw the reverend one going round for alms' (MN I 338:32)

e). The present participle is sometimes used as the verb of a sentence either alone or in periphrastic formations with *atthi, tiṭṭhati, carati, viharati, gacchati*

upasaṅkamantā kho amū sappurisā yena āyasmā sārīputto tena dhammasavanāya 'those good men came to the reverend Sariputta to hear the doctrine' (MN I 212:20)

atha kho āyasmā Ānando vihāraṃ pavisitvā ... rodamāno atṭhāsi 'then the reverend Ananda entered the monastery and burst into tears' (DN II 143:20)

te aññāññaṃ mukha sattihi vitudantā viharanti 'they keep on attacking each other with piercing words' (Ud 67:23)

bhikkhuno anuttaraṃ yogakkhemaṃ patthayamānassa viharato 'for the monk who abides seeking the highest peace' (Itv 9:12)

Sometimes we find together the two participles *santa, samvijjamāna*:
cattaro' me puggalā santo samvijjamānā lokasmiṃ 'in the world four kinds of people are found' (MN I 453:5)

f). The present participle with the particle *pi* corresponds to a concessive clause:

evaṃ pi ahaṃ karonto 'though I act in this way'.

g). For the use of the present participle in an absolute construction, see no. 266.

The Past Participle

278. The past participle may have

- a. active meaning
- b. passive meaning
- c. both active and passive meaning

a). **Active meaning.** The past participle of intransitive verbs has an active meaning:

ekam antaṃ nisinno kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca 'after sitting on one side, the reverend Ananda spoke thus to the Blessed One' (MN III 104:5)

Vipassī rājadhāniṃ anuppatto miga-dāye viharati 'Vipassi, after reaching the capital, was abiding in the park of the deer' (DN II 44:8)

samaṇo khalu bho Gotamo mahantaṃ nātisaṅghaṃ ohāya pabbajito 'the recluse Gotama, after abandoning a great number of relatives, became a wanderer' (DN I 141:24)

b). **Passive meaning.** The past participle of transitive verbs has a passive meaning:

iti puṭṭho no ti vadeyya 'being thus questioned, he would answer no' (MN II 33:10)

vuttaṃ hetam Bhagavatā vuttaṃ Arahataṃ ti me sutam 'for this was said by the Blessed One, this was said by the Arahant, thus has been heard by me' (Itv 3:1)

c). **Active and passive meaning.** The past participles of verbs which govern an accusative of place or time, and, generally, the past participle also of the verbs which become transitive by the addition of a verbal prefix like *ati*, *adhi*, *anu*, *abhi*, *upa*, *pari*, can be used both in the active and in the passive meaning:

te ve pāraṃ gatā loka ye pattā āsavakkhayaṃ 'those who have gone to the other shore in the world, have reached the destruction of the defiling tendencies' (Itv 96:9)

gataddhino visokassa ... pariḷāho na vijjati 'there is no fever of passion in him by whom the journey has been completed and in him who is free from sorrow' (Dpd 90)

Ratṭhapālo anuppatto 'Ratthapala has arrived' (MN II 62:14)

idha bhikkhu arahaṃ hoti ... anuppattasadattho 'herein a monk is an arahant and one by whom the highest good has been attained' (Itv 38:17)

N.B. The participles *vijāta*, *nahāta* have always an active meaning:

puttaṃ vijātā itthi 'the woman who has given birth to a child'.

sīsaṃ nahāto 'he has washed his head'.

The past participle of *vasati* is *vusita*, *vuttha*, *vuṭṭha*. *Vusita* is used in the passive meaning, while *vuttha*, *vuṭṭha* are used both in the active and in the passive meaning:

khīṇa jāti vuttaṃ brahmacariyaṃ 'birth has been destroyed, the celibate life has been lived' (MN II 252:4)

bhikkhu Rājagahe vassaṃ vuṭṭho 'the monks who has spent the rainy season at Rajagaha' (MN II 185:1)

satta vassāni me vutthāni 'seven years have been spent by me' (Ud 17:28)

Several past participles, which usually have a passive meaning, are sometimes found in the active meaning:

so kālaṃ kato 'he has completed his time'.

ayaṃ pana puriso kiṃ kato 'what has this man done?' (DN II 25:3)

Tathāgato ... indriyesu gutta-dvāro 'the Tethagata is one by whom the gates of the senses have been guarded' (passive) (DN I 181:4)

so attagutto satimā 'he who guards his self and is mindful' (active) (Dpd 379)

279. **Usage.** The past participle may be used alone or in a compound. When used alone, the past participle may do the work of an adjective, or a noun, or it may take the place of the verb of the sentence. The past participle can also be used to form dvanda, kammadhāraya, tappurisa and bahubbīhi samāsa.

280. **The past participle as an adjective.** The past participle may be used as an adjective qualifying a noun or pronoun either attributively or predicatively, and agreeing with it in gender, number, and case:

atha kho āyasmā Vidhuro bhinnena sisenā Bhagavantam piṭṭhito piṭṭhito anubandhi 'then the reverend Vidhura, with a broken head, followed the Blessed One step by step' (MN I 336:35)

Sākiyakumārā Bhagavantam pabbajitam anupabbajanti 'the Sakya young men go forth in imitation of the Blessed One who has already gone forth' (VP II 180:3)

samaṇo Gotamo suci bhūtena attanā viharati 'recluse Gotama abides with with a self that has become pure' (DN I 4:5)

In general, such adjectival participles express an action anterior to the action expressed by the finite verb of the sentence: *Bhagavantam pabbajitam anupabbajanti* 'they went forth after the example of the Blessed One who had already gone forth'. There are however some participles which denote a continuous action, i.e. an action that is contemporaneous with that of the finite verb or with that of a present participle. Such participles are *ṭhīta* 'standing', *nisinna* 'sitting down', *nipanna* 'lying down':

ekam antam ṭhīto paribbājako Bhagavantam etad avoca 'standing on one side, the wanderer spoke thus to the Blessed One' (MN I 339:8)

caram vā yadi vā tiṭṭham nisinno vā 'whether moving or standing or sitting' (MN I 178:35)

taṃ nāgam passati ... gacchantam vā ṭhītam vā nisinnam vā nipannam vā 'he sees the elephant whether moving or standing or sitting or lying down' (MN II 31:9)

281. **Past participle as a noun.** The past participle is sometimes used as a neuter noun to denote: a). either the action of the verb; b). or the effect of the action of the verb, without any reference to time. Thus *dinnam* may mean giving or the thing given.

When the past participle is used to indicate the action of the verb, it governs the same case which the verb ordinarily governs.

coro Aṅgulimālo nāma hoti luddo lohitapāṇi hata-pahate nivīṭṭho 'there is a thief called Angulimala, fierce and with blood-stained hands, bent on killing and slaughtering' (MN II 97:23)

icchāmi bhikkhūnam āgataṃ 'I desire the coming of the monks' (VP I 142:10)

natthi Buddhānam iñjitaṃ 'there is no wavering for the Buddhas' (Dpd 255)

abhikkama āvuso abhikkantaṃ te seyyo 'go forward, O brother; going forward is better for you' (DN III 20:7)

mayham eva dinnam mahapphalam 'what is given to me indeed is greatly fruitful' (MN I 379:25)

atthi ajātam abhūtam akataṃ asaṅkhatam 'there is something not born, not become, not made, not compounded' (Itv 37:5)

282. **The past participle as verb of the sentence.** The past participle may be used as the verb of a sentence either alone or with an

auxiliary verb. In such cases the participle is an adjective and agrees with the subject in gender, number and case.

- a). The participle used **alone** denotes an **ordinary past tense**. This usage is almost exclusively restricted to the past participles of intransitive verbs:

ayaṃ kho no bhante antarākathā vippakatā atha Bhagavā anuppatto
'Sir, this chance conversation was interrupted when the Blessed One arrived' (DN II 2:3)

- b). The past participle, **alone**, or sometimes with the auxiliary *atthi*, is used to express the **present past**:

imasmiṃ yena kho bhadda-kappe ahaṃ etarahi araham sammā-sambuddho loke uppanno 'in this blessed time, now I have been born in the world as the arahat and the fully Enlightened One' (DN II 2:26)

anuññāto si pana tvaṃ mātāpitūhi agārasnā anagāriyaṃ pabbajjāya
'have you been allowed by your parents to go forth from the home into the homeless state?' (MN II 56:13)

paranibbuto kho etarahi so Bhagavā 'the Blessed One has now passed away' (MN II 90:16)

- c). The past participle with *hoti* indicates an action that happens always in the same way:

yadā Bodhisatto mātu kucchim okkanto hoti na Bodhisatta-mātu purisesu mānasam uppajjati 'when the Bodhisatta descends into the womb of the mother, no desire for men arises in the mother of the Bodhisatta' (DN II 13:3)

idha bhikkhu santuṭṭho hoti 'here a monk is satisfied' (AN II 27:19)

- c). The past participle is sometimes used periphrastically with the various forms of the auxiliary verbs *atthi*, *bhavati*, *hoti*:

so evaṃ pabbajito samāno bhikkhūnaṃ sikkhāsājīvasamāpanno pāṇātipātāṃ pahāya pāṇātipātā paṭivirato ahoṣiṃ 'having gone forth and following the system of training of the monks, giving up killing living beings, I abstained from killing living beings' (MN III 33:18)

evāyaṃ bhūmippadeso dvīhi arahantehi paribhutto bhavissati
'this spot will have been used by two arahats' (MN II 45:21)

yo so putto uppanno siyā 'whichever son might be born' (MN II 153:15)

- d). Sometimes the past participle is used in the neuter as an impersonal verb:

na kho āciṅṇaṃ Nigaṇṭhassa Nātaputtassa kammaṃ kammaṃ ti paññāpetuṃ 'it is not customary for the Nigantha Nataputta to speak of an action as an action' (MN I 372:10)

evaṃ eva Dighatapassinā Nigaṇṭhena samaṇassa Gotamassa byākatam
'just in the same way it was answered by the Nigantha Dighatapassi to the recluse Gotama' (MN I 374:9)

283. Past participle in compounds.

- a). **Dvanda Samāsa**. Two participles are sometimes used to form a dvanda samāsa. The two participles may express two actions that are always mentioned together, or the second participle may emphasize the meaning of the first or may be the negative of the first, or the second participle may express an action that follows immediately after the first. Sometimes the same participle is repeated to express an action that is repeated more than once, or to express the same action in a high degree.

hata-pahate nivīṭṭho 'bent on killing and slaughtering'.

subhāsita-dubbhāsitaṃ 'well and badly spoken'

