Syntax of the Cases in the Pali Nikayas

By

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A Thesis presented to the University of London for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, 1936.

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Preface to the Digital Edition

I am very grateful to the Postgraduate Institute of Pali and Buddhist Studies, University of Kelaniya, Sri Lanka and particularly to the Director Venerable Professor Kotapitiye Rahula for permission to reproduce this important work on Pāli Grammar by one of the leading Pāli and Sanskrit scholars in Sri Lanka in recent times.

I am also grateful to Ashin Sopāka who corrected the ocr-ed text, which lacked diacritics and had many problems in the text. It was a lot of patient and hard work to produce a usable document.

In some places Prof. Wijesekera omitted titles to his sections, and just had a number. I have included titles for these sections to indicate content and have placed those titles in square brackets. They do not appear in the original text. Also in square brackets are the pages of the original edition of this book which was published by the Institute.

The text is as written in the original book, but some formatting has been changed to bring it into line with the conventions used on this website. In particular, in the html edition the examples have been separated onto their own lines to make them easier to identify and read.

I did the final proof-reading, and in such a complex document it is possible that there are still some mistakes. If anyone notices any and can send them to me I will include corrections in a future edition.

Ānandajoti Bhikkhu
April 2016
**Foreword**

The work here presented is the first in a series of publications sponsored by the Postgraduate Institute of Pali and Buddhist Studies of the University of Kelaniya, Sri Lanka, as a further extension to its on-going curricular and research programmes. Authored by the late Professor O.H. de A. Wijesekera, an eminent authority on Indological and Buddhistic Studies, this comprehensive and well-documented monograph on the Syntax of the Cases in the Pali Nikayas is one of his major contributions to an important aspect of Pali grammar and philology which had hitherto not been as exhaustively dealt with as it is here. The present work is Professor Wijesekera’s doctoral thesis which was submitted to the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London in 1936. Although a little more than half a century has passed since its completion, it still remains unmatched for its thorough analysis and exhaustive treatment of the subject.

Professor Wijesekera held the Chair of Sanskrit at the University of Ceylon, in Colombo and later at Peradeniya from 1949 to 1967, and served for a period as Dean of the Faculty of Arts and also of the Faculty of Oriental Studies. He reached the peak of his academic career when he was appointed the first Vice-Chancellor of the University of Colombo in 1967.

I would like to record here our deep sense of gratitude to the members of the family of the late Professor Wijesekera for readily giving us permission to sponsor this publication and for the kind assistance offered throughout the preparation of the manuscript for its final printing. I would also like to express our grateful thanks to
Professor L.P.N. Perera for the initiative he took in publishing this thesis and Mr. Sanath Nanayakkara, Deputy Editor of the *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* for his assistance in proof reading and in preparing the Index. Our thanks are also due to Messrs Karunaratne and Sons Ltd., for printing the book with great care.

**Professor Y. Karunadasa**

Director,
Postgraduate Institute of Pali and Buddhist Studies.
The scope of the following treatise is a detailed analysis of the syntax of cases in the Pāli Nikāyas. With the latter we refer mainly to the prose section of the Sutta-Piṭaka, that which is usually designated by “the older Nikāyas”. When necessary either for illustration or for explanation (especially in instances where examples are not found in prose attesting to a normal or historical construction), the gāthā literature has been drawn upon.

It is sufficiently clear from these investigations that the Pāli Nikāyas represent an idiom which in its general outlines bears close affinities to Vedic syntax, thereby showing a nearer relation to Indo-European than Classical Sanskrit; a fact that may be considered as further support for Franke’s contention that “certain appearances exclude the possibility that (Classical) Sanskrit and Pāli (in growth and development) belonged to one and the same region” (Z.D.M.G. 1892, pp.315 et seq.). At the same time, however, there are conspicuous divergences in Pāli from Vedic as much as from later Sanskrit, (vide §§45,65,106,122,164 etc.). The fact of its being a Prākritic dialect, as distinct from the refined speech (sāṃs-krta), also explains the marked influence of the popular idiom on its syntax, which is due in most cases to psychological reasons (vide §§26,45,76,114,135; also 22,23,24).

Other points under consideration which also throw light on the understanding of Pāli (and Indo-Aryan) syntax are: (1) The remarks of indigenous grammarians as well as of commentators on Pāli cases. Although on the whole Pāli grammarians make it a point to adduce examples from the canonical books themselves, in laying down rules
they merely follow the precedence of Sanskrit writers, particularly of Pāṇinī. It must be stated, however, in favour of Kaccāyana that he pays more attention to what may be called ‘exceptional usages’ (cp. §76) than Moggallāna, the prominent feature of whose observations is that he takes a wider view than the former. For the most part they repeat the conventional illustrations of Pāṇinī. One notable deviation in the terminology of commentators from that of the grammarians is found with reference to the terms used to denote the cases (kārakas). This is particularly seen in the case of Buddhaghosa’s designation of the nom., acc., abl. and loc. (see Appendix). An effort has been made to do justice to their point of view and bring it into line with our comparative and psychological methods. (2) The morphological aspect of the cases in its bearing on their form and function in relation to Sanskrit (especially Vedic) and also Prākrit. This is also important for developments in Pāli concerning case affinities and substitution. A special (the introductory) chapter has been devoted to this question.

It has further been endeavoured to show the importance of an understanding of syntactical relations for a correct interpretation of the Pāli texts. A considerable number of wrong translations (sometimes doctrinally important) have been found to contain errors which could only be detected through a more intense study of the Pāli case syntax.

O.H. de A.W

Abbreviations

1. General and Grammatical

Abl. = abl. ablative loc. locative
Acc. = acc. accusative loc. cit. in the place cited
Adj. = adj. adjective m. (masc) masculine
Adv. = adv. adverb nom. nominative
Balt. = Slav. Balto-Slavic nt. (neut.) neuter
C. with (cum) obj. object
Comy. Commentary para. paragraph
Cf. cp. = cp. [Compare] pl. plural
Dat. = dat. dative p.p.p. past passive
Dict. Dictionary participle
Eng. English Prk. Prākṛṭ
Et. seq. and the following R. (Rem.) Remark
Ex. example sci. being understood
F. (fem.) feminine (scilicet)
F.n. foot-note sg. singular
gen. genitive Skr. Sanskrit
ger. gerund subj. subject
Gr. Grammar s.v. under the word
Ibid. ibidem (sub voce)
I.E. Indo-European Vārtt. vārttikā
Inst. instrumental (V.) verse (gāthā)
Kāśikā Kāśikā (on the Ved. Vedic
sūtras of Pāṇinī) voc. vocative
Lit. literally
### 2. Titles of Books, Periodicals etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HKS</td>
<td>Untersuchungen zur Kaussyntax der indogermanischen Sprachen von Wilhelm Havers, Strassburg 1911.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kac.</td>
<td>Kaccāyana-vyākaraṇaṃ ed. M. Guṇaratana, Colombo. 1913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K.Z.</td>
<td>Kuhn's Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mog.</td>
<td>Moggallāna-pañcika ed. Sri Dharmānanda, Colombo, 1931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāṇ.</td>
<td>Pāṇinī's Aṣṭhādhyāya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLS</td>
<td>Pāli Literatur und Sprache von W. Geiger, Strassburg 1916.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS</td>
<td>Sanskrit Syntax by J.S. Speyer, Leyden 1886.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VG</td>
<td>Vedic Grammar by A.A. Macdonell, Strassburg 1910.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VSS</td>
<td>Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax by Speyer, Strass. 1896.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZfB</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für Buddhismus.</td>
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</tbody>
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Abbreviations of Pāli Texts appear in the form used by the Pāli Text Society (see P.T.S. Dict.). To these add:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>Pj</td>
<td>Paramatthajotikā</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pps</td>
<td>Papañcasūdanī</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sum</td>
<td>Sumaṅgalavilāsinī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VSS</td>
<td>Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax by Speyer, Strass. 1896.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Speyer (J.S.) 1. *Sanskrit Syntax*, Leyden 1886;

Williams (Monier) 1. *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford 1899;

Wilson (H.H.) *Sanskrit Grammar*, London 1847 (second ed.).
An Abstract of the Thesis
“The Syntax of the Cases in the Pāli Nikāyas”

The Thesis is based principally on the prose parts of the Sutta Piṭaka but peculiarities of the syntax of gāthā literature have been dealt with in comparison with the former. This study is made in seven chapters each of which discusses one Case with a variety of examples showing its fundamental notions, general and special applications, and points of contact with other cases. The morphology of Cases in relation to Syntax has been treated in a separate introductory chapter, which forms a supplement to Geigor’s presentation in his Pāli Literatur und Sprache.

In dealing with syntactic facts observations have been made in three ways, viz. the grammatical, the logical, and the psychological points of view. Syntactic categories are established according to the available material in comparison with those valid for Vedic and Classical Sanskrit wherever it was possible, with special consideration of points of similarity with the Vedic usage. In following this historical and comparative method parallellisms with the older idiom and divergences from it have been noted by references to Speyer’s conclusions in particular and to those other authorities such as Brugmann in general.

The syntactic notions of local grammarians, chiefly of Pāninī, Moggallāna and Kaccāyana have been critically examined and discussed in relation to Nikāya concinnity. As far as possible their method of looking at fundamental syntactic problems has been considered with reference to the scientific point of view. From the Pāli Commentaries Buddhaghosa’s observations on the Cases,
especially those with regard to archaic and sporadic uses, have been collated and compared with those of orthodox grammarians as well as of modem scholarship.

O.H. De A. Wijesekera B.A. (Honours), Lond.
14th Nov. 1935.
Case-Forms in the Nikāyas

§1. Nominal Themes.

Although historically Pāli inherits its inflexion from the older language the original themes on the whole are continually being replaced by later ones mostly derived from oblique cases, a process seen clearly in the consonantal declension. Original vowel stems however are inflected as they are except in the diphthongal and ṛ-declensions. In the former beside a few historical forms (PLS §88) cases formed from a new stem derived from original oblique cases are frequently found: e.g., nāvā M I.134 “ship”, nom. sg. from a stem nāvā- (< Skr. acc. sg. nāvam, inst. Nāvā); gavassa M I.429 “of the cow” dat.-gen. sg., abl. sg. gavā D I.201, loc. gave Sn 310 from a stem gava- (< Skr. inst. sg. gavā etc.); a stem gāva- is also found in gāvī f. nom. sg. A IV.418, Ud 8,49, the long ā being due to the pl. forms (< Skr. nom. pl. gāvaḥ etc.). In the latter (ṛ-declension) a few cases occur from derived stems: e.g., satthārā inst. sg. D I.163 from a stem satthārā- (< Skr. acc. sg. satthāram). In the gāthā literature there is evidence for a stem in -u (from the base exhibited in the Skr. abl., gen., sg.) e.g., satthuno dat.-gen. sg. Sn 547,573; Th 1.131 (PLS §90). But the consonant stems, especially those identical with roots, are comparatively rare in the Nikāyas due to the phonetic law of the falling off of the final consonant in Pāli as in Prk. (cp. PLS §75). Only a few historical forms survive which point to consonant stems. Of these the new themes are mainly formed in two ways:

1 But Geiger (loc. cit.) explains it as being due to the fact that in compounds the ṛ of the stem appears as in Pāli.
1. The final consonant of the Skr. nom. sg. which is either the stem terminal or its phonetic variant is elided and the stem thus vocalized is inflected according to the corresponding vowel declension of that gender, thus: (a) Radical stems: parisā- from Skr. pariṣad f. “assembly” e.g., parisāyam loc. sg. D II.218; parisāsu pl. S II.27; It 64; vijju- from Skr. vidyut f. “lightning” e.g., vijju nom. sg. S I.100; A I.124; (b) anstems: brahma- from Skr. brāhman m. e.g., brahmaṃ acc. sg. M I.2, 328; muddha- from Skr. mūrdhan m. “head” e.g., muddham acc.sg. Dh 72; Sn 987; D I.95; also neuter stems kamma-, pabba-, etc., from Skr. karman, parvan (PLS §94 for instances); (c) in-stems: seṭṭhi- from Skr. śreṣṭhin m. “treasurer” e.g., seṭṭhissa gen. sg. S I.90; hatthi- from Skr. hastin m. “elephant” e.g., hatthī nom.pl. S I.211; sāmi- from Skr. svāmin m. “lord” e.g., sāmiṃ acc. sg. Sn 83; cakkavattissa M III.176 gen. sg.; (d) s-stems (Skr. -as, -is, -us,): mana- from Skr. manas nt. “mind” e.g., manam acc. sg. S IV.7; manassa dat.-gen. sg. S IV.17; mane loc. sg. A II.158; S I.40, also manasmiṃ S V.171; raja- from Skr. rajas nt. “dust” e.g., rajena inst. sg. M I.25; rajassa dat.-gen. sg. Sn 406; sira-, ura-, teja- from Skr. sirs, uras, tejas, e.g., sirsim M II.75; urasmiṃ A I.141; tejasmiṇa A V.319 loc. sg. cp. tamā tamaṃ Sn.278; tapena Sn 655.

In this declension a nom. sg. in -o is frequently found, with the masculine ending -o of the adjective or participle in agreement, pointing thereby to a change of gender. e.g., tamo vihato M I.22 “the darkness is destroyed”; mano anicco S IV.1 “the mind is impermanent”; mano dukkho² S IV.2 “the mind is ill”; tejo pātukato M II.184 “the fire is kindled”; cp. mano supaṇihito Sn 155 “the mind is well directed”. But that this change of gender is a later

² That dukkha is used adjectivally is seen from the preceding cakkhum dukkham etc.
phenomenon due to the influence of the preceding -o on the
adjectival ending as seen from the above examples is shown by the
fact that when the adjective precedes the noun the original gender is
preserved. e.g., santam tassa manam hoti Dh 96. is-stems: sappi-
from sarpis and others (vide PLS §75); us-stems: cakkhu- from Skr.
cakṣus nt. “eye” e.g., cakkhum nom. sg. S I.115; M III.136.

2. Themes are derived from the bases exhibited in original oblique
cases, particularly the acc. sg. by virtue of its frequent use, thus: (a)
f. “speech” e.g., vācāya inst. sg. D I.114; vācā nom. pl. M III.76; D
III.18; vācānāṃ gen. pl. Sn 454; pāda- from Skr. pād (< acc. sg.
pādaṃ) m. “foot” e.g., pāde loc. sg. A II.144; pāde acc. pl. Sn 573; (b)
From an-stems as in: rañña- a sporadic stem from the weakest Skr.
base rājñ- m. “king” (cp. Skr. inst. rājñā, loc. sg. rājñī etc.) e.g.,
raññe loc. sg. D III.83; nāma- from Skr. nāman nt. “name” (cp. acc.
sg. nāma) e.g., nāmena inst. sg. D II.154; similarly attena inst. sg. M
I.297; II.263; S IV.54; dāmena A III.383 also damena S IV.163, 282;
(c) From in-stems: vāsina- from Skr. vāsin m. “dweller” (< acc. sg.
vāsinaṃ) e.g., vāsine acc. pl. D II.272; similarly, palokine acc. pl. Th
2.101 from Skr. pralokin; pāñe acc. pl. Sn 220; verinesu loc. pl. Dh
197; (d) From nt-stems: āyasmanda- from Skr. āyuṣmant m.
“venerable one” (< āyuṣmantaḥ acc. sg.) e.g., āyasmane loc. sg. S
I.56; III.133; āyasmantānaṃ gen. pl. M I.64; similarly, arahante loc.
sg. M I.254; mahantasmiṃ loc. sg. A I.148; bhavantānaṃ gen. pl. M
II.148; here there is also a new stem ending in -ata formed from the
Skr. weak stem (-at) found in sg. oblique cases; e.g., arahatam acc.
sg. A II.182 (yatra hi nāma taṃ Bhagavantaṃ arahatam
sammā-sambuddhaṃ āsādetabbaṃ).
§2. Archaic Adverbs.

As remarked above there are a few historical forms in Pāli which without exception can be traced back to Vedic (cp. R.O. Franke, Pāli und Sanskrit, p.150 et seq.). Some of these have lost their inflexional value in Pāli and come to be regarded as adverbs or prepositions, and, according to commentators, even as particles or indeclinables (nipāta). This is chiefly characteristic of genuine adverbi al cases like the acc. and inst., and to a lesser extent of the abl., gen. and the loc. as well. In the Nikāyas 18 such forms occur mostly as adverbs of time and place and rarely of manner, viz. a.) from original acc.: uddhaṃ “above” D I.23, 153, 251; II.293, 294; III.104; A III.323; V.109; Sn 894; acc. sg. of Vedic ūrdhvā-; ciraṃ “for a long time” Sn 678, 730, from Vedic cira-; alaṃ “rightly” M I.130; S II.18, from Vedic áraṃ acc. sg. of an obsolete stem ára- “sufficient” [4] (VGS §178); nattam “by night” Sn 1070, from Vedic acc. sg. náktam (VGS §178.2); nāma “by name” or “namely” S I.33, 235; Sn 157, 177, from Vedic acc. sg. nāma of nāman nt. “name”; raho “secretly” M II.251; III.157, from Vedic ráhas acc. sg. of ráhas; khippaṃ “soon” or “quickly” A II.118; III.164; Sn 413, 682, 998; Dh 65, 137, 236, 289, from Vedic adj. kṣípra (VGS §197.5.b.); sayam “by -self” D I.12; Sn 57, 320, from Vedic svayāṃ originally nom. sg. of svā- (VGS §115.a.). b.) from original inst.: diva “by day” S I.183; M I.125; Dh 387, from Vedic inst. sg. dīva; micchā “wrongly” Sn 438, 815 (vide P.T.S. Dict. s.v.), from Vedic inst. sg. mithuyā found as mithyā in the Brāhmaṇas (VGS §199.6.a.); sahasā “forcibly” Sn 123; A II.209, from Vedic inst. sg. sāhasā (VGS §178.3); musā “falsely” D 1.52 from Vedic inst. sg. mṛṣā “by or with neglect”. c.) from original abl.: pacchā “after, afterwards” D I.205; Sn 645, 773, 949; Dh 172, 314, 421, from Vedic abl. sg. paścāt; ārā “far, far from” Sn 156, 736; Dh 253, from Vedic
ārāt (VGS §178.5.). d.) from original gen.: cirassa “since long”, “after a long while” e.g., na cirass’ eva D III.11; sucirass’ eva S I.193 also cirassam in same sense D I.179; S I.142, where the final nasal is due to the analogy of the frequent use of acc. ending -aṃ as adverb; divassa used adverbially in compound with divā (see b.) e.g., divā-divassa “at noonday”³ S I.89; A.V.185; e.) from original loc.; ratto “by night” Sn 223; Th 2.312; Dh 296, from Ved. loc. sg. rātrau.
Pāli has two archaic dat. forms cirāya “for long” Dh 342 and svātanāya “for tomorrow” D I.125 which however do not occur as such, that is to say adverbially, in the older dialect. Compare, however, Epic Sanskrit cirāya and the acc. adv. śvastanam (Monier-Williams, Skr.-Eng. Dict., s.v.).

§3. Dual Forms.

The main inflectional peculiarity of Pāli and Prk. as compared with Vedic and Classical Skr. is the loss of the dual. Its place is taken by the plural in all declensions (vide PLS §77.1.). So we find it with all names of things by nature considered in pairs such as eyes, ears, hands, legs etc. e.g., hatthe dhovati [5] M II.138 in place of hastau dhovati in the earlier language; similarly in dvandva-compounds usually expressed by the dual in Skr.: e.g., ime pi candimasuriye evaṃ mahiddhike etc. (acc. pl.) M I.69 and candimasuriyānaṃ (gen. pl.) D I.10. According to Geiger (PLS §77) dve and ubho are the only regular dual forms existing in Pāli. The latter is the normal masculine form (nom. and acc.) corresponding to Skr. ubhau but the former is only the feminine or neuter form, which is due to the fact

³ The sense of “early in the day”, “at sun-rise”, given to this compound by the P.T.S. Dict. (s.v. divā) is obviously erroneous.
that the nom. and acc. forms of numerals were used without
discrimination for all genders in Middle Indian (cp. Pischel, Prk. Gr. §438). So it is found with masculine nouns. e.g., dve dhāmma D II.60; dve pabbajitā D I.57. The form duve occurs only in gāthā literature e.g., Th 1.245 (vide PLS §114). These forms however exist only sporadically for the dual and as a number no more influences Pāli declensions. This is attested by the oblique case-forms of these in use as the loc. ubhosu (tīresu) S III.137; Sn 778; inst. ubho hi (hatthehi); gen. ubhinnaṃ S I.62, which are formed simply by adding the normal plural endings to a stem *ubha- in the first two examples and the gen. appears to be formed on the analogy of other numerical forms (dvinnam, tinṇam, catunṇam etc.), beside the proper nom. ubho S I.87; A III.48; It 16, 43; Sn 661. There are however three or four other instances where we meet with probably the dual forms of dvandva-compounds. The first of these occurs in kasireṇa ghāsacchādo labhāti A I.107, where the Burmese MS.(Ph) has the v.l. ghāsaccaṃ which is evidently a later ‘correction’. At A III.85 the above reading of the P.T.S. text is repeated, but once at A III.385 the phrase occurs as kasireṇa ghāsacchādo labbāhi, the passive form of the verb showing that ghāsacchādo is here regarded as the masculine nom. sg. of ghāsacchāda-. But the compound consists of two masculine words ghāso “food” = Skr. ghāsaḥ and acchādo “clothing” = Skr. ācchādāḥ, and as such, must be treated either as a dual or collectively as a neuter sg. The proper construction then would be either ghāsacchādāṃ labbāhi or ghāsacchādā labbāhanti, the pl. being employed for the dual. So the above (A III.385) reading with the passive (sg.) is ruled out, establishing the first reading (A I.107) ghāsacchādo [6] labbāhi as correct. Consequently the ending -o would represent the older masculine dual in -au, as in ubho (< ubhau). There is however another alternative, that is, we may
possibly have here an earlier ghāsacchāde acc. pl., the -e having been later regarded as an eastern form and changed to -o. The other occurs in the phrase natthi hāyanavaḍṭhane natthi ukkaṃsāvakamṣe “there is no high and low, there is no increase and decrease”. These occur at least twice in the Nikāyas viz., at S III.212 and M I.518 and so cannot be misprints. If these coordinative compounds are taken as neuter sg. the form may be the eastern -e, but if, as is quite possible, they are used as plurals then the ending -e represents the dual nt. nom., subject of atthi which can agree with any number. Another instance of a similar doubtful character is āyasmante, voc. M I.474, which probably is an eastern form standing for āyasmanto corresponding to the Skr. dual āyaṣmantau (vide §10). There is greater probability in accepting the pronominal form etc. (not cited by Geiger, PLS §107.1) occurring at Sn. 869, 870, as a neut. dual. acc. since it clearly refers to sātam asātam ca “what is pleasant and what is unpleasant”.

**Inflexional Terminations**

**§4. Stems in -a (m.&nt.).**

In the singular all the historical endings are retained, with the phonetic changes peculiar to Pāli, except the dat. which has been superseded by the gen. form -ssa. The older ending -āya, however, appears in the Nikāyas quite a number of times but it has there almost completely lost its original significance and in the few instances attested, denotes only aim, direction or purpose (vide §§96,113,106 & 107; cp. PLS §74). The reason for this replacement is to be found in the fact that already in the earlier dialect the dat. by virtue of its syntactical character had come into logical contact with
Case Forms in the Nikāyas – 21

the gen. in many of its proper functions. So, even as early as in the period of the Brāhmaṇas (VGS §202.B.2.a.), the latter had encroached upon many uses of the former and in later Skr. almost ousted it from its legitimate [7] sphere of employment (SS §80). This process is seen also in the Prākṛts where the -āya form as represented by its phonetic developments -āa, āya, -āe etc. (Pischel Prk.Gr. §363) occurs mostly in the artificial dialect of dramatic poetry (SS p.100 f. n.).

§5. Pronominal Endings.

The influence of the pronominal declension is found in the endings -smā and -mhā which exist beside the normal -ā (Skr. -āt) of the abl. sg. and -smiṃ, -mhi beside the historical -e of the loc. sg..

a. An analysis of the Dīgha- and Majjhima Nikāyas has shown that the form -smā occurs only 4 times (leaving aside the repetitions) against some 95 of the -ā form. Of the latter 21 denote cause, -smā being never used in that sense in spite of the causal implication of the pronominal adverbs kasmā “why”, tasmā “therefore” and yasmā “wherefore”. It is also significant that it is always the -ā form that is used in syntactical agreement with the 6 prepositional adverbs ‘governing’ the abl., viz., yāva, aṇṇatra, tiro, uddhaṃ, adho and paraṃ. e.g., yāva c’aggā yāva ca mūlā D I.75; M II.170; III.12 “from top to bottom”; aṇṇatra avusitattā D I.90 “except from imperfection”; tiro raṭṭhā tiro janapadā M II.167 “across country and province”; uddhaṃ pādatalā adhokesamatthakā D III.104; M III.90 “above from the soles of the feet and down from the top of the head”; paraṃ maraṇā M III.101 “after death”. The forms in -smā and -mhā are confined to one particular syntactical category, viz.,
the abl. of separation (in the wider sense). So the former (-smā) mainly occurs in connection with the verb *pabbajati* “sets out”, especially in the stock phrase *agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajati* “he sets out from home to homelessness” e.g., D I.18, 60, 115, 202; II.16, 230; III.31, 147; M I.200, 267, 345, 459; II.66, 181; III.261. It also occurs in gāthā literature e.g., Sn 1002, 1003, and with another verb of motion at S I.185, i.e. *agārasmā anagāriyaṃ nikkhantā*; also with the causative *pabbājeti* “expels” at D I.92, i.e. *raṭṭhasmā pabbājesi*. The historical form -ā however is the [8] more popular even here, occurring in the Dīgha- and Majjhima Nikāyas over 25 times with about 15 different verbs of motion. The verb *pabbajati* itself occurs twice with the -ā form, viz., Sakyakulā *pabbajito* M II.167, and once with its causative: *raṭṭhā vā nagarā vā pabbājeyyuṃ* D I.90, 91. In all the Nikāyas the -smā form appears only with 4 other verbs all of which signify detachment, release, or aloofness. e.g., *anissaṭā bhavasmā* Ud 33 “not free from becoming”; *gaṇasmā vūpakaṭṭho* M III.110; Ud 41; A IV.435 “detached or aloof from the crowd”; *virato methunasmā* D II.241 (verse) “abstaining from copulation”; na *parimuccanti dukkhasmā* M I.8, 65 “are not released from sorrow”. The form -mhā which is its phonetic development is even rarer in the Nikāyas, occurring only 3 times in the Dīgha and Majjhima, viz. *Naṅgaramhā pāyāsi* M II.119; *Rājagahamhā niyyāsi* D I.49 and *muñjamhā isīkaṃ pabbāheyya* M II.17 “would draw out the reed from the muñja grass.” These examples show that -mhā too is used only for the notion of separation, particularly with verbs of motion denoting that from which there is a movement. It is evident therefore that the pronominal endings were confined, in the case of the abl., to its function of signifying separation, while the historical ending -ā was still in the Nikāyas the popular form for all its varied uses in general.
b. The pronominal form of the loc. sg. in -smiṃ and its phonetic variant -mhi are not so rare in the Nikāyas as the corresponding abl. forms. The former is by far the more frequent of the two and occurs in almost every syntactical function of that case. e.g., lokasmiṃ viharati D I.23 “he lives in the world”; veyyākaraṇasmiṃ bhaññamāne D I.46 “while the explanation was being declared”; sīlasmiṃ hoti D I.65, 66, 67 “is part of (his) virtue”. The latter -mhi however is less frequent and is mostly used in verse, decidedly metri causa. e.g., vanamhi jhāyato Sn 221; setamhi chatte anuhīramāne D II.15 (verse) and the intermediate phonetical stage is also found in verse. e.g., antalikkhasmi S I.67 “in the intermediate space or sky”. The v.1. -asmiṃ which appears in one text is not in keeping with the metre. [9]

§6. Inst. sg. in -ā.

With regard to the inst. sg. it has to be remarked that beside the usual form in -ena a form in -ā corresponding to Vedic -ā (inst. sg. of a-nouns, m. & f.) occurs many times in the Nikāyas (cp.PLS §78). Franke has conclusively shown that such forms represent the inst. and not the original abl. sg. in -āt (Z.D.M.G. 1892, pp.313-315). It occurs with both masculine and neuter nouns, especially in the frequent phrase sahatthā santappesi “served or fed with his own hand”. e.g., M I.393; II.50; A I.274; D I.109; Sn p.107 etc. which the Comy. glosses in most places by sahatthena (e.g., ‘sahatthāti sahatthena’ Manorathapūranī II.372; Sumaṅgalavilāsinī I.277). It occurs but once in the Nikāyas outside this context i.e. in na sahatthā paṭhavim khaṇati M II.51 “he does not dig the ground with his hand”. Here too the Comy. has asahatthena (Sum. III.814). This ending however is not restricted to the above word. In mā sokā pahato
bhava Th 1.82 “do not be overcome by grief”, sokā is definitely the inst. sg. denoting means (cp. PLS §78). Since the abl. in -ā (< Skr. -āt) does not occur in this function, that is, to signify means in general or instrument, in the Nikāyas, we may regard the following as representing original inst. in -ā of neuter verbal nouns: dassanā pahātabbā M I.7 et. seq.; bhāvanā pahātabbā M I.12; vinodanā pahātabbā “should be got rid of by ...” M I.12. In all these examples the verb pahātabbā would require an inst. of means (by which) rather than an abl. of cause (through which), since effort on the part of the agent is implied. Similarly in viriyā nimmathitaṃ padhānābhinibbatam M II.130 the sense prompts us to regard the -ā as inst. sg., Chalmers translating it correctly as “kindled by effort and fired by striving”, the preposition by implying means and not cause. In sahatthā referred to above also the inst. denotes means and is not due to a preposition saha which Franke (loc. cit.) thought is here contracted to sa-. On the other hand the compound stands for *svahastā, sa- being the reflexive pronominal adjective Vedic or Skr. sva. When this inst. occurs with saha, the preposition meaning with or together with, the sense implied is simultaneity or association (vide [10] Sociative Inst. §64). e.g., saha parinibbānā D II.156; S I.159 “simultaneously with the passing away”; saha vacanā Ud 16 “simultaneously with the word” i.e. “as he spoke” (cp. Geiger, PLS §78.1. “zugleich mit dem Wort, im Augenblick, wo er es sagte”).


In the plural of the a- declension Pāli differs from Skr. in the acc. and dat. The historical ending -ān of the acc. is lost due to the fact that, since phonetically it becomes -ā by the falling off of the terminal consonant, it is liable to be confused with the nom. pl. in -ā.
The form in -e which is the regular acc. ending in Pāli and Prākrit is borrowed, as Geiger suggests (PLS §78.3.), from the pronominal declension, where the original masculine acc. pl. -tān took the form of the nom. -te because it had lost its accusative character through the dropping of -n and in order to distinguish it from the feminine -tāḥ which too would give in Pāli -tā. But Geiger has drawn attention to one solitary survival of the -ān form appearing in gāthā literature, viz., in the phrase *vehāsān-upasaṅkamiṃ* Th 1.564.

**§8. The Inst. Pl. in -e.**

In the inst. pl. the regular form is -ehi, the phonetic development of Skr. -ebhis. It has been shown that the aspirate bh in Pāli is retained when it is in the body of the word but is generally reduced to -h- in inflexional endings (cp. R.L. Turner, *The Phonetic Weakness of Terminal Elements in Indo-Āryan*, J.R.A.S. 1927, p.277). Nevertheless the intermediate form -ebhi also occurs, though not frequently, mostly in archaic instances (cp. Geiger PLS §79). e.g., *ariyebhi* Dh 162; Ud 6. The same is found in other declensions. e.g., *jhāyibhi* jhānasīlibhi M III.13. The inst. pl. in -ais which is in fact the older of the two in Old Indian has come to be gradually lost even in Vedic (*vide* Macdonell, VGS §78.f.n.). It has left no trace either in Pāli or in Prk. owing to the confusion with acc. pl. in -e, except for one [11] solitary instance. The form *dhīro* occurring at Dh 207, it has been suggested by V. Lesný (*A new reading of the Dhammapada* 207, J. p.T.S. 1928), stands for *dhīre*, the older inst. pl. In all the MSS. of the Pāli version of the Dhammapada the reading is:
“Verily he who walks in the company of fools suffers for a long time; living with fools is always painful as with an enemy; *living with the pleasant is wise*, like meeting with kinsfolk”. The italicized words give the literal rendering of the phrase *dhīro ca sukhasaṃvāso* and the Comy. (Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā P.T.S.Vol.III. p.272) too follows the same reading but does not comment on the form *dhīro*. However, as has been pointed out so cleverly by Lesný such a translation does not indeed make good sense, though grammatically there can be no objection to it. It is evident from the parallelism with the first part of the second line, viz. *dukkho bālehi saṃvāso*, that the reading should be either *sukho ca dhīrasaṃvāso*, as Max Müller suggested, or more likely *dhīre ca sukhasaṃvāso*, as Lesný takes it. The latter is supported by the Kharoṣṭhī version which attests to the fact that the second part is -sukhasaṃvāso ( ... suhavasa ūtihi va samakamo, 39, Les fragments Dutreuil de Rhins, par Emile Senart. Journal Asiatique 1898, p.297), and not *dhīrasaṃvāso*, and also by the Skr. text which fills in the lacuna in the Kharoṣṭhī version by the inst. pl. *dhīrais* (*dhīrais tu sukhasaṃvāso*, XXX.26, L. de la Vallée Poussin Documents sanscrits de la seconde collection M.A. Stein J.R.A.S. 1912, p.369). Geiger (PLS §79) has instanced another place where the inst. pl. -e is authentic (Buddhavaṃsa 2.32, *guṇe dasah’ upāgataṁ*) but the -e forms given by E. Müller in his *Simplified Grammar of the Pāli Language* as inst. pl. used with the sense of the dat. (such as yācake etc.) are not however instrumentals but only the loc. sg. (-e) denoting the person to whom something is given or offered. [12]

The dat. pl. in Skr. is the same as the abl. pl. ending in -(e)bhyas which is retained in Pāli for the latter (abl. pl.) of a-stems as -ehi, which has been shown to be a phonetic development of *ebhio (< *ebhiyo), the aspirate being reduced to - h - as described above (§8). Pandit S. Majumdar Sastri in a monograph entitled ‘The Dative Plural in Pāli’, on the evidence of some survivals of the old dat. pl. in -ehi in the Asokan dialect, suggested the possibility of a few of these forms remaining in Pāli where the form normally used is the ending -ānam of the gen. which as pointed out above (§4) is due to the syntactical displacement of the dat., in the pl. as in the sg., by the gen. But a close investigation of the Nikāyas shows that no certain vestiges of an historical dat. pl. exists in Pāli. There are however some instances of the -ehi form the sense of which seem to be bordering on that of the dat. (or the abl.). In the frequent phrase yāvadeva manussehi suppakāsitam D II.113,114,219; III.122 etc., which Rhys Davids (Dialogues 11.113) translated as “until in a word it shall have been well proclaimed among men”, manussehi can be syntactically the dat. denoting the persons to whom something is proclaimed (vide §93 b.c.d.). There is also the reading Yāva devamanussehi Ud 64 which is supported by the Comy, on D III.122 ‘deva-lokato yāva manussa-lokā suppakāsitam’ and also by the Buddhist Skr. parallel at Divyāvadāna 201 ‘yāvad-deva manuṣyebhyah’. Whatever the reading may be it is an open question whether the ending -ehi here represents an older dat. (pl. -ebhyas) agreeing with the verb ‘suppakāsitam’ or an abl. construed with yāva taken as a preposition. But if the latter be the case the rendering would be “proclaimed up to or as far as (gods and) men” which however does not make good sense. On the other hand if yāva is
taken merely as the adverb meaning “completely” (cp. Rhys Davids, “in a word”) or “just” as found in *alam vo taṃ yāvadeva sītassa paṭighātāya* D III.130 “just enough to stand the cold”, the phrase makes satisfactory sense. Accordingly it is quite probable that what we have here is an old dat. pl. We are confronted with a similar difficulty in the [13] case of *-ehi* in *ayaṃ bhikkhave uppati asādhāraṇā puthujjanehi* A II.128 “this birth, monks, is not *common* to worldings”. The adj. *sādhāraṇa* in Pāli as well as in Skr. is capable of being construed with either the gen., dat. or inst. (*vide* Monier-Williams’, Dict, *s.v.*) but with the inst. its sense is usually “equal” because here a comparison is implied. When, however, the sense is “common to” as in the above example the dat. appears syntactically the more suitable construction. The *-ehi* ending therefore may here possibly stand for the older dat. pl. rather than the inst., preserved because of the option in the construction.

§10. Eastern Forms.

Among the sporadic forms of the above *(a-)* declension we may group the so-called Māgadhisms under which Geiger (PLS §80) includes the nom. and voc. sg. in *-e* both masculine and neuter. In the Dīgha- and Majjhima Nikāyas there are 6 such nom. forms of masculine nouns and 8 of neuters. The existence of these eastern forms can be justified on the ground that all these are put into the mouth of one or the other of the six leaders of heretical schools whose dialect was naturally some kind of eastern Prākṛt. Moreover it is significant that they are clustered together in passages of philosophic importance reported to have been said by them. These statements occur in the Sandaka Sutta of the Majjhima- and in the Sāmaññaphala Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya. They are: *bāle ca paṇḍite*
ca kāyassa bhedaḥ ucchijjanti D I.55; M I.515,518; doṇamite sukhadukkhe, pariyantakaṭe saṃsāre natthi hāyanavaḍḍhane natthi ukkaṃsāvakaṃse M I.518; D I.54; ājīvasate, paribbājasate, nāgāvāsasate, vīse indriyasate, tiṃse nirayasate M I.517-518; D I.53; sattaguḷe khitte nibbethiyamānaṃ eva paleti M I.518; kamme ca aḍḍhakamme ca M I.517; sukhe dukkhe jīve satt' ime M I.517 with the less accurate reading sukhe dukkhe jīvasattame D I.56. These statements are repeated in a discourse by the Buddha at S III.211 (§§5,6&7). Also in the Sunakkhatta Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya the -e form is 5 times used by the Buddha in a talk with Sunakkhatta, the Licchavi. Here too they occur in a passage of [14] philosophic importance, viz., ye lokāmisasamyojane se pavutte M II.254; ye anaṇjasamyojane se bhinne M II.255; ye ākiñcaṇṇāyatanasamyojane se vante M II.255; ye nevasaṇṇānāsaṇṇāyatananasamyojane se ucchinne uccchinnamūle tālavatthukate anabhāvakate āyatiṃ anuppādadhamme M II.255. There are three other instances of the -e form outside the above context, viz., ke ca chave sigāle, ke pana sīhanāde ti? D III.24, where probably it is due to the fact that the phrase is borrowed from popular speech as an exclamatory metaphor conveying a sense of disparagement; ye āyatane veditabbo S IV.98, which the Comy. takes as nom. sg. (‘tasmā ye āyatane veditabbo ti tamā kāraṇaṃ jānitabbaṃ ti attho’ Sāratthapakāsinī 391, v.l. veditabbo); idha pana bhikkhave bhikkhu ... tasmiṃ ca sukhe anadhimuchite (for -to) hoti M II.223 “here, monks, a bhikkhu is not infatuated in the matter of that happiness”.

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Geiger has instanced the voc. sg. (in -e) in ehi tvāṃ samma Bhesike D I.225 which he regards with Pischel (Prk. Gr. §366.b) as a nom. used in address as voc. In fact Pāli like Prk. has sometimes the actual nom. sg. instead of the voc. (-a) in addressing. e.g., *kin nu kho āvuso bho Gotamo taṃ jīvaṃ taṃ sarīraṃ udāhu aññaṃ jīvaṃ aññaṃ sarīraṃ* D I.157 (cp. Ardha-Māgadhī voc. sg. putto, Prk. Gr. §363).

We have also the reverse case where the form in short -a is used for the nom. sg. in -o. e.g., *Kahan nu kho bho Nāgita etarahi so bhavaṃ Gotama viharati ... ?* D I.150, which may be either due to eastern influence (cp. Ardha-Māgadhī nom. sg. Buddha-putta for Buddha-putto, Prk. Gr. §364) or the sandhi form of the original Gotamah with the dropping of the visarga. In the voc. pl. of āyasmā beside the regular āyasmantā and āyasmanto we find a form -ante used in addressing two persons. e.g., āyasmante (voc. pl. or dual) M I.474. If this be a dual form corresponding to Skr. -antau, standing for āyasmanto, the -e can be regarded as being due to eastern influence. Such influence is positively seen in the archaic nom. pl. ending -āse (Geiger PLS §79.4, for examples) which is the eastern form for Pāli -āso from Vedic -āsas. There are a few eastern forms in the pronominal declension also (vide §16). [15]

§11. Sporadic Forms of the a- Declension.

In the above paragraph we have referred to the archaic ending -āse of the nom. pl. masculine which represents the eastern derivative of the Vedic double ending -āsas, both feminine and masculine. In Pāli however this ending is never found with feminine nouns (PLS §79).

In the neuter of the a- declension there are a few remnants of the older Vedic plural of the nom. in -ā, beside the regular -āni. e.g.,
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rūpā Th 1.455; D I.245; sotā Sn 345; nettā Th 2.257 etc. On the analogy of the masculine inflexion a neuter acc. pl. -e is formed, (m. nom. pl. -ā: m. acc. pl. -e = nt. nom. pl. -ā: nt acc. pl. e). e.g., rūpe passituṃ Ud 30; rūpe ca pajānāti M I.61; rūpe paṭicca S IV.18. This is also found with the verbal nouns in -nam, all being used in the plural thus removing the possibility of their being Māgadhī nt. sg. acc. in -e. e.g., nīvaraṇe pahāya D I.73; Sn 17, beside nīvaraṇāni (vide P.T.S. Dict. s.v.). But sometimes masculine adjectives are found used with them. e.g., cattāro satipaṭṭhāne bhāventi M II.11; showing that the identity of forms had later on given rise to change of gender.

§12. Feminine in -ā.

In the feminine -ā- declension the older historical endings of the inst., dat., abl., and gen. have been replaced by -āya which is also used for the loc. beside the normal -āyam. The ending -āya seems to be a later phonetic development of the Skr. abl. -gen. -āyas, the -h- being dropped owing to the phonetic law already mentioned (vide §1.) and the shortening of the final vowel being due to the general phonetic weakness of terminal elements in Middle Indian as referred to (§8.). The replacement of the dat. both in the sg. and in the pl. by the gen. form is due to the same syntactical phenomenon as discussed in the case of the masculine declension (§4.). The older inst. -ayā is also lost being replaced by the abl. sg. -āya due to similar syntactical reasons (vide §§62,116 & 118). But a considerable number of inst. fem, in -ā, as in the masculine and neuter declensions, is [16] found in the Nikāyas. e.g., saddhā pabbajitvā M I.16,123 “leaving (home) through or by faith”, beside saddhāya gharā nikkhamma Sn 337; tassā issā na supati Sn 110 “he does not sleep through jealousy for her”;
assavanatā dhammassa D II.38; M I.168 (Comy. ‘assavanatā ti assavanatāya dhammassa’ Sum.II.467); vyārosanā paṭighasañña Sn 148 “through anger and hatred”; ekapuggalassa bhikkhave kālakiriyā bahuno janassa anutappā hoti A I.22 “owing to the death of one person there is worry for many people”. It is however difficult to say whether this ending -ā corresponds to the older Vedic inst. in -ā of feminine nouns as in doṣā barhāṇā etc., or is a phonetic contraction of -āya (cp. Prk. -āa). Geiger (PLS §§27.2, 81) is inclined to favour the latter possibility though Franke thought it was definitely the Vedic ending -ā of feminine inst. sg. (vide: Inst, auf -ā von a-stämmen im Pāli, Z.D.M.G. 1892 pp.313 et seq.). Even the form -ā in abhiññā sacchikatvā D II.92,153, beside abhiññāya desitā D II.119 can be inst. sg. of means, though Geiger (§27.2) regards it as a contraction of the gerund in -āya after the Comys. (e.g., ‘tad abhiññā ti tad abhijānītvā’ Sum. I. p.59).

§13. The Vowel Declension (-hetu).

Of the sporadic forms belonging to this declension the form hetu (abl. sg. m.) is interesting owing to its peculiar syntactical function. It is evidently a phonetic development from Skr. hetos, abl.-gen. sg. of hetus m. “reason or cause”, the dropping of the final - h -, and the reducing of the vowel -o to -u being due to the phonetic peculiarities of such terminal elements as described in the foregoing paragraph. As to the weakening of the vowel we may compare sajju (<*sajjo) corresponding to Skr. sadyas (vide Geiger, PLS §§22&23). It is mostly used as a postposition denoting cause in which case it appears as a periphrase for the inst. or the abl. of cause. e.g., attahetu parahetu dhanahetu Sn 122 “because of oneself, others or wealth”; na kho, Udāyi, etassa sacchikiriyāhetu bhikkhū mayi brahmacariyaṁ
caranti M II.37 “it is not, Udāyi, due to [17] (the intention i.e. for the purpose of) realizing this ... that monks live the Holy Life under me”; kāyassa pīṇanahetu M II.191 “for (lit. because of) the pleasing of the body”. As seen from the rendering of the latter examples -hetu implies not only cause but purpose as well. It may not appear, however, always as postposition in a compound. There are many instances where it is used as a separate word agreeing with a gen. of the noun or pronoun which denotes the material cause implied. e.g., puttadārassa hetu M II.187 “lit. from the cause of son and wife” i.e. “due to or for the purpose of son and wife”; yesaṃ hetu labhāmase Kh 6 “owing to whom, lit., because of whom, we acquire ... (cp. Comy. ‘ye nissāya yesaṃ kāraṇā’ Paramatthajotikā II. p.210). From these it is evident that what we have in the stock phrases taṃ kissa hetu D I.14; M I.1; A II.31, “why is it?”, lit., “because of what is it? and kissa hetu A III.303, IV.393; Sn 1131, is an abl. sg. hetu and a gen. of the pronoun (kissa, cp. kissa nirodhā taṇhā nirodhôti D II.33, where too kissa is gen. sg. “of what” and nirodhā is abl. similar to hetu). The suggestion that -hetu may be an elliptical form of the acc. sg. hetum (vide P.T.S. Dict. s.v.) is therefore unwarranted, cp. SS. 193. f.n. 1. where he argues that inspite of Pāṇini’s rule śaṣṭīhetuprayoge (2.3.26) a comparison with I.E. idiom shows that hetoḥ in the phrase ‘kasya hetoḥ’ is abl. & not gen. and that kasya is gen.

§14. The Consonantal Declension (parisatiṃ).

In the feminine parisā-, originally belonging to the consonantal declension (< Skr. pariṣad), the historical form parisati corresponding to Skr. pariṣadi occurs quite a number of times. e.g., D III.18; A II.180. Here the replacement of - d - by - t - is probably
due to the influence of other original consonantal stems like \textit{sarit}-
(e.g., acc. sg. \textit{saritām} Sn 3) where in Pāli beside a nom. ending in a
vowel (cp. \textit{sarī} parallel to \textit{parisā} oblique cases are found with a -\textit{t}-.
This is however not a sporadic phonetic change peculiar to Pāli as
Geiger suggests (PLS §39.4). In the examples adduced by him viz.\
\textit{kusīta, mutīnga} and \textit{pātu-} (Skr. \textit{kusīda, mṛdaṅga} and \textit{prādur}) it is not
quite certain which [18] form is the earlier. The first two are most
probably loan-words in Indo-Aryan and the etymology of the last is
uncertain. This form which is the loc. sg. is sometimes found with a
final \textit{anusvāra} as \textit{parisatiṁ}. e.g., \textit{parisatiṁ dhammaṁ deseti} M II.140
“he preaches the doctrine in (or to) the assembly”; \textit{so Rājagahe
parisatiṁ evaṁ vācam bhāsatī} A I.185 “At Rājagaha he tells these
words to the (or in the) crowd.” At another place it occurs with the
masculine pronoun. e.g., \textit{sādhu te pāṅca dhamme imasmiṁ parisatiṁ
bhāsassūti} M II.199 “well, declare to (or in) this assembly the five
dhammas”. Here we have a v.l. \textit{imissam parisati}. The appearance of
the \textit{anusvāra} is probably due to the syntactical fact that verbs of
\textit{speaking} sometimes agree with an acc. of the \textit{person to whom} the
words are addressed (\textit{vide} §§36.b,58.c.). The proper loc. significance
of the historical form \textit{parisati} being lost due to its archaic nature the
construction was replaced by the more popular idiom, viz., the acc.
with verbs of \textit{speaking}. So the acc. ending -\textit{ṃ} is added to a
theoretical stem \textit{parisati-} (f.). The fact that the loc. form, whether
historical or later, is preserved when there is no actual verb but only
the participle also strengthens the validity of our surmise. e.g.,
\textit{bhāsitā kho pana te es' avuso Pāṭika-putta Vesāliyaṁ parisati vācā} D
III.18; “Were these words spoken by you, friend Pāṭika-putta, at
Vesāli among the rabble?”; \textit{parisāyaṁ bhāsato} D II.218, “speaking in
the assembly”. For it is to be generally observed in Pāli concinnity
that the loc. appears in such adnominal instances in place of an acc. which is the more usual in the adverbal construction.

**The Pronominal Declension**

§15. The Enclitic Forms.

Whereas in Vedic and Classical Sanskrit the enclitic forms *me*, *te* sg. are found only for the dat. and gen., *no*, *vo* pl. are found only in the acc., dat. and gen., Pāli like Prākrit has extended their use to other cases as well. (*vide* Pischel, Prk. Gr. §420; acc. sg. *me*; inst. sg. *me*; acc. pl. *no*, *ne*; inst. pl. *ne*). Though [19] not infrequently, the forms *me* and *te* occur as accusatives in Pāli. e.g., *te ekena khaṇena ekena muhuttena ekamaṅsakhalam ekamaṅsapuñjaṁ karissāmi* M I.377 “In a flash, in a moment, I shall reduce you to one mash, one mass of flesh”. (cp. Ardha-Māgadhī and Śaurasenī acc. sg. *te*, Prk. Gr. §421). Franke has also given as acc. sg. in Pāli the forms *me* and *te*, (*vide*, *Pāli und Sanskrit*, p.152). This employ seems to have originated in the contact between the uses of the acc. and the inst. as in the following causative construction where the causative verb *pāpetu* can take either the acc. or the inst. of its primitive subject that which would have been its subject in the original non-causative state (*vide* §59). e.g., *sādhu me bhante Bhagavā tapojigucchāya aggaṁ yeva pāpetu sāraṁ yeva pāpetūti* D III.48 “may the Blessed One make *me* attain to the summit, to the essence of disgust-for-asceticism” where *me* can be either the acc. or the inst. In the pl. *no* and *vo* are similarly found for the acc. e.g., *upāsakā no bhavaṁ Gotamo dhāretu* M I.413 “may the venerable Gotama take *us* as disciples”; *pahāya vo gamissāmi* D II.120 “I shall go leaving *you*”; āmantayāmi *vo* D II.156

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4 Supplementary to Geiger’s presentation (PLS §§104-112).
“I address you” (cp. Māgadhī and Śaurasenī acc. pl. vo, Prk. Gr. §422). In the inst. there are definite examples where the form me is used for the agent. e.g., maggaṃ kho me gacchantena A IV.334 “by me going the way”; kammaṃ pana me karontena A IV.334 “by me doing an action”; akatena me ettha katan M I.515 lit. “by me not doing it is done, i.e., without my doing any task is done”; mūḷhena me evaṃ katan M II.248 “thus done by my deluded self”. It is also found agreeing with feminine nouns. e.g., suto yeva me ... upanaccantiyā D II.268 “was heard by me ... (while) ... dancing”. Buddhaghosa regards me in the stock phrase evaṃ me sutam D I.1 as standing either for the inst. or the gen. of agency (vide §154). He says: “me saddo tīsu atthesu dissati: Tathā hi ’ssa gāthâbhidigitaṃ me abhojaneyyam ti ādisu mayā ti attho (i.e. inst.). Sādhu me bhante Bhagavā saṃkhittena dhammaṃ desetūti ādisu mayham atttho (i.e. dat.). Dhammadāyādā me bhikkhave bhavathāti ādisu mama ti attho (i.e. gen.). Idha pana mayā sutanti mama sutanti ca atthadvaye yujjati”. (Sum. I . p.28, Papañcasūdanī I. p.4.). There is no doubt therefore that the form [20] me was from very early times used as an inst. sg.. This extension of its use seems to have originated in the agent-use of the gen. forms me and te, which is a frequent construction in Pāli. e.g., api ca m’ettha puggalavemattata vidita D II.152; Sn p.102 (Comy. ‘api ca mayā ...’ Pj.II.2.436); taṃ kim mañhasi gahati, sutam te ... evaṃ bhante sutam me M I.378; Samaṇo me Gotamo nimantito Sn p.104; te ca me evaṃ puttha D I.192;III.28; etaṃ me abhipatthitam D II.266 (Comy. ‘etaṃ mayā abhipatthitam’ Sum.III. p.702); bhāsitā me esā vācā D III.54; kicchena me adhigataṃ D II.36; yan te karaṇīyam Sn p.39; punar āyu ca me laddho D II.285(V.); sahitam me asahitam te ... āropito te vādo M II.3; taṃ me idam bhante Bhagavā sakkhi diṭṭho M I.370. In all these examples the gen. is as permissible to denote the agent as the
inst.. It is probable that the *me* here originally stood for the gen. but later on came to be regarded as the inst. of agency. Finally, in two instances *no* and *vo* appear in the role of nom. plurals. e.g., *yaṃ no Bhagavā dhammaṃ bhāsissati taṃ no sossāmati* M II.5 “what doctrine the Blessed One will preach to us, that we shall hear”; *mā vo muñcittha koci naṃ* D II.262 “Ye let not one escape, whoever it be”. In both these examples there is the alternate possibility of the enclitic being used merely as emphatic particle, but in *taṃ no sossāmāti* the emphasis, if *no* implies such, is not needed according to the context, though *vo* in the other instance may have an emphatic sense.

§16. Sporadic Forms.

Among the sporadic forms of the pronominal declension we may place the nom. pl. *amhā* formed on the analogy of the *a*- declension (nominal acc. pl. *-e*: pronominal acc. pl. *-e*: nominal nom. pl. *-ā*: pronominal nom. pl. X). e.g., *tena ca amhā attamanā* M II.132,177 “thereby we were pleased”. Similarly on the analogy of the *a*-declension the relative pronoun *yo* has a dat. sg. masculine *yāya*. e.g., *yāya eva kho pana attāya* D I.90, beside the usual *yassa*, which is the gen. form used as dat. e.g., *yassa attāya* M I.392. In the inflexion of the demonstrative pronoun a gen. pl. *sānaṃ* f. “of those (women)” occurs [21] beside the regular *tāsaṃ* or *tāsānaṃ*. e.g., *bāḷhā me dukkhā vedanā abhikkamanti no paṭikkamanti abhikkamo sānaṃ paññāyati* S V.80,345. A few archaic forms of the reflexive pronoun *sa*, (Skr. *sva*) “one’s own”, occur mostly in the gāthā literature. e.g., *saṃ ṇātiṃ atimaññati* Sn 104 “he disparages his own relatives”; *nihīno sena mānena* Sn 132 “devoid of his own pride”;
Case Forms in the Nikāyas – 38

samhi āsane D II.225 “in his own seat”; sehi dārehi Sn 108; sehi dhammehi Sn 298.

Finally, it may be mentioned that a few eastern forms have crept into the pronominal declension as into the nominal. e.g., ye for yad or yaṃ, and se for tad or tam. These are also found in the passages already referred to (§10). e.g., Tattha yaṅce savitakkaṃ savicāraṃ, ye avitakke avicāre se paṇītatāre D II.278; evam eva kho, Sunakkhatta, sammā-nibbānādhimuttassa purisa puggalassa ye nevasaṅāṅānāsaṅāṅayatana-saṅyojane se ucchinnamūle ... M II.256 (cp. Prk. Gr. §423). The same form se occurs also in the frequent adverbs seyyathā D I.145 for tad + yathā “just as, such as” and seyyathīdaṃ D I.89;II.91; S V.421; It 99 “as follows” for tad + yatha + idaṃ. The eastern form ye for yaṃ is found also in compound yebhuyyena D I.17;II.139, which is made up of Skr. yad and bhūyas. The interrogative ke for ko m. sg. also occurs in one of the above-mentioned passages (vide §10).
Chapter I
The Nominative Case

§17. The Nom. of Subject.

a. The nominative or the first case (paṭhamā vibhatti = Skr. prathamā vibhakti), as in the older languages, is mainly used to express the subject of the simple sentence with the verb in the active voice. Indian grammar has no term to denote the subject of the active verb or grammatical subject. The term kartṛ signifies only the agent or the logical subject (cp. Speyer SS p.l., f.n.l). The logical connection between the subject and the main verb varies according to the nature of the latter. With a transitive verb the subject denoted by the nom. case is the virtual doer of the action (kriyā) whose influence is exercised on some object. e.g., seyyathā vā pan’ Udāyi, puriso asim kosiyā pabbāheyya M II.17 “As if a man, Udāyi, were to draw out his sword from the sheath”; Bhagavā dhammaṃ deseti M II.5 “the Blessed One preaches the doctrine”. But when the verb is intransitive the nom. merely expresses the person or thing about whom or which a statement is made, it being not implied that he, she, or it exercises any influence on another person or thing. Or viewed from another point, with such verbs the subject expressed by the nom. is the sufferer of the action. e.g., Tathāgato loke uppajjati D I.62 “the Master arises in the world”; dīpā jhāyanti D I.50 “lamps are burning”; vaṭṭaṃ vaṭṭati D II.64 “the round (of life) goes round”. In this last example the nom. and the verb are etymologically related, a phenomenon that can be compared to the cognate accusative (vide §35).
b. Not seldom the pronoun standing as the subject of a sentence can
be omitted or left to be understood. e.g., *adinnâdānaṃ* [23] *pahāya
adinnâdânā paṭivirato hoti* D I.63 “abandoning theft (sci. he = so)
lives abstaining from taking what is not given”. In such instances the
pronoun is obligatory if the subject is to be emphasized and not the
predicate. e.g., *so dhammaṃ deseti* D I.62 “he preaches the doctrine”.
In impersonal constructions an action expressed in the verb may
sometimes be referred to (cp. Latin *demonstrare* to point out) by the
demonstrative pronoun in the neuter sg. e.g., *tassa purisassa etad
ahosi* D II.130 “to that man it occurred ...”; *mamaṃ hi pubbe etad
ahosi* D I.18,III.29 “to me in the past it occurred ...”. The
demonstrative adverb *evaṃ* is often substituted for the pronoun in
such instances. e.g., *Tassa evaṃ assa* D I.71 “it would occur to him
thus: ...”; *tumhākaṃ evaṃ assa* D II.154 “it would occur to you thus
...”.

§18. Subject of Clauses.

a. In the case of participial clauses especially those with the gerund
in -tvā having the active sense, the normal construction generally
permits of the same nom. being the subject of the clause or clauses as
well as of the main sentence. e.g., *Atha kho āyasmā Sāriputto
nivāsetvā, pattacīvaraṃ ādāya, yena Dhānañjānissa brāhmaṇassa
nivesanaṃ ten’ upasaṅkami, upasaṅkamitvā paññatte āsane nisīdi* M
II.192 “Then the venerable Sāriputta having robed himself, taking
his bowl and upper garment, went whither the dwelling of the
brahmin Dhānañjānī was, having gone he sat on the seat that was

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1 When the gerund is passive in meaning the logical subject is denoted by
the inst. case, being the agent.
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prepared (for him)”. Here āyasmā Sāriputto is the subject of all the gerunds, viz., nivāsetvā, ādāya and upasaṅkamitvā.

b. Instances are not rare, however, in Pāli where the subject of the gerund expressed by the nom. of the noun may further be taken up by its corresponding pronoun which then ‘governs’ the main verb. e.g., Yathā va pan’ eke bhonto samaṇa-brāhmaṇā saddhādeyyāni bhojanāni bhuṅjitvā te evarūpaṁ bījagāma-bhūtagāmasamārambhaṁ anuyuttā viharanti D I.5 “Since certain recluses and brahmins having eaten the food provided through faith live addicted to the injury of animate and inanimate [24] things”. Here the pronoun te could be omitted without any loss to the general construction of the sentence or to its meaning as a whole. But such repetitions, though unnecessary from a strictly syntactical point of view, are not foreign to the Pāli idiom. Indeed it is not impossible in Pāli even to have one subject for the clause and another logically different subject for the principal sentence. In the above example the subject in both clauses is logically the same, for te really stands for and refers to the nominal subject brāhmaṇā. But in the following instances the subject of the main clause is not the same as that of the secondary one. e.g., api ca me bhante imaṃ dhammaṃ sutvā lomāni haṭṭhāni M I.83 “however, Sir, having heard this doctrine my hair stood on end”; Iti kho Ambaṭṭha itthiyā vā itthiṃ karitvā purisena vā purisaṃ karitvā khattiyā vā seṭṭhā hīnā brāhmaṇā D I.98 “So it happens, Ambaṭṭha, that having taken woman to woman or man to man the warriors are the best and brahmins are inferior”; addasaṃ kho ahaṃ ... itthiṃ mūḷhagabbhaṃ ... disvāna me etad ahosi M II.103 “I saw ... a woman suffering in delivery ... and having seen (her) it occurred to me..”; Puna ca paraṃ, bhikkhave, sappuriso ... upasampajja viharati, paññāya c’ assa disvā āsavā parikkhayāpenti M III.45 “Furthermore,
monks, a good man ... having entered abides therein, and having seen with his insight the cankers are destroyed”; in this last example the causative form of the verb *parikkhayāpenti* being apparently used for the passive, there seems to be some doubt about the reading.

c. On the borderline between the above two constructions we may place the following example where *app’ ekacce*, though referring to an antecedent *brahmaṇā-gahapatikā*, is still a syntactically different subject: *Atha kho Thullakoṭṭhitakā brahmaṇā- gahapatikā yena Bhagavā ten’ upasaṅkamiṇśu, upasaṅkamitvā app’ekacce Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdiṇśu, app’ekacce ...* (etc.) ... M II.55 “Thereupon the brahmins and householders of Thullakoṭṭhita came to where the Blessed One was, and having come, a few saluting the Blessed One sat on a side, a few more ... (etc.) ...”. [25]

d. It is also not unusual in Pāli to find the same nom. appearing as subject of the principal sentence and of a relative clause at the same time, the connecting relative pronoun being absent. So we find such instances as: *Ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave bhikkhu pheggum aggahesi brahmacariyassa tena ca vosānaṃ āpadi* M I.192 “This (one) is called, brethren, a monk (*sci. who = yo*) has captured the pith of the Higher Life and thus attained the Consummation”.

a. With passive verbs the nom. expresses the *logical object*, the logical subject being put in the agent case (inst.). In other words it denotes the original object, expressed in the acc. of the active verb. e.g., *dhammo ca desīyati* D III.264; A IV.225 “the doctrine too is preached”; *evārūpaṃ bhojanam diyyati* D II.354 “food such as these is given”; *assutavā puthujjano na parimuccati* M I.8 “the unlearned worldling is not released”.

b. The logical object thus put in the nom. with passive verbs is not necessarily the ‘affected object’ with verbs of influence (*vide* §31); it may represent an original acc. denoting the *place gone* to with verbs of motion. e.g., *Āraññaken’ āvuso bhikkunā nâtikālena ... gāmo pavisitabbo* M I.469 lit. “Brethren, by a monk dwelling in the forest the village should be entered before a long period (has elapsed)”.

Here in the active construction the place entered may be denoted either by the acc. (*vide* §40) or the loc. (*vide* §165). The road along which or on which one walks is also subject to the same alternative construction but the loc. is by far the more frequent. This too is put in the nom. in the passive voice. e.g., *maggo kho me gantabbo* D III.255 “the road should be walked by me”. The sense of the verb (*gacchati*) in this passage shows that it could also be used ‘transitively’ meaning to traverse. In fact the idiom *maggaṃ gacchati* actually occurs in the Nikāyas (*vide* §36.d.).

c. The *infinitive* when used with such words as *arahatī* “deserves”, *sukara-* “easy” and *sakkā* “is possible”, as complement [26] to the predicate, exhibits a passive sense and consequently agrees with the nom. of the noun which in the original active form would have been
expressed by the acc. e.g., Na arahati 'yasmā Ambaṭṭho ... abhisajjitunti D I.91 “The venerable Ambaṭṭha does not deserve to be accused”; Nayidaṃ sukaram agāram ajjhāvasatā brahmacariyaṃ caritum M II.55 “This Higher Life is not easy to be practised by one living at home”; Na kho pana mayā sukaram anadhigatā vā bhogā adhigantum adhigatā vā bhogā phātiṃ kātuṃ M II.66 “It is not indeed easy either for unacquired riches to be acquired by me or those acquired to be increased”; nāyaṃ sukaro ... jīvitā voropetuṃ S III.113 “this (person) is not easy ... to be deprived of life”; Sakkā pana bhante upamā kātuṃ Sn p.126 “Is it possible, Sir, for an illustration to be made?” From these examples it becomes clear that the infinitive in Pāli, just as in Vedic and later Skr. (cp. VSS §219), performs the syntactical functions of the active, middle and passive infinitives.