ākoṭita-paccākoṭitaṃ 'flattened and pressed all round'

suta-jāto 'heard and appeared i.e. it was manifest as soon as it was heard'

diṭṭha-sutaṃ 'what is seen and heard'

gopānasiyo olugga-viluggā 'beams breaking and falling into bits'

uppann-uppanne pāpake dhamme 'whenever an evil doctrine arises'.

upasant-upasanto 'very tranquil'

b). **Kammadhāraya samāsa.** The past participle that is used as an adjective to qualify a noun, can form a kammadhāraya samāsa with the noun:

mata-sariraṃ 'a dead body'

bhinna-pattaṃ 'a broken bowl'

āgatamha imaṃ dhammasamayaṃ dakkhitāye aparajita-saṅghaṃ 'we have come to this meeting to witness the undefeated sangha' (SN I 26:24)

The past participle can also form a kammadhāraya samāsa with an adverb qualifying it :

sammā-sambuddho 'the fully Enlightened one'

acira-pakkantassa 'not long after he had gone away'

yathābhirantaṃ 'according to one's pleasure'

c). **Tappurisa samāsa.** A past participle can be used as the second member to form a tappurisa samāsa:

āyasmā pana araṇṇa-gato pi rukkhamūla-gato pi 'the reverend one has gone to the forest and he has gone to the foot of a tree' (MN I 333:17)

sīla-sampanno 'endowed with virtue'

dvihamato 'two days dead'

chamā-nikkhattaṃ 'thrown on the ground'

When the participle is used as a noun, it can be either the first or the second member of a tappurisa samāsa:

suta-dhāro 'remembering what has been heard'

khipita-saddo 'the sound of expectoration'

kāya-duccaritaṃ 'an evil action committed with the body'.

d). **Bahubbīhi samāsa.** The past participle of transitive verbs and of some intransitive verbs that govern an accusative can be used as the first member of a bahubbīhi samāsa:

idha puriso āgaccheyya ukkhittāsiko 'if a man were to come with drawn sword' (MN I 377:20)

addasā Vipassī purisaṃ jinṇaṃ gata-yobbanam 'Vipassi saw a man that was old and that had gone beyond his youth' (Sn 98)

e). **Syntactical compounds.** A past participle is sometimes joined to the gerund of another verb to form a compound. This is due to the fact that those two verbs have very often come together and thus have acquired a special meaning: *uddissa-kata* 'done pointing to, meant for'; *paṭicca-samuppanna* 'arisen on account of i.e. of the law of cause and effect'.

FUTURE PARTICIPLE PASSIVE

284. **Meaning.** The future participle passive or future of necessity or gerundive is used to express the idea of necessity, obligation, fitness.

atithi kho pana amhehi sakkātabbā garukātabbā mānetabbā pūjetabbā 'guests ought to be well received by us and be treated with respect, honour and deference' (MN II 167:28)

imassa pana bhāsītassa kathaṃ attho daṭṭhabbo 'how should the meaning of these words be understood?' (MN II 69:14)

idaṃ te khāditabbam idaṃ te na khāditabbam 'you ought to eat this and you ought not eat that' (MN I 460:27)

pāṇo na hantabbo adinnaṃ nādātabbaṃ kāmesu micchā na caritabbā musā na bhāsitabbā majjaṃ na pātabbaṃ 'a living being should not be killed, what has not been given should not be taken, infatuation for pleasures should not be practised, lies should not be spoken, intoxicating drinks should not be drunk' (MN II 173:4)

285. **Usage.** The future participle passive can be used as an adjective, a noun, and as the verb of the sentence.

a). **Adjective.** The future participle passive may be used as an attributive or predicative adjective agreeing in gender, number and case with the noun it qualifies:

svakkhāto Bhagavatā dhammo sandiṭṭhiko akāliko ehipassiko opanayiko paccattaṃ veditabbo viññūhi 'well preached by the Blessed One is the doctrine that can be seen in this very life, and that is not bound by time, and that invites everyone to come and see, and that leads forward, and that is to be understood by the wise personally' (AN II 56:15)

ayam vuccati ariya sāvako ... bhabbo abhinibbhidāya bhabbo sambodhāya bhabbo anuttarassa yogakkhemassa adhigamāya 'this is called a noble disciple, the one who is capable of breaking the fetters, capable of attaining enlightenment, capable of attaining the highest tranquillity' (MN I 357:3)

Several future participle passive in *-anīya* like *ramanīya*, *dassanīya*, have become ordinary adjectives and have almost entirely lost their original meaning of a future participle; thus *ramanīyo padeso* means 'a lovely spot'.

b). **Noun.** The future participle passive is used also as a noun in the neuter gender to indicate the effect of the action of the verb:

pure vacanīyaṃ pacchā avoca, pacchā vacanīyaṃ pure avoca 'you said afterwards what should have been said before, and said before what should have been said afterwards' (MN II 3:25)

anumaññeyyaṃ kho ahaṃ anujānissāmi, paṭikkositabbaṃ ca paṭikkosissāmi 'I shall approve what should be approved, and I shall blame what should be blamed' (MN II 158:30)

kāya viññeyyaṃ phoṭṭhabbaṃ 'what has to be known by the body must be tangible' (MN III 55:24)

Sometimes the future participle passive is used as a masculine or feminine noun to denote the person that is worthy of the action expressed by the verb:

idha ekacco abhivādetabbaṃ na abhivādeti paccuṭṭhātabbaṃ na paccuṭṭheti āsanārahassa āsanaṃ na deti maggārahassa maggaṃ na deti sakkātabbaṃ na sakkaroti garukātabbaṃ na garukaroti mānetabbaṃ na māneti pūjetabbaṃ na pūjeti 'herein a person does not greet one that should be greeted, does not rise before one that deserves such a mark of respect, does not offer a seat to one that deserves such a seat, does not make room for one that is worthy of it, does not receive well and treat with respect and honour and deference one that is worthy of hospitality and respect and honour and deference' (MN III 205:16)

Some future passive participles have almost lost their character and have become ordinary neuter nouns; v.g. *khajja bhojja* 'solid and other food', *dheyyo* 'realm of, power of', *kicca, karaṇīya* 'duty, service'.

c). **Verb.** The future participle passive is very often used as the verb of a sentence, usually alone, but sometimes with the auxiliary verb *atthi/hoti*:

kāyassa bhedaṃ paraṃ maranā duggati pāṭikaṅkhā 'at the breaking up of the body after death, an evil existence is to be expected' (Itv 23:6)

n'amhi kenaci upasaṅkamitabbo 'I must not be approached by anyone' (DN II 237)

gamanena na pattabbo lokassanto kudācanaṃ 'the end of the world can never be reached by going' (AN II 49:1)

286. **Construction.** The construction of the future participle passive depends generally on the nature of the verb, i.e. whether it is transitive or intransitive.

- a). **Transitive verbs.** The future participle passive of transitive verbs is usually constructed personally with the subject in the nominative:

Tathāgatassa thūpo kātabbo 'a stupa ought to be built for the Tathagata' (DN II 142:10)

sace, gahapati, bhojanam dātabbam detha 'O householder, if you have to give food, give it' (MN II 64:17)

saṅgho nāpetabbo 'the order ought to be informed' (MN II 250:7)

Intransitive verbs which have become transitive on account of being compounded with a prefix, are used both in the personal and the impersonal construction:

theratarena bhikkhunā navakataro bhikkhu nāmena samudācaritabbo 'a young monk should be addressed by name by an elder monk' (DN II 154:10)

evam Tathāgatassa sarīre paṭipajjitabbam 'you ought to deal thus with the body of the Tathagata' (DN II 142:9)

- b). **Intransitive verbs.** The future participle passive of intransitive verbs is usually constructed impersonally:

na dāni tena ciram jīvitabbam bhavissati 'now he ought not to live any longer' (DN II 23:8)

tehi bhikkhūhi sabbehi eva samaggehi sannipatitabbam 'all those monks should assemble in a friendly way' (MN II 247:12)

The future participle passive *bhabbo/abhabbo* and the future participle passive of intransitive verbs that govern an accusative of place or time, are often constructed personally:

pamāde bhayadassino abhabbā parihānāya 'those who see danger in sloth, cannot fall away' (Itv 40:4)

tehi bhikkhūhi so āvāso gantabbo 'the monks ought to go to that dwelling place' (MN II 247:21)

The verb *maññati* is very often followed by a future participle passive. If the verb is intransitive, the future participle passive is used impersonally. The transitive verb is sometimes used in the neuter singular in a kind of impersonal construction, but with the object in the accusative:

appeva nāma appasaddam parisam veditvā upasāṅkamitabbam maññeyya 'on seeing that the assembly is silent, he might think of coming' (MN II 2:7)

yena nesam upagāṇam piṇḍakam dātabbam maññeyyāsi 'you should think of giving food to those who come' (MN I 379:17)

yo kho imāni cattāri dhammapadāni garahitabbam paṭikkositabbam maññeyya 'if one were to think of despising and scorning these four precepts' (AN II 31:4)

sammā Sambuddhe āsādetabbam maññasi 'you think that insult should be heaped on the fully Enlightened one' (DN III 24:22)

The Infinitive

287. a). The infinitive denotes the idea of the verb without any indication of time:

nadiṃ gamissāma sināyituṃ 'we shall go to the river to bathe' (MN II 46:21)

- b). The infinitive retains its verbal character in so far as it governs the same case as the finite verb:

icchāmi aham agārasmā anagāriyam pabbajituṃ 'I desire to go forth from the home to the homeless life' (MN II 56:9)

- c). The agent of the action expressed by the infinitive is generally the same as that of the action expressed by the finite verb of the sentence:

samuddaṃ visakumbhena yo maññeyya padūsituṃ 'if one should think of defling the sea with a jar of poison' (Itv 86:13)

When the expression that governs an infinitive is impersonal and when the agent of the action expressed by the infinitive is different from the agent of the action of the finite verb of the sentence, then the agent of the action of the infinitive is expressed with the instrumental:

sakkā pan'etaṃ mayā ñātuṃ 'is it possible for me to know this?' (DN I 187:11)

yaṃ te sakkā aññaṃ mayā kātuṃ tyāhaṃ karissāmi 'whatever else I can do for you, that I will do' (VP II 182:1)

anujānāmi therena bhikkhunā anumodituṃ 'I allow that thanks be given by an elder monk in the dining room' (VP II 212:19)