§20. The Predicative Nom.

a. The nom. is frequently found in a predicative function with verbs of ‘being’ such as bhavati, atthi, vijjati, sampajjati etc. which are, generally speaking, the so-called verbum substantivum (cp. SS §2.). It is also found with other verbs of allied meaning such as viharati and vasati. With all these the nom. strictly speaking constitutes the complement of the predicate. e.g., ahaṃ tena samayena purohito brāhmaṇo ahosīṃ D I.143 “At that time I was the brahmin chaplain”; asappuriso ūṇā hoti yasassī M III.38 “a wicked man is noted and prosperous”; ete aṭṭha sahāyā ahesuṃ D II.230 “these were eight friends”; te kārā mahapphalā assu M I.33 “these actions were greatly fruitful (lit. of -great- fruit)”; aṇṇadatthu Bhagavato sāvakā

2 cp. English “he is not easy to kill”.
Chapter I, The Nominative Case – 45

sampajjanti M II.123 “but actually (they) become the disciples of the Blessed One”; bhikkhu ... viharati ātāpī sampajāno satimā M II.11 “the monk lives strenuous, mindful and self-possessed”.

b. But sometimes in Pāli just as in Skr. the so-called verbum substantivum is not subjoined to the noun predicate which may be the nom. of a substantive, adjective or an adjectival formation. e.g., taṃ jīvaṃ taṃ sarīraṃ ... aññaṃ jīvaṃ aññaṃ sarīraṃ D I.157 “that (is) the life-principle and the same the body ... one the life-principle and another the body”; ahaṃ pi manusso D I.60 “I too (am) a man”; sambādho gharavāso rajāpatho, abbhokāso pabbajjā M III.33 “home-life (is) an impediment and an abode of dust, renunciation (is) the open(-space)”; bahukiccā mayaṃ bahukaraṇīyā M III.14 “we (are) busy and full of duties”. The same is found with adjectival formations derived from verbs such as gerundives and the like. e.g., So tattha pujjo, so tattha pāsaṃso M III.41 “he (is) in this matter honourable, he (is) here praiseworthy”; Na c’ esa brāhmaṇā pañho evaṃ pucchitabbo D I.19 “This question, brahmin, (is) not-to-be-asked in this manner”. Since the verb is implied in these participles, the verbum substantivum is hardly ever subjoined in such cases.

c. When the subject of the sentence is a pronoun (demonstrative or relative) the gender of the latter follows that of the noun-predicate. e.g., yaṃ mam’ assa upādānaṃ, so mam’ assa vighāto D I.25 “What is my clinging (to existence), that would be vexation for me”; so mam’ assa kilamatho, sā mam’ assa vihesā M III.28 “that would be exhaustion for me, that would be annoyance for me”. In the first example here so, though referring to upādānaṃ, anticipates the gender of vighāto (masculine), whereas syntactically taṃ would be
more logical. This shows that Pāli in such cases prefers the pronominal adjective to the neuter pronoun or the pronominal substantive. So even with the interrogative pronoun the same agreement is found: \textit{ko nu kho bho Gotama hetu ko paccayo} D I.144 “What (lit. which) is the reason, venerable Gotama, what is the cause ...?”; \textit{ke tumhe hothâti} M II.157 “who are you?”. In these examples \textit{ko} and \textit{ke} are used in the masculine because \textit{hetu}, \textit{paccayo} and \textit{tumhe} are of that gender. But exceptionally the nom. sg. of the neuter pronoun is found in similar constructions. e.g., \textit{kim hutvā kim ahosiṃ aham atītam addhānaṃ?} M I.8 “what had been I, what was I in the long past?”. Here \textit{ko hutvā} etc. would be as permissible. [28]

d. Pāli just as Vedic and Classical Skr. (\textit{vide} VSS §100) employs certain adjectives (nom.) predicatively where we would normally expect an adverb. Speyer regards this as peculiar to Indian syntax. In some of these we can substitute the adverbial acc. without any loss to the general construction. e.g., \textit{yassa vitakkā vidhūpitā ajjhattam suvikappitā asesā} Sn 7, “whose reflections are destroyed and scattered complete (i.e. completely cp. adv. \textit{asesaṃ}); \textit{idha kusala-sīlā aparisesā nirujjhanti} M II.25,26 “here merits and virtues cease remainderless (i.e. without a remainder, cp. adv. of manner \textit{aparisesaṃ})”; \textit{te caranti suddhā} D II.254 “they wander pure”; \textit{yo haṃ ākiṇṇo viharāmi} D II.30 “that I (should) live crowded”; \textit{cattāro ca Mahārājā catuddisā nisinnā honti} D II.221 “the Four Great Kings were seated on-the-four-sides” (\textit{catuddisā} probably standing for \textit{cātuddisā}, the derived adjective). All these nominatives logically correspond to adverbs of manner.
§21. The Nom. with *iti*.

With verbs of *speaking*, *thinking*, *knowing*, *considering*, *accounting for* and *reckoning* that which is stated about the object is denoted by the nom. followed by *iti*. The clause consisting of the nom. and *iti* is used *predicatively*. The nom. itself is however generally regarded as a predicative nominative (*vide* VSS §§14 & 99), though strictly speaking it approximates to a *label use* (§22). e.g., *Imaṃ kho ahaṃ Udāyi puggalāṃ saṃyutto ti vadāmi no visaṃyutto* M I.453 “This individual, Udāyi, I say (is) under bondage (and) not free from bondage”; *anāpattiṃ āpattīti dīpenti* A V.78 “they make out a transgression (to be) a non-transgression”; *sīho ti attānaṃ samekkhiyānaṃ* D III.25 “considering himself as a lion” or “to be a lion”; *jānāsi taṃ pāsādaṃ ... ucco vā nīco vā majjhimo vā ti?* D I.194 “do you know whether that mansion is high, medium or low?”; *coro t' eva saṅkhaṃ gacchati* M II.88 “he passes off as a thief”. This nom. (neuter singular) may sometimes be impersonally employed. e.g., *ariyasāvako ... virāgā vimuccati, vimuttaṃ iti ūṇaṃ hoti* M I.500 “the āryan disciple is emancipated through [29] non-attachment, on being emancipated he obtains the knowledge that there is emancipation”. A curious distortion of the same construction is found where the person about whom the statement is made is denoted by the nom. with *iti* and the thing said by the acc. e.g., *seyyaṃ so ti vadāmi; pāpiyaṃ so ti vadāmi* M II.179 “I declare he is better; I say he is worse”, which should normally stand as *taṃ seyyo ti vadāmi* etc.
§22. The Label Use of the Nom.

The nominative is also used when the noun or the idea of the noun alone is signified. This may be called the label use as distinct from the adverbal nom. described in the preceding paragraphs (cp. KVG §§529 etc.). The nom. is therefore found either adverbally as subject or predicate of the verb or absolutely, that is, as an entity separate from the rest of the construction of the sentence. There are no genuine adnominal uses of the nom. unless we regard so the nom. of opposition and the nom. that forms the first member of co-ordinative (dvandva) compounds. Local grammarians have defined the nom. as fundamentally expressive of this crude or label notion. Pāṇinī states: prātipadikārthaliṅgaparimāṇavacanamātre prathamā (II.3.46), “the first case serves only to signify the gender and number of the thing designated by the word’s crude form or prātipadika” (cp. SS p.26 f.n.). This is echoed by both Kaccāyana and Moggallāna. The former has only curtailed the Skr. grammarian’s definition: liṅgatthe paṭhamā (Kac. 286) which means, according to the vutti, that the first case-ending is used to express the gender and the mere designation of a thing (liṅgathâbhidhānamatte paṭhamā vibhatti hoti). The latter lays down the terse aphorism: paṭhamatthamatte (Mog. 39) which according to the vutti implies that the first case is employed to denote just the sense of the noun or the designation (abhidheyya) of the thing. Thus Pāli grammarians seem to have merely followed the existing tradition as regards the definition of the nom., and no Indian grammar refers categorically to its subjective or predicative uses. The orthodox schools are however not [30] agreed as to the exact meaning of ‘liṅgatthe’. According to the Kātantra system prātipadika or liṅga is defined as that crude form of a word which, though significant by itself, is other than roots and
detached from actual vibhaktis (vide. Philosophy of Skr. Grammar, p. 171). Anyhow it is clear enough that what they refer to here is the above-mentioned label use of the nom.

§23. [Label Usage]

This label use is mostly found when the nom. is employed alone as designation or title of a book, chapter, or any other literary composition. e.g., Dīgha Nikāyo, Majjhima Nikāyo, Selasuttam, Raṭṭhapālasuttaṃ etc.. Here the nom. merely plays the part of a label. Such titles are mostly used absolutely, that is, without any case-ending, the crude form of the noun only being used.

b. It is frequently found in enumerations beginning with seyyathidaṃ “lit. which is thus” or “such as” and yadidaṃ lit. “which is” or “that is, namely”. The nom. after the former may refer to an antecedent in some other case as illustrated by the following example where it refers to an inst.: ... micchâjîvena jîvikam kappenti seyyathidaṃ maṇīlakkhaṇaṁ daṇḍalakkhaṇaṁ ... (etc.). D I.67 “they live by wrong means of livelihood such as: fortune-telling from jewels, fortune-telling from sticks, .. (etc.)”; sammad eva āsavehi vimuccati seyyathidaṃ kāmāsavā bhavāsavā diṭṭhāsavā S II.187 “he is completely released from the cankers, namely, the canker of lust, the canker of becoming and the canker of false views”; esa paccayo jarāmaranaṇassa yadidam jāti D II.57 “this is the reason for decay and death, namely birth”. In the following example the adverb tattha represents an antecedent loc. case: atha kho ahaṃ eva tattha bhiyyo yadidam adhimutti D I.174 “Furthermore, I myself am superior even in that (lit. there), that is to say, higher emancipation”.

c. With *maññe* “methinks, as it were”, the person to whom someone else mentioned before is likened is denoted by the nom. which stands detached from the rest of the construction; hence it is logically akin to the above-described label use. e.g., *ayaṃ hi rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehiputto ... paricāreti devo maññe* D I.60 “This king Ajātasattu of Magadha son of Vedehi ... amuses himself like a god”; *kevaṭṭā maññe macchavilope* M I.456 “like fisher-folk over (their) catch”; *putta-mattā maññe natta-mattā maññe* M I.460; Ud 24, “as it were, just sons and grandsons.”

§24. The Nom. of Apposition.

Closely related to the above label nom. is the one used in apposition to and side by side with another noun, which is usually the name of a person. e.g., *Raṭṭhapālo kulaputto* M II.57 “Raṭṭhapāla, the householder(-son)”; *Ayaṃ Aciravatī nadī pūrā udakassa* D I.224 “This river, Aciravatī, is full of water”. It has to be remarked in this connection that in Pāli as in Skr. such usages as ‘the city of Pāṭaliputta’ etc. are not permissible. There is no gen. of apposition in Indian languages, the nom. being the only idiom. The label function of such nominatives is clearly seen in such semi-absolute uses of it as found in: *yad ariyo sevāmano Satthā gaṇaṃ anusāsitum arahati* M II.216 “associating with which the noble one, the Master, is fit to instruct a school”. Its absolute nature is further seen by instances as the following where the nom. in apposition differs in number from the other: *assosi mahājanakāyo caturāṣīti-pāṇa-sahassāni* D II.29 “(thus) heard the great assembly (of) 84,000 beings”.

b. Sometimes, however, the particle *nāma* which originally was the adverbial acc. of *nāman* (*vide* §2) is subjoined to the noun in
apposition. e.g., Kālī nāma dāsī M I.125 “the maid-servant, by name, Kālī”; tāpasa-brahmacārī Nigrodho nāma D I.176 “the ascetic-student Nigrodha by name”; Raṭṭhapālo nāma kulaputto (cp. above a.) M II.55 “the householder (-son), Raṭṭhapāla by name”; Mano-padosikā nāma devā D I.20 “gods by name ‘debauched through mind’”. [32]

c. With numeral nouns such as sataṃ, sahassaṃ and sahassāni the nom. of apposition or the partitive gen. (vide §144.c) are concurrently employed. The latter is by far the more popular construction (cp. PLS §117.c) but the nom. is not by any means rare. e.g., pañcasatāni upāsakā D II.93 “five hundred lay disciples”; paro-sahassaṃ puttā D I.89 “over a thousand sons”; Gandhabbā cha sahassāni Th 1.164 “six thousands (of) Gandhabbas”. These may be optionally construed with the gen. thus: pañcasatāni upāsakānaṃ “five-hundred of lay disciples”; paro-sahassāṃ puttānaṃ “over a thousand of sons”; Gandhabbānañ cha sahassāni “six thousands of Gandhabbas”.

§25. The Nom. in Elliptical Clauses.

The nom. is also met with, used in an absolute manner, that is to say, detached from the main construction, in certain elliptical clauses or sentences where hoti is almost invariably to be understood. But due to the frequency of such idioms the necessity for the predicate element is not always felt.

a. In the following examples nāma occurring in the parenthetical clause has the force of hoti and to a certain extent covers the gap in the construction: Ekāṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā Kurūsu viharati
Kammāssadhammaṃ nāma Kurūnaṃ nigamo D II.55,291 “Once the Blessed One was living among the Kurūs - (sci. there was) Kammāssadhamma a hamlet of the Kurūs”; sā kho pana bhante bhaginī parakāmini hoti; Sikhaddhi nāma Mātalissa saṅgāhakaṃ putto, taṃ abhikaṅkhati D II.268 “That sister, Sir, was desirous of other men - there was Sikhaddhi, the son of the charioteer, - she loved him”.

b. Similar is the use of the nom. after the adverb yena in the frequent construction ‘yena ... tena ...’. e.g., yena Bhagavā ten’ upasaṅkama M II.91 “whither the Blessed One, thither repair”. But when a second place has to be mentioned for precision the adverb yena may either be repeated or the nom. alone may be used. e.g., yena Sappiniyā tīrāṃ (sci. yena) paribbājakārāmo ten’ upasaṅkami A II.29 “whither the bank [33] of Sappinī, (whither) the hermitage of Wanderers, thither he repaired”.

c. Again, hoti is to be understood with the nom. found in hypothetical clauses with seyyathāpi. e.g., Seyyathāpi, brāhmaṇa, puriso daḷiddo assako anāḷhiyo, tassa akāmassa ... M II.181 “Supposing, brahmin, (there was) a man, poor, destitute and wretched and to him ...”; seyyathāpi Mahārāja udaka-rahado D I.74 “supposing, Great King, (there was) a lake”.

d. When a point in time or space is to be reckoned from another point, the noun denoting time or space is put in the nom. and the incident that occurred at that distant point is denoted by a clause beginning with yaṃ “that”. e.g., ito so bhikkhave eka-navuto kappo yaṃ Vipassi Bhagavā ... loke udapādi D II.2 “It was the ninety-first aeon from this one that the Blessed One Vipassi arose in the world”.
This use of the nom. is the same as that allowed by Skr. grammarians in such constructions as śataṃ krośāḥ Somanāṭhāt “a hundred krośas from Somanātha,” where, however, the acc. is the more logical idiom (vide Monier Williams Skr. Grammar § 823).


The nom. absolute is not a regular construction in either Pāli or Skr. It is not entirely absent in the latter but as an idiom is very rare (cp. Monier Williams, Skr. Grammar §840). In Pāli however it seems to have been noted as part of the established concinnity by the author of the Niruttidīpanī (p.146), who mentions a so-called nom. absolute. But in the example adduced, viz., gacchanto Bhāradvājo so, addasā Ajjhutaṃ isiṃ, the nom. gacchanto Bhāradvājo is also the subject of the final predicate addasā in spite of the presence of so (cp. the insertion of the demonstrative pronoun with the gerund, §18.b.), and consequently the nom. is not strictly speaking absolute. Duroiselle also in his Pāli Grammar (§603.ii) refers to a nom. absolute in Pāli but gives no examples. In the Nikāyas we come across a few uses of the nom. with the participle in agreement, that appear to be as much legitimate [34] absolute constructions as are the loc. or gen. absolute (§§180 &158). These even exhibit the temporal sense. But since it is hardly found in the Vedas or the Brāhmaṇas or even in later Skr. literature the only explanation as to its appearance in Pāli is that it is a characteristic of the popular speech out of which the literary Pāli arose. We are supported in this assumption by the fact that there is evidence for such an idiom in the dialect of the Asoka Inscriptions (cp. t[ala]-thā karu “if one is acting thus”, Girnar XI.4., according to Hultzsch, Syntax of Girnar, p. ixx.). Moreover the context in each case shows that there is a psychological reason behind the use: it is
mostly due to the fact that in a long statement the nom. of the subject with which the speaker begins is so far removed from the predicate that he loses sight of the intended construction and concludes the sentence in quite an unexpected manner. So we find usages as the following:

_Saṃvaṭṭamāno loko yebhuyyena sattā Ābhassara-saṃvaṭṭanikā honti_  
_D I.17 “the world evolving, the beings for the most part become Ābhassara-gods;_  
_Evam eva kho bhikkhave idhi’ ekacco kulaputto imasmiṃ dhammavinaye agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajito cattāri bhayāni paṭikaṅkhitabbāni_  
_A II.123 “Thus when a certain householder enters ordination in this Doctrine and Training, four things should be feared”. Here the v.l. kulaputte etc. shows that it was even felt by the earlier editors to be an absolute construction, and the v.l. -ssa is also syntactically permissible as denoting the gen. with the verb of fearing, paṭikaṅkhāti._

a. In both the above examples the subject of the principal sentence is different from that of the participial clause. Sometimes the construction appears less _absolute_ owing to the subject of the sentence being only the pronoun (_so, sā, taṃ_ or _tad_) referring to the subject of the clause, as in:

_Sugato vā bhikkhave loke tiṭṭhamāno sugatavinayo vā tad assa bahujana-hitāya ... sukhāya devamanussānam_  
_A II.147 “The Sugata, brethren, remaining in the world or his Way of Discipline, that would be for the advantage ... for the happiness of gods and men.”_  
_Here the concinnity would remain [35] even if _tad_ were to be omitted; but Pāli prefers to take the nom. as after the gerund, which we have discussed earlier (§18.b.)._
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b. When the nom. is followed by the present participle santā- or samāna- the construction approximates to an absolute use due to the temporal sense implied in the participle. Still the nom. being the subject of the main sentence it cannot be strictly called an absolute nominative. Since it nevertheless constitutes a temporal participial clause, we may regard it as a semi-absolute construction. e.g., Rājā samāno kiṃ labhati D III.172 “Being a king what does he get?”; itthattaṃ āgato samāno agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajati D III.31 “being come (i.e. having come) to this state he sets forth from home to homelessness”. In the following instance the context does not clearly show whether santā refers to antecedent mayaṃ or the following tapo-jigucchā. In the former case it would be a genuine nom. absolute: mayaṃ kho bhante tapo-jigucchā-vādā ... viharāma. Kathaṃ santā nu kho bhante tapo-jigucchā paripuṇṇā hoti D III.40.

§27. The Nom. of Address.

The person addressed is denoted by the nom. case or more particularly, the vocative. Though in the singular of certain declensions the forms of the latter differ from those of the former, still there is no logical difference in the employment of the two cases. Normally the crude form of the noun is only used. e.g., ambho purisa M II.33; alaṃ samma ghaṭikāra M II.46. In the feminine singular the voc. form differs prominently from that of the nom. e.g., ayye M I.299 “O lady!” beside the nom. ayyā. Local grammarians too enjoin the use of the nom. for the purpose of denoting the person addressed. Pāṇinī denotes this use by the term āmantrita (II.3.48) and lays down in the next sūtra that the voc. sg. is especially to be called sambuddhi. What is remarkable is that they do not make any syntactical difference between the nom. and the voc.
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(Pāṇ. sambodhane ca, ibid 47 and sāssamantritaṃ 48; Kac. ālapane ca 287; Mog. āmantaṇe 40) and do not consider the voc. as a distinct eighth case (cp. SS §38. & f.n.). It is peculiar to Buddhaghosa’s terminology that [36] he explains this use as ‘the case denoting the person engaged in listening to what is said’ (kathāsavaṇa-yuttapuggala-vacanaṃ, Papañca-sūdanī I. p.13).

A few special voc. forms used for polite address are also found such as āvuso M I.184 “friend” and bhante D II.154,283 “Sir, venerable one”. The former probably has its origin in an older *āyuṣaḥ (the derived adj. from āyus “life”) having the sense of “O long-lived one!” and the suggested derivation from āyuṣman or the pl. base āyuṣmant seems to be phonetically less likely (vide PLS §46.1. and P.T.S. Dict. s.v.). The latter (bhante) is regarded as a Māgadhism (PLS §98.3.) corresponding to Skr. bhadanta (cp. Prk. Gr. §366.b.). Both these forms may appear in syntactical agreement with a pl. verb. To this class also belongs the use of the nom. with the third person implied in bhavaṃ. e.g., Taṃ kiṃ maññati bhavaṃ Mahā Brahmā D II.228 “What does the great Brahma think? (i.e. What do you think, O great Brahma?).

§28. The Nom. of Exclamation.

The nom. when used in an exclamatory function is free from any syntactical connection and may be regarded as akin to the label use. Viewed from another point it is logically related to the nom. of address. It is mostly found with such exclamatory particles as aho etc. e.g., aho Buddho aho dhammo aho dhammassa svākkhātā ti vadeti M II.96 “he says: a marvel, the Buddha! a marvel, the Doctrine! a marvel, its perfect exposition!”; aho sukhaṃ aho
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sukhanti Ud 20 “alas happiness! alas happiness!”; aho nūna Bhagavā, aho nūna kusalo M II.31 “a marvel, the Blessed One! a marvel indeed the (power of) goodness!”.

This may sometimes appear without any exclamatory particle. e.g., samaṇassa mahiddhikatā mahânubhāvatā M II.144 “the greatness of his powers, the greatness of his majesty!”.

a. Not seldom is met with a nom. of certain adjectives and pronouns used in an exclamatory sense expressing usually surprise, confusion, bewilderment, a longing or a wish such as in greeting. It is however doubtful whether these are nominatives of the neuter adjectives and pronouns as the preceding with aho of the acc. singular of exclamation as found in Skr. with dhik (SS §56) and in Latin. But in the instances found in the Nikāyas the ending -aṃ seems more likely to be the nom. sg. neuter agreeing with an implied tam or etam in an impersonal construction. e.g., acchariyam vata bho abbhutaṃ vata bho M II.144; D II.107 “(it is) wonderful indeed, marvellous indeed!”; sāgataṃ bhante Bhagavato D II.173; M I.212,514 “Welcome! to the Blessed One”; alam Vakkali kim te iminā pūtikāyena diṭṭhena S III.120 “enough! Vakkali, what is the use of seeing this putrid body for you?”; kim pana bhante saddaṃ asosīti D II.130 “what! Sir, have you heard any sound?” (cp. English ‘what!’).

b. The pronouns ayaṃ, idaṃ etc. are sometimes used with a semi-exclamatory sense though agreeing with a following nom. which however they do not qualify in strict logical sense. Here the pronoun is very much like a particle of demonstration such as English ‘here!’ and ‘there!’.

e.g., Ayaṃ samaṇo Gotamo āgacchatī M II.2,30, “here! the recluse Gotama is coming”; nisīdatu bhante Bhagavā, idaṃ āsanaṃ paññattam M II.2 “may the Blessed One sit down, here! a seat has been prepared”.

Chapter II
The Accusative Case

§29. [General Character]

The primary function of the acc. or the second case (dutiya) is to denote the direct or near object, in other words, that which is mainly affected by the verb-concept. Brugmann favours the term grammatical object in this connection (KVG §866). The name kamma (Skr. karman) of the local grammarians, on the other hand, strictly means the logical object, whatsoever may be its grammatical function; it implies the object of the active verb as well as the subject of the passive or the objective genitive (cp. SS p.l, f.n.). Apparently Indian grammar did not distinguish between the grammatical and the logical object, just as it did not make any difference between the subject and the agent, both being commonly denoted by the same term kattā (Skr. kartr) meaning literally “doer” (vide §17). The logical connection between the object and the verb, just as in the case of the subject and the latter, varies according to the nature of the action (kriyā). The acc. is more conspicuously adverbal than any other case. Even in its adnominal function the other noun to which it is connected bears a marked predicative character, being usually a verbal noun, agent-noun or some such formation.
§30. [Local Grammarians]

“That which the agent does or performs is the object” says Kaccāyana,¹ while Pāṇinī² defines it as “That which is most desired (sci. to be affected) by the agent”. Moggallāna has no special rule for this purpose but lays down in the vutti³ that “what is done by, or is intimately connected with, the action of the agent is the object”. It may be remarked that none of these gives a comprehensive idea of the logical function of the object but rather tries to explain the connection between the agent and the object. This is due to the common characteristic of all Indian grammarians, [39] namely, dealing with syntax only from the point of view of the agent and not viewing the sentence as one whole psychological unit. Strictly speaking Kaccāyana’s definition holds good only for verbs like making, doing, performing etc., while Pāṇinī and Moggallāna come closer to, if not actually anticipate, the modern conception, namely, that the noun-concept that is affected by verbs of influence is the object and is put in the acc. case (vide KVG §560). But the defect of Pāṇinī’s method is evident from his next sūtra “Or that which is not desired if it is not connected with the verb”, illustrated by “viṣaṃ bhakṣyati” and “caurān paśyati”, whereby he attempts to surmount the difficulty caused by the narrow meaning of the term ‘īpsitatamam’ (most desired). Patañjali however thought that this rule might be done away with.⁴ As regards Kaccāyana’s definition, the only justification is that the verb of physical action is best instanced

1 yaṃ karoti taṃ kammaṃ. Kac. 282.
2 karturīpsitatamam. Pāṇ. I.4.49.
3 karīyati kattukiriyāyābhisambandhīyatīti taṃ kammaṃ, on the sutta kamme dutiyā. Mog. II.2.
4 vide Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar, p. 258.
by the root kṛ (karoti) “to do, to make”. All the examples he adduces contain either that verb or an equivalent. But Moggallāna appears to have taken a wider view, for his illustrations extend to such verbs as pacati “cooks” and passati “sees”. As usual, of course, both the Pāli grammarians for the most part merely repeat the conventional illustrations of Pāṇinī (e.g., kaṭaṃ karoti).

§31. The Acc. of External Object.

Verbs of direct agency or verbs of influence (i.e. affecting) in their primitive or non-causative state may take an external object (cp. KVG §561) that is, the noun put in the acc. case may denote an actual, physical or material, object such as a person, thing or place. This may be called the concrete external object. e.g., mā Tathāgataṃ vihesesi M I.332 “do not harass the Tathāgata”; gāvim vadhitvā M I.58 “having killed a cow”; gattāni anomajjāmi M I.80 “I rub down the limbs”; te bhoge rājāno vā haranti, ... aggi vā dahati, udakaṃ vā vahati M I.86 “those riches either kings (will) seize, ... the fire burn or the water carry away”; thusodakaṃ pivāmi M I.77 “I drink gruel”; andhakāre telapajjotaṃ dhāreyya M I.512 “would hold a lamp in the darkness”; kaṭṭhāni pāḷenti Sn p.104 “chop wood”. [40]

a. The same external object may represent an abstract concept such as a mental state in which case we have an abstract external object. e.g., Samaṇo Gotamo dhammaṃ deseti M I.77 “The recluse Gotama preaches the doctrine”; abrahmacariyaṃ pahāya M I.345 “having abandoned immoral conduct”.

b. Some of these verbs of influence or affecting may permit of an etymological object. e.g., āhāraṃ āhareti D I.166;II.203 “takes food”;
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-bhojanam bhojimha M I.367 “I ate a meal”; mantam manteyya D I.104 “would utter a charm”.

§32. [Object]

There are some other verbs which can be only in an abstract sense called verbs of affecting. Such are those of seeing, knowing, perceiving, hearing and the like. With these the actual effect of the action is more or less on the agent himself and the physical object is merely the cause for that influence. e.g., satte passami M I.504 “I see beings”; dhammapariyayaṃ sutvā M I.83 “having heard the doctrinal system”; jatisamudayaṃ pajānāti M I.50 “knows the origin of birth”. Local grammarians denote this function by the term ‘viṣayatva’ or “the state of being the object of cognition”.

§33. The Adnominal Acc. of Ext. Object.

In the above example the acc. is used adverbally, that is, the noun-concept is the object of a proper verb which is the predicate of the sentence or the clause. Corresponding to each of these we may have an adnominal construction, where the acc. represents the object not of an actual verb but only one implied by a verbal noun, agent-noun or a similar formation of a verbal character. In such cases there is the alternate construction with the gen. of the object (§143). Certain dependent (tatpuruṣa) determinative compounds which preserve the acc. of the first member (aluk-samāsa), such as piyam-vada D II.163 “pleasant-speaking”, also belong to this class. In the adnominal construction too we may have all the logical

5 vide Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar, p. 199.
differences as were found in the adverbal such as the *concrete*, the *abstract* and so on. Here the second member [41] which is really the verb-concept or the predicative element though employed nominally may be either an agent-noun, verbal substantive, verbal adjective, or any other secondary formation such as those with the suffixes -\textit{ka} and -\textit{ika}. e.g.; Agent-noun: \textit{samaṇaḥ vā brāhmaṇaḥ vā apasādetā} D III.44 “reproacher (of) recluse or brahmin”; \textit{samagga-karaṇiṇī vācaḥ bhāsitā} D I.64; 154 “speaker (of) uniting speech”; \textit{aṁśe samaṇabṛahmaṇe pucchitā} D I.51 “questioner (of) other recluses and brahmins”; \textit{attānaṁ āvikattā} M II.125 “reveler (of) himself”; \textit{पञ्ज्ञ जिवित्व वरोपेता} M II.103 “depriver of life (of) being(s)”; Verbal noun: \textit{Gotamaṃ dassanāya} D I.113 “for the purpose of seeing Gotama”; \textit{dassana-kāmā hi mayaṃ taṃ Gotamaṃ} D I.150 “we are desirous of seeing that Gotama”. Here the expressions \textit{dassanāya} and \textit{dassana-kāmā} are almost infinitives of purpose (cp. PLS §77). Verbal adjective: \textit{bhattaṃ bhuttāvissa} D II.127 “of one-who-has-taken (his) meal”; Secondary formations: \textit{ārādhako hoti ṇāyaṇaḥ dhāmmanaḥ kusalaṃ} M II.197 “is one undertaking (accomplishing) the method, the law and what is good”.

§34. The Acc. of Internal Object.

When the noun-concept is represented as the result of an action and that result outlasting the process of the action exists separately, it is called the acc. of internal object (cp. KVG §561.2.). This is known as \textit{nirvavttya karman} according to orthodox grammarians. In an example like \textit{ghaṭam karoti} “makes a pot” it is held that the pot is not logically supposed to have existence prior to the action, and, therefore, it is not strictly correct to take \textit{ghaṭa} as an example of
The contention appears to be reasonable when we consider the fact that it is actually not the pot which is made but the clay which is made into a pot. But this however does not affect the actual grammatical relation existing between karoti and the object. Naturally enough, therefore, the internal object is only found with such verbs as those of making, building, constructing, creating and the like, e.g., nivāsanāni māpetuṃ D II.87 “to build dwellings”; Samīti yānakāraputto rathassa nemiṃ tacchati M I.31 “Samīti the cartwright(-son) fashions a rim for the chariot”; app’ekacce uddhanāni khaṇanti Sn p.104 “some dig out fireplaces”.

a. Just as in the case of the external object this can also appear in an abstract sense. e.g., kopaṃ na pātukaroti M I.125 “does not manifest anger”. Here the noun and the verb are frequently etymologically related. e.g., udānaṃ udānesi D II.186 “uttered a solemn utterance”; anuttaraṃ sammāsambodhiṃ abhisambuddho D II.140 “realized unsurpassed and perfect Enlightenment (lit. awoke to the highest Awakenment)”.

b. These constructions may occur adnominally as well. e.g., na dhūmaṃ kattā hoti M I.220 “is not a producer of smoke”; pāpakāṃ cittaṃ uppādetā M I.79 “producer (of) evil thought”.

§35. The Object of Contents.

The same internal object may represent a nominal concept that exists only during the verbal action. The noun put in the acc. thus denotes the process by which the action is manifested. Since it is contained

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6 vide Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar, p. 218.
within the action it has been called the *object of contents* (KVG §561.2.b.). By their very nature of being simultaneous with the verbal process they consist generally of *cognate* uses. e.g., *vitakkaṃ vitakkessati* M I.122 *lit.* “will think a thought” i.e., “reflect”; *loka-cintam cinteti* S V.447 “thinks a worldly thought”; *mā pāpakāṃ akusalaṃ cittaṃ cinteyyātha* S V.418 “do not think any evil, unmeritorious thought”; *dussutaṃ assumha* M II.185 “we have heard a bad thing (*lit.* a bad hearing)”; *vedanaṃ vedeti* M I.90 “he feels a sensation”; *sīhanādaṃ nadeyyaṃ* D III.23 “roars a lion’s roar”; *kuruṇaṃ jhānam jhāyati* D II.239 “he meditates (a meditation) on compassion”; *kumāra-kīḷikaṃ kīḷi* D II.96 “he played children’s games”; *brahmacariyaṃ caritvā* D II.208 “having lived the Higher Life”; *caratha bhikkhave cārikaṃ* D II.45,250 “wander forth, O monks, (*lit.* the wandering)”; *nāgâpalitam Vesāliṃ apaloketvā* D II.122 “having taken (*lit.* looked) a majestic (*lit.* elephant’s) look at Vesāli”.

a. Sometimes the verb used may not be the same as the radical element of the noun but may be *cognate* only in sense. e.g., *cetiya-cārikaṃ [43] āhiṇḍantā* D II.141 “travelling on pilgrimage”; *pahāraṃ dadeyya* M I.124 “would give a blow”; *seyyaṃ kappemi* M I.78 “I make my bed”.

b. To this class also belong certain compound verbs where the first member is the acc. singular of a substantive standing as *internal object*, *in most cases cognate*, to the verb *karoti*, which here does not contain the full meaning of “to do” or “to make” but merely expresses the cognate idea contained in the noun. e.g., *padakhiṇaṃ katvā* D II.40,163 “having gone round to the right” (i.e. having paid his respects); *dukkhass’ antaṃ karonti* D II.252 “they make an end of
Sorrow”; ātappaṃ akaruṃ D II.256 “they made an effort”; rajjaṃ kāreyya D II.140 “would administrate the government”; kālaṃ karissati D II.93,140 “he will die”; in verse the acc. may appear after the verb, thus: taṃ jano kurute piyaṃ Dh 217 “him the people love”, which should normally stand as taṃ jano piyaṃ kurute; hence the Comy. glosses it by piyaṃ karoti (vide Dh Comy. III.286).


Many uses of this acc. seem to border on the logical spheres of other cases. The following division may be admitted:

a. With verbs of asking, begging, imploring, learning etc. the person asked and so on is denoted by the acc.. Here the abl. as found used in Sanskrit (SS §95.5.) appears to be the more logical construction. e.g., bhikkhate pare Dh 266 “he begs (from) others”; Bhagavantaṃ yāci D II.104 “he implored the Blessed One”; sakaṃ ācariyakaṃ uggahetvā D II.104,105 “having learnt from his teacher”. With verbs of fearing the source of fear, if it is a thing, is optionally construed with an abl. (§122.e.) or a gen. (§150.c.), but if it is a person the acc. seems to be the more proper case. e.g., bhāyasi maṃ samaṇāti S I.207; Sn p.48 “do you fear me, recluse?”

b. The inst. is the usual case to signify the person with whom one converses or talks (§63.a.iv), but the acc. is used to denote the person talked to, implied by the prefix ā- (cp. Kac. 309). e.g., [44] sace maṃ samaṇo Gotamo ālapissati ahaṃ pi taṃ ālapissāmi S I.77 “if the recluse Gotama talks to me I shall also talk to him”. Other examples of such verbs taking the acc. will be given later (§58.c.). Logically
related to such uses is the acc. of the person addressed (cp. SS §42). e.g., bhikkhū āmantesi D II.90 “addressed the monks”.

c. Sometimes the acc. is used where the dat. is also admissible. With the verb saddahati “to have faith in or to trust” the normal idiom is the dat. (§94.a.) or the loc. (§166.c.) of the person trusted, but the acc. of the thing. e.g., saddahati Tathāgatassa bodhiṃ A II.66 “has faith in the Enlightenment of the Tathāgata”. With verbs of teaching the older idiom is the dat. of the person taught but the acc. is also found. e.g., amhe vācessasi S I.120 “you will teach us”. It has to be remarked here, however, that the verb has the causative form and the acc. may denote the original subject of the primitive verb, in which case the meaning will be “you will cause us to recite”.

d. In Pāli just as in Sanskrit (vide SS §42) certain verbs normally regarded as ‘intransitives’ occur with a different sense construed with the acc. denoting an object. The acc. with most of these seems originally to have implied relation. Such verbs are: roceti in the secondary sense of “approve of”. e.g., kassa vā tvaṃ dhammaṃ rocesi M I.170; S I.133 “whose doctrine do you approve of”; cinteti in the sense of “think about, reflect over, consider”. e.g., diṭṭhigatāni cintayanto Sn 834 “thinking about the heresies”; rodati in the sense of “cry about or at, lament over”. e.g., mataṃ vā amma rodanti ... kasmā maṃ amma rodasīti Th 1. 44 “they weep for one dead ... why mother do you weep for me”; arahati in the sense of “be as worthy as”. e.g., arahasi vā maṃ tvaṃ na vā maṃ tvaṃ arahasīti D I.99 “are you held as worthy as I or are you not ... ?”; gacchati in the ‘transitive’ sense of “walk, traverse”. e.g., maggaṃ kho pana me gacchantassa kāyo kilamissati D III.255 “of me going the way the
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body will be tired”, which may logically be regarded as a cognate use. [45]

§37. The Acc. of Direction.

Verbs which imply motion *towards* any object which may be a person, place or condition take an acc. of such a noun-concept. This has been also called the *acc. of the aim* (SS §40). Verbs of this type are usually those of pure motion such as the following frequently employed in the Nikāyas: *gacchati* with or without the prefixes *upa-*, *anu-*, *adhi-*, etc.; *kamati* usually with *abhī-*, *ava- upa+saṁ-*; *yāti* with *abhī-*, *ni(s)-*, *ud-, abhi+ud-*; *eti* with *upa-*; *sarati* with *anu-*; *dhāvati* with *anu-*; *ruyhati* with ā; *gāhati* with *ava-*; *pajjati* (*pad*) with ā-, ud-, *paṭi-, upa-*; *visati* with or without prefixes; *vattati* with *pa-*; *kirati* with *ava-*; *vassati* usually with *abhī+ni-*. In most of these, especially in the last three examples, the acc. is usually regarded as being due to the prepositional force of the prefixes. But in the earlier language a verb of the type of *varṣati* was capable of taking the acc. even without any prefix (cp. SS 42). These prefixes are generally supposed to change the so-called intransitive verbs into transitives. According to this view the acc. with the above verbs when they occur with any of the said prefixes is due to its being the *object*. But in Old Indo-Aryan such indeclinables as ā, adhi, anu, pari, pra etc. are found both as prepositions and postpositions just as in Old Greek. In Indo-European the so-called prepositions were merely directional *adverbs* referring to an action but later came to attach themselves and ‘govern’ particular case forms of nouns like the acc., inst., abl., gen., and loc., thus losing their separate and independent existence as
help-words in the sentence. Their pre-verbal use is due to the peculiar syntactical relation they bore to the verb as adverbs. Classical Sanskrit shows fewer particles with a prepositional or postpositional employ than Vedic (vide VSS §§85 - 90). In Pāli they are hardly used as adnominal prepositions.

§38. The Acc. of the Aim.

Local grammarians consider the varied logical functions of the acc. with such verbs under the common category of gati i.e. motion (vide Kac. 302). Nevertheless according to the various [46] meanings implied by the verb, with or without prefixes, these uses differ from one another in the syntactical relations expressed.

a. The simplest use of this acc. is to denote the person, place or thing to or towards which motion is directed. This may be called the terminal acc. e.g., pokkharāṇīṃ āgamissati M I.76 “will go to the pond”; so āḷāhanaṃ gantvā gantvā M II.60 “he having gone continually to the cemetery”; dakkhiṇaṃ janapadaṃ gantvā D I.96 “having gone to the southern country”; khattiya-parisāṃ upasāṃkamītvā D II.109 “having approached (lit. walked to) the assembly of princes”; uyyāna-bhūmiṃ niyyāsi D II.179 “went (lit. down) to the pleasure-ground”; yaṃ paṭidhāveyyātha M III.9 “whom you would run back to”; maṃ Mithilaṃ paṭinetu M II.80 “lead me back to Mithilā”; na heṭṭhāpāsādaṃ orohati D II.21 “he does not descend to the lower storey”; pāsādaṃ āruyha D II.39 “having ascended to the terrace”; paṭhavikāyaṃ anupeti D I.55,180 “goes to

an earthly body”. Sometimes two accusatives of *aim* may appear with the same verb in the same sentence. e.g., *abhikkāmuṃ bhikkhūṇaṃ samitīṃ vanam D II.256* “they went to the meeting of the monks to the forest (i.e. in the forest)”. A similar double acc. construction is found with the stock phrase *saraṇaṃ gacchati*. e.g., *Bhagavantaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi A III.242; M I.290; D I.116* “I go to the Blessed One as refuge”; *saraṇaṃ taṃ upema Sn 31* “we go to you as refuge”. Commenting on the frequent phrase *Buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi* Buddhaghosa makes the following observation:8 “In elucidation of the *gamana*-formula a critic has urged: In the phrase *Buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi*, he who goes to the Buddha for (*lit. to*) refuge, may go either to the Buddha or for (*lit. to*) refuge. In either case the (use) of one word is meaningless, because there is no double object for the action of *going*; nor do the grammarians find here a double object as in ‘*ajaṃ gāmaṃ neti*’ etc.. It is however (a) proper (construction) as in the case of ‘he goes to the east and he goes to the west’”. Thus he regards both as accusatives of *direction*.

b. Sometimes however the *termination* denoted by the acc. may be unspecified. In other words the mere direction may be [47] only implied, which is generally due to the indefinite nature of the noun-concept. e.g., *puratthimaṃ disaṃ pavattati D II.172* “rolled on

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8 “Gamanīyadīpanāyaṃ codako āha: Buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi tī ettha, yo Buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchati, esa Buddhaṃ vā gaccheyya saraṇaṃ vā; ubhayathā pi ca ekassa vacanaṃ nīraṭhakam, kasmā gamanakiriyāya kammadvayābhāvato, na h’ ettha ‘ajaṃ gāmaṃ neti’ ādisu viya dikammakattam akkharacintakā icchanti, gacchat’ eva pubbaṃ disam, gacchati pacchimaṃ disanti ādisu sāṭhakaṃ evāti ce” Paramatthajotikā I.pp. 17-18.
towards the eastern direction”; nabhaṃ abhussukkamāno D II.183 “ascending to(-wards) the sky”.

c. With certain verbs of going having the prefix abhi- it denotes the person or party against whom one marches etc. e.g., asurā deve abhiyaṃsu S I.216 “the demons marched against the gods”; rājānaṃ Pasenadī Pasenadī Kosalaṃ abbhuyyāsi S I.93 “he marched against King Pasenadī of Kosala”.

d. When they have the prefix anu- the acc. denotes the object or person that is pursued. This application may cover such English usages as “in the wake of” or “after”. e.g., mā sandiṭṭhikam hitvā kālikaṃ anudhāvi S I.9 “do not leave the present and run after the future”; phalaṃ anusarati S IV.303 “follows up the result”. It is also found with the verb anubandhati where the original root (bandh “tie, connect”) is not one of pure motion but gains such an implication by the addition of the prefix anu- through the figurative sense of “start after”, hence “follow”. e.g., Bhagavantaṃ anubaddhā honti D II.102 (cp. D I.1) “they were following (lit. started after) the Blessed One”.

e. When the prefix adhi- is added to the verb of motion the acc. logically borders on that of the external object. Such verbs are generally treated as ‘transitives’. e.g., madhupiṇḍikaṃ adhigaccheyya M I.114 “he would obtain a ball of honey (lit. come to)”; kusalaṃ dhammaṃ adhigaccheyya D I.224 “he would attain to something good”, lit. “he would come to or up to something good”.

In certain metaphorical constructions we find the acc. used with similar verbs of motion, implying the aim in an abstract sense. E.g., āgato imaṃ saddhammaṃ M I.47 “come to this good doctrine”; so yasaṃ paramaṃ patto Sn 138 “he attaining to the highest glory”; paṭhamajjhānaṃ samāpajji D II.156 “attained to the first ecstatic state”; uccāvacaṃ āpajjati D II.283 “comes now [48] to the high now to the low”; pallomaṃ āpadī M I.20 “came to (i.e. got) confidence”; bhavadiṭṭhiṃ upagatā M I.65 “come to the false doctrine of existence”; gārayhaṃ thānaṃ āgacchati D I.161 “comes to a blameworthy position”; vuddhiṃ virūḷhaṃ ... āpajjissathāti D II.63 “would attain to growth and magnitude”; vosānaṃ āpādi M I.196 “came to the end”; visādaṃ vā pāpuṇāti D I.248 “he comes to grief (lit. dejection)”. Various other nuances of the same use may be observed:

a. Certain other abstract uses of the acc. of direction consist of stereotyped idioms where it merely forms part of the verb. Such compound verbs generally have the implied sense of considering or reckoning. Logically they can be compared to the compound verbs with karoti (§35.b.). E.g., saṅkhaṃ upeti S III.93 “is reckoned as (lit. goes to the category)”; saṅkhaṃ gacchati D I.200 “is considered as”; saṅgahaṃ gacchati M I.184 “is considered as (within)”; samodhānaṃ gacchati M I.184; A I.234 “is included”.

b. The acc. construed co-ordinately with the inst. in idioms of the type of kālena kālamī also belongs to this group. E.g., te kālena kālaṃ upasaṅkamitvā D III.60 “they having come from time to time”, where the Comy. has ‘kālena kālamī ti kāle kāle’ (Sum.III.851). Even
in the following the acc. really belongs to the idiom *aṅkena aṅkaṃ* and is not necessarily the acc. of direction with the verb *pariharīyati* “is carried”: *aṅkena aṅkaṃ pariharīyati* D II.20 “is taken care of (or carried) from hip to hip”. But the normal sense of *pariharati* in the Nikāyas is generally the former, that is, “attends to, takes care of, etc.” (*vide* P.T.S. Dict. *s.v.*).

§40. The Acc. of the Goal.

The acc. may also denote the place or state *entered*, that is, the actual goal into which motion is implied. This is mostly found with verbs of descending, entering, falling, throwing, being born into and the like. It is only to be expected here that the loc. is, if not the more frequent, at least the concurrent construction (§165). e.g., *mātu-kucchiṃ okkamati* D II.108; III.103 “he enters into the mother’s womb”; *pokkharaṇīṃ otarituṃ* S I.123 “to descend into [49] the pond”; *ogahe te thanūdaraṃ* D II.266(V.) “I would enter into thine bosom”; *samma dhaṃ ajjhogahetvā* D II.173 “having descended into the ocean”; *gehaṃ pavisante* M II.178; D I.83 “entering the house”; *vihāraṃ pavisitvā* D II.143 “having entered the monastery”; *upari-vehāsaṃ khitto* S II.184 “thrown into the sky above”; *aṅgārakāsuṃ papatissāmi* M I.65 “I shall fall into the pit of charcoal”. When the noun-concept in the acc. denotes a person the use is more or less abstract. e.g., *Tatra vata maṃ bhayaṃ vā sārajjaṃ okkamissati* M I.72 “In that matter, fear or flurry will come upon me” (*lit.* enter into me).

a. With the verb *uppajjati* “be born”, the acc. and the loc. are promiscuously employed in the Nikāyas. Logically however the former’s application seems to be due to the original meaning of
“attain to” (uppajj- < Skr. ud+pad = step up) which develops into the sense of “be born into” (cp. Skr. utpāda = birth), and, the latter (loc.) is construed with it as denoting the place where one is born (§163.a.iii) according to this derived meaning of the verb. In any case the acc. here signifies direction in the wider sense. e.g., Tusitaṃ kāyaṃ uppajjati D II.14 “is born into the Happy Abode”; Vessavaṇassa Mahārājassa sahavyataṃ uppajjāmi D II.206 “I am born into the company of Vessavaṇa, the Great King”; saggaṃ lokaṃ uppajjanti D II.142 “they are born into the heavenly world”; nirayaṃ uppannaṃ D I.162; III.264 (cp. D II.208; A IV.75) “(him) born into hell”.

b. The acc. denoting the surface on to which motion is implied also comes under this category. It is found with verbs of the type of abhivassati “rain on to, upon” and okirati “scatter upon”. Here too the loc. can be optionally employed, e.g., mahīṃ iva sūro abhivassam D III.160 “like the rain showering on the earth”; sarīraṃ okiranti D II.137 “fall on (to) the body” (lit. scatter).

§41. Secondary Uses of the Acc. of Direction.

With verbs having the sense of bending towards, leaning, depending, hanging on, clinging on to and tending to the acc. logically implies direction just as in the examples adduced in the preceding paragraphs. Speyer puts such uses on the boundary between the acc. of near object and the acc. of the aim (SS §40). Though these verbs do not imply any motion in the fundamental sense, still, being of a dynamic character, they are capable of taking an acc. of the thing on to or towards which ‘influence’ (in the sense that Brugmann (KVG §560) uses the term) is meant by the action. Speyer (loc. cit.) says
that in Skr. the acc. can be used after the primary verb śrayati without any prefix in the sense of *bending towards*, e.g., tvāṃ śrayati “he bends to you”. But in Pāli it always occurs with prefixes, e.g., Brahmaṃ aţhosissāmi M I.328 “I am attached to (lit. bent on) Brahma”; dvayaṃ nissita S II.17; III.134 “depending on both”; vibhavadiţhiṃ aţhositā M I.65 “holding on to the view of non-becoming”; bhavadiţhiṃ allīnā M I.65 “clinging on to the view of becoming”; kapisīsāṃ ālambitvā D II.143 “hanging on to or leaning against the door post”; sattā dhātuṃ abhinīvisanti D II.282 “beings hold on to an element”. The primary verb namati however can take the acc. even without any prefix in the sense of “bowing”. e.g., Tathāgataṃ namassantā D II.20 “bowing (down) to the Tathāgata” (cp. Skr. śrayati, above). It is to be remarked that in the adnominal construction with namo it is not the acc. but the dat. that is commonly employed (§112). Even adverbally the latter is concurrently used (§96.b.). The verb atthu (imperative) in conjunction with nouns of blessing and greeting as well as their opposites may take an acc. of the person unto or on whom such a wish is meant to be conferred. e.g., bhavaṃ atthu bhavantaṃ Jotipālāṃ mānavaṃ D II.231 “May good fortune attend the honourable Jotipāla”. It is clear here that the acc. is due to the ‘direction’ implied in atthu, a construction parallel to the *dat. of advantage* which is elsewhere frequently applied in such connections (cp. Comy. ‘bhoto Jotipālassa ... hotu ... ‘ Sum.II. p.660). We may compare with this the usage dhī-r-atthu mama jīvitaṃ Sn 440 “fie! on my life” where too the acc. is due to the ‘direction’ implied in atthu rather than to the force of the exclamatory particle dhi (cp. Skr. dhik c. acc., SS §417.2.). [51]
§42. The Acc. of Relation.

We have already referred to certain uses of the acc. with verbs of *speaking* etc., where it seems to have originally implied the idea of *relation* as denoting the thing or person referred to by the action rather than the *object* proper, (§36.d). Though this construction is undoubtedly pre-Indo-Aryan (cp. KVG §561.5., Latin Acc. of Respect), still in Skr. it had for the most part gone into disuse, the loc. being there the normal case for that function. Moreover, such verbs as those capable of being thus construed became ‘transitivess’ owing to the addition of prefixes (§37), and the acc. came to be regarded as being due to their prepositional force rather than to the special character of the verb. In most of these instances Indian grammarians explain the acc. as being due to the *accented prefixes* (*karmaparvacanīya* cp. Pāṇ.II.38). A striking example of this is found in the frequent passage *taṃ kho pana bhavantaṃ Gotamaṃ evaṃ kalyāṇo kittisaddo abbhuggato* D I.87; M II.83 “to this effect has the good report arisen *concerning* that venerable Gotama”, which the *vutti* on Kaccāyana 301 takes as an instance for the construction ‘*kammappavacanīyayutte*’. But the same occurring at Sn p.103 the commentator (Buddhaghosa) styles as ‘*ithambhūtayoge*’ (*vide* Paramatthajotikā II.2. p.441).

a. The acc. of the *person referred to* with the verb *vadati* can therefore be regarded as originally denoting the person *concerning* whom a statement is made. The noun clause ending with *iti* consisting of that statement is here the actual object. e.g., *kulaputto ti bhikkhave Nandaṃ sammā vadamāno vadeyya* A IV.166 “one could, brethren, rightly say speaking *of* Nanda that he is the scion of a noble family”; that the *iti* clause is the actual object and not the noun
denoting the person, is shown by the use of *taṃ* in the following: *Sāriputtam eva taṃ sammā vadamāno vadeyya* M III.29 “one could, rightly speaking, say this of Sāriputta”; *asammosattho loke uppanno ... sukhāya devamanussānanti maṃ eva taṃ sammā vadamāno vadeyya* M I.21 “one could say this, rightly speaking, of me: that an undeluded being is born in the world ... for the happiness of gods and men”. [52]

b. With the verb *vyākaroti* the acc., though logically denoting the person *about* whom something is declared, can also be regarded as being the external object of that verb in the sense of “reveal”. E.g., *paricārake abbhatīte kālakate uppattīsu vyākaroti* D II.200 “makes declarations as to the rebirths of (lit. concerning) such followers as had passed away”; *iti maṃ jano jānātūti sāvake abbhatīte kālakate uppattīsu byākaroti* M I.465 “makes declarations as to the births of such disciples as had passed away (saying): thus may the people know me”.

c. A more logical instance of an acc. of relation occurs in the following: *te aṇṇamaṇṇaṃ migasaṇṇaṃ paṭilabhissanti* D III.73 “they receive the impression of a deer with respect to each other”; or adnominally: *aṇṇamaṇṇaṃ agāravā* Th 1.976 “disrespectful towards each other”. From these translations it becomes clear that the acc. here stands parallel to the loc. known as **nimitta-sattamī** (§177.a). This is supported by the v.l. *aṇṇamaṇṇamhi* at D III.73 “with regard to each other”, which also shows that it is unnecessary to consider the acc. *aṇṇamaṇṇaṃ* as an adverb.
§43. Acc. of Relation with Reflexive Participles.

An acc. is also found in the Nikāyas with certain reflexive participles, denoting originally an external object with the indicative forms of the verb but with the participles appearing as accusatives of relation. This is the exact counterpart of the Latin construction already referred to (cp. *manūs victus* = bound with respect to the hands). e.g., *cakkhundriyaṃ asamvuttaṃ viharantaṃ* D I.170; A II.16 “dwelling unrestrained with respect to the sense of sight”, where the loc. is concurrently used (cp. *cakkhundriye saṃvaram āpajjati*); *yaṃ pan’ assa khamati taṃ gathito mucchito* ... D III.42 “being fettered and infatuated as to that which pleases him”, where too the loc. is parallel (*vide* P.T.S. Dict. s.v.); *sīsaṃ nahātassa* D II.160,172 “of him (who was) bathed with respect to his head”; *sīsaṃ pārutaṃ* S I.167 “covered as to the head”; here the v.l. *sasīsam* looks like an attempt to make the concinnity more normal regarding the acc. ending -aṃ as adverbial. A similar acc. occurs with *puṭṭho* “asked”: e.g., *labujaṃ vā puṭṭho amban [53] vyākareyya* D I.55,56 “inquired as to a gourd, replies about a mango”; cp. *yo attthaṃ pucchito santo anatthaṃ anusāsat* Sn 126 “who being questioned (regarding) what is useful admonishes (regarding) what is useless”.

§44. Acc. of Extension in Space or Time.

This use of the acc. shows most clearly the original idea of the case, viz., to restrict the application of a verb or a noun to a certain length of *space* or *time*. With regard to the latter conception it is usually designated the acc. of duration of time, which Macdonell considered to be in origin only a special form of the cognate acc. (VGS §197.2.). He adduces such examples as *śataṃ jīva śarādo várdhamānaḥ* “live
prospering a hundred autumns” (R.V. X.161⁴), where certainly the cognate sense is clear enough. But in the example tâsmāt sârvân ṛtûn varṣati “therefore it rains during all the seasons” no cognate idea is manifest, because the verb-concept varṣati has no semantic connection whatever with the noun-concept ṛtûn. This shows that the cognate acc. is not the only source from which the duration idea may have developed. Pâli grammarians call this kâladdhânamaccanta-saṃyoge dutiyâ vibhatti, “the second case applied to (denote) the extension in time and space”, (Kac. 300; Mog. II.3; cp. Pâñ. II.3.5.).

**a. Extent of Space**

This may denote the space traversed or the range over which an action is executed. Here the acc. is clearly seen to limit the application of the verb. e.g., yugamattaŋ ca pekkhati M III.137 “he fixes his gaze within the range of a yoke”; samantâ yojanaṃ passati D II.20 “he sees for a yojana on every side”; metaphorically, sattaporisam pi mahâsamuddhe udakaṃ saṇṭhâti A IV.102 “there is water in the ocean to a depth of seven times the height of a man”; adnominally, dvâdasa yojanâni âyâmena D II.146 “twelve leagues in breadth”. [⁵⁴]

**b. Extent in Time**

This usually signifies the time during which an action continues or is carried on. e.g., satipaṭṭhâne evaṃ bhâveyya satta mâsâni M I.63 “and so for seven months one should develop the bases of mindfulness”; so cattâre mâse parivasati D I.176; II.152 “he dwells for four months”; tiṭṭhatu Bhagavâ kappaṃ D II.103 “may the
Blessed One live for an aeon”; *imaṃ rattinḥ dukkhaṃ sessati* S I.83 “he will lie in grief during this night”; *api pana tumhe āyasmanṭo ekaṃ vā rattinḥ ekaṃ vā divasaṃ ekanta-sukhīṃ attaṇaṃ sañjānāthāṭi* D I.194 “would ye, brethren, realize yourselves complete bliss for one night or one day?”; *bahu-d-eva rattinḥ dhammīya kathāya sandassetvā* M I.354 “For the greater part of the night, having exhorted (them) with discourse on the Doctrine”. This use of the acc. is not far removed from its *adverbial* function as seen from the following examples: *ayaṃ vammīko rattinḥ dhūmāyati* M I.142 “this ant-hill smokes during the night or by night”; *tena hi bho muhuttaṃ āgametha* D III.20 “therefore, friend, wait for a moment”. [It is also found in certain cognate uses. e.g., *divā-vihāraṃ nisīdisvāmi* D II.182 “I shall sit through the day’s sitting”.] In the following the conceptions of *time* and *space* are linked together: *dīghaṃ addhānaṃ sandhāvitaṃ* D II.90 “run through a long period”. It is used *adnominally* in *āyasma Upavāno dīgharattam Bhagavato upaṭṭhako* D II.139 (cp. D II.3) “the venerable Upavāna (was) the attendant on the Blessed One for a long period”; *kīvaciraṃ pabbajito si, āvuso Samiddhi? na ciraṇ, āvuso, tīṇi vassānīti* M II.207; D I.152 “How long have you been ordained, venerable Samiddhi? Not long, friend, three years”.

§45. Acc. of Place Where.

The acc. may also denote the place where something happens. The few examples found, however, seem to border on the sphere of the *adverbial* acc. (of place). e.g., *upasaṅkamitvā vehāsaṃ attihamsu* S I.23 “having approached they stood in the air (or *adv.* airily)”; *ekamantaṃ nisīdi* D II.91,102 “sat on a side (cp. *adv.* aside)”; *ekamantaṃ attihāsi* D II.112 “stood on a side or [55] aside”. These
two examples are clearly adverbial, the stem *anta-* being hardly used in the Nikāyas except in adverbs of a historical nature. It is not common either in Vedic or in Classical Sanskrit and Buddhaghosa commenting on the phrase *ekamantam nisīdi* D II.55 says that it is either an adverbial use (*bhāva-napuṃsaka-niddeso*) as *visamaṃ* in ‘*visamaṃ candima-suriyā paharanti*’, or, is an acc. used in the sense of the loc. (*bhummatthe – Sum. II. p.483*). Similarly on *ekamantam aṭṭhāsi* Sn p.13 he has the remark: *ekamantanti bhāvanapuṃsaka-niddeso, ekokāsaṃ ekapassanti vuttaṃ hoti, bhummatthe vā upayoga-vacanaṃ* (Pj. II. p.140). The loc. itself occurs in the Nikāyas though not very frequently. e.g., *ekamante tittheyya* D I.104 “would stand on a side”. The fact that *ekamantam* is an adverbial use, however, does not preclude the possibility of it being at the same time an acc. of *place where*. It may even stand as an acc. of *direction*. e.g., *ekamantam apanetvā* D I.221 “having led ... aside (*lit. to a side*)”, or any other logical type. Adverbial uses always arise from such original functions as these. It may be noted however that the fundamental notion underlying these various applications is the same, viz., the spatio-temporal conception.

a. There is also a class of accusatives denoting place *where* which had already assumed the role of adverbs in the earlier language. Local grammarians treat them as *indeclinables* or *nipātas*. Such are the accusatives in the constantly occurring phrase *uddham adho tiriyaṃ* D I.153,II.250 “above, below and across” (*vide* §2).

b. A similar acc. is found with certain verbs of motion like *carati* and *anucaṅkamati* where it denotes the space *over* which one wanders etc. Here it borders on the acc. of *extent in space* (§44.a). e.g., *gāmāṃ vā nigamaṃ vā piṇḍāya caranto* D III.255 “going out for
alms through (over) village and hamlet”; Vesāliṃ piṇḍāya caritvā “having wandered through Vesāli for alms”; ekamantaṃ anucaṅkamamāno M II.158 “walking up and down on a side”. The loc. is here the concurrent idiom (§164.b). [56]

§46. Acc. of Time When.

Just as the acc. of place where is connected to the idea of extension in space, so is the acc. of time when related to the notion of extension in time. Therefore the renderings “in” and “through” are both permissible in such instances as the following: e.g., ye pi te bhikkhave ahesuṃ atītaṃ addhānaṃ arahanto sammāsambuddhā D II.144 “whichever holy ones, perfectly enlightened Buddhas, there were during (or in) the long past”; ye hi keci atītaṃ addhānaṃ samaṇā ... paccanubhosuṃ D II.213 “whichever ... recluses experienced.. during the long past”; yaṃ pi bhikkhave Tathāgato purimaṃ jātiṃ purimaṃ bhavaṃ purimaṃ niketaṃ pubbe manussabhūto samāno ... D III.145 “that the Tathāgata in (or during) a previous birth, existence or life, being then a human being”; yaṃ nūnāhaṃ bhante aññaṃ jātiṃ kodhanā ahosiṃ A II.204 “were I, Sir, in another birth (or during another life) irritable”; purimāni bhante divisāni purimatarāni ... devā ... sannisinnā honti D II.207 “some few days ago ... the gods ... were assembled” (lit. on or during some previous days ... etc.); yañca Ānanda rattīṃ Tathāgato anuttaraṃ sammāsambodhiṃ anusambujjhati D II.134 “in or during which night the Tathāgata realized unique and perfect enlightenment”.

a. In some other examples however the notion of extension in time is hardly implicit for they merely signify the time when. The most prominent employ of such an acc. is found in the stock phrase ekaṃ
samayaṃ occurring at the beginning of all suttas. Buddhaghosa commenting on this says it is only an acc. used to suit the sense determined by the context (vide Papañcasūdanī I. p.9-10) and parallel to the more usual loc. (bhummam eva atttho, Sum. I. p.33). In the latter Comy. he discusses the use as follows: ‘Kasmā pana ettha yathā Abhidhamme yasmiṃ samaye kāmavacaranti ca, ito aṇñesu Sutta-padesu yasmiṃ samaye bhikkhave bhikkhu vivicceva kāmehīti ca bhumma-vacanena niddeso kato, Vinaye ca: Tena samayena Buddhho Bhagavā ti, karaṇavacanena, tathā akatvā ekaṃ samayanti upayoga-vacanena niddeso kato ti? Tattha tathā idha ca aṇñathā attha-sambhavato’. Then he goes on to say that in the first instance the loc. is used [57] to denote the state (bhāva); in the second, the inst. is employed because the time was itself the occasion (tena samayena hetubhūtena karaṇabhūtena) for laying down the precept; in the third, it is a peculiar use of the acc. of extension of time (yaṃ hi samayaṃ Bhagavā imaṃ aṇñaḥ vā suttantaṃ desesi accantaṃ eva taṃ samayaṃ karaṇā-vihārena vihāsi tasmā tadaṭṭha-jotanatthaṃ idha upayogavacanani niddeso kato ti). He is therefore quite aware of the logical connection between the acc. of time when and that of extension. But the following examples, as pointed out above, have purely the notion of time when; atha kho Bhagavā pubbaṇhasamayaṃ nivāsetvā D I.178; II.102,122 “thereupon the Blessed One having robed himself in the forenoon”; pubbaṇhasamayaṃ abhiruhitvā D II.174 “having ascended ... in the forenoon”. It is significant, however, that even in such applications Buddhaghosa sees the implication of extension. On pubbaṇhasamayaṃ Sn p.13, he makes the following observation: ‘pubbaṇhasamaye ti attho ... pubbaṇhe ekaṃ khaṇanti vuttaṃ hoti, evaṃ accanta-samyoge upayogavacanamī labbhati’ (Pj. II.139). Similarly: rattiyā paccūsasamayaṃ paccuṭṭhāya D II.203 “having
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risen up early in the morning”; *imaṃ bhikkhave rattīṃ aṇīṭatārā devatā (maṃ) ... upasaṅkami* A IV.28 “this night, monks, a certain deity approached me ...”; *yaṃ ca rattīṃ parinibbāyati* D II.134 “whichever night.. (the Tathāgata) ... passes away”. The day *on which* something happens is also denoted by the acc. e.g., *atha kho sattamaṃ divasaṃ Kosinārakānaṃ Mallakānaṃ etad ahosi* D II.159 “on the seventh day it occurred to the Mallas of Kusinārā”; *Acela Korakkhattiyo sattamaṃ divasaṃ ... kālaṃ karissati* D III.7 “A.K. will die on the seventh day” (Comy. glosses it by ‘sattame divase’).

b. The acc. of certain compounds in which the first member is a past (passive or middle) participle and the second is *pubbaṃ* (acc.) occurs frequently in the Nikāyas denoting the *time when*. This is mostly found in the instance *bhūtapubbaṃ* which appears as an introductory remark in narration, e.g., *Bhūtapubbaṃ bhikkhave rājā ahosi Pacetano nāma* A I.111 “(It happened) in the past, there was a king by name Pacetana”; *Bhūtapubbaṃ Pūraṇo Kassapo anekasatāya parisāya dhammaṃ desesi* M II.3 “It [58] happened in the past that Pūraṇa Kassapa was preaching his doctrine to a crowd of many hundreds” (cp. D II.130,169); *sannisinna-pubbaṃ sallapita-pubbaṃ* D II.109 “met in the past, conversed in the past”. In Skr. *pūrvaṃ* occurs in narration in the same sense instead of *atīte*. e.g., *Vārānasyāṃ abhūt pūrvaṃ Brahmadattābhido nṛpaḥ, Kathā-sarītsāgara I.7 (cp. I.3). The compound *bhūtapūrvaṃ* too is met with in the Mahābhārata and Kāvya literature (*vide* Monier Williams Dict. s.v.). In such instances the acc. -*pubbaṃ* is adverbially referring to what has been before.

c. There are also a few temporal accusatives of an archaic character used in the Nikāyas as *adverbs*. e.g., *āyatiṃ pi evarūpena paṇītena*
piṇḍapātena pariviseyyâti M I.369 “would treat again (lit. in the future) too with such excellent alms as this”; sāyapātaṃ upaṭṭhānaṃ āgacchanti D II.188 “they come for the purpose of attending (on him) morning and evening”.

§47. The Adverbial Accusative.

The acc. singular of substantives and neuter adjectives is copiously employed in the Nikāyas in adverbial sense. As in the other languages adverbs formed from adjectives predominate and it is only rarely that substantives are so used, most of them being treated by local grammarians as particles (nipāta), especially those stereotyped adverbial accusatives inherited from Vedic like nāma etc. (cp. §2). In their particular functions these adverbs admit of the usual classification into local, temporal, modal, causal and so on. On the whole Brugmann’s division as found in his Greek Grammar (§441) tallies with the distinctions that appear in the Nikāya prose. In the preceding paragraphs we have already referred to a few such uses. The following is a more exhaustive treatment:


The acc. as adverb of time and space is mostly found of adjectives and participles that imply these conceptions. The following are temporal uses: sīghaṃ A I.45 “quickly” (mostly [59] found in compounds where the ending -aṃ is dropped for euphony); sanikaṃ D II.333; M I.120; S I.82,203; khippaṃ A II.118;III.164 (cp. Sn 413,682,998) “soon”; tuvaṭaṃ (cp. Skr. tvaritaṃ) A V.342 “hurriedly”. The adverbial acc. of nominal stems is only found in one or two archaic instances. e.g., yena samantā yojanaṃ passati
divā c’eva rattiṅca D II.20 “sees a yojana all around by day as well as by night”, where the use of the inst. divā side by side with acc. rattiṃ proves beyond doubt that the latter is an adverbial usage (cp. Vedic naktaṃ “by night”; vide §2). The local use of this kind of adverb is not so frequent as the above in the Nikāyas since it is more liable to fall in with the adverb of manner. e.g., rassaṃ assasāmîti pajānāti ... dīghaṃ assasāmîti pajānāti M I.56 “lit. he knows that he breathes short ... he knows that he breathes long”. A similar acc. is found of nouns denoting the cardinal points. e.g., uttarīṃ Vesāliyaṃ D III.10 “to the north (lit. northly) of Vesāli”. In the commonly found idiom yena.. tad avasari D II.126,156 “whither ... thither went” (§81.b.ii), it is almost certain that the acc. tad is a local adverb though the verb ava-sari is capable of taking the acc. of the place entered (§40). Another local use seems to be contained in the phrase (taṃ) mūlaṃ chindeyya A II.199, which is admitted as a textual variation of mūle chindeyya. Here, if the former reading is authentic, which is not unlikely, mūlaṃ would be an adv. acc. meaning “if one were to cut (it) by the root”.

§49. Adv. Acc. of Contents (internal object).

a. Some cognate accusatives are adverbially used parallel to the construction with katvā (§35.b.) as in the idiom visuṃ karoti “makes apart, scatters” etc.; almost all are adverbs of manner, e.g., so taṃ thūṇaṃ khaṇḍākhaṇḍikaṃ chindeyya A II.199 “he would cut the post into pieces (lit. piecemeal)”. Here the verb chindeyya contains the notion of “bits” or “pieces” which is the sense of the noun khaṇḍa. Local grammarians would paraphrase it by ‘so taṃ thūṇaṃ khaṇḍākhaṇḍikaṃ katvā chindeyya’.
b. Closely related to the above is a class of adjectival compounds used adverbially, its second member being the etymological object of the verb following. The origin of this construction can be traced back to the Vedic dialect, where it is found with the privative particle a-. E.g., ‘... lokān anapajayyāṁ abhy ājayan’ “unconquerably (i.e. irrevocably) conquered these worlds” (vide VGS §196.5.b.). In Pāli it occurs mostly with the particle su- “well”. E.g., samaṃ suvibhattaṃ vibhaji D II.166.235 “he divided (it) equally and well (lit. well-dividedly)”, where the parallel use of samaṃ, a pure adverb, shows that the latter too is employed in the same manner; suvinītaṃ vineti D III.189 “he trains (him) well (lit. well-trainedly)”. There are a few instances where the first member is an adjective or a participle, e.g., chinnapapātaṃ papatanti D II.140 “falls prostrate on the ground (lit. falls a-fall- as-if-it-were-cut)”; gāḷha-bandhanam baddho D I.245 “bound tightly (lit. by a strong binding)”. A similar cognate use is found with yathā-. E.g., yathābhuttañca bhūjathāti D II.173 “may ye eat as ye have eaten (before)”. In all these examples the inst. can be substituted for the acc. without any alteration of the meaning. In later Pāli the inst. is actually found in such places showing clearly how the original adverbial sense of the acc. is being gradually lost, the latter being superseded by the former (inst.) which becomes the commoner adverbial case after the model of Classical Sanskrit, though in Vedic, as mentioned above, the adverbial employ of the acc. is not unusual.

§50. Neuter Pronoun (acc. sg.) as Adverb.

a. Within this class of adverbial accusatives Brugmann includes the acc. sg. of neuter pronouns (interrogative, relative and demonstrative) used adverbially (Greek Grammar, §441.2.b.). This is
widely used in Pāli and Skr.. In the case of those derived from interrogatives, by virtue of their origin, they come to mean “how, why?” etc. and are therefore adverbs of manner or of reason. e.g., 

\[
\text{kin ti me sāvakā dhammadāyādā bhaveyyum no āmisadāyādā ti M I.12 “How now, do my disciples become the heirs of my Law and not of my possessions”; kin ti te sutaṃ D I.104 “why, have you not heard?”; kin ti te D II.174 “how then”; kin nu kho āvuso D II.8,131 “why, friends?” (but why, why in the world etc. vide [61] P.T.S. Dict. s.v.). This seems to be a development from the acc. of relation, implying originally “as to what.” (cp. Latin ‘Quid ille me castigat’? “Why (lit. as to what) does he lecture me?”).
\]

b. In similar contexts we find the acc. taṃ and yaṃ used to denote “therefore” and “wherefore” respectively, yaṃ is more frequent in this connection. e.g., 

\[
yam sukho bhavaṃ taṃ sukhā mayaṃ, yaṃ dukkho bhavaṃ taṃ dukkhā mayaṃ D II.233 “since (lit. wherefore) you are happy therefore we are happy, since you are sorrowful therefore we are sorrowful” [cp. Latin ‘Quod non venisti, timebam’ “because (lit. as to the fact that) you did not come, I was anxious”].
\]

c. Related to this is the employ of the relative neuter pronoun yaṃ as connective between the principal sentence and subordinate clauses. This corresponds to yad in Skr. (cp. Monier Williams Dict, s.v.), which can stand either for the nom. or for the acc. according to the context, e.g., 

\[
yampi Bhoto Soṇadaṇḍassa yaso hāyissati samaṇassa Gotamassa yaso abhivaḍḍhisati iminā p’ aṅgena na arahami bhavaṃ Soṇadaṇḍo ... Gotamaṃ dassanāya upasaṅkamituṃ D I.113 “since the fame of venerable Soṇadaṇḍa will diminish and that of the recluse Gotama will increase, because of this very fact it is not fitting that the venerable Soṇadaṇḍa should go to see him”;
\]
kim-atthi-yaṃ āvuso samaṇe Gotame brahmacariyaṃ vussatīti S IV.51 “what (profit) is there, friend, now that the Holy Life is lived under the recluse Gotama?”; "āṭṭhānaṃ kho etāṃ mārīsa anavakāso yaṃ ekissā loka-dhātuva dve arahanto sammāsambuddhā apubbaṃ acarimaṇṇa uppajjeyyum D II.225 “It is not possible, friend, there is no chance, that in the same world-system two Holy Ones, perfectly enlightened Buddhas can arise at the same time”; Buddhaghosa calls yaṃ in this context ‘the nom. used in the sense of the inst.’ (kāraṇatthe paccattā) and glosses it by ‘yena kāraṇena’ (Sum. II. p.659). It is however more likely that the form yaṃ here represents an acc. after the type of the adverbial accusatives discussed above. The following examples support the latter view: Tasmā-t-īha Ānanda tuyh’ ev’etāṃ dukkaṭaṃ ... yaṃ tvaṃ ... na Tathāgataṃ yāci D II.115 “Therefore, Ānanda, this mistake has been committed [62] by you ... that you ... did not implore the Tathāgata”; nāhaṃ bhante etāṃ rodāmi yaṃ maṃ Bhagavā evaṃ āha M I.389 “I do not grieve, Sir, over this, that the Blessed One has spoken to me thus”; na hi sādhu yaṃ uttama-puggalassa sarīra-bhāṅge siyā sampahāro D II.166 “it is not good that there should be a quarrel over the distribution of the relics (lit. the body) of the noblest man”; It may be remarked here that sometimes instead of the connective (nt. acc. sg.) the actual relative pronoun agreeing with the subject of the clause in number and gender is employed in similar constructions. e.g., na kho me taṃ paṭirūpaṃ yo’haṃ ākiṃṇo viharāmi D II.30 “it is not fitting for me that I should live crowded”; ovadatu maṃ bhante Bhagavā anusāsatu maṃ bhante Bhagavā yaṃ maṃ’ assa dīgharattaṃ hitāya sukhāyāti S III.1 “may the Blessed One advise me and admonish me that (sci. it = taṃ) may conduce to my benefit and weal for a long time”. The origin of this idiom may have been due to such contact as afforded by instances of the type: yaṃ rūpaṃ aniccam dukkhaṃ
vipariṇāmadhammaṃ ayaṃ rūpassa ādīnavo S III.62 “that the form is impermanent, subject to grief and change, this is the danger of form”, where the proper connective ‘yaṃ’ accidentally agrees in gender and number with the subject of the subordinate clause, viz., rūpaṃ.

d. The acc. yaṃ is also used as a temporal adverb meaning “when”, usually introducing adverbial clauses or even in the temporal function of “since”, often to be rendered by English ‘that’, e.g., ito so bhikkhave eka-navuto kappo yaṃ Vipassi Bhagavā ... loke udapādi D II.2 “it was the ninety first aeon hence that the Blessed One Vipassi ... was born in the world”. Commenting on this Buddhaghosa says that yaṃ is found in four distinct uses: 1. paccatta-vacane “in the sense of the nom.”; e.g., yaṃ me bhante devānaṃ ... sammukhā sutaṃ ... ārocemi taṃ bhante Bhagavato ti, where it is only the relative pronoun agreeing with the subject sutaṃ. 2. upayoga-vacane “in the sense of the acc.”; e.g., appucchimha akkittayī no aññaṃ, yaṃ pucchāma tad iṅgha brūhīti, where too it is the relative pronoun acc. sg. agreeing with the object tad. 3. karana-vacane “in the sense of the inst.”; e.g., atṭhānaṃ etaṃ bhikkhave anavakāso yaṃ ekissā loka-dhātuya ti, [63] where, as has been shown in the foregoing (c), it is the proper connective adverb. 4. bhum’ atthe “in the sense of the loc.”, as in the context under discussion (idha pana; Sum. II. p.410). The commentator is therefore aware of the syntactical distinctions of the uses of yaṃ. Its purely temporal application is attested by many other examples, too. e.g., Atha kho Bharaṇḍu Kālāmo Kapilavatthumhā pakkāmi, yaṃ Kapilavatthumhā pakkāmi tadā pakkanto va ahosi na puna pacchāgaṇchi A I.278 “Then B.K. set out from Kapilavatthu and when he left it (then) it was never to return”, where the parallel use of tadā is proof of the temporal sense of yaṃ;
So kho Ānanda samayo yaṃ mahāvātā vāyanti D II.107 “That is the time, Ānanda, when great gales blow”; bhavissati bhikkhave so samayo, yaṃ imesāṃ manussānāṃ dasavassāyukā puttā bhavissanti D III.71 “there will be that time when these men will have sons who will (only) live up to ten years”, where the Comy. has ‘yaṃ imesanti yasmiṃ samaye imesaḥ ...’; hoti kho āvuso samayo yaṃ kadāci karahaci dīghassa addhuno accayena ayaṃ loko saṃvaṭṭati D II.28 “there is a time, brethren, when at some time or other after the lapse of a long period this world will evolve ...”. All these examples go to show that the acc. in ekaṃ samayaṃ occurring at the beginning of all suttas has its origin in the above-discussed temporal adverbial use.

§51. Adverbial Use of Acc. (nt. sg.) of Adjectives.

a. Adjectives denoting quantity or degree form corresponding adverbs. e.g., atibāḷhaṃ paridevesi D II.232 “he lamented very much”; suññatāvihārenāhaṃ, Ānanda, etarahi bahulaṃ viharāmīti M II.104 “mostly I spend my time now, Ānanda, in the (lit. by the) dwelling on Emptiness”; etad eva bahulaṃ bhikkhūnāṃ dhammīṃ kathaṃ karoti D II.123 “he speaks much to the monks on doctrinal matters”; yo ciraṃ jīvati so vassa-sataṃ appam vā bhiyyo D II.4 “he who lives long lives a hundred years or a little more”.

b. Several acc. adverbs are formed from comparatives of adjectives in -tara (cp. VGS §196.5.). e.g., yathā aham cirataraṃ [64] passeyyaṃ D II.178 “that I may see longer”. The suffix may be added even to adverbial case-forms like divā. e.g., Kāḷīdāsī divātaraṃ yeva uṭṭhāsi M I.125 “the maid Kāḷī rose up later-on-in-the-day”. 
c. Adverbs are also formed from adjectives denoting priority and posteriority of time. e.g., sammāsambuddhā apubbaṃ acarimaṃ uppajjeyyuṃ D II.225 “All-Enlightened Ones are born neither before nor after (the other, i.e. simultaneously)”; tadanantaram paṭisallīnā D II.265 “meditating the meanwhile”; na ciraṃ Tathāgatassa parinibbānaṃ bhavissati D II.119 “ere long (lit. not long after) will take place the passing away of the Tathāgata”.

d. The acc. sg. nt. of the numeral adjective eka “one” is found in a peculiar adverbal usage in a passage of philosophic importance, viz., ye te samaṇabrāhmaṇā ... ekaṃ attānaṃ damenti ekaṃ attānaṃ samenti ekaṃ attānaṃ parinibbāpenti A II.68. To the student of syntax ekaṃ here clearly appears as an adverb meaning “once” (i.e. one time) and not by any means as an adjective qualifying attānaṃ. Accordingly the sense would be: “whichever recluses and brahmins ... once train themselves, again (lit. once) calm themselves and still again (lit. once) tranquillize themselves”; cp. eka- standing for ekaṃ (adv.) in ekajāṃ vā dijaṃ vā pi Sn p.21 “once-born or twice-born”; also devo ca ekamekam phusāyati Ud 5 “and it rains drop by drop (lit. one by one)”. This adverbial use of ekaṃ is only a logical development from the adverbial acc. sg. of neuter ordinals such as paṭhamaṃ “firstly”, dutiyaṃ “secondly” and tatiyaṃ “thirdly” (cp. Latin primum etc.). e.g., dutiyam pi ... tatiyam pi kho .. D II.103 “secondly ... thirdly ...”.

e. The acc. sg. of certain nouns implying divisions of time like khaṇaṃ “a moment” is used adverbially to denote frequency or continuity with the prefix abhi-. e.g., so abhikkhaṇaṃ ... dukkhaṃ patisaṃvedi M I.308 “he experienced ... sorrow continually (i.e. moment by moment)”. The numerical adverbs in -khattu (Skr.
kṛtvaḥ) denoting the number of times are also formed on the model of adverbial accusatives. e.g., tikkhattuṃ padakkhiṇaṃ [65] katvā D II.163 “having walked round to the right (i.e. paid respects) three times”.

§52. Acc. as Adv. of Manner.

a. A large class of adverbial accusatives play the part of adverbs of manner. These seem to have developed from the original oppositional accusatives (cp. VG §642.b.). They are either the acc. sg. of substantives, neuter pronouns, adjectives or adjectival compounds. e.g., from substantives: dukkhaṃ sessati S I.83 “will sleep miserably” (cp. A I.137; M I.192); sukhāṃ seti S I.212 “he dwells at ease (i.e. happily)” (cp. A I.136). A similar acc. is found in the following examples where it has the sense of ‘after the manner of’ or ‘like’: udumbarakhaḍikāṃ vāyaṃ kulaputto bhoge khādatīti A IV.283 “this clansman eats his wealth like a fig tree-glutton”; ajaddhumārikaṃ vāyaṃ kulaputto marissatīti (ibid) “this clansman will die like a starveling” (cp. E.M. Hare Gradual Sayings IV, 189); from adjectives: samaṃ vibhaji D II.166,235 “divided equally”; sādhukaṃ manasikarotha D I.63; II.2,255 “reflect well”; sādhukaṃ uggahetvā D II.119 “having learnt well”; from adjectival compounds: puṇḍarikāni ... samodakaṃ ṭhitāni D II.38 “white-lotuses ... standing at a level with the water”; ime dhāmme anavasesaṃ samādāya D I.165 “having taken up these doctrines completely (lit. remainderlessly)”; pasannacittān anussareyya M I.210,211 “would reflect over with a delighted heart (lit. delighted-heartedly)”. A class of compounds with -upamaṃ as the second member is used adverbially implying accordance. e.g., kullūpamaṃ vo bhikkhave ājānantehi dhammā pi vo pahātabbā M I.135 “according to the parable of the raft even the
dhammas should be discarded by you when you, brethren, attain to realization”.

b. To this category belongs a class of acc. adverbs formed from *descriptive-determinatives* where the first member is an adverb (inclusive of particles and prepositions) and the second is a noun or a past passive participle with substantival significance. Such compounds when employed thus as adverbs are treated by local grammarians as a special class called *abbayībhāva* (Skr. *avyayībhāva* [66] *samāsa*; cp. Kac. 321). e.g., *ajjhattaṃ arūpasaññī D II.112* “internally conscious of the formless”; *ajjhattaṃ kāye kāyānupassī D II.216* “internally he sees the body in terms of the body”; *paccattaṃ yeva parinibbāyati D II.68* “attains parinibbāna individually of himself”; (Comy. *attanā*); *paccattaṃ veditabbo D II.217* (cp D I.24) “should be known personally or individually”; *nivātañca vata ayaṃ ca Migāramātupāsādo ... asaṅkampi S V.270* “even in the absence of a gale (without a storm) this mansion of Migāramātā trembled”; cp. archaic acc. *anuraho maṃ ... codeyyuṃ M I.27* “they would accuse me ... secretly” (*vide* §2); *yathābhūtaṃ pajanāti D I.162* “he knows according to reality” (cp. M I.91); *yathābhirantaṃ viharīvā D II.94,126* “having lived as long as he desired (lit. according to fancy)”; *yathā-kāmaṃ S I.227* “according to inclinations”; *yathā-sattiṃ yathā-balaṃ D I.102* “according to energy, according to strength”; *yathāinnanam pavattamānaṃ A II.140* “flowing downward according to the bent”; *yāva-jīvaṃ anatikkanīyā D III.133* “not to be transgressed as long as life (lasts)”; to this adv. acc. is related the peculiar use of *taṃ* in the stock phrase *yathā- taṃ*. e.g., *yathā-taṃ Mārena pariyuṭṭhita-citto D II.103* “because (lit. according to the fact that) his mind is obsessed by the Evil One”; the Comy. has the characteristic remark *ettha tanti nipāta mattaṃ*; cp. *yathā-taṃ* D
II.264,269; III.8; M I.249; II.142 “because, accordingly as”; 
tiro-kuḍḍaṃ tiro-pākāraṃ tiro-pabbataṃ asajjamāno gacchati M I.69 
“he goes without getting stuck through wall and mountain”. There 
are also to be found a few similar adverbial formations with the 
particle sa- which is the contracted form of either the sociative adv. 
saha or the prefix saṃ-. e.g., sanidānaṃ samaṇo Gotamo dhammaṃ 
deseti M II.9 “the recluse Gotama preaches the doctrine reasonably”; 
sasīsaṃ pārupitvā M II.16 “covering himself head and all (lit. with 
the head)”; cp. sapadānaṃ piṇḍāya caramāno Sn p.21 “going for 
alms (from house to house) uninterruptedy”.

c. The acc. sg. of certain other compound formations is used as 
adverbs of reason. e.g., na ca maṃ dhammādhikaraṇaṃ viheṭhesi M 
III.270 “he did not give me trouble by way of any [67] doctrinal 
point”; tato-nidānaṃ hi so bhikkhave maraṇaṃ vā nigaccheyya A 
IV.130 “by reason of that, brethren, he would either meet death ...”; 
so tato-nidānaṃ labhetha pāmujjaṃ D I.72 “by reason of that he 
would obtain joy”. The inst. or the abl. is the more usual in this 
function.

§53. Acc. with Adverbs.

Certain adverbial formations, mostly the inst. or abl. sg. of older 
(Vedic) nominal stems (cp. VGS §197), take an acc. of the 
noun-concept which they qualify or ‘govern’. Here the abl. and the 
gen. are concurrent idioms (§§130 & 150). e.g., uttarena Opasādaṃ 
M II.167 “to the north of Opasāda”; antarena Campaṃ M I.340 “this 
side of Campā”; antarā ca Sāvatthiṃ antarā ca Sāketaṃ M I.149 
“between Sāvatthi and Sāketa”; antarā ca Rājagahaṃ antarā ca 
Nālandaṃ D I.1 “between Rājagaha and Nālandā”, where
Buddhaghosa observes that the acc. is used because it is construed with the word antarā (‘antarā saddena pana yuttattā upayogavacanaṃ katam’ Sum. I. p.35); samantā Vesāliṃ D II.98 “around Vesāli”; santike nibbānām S IV.74(V.) “near nibbāna”; Bhagavantam sammukhā D II.155; Sn p.100 “before the Blessed One”; pacchā bhattaṃ D II.102,122 “after the meal”; kiṃ paccayā D II.31 “due to (lit. depending on) what?”; ime ... dve paccayā D II.207 “owing to these two (reasons)”. In the phrase kiṃ kāraṇā ti? D III.65 “due to what?”, it is clear, therefore, that the acc. (kiṃ) is due to treating kāraṇā as an adverb on the analogy of paccayā above, although a contamination of the two idioms kiṃ kāraṇaṃ and kasmā kāraṇā has been suggested (vide P.T.S. Dict. -kāraṇā).

§54. Acc. with Prepositions.

The acc. is ‘governed’ by more prepositions than any other case in Pāli just as in the older language (VGS §197.c.). Most of these are adverbial prepositions. e.g., ati, “beyond”, anu “after”, abhi “towards”, pati or paṭi “against, near”, and tiro “across” (cp. VG §176.1.1). [68]

a. The only prepositions used ad nominally in the Nikāyas are pati or paṭi, always found as postposition in gāthā literature, tiro and anu which are difficult to distinguish from those employed as first member of adverbial compounds of the type discussed in the preceding paragraph. e.g., suriyass’ uggamanam pati Th 1.517,628 “about, near, sunrise”; utuveramaṇiṃ pati Sn 291 “(the time) about the cessation of menstruation”; nadiṃ Neraṇjaraṃ pati Sn 74 “near the river Neraṇjarā”; tiro dussaṃ tena manteti D I.103 “converses with him through a curtain”; anvaddhamāsaṃ saṃghamajjhe.
osaranti M II.8 “come into the midst of the Order every half-month (lit. after every half-month)”. There is a similar uncertainty with regard to the syntactical function of the adverbal prepositions adho, paro, anu etc. which too apparently occur only as the first member of avyayībhāva compounds. e.g., adho-mukham M I.132,134 “with head downwards, i.e., headlong”; paro sahassam D II.16; S I.192 “over a thousand”; cp. anuraho M I.127.

b. Most of these prepositions, however, are only found in the Nikāyas adverbally i.e. as prefixes to verbs which in their normal form do not take an acc. of the object (cp. §37). e.g., ati: te aṇṇe deve atirocanti D II.208 “they outshine the other gods”; anu: padhānasa anuyuṇja D II.144 lit. “strive after exertion”; cp. anuyogaṃ anuyutto D I.167; II.223 ; bhāsitam anumodi D II.279 “rejoiced in (lit. after) what was said”; cp. anujato Tathāgataṃ Sn 557 “born after the Tathāgata”; abhi: Bhagavato bhāsitam abhinandi D II.71,277 cp. 54,69 “rejoice at (lit. after) the speech of the Blessed One”; this verb nandati, however, could take the acc. even in its primitive form in the older language (cp. SS §42); pa: savanam pamajjati A IV.24 “neglects the hearing.”; (adhi+),ā: agāram ajjhavasati D I.63; II.16 “inhabits the house”; upa: (taṃ) upaṭṭhāti M III.25; S I.167; A III.94 “waits upon him”; paṭi: Vipassiṃ Bhagavantaṃ ... imā ... gāthā paṭibhaṃsu D II.36 (cp. M I.79) “these verses dawned upon ... the Blessed One Vipassi”; sādhu vata bhavantaṃ yeva bho Gotamaṃ paṭibhātu etassa bhāsitassa attho D I.124 “well, may the meaning of what is said dawn upon the venerable Gotama himself”. The acc. in such examples, as has been mentioned earlier, is regarded by Indian [69] grammarians as being due to the karmapravacanīya or ‘adjuncts
to *sambandha* or relation between *kriyā* and *kāraka*\(^9\) (vide §42). The gen. is the alternate construction in this special instance. In *mamaṃ* (v.1. *mama*) yeva sāvakā anusāsaniṃ paccāsiṃsanti M II.10 “the disciples look to me for advice” the pronoun *mamaṃ* may be either acc. or gen..

**§55. Acc. with Indeclinables.**

A class of words which are treated as indeclinables by Pāli grammarians but which were originally the *gerunds* of certain verbs, usually with the prefixes *pa*-,*ud*-, *ā* and *ni*(*s*)-, by virtue of being verbal formations take an acc. of the thing ‘governed’ i.e. the original object. Such are:

\[\text{paṭicca} (< \text{prati} + \text{itya}) \text{ “on account of”; e.g., etam paṭicca M I.265 “on account of this”; macchariyaṃ paṭicca ārakkho D II.58 “on account of avariciousness care”; katamaṃ ... atthavasaṃ paṭicca D II.143 “on account of what ... matter?”; ārabbha (< ā + rabhya or rambh) “beginning with, taking into consideration, (hence) referring to, about”; e.g., bhikkhusaṅghaṃ ārabbha D II.100 “concerning the Order of monks”; paricārake ārabbha D II.204 “about the followers”; santīṃ ārabbha D II.157 “about peace”; also at D I.180; A II.27,301; āgamma (< ā + gamya of gam) lit. “coming to, (hence) on account of”; e.g., D I.229; It 79; used as synonym for the above; uddissa (< ud + diṣya of diṣ) “pointing out, (hence) with reference to, concerning”; e.g., bhavaṃ Gotamaṃ uddissa M I.16 “concerning venerable Gotama”, where *bhavaṃ* should be corrected to *bhavantam*; it is mostly found in the developed sense of “for the sake

\[^9\] vide *Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar* p. 166.
of”. e.g., (ahataṃ) devaṃ yeva uddissa D II.80 “brought especially for the sake of the lord”; kaṃ si tvamī āvuso uddissa pabbajito M I.170 “on account of whom, friend, have you left home?”; where it comes to mean “following whom … etc”. nissāya (< ni+ śrāya of śri) “leaning on (cp. bhittim nissāya D III.208), (hence) depending on, owing to”; e.g., dhammaṃ yeva nissāya A I.109 “owing to the doctrine”; rājanaṃ nissāya M II.185 “owing to the king”; its sense is further developed in [70] Āḷārakālāmaṃ nissāya nissāya atikkamiṃsu D II.130 “they went on keeping close to Āḷārakālāma” i.e. “followed Ā. closely”. sandhāya (< saṃ + dhāya of dhā) “putting together, (hence) considering, on account of”; e.g., na kho āvuso Bhagavā sukhaṃ yeva vedanaṃ sandhāya sukhasmiṃ paññāpeti M I.400 “the Blessed One, friends, does not lay down (a thing) as (part of) happiness just on account of the pleasant feeling”.

§56. The Accusative Absolute.

a. The absolute use of cases is generally connected with, if not directly inherited from, their temporal application. We have in the earlier paragraphs observed many temporal uses of the acc., which were syntactically parallel to the loc. of time. Similarly a few instances are found in the Nikāyas of the accusatives of substantives agreeing with some participle, making up an obviously absolute construction. The participle mostly found in this connection is santa- “being”, which is involved in a similar acc. absolute in Greek (Greek on = Skr. san-), the origin of which Brugmann traces to the appositional use of the acc. “this being so …” (Greek Gr. §582). The construction being thus quite historical in I.E., the possibility of the ending -aṃ, in such instances as are found in the Nikāyas, being a restoration of the normal loc. sg. -e as a result of the confusion of -e
and -o in Prākrit, seems to be precluded. Buddhaghosa too regards such accusatives as used in the sense of the loc. The following therefore may be reasonably regarded as acc. absolutes expressing the conditions during the permanence of which another event occurs. e.g., santam yeva kho pana param lokam atthi paro loko ti 'ssa diṭṭhi hoti M I.403 “there being a further world, he gets the notion that there is another world”; santam yeva kho pana kiriyam atthi kiriyā ti paraṇ saññāpeti M I.406 “there being action, he convinces others that there is action”. Here, just as in the case of the loc. absolute (§186), the adverb evam can sometimes stand for the nominal member put in the loc.. e.g., evam santam kho te Poṭṭhapāda aṇṇā vā saññā bhavissati aṇṇo atta D I.186,187 “it being so, Poṭṭhapāda, is perception one (thing) and the soul another”.\textsuperscript{10} On [71] the analogy of these constructions it seems not impossible that the acc. in the following is also absolutely employed though the verb pajānāti can take an external object when used in the sense of “perceive”. e.g., santam vā ajjhattam byāpādaṃ atthi me ajjhatto byāpado ti pajānāti M I.60 “there being inward ill-will, he knows that there is inward ill-will”; santam vā ajjhattam rāgadosamoham atthi me ajjhatto rāgadosamoho ti pajānāti S IV.140 “there being inward passion, hatred and delusion, he knows that he has them”.

b. There are also a few other constructions with different participles. It is however not quite certain whether they are legitimate absolute uses. e.g., na bhikkhave mātā puttam jīramānaṃ evam labhati: aham jīrāmi mā me putto jītīti A I.179 “when the son is aging, monks, the mother does not find it possible (to say): let me decay but not my son!” That the acc. here is not necessarily meant to be the object of

\textsuperscript{10} “Tattha evam santan to evam sante, bhummatthe hi etaṃ upayoga-vacanaṃ ...” Budg. cp Sum. II. p. 376.
labhati is shown by the similar ‘intransitive’ use of the latter in: so ʼhaṃ na labhāmi: mā me bhonto atthakaraṇe nisinnassa antarākatham opātentu M II.122 “As such I do not find it possible (to say): do not interrupt me, friends, when I am presiding over the administration of justice”. Similarly, in the following, though Buddhaghosa regards the construction as elliptical, supplying “ņatvā” after the participial clause, the acc. may still be considered as used absolutely: Atha kho Suppavāsā Koliyadhītā Bhagavantaṃ bhuttāvin onītapattapāniṃ ekamantaṃ nisīdi A II.63; cp. D II.93; M I.393 “then the Koliya maiden Suppavāsā, when the Blessed One had eaten and taken out his hand from the bowl, sat on a side”. The nom. ‘bhuktāvī ...’ in the BSk. version (cp. Mhvs. III. p.142) further supports the suggestion that it might be an acc. absolute.

§57. The Acc. of Purpose.

Since the notion of purpose is only the metaphorical application of the idea of *direction*, both implying the *aim* in a general sense, it is not surprising to find the acc. employed as a case denoting *purpose*, a use which is evidently derived from the acc. of direction (§37). This is to be particularly seen in the case of the dat. in - āya which is preserved in Pāli only in its functions [72] of *direction* and *purpose* (§4). Hence many examples of the acc. of *direction* with verbs of motion have the implication of purpose at the same time and consequently appear to be used parallel to the dat. or infinitive of *purpose*. e.g., upaṭṭhānam gacchati D III.188 “he goes for the purpose of (lit. to) attending on.”; cp. upaṭṭhātuṃ “to attend” A V.72; Sakkassa ... anucariyāṃ upāgami M II.264 “he came for the purpose of waiting upon Sakka”, lit. “he came to the waiting upon Sakka”; divā-seyyaṃ upagato D I.112; M II.164 “gone for the day’s rest”;
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Rājagahaṃ vassâvāsaṃ osaṭā M II.2 et. seq. “entered Rājagaha for the passing of the rainy season”; vāsaṃ upagacchi A V.29 “went for residence” i.e. “took up abode”; janapadacārikaṃ pakkamiṃsu D II.48 “they set forth on their mission of (lit. for the purpose of) tramping the country”; cp. ... methunam dhammanā nāssu gacchanti brāhmaṇā Sn 292 “the brahmins did not go for sexual intercourse”, where the Comy. has: ‘methunam dhammaṁ ti methunāya dhammāya; sampadānavacanappattiya kir’ etaṁ upayogavacanaṁ’ (Pj. II. p.317). The acc. of purpose occurs only rarely with verbs other than those of motion. e.g., divā-vihāram nisinno Ud 5 “seated down for the day’s rest”. The postposition -attham (acc.) is the usual periphrasis, often appearing in compound, like its dat. -atthāya, which takes the place of this construction. e.g., parikkhārattham dānam deti D III.258 “he gives alms for the purpose of (obtaining) requisites”.

§58. Double Accusative.

a. Direct + Appositional Object

Just as in Vedic (VGS §198) and Classical Sanskrit (SS §46.a) so in Pāli a second acc. appears in apposition to that of the direct object with certain verbs. It usually defines or qualifies the latter and is placed side by side with it in the sentence. e.g., maṃ hi bhante aññatitthiyā sāvakaṁ labhitvā M I.379 “those of other sects having received me, Sir, as a disciple”; upāsakaṁ maṃ bhavaṁ Gotamo dhāretu D I.110; Sn p.25 “may the venerable Gotama accept me as a disciple”; Sakyā kho pana Ambaṭṭha rājānaṁ [73] Okkākaṁ pitāmahām dahanti (v.1. dissanti) D I.92 “the Sākyans, Ambaṭṭha, claim (lit. put up, place; cp. Comy. ‘ṭhapenti’, Sum. I.258) king Okkāka as their ancestor”; here the abl. is the parallel idiom. e.g.,
mittato daheyya S III.113 “would consider as a friend”. On the analogy of these the acc. in the stock phrase saraṇaṃ gacchati, to which reference has already been made in another connection (§37.a), can also be regarded as an acc. used in apposition to the other one. e.g., bhavantaṃ Gotamaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāma M I.290 “we go to the venerable Gotama as refuge”; Bhagavantaṃ yeva tāṇaṃ gavesi D I.95 “sought the Blessed One as protection”.

b. Direct + Predicative Object.

An acc. other than the direct object of the simple verb appears predicatively with verbs of speaking (in the sense of “calling”), thinking, knowing, perceiving, making and the like. This is closely related to the above appositional use. With verbs of speaking: This, however, is only found in the gāthā literature. e.g., taṃ ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ Sn 620 “him I call a brahmin”; tatiyaṃ bhikkhunaṃ āhu maggajīviṃ Sn 88 “the third monk they call ‘one living in the way’”; etad āhu vasuttamaṃ Sn 274 “this they call the best gem”. In the Nikāya prose this construction has been superseded by that of the nom. with iti (§ 21). With verbs of thinking: e.g., taṃ kiṃ maññasi Pukkusa D II.131 “what do you think it (is), Pukkusa?”; taṃ kiṃ maññatha bhonto devā Tāvatiṃsā D II.213 “what do the honourable Tāvatiṃsa gods think it (is)?”. With verbs of knowing: e.g., yadā te Bhagavā aśīkatā kallacitte ... D II.41 “when the Blessed One knew them to be (lit. as) of suitable disposition ...”; bhāsamānaṅca maṃ na jānanti D II.109 “they do not know me to be speaking”; petaṃ maṃ jānāhi Pv II.9 “know me as a departed (spirit)”; cp. also taṃ vā pi dhīrā muniṃ vedayanti Sn 212 “him the wise know as a sage”. With verbs of making: cittaṃ attano ujukaṃ akaṃsu D II.254 “they made their minds straight”; ekāṃsaṃ uttarāsaṅgaṃ karivā D II.172 (lit.)
having made the upper robe one-shoulder-covering” i.e. “having put the upper robe over the left shoulder”; similarly, [74] ekamsaṃ cīvaraṃ katvā D II.163. When the expressions such as ekamsaṃ karoti are regarded as compound verbs (cp. §35.b), however, the construction loses its original significance.

c. Direct object + acc. of person indirectly affected.

i. Beside the acc. of the thing said, which is the direct object, another is found denoting the person to whom the statement is made with verbs of speaking. e.g., āyasmantaṃ Sāriputtaṃ etad avoca M I.31 “he told the venerable S. this”; Kāliṃ dāsiṃ etad avoca M I.125 “she told this (to) the maid-servant Kāli”; te nighaṇṭe etad avoca M I.92 “he told the naked ascetics this”; as seen from these examples the idiom is only frequent when the direct object is etad (cp. also D II.102,165). With other verbs the dat. is employed.

ii. A similar double acc. construction occurs with the verb pucchati, where the person questioned is also put in the acc. e.g., Bhagavantaṃ pucchati imam paṭhamam pañhaṃ pucchi D II.76 “he asked the Blessed One this first question”; samaṇaṃ Ānandaṃ ... phāsuvihāraṃ puccha D I.204 “inquire (from) the recluse Ānanda his ease and comfort”; yaṃ kiñci maṃ Subhaddo pucchissati D II.150 “whatever Subhadda shall ask me”. This can be compared with the similar use of the double acc. with yācati often found in verse e.g., pabbajjaṃ ayāci Buddhāṃ Th 1.869 “asked ordination (from) the Enlightened One”; pabbajjaṃ ahaṃ ayācim sabbasattāna uttamaṃ Th 1.624 “I implored the highest of all men for ordination”.

iii. A double acc. construction occurs also with verbs of *doing*, the second standing in place of the dat. of the person indirectly affected (§101). E.g., *kinti naṃ karosīti* A II.112 “what do you do (to) him?”; *taṃ enaṃ bhikkhave nirayapālā pañcavidhabandhanāṃ nāma kāraṇaṃ karonti* A I.141 “to him, brethren, the warders of Hell do the punishment called the ‘five-fold-binding’”; *Sakuludāyīṃ paribbājakāṃ antarāyaṃ akāsi* M I.39 “they did harm to (opposed) the wandering ascetic Sakuludāyi”.[75]

Yet with none of the said verbs is the double acc. of necessity, as Speyer points out (SS §47). In Pāli especially the variety of idiom and expression permits of other constructions which are quite as usual and sometimes even preferable. Thus verbs of *speaking* and *teaching* may take a dat. of the person spoken to; verbs of *asking* may take an abl. of the person questioned (*vide* §93.b).

**d. Direct object + (original) agent of causative verb.**

i. A second acc. occurs with the causative verb, if in its simple state it was ‘transitive’ to express the *agent*, i.e. the subject of the verb in the primitive or non-causative state, beside the acc. of the original affected object. This *agent* or the original subject can also be denoted by the inst. (*vide* §59). E.g., *ekamekaṃ Bhagavantaṃ vandāpessāmi* D II.148 “I shall make each in turn worship the Blessed One”.

ii. When the verb is ‘intransitive’ and denotes motion, the acc. of the *aim* (which, however, is never a person, in which case the loc. is used, cp. VGS §198.3f.n.2.) is preserved and the *agent* as before is put in the acc. E.g., *uppannuppanne pāpake akusale dhamme* ...
anabhāvaṃ gameti M I.11 lit. “the constantly arising, evil, unmeritorious thoughts ... he causes to go to non-existence”.

iii. The difference between these actual causative verbs and the faded causatives such as vāceti “teach” in the following example is an essential. For verbs such as those of teaching take the double acc. even in the older languages (cp. SS §47). e.g., tīṇi māṇavakasatāni mante vāceti M II.166 “he teaches the mantras to 300 young men”; satta ca brāhmaṇaṃmahāsāle satta ca nahātakasatāni mante vācesi D II.236 “he taught the mantras to seven noble brahmins and 700 initiated students”. The person taught may also be expressed by the dat. (§93.e). We have probably a similar faded causative in the following where the acc. kāyaṃ may be alternately put in the loc.: te imehi kāyaṃ balaṃ gāhenti M I.238 “with these they infuse strength into their bodies”. [76]

**§59. Accusative with Causative Verbs.**

As has been shown in the preceding paragraph, the subject of the simple verb which would be expressed by the nom. in the original sentence is put in the acc. case denoting the agent with the causative. This is invariably the case if the simple verb was ‘intransitive’. e.g., 

Atha kho Sakko ca devānamindo Vessavano ca mahārājā āyasmantamā Mahāmoggallānaṃ Vejayante pāsāde anucaṅkamāpenti anuvicarāpenti M I.253 “Then Sakka, the lord of the gods, and the Great Regent Vessavana caused the venerable Mahāmoggallāna to walk and move to and fro in the mansion Vejayanta”. But if the simple verb be a so-called ‘transitive’ there is diversity of construction. In that case the inst. is also permissible to denote the agent (vide §88.d). This alternate idiom, though frequent in the
dialect of the Brāhmaṇas (VGS §198.3) and in Classical Sanskrit (SS §49), is, however, not so popular in the Nikāyas. Still it is enjoined by Pāli grammarians.\textsuperscript{11} e.g., \textit{Kosinārake Malle Bhagavantaṃ vandāpesi} D II.148 “he made the Mallas of Kusinārā worship (pay their respects to) the Blessed One”. The original object of the simple verb is naturally preserved in the acc. e.g., \textit{(taṃ) aññā khīraṃ pāyenti} D II.19 “others make (him) drink milk” i.e. “others suckle him”.

\section*{§60. Acc. with Passive Verbs.}

In the case of verbs that admit of two accusatives, like \textit{pucchatī} etc., if in the passive construction the \textit{person} is put in the nom. case as the grammatical subject of the passive verb, the logical subject being denoted by the inst. as the agent of the action, the \textit{thing} questioned is preserved in the acc. case (cp. §43). e.g., \textit{samaṇa-brāhmaṇā ... pañhaṃ puṭṭā} D I.24 “the recluses and brahmins ... being asked a question”. In a similar way the passive past participle used actively (or the reflexive participle) may take an acc. of the thing or person that was the object in the primitive state. e.g., \textit{tam enaṃ Paṇḍuputto ... paccupaṭṭhito hoti} M I.31 “Paṇḍuputta ... was attending on him (or was present by his side)”. The passive potential \textit{[77]} participle (-tabba) used in the acc. nt. sg. as predicate of the clause in an indirect statement takes an acc. of its original object. e.g., \textit{Tathāgate arahante sammāsambuddhe āsādetabbaṃ maññati} D II.24 “thinks that the Tathāgatas, the holy and perfectly enlightened ones should be appeased”. Buddhaghosa, surprised by this peculiar employment of the acc. with the passive potential participle and ignoring the

\textsuperscript{11} Cp. ‘gatibodhāhārasaddattathākammakabhajjādīnāṃ payojje’ Mog II.4 et. seq.
possibility of a legitimate construction with the *impersonal* “-tabbaṃ”, says the ending -e stands for the plural and -tabbaṃ for -tabbe. The suggestion is at any rate syntactically plausible since the verb maññati is capable of taking the double acc. (§58.b.). But the reading need not be altered as it appears also in other places. e.g., amhe ovaditabbaṃ ... maññati M I.460.
Chapter III
The Instrumental Case

§61. [General Character]

The fundamental use of the inst. in Pāli as in the older languages is to denote the thing with which an action is performed. Hence Brugmann prefers to call this the with-case (‘Mit-Kasus’, KVG §540), because the with-idea may either signify connection or denote the means by which an action is done or something happens. Kaccāyana defines this (viz. karaṇa-kāraka) as “that by which an action is done”\(^1\) and further lays down the rule that the third case-affix is to be employed to express the karaṇa,\(^2\) while Moggallāna merely states that the third case denotes the agent or the instrument.\(^3\) We may observe in this connection that Indian grammarians are very careful to distinguish the logical function of cases which they call kāraka from the purely grammatical notion of cases. Pāṇinī meets this difficulty in much the same way. He first defines the karaṇa-kāraka as ‘that which is especially auxiliary for the accomplishment of an action’,\(^4\) a more comprehensive definition than that of the Pāli grammarian, and then adds the rule that in denoting the agent or the instrument the third affix is to be employed.\(^5\) It is interesting to note

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1 ‘yena vā karīyate taṃ karaṇaṃ’ Kac. 290.
2 ‘karaṇe tatiyā’ Kac. 288.
3 ‘kattu-karaṇesu tatiyā’ Mog. II.18.
4 ‘sādhakatamaṃ karaṇaṃ’ Pāṇ, I.4.42.
5 ‘kartṛkaraṇayo tṛtiyā’ ibid. II.3.18.
that Kaccāyana has a separate rule for the agent,\(^6\) which is syntactically preferable to the others’ treating them together.

\section*{\textsection{62. [Functions]}}

Modern grammarians\(^7\) regard the \textit{inst. of agent} as only one aspect of the \textit{inst. of means} in its widest sense (KVG §554). There is however a fundamental difference both grammatically and logically between the two. The \textit{inst. of agent} is only applicable with the passive or the causative verb and virtually denotes the subject of the action; it is no mere ‘auxiliary’ as is implied in the designation ‘inst. of means’. All Indian grammarians \(^79\) regard \textit{karṭṛ-kaṛaka} and \textit{karaṇa-kaṛaka} as quite distinct in their logical functions.

This case seems to have had a varied and confused application even in early I.E., overlapping the uses of other cases, notably the abl. and the dat., and so lost its separate existence in some of those languages. Neither Greek nor Latin has any separate form for this case; in Greek the dat. supplies the want, in Latin the abl.\(^8\) This may perhaps explain why there is such a confusing similarity between the uses of the abl. and the inst. in Pāli (\textit{vide} §§73.b,81,122). Speyer has drawn our attention to the fact that though the third case has been styled the instrumental after its most usual employment of expressing the \textit{instrument} or \textit{means} or \textit{agent}, yet its starting point is rather the conception of \textit{accompaniment} for which reason some call it the sociative.\(^9\) “Nor can there be any doubt”, he says, “the suffixes, by

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which the third case is made, viz., -bhi and -ā convey the meaning of accompaniment, simultaneousness and nearness” (SS §57). In Pāli, however, the inst. alone for the sociative is not very frequent being superseded by the constructions with prepositions like saha and saddhiṃ or sa- in compounds. But in principle even the inst. with such prepositions falls within the sociative class because it signifies the idea of accompaniment, association, concomitancy or mutual relations as the case may be. In addition to these uses saha may denote simultaneousness or even form an adverbial phrase with the substantive in the inst. case (§64), which functions are logically closely related to the idea of accompaniment, though perhaps not so directly as the rest.

§63. Inst. of Association or Accompaniment.

a. This is the sociative use proper; it expresses the person who accompanies the agent with verbs denoting motion and the like (cp. KVG §541). e.g., āyasmā Ānando ... Cetakena bhikkhunā pacchā-samaṇena, yena Subhassa ... nivesanaṃ ten’ upasaṅkami D I.205 “the venerable Ānanda ... set out for the residence of Subha ... with the monk Cetaka as attendant [80] (-recluse)”. An extension of the same use is frequent in the Nikāyas to denote mutual relations between people:

i. It may express the person who is united with another. e.g., mātaram pi puttena samānetā ahosi D III.160 “he was one who joined mother with son”; missibhāvam gato tayā D II.267 (V.) “gone to union with thee”. 

ii. Similar is the construction with verbs meaning to enter into talk or discussion. e.g., *kena sākacchaṃ samāpajjati* D III.38 “with whom will he enter into conversation?”.

iii. All verbs of *conferring, conversing, talking, discussing* etc. likewise take a similar inst. e.g., *Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo Brahmunā sākaccheti sallapati manteti* D II.237 “the brahmin Mahā-Govinda (Lord High Treasurer) converses, talks and deliberates with Brahmā”; *Ambaṭṭho māṇavo caṇkamanto pi nisinnena Bhagavatā kaṇci kaṇci katham sāraṇīyaṃ vītisāreti* D I.90 “the young Ambaṭṭha even while walking up and down conversed on various matters with the Blessed One who was seated”.

b. This same sociative inst. is used to express the thing with which or together with which another is presented and so on. e.g., *Tena kho pana samayena Aggika-Bhāradvājassa brāhmaṇassa sappinā pāyāso sannihito* S I.166 “At that time milk-rice was provided for the brahmin Aggika-Bhāradvāja together with clarified butter”; cp. *sālīnaṃ annaṃ paribhuñjamāno, sakuntamaṃsehi susaṅkatehi* Sn 241 “eating food made of (the best) rice with well-dressed fowl”. The thing thus denoted may express the idea of *accompaniment* in much the same way as the *person* who accompanies. e.g., *Atha kho Bhagavā yathā dhotena pattena Pañcasālaṃ brāhmaṇagāmaṃ piṇḍāya pāvisi* S I.114 “Then the Blessed One entered Pañcasāla, the village of the brahmins, for alms with his well-washed bowl (i.e. taking his bowl)”. The parallel idiom in this case would be the acc. with the gerund *ādāya* “taking”, which is the prevailing construction in later prose. The gerund *ādāya* due to this employment came to be regarded as an indeclinable with prepositional force (c. acc.; *vide* P.T.S. Dict. *s.v.*). [81] The same is found used metaphorically in
verse, in which case it borders on the inst. of *attendant circumstance* or *characteristic*. This is similar to the construction *inst. + sampanna* which usually appears as compound. e.g., *nibbittihena carami sabbaloke* Sn 25 “with what I have gained I wander about in the world”. In spite of the various nuances in which this inst. is applied, the fundamental notion underlying all such uses is the same, viz. the sociative idea.

**§64. Sociative Inst, with saha, saddhim & sa-.**

All these instrumentals can be accompanied by *saha*, *saddhim* or *sa-“with”* which are prepositional adverbs according to Macdonell (VGS §199 B.3. cp. Vedic *sahá* and *sákaṃ*). Local grammarians too regard the inst. in such instances as being originally due to the prepositions *saha* and *saddhim*. It is however clear from the preceding paragraphs that the inst. alone can be used here without any such help word and that these adverbs were only later introduced probably to avoid syntactical confusion with other instrumentals such as those of *means* etc. and in certain cases for emphasis and precision. These uses can be illustrated under the various sub-headings of the *sociative* class, thus:

a. With the inst. of accompaniment and association; e.g., *mahatā bhikkhu-saṅghena saddhim* ... D II.90 “with a great multitude of monks”; *saha rājūbhi* D II.258 “with the kings”. The same construction occurs with *sa- in compounds. e.g., sadevake loke samārake sabrahmake sassamaṇa-brāhmaṇiyā pajāya sadeva-manussāya* D II.12 “in the world of gods and men with its

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10 ‘sahādiyoge ca’ Kac. 289.
Māra and Brahma, together with its hordes of recluses and brahmins, kings (lit. gods) and men”.

b. With the inst. expressive of mutual relations such as union, conversation, discussion etc.; e.g., Bhagavatā saddhiṃ mantayamānassa M I.205 “of him conferring with the Blessed One”; evaṃ dutiyena saha mam’assa vācabhilāpo Sn 49 “thus if I shall pass words with another ...” [82]

c. With the inst. expressing simultaneity; eg., saha dassanen’ eva A IV.213 “at the mere sight of (lit. with the very sight ...)”; parinibbute Bhagavati saha parinibbānā (§6). S I.159 “simultaneously with the passing away of the Blessed One”.

d. With the inst. denoting the accompanying circumstances; e.g., saha viññāṇena ... D II.64 “with consciousness ...”; saha dhammena ... D II.104 “with righteousness ...”; the second example is almost adverbal in employment and can be rendered “righteously” like an adverb of manner. Hence logically it comes to border on the inst. of means.

§65. Inst. of Attendant Circumstances.

Closely related to the above sociative inst. is the inst. used to express the attendant circumstances, that is to say, incidents, conditions, moods, feelings and manifestations that accompany or characterize the agent (cp. KVG §542). These may be broadly classed under the well known designations of manner and quality, parallel to the Latin abl. modi et qualitatis (cp.SS §63.II.31y, & §67). It has to be mentioned here, however, that by the term manner is not implied the
purely adverbial function of that case. Perhaps the former is better designated the *inst. of description*. In Pāli this inst. has an extensive use and in many instances borders, as has been observed in the foregoing paragraph (d.), on the inst. of *means* (§66), especially in the case of the inst. denoting the posture or mood. It has a logical relation to the absolute uses of the loc. and the gen. (§§182&158) just as some uses of the inst. of means (§68.c.). One can hardly fail to recognize the *absolute* nature of the inst. in such examples as: *atha kho pāpima āyasmā Vidhuro bhinnena sīsena lohitena gaḷantena Kakusandhaṃ yeva Bhagavantaṃ ... anubandhi* M I.337 “then O Evil One the Elder Vidhura, with his head broken and blood oozing, began to follow the Blessed One Kakusandha”. The following distinctions as to its general application may be noticed: [83]

a. i. The inst. denoting attendant circumstance or incident in the literal sense is seldom found in the Nikāyas. e.g., *kharassarena paṇavena rathiyāya rathiyāṃ ... (taṃ) ... parinetvā* D III.67 “having led (him) from street to street ... to the accompaniment of the harsh sound of a drum (*lit.* with a rough-toned drum)

ii. It may also denote a continued action which attends upon another (action). e.g., *kāya nu ’ttha bhikkhave etarahi kathāya sannisinnā* D II.1 “with (i.e. engaged in) what kind of talk were you seated (together) just now, O monks?”; *yāya mayaṃ etarahi kathāya sannisinnā* D I.178 “engaged in which talk we were seated just now”.

iii. Or it may signify a certain circumstance, such as a mark, sign or injury, temporarily characterising a person. Such, for instance, is the already cited semi-absolute employment. e.g., *Atha kho bhikkhave Kāḷi dāsī bhinnena sīsena lohitena gaḷantena paṭivissakānaṃ*
ujjhāpesi M I.126 “Then the maid-servant Kāḷī, with her head broken and blood oozing (therefrom), called to (lit. stirred up) the neighbours”. This however is not the same as the inst. of characteristic which is illustrated by Pāṇinī with the example jaṭābhiḥ tāpasaḥ “an ascetic by (the fact of his having) matted hair”, though it signifies a mark or sign characterising a person. This logically falls under the category of cause (§67).

b. Very similar to the above is the inst. used to express physical and mental attributes or manifestations. This may denote either quality (cp. SS §67) as in mahāpurisalakkhaṇehi samannāgato D II.16 “gifted with the signs of a super-man”, or manner as in rājā niyyāsi ... rājānubhāvena D I.49 “the king ... set forth ... in (lit. with) royal splendour”; cp. Vedic út sūryo jyotiṣā devā eti (KVG §542) “god Sūrya rises with splendour”,

c. It is also used to express conditions of body and mind which attend the agent engaged in an action. e.g., rakkhiten’ eva kāyena ... gāmaṃ vā nigamaṃ vā piṇḍāya pavisissāmi S II.271 “with my body guarded shall I enter village or hamlet for alms”; dissamānena kāyena dhammaṃ desesi S I.156 “he preached the [84] doctrine with his body visible”; sucibhūtena attanā viharati “he lives with his self (Comy. mind) purified”. cp. ken’ attanā gacchati Brahmalokaṃ Sn 508 “with what body (lit. self) does he go to the Brahma-world?”.

d. The state of mind or mood (cp. KVG §542) in which one acts or exists is also denoted by this inst. e.g., aṅñatarena samādhinā nisinno hoti D II.270 “he is seated in a particular intent state of mind”;

11 ‘itthambhūtalakṣaṇe’ Pāṇ. II.3.21.
anupādisesāya nibbāna-dhātuyā parinibbuto D II.109,140 “entered Utter Peace in that element of cessation wherein no basis (for rebirth) is left”.

e. It also denotes the posture in which one sits or lies. The parallelism with the Latin abl. modi is here very clear. e.g., pallaṅkena nisīdeyya D II.211 “would sit with legs cross-wise”; dakkhiṇena passena sīhaseyyaṃ kappesi D III.209 “he slept like a lion on his right side”; ākāse pi pallaṅkena kamati D I.78 “he travels cross-legged in the sky” (cp. Dial. II.89); daṇḍo upari vehāsaṃ khitto aggena nipatati S II.184 “the stick thrown up into the air falls with its top (down)”.

f. The same logical function as denoted by the inst. expressing mood (d.) is implied in a peculiar idiom which is used parallel to the cognate object. e.g., santena vata bhante pabbajitā vihārena viharanti D II.130 “those who have gone forth (into the Holy Life), Sir, indeed live in a peaceful manner (lit. dwelling)”; cp. santena nūn’ajja Bhagavā vihārena vihāsīti D II.205.

Out of the inst. of attendant circumstances has developed a peculiar idiom which closely resembles the dat. of purpose (§106), thus providing another instance of case contact. e.g., Kosinārakā Mallā santhāgāre sannipatitā kenacid eva karaṇīyena D II.47 “the Mallas of Kusinārā were assembled in the mote hall with some business (at hand)”. Here the notion of attendant circumstance is quite clear. The idiom appears accordingly to be on the borderline between “with a business” (attendant circumstance) and “for a business” (purpose). Similarly: Campāyaṃ paṭivasanti kenacid eva karaṇīyena D I.113,150 “they were [85] living at Campā on some business”; Virūḷhakassa ... santike kenacid eva karaṇīyena D II.207 “near
Virūḷhaka ... for (lit. with) some work”; The idea of purpose, however, is more marked with verbs of motion: e.g., Dasamo gahapati Āṭṭhakanāgaro Pāṭaliputtaṃ anuppatto hoti kenacid eva karaṇīyena M I.349 “the householder Dasama Āṭṭhakanāgara had come to Pāṭaliputta for some business”. Hence it is not surprising to find the idiom yena atthāya employed just like yassa atthāya to denote purpose, though the idea of attendant circumstance is not yet lost in the former. e.g., yena atthāya ... sannisinnā D II.209 “assembled for which purpose”; yena atthāya devā sannipatita D II.225 “the gods ... met for which purpose”. It is also found in the gāthā literature. e.g., yen’ atthāya idhāgato Sn 430 “come hither for which purpose”.

§66. Instrumental of Means.

In the category of means in its widest sense are included the instrumentals of means (in the ordinary sense), of instrument, of way by which, and even of the agent by some authorities. But, as has been already pointed out (§62), the agent is better treated separately by virtue of its ‘independent character’ in the conception and construction of the sentence. Pāli grammarians too preserve this distinction. The inst. of means has a varied use in the Nikāyas, extending by stretch of idiom and usage into other established categories. Its most frequent and essentially fundamental application is to express the means or the instrument, in the physical (narrow)

13 ‘svatantrya’, as opposed to the other cases which are called ‘paratantrya’ or dependent by Skr. grammarians, especially, Patañjali; cp. Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar, p. 228.
14 Kac. 288 and 290.
sense of the term, by which an action is accomplished. e.g., *na musalena ... paṭhaviṃ khaṇati* M II.51 “he does not ... dig the earth with a tool”; *mahānaṅgalena kasanto* S III.155 “tilling with a large plough”; *varattāhi bandhitvā* D III.21 “having tied with straps”; *ekena cīvarena naṃ acchādehi* D II.133 “cover him with one robe”.