- d). Sometimes the infinitive with its object forms a phrase that is used as the subject of an impersonal construction like **it is fitting, it is right, it is possible**. In English the whole sentence may be rendered with a passive verb with the object of the infinitive as subject:

sakkā bhoge ca bhuñjituṃ puññāni ca kātuṃ 'it is possible to enjoy wealth and to acquire merit' (MN II 63:24)

sakkā nu kho no gamanena lokassa antaṃ ñātuṃ vā datṭhuṃ vā pāpuṇituṃ vā 'is it possible for us to go and to know the end of the world and to see it and to reach it?' (AN II 48:1)

- e). The infinitive is used to express purpose, intention, goal:
upasaṅkamissāma gattāni parisiñcituṃ 'we shall come to bathe' (MN II 161:4)

samaṇassa vā brāhmaṇassa vā sappissa vā telassa vā yāvadatthaṃ pātuṃ dīyati no nīharituṃ 'to a recluse or brahmin is given as much ghee or butter as he can drink, but not to take it away' (Ud 14:1)

- f). The infinitive is often used with verbs like *atthi, hoti, labhati, sakkoti, arahati, icchati, pahoti, jānāti, anujānāti, kappati, vattati*, etc.

tādino attho n'atthi janaṃ lapetave 'for such a person there is no need to speak to people' (Ud 21:13)

ko taṃ nindituṃ arahati 'who can possibly blame him?' (AN II 29:2)

icchāma'ahaṃ rājagahaṃ gantuṃ 'I desire to go to Rajagaha' (MN II 5:6)

piṇḍapātiko bhikkhu piṇḍāya caranto labhati kālena kālaṃ manāpīke cakkhunā rūpe passituṃ 'when a monk goes round for alms, from time to time he happens to see with his eye beautiful objects' (Ud 30:22)

so na ussahati agārasmā anagāriyam pabbajituṃ 'he does not try to go forth from the home to the homeless life' (VP II 181:29)

- g). The infinitive is used with adjectives meaning **capable, fit, good for, etc.**

bhabbo so tādiso bhikkhu phutṭhuṃ sambodhiṃ uttamam 'such a monk is capable of attaining the highest enlightenment' (Itv 72:11)

- h). The infinitive is used with nouns indicating time, occasion, etc.

akālo kho ajja Bhagavato vādaṃ āropetuṃ 'today is not the time to start an argument with the Blessed One' (MN I 393:18)

- i). The infinitive is used with *alam*. In these expressions *alam* means **sufficient, suitable, fitting, capable**:

nālaṃ tad abhinanditum 'it is not fitting to take delight in it'
(Itv 37:18)

tatra upāyavimamsāya samannāgato alaṃ kātuṃ alaṃ samvidhātuṃ
'he is endowed with skill and resourcefulness to know what
should be done and what should be planned' (AN II 35:25)

j). The infinitive is used with adverbs like *sakkā*, *labbhā*,
atippago:

kiṃ mayā sakkā kātuṃ 'what should I do? (Ud 44:3)

*sakkā nu kho imaṃ kālaṃ taṃ Bhagavantam dassanāya
upasaṅkamtum* 'is it possible to come at this time to
see the Blessed One?' (VP II 155:25)

atippago kho tāva Rājagahe piṇḍāya caritum 'is it still too early
to go round for alms in Rajagaha?' (MN II 1:18)

*na heso labbhā sapariggahena phassetum yo kevalo bhikkhu
dhammo* 'a man with possessions cannot live the full life
of a monk' (Sn 393)

k). The infinitive, without the final nasal consonant, is often
compounded with *kāmo*:

idha puriso agaccheyya Rājagaham gantukamo 'here there might
come a man who is desirous to go to Rajagaha' (MN II
5:4)

*atha kho yakko Bhagavato bhayam uppadetukamo yena Bhagavā
tena upasaṅkami* 'then a yakkhā, desirous to frighten the
Blessed One, came up to him' (Ud 5:2)

The Gerund

288. a). The gerund generally indicates an action anterior to
that of the verb to which it is subordinated:

Nigaṇṭho aṅṅataram āsanaṃ gahetvā ekaṃ antaṃ nisīdi 'the
Nigantha took another seat and sat down at one side' (MN
I 372:5)

upasaṅkamtivā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi 'having come
up, he addressed the reverend Ananda' (DN II 137:11)

There are cases in which some gerunds indicate actions that
precede the action of the main verb and some gerunds indicate
actions that follow that of the main verb:

*atha kho Bhagavā kumbhakārāvesanaṃ pavisitvā ekaṃ antaṃ
tiṇasantharakaṃ paññāpetvā nisīdi pallaṅkaṃ ābhujitvā ujum
kāyam pañidhāya parimukhaṃ satim upatthāpetvā* 'then
the Blessed One, having entered the potter's workshop,
having spread a mat of grass on one side, sat down as-
suming a cross-legged posture, keeping his body straight,
keeping his mindfulness alert' (MN III 238:10)

b). Generally the gerund is subordinated to a finite verbal form,
but there are also cases where it is subordinated to an
indefinite verbal form:

tadā gāthaṃ vatvā pakkanto paṇḍitavānijo ahaṃ ahosi 'I was
the learned merchant who went away after reciting the
stanza'

c). The agent of the action expressed by the gerund is the same
as the agent of the finite verb which is in the nominative
case when the verb is active, in the instrumental or genitive
case when the verb is passive, and in the dative case with
expressions like *etad ahosi*, *uppajjati*:

*atha kho bhagavā pubbaṅha-samayaṃ nivāsetvā, patta-cīvaraṃ
ādāya, Sāvattiṃ piṇḍāya pāvīsi* 'then the Blessed One
dressed in the morning, took his bowl and robe, and entered
Savatthi for alms' (DN I 178:7)

*āvāsikena bhikkhunā āgantukaṃ bhikkhuṃ vuḍḍhataraṃ disvā
āsaṇaṃ paññāpetabbaṃ* 'a resident monk, on seeing a
senior visiting monk, should offer him a seat' (VP II
210:23)

disvāna assa etad ahosi 'on seeing them, this occurred to him'
(AN II 37:27)

- d). When the gerund and the finite verb have the same object, there is no need of repeating it:

lekhanam likhitvā pesesi 'he wrote a letter and sent it'

- e). The gerund is generally used to express a temporal phrase. Sometimes we find a series of past gerunds expressing several actions that take place one after another:

disvāna etad avoca 'he said this after seeing them'.

so kesamassum ohāretva kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agāasmā anagāriyam pabbajati 'after shaving his hair and beard and donning the yellow robes, he goes forth from the home to the homeless state' (MN II 67:3)

disvāna gharā nikkhamitvā paccugantvā hatthato pattam gahetvā gharam pavisitvā ghatiyā odanam uddharitvā pattam pūretvā āyasmato mahā-kassapassa pādāsi 'on seeing him he stepped out of the house, went out to meet him, took the bowl from his hand, entered the house, took rice from the jar, filled the bowl and gave it to the reverend Maha-Kassapa' (Ud 22:26)

Instead of piling up many phrases with the gerund, there are several coordinated clauses in such a way that the finite verb of a clause is taken up in the next clause in the gerund:

Nigaṇṭho yena Bhagavā tena upasaṅkami, upasaṅkamtivā bhagavatā sammodi, sammodanīyam katham sārānīyam vītisāretvā ekaṃ antam aṭṭhāsi 'the Nigantha came up to the Blessed One; after coming up, he greeted the Blessed One; after exchanging greetings of friendliness and courtesy, he stood on one side' (MN I 371:28)

The gerund is also used to express a concessive, a causative and even a hypothetical phrase. In the concessive meaning, it is usually followed by *api/pi*:

saṅgham samaggaṃ katvāna kappam saggaṃhi modati 'by fostering concord among the monks, he rejoices in heaven for an age' (Itv 12:12)

mam hi aññatitthiyā sāvakaṃ labhitvā kevalakappam Nālandaṃ paṭākam parihareyyum 'if those of other schools had obtained me as their disciple, they would have carried a flag throughout the whole of Nalanda' (MN I 379:8)

289. The gerund is used periphrastically with verbs like *viharati, jīvati, carati, vattati, tiṭṭhati, gaṇhāti, gacchati, āneti*. Sometimes the finite verb adds very little to the meaning of the gerund, though naturally it expresses the time when the action takes place: *kinivā āneti* 'having bought it, he brings it'. In most cases, however, the gerund with a finite verb forming a periphrastic expression, indicates the duration of an action:

ekaṃ disaṃ pharivā viharati 'he abides suffusing one quarter'

jhānam upasampajja vihāsi 'he abode in the attainment of a trance'

mam mittāmaccā parivāretvā ṭhitā honti 'my friends and companions are round me' (MN II 70:7)

ahaṃ hi pubbe hatthim pi dhāvantaṃ anupatitvā gaṇhāmi 'formerly I could overtake even a running elephant' (MN II 99:11)

290. a). The gerund *katvā* is used with the accusative neuter of an adjective to form adverbial expressions:

dalham katvā 'strongly'

The gerund *huvā* is used in the sense of as

ahaṃ puriso huvā 'I, being a man i.e. I as a man'

- b) The gerund of some verbs like *ādāya, gahetvā, anvāya, upādāya, paṭicca, āgamma, muñcitvā, ṭhapetvā, ārabha, upanissāya*, etc. is used as a postposition. Such gerunds govern the accusative case with the exception of *paṭṭhāya* which governs the ablative case:

daharakālato paṭṭhāya 'from his childhood'

kim etaṃ paṭicca vuttam 'on account of what was this said?' (MN I 361:2)

nagaraṃ nissāya vasi 'he lived near the town'

c). Sometimes the gerund is used as the first member of a samāsa:

taṃ samaṇo Gotamo jānaṃ uddissa-kataṃ maṃsaṃ paribhuñjati paṭicca-kammaṃ 'the recluse Gotama knowingly eats meat prepared for him and deliberately provided for him' (MN I 369:2)

anuvicca-karo tumhādisānaṃ nāta manussānaṃ sādhu hoti 'it is good to make a full investigation of well known people like you' (MN I 379:3)

A g e n t N o u n s

291. Pali makes great use of agent nouns. Such are the nouns formed with the suffixes *-tar*, *-ka*, *-in*, *-vin*. Furthermore there are monosyllabic agent nouns which are used only as second member of a samāsa: *-da*, *-ga*, *-gu*, *-ñu*, etc.

sotā 'he who hears'; *bhāsītā* 'he who speaks'; *vādin* 'he who says'; *kārin* 'he who does'; *lābhin* 'he who obtains'; *dassāvin* 'he who sees'; *pāra-gū* 'he who has gone to the other shore'; *matta-ññu* 'he who knows moderation'.