It may be mentioned here that the inst. of means can sometimes border on the inst. of cause or even of relation (§67 & 69), as in the following example where all these nuances seem [86] to be implied by it: *Mahā-Govindaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ dhanena sikkheyyāma* D II.245 “let us gain over the brahmin Mahā-Govinda by means of (through or in point of) money”. Or sometimes the substantive in the inst. may denote an idea contained in the verb, in which case we have a striking parallel to the cognate use of the acc. (§35). e.g., *agginā daheyya* A I.136 “would burn with fire”. Here daheyya alone would convey the necessary meaning. This inst. can also be used in abstract manner like the other cases. e.g., *aminā p’ etaṃ pariyāyena* S V.110 “by this method”. In the following instance the inst. *pāṇehi* seems to be more like a sociative (gone with their lives) though in a way it can be regarded as denoting the means: *Samaṇaṃ khalu bho Gotamaṃ anekāni deva-sahassāni pāṇehi saraṇaṃ gatāni* D I.116 “many thousands of gods gone to the recluse Gotama as refuge with their lives”. This is used parallel to the frequent phrase *yāvajīvaṃ pāṇupetaṃ saraṇaṃ gataṃ* M I.368.

a. This same inst. of means is invariably employed in expressing the part of body or limb exercised in accomplishing an action. e.g., *ubhohi hatthehi udakaṃ omasitvā* D II.176 “having touched water with both his hands”; *pāṇinā talaṃ āhacca* D II.262 “striking the earth with his hand”; *na sahatthā paṭhaviṃ khaṇati* M II.51 “does not
dig the earth with his own hand”; *sahatthā saṁtappesi* M I.393; A I.274; D I.109; Sn p.107 “fed with his own hand”. In these examples the particle *sa*- (in *sahatthā*) has to be taken as meaning “his own”, corresponding to Skr. *sva* (*vide* §6; cp. *sadesa* “one’s own country” P.T.S. Dict. *s.v.*), and not as the contracted form of *saha* “with”, as suggested by Franke (Z.D.M.G. 1892 p.313). For *saha + inst.* never directly signify the means by which an action is done or the *instrument*, because *saha* is only a *sociative* adverb (*vide* §64) denoting either *accompaniment* or *attendant circumstance*. This is also supported by the fact that *sahatthā* can stand side by side with the pure inst. of *means* (instrument) as with *musalena* “with (by) a tool” in the cited context: *na musalena na sahatthā* ... M II.51. Moreover the Avestan *tā zastā* which Franke adduces as a parallel is also the inst. of *means*, *tā* being only “his”, the personal pronominal [87] adjective.¹⁵ Other examples which belong to this class are: *padasā yeva pavattesi* D I.107 “caused him to roll with his foot”; *sirasā vandati* D II.148 “worships with (bowed) head”; *samehi pādehi patiṭṭhahitvā* D II.15 “having stood firm with level feet”; *mukhena eva khādati* D III.6 “eats with the mouth”; *Bhagavato pādāṇi mukhena ca paricumbati* M II.120 “he kisses the feet of the Blessed One with his (lit. mouth) lips”. With certain verbs, such as those meaning “to take, bear, carry”, the inst. is interchangeable with the loc., when the limb or part of the body *with* or *by* which such action is done implies at the same time that part *at* which the carrying etc. is made. Though this optional construction is logically permissible and is actually attested in Indian syntax (SS §74.8), in the Nikāyas the inst. seems to be the popular idiom even here (but cp. §§166.e. & 165.f.). e.g., *gabhāṃ kucchinā pariharati* M I.266 “she bears the

embryo in (lit. with) her womb”; aṅṅā aṅkena pariharanti D II.19 “others carry (him) about on their hips”; aṅkena vāhitvā M II.97 “having carried on the hip”; vāmena hatthena bhiṅkāraṃ gaheetvā D II.172; III.63 “having taken the jar with his left hand”.

b. The faculty exercised in feeling and perceiving is similarly denoted by the inst. e.g., cakkhunā rūpaṃ disvā D I.70 “having seen an object with the eye”; kāyena paṭisaṃvedi D II.186 “felt by the body”; cetasā ceto parivitakkaṃ aṅṅāya D II.36 “having known the thought of the (other’s) mind with his own mind”; manasā pi no aticarī, kuto pana kāyena D II.176 “she did not behave faithlessly even in mind, how then in body?”

c. It is also used to denote the medium through which one communicates, converses etc. with another, gāthāhi ajjhabhāsim M I.171; Sn p. 66 “I declared in verses”; gāthāhi paccabhāsi D II.39 “he said in verse”; sāruppāhi gāthāhi abhitthavi Sn p. 101 “he lauded in fitting verses”; sarena viṅṅāpeti D II.202,211 “communicates (lit. convinces) by means of the voice”; imāhi gāthāhi anumodi D II.208 “gave benediction with these verses”. The medium or manner by which one’s assent or desire [88] is conveyed may be a mood or a particular attitude, in which case the construction plainly borders on the inst. of attendant circumstance. e.g., adhivāsesi Bhagavā tuṅhībhāvena D I.225; II.180 “the Blessed One acquiesced in silence” or “gave his assent by or with silence”. The name by which one is addressed is also denoted by this inst. e.g., nāmena vā gottena vā āvuso-vādena vā samudācaritabbo D II.154 “should be addressed by name, clan or the appellation of ‘friend’”.

d. Similar is the inst. used to express the means by which, especially the conveyance in which, one travels etc. e.g., yāva nāgassa bhūmi nāgena gantvā D I.50; M II.113 “as far as the ground was suitable for the elephant, having gone on (lit. by) the elephant”.

e. It is used with the local sense with words meaning path or door to express the passage by which a moving (exit or entry) takes place or the way by which one goes etc. e.g., dakkhiṇena dvārena nikkhamitvā D III.67 “leaving through the southern gate”; uttareṇa dvārena nagaram pavisitvā D II.161 “entering the city by the northern gate”; vātapānena rasmī pavisitvā S I.103 “the rays having entered through the window”.

f. Just as in the case of the inst. of attendant circumstance, (§65.f.) here too we may have an idiom parallel to the cognate object. In most of these instances the inst. and the verb are etymologically related. e.g., ovādena ovadati S V.385 “he advises with an advice”; antevāsābhisekena abhisittā D II.152 “initiated with the initiation of a co-resident pupil”; khattiyābhisekena abhisitto A I.107 “anointed with the anointing of a prince”. Sometimes however they are not etymologically similar and the inst. is cognate only in meaning. e.g., adhunābhisitto rajjena D II.201 “newly consecrated with kingship”.

g. The inst. of means is also used in a participial sense; that is to say, it can be used parallel to the gerund in -ivā, which itself was originally the inst. sg. of the verbal noun in -tu (VGS §163.2). This is naturally restricted to verbal nouns or substantives with a strong verbal element. e.g., nāhaṃ taṃ gamanena [89] lokassa antaṃ ... patteyyanti vadāmi S I.61 “I do not say that by going (having gone = gantvā) I would reach the end of the world”; saṃvāsena kho
h. The *inst. of means* can sometimes logically stand for an acc. of the external object. The syntactical difference in such cases is due to the difference in view-point and is idiomatical. e.g., *maṃ ... paṃsukena okiranti* M I.78 “they scatter down soil on me”, *lit.* “scatter me down with soil”; *saṃvibhajetha no rajjenāti* D II.233 “distribute the kingdom among us”, *lit.* “.. us with the kingdom”. Here probably the inst. is due to the influence of the prefix *saṃ*.-

§67. Instrumental of Cause.

The *inst. of cause* expresses the reason or motive for an action or an existing condition (KVG §550; VGS §199.3.). This use brings the inst. into close contact with the abl., in view of which Sanskrit grammarians enjoin special rules in certain instances forbidding the employment of the abl. to avoid confusion. “The abl. is forbidden and the inst. is of necessity, if, firstly, the cause or motive be at the same time the agent; secondly, if it be an abstract noun of the feminine gender expressing a quality”. In Pāli the confusion is worse confounded by the fact that the old inst. in -ā, which Franke has definitely shown to survive in Pāli (Z.D.M.G. 1892) falls in with the abl. sg. in -ā from Skr. -āt (*vide* §6). Logically too there is ample scope for the two cases to come into contact (§122).

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16 See §72.7 (Rem.) in Speyer’s *Sanskrit Syntax* where he cites the *sūtra* of Pāṇinī (II.3.25) ‘*vibhāṣā guṇe striyāṃ*’.
a. The *inst. of cause* cannot be strictly separated from the *inst. of means* (§66.a.) because the idea of means with which an action is performed is not far removed from that of its cause. Indian Grammar, however, makes an important distinction between the two. Here there is an elaborate treatment of *hetu* and *karaṇa*. The argument may be summed up in the words of Chakravarti, thus: “The very conception of *kāraka* is intimately [90] related to that of cause (*kriyānimittaṃ kārakaṃ*). By *hetu* is meant the material cause. In the grammatical conception of *hetu*, we should remember, there is no room for action: *Karaṇa* or instrument, defined as a ‘cause associated with an action’ (*vyāpāravat kāraṇaṃ karaṇaṃ*), is intimately related to action. There is however no essential difference between *hetu* and *karaṇa*; it is only the association with action that makes the difference”.17 It is interesting to see from this discussion how far the ancient grammarians’ conception of syntax tallies with modern scientific notions.

b. Kaccāyana after Pāṇinī lays down the rule that the third case-affix is to be used in the sense of *hetu*, i.e., cause, reason or motive.18 The examples adduced are: *annena vasati*; *vijjāya vasati*; *sakkārena vasati*; *dhammena vasati*. The last however does not strictly mean “he lives by means of the Law” or “he lives by means of righteousness”, but simply denotes “he lives Righteously”, in which case we have here only an adverbial instrumental. Its logical import seems originally to have been the idea of *attendant circumstance* (*vide* §65.c, cp. §64.d) rather than one of *means*.

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17 *Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 45.

18 ‘*hetvatthe ca*’ Kac. 291; cf. ‘*hetau*’ Pāṇ. II.3.23.
§68. [Cause and Reason]

a. The commonest use of this inst. is to express the cause for the existence of a thing or for some happening. e.g., dānena damena samyamena saccavajjena natthi puññāṃ S III.209 “there is no merit in (lit. by reason of) giving, discipline, restraint and truthfulness”; sakena lābhena attamano S II.198 “he was pleased with his gain”. It may denote the reason for an action, in which case it almost implies the means though not the actual instrument as pointed out in the preceding paragraph. e.g., kāyabalena gacchati M II.137 “goes by reason of his bodily strength”. But such instances are very rare and in the following it merely signifies the cause: in the sense of by way of. e.g., āhārena suddhīti M I.80 “purity by way of food”; udakena suddhiṃ pacceti S I.182 “desires purity by way of water”; or in the sense of on account of, due to. e.g., sabba-phāliphullā honti akāla-pupphehi D II.137 in full bloom due to blossoms out of season”; atthi bhikkhave [91] aaññeva dhammā ... ye Tathāgato pavedeti, yehi Tathāgatassa yathā-bhuccaṃ vañṇaṃ sammā vadamāno vadeyyum D I.12 “there are, brethren, other things (doctrines) which the Tathāgata declares on account of which, speaking rightly, people extol the praises of the Tathāgata in keeping with facts”. It may also denote the disease of which one dies. e.g., alasakena kālam kariṣsati D III.7 “will die of diarrhoea”; ten’ eva ābādhena kālam akāsi S I.150 “he died by that very disease”.

b. When it expresses the motive it is often to be rendered by through or owing to, e.g., satthugāravena na puccheyyātha D II.155 “were you not to ask through respect for the Master”; attano paṭibhānena aaññe pesale bhikkhū atimaññeti S I.187 “he slights other amiable monks owing to his intelligence”; ubhayena vata māṃ so Bhagavā
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atthena anukampi diṭṭhadhammikena c’ eva samparāyikena cā ti S I.82 “considering both points of advantage (lit. through both motives) the Blessed One pitied me, for my benefit in this very life and also hereafter”.

c. This same use is extended to express quite another turn of idiom, which Macdonell calls the inst. of accordance (VGS §199 1.6), meaning for the sake of or on behalf of etc. e.g., bhavantānaṃ vacanena gamissāmi M II.148 “I shall go in accordance with your word (i.e. at your bidding)”; mama vacanena ... Moliyaphaggunaṃ bhikkhuṃ āmantehi M I.123 “call the monk M. in my name” (cp. D II.143); mama vacanena samaṇaṃ Ānandaṃ appābādham ... phāsuvihāraṃ puccha D I.204 “on my behalf inquire of the recluse Ānanda as to his health and convenience”.

d. There are a few instances where the inst., though categorically coming under the causal group, still, by the peculiar viewpoint obtained in the idiom, approximates to an absolute use. Speyer mentions a similar inst. in Skr. (just as in Latin) which he calls the semi-absolute construction. He says that in all of them the loc. might have been used, corresponding to the Latin abl. absolute (SS §372). Here the inst. represents the action, expressed by the participle, as the cause, or motive, or means [92] of the main action. e.g., evaṃ hi so bhante kakkaṭako sabbehi aḷehi saṃchinnehi ... abhabbo taṃ pokkharāṇīṃ puna otarituṃ S I.123 “thus, Sir, (owing to the fact of) his limbs being broken ... the crab is unable to go back into the pond”; so rūḷhena vanena saṃchavinā n’eva maraṇaṃ vā nigaccheyya na maraṇamattaṃ vā dukkhaṃ M II.259 “with the closing up and healing of his wound, he neither dies nor comes to deadly woe” (cp. Dial. Vol. IV. Part II. p.149).
§69. Instrumental of Relation.

The *inst. of relation* has also been called the inst. of the *point* because it expresses the point in which a term is applied. Perhaps the designation *inst. of specification* is the more appropriate term (*vide* KVG §551). This inst. resembles very closely the inst. of *manner*, in a logical sense, and in many cases overlaps the uses of the inst. of cause. In fact it is justifiable to regard it as a division of the latter. Macdonell calls this use *inter alia* the *inst. of accordance* (VGS §199.1.b) because it denotes *that according to which* some other thing or person is named or distinguished. Pāṇinī says that “any mark, or attribute, by which is indicated the existence of a particular state or condition is denoted by the third case”.¹⁹ Moggallāna has merely followed the Sanskrit grammarian.²⁰ Kaccāyana has the rule that “the third case-affix is to be employed in qualification”²¹ and the *vutti* illustrates it by the examples: *gottena Gotamo* “Gotama by clan” and *tapasā uttamo* “best in asceticism”.

§70. The Inst. of Relation may express:

a. i. that by which (in accordance with or in point of which) some person or thing is qualified. e.g., *Vipassi bhikkhave Bhagavā khattiyo jātiyā ahosi* D II.2 “the Blessed One Vipassi, brethren, was a prince by birth”; ... *Koṇḍaṇṇa gottena ahosi* D II.3 “was (known as) Koṇḍaṇṇa according to his clan”. This is frequent in *gāthā* literature also. e.g., *Ādiccā nāma gottena Sākiyā nāma jātiyā* Sn 423 “according

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¹⁹ ‘itthambhūtalakṣaṇe’ Pāṇ. 11.3.21.
²⁰ ‘lakkhaṇe’ Mog. II.20.
²¹ ‘visesane ca’ Kac. 294; also ‘yen’ aṅgavikāro’ 293.
to clan called Ādiccas [93] and according to birth Sākyans”; kammanā vasalo hoti Sn 146 “becomes a slave according to one’s deeds”. A few of these instrumentals are inherited from the older language as adverbs. e.g., pakatiyā sīlavatī D II.12; M II.99 “by nature virtuous”. The adverbial implication makes it border on the inst. of manner or means.

ii. The above uses depend on nouns (substantive or adjective) and are therefore adnominal uses. Similarly we may have adverbal uses where the inst. of relation qualifies the action denoted by the verb. e.g., sīlena vaḍḍheyyuṃ D III.164 “they would increase in virtue”; abhivadanti atṭhādasahi vatthūhi D I.13 “accuse in point of eighteen matters”. It may occur also with participles (potential or passive), in which case it closely resembles the inst. of means. e.g., iminā dutiyena ṭhānena navā bhikkhū gārayhā bhavanti M I.14 “in view of this (or by means of this) second point new disciples (lit. monks) become censurable”; anupakuṭṭho jātivādena Sn. p.115 “unreproached in point of birth”; anīñamāno kāyena M I.94 “unmoving in (point of) body”; kāyena saṃvuto D I.60 “restrained in (or with regard to) body”; vācāya saṃvuto M I.93 “restrained in speech”; on the last two examples compare Kac. 317.

b. The point in which a comparison is made. e.g., ye keci Soṇa samaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā aniccena rūpena dukkhena vipariṇāma-dhammena seyyo ’haṃ asmī ti samanupassanti (also with sadiso and hīno) S III.48 “whatever recluses and brahmins, Soṇa, regard themselves superior in point of (this) impermanent body subject to grief and change”; tesaṃ aggaṃ akkhāyati yadidaṃ mahantattena M I.184 “is deemed the highest of them, that is to say, in point of grandeur”.

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c. The *standard* by which multiplicity *etc.* is reckoned or the *dimension* in which extent is measured. e.g., *tena māsena dvādasamāsiyo saṃvaccharo* A I.214 “a year consisting of twelve months in terms of that month”; *ekūnatiṃso vayasā* D II.115 “twenty-nine years (in point) of age”; *dvādasayojanāni āyāmena* D II.146,170 “twelve leagues in length”; *sattayojanāni vitthārena* D II.170 “seven leagues in width”. [94]

§71. Inst. in Special Connection with Verbs.

Most of the uses of the inst. described above are found with particular classes of verbs (KVG §546), and, since without the inst. such verbs generally appear incomplete in meaning the former is said to be ‘governed’ by the latter (cp. VGS §199). That particular distinction in sense by virtue of which the inst. is ‘governed’ is brought in the case of many verbs by the prefix *saṃ- “co-”*. But it cannot be maintained in all instances that the inst. is solely due to the prefix, for, as already remarked in the case of the acc. (§37), the case is not directly due to the prefix but the verb; the prefix only emphasizes the *direction* or the particular kind of action denoted by the verb.

a. The inst. taken by the great majority of verbs come within the *means*-group (in the wider sense; cp. KVG §546.2.). Such are verbs expressing *enjoyment* and *satisfaction*. e.g., *nandati* “delights in”; *abhavena assa na nandati* D III.187 “he does not delight in his ruin”; cp. *nandati puttehi puttimā* Sn 33 “he who has sons, delights in sons”. The opposite of *nandati*, viz. *socati*, admits of the same construction since logically the connection indicated is the same. So we have in the next verse in the Sutta-Nipāta: *socati puttehi puttimā* Sn 34 “he
who has sons grieves at sons”; tussati “is satisfied”: e.g., santuṭṭho hoti kāyaparighārikena cīvarena D I.71; M I.268 “he is satisfied with a robe to wear on the body”; cp. santussamāno itarītareṇa Sn 42 “being content with this or that”; ramati “rejoice at, delight in”: e.g., ramati nacca-gītehi D III.197 (V.) “he delights in dance and song”; here the loc. is the concurrent idiom (§177.b.) as the rendering “delight in” implies; abhirama Tissa ahaṃ ovādena ahaṃ anuggahena ahaṃ anusāsanīyāti S III.109 “rejoice Tissa, rejoice at my advice, at my favour, at my admonition”; santappeti “satisfies, pleases”: khādanīyena bhojanīyena santappayītvā D I.109 “having treated (lit. satisfied) ... with hard and soft food”.

b. Similar is the use with verbs expressing repletion like pūreti “fills” and pharati “be congested with”. e.g., pattaṃ odanena [95] pūretvā S I.174 “having filled the bowl with rice”; ayaṃ Jambudīpo ... phuṭo bhavissati manussehi D III.75 “this land of Jambudīpa ... will be filled with people”. In such instances the gen. can be employed instead of the inst. (vide inst.-like gen.§149). In a way similar to that discussed above (a.), the opposite idea of deficiency or emptiness can also be denoted by the inst. or the gen. (§85).

c. With verbs expressing purchase, exchange and bartering such as kiṇāti “buys”, dadāti “gives for” and icchati “expect for”: e.g., hiraññena kayakkayaṃ Kh p.6 (V.) “bartering in gold” lit. “buying and selling in gold”; Dehi je Ambapāli etaṃ bhattaṃ satasahassena D II.96 “Come now, Ambapali, give this (invitation for a) meal for a hundred thousand (gold-pieces)”; appena bahuṃ icchati D III.186 “for a little he expects much”.

22 The nom. form for the gen. mama (?) .
d. Verbs expressing subsistence, sustenance, or means of livelihood such as jīvati “live by or on”, yāpeti “subsist on”, vasanti, lit. “dwell” but by stretch of meaning “live on” found only in verse: e.g., micchâjīvena jīvikaṃ kappenti D I.9 “make a living by (means of) wrong livelihood”; cp. puthusippena jīvati Sn 613 “lives by different arts”; yena sippaṭṭhānena jīvikaṃ kappenti M I.85 “by whatever craft they make a living”; yāva-jīvaṃ surā-maṃsena eva yāpeyyaṃ D III.9 “I would subsist on liquor and flesh till life lasts”; ekissā pi dattiyā yāpeti D I.166,179; S II.142 “keeps going on a single offering (of food a day)”; kolehi yāpema M I.80 “let us sustain ourselves with beans”; vasī Godāvarīkūle uñchena ca phalena ca Sn 977 “lived on gleanings and fruits on the bank of the Godāvari”.

e. Verbs expressing the thing with which one plays or sports such as dibbati and kīḷati: e.g., akkhehi dibbanti M II.106; D II.312 “play at (lit. with) dice”; yāni tāni kumārakānaṃ kīḷāpanakāni tehi kīḷati M I.266 “sports with whatever are toys for children”. This inst. of means is to be distinguished from the sociative use of the same case expressing the person with whom one plays or sports. Still, as may be seen from the above examples, the two conceptions are logically related however slight the connection may be. [96]

§72. [Cause]

With some other verbs the application falls under the inst. of cause discussed above (§67). It is as much related to the inst. of means as the independent use is to the same. It is generally found:

a. With verbs expressing disgust, repulsion etc. such as aṭṭīyati “be incommoded with, worried at”, harāyati “be ashamed of”, jigucchati
“be disgusted at or with”. This use brings the inst. into contact with the abl., gen., acc. and even the loc., for in Skr. *jugupsate* “to shrink from, shun, or despise” could be used with the abl. or the inst. as found in the archaic literature, and in the later works even with the acc. (*vide* SS §97 R). The similar verb *nibbindati* occurs in the Nikāyas with the loc. and the gen. (§166.d.ii). The inst. seems to be the most frequent case with such verbs. e.g., *iddhipāṭihāriyena aṭṭiyāmi harāyāmi jigucchāmi* D I.213; M III.300 “I am disgusted of, ashamed of and loathesome of displays of supernormal powers”; *ahaṃ pi brāhmaṇa jigucchāmi kāyaduccaritenā* A IV.174 “I too, brahmin, am loathesome of evil conduct in body”. The Comy. interprets the inst. in the passage *jigucchati kammehi pāpakehi* Sn 215, which may be either abl. or inst., by the acc. (*muttagataṃ viya jigucchati*, Pj. II. p.266).

b. With verbs meaning to *be offended with, be busy with* and *be born of* such as *abhisajjati* etc. e.g., *imāya appamattāya abhisajjitum* D I.91 “to be offended with or at a trifle like this”; *kehici kehici kicca-karaṇīyehi vyāvaṭo* D II.270 “engaged in (busy with) various duties”; *vande te pitaraṃ ... yena jātā ’si kalyāṇī* D II.265 (V). “I adore your father, ... O beautiful one, of whom you were born”.

§73. [Association]

With another class of verbs the inst. is used to denote *association*. Such instances belong to the *sociative* group (§63). This is mostly found:

a. With verbs expressing *union* and the like, which normally have the prefix *saṃ*- such as *samāgacchati* “come together, collide” and
saṃsandati “join with” etc. e.g., na pi sakaṭena samāgacchāmi [97] S V.369 “nor do I collide with a carriage”; Gaṅgodakaṃ Yamunodakena saṃsandati D II.223 “the waters of the Ganges join with the waters of the Yamunā”. A similar inst. is found in the peculiar idiom etena p’ etaṃ nakkhamati D II.67 “this does not tally with that”.

b. With verbs having the sense of contending, competing, contesting, fighting and quarrelling such as saṅgāmeti, vivadati, viggaṇhati etc. e.g., asurā devehi saṅgāmesuṃ A IV.433 “the demons fought with the gods”; cp. (adnominally) yadāpi āsi asurehi saṅgāmo Sn 681 “when the battle with the demons took place”; mātā pi puttena vivadati M II.120 “the mother quarrels with her son”; rājā rājūhi vivadanti M I.120 “rulers contend with rulers”; na kenaci loke viggayha M I.108 “at strife with no one in the world”; ahaṃ pi ūṇāṇavādo kho pana ūṇāṇavādena arahati ... iddhi-pāṭihāriyaṃ dassetuṃ D III.12 “I am also a professor of supreme knowledge, and (as such) am indeed fit to display (in competition) my supernormal powers with another one who professes supreme knowledge”.

c. With verbs expressing separation. Here the abl. is the more logical construction (§126) but the use of the inst. is due to the psychological fact that underlying both union and separation there is the notion of mutuality. 23 e.g., sumuttā mayaṃ tena mahāsamaṇena D II.162 “we

23 “Delbr. I.l. p. 71 ‘Der begriff trennung ist zwar logisch der gegensatz von zusammensein, liegt ihm aber deshalb psychologisch sehr nahe’. Or to speak more correctly, it is not the conception of separation that is expressed or signified by the inst., but the notion of mutuality underlying both union and separation find in its adequate expression”. Speyer SS p. 46 f.n.
are completely free from that great recluse”; *maraṇadhammā sattā maraṇena parimuccanti* S I.88; V.3 “beings subject to death are released from death”. In fact the inst. and the abl. occur co-ordinately in the same context. e.g., *na parimuccanti jātiyā jarāmaraṇena* ... *na parimuccanti dukkhasmā ti vadāmi* S I.24 “I declare he is not free from birth, decay and death”. Similar parallel employment is found even in the older language (*vide* SS p.47,f.n.).

§74. Instrumental as Adverb.

Many instrumentals, mostly of the sociative, means, causal, local and temporal classes, having more or less the character of *adverbs* (SS §77), have come to be applied in a purely adverbial sense in the Nikāyas. These may be the inst. sg. of nouns, pronouns including numerals, adjectives usually of the positive degree, or of compound formations. Beside the numerous instances where the case-connection (or inflexion) appears to be normal, there is a group of older inherited inst. forms, mainly Vedic in _ā_, of which already in the Ṛg-Veda the adverbial use is indicated not only by the sense but by a shift of the accent (VGS §198.6), and which have come to be regarded by local grammarians as mere particles or indeclinables (*nipāta-mattaṃ*). Such are, for instance, _micchā_, inst sg. of _mithu_ found as _mithuyā_ in the Vedas and _mithyā_ in the Brāhmaṇas and _divā_ inst. sg. of _dyū_ found as _dīvā_ with shift of accent in the Vedas (VGS p.85, f.n.l ;cp. §2 here). This adverbial use of the inst. being in most cases parallel to that of the acc. (§§47-52), it furnishes another striking instance of contact between the two cases. This is generally found in the case of modal, local and temporal adverbs formed from them.
§75. [Instances of Adverbial Usage]

The uses may be classified in the following manner with respect to their logical functions:

a. Some of these adverbs go back to the *inst. of means* and are therefore *modal* in character. e.g., *manasā pi no aticarī* D II.176 cp. M III.179; *Sn* 1024 “she did not transgress even mentally”; *api ca me satthā pariciṇṇo dīgharattāṃ manāpena no amanāpena* S IV.57 “however the Master has been worshipped by me during all this time willingly, not unwillingly”; *pharusenāpi vuccamāno* A I.284 “being spoken to harshly”; *saiikhittena bhāsitassa evaṇī vitthārena athaṇāṇāmi* D II.281 “of that which has been concisely stated I know the meaning extensively (in detail)”; cp. the inst. *vitthārena*, occurring also at D III.241; S IV.92; A II.77,177,189, with abl. *vitthārato* having similar adv. sense, found in later works (*vide* P.T.S. Dict. *s.v.*); *somanassaṃ ... duvidhena vadāmi* D II.278 “I describe happy-mindedness two-foldly”, where the inst. stands for the usual idiom *duvidhaṃ katvā*; cp. adverbs from other adjectival formations mostly occurring in the *gāthā* literature: *virūparūpena* [99] *mathenti cittāṃ* *Sn* 50 “agitate the mind diversely (under their different aspects)”; *anekapariyāyena pakāsito* *Sn* 15 “declared multifariously”.

b. There is a smaller class of adverbial instrumentals denoting “in accordance with”. They do not connote any instrumental sense, as Macdonell has pointed out (VGS §199.1.b), but more or less border on the *relative* use of the inst. and possibly also on the *sociative* in the narrower sense of *attendant circumstance*. e.g., *atthe panāyati nāyena* D II.21 “he settles the cases legally” (i.e. according to justice); *dhammena bhoge pariyesāmi* *Sn* p.87 “righteously I pursue wealth”;
ete te Kassapa ubho ante anupagamma majjhena Tathāgato dhammaṃ deseti S I.20 “the Tathāgata, Kassapa, without going into either of the extremes preaches the Law medially (i.e. according to the middle way)”. We have already mentioned the example pakatiyā sīlavatī D II.12; M II.99 “naturally (by nature) virtuous” (§70) where the inst. clearly denotes relation but borders on the adverbial use at the same time (cp. VGS §199.1).

c. The inst. of attendant circumstance proper may itself appear in the role of an adverb, thus: e.g., bandhanā mucceyya sotthinā avyayena D I.72 “he would be released from bondage easily and without expense”; cp. sotthinā “safely, prosperously D I.96; II.346; M I.135; A IV.126; cp. sukhena Th I.220, “happily” or “safely”, parallel to the adverbial use of the acc. in sukhaṃ seti S I.41; A I.136 and sukhaṃ viharati A I.96; III.3; kicchena me adhigataṃ D II.36 “acquired by me with difficulty”; cp. Skr. kṛcchrena (SS §77) as adverb; kasirena ghāsacchādo labhati D I.251; M I.104; A I.107; S I.94 “one finds food and clothing with difficulty”. To this class also belong the old inst. adverbs of the type of micchā Sn 438,815 “falsely” (vide §74) and uccā (P.T.S. Dict. s.v.) “high”.

d. The inst. sg. of neuter pronouns is extensively used as adverb mostly in the sense of reason. e.g., tena hi samma Ghaṭikāra muñca, gamissāmā ti M II.48 “therefore friend Ghaṭikāra, let me off, we shall go”. This is usually found followed by hi with [100] verbs such as suṇohi and suṇātha, as for instance at D I.62; II.2; Sn p.21, and, as Buddhaghosa remarks, (‘uyyojanatthe nipāto’ Sum. I. p.171), it has an exclamatory significance. The relative pronoun yena is mostly employed as connective corresponding to the acc. yaṃ already dealt with (§50.c). e.g., appamattakaṃ etaṃ ... yena puthujjano
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Tathāgatassa vaṇṇam vuḍḍhāno vadeyya D I.3 “this is just insignificant ... that (lit. whereby) a man of the world may say extolling the praises of the Tathāgata ...”; ko nu kho bhante hetu ko paccayo yena mātugāmo n’ eva sabhāya nisīdati A II.82 “what is the reason, Sir, what is the cause whereby a woman neither sits in the assembly ...”. The inst. sg. of the interrogative neuter pronoun forms a corresponding adverb with the sense of “how?”. e.g., (gāthā) sorataṇa kena kathañca dantaṃ āhu Sn 513 “how may they call him compassionate and how subdued?”. The form etena is once found with a sense similar to that of the connective yena. e.g., yadeva ... pītigataṃ cetasā ubbilāvitattaṃ etena etaṃ oḷārikaṃ akkhāyati D I.37 “inasmuch as ... (it consists of) joy and elation of mind, (thereby) is this called gross”.

e. Instrumentals with local and temporal sense may appear as adverbs of place and time respectively (cp. VGS §199.4&5).

i. Local sense: e.g., antarena yamaka-sālānaṃ D II.134,137,169 “between the pair of sal trees”; cp. Vedic adv. ántarena “within” (VGS §198.6). The majority of these are regional adverbs, being instrumentals of nouns denoting the cardinal points. e.g., puratthimo vāto pacchimena saṃhareyya S V.444 “the easterly wind would carry (it) westward”; puratthimena nagarassa navaṃ santhāgāraṃ kārāpetvā M I.343 “having caused a new mote hall to be built to the east of (lit. eastward of) the city”; pacchimena ca puratthimena ca dvādasa yojanāni ahosi āyāmena D II.146,170 “was twelve leagues in breadth on the west and on the east”; uttarena Manasākaṭassa D I.235 “northward of Manasākaṭa”. Adverbs of similar import are formed from the relative and demonstrative pronouns, viz., yena and
tena, frequently occurring in the coordinate construction “yena ... tena ...” which is discussed elsewhere (inst. of place §80.b). [101]

ii. Temporal sense: e.g., adhunā kālakato M II.243 “died recently”; ādiken’ eva na byākāsi M II.213 “... did not explain at the very start”; literally it would imply “initially”, in which case the modal character of these local and temporal adverbs is made clear. There is an elliptical use (?) of the inst. sg. of the demonstrative neuter pronoun, viz. tena, meaning “then”, possibly standing for tena samayena. e.g., tena kho pana bhante ahesuṃ ... D II.203 “then, Sir, there were ...”. On the analogy of these uses we may regard kālena in the following examples as an inst. of time employed adverbially: kālena gamanaṃ S V.78 “going at the (proper) time”; lit. “seasonably”; cp. kālena dhammasavanaṃ Sn 265 “listening to the Doctrine at the proper time”; akālena M III.48 “at the wrong time (lit. unseasonably)”; nidhānavatiṃ vācaṃ bhāsitā kālena D I.64; III.106 “speaking (well-) grounded speech (i.e. words) at the proper time (lit. duly)”. A similar use of a time denoting word is samayena found only in verse. e.g., samayena laddhā Sn 388 “obtained in time”. A few archaic instrumentals also belong to this group. e.g., divā ca rattī ca D II.147 “by day and by night”. On the analogy of divā we are inclined to take rattī too as a Vedic inst. sg. of -ī nouns, analogous to śucī (inst. sg. vide VGS p.80 & f.n.2). The reading in other places is, however, with the acc. rattim (§2) or the archaic loc. ratto (§2).

f. There is one adverb of quantity formed from the compound stem yebhuyya-, corresponding to Skr. yadbhūyas, ye being the eastern pronominal form (§10). e.g., yebhuyyena D I.17,105; II.48 “mostly, for the most part (> usually)”; cp. Skr. prāyena “mostly”, adverb of quantity. In the following we have the inst. sg. of an avyayībhāva
compound used as an adverb denoting manner: anupubbena parikkhayam gacchati M II.67 “decreases gradually”. Another similar inst. adverb from an irregular stem is sabbatthatāya D I.251; II.187; M I.38, A III.225 “on the whole”, which, as the v.l. sabbattatāya suggests, corresponds to Skr. sarvātmanā (>sarvātmatāya); vide SS. §77. [102]

§76. Instrumental of Time.

The temporal use of the inst. in Pāli has brought it into contact with many other cases, especially the acc. through the idea of extension and the loc. through the idea of time at which (KVG §545.b., SS §78, VGS §199.5). This latter construction is supposed by Speyer to be a peculiarity of Pāli and Jaina Prk. He suggests that in both these uses of the inst. the fundamental conception is that of concomitancy (SS §78).

The local grammarians too were aware of these divisions of the inst. in the temporal sense. Pāṇinī lays down the aphorism24 that the third case-affix is to be employed after words denoting the duration of time and space when the accomplishment of the desired object is to be meant. e.g., māsenānuvāko’ dhītāḥ “he learnt the anuvāka in a month”. It is, however, significant of Kaccāyana’s method of paying more particular attention to the exceptional usages, mostly idioms that do not occur in Skr. but only in ‘Māgadhī’, that he lays down no rule parallel to the above but provides for the quite unexpected turn

24 ‘apavarge tṛtiyā’ Pāṇ II.3.6.
of expression illustrated by \textit{tena kālena} etc. with the observation that the inst. is used also in the sense of the loc.\textsuperscript{25}

\textbf{§77. [Inst. of Duration]}

a. Fundamentally, this inst. expresses the time \textit{throughout}, \textit{during}, \textit{within} or \textit{for which} an action extends. Since it denotes \textit{duration} as much as the acc. Brugmann calls it \textit{the prosecutive inst.} expressive, in this case, of extent in time (KVG §545.b). e.g., \textit{mayā anupapannapubbā iminā dīghena addhunā} M I.82 “not already found by me during all this long period”; \textit{iminā dīghena addhunā sandhāvitā} S II.179 “coursed through all this long period”; \textit{imehi kho pana te bhante tiṃsamattehi vassehi atti koci viseso adhigato} ... S IV.300 “has any distinction ... been acquired by you, Sir, during these thirty years?”; \textit{sakkā divasāvasesena gantunti} M II.119 “can be gone in the remaining part of the day”. Mention must be made of the prosecutive inst. denoting time \textit{through which} found in the stereotyped adverbial phrase \textit{kālena kālam} which corresponds to the idiom “from (abl.) time to time”. e.g., \textit{devo ca kālena kālam sammā-dhāraṇī} [103] \textit{anuppaveccheyya} D I.47 (cp. M I.277) “from time to time the heavens will send forth bountiful showers”; \textit{kālena kālam manasikātabbāni} M I.119 “should be pondered over from time to time (> time after time, i.e. continually)”.

b. Not rarely the above conception of time \textit{within which} coincides with that of the time \textit{after which} (cp. SS §78) or \textit{before which} something is happening.

\textsuperscript{25}‘\textit{sattamyatthe ca’} Kac. 292.
i. *Time after which:* e.g., *Saṃvāsena kho Mahā-rāja sīlaṃ veditabbaṃ, tañ ca kho dīghena addhunā na ittaraṃ* S I.78 “Great King, right conduct can be known only by living together and that too after a long time, not by little (short) time”. This same nuance is expressed by the periphrasis *accayena* following the gen. of the time denoting word. e.g., *channaṃ māsānaṃ accayena saṅgāmo bhavissati* A I.111 “After six months (lit. on the lapse of ...) there will be a war”; cp. D II.140.

ii. Similarly the inst. may denote the time *by which* or *before which* an action is terminated, or *up to which point* continuity is implied. e.g., *etena upāyena paṭhamen’ eva yāmena Kosinārake Malle Bhagavantaṃ vandāpesi* D II.148 “in this manner by (or before the end of) the first watch of the night he had made the Mallas of Kusinārā pay their respects to the Blessed One”. The periphrasis spoken of above is used instead of this inst. also, e.g., *tassā rattiyā accayena ... paṇītaṃ khādanīyaṃ bhajanīyaṃ paṭiyādāpetvā* D II.97,127 “before the passing of that night ... having prepared excellent food both hard and soft”.

§78. Inst. of Time When.

Sometimes however the idea of extension or duration is not so apparent (cp. VGS §199.5), in which case the inst. assumes a syntactical function similar to that of the *loc. of time*. This is what Kaccāyana means when he says that “the inst. is used also in the sense of the loc.” (§76). As has been already referred to, the fundamental conception underlying this idiom is according to Speyer (SS §78) that of *concomitancy*. The fact, however, is open to criticism since the same claim can be made [104] for the adverbial
use of the inst. (§75). The logical connection between such adverbial phrases as divā ca rattī ca, adhunā and ādiken’ eva and the inst. of time in tena samayena cannot be denied especially when the adv. kālena “at the right time, seasonably” seems to establish an intermediate link in the psychological development of the idiom. This is also supported by the fact that in Skr. there is no general use of the inst. parallel to the loc. of time, whereas its adverbial use is quite common (SS §77), but that it is widely used in later dialects like Pāli and Prk. Probably, therefore, this is an idiom of popular origin, evolved under the influence of such Vedic usages as rtūnā and rtūbhīh “in due season” (VGS §199.5). Incidentally, this is a further proof for Franke’s argument that Pāli and Skr. cannot have grown in the same region and that the former is derived from a Vedic dialect isolated for centuries from the group that produced (classical) Skr. (Z.D.M.G. 1892, p.315).

§79. [Inst. of Time When]

The most frequent employment of the inst. of time when or at which is found in the stereotyped phrase tena kho pana samayena. This however has not still completely lost the sense of duration, for, as context permits, it may be sometimes rendered “during that time”. e.g., tena kho pana samayena āyasmā Nāgito Bhagavato upaṭṭhāko hoti D I.150 “during that time the venerable Nāgita was the attendant on the Blessed One”. But the translation “at that time” can also be concurrently, and in some cases even preferably, used. e.g., tena kho pana samayena Bhagavā divāvihāragato hoti paṭisallīno S I.146 “at the time (or during that time) the Blessed One had gone to spend the midday in solitude”; tena kho pana samayena rājā ... nisinno hoti D I.47 “at that time the king ... was seated”. It is
significant of these examples that the narrative present hoti itself implies continuity of action, and so the inst. can hardly be said to have lost its original sense of duration.

a. It is interesting to find, however, that Buddhaghosa looks at the problem from quite a different angle. Commenting on tena samayena he says, probably echoing an earlier tradition, [105] that in the Vinaya texts it is used to signify cause or reason because the inst. here represents the time as the occasion for the Master to formulate any precept.26 He makes the same observation on tena kho pana samayena Sn p.13, viz. “it has been said (vuttaṃ hoti) that the inst. is used because that specific moment was taken as the means (opportunity)”.27 This clearly shows that he is representing an earlier tradition whereby all the different uses of the inst. were supposed to be connected to its fundamental notion of means.

b. Another idiom expressing an indefinite point in time, where the idea of extension is hardly found, is aparena samayena “at another time, later on”. e.g., So aparena samayena tamhā ābādhā mucceyya D I.72 “Sometime after he would be relieved of that ailment”; So aparena samayena pabbajeyya D I.60 “later on he would wander forth (into homelessness)”.  


27 ‘tena samayena karaṇabhūtenāti vuttaṃ hoti’ Pj.II. p. 137.
c. Similar uses are found in the following where the space of time is so small that the idea of *within* or *during* is almost lost. They are very much like adverbs. e.g., *tena khaṇena tena muhuttena yāva brahmalokā saddo abbhuggacchati* A IV.120 “that very moment (simultaneously) the sound rose up as far as the world of Brahmas”; *te ekena khaṇena ekena muhuttena ekamaṃsakhalāṃ – ekamaṃsapuñjaṃ karissāmi* M I.377 “in a moment, in a second, I shall reduce you to a mash, a heap of flesh”. Again, a subtle variation of meaning is found in *ekāhen’eva ... pakkamiṃsu* D I.48 “they went away at one and the same day ...” (cp. SS §78 R.I. Skr. *ekāhnā* “at one and the same day”).

§80. Instrumental of Place.

This corresponds logically to the above-described inst. of *time*. Some of these instrumentals have come to be regarded as adverbs. Most of them, however, still retain their independent character. A few of these imply *direction* or *route* by which and others are instrumentals with pure local sense, parallel to the loc. of place, just as the inst. of time is used for the temporal loc.. Still others approximate to a prosecutive inst. of the local [106] variety denoting the stretch of space through which an action progresses. Such is the inst. found in idioms like *vanena vanamī* which originally meant “through forest to forest”. It is only later that this came to be regarded, probably due to the confusion of the ending -ā, as an inst. used for the abl. Of course the same can occur with the abl. instead of the inst. because psychologically “*through* one forest to another” is the same thing as “*from* one forest to another”. The idea *through which* can also be expressed by the loc. (§164).
§81. [Prosecutive Inst. of Place]

a. The prosecutive sense is most clearly expressed by the following examples where the inst. stands parallel to the abl. e.g., vanena vanamḥ gahanena gahanamḥ papatati M I.79 “gallops from (lit. through) forest to forest and thicket to thicket”; rathiyāya rathiyamḥ sīṅghāṭakena sīṅghāṭakaṃ (parinetvā) M II.108; D III.67 “having led him from (along) street to street and junction to junction”; but in the following the inst. borders on the idea of means and implies way by which as much as that through which: mā ekena (maggena) dve agamittha D II.45 “let not two go along the same route”; titthena eva gāvo pātaresi M I.226 “caused the cows to cross (the river) at or by (lit. through) the ford”. (cp. KVG §545.a)

b. To this class also belongs the adverbial use of the inst. sg. of pronouns, mostly yena, tena, aññena and ekena, where the local sense is expressed either as direction or place where.

i. Of these there are many instances where inst. expresses direction in a general sense. e.g., rājā Māgadho ... Pasenadī-Kosalaṃ abbhuyāsi yena Kāsī S I.83 “the King of Magadha ... marched against P. Kosala in the direction of Kāsī”; yena kāmaṃ pakkamati S V.149 “goes whither he likes”; na yena28 kāmaṃ gamo D I.72 “unable to go whither he would”. This is sometimes found reduplicated. e.g., yena yen’ eva Bhagavā gamissati tan ninnā va bhavissanti brāhmaṇa-gahapatikā A IV.342 “whichever way the Blessed One goes, the brahmins and householders wend (are bent) that way”; yena yen’ eva pakkamati ... [107] D I.71; M I.268 “wherever he goes ...”;

28 gāmoti yena disābhāgena assa gantu-kāmatā hoti’ Sum.II. p. 212.
yena yen’ eva ḍeti ... D I.71; M I.180 “where it flies ...”; yena vā tena vā palāyanti S III.85 “flee this way or that way ...”; idha pādaṁ karissāmīti aññena eva pādaṁ karomīti M II.69 “(thinking) I shall point my step this way (lit. here) I actually place it in another direction”; aññena sīsaṁ gacchati aññena kāyo gacchati S II.231 “the head goes one way, the body another way”.

ii. The idiom ‘yena ... tena ...’ found generally with verbs of motion implies the direction, the route by which and sometimes even the place where. Of these the last nuance is the most marked. Buddhaghosa says that it is used in the sense of the loc. e.g., yena29 maṇḍalamālo ten’ upasaṅkami D I.2 “whither the circular pavilion was thither he repaired”; yena Āḷāra-Kālāmo ten’ upasaṅkami D II.130 “where Āḷāra Kālāma was there he went”. In the following it implies mere direction: yena Bhagavā ten’ aṅjaliṃ paṇāmetvā D II.37; Sn p.100 “pointing his clasped fists (in salutation) in the direction where the Blessed One was”. Sometimes when the place gone to and the person sought for are both mentioned the adv. yena may be repeated. e.g., yannūnāhaṃ yena ... Mallikāya ārāmo yena Poṭṭhapāda paribbājako ten’ upasaṅkameyyanti D I.178 “it would be well if I go where the monastery of Mallikā is, where (lives) Poṭṭhapadā, the wanderer”. In the following it almost amounts to route along or by which: yena so kālakato tena rathaṃ pesehi D II.26 “where he has expired send the chariot that way”.

iii. Corresponding to the above we find the idiom ‘yena ... tad ...’ where the verb following tad is one such as normally takes the acc. of the place entered (§40). In tad therefore we have the adv. use of

the acc. of place corresponding to the similar application of the inst. of place discussed here. e.g., *yena* \(^{30}\) *Icchānāṅkalaṃ ... tad avasari* D I.87 “where Icchānāṅkala ... was there he went (*lit.* entered)”; cp. M I.166, II.49 ‘*tad*’.

There is one local adverb of an historical character, viz. *chamā* “on the ground” (= Vedic *kṣamā*) M I.387; D III.6; cp. Th 2.112, where the Comy. has ‘*chamāyaṃ*’ (Th. A. p. 116). [108]

**§82. Instrumental with Adverbial Prepositions.**

In Pāli as in Skr. and Vedic (VGS §199.3) genuine prepositions are virtually not used with the inst. We probably find the influence of the adverbal prefix *saṃ*—“together with” in constructions like *mātaram pi puttena samānetā* D III.163 as pointed out above (§63.a.ii). But these instrumentals cannot be said to be directly due to *saṃ*- which only emphasises the fact of association. Even in the Ṛg Veda an independent use of *saṃ*- with the inst. is hardly perceptible (VGS *ibid*). But there are a few adverbial prepositions or prepositional particles (*nipāta*) which were originally adverbs used with the inst. in the Nikāyas. Such are *aṃñatra, alaṃ* and *vinā* (also possibly *tiro*).

a. The inst. with *aṃñatra* expresses the thing set aside or kept off in reckoning. The abl. is the alternate idiom (§130.d). e.g., *aṃñatra ekena* M I.483 “except one”; *aṃñatra tena Bhagavatā* D II.222 “except that Blessed One”; cp. D I.168; A I.35. The inst. in these

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\(^{30}\) ‘*yena disābhāgena Icchānāṅgalaṃ avasaritabbaṃ, yasmiṃ vā padese Icchānāṅgalaṃ*’ Sum. I.243.
instances seems to be a logical necessity owing to the idea of exclusion or comparison contained in aṇṇa- “else, other than”.

b. With *alam* the inst. expresses a prohibition or an invitation to cease or to stop (SS §76.i.) like *asti* and *kṛtaṃ* in Skr. and similarly means “enough”. In the Nikāyas it nearly always occurs with the emphatic particle *dāni* “now, verily!”. e.g., *alam* *dāni* *me* attha-karaṇena S I.74 “enough of this court-business for me!”; *alam* *dāni* *ajja* uyyāna-bhūmiyā D II.26 “enough of the pleasance for today!”.

c. (Perhaps) *vinā* “except, bereft of” is also to be included in this list. It occurs in Skr. as an adv. preposition with the inst. or the abl. in the sense of “without” and is there regarded as a sociative preposition like *saha*, of which *vinā* is the logical opposite (Macdonell Skr. Gr. §177.b.). It is however not usual in the prose Nikāyas and occurs but rarely in the gāthā literature. e.g., *ñātisaṅghā vinā hoti* “is bereft of the group of relatives” Sn 589; cp. *vinā daṇḍena* Vin II.132 “without a support”. In the former however -ā may be the inst. or the abl. sg. ending. [109]

§83. Idiomatic Uses of the Inst.

The inst. is used in many idiomatic expressions (cp. SS §§74 & 75), most of which logically fall under the categories discussed in the preceding paragraphs.

a. Such is the employment of the inst. with *kim* meaning “what use or need is there of”. Here the inst. actually expresses the means with an implied verb such as *karissati* or *hoti*. In fact in the Vedas it is hardly
found without the verb (karoti) showing thereby that originally it denoted the instrument (cp. VGS §199.1.h). kiṃ is usually followed by pana in the Nikāyas. e.g., kiṃ pana tena muṇḍakena samanaṇakaṇa diṭṭhenāti? M II.46 “what is the good of seeing that shaveling of a recluse?” lit. “what (sci. shall I do) with that shaveling ... seen?”; kiṃ pana āyasmatō ... serivihārena ... M I.469 “what is the good of an independent life to this elder ... ?”; kinte iminā pūtikāyena diṭṭhaṇa S III.120 “what is the use of seeing this putrid body” lit. “what will you do with this putrid body seen?”.

b. Another set phrase similarly used is ‘attho with the inst.’ which means “to be in need of”, where normally hoti is to be understood. e.g., Tato bhoto yāvatakena attho tāvatakaṇṭi āhareyyatanti D II.245 “from it you may take away as much as you are in need of”; sace bhante piṇḍakena attho ... M I.380 “if Sir, there is a need of food ...”; cp. D II.176; S I.99; Sn 331. In the last instance we find the inst. with the phrase ‘ko attho’ which is parallel to Skr. ‘kiṃ prayojanaṃ’ (SS §75). Similarly like attho its derivative atthī (cp. Skr. arthin c. inst.) complies with the inst. e.g., atthī31 pañhena āgamaṇ S 957,1043 “I have come as one in need of (asking) a question”.

c. Another word employed in a similar manner is karaṇīyaṃ the verbal noun (nt. sg.) from the potential participle of kar-. It means “something to be done”; hence “necessity > need”. e.g., roge hi sati bhesajjena karaṇīyaṃ hoti M I.506 “when there is a disease, there is need for medicine”; appamādena karaṇīyaṃ S IV.125 “need for diligence”; cetanāya karaṇīyaṃ A IV.312 “need for will”; cp. P.T.S. Dict. s.v. karaṇīyaṃ. [110]

31 ‘atthiko pañhena āgato ’mhi’ Pj.II.2. p. 572.
d. The set phrase ‘ko pana vādo’, probably elliptical form of ‘ko pana attho vādena’, meaning “what (need to) talk of”, also is construed with the inst. e.g., *ko pana vādo aṁṇatara-aṁṇa tarenâti* D III.45 “what need to talk of each in turn”, i.e. “not to talk of each separately”.

§84. [Phrases]

We have already had occasion (§80) to refer to the inst. used in the stereotyped adverbial phrase which consists of a prosecutive inst. followed by the acc. of the same word denoting the limit *ad quem*. There are, however, many other shades of the same idiom where the two cases seem to depend on each other so closely that the syntactical function of the one cannot be considered separately from that of the other. The idiom thus has a compound sense and is nearly always to be regarded as one adverbial phrase. e.g., *sabbena sabbam*32 *sabbathā sabbam* D II.57,58; M II.367 “completely (altogether, all in all) and everywhere”; *sabbena sabbam* sāsanaṁ ājānanti D II.251 “they know the message completely”; *aṁṇena aṁṇam* vyākāsi D I.57 “he explained contradictorily”, *lit.* “one with or in terms of another (quite different)”.

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Most of the uses of the inst. discussed in the preceding paragraphs are adverbal. Apart from such there is a distinct class of adnominal instrumentals (cp. KVG §548). The following logical divisions may be observed:

a. With nouns and adjectives like nānākaraṇaṃ, viseso and adhippāyo, meaning “difference, distinction, particularity”, the inst. is one of comparison (§86) and is used parallel to the corresponding abl. (§132.d). e.g., Atha kiñcarahi te bhante puthujjanena nānākaraṇaṃ? M I.392 “Then, Sir, where (is) your distinction (difference) from the common man?”; ko viseso ko adhippāyo kim nānākaraṇaṃ paṇḍitassa bālenāti? S I.24 “what is the peculiarity, the distinction, the difference of the wise man (in comparison with or) from the fool?”; cp. S III.66; A I.267. [111]

b. The opposite of difference, viz. equality or similarity, is also expressed by the inst., as with the words sama (cp. VGS §199.B.2.a) and its reduplicated form samasama. Such adjectives also comply with the gen. (§151.b), just as in the older language (SS §61 & §129). e.g., Āyasmatā Vidhurena samasamo hoti M I.331 “he is quite equal to the venerable Vidhura”; iminā pattena samatittikaṃ M II.7 “equal to a whole bowlful”; cp. na tena dhammad sam’ atthi kiñci Sn 225 “there is nothing equal to (lit. with) this Doctrine”.

c. Adjectives denoting fullness and its opposite emptiness also comply with the inst. With puṇṇa (Skr. pūrṇa, KVG §548) “full” Pāli prefers the older construction with the gen. (§151.b.2.), but suñña “empty, void” is frequently found with the inst. e.g., suññaṃ idaṃ
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attena vā attanīyena vā S IV.54; M I.297; II.263 “this is empty of a Soul or aught pertaining to a Soul”; suññā ... paricārikehi D II.202 “bereft of ... disciples”; suññā parappavādā samaṇehi aṅñe D II.151; M I.64 “other sects are void of recluses”. Similarly the inst. occurs with the noun ānām “deficiency”. It is apparent here that it borders on the inst. of relation (§70), for it may imply “deficient in respect of”. e.g., sace te ānām kāmehi ... D II.243 “if there be a deficiency to you (in point) of pleasures ...”.

§86. Inst. of Comparison.

From the preceding discussion it becomes evident that with adjectives denoting equality etc. and their opposites the inst. borders on the so-called Ablativus Comparationis.33 That is why the rendering “in comparison with” is possible in such cases. The same construction is found with adjectives of the comparative degree. e.g., na tena seyyo sadiso vijjati D III.158 “there is no one greater than he or equal to him”; dhanena seyyo M II.73 “better than wealth”; hīnataro khajjopanakena M II.42 “weaker than a fire-fly”; Rājā Māgadho ... sukhavehāritarā āyasmata Gotamena M I.94 “the King of Magadha ... is one who lives happier than the venerable Gotama”; tena ca vedanā-sokhummena aṅña vedanā-sokhummaṇṭ uttaritaram vā paṇītataram vā na [112] passāmi A II.18 “I do not see a sense-pleasure nobler or sublimer than this exquisite feeling”; Thus it is seen that adjectives denoting all the three logical grades, viz. inferiority, equality and superiority, all comply with the inst.

33 Even in early Skr. the inst. is found in this connection side by side with the abl. “... there are a good deal of instances proving that Skr. had, especially in the ancient dialect, an inst. of the thing surpassed of the same power as the so-called Abl. Comparationis”. Speyer SS §70.R.1.
§87. Instrumental of Agent.

According to Skr. grammarians the logical definition of agency (kartṛtva) is that it is the substratum of action.\(^{34}\) It is held that the agent is to be distinguished from other case-concepts (kāraka) by virtue of its independent character (svātantrya) and therefore, according to Patañjali,\(^{35}\) the other cases are to be regarded as dependent on it (pāratantrya). For this reason the agent is considered to be the ‘kāraka’ par excellence and the others are called upakārakas, i.e., auxiliary cases. This, however, as a logical difference, does not seem to have struck Pāṇinī forcibly for he summarily deals with both the instrumental and the agent by the same sūtra (§61), whereas Kaccāyana apparently maintains the distinction when he lays down two separate rules (ibid). But, as has been pointed out earlier (§66), according to modern writers, the agent and the instrument are both divisions of the wider category of means (§62).

§88. [Inst. with Verbs]

a. The fundamental use of the inst. of agent is to denote the original (logical) subject with passive verbs (KVG §547), the original object being expressed by the nom. e.g., bhotā Gotamena anekapariyāyena dhammo pakāsito D I.110 “the Doctrine was preached by the venerable Gotama in manifold ways”; taṃ me sāmaṇena Gotamena okāsakammatthakataṃ Sn p.94 “permission was granted to me by the recluse Gotama”. With the agent of participles and adjectives the

\(^{34}\) ‘kriyāśrayatvaṃ kartṛtvaṃ’, Philosophy of Skr. Grammar p. 244.

present participle santa- is sometimes found implying a continuous temporal sense, just as in the case of the nom. (§26.b); in a sense they border on the absolute use. e.g., iti puṭṭhena satā, Ānanda, aththi assa vacanīyaṃ D I.175 “being thus questioned, Ānanda, you should answer him saying ‘there is’”. When the inst. of agent is used with verbs [113] implying association, it has a definite sociative sense. e.g., tāya ... parisāya parivuto D II.30 “surrounded by that following”. Sometimes the agent may be the logical subject of a p.p.p. forming the first member of a compound. e.g., Mārena pariyuṭṭhita-cittā D III.57 “with a mind obsessed by Māra”.

b. It is also used as the agent of the infinitive in -tuṇṇ which exhibits a passive sense when employed with sakkā, sukaram etc. (§19.c). e.g., sakkā ca pana eso abhavissa ūruṃ gahapatinaṃ D I.170 “would that be able to be known by a householder?”. Here the original object is put in the nom. (eso) being the grammatical subject in the passive construction. But there is at least one instance of it being preserved in the acc., unless we are dealing here with an eastern nom. nt. sg. -e of a co-ordinative compound, viz. na dāni sukaram amhehi37 lābha-sakkāra-siloke paricajjituṃ M I.52 “it is not easy for (lit. by) us to discard gain, esteem and praise”. In the following the form does not show whether it is nom. or acc.: kallam nu kho tena tad abhinandituṃ D II.69 “is it fitting that he should like it?”; na idaṃ sukaram ... agāraṃ ajjhāvasatā ... brahmacariyaṃ carituṃ D I.63 “it is not easy for one living at home ... to practise the Higher Life”.

36 cp. ‘Infinitivus cum Instrumental im Pāli’ Franke, Z.D.M.G.1892.
37 Franke disagrees with Ed. Müller that this is a dat. as the translation suggests and maintains that it is the inst. of agent. Z.D.M.G. 1892.
c. Similarly the agent is used with the impersonal construction (both for subject and complement) when the verb is the potential participle or the gerundive (nt. sg.). e.g., āraññaken' āvuso bhikkhunā ... sabrahmacārisu sagāravena bhavitabbaṃ M I.469 “a forest-dwelling monk, friend, should be respectful towards his co-celibates”; na dāni tena raññā ciraṃ jīvitabbaṃ hoti D III.64 “now that king cannot live longer”.

d. With the *causative* the subject of the original active verb is denoted by the *inst. of agent*. This is called the *hetu* (-kattā) by local grammarians (Kac. 284). The acc. is the more usual idiom here, especially when the verb is intransitive such as those denoting motion (§59). e.g., te ... purisehi rakkāpenti D I.105 “they cause (themselves) to be guarded by men”; cp. sādhu me bhante Bhagavā tapojigucchāya aggam yeva pāpetu [114] sāraṃ yeva pāpetāti D III.48 “well, Sir, may the Blessed One make me attain to the summit, to the very essence, of “the disgust for asceticism””; on the form *me* see §15.

e. The inst. sg. of the reflexive pronoun *attā* “self”, viz. *attanā*, is found in the Nikāyas used with active verbs, mostly in an emphatic sense “by himself, personally”. e.g., upāsako attanā saddhāsampanno hoti A IV.221 “the disciple is himself endowed with faith”; so attanā matto pamatto pare mādetvā pamādetvā S IV.307 “he being himself intoxicated and slovenly having made others (too) intoxicated and slovenly ...”; attanā jāti-dhammo samāno M I.161 “himself (personally) being subject to birth ...”. This use of the inst. seems to lie on the borderline between its functions of *means* and *relation*. e.g., attanā va attānaṃ vyākareyya D II.93 “(by means of) yourself explain yourself” (means); attanā ca jīvāhi aṇīne ca posehi D III.66
“live (by means of this money) as far as you are concerned and nourish others”. Whatever be its origin, attanā has come to be applied in the Nikāyas in an adverbial manner, as in the following where it refers to a plural antecedent: yadā tumhe Kālāmā attanā va jāneyyātha A I.189 “when you yourselves know, O Kālāmas”. cp. reflexive svayam in Vedic and Skr. used adverbially in the sense of “spontaneously” VGS. §115.a.
Chapter IV
The Dative Case

§89. [General Character]

As fundamental characteristic of the dative case, to be particularly seen in its adverbal use, one may conclude that it denotes the thing with reference to which an action proceeds. It is the case of participation and interest. Brugmann remarks, with regard to all Indo-European languages, that in general this case does not have such a close connection with the verb as the acc. or the gen. (KVG §552). In Pāli, however, it is doubtful whether the gen. is in reality more adverbal than the dat., though, as he rightly claims, the latter preponderates with the personal, due, no doubt, to its implication of participation and interest. Speyer, on the contrary, seems to have believed that it is the idea of destination which is the underlying conception in all the varied uses of the dat. It is implied by him that such applications of it as to denote participation and interest or purpose are merely due to the fact that “in the great majority of cases the destination purported by the dat. has an acceptation more or less figurative” (SS §80). But broadly speaking it may be safely affirmed with Macdonell that “the dat. expresses the notion with which an action is concerned. It is either connected with individual words or is used more generally as a complement to the whole statement” (VGS §200).
§90. [Local Grammarians]

The local grammarians on the other hand emphasize the fact of *recipiency* as the chief notion underlying the various semantical aspects of the dat., as its name *sampadāna* (Skr. *sampradāna*) implies.\(^1\) Says Pāṇinī: “The person whom one wishes to connect with the object of giving is called the *recipient*”.\(^2\) It is left to the *vārttika* to extend its use so as to embrace the idea of purpose, etc. It is significant that Kaccāyana does not \([118]\) lay down a parallel aphorism as he does in other places but introduces the dat. by specifically noting that “the person to whom something is given, is pleasing, or is borne (held) is called the recipient”.\(^3\) As is customary with them, both Pāṇinī and Kaccāyana (cp. Mog. II.26 &27) proceed to lay down supplementary rules to compass the other notions signified by the dative. But their aphorisms can hardly be found to exhaust even the fundamental *adverbal* uses of that case in either language. This is of course due to the fact that their definitions are established on observations more philological than psychological. Nevertheless it must be said to their credit that their observations are at least accurate if not exhaustive and that syntactical functions are universally known to comply with no well-defined or absolute categories.

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1 cp. ‘dative’ from *dare* = to give in Latin.
2 ‘*karmaṇā yam abhipraiti sa sampradānaṃ*’ Pāṇ. I.4.32.
3 ‘*yassa dātukāmo rocate dhārayate vā taṃ sampadānaṃ*’ Kac. 278.
§91. [Dative and Genitive]

Even in Skr. one cannot fail to observe a growing tendency for the uses of the dat. to fall in with those of the gen. (vide SS §§82, 84, 86). The origin of this interfusion can be traced back to Indo-European times. It appears primarily in the relation between the so-called ethical or sympathetic dative (implying interest) and the ‘possessive way of expression’ (i.e. the functional sphere of the gen.). Speaking of Vedic (Alt-Indisch), Havers makes the following observation: “We find observed with considerable exactness the rule that ‘with pronouns of the first and second persons the sympathetic dat. is employed. But the gen. with all other pronouns, nouns and participles’. This applies to the relation between the dat. and the possessive way of expression. This rule is also to be presupposed for Indo-Germanic” (HKS §11). According to him, this interfusion was at first confined to the enclitic forms me and te, and later on by logical development extended to the proper names and finally to the nouns. He also points out that the general tendency of Skr. is to replace every dat. by the gen. (ibid). To put it more plainly, Havers establishes a syntactical connection between the sympathetic dat., which later on gave rise to the dat. of possession frequently occurring with bhavati (cp. KVG §553.5 & SS [119] §86.d), and the regular gen. of possessor. In Pāli the confusion is increased by the morphological identity of the two cases due to the replacement of the dat. by the gen. in all declensions as in Prk. (cp. Pischel Prk. Gr. §361) except in the singular of the -a declension (cp. §4).
§92. [Main Uses]

As in other cases the categories and the sub-categories into which the dat. can fall may be multiplied indefinitely. But a *prima facie* division into main classes seems admissible. Firstly, there is the *adverbal* and the *adnominal* dat. proper which is in close connection with the verb and the noun (or adj.) respectively. This dat. occupies a purely syntactical position in the sentence-unit and, therefore, may be called the *dependent* dat. Secondly, there is the so-called *loose dat.* which, as Macdonell says, is the complement to the whole statement (§89). Such, for instance, are the constructions going under the designations: *dativus commodi et incommodi,* i.e., the dat. of advantage or disadvantage, the *sympathetic* and the *ethical* dat., and the dat. of *orientation,* i.e., the dat. of the person from whose stand-point the statement is made. Brugmann includes under this category of *loose dat.* also the *dat. of agent,* which he regards as a dat. of the person participating, and the quite common *dat. of purpose* (KVG §554.3 & 5). All these constructions have their legitimate counter-parts in Pāli as well as a few quasi-legitimate or sporadic idioms (§114), mostly adverbal, which, since they do not fall clearly under any of the established categories, we have thought it advisable to discuss separately or in connection with those other idioms that bear close logical affinities to them. As regards the order of treatment, we have as far as possible tried to maintain a logical sequence after the manner of Brugmann and accordingly preferred to discuss first the dative in special sense and in special connection with verbs.
§93. The Dative in Connection with Verbs.

With a large number of ‘transitive’ verbs the dative denotes the person in whose interest or on whose behalf i.e. for whom, the action is performed. Since that person (or party) is he who is ultimately concerned or interested in the act of the agent, it has been called the dat. of concern (SS §81). In other words, it expresses the so-called remote object with such verbs. In the Nikāyas it is used in special connection with the following verbs:

a. give, offer (KVG §553; SS §81.1.a); dadāti “gives”: e.g., gāmavaraṇi pi mayaṇi āyasmato Ānandassa dadeyyāma M II.116 “we would present to the venerable Ānanda a grand village”; atha kassa cāhaṃ bho Gotama imaṇi pāyāsaṃ dammīti Sn p.15 “then to whom, venerable Gotama, shall I offer this milk-rice?”. Psychologically connected to this is the dat. with dhāreti “owes” (cp. Kac. 279; Pāṇ. I.4.35). This is the so-called dative of the creditor. e.g., na kassa kiñci dhāreti A II.69 “he does not owe anything to anyone”.

b. say, announce (SS §81.1.c); akkhāti, bhāsati, and āha (old ‘perfect’): e.g., yadeva te Brahmā āha M I.327 “whatever Brahmā spoke to you”; kante atthaṃ abhāsatha D II.244 (V.) “what matter did he tell you?”. The verb ujjhāpayati is similarly used in the sense of “complain to”. e.g., paṭi-vissakānaṃ ujjhāpesi M I.126 “complained to (called to) the neighbours”; reply, assent; paṭi+suṇāti: e.g., Bhagavato paccassosi D II.90 “replied to the Blessed One”; similarly paṭivacanaṃ-karoti: e.g., tesaṃ

\[4\] Kaccāyana gives suna as a root taking dat. (279) probably a confusion between the dat. with paccassosi and the original gen. of the source of sound.
paṭivacanam-karissami D I.122 “I shall make answer to them”; preach; deseti (according to the Vutti on Kac. 279 the dat. with this verb and vyākaroti is used to show interest or regard (sādaratthe): e.g., bhikkhūnam dhammaṃ deseyya M I.27 “would preach the Doctrine to the monks”; explain; vyākaroti: e.g., evam-evaṃ ... Nigaṇṭhena samaṇassa Gotamassa byākatam M I.374 “in this very way was it explained by the naked ascetic ... to the recluse Gotama”.

c. show, demonstrate, reveal; dasseti: e.g., taṃ rañño dassesuṃ D III.65 “they showed him to the king”; āvi-karoti “lay bare”: e.g., te āvikaromi Sn 84 “I (shall) reveal to you”; the dat. with this verb is used for the loc. according to the vutti on Kac. 279 [121] (sattamyatthe); ācikkhati “point out”: e.g., mūḷhassa vā maggaṃ ācikkheyya D I.85 “were to point out the way to one gone astray”.

d. inform, communicate to; āroceyi (ārocanatthe ... Kac. 219): e.g., Bhagavato āroceyya D II.207 “we shall inform (this to) the Blessed One”; sahāyakassa āroceyu D II.155 “let him inform (it to) the friend”; devatā pi me etaṃ atthaṃ ārocesuṃ D III.15 “even the gods communicated this matter to me”.

e. teach; vāceti: (takes also the acc. as a faded causative §58.d.iii): e.g., yo bhavantānaṃ mante vācessati D II.248 “who shall teach mantras to you”.

§94. [Special Connection with certain verbs]

The dat. is used similarly in special connection with verbs having the sense of:
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a. *have faith in, confide in*; *saddhati* “has faith” (KVG §553.3 & SS §86.c; cp. Latin *confido, fido, credo* with dat.): e.g., *Tathāgatassa assaddahamāno* D III.8 “without (having) faith in the T.”; *tassa mayhaṃ bhikkhave ye ... saddhātabbaṃ maññissanti* M I.227 “who think ... brethren, that they should rely on me”; *pasīdati* “gains confidence” or “believe, trust in”: e.g., *evaṃ pasanno*⁵ *ahaṃ bhoto Gotamassa* M I.240 “so much do I believe in the venerable Gotama”. The construction is more frequent in its *adnominal* use. e.g., ... *Bhagavato saddhāya gacchāmi* A IV.81 “I ... go out of faith for the Blessed One”.

b. *pay attention to, heed; suṣsūsati* “wish to listen to”: e.g., *tassa te sāvakā suṣsūsanti* D I.230 “to you (as such) the disciples listen”; *ādiyanti* “pay attention to, (lit. take one’s word)”: e.g., *te (corā) n’ eva rañño Māgadhassa ādiyanti, na rañño Māgadhassa purisakānaṃ ādiyanti* D III.204 “they (the robbers) heed neither the King of Magadha nor his officers”; *suṇāti* “listen to”: e.g., *tassa mayhaṃ bhikkhave ye ... sotabbaṃ maññissanti* M I.227 “who think ... brethren, that they should listen to me”.

c. *pay homage to, respect; sakkaroti*: e.g., *aññe ca pañca dhammā, yehi mama sāvakā sakkaronti* M II.9 “... owing to [122] which the disciples pay respect to me”, where the acc. is found side by side.

§95. [Dative of Possession]

The so-called *dat. of possession* is found with the verb “to be” (KVG §553.5). According to Speyer it is also used with substantives in Skr.

⁵ The loc. is more frequent here. e.g., *Buddhe pasanno* S I.34.
to denote the possessor (SS §86.d). e.g., \textit{tass' imāni satta ratanāni ahesuṃ} D III.59 “to him there were (lit. he had) these seven jewels”; \textit{tesam pi Bhagavantānaṃ ... upaṭṭhakā ahesuṃ} D II.144 “to those Blessed Ones ... also there were attendants”. Sometimes the use is more figurative, the \textit{possession} being not of any material thing but of a mental or emotional state. e.g., \textit{amhākam pi ... atthi satthari pasādo} M I.64 “we also ... have faith in the Master”. Or it may be employed to denote one’s age or the time that has elapsed since, a certain incident in one’s life. e.g., \textit{Tiṃsamattāni kho me gahapati vassāni pabbajitassāti} S IV.300 “It is about thirty years, house-holder, since I was ordained (lit. to me ordained)”. Owing to the presence of the participle in such constructions the dat. appears to have a semi-absolute character. When the enclitic personal pronoun (\textit{me, te, vo} or \textit{no}) is used it appears to be closer to the sympathetic dat. (§102). e.g., \textit{Taṃ vo hotu} D II.180 “will you have this (lit. may it be for you i.e. yours)”.

\textbf{§96. [Dat. of Destination]}

a. With many verbs of motion the \textit{dat. of destination} is employed (cp. SS. §79). It generally answers to the English \textit{to, for, at}, or even \textit{into}. This destination expressed by the dat. is more or less metaphorical; a real \textit{going to} would be more preferably denoted by the acc. (§38) and a real \textit{moving into} by the loc. (§165) or even the acc. (§40). But the justification for the dat. seems to be in the fact that the logical conception underlying the use is the idea of \textit{going for} or \textit{aiming at} (cp. KVG §553.6), though according to local grammarians the \textit{aim}, reached, attained, is never put in the dat. (\textit{vide} SS §79).\footnote{cp. Patañjali I.448 \textit{vārtt}.4 on Pān. II.3.12.} The dat. in
this function is found with such verbs as: *gacchati* or *āgacchati*; e.g.,
tassa yā ratti vā divaso vā āgacchati A IV.17 “whatever night or day
comes to him”; tassa mayhaṃ brāhmaṇa nisinnassa taṃ [123]
bhayabheravam āgacchati M I.21 “to me thus seated, O brahmin,
comes this terror!”; appo saggāya gacchati Dh 174 “few go to
heaven”; kamati “come upon, i.e., affect”; e.g., nāssa aggi vā visam
vā sattham vā kamati A IV.150 “neither fire, nor poison, nor sword
comes upon (affects) him” (cp. *Gradual Sayings* p.103 E.M. Hare);
okkamanāya nibbānassa A IV.111 “faring to Nibbāna” (ibid ‘faring
to the cool’) eti “comes”; e.g., etu me bho so puriso D I.60 “let the
man come to me!”; pahiṇoti⁷ “sends”; e.g., Mallānaṃ dūtaṃ pāhesuṃ
D II.164 “they sent a messenger to the Mallas”; tassa te ...
ratham
pahiṇissāmi M II.79 “to you (as such) ... I shall send a chariot”; āneti
“brings” (metaphorically in the sense of marriage); e.g., ahaṃ bhante
Nakulapituno gahapatissa daharass’ eva daharā ānītā A IV.61 “I,
Sir, yet young, was brought (i.e. married) to the householder N. in
his youth”; similarly with the compound verb *otāraṃ labhati* “gain
access to”; e.g., labhati tassa Māro otāraṃ M III.94 “the Evil One
will gain access to him”; abhinibbattati “come to being, evolve itself
into”; e.g., api nu kho nāma-rūpaṃ itthattāya abhinibbattissathāti D
II.63 “would name and form come to birth in (lit. evolve themselves
into) this state of being (Comy. ‘*itthattāyā ti itthambhāvāya*’ Sum.
II.502); itthattāya is the old dat. sg. of the abstract noun *itthattam*
(*itthattvam*); cp. *itthattam paññāpanāya* D II.64. On the strength
of this conclusion it is evident that we have the same dat. sg. in the
stock phrase ‘nāparaṃ itthattāya’ D II.68,153, which Rhys Davids
rendered as “after this present world there is no beyond”. It should

⁷ According to *vutti* on Kac. 279 it denotes *regard* (*sādaratthe*).
rather be translated “there is no further (coming back) to this state of being”.

b. This dat. is also used with some verbs implying direction. As in the previous case the more usual construction is the acc. (§41). e.g., appossukkatāya cittaṃ namati M I.168 (cp. D II.36) “his mind bends (inclinies, turns) to (-wards) inactivity”. A similar dat. is found with the compound verb namo karoti in the sense of “bow down to”. e.g., namo karohi nāgassa M I.145 “bow down to the serpent”. A further development of the notion of “bowing down to” in homage is found with vandati [124] where the dat. (of the person worshipped) borders on the idea of propitiation (cp. dat. or gen. with vaj- in Skr. SS §119.R) and the idea of direction. But this is only found in the older gāthā literature. e.g., nīcamano vandi Tathāgatassa Sn 252 “humble in mind he bent down to the Tathāgata (in homage).

§97. [Dat. of Advantage]

A quite frequent dat. in Pāli is the one found with verbs, denoting “happening or occurring to (someone)”. Logically it belongs to the class called dativus commodi et incommodi i.e. the dat. of advantage and disadvantage. Such verbs are:

a. uppajjati “arises, is born to”; e.g., khattiyakumārena brāhmaṇakañña ca putto uppanno D I.97 “a son was born to the brahmin girl by a youth of the warrior caste”. More often it is applied metaphorically. e.g., na Bodhisatta-mātu purisesu mānasam uppajjati D II.13 “a love for (other) men does not arise in (lit. for) the mother of the Being of Enlightenment”; brāhmaṇassā evarūpam diṭṭhigataṃ uppannaṃ hoti D I.224 “to the brahmin such a view as
this arose”; *mayhaṃ ... sati udapādi* D I.180 “to me arose ... mindfulness”. When the substantive denotes a group of people the idea is best rendered “among”; e.g., *atha kho sambahulānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ dharmī kathā udapādi* D II.1 “then among many monks arose ... a doctrinal talk”. The same idiom is employed to denote something unfavourable happening to a person, e.g., *sutavān’ assa bhayaṃ udapādi* D III.17 “on hearing this fear arose for him”; *bhikkhuno uppanno hoti appamattako ābādho* D III.257 “a slight illness cropped up for the monk”; cp. D II.121. *jāyati* “be born” is similarly used with the dat. e.g., *pamuditassa pīti jāyati* D I.214 “joy is born to him who is gladdened”. In these examples the sense of “arise in someone” would permit the use of the loc. though such is hardly found with these specific verbs (cp. SS §§82,84).

b. Of similar syntactical significance is the dat. (of concern) found with verbs signifying *manifestation* and *meeting*. According to Kaccāyana⁸ it is here used in the sense of the loc. e.g., *pātu-bhavati* “appears to, manifests itself to”; e.g., [125] *yadā ... Sanamkumāro ... devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ pātu bhavati* D II.210 “when ... Sanaṃkumāra ... appears to the gods of the T. heaven”; *kumārassa dibbaṃ cakkhuṃ pāturahosi* D II.20 “the divine eye arose to the prince”; *sammukhī-bhavati* “meet with (lit. be presented to)”; e.g., *sammukhū bhūto no Satthā ahosi* D II.155 *lit.* “the Master was presented to us, (i.e. we met the Master)”. The same idea is contained in the following dat.: *bahunnañca dukkhadhammānaṃ purakkhato hoti* D III.183 “he is exposed to many evil things”.

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⁸ ‘... sattamyatthe ...’ Kac. 279.
c. An idiomatic and popular usage is the dat. of the person with the verb *hoti* (usually the aorist *ahosi*) used impersonally to mean “it occurred to ...”. e.g., *tassa purisassa etad ahosi* D II.130 “to that man it occurred: ...”; *āyasmato Ānandassa etad ahosi* D II.107 “to the venerable Ānanda it occurred: ...”; *tumhākaṃ evaṃ assa* D II.154 “it would occur to you thus: ...”;

§98. [Dat. of Interest]

a. Verbs implying *pleasure* (cp. Latin *placeo* c. dat.) or *satisfaction* take a dat. of the person *to whom* something is pleasing etc. This too is a *dat. of interest*. Such verbs are: *ruccati*\(^9\) “is pleasing to”; e.g., *na kho me taṃ bhante ruccati* M I.375 “this, Sir, is certainly not pleasing to me”; *taṅca pana amhākaṃ ruccati* M I.93 “that too is pleasing to us”. *khamati* “seems good to or for”; e.g., *idaṃ me khamati idaṃ me na khamati* D III.42 “this seems good to me, that does not”; *khamati*\(^10\) *te idanti* D III.45 “does it seem good to you?”; *amhākaṃ ... khamati* M I.93 “it appears fitting to us”.

b. The same idea of “fitting or suiting” is denoted by the impersonal *sameti* which takes the dat. of the person *for whom* someone else (put in the inst.) is agreeable or favourable. This is closely related to the *sympathetic dat*. e.g., *tehi pi me saddhiṃ ekaccesu ṭhānesu sameti* D I.162 (163,247) “they agree with me on certain points (*lit* to me in certain points it fits in with them)”; *sameti me akkhaduttehi* M II.107 *lit* “to me there is agreement with the gamblers”. Sometimes both parties are denoted by the dat. and the sense of the verb is “agreeable

\(^9\) ‘yassa... rocate... vā ...’ Kac. 278.
\(^10\) *khamati* in the sense of *pardon* also takes the dat. (§99.f).
to”. [126] e.g., *tayidaṃ bho Gotama sameti bhoto c’eva Gotamassa amhākañca, yadidam sabbena sabbanti* A IV.42 “this is agreeable to both you, venerable Gotama, and ourselves, that is to say, everything entirely”.

c. *kappati* (Skr. *kalpate* c. dat. SS §85) “be fit for, suitable to” similarly takes the dat., occurring usually in the negative phrase ‘*na kappati*’ “is not proper”. e.g., *na Tathāgatassa pāṇâtipāto kappati* A II.113 “the taking of life is not proper for the T.”; *sace bhoto Udenassa na kappati* M II.163 “if it is not fit for the venerable Udena”; *na etaṃ āyasmatō ... kappati* M II.116 “this is not suitable for the venerable ...”; cp. *na āmagandho mama kappatī ti* Sn 241 “the (smell of) raw flesh is not suitable for me”.

§99. [Dat. of Animosity]

With verbs expressive of *anger, jealousy, envy, and suspicion* the person on, at or against whom the feeling is exercised or directed, in other words the object of *animosity* (cp. SS §83.4 &5), is denoted by the dat. case. Of this kind are:

a. *dussati* “to hate”; e.g., *yo appaduṭṭhassa narassa dussati* Dh 125 “who hates the harmless man”; *dubbhati* (< *dubh-* which seems to be a contamination of Skr. *druh* “bear malice or seek to injure”, and Skr. *dabh* “injure, hurt or deceive”) “hate, seek to injure”; e.g., *yo pi me assa paccatthiko tassa pāhaṃ na dubbheyyaṃ* S I.225 “I would not seek to injure (plot against) even him who is my foe”. This verb is found with the loc. in later Pāli (cp. J. I.267; III.212, vide P.T.S. Dict. s.v.).
b. pihati (Vedic sprhati) “envy”; e.g., akuppamāno kissa pihessati M III.264 “being unirritable whom shall he envy?”; so tesam na pihemi M I.504 “As such I do not envy them”; hīnassa na pihemi M I.505 “I envy not the mean”; tassa me bahunā pihayanti Th 1.62 “many envy me as such” (cp. S I.202,236). maccharāyati (denominative from macchariya) “be envious of”; e.g., kim pana bhante Bhagavā arahattassa maccharāyatītī D III.7 “what, Sir, does the Blessed One envy sainthood (in others)?”. [127]

c. sapati “to swear at, curse”; e.g., sapassu ca me Vepacitti ... S I.225 “curse me Vepacitti ... !”.

d. The compound verb vādaṃ āropeti “contend with or against” also takes the dat. of the person opposed; e.g., Samanassa Gotamassa vādaṃ āropehi S IV.323 “establish a contention against the venerable Gotama (i.e. draw the recluse Gotama into an argument)”.

e. aparajjhati “offend, do wrong to”; e.g., pass’ Ambaṭṭha yāva aparaddhañca te idaṃ ācariyassa ... D I.103 “See, Ambaṭṭha, how deeply your teacher ... has herein done you wrong” (Dial. II.128); kim pana te Ambaṭṭha Sakyā aparaddhunī D I.91 “but in what then, Ambaṭṭha, have the Sakyans given you offence?” (Dial. I.113).

f. Expressive as it is of a feeling psychologically opposite to those denoted by the above verbs, khamati in the sense of “pardon” takes a similar construction. Here it may be noted that Pāli is more likely to preserve the older idiom of construing it with the dat. rather than follow the later Classical Skr. construction of kṣamati with the gen. (§82 Speyer SS). e.g., khamatu ca me āyasmā Ānando A V.198 “may the venerable Ānanda pardon me”; khamatāṁ (v.1. khamatu) bhavāṁ
Gotamo Ambaṭṭhassa mānavassā ti D I.108 “may the ven. Gotama forgive the young man Ambaṭṭha”.

With most of the above verbs local grammarians enjoin the employment of the dat. (cp. Kaccāyana 279; Pāṇinī I.4.39; Moggallāna II.27).

§100. The Loose Dative.

As has been already pointed out (§92), one of the two main functions of the dat. is to appear as a complement to the whole statement (cp. VGS §200). This however does not mean that the so-called loose dat. (KVG §554, explained as ‘the less restricted dat.’) has no relation whatever with the actual import of the sentence or what is logically implied therein. In fact the verb, denoting as it does the most ‘dynamic’ concept in the whole sentence, exercises a considerable amount of influence [128] on the character of this dat.; and, according to the manifold turns of expression envisaged by the predicative connection so implied, the loose dat. assumes several distinct roles: principally, that of the dat. of advantage and disadvantage (dativus commodi et incommodi), the sympathetic dat. with its secondary aspect of ethical dat., the dat. of orientation, the dat. of purpose and aim (dativus finalis), and finally, the dat. of the agent.

§101. [Dat. of Interest]

Of these the most frequent, in Pāli as well as in the older languages, is the dat. of advantage and disadvantage. It denotes the person or party interested in the action (vide KVG §554.1), for whom some
profit or loss is meant as a result of its accomplishment. Sometimes this is called the dat. of the person *indirectly affected*.

a. This is particularly true in Pāli of the dat. found with the verb *karoti* in both its meanings of “doing” and “making”. In fact here the acc. which is more usual to express the indirectly affected object is actually the parallel idiom (§58.c.iii). e.g., *te Tathāgatassa sarīra-pūjaṃ karissanti* D II.169 “they will do bodily homage to the T.”; *kiccaṃ nesaṃ karissāmi* D III.189 “I shall do service to them”; *kim hi paro parassa karissati* I.224,226 “what will (can) another do to one?” When *karoti* has the sense of “make or perform” the acc. is logically less admissible and the dat. seems to be the proper, if not the only, construction. e.g., *Etha tumhe bhikkhave gihīnaṃ odāta-vasanānaṃ uttari-manussa-dhammā pāṭihāriyaṃ karothā ti* D I.211 “Come now, brethren, perform a miracle of superhuman nature for (i.e. before) these white-clad laymen”. Compound verbs where the second member is a form of *kar-* follow the same construction. e.g., *okāsaṃ-karoti* “gives permission, grants leave”; e.g.; *karoti te Bhagavā okāsaṃ* D II.150 “the Blessed One grants leave to you”; *bhesajjaṃ-karoti* “give treatment, pay medical attention”; e.g., *tassa so bhisakko sallakatto*11 *bhesajjaṃ kareyya* M I.511 “to him that medical-man, that surgeon, would give treatment”; it is also found adnominally; e.g., *tesaṃ antarāya-karo* D I.227 “doing harm to them”. This dat. is preserved even [129] when the verb is in the passive. e.g., *Channassa ... brahma-daṇḍo kātabbo* D II.154 “... the ‘highest punishment’ should be meted out to ... Channa”; similarly with the causative: *āyasmato ca Ānandassa pañca-sataṃ vihāraṃ*

11 This is an irregular -o form of a -ṛ stem (*vide* PLS §94.4) probably due here to the influence of the preceding -o.
b. Various other verbs of a similar character are construed likewise with dat. They are mostly transitive and have the directly affected object in the acc. A few intransitive verbs however, are also found to comply with a dat. of this sort. Most of these bear a very close relation to the sympathetic dat. But the sense of advantage or gain is the principal notion underlying the use. e.g., *Kumārassa setacchattam dhārayittha* \(^{12}\) D II.19 “they held the white parasol (above) to the prince”; *attano sukhaṃ esāno* Dh 131 “searching happiness for himself”; *mama hi pahūtaṃ sāpateyyaṃ* ... *abhisaṅkhataṃ* D II.180 “much wealth ... was procured even for me”. The sense of damage, harm or loss is found in the following: *siyā kho pana Ānanda Cundassa kammarāputtassa koci vippaṭisāraṃ upadaheyyya* D II.135 “would it be, Ānanda, that someone may stir up remorse for (i.e. in) Cunda”; *samaṇassa Gotamassa parājayam (karissāmi)* D III.20 “shall bring defeat to the recluse Gotama”; *anatthāṃ me acari* A V.150 “he did me injustice”; *aṭṭhatthi bhikkhave aṅgehi samannāgatassa upāsakassa ākaṅkhamāno saṅgho pattaṃ nikujjeyya* A IV.344 “if the Order wishes, brethren, it may turn down the bowl to (i.e. boycott) the lay-follower who is possessed of these eight qualities”; *imassa daṇḍaṃ paṇetu* A I.138 “lay down a penalty for him”. The idiom is more involved when the verb is intransitive. e.g., *khattiyassa cepi ijjheyya dhanena vā dhaññena vā* ... M II.84 “if it would prosper for the warrior-prince in wealth or corn ...”; *bhītassa saraṇam hotī* D III.186 “he is a refuge to the frightened”. Sometimes it is found in the sense of “on behalf of ...” or “for my

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\(^{12}\) ‘yassa dātukāmo rocate dhārayate vā taṃ sampadānaṃ’ Kac. 278.
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sake”. e.g., abhivādehi me tvāṃ ... Bhagavantaṃ D II.269 “you salute the Blessed One for me (i.e. on my behalf or for my sake)”. [130]

§102. The Sympathetic Dative.

Havers has established for the Vedic dialect a point of contact in meaning between the dat. and the gen. (HKS §11). He says: “We may state with considerable certainty that the forms me, te were originally pure datives”. As pointed out above (§91) these pronouns of the first and second persons were first employed to denote the person sympathetically participating in the action, apart from the use of the dat. to denote possession (cp. KVG §554.2; SS §14). In the Nikāyas, however, there is no strict line of demarcation between it and the dat. of advantage and disadvantage as both imply interest in the action on the part of some person (who is not the agent).

a. The enclitic forms te, me, vo and no are frequently found in such a role. e.g., na hi te tāta dibbaṃ cakka-ratanaṃ pettikaṃ dāyajjaṃ D III.60 “indeed, child, the divine Gem of the Wheel is for you no paternal inheritance”; atha ca pana me uttānakuttānako viya khāyati D II.55 “even so to me it appears quite clear”; so vo mam’ accayena satthā D II.154 “for you on my passing away that will be the Master”; Satthā ca no loke udapādi Sammā-Sambuddho D III.122 “a Master arose for us in the world, a perfectly Enlightened One”; mā vata no ahosi dīgharattatāh ahitāya dukkhāyāti D III.10 “may it not be to us for (our) disadvantage and grief for a long time”.

b. This same sympathetic dat. may sometimes appear to be even more isolated in the syntactical scheme of the sentence. It is then very much like the so-called ethical dat. (in Greek), a mere particle hardly
entering into the main sentence-unit either grammatically or logically. It is more or less emphatic and is employed in connection with preceding particles like kho or pronouns usually of the first and second persons. e.g., evaṃ santam pi kho te Poṭṭhapāda, aṇṇa va saṇṇa bhavissati aṇṇo va attā D I.186 “even if it were so, Poṭṭhapāda, will perception be one and the Soul another?” Here te is hardly necessary to translate; a slight implication, however, of orientation i.e., a point of view peculiar to the person, is noticeable. Idan te [131] Mallike samaṇena Gotamena bhāsitam M II.106 “this, (mark you) Mallikā, has been said by the recluse Gotama”; passanti no bhonto devā D II.213 “do you gods see?”; abhijānāsi no tvaṃ? D II.205 “do you acquiesce?”; tesaṃ no amhākaṃ kadāci karahaci dīghassa addhuno accayena rasa-paṭhavī udakasmiṃ samatāni D III.90 “for us sooner or later after a long while the savoury earth had arisen over the waters” (Dial. Vol. IV. Pt.3. p.86). Here no is quite superficial beside amhākaṃ.

c. This assumes a different syntactical role when used with the verb bhavati, as we have seen before (§95). It is there considered as a dat. of possession. Sometimes the verb may be quite another but yet logically implying being or existence. e.g., āsā ca pana me santiṭṭhati sakadāgāmitāya D II.206 “there is a desire (in or for me) for the state of the Once-Returner”; asītiko me vayo vattati D II.100 “I am 80 years old”.

§103. Dat. of Concern Bordering on An Absolute Use.

Very much similar to the gen. absolute is the construction often met with in the Nikāyas, where the dat. of the person ultimately concerned (in the action) is used with a participle denoting
contemporaneous action. The continuous temporal sense imparted by the participle gives a semi-absolute appearance to the construction.

e.g., ᵗʰāṇaṃ kho pan’ etaṃ vijjati yan te ariye cakkavattivatte vattamānassa ... dibbaṃ cakkaratanam pātubhavissati D III.60 “there is a possibility however that to you conducting yourself in the noble way of the universal monarchs ... the divine Jewel of the Wheel will appear”; it may as well be rendered “... when you conduct yourself ...” etc.;  mā me bhonto athakaraṇe nisinnassa antarā-kathaṃ opātenti M II.122 “let not people cause interruption to me (as I am) seated at the administration of justice”;  maggaṃ kho me gacchantassa kāyo kilamissati D III.255 “to me walking the way (i.e. as I am going ...) the body will be fatigued”. All these examples have the enclitic form te or me denoting the person concerned and are, therefore, apparently connected with the sympathetic dat. [132]

§104. The Dat. of Orientation.

This denotes the person from whose stand-point the statement is made (cp. KVG §554.4). It is because of this notion of stand-point that we have preferred to call it the dat. of orientation. This is closely related to the datives denoting the person interested in the statement described in the preceding paragraphs and, therefore, Brugmann includes it among the so-called loose datives (ibid). Local grammarians seem to have overlooked this use of the dat.; still one may see a connection between it and the function of this case called ‘sādaratthe’ by the vuttī on Kac. 279. The employ, however, is not so rare as to be ignored. e.g.,  te nāma-gottaṃ anussarato ayyaputtā Sakyā bhavanti D I.92 “to one following up your lineage ... (it appears that once) your masters were the Sakyans”;  cetayamānassa me pāpiyyo acetaya-mānassa me seyyo D I.184 “to me (while)
thinking (it appears that) it is inferior, and (while) not thinking better” (cp. Dial. II. p.251); cp. dīghā jāgarato rattī Dh 60 “to one awake the night is long”. The dat. of the person found with adjectives implying priority or posteriority in time or space is only a variation of the same idiom. e.g., tesaṃ pacchimā janatā A I.71 “the people posterior to them”. Here the dat. may be rendered by “in comparison with or compared to”, which indicates the close connection between the notion of comparison and that of orientation. Indeed it is doubtful whether tesaṃ is at all the dat., or the gen. of comparison (vide §§110 & 151.b). In many other such instances the two are indistinguishable. e.g., purakkhato\textsuperscript{13} bhikkhusaṅghassa D I.50 “seated in front of the order of monks”. Here the local adv. puras would prefer the gen. rather than the dat. (vide gen. with adverbs §153.b).

\textbf{§105. Dat. of the Agent.}

It has been found by observers of the earliest dialect,\textsuperscript{14} that of the Vedic mantras, that the dat. is used with gerundives (and also infinitives) as in ‘vi śrayantāṃ prayāi devēbhyaḥ’ “let (the doors) open wide for the gods to enter”\textsuperscript{(vide VGS §200.o.)} to express the agent (KVG §554.3). It is a dat. of the person participating but it is at the same time the executor of the action and consequently can be classed with the other loose datives. In later classical Skr. it was superseded by the gen. of the agent. Says Speyer: “It is likely that the gen. had not encroached so much on the dative’s sphere of employment in the dialect of the brāhmaṇas and of ancient epic

\textsuperscript{13} Comy. ‘parivāretvā nisinnassa purato nisinno’. Sum I. p. 152.

\textsuperscript{14} Speyer (SS §86.a) citing Delbruck (K.Z., X.V.III. p. 81 etc.)
poetry as afterwards. In some cases the dat. is no more used in the classical language after having been employed so in the archaic dialect” (SS §86). In Pāli owing to the replacement of the dat. forms (except -āya in the sg. of a- nouns) by the gen., we are at a loss to find out exactly whether the case with the gerundives is the dat. or the gen. But the fact that the Nikāya dialect on the whole may be said to preserve the older archaic idioms and in general is more allied to Vedic as we have seen in the preceding pages, lends support to the conclusion that here we have the dat. and not the gen. which in Pāli seems only to be employed to express the agent with passive participles in -ta as suta, vidita etc. (§154).

It is the gerundive in -anīya that is usually involved in this construction in the Nikāyas. e.g., sanniptitānaṃ bhikkhave dvayaṃ karaṇīyaṃ M I.161 “for the assembled monks, brethren, there are two (things) to be done”; ye pi' ssa pitā atthe anusāsi, te pi Jotipālass' eva māṇavassa anusāsanīyā D II.231 “whatever matters were dispensed by his father, let Jotipāla the youth himself administer all such affairs (lit. those too are to be administered by -for- J. the young man)”. It may be mentioned that the gerundive in -tabba usually has the inst. to express its agent (§88.c.). But in the impersonal use the enclitic forms me, te and no, vo, which were originally datives (vide §102), are found employed for the agent. e.g., evaṃ hi vo bhikkhave sikkhitabbaṃ M I.127 “brethren, you should train yourselves thus”; tatrāpi te Phagguna evaṃ sikkhitabbaṃ M I.123 “even in that matter, Phagguna, you should learn this”. [134]
§106. The Dat. of Purpose.

Brugmann includes the *dat. of purpose* among the so-called *loose datives* (KVG §554.5). But the fact cannot be overlooked that this dat. is as much logically connected with the action, denoted by the verb as the acc. of *motion* or of *purpose*. We have reason to believe with Speyer that the notion underlying the *dat. of purpose* is one of destination (SS §80), and that its sphere of application is that of the *dativus finalis* in Latin.

Local grammarians connect the idea of *purpose* with that of recipiency and Pāṇinī’s rule ‘*karmaṇā yamabhipraiti sa sampradānaṃ*’ (I.4.32) is supposed to provide for the former application also. It is said that the fourth case-ending not only denotes *sampradāna* but implies *uddeśya* i.e. *purpose* as well, this latter sense too being implicit in the expression ‘*yamabhipraiti*’ in the rule already cited.\(^{15}\) Pāli grammarians include these ‘final’ uses under the designations *tadattha* and *tumattha* (*vide vutti* on Kac. 279), the latter term making it quite clear that even the older grammarians recognized the logically datival origin of the infinitive (*-āya* corresponding to *-tuṇḍ*). The *dat. of purpose*, says Brugmann in the place already cited, especially of verbal abstracts, was from primitive Indo-Germanic times the main foundation of the infinitive. Considering how much of the power of an infinitive the dat. of the *nomen actionis* has in Indian syntax (*cf.* Speyer SS §87.II), one can quite understand the implications of the statement. On the function of the dat. in *-āya* in Pāli, Geiger makes the following observation: “Er dient zum Ausdruck der Richtung und des Zweckes

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\(^{15}\) *vide Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar* p. 201.
... Er bekommt dann ganz infinitivische Verwendung”, i.e., “it serves to express direction and purpose ... then it assumes complete infinitival application” (PLS §77). That the form in -āya was restricted in Middle Indian to the above uses, viz., direction (or aim) and purpose, to the complete loss of such forms employed in other spheres of the dat., is supported by the fact that even Hemacandra, the Prk. grammarian, permits the employment of -āya (Prk. - ā a) only when it expresses an aim or purpose (cp. Pischel Prk.Gr. §361). [135]

It has to be noted that this idea of purpose can be variously expressed in Pāli as much as in Skr. In the latter the dat. of purpose, the infinitive in -tuṃ, and periphrases such as -artham and -nimitam are concurrent idioms (SS §87.II). In Pāli we have also -atthāya and -kāraṇā. e.g., seve senāsanaṃ bhikkhu paṭisallānakāraṇā Th 1.577 “the monk resorts to the dwelling-place for the sake of (lit. through the reason of) solitude”; dhanatthāya J I.254 “for the sake of wealth”. Here the mere dat. paṭisallānāya and dhanāya would suffice. The form atthāya in the latter cannot be regarded as a dat. of purpose in ipso but only as an adverbial usage of that case (vide P.T.S. Dict. ‘attham’ and VGS §200.B.5) just as the abl. -kāraṇā in the former or the inst. athena. Atthāya as a dat. of purpose should mean “for which good” or “for which purpose (business)”. e.g., yāy’ eva kho pana atthāya D I.90 “for which business you would come”.

§107. [Dat. of Aim]

a. It may express either the thing or state wished for or aimed at or the action intended to be accomplished. Of the former kind are usually the datives of nouns and abstract nouns. e.g., Vesālim
piṇḍāya pāvisi D II.122 (D I.178) “he entered Vesāli for alms”; vāṇijassa vāṇijjāya gacchato M II.232 “of the merchant going for trade”; gocharāya pakkamati S III.84 “sets out for food”; yassa atthāya pabbajanti D II.153 “for the purpose of which ... they leave (home)”; upasampādenti bhikkhu-bhāvāya D I.176; II.152 “they ordain (him) for monkhood”. Other dative forms beside those in -āya are only rarely expressive of purpose; such, for instance, is the feminine -yā of i- nouns. e.g., ekāyano ayaṃ bhikkhave maggo sattānaṃ visuddhiyā M I.55 “certain, O monks, is this path for the purity (i.e. purification) of beings”.

In the latter case, i.e., when an action is intended, the nomen actionis itself is put in the dat. and looks very much like an infinitive (cf. SS §87.II). e.g., samāṇaṃ Gotamaṃ dassanāya upasaṅkituṃ D I.108 “to go (in order) to see the recluse Gotama”; catuddisaṃ rakkhāya upagacchati D II.12 “goes to guard the four quarters”; na cāssa nāvā ... pāramī ganānāya [136] M I.134 “and there would be no boat ... to cross over (to the other shore)”. The close relation to the infinitive is seen by the acc. (of object) preceding the dat. in these examples. The objective gen. may sometimes stand in place of this acc. e.g., upamā kho me ayaṃ bhikkhave katā atthassa viññāpanāya M I.117 “a simile has been given by me, brethren, for the vindication of the meaning”. Other similar datives of purpose are found in the following: upasaṅkami divāvihārāya M I.359 “came to spend the day”; cīvaraṃ paṭisevati ... n’ eva davāya na madāya na maṇḍanāya na vibhūsanāya M I.10 “he wears the robe ... not for sport, nor for pride, nor for ornament, nor for decoration”.

b. Though the dat. in these examples play a part similar to that of the infinitive still in most of them the infinitive in -tuṃ cannot be
substituted for the former without creating a marked difference in the idiom. But there are some instances, especially of the datives of *nomina actionis* or *nomina verbalia* used purely as infinitives.\(^{16}\) Here the dat. just as much as the corresponding infinitive grammatically and logically stands as a complement to the main verb of the sentence. Such verbs are *labhati*, *pahoti*, *arahati*, *sakkā* etc. e.g., *na mayāṃ labhimhā pacchima-kāle Tathāgataṃ dassanāya* D II.147 (M II.131) “we do not ‘have the luck’ to see the T. in his last moments”;

... *labheyyāma ... dhammikaṃ kathāṃsavānāya* M I.160 (D III.80) “... would we get a chance to hear a doctrinal talk ...” (cp. Geiger ‘hat das Gluck’ for *labhati*; PLS §204.3); *na sakkā gaṇanāya* D III.111 “not able to count”; *dassanāya ... pahoti* M II.131 “is able to see” (cp. Geiger ‘vermag zu sehen’ *ibid*); similarly with adj. *dullabhā*: *n’ esā kathā Bhagavato dullabhā bhavissati pacchā pi savānāya* M II.2 “it will not be difficult for the Blessed One to hear this talk even later”; cp. *pubbe va natthi yadidaṃ yudhāya* Sn 831 “as before there is nothing (namely) to fight”, where *yudhāya* is an archaic dat. of *yudh* f. (*vide* P.T.S. Dict.). Such archaic dat. forms as infinitives are by no means rare in the *gāthā* literature (PLS §204 l.a.b.c).

\(^{16}\) “Endlich werden nicht selten Dative der Nomina verbalia als Infinitive verwendet”. Geiger PLS §204.3; cf. §77.2. *ibid*.

\(^{17}\) ‘vo’ here, as the other dat.-gen. forms in the following examples, is most probably the dat. Speyer notes that in the Vedas two datives in this manner are usual SS §88.R.
I.230 “this (will serve) for your good, this for your happiness”. Similarly we find the stock-phrase “atthāya hitāya sukhāya devamanussānam” (e.g., D II.45,103) employed without a verb. But generally to this so-called predicative dat. is subjoined the verbum substantivum which is either the primary verb bhavati or others of correlated meaning such as saṃvattati (or saṃvaṭṭati) and paṭipajjati. e.g., tesaṃ taṃ bhavissati dīgharattaṃ hitāya sukhāya D II.142 “for them it will be for their good and happiness for a long time”; sallekhāya subharatāya viriyārambhāya saṃvattissati M I.13 “it will conduce to higher life, peace and exertion”; mahato anatthāya saṃvattati A I.5 “it will tend to great harm”; āhārupacchedāya paṭipajji M I.245 “he tended (inclined) towards the stopping of food”.

d. Another use of the same dat. is to express the aim with verbs of wishing, striving, endeavouring etc. This is the true dat. of the aim (cp. SS §89; PLS §77). e.g., ghaṭati vāyamati lābhāya A IV.293 “exerts (himself) and strives for gain”; na viriyaṃ ārabhissati tass’ aṅgaṇaṃ pahānāya M I.25 “does not make an effort for the destroying of that evil”. This construction is more prominent in its adnominal use with such nouns as icchā and āsā. e.g., icchā lābhāya A IV.293 “desire for gain”; āsā ca pana me santiṭṭhati sakadāgāmitāya D II.206 “there is a desire for me for the state of the Once-returner”; ussukaṃ āpannāni honti āyasmato Mahā-Kassapassa piṇḍapāta-paṭilābhāya Ud 4. “... eager for the obtaining of alms for the venerable Mahā-Kassapa”. Still in these examples the aim denoted by the dat. is only metaphorical. But sometimes it is used with verbs of bending, turning and leading implying actual direction, parallel to the dat. of destination. (§96.a). Here the idea of purpose is only very slightly implied. e.g., tassa
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cittaṃ namati ātappāya M I.102 “his mind is inclined (lit. bends) to exertion”; so niyyāti takkarassa sammā dukkhakkhayāyāti M I.68 “it leads to the perfect ending of ill of the doer thereof”; no hīnāya āvattati D III.50 “he does not return to the low”. [138]

e. Finally, there is an important adnominal use of this dat. It is frequently found with hetu and paccayo denoting cause or reason. Usually the two nouns are linked together in the idiom. The logical justification for the dat. with these seems to lie in the fact that the notion implied is one of aim, denoting as it does that to which the cause leads. The same nuance is expressed by the English idioms ‘the reason for’ and ‘the cause for’. The form in -āya seems to be generally employed in this connection. e.g., ayaṃ aṭṭhamo hetu aṭṭhamo paccayo mahato bhūmicālassa pātubhāvāya D III.109 “this is the eighth reason, the eighth cause, for the appearance of a great earthquake”; (cp. D II.107 and Geiger PLS §77.2). The idiom however is not restricted to the older form. The ending -ssa, borrowed from the gen., is also found. e.g., es’ eva hetu esa paccayo jarāmarañassa D II.57 “this itself is the reason, this the cause, for decay and death”.

§108. The Dat. of Suitability.

The dat. is also found with verbs, nouns (including adjectives) and particles (originally adverbs or prepositions) having the sense of befitting, suiting and counterpoising (cp. SS §87). Such are the verbs kappati and pahoti (cp. Pāṇ. II.2.13 & 2.16), nouns like kālo, akālo, adjectives of the sense of paṭirūpa and prepositions like alaṃ.
a. **Nouns**: e.g., *bhattassa kālo* M II.186 “(it is) time for dinner”; *etassa Bhagavā kālo* ... D II.2 “it is time for this O Blessed One ...”; Sometimes there is a double dat. with this construction, one of the *thing suitable* and the other expressing the person *for whom* it is so. e.g., *na dāni te tuṇhībhāvassa kālo* D I.95 “it is not the time for you for silence”. The negative *akālo* is as frequent: *akālo kho tāva Kassapa pañhassa* S I.19 “it is not yet the time, Kassapa, for questions”; *akālo Bhagavantaṃ dassanāya* D I.151 “it is not the time to see the Blessed One”. A different turn of the same idiom, occurs with the stereotyped phrase ‘*kālam maññasī*’ used in polite request. e.g., *gaccha tvaṃ Ānanda yassā*¹⁸ *dāni kālam maññasī* D I.85; II.104 “go now, Ānanda, (and attend to that) for which you think it is time”. [139]

b. **Adjectives**: The adj. *paṭirūpa* is similarly construed with the dat. of the person *for whom* something is fitting. e.g., *amhākaṃ paṭirūpaṃ* D II.180 “it is fitting for us”; *na kho etaṃ Phagguna paṭirūpaṃ kulaputtassa* ... M I.123 “it is not fitting for you, a householder O Phagguna ...”;

c. Sometimes the idea of *suitability* is expressed by the noun in the dat. without the help of any adj. meaning such. e.g., *yāva nāgassa bhūmi nāgena gantvā* D I.50; M II.113 “having gone on the elephant as far as the ground was (suitable) for the elephant”.

d. With *alaṃ* the noun in the dat. may either denote a *thing* or *state* in which case the dat. is parallel to the infinitive¹⁹ or a *person for*...
whom something is fit or proper. Being originally an emphatic particle in affirmative sentences *alam* in connection with a dat. does not really govern that case but the latter belongs to the syntax of the whole sentence (as dat. or infinitive absolute). It is mostly found with the dat. in -āya, which is closely related to that of purpose and aim dealt with in the preceding paragraphs. e.g., *nâlam sallāpāya* D III.38 “not fit to talk”; *alam vacanāya* D II.64 “one must say ...”; *alañca te antarāyāya* M I.131 (II.257) “is certain to be for your harm”; *alam vat’ idaṃ kulaputtassa padhānatthikassa padhānāya* M I.167 “quite ample for the nobleman striving for concentration”; *alam attano no paresaṃ* A IV.330 “enough for himself but not for others”. A curious use of *alam* is found in ‘*alam me, rañño va hotū ti*’ M II.54 “it is as good for me as for the king”. Chalmers, rendering “I have nothing to do with the king” is entirely at variance with Neumann’s “Genug schon, dass es vom Könige kommt”. Here me is the dat. of concern and rañño appears to be a use parallel to that of the inst. with *alam* (§82). It may be noted that in Skr. *alam* with the dat. of the person sometimes denotes competency: “one is fit for or a match for another”(VGS §200.4; Macdonell Skr. Gr. §200.2.a).

e. With some adjectives denoting competency or possibility a similar dat. is found in the Nikāyas, used very much like the dat. (or even the gen.) in Skr. with words like *paryāpta* and *śakta* (SS §85). e.g., *bhabbo* “possible, fit”; *bhabbo abhinibbidāya, bhabbo sambodhāya* M I.104 “has the capacity for breaking away (from the world) and for enlightenment”; *bhabbo dukkhakkhayāya* S III.27 “has the capacity for destroying ill”; *abhabbo puna virūḷhiyā* M II.256 “impossible to grow again”; *abhabbo parihānāya* A II.40 “unlikely to decrease”. With these the infinitive is also found
showing that it is an infinitival dat. of the type discussed above (*vide* P.T.S. Dict, *s.v.*)

**§109. Adnominal Uses of the Dative.**

Corresponding to most of the *adverbal* uses described in the previous paragraphs, there are datives which bear close syntactical connection to substantives, adjectives and indeclinables etc. (KVG §555). The various constructions such as the datives of *advantage* and *disadvantage*, of *concern* and *interest*, of *destination*, *aim* and *purpose* etc. have their adnominal counterparts.

a. Such formations as *agent nouns* and *verbal nouns* derived from verbs originally complying with a dat. of the person *to whom* something is *given*, *owed* etc. retain that dat. e.g., *na dātā hoti* samañassa vā brāhmañassa vā annam pānaṃ* ... A II.203 “he is not a giver of food and drink ... to either recluse or brahmin”; In *gāthā* literature an adnominal use of the dat. of the *creditor* (§93) is quite frequent. e.g., *na hi te iḍaṃ atthi* Sn 120 “there is no debt to you”; *anaṇā dāni te mayaṃ* Th 1.138 “we are not indebted to you”.

**§110. [Adnominal Dat. of Interest]**

a. A dat. of *advantage* and *disadvantage* is adnominally found with nouns denoting *loss*, *gain*, *victory*, *defeat* and the like. e.g., *lābhā rañño* Pasenadissa Kosalassa M II.209 “a gain to king Pasenadi of Kosala!” (cp. D II.152); *lābhā vata bho* Aṅga-Magadhānāṃ suladdhaṃ vata bho Aṅga-Magadhānāṃ M II.2 “a gain for the people of Aṅga-Magadha, a lucky thing for the Aṅga-Magadhās”; *imassa jayo bhavissati, abbhantarānaṃ* [141] raññaṃ parājayo
bhavissati D I.10 “to this (one) there will be victory, for the internal kings defeat”; tumhaṃ yev’ assa tena antarāyo D I.3 “by that there would be harm (danger) to you yourselves”.

b. A dat. of interest (in the wider sense) is found with nouns implying necessity, use or purpose. The person for whom there is need or use of something is denoted by the dat. and that thing is put in the inst. (§83.b). e.g., attho “need”: attho sace to bhante piṇḍakena M I.380 “if, Sir, there is a need of alms for you (i.e. if you are in need of alms)”; attho me gahapati hirañña-suvaṇṇena D II.176 “there is a need of gold and wealth, householder, for me”; na ca me attho tādisena purisena S I.99 “to me there is no use of such a person”. kiṃ “what (good, use)?”, in interrogative sentences; e.g., kiṃ te samaṇa-bhāvena Th 1.821 “what (good) to you by the state of a recluse? (i.e. what is the use of the recluse-state for you?)”; kiccaṃ “business or use”; e.g., yaṃ vo kiccaṃ sarīrena Th 1.719 “whatever use there is for you in the body”.

§111. [Dat. of Comparison]

With adjectives implying superiority or inferiority the usual case in the older language is the gen. of comparison (§151.b). This function too seems originally to have belonged to the dat., for logically the thing from the point of view of which something else is considered to be superior or inferior can be denoted by the dat. In fact such adjectives as sādhāraṇa can be optionally construed in Skr. with either the gen. or the dat. (vide Monier William’s Dict. s.v.). The connection generally is one of relation; hence even the inst. and abl. are used in comparison (§§86 & 132). Consequently it is quite probable that the ending -ssa in the following may represent a dat.
e.g., atthi imassa saññāgatassa uttarim nissaraṇaṃ M I.38 “there is (a place) of release superior to this conscious world”; asādhāraṇaṃ aṃnesaṃ Kh 7 “unequal to others”. This notion of orientation might have developed from the employment of the dat. with adjectives like garu as found in the following: satthā no garu M I.265 “the Master is venerable to us”; avisaṃvādako lokassa D I.4,63 “he [142] breaks not his word to the world, (lit.) of consistent speech to (from the point of view of) the world”; vibhavadiṭṭhiyā te paṭiviruddhā M I.65 “they are opposed to the theory of non-becoming”.

§112. [Dat. of Advantage]

With nouns and particles invoking homage or adoration (namo), happiness and prosperity (bhaddaṃ), and blessing or welcome (sāgataṃ) the dat. is employed to denote the person who is the object of such. e.g., namo tassa Bhagavato D II.288 “homage to that Blessed One ... !”; bhaddaṃ tavāti D II.180 “prosperity to you!”; sāgataṃ bhante Bhagavato D I.171; M II.2 “welcome to the Blessed One!”; sāgataṃ āyasmato Ānandassa M I.212 “welcome to the ven. Ānanda”. It may be observed that with namo the dat. is logically due to the idea of direction implied in the act of bowing (cf. §96.b). But with the rest it seems to be due to the sense of advantage conveyed by the terms bhaddaṃ and sāgataṃ (which were originally exclamatory nouns or accusatives, vide §28).

§113. [Dat. of Passage]

We have already (§96.b) mentioned the adverbal constructions involving the dat. of destination (cp. KVG §553.6; SS §79). An adnominal employment of the same is found with nouns like magga
“way” and gamana “going, journey”. e.g., *Samaṇo Gotamo Brahmnāṇam sahavyatāya maggam jānātī ti* M II.206 “the recluse Gotama knows the way to the company of Brahmās”; *saggassa maggam ācikkhati* D III.187 “he points the way to heaven”; *Nāḷakāragāmassa maggam* M II.206 “the road to the village of the basket-makers”; the noun gamana in this sense is however found only in the gāthā literature. e.g., *saggassa gamanena* Dh 178 “by (the) going to heaven”. Here there is the possibility of it being the gen. corresponding to the original *acc. of destination* (cp. objective gen. §143.b.).

§114. Sporadic Uses of the Dat.

There are some uses of the dat, (at least of -ssa forms felt like datives) that seem to fall under none of the above established categories. It is impossible to distinguish some of these from the gen. For instance, we find the dat. (-ssa) where we would have normally expected a loc. e.g., *bhikkhusaṅghassa nisinnaṃ* A IV.205 “seated among the order of monks”; where the v.1. -saṅhe shows that even earlier editors were puzzled by its irregularity. It is doubtful whether this is elliptical for such expression as *bhikkhusaṅghassa purato nisinnaṃ* or -ssa purakkhato nisinnaṃ (cp. §104). A similar sporadic instance of the -ssa form, probably for the loc. of relation, occurs in the passage: *akaraṇīyā ca bho Gotama Vajjī rañña ... Vedehiputtena, yadidam yuddhassa, aṅñatra upalāpanā ...* A IV.20 “the Vajjīs, venerable Gotama, cannot be defeated (lit. done), that is to say in war, without diplomacy ...”. We may compare with the use of yuddhassa the actual dat. (-āya) found in later Pāli denoting relation. e.g., *muto’ si me ajja vadhāya* J VI.312: you are free today as regards death”. Similarly yuddhassa might stand for “in the manner of or as
regards war”. In the following bhayassa seems to denote cause or reason just as an abl. or an inst. (bhāya or bhayena): bhayassa kiccam karoti D III.186 “he does the work for fear or owing to fear”, where the Comy. has ‘bhaye uppanne’ implying, probably, that bhayassa stands for the gen. absolute (§158) ‘bhayassa uppannassa’ or ‘bhayassa sato’. We may compare however such English usages as “he did not do it for fear’ or ‘he did not dare to cross the dry river-bed for the dust’. Similar is the use of kissa as an adverb of reason. e.g., kissa pana me bhavaṃ Gotamo ādiken’ eva na byākāsīti M II.213 “why did not the ven. Gotama explain this to me at the very beginning”. A dat. by attraction is a frequent phenomenon in the Nikāyas. e.g., yassa taṃ paribhuttaṃ sammāpariṇāmaṃ gaccheyya aṅñatra Tathāgatassāti D II.127 lit. “for whom once eaten it would be digestable except (for) the T.”. Here aṅñatra would normally require an inst. (§82) or an abl. (§130.d); but the dat. is due to the preceding yassa. Similarly: lābhā bhante Ghaṭikārassa kumbhakārassa ... yassa Bhagavā evaṃ abhivissatto tī M II.54 “(it is) a gain to the potter G ... in whom the Blessed One has confided” (lit. that the Blessed One has confided in him). [144]

§115. [Derminative Dat.]

In Vedic (VGS §200.B.3) and classical Sanskrit (SS §92) the dat. is sometimes found denoting the time to come, when a limit is made in time for something to be done. It is parallel to the English ‘for’ in expressions like ‘we shall leave it for tomorrow’. So in Pāli the irregular old dat. form svātanāya is frequently found in the sense of “for the morrow”. This is what may be called the terminative dat. e.g., svātanāya bhattamī D II.95,125 “meal for tomorrow” (on the form svātana vide PLS §6.54). On the analogy of this we may regard
the form *uttarassa* in the following as a *terminative dat.: ajj’ eva me dhaññāni jāyantu sv’ eva gabbhiniyo hontu uttarass’ eva paccantûti A I.240 “may my corn grow today ... and ripen later”; v.1 *uttarasvevâti* (day after tomorrow). It may be observed that both are adverbial usages.
Chapter V
The Ablative Case

§116. [General Character]

The fundamental character of the abl. is to denote the point starting from which an action proceeds. Generally speaking it serves to denote the whence, and, according to Speyer, is therefore the very opposite of the dat. (SS §93). On the whole the difference between the abl. and the dat. seems to be similar to that implied between the English ‘from’ and ‘for’. Speaking of the function of the former in Sanskrit, E.W. Hopkins\(^1\) says that it “indicates primarily a ‘then’ and ‘thence’ idea, leading to a causal notion and almost to the designation of an agent. ‘Thence’ becomes ‘because of’ (e.g., \(\text{énasāḥ}\) because of sin), but it rarely assumes instrumental sense ...”. This may be taken as true of the syntactical role of the abl. in Pāli as well but for the fact that in Pāli the morphological identity of the inst. and the abl., in the -ā ending of the singular and completely in the plural, has brought the two cases into closer connection and consequently established further points of contact between them.

§117. [Local Grammarians]

The abl. or the fifth Case (\(\text{pañcamī}-\text{vibhatti}\)) has been called the \(\text{apādāna-kāraka}\) by local grammarians. Pāṇinī lays down the rule that “the fifth case-affix is to be employed to denote \(\text{apādāna}\)".\(^2\) This term literally means “a taking away from” (\(\text{apa} + \text{ādāna}\)), i.e.

\(^1\) J.A.O.S., Vol.38, “The Origin of the Ablative Case”.
\(^2\) ‘\(\text{apādāne pañcamī}\)’ Pāṇ. II.3.28.
generally a withdrawal, thus bringing about clearly the contrast between it and the dat. which is called *sampradāna-kāraka* (Pāli *sampadāna*) wherein the underlying notion is that of giving to. “If there is a withdrawal, that which stays is *apādāna*” says Pāṇinī,\(^3\) implying thereby that what is meant is the *terminus a quo*. Kaccāyana gives a categorical definition of the scope of this *kāraka*. According to him, “that, from which there is a withdrawal (moving away), fear or a taking away, is denoted by the designation [147] *apādāna*”.\(^4\) In all these the fundamental notion is the same, viz., that of *whence*. Thus it is clear that ancient Indian grammarians were aware of the logical unity underlying the various uses of the abl. as much as modern writers on syntax.

**§118. [Forms of the Ablative]**

As regards form the abl. in Pāli presents more problems than any other case. We have already referred (§116) to the coinciding of the older inst. sg. of *a*- nouns, viz., the form in -ā which survives in such instances as sahatthā etc. (*vide* §6), with the ending -ā of the abl. sg. of *a*- nouns which corresponds to Skr. -āt. Beside this form, in all other declensions Sanskrit has -as for both abl. and gen. sg. which however is absent in Pāli. Here the forms -smā and its phonetic development -mhā borrowed from the pronominal declension appear beside the -ā form. But its employment is restricted to a few uses denoting *separation* in the general sense (*vide* §5.a) especially in connection with the verb *pabbajati*. The syntactical interfusion of the abl. and inst. in the older language (§116) has resulted in the loss

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\(^3\) cp. Speyer SS §97, citing Pāṇ. Sūtra ‘dhruvam apādānam’.

\(^4\) ‘yasmād peti bhayamādattē vā tadapādānam’ Kac. 273.
of the original abl. ending which in Pāli is superseded by that of the inst. in the rest of the vowel declension (masc. and neut.). In the plural everywhere the two cases are formally identical, whereas in Skr. it is the dat. (plural and dual) which coincides with the inst. in spite of the contradictory syntactical conceptions (cp. SS §93).

The suffix -to which even in Sanskrit (-taḥ) is not considered as a proper abl. ending (cp. SS §105) is frequently used in the Nikāyas with all types of nominal stems (cp. PLS §77) mostly in an adverbial sense. The still older (non-case) suffix -so (Skr. -śaḥ) which is regarded in later Skr. as a distributive suffix is found here in purely adverbial formations and stands in most instances in the sense of ‘vasena’.

§119. [Different Kinds of Ablative]

The abl. in Pāli is on the whole an adverbal case, there being hardly any adnominal uses. Even the few to be met with in the Nikāyas presuppose some verb which has come to be omitted, probably for reasons of idiom, but still can be understood. As regards syntactical categories, we have placed the abl. of starting point first and treated those of origin and cause as developments of the former. The second is the abl. of separation, third the abl. of distance, i.e. the abl. denoting the point from which distance is reckoned, and finally as fourth the abl. of viewpoint, under which heading have been discussed the abl. of comparison and the abl. implying ‘on what side’. Those ablatives which appear as pure adverbs and are, therefore,

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5 Speyer (SS §93) gives four heads: I. Abl. of Separation, II. Abl. of Distance, III. Abl. of Origin and Cause, and IV. Abl. expressing ‘on what side’.
classed by local grammarians as ‘indeclinables’ have been dealt with separately though they could still be placed under one (or more) of the above headings according to their specific meanings. In all these categories, however, the unity of the fundamental conception is evident, and sometimes we may account for the same abl. in more than one way.

§120. The Ablative of Starting Point (origin).

We have said that the fundamental function of this case is to denote the point, whether it be a place, person or thing, starting from which an action proceeds (§116). This includes, therefore, such notions as origination, production, rising, issuing, birth etc. Accordingly the abl. of origin appears to be only one phase of the abl. of starting point. Again, that from which something originates can sometimes be regarded as the cause for the latter’s origin, for the idea of ‘from which’ can psychologically correspond to that of ‘through which’. Hence the abl. of cause is best included in the abl. of origin. In fact, as Speyer observes (SS §102), the abl. denoting origin is at the same time an abl. of cause. In Pāli as in Skr., however, the abl. expressing the starting point, in its literal or narrower meaning, is quite a common idiom. The adverbial form in -to seems to be rather frequent in this connection, though the -ā forms are by no means infrequent.

a. The abl. expresses from what origin there is a rising or issuing (cp. SS §100; KVG §533.3). It is found with such verbs as jāyati, uppajjati and abhinibbattati. e.g., bhayāni ... bālato uppajjanti A I.101 “fears arise from folly”; mukhato jātā D III.81 “born from the mouth”; cp. kaṭṭhā have jāyati jātavedo Sn 462 “fire (Agni) is born from wood”;
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siyā nu kho tesaṃ aggīnaṃ nānādāruto [149] abhinibbattānaṃ kiñci nānākaraṇaṃ ... M II.130 “would there be any difference ... between those fires kindled from various kinds of wood”. In the last two examples it is the idea of ‘kindling from’ that is implied though the verbs in both cases mean only “to be born” or “arise”. The abl. is therefore used to denote the material from which fire is kindled (cp. KVG §533.4).

b. The same abl. is also used to denote the former state or shape or thing out of which some other state etc. proceeds or is produced (cp. SS §100). It occurs with such verbs as abhinimmināti “create” and karoti “make”. Though psychologically this function of the abl. comes very close to the instrumental sense, Pāli, just like the older language (cp. §116) does not permit the construction with the inst. e.g., so imamhā kāyā aññaṃ kāyaṃ abhinimmināti D I.77; M II.18 “from this body he creates another body”; cp. yathā pi puppharāsimhā kayirā mālāguṇe bahū Dh 53 “as one would make many garlands from a heap of flowers”; it may even occur with the verb merely understood. e.g., ... khīrāmāhā dadhi, dadhimhā navanītaṃ, navanītamhā sappi, sappimhā sappimaṇḍo D I.201 “from milk (sci. is obtained) curds, from curds butter, from butter ghee and from ghee cream”.

§121. [Origin and Cause]

As we have remarked in the preceding paragraph the abl. of origin is at the same time an abl. of cause. For the sake of illustration we may adduce the following example where the abl. -samodhānā can be rendered either as “from the contact and friction” implying point of origin or as “through the contact and friction” which points directly
to a cause: dvinnam kaṭṭhānāṃ samphassa-samodhānā usmā jāyati tejo abhinibbatti M II.242 “from the contact and friction of two sticks warmth arises and fire is kindled”. Even in most of the instances given in the previous paragraph the abl. implicitly contained the cause-idea. This connection between the causal abl. and that of origin was known to the ancient grammarians according to whom the fifth case-ending denotes not only avadhi or ‘limit of separation’ but also janayatva or ‘state of being that which produces’, as in ‘dharmādutpadyate sukham’ i.e. “from Dharma arises happiness’. “Here”, says a [150] modern Indian critic,6 “virtue (Dharma) is the cause that produces happiness as its effect. Sometimes it implies substratum and place of origination as in, ‘vālmikāgrāt prabhavati’ and ‘Himavato Gaṅgā prabhavati’.” What is significant here is the distinction; made between ‘to be born owing to’ and ‘to arise or spring from’.

§122. The Ablative of Cause.