To these agent nouns may be added the past participles active like *sutavā* 'he who has heard', *katāvī* 'he who has done', *bhuttāvī* 'he who has eaten', *vusitavā* 'he who has lived'.

292. The agent nouns are used

a) as ordinary nouns:

Tathāgato datṭhāraṃ na maññati sotāraṃ na maññati 'the Tathagata does not pay much attention to the seer and to the hearer' (i.e. to the one who sees and to the one who hears) (AN II 25:14)

taṃ lobhaṃ pajahanti vipassino 'those who have insight give up the craving' (Itv 1:12)

saggaṃ gacchanti dāyakā 'the givers go to heaven' (Itv 19:16)

bhojanamhi mattaññū sukhaṃ adhigacchati 'he who is moderate in food attains happiness' (Itv 24:12)

b) as an apposition to a noun or pronoun:

etha tumhe asubhānupassī kāye viharatha, āhāre paṭikkūla-saññino 'come and do ye abide paying attention to what is unpleasant in the body and conscious of what is revolting in the food' (MN I 333:25)

ahaṃ asmi brahmā kattā nimmatā 'I am Brahma, the maker and creator' (DN I 18:8)

ayaṃ samaṇo nisinnako kālakato 'this recluse died while he was sitting down' (MN I 333:25)

c) as the verb of a sentence, either alone or with the auxiliary *hoti/atthi*:

catunnaṃ jhānānaṃ nikāma-lābhī hoti akiccha-lābhī akasira-lābhī 'he easily and without any difficulty and without any trouble attains the four trances' (AN II 36:12)

na tāva therena udakaṃ paṭiggahetabbaṃ yāva na sabbe bhuttāvino honti 'an elder should not accept water until everyone has eaten' (VP II 214:27)

samaṇa Gotamo ito sutvā na amutra akkhātā imesaṃ bhedāya amutra vā sutvā na imesaṃ akkhātā amūsaṃ bhedāya 'the recluse Gotama does not repeat in another place what he hears here in order to put discord with these people, and what he hears in another place he does not repeat to these people to create discord with those people' (DN I 4:18)

293. The agent noun may govern

a). either the genitive, since it is a noun, or the same case which is governed by the finite forms of the same verb:

mātāpitaro puttānaṃ āpādakā posakā imassa lokassa dassatāro
‘the parents bring up and support their children and introduce
them to the world’ (AN II 70:22)

adantānaṃ dametāraṃ sambuddhaṃ passa ‘look at the Enlight-
ened One, the tamer of those who are not tamed’ (Therī
337)

aho vata ahaṃ eva lābhī assaṃ paṇitānaṃ cīvarānaṃ ‘I wish
I could be the receiver of excellent robes’ (MN I 29:35)

satimā kho pana hoti cirakatam pi cirabhāsitam pi saritā ‘he
is indeed mindful and remembers what was done long ago
and what was said long ago’ (AN II 35:23)

na so mitto yo sadā randhaṃ evānupassī ‘he is not a friend
who always looks at faults’ (Sn 253)

dhammaṃ na vitthārena paresaṃ desetā hoti ‘he preaches the
doctrine to others but not in detail’ (MN I 221:18)

abhijānāmaṃ imaṃ pañhaṃ aññe samaṇa brāhmaṇe pucchitā
‘I remember that I asked this question from other recluses
and brahmins’ (DN I 51:23)

ahosiṃ ahaṃ hatthismiṃ pi katāvī assasmīṃ pi katāvī ‘I was
expert in riding elephants and horses’ (MN II 69:11)

b). The agent noun is often compounded with the noun it
governs to form a tappurisa samāsa:

bhikkhu sīlavā hoti anumattesu vajjesu bhayadassāvī ‘a monk
is virtuous and sees danger even in the least fault’ (AN
II 22:31)

parāvajjānupassino niccaṃ ujjhānasaññino āsavā vaḍḍhanti ‘when
a person has his eyes on the faults of others and is always
complaining, the defilements keep growing’. (Dpd 243).

A c t i o n N o u n s

294. Pali makes still greater use of action nouns since almost
any English subordinate clause can be expressed by means of action
nouns. The more common suffixes that form action nouns are *-na*,
-a, *-nā*, *-taṃ*, *-tā*, *-ti*, *-tta*: *dassana* ‘seeing’, *bheda* ‘division’,
āgamitā ‘returning’, *ṭhiti* ‘permanence’.

The action nouns denote the verbal idea in general without any
reference to person or time: *dassana* ‘seeing’.

The action noun, like any other noun, takes the case required
by its syntactical function:

ahaṃ vo pāṭibhogo anāgamitāya ‘I guarantee that you will not
come back (Itv 1:5)

kāyassa bheda ‘at the breaking up of the body’

295. The action noun usually governs the genitive case:

sukhassa ca pahānā dukkhassa ca pahānā pubbe ca somanassa-
domanassānaṃ atthagamā ‘by eliminating happiness and
by eliminating sorrow and by the coming to an end of the
former comfort and discomfort’ (MN I 347:20)

Mallā Bhagavato adhvāsanaṃ viditvā ‘the Mallas, having known
the endurance of the Blessed One’ (DN III 208:5)

yesam kho ahaṃ āsavānaṃ appahinattā devo bhavēyyaṃ ‘I
might have become a deity if I had not rejected those
defiling tendencies’ AN II 38:25)

dassanāya governs both the genitive and the accusative. The
use of the accusative seems to be preferable when this denotes a
person or object deserving respect:

sammā-sambuddhaṃ dassanāya upasaṅkamissāma ‘we shall come
to see the fully Enlightened one’ (MN II 46:7)

te deve dassanāya pi nappahonti ‘they are not able to see the
gods’ (MN II 131:29)

akālo kho tāva Bhagavantam dassanāya ... bhikkhūnam asamayo dassanāya 'it is not yet time to see the Blessed One and it is not yet time to see the monks' (MN II 23:4)

(N.B. both the accusative and the genitive are found in this expression: *Bhagavantam* and *bhikkhūnam*).

CHAPTER XXI

SYNTAX OF THE SENTENCE

A sentence or clause is a group of words with a finite verb and with a complete meaning. The finite verb is sometimes understood. Within a clause there may be groups of words with indefinite verbal forms: such groups are called phrases.

296. **Affirmative statements.** Clauses that state a fact are expressed with a simple verb in the present, past or future tense, or also with a periphrastic verb. The forms of the verbs *hoti/atthi* are often understood, especially where there is a past participle or an agent noun:

satthā āyasmante āmanteti 'the master calls you' (Ud 26:2)

sabbe tasanti daṇḍassa sabbe bhāyanti maccuno 'all are afraid of punishment, all fear death' (Dpd 129)

Vipassissa Bhandumā nāma rājā pitā ahosi 'king Bhanduma was the father of Vipassi' (DN II 6:30)

etassa Bhagavā kālo 'O Blessed one, this is the right time for it' (DN II 11:3)

parinibbuto kho etarahi so Bhagavā 'the Blessed One has now passed away' MN II 90:16)

Very often these clauses are introduced by adverbs or adverbial expressions of time and place like *tadā*, *tattha*, *bhūtapubbaṃ*, *ekaṃ samayaṃ*, *tena samayena*, *atha kho*, etc.. Some adverbial particles are enclitic, i.e. they have no accent of their own and hence they may never be used at the beginning of a sentence. Such particles are *bho*, *pana*, *hi*, *pi*, *kira*, *eva*, *va*

ekaṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā Cālikāyaṃ viharati ... tena kho pana samayena āyasmā Meghiyo Bhagavato upatthāko hoti 'once the Blessed One was staying at Calika. Now at that time the reverend Meghiya was waiting on the Blessed One. (Ud 34:1)

N.B. Regarding the use of the tenses, see nos. 280, 282, 283.

297. **Negative sentences.** A sentence is made negative by means of the particle *na*

n'atthi me dhanam 'I have no wealth'

na dānāhaṃ Bhagavantam uddissa viharissāmi 'now I will not abide under the guidance of the Blessed One' (DN III 2:24)

Sometimes the negation is added to the verb or to the predicative in the form of *a-* / *an-*, according as the following word begins with a consonant or with a vowel:

akālo kho tāva Bhagavantam dassanāya 'it is not the right time to see the Blessed One' (MN II 23:4)

chāyā anapāyini 'the shadow that never departs' (MN II 135:24)

When the negation must be emphasized, some particles are added to *na*: *na pi* / *nāpi*, *n'eva*, *na kho*, *n'eva na pana* 'not indeed'; *na no* 'surely not'; *na hi* 'certainly not'; *na jātu* 'not at all'; *na hi kudācanam* 'never indeed'; *kuto* / *kutopana* 'still less'. *kuto* / *kuto pana* are used after a negative clause and themselves govern a verb in the future tense:

na hi verena verāni sammantīdha kudācanam 'hatreds are never appeased by hatreds in the world' (Dpd 5)

natthi soko kuto bhayaṃ 'there is no grief, still less fear' (Dpd 212)

no hi etaṃ Bhante 'Lord, it is not so' (DN I 184:39)

298. **Command, request, exhortation.** To express a positive command, a request or an exhortation, the imperative is generally used:

tena hi bhikkhave suṇātha sādhuṃ manasikarotha bhāsissāmi 'well then, O monks, listen and pay good attention and I shall speak' (DN II 2:11)

yojehi sammā sarathī bhaddāni bhaddāni yānāni 'good charioteer, harness the best chariots' (DN II 21:16)

so evaṃ āha: ettakā usabhā haññantu yaññatthāya 'he spoke thus, so many bulls must be slaughtered for the sacrifice' (MN I 344:4)

To express an exhortation, the optative is very often used, while to indicate that something may or ought to be done, the future participle passive is used:

dhammam care sucaritam 'one should lead a righteous life' (lead a righteous life) (Dpd 169)

tvam mattam mattañca bhuttam bhujeyyāsi mattam mattañca pāṇiyam piveyyāsi 'eat just what is necessary and drink just what is necessary' (DN III 8:3)

atthi pañho ekaṃsa-vyākaraṇiyo, atthi pañho paṭipucchā-vyākaraṇiyo, atthi pañho thapaniyo, atthi pañho vibhajja-vyākaraṇiyo 'there is the question that ought to be answered straight, and the question that ought to be answered after a counter-question, and the question that ought to be set aside, and the question that ought to be answered with a distinction' (AN II 46:5)

299. **Prohibition.** A prohibition is generally expressed with the particle *mā* followed by the aorist:

mā saddam akattha 'do not make noise' (MN II 2:4)

māvoca pharusam kañci 'never speak harsh words' (Dpd 133)
*mā Tathāgataṃ vihesi mā Tathāgata-sāvakaṃ mā te ahoṣi dīgharattaṃ
 ahitāya dukkhāya* 'do not hurt the Tathagata nor the disciple
 of the Tathagata lest it should redound to your disadvantage
 and sorrow for a long time' (MN I 332:18)

The particle *mā* is sometimes found also with the optative and the imperative:

mā pamādaṃ anuyuñjetha 'one should not indulge in sloth (i.e. do not indulge in sloth) (Dpd 27)

*jhāya bhikkhu mā ca pamādo - mā te kāmaguṇe bhamassu
 cittaṃ; mā lohagulaṃ gilī pamatto - mā kandi dukkhaṃ
 idaṃ ti dayhamāno* 'meditate, O monk, and do not be
 heedless; let not your mind stray towards sensual pleasures;
 in your indolence do not swallow a lead-ball; while you
 are burning do not cry saying, - this is sorrow' (Dpd 371)

(notice the use of both the aorist and the imperative due to exigencies of metre).