This use of the abl. brings it into contact with the inst. which as we have seen elsewhere (§67) is also employed to denote reason or cause. Pāṇinī has two parallel rules to that effect7 and Kaccāyana lays down the same rule in both cases, viz. ‘hetvatthe’ (291 & 277 -hetu-). But according to Pāṇinī the abl. is forbidden and the inst. is of necessity, if, firstly, the cause or motive be at the same time the agent; secondly, if it be an abstract noun of the feminine gender expressing a quality (cp. SS §102). This distinction seems on the whole to be preserved in the Nikāya prose. Those forms in -ā of

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6 Chakravarti, Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar p. 201.
7 ‘hetau (tṛtiyā)’ Pāṇ. II.3.23 & ‘akartaryṛṇe pañcamī’ II.3.24; cp. also following “vibhāṣā guṇe ‘striyāṃ’ ” II.3.25.
feminine nouns such as *assavanatā* D II.38; M I.168, and *saddhā* M I.16,123, are *instrumentals of cause* and not ablatives (*vide* §6 here, and Franke *Z.D.M.G*. 1892). They represent either the Vedic ending *-ā* of feminine nouns, as Franke has shown in the place cited, or a shortening of the usual feminine singular in *-āya*, as Geiger thinks, though there is no valid reason to object to the former view (*vide* PLS §80.1). And the *abl.* with the adverbial suffix *-to* found in such instances as *rājato vā duruttassa corato pīḷitassa vā* Kh 7 does not denote *agent*, though the commentator glosses it by ‘... *corehi pīḷitassa*’ (Pj. I. p.218), but as an *abl.* expressing ‘from what side’ as Sanskrit ‘*tvattāḥ*’ i.e. “from your side” (§131.d., cp. SS §101). Generally speaking the *abl.* of causality and the *inst.* of reason are interchangeable and not seldom are found side by side. But, as Speyer points out, if the efficient cause be some obligation or other binding motive by virtue of which (i.e. from which) some effect is produced, the *abl.* alone is to be employed (SS §102). This is so because it is the logical function of the *abl.* and not of the *inst.* to denote that *from which* something results as *consequence*. For instance, in an example like the following, the *abl.* is almost obligatory: *yā tā [151] honti āpadā aggito vā udakato vā rājato vā corato vā* A II.68 “whatever calamities there be from (i.e. due to, owing to) fire, water, kings or robbers ...”, the implication being that these *arise* from the mentioned sources. In general this *abl.* may express many different shades of the notion of *causality*.

a. It may denote the *cause* proper, in which case it can be rendered by such expressions as “from”, “through”, “as a result of” or “in consequence of”. e.g., *āsavānaṃ khayā anāsavaṃ cetovimuttīṃ upasampajja* A I.107; D III.102 “through the (or on the) extinction of the banes entering that emancipation of mind which is free from
such”; atha aññataro satto āyukkhayā vā puññakkhayā vā ābhassara-kāyā cavitvā Suññaṃ Brahma-vimāṇaṃ uppajjati D III.29 “then a certain being in consequence of the expiry of his span of life or his merits leaving the Abode of Radiance enters the Brahma-abode of Emptiness”; sabbaso rūpasaññānaṃ samatikkamā, paṭīghasaññānaṃ atthaṅgamā, nānattasaññānaṃ apanisasikārā ... ākāsānañcâyatananāṃ upasampajja viharati D II.112 “On the complete passing away of form-perceptions, on the expiry of all hateful thoughts, and through not dwelling on various (perceived) things ... he enters the sphere of infinite space and abides therein”. In all these examples the abl. conveys implicitly an idea of time (after which). The construction is consequently parallel to the locative absolute (§183.d); hence the possibility of rendering the abl. in some of the above instances by a temporal phrase beginning with ‘on’. Here we may observe the temporal conception implied in the idea of causality. In the stock-phrase ‘kāyassa bhedā paraṃ maraṇā.’ it is the temporal sense that is pronounced, there being practically no causal implication. e.g., sabbe te kāyassa bhedā paraṃ maraṇā sugatiṃ sagga-lokaṃ uppajjanti D II.141; III.169 “all of them on the disruption of the body after death are born in a happy state in heaven.” The abl. bhedā here actually means “after the disruption.” (and not “as a result or in consequence of the breaking up ...”) and is very much like the inst. of time after which (vide §77.b). [152]

b. When the abl. is of an abstract noun in -tta (Skr. -tva), the idea of ‘cause as a consequence of which something else follows’ is less manifest and the abl. seems to be one of pure reason. e.g., So tassa kammaṃ katattā upacitattā ussannattā vipulattā ... sugatiṃ saggaṃ lokaṃ uppajjati D III.169 “by reason of doing, collecting, accumulating and increasing of that action ... he is born into a happy
state, into heaven”; rāga-dosa-mohānaṃ tanuttā sakadāgāmi hoti D I.156 “through the attenuation of passion, ill-will and delusion he becomes a Once-returner”. However, the difference between ‘cause’ and ‘reason’ is not an absolute one. Sometimes the same abl. may contain both nuances, as for instance in, Catunnaṃ bhikkhave ariya-saccānaṃ ananuvedhā appaṭivedhā evaṃ idaṃ dīgham addhānaṃ sandhāvitaṃ ... D II.90 “Brethren, through the non-realization, through the non-comprehension, of the four Noble Truths this long period has been coursed ...”

c. Again, this abl. may express the motive through which an action is done. Only the ending -ā is employed in this function and is hardly distinguishable from the instrumental in -ā. e.g., kodhā ca pana’ ssa esā vācā bhāsitā M I.68 “these words were spoken by him through anger”; pasādā kho tvaṃ Ānanda vadesi D II.155 “you speak out of faith, Ānanda”; so upādāna-bhayā upādāna-parijigucchā n’ eva idaṃ kusalanti vyākaroti D I.26 “out of fear for clinging (to existence), out of aversion for it, he does not proclaim that this is good”; bhayā dānaṃ deti “he gives alms from fear”; cp. inst. saddhā (feminine) agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajitā M I.32 “left home for homelessness through faith”.

d. In the foregoing examples it is the abl. of noun itself that is employed to denote cause. But frequently we find the abl. sg. of words meaning cause or reason as periphrases replacing the direct construction. As regards Sanskrit, Speyer says “Nothing impedes concrete nouns to be put in the abl. of cause, but often they are expressed by periphrase, especially by means of hetoḥ” (SS §102). In the Nikāyas are found such forms as hetu, kāraṇā and paccayā used in this connection. Geiger considers the first as a postposition
corresponding to the old gen.-abl. in -os (PLS §83.2). [153] Local grammarians regard these also as genuine ablatives of cause and not as indeclinables (nipāta) as we would have expected. As periphrases they either appear in the role of postpositions or are construed as the second member of dependent determinative compounds where the gen. is implied as the first member. e.g., avijjāpacayā saṅkhārā, saṅkhārapaccayā viññāṇaṃ (etc.) ... D I.45 “through (or from) ignorance (arise) the constituents, from these consciousness ...”; jātipaccayā jarāmaranaṃ M I.261 “decay and death (occur) owing to birth”; kusalanaṃ bhikkhave dhammānaṃ samādāna-hetu evaṃ ēvaṃ puññām pavaḍḍhati D III.59 “owing to the acquiring of good things, brethren, merit increases in this way”; cp. attahetu9 parahetu dhanahetu Sn 122 “because of himself, others or money”. But more frequently these abl. forms appear as separate words and the actual noun denoting cause is put in the gen. case. e.g., issariyassa kāraṇaṃ jīvitā voropesiṃ D I.84, 85 “I deprived him of life through the motive of (obtaining) wealth” (lit. through the fact of glory); in this example, as well as in the gāthā-passage given above (with - hetu), the postposition conveys the meaning “through the motive of” and not “as a result of” as in the others, hence it approaches the dat. of purpose in sense “for the sake of” or “for the purpose of”. In the following however no such idea is contained: yesam kho ahaṃ samyojananaṃ hetu pāṇātipātī āsamaṃ M I.361 “owing to which fetters would I become one destroying life?”; Taṃ kissa hetu? D II.14 “what is this due to? (lit. this through the cause of what)”. There is no doubt, therefore, that the form hetu is the abl. sg. corresponding to Skr. hetoḥ which is used after the gen. of the actual noun denoting

8 Vutti on Kac. 277 gives hetu side by side with hetunā as abl. of cause.
9 Comy. ‘attahetūti attano jīvitakāraṇā’ Pj. II.179.
cause, as mentioned by Pāṇinī (II.3.26). He also allows the use of the inst. if the noun is a pronoun (ibid 27) which the vārttika illustrates by ‘kasya (and kena) hetunā vasati’ (cp. Pāli kissa). Moreover the abl. -bhayā in the following proves beyond doubt that hetu to which it refers is also abl.: taṃ kissa hetu? nindābyārosana-upārāmbhabhayāti A II.31 “what is that due to? It is due to the fear of ...”; (on the phonetic change of -oḥ > -u see §13.).

e. The abl. is also used to express the source of fear with the noun bhayaṃ. The more usual construction is the gen. expressive of the source of fear (§150.c); the acc. is also found with verbs of fearing, especially when the object of fear is a person (§36.a). The abl. is found in the Nikāyas only adnominally. e.g., na kutoci bhayaṃ samanupassati D I.70,172 “he does not encounter fear from anything”; cp. papatanā bhayaṃ ... maraṇato bhayaṃ Sn. 576 “fear from falling ... fear from death (i.e. fear of falling ...)”. The abl. kuto, originally “from which” gains the adverbial import of “whence” and is frequently found with bhayaṃ either separately as in kuto bhayaṃ Dh 212,271,862, or compounded with the latter as in akutobhaya “with nothing to fear from anything” S I.192; Th 1.510, 2.333; Sn 561.

§123. The Ablative of Separation.

As fundamental characteristic of the abl. we have mentioned in the previous chapter its function of denoting the point from which an action proceeds. Now, the psychological fact behind the conception

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10 ‘ṣaṣṭī hetuprayoge’, illustrated by ‘annasya hetor vasati’.
11 ‘sarvanāmanastṛtiyā ca’.
of *proceeding from* is the notion of *separation*. It is implied not only in the idea of *going away from* but also in that of *origination*. According to local grammarians it is the fundamental notion underlying all the primary uses of this case; hence the name *avadhi* (limit of separation). Chakravarti\(^\text{12}\) regards the notion of origination (*janayatva*) itself as being contained in the conception of *avadhi*. In fact there is equal justification for either division to be regarded as the first because of the fundamental unity of conception. Speyer, probably following the older grammarians, places the *abl. of separation* at the beginning of his treatment of that case. (SS §93).

**§124. [Starting Point]**

The abl. accordingly is needed when wanting to express *from* or *out of* what place there is a *starting* or *moving* (cp. SS §94). In its proper sense it is employed with all verbs implying *going*, *coming*, *receding*, *approaching* etc. All the available abl. sg. endings are employed in this connection. [155]

a. i. With *gacchati* and *āgacchati*: e.g., *ahaṃ kho sakamhā gāmā amuṃ gāmaṃ āgañchiṃ* M II.20 “I came from my village to that one”; *dūrā vat’ amhā āgatā* D II.139 “we are come from afar”, where *dūrā* is adverbial; cp. *Kosalānaṃ purā rammā agamā dakkhiṇāpathaṃ* Sn 976 “he went to the land of the South from the delightful city of the Kosalas”. With *nikkhamati*: e.g., *vihārā nikkhamma* D I.152 “going out of the monastery”; *gharā nikkhamati* S I.176; cp. Ud 22 “goes out of the house”; *Ātumāya* (v.l. *Ātumayā*) *mahājanakāyo nikkhamitvā* D II.131 “a great multitude of men

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\(^{12}\) *Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar* p. 201.
leaving Ātumā”; nagaramhā nikkhamantassa S I.211 “of one going out of the city”; With yāti (with prefixes nī- and pa-): e.g., Bārāṇasiyā niyyāsi M II.49 “he went out of B.”; cp. niyyanti dhīrā lokamhā Dh 175 “the wise go out of the world”; Naṅgaramhā pāyāsi M II.119 “he set out from Naṅgara”.

ii. The adverbial ending -to is also frequently used with such verbs. e.g., gāmato ... paṭikkamati M I.207, III.157 “he returns ... from the village”; yato kuto ci naṃ puriso āgaccheyya M I.284 “from whatever place (lit. whence-ever) a man may come to this (locality)”; dūrato vā āgacchantaṃ D II.162 “Coming from afar”.

iii. The pronominal form -smā is found particularly used with the verb pabbajati (vide §5.a); but the form in -ā too occurs with the same verb. e.g., yasmā kasmā ce pi kulā agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajito hoti M I.284 “from whatever family one sets forth from-home-to-homelessness” (cp. M I.210); Sakya-kulā pabbajito D I.111 “entered (the Order) from a Sakyan family”.

b. Apart from the simple construction with verbs of motion the abl. of separation is found in its “manifold application to kindred conceptions” (SS §95). Of the kind are verbs implying:

i. falling from, descending and ascending from: e.g., antalikkhā papatanti D II.137 “fall from the intermediate space i.e. the sky”; yānā paccārohitvā D II.95 “alighting from the chariot”; pabbatā orohitvā D III.38 “descending from the mountain”. This abl.
according to local grammarians, is an elliptical construction instead of the acc. with the gerund in -tvā.\textsuperscript{13} [156]

ii. It is also found with verbs meaning to shift, deviate, fall off, quit and such like. e.g., Tusitā kāyā cavitvā D II.12 “passing from the Tusita-abode”; tamhā kāyā cutā D I.20 (cp. D III.146) “passing away from that body or quitting that body”; maggā okkamma D II.128 “deviating from the road”; vokkamma Satthu sāsanā D I.231 “falling off (leaving) the religion of the Master”; apakkamm’ eva imasmā dhamma-vinayā D III.6 “he went away for good from this Doctrine and Training”.

iii. The causatives of verbs originally implying motion are construed similarly. e.g., raṭṭhā vā nagarā vā pabbājeyyuṃ D I.99 “they would exile (them) from country or town”. This is however comparatively rare as a construction in the Nikāyas. It is interesting to note that the -smā form occurs with the causative as with the original pabbajati. e.g., raṭṭhasmā pabbājeti D I.92 “he exiles (him) from the country”.

c. Verbs meaning to appear, manifest (oneself), assemble, gather, break forth, arise, wake up etc. take an abl. of the place or state from which the appearance etc. occurs. e.g., antalikkhā pātubhavanti D II.15 “appear from the sky”; dasahi lokadhātūhi devatā ... sannipatitā D II.253 “gods from ten world-systems being assembled”; tamhā udakarahadā sītavāridhārā ubbhijitvā D I.74 “fountains of cold water breaking forth (issuing) from that pond”; āsanā vuṭṭhahitvā D I.124 “rising from his seat”; uṭṭhāy’ āsanā D II.95 “rising from his seat”; samādhimhā vuṭṭhahitvā D II.27 “waking up from the trance”.

\textsuperscript{13} ‘tvā lope kammādhikaraṇesu’ vutti on Ka. 277.
§125. [With Verbs implying Withdrawal]

a. The abl. of separation is also found with verbs denoting taking, receiving, collecting, carrying, lifting up, pulling out or extracting. Here the abl. is due not so much to any sense of motion implied in the verb as to the notion of withdrawal generally underlying such. e.g., kāyamhā vāto cīvaraṃ apavahati M II.139 “the wind carries away the robe from the body”; e.g., hatthato pattam gahe tvā Ud 29 “having taken the bowl from his hand”; ito ca bhiyyo haratha D II.180 “take away more from here also”; te susānā vā saṅkārakūṭā vā pāpanīkā vā nantakāni uccinītvā ... M II.7 “having collected rags from the cemetery, dust-heap or shop.”; [157] ghaṭiyā odanaṃ uddharitvā Ud 29 “taking out rice from the vessel”; karaṇḍā uddhareyya D I.71 “would draw out from the casket”; puriso muñjamhā isīkaṃ pabbāheyya M II.17 “as if a man would draw out a reed from the muñja-grass”.

b. Since the idea of ‘taking’ (cp. ‘conception’ from Latin capio = I take) is contained in such verbs as learn and hear from, the abl. is found with these denoting the person from whom one learns etc. e.g., ito pana vā sutvā S V. 110 “having heard from here (i.e. him)”; Bhagavato sammukhā dhammikaṃ kathaṃ savanāya M I.160 “to hear a doctrinal talk from the lips (from the presence) of the Blessed One”. In such instances the gen. can be used alternately (cp. SS §95).

§126. [With Verbs of Dissociation]

The abl. is also used with verbs of separating and disjoining to denote that from which there is a dissociation, i.e. generally a withdrawal (cp. SS §96). As we have seen elsewhere (§73.c) the inst.
is here the parallel idiom and perhaps even more widely used than the abl. The following examples illustrate the many shades of meaning expressed.

a. It is primarily found with verbs literally implying disjoining, separating and dissociating. e.g., \textit{yo kho maṃ pisuṇāya vācāya mittehi bhedeyya} S V.355 “if one were to separate me from my friends with slanderous talk”; cp. \textit{vīṇā kacchā abhassatha} Sn 449 “the lute slipped from (his) arm”.

b. It is also found with verbs meaning to make loose, free, cleanse, release, save etc. (cp. KVG §533.5; SS §96.b). e.g., \textit{abhijjāya cittaṃ parisodheti} D I.71 “cleanses his mind of avarice”; \textit{thīna-middhā cittaṃ parisodheti} D I.71 “cleanses his mind of sloth and torpor”; \textit{na parimuccati dukkhasmā} M I.8,65 “he is not freed from sorrow”; \textit{āsavehi cittaṃ vimucci} D II.35 “the mind was purged of the banes”; \textit{tamhā ābādhā mucceyya} D I.72; M I.275 “he would recover from that disease”; \textit{bandhanā mucceyya} D I.72 “he would be released from bondage”; \textit{tamhā dāsabyā mucceyya} M I.275 “he would be freed from that serfdom”. [158]

c. With verbs meaning to be free of or from, be empty or vacant of, be aloof, desist, abstain from, removed or absent from etc. e.g., \textit{vivicca akusalehi} D II.186 (D I.37) “aloof (free) from evil (things)”; \textit{dasahi saddehi avivittā} D II.170 “not free from (lit. separated from) the ten noises”; cp. its causative: \textit{brāhmaṇaṃ etasmā pāpakā diṭṭhigatā vivecetū ti} D I.226 “may you free (lit. sever) the brahmin from this evil view”; \textit{virato methunā gāmadhammā} D I.4 “abstaining from the vulgar matter of sex-intercourse”; \textit{viratā adinnādānā} D II.12 “abstaining from taking what is not given”; \textit{gaṇasmā vūpakaṭṭho} A
d. It is employed also with verbs having the sense of deprive of or be bereft of (cp. SS §96.d; KVG §533.7). e.g., yasā nikkiṇṇo D III.11 “bereft of glory” (Comy. ‘... tato parihīno hutvā’); (pitaram) jīvitā voropesiṃ D I.84,85 “he deprived (his father) of life”; atha naṃ ... jīvitā voropeyya S III.113 “then ... he deprived him of his life”; na koci kañci jīvitā voropeti M I.517 “no one deprived another of life”.

e. The idea of separation is contained also in words meaning disgust, revulsion, aversion or loathsomeness. Consequently the abl. is found with such verbs as nibbindati “to get disgusted with or at”. Here the loc. is the parallel idiom (cp. c. loc. S I.124; II.94; IV.86,140; A V.3) or even the inst. (vide sub nibbiṇṇa P.T.S. Dict.). According to Speyer (SS §97 N.B.), in Sanskrit the verb jigupsate (Pāli jigucchati) “to shrink from” is found with the abl. (Pāṇinī vārtt. on I.4.24) in the archaic literature but with the acc. in classical Sanskrit. He says that nirvidyate (Pāli nibbindati) is construed with the abl. or the inst., sometimes even with acc. and gen. Accordingly the Pāli loc. seems to be a later development (probably from the close relation it bears to the nimitta-sattamī, §177.b), whereas the abl. seems to be the normal and earlier usage. e.g., tasmā brahmacariyā nibbijja pakkamati M I.519 “he gets disgusted with that higher life and goes away”; cp. Māra nibbinda Buddhamhā Th 1.1207 “Evil One, cease from molesting (lit. get tired of) the Enlightened One!” [159]
§127. The Ablative of Distance.

The point *from which* (i.e. whence) distance in space or time is counted or reckoned is expressed by the abl. case (cp. Speyer SS §98 II.). It denotes in other words the *terminus a quo*. One cannot fail to see here a logical connection between this one and the *abl. of separation*. For the point *from which* distance is reckoned may be looked upon as that *starting from which* the reckoning takes place. In fact the fundamental unity of conception underlying these, as well as the *abl. of origin* etc., can hardly be overlooked. Local grammarians consider the notion of *avadhi* as comprising all these uses; hence the logical importance attached to it as the designation of the fifth case. Kaccāyana provides for the various uses of the *abl. of distance* by the rule *dūrantikaddhakālanimmāṇa ... thokākattusu ca* (277), which means that the abl. is to be used to denote the ideas of distance, nearness, reckoning in space and time and so on. The *vutti* explains it by ‘*dūratthe, antikatthe, addhanimmāṇe, kālanimmāṇe ... taṃ kārakaṃ apādāna-saññaṃ hoti*’.

§128. [Distance]

This abl. is frequently employed to express the place or limit *from which* a distance is reckoned (in a literal sense), the *terminus ad quem* being put in the acc. case (cp. §39. a&b). The following examples imply conception in space:

a. *e.g.*, *ito ce pi yojanasate viharati* D I.117 “even if he lived (within) a hundred leagues from here”; *Kīvadūro pana samma Kārāyana Naṅgaramkhā Medaḷumpaṃ nāma Sakyānaṃ nigamo hotī ti* M II.119 “How far, good Kārāyana, is the township of the Sakyans,
named Medaḷumpa, from Naṅgaraka?”. This is also found adnominally with nouns like magga etc. e.g., Kusinārāya Pāvaṃ addhānamagga-paṭipanno hoti D II.130 “he has entered upon the journey from (lit. road) Kusinārā to Pāvā”.

b. The same construction is applied to the allied notion in time. The distinction is maintained by Kaccāyana according to whom, as seen from the rule cited above, the point from which or whence distance in space is reckoned is the addhanimmāṇa and [160] in time is kālanimmāṇa. e.g., ito ekunavute kappe D II.2 “in the ninety first aeon from this”; ito tiṇṇaṃ māsānaṃ accayena D II.106 “on the lapse of three months from now”.

§129. [With Prepositions]

While in the previous examples the distance is definitely expressed by some ‘measurement’ in time or space, more often this abl. appears with adverbs and prepositions denoting space or time indefinitely. Hence it joins such prepositions as ā, yāva and pabhuti. The indeclinable ā which originally was a Vedic postposition following the acc., loc., or abl., meaning “to, towards or from”, is preserved in Sanskrit (vide Macdonell Skr. Gr. §176.2.) but does not occur in the Nikāya prose. It is however found as preposition c. abl in the Jātakas in the sense of “upto, until, about, near” (vide P.T.S. Dict. s.v.). The preposition yāva, on the other hand, is quite common in the Nikāyas either with the absolute form of noun or adj. (base), or with nom., acc. or abl. (ibid, sub yāva). The acc. is frequently found with it as in yāva tatiyakaṃ D I.95 “till the third (time)” or in the stock-phrase yāva jīvaṃ It 78 “till life (ends)” or “for life”, but the abl. is by no means rare. e.g., yāva Brahma-lokā pariyesamāno D I.223 “searching
up to the world of Brahma”; *yāva Brahma-locā pi kāyena vasaṃvatṭeti* D I.78 “covers with the body (everything) up to the Brahma-world”; cp. A III.17; *yāva sattamā pitā-mahā-yugā* D I.113 “as far as the seventh line of ancestors”; *yāvad eva* (v.l. *yāvadeva*) *manussehi suppakāsitaṃ* D II.113,114,219; III.122, where the case is however doubtful (*vide* §9). What is significant in the case of both ā and *yāva* with the abl. is that, at least in the instances found in the Nikāya prose, the construction does not signify the *terminus ab quo* but the notion which is the very opposite of it, viz. the *terminus ad quem*. Thus we have here the same logical phenomenon as confronted us in the case of the inst. implying *mutuality* (i.e. both *separation* and *union*, *vide* §73.c.). Though the preposition *pabhuti* is derived from the Vedic *prabhṛti* (originally a fem. noun), it is hardly found in the Nikāyas as such. It occurs once in a compound, viz. *kuto-pabhutikā* D I.94 “dating from, coming from whence”. The original use is however restored in the Comys. (e.g., *tato pabhuti* Vv.A.158 “from that time”). [161]

§130. [With Adverbs]

**With Adverbs.** Many adverbs denoting space or time are joined to the abl. to express the point *from which* distance or extent is implied. The most frequent are those meaning “far” or “near”. But with derived adverbs of the type of *dakkhinato, uttarato* the gen. seems to be of necessity (cp. Pāṇ. II.3.30; *vide* §153.b.) and with those ending in -ena such as *antarena* mostly the gen. but sometimes also the acc. (§53). Pāṇinī (II.3.34) allows optional construing with all words meaning “far” or “near” (cp. SS §98.II.R.2).
a. This abl. has a wide application in the Nikāyas. e.g., na yito dūre Manasākaṭanti D I.248 “M. is not at a distance (i.e. far) from here”; āsanne ito Manasākaṭaṃ D I.248 “M. is in the proximity of (lit. from) this (place)”. Similar is the abl. with ārā in sense more or less metaphorical: ārā cittaṃ samādhimhā M I.116 “remote is the mind from concentration”; cp. ārā pamādamhā Sn 27,156,157 “far from indolence!” The derived form ārakā is also found with the abl. e.g., ārakā va sāmaññā ārakā va brahmaññā D I.167 “far indeed from recluseship as well as from Brahminship”; ārakā’ haṃ ... vohārasamucchedā M I.367 “I am far from ... violation of convention”; ārakā te anuttarāya vijjācaraṇasampadāya D I.99 “they are far from the blessing of knowledge and conduct”.

b. i. The abl. of distance with pure adverbs is no less frequent. In the following examples it is the notion of distance in space that is signified and the adverb is local. e.g., uddhaṃ pādatalā adho kesa-matthakā D III.104; M I.57; S IV.111 “upwards from the sole of the feet and downwards from the top of the (knot of) hair”; bahi dvārakoṭṭhakā Ud 52 “outside of (lit. from) the gateway”; ito bahiddhā D I.21; II.151 “outside of this (hence)”; bahiddhā parisāya D II.211 “out of the crowd”; tiro raṭṭhā tiro janapadā D I.1161 “from beyond the kingdom, from beyond the country”.

ii. Similarly we find the abl. of distance with temporal adverbs and prepositions meaning “before” or “after”. e.g., pubbe va sambodhā S II.5; M I.17; II.211 “previous to enlightenment”; ito pubbe D I.184 “before this”; tato pacchā D II.269 “after that”. [162] The noun in the abl. may even be a person as marking off a period in time. e.g.,

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Ahesuṃ kho bhikkhu tayā pubbe samaṇabrāhmaṇā M I.327 “there were, monks, recluses and brahmins ... even before you”; mayaṃ pana amhā (v.l. asmā) pacchā uppannā D III.29 “we were born after him”; anantarā kho ... sadda-pātubhāvā D II.206 “after the appearance of the sound ...” (cp. Skr. anantaram c. abl. Macdonell Skr. Gr. §177.c.2); paraṃ is the only proper preposition used with the abl., but its function here seems to be that of a temporal adverb. e.g., paraṃ maraṇā D II.68,141 “after death (lit. beyond from death)”; tato paraṃ nānussarati D I.19; III.30 “he does not remember beyond that”. The same applies to oraṃ which however is only found in the Sutta-Nipāta. e.g., oraṃ vassasatā pi miyyati Sn 804 “he dies on this side of (lit. from) a hundred years”. 

c. Finally, we may consider the abl. usually found with the adverbial preposition aññatra or aññattha (< Skr. anyatra = elsewhere, beside, except) as one denoting the limit of exclusion, which conception is psychologically akin to that of underlying the abl. of distance. Originally in the Vedas the word anyá-tra was purely an adverb with a local sense like atrá, viśvātra etc. (cp. VGS §179.3). But in later Sanskrit it came to be employed as a prepositional adverb or pure preposition, through the development of the idea of ‘elsewhere’ into the notion of ‘apart from’ (cp. Macdonell Skr. Gr. §178.c.). In the Nikāyas we find the prepositional sense prominent with the abl. e.g., na aññattha tava sāsanā D II.206 lit. “not elsewhere from your Order” (i.e. nowhere except in your Order); nāññatra Tathāgatassā pātubhāvā S V.14 “not apart from the appearance of the T.”; aññatra adassanā S I.29 “except from blindness”. Sometimes it occurs in the developed idiom “kim aññatra”. e.g., kim aññatra avusitattā D I.90 “what else beside non-practice?”. In Pāli, but not in the earlier language (i.e. Vedic or later Skr.), the inst. can be used concurrently.
§82.a.). This is probably due to the logical contact brought about by the comparative sense implied in aṅña- (Skr. anya = other) which is capable of taking the inst. (§86) or the abl. (§132.a.ii). [163]

§131. The Ablative of Side and View-Point.

Speyer has shown (SS §103.IV.) how Sanskrit, just as Latin, uses the abl. not only for the sake of signifying from what side (usually cause) but also on what side. Here, he says, the ending -taḥ (Pāli -to) is employed, it seems, by preference, at least in the case of indicating space and directing, sometimes it is concurrent with the loc. of point at which. In Pāli we find many instances of this abl. appearing in various functions some of which are, logically speaking, highly involved. Such, for instance, are the following:

a. *rukkhaṃ mūlato chetvā* M I.366 “having cut the tree from (or at) the root”; cp. *mūle chindeyya, mūlena chetvā* S II.88 (§172.a.); *(citakaṃ ... pādato vivaritvā* D. II.163 “having opened ... (the funeral pile) from (or on) the side of the feet”; *mukhato ca nāsato ca kaṇṇato ca assāsapassāse uparundhiṃ* M I.243 “I stopped inhalation and exhalation from (or at) the mouth, nose and ears”. In its metaphorical application this so-called ablātivus partis not rarely touches upon the abl. of cause. e.g., *rājato vā duruttassa corato pīlītassa vā* Kh 7 (VIII.2.) “harassed on the part of the king and molested on the part of thieves”, where the Comy. has ‘corehi ... pīlītassa ...’ (Pj. I. p.218), the ending -ehi probably representing the inst. of agency (§122).

b. In the preceding examples the adverbial force of the suffix -to is quite apparent. In fact most of these ablatives denoting ‘on what side’
have the character of adverbs. Such are the following ablatives (mostly in -to and a few in -ā), which according to the vutti on Kac. 277 are used in the sense of ‘direction in which’ (disā-yoge). These uses are mostly borrowed from Sanskrit (vide SS §103.IV.). e.g., puratthimato nagarassa D II.161 “on the east of the city”; pācīnato Rājagahassa ... tassa uttarato D II.263 “on the east of R. ... to the north of it”; dakkhiṇato nagarassa sīsaṃ chindeyyuṃ A II.241 “on the south of the city they would behead (him)”; samantato dvādasa yojanāni D II.39,139 “on all sides twelve leagues”; parito parito janapadesu D II.200 “round about on every side” (Comy. ‘samantā samantā’ Sum. II.637). The [164] ending -ā is also found, though not so frequently as the above suffix -to. e.g., pāsādassa heṭṭhā D I.198 “on the ground-floor of the mansion”; samantā ca gocaragāmaṃ M I.167 “all around the alms-village”.

c. Nearly all of the above adverbial ablatives signify space, the region in which, and are therefore, syntactically parallel to the loc. In the following examples the notion of direction rather than locality is emphasized. e.g., mā me purato aṭṭhāsi D II.139 “do not stand in front of me”; Bhagavato purato nisīdi D II.135 “he sat in front of the Blessed One”; Bhagavato purato ṭhito D II.138 “Stood in front of the Blessed One”. The -ā form is also found. e.g., tesam sammukhā na vyākāsiṃ D I.222 “I did not declare it before them”; Bhagavato sammukhā ... bhāsati A I.163 “he speaks ... before the Blessed One”. Sometimes it can only be rendered by a pure adverb of manner as “personally” or “directly”. e.g., sammukhā me taṃ bhante sutaṃ D II.115 “I have it, Sir, personally”; na kho me mārisa so Bhagavā sammukhā diṭṭho D II.268. “I certainly, friend, have not seen that Blessed One personally”. The repetitive phrase ‘piṭṭhito piṭṭhito’ is adverbially used to denote “continually at the back” or “wherever
behind”. e.g., *Bhagavato piṭṭhito piṭṭhito (aṭṭhāsi)* D III.73 “he stood at the back of (just behind) the Blessed One”. Sometimes it is more or less an adverb of manner. e.g., *Bhagavantaṃ piṭṭhito piṭṭhito anubaddhā honti* D I.1 “they followed the Blessed One closely from behind”. A similar abl. is *dūrato* which means not “from afar”, at least not in the following example, but “in the distance”, being an adv. as the above and not an abl. of separation. e.g., *disvā ... Bhagavantaṃ dūrato va āgacchantam* D I.179 “having seen ... the Blessed One coming in the distance (even when he was still far off)”. 

d. Sometimes this abl. of ‘on which side’ when applied metaphorically comes to mean “with respect to” and thus approximates to an abl. of relation. In fact the notion of viewpoint which is the fundamental conception behind the abl. of relation can hardly be separated from that of the ‘side on which’. Such are: *ubhato sujāto putto mātito ca pītīto ca* D I.1,113,137; A III.151 “well-born on both sides, both with respect to the [165] mother and the father”; though it is primarily an adv. it sometimes appears as the first member of a compound in the role of an adj. e.g., *ubhato-bhāga-vimaṭṭhaṃ* D II.111 “polished on both sides”.

§132. Ablative of Comparison.

With comparatives the abl. appears not seldom, beside the inst., as a case denoting *comparison* (cp. KVG §535). According to Speyer (SS §105), it is the same abl. as the one expressive of the notion ‘on what side, with respect to’, described in the preceding paragraphs, that is frequently applied in comparisons to signify the thing compared with, provided there be superiority, inferiority or discrepancy. For, as we have seen earlier, in the case of identity, likeness, similarity or
equivalence the inst. (§85 & §86) or the gen. (§151.b.) is of necessity, and the dat. also in the case of counterpoise (§108; cp. §110.). This is due to the fact that the abl. has as its fundamental character the notion of separation which logically cannot be associated with the idea of identity etc., whereas the conception of superiority etc. implies difference and hence psychologically separation. It may be mentioned that in comparison it is only the legitimate ablatival ending (\(-\ddot{a} < \text{Skr. } -\ddot{a}t\)) that is employed and the -to form is only found with pronouns. According to local grammarians this is called the abl. of distinction (‘vibhatte’ Kac. 277).

a. It is primarily found with comparatives of adjectives. e.g., nirayā ... tiracchānayoni seyyo M II.193 “animal-birth is better than the purgatory”; koc’ aṅño attanā piyatara S I.75 “whoever else (is) more beloved than oneself?”; amhehi abhikkantarā ... D I.216 “more beautiful than we”. Sometimes it occurs with the comparatives of adjectival compounds. e.g., aṅñehi piṇḍapatēhi mahapphalatara D II.136 “having greater benefits than other alms”; attanā vimuttiṅāṇadassanasampannataraṃ S I.139 “possessing greater insight and knowledge of emancipation than himself”; alamattadassanatara c’ eva pitara D II.231 “having more insight into profitable things than the father”. The suffix-to, as remarked above, is found only with pronouns. e.g., [166] tato ca uttaritaraṃ D I.16 “and nobler than that”; (cp. Dh 42); ato mahantatarena avijjākhandha M II.131 “with a mass of ignorance greater than that”; tato santataraṃ M I.91 “more peaceful than that”.

b. Secondly it is found with words, other than pure comparatives of adjectives, expressing superiority or inferiority such as varaṃ “better”, ativiya “in excess of, more than,” and uttarim (or uttari-)

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“superior (lit. upper)”. e.g., *attadanto tato varaṃ* Dh 322 “the self-tamed (i.e. one who controls himself) is better than they”; *paramāya vaṇṇapokkharatāya samannāgato ativiya aññehi manussehi* M III.176 “endowed with the highest bloom of complexion much more than other people”; *uttari-manussadhammā*\(^{15}\) *iddhipāṭihāriyaṃ* D III.12 “miracles excelling (those of) human nature (i.e. mundane)”; *uttari-manussadhammā alamariyaṇāṇāṇadassanaviseso* S IV.300 “truly genuine knowledge and insight much above human things”.

c. Thirdly it occurs with all words meaning “other, different, changed” etc. such as *añña* (*itara, apara*), *nānābhāva*, *vinābhāva* and *aññathābhāva*. e.g., *tamhā nimittā aññam nimittaṃ* M I.119 “a sign other than that (sign)”; *añño koci mayā upaṭṭhākataro* M II.51 “any attendant other than myself”; *sabbehi eva piyehi manāpehi nānābhāvo vinā-bhāvo aññathābhāvo* D II.118 “(there is) a change, an alteration, a differentiation from all things lovable and pleasant”.

§133. Ablative of View-Point.

From the foregoing it is seen that the abl. generally expresses the point of view. It is the underlying unity of conception behind the various uses discussed above such as the ablatives denoting on which side, relation, comparison etc. The notion of viewpoint is also signified by a class of ablatives in -to (but never with the regular endings), the syntactical function of which seems to be closely related to that of the abl. of comparison. They have the sense of “in

\(^{15}\) It is quite clear that -dhammā is abl. sg. and the Comy, has ‘pañcasīla-dasasīla-saṅkhātā manussadhammā uttari’ Sum. III.812.
a. This is mostly found with verbs of judging, considering, seeing etc. e.g., na mayaṃ taṃ sārato pacchāgacchāma M II.114 “we do not hark back to that as final” (lit. as essential); cp. sārañca sārato ṇatvā Dh 12 “having known the essential as essential”; byākatañca me byākatato dhāretha M I.431 “that which I have explained take as explained”; na viṇṇāṇaṃ attato samanupassati M I.300 “does not consider consciousness as the Soul”; accayam accayato disvā D I.85; III.55 “seeing decay as decay”; gottato pi anussarati ... sāvaka-yugato pi anussarati D II.8 “remembers in relation to (or by way of) clan and the pairs of disciples”; paṭhavito na maññati M I.4 “does not regard (it) as earth”; cp. pamādaṃ bhayato disvā Th 1.980 “seeing indolence as fear”. In the above examples the abl. in some cases borders on the adverbial use. In the following example it is more like an adverb of manner than anything else: evaṃ visesato ṇatvā Dh 22 “thus having known especially”.

b. In the above examples, as pointed out before, it is the suffix -to that is generally employed to denote viewpoint or relation. However, though the -to forms assume the role of the regular case-forms of the abl. in these and some other instances, still a full and complete identity between them can only be found in the pronominal declension, just as in Sanskrit (cp. SS §108). Pāṇinī gives a considerable number of rules about the use of this suffix, which show that its sphere of employment, though mostly coinciding with that of the abl. proper, is more often a different one.
c. A similar syntactical part is played by the suffix -so which is itself no case-ending at all, but belongs to the adverbs with non-case suffixes (vide KVG §580-585). It is however regarded as an ablatival form by Pāli grammarians. For instance, under the use designated ‘pamāṇatthe’, vutti on Kac. 277 gives such examples as ‘dīghasō’ etc. There is no doubt, therefore, that this ending -so, though not recognized by Pāṇinī as a regular case-form of the abl., came to be regarded in popular speech as an ablatival ending. In fact its similarity to the -to suffix in sense – for we can paraphrase -so with -vasena as well – brought about an almost complete identity with the latter. This too generally expresses the [168] idea of relation; thus e.g., imam-eva kāyaṃ dhātuso paccavekkhati M I.57 “he considers this very body in terms of the elements”; dhātuso bhikkhave sattā saṃsandanti samenti S II.154; III.65 “according to their natures, monks, beings unite and agree”. In these examples, especially in the second, the adverbial connotation can hardly be overlooked. But the original distributive sense of this suffix, viz. the meaning “into” or “in”, is not seldom found in the Nikāyas. e.g., bilasō paṭivibhajitvā M I.59 “dividing into (so many) parts”; Kosinārake Malle kula-parivattaso kula-parivattaso ṭhapetvā D II.148 “keeping the Mallas of Kusinārā each family-circle separately in a group”.

§134. The Adverbial Ablative.

In the preceding paragraphs we have already referred to a considerable number of ablatives employed as pure adverbs and some even as prepositions (such as ārā). Beside these there are many other ablatives in -ā and -to (-smā occurring only with pronominal stems), and a considerable number of -so forms with ablatival sense,
used as adverbs. These may be dealt with according to the syntactical categories established in the previous chapters.

a. The abl. singular of demonstrative, interrogative and relative pronouns is frequently found as adverb of reason and manner. Logically they are ablatives of cause. e.g., tasmā vedanā ti vuccati M I.293 “therefore it is called ‘sensation’ ”; tasmā etaṃ kallaṃ vacanāya D I.168 “therefore it is fit to say ...”; cp. D II.283; tato “therefore, thence” D I.72,212; Pv. 1; ettato “therefore, by reason of this” S I.185. We may compare with these the adv. inst. tena. The Comys. treat them as adverbs of reason, cp. ‘tasmā ti kāraṇa-vacanāṃ’ Pj. I.167. The interrogative and the relative are not so frequent. e.g., kuto pana kāyena D II.176 “how ... with the body ... ?”; yato kho Kassapa bhikkhu diṭṭhe va dhamme ... upasampajjha viharati, ayaṃ vuccati ... D I.168 “wherefore, Kassapa, a monk in this very life attains to ... and abides therein, that is called ...”. But it is more often found in its original function of denoting “whence”. e.g., yato aham pabbajito [169] D II.151 “Since (or whence) I was ordained”, implying the limit of reckoning.

b. There are some other old forms mostly in -ā forming temporal and local adverbs. e.g., catutthajjhānā vuṭṭhahitvā samanantarā Bhagavā parinibbāyi D II.156 “having arisen from the fourth ecstasy the Blessed One passed away immediately”; saññā paṭhamaṃ uppaṭtāti pacchā ānāṃ D I.185 “firstly perception is born, afterwards knowledge”; mā pacchā vippaṭisārino ahuvattha D II.147 “do not be repenting later on”; pacchā uppannā D I.18 “produced afterwards”. All these imply time. The local sense is expressed only by a few and most of them have gained prepositional force in Pāli. e.g., samantā
Vesāliṃ D II.98 “around Vesāli”; antarā magge D II.207 “midway on the journey”.

c. Similarly the ablatives ettāvatā and kittāvatā are used as adverbs of quantity and degree. e.g., ettāvatā niruttipatho D II.63 “thus far (is) the scope of language”; ettāvatā sammā samucchinno D I.34 “so far well uprooted”; ettāvatā tapo-jigucchā aggappattā D III.48 “by so much (is) disgust for asceticism brought to the highest pitch”; kittāvatā ca Ānanda attānaṃ paññāpento paññāpenti D II.65 “how far do those who postulate a Soul do so?”

d. A large number of adverbs belonging to various logical categories are formed with the suffix -so and have the sense of ablative adverbs. This is the original function of -so. e.g., sabbaso jātiyā asati D II.57 “there being no birth in every way (i.e. completely)”; ādiso va aparaddhaṃ D I.180 “at fault from the very start (initially)”; antam-aso kumbhadāsiyāpi D I.168,169; M I.286; III.127; A V.195 “even at least a water-maid”; yoniso\(^{16}\) pañham pucchituṃ D I.118 “to ask a question wisely (lit. according to origin)”; yoniso manasikaroti D II.214 “reflects over wisely”; sabbha-lahuso A IV.247 “as quickly as possible”. Similar is the abl. -so in the frequently occurring phrase bhiyyosomattāya (D II.11 etc.) “mostly”; bhiyyo < Vedic bhūyas adverbial acc. (cp. VGS §178.2). With the ablative adverb abhiṅhaso “frequently, always” S I.194 we may compare its acc. used adverbially, viz. \(^{[170]}\) abhiṅham. This shows how two cases even so apart syntactically as the acc. and abl. can meet in the adverbial use.

\(^{16}\) Comys. equate it to inst. adv. of manner, e.g., ‘ayoniso ti anupāyena’ i.e. “tactlessly” Sum. III.810.
§135. Quasi-Legitimate Uses of the Ablative.

a. We have seen earlier how the suffix -to forms adverbs with a simple local sense without any implication of separation but merely denoting the side on which. This suffix was originally (in I.E.) applied to pronominal stems to form adverbs of a general character. E.W. Hopkins (J.A.O.S. Vol.38) has pointed out the fact that Skr. ‘ita ehi’ does not mean “come hence” but “come hither”. We find this observation supported also by Pāli idiom. Here ito is found in an adv. sense of “here” or “hither” and not “from here”. e.g., ito hi kho ahaṁ bhante āgacchāmi samaṇassa Gotamassa santikā M I.373 “I come here, Sir, from the presence of the recluse Gotama”. Normally the case ought to be the acc. of place gone to. But since such a use of the acc. sg. of pronouns is inadmissible the same exists in English, for we cannot say ‘come to this’ but ‘come here’ - the adverbial form ito is employed instead. But once such a usage came to exist it did not stop with the pronouns, its legitimate sphere, but came to be regarded as a general construction and was applied to nouns as well. So we have the curious use of paralokato “to the other world” for the acc. paralokam, in the Sutta-Nipāta (579): tesam maccuparetanam gacchatam paralokato “of those subdued by Māra going to the other world (lit. other-world-wards)”. Probably the influence of this confusion of the abl. and the acc. seems to exist in the stock-phrase ‘anāvattidhammo tasmā lokā’; “not liable to return from that world”, for the BSk. version has the acc. implying the place gone to as in “tatra parinirvāyiyo (striyo) ‘nāgāmiṇyo’ nāvṛttikadharminiyaḥ punar imaṁ lokaṁ” Divyāvadāna p.533 “... not liable to come back, to this world".
b. The abl. and the inst. show striking similarities in usage and development. We have seen how the inst. forms with the acc. an idiom with various shades of meaning (*vide* §84). Parallel to this inst. -acc. construction, which we have regarded more or less as adverbial, we have in the Nikāyas an abl.-acc. construction also. e.g., *hadayā hadayaṃ maññe aṇṇāya tacchati* M I.32 “knowing [171] heart to heart, methinks, he shapes the felloe” (cp. Further Dial. I.22 “his heart, methinks, knows my heart, as he shapes that felloe”) cp. *anubandhiṃ padā padaṃ* Sn 446 “he followed step to step” *lit.* (“from step to step”; if we are correct in taking *padā* as an abl. sg. and not as the old inst. sg. in -ā). In the gāthā literature again we find the abl. of separation with the acc. of destination used in this manner like the inst.-acc. found in *vanena vanaṃ* etc. (§84). e.g., *gabbhā gabbham tamā tamaṃ* Sn 278 “from womb to womb and gloom to gloom”; *te mayaṃ vicarissāma gāmā gāmaṃ nagaḥ nagaṃ* Sn 180 “we (as such) shall wander from village to village and from hill to hill”. The two cases here are to be taken as one whole idiom having the character of an adverbial phrase.
Chapter VI
The Genitive Case

§136. [General Character]

The genitive or the sixth case (Pāli chaṭṭhī = Skr. ṣaṣṭī) is on the whole a dependent case. It is used not only in connection with verbs and substantives but also with adjectives and adverbs (cp. VGS §202). But it is predominantly adnominal and in this respect appears in direct contrast to the acc. As the proper employment of the latter is to qualify the verb, so the gen. is normally used to qualify some other noun. It does so by assigning it to a particular class or description, or by distinguishing it as a part of a whole. So the fundamental notion expressed by it is to mark the belonging to or being part of. This possessive or partitive application admits of the almost universal rendering of the gen. in Pāli as in the older languages by the English of. Generally speaking, with substantives the gen. plays the part of an adj. as seen by the alternate constructions of either compounding it with the substantive qualified as kammārputta D II.126; A V.263 “artizan-son” for kammārassa putta “son of an artizan”, or of using instead of it the derived adj. as rājā Māgadho M I.94 “the Māgadhan King” for rājā Magadhānaṃ “the King of the Magadhas”, and, porisam dhuram Sn 256 for purisassa dhuram, or other adjetival formations such as those with the suffix -ka. As a qualifying word it expresses the most diverse logical relations between the two noun-concepts as in Skr. or even in Latin and Greek (cp. KVG §556 and SS §110).
The *adverbial* use on the other hand is not so diverse but presents sufficient interrelations between the noun- and the verb-concept to demand separate investigation. In all such uses the fundamental unity of conception appears to be the *partitive* notion. Says Brugmann: “As its fundamental character we may abstract (i.e. infer) that in the gen. the noun-concept (Nominal- [173] begriff) appears when the verb concept does not refer to its full range but when the former (noun-concept) is represented as a sphere which is only touched by the action” (KVG §529). We cannot discern the original relation between the adnominal and the adverbal uses. In spite of the unity of the principal notions expressed there are, at least in Pāli, a good many syntactical divergences.

§137. [Local Grammarians]

Owing to the predominance of the *adnominal* connection and its consequent remoteness from the action of the main verb, the local grammarians consider the gen. as falling outside the logical sphere denoted by the term *kāraka*. According to them, actual relations subsisting between the noun and the verb in a sentence are only expressed by the six genuine *kārakas*, viz., *kartṛ*, *karman*, *karaṇa*, *sampradāna*, *apādāna* and *adhikaraṇa*. They divide the vibhaktis into two main classes *kāraka-vibhakti* and *upapada-vibhakti*, the former having a definite relation to the action (*kriyā*) and the latter having none. The *actions* are generally performed by various *agents* (*sādhana* = efficiencies) which are directly or indirectly related to the verb. The term *kāraka* is only applied to such. The gen., according to orthodox opinion, is not a *sādhana* and consequently does not
constitute a *kāraka*. It is however disputable whether this observation of the ancient grammarians can be, without reservation, extended to the whole sphere of the genitive’s employment, especially to its *adverbal* function. On the whole their treatment of this case is not so clear-cut and exhaustive as of the others. In definition of the gen. Pāṇinī has only the loose aphorism ‘*ṣaṣṭī seṣe*’ (II.3.50), which the *kāśikā* explains as meaning “in all other instances”, i.e. if none of the other cases enjoined (II.3.1-49) be available, one should use the sixth case (*vide* Speyer, SS p.82, f.n.1). Kaccāyana attempts a clearer definition when he lays down the rule ‘*yassa vā pariggaho taṃ sāmī*’ (235) i.e. “that which has possession is called *sāmī*” and supplements it later on by saying “that the sixth case-affix is employed in denoting *sāmī* (possessor)”.

As for the other notions expressed by the gen. he gives only a few extra rules (305-310) which hardly compass [174] even the adnominal uses. This indifferent treatment of the gen. on the part of local grammarians is due to the fact, as we have pointed out before (§30), of their dealing with syntax solely from the point of view of the verb and not viewing the sentence as one psychological unit. The conception of *kāraka* is only the logical outcome of such an outlook (cp. the meaning of *kāraka* from kr “to do or make”, denoting action).

§138. [Form]

As regards form, the gen. has on the whole preserved the older case endings. It has even outgrown its legitimate sphere, and, as we have seen earlier (§91), replaced the dat. both in the singular and in the

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1 Cakravarti *Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar* pp. 199, 215.
2 ‘*sāmismiṃ chaṭṭhī*’ Kac. 303. Moggallāna has the somewhat abstract definition ‘*chaṭṭhī sambandhe*’ (II.41).
plural, the only surviving dat. form being the one in -āya of the a-declension (§4). The reason of this substitution of the gen. for the dat. in Pāli becomes apparent when we consider that even as early as in the dialect of the Brāhmaṇas the gen. (syntactically) had begun to encroach upon the proper sphere of the dat. In the Epics this replacement has gone even further and in the later classical language almost ousted it from its proper employ, but for a few fundamental uses (vide SS §86). In Prākṛt the dat. has become obsolete, a few traces of it being only found in the artificial dialect of the dramas (SS §100), and in the Aśokan inscriptions where a few -ehi forms are preserved (§9). A further point of contact with the dat. is found in the sympathetic use of the enclitic forms me, te and no, vo, to which phenomenon we have already alluded (§102).

§139. [Sphere of the Genitive]

Thus in Pāli the sphere of the genitive includes many uses of the dat. in the earlier language. In the great majority of cases we can assign a gen. or dat. to a particular syntactical category only on the analogy of Vedic and Classical Sanskrit. The gen. has also come into contact with the abl., in its adverbal uses such as with verbs of taking, hearing etc. and with the loc. in the partitive and absolute uses. It has, moreover, close affinities to the acc. of external object as with verbs of remembering and imitating, and, to the inst. of agent especially with participles and the inst. of means with such verbs as meaning to fill etc. Most of these uses overlap one another and such divisions as the gen. of possession, of material, of

3 cp. gen. with śraddhā and dā in the Aitareya and such uses as ‘tasya ha putro jajñe’ (VGS §202.B.2.a).
distinction, and of origin or the partitive, subjective and objective gen. and others are made merely for the sake of convenience; they do not imply that absolute categories are possible. As we have remarked before, the unity of the logical functions of the various genitives remains unaffected (cp. SS §110).

§140. The Genitive with Substantives.

The Possessive Gen. represents the simplest syntactical function of that case, viz., of classifying a noun by naming its possessor. It is generally placed before the qualified noun as, for instance, in sabbe Bhagavato puttā S I.192 “all the Blessed One’s sons”. In verse or poetical prose, however, it is often found following the noun as, for instance, in Puttā Buddhassa orasā S III.83 “sons of the Buddha, self-begotten”. Though in this limited sense of denoting the possessor it is apparently a simple construction, what normally passes under the designation ‘possessive gen.’ is so varied in application that the most different logical relations may find expression by it (cp. SS §110). For instance, in such expressions as Sundarikāya nadiyā tīre Sn p.79 “on that bank of the river S.” and brāhmaṇassa pada-saddena Sn p.80 “by the sound of the footsteps of the brahmin”, the gen. properly speaking denotes no physical possession at all, the implication is more or less metaphorical. The latter, for instance, clearly means ‘brāhmaṇena kata-pada-saddena’ and consequently has a logical implication of agency rather than of possession. When the qualifying noun denotes a person and the qualified the result of some action on that person’s part, the notion of agency can hardly be overlooked. Thus e.g., in pitu vacanaṃ D III.181 “the father’s word”, the implied meaning is, like in the above, “pitarā bhāṣitaṃ vacanaṃ”.
§141. [Various Realitions]

We may notice the following other relations expressed by this gen.:

a. As in other I.E. languages the gen. in Pāli is capable of standing as the predicate of the whole sentence. e.g., \textit{sakaṃ te Mahārāja!} D II.173 “all (is) thine, O Great King!” Here there is no doubt that \textit{te} stands for the gen. and not the dat. (\textit{vide} P.T.S. Dict. \textit{s.v. saka-}).

b. With the verb ‘to be’ (\textit{bhavati}) in the sense of “becoming” it is always doubtful whether the case is dat. or gen. of possession. But we may reasonably regard the following as \textit{genitives of possession} since similar uses exist in the earlier languages (KVG §558.2). e.g., \textit{te rañño cakkavattissa anuyuttā ahesuṃ} D III.62 “they became dependents of the universal monarch”. This confusion is found even without the verb ‘to be’ in purely adnominal constructions. For instance, in \textit{rogānaṃ āyatanaṃ} D III.182 the word \textit{rogānaṃ} can mean “a province of diseases” or better perhaps “a province for diseases”.

c. Such contact between the \textit{sympathetic dat.} and the \textit{possessive gen.} has already been noticed (§102). It is mostly found, as pointed out there, with the enclitic forms of the personal pronouns which, though originally pure datives, are however found as genitives even in Vedic (cp. HKS §11). In the following examples it is the possessive sense that is more marked: \textit{dibbaṃ te cakka-ratanaṃ thānā cutaṃ} D III.59 “your divine Gem of the Wheel has fallen from its place”; \textit{yāva me idaṃ brahmacariyaṃ na iddhaṃ ...} D II.114 “till this higher life of mine is not complete ...”; \textit{yattha me assa chando vā ... tāṃ mam’}
assa musā D I.25 “where there was desire for me ... that was false of me”. Here the parallel use of me (dat.) and mama (pure gen. form) side by side shows how far the syntactical confusion has gone.

d. With the relative pronouns the noun to be qualified may not immediately follow the gen. of possessor, which thereby assumes a role different from the above sense. e.g., ... yassa kho pan’ assa Vāseṭṭha Tathāgate saddhā niviṭṭhā D II.84 lit. “of whom would, O Vāseṭṭha, faith be placed in the T. ...”; santi bhante devā yesaṃ na sakkā gaṇanāya vā saṅkhāto vā āyuṃ [177] saṅkhātuṃ D III.111 “there are gods, Sir, of whom it is impossible either by reckoning or counting, to number the years (span of life)”.

§142. [The Subjective Gen.]

The subjective Gen. can also be regarded as an extension of the possessive gen. (cp. KVG §559) since the verbal noun qualified represents some action of the person denoted by the noun in the gen. (vide §140). But more particularly it denotes agency as shown by the following examples where the action is expressed by a p.p.p. in -ta: imassa ca bhikkhuno duggahītaṃ D II.124 “also a misconception of this monk”; paresaṃ subhāsitaṃ D I.3 “good-speech (lit. well-spoken) of others”. We may observe from these examples that the gen. in such instances is interchangeable with the inst. of agent (§88). Orthodox grammarians are divided on the question whether these two constructions are universally interchangeable. According to Pāṇinī the inst. is of necessity if the verbal noun be attended by its subject and its object at the same time. This is understandable since otherwise the presence of two genitives would lead to confusion. Speyer considers that we may extend this observation to all such
instances as where the subjective gen. would be used together with some other sixth case (SS §114). But according to other Indian authorities the gen. of the subject is nowhere forbidden (ibid). On the whole the observation of Pāṇinī seems applicable to Pāli concinnity as well. In fact here the gen. even seems to be preferred with most participles of clearly nominal standing, and in the following example, coming as it is after the verbal noun, the gen. conspicuously possesses the agent sense: \[ \text{na kho Tapassi ācinnanā Tathāgatassa daṇḍam daṇḍanti paññāpetum } \] M I.373 “it is not the practice of the Tathāgata, Tapassi, to lay down punishment as punishment”.

a. In such instances as those discussed above the gen. can be interchanged with the inst. of agent and implies kartṛ, the agent of a passive (hence originally transitive) verb. But when the verbal noun is formed from an intransitive verb the gen. seems to denote not the agent to be expressed by the inst. but the [178] subject implying an original nom. e.g., \[ \text{iti rūpassa samudayo } \] M I.61 “so the arising of form”; \[ \text{paṭigha-saññānam atthaṅgamā } \] D III.262 “by the disappearance of ideas of ill-will”; \[ \text{catunnaṃ māsānaṃ accayena } \] Sn p.102 “on the lapse of four months”. In the first example, for instance, the idea implicit cannot be paraphrased by ‘\[ \text{rūpena samudayo’ } \] as in \[ \text{parehi subhāsitam } \] for \[ \text{paresaṃ subhāsitam } \] but must be taken as “\[ \text{iti rūpaṃ samudeti’ } \]”.

b. With other types of verbal nouns where there is no participial sense and the verbal element is less emphasized, neither the inst. of agent nor the nom. of subject can possibly be substituted. e.g., \[ \text{idam pacchimakaṃ Ānanda Tathāgatassa Vesāli-dassanaṃ bhavissatī } \] D II.122 “This, Ānanda, shall be Tathāgata’s last sight of Vesāli (lit. Vesāli-seeing)”; \[ \text{raññaṃ niyyānaṃ bhavissatī } \] D I.9 “there will be an
exit of kings”. Here the gen. being used along with the verb ‘to be’ has a strong possessive sense. The latter example clearly borders on the subjective and possessive gen.

§143. [The Objective Gen.]

The Objective Gen. is not so frequent as the above, since usually Pāli prefers to retain the acc. even with verbal nouns. e.g., Bhagavantamaṃ dassanāya M II.23,46; A I.121; III.381 “for seeing the Blessed One”. But the dat. of purpose dassanāya has greater verbal force than any other type of nomina verbalia, being more or less an infinitive (§107.a). Even in such instances, however, one not rarely comes across the gen. of object. e.g., ariyānaṃ dassanāya Dh 206 “for the seeing of the noble ones” (i.e. in order to see the noble ones); mano-bhāvanīyānaṃ pi bhikkhūnam asamayo dassanāya D III.36 “it is not the time even for the seeing of self-composed monks”.

a. It is frequently found with primary nominal formations formed by adding such suffixes as -a to the root. In such cases the gen. is almost of necessity and qualifies the noun. e.g., catunnaṃ bhikkhave dhammānaṃ ananubodhā ... D II.122 “Brethren, owing to the non-understanding of four things”; Tathāgatassa pūjāya D II.137 “for the honouring of the T.”; [179] lobho cittassa upakkileso D I.91 “greed is a defilement of the heart”.

b. With verbs of motion the normal construction is to retain the acc. of destination or the corresponding dat. But when the motion implied is towards a person the gen. is used similar to the objective gen. e.g., upasaṅkamanamī pāhaṃ bhikkhave tesaṃ bhikkhūnamī bahukāraṃ
vadāmi S V.67 “even the approaching (going to) of those monks, brethren, I say is of advantage”.

c. With the so-called *nomina agentis* or agent-nouns the gen. and acc. are promiscuously employed. (*vide* §33). It must be stated, however, that with those formed with the suffix -ṭṛ (Pāli -tā) the acc. seems to be favoured, while the gen. is the commoner idiom with those having possessive sense such as -vin and -in (f. -intī). e.g., Evaṃ opanāyikassa dhammassa desetāraṃ D II.222,228 “the preacher of such a redeeming doctrine”; ariyānaṃ adassāvi M I.1 “a non-beholder of Noble Ones”; lābhīnī Bodhisatta-mātā hotī pañcannaṃ kāma-guṇānaṃ D II.13 “the mother of the ‘Being destined for Enlightenment’ is receiver of the five-fold pleasures”.

§144. [The Partitive Genitive]

*The Partitive Genitive* proper denotes the whole, a part of which is meant by the qualified word as in bhāgo maraṇassa Sn 427 “a share of death”, bhāgī āyussa A II.80, III.42 “having a share of life” or kiñcīdeva desaṃ vācāya A V.39 “a certain portion of the speech”.

a. But the more frequent type of this gen. in Pāli is that which carries the notion of selecting or distinguishing *out of* a multitude, usually of persons but sometimes even of things. In this case it is interchangeable with the loc. of the persons *among whom* (§167). In fact the two cases occur side by side in the same context. e.g., Kati jāgaratam suttā, kati suttesu jāgarā S I.3 (V.) “How many are the sleeping among the wake, how many are awake among the sleeping?”. From the following examples it may be observed that in Pāli as in Skr. (SS §116) the partitive gen. may not only attend
substantives but all kinds [180] of pronouns and adjectives. Such a gen. may also appear in various logical connections.

b. With certain adjectives and nouns it denotes the person or thing that is distinguished from the rest. e.g., tvāṃ yeva nesaṃ eko cakkhumā D I.191 “you alone are the seeing among them”, or that which is selected out of many. e.g., imesaṃ tiṇṇam aṅgānam jātiṃ ṭhapayāma D I.121 “of these three factors let us keep birth aside”.

c. With numerals grammatically denoted by substantives as satam, sahassam etc. the nouns qualifying are put in the gen. case. e.g., bhiyyo naṃ satasahassam yakkhanam payirupāsati D II.256 “a hundred-thousand (of) yakkhas worship him”. Here the nom. of apposition is the parallel construction (§24.c.).

d. With indefinite pronouns such as aṅṅataro, aṅṅatamo, eko etc. it denotes inclusion among a group or class. e.g., etesaṃ vā aṅṅatarena D I.21 “or by one or the other of the same”; aṅṅataro ca kho pan’ āyasmā Kassapo arahataṃ ahosi D I.177 “the Ven. Kassapa became one among the saints”; tesam aham aṅṅatamo M I.17 “of them I am one”.

e. With substantives and adjectives denoting mastery and power it takes a slightly different turn of meaning and can be rendered by the English over. e.g., evaṃ mahiddhiko kho bhikkhave sīho migarājā tiracchānagatānaṃ pāṇānaṃ, evaṃ mahesakkho ... S III.85 “so powerful indeed, monks, is the lion, the king of beasts, over beings of the animal class, so majestic ...”; Satthā devamanussānaṃ M I.69 “The Master of gods and men”.
f. When option between two persons or things is intended the persons or things considered in making the comparison are put in the gen. case. Here it closely resembles the gen. of the persons regarding whom a statement is made (i.e. the gen. of relation, §156). e.g., ko nu kho āyasmantānaṃ sukhavihāritaro rājā vā Māgadho ... āyasmā va Gotamo M I.94 “of you two honourable ones, who is the more happy-living, the king of Magadha ... or the Ven. Gotama?”; ayaṃ imesaṃ dvinnāṃ puggalānaṃ ... [181] hīnapuriso akkhāyati M I.25 “he of these two persons ... appears as the lesser one”.

g. With superlatives or adjectives having superlative sense such as those meaning first, last, foremost etc. a similar gen. of the persons (or things) of whom, from among or regarding whom the statement is made, is frequently found. e.g., khattiyo dvipadaṃ seṭṭho S I.6 (V.) “the warrior is the best among bipeds (i.e. two-footed beings)”; ye te ahesuṃ brāhmaṇānaṃ pubbakā D I.104 “those who were the foremost of the brahmins”; gimhānaṃ pacchime māse M I.306 “in the last month of the summer (lit. of the warm months)”; pañcannaṃ bhikkhusatānaṃ pacchimako bhikkhu D II.155 “the last (monk) of the five hundred monks”.

h. Even with adjectives of equality and identity or those of superiority such as sadiso and visiṭṭho this gen. is commonly employed. This sometimes gives rise to a double genitive, for the gen. of comparison (§151.b.) may also appear side by side with it, as in the following example: nāssa hoti koci paññāya sadiso vā visiṭṭho vā sabba-sattānaṃ D III.158 “of all beings, there is no one who is equal to him or superior”. Of course assa here may as well stand for the dat. (§110), or may be alternately expressed by the inst. (§§85,86) or the abl. (§132).
§145. [The Gen. of the Material]

The Gen. of the Material may also be regarded as expressive of the partitive notion (cp. KVG §559). This is comparable to the gen. of material or stock drawn upon, found with verbs of filling and lacking in Latin and Greek and generally comes under the so-called Gentivus Materiae et Originis though in Pāli, just as in Skr. (SS §113), the pure gen. of origin is not very frequent. It is only found adverbally with the verb pahoti (Skr. prabhavati = originate) “to rise from”. (e.g., yato câyaṃ Gaṅgā nadī pahoti S II.184 “whence arises the river Ganges”, where yato is the abl. representing more normal construction, whereas the gen. occurs only in instances of a metaphorical nature such as sammādiṭṭhissa, bhikkhave, sammā-saṅkappo pahoti M III.76 “right aspiration originates from (lit. of) right views”). In Pāli the gen. usually expresses the substance or thing of which [182] something else or some object is made, consists of, full of or is laden with. The following distinctions may be observed.

a. When the qualified noun denotes an artificial product, the gen. always expresses the material of which the former is made. e.g., suvaṇṇassa pabhassarāṇi Sn 48 “ornaments of gold”. This is, however, not found in prose; but the gen. denoting that of which something else consists occurs, though not frequently. e.g., aṅgulīnāṃ mālaṃ M II.98 “a necklace of fingers”.

b. When it is attended by the actual verb of making or preparing etc. the gen. seems to border on the inst. of means. It is then, so to speak,

4 cp. Buckland Green, Notes on Greek and Latin Syntax, §45.3.
half-way between the adnominal and the adverbal constructions. e.g., sālīnaṃ odanaṃ (racayitvā) M I.31 “having prepared a meal of rice”; mahantaṃ hirañña-suvaṇṇassa puñjaṃ kārāpetvā M II.63 “having caused a great heap of gold and bullion to be piled up”; pāṇīyaṃ khādanīyaṃ bhojanīyaṃ paṭiyādāpetvā paṇḍumuṭikassa sālino ... M II.50 “having prepared excellent hard and soft food (consisting) of the choicest golden rice”. That in such instances the verb is not of necessity and the gen. can be purely adnominal is shown by the example udakassa dhārā D II.15 “torrents of water”, where it borders on the descriptive gen.

c. When the qualified noun denotes a limited space to be filled, the gen. of the material is logically related to the gen. with adjectives and verbs of filling (§§151.b.ii. & 149). e.g., unhodakassa kājaṃ S I.175 “a pail of hot water” (i.e. a pail full of ...); pañcamattāni taṇḍulavāhasatāni pāhesi paṇḍumuṭikassa sālino M II.54 “sent about 500 cart-loads of the choicest golden rice”.

d. As partitive genitives, the above uses may be said to express logically the notion of quantity. Closely related to this is the gen. of description expressive of quality. This is generally known as the gen. of quality (KVG §559). It is however not so frequent in Pāli or Skr. as in Latin and Greek. e.g., (kusāvatiyā) catunnaṃ vaṇṇānaṃ dvārāni ahosi D II.170 “In Kusāvatī there were doors of four colours”. This may also mean “there were [183] gates for the four castes”, in which case vaṇṇānaṃ would be the dat. of interest.
§146. [Abstract Usage]

It is not to be expected that the whole sphere of the adnominal genitive’s use is included in the categories established in the preceding paragraphs. No divisions can be absolute or exhaustive in treatment. There are bound to be many other uses which may or may not fall within such categories. A most abstract use of the gen. is to be found in the construction with such causal postpositions as \textit{hetu} and \textit{kāraṇā}, which are both ablatives (cp. §122.d. & §73). There is however the parallel construction of compounding these (especially \textit{hetu}) with the preceding noun, which would otherwise be put in the gen. (cp. §136). e.g., \textit{atta-hetu} M III.48 “due to himself”; \textit{vedanāhetu} M II.216 “due to sensation”; \textit{cīvarahetu} A I.147 “for the sake of a robe”. According to Pāṇinī the sixth case-affix is to be employed in the construction with \textit{hetu}.\footnote{‘saṣṭī hetuprayoge’ (Pāṇ. II.3.26).} The \textit{vārttika} illustrates this by ‘\textit{annasya hetor vasati}’ “lives by reason of food”. Pāli follows the same usage with both \textit{hetu} and \textit{kāraṇā}. e.g., \textit{issariyassa kāraṇā} D I.84 “by reason of glory” (i.e. for the sake of glory); \textit{yāsaṃ ... hetu brahmacariyaṃ carasīti} M II.46 “owing to whom ... you live the Holy Life”; \textit{accharānaṃ hetu} M II.64 “owing to heavenly damsels”; \textit{puttadārassa hetu} M II.187 “for the sake of child and wife”. On the analogy of these examples we may not hesitate to place in this category the form \textit{kissa} found in the frequent interrogative phrase \textit{tam kissa hetu} D II.14; M I.1; A II.31, as a genitive qualifying \textit{hetu}. Consequently \textit{kissa} here is pronominal substantive and not adj. as in \textit{kissa ... kammassa} D II.185; it is not to be confused with the later adv. \textit{kissa} “why?”.
§147. The Gen. with Verbs.