Prohibition is also expressed with the negative *na* and the future participle passive:

na vo mama santike vattabbaṃ 'do not stand before me' (Ud 25:12)

300. Desiderative clauses. The optative is used in clauses that express a desire or a possibility:

labheyyāhaṃ Bhagavato santike pabbajjaṃ labheyyaṃ upasampadaṃ
 'may I receive the lower and the higher ordination from
 the Blessed One' (MN I 391:22)

A desiderative clause often begins with the particles *sādhu*, *aho vata*:

sādhu bhante bhikkhū yāvajīvaṃ ārañṇakā assu 'Lord, it is
 good if the monks were to live in the forest till the end
 of their life' (VP II 197:14)

aho vata aññepi sattā itthattam āgaccheyyaṃ 'it is good if the
 other beings were to return to this kind of life' (DN I 19:31)

Here we have to classify also the clauses that begin with *yannūna*, *app'eva nāma* and have the verb in the optative:

yan nūnāhaṃ na ceteyyaṃ na abhisankhareyyaṃ 'what if I were
 not to think or to plan?' (DN I 184:21)

appeva nāma upasaṅkamitabbaṃ maññeyya 'it may be that he
 thinks of coming here' (DN I 179:10)

301. Possibility. The notion of possibility is expressed with the optative:

*idha assa nigaṇṭho abādhiko sitodaka paṭikkhitto uñhodaka paṭisevī
 so sitodakam alabhamāno kālam kareyya* 'if there were to
 be a nigantha, who, although not ill, were to refuse cold
 water and ask for hot water, he might die withon getting
 even cold water' (MN I 376:23)

*puthujjano pi hi taṃ vācaṃ bhāseyya yā sā vācā paresaṃ appiyā
 amanāpā* 'even an ordinary man can say a word which
 is not pleasant and agreeable to others' (MN I 392:27 265)

While the possibility is expressed with the optative preceded by *siyā*, *thānaṃ vijjati*, the impossibility is expressed with *aṭṭhānaṃ vijjati*, *aṭṭhānaṃ yaṃ*:

siyā kho pana te evaṃ assa 'this might have occurred to you'
 (MN II 54:16)

*siyā nu kho bhante Bhagavatā aññadeva kiñci sandhāya bhāsitaṃ
 tañca jano aññathāpi paccāgaccheyya* 'reverend Sir it may
 happen that a person may understand differently what you
 have said with reference to something else' (VP II 127:25)

*aṭṭhānaṃ kho etaṃ anavakāso yaṃ Upāli samaṇassa Gotamassa
 sāvakattaṃ upagaccheyya; thānaṃ ca kho etaṃ vijjati yaṃ
 samaṇo Gotamo Upālissa sāvakattaṃ upagaccheyya* 'it is
 not possible that Upali should become a disciple of the

recluse Gotama, but it is possible for the recluse Gotama to become a disciple of Upali' (MN I 380:33)

302. **Interrogative clauses.**

- a). Interrogative clauses may have their verb in the present, aorist or future of the indicative and in the optative, or they may have a participle or an agent noun with or without an auxiliary verb:

taṃ kiṃ maññasi 'what do you think of this?' (MN I 366:5)

kiṃ tvaṃ imaṃ dhammavinayaṃ ajānissasi 'will you understand this doctrine and discipline?' (MN II 3:25)

ahu pana te nigaṇṭhena saddhiṃ kocideva kathā-sallāpo 'did you have any conversation with the Nigantha?' MN I 376:5)

iccheyyātha no tumhe mārisā Nimi rājānaṃ daṭṭhum 'would you like, friends, to see king Nimi?' (MN II 79:7)

- b). The interrogation is expressed by means of interrogative pronouns or pronominal adjectives or adverbs like *ko*, *kā*, *kiṃ*, *katara*, *katama*, *kati*, *kīdisa*, *kīva*, *kīvatika*, *kīvanta*, *kittaka*, *kadā*, *kathā*, *kahaṃ*, *katham*, *kacci*, *kīvaṃ*, *kittāvatā*, *kuto*, *kuhī*, *kuttha*, *kva* etc.

kho nu kho hetu ko paccayo Bhagavato sitassa pātukammāya 'what is the reason, what is the cause for the Blessed One to smile?' (MN II 45:4)

kiṃ bhavaṃ Raṭṭhapālo ñatvā vā disvā vā sutvā vā agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajito 'what did the reverend Ratthapala come to know or see or hear that he went forth from the home to the homeless life?' (MN II 66:26)

katamo so paramo vaṇṇo 'which is the highest clan?' (MN II 40:9)

kathaṇ ca ariyasāvako sīlasampanno hoti 'how is a noble disciple endowed with virtue?' MN I 355:1)

kacci āvuso Bhagavā arogo ca balavā ca 'brother, is the Blessed One in good health and full of vigour?' (MN II 185:5)

kittāvatā nukho bho Gotama brāhmaṇo hoti katame ca pana brāhmaṇa-kāraṇā dhammā 'in what way, reverend Gotama, is one a brahmin and what are the factors that constitute one a brahmin?' (Ud 3:16) 266

- c). The interrogation is also expressed with interrogative particles like *nu*, *pana*, *api*, *api nu*, *nūna*, *nu kho*, *aṅga pana*:

api nu me sāvaka evaṃ jānantā evaṃ passantā antarantarākathaṃ opāteyyuṃ 'would my disciples interrupt an occasional conversation when they have such a knowledge and such a realization' (MN II 10:8)

yagghe ayye jāneyyāsi ayya putto Raṭṭhapālo anuppatto 'lady, do you know that the noble Ratthapala has come?' (MN II 62:13)

saññā nu kho paṭhamam uppajjati 'does consciousness arise for the first time?' (DN I 185:21)

kiṃ pana atthi ekanta sukho loko 'what, is there a world that is fully happy?' (MN II 36:31)

- d). The interrogation is sometimes expressed by placing at the beginning of the sentence the verb followed by the subject:

anuññato'si pana tvaṃ mātāpitūhi agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajjāya 'have you been allowed by your parents to go forth from the home to the homeless life?' (MN II 56:13)

atthi nu te añño koci mayā upaṭṭhākatāro 'is there anyone who is a better attendant to you?' (MN II 51:4)

- e). Sometimes the interrogation is expressed with the phrases *saccaṃ kira*, *atthi nāma*:

saccaṃ kira tvaṃ sambahulānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ evaṃ ārocesi 'is it true that you have spoken thus to many monks?' (Ud 22:10)

atthi nāma ābhidosikaṃ kummāsaṃ paribhuñjissasi 'is it possible that you are eating stale rice?' (MN II 62:24)

f). When an affirmative reply is expected, generally the interrogation begins with one of the following *saccam kira, kacci, nanu*:

kacci tāta Ambaṭṭha addasa taṃ bhavantam Gotamaṃ ti. Addasāma kho mayam bho taṃ bhavantam Gotamaṃ 'well, dear Ambattha, did you see the reverend Gotama? Yes, sir, we saw the reverend Gotama' (DN I 106:33)

nanu tvam sālavatikaṃ ajjhāvasi ti; evam bho Gotama 'did you not live at Salavatika? Yes, reverend Gotama' (DN I 227:17)

saccam kira te evarūpaṃ pāpakaṃ diṭṭhigataṃ uppannam ... evam bho Gotama 'is it not true that you hold such an evil doctrine? Yes, reverend Gotama' (DN I 227:8)

303. **Co-ordinative clauses.** Two or more clauses are joined together either by the mere fact that they follow each other or by means of the particle *ca* inserted after the first word of each sentence. Very often in the predicate we find a number of synonyms piled together without any conjunction:

aggo'ham asmi lokassa jetṭho'ham asmi lokassa seṭṭho'ham asmi lokassa ayam antime jāti n'atthi dāni punabbhavo 'I am the first in the world, I am the foremost in the world, I am the best in the world, this is the last birth, there is no more becoming' (DN II 15:10)

brahmadatto māṇavo aneka pariyāyena Buddhassa vaṇṇam bhāsati dhammassa vaṇṇam bhāsati saṅghassa vaṇṇam bhāsati 'the young Brahmadata in different ways speaks the praises of the Buddha, speaks the praises of the doctrine, speaks the praises of the sangha' (DN I 1:13)

imā ca me saññā nirujjheyyaṃ aññā ca oḷārikā saññā uppajjeyyaṃ 'these perceptions of mine would pass away and other coarse perceptions might arise' (MN I 185:2)

ayaṇ ca dasa sahasā lokadhātu saṅkampi sampakampi sampavedhati 'this ten thousand world sphere shakes and quakes and trembles' (DN II 15:25)

tatra sudam Brahmā homi Mahābrahmā abhibhū anabhibhūto aññad-atthu-daso vasavattī 'there indeed I was Brahma, the great Brahma, conqueror, unconquered, seeing everything, wielding all power' (Itv 16:9)

When the subject of two or more consecutive clauses is the same and the various verbs express actions that follow each other, then either only the last verb is used as finite while the other verbs are placed in the gerund, or the finite verb of a preceding clause is taken up in the gerund followed by a finite verb which itself is then placed in the gerund with another finite verb. For this see no. 296e

304. **Disjunctive clauses.** Disjunctive clauses are joined together with the particles *vā ... vā, yadi ... yadi*, and, if they are negative, with *n'eva ... n'eva, n'eva ... na pi, na h'eva ... no pi, vā no vā, vā mā vā, na ... vā ... vā*:

so neva sakkuneyya uggilitum neva sakkuneyya ogilitum 'he would be able neither to spit it out nor to swallow it down' (MN I 393:8)

na samano Gotamo brāhmaṇe abhivādeti vā paccutṭheti vā āsanena vā nimanteti 'the recluse Gotama neither greets the brahmins nor rises before them nor does he offer a seat for them' (AN II 22:9)

Not only clauses but also phrases and words may be joined in the same way:

mā kāsi pāpakaṃ kammaṃ āvi vā yadi vā raho 'do not do any evil action whether openly or secretly' (Theri 247)

dussīlo yaṃ yadeva parisam upasaṅkamati yadi khattiya-parisam yadi brāhmaṇa-parisam yadi samaṇa-parisam avisārado upasaṅkamati 'an evil man to whichever assembly he goes, whether it be of ksatriyas or of brahmins or of recluses, he goes full of diffidence' (DN II 85:22)

305. **Adversative clauses.** Adversative clauses are introduced by the words *kuto pana* 'still less', *pageva* 'still more', *aññadatthu* 'except':

atha kho āyasmā Raṭṭhapālo n'eva dānaṃ alattha na paccakkhānaṃ aññadatthu akkosam eva alattha 'the reverend Ratthapala received neither alms nor a refusal but only contempt' (MN II 62:1)

daharassa pi kumārassa kāyo ti pi na hoti kuto pana kāyena pāpakaṃ kammam karissati 'the child is not aware of his body, how then can he commit an evil action with his body' (MN II 24:25)

Sometimes in the adversative clause the verb is not repeated:
so ce adhammaṃ carati pageva itarā pajā 'if he lives wrongly, how much more do so other people' (AN II 75:36)

nābhijānāmi Nakulamātaram gahapatāniṃ manasā pi aticaritā kuto pana kāyena 'I do not remember that I have been unfaithful to the lady mother of Nakula in mind, still less in body' (AN II 61:24)

306. **Clauses of comparison.**

a). When a comparison is instituted, the first clause is introduced with *seyyathāpi* which generally governs the optative, though the indicative is also found. The second member of the comparison is introduced with *evam eva*:

seyyathāpi pi nikujjitaṃ vā ukkujjeyya, paṭichannaṃ vā vivareyya evam eva Bhagavatā aneka-pariyāyena dhammo pākasito 'just as one might set up what has fallen down or might uncover what is covered up ... so has the doctrine been preached by the Blessed One in many ways' (MN I 391:16)

seyyathāpi puriso sakamhā gāmā aññaṃ gāmaṃ gaccheyya, tamhā pi gāmā aññaṃ gāmaṃ gaccheyya, so tamhā gāmā sakam yeva gāmaṃ paccāgaccheyya ... evam eva kho akkhātā mayā sāvakaṇaṃ paṭipadā 'just as a man might go from

his village to another village, and from that village also might go to another, and then finally from that village return to his own village ... in the same way I have pointed out the way of life to my disciples' (MN II 20:27)

seyyathāpi rājā khattiyo muddāvasitto nihito-paccāmitto na kuto ci bhayaṃ samanupassati yadidaṃ paccatthikato, evam eva kho bhikkhu evam sīla-sampanno na kuto ci bhayaṃ samanupassati yadidaṃ sīla-samvarato 'just as a ksatriya king who has been duly crowned and who has overcome his enemies, does not perceive any danger from anywhere, i.e. in so far as enemies are concerned; in the same way a monk, who is thus virtuous, does not perceive any danger from anywhere, i. e. in so far as the restraint of the precepts is concerned' (DN I 181:19)

b). Sometimes the comparison is made with the correlative adverbs: *yathā ... tathā, yathā ... evam, yathā yathā ... tathā tathā*:

selo yathā ekaghano vātena na samīrati evam nindā-pasaṃsāsu na samīñjanti paṇḍitā 'as a solid rock is not shaken by the wind, even so the wise are not ruffled by praise and blame' (Dpd 81)

yathā bubbulakaṃ passe yathā passe marīcikaṃ evam lokam avekkhantaṃ maccurājā na passati 'the king of death does not see the man who looks upon the world just as one would look upon a bubble and just as one would look upon a mirage' (Dpd 170)

c). Often a strong dissimilarity is expressed by repeating the interrogative pronoun before each phrase or clause:

ke ca chhave sigāle ke pana sihanāde 'what comparison can there be between the mooing of a miserable deer and the roaring of a lion?' (DN III 25:3)

ke ca muṇḍakā samaṇakā ibbhā kiṇhā bandupadāpaccā kā ca tevijjānaṃ brāhmaṇānaṃ sākacchā 'what discussion can

there be between shaven menial dark recluses born from the feet of Brahma and the Brahmins learned in the three-fold knowledge? (DN I 103:16)

N.B. The ending in -e of the nominative case in the first example is a Magadhism. The comparison is made between some living beings and the actions of others. Literally the translation is: *which is the miserable deer and which the roaring of the lion? who are the shaven recluses who are black and born from the feet of Brahma and which is the discussion of the learned Brahmins?*

d). Sometimes the second term of comparison is expressed with a bahubbīhi samāsa ending in *upamā*:

kumbhūpamaṃ kāyaṃ imaṃ viditvā nagarūpamaṃ cittaṃ idaṃ t̥hapetvā yodetha māraṃ paññāvudhena 'realizing that this body is as fragile as a jar and making his mind firm like a fortress, one should attack Mara with the weapon of knowledge' (Dpd 40).

e). When the comparison points out the superiority of one being or thing over another, then the first sentence or phrase has the word *seyyo* while the second sentence or phrase is introduced with the particles *no*, *natu eva* and a participle or with *yañ ce* and the optative.

abhikkantaṃ te seyyo no paṭikkantaṃ 'better for you to go forward than to go backward' (VP II 156:6)

seyyo amitto matiyā upeto natveva mitto mati-vippahīno 'a wise enemy is better than a foolish friend' (Ja I 247:43)

saṅgāme me mataṃ seyyo yañ ce jīve parājīto 'it is better for me to die in war than to live defeated' (Sn 440)

seyyo ayoguḷo gutto tatto aggisikhūpamo yañ ce bhuñjeyya dussīlo raṭṭhapinḍam asaññato 'it were better for an evil man to swallow a ball of red-hot iron rather than he should eat offerings of food given by good people' (Dpd 308)

sahassaṃ api ce vācā anattapadasaṅghita ekaṃ atthapadaṃ seyyo 'better than a thousand useless words is one single word that brings welfare' (Dpd 100)

garahā vā seyyo viññūhi yañ ce bālappasaṃsā 'to be blamed by the wise is better than to be praised by the fools' (Therī 668)

307. **Direct and indirect speech.** In the language of the Pali Canon the direct speech is continually used to express the words or the thoughts of a person. These words or thoughts are expressed by means of an independent clause followed by the particle *ti*. It is to be noted that it is nearly always *ti* and not *iti* that is used:

pāpaṃ me katan ti tappati 'he suffers thinking - evil has been done by me' (Dpd 17)

ayam sikkhā ti Bhagavā avoca 'the Blessed one said, this is the training' (DN I 182:3)

evaṃ p'ahaṃ kammaḍāyādā sattā ti vadāmi 'thus do I declare; beings are heirs to their own deeds' (MN I 390:3)

The real indirect speech is also found. It is expressed by a noun or pronoun and a participle agreeing with it and both forming the object of the verb of the main clause:

addasā Bhagavantaṃ dūrato āgacchantaṃ 'he saw that the Blessed One was coming from afar'

saṅgā saṅgāmajim muttaṃ taṃ ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ 'I call him a brahmin who is free from attachments' (Ud 6:10)

tassa ime pañca nīvaraṇe pahīne attani samanupassato pāmuḍḍaṃ jāyati 'joy arises in him who sees that the five hindrances have been eliminated from his own self' (DN I 182:12)

In the older books the indirect speech is often expressed by means of a bahubbīhi or a tappurisa samāsa:

disvā vijitasāṅgamaṃ 'seeing that he is victorious' (Itv 76:1)

āhu bhikkhuṃ anāsavaṃ 'they say that such a monk is without defiling tendencies' (Itv 97:18)

āhu sabbappahāyinaṃ 'they say that he is one who has left behind everything' (Itv 97:22)

308. **Conditional clauses.** A conditional clause is one that expresses or contains a condition; v.g. **if you listen.** Depending on this condition something else follows; **you will understand.** The clause that contains the condition is called the **protasis**; the main clause which contains the fulfilment or non-fulfilment of the condition, is called **apodosis**. The protasis is introduced with *sace, ce, yadi, yaṃ*. The particle *ce* is enclitic and hence cannot be used at the beginning of a sentence.

There are three kinds of conditional clauses in which:

I). the protasis contains a simple condition and the apodosis contains the consequence of that condition: **if you listen, you will understand;**

II). the protasis contains a possibility and the apodosis contains the consequence of that possibility: **if you were to listen, you would understand;**

III). the protasis contains a possibility that was not verified in the past or is not verified in the present, and the apodosis contains the consequence of that possibility: **if you had listened, you would have understood.**

I). When the conditional clauses express a simple condition and its consequence, the verbs of the protasis and of the apodosis are usually in the present indicative, but they can be also in the future and, perhaps even in the aorist, though so far I have not found any such example. Further the verb of the apodosis can also be in the imperative. Either in the protasis or in the apodosis even the future participle passive is found. Finally the forms of the verbs *as-*, *bhū-* are sometimes understood.

sace ca so pabbajati agārā anagāriyaṃ sambuddho bhavati 'if he goes forth from the home to the homeless state, he will become fully enlightened. (Sn 1903) **Present + present.**

sace je saccaṃ vadasi, a-dāsi bhavasi 'if you speak the truth, you are no longer a slave' (MN II 62:15) **Present + present.**

sace so anujānāti vihara bhante yathāsukhaṃ 'if he allows it, abide here, sir, as long as you like' (MN III 237:26) **Present + imperative.**

sace ākaṅkhasi nisīda 'if you like, sit down' (MN I 359:26) **Present + imperative)**

sace bhavaṃ Govindo agāasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajissati ahaṃ pi agāasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajissāmi 'if the reverend Govinda will go forth from the home to the homeless life, I also shall go forth from the home to the homeless life' (DN II 244:12) **Future + future.**

sace ākaṅkatha bhujjatha, sace tumhe na bhujjissatha idānāhaṃ appaharite chaḍḍessāmi 'if you wish, eat; if you will not eat, I shall now throw it on the ground where there is little grass' (MN I 13:4) **both present and future.**

sace āyasmato Channassa natthi sappayāni bhesajjāni, ahaṃ āyasmato Channassa sappayāni bhesajjāni pariyesissāmi 'if the reverend Channa has not the proper medicines then I will procure the proper medicines for the reverend Channa' (MN III 264:15) **Present + future.**

imañ ce ahaṃ aṅgārakāsuṃ papatissāmi tato nidānaṃ maraṇaṃ vā nigacchāmi maraṇamattaṃ vā dukkhaṃ 'if I fall into this burning pit, then I shall meet with death or with a suffering as great as death' (MN I 365:23) **Future + present.**

sace me pana anumoditabbaṃ anumodatu me bhavaṃ Gotamo 'if I deserve approval, let the reverend Gotama express that approval' (AN II 35:28) **Future participle Passive + imperative.**

sace piṇḍapāto hoti upajjāyo ca bhuñjitukāmo hoti, udakam datvā piṇḍapāto upanāmetabbo 'if alms food is available and the master wishes to eat, give him water and then place that food before him' (VP I 46:31) **Present + future participle passive.**

sace te piṇḍakena attho etth'eva tiṭṭha 'if you are in need of food, stay here' (MN I 380:24) **atthi understood + imperative.**