Several classes of verbs are construed with a gen. Most of these adverbal uses correspond to the adnominal constructions discussed above. In the majority of instances the gen. in special connection with verbs appears concurrently for an acc., inst., or abl. and sometimes even for the loc. Generally speaking it is the partitive notion that underlies such functions. One hardly meets with adverbal genitives expressive of the idea of possession in Pāli (of the Nikāyas) as found in Skr. with verbs of owning and ruling such as prabhū, īś, and Vedic rāj and kṣi (VGS §202). But there is a considerable number of verbs construed with the gen. having a sense analogous to that of the acc., but, with this difference: that unlike the latter it expresses that the action affects the object not as a whole, but only in part. It is used with verbs having the following senses:

a. remembering, thinking of; e.g., nāgavanassa sumarati Dh 324 “thinks of the elephants’ haunts”.

b. imitating, following; taṃ tassa anugaṃ hoti S I.72 “it follows him”; cp. evaṃ gihī nānukaroti bhikkhuno Sn 221 “so the householder imitates not the monk”. In such instances, however, the prefix anu- also favours construing with the gen. e.g., dhammassa cânudhammaṃ vyākaronti M I.368 “preach what is consistent with the doctrine”. A similar gen. is found with the verb anumodāmi in the sense of “appreciate”. e.g., N’ eva kho tyāhaṃ brāhmaṇa anumodāmi na paṭikkosāmi A II.36 “brahmin, I neither appreciate
you nor blame you”. Skr. grammarians are at a loss to explain these uses. They regard them as anomalies.⁶

c. It is also found with verbs having the sense of desiring of, expecting of etc. e.g., yassa dāni devassa icchissati Brahmā Sanaṅkumāro D II.210 “of whichever god the Brahmā S. now desires (anything)”. A similar construction is found with the gerundive pāṭikaṅkhaṃ. e.g., Saddhassa hi Sāriputta ariyasāvakassa etaṃ pāṭikaṅkhaṃ S V.226 “Of the faithful Aryan disciple, Sāriputta, this should be expected”.

d. In the gāthā literature are found a few verbs of harming, robbing, plundering and conquering, construed with a similar gen. e.g., ahāsi me Dh 3 “he robbed me”; ālopati sahasā yo paresaṃ Th 1.743 “who forcibly plunders others”; uccāvaceh’ upāyehi paresaṃ abhijīgīsati Th 1.743 “by various means he (cheats, harms or) overcomes others”. As rendering of this rare verb Mrs. Rhys Davids has ‘cheat’ and Neumann ‘vernichten’. But [185] P.T.S. Dict, prefers ‘overcome’ or ‘covet’, after Comy. ‘jinituṃ icchati’ (on J. VI.193). It should, however, literally mean “desire to kill”, since it is the desiderative of han, normally reading ‘jigiṃsati’.

§148. [Gen. with Jānāti]

A peculiar idiom is found with the verb jānāti, which with a sense different from the usual “to know” (like vid-), seems to be construed with a gen.. According to Pāṇinī (II.3.51) jñā is to be employed in agreement with the gen. of the instrument (karaṇa); then jñā must

⁶ vide, Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar p. 220.
not be equivalent to *vid* but, says the *kāśikā*, must mean “to ween, fancy or have an opinion of”. In certain contexts in the Nikāyas *jānāti* construed with the gen. seems to exhibit this last sense, and, hence imply a *partitive* notion. e.g., *na tvam tāta Raṭṭhapāla kassaci dukkhaśa jānāsi* M II.56 (cp. 60) “dear R., you know not of any sorrow”. Here, the Comy. points out, the exact meaning is “you have no experience even of a little of sorrow” (‘*appamattakam pi kālabhāgaṃ dukkhaśa*’). In this example the gen. certainly expresses the thing of or regarding which there is knowledge, and is comparable with the English expression “to know of any sorrow”. But there are other uses of this verb, which, though similar in meaning to the above, are still logically different. e.g., *ko nu kho pana bho jānāti jīvitānaṃ* D II.233 (246) lit. “who indeed knows of the living”. Here the context shows that the meaning is “entitled to have an opinion of”, as the P.T.S. translation goes: “who indeed can answer for the (survival of) the living?” With *ājānāti* however the case is the dat. since the same is found in Skr. e.g., Āmagandhe ... *bhāsamānaśa na ājānāmi* D II.242 “I do not understand you speaking about ... ‘the smell of raw flesh’”.

§149. [Inst.-like Gen.]

An *inst.-like gen.* is found with verbs having the sense of *fullness* and *satisfaction*, (cp. SS §123.6). Though these verbs *pūreti, tappati* etc. are often construed with a gen. the more logical construction seems to be with the *inst. of means*. e.g., *dvīnaṃ ... dhammānaṃ atitto ... mātugāmo kālaṃ karoti* [186] A I.78 “unsatiated with two ... things, the female dies”; cp. *puriso pāyāsassa tappati* J I.185 “the man is satisfied with the milk-rice”; *dhīro pūrati puṇṇassa* Dh 122 “the wise man is filled with merit”; *nivesanāni ... nānādhaṇṇassa pūreṭvā* Sn
305 “having filled the dwellings ... with various kinds of grain”. With verbal nouns, especially *nomina agentis*, formed from these roots, the gen. of filling falls into the category of the objective gen. e.g., *labhati lūkhassa vā paṇītassa vā bhojanassa yāvadatthaṃ pāripūriṃ* D III.257 “he obtains satiety (lit. fulfilment) in (lit. of) gross or excellent food”. In such cases even the loc. is admissible.

§150. [Abl.-like Gen.]

The *abl.-like gen.* (SS §125) occurs with certain verbs where some notion of *separation* or *distance* or some such ablative function seems to be implied. We have already referred to the gen. used with local adverbs such as *dakkhiṇato*, *uttareṇa* and *sammukhā* denoting the point from which distance or direction is reckoned (§130) and the *gen. of origin* employed instead of the corresponding abl. with the verb *pahoti* (§145). As Speyer points out (SS §125) the gen. is admissible in such instances when there is at the same time room for the conception of *belonging* to (being part of) and that of *proceeding from*.

a. With such verbs as *paṭigaṅhāti* the person *from whom* something is received is denoted by the gen. In the following example the presence of the participle gives a *semi-absolute* appearance to the construction: *paṭigaṅhāti ... na dvinnaṃ bhuṅjamānaṇaṃ* M I.307 “he does not receive ... from two people at meals”. The same verb in its metaphorical sense of “accepting a confession” follows a similar construction (cp. SS §83.6 & Pāṇ. I.IV.41). e.g., *yo ca accayaṃ desentassa yathā-dhammaṃ na paṭigaṅhāti* S I.239 “who does not pardon (lit. accept of) one confessing a transgression, according to the Doctrine”; or with *semi-absolute sense*: *parassa kho pana*
accayaṃ desentassa yathā-dhammaṃ nappaṭigaṅhāti A I.103 “he does not pardon one confessing ...” etc. or “he does not accept when one makes a confession.” The verb ādiyanti in the sense of “taking the word” (Comys. ‘vacanaṃ na karonti’ i.e. “obey”) may admit of a similar gen. e.g., mahārājānaṃ na ādiyanti D III.204 “they do not heed or obey the great kings”; later on the same page: n’eva rañño Māgadhassa ādiyanti. It is however not quite certain whether this is the gen. or the dat. with verbs of listening to like sussūsati etc. (§94.b.).

b. With verbs of hearing, especially suṇāti, the gen. seems to be the general construction, the abl. being hardly ever found in the Nikāyas (§125.b.). This may be regarded as a gen. expressive of the origin of sound or the source from which the perception comes. e.g., āyasmato Sāriputtassa sutvā bhikkhu dhāressanti M I.14,46 “having heard from (lit. heard of, i.e. learnt of) the ven. S. the monks will take (it) to heart” (cp. D II.2,148); na aṇṇassa samaṇassa vā brāhmaṇassa vā sutvā A I.142; M III.186 “not having heard from another recluse or brahmin ...”; Tesaṃ sutvā D III.61 “hearing from them”. Even with passive forms of this verb the gen. is preserved. e.g., tesaṅca sotabbaṃ maññissanti A IV.16 lit. “they think it should be heard of them” i.e. “they think they should be heard”. In the above examples the gen. denotes the person from whom one learns or hears and is, therefore, logically parallel to the abl. But when the gen. is attended by participles of verbs denoting talking, sounding, howling, conversing etc. the construction not only appears to be semi-absolute but seems to be used in place of an acc. rather than an abl. though at the same time it expresses the source of sound. e.g., assuttha no tumhe ... siṅgālassa vassamānassa S II.271 “did you not hear the jackal howling ... ?”; nāmāni me kītayato suṇātha M III.69 “hear me
repeating the names” i.e. “listen while I am repeating ...” (absolute); 
assosi kho āyasmā Anuruddho dāyapālassa Bhagavatā saddhiṃ mantayamānassā M I.205 “the ven. Anuruddha heard the Blessed One talking with the park-keeper”; assosi kho āyasmā Sāriputto Sunakkhattassa Licchaviputtassa parisatiṃ vācaṃ bhāsamānassā M I.68 “the ven. Sāriputta heard Sunakkhatta the Licchavi speaking these words among the rabble”. In such cases the Comys. supply the implied object, usually ‘saddaṃ’ [188] in their paraphrase. e.g., for sutvā devassa vassato Sn 30, the Comy. has ‘vassato saddaṃ sutvā’ (Pj. II. p.42). But the acc. of the object may not be always implied, since the verb suṇāti can occur with an intransitive sense, as for instance in: kinti te sutaṃ brāhmaṇānaṃ ... bhāsamānānaṃ D I.104 (cp. D II.237) “What! have you heard from the brahmins ... speaking”.

c. Similar to the above ablative gen. is that which is expressive of the source of fear with verbs of fearing such as bhāyati “fear”, tasati “tremble at” and āsaṅkati “suspect”. The abl. too is found in the Nikāyas, but only with noun bhayaṃ and never adverbially, (§122.e.). Here the local grammarians regard the abl. as the proper case. Kaccāyana’s rule dutiyā pañcamīnaṃ (311) is interpreted by the vutti as meaning that the sixth case-affix is used sometimes (kvaci) instead of the second and the fifth, examples for the latter being those such as ‘sukhassa bhāyāmi’ etc. The acc. however is rarely found with the verb bhāyati as in bhāyasi maṃi samaṇā ti Sn p.48 “do you fear me, recluse?”; it appears to be almost of necessity when the object to be feared is a person (§36.a.). Otherwise the gen. is the commoner adverbal construction. e.g., kiṃ nu kho ahaṃ tassa sukhassa bhāyāmi M I.247 “what! indeed, do I fear that happiness?”; na bhāyitabbaṃ etassa sukhassāti vadāmi M I.454; III.233 “I declare that one should
not fear this happiness”. In verse however the gen. is found even with personal nouns. e.g., *sabbe bhāyanti Maccuno* Dh 129 “all fear Death”, or adnominally. e.g., *kālassa meghassa bhayena tajjita* Th 1.308 “oppressed with fear of the black cloud”. The verb *tasati* occurs only in verse in this construction. e.g., *sabbe tasanti daṇḍassa* Dh 129 “all tremble at punishment”. But *āsaṅkati* is found even in prose with the gen. e.g., *Tena khopana samayena rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehiputto Rājagahaṃ paṭisaṅkhārāpeti rañño Pajjotassa āsaṅkamāno* M III.7 “at that time Ajātasattu King of Magadha, son of Vedehi, was fortifying Rājagaha out of suspicions for King Pajjota”. In Skr. however *śaṅk* “to suspect” takes the gen. with the prefix *abhi*- and the acc. when it is used with *ā*- (cp. Cappeller’s Dict.) [189]

§151. The Genitive with Adjectives.

We have already referred to the gen. used with verbal adjectives implying ‘possession’ such as those ending in -vin (f. -vinī) and -in (f. -inī). When formed from transitive roots these agree with an objective gen. (§143.c.). A similar gen. is found with *upādāya* which, though a gerund in form, is still capable of qualifying a noun as much as an adj. e.g., *catunnaṃ mahābhūtānaṃ upādāya rūpaṃ* M I.185 “whatever form depends on the four great elements”. But apart from being used parallel to the acc., the gen. with some other adjectives appears in place of a loc., inst. or dat., at least from a logical point of view.

a. With adjectives of knowledge, skill and experience the gen. of the thing in which one is skilled etc. is logically akin to the acc. with transitive verbs (SS §124.III.). But the concurrent idiom is the loc. of
relation, owing to the fact that the noun in the gen. with such adjectives expresses that regarding which one is skilled etc. (§175.a.). Kaccāyana enjoins the use of the gen. in place of the loc. with such words by the rule ‘chaṭṭhī ca’ (310), which according to the vutti is to be taken as implying that the sixth case-affix is employed instead of the third and seventh (laid down in the previous rule ‘tatiyā sattamīnaṅca’ - 309) optionally (kvaci). It is found in the Nikāyas with such adjectives as: kevalī “perfected, expert”; e.g., brahmacariyassa kevalī A II.23 “perfected in the Higher Life” or “expert of the Higher Life”; kusala “clever, skilled”; e.g., puriso kusalo bherisaddassa A II.185 “a man clever in the tone of the drum”; kusalo ahaṃ rathassa aṅgapaccaṅgānaṃ M I.395 “I am skilled in the parts and accessories of the chariot”; imesaṃ dhammānaṃ sukusalo D I.180 “extremely gifted in these things”; akusalā imassa lokassa M I.225 “having no knowledge of (unversed in matters of) this world”; kovido “adept, proficient”; e.g., yogakkhemassa pathassa kovido Th I.69 “proficient in the path of deliverance” ariyadhammassa akovidoc D I.1 “with no knowledge of the Noble Doctrine”. With kovido the gen. is logically quite similar to the objective gen.. But the concurrent construction [190] is with the loc. as seen by the corresponding gloss ‘ariyadhamme akusalo’ (Ps. I. p.22). The addition of prefixes (negative etc.) to these various adjectives does not necessitate the alteration of the construction, as may be seen from the above uses with akovidoc, akusalo, sukusalo etc.

b. With adjectives of likeness, equality and similarity and of fullness or completeness, the gen. is parallel to the inst., of comparison in the former case, and of means (in the narrower sense) in the latter case.
i. The notion of *comparison* can be diversely signified in Pāli as in Skr. In certain nuances the inst. ( §§85,86) or the abl. (§132) of comparison is even preferred. With those denoting superiority or inferiority and even equality etc. the dat. is also perhaps used in the Nikāyas (*vide* §110). With such adjectives as *sadisa, sama, samasama* and *sādhāraṇa*, however, the case is more likely to be the gen., considering the popularity of this construction in Skr. (SS §§124.4. & 61). Here the inst., just as in the earlier language, is particularly concurrent, but the abl. cannot be applied as all these adjectives denote “similarity”, thus implying no “distinction” (*vibhātta*) for the latter to be permissible. e.g., *so mātu pi sadiso pitu pi sadiso* M II.153 “he is like his mother and also his father”; *assa ... sadiso* D III.158 “equal to him”; *attano samasamaṃ* D I.174 “equal to himself”. With *nīcataram*, acc. adverb from the comparative stem, *nīcatara*- , it is either the dat. or the gen. that is used. e.g., *nīcataram Bhagavato* S I.144 “lower than the Blessed One”. Here the abl. would be the more logical case, but the gen. is frequent with other local adverbs in the Nikāyas (§153).

ii. The gen. found with adjectives of *fullness* such as *puṇṇa* and *pūra* can be regarded as the *adnominal* corresponding to the *adverbal* use discussed above (§149). The parallel idiom with the inst., however, cannot be used with the adjectives, since these (not being verbs) do not imply *means*. e.g., *nagaram ... puṇṇam sāsapānaṃ* S II.182 “the city ... full of mustard”; *pūram hiraṇṇasuvāṇṇassa kumbhiṃ* D II.176 “a pot full of gold and bullion”; [191] *ayaṃ Aciravatī nadī pūrā udakassa* D I.224 “this river A. is full of water”; *pūrā aṅgārānaṃ* M I.365 “full of ambers”; *pūran nānappakārassa asucino* M I.51 “full of all kinds of filth”. This seems to be one of the oldest functions of the gen. in I.E. (cp. Latin gen. *c. plenus*).
c. We have already discussed the gen. employed with certain verbs derived from the root jñā prefixed by anu- or ā- (§148). A similar gen. is found with verbal adjectives belonging to the same root, especially with samanuñña “approving of” or “favourable to”. e.g., na pāṇaṃ atipātayato samanuñño hoti D III.48 “he is not approving of one taking life”; samanuñño me Satthā S I.1 “the Teacher is favourable to me”. The gen. in these cases, however, is not a certainty since even in Skr. the dat. is applicable with some verbs from jñā. For instance, with ājānāti “to learn or understand” the acc. of the thing, or the dat. or the loc. of the person, is quite frequent. (vide Cappeller’s Dict, s.v.). But the thing approved of is found in the Nikāyas with the loc. e.g., samphappalāpe ca samanuñño hoti A V.305 “he is approving of frivolous talk”; adinnādāna veramaṇiyā ca samanuñño hoti A II.253 “he is also approving of abstinence from taking what is not given”.

§152. Dative-like Genitive with Adjectives.

We have seen earlier (§138) how the gen. in the older language had encroached upon the syntactical sphere proper to the dat. and ousted it from many of its legitimate uses. The fact was noticed even by early Skr. grammarians (cp. Pāṇinī ‘caturthyarthe bahulaṃ’ II.3.62). This replacement has proceeded in the adjectives on a wider scale. Speyer calls such uses in Skr., where the forms show the actual case unlike in Pāli in which the dat. and gen. are for the most part identical, the dat.-like gen. So with adjectives of friendship and enmity, good and evil, fitness and unfitness etc. we find a gen. (in Skr.) apparently for the dat.. Since there is no reason to suppose that Pāli retained the dat. with such adjectives, it seems not unjustifiable
to regard the following -ssa forms as genitives. The dat. if used in such cases would express the point of view (cp. KVG §554.4). [192]

a. It is especially the case with adjectives having the sense of pleasing to. e.g., pitā puttānaṃ piyo hoti D II.178 “the father is dear to (or beloved of) his sons”; bahuno janassa piyo ahosi D II.19 “he was beloved of many people”; so even with compounds where the first member is such an adj.: piyadassino honti bahuno janassa D III.167 “has a pleasing appearance for many people” (lit. has an appearance beloved of many people). With the enclitic pronouns it is very doubtful whether the case is gen. at all. e.g., na kho me taṃ paṭirūpaṃ D II.30 “it is indeed not fit for me” (cp. dat. §108).

b. With passive participles used as adjectives the gen. not only denotes the people concerned but borders on the function of agency (§154). e.g., Samaṇo ... Gotamo rañño Pasenadī Kosalassa sakkato garukato mānito pūjito D I.116 “the recluse ... Gotama is respected, honoured and worshipped of King Pasenadī of Kosala”; āvāha-vivāhakānaṃ apatthito hoti mittāmaccānaṃ paribhūto hoti D III.183 “unwanted of those giving or taking in marriage and despised of friends and colleagues”; sādhusammato bahujanassa D I.47; II.150; Sn p.92 “well-revered of many people”; ekesaṃ samaṇa-brāhmaṇānaṃ sāmaṇḍa-saṅkhāta ... D I.166 “regarded as compatible with recluseship of (i.e. by) some recluses and Brahmins”.

§153. The Genitive with Adverbs.

In connection with the abl.-like gen. (§150) we had occasion to mention its use with adverbs derived from nouns such as dakkhiṇato etc. where the gen. marks that of which a region or direction is
considered, thus psychologically coinciding with the ablatival notion of *that from which* direction or distance is reckoned. The use of the gen. in such instances is due to the slight *partitive* sense implied, whereas the abl. should be the more logical construction. However the local grammarians regard the gen. as of necessity in such cases, *(vide* Pāṇ. II.3.30), an observation supported by the fact that in the actual literature the abl. though logically proper is never found with these regional adverbs (whether in *-to* or *-ena*), the gen. being the only [193] construction. It is so even in the Vedas (VGS §202.D.) and the language of the Nikāyas is no exception.

a. Adverbs in *-to* are always construed with the gen. e.g., *dakkhiṇato nagarassa* D II.321 “on the south of the city”; *pācīnato Rājagahassa* D II.263 “on the east of Rājagaha”; With those ending in *-ena*, the *kāśikā* on Pāṇ. II.3.31 allows optional construction with gen. or acc. (§53). But the former seems to be the more usual even here with those signifying *regions* or *quarters*. e.g., *puratthimena nagarassa* M I.343 “on (by) the east of the city”; *uttarena Manasākaṭassa* D I.235 “to (lit. by) the north of the Manasākaṭa”. But even with other adverbs in *-ena* the gen. is not unusual though the acc. is by far the more frequent. e.g., *antarena yamakasālānaṃ* D II.169 (134,137).

b. Pāṇinī allows optional construction with abl. or gen. of all words meaning *far* and *near* (II.3.34). Pāli grammarians permit the use of the abl. acc. or inst. *(vide* vutti on Kac. 277 ‘*dūratthe*’ and ‘*antikatthe*’). But the only cases attested in the Nikāya prose are the abl. and the gen., the former being restricted to pronominal forms (*ito* and *tato*, *vide* §131.b.) and the latter being used with all types of nouns. e.g., *Bhagavato santike* D II.152 “near the Blessed One (lit. in the proximity of the Blessed One)”; *Vedehi-puttassa avidūre* D I.94
“at no distance from the son of Vedehi”; Anuruddhassa sammukhe S V.294 “in the presence of A.”; so nātidūre nāccāsanne āsanassa parivattati M II.138 “he takes his position neither at too great a distance nor in too close proximity of the seat”; avidūre ambavanasssa M II.141 “in the vicinity of the mango-grove”.

c. Finally there is the gen. employed with adverbial prepositions such as heṭṭhā “below” and upari “above” (cp. VGS §202.D.). Here too the abl. is the concurrent idiom. e.g., tassa eva pāsādassa heṭṭhā D I.198 “below that storey”. In the post-canonical works this gen. is widely used to denote many turns of expression. With reference to space it is used in the sense of “on top of, on, upon” as in kassa upari sāpo patissati Dh A.41, or with reference to time as in catunnaṃ māsānaṃ upari. [194]

§154. The Instrumental-like Genitive.

We have seen how the subjective gen. can sometimes be used for the agent (cp. SS §§66;129.R.2) when the noun qualified is a p.p.p. (§142). When the participle has a predicative force, as is frequently the case in Pāli just as in Skr., the gen. is clearly used instead of the inst. of agent. This is found with all types of verbs. e.g., Mayhaṃ kho bhikkhave ... anuttarā vimutti anuppattā S I.105 “the highest emancipation, brethren ... has been attained by me”; suto nu bhavatam Asito Devalo isī ti? M II.156 “have you heard of the sage A.D.?”; amatam tesam bhikkhave aparibhuttaṃ yesaṃ kāyagatāsatī aparibhuttā A I.45 “immortality has not been realized by them, by whom full awareness of body has not been experienced”; kodhā ca pana assa esā vācā bhāsitā M I.68 “through anger were these words spoken by him”; Tathāgatassa ... cattāro iddhipādā bhāvitā D II.103
“the four bases of supernormal powers have been cultivated by the T.”; *Itthaṃ Bhagavā Sakkassa devānaṃ indassa pañhaṃ puṭṭho vyākasi* D II.279 “in this wise did the Blessed One explain being questioned by Sakka, the lord of gods”; *viditaṃ hi bhante tassa purisassa ...* M I.365 “it is known, Sir, by that man ...”; *dīghaṃ addhānaṃ sandhāvitaṃ saṃsaritaṃ mamañc’ eva tumhākañcā ti* D II.90 “a long course (of lives) has been traversed and gone through both by me and you” (Comy. ‘*mayā ca tumehi ca’* Sum. II). We may observe the following other idioms expressed by the agent-like gen.:

a. Its employment with participles used as adjectives denoting respect or the opposite has been referred to earlier (§152.b.). A similar gen. is frequently found with verbs (p.p.p.) denoting praise, homage and salutation. e.g., *Api ca āyasmā Maha-Kāccāno Satthu c’ eva saṃvaṇṇito sambhāvito ca viññūnaṃ sabrahmacārīnaṃ* M I.111 “Even so the ven. Mahā-Kaccāna is praised by the Master and esteemed by his co-celibates”; cp. *ye puggalā aṭṭha sataṃ pasatthā* Sn 227; Kh 6 “those eight people who are praised by the good”, where the Comy. has the inst. ‘*sappurisehi ... pasatthā’* (Pj. I. p.182). [195]

b. The same gen. is employed with certain other participles which are not strictly passives. e.g., *ādiso va tesaṃ aparaddhaṃ* D I.180 “they are at fault from the very start”; *yāva aparaddhaṇca te idaṃ ācariyassa ...* D I.103 “how deeply have you been wronged by your teacher ...”; *tuyh’ eva etaṃ dukkaṭaṃ* D II.115 “this is misdone by you”; *tumh’ evetaṃ aparaddhaṃ* D I.222 “by you yourself (it) has been wronged”. In the last three examples it is very much like the subjective genitive.
c. When the noun in the gen. is attended by another participle, the construction approximates to a semi-absolute gen. e.g., *aparāmasato c’ assa paccattam̄ yeva nibbuti viditā* D I.22 (III.28) “by him (when he is) free from clinging tranquillity is realized”; *tadapi tesam̄ bhavatam̄ ... ajānataṃ apassataṃ vedayitam̄* D I.40 “that too has been experienced by you as such even without knowing or seeing on your part”. Here the sense “even without your knowing ...”, of the participial phrase shows how closely related it is to the *gen. absolute* implying *disregard* (*anādara*, vide §158.a.), for “even without your knowing” can also be expressed by “in spite of your not knowing ...”. But the fact that the participles agreeing with *tesam̄ bhavatam̄* merely qualify the ‘agent’ of the verb *viditam̄* and are therefore strictly speaking not detached from the rest of the construction shows its difference from the actual gen. absolute.

§155. [Inst.-like Gen.]

This contact of the gen. and the inst. is not restricted to the agent-like gen. described in the preceding paragraph. The gen. is also used in certain other places where in the normal course of concinnity we would have expected an inst. denoting *means* or the *sociative* notion.

a. Thus the gen. is found in place of the inst. with certain nouns and verbs which logically must admit of an *inst. of means*. In such cases it seems to be used on the analogy of the subjective gen. e.g., *mantassa ājīvino* D III.65 “living (by means) of the mantras”; *sabba-cetaso samannāharitvā* D II.204 et seq. “having considered well with his mind”. Here the v.l. *cetasā* appears like an attempt at ‘correction’.
b. It may also appear, as remarked above, in place of the *sociative* inst. It is even found with or ‘governed’ by the *sociative* prep. *saddhiṃ*. e.g., *mama saddhiṃ sammodiṃsu* D I.157 “they conversed with me”. The idiom ‘*sammukhī-bhāvaṃ gacchati*’ “comes face to face” or “meets with” would normally admit of an inst. of the *person met with* coming under the sociative class (cp. *missi-bhāvaṃ gato tayā* etc. §63.a.). In the following example the gen. *mama* can also imply *possession* in a metaphorical sense: *mama sammukhī-bhāvaṃ āgantuṃ* D III.13,19 “to come face to face with me” or “to come to my presence”.

§156. The Genitive of Relation.

In Pāli, as we have seen earlier, the notion of *relation* (*that concerning whom*) can be expressed by cases like the acc. or the inst.. The proper case however would be the loc.. There are however certain instances where the gen. too seems to be employed to denote the *person* concerning whom a statement is made. It is found both adverbally and adnominally.

a. *Adverbally* it signifies the person *regarding whom* something is said or meant. e.g., *Tañ ca kho sīlavato vadāmi no dussīlassa* D III.259 “I say it of the virtuous man, not of the evil”; The frequent phrase ‘*ko pana vādo*’ also ‘governs’ a similar gen. e.g., *Idha bhikkhave asappuriso, yo hoti parassa avaṇṇo taṃ apuṭṭho pi pātukaroti: ko pana vādo putṭhassa* A II.77 “Here, monks, an evil person even unquestioned discloses bad reports of others; what talk of (him when) questioned?” (i.e. how much more when questioned or what would you say about him if he is questioned); similarly, *ko*
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pana vādo manussa bhūtassa M I.227 “what (use is there to) talk of the human being?” (i.e. not to mention the human being)

b. Adnominally it denotes the person to whom something is attributed or of whom some qualification is said to exist. Thus it resembles the possessive gen. e.g., acchariyaṃ idaṃ āyasmato Kosiyassa D II.270 “this is wonderful of (or regarding) the ven. K.”; abbhutam idaṃ āyasmato Janavasabhassa yakkhassa [197] D II.206 “this is marvellous of the spirit, ven. J.”. A similar adnominal gen. is found with compound ‘vutta-vādino’, where the gen. can also be regarded as used instead of the agent with vutta (p.p.p. of vac). But the more likely explanation is that it denotes the person regarding whom something is said by the speaker (vādin). e.g., kacci te bhoto Gotamassa vutta-vādino D I.161 “what! are you true reporters concerning the ven. Gotama?” (lit. tellers of what is said); vutta-vādī c’ eva Bhagavato homi D III.115 “I am a true reporter (lit. a teller of what has been said) of the Blessed One”. There is one example of a similar gen. which (if it is not a nom. sg. formed from the dat.-gen. stem *bhikkhu-) is to be regarded as a gen. of relation, viz. Idha bhikkhave bhikkhuno cakkhunā rūpaṃ disvā na nimittaggāhi hoti nānuvyañjanaggāhi hoti yatvādhikaraṇaṃ enaṃ cakkhundriyaṃ asaṃvutaṃ viharantaṃ abhijjhādomanassā pāpakā akusalā dhammā anvāssaveyyum A II.16 “Here, brethren, (speaking) of a monk, he does not take an object (as a theme for reflection) having seen it, ...”.

c. A gen. is found with the idiom ‘kittisaddo abbhuggato’ “a report has been broadcast” denoting the person concerning whom something is reported. Comparing with the gen. found in the phrase ‘ko pana vādo’ discussed above, it may be regarded as denoting the person concerning whom the report is broadcast. But according to
ancient grammarians the gen. is due to the accented prefix (karmapracvacanīya), viz. abhi- in abbhuggato, as much as the acc. which is concurrently used in such contexts (vide acc. of relation §42.). e.g., Mayhaṃ kho ayyāya evaṃ kalyāṇo kuttisaddo abbhuggato M I.125 “Concerning (cp. English ‘of’) my lady such a good report has arisen”; evaṃ te kalyāṇo kuttisaddo abbhuggato M I.394 “thus of you a good report has arisen”; dussīlassa ... pāpako kuttisaddo abbhuggato Ud 86 “an evil report arose ... about the unvirtuous one”; idaṃ me dānan dadaṭo kalyāṇo kuttisaddo abbhuggacchati D III.258 “about me ...”. [198]


The gen. sg. of time-denoting words such as cīra, kāla, and divā (§2) is used adverbially to denote after what time or within or during what time an action takes place. In the former, i.e. when it expresses after what time, the gen. is parallel to the abl. as found in cīra (Skr. cīrāt) etc., but in the latter sense it is clearly concurrent with the inst. as in kālena, cirena and divā. In the Nikāyas however the abl. of these words is hardly found even in the sense of time after which (even cīra is not attested by cirena), for the inst. has replaced it in such functions. Though in Skr., therefore, it may be said that the gen. here “always stands on the ground of the abl.” (SS §128), the same cannot be stated for Pāli, where the gen. of time may be taken as standing for the inst. with the corresponding temporal sense (§76.a.).

a. The gen. sg. cīrassa is only found in the negative phrase ‘na cīrass’ eva’ and can be substituted for ‘aciren’ eva’. Similarly it has the sense of “not long after”. e.g., na cīrass’ eva kālam akāsi D II.195 “not long after he passed away”; cp. D I.177,202; II.11,35,153 (cp. Skr. cīrasya
The compound form *sucirass’ eva* is similarly found meaning “after a very long time.” e.g., *atha kho āyasmā Aññāsi Koṇḍañño sucirass’ eva yena Bhagavā ten’ upasaṅkami* S I.193 “then the ven. A.K. after a very long time came whither the Blessed One was”. The extended form *cirassamṇ* is frequently found in place of *cirassa* with the same sense. Here we have an interesting instance of the interplay of morphological and syntactical development, for it is certainly the result of a want felt in the mind of the Pāli speakers as regards the form *cirassa* (with an ending unusual for adverbs) to which they added the nasal (-aṃ) in order to bring it into uniformity with the adv. acc. on the analogy of forms like *ciraṃ* and *muhuttaṃ*, though the acc. is logically out of place here. e.g., *cirassamṇ kho bhante Bhagavā imaṃ pariyāyaṃ akāsi yadidaṃ idhāgamānaṇāya* D I.179; S I.142 “It is a long time since (i.e. after a long time) the Blessed One has thought of coming this way”.

b. The form *kālassa* is found in the sense of “early” very much like the inst. *kālena* (§76.e.2.). e.g., *kālass’ eva vuṭṭhahanto* A V.263 “rising quite early (in the day)”; *Siṅgālako ... kālass’ eva vuṭṭhāya* D III.180 “Siṅgālaka ... having arisen early”.

c. As regards the term *divassa*, it is always found in the compound expression ‘*divā-divassa*’ which means “in the day”. The form *divā* is also an adverb from Vedic *divā* (§2). e.g., *Atha kho Sandhāno gahapati divādivass’ eva Rājagahā nikkhami ...* D II.36 “then the householder S. set out from R. very early in the day”. On this passage the Comy, has ‘*divassa divā nāma majjhaṅhātikkamo*’ according to which it should mean “after the mid-day”. But our rendering fits in better with the context. Similarly: *Sāvatthiyā niyyāsi divādivassa* M
I.174 (S I.89) “he set out from S. early in the day”. The expression seems to be parallel to a reduplicated form divā-divā with an intensive sense [cp. udagga-udagga etc. W. Stede ‘Reduplikationskomposita im Pāli’ (ZfB Vol.6 (1925) p.89)].

§158. The Genitive Absolute.

The absolute use of the gen. in Pāli is restricted, just as in Skr. (SS §369), to a few standing phrases. Though it is sometimes concurrent with the loc. absolute, it is still far from possessing the general character of the latter. It has been observed with regard to Skr., by writers on syntax,\(^7\) that there are at least two principal conditions governing the use of the gen. absolute, especially with regard to the character of the subject- and predicate-factors that constitute the absolute clause. Firstly, the substantive is almost always the name of a person (or a personal pronoun), very rarely to be supplied. Secondly, the predicate must have a durative sense, that is, it may be either an ordinary present participle or an adj. or a verbal formation having the value of an adj.. Though there are not sufficient examples in the Nikāyas to make a detailed investigation, we may fairly observe that the above conditions are for the most part fulfilled even in Pāli. [200]

a. Strictly speaking, the construction seems to be limited to the expression of action going on but not cared for while performing the main action. Hence local grammarians denote this nuance by the

\(^7\) vide, Grammaire Sanscrite §226, by Louis Renou (Paris-1930) and Speyer §369 Sanskrit Syntax, both referring to the exhaustive treatise by F de Saussure ‘de l’emploi de genitif absolu en Sanscrit’.
term anādara, i.e. disregard. In describing the employment of the gen. Kaccāyana lays down the rule anādare ca (307) which the vutti explains as meaning that the sixth case-affix is employed to express the action not fully attended to while performing the main action or the seventh case (anādare ca chaṭṭhi vibhatti hoti sattamī ca). He is here relying on Pāṇinī sūtra (II.38) which says ṣaṣṭau cânādare, the conjunction ca being expressive of ‘option’ as this is primarily the province of the loc. absolute, which is enjoined by the preceding sūtra (37) viz. yasya ca bhāvena bhāvalaṅkhaṇaṃ (cp. SS p.287.f.n.2). As pointed out above it occurs but rarely in the Nikāyas, and, may be rendered by such expressions as “though, not withstanding, in spite of” and the like. e.g., So kho ahaṃ ... akāmakānaṃ mātāpitunnaṃ assumukhānaṃ rudantānaṃ kesamassum ohāretvā ... agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajitam M I.163 “despite the parents unwilling and crying I shaved off my hair and beard ... and set forth from home to homelessness”; seyyathāpi brāhmaṇa puriso daliddo assako anāḷhiyo, tassa akāmassa bilaṃ olaggeyyum M II.178,181, “it is as (if there were) a poor, needy and destitute wretch and (they) in spite of his not wanting would drop him into a hole”. (Here the phrase ‘bilaṃ olaggeyyum’ is of very doubtful sense. The P.T.S. Translation has ‘reserve a joint he does not want’, agreeing with Neumann’s ‘man nötigte ihm gegen seinen Willen einen Bissen auf: da hast du, lieber Mann, ein Stück Fleisch zu essen ...’. The reading too being doubtful (vide M II.178) either of the translations seems admissible). In the former example, we may notice, the predicate-factor is a present participle (rudantānaṃ etc.) but in the latter only an adj. (akāmassa).

8 This nuance is said to express ‘garva rasa’, Renou ibid.
b. But, as shown by the parallelism with the loc. absolute, in its simple temporal employment the *gen. absolute* denotes an action going on or a situation existing at the time when the action of the main clause intervenes. Then it may be rendered [201] by “while” or “as” or the participial construction in English (“this being so ...”). Instances of this are however rare in the Nikāyas, being superseded by the loc. absolute. e.g., *Tatra me brahmaṇa viharato mago vā āgacchati moro vā kaṭṭhaṃ pāteti* M I.20 “As I dwell there, brahmin, an animal may approach or a peacock cause a twig to fall”; *tesaṃ vo bhikkhave evaṃ samaññānaṃ satam evaṃ paṭiññānaṃ satam: yā samaṇa-sāmīcīpāṭipadā taṃ* M II.281 “When, brethren, you are so famous and acknowledged (for your recluse-ship), whatever right course of life there is for the recluses that ...”. Sometimes the notion of *anādara* is faintly implied (cp. SS §369R). e.g., *āturakāyassa me sato cittaṃ anāturaṃ bhavissati* S III.1 “even while I am sickly (in spite of my being sick) of body, my mind is not diseased”. Here the gen. can also be regarded as *possessive* (§159.c.).

c. In the above examples the predicative factor has the *durative* notion and is almost always a *present* participle. There is however one *past* participle (*pakkanta-*) involved in a similar *gen. absolute* construction. Logically it seems to be a development of the *gen. of time* already described (§157). Its purely temporal character and origin are to be seen from the fact that the same phrase occurs as a *loc. absolute* (§183.a.iv.). The only difference (from the simple gen. of time) is that the time-denoting term is not one word but an expression consisting of a personal noun and a participle. The implied sense, however, is fundamentally the same, viz. *the time after which* or *since which* (cp. SS §128.R.s). It occurs in the stock-phrase ‘*acira-pakkantassa* ...’ and the presence of the
time-denoting word *acira* (cp. *acirassa(*m*)) makes quite clear the parallelism with the simple ‘noun + participle’ construction as found in Skr. ‘*ciraḥ kālo maitrasya Vasantasenāyaḥ sakāsam gatasya*’ (SS *ibid*). It occurs in the following passages: *atha kho te paribbājakā acirapakkantassa Bhagavato Poṭṭhapādaṃ sañjambhariyaṃ akaṃsu D I.189* “Then those wandering ascetics, not long after the Blessed One had departed, began to tease P.”; cp. D II.8; M I.110; *atha kho āyasmā Ānando acirapakkantassa rañño Pasenadissa Kosalassa yena [202] Bhagavā ten’ upasaṅkami M II.117* (cp. D I.86; S III.95) “then the ven. Ānanda, not long after King P. of K. has departed came where the Blessed One was”. The use of this past participle in the *gen. absolute* construction is a later development in Pāli and is contrary to the general laws prevailing in Skr. mentioned above.

§159. [Examples of Genitive Absolute]

The above usage shows, in fact, the transitional stage in the formation of the *gen. absolute*. Speyer points out that apart from the genuine *gen. absolute* Skr. upon the whole shows a preference for employing the gen. of participle either as dat.-like gen. or when depending on some substantive. This may also be said of Pāli where there are many instances of the ‘gen. + participle’ which seem to be only *semi-absolute* constructions (cp. SS §§370; Renou *Grammaire Sanscrite* §226.Note 1.). The logical relation between such genitives and the main sentence (or a word in the main sentence) “though not wholly wanting is very loose indeed”.

a. The following examples seem to border on the dat. of *concern*: *tesaṃ bhikkhave sattānāṃ evaṃ kāmānāṃ ... aniṭṭhā ... dhammā abhivaḍḍhanti* M I.309 “For such beings desiring thus ... unpleasant
mental states increase” or “notwithstanding their desiring thus ...”; *Imaṃ kho me somanassaṃ sevato akusalā dhammā parihāyanti* D II.278 “For me indulging in a state of mental ease evil things decrease”; *gocare bhikkhave carataṃ sake pettike visaye na lacchati* Māro otāraṃ D III.58 “To you wandering (or as you are wandering) in such pastures, your own paternal range, the Evil One will not find occasion to enter”.

b. It may even border on the *adverbal dat.*, as for instance, the dat. with verbs of *trusting* and *relying on* (having faith in). e.g., *ye kho pana bhikkhave Sunettassa Satthuno Brahmaloka-sahavyatāya dhammaṃ desentassa cittāni na pasādesuṃ* A IV.135 “those who, monks, did not engender faith in their minds when the Master was (or in the Master) preaching doctrine (conducive) to the companionship in the Brahma-world”. [203]

c. Or it may have the possessive sense at the same time. e.g., *kittāvatā nu kho āvuso Satthu pavivittassa viharato sāvakā vivekaṃ nānusikkhanti* M I.14 “how far, friends, do the disciples of the Master living in seclusion not train themselves for seclusion (or whereas the Master lives in seclusion)”. A curious construction with the singular of the noun and the plural of the participle is found in the following where, contrary to the law prevailing in Skr., the gen. is of a common noun and not of a personal noun, though it is personified by the presence of -rāja-: *Sinerussa ca pabbatarājassa jhāyamānānaṃ dayhamānānaṃ acci vātena khittā yāva Brahma-lokā pi gacchati* A IV.103 “Of the King of Mountains, Sineru, (sci. from amongst those) burning and ablaze, the sparks shot forth by the wind go up as far as the Brahma-world”. Similar is the following: *jhāyamānassa pana sarīrassa, yaṃ ahosi chavīti vā ... tassa n’ eva chārikā paññāyittha na*
**masi** D II.164 “of the burning body (or while the body was burning) whatever was the skin etc ... of that there was seen neither soot nor ashes” (cp. last ex.§158.b.).

d. There are some other instances where the participle alone does duty for the whole construction. This happens when the personal pronoun is of the third person, which is usually dropped. e.g., *sabhāgatassa vacanaṃ na rūhati* D III.185 “Of him (or when he is) gone in the midst of an assembly the evidence is not valid”. The Comy. supports *absolute* idea. (‘sakkhipuṭṭhassa sato’).

e. Sometimes it borders on some other use of the gen. itself, as for instance the *gen. of origin*. e.g., *Seyyathāpi āvuso sakalikaggikassa jhāyamānassa aṇṇā vā acci uppajjati* A V.9 “just as, friends, from (a fire of) logs burning (or while logs are burning) another spark arises.”

f. Elsewhere (§144) we have referred to a *loc.-like gen.* denoting the persons *among whom* something happens, or takes place (cp. KVG §537.3). A similar gen. is found involved in a *semi-absolute* construction. e.g., *Purimāni bhante divasāṇi purimatarāṇi nānātitthiyānaṃ samaṇabrāhmaṇānaṃ kutūhalasālāyāṃ* [204] sannisinnānaṃ sannipatitānaṃ, ayaṃ antarā kathā udapādi M II.2 (D I.180) “In former days quite of yore, among the recluses and brahmins of various sects gathered together (or while they were gathered) in the hall of inquiry, this side-talk arose”; *atha kho Vāseṭṭha-Bhāradvājānaṃ jaṅghā-vihāraṃ anucaṅkamantānaṃ maggāmagge kathā udapādi* D I.235 “then while Vāseṭṭha and Bhāradvāja were engaged in a walk, (or between them engaged in a walk) this talk arose on the very way”.
Chapter VII
The Locative Case

§160. [General Characteristics]

The seventh case (sattamī = Skr. saptamī) or the loc. serves to denote the where, i.e., the scene of an action. But it is capable of expressing such nuances as are denoted by the English prepositions in, on, at, among, with, by, near, over or about. Moreover its employment is not restricted to actual space as normally understood by ‘where’, but extends into other spheres of thought (cp. SS §38.6) Consequently there are various uses of the loc. which can be classified as those denoting, for instance, the varying conceptions of time, of circumstance, of motive, (the nimitta-sattamī of local grammarians), of relation, the loc. absolute with its various subdivisions and so on. Though fundamentally the loc. denotes just where, i.e. the place where an action takes place and thus appears to express a static notion, it is nevertheless capable of having a dynamic import as when it signifies the aim reached with verbs of motion and allied meaning, being in most such instances parallel to the acc. But in spite of all these syntactical variations of application, logically the fundamental unity of conception underlying all its uses appears more markedly in the case of the loc. than with most other cases. Apart from these adverbal uses the loc. is also employed adnominally in the Nikāyas with a descriptive sense, but even here some verbal concept seems to be implied.
§161. [Local Grammarians]

The fundamental characteristic of the loc. according to local grammarians, is to denote that which is the (relevant) basis (ādhāra) for the action. Hence the designation ādhāra-vibhatti. The place in or on which something happens is, in their opinion, that which maintains the process implied by the main verb (kriyā). Says Kaccāyana: yo' dhāro tamokāsaṃ (280), meaning thereby that which is auxiliary (to the action) is the location (space or opportunity); whereas Moggallāna’s rule sattamyādhāre (II.34) is interpreted by the vutti as implying that “what is auxiliary to the action by way of supporting the agent and the object which are its co-efficients is called the seventh kāraka” (‘kriyādāhārabhūtakattukammānaṃ dhāraṇena yo kriyāyādhāro tasmiṃ kārake nāmasmā sattamī hoti’). These go back to the Pāṇinī sūtra ādhāro’dhikaraṇaṃ, which means according to the vārtti that which is related to the action as the site where the action takes place is called adhikaraṇa. It is interesting to note that Kaccāyana does not employ the term ādhāra as the original notion of the loc., as the other two, but the word okāsa (okāse sattamī Kac. 304). This notion of location, according to the vutti on Kac. 280, is four-fold: ‘svādhāro catubbhido: byāpiko opasesiko vesyiko sāmīpikoti’ viz., 1. when it expresses inhesion, inherence or concomitancy; 2. when it implies occupation or juxtaposition; 3. when the notion of residence or habitation is meant; finally, 4. when it signifies proximity or vicinity or neighbourhood. Though this division is necessarily arbitrary and incomplete, it is to the credit of the writer that some of the fundamental logical connections of the loc. are touched upon.
§162. [Relation to other Cases]

We have already referred to the contact of the proper sphere of the acc. with that of the loc. (§§40 & 45). In Pāli, as in Skr., the former is not alone in bordering on the latter's employ since, as we shall see in the succeeding paragraphs, other cases like the inst., dat., gen., and even the abl. come into contact with it. These various points of contact seem to have been made very early in the history of I.E., for in special form the loc. is only preserved in Indo-Aryan and Balt.-Slav., having coalesced in Greek with the dat.-inst., in Latin with the abl.-inst, and in Germanic with the dat. (vide KVG §536). In Pāli the loc. form was more liable to preservation as already the inst. had coalesced with the abl. (completely in the plural and in the -ā ending of the singular) and the dat. with the gen. in both numbers. Nevertheless the original sg. ending -e of -a nouns [207] seems to have been superseded even in the older Nikāyas by the later form -smiṃ (-mhi) borrowed from the pronominal declension, though the replacement has not gone so far as in the case of the abl. (§5.b.). This has been extended even into other declensions such as those in -i and -u in the sg., but the plural is the same as that of the earlier language.

§163. The Locative of Place Where.

The fundamental function of the loc. is to express the spot, the exact place, where an action is done or takes place. Here we may observe the following distinctions (SS. §123A):

a. i. In its simplest form it conveys the notion of being in or within. e.g., nirayamhi paccati A V.75 “he is tortured in hell”; Vesāliyaṃ viharati Ambapāli-vane D II.94 “lives at (or near) Vesāli in the grove
of Ambapāli”. The construction in the latter is idiomatic. In such frequent instances where the verb of ‘being or living’ is placed between two locatives the former invariably denotes the *neighbourhood* in general (cp. Eng. ‘at’) and the exact spot, the actual *location*, is expressed by the latter which is almost always the name of a residence of some sort. Similarly: *so Vesāliyaṃ parisati evaṃ vācaṃ bhāsati* D III.13 “he speaks these words among the rabble at *V*”; *tesaṃ tiṇhāni satthāni hatthesu pātu-bhavanti* D III.73 “sharp weapons appear in their hands”; *tassa rukkhassa chāyāya nisinnaṃ* M I.74 “seated in the shade of that tree”.

ii. With the verb ‘to be’ complemented by a noun this loc. may sometimes be paralleled to the *gen. of description*. e.g., *amanussa-rājā divi homi* D II.206 “I am the non-human king in (or ‘of’) heaven”.

iii. With the verb *uppajjati* “be born” the loc. is used concurrently with the acc. (§40.a.) to denote the place *where* one is born or arises. When this verb has the sense of “attain to”, which should be the literal sense of *ud+pad* (or even *upa+pad*), the *acc. of direction* should be the more logical construction. There seems to be, however, a semantical confusion between the two [208] notions of “being born in” and “born into, attain to”. The context in most cases still shows that the loc. is properly used when the sense is “to be born in”. e.g., *Tathāgato loke uppajjati* D I.62 “The Tathāgata is born in the world”; *Padumake pana bhikkhu niraye Kokāliko bhikkhu uppanno* S I.152 “In the P. purgatory, O monk, the brother K. is born”. This confusion of the acc. and the loc. has left its mark in a curious construction where the -e form can also be regarded as the Māgadhī acc. sg. (*see* Eastern forms §10), unless it is an editor’s error, viz.,
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_paraṃ maraṇā sugatiṃ saggam loke uppajjanti_ A I.32 “after death they are born into a happy state in heaven”.

iv. Even when the prefixes _adhi-, paṭi-_ etc. are added to verbs of ‘being’ or ‘living’, the loc. is maintained and the acc. is not used though we may expect the latter according to the tendency of such compound-verbs to become ‘transitive’; e.g., _tasmiṃ sāle adhivatthā devatā_ M I.306; S I.197 “the godhead inhabiting that sal-tree”; _Vesāliyaṃ paṭivasanti_ D I.150 “live at Vesāli”; cp. _Nālandāyaṃ_ M I.371, _āpaṇe_ Sn 104.

v. The verbs _tiṭṭhati_ and _vattati_ (< _sthā_ and _vrṭ_) in the sense of _standing by_ or _abiding by_ are construed with a loc. (vide SS §138.3). Such idioms as ‘_ovāde tiṭṭhati_’ are not alien to Pāli concinnity though not exemplified in the Nikāyas. It is however quite frequent in the Jātakas; e.g., _ovāde ṭhatvā_ J I.153; IV.367 “abiding by the advice”. These verbs are construed with the loc. even when prefixes are added owing to their character as primary verbs of _location_ like the above root _vas_. e.g., _mahā-paṭhavī udake patiṭṭhitā_ D II.107 “the wide earth is established in the water”; _hīne kāye patiṭṭhitā_ M I.327 “placed in a low body”; _nāma-rūpe patiṭṭhitā_ D II.63 “established in name and form”.

vi. This loc. of _place where_ may sometimes be used in a metaphorical sense in such expressions as “to sit at or preside over” and “to find or see something (quality etc.) in a person”. e.g., _rājā athakaraṇe nisinno_ D II.20; M II.122 “the king seated at the administration of justice (or presiding over the cases)”; _ime pañca-nīvaraṇe appahiṇe attani samanupassati_ [209] D I.73 (cp. M I.367) “he sees the five hindrances undestroyed in himself”; _evaṃ paripuṇṇatā_ ...
sīlakkhandhaṃ ... aaññesu samanabrāhmanesu na samanupassāmi D I.206 “such a complete ... aggregate of virtues ... I do not find in other recluses and brahmins”; na ca pana etañm amhesu saṁvijjati D I.3 “this indeed does not exist in us”; tesañm te kārā amhesu mahapphalā bhavissanti M I.281 “those actions of theirs ensure to fruit and profit in ourselves”. The loc. in these examples denotes location however abstract it may be. In some of these the dat. or the gen. is admissible in place of the loc. especially when it is said to exist in a person; when however the noun in the loc. is not personal this option is less possible. e.g., natthi kāmesu doso M I.305 “there is nothing wrong in pleasures”.

§164. [Various Uses]

a. The surface trodden or touched on, upon, or the space over, at, or the thing through which motion is implied is denoted by the loc. e.g., udake pi abhijjamāne gacchati M II.18 “walks on the unbroken (surface of the) water”; Vesāliyaṃ piṇḍāya caritvā D II.102 “having gone for alms over Vesāli”; abbhokāse caṅkamanti M II.119 “they walk on the open ground (or in the open air)”; suparikamma-katasmim dantasmiṃ yanm yad eva ... danta-vikatiṃ kareyya D I.78 “as if he would make certain ornamentations on the well-levelled (surface of an) elephant’s tooth”; ayokhilam hatthe gamenti A I.141 “they send an iron spike through the hand”.

b. Or it may denote the dominion, territory or thing on, in or at. e.g., nisīdi Bhagavā paññatte āsane M II.2 “the Blessed One sat on the seat that was prepared”; aṅke nisīdāpetvā D II.20 “having made (him) to sleep on the lap”; pallanke nisīdi D II.210 “sat on the
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couch”; puppham iva udumbaresu Sn 5 “like flowers on the fig
trees”. This is called opasilesiko-ādhāro by the vutti on Kac. 280.

c. It may also denote the thing or place near, on, about, at, in short,
proximity (samīpattha). e.g., aṇṇatarasmiṃ rukkhamūle nisīdi D II.162 “he sat near or at the foot of the tree”; Ukkaṭṭhāyaṃ viharati Subhagavane M I.1 “lives at or near Uk. in the Subha [210] grove” (cp. remarks under a.i.). This sense is also brought about by placing anu- before the noun in the loc. as adnominal prefix. e.g., anutīre Mahiyā Sn 18 “near or along the bank of the river M.”.

d. This loc. also denotes the people among whom one lives or
something happens. (cp. KVG §537.3; SS §133.e.). The partitive gen.
denoting a group of people out of whom some are selected can
sometimes psychologically coincide with this loc. (§144.a.). e.g.,
Bhagavā Sakkesu viharati D II.253 (cp. Kurūsu3 D II.55) “the Blessed
One lives among the Sakyans”; Kosalesu cārikaṃ carati M II.45 (140
Videhesu) “he sojourns among the Kosalas”; vāseṭṭha-Bhāradvājā Bhikkhusu parivasanti D III.80 “Vāseṭṭha and Bhāradvāja reside
among the monks”; devesu Tāvatimsesu pātur-ahosi Ud 22. “he
appeared among the T. gods”; Suddhāvāsesu devesu antarahitā S I.26
“disappearing (from) among the S. gods” (vide abl.-like loc. §173.c.);
te Nigaṇṭhesu pabbajantīti M I.93 “they enter (the homeless life)
among the naked ascetics”.

e. In certain constructions, especially with verbs of living and others
implying co-residence, the person under, with or in the company of

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1 Comy. ‘samīpatthe bhummavacanaṃ’ Ps.I.12.
2 ‘anutīreti tīrasamipe’ Pj.II.28.
3 ‘tasmiṃ kurūsu janapade’ Sum.II.481.
whom one stays is expressed by the loc. case. This seems to have originated in such earlier usages as the Vedic ‘sā hāsmin jyoguvāsa’ “she lived with him” (cp. KVG §539), and the loc. of the person with whom one stays is a frequent idiom in Classical Skr. (cp. SS §137.2). This may be called the sociative loc. e.g., Bhagavati brahmaçarīyaṃ caranti D I.155; II.208 “they practise the Holy Life under or with the Blessed One” (cp. Sugatasmiṃ ... D II.208). It may occur adnominally: samañe Gotame brahmaçarīvaśo M I.524 “Higher Life (is) with the recluse Gotama”. Similar is the following gāthā idiom: Vesiyāsu padissati ... dissati paraśāresu Sn 108 “he is seen in the company of harlots ... and others’ wives”. A periphrasis for this construction is -santike which itself is a sociative loc. e.g., alattha ... Bhagavato santike pabbajjaṃ D II.153 “he received ordination under the Blessed One”. This also borders on the abl. like loc. found with verbs of receiving (§173.a.) [211] and may be rendered “received ... from the Bl. One”. Syntactically related to this sociative loc. is the one found in the stock-phrase cittaṃ vase vatteti A IV.34 “keeps the mind under control”. Sometimes periphrastic turns of expression such as majjhe, visaye, antare, antaram, passe, samīpe etc. are used for the loc. (either with the gen. of the noun or as the second member of a compound). e.g., saṅghamajjhe osaranti M I.469, II.8 “come into the midst of the Order of monks”; Māravisaye (pakkanno) Th. 1.253 “falls into the realm of Māra”; also in the gāthā literature post-positions ending in other case-suffixes, particularly the acc. of place where, are used as periphrases for the loc. e.g., susaṁvutatto visikhantaraṃ caraṃ Th 1.1119 “walking in the streets well-restrained in body”. It is however not clear (as far as the Nikāya language is concerned) whether these periphrases always make the meaning of the loc. more precise as Speyer seems to think (cp. SS §133.e.).
§165. The Locative of Place Whither.

As has been already pointed out the loc. not only expresses the place where something takes place but also the spot whither (into which) motion is directed. This construction exists in Vedic and Classical Skr. just as in Latin and Greek, especially with verbs of falling, throwing and casting (cp. VGS §204.1.b.; SS §§134.B. & 134*). It is quite common in Pāli and in most instances concurrent with the acc. of the goal (§40-). Kaccāyana refers to the loc. used for the acc. (312) but the vutti gives only examples, of the type ‘... bhikkhusu abhivādenti’ and none with verbs of motion. The following distinctions are to be observed:

a. The place into or to which one moves, is carried or betakes oneself: e.g., Sāvatthiyaṃ agamāsiṃ D II.270 “I came to S”; ekante attānaṃ upasaṃharitvā D II.212 “having betaken himself to one side”; cp. ye Pa dume niraye upanītā Sn 677 “who are carried into Paduma hell”.

b. The place or spot one enters or descends into: e.g., Vesāliyaṃ piṇḍāya pāvisiṃ D II.102 (III.16) “he entered (into) V., for alms”. Here however the reading is not quite settled. The P.T.S. text reads ‘Vesāliṃ piṇḍāya pāvisi’ D II.102 and continues ‘Vesāliyaṃ piṇḍāya caritvā’ but Feer (Sd) has ‘Vesāliyaṃ piṇḍāya pāvisi, Vesāliyaṃ piṇḍāya caritvā’ with the loc. in both places. In the other passage (D III.16) the P.T.S. also has ‘Vesāliyaṃ piṇḍāya pāvisiṃ’. Syntactically, it is not necessary to alter any of the MSS. since the loc. as well as the acc. is permissible. The loc. in saṅghamajjhе osaranti also belongs to this class (cp. end of para. 164.f.), and the acc. is actually found with this verb osarati. e.g., gāmaṃ osara- M
I.176 “enter- the village”. Similarly the passage: \textit{mātu-kucchismiṃ okkamati} D III.231 “enters into the mother’s womb” occurs with the acc. \textit{-kucchiṃ} at D II.63.

c. The place or spot into which one falls: e.g., \textit{na câssa kānici phalāni bhūmiyaṃ patitāni} M I.366 “none of its fruits are fallen on (onto) the ground”. Similar is the construction in \textit{pakkhanno Māravisaye} Th 1.253 (cp. end §164.f.).

d. With verbs having the sense of submerging and sinking into or in: e.g., \textit{paṭhaviyāpi ummujja-nimmujjaṃ karoti seyyathāpi udake} D I.78 “he dives into the earth and emerges out of it as in water”.

e. With verbs of throwing, casting and the like to denote the place or spot on, onto or into which: e.g., \textit{kālakatañ ca naṃ ... susāne chaḍḍhessanti} D III.8 “they throw him (when he is) dead into the charnal ground”; \textit{tela-doniyā pakkhipitvā} D II.142 “having put into an oil-vat”; cp. \textit{thale khitto} Dh 34 “thrown on the land”.

f. With verbs meaning to keep, place on, over, across etc.: e.g., \textit{samaṃ pādaṃ bhūmiyaṃ nikkipati} D III.146 “he places the foot horizontally (i.e. flat) on the ground”; \textit{rittam pi pattaṃ sīse nikujjeyyumu} D III.203 “they would place an empty bowl over his head”. Similar is the use of the loc. with the verb \textit{karoti} (cp. SS §133 R.l). e.g., \textit{āmse katvāna cīvaraṃ} Th 1.197 “having put the robe over (across) the shoulder”; \textit{taṃ hatthe karitvā} D I.76; II.13; M II.17 “having taken it in(to) his hand” (lit. having put it on his palm). A metaphorical turn of the same idiom is [213] found in the compound verb ‘\textit{manasi-karoti}’. e.g., \textit{sādhukaṃ manasi karotha} D II.2 (204) “take it well into your head” (i.e. reflect well in your mind).
g. With verbs of striking and hitting the spot at or on which the blow is dealt: e.g., āyasmato Vidhurassa sīse pahāraṃ adāsi M I.336 “he gave a blow on the head of the ven. Vidhura”; cp. sīse pahāraṃ adāsi M I.126 “gave a blow on the head”. But the person to whom the blow is given is naturally denoted by the dat. case. e.g., bhikkhunīnaṃ pāṇinā pahāraṃ dadeyya M I.123 “would give a blow with his hand to the nuns” (i.e. would strike the nuns with his hand).

h. With the idiomatic phrases ‘saṅgahaṃ gacchati’ and ‘samodhānaṃ gacchati’ the loc. denotes that within which something is comprised or included or into which something fits. e.g., yāni kānici jaṅgamānaṃ pāṇānaṃ padajātāni sabbāni tāni hatthipade samodhānaṃ gacchati M I.184 “whatever footprints there are of walking animals, all those go into an elephant’s foot” (i.e. are comprised within or included within an elephant’s foot); ye keci kusalā dhammā sabbe te catusu ariyasaccesu saṅgahaṃ gacchanti M I.184 “whatever good things there are, all those are comprised within the four Noble Truths”. A similar loc. is involved in the elliptical construction: Brahmuno pakati-vāṇo anabhisambhavanīyo so devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ cakkhupathasmiṃ D II.244 “For Brahma’s usual appearance is not (sufficiently) materialized as to appear (fall within the scope of or) in the Tāvatiṃsa gods’ vision”. That some such infinitive as patituṃ is to be understood is made clear by the Comy. which has ‘anabhisambhavanīyo ti appattabbo’ (Sum. II.640). The P.T.S. translation has “not sufficiently materialized to impress the vision of the Thirty Three gods”. The loc. here can also be regarded as denoting relation (§174).
§166. The Locative with Verbs.