II). When the protasis contains a possibility, then the optative is used both in the protasis and in the apodosis:

ahañ ce eva kho pana musāvādī assam attā pi maṃ upavadeyya musāvāda-paccayā 'if I were to tell a lie, my own self would reprehend me on account of telling a lie' (MN I 361:32)

pāpaṃ ce puriso kayirā na taṃ kayirā punappunaṃ 'if a man were to do an evil action, he should not do it again and again' (Dpd 117)

evaṃ ce sattā jāneyyumaṃ vipākaṃ saṃvibhāgassa, dajjumaṃ kālena ariyesu 'if people were to realize the merit of sharing, they would give to the noble ones at the right moment' (Itv 19:5)

III). When the protasis contains a condition that was not verified in the past or that is not verified in the present, then both clauses contain the verb in the optative, or one has it in the optative and the other in the conditional:

sace pi so bhikkhu cattāri ahirājakulāni mettana cittaṃ phareyya na hi so bhikkhu ahinā datṭho kālaṃ kareyya 'if that monk had extended his loving kindness to the four species of snakes, he would not have died of snake bite' (AN II 72:18)

sace tvam Tathāgataṃ yaceyyāsi dve vā tevācā Tathāgato paṭikkhipeyya atha tatiyakaṃ adhivāseyya 'if you had requested the Tathagata he might have refused the first and

the second time, but he would have yielded to the third request' (DN II 115:31)

no ce taṃ bālo duccintitacintī ca abhaviṣṣa dubbhāsitaḥāsī dukkatakammakārī, kena naṃ paṇḍitā jāneyyumaṃ 'if the fool were not to think wrong thoughts and speak wrong words and perform wrong actions, how would wise people find him out?' (MN III 163:9)

no ce taṃ abhaviṣṣa ajātaṃ abhūtaṃ akataṃ asaṅkhatam nayidha jātaṃ bhūtaṃ kataṃ saṅkhatassa nissaraṇaṃ paññāyetha 'if there were not something that is not born, not become, not made, not effected, it would be impossible to find an escape from what is born, become, made, effected' (Itv 37:6)

no cedam cakkhussa assādo abhaviṣṣa nayidam sattā cakkhusmiṃ sārājjeyyumaṃ 'if there were to be no delight for the eye, people would no care for the eye' (SN IV 16:20)

sace Pessa muhuttaṃ nisīdeyya ... mahatā atthena saṃyutto agamissa 'if Pessa had remained sitting a little longer, he would have gone away in the acquisition of a great attainment' (MN I 342:13)

309. **Adjectival or relative clauses and phrases.** Relative clauses and phrases do the work of adjectives and hence they qualify a noun or pronoun. A relative clause or phrase can be expressed

a). by means of a participle agreeing with a noun or pronoun as an adjective:

addasā Bhagavantaṃ dūrato va āgacchantam 'he saw the Blessed One who was coming from far' (MN II 2:2)

b). by means of a tappurisa samasa:

sīla-sampanno bhikkhu 'a monk who is endowed with virtues'
gāma-gato puriso kammaṃ akāsi 'the man, who went to the village, did the work.'

brahmacariyaṃ adesayi so Bhagavā nibbānogadha-gāmiṇaṃ 'the Blessed One preached the celibate life that leads to the plunge of Nibbana' (AN II 26:9)

ime hi cattāro therakaraṇā dhammā 'these are the four factors that constitute an elder' (AN II 23:10)

c). by means of a kammadhāraya samasa:

jāta-puriso kālaṃ karissati 'the man who is born, will die.

d) by means of a bahubhihi samasa:

indriyesu guttadvāro bhikkhu nibbānassa santike hoti 'the monk who guards the gates of his senses, is in sight of nibbana.

idha puriso āgaccheyya ukkhittāsiko 'here a man might come with drawn sword' (MN I 377:20)

paduṭṭha-cittaṃ nātvāna ekaccaṃ idha puggalaṃ 'having found the man who has a defiled mind' (Itv 13:1)

buddha-pamukho bhikkhu-saṅgho 'the monks with the Buddha as their leader' (Ud 39:9)

e). A construction that is very often used in Pali is that of two correlative clauses. In this construction, the subordinate relative clause is introduced by means of a relative pronoun, adjective or adverb, and the main clause is introduced by a demonstrative pronoun, adjective or adverb. These pronouns or adjectives are in the case required by the structure of the sentence:

yo dhammaṃ passati so Buddhaṃ passati 'he who sees the doctrine, sees the Buddha'

yaṃ ekasmiṃ thane khīraṃ hoti tena rājā yāpeti 'the king supports himself with the milk of one udder' (MN I 343:36)

Ānando yāvatako ahosi kathāsallāpo taṃ sabbaṃ Bhagavato ārocesi 'Ananda related to the Blessed One all the conversation which had taken place'

yaṃ akusalaṃ taṃ pahīṇaṃ 'what is unprofitable, that has been eliminated' (Itv 31:10)

310. Clauses and phrases of time.

a). Temporal clauses are often expressed as correlative sentences with the main clause. The temporal clause is introduced with *yadā*, *yāva*, *yasmiṃ samaye* and the main clause is introduced with *tadā*, *tāva*, *atha*, *tasmiṃ samaye*.

yadā Bodhisatto okkamati atha uppanno obhāso pātubhavati 'when the Bodhisatta comes down then the light that has arisen shines' (DN II 12:6)

yāva imesaṃ satthā atthāsi tāva ime sikkhāpadaṃ sikkhiṃsu 'so long as the Master was with them, they observed the precepts'

yasmiṃ samaye oḷāriko atta-paṭilābho hoti, mogh'assa tasmiṃ samaye manomayo atta-paṭilābho hoti 'when there is the coarse personality, then illusory is for him the mental personality' (DN I 199:23)

b). Sometimes only the temporal clause is introduced with a temporal particle like *yadā*, *yāva*, *atha*, *pure*:

yadā Bodhisatto mātu kucchiṃ okkanto hoti, pakatiyā sīlavatī Bodhisatta-mātā hoti 'when the Bodhisatta descends into the mother's womb, the mother of the Bodhisatta is naturally virtuous' (DN II 12:26)

pāpo pi passati bhadraṃ yāva pāpaṃ na paccati 'a sinful man may meet with success so long as the sinful action does not bear fruit' (Dpd 119)

handa mayaṃ dhammañ ca vinayañ ca saṅgāyāma pure adhammo dippati dhammo paṭibāhiyati 'well, let us recite the doctrine and the discipline before the wrong doctrine asserts itself and the right doctrine goes down'

c). To indicate a past action in relation to the present, the main clause is introduced with *ito* followed by the expression

that indicates the time that has elapsed, and the temporal clause is expressed with *yam* and the past tense:

ito eko navuto kappo yam Vipassī udapādi 'it is the ninety first kalpa since Vipassī arose'

Sometimes the length of time is placed in the locative case preceded by *ito*:

ito satahassamhi kappe uppajji cakkhumā 'it is one hundred thousand kalpas since the wise one arose'

When the time is indicated with a general expression like *it is a long time since*, the sentence is usually introduced with *cirassam* and sometimes even with *cirakālam*, *cirapaṭikam* and the verb of the main clause is usually in the past tense:

cirassam kho tvam upāsaka imam pariyāyam akāsi yadidaṃ idh'āgamanāya 'it is a long time, O upasaka, since you took this line of action, i.e. of coming this way' (Ud 13.10)

cirapaṭikāham Bhagavantam dassanāya upasaṅkhamitu-kāmo 'for a long time I have been wishing to come and see the Blessed One' (DN II 279:6)

d). When an action takes place between two other events, then the two events are expressed by correlative clauses and the main action is expressed in the main clause beginning with a phrase of time like *etasmim antare*:

yañ ca rattim Tathāgato abhisambujjhati yañ ca rattim parinibbāyati yam etasmim antare bhāsati 'whatever the Tathagata says between the night of his enlightenment and the night of his Nibbana' (DN II 24:2)

e) The gerund is used to express an action anterior to that of the main verb:

atha kho Bhagavā pubbaṅha-samayam nivāsetvā patta-civaram ādāya Sāvattim piṇḍāya pāvīsi 'the Blessed one dressed in the morning, took his bowl and robe and entered Savatthi for alms' (DN I 178:7)

f). A present or past participle is used to express an action that is contemporaneous with or anterior to that denoted by the verb of the main clause:

addasā kumāro uyyāna-bhūmiṃ niyyanto purisaṃ jīṇṇam 'while he was going to the park, the prince saw an old man' (DN II 23:1)

atha kho Bhagavā sāyaṅha-samayam paṭisallānā vuṭṭhito yena Kareri-maṇḍalo tena upasaṅkami 'then the Blessed One went to the Kareri hall after coming out of his meditation in the evening' (DN II 9:10)

ekam idhāham samayam Uruvelāyam viharāmi ... paṭhamābhisambuddho 'on one occasion I was dwelling at Uruvela soon after I had been enlightened' (AN II 20:5)

acirūpasampanno kho pana āyasmā Seniyo eko vūpakaṭṭho appamatto ātāpī pahitto viharanto ... 'not long after he had been ordained, the reverend Seniya dwelling alone and in solitude, diligent and alert ...' (MN I 391:35)

g). The locative and the genitive absolute are often used as temporal phrases:

acira-pakkantassa Bhagavato ayam antarā kathā udapādi 'not long after the Blessed One had gone away, this chance conversation arose' (DN II 9:17)

atha kho Bhagavā acirūpasampanne āyasmante Ratthapāle addhamāsūpasampanne Thullakoṭṭhite yathā abhirantam viharitvā yena Sāvattim tena cārikam pakkāmi 'not long after the reverend Ratthapala had been ordained, that is half a month after he had been ordained, the Blessed One stayed at Thullakoṭṭhita as long as it seemed good, and then wended his way towards Savatthi' (MN II 60:31)

h). Time can also be expressed by a tappurisa samāsa built with a noun, or a participle or an action noun in *-āna* combined with a noun indicating time, like *kāla*, *divasa*, *vassa*, *māsa* etc.

Bhagavā maṃ parinibbāna-kāle evaṃ āha 'the Blessed One spoke to me thus when he was passing away'

rañño abhiseka-divase 'on the day the king was anointed'

i). Time can also be expressed with a *kammādhara* or an *avyayibhāva samāsa*:

sattāhaccayena 'when seven days had passed'

yāva-jīvaṃ 'as long as life lasts'

j). The gerund *patthāya* and some adverbs governing the ablative are used as temporal phrases: *dahara-kālato patthāya* 'from the time when he was young'; *paraṃ maraṇā, purā aruṇā* 'after death, before dawn'

311. Final clauses and phrases.

a). A final clause is expressed by means of a sentence in direct speech with the particle *ti*

pasamsā me āgacchatu ti sīlaṃ rakkheyya paṇḍito 'the wise should practise virtue in order to win praise' (Itv 67:6)

b). A final clause can be expressed with a phrase with the infinitive of the verb, or with the dative of the action noun in *-na*:

nadiṃ gamissāma sināyituṃ 'we'll go to the river to bathe'

bhagavantam dassanāya upasaṅkami 'he came that he might see the Blessed One'

c). A final phrase is expressed by means of a *tappurisa samāsa* built up with an action noun followed by the accusative *attham*:

nayidaṃ brahmacariyaṃ vussati janakuhanattham 'this celibate life is not lived for the sake of deceiving people' (Itv 28:7)

312. **Consecutive clauses.** A consecutive clause is introduced by *yathā* or a similar adverb like *yena* and sometimes even by *yatra hi nāma*, while the main clause often begins with *tathā, yāva, sādhu* and similar words. The optative is generally used in the consecutive

clause after *yathā*, while the future is found after *yatra hi nāma*. But the future is also found after *yathā* and the present after *yatra hi nāma*. When the consecutive clause is negative, it is introduced by *yathā na* or simply by *mā*:

pahoti Bhagavā tathā dhammaṃ desetum yathā ahañ ca eva imaṃ govataṃ pajaheyyaṃ 'can the Blessed One preach the doctrine in such a way that I may give up this practice of living like a cow?' (MN I 389:14)

rājā kumārassa bhiyyoso mattāya pañca-kāma-guṇāni upatthāpesi yathā kumāro rajjaṃ kareyya yathā na pabbajeyya 'the king supplied the prince still more with the five pleasures so that the prince might succeed to the kingdom and not go forth' (DN II 23:23)

sādhu bhante Bhagavā Kiṭāgirim bhikkhu pahineyya yathāyaṃ Kiṭāgirimim āvāso saṅghaheyya 'it would be good, O Lord, if the Blessed One were to send monks to Kitagiri so that this residence at Kitagiri might be settled'.

yāva pāpo ayaṃ Devadatto alakkhiko yatra hi nāma samaṇassa Gotamassa vadhāya parakkamissati 'how evil is this Devadatta and how unfortunate that he should have tried to murder the recluse Gotama' (VP II 196:5)

pesalānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ phāsuvihārāya mā pāpicchā saṅghaṃ bhindeyyuṃ 'for the living in comfort of well behaved monks lest those of evil desires might split the order' (VP II 196-24)

handa mayaṃ tathā vihāraṃ kappema tathā no vharataṃ Bhagavā attamano assa 'well, let us live in such a way that the Blessed One may be pleased with us' (Ud 25:22)

tath'attānaṃ niveseyya yathā bhūrī pavaḍḍhati 'he should conduct himself in such a way that wisdom may increase' (Dpd 282)

oḷārikassa kho ahaṃ patta-paṭilābhassa pahānāya dhammaṃ desemi yathā paṭipannānaṃ vo saṅkilesikā dhammā pahīyissanti,

vodāniyā dhammā abhivaḍḍhissanti 'I preach the doctrine which leads to casting away the coarse personality so that if you walk according to it, the evil dispositions will be eliminated, and the dispositions that lead to purification will increase' (DN I 195:30)

313. **Concessive clauses.** A concessive clause is expressed with the particle *pi/apī* alone or with the particle *ce*. The verb of this clause is usually a participle, but other verbal forms may be found

chinno pi rukkho punar eva ruhati 'though the tree is cut, it grows again' (Dpd 338)

bahuṃ pi ce sahitaṃ bhasamāno na takkaro hoti naro pamatto ... na bhagavā sāmaññassa hoti 'even if he recites the sacred text repeatedly but does not act accordingly. such a slothful man has no share in the blessings of a recluse' (Dpd 19)

yāvajīvaṃ pi ce bālo paṇḍitaṃ payirupāsati na so dhammaṃ vijānāti 'even if a fool associate with a wise man all his life, he does not understand the doctrine' (Dpd 64)

314. **Clauses and phrases of cause.**

a). A causal sentence is expressed with *yathvādhikaranam* and the optative or with *yato* and the indicative:

yatvādhikaraṇaṃ eṇaṃ cakkhundriyaṃ asaṃvutaṃ viharantaṃ abhijjhādomanassa pāpakā akusalā dhammā anvassaveyyum tassa saṃvarāya paṭipajjati 'since covetousness and dejection, evil and unprofitable states might flow into the man that abides with eyes unguarded, he applies himself to control them' (MN I 346:11)

svāgataṃ tesam yato me dhammaṃ rocenti 'welcome to them since they approve of my doctrine' (VP II 200:2)

b). A correlative sentence is sometimes used to express the cause:

tiṭṭhatu esā bhante kathā yāya mayaṃ etarahi kathāya sannisinnā 'Sir, let us leave aside the conversation on account of which we have been sitting together' (DN I 179:28)

yato ca hoti pāpiccho ahiriko anādaro tato pāpaṃ pasavati 'since the evil man is without shame and without respect, therefore he does evil actions' (Itv 34:16)

INDEX OF THE GRAMMAR

Ablative 257-8
 Absolute construction 252, 264, 266
 Accusative 247-252
 Action nouns 294-5
 Adjective 31, 112, 114-5
 Adverbs 103 (meaning), 104 (formation)
 Adversative clauses 305
 Affirmative clauses 296
 Agent nouns 291-3
 Agreement: noun and attribute 235, and apposition 236, and predicate 237; pronouns 238-244
 Aorist 83-7, 217-221, 273
 Augment 58, 82
 Bahubhihi samasa 111, 136-140
 Cases, syntax 245-266
 Causal clauses 314
 Causative 90, 223
 Command, request 298
 Comparative 39
 Comparative clauses 306
 Compounds, nominal 124-142; verbal 143-5
 Concessive clauses 313
 Conditional 81, 216, 276
 Conditional clauses 308
 Conjunctions 106
 Consecutive clauses 312
 Consonants 2; sandhi 11-23; evolution 154-182
 Coordinative clauses 303
 Dative 259
 Declension 24; stems in -a 25; -i,-u (masc. neuter) 26; -u (masc.) 27; -o 28; -ā 29; -i, -ī, -u, -ū (fem.) 30; -s 33; -ant 34;

-in 35; -an 36; -ar 37; root stems 32; evolution 183-200
 Denominative verbs 93
 Derivation of nouns 108-123
 Desiderative clauses 300
 Desiderative verbs 91, 224
 Direct speech 307
 Disjunctive clauses 304
 Dvanda samasa 127-8
 Feminine 112
 Final clauses 311
 Future 79-80, 215, 274
 Gender, feminine 36
 Genitive 260-4
 Gerund 101, 228, 288-290
 Governing compounds 141
 Imperative 75-6, 272
 Indirect speech 307
 Infinitive 102, 229, 287
 Instrumental 253-6
 Intensive 92
 Interjections 107
 Interrogative clauses 302
 Kammadharaya samasa 129-132
 Locative 265-6
 Negative clauses 297
 Nominative 245
 Nouns, abstract 112; derivation 108-123
 Numerals: cardinals 48-50; ordinals 51; distributive 52; fractional 53; multiplicative 54; substantives 55; evolution 206
 Optative 77-8, 214, 275
 Participle future 100, 227, 284-6
 Participle past 96-9, 226, 278-283

- Participle present 94-5, 225, 277
 Passive 89, 222
 Perfect 88
 Possibility, clauses of 301
 Prepositions 105
 Present tense 271
 Prohibition, clauses of 299
 Pronouns: personal 40; demonstrative 41; relative 42; interrogative 43; indefinite 44; possessive 45; reflexive 46; pronominal adjectives 47; evolution 201-205
 Reduplication 59
 Relative clauses 309
 Sandhi: vowel sandhi: contraction 6; elision 7; semivowels 8; insertion of consonant 9; consonant sandhi: assimilation 11a; adaptation 11b; metathesis 11c; epenthesis 11d; aspiration 11e; simplification 11f, 17; general rules 12; mute consonants 13; sibilant 14; nasal 15; liquid 16; insertion of vowel 18; loss of occlusion 21; loss of final consonant 22; haplology 23; mixed sandhi 19-20; external 230-4
 Semivowels 1, 8
 Sentence, syntax of 296-314
 Subjunctive 213
 Suffixes 109-123
 Superlative 39
 Syllable 3
 Syntactical compounds 142
 Tappurisa samasa 133-135
 Temporal clauses 310
 Verb: root, stem 56; voice 57; personal endings 57; augment 58, 82; reduplication 59; vowel gradation 60; tenses and moods 61; class-1 62; class-2 63; class-3 64; class-4 65; class-6 67; class-7 68; class-8 69; class-9 70; class-10 71; different classes 72; present indicative 73-4; imperative 75-6; optative 77-8; future 79-80; conditional 81; root aorist 83; a-aorist 84-5; s-

- aorist 86; is-aorist 87; perfect 88; passive 89; causative 90; desiderative 91; intensive 92; denominative 93; present participle 94-5; past participle 96-9; future participle 100; gerund 101; infinitive 102; evolution 207-229; syntax 267-295
 Verbal compounds 143-5
 Vocative 246
 Vowels 1; sandhi 6-9; evolution 146-153
 Vowel Gradation 4, 60, 182, 191