The loc. also appears in special connection with certain classes of verbs. Here it seems to express notions allied to the fundamental conception of place where. Such are:

a. Verbs denoting the thing touched in binding etc. (cp. SS §139.4). For instance, it may signify that around which, to which or at (by) which the action of tying is performed. e.g., sīse sīsa-veṭhanam bandheyya M II.193 “he would tie the turban around his head”; daḷho thambhe vā khīle upanibaddho M II.232 “tied to a stout pillar or post”; asurindaṃ kaṇṭhe ... bandhanehi bandhitvā S I.221 “having tied the lord of the asuras at (or by) the neck with strings”.

b. Verbs of sticking, adhering, attaching, clinging, hanging on, depending on etc. e.g., rajojallaṃ kāye na upalippati M II.136; D III.158 “dust and dirt do not stick to his body”; pāvalā su nāma te pīṭhakasmiṃ allīnā D III.19,21 “your buttocks are sticking to the chair”; kāyasmiṃ allīnā M II.139 “clinging to the body”; kaṇṭhe āsattena M I.120 “hanging on his neck”; cp. vāto va jālamhi asajjamāno Sn 71 “like the wind not sticking in (on to) the net (i.e. caught in the net)”; nāmarūpasmiṃ asajjamāno Dh 221 “not clinging to name and form”.

c. Verbs of relying, trusting, having faith in etc. e.g., Evaṃ pasanno aham samaṇe Gotame D II.149 “I have such faith in the recluse Gotama”; Sele brāhmaṇe abhippasanno Sn p.105 “extremely pleased (or confident) in the brahmin Sela”; Tathāgate saddham paṭilabhati D I.63; M I.179,267,344; III.33 “conceives faith in the Tathāgata”. The dat. is here the parallel case (§94.a.).
d. Verbs having just the opposite sense, of *doubting*, *being unsettled* or *not, clear in mind, suspecting* and *being disgusted*. Here as well as in the above type (c.) the loc. is expressive of *relation*, i.e. the thing *regarding which*. e.g., i). *dvīsu mahā-purisalakkhaṇesu kaṅkhati vicikicchati nādhimuccati na sampasīdati* M II.135 “he doubts, hesitates to believe in, is not settled with regard to, two signs of the Super-man”; *cattār’ imani bhikkhave bhayāni udak’ orohante pāṭikaṅkhitabbāni* M I.459 “these four dangers (lit. fears) should be expected (lit. suspected) in (the case of) one going into the water”. The gen. is also employed with this verb (§147.c.). ii). With *nibbindati* the loc. appears concurrently with the abl. or the inst. (§126.e.). e.g., *sutavā [215] ariyasāvako rūpasmiṃ nibbindati* M II.20 “the learned disciple is disgusted in (i.e. with, of) form”; cp. *nibbindati bhavagate* Th 2.522 “gets disgusted of what is given to becoming”.

e. Verbs of *catching, taking, seizing* agree with a loc. of *that* (usually a part of the body) *by which* one is caught, the person being denoted by the acc. e.g., *taṃ enaṃ dve balavanto purisā nānābāhāsu gahetvā* M I.365 “him as such two strong men taking by the arms (in various ways)”; *taṃ bhikkhuṃ bāhāyaṃ gahetvā* D I.221; A IV.206; Ud 52 “having taken that monk by the hand”; *pādesu gahetvā* Sn p.32 “taking by the legs”; *eḷakaṃ lomesu gahetvā* M I.228 “having caught the ram by its hairs”; *dubbalataram purisaṃ sīse vā gahetvā khandhe vā gahetvā* M I.121 “taking a weaker man by the head or the body”; *kesesu parāmasitvā* M II.47 “seizing by the hairs”. The inst. of means is not used in this connection, for it is expressly employed to signify that limb or part of the body of the *agent with which* (by which) the action is done (§66.a).
f. With verbs meaning to fall at one’s feet (SS §139.4.), to kneel down or prostrate oneself before, the person before whom such an act of obeisance is done is denoted by the loc. Here the dat. may also be optionally used, implying the person to whom obeisance is done (§96.b.). e.g., atha ca pana samaṇe Gotame evarūpaṃ nipaccakāraṃ karoti S I.178 “even then he performs such low acts of obeisance before the recluse Gotama”; mayi nipaccakāraṃ karonti yathā Bhagavati M II.124 “they fall prostrate before me as before the Blessed One”; cp. Bhagavato pādesu sirasā nipatati Vin. II.192 “he falls (prostrate) with his head before the (or at the) feet of the Blessed One”; karonti kho Vāseṭṭha Sakyā raṇñe Pasenadimhi Kosale nipaccakāraṃ abhivādanaṃ ... sāmīcikammaṃ D III.83 “the Sākyans, Vāseṭṭha, certainly do obeisance and perform acts of greeting ... before King P. of K.”.

§167. The Partitive Locative.

We have seen that the gen. which is the proper case for expressing the partitive notion is capable of denoting not only the whole of which a part is meant but also the multitude of persons or things out of which a selection is made (§144; cp. SS §116). With this latter function of the gen. is logically connected the notion of persons (from) amongst whom some are specified, and this is denoted by the loc. case. Hence in this connection the gen. and the loc. are interchangeable (cp. SS ibid). So Kaccāyana has the rule that in expressing specification (i.e. selection or separation) the loc. or the gen. can optionally be used.4 This loc. is therefore in origin different

4 ‘niddhārane ca’ Kac. 306, enlarged by the vutti as ‘niddhāraṇatthe ca chaṭṭhī vibhatti hoti sattamī ca’.
from that which expresses the persons or multitude *amid* or *among whom* something (event etc.) takes place or an action is performed (§164.e.). With pure adjectives of the comparative or superlative degree the gen. seems to be preferred (§144.d. & e.), but the loc. is by no means rare with such words as *aññatara* and adjectives prefixed by *bahu-* etc. implying comparison.

a. i. When the multitude is denoted by a noun in the plural the loc. is used parallel to the gen. e.g., *etad anuttariyaṃ bhante padhānesu* D III.103,106 “this, Sir, is unique among the exertions”; *imesu pañcasu kāmaguṇesu aññatarasmiṃ* M III.114 “in one among these five kinds of pleasures”; *samaṇesu vā samaṇasammatā* D II.185 “those held in esteem as recluses among the recluses”; cp. *suttesu bahujāgaro* Dh 29 “much awake among the sleeping”; *suttesu jāgarā* S I.3 (V.) “those awake among the sleeping”.

ii. When however the word denoting the multitude is a collective noun (sg.) the loc. is of necessity and the gen. is logically ruled out. e.g., *tassaṃ parisāyaṃ koci* D II.210 “a certain one among the assembly”; cp. *khattiyo seṭṭho jane tasmiṃ ye gotta-patīsārino* M I.358 (V.) “the warrior is the highest among those people who rely on lineage”.

§168. [Partitive Notions]

The above mentioned option in the use of the loc. or gen. has extended even to other partitive notions. Just as the gen., as pointed out before, is capable of denoting the whole of which a part is meant (by the qualified word), so the loc. may sometimes express *that in which* (i.e. of which) something else constitutes [217] a part. It is
usually found with verbs having the sense of: i). declaring, saying, calling; ii). thinking, considering, deeming; and iii). assigning, defining and laying down. In general the loc. with these denotes the thing as part of which or as coming under which something else is characterized, thus:

i. With verbs of declaring etc. e.g., \textit{idam} assa musvādasmīn vadāmi A I.206 “I say this is part of his falsehood”; \textit{idam} kho ahaṃ Udāyi iṅjitasmiṃ vadāmi M I.454 “I declare this, Udāyi, as part of (his) movement”; vuttaṃ kho pan’ etaṃ bhikkhu mayā yaṃ kiṅci vedayitaṃ təm dikkhasmin S IV.216 “It has been declared by me, monk, that whatever is known by feeling comes under sorrow”; \textit{idam} ahaṃ tesaṃ ... sammohavihārasmiṃ vadāmi M I.21,251 “this I declare as part of the complete delusion in which they ... live”. Here the Comy. paraphrases the loc. with the acc. (-vihārapariyāpannaṃ vadāmi’ Ps) treating it as being parallel to the complementary acc. found in the double acc. construction with verbs of speaking, thinking, considering etc. (\textit{vide} §58.b.). The loc. here can reasonably be regarded as a \textit{predicative loc}.

ii. With verbs of considering etc. e.g., nibbānasmiṃ na mañṇati M I.4 “he, does not think (consider) it as (part of) nibbāna”; paṭhaviyā na mañṇati M I.4 “he does not think (it as part of) earth”. The P.T.S. translation of this passage has “in the earth” for \textit{paṭhaviyā}, which would be syntactically untenable according to the above explanation.

iii. With verbs of assigning etc. e.g., taṃca sukhasmiṃ paññāpeti S IV.228 “he lays it down as (part of) happiness”; na kho āvuso Bhagavā sukhaṃ yeva vedanaṃ sandhāya sukhasmiṃ paññāpeti M
I.400 “the Blessed One, friend, does not rank (a thing) as (part of) pleasure just because of pleasant feeling”.

b. In all these examples, it may be observed, the loc. being used parallel to the *predicative acc.* (of apposition) in fact plays the part of a complement to the main verb of the sentence. The loc. here, as pointed out above (a.), is a part of the predicate. [218] When the main verb is a form of *bhū* “to be” the construction appears as a proper *predicative loc*.

i. e.g., *idaṃ pi assa hoti sīlasmiṃ* D I.63 “this is (part of) his goodness”; *idaṃ pi’ ssa hoti caraṇasmiṃ* D I.100 “this too is part of his conduct”. Commenting on the former, Buddhaghosa has ‘*idaṃ pi assa bhikkhuno pāṇātipātāveramaṇī sīlasmiṃ ekaṃ sīlaṃ hoti*’ which clearly shows that he regarded the locative as *partitive* (*niddhāraṇatthe*). He too points out that it is employed in the sense of the nom. in its complementary role as predicate. The construction accordingly borders on the *predicative and partitive* notions.

ii. Sometimes the same is found without the verb. Then it forms the actual predicate of the sentence. e.g., *idaṃ pi me tapasmiṃ* D III.44 “this too part of my asceticism”; *kiñca bhikkhave bhikkhuno āyusmiṃ* D III.77 “what is (the purpose in) life to a monk?”. With this latter we may compare the gen. used with the phrase ‘*ko pana vādo*’ (§156.a.).

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5 *paccatta-vacanatthe vā etaṃ bhummaṃ, Mahā-Āṭṭhakathāyaṃ hi idaṃ pi tassa samaṇassa sīlanti ayaṃ eva atho vutto ... idaṃ assa hoti sīlasmiṃ idaṃ assa sīlaṃ hoṇīti atho* Sum. I .183.

6 Comy. ‘*idaṃ pi kammaṇaṃ mama eva tapasmiṇī; paccatte vā bhummaṇi idaṃ pi mama tapo tī*’ Sum.III.838.
iii. This same use is sometimes found in more abstract idioms. e.g.,
yathā taṃ bhikkhave avisayasmiṃ M I .85 “because, monks, it does not come within the scope (of ...)”; idam tesam hoti asanasmin D II.208 “this is the nature of their sitting (i.e. the order of their seats)”. In the former the syntactical nature of the loc. is not far from its simple local sense, while in the latter it borders on the loc. of relation.

§169. The Adnominal Locative.

Most of the adverbal uses described in the preceding paragraphs find their logical counterparts in the adnominal application of this case. (cp. KVG §539; SS §135). Of these the great majority are descriptive in sense and stand parallel to the usual gen. of description (§144.d.), to which however the analogy is not restricted. The loc. appears adnominally in the sense of place where, place gone to and the like; in fact it can stand for any of the adverbal uses with a few exceptions. But this does not detract from the validity of the general observation that the loc. is fundamentally an adverbal case, though its psychological connection with the verb is not so clearly defined as in the other cases. For the loc. is more auxiliary (ādhāraka) to the progress of the action (kriyā) than instrumental (sādhaka).

a. Primarily it is found qualifying a person or thing as the loc. of place where or time at which implied with the notion of living or being conveyed by some such verb understood. e.g., parito gāmesu

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7 Comy. ‘Idam tesam catunnam āsane (v.l. āsanam) hoti’ Sum.II.639. Here the v.l. shows the syntactical confusion of the loc. and the nom. in predicative sense.
manussā evāṁ āhaṃsu D II.264 “people (living) in the villages all around said thus: ...”; dasasu lokadhātusu\textsuperscript{8} devatā sannipatitā D II.139,255 “gods (living) in ten world-systems being assembled”; vigatavalāhake deve abhido majjhantika-samayaṁ suriyo M II.42; D II.182 “(like) the heavenly sun in a cloudless sky at noon time”.

b. In the above examples the gen. can be substituted for the loc.. In the following the gen. appears even preferable, though in such instances the loc. is frequently used: Pakati esā Kassapa lokasmiṁ D I.168 “This (is), Kassapa, the nature of (lit. in) the world”; cakkhuṁ loke antaradhāvissati D II.140 “the Eye of the World will disappear”; na c’ assa kāye balamattā D I.72 “he has no strength at all of (lit. in) body”; loke vivattacchaddo D II.17 “one who has lifted the veil of the world”. In the last example the loose position of the loc. outside the compound would make the rendering “with regard the world” (taking the loc. as denoting relation) more plausible. But at any rate all the above locatives have the general character of qualifying the nouns to which they are applied.

c. The above observations hold good in the case of the following examples as well, where the loc. is clearly parallel to the gen. of possession though in a markedly abstract sense. We may compare such English usages as ‘the good in ...’ or ‘the fault in’. e.g., nekkhamme ānisamṣaṁ D I.110; II.41 “the advantage of (lit. good in) renunciation”; iddhipāṭihāriye ādināvaṁ D I.212 “the evil in the performance of miracles”; kāmesu ādināvaṁ D II.274 “the evil in pleasures of the senses”; jātidhamme ādināvaṁ viditvā M I.162 “having seen the evil of what is subject to birth”. [220]

\textsuperscript{8} cp. v.l, ‘dasahi lokadhātūhi devatā sannipatitā’ (abl.) D II.283.
d. Apart from such uses, the loc. sometimes may stand for other logical connections as in: *sīlesu paripūrakārino* D II.202, where the loc. seems to be used for the inst.-like gen. (§149) with verbs of *filling*, or denotes pure *relation*. Another *adnominal* use directly derived from the *adverbal* construction is found with nouns (substantives and adjectives) having the sense of *faith, confidence*, and their opposites *disgust, doubt, hesitation* etc. (§166.c. & d.). There again the notion of *relation* is quite conspicuous. e.g., *Buddhe aveccappasādena* D II.93 “with inviolable faith in the Buddha”; *Āḷāre Kālāme uḷāraṃ pasādaṃ* D III.131 “Great faith in Āḷāra Kālāma”; *mayi kaṅkhā* D I.105 “doubt in me”; *kaṅkhā vā vimati vā Buddhe vā dhamme vā saṅghe vā paṭipadāya vā* D II.154 “doubt or perplexity concerning the (or in the) Buddha, the Doctrine, the Order or the Path”.

§170. The Dative-like Locative.

We have seen earlier how the loc. sometimes expresses the person or thing *towards* which an action is directed (§166.c. & f.). Pāli, just as Sanskrit (*vide* SS §145), extends that idiom to many kindred conceptions, and thus the loc. comes to be employed in such nuances as would otherwise be construable with a dat.. It may stand parallel to such constructions as the dat. of *remote object*, of *advantage* and *disadvantage*, of *concern* and *viewpoint*, of *possession* or the *dativus finalis*. With some of these conceptions as, for instance, *possession*, the gen. is capable of being used parallel to the dat..

a. It is concurrent with the dat. of the *remote object* when used with such verbs as those of *giving, bestowing, conferring, devolving* and the like. Kaccāyana provides for these and similar uses by the rule
sampadāne ca (313), whereby he means that the loc. is also permissible in certain functions of the dat. Why this optional construction is possible can easily be understood when we consider the psychological relation between such English idioms as ‘give something to a person’ (dat.) and bestow or confer something upon a person’ (loc.). e.g., Tathāgate [221] arahante sammā-sambuddhe dānaṃ deti M III.254 (cp. āyasmante Sāriputte M III.263) “gives alms to (lit. bestows on) the T., the Saint, the perfectly Enlightened One”; Saṅghe Gotamī dehi M III.253 “give, Gotamī, to the Order”. This construction is ad nominally found with nouns and participles derived from the root dā. e.g., nigaṇṭhesu pi dāne samādapeti M I.379 “he makes (me) give even to the naked ascetics”; anupanīte dinnam M II.154 “what is given to one uninitiated”. It may also stand for the dat. of remote object in the double acc. construction with compound verbs having karoti as the second member (§58.c.ii). e.g., karonti raññe ... nipaccakāraṃ ... D III.83 “do obeisance to the king ...”, where the actual verb is nipaccakāraṃ-karoti; na me tesu bhikkhusu anusāsanī karāṇīyā ahosi M I.124 “there was no advice to be given to those monks by me”.

ii. With verbs such as samviddahati “bestow, provide for” and samavossajjati “devolves, confers, on or upon”, the loc. is the more appropriate construction logically though the dat. is not ruled out. e.g., Govinde brāhmaṇe sabba-kiccāni samavossajjītvā D II.267 “having devolved all duties on G. the brahmin”; rakkhā-varaṇaguttim samviddahati khattiyesu ... migapakhīsu A I.110 “he bestows (confers) protection, safety and shelter upon warriors ... and birds and beasts”.

b. It can also stand for the *dativus commodi et incommodi*. Here in many instances the construction borders on the loc. of *relation*. e.g., *abhūtaṃ vacanaṃ ca tasmiṃ rūhati* D III.183 “false reports too arise against (or about, regarding) him”; *no ca kumāre bhavissati antarāyo* Sn 691 “whether there would be any harm to (on) the prince”; *api nu so puriso evaṃkāri tasmiṃ kulle, kicca-kāri assa* M I.135 “But would he in doing so be doing the right thing for (with regard to) the raft”; *attānaṃ āvikattā satthari vā viññūsu vā brahmacārisu vā* M II.128 “discloser of himself to the Master, to the wise and the holy”.

c. We discussed elsewhere (§163.a.vi) the abstract use of the loc. as denoting the *person in whom* something (trait, virtue, fault etc.) is said to exist, with verbs like *saṃvijjati* etc.. Closely related to it is the loc. found with or implying verbs *bhavati* and [*222*] *atthi*, which, denoting as it does the thing or person to whom something is attributed, coincides logically with the *dat.* or *gen. of possession*. e.g., *cattāro’ me bhikkhave acchariyā abbhutā dhammā Ānande* D II.145 “there are, monks, these four wonderful and marvellous qualities in (to or for) Ānanda” (i.e. *he has* these four ...); *tayidam (domanassaṃ) Ghaṭīkāre kumbhakāre natthi na ca bhavissati* M II.51 “that too is neither in G. the potter nor will be” (cp. v.l. *Ghaṭīkārassa* etc.); *n’atthi c’etaṃ amhesu ...* D I.3 “this too is not in us” (i.e. we do not have this also).

d. In several instances the loc. may even stand as a concurrent idiom for the so-called *dativus finalis*, especially, as Speyer points out with regard to Skr. (SS §146), for the infinitive-like dat.. It is found:

i. With verbs of *wishing*, *desiring*, *resolving* etc. and nouns denoting *longing*, *eagerness*, *anxiety* etc. *jīvite apekhaṃ karohi* D II.191
“quicken thy longing after life” (P.T.S. Translation); cp. kāme nâpekkhate cittaṃ Sn 435 “the mind does not long for pleasure; guttīsu rakkhāvaraṇesu ussuko D III.148 “anxious for the protection and sheltering ...”.

ii. With verbs of inducing, inciting, rousing, directing and training: e.g., sakaṃ parisaṃ uyyojesi Bhagavati brahmacariye M I.524 “roused his group for the Higher Life under the Blessed One” (i.e. “urged them to practise the Higher Life ...”); ananulomike kāyakamme samādapetvā A I.106 “having directed (him) to improper bodily action”; dāne samādapeti M I.379 “induces to give ...”; kumāraṃ rajje samanusāsati M II.75 “he exhorts the prince ... for kingship”; yannūnâhaṃ Rāhulāṃ āsavānaṃ khaye vineyyaṃ M III.277 “well would it be if I were to train Rāhula for the destruction of the banes”; cp. parallel idiom with dat. vinayāya sikkhati Sn 974, and with acc. (of purpose or direction) nibbānaṃ sikkhati SN 940,1061.

iii. With verbs of employing, ordaining, enjoining, anointing etc. e.g., kammante payojeyya D I.71 “he would employ (invest) that for business” (lit. in business); Govindiye abhisiṅcissāmi [223] D II.232 “I shall anoint (him) for the Chief-Stewardship” (or appoint to ...); these uses are very much like the simple loc. of place where (the matter in which) and in the following it implies location quite plainly: pettike taṃ ṭhāne ṭhapayissāmi D II.232 “I shall install him in his paternal office”.

§171. The Instrumental-Like Locative.

The various nuances expressed by the loc. in Pāli just as in Skr., bring it into contact not only with the dat. but even with other cases, especially the inst. Kaccāyana lays down (312) that the loc. is used sometimes in the sense of the inst., the vutti illustrating it with such examples as ‘pattesu piṇḍāya caranti’ and ‘pathesu gacchanti’. There are a good many instances of the loc. concurring with an inst. of means in general, including such divisions of it as that of instrument, cause and even of agency.

a. e.g., sīhassa migaraṇṇo vighāse⁹ saṃvaḍḍho jara-sigālo ... D III.24 “the wretch of a fox fattened on (by) the broken meat of the lion, the king of beasts”; sabbesu dhammesu anuppalitto M I.171 “unsmeared by all things”; upamāyaṃ idh’ ekacce viṇñūpurisā bhāsitassa atthaṃ ājānanti A V.194 “by a simile some wise people in this world understand the meaning of what is said”; so cakkhunā rūpaṃ disvā piyarūpe sārajjati appiyarūpe byāpajjati¹⁰ M I.266 “seeing an object with his eye he is pleased with the pleasant and irritated by the unpleasant”; pāde¹¹ pādaṃ acchādāya M I.354; D II.137,190 “covering (ā + chād) one foot with the other”; apadāne sobhati paññā A I.102 “wisdom shines through (in) character”.

b. The loc. also has more or less the instrumental sense of “according to” (vide inst. of cause §68.b.) with words denoting restraint, training or conducting oneself and with the verb naccati “dances”. In the former case it expresses the code or precept according to which (lit.

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¹⁰ Usually with the inst. (vide P.T.S. Dict. vyāpajjati).
¹¹ pādena at D II.137,190.
in which, cp. Eng. ‘to be trained in’) one is trained etc. and in the latter denotes that (music, band, orchestra etc.) to the accompaniment of which one dances, sings etc. e.g., pāṭimokkhe saṃvaro D II.50 “restraint in (i.e. according to) the Higher Discipline”; sikkhati sikkhāpadesu D I.63,250 “trains (himself) in the precepts”; ariyadhamme avinīto S III.42 “not trained according to the Noble Law”; carissāma Govindassâtusāsane D II.244 (V.) “we shall conduct ourselves according to the advice of Govinda”; turiye naccati naṭṭakī Th I.267 “the dancing-girl dances to the (accompaniment of) instrumental music”.

§172. Locative Parallel to the Instrumental-Ablative.

We have seen that in a good many categories there is no actual line of demarcation between the syntactical spheres of the inst. and the abl.. The logical relations expressed by the inst. of separation, of comparison and so on, for instance, properly belong to the logical scope of the abl.. Such points of contact of these two cases find their expression even in their common parallelism with the loc.. In the following instances the loc. is logically concurrent with the abl. but there is at the same time nothing to prevent the substitution of the inst. for the latter. Most of them border on the loc. of relation.

a. In denoting separation: tassa taṃ cittaṃ hīne vimuttaṃ D III.258 “his mind freed from low things”; cp. inst. with vimutta (§73.b.); ko su nāma dāni maṃ imasmiṃ kule paribhindi A IV.87 “who indeed estranged me (broke me away) from this family?”. Here, it may be remarked, the loc. seems to be preferred to the abl. because the noun expressing the thing from which separation is implied denotes a place. If it were a person the abl. or the inst. would be given
preference. Similarly we find such constructions as *kulesu sakkariyamānaṃ* D III.44 “being respected in (or by) the families”, where the *inst. of agency* would preferably be used if the noun were personal. Similarly: *so taṃ rukkhamāṃ mūle chindeyya* A I.204 “he would cut that tree at (by, from) the root”. Here the abl. is actually found. e.g., *taṃ rukkhamāṃ mūlato chetvā* M I.366 “having cut that tree from the root”, where the abl. borders on the notion of *side on or at which* and that of *point from which*. It is significant of the syntactical fusion of these cases that the inst. too occurs, this time coordinately with the loc. in similar context. e.g., *so taṃ rukkhamāṃ mūle chindeyya, mūlena chetvā ...* S II.88 “he would cut that tree at the root and having cut it by the root ...”.

b. In denoting *cause* or *means* (process through which): e.g., *Taṃ pi Bhagavā na manasākasi yathā taṃ anuttare upadhi saṅkhaye vimutto* S I.125 “The Blessed One did not even ponder on this, being emancipated through the destruction of the bases of becoming”. Here *saṅkhayā* would be the usual construction or rarely *saṅkhayena*, i.e., the abl. or the inst. of *cause*. These varied uses of the same idiom show the futility of attempting to treat of syntax according to absolute categories. The same relation may be expressed in many different ways according to the context, mostly determined by the principal verb of each sentence. This goes to support the observation that the laws governing syntactical change are psychological and not merely logical.

§173. The Ablative-Like Locative.

Apart from the above uses where the loc. can be explained either by the abl. or the inst., it is frequently employed in some other functions
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properly belonging to the abl.. Most of these uses too border on the loc. of relation and some even on that of *cause* (*nimitta*).

a. It is chiefly found with verbs of *receiving* and *obtaining* such as *labhati*, and those of *expecting, seeking, learning* such as *paccāsiṃsati* and *uggaṇhāti* (cp. KVG §538.1.). e.g., *Atha kho Raṭṭhapālo kulaputto mātāpitūsu pabbajjaṃ alabhamāno* M II.57. “Thereupon, Raṭṭhapāla, the householder’s son not obtaining permission to leave home from (*lit. at, i.e. at the hands of*) his parents”; *api nu so labhetha brāhmaṇesu āsanaṃ vā udakaṃ vā tī* D I.98 “would he receive a seat or water (for washing the feet) from the brahmins (at the hands of the brahmins)”; *kiṃ pana ... bhikkhu-saṅgho mayi paccāsiṃsati* D II.100 “what indeed ... does the Order of monks expect from [226] (of) me”. The prefix *pati-*-, it may be observed, being a *karmapravacaniya*, should normally be construed with the acc., gen. or the abl. (*vide* Pāṇ. II.3.11). The abl. however is not found in the Nikāyas. The gen. (or the acc.) occurs side by side with the loc. e.g., *na ... sāvakēsu anusāsanīṃ paccāsiṃsāmi mama* (v.l. *mamaṃ*) *yeva sāvakā anusāsanīṃ paccāsiṃsanti* M II.10 “nor ... do i seek instruction from my disciples, it is they who seek instruction from me”.

b. The loc. is also used with verbs and nouns of *fearing, trembling* etc. to show the *source from which* fear is anticipated (or *in which* it arises). Here the abl. as well as the gen. can be concurrent. The loc. in these instances too can be regarded as denoting *cause* or *relation* (*nimitta-sattamī*). The construction however is mostly found in verse. e.g., *etaṃ bhayaṃ maraṇe pekkhamāno* S I.2 “anticipating this fear from (*lit. in) death”; *maraṇe me bhayaṃ natthi* Th 1.20 “I have no fear from (*lit. in) death”; *anumattesu vajjesu bhayadassāvī* D I.63
“seeing fear (danger) even in the smallest vices”; sīho va saddesu asantasanto Sn 71 “not trembling at sounds like the lion”; asantasaṃ jīvitasaṅkhayamhi Sn 74 “not trembling at (the prospect of) the end of life”.

c. Pāli grammarians regard the loc. found with verbs of disappearing etc. as being used instead of the abl. of separation. Kaccāyana, by the aphorism yena vā ’dassanaṃ (276), allows optional construing with the abl. or the loc. such words as antarahito. But the loc. can be regarded in such examples as expressive, abstractly no doubt, of the place in which the action of disappearing or vanishing takes place. Here we have one more instance of a syntactical change brought about by a difference in viewpoint which is psychological. e.g., bodhirukkhamūle antarahito D II.4 “disappearing from (lit. at) the foot of the tree of Enlightenment”; evam evaṃ brahmaloke antarahito Bhagavato purato pāturahosi S I.137 “in this wise disappearing from the world of the Brahmās he manifested himself before the Blessed One”. [227]

§174. The Locative of Cause and Relation.

It has been shown earlier, especially with regard to the adnominal and the abl.-, inst.- and the dat.-like locatives, that the loc. in those instances usually borders on the abstract notion of place where and that of relation (the thing concerning or regarding which). In some instances, such as the inst.-like loc., the ‘relation’ expressed even implied cause. In fact there is no real boundary-line separating the nimitta-sattamī the name given to the loc. denoting cause, motive or purpose by local grammarians – and that denoting relation. The former seems to be but a division of the latter’s sphere of
application. The following distinctions are made merely for the sake of convenience and do not affect the logical unity underlying all such uses.

a. *The Loc. of Relation* in Pâli has a pronounced employment as compared with its almost negligible occurrence in the older language (cp. Speyer SS §141.6). Speyer refers to it only in its narrow sense of ‘the point in which’. In most instances it can be rendered by the Eng. phrases such as ‘concerning, as regards, in the matter of, with regard to’ and the like. The *relation* expressed is usually with regard to the whole statement, in which case the loc. is *adverbal*. e.g., *Iti-h-idam* Sakuludāyiṣsa paribbājakassa parisā Sakuludāyiṃ paribbājakaṃ antarāyam akāsi Bhagavati brahmacariye M II.39 “In such wise did the wanderer Sakuludāyi’s company oppose him in the matter of (practising) the Higher Life under the Blessed One”; *pubbe ananussutesu dhammesu cakkhuṃ udapādi* D II.32 “insight arose regarding previously unheard of things”. In some instances, while the notion of *relation* is not lacking, the loc. may be rendered by ‘on’ or even ‘in’. e.g., *ekaccesu ṭhānesu sameti* D I.162 “there is agreement on (i.e. concerning) certain points”; *ālokite vilokite sampajānakāri hoti* M I.57 “he acts mindfully with regard to (lit. in) looking forward or sideways”; *abhikkante ... sampajānakāri* D II.95 “acting mindfully in going ...”. In the last two examples the loc. being of present participles has also the temporal sense of “when”.

[228]

b. But sometimes the ‘relation’ implied may be only with regard to a particular thing expressed by one word in the sentence, in which case it is *adnominal*. e.g., *indriyesu gutta-dvāro* D I.63 “having guarded doors with regard to the senses”; *kāmesu micchācārā* D II.13 “wrong
conduct with regard to the pleasures of sense”; aparapaccayā satthu-sāsane D II.14 “independent of others as regards the message of the Master”. In such instances the loc. can be even translated by the Eng. ‘in’, but nonetheless it is expressive of relation rather than of the notion where, however much abstract it may be in sense. To this class also belongs the loc. attending on the phrase ‘ko pana vādo’, denoting the person with regard to or about whom the speaking is implied. We have referred to its use with the gen. earlier (§156.a.). e.g., ko pana vādo manussabhūte A I.161 lit. “what talk about a human-being?” (implying “it is unnecessary to talk about a human-being or in the case of a human-being”).

§175. [Further Uses]

There are many other modifications of the same idiom too varied to be treated exhaustively. The following division serves a practical purpose:

a. In the adnominal use this loc. seems to border on the gen. on the whole. It is found with such nouns (substantives and adjectives) of ability and skill as kusala, kevala, kovida, katāvī etc. which we have earlier discussed under the gen. (§151.a). Kaccāyana enjoins the promiscuous use of the two cases with such words. The loc. however is not so copiously attested in the Nikāyas as the gen.. The former seems to be employed only when the notion of relation is conspicuous. e.g., hatthasmiṃ pi katāvī assasmiṃ pi katāvā ... M II.69 “experienced with regard to (the riding of) the horse as well as the elephant”.

12 ‘sāmissarādhipati-dāyādasakkhi-paṭibhū-pasutakusalehi ca’ (305).
b. The same loc. is sometimes found employed, as in Skr. (cp. SS §141.6.), to denote the *quality*, *art*, etc. in which one *exceals*, is *weak*, *equal* or *unequal*, or that *in point of* which one is *distinguished* as pure, defiled etc. e.g., *añño samaṇo vā brāhmaṇo vā Bhagavato bhiyyo ’bhiññatara yadidaṃ sambodhiyaṃ* D III.99 “another recluse or brahmin much more penetrating in point of enlightenment [229] than the Blessed One”; *evaṃ so tasmiṃ ṭhāne parisuddho hoti* D III.46 “thus as regards this point he is pure”.

c. With various verbs of *speaking*, *explaining*, *preaching*, *asking*, *disputing*, *conversing* etc. the loc. denotes the topic or subject *on*, *about*, *over* or *regarding* which the speaking etc. is done. This seems to border on the *nimitta-sattamī* more than any other loc. of *relation*, especially in its application with verbs of asking. e.g., *Bhagavā dhammaṃ deseti kusalesu dhammesu* D III.102 “the Blessed One preaches the Doctrine with regard to the good things”; *Bhagavā dhammaṃ deseti padhānesu* D III.103 et. seq. “the Blessed One preaches (the Doctrine) on (the subject of) exertions”; ... *uppattīsu vyākaroti* D II.201 “makes declarations as to (regarding) the births ...”; *pucchāmi Brāhmāṇaṃ Sanaṅkumāraṃ ... paravediyesu* D II.241 “I question the Brahmā S. on matters others would fain know”, where the loc. is used in place of the usual acc. in the double acc. construction with *pucchāmi* (§58.e.); but sometimes this loc. of relation occurs with the double acc. e.g., *Tatra maṃ aññataro tāpasa brahmacāri Nigrodho nāma adhijigucche pañhaṃ pucchi* D I.176 “there a certain ascetic-student named Nigrodha asked me about ‘the higher forms of austere scrupulousness of life’ (P.T.S.”); *ko nu kho pahoti samaṇena Gotamena saddhiṃ asmiṃ vacane paṭimantetum* M II.147 “who can dispute with recluse G. on this topic?”; *abhisaṅṇā-nirodhe kathā u dapādi* D I.177 “the talk fell on the (lit.
arose concerning the) higher cessation of perception”. Similar is the loc. with anusāsati “instructs”. e.g., khattiye ... rajje anusāsi D II.236 “instructed the princes ... on kingship”.

§176. The Locative of Reason and Motive.

From the last two paragraphs it may be observed that the loc. in some instances not only denoted relation (the thing regarding which) but even implied a causal notion at the same time (the thing on account of which). It is curious how the local grammarians while overlooking the wider category of relation – Kaccāyana only mentions specifically the loc. with words like [230] sāmi but does not seem to have grasped the fundamental unity of conception as we understand by the notion of relation – had observed and provided for the comparatively rare use which they call the nimitta-sattamī. We do not agree with Speyer (SS §148) in his inclusion of the loc. of reference (i.e. relation) in the nimitta-sattamī of the Indian grammarians. On the other hand the conception of the orthodox school merely constitutes a division of the wider category of relation. But he is undoubtedly justified in postulating a logical connection between the dat.-like loc. and the so-called nimitta-sattamī. The former denotes the spot towards which there is movement and this may be applied broadly to signify the person or thing towards whom or which some action is directed in other terms, that on account of which something is done. He adds: “Speaking exactly, the dat.-like loc is but a consequence of this general faculty to denote that about which one is engaged” (SS §147.IV.). The

13 ‘sāmissarādhipati-dāyādasakkhi-paṭibhū-pasutakusalehi ca’ (305).
14 ‘kammakaraṇanimittatthesu sattamī’ Kac. 312.
conventional examples of the grammarians, which Speyer himself follows, do not however occur in the canonical literature. In its simplest form it signifies the cause for some action as, for instance, in: sarīrabhaṅge siyā sampahāro D II.166 (V.) “there would be a quarrel over the distribution of the relics”; mama sāvakā adhisīle sambhāventi M II.9 “the disciples respect me for my higher virtue” (cp. adhipaṇṇāya M II.10); idha khattiya khattiyāṃ kismicid eva pakaraṇe khuramunḍaṃ karitvā D I.98 “the princes having inflicted the punishment of shaving off the head on one (of their fellows) for some offence or other …”; kismiñci-d-eva karaṇe … jīvitā voropesuṇṭ A IV.65 “killed (him) … for some offence (matter) or other”.

§177. [Further Uses]

a. With words denoting love, hatred, sympathy, antipathy, friendship, enmity, anger, pity, compassion and jealousy etc., Pāli just as Skr. (SS §148) employs a loc. similar to the nimitta-sattamī. The sense of “towards, against, for” is here quite conspicuous. e.g., atthi me tumhesu anukampā M I.12 “I have pity on (towards) you”; sattesu kāruṇṇataṃ paṭicca D II.38 “owing to (his) compassion for beings”; sabrahmacārīsu kupito [231] A V.80; M I.101 “angered with (against) the co-celibates”; purisesu mānasam D II.13 “a love for (other) men”; ańñamańṇaññi cittāni padūsenti D I.20 “set their hearts at enmity against each other”; paralābhaskāragaru-kāramānanavandanapūjanāsu issati upadussati issam bandhati A 15 ‘dīpi cammesu haṁnate’ and ‘kuṇjaro dantesu haṁnate’ common to both Skr. and Pāli grammarians; vide Kāś. on Pāṇ. II.3.36 and vuttī on Kac. 312, Mog.II.35.
16 Comy. ‘sarīra-bhaṅga-nimittam dhātu-koṭṭhāsa hetu’ Sum.II.60.
17 Comy. ‘kismicid eva dose’ Sum. I .267.
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II.203 “he is jealous for, angered against and breeds envy towards the gain, honour, respect, worship and homage that others receive”.

b. Under the *abstract* use of the loc. (vide §163.a.vi.) we may also place the following where the loc. though capable of being rendered by the Eng. ‘in’, is still syntactically far removed from the pure *local* or *temporal* function: *porohacce rame* D II.243 “I delight in the office of chaplain”; *tasmā ’haṃ na gehe rame* D II.243 “therefore I do not delight in (life at) home”. Here the inst. is the concurrent idiom (§71.a). When, however, it occurs with the past participles of such verbs as *ramati*, *yuñjati* and others like *niviṭṭha*, *gathita*, *giddha* and even pure adjectives of the type of *piya* and *manāpa*, the loc. logically borders on the *nimitta-sattamī* (cp. SS §148). e.g., *ucchepake vate ratā* M II.7 “devoted to (engaged in) the vow of eating the leavings”; *amussā itthiyā sāratto* M II.224 “attached to this woman”; *abhirato paviveke* D I.60 “devoted to solitude”; *adhicitte yuttaṃ* M I.451 “attached to (engaged in) higher thought”; *hatapahate niviṭṭho* M I.286 “given to killing and slaying”; *pañcakāma-guṇe gathitā* D I.246 “intoxicated with the five-fold pleasure of sense”; *kāmesu giddho* D III.107 “avaricious for pleasures of the sense”. All these are included in the general category of *relation*.

§178. [Loc. of Disposition]

In general the loc. may denote a *disposition* or *behaviour* towards somebody (cp. SS §149). Then it is synonymous, as Speyer points out, with the construction *paṭi + acc.* (cp. Pāṇinī example ‘Devadatta sādhur mātari or mātaramī prati’, corresponding to which Moggallāna gives ‘sādhu Devadatto mātaramabhī’ II.10). In the Nikāyas the most conspicuous use of this idiom is with the verbs
paṭipajjati and some other compounds of the same root. e.g., kathaṃ mayā bhante mātugāme [232] paṭipajjāmāti D II.141 “how shall we, Sir, conduct ourselves towards the women-folk?”; tathārūpāsu (kaññāsu) cārittamā ṁāpajjītā hoti M I.268 “he commits misbehaviour even towards such (girls)”. But this loc. is not restricted to such verbs alone. It may occur wherever the notion of towards someone is implied by the predicate. Such idioms as ‘cittaṃ āghāteti’, ‘samannesanam karoti’ and ‘daṇḍam nidahati’ are always construed with a loc. of the person, perhaps with the exception of the first where the dat. is not an unlikely alternative. In the other two the loc. is actually due to the sense of the noun and not to any peculiarity of the verbs karoti and nidahati. e.g., Sāriputta-Moggallānesu cittaṃ āghātetvā S I.151 “having incited his heart to hatred against Sāriputta and Moggallāna”; ... Tathāgate samannesanā kātabbā M I.317 “... a search should be directed towards the Tathāgata”; cp. sabhesu bhūtesu nidhāya daṇḍam Sn 35 “having laid aside the weapon against all beings”.

§179. The Locative with Local and Temporal Sense.

a. The Loc. of Distance. The loc. may denote not only place where but also the distance at which one thing or fact is from another (cp. SS §144.9). According to orthodox grammarians the loc. or the acc. can optionally be used to denote distance but if an internal of time is to be signified the loc. alone is to be used. In denoting space the loc. can stand not only for the Eng. ‘at’ but also for ‘within’ e.g., yannūnāhaṁ imāsu tālantarikāsu dhanu-sate dhanu-sate pokkharanīyo māpeyyaṁ D II.178 “well would it be if I were to cause

18 vide Speyer SS §144.R.1. citing Patañjali I. p. 455.
ponds to be constructed in the spaces between these palms at every hundred bow-lengths”; suneyyāma taṃ Bhagavantaṃ dasasu yojanesu M II.90 “if we could but hear that Blessed One within or at (a distance of) ten leagues (sci. from here)”. In this idiom the point from which distance is counted is denoted by the abl. and the loc. marks the intervening space implied between the two limits of reckoning ab quo and ad quem.

§180. [The Loc. of Time]

The Loc. of Time. This is, generally speaking, only a narrow division of the broader conception of the loc. of circumstance which also includes the absolute use. Logically no strict line of demarcation can be drawn between the idea of time at which and that of circumstance under which something happens. So even Kaccāyana has one rule for both functions, viz., kālabhāvesu ca (315) which the vutti explains as meaning that the loc. should be employed to signify the time (kāla) in which or the circumstance (bhāva) under which the agent performs the action.\(^\text{19}\) Since the latter includes under this loc. such examples as ‘pubbaṇhasamaye gato’ and also others of the type of ‘gosu duyhamānāsū gato’ (absolute) and ‘duddhāsū āgato’ (circumstance), it is clear that according to the orthodox tradition the loc. absolute and that of circumstance were regarded as distinct variations of the same loc. of time. This last denotes such notions as the time in or at which or within which and is the logical counterpart of the loc. of place where for it similarly expresses when an action takes place. The acc. is here the concurrent idiom (§46). e.g., tāyaṃ velāyaṃ imaṃ udānaṃ udānesi D II.136 “at that time the Blessed

\(^{19}\) ‘kālabhāvesu ca kattari payujjamāne sattamī vibhatti hoti’.
One uttered this solemn utterance”; yasmiṃ samaye uppajjanti saññi
tasmiṃ samaye hoṭṭi ti D I.180 “at which time the perceiving arise at
that time it exists”; cp. ... tāsu tās’ veva jātisu D II.91 (V.) “in various
births ...”

§181. [The Loc. of Circumstance]

The Loc. of Circumstance, as pointed out before, is the general
conception under which the notions of time at which etc. are
included. In the case of the temporal loc., as may be seen from the
foregoing examples, the word in the loc. is always one that denotes
time such as samaya, velā, kāla, jāti etc., but when implying
circumstance it is not necessarily so. Generally it denotes the
circumstance (accompanying the prevailing event) under which the
action comes to pass (cp. Speyer SS §143.8). e.g., tathārūpāsu
āpadāsu bhogehi pariyodhāya vattanti A II.68 “In such (times of)
distress they safeguard themselves by means of the wealth (in
reserve)”; app’ ekadā nimantane pi bhuṅjāmi sālīnaṃ odanaṃ ... M
II.7 “at other times I partake of the meals of rice ... at the invitation
(of someone else)”; etarahi vā mamaccaye vā attadīpā viharissanti S
V.154 “now or on my [234] demise they will live as islands unto
themselves”. In the last two examples the loc. is interchangeable with
the inst.. In fact the second accaye has as v.l. the form accayena
which is regularly employed elsewhere. Sometimes this borders on
the loc. of relation. e.g., Dutiye ca ... antānantaṃ lokassa paññāpenti
D I.22 “Even in the second case ... they maintain that the world is
finite or infinite”; cp. kasmā na paridevesi evarūpe mahabbhaye Th.
1.706 “why do you not lament at (in time of) such great danger”;
maraṇasmiṃ na socati Th. 1.712 “he does not grieve (in time of or)
over death”. Under this loc. Speyer places the word kāle “in due
time” which occurs in Pāli only in gāthā as the concurrent idiom for kālena which is usually found in prose. e.g., annañca laddhā vasanañca kāle Sn 971 “having received food and raiment in due time”.

§182. The Locative Absolute.

The absolute construction of any case plays the part of a subordinate clause to the principal sentence. As regards the origin of this employment there is diversity of opinion. We have seen that the absolute use of the gen. does not represent an isolated construction but there is a logical connection between it and the main sentence. It is either temporal or has the sense of notwithstanding or in spite of (§158). In the case of the loc. too the temporal idea seems to be the main significance of the absolute construction. Macdonell thinks that it started from the ordinary use of the loc. (VGS §205.1). Combined with a participle it came to be regarded as a temporal or qualifying (i.e. adverbial) clause where the noun alone could not be employed. But Speyer traces the origin of the absolute notion to the participial employment (SS §365). According to him, the loc. of the participle is the essential factor in it and the nominal portion is just accessory. The fact, however, seems to lie midway between these two views. The fundamental function of any absolute case is, broadly speaking, to denote an attendant circumstance (vide inst. of attendant circumstance bordering on an absolute use §68.d.). It differs from the simple temporal [235] or modal use of a case only in the predicative character of the participle. Since the latter’s presence makes it virtually a clause separate from the main sentence having a predicate of its own, it is regarded as freed or detached (absolutus) from the construction of the rest of the sentence. But there is always
a logical connection between the two. Logically it is parallel to the 
*adverbial* use of the case involved and as such may be temporal, 
modal, conditional, hypothetical, causal or concessive. It may be 
remarked that the participle thus construed is either a *present* or a 
*past passive* one. The future participle is never employed in this 
connection nor others which lack the *adjectival* quality such as the 
active past participle, since these cannot agree with the substantive 
put in the oblique case (cp. SS §365). These two factors of the 
absolute construction are called its *subject* and *predicate*. The *loc. 
absolute* is a frequent idiom in Pāli and appears in various nuances, 
some of which are syntactically much involved. We may notice the 
following distinctions:

**§183. [Examples of Loc. Abs.]**

a. In its simple *temporal* sense, it does not vary much from the *loc. of 
time* except in the presence of the participle. e.g., *Atha kho 
Pañcasikho Gandhabba-putto abhikkantāya rattiyā ... yena Bhagavā 
ten’ upasaṅkami* D II.220 “Thereupon Pañcasikha, the (son of the) 
heavenly musician, when the night was far spent ... came whither the 
Blessed One was”; *idha pana bhikkhave bhikkhu rattiyā nikkhantāya 
divase paṭihite iti paṭisaṅcikkhati ... A IV.321. “Here, brethren, a 
monk, when the night is over and the day has set in, reflects thus ...”;
*tasmiṃ tasmiṅca kālakate Tathāgataṃ upasaṅkamitvā ... D II.93 
“when this or that person is dead he approaches the Tathāgata ...”.

b. While having the temporal sense, especially with the present 
participle, the *loc. absolute* may denote the *circumstance* that attends 
on or accompanies the main action. e.g., *ukkāsu dhāriya-mānāsu 
Rājagahamhā niyyāsi* D I.49 “he set out from R. while torches were
being held” (or with torches being held ...). Such clauses are usually rendered in English by the participial clause ‘torches being held, he left R.’. Similarly: imasmiṃ ca pana [236] veyyākaraṇasmiṃ bhaññamane sahassī loka-dhātu akampittha D I.46; II.288 “while this explanation was being delivered a thousand world systems shook”; cp. setamhi chatte anuhīramāne sabbā ca disā viloketi D II.15 “he looked on all the regions while a canopy was held over him”; saṅghasmiṃ bhijjamānasmiṃ nāññaṃ bhiyyo amaññatha M III.154 (V.) “the Order (i.e. the Church) being in (the course of) disruption they did not think of others”. The absolute loc. denoting simultaneity may also be included under this group. e.g., Parinibbute Bhagavati saha parinibbānā bhūmicālo ahosi D II.156 “Simultaneously with the passing away of the Blessed One there was an earthquake”; ossaṭṭhe ca Bhagavato āyusaṅkhāre mahā-bhūmicālo ahosi D II.106 “with the renouncing of his vital element (i.e. when he shook off the sum of his remaining life) by the Blessed One there was a great earthquake”.

c. In the last two examples the absolute phrase represents an action or process immediately preceding that of the main sentence and may be rendered “as soon as, no sooner than” etc. Hence the loc. absolute is used in a general way to denote the time since or after which some action is supposed to take place. It is frequently found with such formations as ‘acira-pakkante’ etc. where a time-denoting word is compounded with the participle, in which case it is completely identical with the gen. absolute in its temporal function (§158.c.). e.g., Atha kho Bhagavā acirapakkante Vajjiyamāhite gahapatimhi bhikkhū āmantesi A V.192 cp. D II.204; M I.192 “Thereupon, not long after the householder V. had departed, the Blessed One addressed the monks”; Ekaṃ samayaṃ āyasmā Ānando Sāvatthiyaṃ viharati ... aciraparinibbute Bhagavati D I.204 “Once the ven.
Ānanda was living at S. not long after the Blessed One had passed away”; *aciraparinibbutesu Sāriputta-Moggallānesu* S V.163 “not long since S. and M. had passed away”; *sattāha-pabbajite ... rājisimhi dibbaṃ cakkaratanamī antaradhāyi* D III.60 “seven days after the Royal Sage had left home, the divine Jewel of the Wheel disappeared”; *sattāha-jāte Ānanda Bodhisatte Bodhisatta-mātā kālaṃ karoti* D III.14; M III.12 “seven days after the Bodhisatta is born, Ānanda, his mother dies”. [237]

d. Sometimes when the main sentence is a negative statement the subordinate clause expressed by the loc. absolute construction may denote “even when, i.e. in spite of or notwithstanding” as much as the gen. absolute expressive of *anādara* (§158.a.). e.g., *deve vassante deve gaḷagaḷāyante vijjutāsu niccharantīsu asaniyā phalantiyā n’ eva passeyya n’ eva saddaṃ suṇeyya* D II.131 “even when the rain is falling, torrents are pouring, lightning is issuing and thunder is pealing he would not see or hear a sound”; *evaṃ pi kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavatā olārike nimiter kayiramāne ... nāsakkhi paṭivijjituṃ* D II.103 “even when a material (ample) sign was made by the Blessed One, the ven. Ānanda was not able to realize ...”; *evaṃ pariyāya desite kho Ānanda mayā dhamme ye aññamaññassa subhāsitaṃ sulapitaṃ na samanumaññissanti* S IV.225 “those who, Ānanda, do not respect the well-spoken words of each other even when the Doctrine has been methodically preached by me”. In these examples the sense of *anādara* is emphasized by the presence of *eva* or *evaṃ*, just as the temporal sense is supplemented in the following by the insertion of *atha* at the beginning of the main sentence: *Asmīti kho pana bhikkhave adhigate atha pañcannaṃ indriyānaṃ avakkanti hoti* S III.46 “when (the thought) ‘I am’ is conceived, then, there is the appearance of the five sense-organs”.
§184. [Non-Temporal Meaning of the Loc. Abs.]

As pointed out above the temporal notion is not the only idea expressed by the *loc. absolute*. It includes many other shades of meaning.

a. For instance, it may stand for an adverbial clause denoting *cause* as those which in English begin with ‘because, as a result of, since’. e.g., *Mā kho tvaṃ tātā dibbe cakka-ratane antara-hite anattamano hoti* D III.60 “do not be disheartened, dear one, because the divine Jewel of the Wheel has disappeared”; *ettakamhi vā dukkhe nijjīṇe sabbāṃ dukkham nijjīṇaṃ bhavissati* M I.93 “as a result of so much sorrow being exhausted all grief comes to an end”; *Govinde brāhmaṇe kālakate rājā Disampati paridevesi* D II.231 “when (implying because) the brahmin G. [238] died King D. lamented”; *evaṃ h’ etaṃ Mahāli hoti bhikkhuno puratthimāya disāya ekaṃsa-bhāvite samādhimhi* D I.153 “Thus it occurs to the monk, Mahāli, as a result of self-collectedness being developed with regard to the eastern quarter”.

b. It may also signify a *condition* that exists or should exist for the fulfilment of the main action, which may be rendered by such expressions as ‘if, on condition, provided that’ etc. This construction is not logically very different from the above (cause).

i. e.g., *Bhave kho sati jāti hoti* D II.31 “when (if, on condition that) there is becoming, there is birth”; *kimhi nu kho asati jārāmaranāṃ na hoti* S II.7 “which being absent (if what is absent) is there no decay and death?”; *kismīṃ sati piyāppiyaṃ na hoti* D II.277 “what being present is there no (difference of) pleasant and unpleasant?”.
ii. When the main sentence is interrogative the subordinate clause represents a *hypothetical condition* as those with ‘supposing, now if’ etc. in English. e.g., *dassane Bhagavā sati katham paṭipajjītabbam D II.141* “supposing there is seeing how should we behave?”; *tasmiṃ akaraṇīye kayiramāne ko ādīnavo pāṭikaṅkho ti A I.57* “supposing something that should not be done is committed (by him) what (consequence) should be expected?”.

iii. In this stereotyped absolute construction with *sati* not rarely we find in the Nikāyas a plural subject made to agree with the singular participal predicate (*sati*). This is grammatically due to the fact that *atthi* is not seldom found in Pāli just as in Skr. used with plural subject, (cp. s.v. *atthi* P.T.S. Dict.). e.g., *pādesu sati abhikkama-paṭikkamo paññāyati S IV.171* “when there are feet, movement (lit. going and coming) appears”; *tesu ākāresu tesu liṅgesu ... asati ... D II.62* “were there no modes, features ...”. This use of the singular predicate for plural in the (loc.) absolute construction is, however, more than a mere grammatical peculiarity. It exists even in other I.E. languages.\(^{20}\)

\[\text{§185. [Loc. Abs. with Adjectives]}\]

In the examples discussed in the preceding paragraphs the loc. absolute construction without exception consisted of the subject-part which can be either a noun substantive or pronoun (or even a noun clause as in ‘*asmi ti kho pana bhikkhave adhigate ...’ S III.46), and the predicate-part which is usually a participle. It is however not

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\(^{20}\) Otto Jesperson points out in his ‘Philosophy of Grammar’ that there is such a construction in Spanish (p. 129).
necessary that the predicate of the absolute loc. should be always a participle. Just as a noun (adjective or substantive) can stand as predicate of an independent clause or sentence, so in the absolute construction some such word with a predicative force may stand for the verbal element. Nearly always it is an adjective or, as in some of the examples referred to, a participle used as an adjective (cp. *samāhite, nijjīṇe* in a.). Adjectival compounds are frequently employed in this role. e.g., *pañca-vassa-satāyukesu bhikkhave manussesa tayo dhammā vepullaṃ agamaṃsu* D III.70 “when men were of five hundred years life-span three things increased”; *te atūra-dakkhiniyā nāvāya tīra-dassimī sakunamī muṇcanti* D I.222 “when the ship is so far that the shore is not visible they let free a bird that finds the shore”. In most cases, however, the predicate is incomplete without some such loc. of a participle as *sati, ṭhite* etc.. But this want is not always felt. e.g., *bahukamhi thokaṃ denti paṇītamhi lūkhaṃ denti* A IV.10 “there being much they give little, and there being excellent (food) they give gross (food)”.

§186. [Loc. Abs. in Stick Phrases]

Occasionally the subject-part of the absolute construction is to be understood. This is especially so in the case of the stock-phrases *evaṃ sati, evaṃ sante* etc. (cp. acc. absolute: *evaṃ sataṃ* D I.186; *vide* §56). e.g., *evaṃ sante tassa purisassa appāṭihīrakatamī bhāsitaṃ sampajjati* D I.193 “when this is so that person’s talk appears (lit. becomes) foolish”. But it is not seldom found with other participles usually of ‘intransitive’ verbs. e.g., *Evaṃ vutte te bhikkhū Bhagavantaṃ etad avocumī* D I.1 “when (it) was said thus those monks replied to the Blessed One”. A similar construction is found in: *Saṅghe Gotami dehi, saṅghe te dinne ahaṅc’ eva pūjito*
bhavissāmi saṅgho ca M III.253, where the second ‘saṅgha’ is just loc. of person given [240] to (§170.a) and not the loc. of the absolute construction. In the following example the loc. sg. ‘vimuttasmiṃ’ also appears to be employed absolutely: ariyasāvako ... virāgā vimuccati, vimuttasmiṃ vimuttaṃ iti ūṇāṃ hoti M I.500 “the noble disciple ... is freed through detachment, when free he obtains the knowledge that there is freedom”; cp. avijjāsavā pi cittaṃ vimuccati, vimuttasmiṃ vimuttaṃ iti ūṇaṃ hoti M I.184; III.20.

a. When the participle which is the predicate of the absolute construction is passive it may be sometimes attended by the agent, i.e., the logical subject of the verb represented by the participle, the grammatical subject being either put into the loc. or not expressed at all. e.g., yo bhikkhave Tathāgatena evaṃ ācikkhiyamāne ... na passati S III.139 “who (ever), monks, does not see ... when it is being thus pointed out by the Tathāgata”; vandite21 ca pana āyasmatā Mahā-Kassapena ... sayaṃ eva Bhagavato citako pajjali D II.164 “when worshipped by the ven. Mahā-Kassapa ... the funeral pyre of the Blessed One blazed forth by itself”. In the last example the loc. (vandite) can not be strictly regarded as absolute for the construction can stand even if it were the nom. (vandito). Here we have an interesting link in the development of the absolute use from the participial construction (cp. Speyer SS §365). The loc. here is used with a temporal significance (when worshipped). Such temporal employment of the locative sg. of participles is not unusual in Pāli. e.g., supinante pi nāgamā Sn 293 “he did not come even in a dream

21 Here ‘vandite’ refers to citako which is the subject of the principal sentence. Such agreement is not idiomatic. Nom. ‘vandito’ would be better. Cp. Apte ‘Guide’ p. 81 footnote.
(lit. even in or while dreaming” where the Comy. has ‘supinenâpi na agamāsi’ (Pj. II.318).

b. Sometimes it is very doubtful whether the construction is absolute or whether the loc. involved is just temporal or local. This is especially the case when the words in the loc. are such as denoting time or place. e.g., samvaṭṭamâne loke yebhuyyena sattā ābhassara-saṃvaṭṭanikā honti D III.28 “when the world is evolving or in the evolving world the beings on the whole tend to be radiant”; Seyyathâpi nāma saradasamaye viddhe vigatavalāhake deve ādicco ... bhāsate ca tapate ca virocate ca S I.65 “Just as in autumn when the sky is clear and free from [241] clouds (or in a clear, cloudless sky) the sun shines bright, warm and brilliant”.

§187. The Adverbial Locative.

a. Many locatives, especially of words denoting time and space (place), have acquired the character of adverbs (cp. SS §150). In the sentence they are mostly found as separate elements qualifying the action as denoted by the main verb.

i. The most frequent adverbial locatives in the Nikāyas are those of proximity or the opposite, generally denoting where, such as santike, avidūre and sammukhe. As pointed out before (§150), these usually agree with the gen. of the preceding noun which limits the sense of the adverb. e.g., Bhagavato santike imaṃ gāthaṃ abhāsi D II.254 “he uttered this verse in the presence (lit. proximity) of the Blessed One”; Atha kho Brahmāyussa brāhmaṇassā avidūre ambavanassā etad ahosi M II.141 “then this thought occurred to the brahmin B. (when he was) not far from the mango-grove”; Anuruddhassa sammukhe
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pāturahosi S V.294; D II.206 “appeared in front of Anuruddha”. These adverbs can be used even with verbs of motion denoting the place gone to. e.g., pahiṇeyyāsi tvam Ānanda Vaggumudātiriyānaṃ bhikkhūnāṃ santike dūtaṃ Ud 26 “send (you), Ānanda, a messenger to the (presence of) V. monks”.

ii. The above sense of place gone to is mostly expressed by the pronominal forms kuhiṃ, kahaṃ, yahiṃ etc. derived from kasmiṃ, yasmiṃ etc. These are used exactly like kutra, yatra, mostly with verbs of motion. e.g., kuhiṃ gamissasīti D II.343 “where will you go?”; kahaṃ nu kho ... bhavaṃ Gotamo viharati D I.150 “where does the ven. Gotama live now?”; yahiṃ yahiṃ tantaṃ Tathāgato sukhasmiṃ paññāpeti M I.400 “in relation to whichever (thing) the Tathāgata lays down this or that as part of happiness”.

iii. A peculiar use of the adverbial loc. is found in -agge (Skr. agre “at the head”; cp. SS §150) which in Pāli has acquired the sense of “since”. It is mostly found as the second member of an adverbial compound. e.g., ajjatagge pāṇupetam saraṇaṃ gataṃ M I.368 “taken refuge for life from today (i.e. from now on till life lasts)”; yadagge ahaṃ Mahāli Bhagavantaṃ upanissāya viharāmi na ciraṃ tīni vassāni D I.152 “it is not more than three years, Mahāli, since I have lived under the Blessed One”. The forms yadagge and tadagge are found coordinately in the sense of “from ... till ...”. e.g., yadagge ahaṃ Bhagavati abhippasanno ... tadagge kho pana D I.93 “since I gained reliance in the Blessed One, from that time onwards ...”.

iv. A few archaic forms of original locatives are found in the Nikāyas with the causal and modal sense. Such are āvi and roho (§2)
which though originally meaning “in the open” and “in secrecy” have come to signify the adverbial notions of “openly” and “secretly” (manner). e.g., āvi ca eva rahō ca M I.321.

b. i. At other times however these adverbs are found not, as separate words in the sentence but as words qualifying some adjective and limiting its application. This is found in the instance when the adverb is compounded with the adjective as the first member of an aluk-samāsa both together constituting an adjectival compound (bahubbīhi). e.g., majjhe-kalyāṇaṃ (dhammaṃ) D I.62; D III.76 “(the doctrine) good-in the middle”; pubbe-nivāsa-paṭisaṃyuttā dhammī kathā D II.1 “doctrinal talk regarding previous (lit. before) lives”. But more often the adverb is left outside the compound. e.g., pubbe ananussutassa dhammassa D II.32 “of the doctrine not heard before”.

ii. This kind of compound can also be formed from the peculiar adverbs of the class of kuhim etc. the second member usually being a derivative form of some verb of motion. e.g., kuhimgāmī bhavissati M I.8 lit. “whither-going shall he be”.
## Appendix

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